

The Herodotus Encyclopedia

The Herodotus Encyclopedia

Edited by

Christopher Baron

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(A–D)

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To Herodotus: 2,500 years and still going strong

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	viii
<i>Preface (Using this Encyclopedia)</i>	x
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xiii
<i>Synopsis of Entries</i>	xxxvi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xlvi
<i>Maps</i>	li
The Herodotus Encyclopedia (Entries A–D)	1

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The reader will find my name attached to several hundred entries in this encyclopedia. That was not the initial intention, nor does it fully reveal the process by which this massive work came into being. Florencia Foxley and Lester Stephens, during their time in the Classics MA program at Notre Dame, assisted in the preparation of approximately 200 entries each (initial research, collecting notes, writing rough drafts). Their work saved me many hours and helped me begin to gain a sense of what form the final product would take. All errors remain my responsibility.

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accepted the wise advice they offered more effectively than Herodotus' characters do. I also want to recognize my colleagues at Notre Dame and in the field whose conversations helped sustain me through this arduous process: Sue Collins, Carolyn Dewald, John Duffy, Randolph Ford, Liz Irwin, Rebecca Kennedy, Brian Krostenko, Hildegund Müller, Simon Oswald, Victoria Pagan, Hannah Ringheim, Andreas Schwab, Andrew Scott, Lela Urquhart, Pietro Vannicelli, and Liv Yarrow.

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Above all, I would not have survived this project without Jessica Baron, who patiently put up with my suffering—as she likes to say, "It's a good thing Herodotus is already dead"—and even agreed to contribute some wonderful entries of her own. And, as always, my thanks to Hildegarde, who will have mixed feelings about the lack of open books lying around the house.

Christopher Baron
South Bend, Indiana, May 2019

PREFACE (USING THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA)

Nothing like *The Herodotus Encyclopedia* has been attempted before. The closest comparandum is Gisela Strasburger's *Lexikon zur frühgriechischen Geschichte* (Zürich, 1984). But the *Lexikon*, while useful, was designed as a basic reference guide for readers of Herodotus without knowledge of the ancient world: the entries are brief, there is minimal bibliography—and much has happened in Herodotean studies since then.

The Herodotus Encyclopedia is designed to be as comprehensive as possible. Every name in the *Histories* (there are over 2,000)—individual, community, tribe, topographical feature—should have a headword. Some of these are blind entries, referring the reader to discussion under other headwords. Approximately 400 additional conceptual entries cover a wide range of topics: history of the text; scholarship and reception; the historical, intellectual, and social background of Herodotus' world, including religion and warfare; Herodotus' historical method and literary techniques; and prominent themes in the work. (See the Synopsis on pages xxxvi–xliv for a list of these individual entries arranged by category.) If time, space, and energy allowed it, many more conceptual entries could have been included. I hope any gaps in coverage are small.

Within each entry, other non-blind headwords are marked in ALL CAPS on their first appearance. The main text of each entry is followed by a SEE ALSO section listing further related headwords. For those consulting the online version, an attempt has been made to assign keywords which pinpoint even more detailed conceptual connections. The print version of the encyclopedia has been supplied with an Index, per Wiley's standard policy.

One area where comprehensiveness does prove impossible, given the already large size of the encyclopedia (and perhaps the limitations of human capabilities), is references to scholarship. Each entry contains full bibliographic information for items cited in the text, and most entries also suggest Further Reading. But the reader should be aware that even in the case of lengthy lists, this is just the tip of the iceberg. Contributors have been encouraged to include references to items which provide fuller bibliography. There are also valuable recent bibliographies available: the *Oxford Bibliographies Online* article on Herodotus (Emily Baragwanath and Mathieu de Bakker, 2009, updated 2014); and the bibliographies found in Rosaria Vignolo Munson (ed.), *Herodotus. Oxford Readings in Classical Studies* (2 volumes, Oxford, 2013), and in Reinhold Bichler and Robert Rollinger, *Herodot*, 3rd edition (Darmstadt, 2011).

Although the reader will find references in this encyclopedia to items published in 2017 (especially Pietro Vannicelli and Aldo Corcella's Italian commentary on Book 7), 2018, and even 2019, many contributors finished their work at an earlier point in time. Thus, it is safest to say that no knowledge of scholarship published after 2016 should be assumed.

For the most part, citation of other encyclopedias has been avoided. The major occasional exceptions are the *Encyclopedia Iranica* (available online: www.iranicaonline.org/) and the monumental Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* (see Abbreviations §1 under RE). In addition, a number of fundamental reference works recur often enough to be referred to in abbreviated form, and I will mention them here with a brief explanatory note:

ALC = David Asheri, Alan Lloyd, and Aldo Corcella. *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*, edited by Oswyn Murray and Alfonso Moreno with a contribution by Maria Brosius (translated by Barbara Graziosi, Matteo Rossetti, Carlotta Dus, and Vanessa Cazzato). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. (Cited by the author of each book's commentary: Books 1 and 3 by Asheri; 2 by Lloyd; 4 by Corcella.)

BA = Richard J. A. Talbert and Roger Bagnall, eds. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. (Cited by Map number and grid coordinates.)

Gantz, EGM = Timothy Gantz. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

IACP = Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, eds. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. (Cited by entry number and page numbers.)

LGNP = P. M. Fraser and Elaine Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987–2013. (Cited by volume and page number, followed by the individual's number in parentheses.)

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich: Artemis, 1981–99. (Each volume has two parts, the first containing text, the second images if applicable; only the first volume is cited here.)

Müller = Dietram Müller. *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots*, 2 volumes: I, *Griechenland* (1987); II, *Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete mit Südostthrakien und Zypern* (1997). Tübingen: Wasmuth. (Two thick volumes with wonderful photographs and detailed sketch-maps of the places Herodotus mentions, plus lists of other ancient references and older scholarship. Cited by volume and page numbers.)

Schmitt, *IPGL* = Rüdiger Schmitt. *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr.* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch, Vol. V, Fasc. 5A) Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011. (Cited by page numbers and entry number.)

The timing of Nigel Wilson's publication of the new Oxford Classical Text for Herodotus' *Histories* (2015) was fortuitous. This has been used as the standard text; those with Greek reading knowledge should also consult Wilson's *Herodotea* (2015) for further notes.

A Note on Orthography

Consistent English spelling of ancient Greek names has long been problematic. In addition to the perennial debate among classicists concerning the best procedure, Herodotus' Ionic dialect makes the issue even thornier.

In general, I have chosen to use Latinized forms for most names, also employed by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Thus, names ending in Greek *-os* appear in English as *-us* (*Herodotus*); the ending *-on* becomes *-um* (*Artemisium*; but see below). Much less common are Greek words ending in *-ōs* and *-ōn* (omega rather than omicron), which retain that form in English (*Sabacos*, *Daton*). At any point in a word, the Greek diphthongs *-ai-*, *-oi-*, and *-ou-* become English *-ae-*, *-oe-*, and *-u-*, respectively. The Greek vowel *upsilon* is represented by English "y"; the consonants *kappa* by "c" and *chi* by "ch" (thus *Cyrus*, *Aeschylus*). The Greek vowel *eta*, in general, is represented by *-e-* (*Herodotus*, *Agariste*, *Xerxes*); but at word-end, this is not always the case (*Aristagoras*, not *Aristagores*). One exception I have made to the traditional style of Latinization is that *-ei-* normally remains *-ei-* (thus *Peisistratus*, *Cleisthenes*).

Other exceptions involve adherence to traditional usage. The Aegean islands, for whatever reason, retain their *-os* endings (*Samos*, *Thasos*); the same is true for a handful of cities (*Abydos*, *Sestos*). Some mountains similarly retain *-on* (*Pelion*, *Cithaeron*).

For the names of tribes, clans, and peoples, I have tried to maintain the following pattern:

- oi* becomes *-(i)ans* (*Boeotians*, *Pamphylians*)
- ai* becomes *-ae* (*Sacae*)
- es* remains *-es* (*Abantes*)

But exceptions must be made in many cases where a form has become so recognizable that it would be perverse to insist on strict rules (thus *Persai* = "Persians," not "Persae"). The same is true in general

for place and personal names which are well-known enough to have achieved a standard English form: Athens, Corinth, Sicily, Homer.

The biggest nightmare appears with Spartan names. Herodotus employs his Ionic dialect to represent the Spartans' Doric dialect, neither of which matches the Attic dialect which is most commonly known. Take, for example, the famous King Leonidas: Herodotus writes Λεωνίδης (*Leōnidēs*). But the alpha-ending, matching Leonidas' native Doric dialect, is the accepted English form. In fact, at Sparta, the name would have looked like Λανίδας (*Lanidas*). So then, what does one do with a more obscure figure like the legendary king whom Herodotus calls Λεωβώτης (*Leōbōtēs*), the Spartans Λαβώτας (*Labōtas*)? In general, I have chosen to stay as close as possible to Herodotus' spelling. On the other hand, names ending in -εως (-*eōs*) are normally rendered -aus in English (Anaxila**us**, Menela**us**).

As often as possible, alternate spellings which could easily be missed have been noted in the text of entries, and in some cases (especially word-initial variants) a blind entry has been created to direct the reader to the proper place.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Eran Almagor is the author of studies on Plutarch and other Greek imperial-era writers (Strabo, Josephus). His interests include the history of the Achaemenid Empire and its image in Greek literature (especially in Herodotus and Ctesias), Plutarch's works (mainly the *Lives*), and the modern reception of antiquity, particularly in popular culture. He is the author of *Plutarch and the Persica* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), and is co-editor (with J. Skinner) of *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) and co-editor (with L. Maurice) of *The Reception of Ancient Virtues and Vices in Modern Popular Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

Pascal Arnaud has fields of expertise in ancient geography and mapping, historical topography, and ancient maritime history and archaeology. He is co-director, along with S. J. Keay (Southampton), of the ERC-funded senior grant *Portuslimen*, Professor Emeritus in Roman History at University Lumière (Lyon 2, France), and Senior Fellow of the Institut Universitaire de France. He is the author of some 180 articles, three books—including *Les routes de la navigation antique* (2005)—and five edited books, including *The Sea in History: The Ancient World—La Mer dans l'Histoire: L'Antiquité* (with P. de Souza, 2016).

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Elizabeth Vandiver is Clement Biddle Penrose Professor of Latin and Classics at Whitman College. She specializes in Greek and Roman historiography and in classical receptions in early twentieth-century British literature. She is the author of *Heroes in Herodotus: The Interaction of Myth and History* (Peter Lang, 1991) and *Stand in the Trench, Achilles: Classical Receptions in British Poetry of the Great War* (Oxford University Press, 2010, paperback 2013). Her next large-scale project concerns the reception of classical literature in the poetry and prose of Richard Aldington.

Pietro Vannicelli is Associate Professor of Greek History at University of Rome–La Sapienza. His main interests are Greek archaic and classical history and Greek historiography. He is the author of *Erodoto e la storia dell'alto e medio arcaismo (Sparta-Tessaglia-Cirene)* (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1993), *Resistenza e intesa. Studi sulle guerre persiane in Erodoto* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2013), and a commentary on Herodotus Book 7 (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla/Mondadori, 2017).

Emily Varto is an Associate Professor of Classics at Dalhousie University, specializing in early Iron Age Greek history. She is the author of articles and book chapters on early Greek kinship, genealogy, historiography, and housing, as well as on the role of the classics and classical scholarship in nineteenth-century anthropology. She is the editor of *Brill's Companion to Classics and Early Anthropology* (2018).

R. S. Walker was raised in the Pacific Northwest and received his BA from Western Washington University in Ancient History. During his graduate studies at the University of Notre Dame, his interests expanded to include ancient epic and the interaction between the epic tradition and ancient historiography. His MA thesis, entitled *Addita Fati Peioris Manifesta Fides*, examines the connections between prodigy passages in Tacitus' *Annals* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*. He completed his MA from Notre Dame in 2018.

Matt Waters is Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire. He received his PhD in Ancient History from the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History* (State Archives of Assyria Studies XII, 2000), *Ancient Persia* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), and *Ctesias' Persica and Its Near Eastern Context* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2017), and his work has appeared in numerous journals in Classics and Near Eastern studies.

Melody Wauke is a candidate in the MA program in Classics at the University of Notre Dame. Her research interests include epic poetry and Latin and Greek paleography.

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Christopher Welser teaches Ancient History at Colby College in Maine. His interests include historiography and Athenian democracy. His first two published articles were on Herodotus (*Classical Antiquity*, 2009 and *Mnemosyne*, 2010).

Christian Wendt is Professor of Ancient History at the Freie Universität Berlin and head of the Berlin Thucydides Center. His publications include *Sine fine* (2008) and numerous articles on Greek historiography and political thought, ancient international law, and the reception of Thucydides in modern political theory. He is the co-editor of *2000 Jahre Varusschlacht* (2012), *Ein Besitz für immer? Geschichte, Polis und Völkerrecht bei Thukydides* (2011), *Thucydides and Political Order* (2 vols.) (2016), and *Seemacht, Seeherrschaft und die Antike* (2016).

Katharina Wesselmann is Professor of Didactics of Ancient Languages at the Christian-Albrechts-University in Kiel, Germany. She gained her doctorate in Classics in 2011 from Basel University, where she continued to work as a postdoctoral fellow. Her main areas of interest are Greek historiography, early Greek epic, and didactics of ancient languages. There is a shorter English version of her book, *Mythische Erzählstrukturen in Herodots Historien*, which is published on the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies' website (<http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/5570>) and explores mythical story patterns in Herodotus. At present, she is co-editing a volume on lists and catalogues in ancient literature, and working on a commentary on Book 7 of Homer's *Iliad*.

Everett L. Wheeler Scholar in Residence at Duke University, has published widely on ancient military history and military theorists (ancient and modern). His books include *Stratagem and the*

Vocabulary of Military Trickery (1988), Polyaeus, *Stratagems of War* (translated with Peter Krentz, 1994), and *The Armies of Classical Greece* (2007). He was a contributor to *The Landmark Herodotus* (2007) and currently serves on the editorial boards of *Journal of Military History* and *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire ancienne*.

James White is a graduate student in the history department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His research interests include Greek historiography of the Near East, the Achaemenid Persian Empire, and military technology in the ancient world.

Josef Wiesehöfer is a retired Professor of Ancient History at Kiel University (Germany). He specializes in the study of Pre-Islamic Iran, the connections between the cultures of the Mediterranean and those of the Ancient Near East and Central Asia as well as the history of scholarship. He is the author of *Ancient Persia* (Tauris, 2001) and main editor of the series *Oriens et Occidens*.

Carolyn Willekes holds a PhD in Greek and Roman Studies. She teaches at Mount Royal University. Her area of specialty is the history of horses and horse cultures, as well as human-animal relationships in the ancient world. She is the author of *From Bucephalus to the Hippodrome: The Horse in the Ancient World* (I. B. Tauris, 2016).

Maria Elizabeth G. Xanthou is Harvard CHS Research Associate in Pindaric Studies and Senior Research Associate at the University of Bristol. She teaches Greek and Roman civilization at Hellenic Open University. She specializes in Greek lyric poetry, Attic comedy, and rhetoric. Her research interests lie also in the history of emotions, Greek interstate relations, the resilience of communities, e-learning and hybrid pedagogy in teaching Greek and Latin. She published a commentary in Greek on Isocrates' *On the Peace* and *Against Sophists*. Her current project concerns a commentary on Pindar's Nemean odes. She is also involved in a large-scale research project and examines the resilience of Greek and Roman communities.

Ioannis Xydopoulos teaches ancient Greek history as an Associate Professor at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. The author of several works on ancient Macedonia, his interests now center on issues of identity, perception, and violence. Recent publications include "Euergetes and euergesia in Inscriptions for Public Benefactors from Macedonia," *AWE* 17 (2018), 83–117; "The *theorodokoi* Inscription from Nemea (SEG 36, 331) and the Date of IG IV, 583," *TEKMHPIA* 13 (2015–2016), 173–191; and a co-edited volume (with K. Vlassopoulos and E. Tounta), *Violence and Community: Law, Space and Identity in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean World* (Routledge, 2017).

David Yates is an Associate Professor of Classics at Millsaps College. He specializes in the history and historiography of archaic and classical Greece. He is the author of numerous articles and is currently working on a book about the Greek memory of the Persian War.

Mehmet Fatih Yavuz is Associate Professor of Ancient History at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University. He participated in the Granicus Survey Project and is a member of the ongoing Thracian Chersonese survey project. His research focuses mainly on the history of the Propontis and its outlets, the Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus.

Vasiliki Zali is University Teacher in Classical Studies at the University of Liverpool. She has research interests in Herodotus and his reception, as well as in the use of narrative techniques and rhetoric in classical Greek historiography. She is the author of *The Shape of Herodotean Rhetoric* (Brill, 2014) and co-editor of *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Herodotus in Antiquity and Beyond* (Brill, 2016).

Angela Zautcke is a PhD student of Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity at the University of Notre Dame. Her research focuses on religions of the ancient Mediterranean basin and their development and shared influences during the classical and Hellenistic periods.

Marcus Ziemann is a PhD candidate in Classics at The Ohio State University. He is working on a dissertation on the relationship between the *Iliad* and the *Epic of Gilgamesh* that reanalyzes the Orientalizing Revolution in terms of a globalization of the East Mediterranean.

Antigoni Zournatzi is Director of Research at the National Hellenic Research Foundation (Athens, Greece). Her special areas of study are the cultural interconnections of the Greek world with the Near East, ancient Cyprus, and the Achaemenid Empire. Her research addresses, among other topics, the impact of Achaemenid Persian rhetoric on Greek and Near Eastern historiography, and the dialogue between the ancient Greek and Iranian civilizations in Iran (<http://iranohellenica.eie.gr/>).

SYNOPSIS OF ENTRIES

This overview is arranged along thematic and conceptual lines, divided into three sections: 1) Text (the physical work and its reception); 2) Context (historical, intellectual, social, and cultural background); 3) *Histories* (its internal features as a literary work). The synopsis is necessarily schematic; the treatment offered in many entries will range well beyond the label they receive here.

The Synopsis does not contain the vast majority of the proper names found in the *Histories* (individuals, places, topographical features, tribes), all of which receive their own headword.

Major Categories (in **bold** and ALL CAPS) and Subcategories (ALL CAPS) receive their own entry unless they are bracketed.

I. *Text*

1.1 [TEXT AND TRANSMISSION]

- book divisions
- editions
- manuscripts
- papyri
- scholia
- translations

1.2 [SCHOLARSHIP]

- archaeology
- epigraphy

- 1.2.1 SCHOLARSHIP ON HERODOTUS, ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME
 - Aristarchus of Samothrace

- 1.2.2 SCHOLARSHIP ON HERODOTUS, RENAISSANCE AND EARLY MODERN

- 1.2.3 SCHOLARSHIP ON HERODOTUS, 1750–1945

- Jacoby, Felix

- Macan, Reginald Walter

- Powell, John Enoch

- Stein, Heinrich

- 1.2.4 SCHOLARSHIP ON HERODOTUS, 1945–2018

- anthropology

- Asheri, David

- Black Athena

- counterfactual history

- Immerwahr, Henry

- “Liar School”

- Momigliano, Arnaldo

- narratology

- Orientalism

- Themistocles Decree

1.3 [RECEPTION]

- “Father of History”

- reliability

1.3.1 RECEPTION OF HERODOTUS, ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

Aristophanes
 Aristotle
 Ctesias
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus
 Ephorus
 Hellenistic historians
 Josephus
 Lucian
 Plutarch
 Strabo
 Theopompus of Chios
 Thucydides
 Xenophon

1.3.2 RECEPTION OF HERODOTUS, CHRISTIAN

1.3.3 RECEPTION OF HERODOTUS, 1300–1750

Valla, Lorenzo

1.3.4 RECEPTION OF HERODOTUS, 1750–1900

Rawlinson, Henry and George

1.3.5 RECEPTION OF HERODOTUS, 1900 TO PRESENT

cinema
 travel literature

II. *Context*

2.1 [HISTORICAL BACKGROUND]

2.1.1 GREECE (*see* HELLAS)

Archaic Age
 Athenian Empire
 cleruchy
 colonization
 Delian League
 dialects, Greek
 emporion
 ethnicity
 Hellenic League
 helots
 Heroic Age
 Ionian Revolt
 medize
 Oath of Plataea
 Panhellenism
 Peloponnesian League
 Peloponnesian War
 Persian Wars
 ships and sailing

2.1.2 PERSIA

Bardiya (*see* Smerdis)
 Bisitun
 concubines
 earth and water
 eunuchs

Near Eastern history
 Persepolis
proskynesis
 religion, Persian
 Royal Road
 satrapies
 tiara

2.2 [INTELLECTUAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND]

display (*epideixis*)
 etymology
 fable
 genealogies
logos
 orality and literacy
periplus
Persica
 rhetoric
 Seven Sages
 sophists

2.2.1 POETRY

Aeschylus
 epic poetry
 Hesiod
 Homer
 Pindar
 Simonides of Ceos
 Sophocles
 tragedy

2.2.2 PROSE

Hecataeus
 Ionic dialect
 medical writers

2.2.3 SCIENCE

climate
 geology
 medicine
 philosophy

2.3 [SOCIETY]

athletes and athletic games
 bribery
 bronze
 death
 disease
 dress
 education, ancient
 games
 gender
 hunting
 iron
 monuments

- music
- pederasty
- prostitution
- slavery
- textiles
- travel
- writing
- 2.3.1 FAMILY
 - children
 - domestic economy
 - marriage
 - women in ancient Greece
- 2.3.2 POLIS
 - acropolis
 - agora
 - assembly
 - deme
 - perioeci*
 - proxenos*
 - prytaneion
 - walls
- 2.3.3 [GOVERNMENT]
 - aristocracy
 - decision-making
 - democracy
 - ephors
 - isonomia*
 - lot
 - monarchy
 - oligarchy
 - stasis*
 - tyrants
- 2.3.4 LAW
 - judges
 - murder
 - punishment
- 2.3.5 [ECONOMY]
 - gold
 - handicrafts
 - mining
 - money
 - silver
 - talent
 - trade
 - tribute
- 2.3.6 FOOD
 - agriculture
 - feasting
 - meat
 - wine

- 2.3.7 ENGINEERING
 - bridges
 - canals
 - harbors
- 2.3.8 ART
 - architecture (temples)
 - monumentality
 - sculpture
 - vessels (drinking)
- 2.4 GODS AND THE DIVINE**
 - altars
 - apparitions
 - curses
 - festivals
 - first fruits
 - heroes and hero cult
 - mysteries
 - myth
 - pollution
 - priests and priestesses
 - religion, Greek
 - religion, Herodotus' views on
 - sacrilege
 - suppliants
 - temples and sanctuaries
 - treasuries
 - tripod
- 2.4.1 RITUAL
 - dedications
 - human sacrifice
 - libations
 - oaths
 - prayer
 - sacrifice
- 2.4.2 PROPHECY
 - divination
 - dreams
 - oracles
- 2.5 WARFARE**
 - allies
 - espionage
 - fortifications
 - hostages
 - plunder
 - prisoners of war
 - treachery
- 2.5.1 ARMIES
 - archery
 - cavalry
 - chariots

- generals and generalship
- hoplites
- Immortals
- mercenaries
- siege warfare
- 2.5.2 WEAPONS AND ARMOR
- 2.5.3 NAVAL WARFARE
- trireme
- 2.6 [VALUES]**
 - aretē*
 - competition
 - courage
 - freedom
 - friendship
 - guest-friendship
 - honor
 - piety
 - shame
 - wealth and poverty

III. *Histories*

3.1 **HERODOTUS OF HALICARNASSUS**

- Athens and Herodotus
- date of composition
- Lygdamis son/grandson of Artemisia
- Panyassis
- Thurii
- Vita Homeri*

3.2 **HISTORICAL METHOD**

- analogy
- autopsy
- causation
- change
- erga*
- evidence
- historiē*
- inscriptions
- knowledge
- proof
- source citations
- sources for Herodotus
- thōmata*
- truth
- tychē*

3.3 **[NARRATIVE ART]**

- audience
- authority, narrative
- catalogues
- characterization
- cross-references

digressions
end of the *Histories*
metanarrative
metaphor
motivation
numbers
prologue
proverbs
ring composition
short stories
symbols and signs

3.4 SPEECHES

“Constitutional Debate”

3.5 [THEMES]

advisers
archē
blame
cities
conquest
deception
desire
despotism
disabilities
disaster
drinking and drunkenness
exile
extremes
fame
fate
fetters
fire
hair
happiness
hubris
humor
insults
inventions
islands
madness
memory
mutilation
nakedness
necessity
praise
rape
rebellion
reciprocity
sex
softness
suicide

theft
 vengeance
 viewing
 violence
 whipping
 women in the *Histories*

3.6 ETHNOGRAPHY

anthropophagy
 autochthony
 barbarians
 bodily adornment
 burial customs
 circumcision
 migration
 mummification
 nomads
nomos
 pyramids

3.7 GEOGRAPHY

boundaries
 maps
 measures

3.8 [NATURAL WORLD]

bitumen
 earthquakes
 eclipses
 weather
 winds

3.8.1 [ANIMALS]

ants, giant
 birds
 camels
 cattle
 crocodiles
 dogs
 fish
 griffins
 horses
 lions
 mules
 pigs
 snakes

3.8.2 LANDSCAPE

deserts
 rivers
 sea
 trees

3.9 LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

gestures
 heralds

interpreters

laughter

messengers

3.10 EMOTIONS

anger

grief

jealousy

weeping

3.11 TIME

calendars

chronology

ABBREVIATIONS

1) Modern works and collections of ancient material

ALC	David Asheri, Alan Lloyd, and Aldo Corcella. <i>A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV</i> , edited by Oswyn Murray and Alfonso Moreno with a contribution by Maria Brosius (trans. Barbara Graziosi, Matteo Rossetti, Carlotta Dus, and Vanessa Cazzato). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. (Cited by the author of each book's commentary: Books 1 and 3, Asheri; 2, Lloyd; 4, Corcella.)
BA	Richard J. A. Talbert and Roger Bagnall, eds. <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
BNJ	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , ed. Ian Worthington. Brill Online, 2007–.
BTCGI	Giuseppe Nenci, ed. <i>Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche</i> . 21 vols. Pisa and Rome, 1977–2012.
CAH ² or ³	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , second or third edition. 15 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970–2005.
Campbell	David A. Campbell, ed. <i>Greek Lyric</i> . 5 vols. (Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982–93. Volume 1: Sappho, Alcaeus Volume 2: Anacreon, Alcman Volume 3: Stesichorus, Ibycus
CEG	P. A. Hansen, ed. <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> . 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983–89.
CPG	E. L. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidwin, eds. <i>Corpus Pseudoepigrapharum Graecorum</i> . 2 vols. Göttingen, 1839. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1958.
DB etc.	see §1a below
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz, eds. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> . 6th edition. Berlin, 1952.
EGM	see Gantz
FGE	see Page
FGrHist	Felix Jacoby. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 3 vols. with multiple parts. Berlin and Leiden: Brill, 1923–58.
FGrHistCont	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (continued). Parts Four and Five</i> , eds. Guido Schepens et al. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998–.
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . 5 vols. Paris, 1841–70.
Gantz, EGM	Timothy Gantz, <i>Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
IACP	Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen, eds. <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
IEG ²	see West
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1873–.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zürich: Artemis, 1981–99.
LGNP	P. M. Fraser and Elaine Matthews, eds. <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987–2013.
ML	Russell Meiggs and David M. Lewis, eds. <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> Revised edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Müller	Dietram Müller. <i>Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots</i> , 2 volumes: I, <i>Griechenland</i> (1987); II, <i>Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete mit Südostthrakien und Zypern</i> (1997). Tübingen: Wasmuth.
M-W	Reinhold Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds. <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
ORCS	Rosaria Vignolo Munson, ed. <i>Herodotus, Volume 1: Herodotus and the Narrative of the Past</i> and <i>Volume 2: Herodotus and the World</i> . Oxford Readings in Classical Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
PAA	John S. Traill, <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> . 21 vols. Toronto: Athenians, 1994–2012. (Cited by PAA six-digit number, followed by volume and page numbers.)
Page, FGE	D. L. Page, ed. <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
PCG	Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin, eds. <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . 8 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983–95.
PECS	Richard Stillwell, ed. <i>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
PEG	Albertus Bernabé, ed. 1996. <i>Poetae Epici Graeci</i> , vol. 1. 2nd edition. Leipzig: Teubner.
PF, PFS, PT	see §1a below
PMG	D. L. Page, ed. <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962. (See also Campbell, above.)
Radt	see §2 below (Strabo)
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, eds. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Berlin, 1893–1980.
Rose	V. Rose, ed. <i>Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta</i> . Stuttgart: Teubner, 1967 [1886].
Schmitt, IPGL	Rüdiger Schmitt. <i>Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr.</i> (Iranisches Personennamenbuch, Vol. V, Fasc. 5A) Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . (Cited by volume and item number.)
S-M	Bruno Snell and H. Maehler, eds. <i>Pindari Carmina cum fragmentis</i> . Stuttgart: Teubner, 1989–97.
Syll. ³	W. Dittenberger, ed. <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 4 vols. 3rd edition. Leipzig, 1915–21.
TrGF	B. Snell, S. Radt, R. Kannicht, eds. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–2004.
Wehrli	Fritz Wehrli, ed. <i>Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentare</i> . 2nd edition, 10 vols. Basel and Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co., 1967–69.
West, IEG ²	M. L. West, ed. <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> , 2 vols. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989–92.

1a) Persian material

The inscriptions of the Achaemenid (Persian) kings are labeled as follows (only those abbreviations which appear in this encyclopedia are listed):

- first letter (upper-case) indicates the name of the king

A Artaxerxes I; **As** Arsames; **C** Cyrus (II); **D** Darius I; **X** Xerxes

- second letter (upper-case) indicates the place of discovery

B Bisitun (for Darius I); **H** Hamadan; **M** Pasargadae; **N** Naqsh-e Rostam; **P** Persepolis; **S** Susa

- third letter (lower-case, if needed): used to designate different inscriptions from the same site.

These designations may be followed by a section number (§1 etc.). Thus XPh §26 = Inscription h of Xerxes at Persepolis, section 26. See Pierre Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* ([Paris]:

Gallimard, 1997), p. 11 for a full list. The Old Persian versions of the Achaemenid inscriptions, with English translations, can be found in Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2nd edition (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), and in Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007). See also the entry on BISITUN in this encyclopedia, by Matt Waters.

PF = Persepolis Fortification tablets: Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

PFa = Persepolis Fortification tablets, addendum: R. T. Hallock, “Selected Fortification Texts,” *Cahiers de la délégation française en Iran* 8 (1978), 109–36.

PF-NN = unpublished Persepolis Fortification tablets.

PFS = Persepolis Fortification (cylinder) seal [*=inscribed]: Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Vol. 1, *Images of Heroic Encounter* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications 117, 2001).

PT = Persepolis Treasury tablets: George C. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

Much of this material can be found in English translation in Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

2) Ancient authors

Abbreviations for Greek and Latin authors are those found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition (<https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/abbreviation-list/>). The following additional abbreviations are used in this encyclopedia:

[Arist.] <i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Athenaiōn Politeia</i> (Constitution of the Athenians), attributed to Aristotle
<i>Gr. Anth.</i>	W. R. Paton, ed. <i>The Greek Anthology</i> . 5 vols. (Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927–28.
Heraclid. Lemb.	Heraclides Lembus: Mervin R. Dilts, ed. <i>Heraclidis Lembi: Excerpta Politiarum</i> . Durham, NC: Duke University, 1971.
Hesiod fragments	see M-W (§1, above)
Marcellin. <i>Vit. Thuc.</i>	Marcellinus, <i>Life of Thucydides</i>
Phot. <i>Bibl.</i>	René Henry, ed. <i>Photius: Bibliothèque</i> . 8 vols. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1959–77. (Cited by Codex number, “Bekker page,” and Henry volume.)
Pindar fragments	see S-M (§1, above)
Plutarch, <i>DHM</i>	<i>De Herodoti malignitate</i> , “On the Malice of Herodotus” (Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 854e–874c)
Ps.-Scylax	Graham Shipley. <i>Pseudo-Skylax’s Periplus: The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World</i> . Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press, 2011. 2nd edition, Liverpool University Press, 2019. (Greek text, English translation, commentary.)
Ps.-Scymnus	a geographical treatise (<i>Periegesis</i>) of the first century BCE attributed to Scymnus of Chios; see Didier Marcotte (ed.), <i>Géographes grecs</i> . Vol. I, <i>Introduction générale</i> . <i>Ps.-Scymnos: Circuit de la Terre</i> . Paris: Belles Lettres, 2002.
Strabo	Stefan Radt, ed. <i>Strabons Geographika</i> . 9 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002–10. Strabo is cited by book, chapter, and section, plus “Casaubon page” (C###); the latter are included since Radt’s commentary is keyed to them. Fragments of Book 7 are given according to Radt’s new numbering (see the concordance in vol. 6, pp. 332–37). The most recent English translation of Strabo follows Radt’s numbering: Duane W. Roller, <i>The Geography of Strabo</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

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3) Journals

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAWW	<i>Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
AClass	<i>Acta classica (Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa)</i>
AHB	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AH:RfT	<i>Ancient History: Resources for Teachers</i>
AIIN	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica</i>
AION (Archaeol.)	<i>Annali di archeologia e storia antica (Napoli)</i>
AION (Ling.)	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Sezione linguistica.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AMIran	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AMI(T)	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan</i>
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
AncW	<i>Ancient World</i>
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports (London)</i>
ARTA	<i>Achaemenid Research on Text and Archaeology</i>
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia</i>
BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BN	<i>Beiträge zur Namenforschung</i>
BollClass	<i>Bollettino dei classici</i>
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
ClMed	<i>Classica et mediaevalia: revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus / Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EMC	<i>Échos du monde classique / Classical Views</i>
G&R	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
GB	<i>Grazer Beiträge</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>

<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology</i>
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
<i>JAEl</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHA</i>	<i>Journal for the History of Astronomy</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte der Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici (Pisa)</i>
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MHR</i>	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
<i>QS</i>	<i>Quaderni di storia</i>
<i>QUCC</i>	<i>Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RBPh</i>	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue historique</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta classica Israelica</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali</i>
<i>SemRom</i>	<i>Seminari romani di cultura greca</i>
<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi italiani di filologia classica</i>
<i>SNR</i>	<i>Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau / Revue suisse de numismatique</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
<i>SStor</i>	<i>Storia della storiografia</i>
<i>StIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>

YClS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZPalV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

4) Miscellaneous

accus.	accusative
Akkad.	Akkadian
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
BCE	Before Common Era (= BC)
c.	circa ("around/about," with dates)
CE	Common Era (= AD)
cf.	compare/see also (<i>confer</i>)
<i>contra</i>	against (the idea previously stated)
ed., eds.	editor, editors
e.g.	for example (<i>exempli gratia</i>)
Eg.	Egyptian
Elam.	Elamite
F, FF	fragment, fragments
Gk.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
i.e.	that is (<i>id est</i>)
l., ll.	line, lines
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
no.	number
nom.	nominative
OIr, OP	Old Iranian, Old Persian (an asterisk indicates a word unattested in the surviving evidence but reconstructed by modern linguists)
p., pp.	page, pages
<i>pace</i>	despite (what the author cited says)
pl.	plural
r.	ruled
sing.	singular
s.v.	sub verbum, (that is, under the headword)
T, TT	testimonium, testimonia

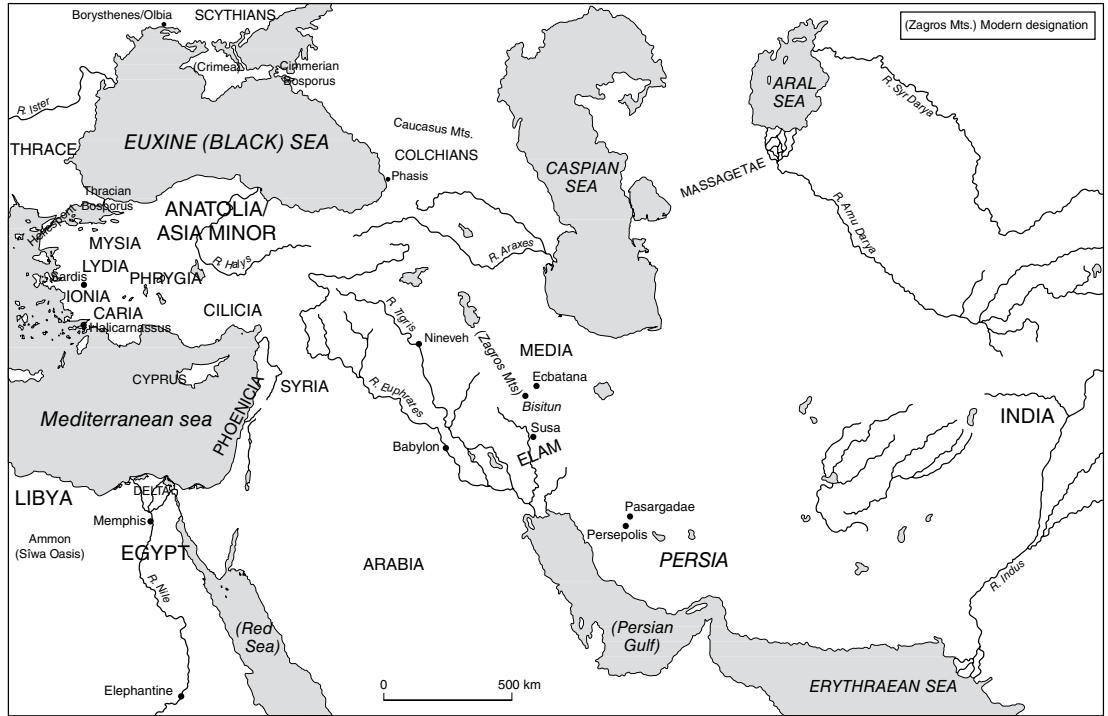
MAPS



Map 1 The Mediterranean Basin and Europe



Map 2 The Aegean Basin and Greece



Map 3 The Eastern Mediterranean and Asia

A

ABAE (Ἄβαι, αἱ)

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Abae was the site of an important oracle of APOLLO. Located in PHOCIS (BA 55 D3), the sanctuary is described by Herodotus as rich, and well-stocked with TREASURIES and votive offerings. The Phocians dedicated 2,000 shields at Abae after defeating the THESSALIANS in the famous night-time battle, when they covered themselves in chalk and terrified their opponents (8.27). In the ARCHAIC AGE the sanctuary rivaled DELPHI. The Phocians dedicated statue groups both at Abae and Delphi to commemorate their victory over the Thessalians, and the oracle at Abae was one of the six Greek ORACLES tested by CROESUS (1.46.2).

Excavations by the German Archaeological Institute at Kalapodi have brought to light a sanctuary continuously used for cult purposes as far back as the Middle Helladic period (c. 2100–1600 BCE). The excavator, Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (2010), has proposed that the sanctuary at Kalapodi should be identified as Herodotus' Abae. The identification is supported by the extraordinary number of WEAPONS found in the excavations, including over 2,000 shields (Felsch 2007). The sanctuary was destroyed by the Persians as they advanced through central Greece in 480 BCE (8.33).

SEE ALSO: Dedications; Temples and Sanctuaries; Warfare

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ABANTES (Ἄβαντες, οἱ)

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A people from EUBOEA who, Herodotus asserts (1.146.1), formed "not the least part" of the IONIANS inhabiting the twelve CITIES in Asia Minor which claimed exclusive membership in the PANIONION. HOMER uses "Abantis" for

Euboea and credits the people with bringing forty ships to fight the Trojans (*Il.* 2.536–45). Here and elsewhere, the Abantes are known as fierce hand-to-hand warriors with a unique hairstyle (Plut. *Thes.* 5.2–3), and their eponymous ancestor Abas has a place in the mythical Argive GENEALOGY (Mitchell 2001, 345–48). Nevertheless, the Greekness of the Abantes had apparently come into question by the fifth century BCE: this is implied by Herodotus, who criticizes Ionian claims to purity, and in a fragment of his contemporary Ion of Chios (*BNJ* 392 F1 = Paus. 7.4.9); later, Aristotle of Chalcis gave the Abantes a Thracian origin, via ABAB in PHOCIS (*BNJ* 423 F3 = Strabo 10.1.3/C445).

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity; Migration; Myth; Pelasgians

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ABARIS (Ἀβάρης, ὁ)

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Hyperborean shaman, sometimes described as a prophet, healer, and magician (e.g., Pl. *Chrm.* 158b; Iambl. *VP* 91). PINDAR (F270 S-M) makes Abaris a contemporary of CROESUS. He is also supposed to have been a pupil of Pythagoras (Iambl. *VP* 90–93), to whom he gave the arrow of APOLLO, upon which he had flown to Greece. This same legend is alluded to by Herodotus, who, in his brief discussion of HYPERBOREANS, says he will not tell the story of Abaris having carried the arrow over the whole world without needing nutrition (4.36.1).

SEE ALSO: Geography; Maps; Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus

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ABDERA (Ἀβδηρα, τὰ)

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Abdera was an important city with a fertile plain on the Aegean coast of THRACE, just east of the mouth of the NESTUS RIVER (*BA* 51 D3). Known for its produce and fishing, Abdera dominated one of the best overland routes from the AEGEAN SEA to the ISTER (Danube) River and EUXINE (Black) Sea. Abdera was colonized primarily by the Ionian city TEOS in the mid-sixth century BCE, after an earlier settlement of the site by CLAZOMENAE (1.168). Thereafter, Abdera was a center of Greco-Thracian relations (cf. 7.137.3), and much of the population seems to have been a mixture of Greeks and Thracians who followed many Thracian practices, including the worship of DIONYSUS.

Abdera may have served as a naval base for Persian operations under DARIUS I in the 490s (6.46–48). During XERXES' invasion of Greece in 480, Abdera enthusiastically supported the Persians. On its way to Greece, Xerxes' army was provisioned from Abdera, which prompted one Abderite (MEGACREON) to quip that if Xerxes' forces had needed two meals from the city, the residents would have been better off fleeing than being crushed by the expense (7.120). Upon Xerxes' retreat after the Battle of SALAMIS, Abdera was so welcoming to the king that he declared a pact of FRIENDSHIP with the city and presented the residents with a GOLD sword (*akinakēs*) and gold TIARA. Herodotus also reports, though does not believe, the Abderite claim that their city was the first place Xerxes felt safe enough to undo his belt (8.120). This story is remarkable because it shows no sign that Abdera was later ashamed of its association with PERSIA.

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Medize; Nymphodorus; Persian Wars; Sources for Herodotus; Timesius

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ABDUCTION, *see* RAPE; WOMEN IN THE HISTORIES

ABROCOMES (Ἀβροκόμης, ὁ)

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Abrocomes (7.244.2) was one of the two sons of DARIUS I by his niece-wife PHRATAGUNE. He was thus one of Artanes' two grandsons—both of whom died at THERMOPYLAE in 480 BCE along with their grandfather.

SEE ALSO: Artanes son of Hystaspes

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ABRONICHUS (Ἀβρωνίχος, ὁ)

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Athenian, son of LYSICLES, of the DEME Lamprae, assigned to bring news of the fate of LEONIDAS and the Greek army at THERMOPYLAE to the fleet at ARTEMISIUM in 480 BCE. Abronichus' arrival there after the naval battle had been fought convinced the fleet to withdraw (8.21). After the war, Abronichus (perhaps more correctly spelled Habronichus)

served as an ambassador to SPARTA in conjunction with THEMISTOCLES' ruse to rebuild Athens' WALLS despite Spartan reluctance to allow it (Thuc. 1.91.3). Abronichus' name appears on a number of ostraca from the 480s (Lang 1990, 47 nos. 124–27; *see* DEMOCRACY). The fictional letters ascribed to Themistocles allude (4.24, after emendation) to a proposed MARRIAGE between Abronichus' son, named Lysicles, and Themistocles' daughter Sybaris (cf. Plut. *Them.* 32).

SEE ALSO: Athens; Messengers; Polyas; Sybaris

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ABYDOS (Ἀβυδος, ἡ)

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A Greek *POLIS* at the narrowest point of the HELLESPONT on the Asian shore opposite SESTOS, near modern Çanakkale. Abydos was a natural crossing point between EUROPE and ASIA (7.33–36; Strabo 13.1.22/C591). The city had an excellent HARBOR (now Nagara Limanı) protected from the main current of the straits by Cape Nagara, and a fertile territory (Polyb. 16.29) extending to DARDANUS on the southwest (Hdt. 7.43.2). Abydos also possessed GOLD mines, though these were exhausted by the first century BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.37; Callisthenes *BNJ* 124 F54; Strabo 14.5.28/C680).

Abydos was founded by MILETUS (Thuc. 8.61.1) in the first half of the seventh century with the permission of the Lydian king GYGES

(Strabo 13.1.22/C590). The city came under Persian rule after the fall of LYDIA c. 545 BCE. When the Persian king DARIUS I invaded SCYTHIA (c. 513), DAPHNIS, the tyrant of Abydos, and several other Hellespontine TYRANTS installed or supported by the Persians were ordered to sail to the mouth of the ISTER (Danube) and were assigned to guard the bridge over the river (Hdt. 4.138.1). When news of the Persian failure in Scythia reached the Hellespontine region, Abydos and several Greek *poleis* threw off Persian rule. Darius returned to Asia via the Hellespont (4.143.1; 5.11.1) and punished Abydos (Strabo 13.1.22/C591). The city joined the IONIAN REVOLT in 499 but was captured by the Persian general DAURISES in 496 (Hdt. 5.117).

XERXES assembled his army and navy at Abydos to cross the Hellespont in 480. Sitting on a throne of white marble made by the people of Abydos, Xerxes surveyed his army “that filled the coast and the plains of Abydos” (7.44–45). Xerxes built two pontoon BRIDGES between Abydos and Sestos (7.33–36) and crossed to Europe. The citizens of Abydos did not join the expedition and remained at home to guard the bridges (7.95.2). After the defeat of the Persian navy at SALAMIS, Xerxes and his army were ferried to Abydos since the bridges had been damaged by a storm (8.117, 130). Following the Greek victory at MYCALE in 479, Abydos was captured by the Greek ALLIES who were anxious to secure the crossing point and the bridges (9.114).

After the PERSIAN WARS, the city joined the DELIAN LEAGUE but revolted against ATHENS and became a Spartan ally in 411 (Thuc. 8.62). By the King’s Peace in 386 Abydos returned to Persian rule, which ended after the Macedonian king Alexander III’s victory at Granicus in 334. Although badly damaged by the siege of Philip V of Macedon in 200 BCE (Polyb. 16.31–34), Abydos prospered in the Roman and Byzantine periods as it served as an important customs station on the Hellespont (Leaf 1923, 130–31).

SEE ALSO: Chersonese (Hellespontine); Viewing

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Müller II, 757–60.

ACANTHUS (Ἀκανθος, ὁ)

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City near the narrowest point of the ATHOS (Acte) peninsula of Chalcidice (BA 51 B4). Acanthus was a seventh-century BCE colony of ANDROS and quickly developed into an important city in the northern AEGEAN region (Tiverios 2008, 52–60).

After subjecting THASOS and MACEDONIA with a large force in 492, the Persian general MARDONIUS briefly rested at Acanthus. Setting out from here, his fleet lost 300 ships in a storm while rounding Mt. Athos (6.43–44). When XERXES launched his expedition against Greece a decade later, recalling Mardonius’ DISASTER, he appointed two Persians, BUBARES and ARTACHAEES, to oversee the digging of a CANAL near Acanthus (7.22–23). Upon his arrival at Acanthus in 480, Xerxes declared the inhabitants his guest-friends and provided them with gifts of Median clothing, praising them for their work on the canal (7.116). Artachaees died during this visit, much to Xerxes’ dismay, and Herodotus reports that the Acanthians in his day still offered the canal-overseer cult honors (7.117). After the PERSIAN WARS, Acanthus became a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE, loyal to ATHENS until 424 BCE (Thuc. 4.84–88).

SEE ALSO: Chalcidians in Thrace; Dress; Guest-friendship; Heroes and Hero Cult

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ACARNANIA (Ἀκαρνανίη, ἡ)

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A northwestern region of the Greek mainland, located along the IONIAN GULF (BA 54 D4). In the *Histories*, Acarnania is noteworthy for its river, the ACHELOUS, as an origin of seers, and for the presence of LIONS. In Book 2, while describing the land of EGYPT as largely the product of the NILE's extensive alluvial deposits, Herodotus compares this natural effect to the silting up of the Achelous River in Acarnania. As Herodotus reports, though a smaller river than the great Nile, the Achelous has nevertheless caused already half of the ECHINADES ISLANDS to connect to the Greek mainland through its own alluvial deposits (2.10.3). Herodotus' account of the Achelous is noteworthy for attending solely to this topographic phenomenon while eschewing any reference to the popular mythographic tradition concerning Acarnania and the Achelous. By contrast, THUCYDIDES does include a version of this MYTH in his own description of Acarnania (2.102.5–6; see also Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.5; Paus. 8.24.8–9). The *Histories* suggests that an association obtained between Acarnania and seers, an association also found in other sources. Herodotus identifies both the *chrēsmologos* ("oracle-monger") AMPHILYTUS (1.62) and the Spartans' seer at

THERMOPYLAE, MEGISTIAS (7.221), as Acarnanian. According to Pausanias (9.31.5), the BOEOTIANS assert that the Acarnanians taught HESIOD seercraft. The founder of Acarnania, Alcmaeon, was the son of the seer AMPHIARAUS (e.g., Hom. *Od.* 15.244–48). Herodotus also briefly describes the Achelous in Acarnania as the westernmost boundary of the territory inhabited by lions (7.126).

SEE ALSO: Analogy; Geology; Divination; Rivers

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ACERATUS (Ἀκήρατος, ὁ)

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Aceratus, a priest (*prophētēs*) of the ORACLE of APOLLO, remained in DELPHI when the Persians approached in 480 BCE and saw that the sacred arms, forbidden for men to touch, had been taken from the shrine and lay outside the temple of ATHENA Pronaea. He interpreted this as a portent (*teras*) and reported it to the remaining Delphians as the Persians advanced; the Persians fled after encountering further portents (8.37). Aceratus' name is rare and, appropriately for his position, means "pure" (Bowie 2007, 128). He is otherwise unattested.

SEE ALSO: Gods and the Divine; Priests and Priestesses; Prophecy; Temples and Sanctuaries

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ACES RIVER (ὁ Ἄκης ποταμός)

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A Central Asian river dismissed by some as imaginary but variously identified by others as either the Amu Darya (ancient Oxus, BA 6 B2), a major waterway which rises in the Pamirs and empties into the Aral Sea (although the river's course may well have altered since antiquity, it being equally possible that it once drained into the CASPIAN SEA), or the Atrak river (Ochus, BA 96 C2) which divides northern Iran from Turkmenistan and drains into the Caspian (for the Ochus, cf. Apollodorus *BNJ* 779 F4 = Strabo 11.7.3/C509; Strabo 11.11.5/C518). While the development, maintenance, and regulation of irrigation systems designed to boost agricultural output had long been seen as characteristically "royal" activities by Ancient Near Eastern monarchs, Herodotus' somewhat fantastical account (3.117) of hydraulic works undertaken by the Persian king in order to extort MONEY from tribes inhabiting the lands adjacent to its five branches is clearly designed to illustrate the transgressive and oppressive nature of Persian royal power—and perhaps DARIUS I's fiscal innovations in particular—rather than providing an accurate account of local hydro-politics. The pairing of five tribes (CHORASMIANS, HYRCANIANS, PARTHIANS, SARANGAE, THAMANAEEANS) with five tributaries is highly suspicious (cf. 7.129.1 on Thessalian RIVERS), since the number five is recognized to be one of Herodotus' "typical" NUMBERS. Qanat irrigation systems dating from the ACHAEMENID era were, however, known to ancient authors (e.g., Polyb. 10.28.1–4) on the foothills of the Elburz Mountains.

SEE ALSO: Agriculture; Engineering; Geography; Monarchy

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ACHAEANS (Ἀχαιοί, οἱ), Peloponnesian

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The Achaeans occupied the northwestern coast of PELOPONNESE, between the Gulf of Corinth, ELIS, ARCADIA, and SICYON (BA 58 A–D 1–2). Achaea was not a homogenous geographical unit: several mountains (Panachaikon, Erymanthos, Aroania, Kyllini) are located inside the territory, while the main CITIES were settled on coastal plains.

Herodotus (8.73) attests that the Achaeans constitute one of the seven nations (*ethnea*) of the Peloponnese. According to legendary traditions, they were firstly located in the Argolid and LACONIA, but were driven out by the DORIANS and migrated to the northwest Peloponnese, expelling in turn the IONIANS who previously occupied the land (7.94; Paus. 7.1.5–9, 7.24.5). This was the starting point of Ionian MIGRATION to Asia Minor. These traditions are difficult to verify by means of material evidence (Rizakis 1995, 21–22, 111–12, 151–52).

For the occupation of the territory, Herodotus also reports that the Achaeans imitated the previous Ionian organization in twelve geographical units (1.145; cf. Paus. 7.6.1). These districts (*merē*) were located around the following settlements: PELLENE, AEGEIRA, AEGAE, BURA, HELICE, AEGIUM, RHYPES, PATRAE, PHARAE, OLENUS, DYME, TRITAEA. Most of these centers evolved into cities (*poleis*), but the emergence of the *POLIS* in Achaea seems not to antedate the

fifth century (Morgan and Hall 1996, 193). At the end of that century, Achaea was organized into a confederation, the Achaean League, which played a role on the international political and military stage until the Roman conquest of Greece in 146 BCE (Polyb. 2.38–44; cf. Rizakis 2015).

The Achaeans participated in the COLONIZATION movement: in the last quarter of eighth century BCE, they founded the cities of SYBARIS and CROTON (8.47) in southern ITALY (Morgan and Hall 1996, 199–215). There is no mention of Achaean participation in the PERSIAN WARS.

SEE ALSO: Achaeans of Phthiotis; Ethnicity; Hypachaeans

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ACHAEANS OF PHTHIOTIS (Ἀχαιοί οἱ Φθιώται)

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A people from the region of PHTHIOTIS in central Greece, between THESSALY and the MALIAN GULF, north of the SPERCHEIUS

RIVER (BA 55 D2). Their land lay on the route taken by XERXES' invasion force in 480 BCE. Herodotus lists these Achaeans among the Greeks who gave EARTH AND WATER in submission to the king while the Persians were in northern Greece (7.132.1), and their troops fight on the Persian side at THERMOPYLAE (7.185.2). In the Greeks' first attempt to make a stand at TEMPE in Thessaly, they use HALUS in Achaea Phthiotis as their port, before retreating to Thermopylae (7.173). When Xerxes reaches Halus, Herodotus pauses the narrative to relate a "local legend" (*epikhōrios logos*) concerning a temple of ZEUS Laphystius ("Devourer") and the descendants of PHRIXUS (7.197).

Homer uses "Achaeans" as one of his terms (along with Argives and Danaans) for the Greeks as a whole, but the name was also associated with Achilles' kingdom of Phthia and those who followed him (*Il.* 2.684). At some point in the ARCHAIC AGE, the northern part of the PELOPONNESE came to be called Achaea (cf. Hdt. 1.145), and this latter region maintained priority with regard to the name. When the Romans annexed Greece after their conquest in 146 BCE, they named the province Achaea.

The Achaeans of Phthiotis (or simply *Phthiōtai*) are included by several sources as original members of the Delphic Amphictyony (Hall 2002, 134–54).

SEE ALSO: Achaeans (Peloponnese); Amphictyones; Athamas; Cytissorus; Ethnicity; Medize

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ACHAEMENES father of Teispes, see
ACHAEMENIDS

ACHAEMENES (Ἀχαιμένης, ὁ) son of Darius

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Son of DARIUS I and ATOSSA, daughter of CYRUS (II). Homonym of the eponymous founder of the ACHAEMENIDS, Achaemenes' name has been traditionally interpreted as "having a friend's mind," but more probably means "characterized by a follower's spirit" (Schmitt, *IPGL* 150–51). In 484 BCE, after the suppression of the Egyptian revolt which started in 486, Achaemenes was appointed satrap of EGYPT by his brother XERXES (7.7), and in 480 he commanded the Egyptian fleet during the Persian expedition against Greece (7.97; cf. 7.236.1). When the news of Xerxes' death (465) and of the ensuing political struggle reached Egypt, and while Achaemenes was away from his satrapy, a new REBELLION broke out, led by the Libyan INAROS. Achaemenes died in Egypt c. 459/8, defeated by the Egyptian rebels in the Battle of PAPREMIS (Hdt. 3.12.4; Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F14.36–39, where the name is "Achaemenides"; cf. also Diod. Sic. 11.74).

SEE ALSO: Artaxerxes; Persia; Satrapies

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ACHAEMENIDS (Ἀχαιμενίδαι, οἱ)

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Herodotus uses the term Achaemenids (Ἀχαιμενίδαι) as designation of an extended FAMILY or clan but not as a characterization of a ruling family or "dynasty" (Briant 1984, 123;

Vannicelli 2012). He leaves no doubt that DARIUS I and his family are members of this clan, but there is no distinct relation between the Achaemenids and "royal lineage." The relationship of CYRUS (II) and his son CAMBYSES (II) to this clan remains ambiguous, although Herodotus gives some hints that such a relationship was thought (or claimed) to have existed.

In his excursus on the Persian *genea* (here meaning "tribes"), Herodotus mentions the Achaemenids for the first time, introducing them as a φρήτηρ (*phrêtrê*, "clan") of the PASARGADAE, the noblest Persian *genos*. The Persian kings are members of this clan, but they are further distinguished as Perseids (Περσεῖδαι, 1.125.3). This statement is not directly connected to the person of Cyrus himself and provides, at best, only a vague connection between him and the Achaemenids. This is also true for Cambyses who, after he heard that the "false" SMERDIS had usurped the Persian throne and with DEATH imminent, charges all Persians, but chiefly the attendant Achaemenids, to prevent the sovereignty from falling again into the hands of the MEDES (3.65.6). Darius (and by extension his son XERXES) is referred to as a member of this clan when his father Hystaspes is explicitly designated as an "Achaemenid man" (1.209.2). The tripartite GENEALOGY, as given by Herodotus (Darius–Hystaspes–Arsames = Achaemenids) mirrors the "short" genealogy given by Darius himself in his BISITUN inscription (DB §1). Darius does not appear as a relative of Cyrus but as a threat, since a DREAM reveals to the Great King that the eldest son of Hystaspes will someday become his successor. In fact, no ruling king in the *Histories* is directly characterized as an Achaemenid. Instead we find a number of "Achaemenid" relatives of Darius and Xerxes, most of whom occupy high-ranking positions during the wars against the Greek states: MEGABATES, cousin to Darius (5.32), TIGRANES (7.62.1), ARTACHAEES (7.117.1); only SATASPES' position, if any, is unknown (4.43). Whether this relative frequency is due to the fact that Achaemenes, Xerxes' brother and satrap of EGYPT, perished during the Athenian-backed revolt of the Libyan INAROS (7.7), remains an interesting speculation.

Although it is clear that Darius and Xerxes belong to the Achaemenid clan, this is less evident for Cyrus and Cambyses. When Cambyses' officer PREXASPES reveals Cyrus' male lineage, he gives an abbreviated version, consisting only of a beginning (Achaemenes) and an end (Cyrus) with no intermediate members (3.75.1). However, one may take this neither as proof that Cyrus was an Achaemenid nor that Herodotus believed him to be one. Rather it is evidence for the existence of a tradition that speculated about the relationship between Darius and Cyrus (Rollinger 1998, 183–84). Moreover, Herodotus can be seen as consistently questioning the trustworthiness of Prexaspes (3.35.1, 63.1, 75.2), who is even once explicitly presented as a liar (3.67.1). This critical distance is also apparent when Cambyses' mother CASSANDANE is qualified as daughter of PHARNASPES, “an Achaemenid man” (3.2.2). The passage is part of a larger discourse (3.2–3) where Herodotus, by referring to alternative stories, casts serious doubt on Cambyses' descent from (Achaemenid) Cassandane. This has convincingly been explained as critical distance towards Darius' genealogical manipulations (Irwin 2017).

Finally, there is the famous lineage presented by Xerxes in a confrontation with his uncle ARTABANUS: Darius, HYSTAPES, ARSAMES, ARIARAMNES, TEISPES, CYRUS (I), CAMBYSES (I), Teispes, Achaemenes (7.11). Although we, as well as Herodotus' readers, can only speculate about the identities of this elder Cyrus and Cambyses, one might see them as referring to the preceding Great Kings, or at least one of them, and thus as testimony for their connection to the Achaemenids (Jacobs 2011, 653–57). This list betrays some striking parallels to the Achaemenid lineage as presented by Darius himself at Bisitun (Rollinger 1998, 189–99): Darius and Xerxes are “Achaemenids,” and Darius is the ninth member of a distinct line of descent. But a relationship towards Cyrus and Cambyses is only suggested vaguely.

SEE ALSO: Achaemenes son of Darius; Perses; Persia

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ACHAEUS (Ἀχαιός, ὁ)

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Mythical, patronymic, father of PHTHIUS and grandfather of ARCHANDER (2.98.2). Achaeus is the eponymous ancestor of the Achaeans (cf. *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.7.3; Paus. 7.1; Strabo 8.7.1/C383), one branch of the Greek ethnic tree, probably invented during the ARCHAIC AGE when the Hellenic GENEALOGIES developed. Earlier, HOMER had used “Achaeans” as one of his names (along with Argives and Danaans) for the Greeks as a whole.

SEE ALSO: Achaeans (Peloponnesian); Achaeans of Phthiotis; Ethnicity

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ACHELOUS RIVER (ὁ Ἀχελῷος ποταμός)

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The Achelous is the second-longest (c. 220 km) river with the largest amount of water in present-day Greece. Its source lies at an elevation of about 2,000 meters on the eastern slope of the Lakmos (also called Peristeri) mountain in the PINDUS mountain range south of Metsovo. North of Agrinion the river pours forth from the mountains into a wide plain. In the course of time this plain was broadened considerably by the masses of alluvial debris carried along by the river, and the estuary area moved forward into the IONIAN GULF, creating an alluvial plain (Paracheliotis: BA 54 D5) encompassing some parts of the group of ISLANDS known as the ECHINADES (2.10.3). While Herodotus attributed the Achelous to ACARNANIA (2.10.3; 7.126; cf. Strabo 8.2.3/C335), the river later formed the (disputed) border between the Aetolian and Acarnanian Leagues (Funke 1991, 181–82). The Achelous was in classical times considered the southwestern boundary of the distribution area of LIONS in Greece (7.126; Steier 1926, 969–71).

SEE ALSO: Aetolia; Change; Rivers

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ACHERON RIVER (ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμός)

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A river in northwestern Greece, flowing through Thesprotia to the IONIAN GULF (BA 54 C3; Müller I, 889–92). Herodotus uses Acheron and the THESPROTIANS to mark the northern and western edge of HELLAS in his list of the Greek forces at SALAMIS (8.47; Thuc. 1.46.4). The Acheron plunged through a deep gorge, which may explain its association with HADES and death ORACLES. This oracular tradition (e.g., Odysseus, Hom. *Od.* 10.513) is reflected in the story told by SOCLES of CORINTH, as to how PERIANDER asks the Thesprotians at the Acheron to contact his dead wife MELISSA (Hdt. 5.92.η.2).

SEE ALSO: Geography; Rivers

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ACHILLEIUM (Ἀχιλλῆιον πόλις)

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A small settlement in the Troad, northwestern Anatolia, built around the tomb of the hero Achilles (BA 56 C2). Herodotus writes that the Mytilenians made attacks from Achilleium against the Athenians under HEGESISTRATUS, whose father PEISISTRATUS had installed him as TYRANT of SIGEIIUM (5.94.2: the CHRONOLOGY does not work, however). Scholars identify Achilleium with the site of Beşika Burnu, where remains of FORTIFICATIONS from the sixth century BCE are found (Cook 1973, 186–88). Later authors disputed whether those WALLS had been constructed with stones from the ruins of TROY (Strabo 13.1.39/C600).

SEE ALSO: Alcaeus (poet); Mytilene; Trojan War

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ACHILLES' RACECOURSE (ὁ Ἀχιλλήϊος δρόμος)

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A narrow strip of sandy land stretching along the EUXINE coast of SCYTHIA (BA 23 E–F2), today the Tendra (on the west) and Dzharylgachsky (on the east) peninsulas in Ukraine, between Odessa and the Crimea. Herodotus mentions Achilles' Racecourse twice as a geographical marker, lying near HYLAEA (4.55, 76.4). Achilles received cult worship at numerous sites across the north Pontic region from the earliest days of Greek COLONIZATION, although the evidence for such activity on Tendra dates to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Tunkina 2006).

SEE ALSO: Anacharsis; Heroes and Hero Cult; Hypacyrus

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ACRAEPHIA (Ἀκραίφια πόλις)

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A city in northern BOEOTIA (BA 55 E4; Müller I, 450–51), modern Kardhitsa/Akraiphnion. Herodotus mentions Acraephia once, while

describing the location of the sanctuary of Ptoian APOLLO, situating it next to an unnamed mountain above Lake COPAIS (8.135.1; cf. Paus. 9.23.5 and Strabo 9.2.34/C413, who refer to Mt. Ptoion). Pausanias says that the city originally lay in Theban territory (9.23.5), which coheres with Herodotus' note that the sanctuary belonged to the THEBANS.

SEE ALSO: Ptoion; Temples and Sanctuaries

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ACRAGAS, *see* AGRIGENTUM

ACRISIUS (Ἀκρίσιος, ὁ)

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Legendary king of ARGOS and father of DANAË (6.53.2). In Greek mythology, Acrisius received an ORACLE that his grandson would kill him. He imprisoned his daughter, but ZEUS visited her as a golden shower and PERSEUS was born. After Perseus had come of age and killed the Gorgons, he sought out his grandfather and found him at LARISSA in THESSALY. Acrisius died when he was struck by a discus throw from Perseus (apparently unintentionally) during an athletic competition (Pherecydes *BNJ* 3 FF 10–12; Gantz, *EGM* 299–303).

In his discussion of the Spartan kingship, Herodotus reports that the Greeks trace that lineage back to Perseus. He then emphasizes that the ancestors of Perseus, through Danaë and Acrisius, were Egyptians, according to both the Greeks and the Persians (6.53–54). Herodotus' tone, however, might be taken to indicate that he swims against the tide here (see Scott 2005, 227–30).

SEE ALSO: Egypt; Myth; Source Citations; Sparta

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ACROPOLIS (ἀκρόπολις, ἥ)

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An acropolis (“citadel,” literally “upper city”) is a hill within or near a city that contains its most important sanctuaries and can be used as a fortress. Normally, those in charge of the acropolis rule the city. In the Greek Bronze Age the acropolis was the place where the king built his palace, and it was sometimes fortified with immense, so-called “Cyclopean,” WALLS. In the archaic and classical eras, the acropolis lost its residential function. It was used for religious and ceremonial purposes and often contained the sanctuary of the city’s patron god or goddess, such as ATHENA Polias, the “protector of the city,” in the case of ATHENS.

There are five CITIES in the *Histories* whose citadels function as settings in the narrative. The Lydian capital SARDIS has an almost impregnable citadel (nowadays called the Boz Dağ mountain). Only the Persians succeed in capturing it by climbing along its steepest side, which the Lydians have left unguarded (1.84). In XANTHUS, the citizens set FIRE to their citadel with their wives, CHILDREN, slaves, and possessions when besieged by the Persians (1.176.1). The acropolis of SUSA is the scene of the revolt against the MAGI, in which Cambyse’s former officer PREXASPES throws himself from the walls (3.74–75), while the seven conspirators gain access by way of a ruse (3.77). The acropolis of SAMOS (the modern-day Kastro with the Logothetis fortress in Pythagorion) is used by MAEANDRIUS (II) in his failed attempt to secure his rule after POLYCRATES’ death (3.142–47). He escapes via a hidden tunnel (3.146.2) that appears to be unrelated to the more famous water tunnel of EUPALINUS (3.60.1–3).

The Athenian acropolis is most frequently mentioned in the *Histories*. Herodotus pays attention to topographical detail, referring to its “Pelasgian” (i.e., Bronze Age) walls (6.137.2), its older wooden fence (7.142.1), and its layout prior to Persian destruction in 480 BCE (8.53). He also mentions the shrine of PAN on the North Slope (6.105.3). In referring to the DEDICATIONS from the war against the BOEOTIANS and CHALCIS, he observes the damage caused by Persian fire (5.77.3) and quotes an extant epigram (5.77.4). The Acropolis is seized twice by PEISISTRATUS (1.59.6; 60.4) and later, during the conflict between CLEISTHENES SON OF MEGACLES and ISAGORAS, by the Spartan king CLEOMENES (5.72.2), who leaves after receiving a stern warning from Athena’s PRIESTESS (5.72.2–4). The story of the Persian capture of the acropolis resembles that of Sardis, in that the Persians successfully gain access by climbing its steepest part, along the sanctuary of AGLAURUS on the east side (8.53.1). Like the Aglaurids in mythical times, some of the defenders throw themselves from the walls when they notice that the Persians have entered (8.53.2; see Bowie 2007, 140). Although the Athenians call their Acropolis “polis” (cf. Thuc. 2.13.5–6 and testimony in epigraphical documents), Herodotus uses *POLIS* (πόλις), next to *astu* and *polisma*, only to refer to a city as a whole. The acropolis of Susa is also indicated as “fortress” (*pyrgos*, 3.74.3, 75.1 and 3), and the acropolis of TROY is poetically identified as the “Pergamon of PRIAM” (7.43.2).

SEE ALSO: Agora; Fortifications; Pelargikon; Siege Warfare; Temples and Sanctuaries

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ACROTHOON (Ἀκρόθων, τό)

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City at the southern end of the ATHOS (or Acte) peninsula in northern Greece (BA 51 C4). Herodotus lists Acrothoon (later authors write *Acrothooi*) as one of the CITIES whose inhabitants XERXES “set out to make islanders instead of mainlanders” when he ordered the construction of the Athos CANAL c. 483 BCE (7.22.3). The other cities are CLEONAE, DIUM, OLOPHYXUS, and THYSSUS. This same group appears in THUCYDIDES—who also mentions “the King’s canal”—in his account of the Spartan general Brasidas’ campaign in the region in 424/3 (4.109.2–4). Thucydides says their inhabitants were “bilingual BARBARIANS,” and STRABO (7 F15a Radt) attributes their settlement to PELASGIANS from LEMNOS. Acrothoon was presumably a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE, though its name does not appear in the Tribute Lists themselves.

SEE ALSO: Athenian Empire; Sane

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ADEIMANTUS (Ἀδείμαντος, ὁ)

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Adeimantus (“dauntless”) was the commander of the Corinthian naval contingent in 480 BCE, the largest one after that of ATHENS. Presented in the

Histories as the bitter enemy of THEMISTOCLES (8.59, 61), Adeimantus has to be bribed to remain at ARTEMISIUM (8.5). Moreover, according to the Athenians, at the beginning of the Battle of SALAMIS Adeimantus fled in panic followed by his ships and only returned, after being stopped by a (divine?) vessel, when the fighting was over (8.94). Herodotus rejects this version, adding that “the rest of Greece” gives EVIDENCE in favor of the Corinthians’ claim to have been among the foremost fighters at Salamis. Modern scholars have tried to find a kernel of TRUTH in the Athenian story (a common hypothesis is that the Corinthian contingent was sent west to confront the Egyptian squadron), which should probably be considered as slander circulating in Athens towards the beginning of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431 BCE). An additional reason for Athenian hostility towards Adeimantus may have been the role played by his son ARISTEAS in the revolt of POTEIDEIA around that time. PLUTARCH’s virulent reaction against Herodotus’ narrative concerning Adeimantus includes an epitaph for the Corinthians who died at Salamis and were buried on the island by Athenian concession—a fragment of which survives on stone (ML 24)—and an epigram specifically in honor of Adeimantus (Plut. *Mor.* 870e–871a/DHM 39). Favorinus attributes both to SIMONIDES ([Dio Chrys.] *Or.* 37.18–19).

SEE ALSO: Athens and Herodotus; Bribery; Corinth; Date of Composition; Ocytus; Source Citations

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ADICRAN (Ἀδικράν, ὁ)

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Libyan king who attempted, in vain, to oppose the second wave of Greek COLONIZATION at CYRENE, in the first quarter of the sixth century

BCE. Very little is known about Adicran, but it is likely that he was the leader of the ASBYSTAE who inhabited the region near Cyrene. But the desire of BATTUS II (ruled from c. 583 until after 570) to develop the colony went against the territorial interests of his native neighbors. Adicran called on the Egyptian pharaoh APRIES for assistance, but the Egyptian army suffered a heavy defeat at IRASA (c. 570). Herodotus does not report what happened to Adicran after this defeat, which led to a change of ruler in EGYPT (4.159).

SEE ALSO: Amasis (king of Egypt); Libya

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 Corcella in ALC, 687.

ADAMYTTIUM (Ἀδραμύττειον πόλις)

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A city in Asia Minor, near the head of the gulf of the same name (BA 56 D2; Müller II, 764–66). Some MANUSCRIPTS have *At-* instead of *Adramyttium* (see Threatte 1980, 557). Herodotus mentions Adramyttium as XERXES' invasion force marches through in 480 BCE (7.42.1). It was the most important city of the plain of Thebe (cf. Strabo 13.1.61–66/C612–14); at some point in the Roman era (perhaps the second century CE) it was refounded farther north and inland, on the former site of the town named Thebe, which is where modern Edremit sits.

SEE ALSO: Antandrus; Mysia; Thebe (2)

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ADRASTUS (Ἄδρηστος, ὁ) son of Gordias

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Adrastus' appearance in Herodotus' *Histories* is brief and tragic. A member of the Phrygian royal house (son of GORDIAS and grandson of MIDAS), he arrives at SARDIS in disgrace (1.35), exiled from his native land for the unintentional MURDER of his brother, and is ritually purified by CROESUS and hosted at the Lydian court. After a DREAM foretells the death of Croesus' son ATYS, Croesus appoints Adrastus as Atys' protector during a trip to kill a monstrous boar (see PIGS). At the critical moment Adrastus misthrows his spear and accidentally kills his ward. Returning to Sardis in chains, Adrastus offers himself up to Croesus for execution; Croesus, in pity, opines that the ultimate responsibility for Atys' DEATH lay with "one of the gods" (words redolent of Homer's PRIAM, *Il.* 3.164) and lets him live. Nevertheless, the distraught Adrastus slaughters himself on Atys' tomb, "recognizing that he was the most ill-fated (βαρυσυμφορώτατος) of all the people he knew" (1.45.3). The episode is written in Herodotus' most emotive and paratactic style, and many similarities with TRAGEDY have been observed (see Chiasson 2003). Adrastus, strongly associated with the word συμφορή (chance/DISASTER), seems to embody the truth of SOLON's maxim that "man is entirely συμφορή" (1.32.4). The details of the story are not related in other sources (though the death of Croesus' healthy son is mentioned by XENOPHON, *Cyr.* 7.2.20).

Adrastus, like Atys, has a "speaking-name": in Greek ἄδραστος can be understood as "inescapable" or "unable-to-escape," and the epithet Ἀδράσθεια was connected with *Nemesis* at least as early as Antimachus c. 400 BCE (F53 Wyss = Strabo 13.1.13/C588). That the association predates Antimachus is suggested by the fact that

Herodotus' Adrastus acts as the unwitting agent of "great *nemesis* from god" (1.34; so Munn 2006, 333–36), and the story may be connected to a foundation MYTH for the cult of Nemesis Adrasteia. The cult of the goddess Adrasteia was, in any case, established in ATHENS by 429/8. Remarkably, the name Ἀδραστος seems to have independent origins in Greek—the hero Ἀδρηστος of SICYON is known to HOMER (*Il.* 2.572) and Herodotus (5.67), and the name is amply attested in the *LGN* with Mycenaean forebears—and in Lydian (perhaps explaining the several Trojan Adrastuses in the *Iliad*: 2.830, 6.37–65, 16.694). The name is not, however, commonly attested in PHRYGIA outside the LYDIA-Phrygia border region (van Bremen 2010, 446–50).

SEE ALSO: Adrastus son of Talaus; Fate; Gods and the Divine; Pollution; Prophecy; Suicide

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ADRASTUS (Ἀδρηστος, ὁ) son of Talaus

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Mythical, important figure in the Theban EPIC cycle. Although an Argive, Adrastus gained the kingship of SICYON (already in HOMER, *Il.* 2.572). Herodotus explains (5.67.4) that Adrastus' mother was the daughter of POLYBUS, the previous Sicyonian king; other sources help us fill in the gaps, notably Adrastus' quarrel with AMPHIARAUS, to whom he had given his sister Eriphyle in MARRIAGE (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9.30).

Two of Adrastus' daughters were married to TYDEUS and POLYNEICES. In some versions of the "Seven against THEBES" Adrastus leads the expedition, but he survives the fighting (e.g., Eur. *Supp.* 857–917).

Herodotus mentions a hero-shrine of Adrastus which still stood in the AGORA of Sicyon and tragic choruses which were held in his honor in previous times. However, the tyrant CLEISTHENES OF SICYON (early sixth century BCE) wished to banish Adrastus due to his Argive connections. When the PYTHIA at DELPHI rather bluntly denied his request, Cleisthenes cleverly introduced the cult of MELANIPPUS SON OF ASTACES to the council-house at Sicyon—Melanippus had killed Tydeus and Adrastus' brother MECISTEUS—and eliminated the SACRIFICES and FESTIVALS dedicated to Adrastus (5.67).

SEE ALSO: Aegialeus; Argos; Heroes and Hero Cult; Myth; Tyrants

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ADRIATIC SEA (ὁ Ἀδριῆς κόλπος)

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The Adriatic Sea, which today refers to the long, narrow gulf between the Italian and Balkan peninsulas, is a name whose geographical application varied much through time. In antiquity, it eventually included the area south of the Adriatic, between Greece and SICILY, often referred to as the IONIAN GULF. This large extension is likely the one the word already had in ATHENS in 325/4 BCE, when the Athenians sent a naval force in support of an *apoikia* "in the Adria," when this was under threat from the Latins (called TYRRHENIANS).

When Herodotus uses the term, he seems to have in mind the more restricted area of today's Adriatic Sea, especially its northern edge. "Adria(s)" is the country where the ENETI (Veneti) dwell (5.9.2) and whence goods coming from the HYPERBOREANS are sent southwards to DODONA (4.33). Some therefore think that *Adrias* (ὁ Ἀδρίας) would be the name of the northern Adriatic, the region around Atria, while the Ionian Gulf would refer to the southern Adriatic. But if so, it is a bit more difficult to understand the well-known passage where the Phocaeans are said to have uncovered "the Adriatic and Tyrrhenia and IBERIA and TARTESSUS" (1.163.1). The Adriatic is not on the route to the West, but the strait of Otranto is. The presence of the Phocaeans in the Adriatic Sea itself is a vexed question, and Herodotus probably meant that the Phocaeans, having sailed the Ionian Gulf, had uncovered the existence of the Adriatic Sea.

SEE ALSO: Phocaea; Sea; Ships and Sailing; Trade

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ADVISERS

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Herodotus' expansive account of prodigious achievements and momentous military ventures includes many occasions for the giving of advice. The individuals and communities who drive historical events interact with human advisers of all ages and stations, named and unnamed, self-seeking and disinterested, disreputable and high-minded, whose ideas range from clever practical suggestions, to insights into the laws of nature and human behavior, to broad tenets of traditional wisdom. Those same actors also receive advice from supernatural sources through ORACLES and prophecies. A prominent theme within this larger pattern involves powerful figures who receive wise, usually negative advice but fail to follow it—with disastrous consequences, often recognizing their

error after the event. The recurrent dynamic of resistance to advice and late learning is prefigured in HOMER's depiction of HECTOR and Poulydamas in the *Iliad* and is a concern that Herodotus conspicuously shares with the tragedians, with the result that the typical wise adviser of the *Histories* is sometimes labeled a "tragic warner." The definitive example of this type is SOLON in his programmatic encounter with CROESUS, in which Croesus is deaf to Solon's warnings about the instability of fortune (1.30–33). When Croesus loses his empire to CYRUS (II) and voices his belated understanding by calling out Solon's name on his funeral pyre, he saves his own life and himself takes on a new role as wise adviser to Cyrus and his son CAMBYSES (II) (1.85–89, 207; 3.36). Advisers may be recognized sages like Solon or BIAS OF PRIENE (1.27), experienced former rulers like Croesus or the deposed Spartan DEMARATUS (7.3, 101–4, 235), or well-wishing ALLIES and relatives such as AMASIS (3.40), ARTEMISIA (8.68–69), ARTABANUS (4.83; 7.10, 46–49, 51), or GORGO (5.51; 7.239). Good advice is often ignored because of blind hopes and overconfidence, as in the case of Croesus, but other factors also come into play: in the extended account of XERXES' decision to invade Greece (7.5–18), Artabanus' initially successful advice to abandon the plan is overcome by the relentless momentum of Persian expansion, even when its pitfalls are recognized, and by supernatural interference.

A number of Herodotus' wise advisers have affinities to the historian: the advice attributed to Solon reworks ideas found in Solon's POETRY in line with Herodotus' own views about ETHNOGRAPHY, East-West conflict, human-divine relations, and the limits of human KNOWLEDGE (Chiasson 2016); the Corinthian SOCLES provides an extended historical narrative in his attempt to dissuade the Peloponnesians from reinstating a TYRANT in ATHENS (5.92); Herodotus' predecessor HECATAEUS serves as an adviser on several occasions (5.36, 125); and the *Histories* ends with Cyrus giving the Persians good advice on the Herodotean theme of topography and national character (9.122). This suggests that Herodotus may have envisioned his own work as wise advice aimed at the Athenians with their expanding empire, as many scholars have argued. In any case, Herodotus certainly articulates not only the dismay and self-reproach of

those who have ignored good advice, but also the frustration of those who have good advice to give but cannot change the course of events. On the night before the Battle of PLATAEA, an unnamed Persian observes that he and many of his fellow warriors know they are doomed but are constrained by NECESSITY to follow their foolish leaders, whom it would be useless to warn, adding that “the most painful thing in human life is to understand many things but to lack effective power” (9.16.5).

SEE ALSO: Athens and Herodotus; Decision-making; Disaster; End of the *Histories*; Epic Poetry; Thersander of Orchomenus; Tragedy

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ADYRMACHIDAE (Ἀδυρμαχίδαι, οἱ)

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Nomadic Libyan (North African) tribe dwelling along the MEDITERRANEAN coast, in the western part of modern-day EGYPT (BA 73 D2). Herodotus states that the Adyrmachidae follow mostly Egyptian customs other than their Libyan DRESS, and he notes two other customs which make them unique among the Libyans: the women bite lice, and the king is allowed to sleep with a bride-to-be of his choosing (4.168).

SEE ALSO: Ethnography; Libya; *nomos*; Women in the *Histories*

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Corcella in ALC, 695–96.

AEA (Αἶα, ἡ)

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A city in COLCHIS, in Greek MYTH the home of MEDEA and location of the Golden Fleece, the object of the journey of the Argonauts (7.193.2). Its location is unknown (cf. BA 87 H2), but Pliny the Elder in the first century CE placed it fifteen miles up the PHASIS River and called it the most famous city of the region (HN 6.13). The name must be connected with Aeëtes, father of Medea and king of the region. Herodotus reports (1.2.2) that according to the Persians, the Argonauts’ abduction of Medea from Aea/Colchis was the second injustice committed by the Greeks against ASIA; their refusal to return her or pay a penalty encouraged ALEXANDER (Paris) to abduct HELEN, which led to the TROJAN WAR.

SEE ALSO: Argo; Prologue; Source Citations

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AEACES (Αἰάκης, ὁ) father of Polycrates

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Aeaces is named as the father of POLYCRATES of Samos twice by Herodotus (2.182; 3.39) but makes no appearance himself in the narrative. If this is the same Aeaces named in an INSCRIPTION on a statue, which probably dates to c. 540 BCE, found on the ancient ACROPOLIS of SAMOS

(IG XII.6.ii.561 = ML 16), he may have held a magistracy there during a period of stability and prosperity in the second quarter of the sixth century (Carty 2015, 49–66). The inscription itself may have been added by his grandson and namesake AEACES SON OF SYLOSON.

SEE ALSO: Epigraphy; Heraion (Samos); Pantagnotus; Syloson

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AEACES (Αἰάκης, ὁ) son of Syloson

AIDEN CARTY

Aeaces succeeded his father, SYLOSON, as a Persian-backed TYRANT of SAMOS, and participated in the Scythian expedition of DARIUS I c. 514 BCE (4.138). He was ousted from power at the start of the IONIAN REVOLT (c. 499), but was reinstated after persuading the majority of the Samian contingent to withdraw from the Battle of LADE in 494 (6.13–14). As a result of this withdrawal, Samos alone suffered no reprisals from the Persians in the revolt's aftermath (6.25.1). In protest against Aeaces' restoration, some of the wealthier Samians emigrated to ZANCLE in SICILY (6.22). Aeaces had died or been removed from power by 480, when XERXES, after the Battle of SALAMIS, appointed THEOMESTOR as tyrant of Samos (8.85.3). A nephew of the tyrant and thalassocrat POLYCRATES, Aeaces appears to have been named after his grandfather, who was commemorated for donating booty at the HERAION on Samos (IG XII.6.ii.561 = ML 16).

SEE ALSO: Aeaces father of Polycrates; Ionians

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AEACUS, AEACIDAE (Αἰακός, Αἰακίδαι)

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Ancestral hero and legendary first king of AEGINA, son of ZEUS and the nymph AEGINA DAUGHTER OF ASOPUS, for whom Zeus named the ISLAND (Pind. *Nem.* 8.6–8, 13; *Isthm.* 8.16–24; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6; Diod. Sic. 4.72.5–6; Paus. 2.29.2). Aeacus was the father of PELEUS and TELAMON, thus grandfather of Achilles and AJAX (*Alcmeonis*, PEG F1; Pind. *Isthm.* 6.19–27, *Pyth.* 8.100; Bacchyl. 13.96–104), although in HOMER Aeacus is only the father of Peleus and grandfather of Achilles, who is sometimes called "Aeacides" (*Il.* 2.874–75, 11.804–5, 16.15, 18.433, 21.188–89). Aeacus was known as a pious and just arbitrator (Paus. 1.39.5; Diod. Sic. 4.6.1–2; Plut. *Thes.* 10), becoming a judge (Pl. *Grg.* 524a) or doorkeeper (Ar. *Ran.* 465–78) in the underworld.

Athenian traditions often associate Aeacus and his descendants, the Aeacidae—especially Ajax—with Aegina, SALAMIS, and ATHENS (Thomas 1989, 161–73; Fowler 2013, 474–80; Duploux 2006, 61–64). The family of MILTIADES THE ELDER traced their ancestry back to Aeacus and Aegina as well as Salamis through Philaeus, son of Ajax, who was the first Athenian of that family (Hdt. 6.35; Pherecydes *BNJ* 3 F2). Herodotus recounts how the Aeginetans sent images of the Aeacidae to assist the Thebans in attacking Athens, on the grounds that THEBE (1) and Aegina were both daughters of ASOPUS, but when the attack failed, the Aeginetans themselves launched an attack on Athens (5.80–81). In the midst of their hostilities with Aegina, the Athenians consecrated a sanctuary to Aeacus in the AGORA on the advice of the Delphic ORACLE (5.89). Later, before the Battle of Salamis, the Athenians ask the Aeacidae for aid, calling upon Ajax and Telamon in particular, and bringing cult images of Aeacus and the Aeacidae from Aegina (8.64, 83–84).

SEE ALSO: Genealogies; Heroes and Hero Cult; Myth; Thebes (Boeotian)

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AEGAE (Αἶγαι, αἶ)

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A city on the northern coast of the PELOPONNESE near the mouth of the CRATHIS RIVER (BA 58 C1; Müller I, 733; Paus. 8.15.9), one of the twelve CITIES/regions (*merē*) of the Achaeans. Herodotus names Aegae as one of the original twelve cities of the IONIANS, before they were forced to migrate to Asia Minor by the Achaeans (1.145). Aegae was abandoned and its population moved to neighboring AEGEIRA (Strabo 8.7.4/C386; Paus. 7.25.12) after c. 370 BCE.

SEE ALSO: Achaeans (Peloponnesian); Ethnicity; Migration

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AEGAEAE (Αἰγαῖαι, αἶ)

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An Aeolian city in Asia Minor, between the HERMUS and CAÏCUS river valleys (BA 56 E4,

Aegae). Herodotus lists Aegaeae (1.149.1) as one of the twelve Aeolian CITIES of the mainland conquered by the Persians in the time of CYRUS (II). Very little is known about the city before the Hellenistic period (Radt 1991). It did not become a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE and thus may have remained under Persian control after the wars, although XENOPHON in the early fourth century describes it as *not* subject to the king (*Hell.* 4.5.8). Xenophon and other later sources refer to it as "Aegae" (e.g., Ps.-Scylax 98.2; Strabo 13.3.5/C621).

SEE ALSO: Aeolians; Persia

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AEGALEOS (Αἰγάλεως, ὅ)

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A range of mountains in Attica between the plains of ATHENS and ELEUSIS, opposite the island of SALAMIS (BA 59 B3). Herodotus mentions that XERXES watched the Battle of Salamis from Aegaleos (8.90.4; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 466–67). At the western end of the range there was a peninsula, called Amphiale, which, according to STRABO (9.1.13/C395), was only two stades (about a quarter-mile) away from Salamis. The southern coastal part of Aegaleos was called Corydallus (Strabo 9.1.14), while the part through which a road ran from the plain of Athens to that of Eleusis was called Poecilum (Paus. 1.37.7).

SEE ALSO: Viewing

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AEGE (Αἰγὴ, ἡ)

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City on the PALLENE peninsula in northern Greece (BA 51 B5). XERXES' fleet picks up troops from Aege and other CITIES in the region after it passes through the ATHOS canal in 480 BCE (7.123.1). Aege was a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE; nothing is known of it after the fifth century. It is now thought to have been located on Gyromiri hill near modern Polychrono (Tsigarida 2011, 145–46).

SEE ALSO: Neapolis (Pallene)

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AEGEAN SEA (τὸ Αἰγαῖον; ὁ Αἰγαῖος πόντος)

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A bay of the MEDITERRANEAN Sea, lying between the Greek mainland and the western Anatolian coast and bounded to the south by the ISLANDS of CRETE and RHODES (2.97.1, 113.1; 4.85.4; 7.36.2, 55.1). Owing to Greeks' sailing the waters of the Aegean Sea and inhabiting its numerous islands, Herodotus expects a ready familiarity from his readers as to the nature and

location of this SEA (Ceccarelli 2016, 73–79). Most commonly, Herodotus refers to it with the neuter substantive "the Aegean" (*to Aigaion*), but in one passage he uses the phrase "the Aegean sea" (*ho Aigaïos pontos*, 2.97.1; see Ceccarelli 2012, 29–31).

He employs the Aegean Sea as a device to help readers imagine the position of BRIDGES built by the Persian kings DARIUS I and XERXES. Regarding Darius' bridge over the Thracian BOSPORUS, Herodotus moves progressively southward in his geographical description: Pontus (EUXINE or Black Sea), Bosporus, PROPONTIS, and finally HELLESPONT, which "issues out into the open sea called the Aegean" (4.85.2). Xerxes has two parallel bridges built across the Hellespont, one nearer to the Euxine, the other nearer the Aegean (7.36.2, 55.1).

Herodotus mentions the Aegean twice during his Egyptian LOGOS. It is when the Trojan ALEXANDER (Paris) is traveling from SPARTA to TROY—HELEN in tow—and is "on the Aegean" (2.113.1) that WINDS blow him off course to EGYPT. Elsewhere Herodotus asks readers to think of the CITIES of Egypt poking up from the NILE's flood waters as resembling "the islands in the Aegean Sea" (2.97.1). Despite the well-known MYTH (which may be no earlier than Hellenistic in date) about THESEUS' father Aegeus leaping to his death in and thereby giving his name to the Aegean Sea, the *aig-* root may actually derive from the name of a pre-Greek sea god (see Fowler 1988, 99–102).

SEE ALSO: Aegeus son of Pandion; Analogy; Geography; Ships and Sailing

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AEGEIDAE (Αἰγεῖδαι, οἱ)

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The Aegeidae are descendants of Aegeus, grandson of THERAS through OEOLYCUS, whose lineage traces back to POLYNEICES and CADMUS SON OF AGENOR. Herodotus describes the Aegeidae as “a big clan (*megalē phylē*) in Sparta” (4.149.1). There is no information in the *Histories* on how the mythical Theban FAMILY came to live in SPARTA, but Herodotus tells the anecdote that the family could not at first produce CHILDREN who survived to adulthood; only when they set up a temple for the avenging spirits (*erinyes*) of LAÏUS and OEDIPUS—apparently a RITUAL to purify the family after the horrific deeds of their ancestors—did their offspring start to flourish (4.149.2). The same legend is elsewhere cause for their EXILE: according to Pausanias, AUTESION, father of Theras, left THEBES for the PELOPONNESE because he was chased by the FURIES of Laius and Oedipus (9.5.15). An Isthmian ode of PINDAR (*Isthm.* 7) and its scholia indicate that the Spartans recruited the Aegeidae in their war against Amyclae.

Herodotus tells us no more about the clan, but they must have been fairly well known to his AUDIENCE, seeing that they were linked with the royal family in Sparta through Theras, brother of the widowed queen ARGEIA and warden of her young sons and therefore, temporarily, ruler of Sparta (Hdt. 4.147). The family’s prominent status is also attested elsewhere, for example in Pausanias, who claims that Aegeus’ descendant Euryleon shared command in the first Messenian War with the two Spartan kings (4.7.8), and that Cadmus, Oeolycus, and Aegeus had shrines in Sparta (3.15.8). The Aegeidae appear several times in Pindar: they are supposed to have brought the cult of APOLLO Carneius to THERA, a colony founded by Theras (Hdt. 4.147–48), from where their descendants moved on to CYRENE (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.72–81) and, via various other places, to ACRAGAS in SICILY (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.16, 2.82).

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Myth; Pollution

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AEGEIRA (Αἰγείρα, ἡ)

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A city on the northern coast of the PELOPONNESE (BA 58 C1; Müller I, 734–35), one of the twelve cities/regions (*merē*) of the Achaeans. Herodotus names Aegeira as one of the original twelve CITIES of the IONIANS, before they were forced to migrate to Asia Minor by the Achaeans (1.145). According to Pausanias (7.26.2), Aegeira was formerly called Hyperesia (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.573).

SEE ALSO: Achaeans (Peloponnesian); Aegae; Ethnicity

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AEGEUS son of Oeolycus, *see* AEGEIDAE

AEGEUS (Αἰγεύς, ὁ) son of Pandion

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Mythical king of ATHENS, son of PANDION and father of the hero THESEUS, though sometimes POSEIDON is credited with that latter role (Gantz, *EGM* 247–49). Herodotus mentions Aegeus in his discussion of the origins of the Lycians, who received their name from LYCUS

SON OF PANDION when the latter was driven out of Athens by his brother (1.173.3). When Theseus, returning from CRETE, failed to raise the agreed-upon signal of a successful expedition against the Minotaur, Aegeus flung himself to his death from atop the ACROPOLIS (the connection of Aegeus with the name of the AEGEAN SEA is probably a later invention: Gantz, *EGM* 276). SOPHOCLES and Euripides wrote *Aegeus* tragedies (now lost), and he played a role in some versions of the MEDEA story. Aegeus received cult worship at Athens and gave his name to one of the ten tribes of the classical DEMOCRACY.

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes son of Megacles; Lycia; Myth

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AEGIALEAN PELASGIANS, *see* AEGIALEUS; PELASGIANS

AEGIALEUS (Αἰγιαλεύς, ὁ)

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Mythical, son of Adrastus. While Adrastus was the only member of the "Seven against Thebes" to survive that attack, his son Aegialeus was the only man who perished in the second expedition (the "Epigoni": Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F100). Herodotus reports that the Sicyonians renamed a tribe "Aegialees" sixty years after the death of their tyrant CLEISTHENES. The latter had given the traditional Dorian tribes insulting names, and attempted to "drive out" the hero Adrastus, as part of his attempt to rid SICYON of Argive influence (5.68). Pausanias credits a different legendary Aegialeus with the foundation of Sicyon (2.6.5). According to STRABO, the ancient name of Sicyon was Aegialeis (8.6.25/C383), and the name continued to be used to refer to the northern coast of the PELOPONNESE; Herodotus reports that the IONIANS had been called "Pelasgian Aegialees" when they lived in that region (7.94). In fact, *Aigialia* appears on Linear B tablets in a

context which seems to refer to the area around Sicyon (Lolos 2011, 60).

SEE ALSO: Adrastus son of Talaus; Argos; Dorians; Dymanatae; Ethnicity; Heroes and Hero Cult; Pelasgians

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AEGICORES, *see* ION

AEGILEA (Αἰγίλεα, τά)

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A site on the west coast of EUBOEA, probably between Amarynthus and ERETRIA. Along with CHOEREAE and TEMENOS, Aegilea provided anchorage and sufficient space for Persian CAVALRY to disembark during their attack against Eretria in 490 BCE (6.101.1). The most recent editor of the *Histories* prints Αἰγίλεα (*Aigilea*) as in MS A rather than Αἰγίλια (*Aigilia*) as found in other MANUSCRIPTS (see Wilson 2015, 117). The toponym Αἰγάλ--- (*Aigal-*) is attested epigraphically as a DEME of Eretria and may be identical with the place Herodotus mentions (Knopfler 1997, 425 n. 142).

SEE ALSO: Aegleia; Datis; Epigraphy; Marathon

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AEGINA (Αἴγινα, ἡ)

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An island *POLIS* located in the Saronic Gulf (BA 58 F2), whose naval and mercantile might often brought her into conflict with nearby ATHENS. Herodotus' treatment of Aegina falls into three main temporal units: the distant historical past; the outbreak of the PERSIAN WARS, when Aegina medized; and 481–479 BCE, when Aegina joined the HELLENIC LEAGUE to combat the invading Persians. Much of what Herodotus reports about Aegina seems to come from hostile (probably Athenian) sources. According to Herodotus, the "Aeginetans are DORIANS from Epidaurus" (8.46.1); while the island was originally named Oenone (8.46.1), it was later renamed after the eponymous nymph Aegina (5.80.1). Aegina's ancestry as an Epidaurian colony factors into Herodotus' aetiology for the long-standing enmity between Aegina and Athens (5.82–88): Aegina had revolted from Epidaurian hegemony, looted from EPIDAURUS cult statues of the goddesses DAMIA AND AUXESIA made from Attic olive wood, and battled Athens, who wanted the statues back. This aetiology itself is used by Herodotus to explain Aegina's readiness to aid THEBES in the latter's struggle with Athens both by sending statues of the Aeacidae—sons of the Aeginetan mythic hero AEACUS—to Thebes and by ravaging the Attic coast with the Aeginetan fleet (5.80–81, 89; Haubold 2007; Hornblower 2013, 231–43).

In 491, the Aeginetans gave EARTH AND WATER to DARIUS I (6.49.1), an act of medizing that the Athenians took as an attack against themselves (6.49.2; see Baragwanath 2008, 135, 173). Although Athens called upon SPARTA to intervene, the Spartan king CLEOMENES was driven from Aegina before he could arrest leading Aeginetans, including CRIUS (6.50, 61.1, 64). Later that year, Cleomenes, joined by his new co-king LEOTYCHIDES II, returned to Aegina, arrested Crius and nine other Aeginetan leaders, and delivered them as HOSTAGES to Athens (6.73). Upon Cleomenes' death in 490, Leotychides acting on the Aeginetans' behalf failed to convince the Athenians to release these hostages (6.85–86).

When the Aeginetans retaliated by capturing some Athenian prisoners of their own, the Athenians mounted an unsuccessful naval assault on Aegina (6.87–93); Herodotus notes that the Athenian navy at this time was no match for that of the Aeginetans (6.89). The Athenians' purported (Scott 2005, 323) naval inferiority was remedied decisively by THEMISTOCLES, who urged (around 483) that the recent windfall from the SILVER mines at LAURIUM be used to build two hundred TRIREMES for the war against Aegina (7.144.1); this war, says Herodotus, "saved Greece" (7.144.2) since these ships would actually be used to defend Greece from the Persian invasion.

At a Panhellenic conference held at the ISTHMUS of CORINTH (7.145.1, cf. 172.1) in 481, Aegina, Athens, and several other Greek states—the so-called Hellenic League—agreed to temporarily set aside their differences in order to meet the Persian threat. In 480 Aegina provided eighteen triremes for ARTEMISIUM (8.1.2) and thirty for SALAMIS (8.46.1). On a scout ship captured by the Persians prior to the battle at Artemisium, the Aeginetan marine Pytheas fought so bravely, despite his extensive wounds, that the Persians kept him alive as an honored trophy (7.181). Before the battle at Salamis, the Greeks prayed to the gods and sent a ship to Aegina to fetch statues of Aeacus and of the Aeacidae (8.64), and the Aeginetans would later say that this ship was the first to attack the Persians at Salamis (8.84.2; see Irwin 2011a, 405–10). During the course of the battle, the Aeginetan POLYCRITUS—son of the Crius captured by Cleomenes—taunted Themistocles about the Aeginetans' (supposed) medizing, as Polycritus' ship rammed an enemy Sidonian ship; held upon the latter was Pytheas, who now managed to return to Aegina (8.92). Greeks recognized that the most distinguished in the victory at Salamis were not only Aeginetans in general, but also Polycritus (and two Athenians) in particular (8.93.1). Nevertheless, the Delphic ORACLE demanded that the Aeginetans' prize for valor from Salamis be offered to complement their insufficient tithe to APOLLO (8.122). In 479 five hundred Aeginetan soldiers were sent to fight at PLATAEA (9.28.6), but Herodotus implies (apparently wrongly: Irwin 2011a, 418–21) that the

Aeginetans were absent from the actual fighting since their tomb at Plataea was merely an empty cenotaph (9.85.3). More of Herodotus' bias against Aegina (Flower and Marincola 2002, 244, 249, 256) is shown in his claim that the Aeginetans' WEALTH was founded on GOLD they cheated out of the HELOTS after Plataea (9.80.3). Contradicting Herodotus' claim are his several notices about Aegina's earlier, sixth-century prosperity: the Aeginetan merchant SOSTRATUS was the richest of men (4.152.3), while the Aeginetans built a temple to ZEUS at NAUCRATIS (2.178.3) and paid the doctor DEMOCEDUS one TALENT (3.131.2; see Irwin 2011b, 432–44).

SEE ALSO: Aegina daughter of Asopus; Medize; Naval Warfare; Panhellenism; Pytheas son of Ischenous; Sources for Herodotus

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AEGINA (Αἴγινα, ἡ) daughter of Asopus

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Mythical water nymph, daughter of the river-god Asopus and eponymous of the island *polis* AEGINA. In the *Histories*, her lineage provides a clue to help the Thebans interpret an ORACLE from DELPHI telling them to "ask those who are closest" for help in gaining VENGEANCE on ATHENS: Aegina and THEBE (1) are both daughters of Asopus (5.79–80; cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 8.16–23). Aegina's son by ZEUS, Aeacus, was an important figure in numerous mythical GENEALOGIES. The Athenian Philaidae clan, which included MILTIADES THE ELDER, traced their ancestry back to AEACUS and Aegina (6.35.1).

SEE ALSO: Ajax; Asopus River (Boeotia); Thebes (Boeotian)

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AEGIROESSA (Αἰγίροεσσα, ἡ)

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An Aeolian city in Asia Minor, location unknown. Herodotus lists Aegiroessa (1.149.1) among the twelve Aeolian CITIES of the mainland conquered by the Persians in the time of CYRUS (II).

SEE ALSO: Aeolians; Conquest

FURTHER READING

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AEGIUM (Αἶγιον, τὸ)

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A city on the northern coast of the PELOPONNESE (BA 58 C1; Müller I, 743–44), one of the twelve CITIES/regions (*merē*) of the Achaeans. Herodotus names Aegium as one of the original twelve cities of the IONIANS, before they were forced to migrate to Asia Minor by the Achaeans (1.145). In the Hellenistic and Roman period the council of the Achaean League met at the sanctuary of ZEUS Homarios in the territory of Aegium (Strabo 8.7.5/C387; Paus. 7.24.4). The name survives in the modern town of Aigio (Egio).

SEE ALSO: Achaeans (Peloponnesian); Ethnicity; Migration

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AEGLEIA (Αἰγλείη, ἡ)

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An ISLAND belonging to the Styreans, a community on the west coast of EUBOEA across the channel from MARATHON in Attica (BA 55 G4, *Aigilia?*; Müller I, 397). After sacking ERETRIA in 490 BCE, the Persian expedition, guided by the exiled Athenian tyrant HIPPIAS, deposited their captives on Aegleia (*Aigil(e)ia* in some MANUSCRIPTS) as they sailed toward Marathon (6.107.2).

SEE ALSO: Aegileia; Datis; Prisoners of War; Styra

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Aeglians (Αἰγλοί, οἱ)

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In providing a list of the provinces (*archai* or SATRAPIES, 3.89.1) into which DARIUS I divided the Persian Empire, Herodotus states (3.92.2) that the Aeglians were the limit of the twelfth administrative district (νομός, *nome*) which consisted of the BACTRIANS. The Aeglians’ exact location is unknown, nor is it clear in which direction the limit they placed on the Bactrians lies. Modern editors print the reading Αἰγλῶν (“of the Aeglians”); a different manuscript family reads Αἰγδῶν (“of the Ligdians,” equally unknown), which some scholars connect with the LIGYANS mentioned (7.72) in the CATALOGUE of XERXES’ invasion force (Dan 2013, 114). In the original Greek, these names could have been easily mistaken: Αἰγλῶν, Αἰγδῶν, Αἰγῶν.

SEE ALSO: Manuscripts; Persia

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AEGOSPOTAMI (Αἰγὸς ποταμοί, οἱ)

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Aegospotami (“Goat’s Rivers”) was the name of two small streams (probably now Münip Bey Deresi and Kozludere) on the Hellespontine CHERSONESE (Gallipoli Peninsula) that, after joining 500 meters from the coast, emptied their water into the HELLESPONT opposite LAMPACUS (BA 51 H4; Müller II, 771–72). At the end of the PERSIAN WARS, the Athenians

captured ARTAYCTES, the Persian *hyparkhos* (governor) of the Chersonese, near Aegospotami (9.119.2).

The mouth of Aegospotami was famous in antiquity as the site of the final battle of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR that led to the fall of the ATHENIAN EMPIRE in 404 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.21–30; Diod. Sic. 13.105–6).

SEE ALSO: Athens; Date of Composition; End of the *Histories*

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ΑΕΙΜΝΕΣΤΟΣ (Ἀείμνηστος, ὁ)

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Herodotus credits the “renowned” (*logimos*) Spartan Aeimnestus with killing the Persian general MARDONIUS during the Battle of PLATAEA in 479 BCE, which fulfills an ironic and unintended PROPHECY delivered earlier by XERXES (see 8.114). Herodotus also notes that, later, Aeimnestus and 300 men under his command were annihilated by the MESSENIANS at STENYCLERUS (9.64.2). This occurred during the HELOT revolt of 465–462 (Thuc. 1.101–3), thus marking one of the handful of references Herodotus makes (clustered especially in Book 9) to events after the PERSIAN WARS.

The major MANUSCRIPTS of the *Histories* read *Arimnēstos* or *Aimnēstos*, but the most recent editors believe the variant reading *Aeimnēstos* is more likely correct (Wilson 2015, 183). In 427 BCE, a man named Lacon, son of Aeimnestus, was the Spartan PROXENOS at Plataea (Thuc. 3.52.5); it is

possible that the father was named for the renowned Spartan warrior (Herman 1989, 93). But the situation is muddled by the existence of an ARIMNESTUS of Plataea who also fought in 479 (Hdt. 9.72.2).

SEE ALSO: Fame; Narratology; Peloponnesian War; Sparta; Time

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ΑΕΝΕΙΑ (Αἴνεια, ἡ)

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City on the THERMAIC GULF in the region of Chalcidice, probably the modern Nea Michaniona (BA 50 C4). XERXES’ fleet picks up troops from Aeneia and other CITIES in the region after it passes through the ATHOS canal in 480 BCE (7.123.2). Aeneia claimed to have been founded by Aeneas after he fled TROY (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47.6); the hero appears on sixth-century coins, carrying his father Anchises on his shoulders. The city became a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE.

SEE ALSO: Chalcidians in Thrace; Crossaea

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AENESIDEMUS (Αἰνησίδημος, ὁ)

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1) Aenesidemus, son of PATAECUS, served as a member of the bodyguard of HIPPOCRATES (4), tyrant of GELA in SICILY in the late 490s BCE (7.154.1). Herodotus mentions him in connection with his narrative of GELON (who also served in that bodyguard) and Gelon's rise to power as TYRANT, first of Gela and then SYRACUSE. Other sources indicate that Aenesidemus also attempted to take control of Gela after Hippocrates' death but was beaten to the punch by Gelon (e.g., Arist. *Rh.* 1.12/1373a); a much later source, but perhaps preserving reliable information, claims that Aenesidemus thereafter left for RHODES (his homeland?) and established himself as tyrant there (see Luraghi 1993). Pausanias (5.22.7) refers to a tyrant of LEONTINI named Aenesidemus; most scholars identify him with the son of Pataecus and imagine that he ruled Leontini at the behest of Hippocrates. Our texts of Herodotus' *Histories* give none of these details, but some editors suspect a lacuna at this point, on the basis of a textual difficulty.

2) Aenesidemus, father of THERON tyrant of ACIRAGAS in Sicily in the 480s BCE (7.165). Most scholars find it unlikely that this is the same man as Aenesidemus (1) (7.154.1). The CHRONOLOGY, for one, would make it strange: Theron was probably born in the 530s, while Aenesidemus (1) served in the bodyguard of the tyrant Hippocrates in the 490s (Dunbabin 1948, 383–84).

SEE ALSO: Cadmus and Scythes of Cos

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AENIANES (Αἰνῖνες OR Ἐνῖνες, οἱ)

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A tribe located in the upper SPERCHEIUS Valley, on and below the northern slopes of Mt. OETA (BA 55 C3, *Ainis*; Strabo 9.4.10/C427). Their main city was Hypata. Herodotus calls them Enianes (Ἐνῖνες), following the spelling used by HOMER. They medized with other Thessalian tribes when XERXES was in MACEDONIA (7.132) and fought on the Persian side in 480 BCE (7.185). The Aenianes originally dwelled west of Mt. OSSA in Perrhaebia (Hom. *Il.* 2.749; cf. Strabo 9.5.20/C441), but were driven south by the LAPITHS (cf. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 13). They were one of the original members of the Amphictyony (Paus. 10.8.2; Aeschines (2.116) calls them "Oetaeans"). Although they were living in the Spercheus Valley as early as the fifth century, Herodotus follows Homer in referring to them in conjunction with the PERRHAEBIANS (along with the DOLOPES, their neighbors to the west in the Spercheus Valley, and the Magnesians). The Aenianes were not *PERIOECI*, or subjugated neighbors, of the Thessalians but independent ALLIES, acting of their own volition (cf. Thuc. 5.51). They were later destroyed by the AETOLIANS and the Athamanians (Strabo 9.4.11/C427).

SEE ALSO: Amphictyones; Medize; Thessaly

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AENUS (Αἶνος)

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City in southeastern THRACE, north of the Hellespontine CHERSONESE and along the HEBRUS RIVER (BA 51 G3; Müller II, 773–77), which forms the border between the modern nations of Greece and Turkey. Located on a plain and at the mouth of a major river, Aenus was strategically located and served as a mustering point for exports from further inland, including Thracian slaves and Thracian MERCENARIES.

Aenus is mentioned in HOMER's *Iliad* (4.519–20) as the home of the Thracian ruler Peiroös and a contingent of valiant Thracian warriors. In historical times, the city was in the territory of the APSINTHIANS, a Thracian group best known as the rivals of the nearby DOLONCIANS, who inhabited the Chersonese. Aenus was eventually colonized by Aeolian Greeks, though Thracian connections in the area remained strong. Aenus figures little in the work of Herodotus (4.90.2; 7.58.3). Though Aenus was one of the first sites in EUROPE reached by XERXES in 480 BCE, the Persian king bypassed the city in favor of nearby DORISCUS, where he held his famous review of the army after crossing the HELLESPONT.

SEE ALSO: Aeolians; Colonization

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AENYRA (Αἶνυρα, τὰ)

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A region on the northeastern coast of the ISLAND of THASOS (BA 51 D3). Herodotus writes that he saw the GOLD mines between Aenyra and

COENYRA (probably on Mt. Hypsaron: cf. Müller I, 108–17), which had been opened by the PHOENICIANS and contributed greatly to Thasos' WEALTH (6.47.2). Aenyra appears on a fifth-century BCE Thasian inscription indicating distances around the island, and probably designated the area around modern Potamia (Salviat and Servais 1964, 276–84; Graham 1978, 88–89).

SEE ALSO: Epigraphy; Mining; Scaptesytle

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AEOLIANS (Αἰολέες, οἱ)

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This people is often thought of as one of the three major Greek “tribes,” but Herodotus refers to them as an ethnic group in their own right, if also a subset of the Hellenes (1.6.2, 28; cf. 1.26.2; 3.1.1; 7.9.α.1). Later tradition and most scholars (e.g., Hertel 2007) see the Aeolians as originating in THESSALY or Boeotia and migrating eastward by the end of the eleventh century BCE, to settle on the Anatolian coast north of Ionia and the adjacent ISLANDS. This reconstruction is based on linguistic similarities as well as Protogeometric ceramic evidence, but Parker (2008) refutes the idea of an Aeolic dialect group, and Rose (2008) argues that the archaeological record does not suggest widespread COLONIZATION, instead tying the literary tradition to the formation of the DELIAN LEAGUE in the 470s. Herodotus refers almost exclusively to the Aeolians of Asia Minor and the nearby islands, no doubt as a result of his East Greek point of view. He lists the Aeolian (Αἰολίδες) CITIES (1.149–51) as LARISA, NEON TEICHOS, TEMNUS, CILLA, NOTIUM, AEGIROESSA, PITANE, AEGAEAE, MYRINA, GRYNEIA, and CYME, the last already considered Aeolian by HESIOD (*Op.* 636). SMYRNA, the twelfth city, was captured by

IONIANS. In addition, Aeolians inhabited the cities on Mt. IDA (the Troad), the five cities of LESBOS (MYTILENE, METHYMNA, Antissa, Eresos, and Pyrrha), the island of TENEDOS, and the “HUNDRED ISLES.” Based on the primacy of these areas in the identification of Aeolians by early sources, Jonathan Hall has argued (2002, 71–73) that Aeolian identity originated in Asia Minor, perhaps in opposition to the emerging Ionian identity just to the south. He proposes that the “transfer” of Smyrna to Ionia served as a foundational event in the formation of Aeolian identity.

The closest that Herodotus comes to acknowledging the tradition of an Aeolian MIGRATION from mainland Greece is at 7.176.4, where he calls Thessaly the “Aeolian land.” Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1.50.7–9) reports that Thessaly was given to AEOLUS to rule over by HELLEN. This stands in stark contrast to the Boeotian migration tradition, which is at least as early as PINDAR. He refers to a colonizing band of Aeolians from Boeotia led by ORESTES (*Nem.* 11.34; cf. Hellanicus (*BNJ* 4 F32), Demon (*BNJ* 327 F20), Strabo (13.1.3/C582), and Pausanias (3.2.1)). Herodotus, however, sees the Aeolians as former PELASGIANS (7.95.1) and seems to reject the tradition that saw the Pelasgians as displaced by Boeotian Aeolians (Diod. Sic. 5.81; Strabo 13.3.3/C621). Instead, his view seems to be that Thessalian Pelasgians migrated to Asia Minor, either before or after becoming Aeolian Greeks (cf. Hes. F9 M–W). In this version, was Boeotia a tertiary Aeolian settlement, receiving colonists from Asia Minor such as Hesiod’s father?

The paucity of detail in discussing Aeolia as compared to Herodotus’ much more extensive treatment of the Ionians only underscores his view that the Aeolians were of secondary historical importance to their southern neighbors. His habit is to place the Ionians first when mentioning both groups, and he stresses the minor role of the Aeolians in the founding of the HELLENION at NAUCRATIS (2.178.2) and in the decision to guard the bridge at the ISTER during DARIUS I’s Scythian campaign (4.138.2). In a few places, Herodotus even subsumes them into the term “Ionians,” for example when the Spartans refuse to help the Ionians against CYRUS (II), though the envoys have just been identified as including Aeolians (1.152). Thus, the reader may suspect that Herodotus is a useful source on the Aeolians only

insofar as they were associated (or contrasted) with the Ionians, for example, the fourteen passing references to CONQUEST or control by the Lydian and Persian empires (1.6.2, 26.2, 28, 141.1, 171.1; 2.1.1; 3.1.1, 90.1; 4.89.1; 5.123; 6.98.1; 7.9.α.1, 95.1), or when he tells us that both peoples shared the custom of consulting the ORACLE at BRANCHIDAE (1.157.3). Despite the “Ionian” perspective of Herodotus’ account of the Aeolians, scholarly consensus has come to take as fact Beloch’s hypothesis (1912, I.1: 140) that an Aeolian League existed with a religious center at Gryneia. There is no ancient evidence to support this proposal.

SEE ALSO: Boeotians; Ethnicity; Hellas

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AEOLIDAE (Αἰολῖδαι?)

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A town in PHOCIS between DAULIS and DELPHI which was burned by the Persians in 480 BCE, along with Daulis and PANOPEUS (8.35.1). Herodotus uses only the genitive form of the city-ethnic, Αἰολιδέων (*Aiolideōn*). Aeolidae is not mentioned by other ancient sources, though it may perhaps be the “Cyparissus” in HOMER’s *Iliad* (2.519). It was

probably located in the modern Zimeno pass and not re-built after the PERSIAN WARS (McInerney 1999, 303–6), but the identification remains uncertain. It is not known whether the city had any connection with the AEOLIANS, one of the three major Greek ethnic groups.

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity

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AEOLUS (Αἰολός, ὁ)

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Patronymic, mythical, father of ATHAMAS (7.197.1 and 3). This Aeolus was a son of HELLEN and eponymous ancestor of the AEOLIANS, one of the three major Greek ethnic groups along with DORIANS and IONIANS (Hes. F9 M-W). Other mythical figures by this name appear, including the ruler of the WINDS (Hom. *Od.* 10.1–79), and they seem to have been confused at an early date (Gantz, *EGM* 167–69; cf. Diod. Sic. 4.67.2–6).

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity; Myth

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AËROPUS (Ἀέροπος, ὁ)

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The name of two descendants of TEMENUS mentioned by Herodotus in connection to the founding of the Argead dynasty of Macedon.

The earlier Aëropus was one of three Argive brothers (Aëropus, PERDICCAS, and GAUANES) who were exiled from ARGOS and came to MACEDONIA, where Perdiccas founded the Argead dynasty (8.137–39). The later Aëropus was a descendant of this Perdiccas and is cited among the ancestors of Alexander I by Herodotus (8.139). The name Aëropus occurs again in the Macedonian royal family of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (*LGPV* IV, 8 (no. 1)).

SEE ALSO: Alexander son of Amyntas; Genealogies

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AËROPUS (2), *see* EËROPUS

AESANIAS (Αἰσανίας, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of GRINNUS, king of THERA (4.150.2). His ancestors include THERAS, former regent of SPARTA and founder of Thera, and through him the mythical CADMUS SON OF AGENOR. Nothing more is known of Aesantias.

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Corcella in ALC, 676–67.

AESCHINES (Αἰσχίνης, ὁ)

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When the Persians sailed against EUBOEA in 490 BCE, the Eretrians requested aid from ATHENS. However, Herodotus reports, the Eretrians were still undecided about whether to

resist or submit. When Athenian forces arrived, Aeschines, a leading citizen of ERETRIA, warned them of the situation and begged them to leave before they too could be destroyed by the Persians (6.100). After a six-day SIEGE, Eretria was betrayed by two other leading citizens, EUPHORBUS and PHILAGRUS (6.101.2); the Persians sacked the city and enslaved the populace, who were eventually relocated to ARDERICCA near SUSA (6.119). Aeschines was a common name at Eretria; nothing more is known of this man (*LGPNI*, 20 (no. 11)).

SEE ALSO: Ionian Revolt; Migration; Persia; Prisoners of War; Slavery; Treachery

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AESCHRAEUS

(Αἰσχροῖος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of LYCOMEDES, Athenian, probably of the DEME Phlya (8.11.2). The name “Aeschraeus” appears on the fragment of a casualty list for the Battle of MARATHON discovered in 2000 (*SEG* 56-430), but this is unlikely to be the same man given the Athenian tribal affiliation (Erechtheis) of that list.

SEE ALSO: Athens; Democracy

AESCHRIONIAN TRIBE

(ἡ Αἰσχιωνινή φυλή)

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Herodotus refers (3.26.1) to “Samians said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe (*phylē*)” who inhabit OASIS—also called ISLAND OF THE BLESSED—in the DESERT west of Egyptian THEBES, a seven

days’ march. These Samians may have ended up at this desert outpost after serving as MERCENARIES for the Cyrenean king ARCESILAUS III c. 530 BCE (4.163–64; Shipley 1987, 106). The Greek term Herodotus uses, *phylē*, normally means “tribe,” but scholars think it more likely to refer to a clan (*genos*) in this and other instances. Herodotus’ mention of this group in this context could reveal a Samian source for the story of the failed Persian attack on the Ammonians under CAMBYSES (II). The tribal name is not attested at SAMOS; Aeschrion as a personal name occurs three times in later periods (*LGPNI*, 21 s.v. Αἰσχιρίων (24–26)).

SEE ALSO: Ammon; Cyrene; Egypt; Family; Sources for Herodotus

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AESCHYLUS (Αἰσχύλος, ὁ)

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Athenian tragic dramatist (?525/4–456/5 BCE), author of around eighty or ninety plays, only seven of which survive intact. Herodotus identifies Aeschylus as son of Euphion and as author of a (now lost) play based on the story of ARTEMIS. Herodotus asserts that the version of the MYTH which Aeschylus used as the basis for this play (in which, unlike his predecessors, he made Artemis the daughter of DEMETER) originated in an Egyptian account of the relationship between the gods (2.156.6; cf. Paus. 8.37.6). Herodotus correlates Artemis with the Egyptian goddess Bastet, whom he names BUBASTIS.

Although Herodotus names the tragedian on only one occasion, it is clear that the historian was familiar with Aeschylus’ plays, and in particular with his tragedy *Persians*, first performed in 472 (Immerwahr 1954, 27–30), perhaps using this as a source for his own work. Herodotus’ narrative—as seen in particular in several of the SPEECHES—contains verbal echoes of the Aeschylean text, and there are areas of overlap: for example, in the

descriptions of XERXES' bridging of the HELLESPONT, by which the joining of EUROPE and ASIA is portrayed as a violation of the natural or divinely appointed order (*Pers.* 65–71, Hdt. 7.35–36, 54–56; see Bridges 2015, 15–16, 57–58), and of the naval battle of SALAMIS, related in detail by Herodotus (8.40–96) and recounted via a MESSENGER in *Persians* (353–432; see Hall 1996). Like Aeschylus' play, Herodotus' narrative also presents the broader story of the Persian invasion of Greece and failed attempt to enslave its inhabitants as a tragic reversal of fortune for Xerxes and his army, with both authors highlighting the vast scale of that army and offering CATALOGUES of its contingents (*Pers.* 21–58, 81–85, 302–30; Hdt. 7.61–99). This contrast with the depleted NUMBERS which returned home after the campaign helps emphasize the magnitude of the DISASTER which befell PERSIA (*Pers.* 480–514, Hdt. 8.115–17).

There are, however, also significant differences between Herodotus' and Aeschylus' representations of Xerxes and the relationship between Persia and HELLAS. The distinction between East and West is far less clear-cut in Herodotus' account than in the *Persians*. Where Aeschylus' play posits a polar ideological opposition between Athenian DEMOCRACY and Asian DESPOTISM, some scholars suggest that in fact Herodotus may have been drawing parallels between aggressive Persian imperialism and Athenian expansionist policy in the second half of the fifth century (Moles 1996; Pelling 1997a and 1997b). Meanwhile, Aeschylus presents Xerxes as abandoning the good judgment of his predecessors. For Herodotus, however, the Great King is situated within a wider pattern of imperialistic overreach which the historian is at pains to explore, and he is seen as an aggressor whose actions represent the culmination of the actions already carried out by his predecessors CYRUS (II), CAMBYSES (II), and his father DARIUS I (Flower and Marincola 2002, 8). Herodotus therefore presents Xerxes not as the impetuous youth whom Aeschylus' version contrasts with the wise Darius, but instead as subjected to the pressures of his position at the head of the Persian Empire and as following on from the policies of his father (Pelling 1997a, 15; Bridges 2015, 59–60).

An epitaph quoted by the Roman-era authors Athenaeus (14.627c) and Pausanias (1.14.5) asserts that Aeschylus fought at MARATHON

(*Vit. Aesch.* 11); his brother CYNEGIRUS was killed in the same battle (Hdt. 6.114). It is probable that Aeschylus also fought at SALAMIS (as claimed by Ion of Chios: *BNJ* 392 F7).

SEE ALSO: Athens and Herodotus; Conquest; Euphorion the Athenian; Persian Wars; Poetry; Sources for Herodotus; Tragedy

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AESOP (Αἴσωπος, ὁ)

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Herodotus mentions Aesop only in passing, identifying him as a *logopoios* ("story maker") and fellow slave of the *hetaira* RHODOPIS (2.134), in

the context of his discussion of King MYCERINUS of EGYPT (2.129–36). In order to prove that both Rhodopis and Aesop were contemporary slaves owned by IADMION (1), Herodotus adds that Aesop was killed by the Delphians (cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 1443–48), who, following the ORACLE, were then compelled to pay compensation to a descendant of Iadmon (also named Iadmon).

Though Herodotus says nothing further about the legendary fabulist, Rhodopis' Thracian birth and her association with XANTHES of SAMOS find echoes in later sources on Aesop. But there were divergent traditions in antiquity on the matters of Aesop's life. On the one hand, following Herodotus, the historical record places him on Samos in the sixth century BCE (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Samians* (F573 Rose)), where he may even have defended a politician on trial for embezzlement (*Arist. Rh.* 2.20). On the other hand, beginning also with Herodotus, there is a more fanciful tradition that has Aesop associate with major sites and figures of his day, including not only Aesop's infamous execution at the hands of the Delphians and subsequent return to life (Plato Comicus, *PCG* VII F70), but also affiliations with SOLON (Alexis, *PCG* II F9), PERIANDER (Plutarch, *Banquet of the Seven Sages* (*Conv. Sept. Sap.*)), and CROESUS (Plut. *Sol.* 28), on which Herodotus' silence is noteworthy. The *Life of Aesop*, which is usually dated to the first or second century CE (Kurke 2011, 5–6), draws primarily upon this latter body of Aesopic legend, as well as borrowing motifs and episodes from the Aramaic *Story of Ahiqar* (cf. *Life of Aesop*, chaps. 101–23) and numerous other sources (cf. Wiechers 1961; La Penna 1962; Jedrkiewicz 1989), to create a novel account of the fabulist's life.

SEE ALSO: Delphi; Fable; Sappho; Short Stories; Slavery

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AETOLIA (ή Αἰτωλίας χώρα)

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A region in the western part of central Greece (BA 55 B3), bounded to the west by the river ACHELOUS and to the east by Cape Antirrion and the river Daphnos (modern Mornos). In the north Aetolia bordered on the valley of the river SPERCHEIUS and the southern part of the PINDUS MOUNTAINS (tribal territories of the Athamanians, AENIANES, and Oetaeans) and in the south on the Gulf of Patras. In the classical period the southern foothills of the Pindus and the large fertile plain around Lake Lisimachia and Lake Trichonis formed the heartland of the Aetolian tribal league, while the Aetolian settlements in the coastal region had developed into independent *poleis* and detached themselves from the tribal organization (Thuc. 3.102.5; Bommeljé 1988). The reintegration of the coast was closely connected with the transformation of Aetolia from a tribal state into a federation in the late classical and Hellenistic periods (Funke 2015).

Herodotus mentions Aetolia only in passing as a remote place of refuge of TITORMUS (6.127.2; cf. *Ael. VH* 12.22). Furthermore, Herodotus refers to the Aetolians as a tribe that immigrated into the PELOPONNESE and settled in ELIS (8.73.2). This narrative is closely connected with the MYTH of the return of the HERACLEIDAE and the genesis of Elean ETHNICITY (Gehrke 2005).

SEE ALSO: Hellas; Migration

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AFRICA, *see* LIBYA

AFTERLIFE, *see* DEATH; HADES

AGAEUS (Ἀγαῖος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of ONOMASTUS of ELIS in the PELOPONNESE. Onomastus came to SICYON as a suitor of AGARISTE, Cleisthenes' daughter, in the sixth century BCE (6.127.3). Nothing more is known of Agaeus.

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes of Sicyon

AGAMEMNON (Ἀγαμέμνων, ὁ)

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In Greek mythology, Agamemnon was the king of ARGOS or MYCENAE, son of ATREUS (or of his son Pleisthenes) and Aerope, brother of MENELAUS, husband of Clytemnestra and father of ORESTES (1.67.2), IPHIGENEIA (4.103.2, or

Iphianassa), Electra (Laodice), and Chrysothemis. In Homeric EPIC he is the leader of the Greek forces in the TROJAN WAR and contributes the greatest fleet (*Il.* 2.569–80). He was murdered by Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's lover, upon his return from TROY, and his death was avenged by his son Orestes (*Od.* 3.248–312). Agamemnon's MYTH was very popular especially with the Athenian tragedians, who added their own variations to the story. In historical times, Agamemnon was held to be the king of SPARTA and had his own cult. His tomb was allegedly located in Spartan Amyclae (Paus. 3.19.6). Already from the sixth century BCE Sparta forged bonds with Agamemnon in an attempt to justify leadership of the PELOPONNESE and Greece. Herodotus (7.159) testifies to this tendency when he has SYAGRUS, the Spartan envoy sent to GELON of SYRACUSE to ask for help against PERSIA in 480, use Agamemnon as an argument to claim Spartan leadership of the Greek forces.

SEE ALSO: Talthybius; Tragedy

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AGARISTE (I) (Ἀγαρίστη, ἡ) daughter of Cleisthenes

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Herodotus records a long narrative concerning how Agariste's father, the tyrant CLEISTHENES OF SICYON (c. 600–570 BCE), selected her husband (6.126–31), which is part of his discourse defending the ALCMAEONIDAE from the charge of MEDISM (6.121–31). Agariste was Cleisthenes' only daughter, and he obviously intended a very good match for her. Suitors were invited from all

over Greece to come to SICYON for one year, while he assessed their suitability to be Agariste's husband in terms of their "manly-excellence" (*ARETĒ*), temper, upbringing, and way of life. Most of the suitors were the sons of famous men, but descent was not the criterion by which Cleisthenes was judging. His choice narrowed to HIPPOCLEIDES of ATHENS, connected to the Corinthian TYRANTS, and MEGACLES (II), also of Athens, of the Alcmaeonid clan. When Hippocleides shocked Cleisthenes by dancing on his head on a table at the FEAST at which the successful suitor was to be announced, Cleisthenes awarded his daughter to Megacles. This will hardly have been the real motivation (if the dancing actually occurred), and Cleisthenes was presumably seeking a suitable political connection, as Megacles' father ALCMAEON was of legendary WEALTH. Agariste's son Cleisthenes was named for her father, indicating that Megacles was keen to advertise his connection with Sicyon. This Cleisthenes reformed the Athenian state into a DEMOCRACY in 508/7 BCE. The historical incident of the MARRIAGE contest may well have been embellished by the Alcmaeonidae to highlight their connection with Sicyon and Megacles' success in winning the hand of Agariste, and Herodotus (6.126.1) saw the marriage as elevating the status of the clan. A daughter (unnamed) from this marriage was given by Megacles to the Athenian tyrant PEISISTRATUS as his second wife ([Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 14.4–15.1) in the early 550s.

SEE ALSO: Agariste (II) daughter of Hippocrates; Cleisthenes son of Megacles; Competition; Short Stories; Women in the *Histories*

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AGARISTE (II) (Ἀγαρίστη, ἡ) daughter of Hippocrates (3)

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An Athenian, whose grandmother—also named Agariste, daughter of the tyrant CLEISTHENES OF SICYON—had married MEGACLES (II) of the ALCMAEONIDAE family of ATHENS. The younger Agariste was the niece (not the granddaughter, as mistakenly in Plut. *Per.* 3.1) of the Athenian political reformer CLEISTHENES SON OF MEGACLES, whose legislative reforms in 508/7 BCE transformed Athens into a DEMOCRACY. She was married to XANTHIPPOS and was the mother of PERICLES. Herodotus (6.131.2) reports that Agariste had a DREAM while pregnant, that she gave birth to a LION, and a few days later Pericles was born. This is the sole mention of her in the *Histories*. PLUTARCH follows Herodotus and reports the dream (Plut. *Per.* 3.1–2), which is as usual a post-eventum fabrication either of Agariste's or tradition in general, and follows the pattern of omens and portents prior to or accompanying births, such as that presaging the greatness of the Athenian tyrant PEISISTRATUS (1.159).

SEE ALSO: Agariste (I) daughter of Cleisthenes; Hippocrates (3) son of Megacles; Symbols and Signs; Tyrants; Women in the *Histories*

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AGASICLES (Ἀγασικλῆς, ὁ)

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A man from HALICARNASSUS (Herodotus' native city) who won a victory at the games held at the sanctuary of Triopian APOLLO, but defied the custom of dedicating his prize—a BRONZE

tripod—to the god on the spot and instead displayed it at his home (1.144.3). As a result of this breach of custom (*NOMOS*), Herodotus says, Halicarnassus was excluded from participating in the games by the other five Dorian CITIES (*pentapolis*) who controlled access to the sanctuary (LINDUS, IALYSUS, CAMIRUS, COS, CNIDUS).

SEE ALSO: Athletes and Athletic Games; Dedications; Dorians; Triopium; Tripod

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AGASICLES (*Spartan king*), *see* HEGESICLES

AGATHOERGI (ἄγαθοεργοί, οἱ)

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Herodotus mentions in passing a group at SPARTA called the Agathoergi ("Doers of Good Deeds"), composed of the eldest five men who leave the Spartan CAVALRY service each year; for that next year, they serve the state on missions requiring TRAVEL outside SPARTA (1.67.5). This is the only extant ancient reference to such a group. The name did appear in lexicographers of the Roman era (e.g., Hesychius α 251); at some point in the Byzantine period, an explanation was added that the Agathoergi were selected "on the basis of manly excellence by (?) the EPHORS" (Suda s.v. ἄγαθοεργοί (A 115)). Whether this claim rested on any ancient evidence is uncertain, and the attempt to see this as a fragment of the fourth-century BCE historian EPHORUS lacks support (Cunningham 2011; cf. *BNJ* 70 F239).

SEE ALSO: Lichas

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AGATHYRSIANS (Ἀγάθυρσοι, οἱ)

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A Scythian or northern Thracian tribe which lived in the Carpathian Mountains between the upper reaches of the MARIS (modern Mureș) and ISTER (Danube) rivers (4.48.4). Later this people was known as the Dacae (Dacians), with whom perhaps they had merged. The Agathyrsians are a northern neighbor of the SCYTHIANS (4.100.2, 102.2). Although Herodotus does not say so explicitly, they probably stem from the Greek MYTH of AGATHYRSUS, a son of HERACLES and a Scythian snake-goddess Echidna (4.10; Hes. *Theog.* 295–318). Herodotus describes their customs as being very similar to the Thracians' and mentions how the men wear GOLD jewelry and share their women in common, which—as later in Plato's *Republic* (462)—has a pacifying effect on the society (4.104). The relationship with the Scythians was not unproblematic: SPARGAPEITHES, a king of the Agathyrsians, was involved in the death of the Scythian king ARIAPEITHES (4.78.2). During DARIUS I's expedition (c. 513 BCE) the Agathyrsians, together with neighboring peoples, refused to help the Scythians, because they had attacked the Persians on their own and without provocation, as they argue in a SPEECH emphasizing the topic of justice (4.119). When the Scythians flee before Darius, the Agathyrsians rush to defend their own borders and forbid the Scythians from marching through their land (4.125.4–5). Later authors mentioning the Agathyrsians are EPHORUS (*BNJ* 70 F158) and ARISTOTLE ([*Pr.*] 920a1); Vergil remarks on their tattoos (*Aen.* 4.146); Pliny the Elder (*HN* 4.26) and Ammianus Marcellinus (31.2.14) locate the people further east in the region of Crimea and the Sea of Azov.

SEE ALSO: Ethnography; Thrace

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AGATHYRSUS (Ἀγάθυρσος, ὁ)

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Mythical, oldest son of HERACLES and a snake-goddess of SCYTHIA (4.10.1–2). Herodotus recounts the tale of Agathyrsus' and his brothers' birth as the version of the Scythian foundation story told by the Greeks living around the EUXINE (Black) Sea (4.8–10), though artistic and other evidence points ultimately to a Scythian origin for the legend (Ivantchik 2001). Agathyrsus and GELONUS fail to draw their father's bow and put on his belt and are banished from Scythia, while their younger brother SCYTHES accomplishes those tasks and becomes the first Scythian king. All three names are eponyms of Scythian tribes.

SEE ALSO: Agathyrsians; Gelonians; Myth; Olbia; Snakes

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AGBALUS (Ἀγβαλος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of MERBALUS, ruler of the Phoenician city of ARADUS (Arwad). Herodotus lists Merbalus as one of XERXES' non-Persian admirals in 480 BCE (7.98). Nothing more is known of this Agbalus. The name may reflect the

Phoenician Ozbaal ('ZB'L: Benz 1972, 374), a royal name which is recorded in the seventh century at Arwad (Elayi 2006, 28–30).

SEE ALSO: Near Eastern History; Phoenicians

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AGENOR (Ἀγήνωρ, ὁ)

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The mythical Phoenician king Agenor was a son of POSEIDON and LIBYA (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4), the latter a daughter of Epaphus, son of ZEUS and IO. In Herodotus' *Histories*, Agenor is only mentioned as the father of CADMUS (4.147), founder of THEBES, and of CILIX, eponymous hero of the CILICIANS (7.91). In mythological tradition, he also fathered EUROPA, Phoenix (Hes. F138 M-W), Phineus (Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F95), and THASOS (Paus. 5.25.12). All sons were sent out to search for Europa after her abduction by Zeus; not daring to return home without success, they all became founding heroes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 178). For an exhaustive collection of other genealogical traditions see Dümmler (1893, esp. §(g)).

SEE ALSO: Heroes and Hero Cult; Myth; Phoenicians

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AGESILAUS (Ἡγησίλεως, ὁ)

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1) Legendary Spartan king, son of DORYSSUS, member of the Agiad royal house of SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Agesilaus (*Hegesileōs* in Herodotus' IONIC DIALECT) in the GENEALOGY he provides for LEONIDAS before the Battle of THERMOPYLAE (7.204). In the fourth century BCE the name occurs with a king from the Eurypontid royal house (Agesilaus II, r. 399–c. 360).

2) Son of HIPPOCRATIDES, member of the junior branch of the Eurypontid royal house at Sparta. This Agesilaus never ruled, though his grandson LEOTYCHIDES II supplanted DEMARATUS as king in 491 BCE. Herodotus mentions him in his genealogy of Leotychides (8.131.2). Elsewhere (6.65.1) this Agesilaus is identified by the shortened form "Agis" (Ἄγης) as the grandfather of Leotychides.

SEE ALSO: Agis son of Eurysthenes; Euryp(h)on; Hegesicles; Menares

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AGETUS (Ἄγητος, ὁ)

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Spartan, son of ALCEIDES. Agetus was the closest friend of the Spartan king ARISTON (c. 560–510 BCE). Agetus' wife (unnamed by Herodotus) was "by far the most beautiful woman in SPARTA," despite having been quite ugly as a child. But this brought Agetus unwanted attention: when Ariston developed a passion for her (and he had not yet produced an heir with his own second wife), he tricked Agetus into giving her to him, by convincing his friend to exchange OATHS that each would give the other anything of his choosing. As the story continues, Ariston's new wife gave birth to a son, but less than nine months after their

MARRIAGE (6.61–63). Although DEMARATUS would succeed Ariston to the throne, this circumstance would eventually be used to depose him. When Demaratus confronts his mother about his real father, Agetus does not enter the picture: she tells her son that she was visited by an APPARITION in the form of Ariston, and thus his father is either Ariston or the hero ASTRABACUS (6.69).

SEE ALSO: Deception; Desire; Ephors; Heroes and Hero Cult; Women in the *Histories*

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AGIS father of Menares, *see* AGESILAUS (2)

AGIS (Ἄγης, ὁ) son of Eurysthenes

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Legendary Spartan king who gave his name to the Agiad royal house of SPARTA, which (like the Eurypontids) claimed descent from HERACLES. Herodotus mentions Agis in the GENEALOGY he provides for LEONIDAS before the Battle of THERMOPYLAE (7.204). In the fourth and third centuries BCE the name Agis occurs with kings from the Eurypontid royal house as well.

SEE ALSO: Agesilaus; Echestratus; Euryp(h)on; Eurysthenes; Heracleidae

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AGLAURUS (Ἀγλαυρος, ἡ)

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Mythical, daughter of CECROPS, a legendary king of ATHENS. Aglaurus and her sisters were tasked by ATHENA with guarding the box which contained the infant Erichthonius; they opened it, went mad, and leapt from the ACROPOLIS to their deaths (Gantz, *EGM* 235–38). Herodotus mentions Aglaurus' sanctuary as the place where Persian troops ascended, despite the steep cliff, and captured the Acropolis during the first invasion of 480 BCE (8.53; Paus. 1.18.2). Herodotus' description of the Persian approach had created debate about which side he meant, but the discovery in 1980 of a third-century BCE INSCRIPTION at the base of the eastern end of the Acropolis allowed scholars to locate the sanctuary of Aglaurus there (Dontas 1983; *SEG* 46-137; Hurwit 1999, 136).

SEE ALSO: Epigraphy; Myth; Persian Wars; Temples and Sanctuaries

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AGORA (ἀγορή, ἡ)

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A meeting-place where citizens gather for the purpose of political, commercial, religious-ceremonial, judicial, social and/or sportive activities. In early Greek history the agora appears to have had a practical function as "the place where one gathers" for political or military purposes. In

the course of the ARCHAIC AGE, Greek CITIES began to demarcate their agora and make it into an open space. In some places (e.g., ATHENS, CORINTH) remains of racing tracks testify to its sportive and ceremonial function. In the classical era the commercial use of the agora had become prominent. The squares were increasingly surrounded with monumental porticoes and other buildings with a religious and/or political function.

Herodotus mentions the agora occasionally, most often in the case of Greek *poleis*. As for its monumental layout, he mentions the buildings made of Parian marble at SIPHNOS (3.57.3–4) and refers to statues and shrines of local HEROES in METAPONTUM (4.15.4), SICYON (5.67.1), and Athens (5.89.3). In Herodotus' eyes, the agora defines Greekness. He observes that Egyptians may sell the remains of their SACRIFICES on a Greek agora if it happens to be available (2.39.2), and the typically Greek behavior of the philhellene Scythian king SCYLES is described as "walking around in public on the agora" (ἀγοράζειν, 4.78.4). Furthermore, he makes the Persian king CYRUS (II) condescendingly refer to the agora as a place where the Greeks "gather and cheat one another under OATH" (1.153.1). The agora indeed functions as a backdrop of deceit in the case of the war of the Lydian king ALYATTES against the Milesians, who use it to pretend that the SIEGE leaves the city unaffected (1.21). PEISISTRATUS, too, uses the agora to trick the Athenians into believing that he has been wounded by his adversaries (1.59.4). Although Herodotus considers the agora a typically Greek phenomenon, he also mentions its existence in the case of other peoples that have taken to TRADE, like the LYDIANS (SARDIS: 1.37.2; 5.101.2), BABYLONIANS (1.197), and PHOENICIANS (7.23.4).

SEE ALSO: Acropolis; Agora (Hellespontine Chersonese); Deception; Hellas; *polis*

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AGORA (Ἀγορή, ἡ) in the Chersonese

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A *POLIS* on the Hellespontine CHERSONESE, between CARDIA and PACTYE in the middle of the isthmus (BA 51 H3). Herodotus mentions Agora by name only as XERXES' invasion force marches through in 480 BCE (7.58.3). It may have been founded by MILTIADES THE ELDER with Athenian colonists in the late sixth century when he constructed a WALL across the peninsula (6.36–38). "Agora" is the Greek word for "marketplace," which probably reflects the settlement's importance as a center for TRADE with the Thracian hinterland. The city-ethnic *Chersonēsitai* (Χερσονησίται) seems to refer to inhabitants of Agora as well as the peninsula as a whole (cf. 4.137.1, 9.118.2; Steph. Byz. s.v. Χερρόνησος (X 40) = Hecataeus *BNJ* 1 F163). They appear on the Athenian Tribute Lists as "Chersonēsitai from Agora" (*IG* I³ 282.B1.11–14).

SEE ALSO: Agora; Athens; Colonization; Delian League; Hellespont; Thrace

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AGRIANES (Ἀγριᾶνες, οἱ)

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Thracian tribe. In his account of the campaign of the Persian general MEGABAZUS (c. 513 BCE), Herodotus lists the Agrianes along with the

ODOMANTIANs and DOBERES as people dwelling around Mt. PANGAEUM and Lake PRASIAS who were not subjected to Persian rule (5.16.1). However, the Agrianes appear in other sources (Thuc. 2.96.3; Strabo 7 F16a Radt) as inhabitants of the upper STRYMON valley, well to the north (BA 49 E1). owing to the apparent geographical incongruity, some editors have suggested deleting these three tribal names from the text as a later interpolation, or moving them to the next sentence, though this does not solve the problem (Wilson 2015, 95; Archibald 1998, 85–86 n. 35). In the ancient world, the Agrianes (or Agrianians) were best-known for their role as skirmishers and "special forces" in the army of Alexander III of MACEDON (Bosworth 1988, 263–64).

SEE ALSO: Geography; Thrace

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AGRIANES RIVER (ὁ Ἀγριάνης ποταμός)

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A river in THRACE (BA 51 H2, 52 A2; Müller II, 770–71), the modern Ergene in European Turkey. Herodotus mentions it (4.90.2) as a tributary of the HEBRUS (modern Maritsa).

SEE ALSO: Contadesdus; Rivers; Tearus

AGRICULTURE

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Agriculture necessitates the domestication of both plants and animals, as agricultural societies are reliant almost entirely on domesticated species. Domestication is the creation of new species from wild specimens as a result of artificial selection by humans. This artificial selection led to the development of biological characteristics that benefited humans, but often meant that the species could not survive without some degree of human management.

The change from a hunter-gatherer society to an agricultural-based one was not a quick transition. It began during the shift from the late Epipaleolithic (11000–9000 BCE) to the early Neolithic: evidence for this change is provided by human, animal, and vegetal remains, as well as tools and structures. This agricultural revolution began in the Levant in the tenth millennium, moved to Anatolia by the eighth millennium, and from there to the Greek mainland in the seventh millennium, whence it spread north to the Danube valley and east to southern ITALY, SICILY, and IBERIA. The rise of agriculture did not spell an end to HUNTING and gathering. Instead, foraging and hunting were incorporated into agricultural society. Hunting became a marker of class distinction, particularly in the Greek and Near Eastern worlds.

The earliest domestic crops were barley, emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, lentils, chickpeas, peas, and bitter vetch. These crops were all being cultivated in the Levant by 9000 BCE. The domestication of animals as livestock followed some time later, and by 6000 BCE sheep, goats, CATTLE, and PIGS were being raised in the Levant, creating the mixed subsistence pattern of agriculture. Fruit trees were domesticated much later than cereals and pulses: they were not cultivated until the Chalcolithic (5000–3000), beginning with the date palm and olive; the pomegranate, figs, and the grape vine were not cultivated until the Early Bronze Age.

In the Greek world, the practice of agriculture symbolized the separation between the “civilized” and the “other.” The nomadic populations of the Eurasian steppe epitomized the “other” in this sense. Despite this, sedentary farming communities regularly interacted with these nomadic

groups, trading their produce for animal products. This is particularly evident in the Greek colonies around the EUXINE (Black) Sea, who traded with the Scythian tribes. The SCYTHIANS are an excellent example of a culture that practiced different lifestyles: although traditionally considered to be a purely nomadic people, there were nomadic, semi-nomadic, and sedentary/agricultural tribes, with lifestyle reflecting environmental/climatic conditions (4.17–19).

The tools of ancient agriculture were simple. The wooden plow, called an ard, was used to break up the surface of the soil by producing furrows. Also called a scratch plow, the ard did not turn the soil, but scratched a line in the topsoil, necessary for sowing seeds, killing weeds, and aerating the soil. The plow was typically pulled by two oxen, and the tilling of the soil took place in the autumn. HESIOD (*Op.* 427–92) provides a detailed description of the plow and how it worked. It is clear that plowing was physically demanding for both man and oxen, and achieving a straight line took strength as well as considerable skill and experience. Depictions of plows frequently occur in the artistic record. For smallholders who could not afford to maintain a pair of oxen, the tools used were the spade and hoe, although the MEDITERRANEAN soil was better suited to the hoe.

The sickle was the main harvesting tool, and the curved blades are regularly found in archaeological contexts. HOMER (*Il.* 18.550–60) provides one of the most accurate accounts of the grain harvest and use of the sickle. Once harvested, cereal products had to be threshed, the process by which the kernels/seeds were separated from the rest of the plant. This is done on a threshing floor, a paved, circular area bordered by stones. Draught animals were hitched to a central pole and driven around the floor as the grain or corn was thrown under the hooves (Xen. *Oec.* 18.3–5). The threshing process was followed by winnowing, the purpose of which was to remove the chaff from the grain or corn. This was done by means of a winnowing basket or winnowing shovel. Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 8) provides a detailed botanical analysis of the various crops grown in the Mediterranean region, as well as their sowing and harvesting seasons.

The harvesting of grapes and olives required specialized tools. The harvested grapes were placed in large wicker baskets and transported to a wooden or stone pressing board. The grapes were then put in a basket or wicker sack on top of

the pressing board and trodden upon to release the juice, which ran into a container. The grapes could also be put directly into a large vat for treading. The WINE fermented in *pithoi* before being transferred to *amphorai* for distribution. Olives were harvested by using long poles to beat the olives from the tree, a process still used in Greece today. The olives were collected in a basket and taken to be crushed in an oil mill, then pressed.

Animals played an important role in agriculture. Our main source for animal husbandry in the Greek world is Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* in nine books (second half of the fourth century BCE). Livestock kept by farmers included donkeys, MULES, oxen, goats, sheep, PIGS, and poultry. Beekeeping was also quite common. Rarely were HORSES used for agricultural work. Throughout the Mediterranean and Near East, transhumance was a necessity for the maintenance of large herds, grazing in the highlands during the summer and moving to the lowlands for the winter.

SEE ALSO: Barbarians; Climate; Ethnography; Food; Geology; Meat; Nomads

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AGRIGENTUM (Ἀκράγας)

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Greek *POLIS* settled on SICILY's central-southern coast (BA 47 D4) around 580 BCE that became a major colonial classical city-state, modern-day Agrigento. "Agrigentum" is the Latinized version of the Greek "Akragas"; Herodotus only uses the city-ethnic, "Acragantines" (Ἀκραγαντινοί). Literary tradition attributes its foundation to GELA (Thuc. 6.4.4), with possible joint participation from RHODES (Pind.

F105 S-M; Polyb. 9.27.8). Later sources like Diodorus Siculus (19.108.1–2) and Polyaeus (*Strat.* 5.1.3) claim that Agrigentum began a campaign of military expansionism into central Sicily during the tyranny of Phalaris (c. 570–555). However, the absence of Phalaris or any notice of Agrigentine territorial gains prior to 500–490 in classical-era historical writing (notably Antiochus of Syracuse, Herodotus, or THUCYDIDES) has suggested that a Phalarid "Agrigentine conquest" was probably a late fabrication. Agrigentum's growth in power is clearer for the fifth century, particularly in relation to THERON, the city's "sole ruler" (μούνναρχος, 7.165) who ruled between 489/8 and 473/2. Theron's ousting of TERILLUS from the tyranny at HIMERA set in motion events leading to the Greeks' victory over Carthaginian forces at the Battle of Himera in 480. Theron's actions also, however, indicate the widened political influence of Agrigentum in the fifth century, as does Herodotus' note (7.170.1) that Agrigentines inhabited the *polis* of CAMICUS, former seat of the Sicilian king Kokalos, in his time.

Many of the sanctuaries of ancient Agrigentum are visible on the lower ridge's "Valley of Temples"; the city's AGORA, residential sectors, and the excellent Agrigento museum are located between the lower ridge and the center of modern Agrigento.

SEE ALSO: Carthage; Colonization; Gelon; Sicania; Tyrants

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AGRON (Ἄγρων, ὁ)

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Legendary king of LYDIA, great-grandson of ALCAEUS SON OF HERACLES. Herodotus names Agron the first Heraclid king of SARDIS (i.e., Lydia, 1.7.2–3), with CANDAULES being the last of this dynasty. Since Agron's father and

grandfather are Babylonian and Assyrian gods (BELUS and NINUS), some scholars believe that Herodotus reports a Greek (or Greek-influenced) tradition meant to connect the ancient Near Eastern kings to HERACLES (Asheri in ALC, 79–80); but Burkert (1995, 144) argues that this GENEALOGY only makes sense in the context of Lydian-Assyrian relations in the seventh century BCE.

SEE ALSO: Assyrians; Ethnography; Gyges son of Dascylus; Heracleidae

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AGYLLAEANS (Ἀγυλλαῖοι, οἱ)

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Agylla is the older Greek name for the Etruscan city of Caere (BA 44 B2), modern Cerveteri northwest of Rome. Herodotus recounts (1.167.1–2) how the Carthaginians and Etruscans after the naval battle of ALALIA (c. 540 BCE) stoned to death their Phocaeen prisoners on the Italian shore near Agylla. When, subsequently, every living thing that passed by the site was debilitated, the Agyllaeans sent to DELPHI, where the god instructed them to honor the dead Phocaeans as HEROES. Herodotus states that SACRIFICES and athletic games were still held there in his day. Later authors report a tradition that the city was founded by PELASGIANS (Briquel 1984, 169–224).

SEE ALSO: Carthage; Curses; Italy; Phocaea; Prisoners of War; Tyrrhenians

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AIRS, WATERS, PLACES, *see* MEDICAL WRITERS; CLIMATE

AISA, *see* HAESA

AJAX (Αἴας, ὁ)

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Hero from the ISLAND of SALAMIS, son of TELAMON and grandson of AEACUS. Telamon was exiled from AEGINA and settled on Salamis, where Ajax was born (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.7; Diod. Sic. 4.72.7). Ajax fought at TROY and committed SUICIDE after Achilles' armor was given to Odysseus instead of him (*Little Iliad*, PEG F2; Pind. *Nem.* 7.23–30, 8.26–27; Soph. *Ajax*).

Ajax's later genealogical connections are inconsistent in the sources. Ajax and Aeacus were claimed as ancestors, via Ajax's son Philaeus, by the Philaidae FAMILY at ATHENS (Hdt. 6.35.1), which included MILTIADES THE YOUNGER, the victor at MARATHON, and his son CIMON THE YOUNGER, the fifth-century Athenian general. This genealogical information is irreconcilable with the GENEALOGY of Miltiades given by Pherecydes (*BNJ* 3 F2), which may be a simplified, elongated stemma drawing on names from family and local Athenian traditions (Thomas 1989, 161–73; Duplouy 2006, 61–64; Fowler 2013, 474–80). Elsewhere in Pherecydes, Telamon is an Athenian, son of Actaeus (*BNJ* 3 F60). In other sources, Salamis was given to Athens by Philaeus and Eurysaces, both sons of Ajax (Plut. *Sol.* 10) or

by Philaeus, son of Eurysaces, son of Ajax (Paus. 1.35.2). In any case, Athenian tradition closely associated Ajax with both Salamis and Athens, and with Athens' control of the island (Duploux 2006, 61–64).

According to Herodotus, although Ajax was from Salamis, his name was given to one of the Cleisthenic tribes because he was a neighbor and ally (5.66). Before the Battle of Salamis in 480 BCE, the Athenians ask the Aeacidae for help, specifically calling upon Ajax and Telamon and bringing cult images of Aeacus and the Aeacidae from Aegina (8.64); following the battle, the Greeks dedicate a victory offering to Ajax on Salamis (8.121).

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes son of Megacles; Heroes and Hero Cult; Miltiades the Elder; Myth

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ΑΚΟΕ, see AUTOPSY; EVIDENCE; HISTORICAL METHOD

ALABANDA IN CARIA (Ἀλαβάνδα τὰ ἐν Καρίῃ)

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City in north-central CARIA (modern Arabhisar) along the west bank of the MARSYAS River (BA 61 F2), home to the tyrant ARIDOLIS who served in the Persian fleet in 480 BCE (7.195). Little is

known of the pre-Hellenistic city apart from a late classical building and the extent of the fourth-century circuit WALL. Alabanda remained in the Persian Empire until the Hellenistic period, when it was part of the religious Chrysaorean League and the Seleucid Empire, being temporarily renamed Antiocheia.

SEE ALSO: Alabanda in Phrygia; Tyrants

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ALABANDA IN PHRYGIA (τῆς Φρυγίης Ἀλαβάνδα)

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A “great city” in PHRYGIA under the administration of Amyntas, nephew of ALEXANDER I of MACEDON and son of a Persian notable (8.136.1). Its identification remains insecure, and no other ancient source mentions the city so named (to be distinguished from the ALABANDA IN CARIA). Stephen of Byzantium calls it “Alabastra” (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλάβαστρα (A 185)) and Simon Hornblower (1982, 218 n. 2) proposes that it should be identified with Blaundus on the Lydian-Phrygian border.

SEE ALSO: Amyntas son of Bubares; Cities; Gygaia

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ALALIA (Ἀλαλίη, ἡ)

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Alalia (modern Aleria) on the east coast of Corsica (CYRNU) was founded by settlers from PHOCAEA in Asia Minor around 560 BCE (1.165.1), although traces of preceding habitation of early Iron Age date have been found as well (Asheri in ALC, 185). Twenty years later a large additional body of Phocaeans arrived (1.166.1); these new settlers came in order to avoid becoming part of the expanding Persian Empire. The newcomers established additional sanctuaries, but their continuous raids on neighboring populations in the subsequent years led to an alliance between the Etruscans and CARTHAGE, who mounted an expedition of 120 ships against Alalia. The Phocaeans went against them with 60 ships of their own; but in the ensuing naval battle (one of the earliest recorded major military engagements of this kind, possibly alluded to in Thuc. 1.13.6) they lost 40 of their ships, and the remaining 20 were rendered useless because their rams were severely damaged (a “Cadmeian” victory, Hdt. 1.166.2). Realizing that they could not withstand another attack, the Phocaeans evacuated Alalia and moved to RHEGIUM at the southwestern tip of ITALY (1.166.3) and from there to ELEA (Hyle/Velia, 1.167.3). Whether all Greeks left is “disputed by archaeologists” (Asheri in ALC, 185). In any case the Etruscans seem now to have been the dominant power on the spot, until the Romans took over in 259 BCE.

SEE ALSO: Agyllaeans; Cadmeians; Colonization; Migration; Naval Warfare; Tyrrhenians

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ALARODIANS

(Ἀλαρόδιοι, οἱ)

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In providing a list of the provinces (*archai* or SATRAPIES, 3.89.1) into which DARIUS I divided the Persian Empire, Herodotus states (3.94.1) that the Alarodians were part of the eighteenth administrative district (νομός, nome). The Alarodians occupied territory near the modern-day border of Turkey, Iran, and ARMENIA (BA 89 E2; Müller II, 92). Possibly they were descendants of the kingdom of Urartu, which was destroyed in the seventh century BCE (Bryce 2009, 747–52). The Alarodians also appear in the CATALOGUE of XERXES’ invasion force, alongside the SASPEIRES and equipped in the same manner as the COLCHIANS (7.79).

SEE ALSO: Masistius; Persia

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ALAZIR (Ἀλάζειρ, ὁ)

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King of BARCA in LIBYA (North Africa) in the first half of the sixth century BCE. Although he bears a Libyan name, it seems that Alazir belonged to the Battiad family which ruled the Greek city of CYRENE. This would explain his support for ARCESILAUS III. It is even possible that he had been placed in charge of the city of Barca after it had been reduced by the forces of Arcesilaus III. Victim of an ambush, the two rulers were murdered by aristocratic Cyrenean EXILES hostile to Arcesilaus and the Barcaeans who supported them, in the AGORA of Barca, around 522 BCE (4.164).

SEE ALSO: Aristocracy; Battus I; Colonization

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ALAZONES, *see* ALIZONES

ALCAEUS (Ἀλκαῖος, ὁ)

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Alcaeus (born c. 630 BCE) is a lyric poet from LESBOS cited once by Herodotus (5.95) for having discarded his armor in a battle between ATHENS and MYTILENE. One recurrent topic in his surviving verses—the remnants of an Alexandrian edition in at least ten books—is the political turmoil that plagued Lesbos during the late seventh century, as rule by hereditary kingship gave way to a series of TYRANTS, and various aristocratic families (including Alcaeus’ own) jockeyed for power. Alcaeus vividly describes his hatred of PITTACUS, an erstwhile ally turned tyrant, and the tribulations that he himself suffered in political EXILE.

Herodotus mentions Alcaeus in the context of long-standing conflict between Athens and Mytilene for control of SIGEION, a strategically important site at the entrance to the HELLESPONT. Herodotus notes that during a battle (traditionally dated to 607/6, though this passage may raise questions about the CHRONOLOGY) the poet fled and the Athenians seized his armor, which they dedicated in the temple of ATHENA at Sigeion. Herodotus adds that Alcaeus composed a poem about the incident and sent it to Mytilene to inform his friend MELANIPPUS of what had happened. STRABO (13.1.38/C600 = F428a Campbell) quotes a brief excerpt from the poem, cast as a HERALD’s announcement that the poet is safe, despite the loss of his weaponry. Page (1955, 152–61) suggests that Alcaeus’ poems were the main ultimate source of information about the Sigeian War for Herodotus and all subsequent ancient authors.

SEE ALSO: Peisistratidae; Poetry; Sources for Herodotus

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ALCAEUS (Ἀλκαῖος, ὁ) son of Heracles

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According to Herodotus (1.7.2), Alcaeus was a son of HERACLES born to a female slave of IARDANUS (or perhaps to his daughter named DOULĒ). In the more common version of the story, Heracles became a slave of Omphale, daughter of Iardanus and queen of LYDIA (Gantz, *EGM* 439–42). Elsewhere, the name Alcaeus refers to Heracles’ grandfather, or Heracles’ original name (Diod. Sic. 1.24.4). Herodotus names Alcaeus’ great-grandson, AGRON, as the first Heraclid king of Lydia; the last of this dynasty, CANDAULES, loses his throne to GYGES SON OF DASCYLUS.

SEE ALSO: Heracleidae; Myth

ALCAMENES (Ἀλκαμένης, ὁ)

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Legendary Spartan king, son of TELECLUS, member of the Agiad royal house of SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Alcamenes in the GENEALOGY he provides for LEONIDAS before the Battle of

THERMOPYLAE (7.204). The Roman-era author Pausanias attributes the Spartan CONQUEST of the town of Helos (future HELOTS, slaves owned by the Spartan state) to Alcamenes (Paus. 3.2.7; Luraghi 2003, 129–32).

SEE ALSO: Agis son of Eurysthenes; Polydorus

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ALCEIDES (Ἀλκείδης, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of the Spartan AGETUS (6.61.5). Nothing more is known of Alceides (Alcidas, in the Doric dialect of SPARTA: *LGNP* III.A, 29 s.v. Ἀλκίδα (2)).

SEE ALSO: Dialects, Greek

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ALCENOR AND CHROMIUS (Ἀλκήνωρ, Χρομῖος)

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The two Argive survivors of the Battle of Champions (1.82), in which 300 Argives fought 300 Spartans for the plain of THYREAE. After only one Spartan, OTHRYADES, remained alive, Alcenor and Chromius considered themselves victorious and departed to ARGOS, while Othryades stripped the slain Argives of their armor and stayed in the Spartan camp. Both the

Spartans and the Argives maintained that they were victorious, and the dispute led to a larger battle, as the result of which SPARTA seized Thyrae. Other ancient sources do not feature the second battle (Chrysermus of Corinth *BNJ* 287 F2a, with “Agenor” for Alcenor; Theseus *BNJ* 453 F2). A different version existed in Argos, where the Roman-era author Pausanias saw a statue of the Argive Perilaus, son of Alcenor, killing the Spartan Othryades (Paus. 2.20.7).

SEE ALSO: Hair; Peloponnese; Warfare

ALCETAS (Ἀλκέτης, ὁ)

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Alcetas appears as the father of Amyntas (the first historically attested Macedonian king) in the list of Macedonian rulers given by Herodotus (8.139), descendants of PERDICCAS, the legendary founder of the kingship. The list presents the “pedigree” of ALEXANDER SON OF AMYNTAS; Herodotus tends to introduce such lists at key moments in the narrative (Bowie 2007, 219). Here, Alexander is about to address the Athenians as an envoy of the Persian general MARDONIUS in the winter of 480/79 BCE. The name Alcetas is well-attested in MACEDONIA beginning in the fourth century (*LGNP* IV, 18 s.v. Ἀλκέτας).

SEE ALSO: Aëropus; Amyntas son of Alcetas; Genealogies

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ALCIBIADES (Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of the Athenian CLEINIAS who stood out for his performance at the Battle of ARTEMISIUM in 480 BCE (8.17). This Alcibiades (I), of the Attic DEME Scambonidae, is the first securely attested member of this important Athenian FAMILY. The fourth-century orator Isocrates (16.25) claims that he assisted CLEISTHENES SON OF MEGACLES in expelling the PEISISTRATIDAE (and thus ushering in the DEMOCRACY at ATHENS).

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ALCIMACHUS (Ἀλκίμαχος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of EUPHORBUS (of ERETRIA). Herodotus names Euphorbus and PHILAGRUS as the two Eretrians who betrayed the city to the Persians after a six-day SIEGE in 490 BCE (6.101.2). Alcimachus was a common name in the AEGEAN region (LGPV I, 29 s.v. Ἀλκίμαχος), but nothing more is known of this man.

SEE ALSO: Aeschines; Medize

ALCMAEON (Ἀλκμέων, ὁ)

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Alcmaeon, son of MEGACLES (I), lived around 600 BCE and was eponymous for the Athenian clan of the ALCMAEONIDAE. Herodotus (6.125)

tells how Alcmaeon assisted Lydian envoys at DELPHI while in EXILE from ATHENS for his clan's part in the Cylonian affair. CROESUS king of LYDIA rewarded him at SARDIS with as much GOLD dust as he could carry from the treasury. Alcmaeon filled his clothes, boots, HAIR, and mouth; when Croesus amusedly observed him staggering from the treasury, he allowed him to take again as much. The story is folktale—Croesus ruled in the mid-sixth century—but accounts for the wealth that permitted Alcmaeon to field a victorious CHARIOT-team at OLYMPIA in 592 and that likely purchased his return to Athens. If Alcmaeon served as Athenian general during the First Sacred War (Plut. *Sol.* 11.2), reinstatement likely occurred before 590; the prestige of his Olympic victory may have helped to pave his way back to Athens. Alcmaeon's son MEGACLES (II) was an important political figure in mid-sixth-century Athens (1.59.3).

SEE ALSO: Athletes and Athletic Games; Chronology; Cylon; Laughter; Wealth and Poverty

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ALCMAEONIDAE (Ἀλκμεωνίδαι, οἱ)

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Athenian clan descended from ALCMAEON, many of whose members were prominent Athenian politicians from the seventh to fifth centuries BCE. The Alcmaeonidae were perpetually accursed and banished from ATHENS for slaughtering the followers of CYLON (c. 636) after his abortive coup failed (5.70.2–71; cf. Thuc. 1.126.2–127.1). Yet they managed to return: MEGACLES

(II), son of Alcmaeon, wielded king-making political power at Athens from c. 570 until PEISISTRATUS' final establishment of his tyranny in 546 (Hdt. 1.59–61). Herodotus claims that the Alcmaeonidae were inveterate enemies to tyranny and were exiled after Peisistratus' victory at PALLENE (1.64.3; 6.123.1), but CLEISTHENES SON OF MEGACLES was archon for 525/4 during the tyranny. Cleisthenes' brother HIPPOCRATES (3) bore the name of Peisistratus' father (6.131.2), and Alcibiades the Younger proudly proclaimed his Peisistratid affinity in the fourth century BCE (Isoc. 16.25). Expelled again after the MURDER of HIPPARCHUS, then defeated at LEIPSYDRUM attempting to return, the Alcmaeonidae subsequently enlisted Spartan aid with BRIBERY and help from DELPHI (Hdt. 5.62.2–63.1, 90.1). With Spartan help, they ousted the PEISISTRATIDAE from Athens in 511/10. Cleisthenes subsequently “took the *demos* into partnership” in 508/7, trumping his opponent ISAGORAS (5.66, 69–70.2; cf. [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 19.3–22.2). His invention of DEMOCRACY notwithstanding, Cleisthenes drops suddenly from sight: the implication that the Alcmaeonidae invited PERSIA into Athens' affairs—very unwelcome to the Athenians—is enhanced by treason charges leveled at them at or after MARATHON. Alcmaeonids were ostracized in the early 480s, but the clan recovered such that PERICLES became Athens' undisputed leader by the mid-fifth century. Herodotus vigorously defends the Alcmaeonidae from treason charges, notably the accusation of “shield-signaling” to the Persians after Marathon (6.115, 121–24): Alcmaeonids were among Herodotus' primary SOURCES for Athens' archaic history.

SEE ALSO: Alcmaeonides; Athens and Herodotus; Curses; Exile; Megacles (I) father of Alcmaeon; Megacles (IV) son of Hippocrates; Treachery; Tyrants

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ALCMAEONIDES (Ἀλκμεωνίδης, ὁ)

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An Alcmaeonides is known from two inscribed athletic DEDICATIONS dated to the middle of the sixth century BCE (IG I³ 597 and 1469), making him the brother of MEGACLES (II) SON OF ALCMAEON (Davies 1971, 372–73). In the best manuscript readings of Herodotus' *Histories* at 1.64.3, Alcmaeonides is named as the leader of the fleeing Athenians after the Battle of Pallene in 546/5. However, he lacks an introduction or even a patronymic. All modern editors and translators, except for Rosén (1987), follow the suggestion (though not emendation) of Wesseling (1763, 31 n. 11) to change μετ' Ἀλκμεωνίδεω (“with Alcmaeonides”) to μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων (“with [the] ALCMAEONIDAE”). Either the earliest editors misunderstood the name Alcmaeonides to be equivalent to the family name, Alcmaeonidae, or we are missing a section of Herodotus which introduced him. Wilson (2015a, 1: 36) is the first to cite one late manuscript that reads “Alcmaeonidae” (possibly a late alteration).

SEE ALSO: Editions; Manuscripts; Pallene (Deme)

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ALCMENE (Ἀλκμήνη, ἡ)

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Mythical, mother of HERACLES (2.145.4). In most traditions, ZEUS fathers Heracles on Alcmena by seduction or DECEPTION (Gantz, *EGM* 374–78), but Herodotus refers to Heracles only as the son of AMPHITRYON, Alcmena's mortal husband and cousin. The couple's grandfather PERSEUS, in Herodotus' telling, was of Egyptian descent (2.91.5; 6.53). Herodotus uses this fact in his argument that the Greeks took the name of Heracles from the Egyptians, rather than vice versa (2.43.2). After her death, Zeus had Alcmena transported to the Islands of the Blessed where she married Rhadamanthys (see e.g., Pherecydes *BNJ* 3 F84). She may have received cult honors at Boeotian THEBES (Paus. 9.16.7).

SEE ALSO: Myth; Proof

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ALCON (Ἄλκων, ὁ)

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Alcon, a Molossian, appears as one of the thirteen men who came to SICYON as a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter AGARISTE (I), sometime in the sixth century BCE (6.127.4). Nothing more is known of him, nor does Herodotus provide a patronymic.

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Competition; Hippocleides; Megacles (II); Molossians

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ALEA, *see* ATHENA; TEGEA

ALEIAN PLAIN (τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδίον)

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A large plain in CILICIA between the Sarus and Pyramus rivers, east of Tarsus (*BA* 66 G3; Müller II, 93–95). In Greek MYTH, Bellerophon famously wandered this plain (Hom. *Il.* 6.201). Historically it was an important military crossroads and staging point: the army of DARIUS I assembles at the Aleian Plain in 490 BCE before embarking for the AEGEAN SEA (6.95).

SEE ALSO: Armies; Marathon

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ALEUADAE (Ἀλευάδαι, οἱ)

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The "sons of Aleuas," an elite Thessalian FAMILY named for a legendary founder figure Aleuas, who was selected as king of THESSALY by the PYTHIA (Plut. *De frat. amor.* 492a–b); powerful in LARISSA as politicians and legendary founders of the Thessalian state (Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F52; Arist. *Pol.* 5.6). In *Pythian* 10, PINDAR is called upon by the sons of Aleuas to PRAISE a Thessalian victor (*Pyth.* 10.5), who presumably belonged to the family. The ode was commissioned by THORAX, member of the Aleuadae, and praises him and his unnamed brothers for their good governance of the Thessalian

state (*Pyth.* 10.64–72). These are seemingly the same brothers—Thorax, EURYPYLUS, and THRASYDEIUS—named by Herodotus (9.58) as the Aleuadae who surrendered Thessaly to the Persians and made an alliance with XERXES in 480 BCE (cf. 7.6, 130, 172; 9.1). In this, Herodotus puts the Aleuadae on par with other Medizing elite families like the PEISISTRATIDAE at ATHENS (7.6), who welcomed the Persian invasion. In the *Histories*, Xerxes assumes the alliance with the Aleuadae represents FRIENDSHIP with Thessaly as a whole (7.130); however, Herodotus later recounts that the Thessalians, maneuvering against the Aleuadae's alliance with PERSIA, send their own embassies to the Greeks in advance of Xerxes' invasion (7.172), implying that the Aleuadae could not force Thessaly as a whole to cooperate with Persia. According to Herodotus, Thorax accompanied Xerxes back to ASIA on his retreat from Greece and continued to press MARDONIUS to invade again (9.1).

SEE ALSO: Allies; Athletes and Athletic Games; Medize

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ALEXANDER I (Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ) son of Amyntas

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Son of Amyntas, king of MACEDONIA (c. 497/6–454 BCE). Alexander is the only Macedonian king to play a role in Herodotus' narrative of the PERSIAN WARS, but he makes an impressive entry earlier (5.17–21). There, Herodotus

describes how Alexander deceived and killed the seven Persian envoys who had demanded and received EARTH AND WATER (i.e., formal submission to the Great King of PERSIA) from his father Amyntas, probably in 513/12. As king of Macedonia, Alexander appears on five other occasions in the *Histories*, four of them connected with Herodotus' narrative of 480–479. i) At TEMPE (7.173.3) he tried to warn the Greek forces that resistance to the vast Persian army would be useless. ii) He saved the Boeotian CITIES from destruction, by placing garrisons and persuading XERXES that the BOEOTIANS were loyal to Persia (8.34). iii) He appears in ATHENS (8.136.1–3, 140.α.1–β.4) as an envoy of MARDONIUS, since he was already a PROXENOS and *euergetēs* (benefactor) of the Athenians, to try to convince them to become ALLIES of Persia. iv) He reveals Persian plans about the forthcoming attack at PLATAEA to the Athenian generals on the eve of the battle (9.44–45). Finally, as a coda to his initial appearance (5.22), Herodotus also describes how Alexander advanced his Greek descent from the Argive Temenids as an argument for his competing in the Olympic Games; the final verdict of the HELLENODIKAI was in Alexander's favor.

Thus Herodotus presents Alexander as a *philhellene* (friend of the Greeks) and at the same time of Hellenic descent. The story of the MURDER of the Persian envoys, which casts Alexander as an enemy of the Persians from a young age, is a later invention; otherwise, it is hard to explain the Persians' subsequent treatment of Alexander, such as Mardonius choosing him as an envoy to Athens, or other sources' claim that Xerxes rewarded Alexander generously by allowing him to rule the region between Mt. OLYMPUS and Mt. HAEMUS (Just. *Epit.* 7.4.1). Alexander's participation in the games at OLYMPIA has also been questioned, and the lineage he presents (going back to HERACLES) must be an attempt by the Macedonian royals to bind their land with the rest of the Greek world. Some scholars have seen in these two incidents, as well as the speech at Plataea, Herodotus uncritically accepting these (deliberately false) stories he heard on a visit to Macedonia. But in that case, how can one explain Alexander's impressive DEDICATION of a golden statue at DELPHI, right next to the TRIPOD dedicated by the other Hellenes (8.121.2), in the first flush of victory against the Persians? This action of Alexander, which was

cited until the age of Demosthenes (8.24), is of particular significance when we remember that victory against the Persians had reinforced the polarization between Greeks and BARBARIANS.

SEE ALSO: Advisers; Amyntas son of Alcetas; Hellas; Medize; Sources for Herodotus; Speeches; Temenus, Temenids

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ALEXANDER (Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ) son of Priam (Paris)

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Mythical Trojan prince, also known as Paris, whose abduction of HELEN from SPARTA was the cause of the TROJAN WAR (1.3; 2.112–20). Alexander's exploit is the fourth and last in the

sequence of mythical abductions of women which began hostilities between East and West. Herodotus attributes these stories to "learned Persians" (1.1.1), but it has been argued that they are Greek in origin and that the alleged source is fictitious (Fehling 1989, 50–57).

In Herodotus' other version of the story (2.112–20), attributed to "Egyptian priests," Alexander is diverted to EGYPT by adverse WINDS, and the king PROTEUS keeps Helen there until she is reclaimed by MENELAUS. Herodotus cites HOMER in support (*Il.* 6.289–92), contrasting the version in the EPIC *Cypria* (PEG F14) in which Alexander has an untroubled voyage back to TROY (2.116.3). Proteus criticizes him for his breach of hospitality, seduction of Helen, and THEFT of Menelaus' property (for the stolen property, see *Hom. Il.* 3.70, 285, etc.). Helen in this version may never have reached Troy, but as Herodotus concludes, Alexander and the Trojans are nevertheless destroyed: "for great crimes there are great punishments from the gods" (2.120.5).

SEE ALSO: Guest-friendship; "Liar School"; Myth; Poetry; Prologue; Proof; Rape; Reciprocity; Source Citations

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ALILAT (Ἀλιλάτ, ἡ; Arab. 'al-Lāt)

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An Arabian goddess Herodotus identified with Uranian APHRODITE. According to him, she formed a couple with the god OROTALT

(= DIONYSUS), these being the only deities worshipped by the ARABIANS. He further details their patronage of OATH rituals (3.8). Elsewhere, he identifies Alilat with the Assyrian MYLITTA and Persian MITRA (1.131.3). The name *ʾal-Lāt*, a contracted form of Arabic *ʾal-ʾilāt* (“the goddess”) is attested in pre-Islamic inscriptions in North Arabia, Palmyra, Edessa, Dura Europus, and among the Nabataeans, as well as in the Quran (Sura 53:19). While textual evidence is sparse, Krone (1992) argues that iconographic representations emphasize the goddess’ erotic and aggressive character, while also showing associations to the planet Venus. Corrente (2013) concurs, but thinks Herodotus described a specifically Nabataean divine couple.

SEE ALSO: Ethnography; Religion, Herodotus’ Views on

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ALIZONES (Ἀλιζῶνες, οἱ)

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A tribe inhabiting SCYTHIA along the HYPANIS RIVER north of the Greek colony of OLBIA, at a point where the TYRAS RIVER flows close by (4.52.4: difficult to reconcile with the modern topography, cf. BA 23 F1). The Alizones, like the CALLIPIDAE to the south, share Scythian customs except that they are farmers rather than NOMADS (4.17.1).

The two major MANUSCRIPTS of the *Histories* read “Alazones” (Ἀλαζῶνες), but recent editors have printed the variant “Alizones” based on a reference in STRABO (12.3.21/C550; Wilson 2015, 74). But the Strabo passage appears to be corrupt, and Aldo Corcella has argued in detail for “Alazones” (Corcella 1994; see also Corcella in ALC, 588). Pausanias (who writes “Alazones”) notes that they produce the best honey in the world by allowing their bees to range freely (1.32.1; cf. Ael. NA 2.53).

SEE ALSO: Agriculture; Ethnography

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ALLIES

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There are two basic words for “ally” in Herodotus: *symmachos* (σύμμαχος) and *epikouros* (ἐπικουρος), as well as the more technical term *parastatēs* (παραστάτης). The first of these words is by far the most common, not only in Herodotus’ narrative but in classical Greek literature in general.

A *parastatēs* is literally one’s neighbor in the line of battle; the term comes from the verb *paristēmi*, “to stand beside.” Herodotus uses the word in this sense, for example in an anecdote about the Battle of MARATHON in which a soldier named EPIZELUS, before being blinded, sees a giant who bypasses him only to kill his neighbor in the battle-line (6.117).

The noun *epikouros* derives from the verb meaning “to give aid” or “to come to the rescue of.” While it can be used to mean a generic ally, it generally does not refer to a person or a group of men who are legally bound by treaty to fight with another party, but a person who comes to someone’s aid under another compulsion, such as PRAYER (thus BOREAS, the north wind, is summoned as an *epikouros* by the Athenians during the Battle of ARTEMISIUM: 7.189) or financial obligation. The

word is most commonly used of MERCENARIES, as when PEISISTRATUS re-establishes himself as TYRANT at ATHENS with their aid (1.64), or when MILTIADES THE YOUNGER, the Athenian tyrant of the Hellespontine CHERSONESE, maintains his power by means of the 500 mercenaries he employs (6.39). The word can also refer to auxiliary troops, e.g., the Egyptian auxiliaries used by the Persians to help them control MEMPHIS (3.91). *Epikouros* is much more common in the first few books of the *Histories* than the last six, where Herodotus prefers the word *symmachos* as a reference to the Greek allies, to indicate that the Greeks fight on equal terms with one another.

The literal meaning of *symmachos* was “a co-fighter,” hence “ally.” The relationship could be a formal one, determined by the existence of a treaty between two or more allied states, or by membership in a league of states, such as the HELLENIC LEAGUE. Confusion arises, however, because the word is also used in a general sense of those who fight together without any evidence or implication of a formal relationship between the states these troops represent.

The most common use of the word *symmachos* in the *Histories* is as a reference to members of an interstate league. We have mentions of the PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE (“the Spartans sent for envoys from the remainder of their allies,” 5.91), and of the Hellenic League (“the allies said they would not follow the Athenians as leaders,” 8.2). It should be noted that these leagues were not formalized in the sense that an interstate organization like NATO or the United Nations is today, with a formal charter laying out the obligations of the alliance. There is no indication that members of either league ever signed any sort of treaty with each other; but it is clear that there were expectations of members of the league, such as participating in league military expeditions or attending strategic meetings held by the military leaders of each state.

A treaty agreement was called a *symmachiē* (συμμαχίη), so it is natural to assume that anyone referred to as a *symmachos* was party to such an arrangement. This is certainly true in some of Herodotus’ uses of the word, such as when the Tegeans argue for the position of HONOR on the right flank of the battle line at PLATAEA because of their relationship with the Spartans: “Always we have been deemed worthy of the first place in the ranks, we among all your [Peloponnesian League]

allies” (9.26). There certainly was a formal treaty arrangement between TEGEA and SPARTA, attested by ARISTOTLE (F592 Rose). But, given the paucity and inconsistency of ancient literary or documentary evidence, we cannot say that every *symmachos* had a *symmachiē* behind it; for instance, the Corinthians are also Spartan allies, but there is absolutely no mention in the historical record of a formal treaty between the two states.

SEE ALSO: Libations; Persian Wars; *polis*; Warfare

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ALOPECE (Ἀλωπεκή, ἡ)

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A DEME (district, precinct) of ancient ATHENS, just south of the city center (BA 59 B3), also spelled Alopeke or Alopekai. Herodotus mentions Alopece (5.63.4) as the location of the grave of the Spartan ANCHIMOLUS, who led a failed invasion of Attica c. 511 BCE in an attempt to drive out the PEISISTRATIDAE. Alopece was a fairly large deme population-wise; it was home to numerous members of the ALCMAEONIDAE and a number of other famous Athenians, including ARISTEIDES and Socrates.

SEE ALSO: Cynosarges

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ALOS, *see* HALOS

ALPENUS (Ἀλπηνός) or ALPENOI (Ἀλπηνοί)

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A settlement in Opountian (Eastern) Locris (BA 55 D3; Müller I, 292–93). Herodotus places Alpenus (or Alpenoi) east of THERMOPYLAE where the ANOPAEA path ends, and notes that it is the first Locrian city one reaches when traveling to LOCRI (Opountian) from Malis. He adds that it is near Melampygos (“Black-Bottom”) Rock and the seats of the Cercopes (7.216). Herodotus refers to Alpenus here as a *POLIS*, but elsewhere as a village called Alpenoi (κώμη Ἀλπηνοί, 7.176.5), which is likely more fitting. It served as a base camp for the Greeks during the Thermopylae campaign in 480 BCE: they counted on getting supplies from Alpenus (7.176.5), and two Spartans who missed the battle due to a DISEASE of the eye were convalescing here (7.229.1).

SEE ALSO: Aristodemus the Spartan; Eurytus; Malians; Persian Wars

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ALPHABET, *see* CADMEIANS; WRITING

ALPHEOS (Ἀλφεός, ὁ) and MARON (Μάρων, ὁ)

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Spartan brothers, sons of ORSIPHANTUS. Herodotus names Alpheos and Maron as the men who fought best (*aristoi*) at THERMOPYLAE in 480 BCE, after DIENECES (7.227). The Roman-era author Pausanias mentions a shrine (*hieron*) to the brothers at SPARTA (3.12.9), but nothing more is known of them.

SEE ALSO: *aretē*; Heroes and Hero Cult

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ALPIS RIVER (ὁ Ἄλπις ποταμός)

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A tributary of the ISTER (Danube). Herodotus describes the Alps River as flowing north out of the land above the OMBRICANS along with the CARPIS RIVER (4.49.1). A garbled reflection of the Alps is possible; the Roman-era geographer STRABO (7.5.2/C314) also refers to “the Calapis which flows from the Albian Mountain.” If this is the same river as Pliny the Elder’s *Colapis* (HN 3.148; BA 20 C4), the modern Kupa/Kolpa is a possible identification.

SEE ALSO: Geography; Rivers

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Corcella in ALC, 618–19.

ALTARS (βωμοί, οἱ)

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The altar (*bōmos*), usually a simple block of stone with a flat upper surface, was an essential feature of ancient Greek religious practice. Altars were raised in *temenē* (sing. *temenos*, a sacred space “cut off” from the profane), sanctuaries, and other contexts. On them the Greeks offered their gods and HEROES burnt-animal SACRIFICE and/or other offerings. The raising of altars, beside which DEDICATIONS were occasionally placed, or their violation through sacrilegious or impious acts, receive special mention in Herodotus’ *Histories*.

Extravagant altars and incense offerings, or the absence of altars for burnt-animal sacrifice among foreign peoples, are features of the “other.”

AMASIS, king of EGYPT, granted Greek sailors who did not wish to settle in NAUCRATIS plots of land where they could establish altars and *temenē* for the gods (2.178). When POLYCRATES’ death was reported, MAEANDRIUS (II) built an altar to ZEUS *Eleutherios* (“Liberator”) at SAMOS and demarcated a *temenos* around it which could still be seen in front of the city in Herodotus’ time (3.142.2). The Metapontines claimed that ARISTEAS OF PROCONNESUS himself appeared in their land and urged them to raise an altar in honor of APOLLO, placing near it a statue bearing Aristeas’ name, because they were the only Italiots whose country Apollo had visited (4.15.2). The Byzantines carried off to their city the pillars erected by DARIUS I on the shores of the Thracian BOSPORUS, which were inscribed with the names of the nations forming his army. These they used, except for one block, to build an altar to ARTEMIS *Orthosia* (4.87.1–2). Alarmed by the Persian approach, the Delphians sought advice from Apollo who urged them “to pray to the winds.” They thus raised an altar within the *temenos* of THYIA and placated the WINDS with sacrifices, a practice continued up to Herodotus’ time (7.178).

At the entrance of THERMOPYLAE, above the warm springs called “the Cauldrons” (CHYTROI) by the local inhabitants, stood an altar of HERACLES (7.176.3). At the Delphic shrine the gold TRIPOD made from a tenth of the Persian spoils at PLATAEA (9.81.1) and the “bull-piercing” spits, dedicated by the courtesan RHODOPIS (2.135.4), were located near the altar of Apollo, which the Chians had dedicated.

Under pressure from the Thebans, the Plataeans sent representatives to hand themselves over to the Athenians by sitting as SUPPLIANTS on the altar of the Twelve Gods when the Athenians offered sacrifices there (6.108.4). The sanctity of the altar as a place of refuge is also violated on occasion. The Selinuntines killed EURYLEON, who had attempted to become TYRANT, though he had fled to the altar of Zeus *agoraios* (5.46.2). Although CLEOMENES, being a foreigner, was forbidden to sacrifice on the altar of Argive HERA, he ordered the priest to be dragged from the altar

and scourged, and performed the sacrifice himself (6.81).

Herodotus’ comments on altars and offerings of non-Greeks focus on difference or extravagance. At BABYLON, outside the temple of Zeus BELUS stood a golden altar on which only suckling lambs were sacrificed. On another, larger altar every year at the FESTIVAL of Zeus Belus, the CHALDEANS burned 1,000 TALENTS of frankincense (1.183.1–2). DATIS, Darius’ general, burned 300 talents of frankincense on the altar of the Delian Apollo as an offering (6.97.2). It was not a Persian custom to erect altars for animal sacrifices, nor did they light a FIRE when they were about to offer sacrifice (1.131.1, 132.1). The SCYTHIANS did not erect altars for any god except ARES (4.59.2).

SEE ALSO: Ethnography; First Fruits; Gods and the Divine; Libations; Priests and Priestesses; Religion, Greek; Religion, Persian; Sacrilege; Temples and Sanctuaries

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ALYATTES (Ἀλυάττης, ὁ)

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Alyattes was the fourth Mermnad king of LYDIA, the son of SADYATTES and father of CROESUS. During his reign—probably in the late seventh/early sixth century BCE (Eder and Renger 2007, 86–90)—he drove the CIMMERIANS out of ASIA, captured the Greek city of SMYRNA, and

attacked but failed to capture the Greek city of CLAZOMENAE. He fought wars with the MEDES under CYAXARES and with MILETUS under THRASYBULUS, both of which resulted in peace settlements. Under Alyattes, the Lydian Empire attained standing and stability.

Alyattes' war with Miletus, which he inherited from his father in its seventh year, lasted for five more years (1.17–22). He did not engage in SIEGE WARFARE, because of the Milesians' superior naval ability. Instead, he conducted annual raids on Milesian territory and burned their crops. In the twelfth year of the war, the temple of ATHENA of ASSESUS caught FIRE and burned to the ground during Alyattes' annual raid. Afterwards, Alyattes fell ill and consulted the PYTHIA at DELPHI for advice on his illness. The Pythia refused his emissaries entry until the temple to Athena was rebuilt. Alyattes then sent an envoy seeking a truce with the Milesians so he could fulfill this requirement. Thrasybulus, forewarned by PERIANDER about the nature of the Pythia's demand of Alyattes, ordered the Milesians to put on a great FESTIVAL to coincide with the visit of Alyattes' HERALD. When Alyattes learned of the Milesians' apparent luxury, he ended the war, built two TEMPLES to Athena, and recovered. He then dedicated a large SILVER bowl and IRON stand at Delphi, making him the second of his line to leave offerings there. The iron stand is also described by the Roman-era authors Pausanias (10.16.1–2) and Athenaeus (5.210b–c).

The war between the Lydians under Alyattes and the Medes under Cyaxares lasted five years (1.74). When a solar ECLIPSE (predicted by THALES, perhaps corresponding to one occurring in May 585) occurred during one of their battles in the fifth year, both sides decided to arrange a peace, brokered by SYENNESIS of CILICIA and LABYNETUS of BABYLON. The latter of these has been identified with Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, whom Cyrus will depose. To cement the alliance, Alyattes' daughter ARYENIS married Cyaxares' son ASTYAGES, the next king of the Medes. This MARRIAGE serves as one of Croesus' motivations for attacking the Persians after the Persians had taken Media.

Alyattes' tomb is one of the few wonders of Lydia (1.93). Herodotus claims that it was built by traders, artisans, and prostitutes, and that the

prostitutes were the greatest contributors. The tomb has been identified as one of the tumuli at Bin Tepe, north of SARDIS (modern day Sart, Turkey), and is one of the largest in the world.

One curious mention of Alyattes comes in Book 3 of the *Histories*. When Periander was TYRANT in CORINTH, he sent three hundred sons of leading Corcyraeans to Alyattes to be castrated. The Samians prevented this from happening (3.48). Diogenes Laertius repeats the story (1.94).

SEE ALSO: Allies; Burial Customs; Disease; Mermnadae; Near Eastern History; Prostitution; *thōmata*

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AMASIS (Ἀμασις, ὁ) king of Egypt

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Amasis (Ahmose II, ruled 570–526 BCE) is the last pharaoh whom Herodotus presents in his Egyptian LOGOS (Book 2). It is also Amasis who receives the most developed treatment from Herodotus: not less than eleven chapters are devoted to his reign (2.172–82), not counting those which recall his seizure of power from the legitimate pharaoh APRIES, who is disavowed by the Egyptian soldiers (2.162–63).

There may be multiple explanations for Herodotus' interest in the second-to-last pharaoh of the 26th (Saïte) Dynasty, but the principal reason rests no doubt on the very strong links which tied Amasis to the Greeks. Beyond rich DEDICATIONS

in the Greek world (DELPHI, CYRENE, LINDUS, and SAMOS), relations of FRIENDSHIP and alliance—in particular, through a MARRIAGE with the Cyrenean LADICE—and the use of Greeks in the military (even being used as bodyguards for the king, in preference to Egyptians: 2.154.3), Amasis was especially distinguished in the eyes of the Greeks by his actions in connection with NAUCRATIS. Indeed, even if (contrary to what we gather from Herodotus: “he gave Naucratis as a *POLIS* to settle in,” 2.178) Amasis did not, properly speaking, “found” the EMPORION of Naucratis, he was its principal organizer, in conceding to the Greeks a certain number of privileges—in particular religious (the HELLENION)—in order to facilitate an operation which aimed above all at better control of the activity of Greek merchants in the DELTA.

In addition to this figure of a “philhellenic” king (2.178), other images, sometimes at first sight contradictory, coexist in Herodotus’ long biographical notice. One can note those of the philosopher-king, legislator, or builder; but also, what is perhaps more original, the intimate (not to say satirical) portrait which is drawn of this ruler “of popular origin” (2.172) across several anecdotes (cf. 2.162, 172, 173, 174, 181). This could account simultaneously for an Egyptian tradition—this image being concordant with that found in texts of demotic literature—and a Greek re-interpretation of Egyptian history, in particular, of the prosperous reign of Amasis.

SEE ALSO: Egypt; Humor; Mercenaries; Nitetis; Psammenitus; Sais; Trade

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AMASIS (Ἀμασις, ὁ), Persian general

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Amasis was a Persian general placed in charge of the army dispatched by ARYANDES to attack the Greek city of BARCA in LIBYA c. 513 BCE (4.167.1). After capturing Barca by means of a deceitful exchange of OATHS, Amasis refused to allow the Persian naval commander BADRES of PASARGADAE to attack CYRENE as well (4.201–3).

As given by Herodotus, Amasis’ name matches the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “Ahmose.” Yet Herodotus identifies Amasis as a member of the Persian Maraphian tribe. There are several possible explanations. First, Amasis may be an Iranian name which has become corrupted or confused, either in Herodotus’ source or subsequently (Schmitt, *IPGL* 69–70 (no. 16)). It is also possible that it was his given name; the name Ahmose (in Egyptian) occurs on a seal attested in the PERSEPOLIS Fortification Archive (Garrison and Ritner 2010, 28–33, 47–49), suggesting it had some currency there during this period. A third possibility is that Amasis assumed this name in addition to his own, in accordance with the Egyptian practice of “double naming” (Briant 2002, 482). Amasis is sometimes identified with the Arsames who, according to Polyaeus (*Strat.* 7.28.1), led an expedition against Barca, but there is no good reason for this identification (Chamoux 1953, 164–66).

SEE ALSO: Amasis (king of Egypt); Deception; Maraphians; Pheretime

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AMATHUS (Ἀμαθοῦς, ὁ)

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On CYPRUS' southern coast (BA 72 C3), Amathus had long been a major settlement by Herodotus' time. But its history remains obscure, and it does not appear among ten Cypriot kingdoms that acknowledged the authority of the neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon in a cuneiform prism of 673/2 BCE. Amathus was the only Cypriot kingdom to have remained loyal to the ACHAEMENIDS during the IONIAN REVOLT, and it successfully resisted the siege of ONESILUS of Salamis, the revolt's Cypriot instigator (5.104–8, 114). Although extensive damage to both APHRODITE's shrine and the royal palace visible in the material record is roughly contemporary with Onesilus' SIEGE, this might have resulted from some other event unknown to us (*pace* Petit 2004).

Whereas Herodotus typically names the rulers of Cypriot CITIES involved in the Ionian Revolt, he cites the Amathusians collectively for their stance yet omits their ethnic affiliation (cf. 7.90), despite the city's well-known claim to AUTOCHTHONY and the (still undeciphered) Eteocypriot language that long persisted there. Further difficulty surrounds Herodotus' tale (5.114–15) of the bees that built a hive in Onesilus' decapitated head, which the Amathusians hung upon their gates prior to burying it and worshipping Onesilus as a protective hero, in accordance with an ORACLE. The tale reflects Greek religious practice but also betokens Near Eastern cultural motifs (e.g., Judges 14:8–20).

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity; Heroes and Hero Cult; Near Eastern History; Religion, Greek; Salamis (Cyprus)

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AMAZONS (Ἀμαζόνες/
Ἀμαζονίδες, αἱ)

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In Greek mythology, the Amazons were a tribe of women warriors. Herodotus dwells on them for several chapters (4.110–16) when the SAUROMATIANS—whose women maintain an Amazonian way of life—enter his narrative as neighbors of the SCYTHIANS. The Amazons fought the Greeks at the THERMODON RIVER in CAPPADOCIA. The Greeks captured them alive and put them on board ship, where the Amazons massacred the crew and escaped (4.110.1). Pausanias refers to the battle at Thermodon, as Herodotus does, but reports that the women subsequently tried to invade Attica and were defeated (Paus. 1.2; see also Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F166; Herodorus *BNJ* 31 F25a; Diod. Sic. 4.28 and Plut. *Thes.* 26–28). Herodotus reveals awareness of this legend: before the battle of PLATAEA, the Athenians, speaking of their glorious past and previous military records, cite their triumph over the Amazons in Attica (9.27.4). Herodotus' version in Book 4 is one of the very few Greek accounts where the Amazons survive a confrontation with the Greeks (Hazewindus 2004, 211).

PINDAR, for example, mentions that Bellerophon, HERACLES, TELAMON, Iolaus, and THESEUS were victorious in all their encounters against the Amazons (Pind. *Ol.* 8.46–48, 13.87–131; *Nem.* 3.34–39; F172 S-M); centuries later, Quintus Smyrnaeus refers to the death of Penthesileia, the Amazonian queen, by the hand of Achilles (1.18–19, 718–21).

In the *Histories*, after massacring the Greeks, the Amazons invade SCYTHIA and mate with Scythian young men, with whom they create the nation of the Sauromatians (4.110.2–116.1). Sauromatian women keep the Amazonian warrior features: they go HUNTING together with their husbands or alone, they go to war, and none of them is married until she has killed at least one enemy; finally, they wear the same DRESS as men (4.116–17). However, Herodotus gives no sign that among the Sauromatians women have more authority than men or that men fear women (Dewald 1981, 102–3; Hazewindus 2004, 213–14). On the contrary, it is clearly mentioned (4.119.1) that the Sauromatians have a king (contrast Diod. Sic. 3.52–53., Ps.-Scylax 70, and Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F160 where the nation of the Sauromatians is mentioned as *gynai-kokratoumenon*, “ruled by women”). Moreover, contrary to the Hippocratic corpus and other sources, Herodotus does not refer to monstrous Amazonian and Sauromatian customs, such as the cauterization of the women’s breast so that they can use their weapons better or the dislocation of the joints of the male CHILDREN at birth in order to make them lame, to prevent the males from conspiring against the females (Hippoc. *Aer.* 17.1–18, *Art.* 53.1–10; Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F107 and Diod. Sic. 2.45).

SEE ALSO: Athens; Ethnography; Gender; Medical Writers; Myth; Oeopata; Sex; Tanais; Women in the *Histories*

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AMBRACIA (Ἀμβρακία/Ἀμπρακία, ἡ)

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A *POLIS* in northwest Greece (modern Arta), controlling an area north of the gulf to which it gave its name (*BA* 54 C3). Ambracia was founded by CORINTH in the seventh century BCE (Strabo 10.2.8/C452), and the population were DORIANS, as Herodotus notes (8.45). The Ambraciots (Herodotus uses only the city-ethnic, Ἀμπρακιῶται) sent seven ships to join the Greek fleet at SALAMIS in 480 BCE; Herodotus comments that they and the LEUCADIANS came from farthest away, other than a single ship from CROTON in ITALY (8.45, 47). The following summer, five hundred Ambraciot HOPLITES fought with the Greeks at PLATAEA, where they lined up opposite the SACAE (9.28.5, 31.4).

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Ethnicity; Hellenic League; Ionian Gulf

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AMEINIAS (Ἀμεινίης, ὁ)

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Ameinias, son of Euphorion, of the Athenian DEME of PALLENE, one of the most successful commanders at the Battle of SALAMIS in 480 BCE. According

to the Athenians, when the Persians attacked, Ameinias was the only man not to back water, but attacked and became inextricably entangled with a Persian ship; the Greeks came to his aid and the battle began. The Aeginetans, however, attributed the start to a ship bringing deities from their island (8.84). To his great annoyance, Ameinias was later pursuing the ship of the Carian queen ARTEMISIA when it attacked a ship on the Persian side; deceived, he turned away (8.87). This cost him the prize of ten thousand drachmas offered to whomever captured her alive: the Greeks took it as a great INSULT that a woman should attack Greece (8.88, 93).

Tradition made Ameinias brother of the poet AESCHYLUS, who also fought at Salamis (Diod. Sic. 11.27.2; *Vit. Aesch.* 4); however, Aeschylus was from ELEUSIS, not Pallene. PLUTARCH (*Them.* 14.3; cf. *Cat. Mai.* 29.2) has a slightly different account of the battle, in which Ameinias is from the deme of DECELEA and was attacked by the great ship of Ariamenes, brother of XERXES and admiral of the Persian fleet. They were entangled and Ariamenes was killed attempting to board Ameinias' TRIREME; his body was found and taken by Artemisia to Xerxes. There is a friendly letter to Ameinias purporting to be from THEMISTOCLES (no. 11; Doenges 1981, 177–81).

SEE ALSO: Athens; Euphorion the Athenian; Naval Warfare

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AMEINOCLES (Ἀμεινοκλῆς, ὁ)

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A merchant of Magnesia in northern Greece, son of CRETINES, who owned land near Cape SEPIAS. Ameinocles profited greatly from scavenging the

Persian fleet that had been heavily damaged in a storm during XERXES' invasion of 480 BCE. However, Herodotus contrasts this sudden fortune with the fact that Ameinocles "suffered the misfortune of having killed a son" (7.190; cf. Macan 1908, I.1: 292). PLUTARCH viewed Herodotus' account as defamatory, claiming that Herodotus mentions Ameinocles for the sole purpose of revealing him as a child-murderer (*Mor.* 864c3–13).

SEE ALSO: Disaster; Happiness; Magnesia in Greece; Wealth and Poverty

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AMESTRIS (Ἀμῆστρις, ἡ)

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Daughter of OTANES (3) and wife of XERXES (7.61.2). Herodotus presents Amestris in more detail in two episodes characterized by the Greek topos of a licentious and notoriously cruel Persian queen (Rollinger 2010). Herodotus alleges the existence of a Persian custom of burying people alive, referring to a story he purportedly heard that the aged Amestris buried alive fourteen sons of notable Persians as a gift to the god of the netherworld (7.114.2). Near the end of the *Histories* he relates in detail (9.109–12) Amestris' cruel PUNISHMENT of the anonymous wife of Xerxes' brother MASISTES after Xerxes committed adultery with Masistes' daughter ARTAYNTE. Amestris has her blameless relative mutilated, cutting off her breasts, nose, ears, lips, and tongue and throwing them to the DOGS.

Some MANUSCRIPTS exhibit the variant spellings *Amastris* and *Amistris*. The name is

Iranian, although the exact etymology is debated (Schmitt, *IPGL* 70–71).

SEE ALSO: End of the *Histories*; Human Sacrifice; Mutilation; Violence; Women in the *Histories*

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AMIANUS (Ἀμιάντος, ὁ)

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Amianus, son of LYCURGUS, from TRAPEZUS in ARCADIA, was one of the thirteen men who came to SICYON as a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter AGARISTE (I), sometime in the sixth century BCE (6.127.3). Nothing else is known of him. (See ALCON for bibliography.)

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Competition; Hippocleides; Megacles (II)

AMMON (Ἀμμων, ὁ)

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“Ammon” refers both to the Siwa OASIS in the western DESERT of EGYPT (BA 73 C4) and to the god, equated by the Greeks with ZEUS, whose sanctuary and ORACLE were found there. Herodotus attributes the community there to colonists from Egypt and ETHIOPIA (2.42.4), ruled by a king ETEARCHUS in or just before Herodotus' time (2.32.1). The archaeological and literary

evidence indicates a Libyan people influenced by or adapting Egyptian culture, including the iconography of Ammon wearing a ram's-fleece head-dress (Asheri in ALC, 425–27). Herodotus places the Ammonians ten days' journey west of Egyptian THEBES; they are the first people living along the sand ridge he envisions running the length of north Africa, i.e., LIBYA (4.181); the actual distance is 900 kilometers (Corcella in ALC, 704–5).

The oracle of Zeus/Ammon was well-known to the Greeks by the fifth century BCE. PINDAR was said to have written a hymn to Ammon and dedicated an image of the god at his temple in Boeotian THEBES (Paus. 9.16.1), and Herodotus includes it as the only non-Greek oracle tested by CROESUS (1.46.3). He also links it with the oracle of Zeus at DODONA, both by reporting the account he heard from the priestesses at the latter and by noting the resemblance in divinatory methods at the two sites (2.55–57). Herodotus uses an oracle issued by Ammon to the CITIES of MAREA and APIS as PROOF of the correctness of his own argument concerning Egyptian GEOGRAPHY (2.18). The “Spring of the Sun” was also famous in antiquity (e.g., Diod. Sic. 17.50.4–5; Lucr. 6.840–78) and still today maintains its constant temperature, creating the illusion that it fluctuates opposite to the daily heating and cooling cycle of the desert (Hdt. 4.181).

The Ammonians were supposedly the object of a failed attempt at CONQUEST by the Persian king CAMBYSES (II), who in his MADNESS sent an army of 50,000 men across the desert. They were last seen at Oasis (the “ISLAND OF THE BLESSED”), believed by the Ammonians to have been buried by a sandstorm (3.26). The most famous ancient visitor to the temple was Alexander III of Macedon in 331 BCE, who (according to some accounts) was greeted as the son of Zeus (Plut. *Alex.* 27) and later issued coinage bearing the image of Ammon/Zeus.

SEE ALSO: Aeschrionian Tribe; Black Athena; Cyrene; Nile; Temples and Sanctuaries

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AMOMPHARETUS (Ἀμομφάρετος, ὁ)

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A Spartan officer whom Herodotus names as commander (*lochagos*) of the Pitane division (*lochos*). Amompharetus initially refused to follow PAUSANIAS' orders to retreat at PLATAEA in 479 BCE (9.53–57) and was one of four honored Spartans buried in a special tomb at the site of the battle (9.85.2; cf. 9.71.2). The exact status of these men remains a mystery: the MANUSCRIPTS read "priests" (*irees*, accus. *ireas*), but many scholars have found this unlikely, nor is there any indication in the main narrative of Amompharetus' actions that he was a priest (Wilson 2015, 186–88). An eighteenth-century editor's emendation to the rare term (*e*) *irenes*—which designated an age-group at SPARTA, perhaps men between the ages of 20 and 29—was challenged in the late twentieth century but recently defended (Makres 2009). Still, the *lochos* was a large unit unlikely to be trusted to an (*e*) *iren*, and the reason for the division of the Spartan dead into three tombs—these four men, the rest of the Spartiates, and the HELOTS—remains unclear (see Flower and Marincola 2002, 255–56).

Since Spartans rarely disobeyed their commanders, and those who did were punished severely and certainly not buried with HONOR like Amompharetus (Lendon 2005, 71–72), the historicity of Amompharetus' refusal to retreat has also been questioned. Explanations include: i) Herodotus has mistaken Amompharetus' role as rearguard (Lazenby 1993, 236–37); ii) the

Spartan value of holding one's ground outweighed obedience in this instance (Lendon 2005, 77); iii) Herodotus contrived this passage to emphasize Amompharetus' heroic cast (Flower and Marincola 2002, 201).

SEE ALSO: Aristodemus the Spartan; Armies; Burial Customs; Pitane (Sparta)

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AMORGES (Ἀμόργης, ὁ)

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Persian general, otherwise unknown. Amorges is only mentioned by Herodotus (5.121): together with DAURISES and SISIMACES, he died in an ambush by Carian rebels at PIDASA during the IONIAN REVOLT (499–493 BCE).

Two other men named Amorges are known (Schmitt, *IPGL* 72–73). CTESIAS mentions an Amorges, king of the SACAE (SCYTHIANS), who was taken prisoner by CYRUS (II) and then helped him in the war against CROESUS (*FGrHist* 688 F9.3–8; *pace* Balcer 1993, 137, this is not the Amorges of Herodotus). The second is the illegitimate son of the Persian satrap Pissuthnes; this Amorges rebelled against the Persian king in the late 410s, during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (see Kuhrt 2007, 335–39).

SEE ALSO: Caria; Persia

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AMPE (Ἄμπη, ἥ)

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A city near the coast of the ERYTHRAEAN SEA (here, the Persian Gulf) past which the TIGRIS RIVER flows; exact location and identification remain unknown (Scott 2005, 121–22). Herodotus states that DARIUS I transported the inhabitants of MILETUS, captured near the end of the IONIAN REVOLT (494 BCE), to live in Ampe (6.20). Numerous examples of Persian kings deporting defeated communities (enemies or rebels) survive in our ancient evidence, including from the *Histories*: BARCA (to BACTRIA, 4.204), PAEONIANS (to ASIA, 5.12–15), and ERETRIA after the MARATHON campaign of 490 (to ARDERICCA, 6.119).

SEE ALSO: Migration; Prisoners of War

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AMPELUS (ἡ Ἄμπελος ἄκρη)

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The promontory at the tip of SITHONIA, the central peninsula of the three extending south from Chalcidice in northern Greece (BA 51 B5; Müller I, 143–44). Herodotus mentions Ampelus as he traces the route taken by XERXES' fleet after it passed through the ATHOS canal in 480 BCE (7.122). It was probably in the territory of TORONE. The noun *ampelos* in Greek means “grapevine.”

SEE ALSO: Canastraeum; Wine

AMPHIARAUS

(Ἀμφιάρεως, ὁ)

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A legendary seer and ORACLE and the father of AMPHILOCHUS (3.91) and Alcmaeon (Hom. *Od.* 248). Amphiarus belonged to the Melampodidae, the family of seers who claimed descent from MELAMPUS. As a warrior-seer, Amphiarus was one of the HEROES known as the “Seven Against Thebes.” Compelled by his wife Eriphyle, Amphiarus took part in the doomed Argive expedition to THEBES, although he foresaw his own death there (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.2). At Thebes, Amphiarus was swallowed by the earth, thereby escaping death on the battlefield (Pind. *Nem.* 9.21–27). Herodotus alludes to this popular mythographic tradition when he reports that Croesus knew of Amphiarus' valor and suffering (1.52). The site of the seer's engulfment became an oracle, the Amphiareion, whose exact location is contested. The Amphiareion is one of the seven oracular sanctuaries that CROESUS tests in order to ascertain their knowledge of the TRUTH (1.46). Of these seven, only the Amphiareion and DELPHI were determined to be truthful in the Lydian king's estimation (1.49). After cataloguing the many gifts Croesus sent to Delphi, Herodotus adds that Croesus bestowed on Amphiarus a shield and spear, both of solid GOLD, which he himself saw in the temple of Ismenian APOLLO at Thebes (1.52; see EPIGRAPHY). In recounting MYS' consultation of the Amphiareion, Herodotus explains why the native Thebans were barred from consulting it: when Amphiarus once gave them the choice of having him as their seer or military ally, the Thebans chose the latter (8.134).

SEE ALSO: Dedications; Divination; Myth; Temples and Sanctuaries

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AMPHICAEA (Ἀμφίκαια, ἡ)

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Herodotus includes Amphicaea in his list of twelve Phocian *poleis* in the CEPHISUS River valley (BA 55 D3; Müller I, 452–53) which were destroyed by XERXES’ invasion force, guided by the THESSALIANS, in 480 BCE (8.33). The Roman-era author Pausanias says that Herodotus’ spelling reflects the older version; by the fourth century BCE it was called Amphicleia. Pausanias relates a local story that the city’s name was once Ophiteia as well (10.33.9–10). Little else is known of the city in the classical period.

SEE ALSO: Phocis; Persian Wars

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AMPHICRATES (Ἀμφικράτης, ὁ)

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A king or magistrate of SAMOS in the ARCHAIC AGE (3.59.4). Herodotus states that when Amphicrates was *basileus* the Samians had campaigned against AEGINA, doing (and suffering) much damage. The only TIME frame Herodotus supplies for this is “earlier” than the events he has just narrated, which occurred c. 520 BCE. Proposed links with the “LELANTINE WAR” are tenuous;

recent scholars have found a date c. 600 more likely (Carty 2015, 25–28; Figueira 1983, 21–22). It is possible that Herodotus’ term *basileus* refers to an eponymous magistrate of Samos, rather than a “king” in the usual sense.

SEE ALSO: Chronology

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AMPHICTYON (Ἀμφικτύων, ὁ)

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Amphictyon was the eponymous hero who gave his name to the local federation of central Greek states, the AMPHICTYONES (“Dwellers-Around”), who first controlled the land around THERMOPYLAE and later DELPHI. In Greek MYTH (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.2) he was the son of Pyrrha and DEUCALION, a GENEALOGY suggesting worship by local communities who shared stories of the flood, centered on Mt. PARNASSUS. He also occurs in the early king lists of ATHENS, having married the daughter of Cranaus. There was a sanctuary of Amphictyon at ANTHELA, near Thermopylae, as well as a sanctuary of DEMETER Amphictyonis (Hdt. 7.200.2).

SEE ALSO: Cranaoi; Heroes and Hero Cult; Temples and Sanctuaries

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AMPHICTYONES (Ἀμφικτύονες, οἱ)

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The term Amphictyony may refer to any regional federation of communities, such as the Calaurian League, a loose political and religious grouping of towns located around the Saronic Gulf. Their representatives met at the sanctuary of POSEIDON on Poros. Herodotus applies the term to a specific confederation, the Amphictyones (“Dwellers-Around”), that is, twelve communities of the THERMOPYLAE region. Member states included the Magnes and PERRHAEBIANS, conquered by the Thessalians in the sixth century BCE, and the Amphictyony’s origins probably go back to at least the seventh century (McInerney 1999, 163). By the classical period the Amphictyony would include member states from the Vale of TEMPE in the north to the PELOPONNESE in the south, but originally was much more compact. Participating states met at ANTHERA, which, according to Herodotus (7.200), was a village situated on a broad strip of land between the PHOENIX RIVER and Thermopylae. Here there was a temple of DEMETER Amphictyonis, a meeting place of the Amphictyonic states (Pylaea, 7.213), and a sanctuary of the hero AMPHICTYON. The combination of tutelary deity, meeting place used by representatives of the member states, and a cult of an eponymous hero is typical of federal unions in the ARCHAIC AGE.

By no later than the mid fifth century the Amphictyony had extended its control to the south side of PARNASSUS and administered the affairs of the Panhellenic sanctuary at DELPHI. One of the two annual meetings was held there, and the Amphictyony’s control of Delphi explains the growth of the organization. Herodotus (2.180) attributes the rebuilding of the temple of APOLLO, destroyed by FIRE in 548, to the Amphictyonic states, and he reports (5.62) that the ALCMAEONIDAE, in EXILE from ATHENS, took out a contract with the Amphictyony to rebuild the temple. Famously the contract was for a building in tufa, but the Alcmaeonidae completed the façade in Parian marble.

Although they controlled the administration of Delphi, the Amphictyones remained firmly connected to their northern cult center near Thermopylae. In recounting the fate of EPHIALTES, the traitor who led the Persians around the Spartan position at Thermopylae in 480, Herodotus (7.213) refers to a meeting of the Amphictyonic states at Pylaea. He reports that the *pylagoroi* (the representatives of the member states) declared Ephialtes an outlaw and put a price on his head. It was while serving as a *pylagoros* in 340 that the Athenian orator Aeschines reported the men of AMPHISSA for cultivating the Sacred Plain below Delphi, a denunciation that led to the Fourth Sacred War. The other representatives at the Amphictyonic meetings were called *hieromnēmones*, a broad term often applied to officials with priestly duties. The epitaphs erected in honor of the Greeks killed at Thermopylae, including SIMONIDES’ famous epigram beginning “Go tell the Spartans,” were commissioned by the Amphictyones, according to Herodotus (7.228).

SEE ALSO: Architecture (Temples); Panhellenism; Temples and Sanctuaries; Thessaly

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AMPHILOCHUS (Ἀμφίλοχος, ὁ)

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A legendary seer, like his father AMPHIARAUS. Amphilocheus fought at TROY and was credited with founding several CITIES in southeastern

Anatolia—he was especially associated with the oracular shrine at Mallus (Strabo 14.5.16/C675; Plut. *Mor.* 434d)—as well as Amphilochian Argos in northwestern Greece (Thuc. 2.68.3; Baron 2014). Herodotus mentions Amphilochus twice: as the founder of the city of POSIDEION between CILICIA and SYRIA (3.91.1) and as the progenitor, along with the seer CALCHAS, of the PAMPHYLIANS (7.91).

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Divination; Myth

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AMPHILYTUS (Ἀμφίλυτος, ὁ)

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An Acarnanian *chrēsmologos* (someone who speaks, collects, or interprets ORACLES; Bowden 2003, 261). Amphilytus delivers a PROPHECY to PEISISTRATUS just before the Battle of Pallene (Attica) in 546 BCE: “the net has been cast ... and the tuna will rush headlong through the night.” Peisistratus accepts the prophecy, leads his army to victory, and finally establishes himself as TYRANT at ATHENS (1.62.4; see Lavelle 1991). A pseudo-Platonic dialogue refers to Amphilytus as an “Acharnian,” i.e., from the Attic DEME of Acharnae ([Plato] *Theages* 124d]; but ACARNANIA was particularly associated with seers (see e.g., MEGISTIAS), and the PEISISTRATIDAE showed great interest in collecting oracles and *chrēsmologoi* themselves (Shapiro 1990).

SEE ALSO: Divination; Fish; Onomacritus; Pallene (Deme)

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AMPHIMNESTUS (Ἀμφίμνηστος, ὁ)

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Amphimnestus, from EPIDAMNUS on the IONIAN GULF, appears as one of the thirteen men who came to SICYON as a suitor for Cleisthenes’ daughter AGARISTE (I), sometime in the sixth century BCE (6.127.2). Nothing else is known of him. (See ALCON for bibliography.)

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Competition; Epistrophus; Hippocleides; Megacles (II)

AMPHION (Ἀμφίων, ὁ)

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A member of the BACCHIADAE at CORINTH, father of LABDA (5.92.β.1). Amphion’s decision to marry his daughter to someone outside the clan (supposedly due to her infirmity) led to the downfall of the Bacchiad OLIGARCHY at the hands of her child, CYPSELUS SON OF EËTION, who became TYRANT at Corinth in the mid-seventh century BCE.

SEE ALSO: Disabilities; Marriage

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AMPHISSA (Ἀμφισσα, ἥ)

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A West Locrian town located fifteen kilometers northwest of DELPHI (BA 55 C3). When the Persians invaded Greece in 480 BCE, many Phocians fled to Amphissa for protection (8.32.2), as did those Delphians who did not flee to Mt. PARNASSUS (8.36.2). Amphissa's location explains its importance. It sits at the southern end of a corridor linking the Corinthian Gulf to central Greece. It also dominates the northern end of the Sacred Plain, the territory dedicated to APOLLO and left uncultivated in antiquity. When the Amphissans planted crops here in the 340s, they were denounced by the AMPHICTYONES, precipitating the Fourth Sacred War.

SEE ALSO: Crisaean Plain; Locris (Ozolian); Phocis

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AMPHITRYON (Ἀμφιτρυών, ὁ)

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Mythical, a grandson of PERSEUS. Amphitryon married his cousin ALCMENE, but she refused to consummate the MARRIAGE until he avenged her brothers' deaths at the hands of the TELEBOANS (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.6–7). On the night before Amphitryon's return from

completing his mission, ZEUS appeared to Alcmene disguised as Amphitryon; she then gave birth to HERACLES (and, in some accounts, a fully mortal twin, Iphicles: Gantz, *EGM* 374–78). However, Herodotus refers to Heracles consistently as the son of Amphitryon, not Zeus (2.43.2, 44.4, 146.1; 6.53.2).

Herodotus employs the fact that Perseus was of Egyptian descent (2.91.5) in his argument that the Greeks took the name of Heracles from the Egyptians, rather than vice versa (2.43.2). He also quotes an INSCRIPTION in "Cadmeian letters" on a TRIPOD claiming to have been dedicated by Amphitryon in the temple of Ismenian APOLLO at Boeotian THEBES after his destruction of the Teleboans (5.59). Herodotus notes that this would be contemporary with LAÏUS (the father of OEDIPUS); other sources relate that Amphitryon sought purification from Creon (Laius' brother-in-law) at Thebes after he accidentally killed his uncle (and father-in-law) Electryon. A supposed tomb of Amphitryon at Thebes is mentioned by PINDAR (*Nem.* 4.19–22).

SEE ALSO: Chronology; Dedications; Myth; Proof; Writing

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AMUN (Ἀμουν, ὁ)

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Egyptian god, venerated at many places but especially Egyptian THEBES. Originally, Amun seems to have been linked specifically with the wind, but especially in the compound Amun-Re, he became a solar and creator god. He became EGYPT's supreme god with the rise of Thebes as capital, and during the New Kingdom his temple was the best-endowed in all of Egypt. His sacred animals are the NILE goose and the ram. Herodotus

identifies the Theban Amun with ZEUS (2.42.5). This is likely based on the fact that Amun was considered the king of the gods in Egypt. It is to be noted that for the Theban god, Herodotus uses the form “Amun” (Ἀμοῦν) which accords with contemporary pronunciation in the Nile valley, while for the god of Siwa OASIS, he uses the form “AMMON” (Ἀμμων) which might reflect a local dialect of the western desert.

SEE ALSO: Gods and the Divine; Religion, Herodotus’ Views on

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AMYNTAS I (Ἀμύντης, ὁ) son of Alcetas

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Amyntas is the first historically attested king of MACEDONIA (Borza 1990, 98–103), though his role in the *Histories* is secondary compared with that of his son, ALEXANDER I. Amyntas became a Persian vassal as early as 513/12 BCE, giving EARTH AND WATER to Persian envoys (5.18.1; Hornblower 2013, 109–11). Herodotus has Alexander, in a short speech to those envoys, describe Amyntas as DARIUS I’s *hyparchos* (a man ruling over the Macedonians, 5.20.4; cf. Tripodi 2007), an indication perhaps of a more intense Persian military presence in Macedonia, implied by Herodotus elsewhere (6.44; 7.108.1). As a client king of PERSIA, Amyntas must have taken advantage of the weakening of the PAEONIANS by Megabazus’

Persian army to expand Macedonian power along his eastern border. His offer of ANTHEMUS to HIPPIAS, who had been driven out of ATHENS in 510, is evidence of this, though it may also indicate that Amyntas was not able to control the area fully (5.94.1; Xydopoulos 2012, with further bibliography). Amyntas’ offer to Hippias illuminates perhaps his policy of creating interpersonal relationships with the PEISISTRATIDAE as well as with the Persians. Amyntas was in this way clearly showing his loyalty to PERSIA—confirmed also by the fact that he gave his daughter, GYGAEA, in marriage to the Persian BUBARES (5.21; 8.136.1)—hoping to get the maximum benefit for his kingdom, a policy followed successfully by his son and successor.

SEE ALSO: Alcetas; Amyntas son of Bubares; Megabazus the Persian; Satrapies

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AMYNTAS (Ἀμύντης, ὁ) son of Bubares

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Son of the Persian nobleman BUBARES and the Macedonian princess GYGAEA (sister of ALEXANDER I). Herodotus reports (8.136.1) that Amyntas was given the Phrygian city of Alabanda by the Persian king (presumably XERXES). Possibly Amyntas, being both an ACHAEMENID and Macedonian royalty, was

destined to succeed his uncle as “satrap-king” of MACEDONIA until the Persians were driven out of EUROPE by the Greeks (Badian 1994, 115–16).

SEE ALSO: Alabanda in Phrygia; Amyntas son of Alcetas; Satrapies

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AMYRGIANS (Ἀμύργιοι, οἱ)

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Alternative name for the Scythian SACAE. Herodotus comments that although a group in XERXES’ invasion force were actually “Amyrgian Scythians,” the Persians called them Sacae, as they do all SCYTHIANS (7.64.2). Many scholars (e.g., Bryce 2012, 608; *contra* Narain 1987) identify the Amyrgians with the *Sakā haumavargā* attested in Old Persian INSCRIPTIONS (e.g., A?P §14). Their precise location is unknown but would presumably be in Central Asia; Herodotus lists them as fighting together with the BACTRIANS, commanded by HYSTASPES SON OF DARIUS. Hellenicus called Amyrgion “a plain of the Sacae” (BNJ 4 F65), and CTESIAS recounts a king of the Sacae named Amorges at the time of CYRUS (II) (*FGrHist* 688 F9.7–8).

SEE ALSO: Catalogues; Persia

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AMYRIS (Ἄμυρις, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of DAMASUS, of SIRIS in southern ITALY (6.127.1). Damasus came to SICYON as a suitor of AGARISTE (I), Cleisthenes’ daughter, in the sixth century BCE (6.127.1). Herodotus notes that Amyris was known as “the Wise” (cf. Santoni 1983, 95 n. 14). He provides no further details, but later authors give an example. Having witnessed a scene which he realizes fulfills an ORACLE foretelling the demise of his city (SYBARIS rather than Siris here: cf. Ath. 12.520a–c), Amyris quickly sells his property and leaves town. His less-wise neighbors think him mad, giving rise to the PROVERB Ἄμυρις μαίνεται, “Crazy like Amyris” (Lombardo 1981, 199).

SEE ALSO: Knowledge; Seven Sages

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AMYRTAEUS (Ἄμυρταῖος, ὁ)

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Leader of an Egyptian REBELLION against Persian rule in the late 450s BCE (cf. Thuc. 1.112). After the death of INAROS (between 456 and 453), Amyrtaeus—no doubt an ally of Inaros—maintained control of a marshy region in the NILE Delta without being disturbed by the Persians.

Herodotus mentions this “Prince of the Marshes,” originally from SAIS, who was nearly his contemporary, in two passages. The first is very allusive (2.140): in narrating the return to power of ANYSIS, the blind pharaoh who fled to the marshes of the DELTA for fifty years during the reign of the Ethiopian SABACOS, Herodotus notes that the man-made ISLAND which served as a refuge for Anysis, named ELBO, had not been discovered before the reign of Amyrtaeus, more than 700 years later. Anysis is not identifiable as an Egyptian ruler; the Ethiopian (i.e., Nubian, 25th) Dynasty dates to the eighth century BCE; and the island Elbo is unknown from Egyptian sources. This passage should rather be imagined in a symbolic manner, related to Amyrtaeus’ revolt during the reign of ARTAXERXES. The flight into the marshes is, in fact, an Egyptian topos and can have mythological connections, particularly with the episode of the young HORUS, hidden in the marsh of CHEMMIS.

The second passage (3.15) is more informative, since it evokes the role of Amyrtaeus in the revolt initially led by Inaros, which remains difficult to reconstruct: Amyrtaeus perhaps surrendered Inaros in exchange for his own safety, but it is more likely that he continued the struggle and that it was on his initiative that ATHENS sent a rescue fleet which was annihilated by the PHOENICIANS (cf. Thuc. 1.110) around 450 BCE. Herodotus also gives the name of Amyrtaeus’ son, PAUSIRIS, whom the Persians supposedly kept in the position which Amyrtaeus had held, on the condition that he accept the role of a “client king.”

SEE ALSO: Athenian Empire; Egypt; Ethiopians; Persia; Thannyras

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AMYTHAON (Ἄμυθέων, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of the mythical seer MELAMPUS (2.49.1) and his brother BIAS. A minor mythical character, Amythaon is associated with PYLOS and OLYMPIA in the western PELOPONNESE (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11; Paus. 5.8.2; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.126).

SEE ALSO: Divination; Myth

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ANACHARSIS (Ἀνάχαρσις, ὁ)

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Mostly legendary Scythian sage of the sixth century BCE. The prototype of the “barbarian wise-man” and “noble savage,” Anacharsis toured Greece and was executed by his own king for attempting to import worship of the Magna Mater into Scythia (4.76–77). According to Herodotus, Anacharsis was the only man known for wisdom in the Pontic region (4.46.1). Along with SCYLES, he illustrates the extreme resistance of the SCYTHIANS to foreign customs. After touring the world, Anacharsis returns home via the HELLESPONT, where he witnesses the rites of the Magna Mater (CYBELE). Upon reaching home, Anacharsis performs the rites himself. Observed practicing foreign religion by a fellow Scythian, he is killed with an arrow by their king SAULIUS (4.76). According to another tradition told by

Peloponnesians, and ultimately dismissed by Herodotus as a joke (4.77.2), Anacharsis was sent abroad by the king of Scythia to gain expertise in Greek culture. He returns home to report that among Greeks only the Spartans possess wisdom and the art of conversation.

Anacharsis' affinity for Greek culture is so strong that some sources assign him a Greek mother and a friendship with SOLON, his Greek counterpart in the *Histories* (Diog. Laert. 1.101–5). Anacharsis is sometimes included among the SEVEN SAGES, and ten letters from the Hellenistic period, one famously translated by Cicero, are ascribed to him.

SEE ALSO: Barbarians; Gnurus; Knowledge; *nomos*; Religion, Herodotus' Views on; Spargapeithes; Travel

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ANACREON (Ἀνακρέων, ὁ)

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Anacreon of TEOS (c. 570–485 BCE) is one of the nine lyric poets of Greece. His extant POETRY focuses on the topics of love, beauty, youth vs. old age, and WINE and was performed in the small elite DRINKING occasions known as *symposia*. Later ages received him as a great lover of wine. His poems and reputation fostered a later tradition of poetry collectively known as “the Anacreontea.”

Herodotus introduces Anacreon near the end of the POLYCRATES cycle in an alternate account for OROETES' actions. In this version, a MESSENGER from Oroetes arrived on SAMOS to see the tyrant, who “happened to be reclining in

the men's quarters” with Anacreon at the time; they were likely participating in a *symposion*. Polycrates paid the messenger no heed, thereby insulting the satrap (3.121).

Although Herodotus does not explain why Anacreon was in Samos at the time, the poet was likely there in some sort of capacity as a court poet for Polycrates. After Polycrates' death, HIPPIAS and HIPPARCHUS, the sons of PEISISTRATUS, brought Anacreon to ATHENS, where again he composed poetry for the TYRANTS' court (Kantzios 2004–2005). Following the expulsion of Hippias from Athens, Anacreon remained there, and a statue was set up on the ACROPOLIS after his death (Paus. 1.25.1).

SEE ALSO: Causation; Satrapies

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ANACTORIUM (Ἀνακτόριον, τό)

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A city founded by CORINTH in the mid-seventh century BCE on the south coast of the Ambracian Gulf (BA 54 C4; Müller I, 894–95). The Anactorians (Herodotus only uses the city-ethnic, Ἀνακτόριοι), along with the LEUCADIANS, sent eight hundred HOPLITES to PLATAEA in 479 BCE in support of the Greek cause; they were stationed across from the SACAE in the battle line (9.28.5, 31.4). Anactorium was allied with SPARTA during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (Thuc. 2.9.2). The small bay in front of the city

was sometimes referred to as the Anactoric Gulf (Ps.-Scylax 31, 34). A well-known sanctuary of APOLLO Aktios was located just outside the city (Thuc. 1.29.3; Strabo 7.7.6/C325).

SEE ALSO: Acarnania; Ambracia; Colonization; Hellenic League

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ANAGYROUS (Ἀναγυροῦς)

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A DEME (district, precinct) of ancient ATHENS, on the western coast of Attica south of HYMETTUS (BA 59 C3), modern Vari. Anagyrous occurs in the *Histories* only as a demotic (Ἀναγυράσιος) for the Athenian EUMENES, who won special PRAISE for his valor at the Battle of SALAMIS (8.93.1).

SEE ALSO: Democracy

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ANALOGY

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Analogy, a mental process that allows us to perceive similarities among events, agents, or objects belonging to different times and places, represents an important tool by which Herodotus understands reality; from our viewpoint, it provides a

fundamental instrument for interpreting the texture of the *Histories*. Even glosses by which Herodotus underlines uniqueness—e.g., by a superlative (see Bloomer 1993)—are often markers of quantitative rather than qualitative difference and indirectly identify classes of similar phenomena. The counterpart of analogy is polarity, but objects that are opposite in one way are likely to be similar in other respects (Lloyd 1966; Corcella 1984).

Analogy is “horizontal” when it binds parallel facts. But it also works “vertically” across different levels of reality, as in inductive PROPHECY (see e.g., the Delphic reference to CYRUS (II) as a MULE, 1.55.2) or in other symbolic associations elicited by the text (see examples in the entry on *THŌMATA*). Simultaneously, we distinguish analogy that is *diachronic*, among events belonging to different points in the CHRONOLOGY of the historical narrative, from *synchronic*, when ethnographic or geographic descriptions create a comparative field extending not in TIME but in space (Munson 2001, 45–133).

In the historical narrative, Herodotus may draw attention to similarity (or polarity) by an explicit METANARRATIVE comparison, as when he opines that the *democratic* reforms of the Athenian CLEISTHENES *imitated* policies of his homonymous grandfather, the *tyrant* of SICYON (1.67.1). Occasionally speakers, too, compare and contrast. When either the narrator or his speakers discuss circumstances of their present in the light of events of their past (see e.g., 7.10.γ, ARTABANUS’ recollection of DARIUS I’s Scythian expedition on the eve of XERXES’ expedition against Greece), they encourage Herodotus’ AUDIENCE to apply to their own present the same or other parts of the work. Most frequently, in fact, historical analogy impresses us silently, by the resemblances that transpire from the theoretically endless variety of Herodotus’ world.

Concatenations of analogies create overlapping and concentric patterns throughout the work. This phenomenon has been most influentially examined by HENRY IMMERWAHR (1966; 1956) following the lead of Bischoff (1932), Hellmann (1934), and Pohlenz (1937). On the historical/diachronic side especially

pervasive is the monarchical model, represented by the actions and features typical of individuals who hold power or aspire to it. This pattern tends to subsume many others to itself: rise and fall (Immerwahr 1966, 149–98); imperialism (Immerwahr 1956; Evans 1991; Dewald 2003), including the crossing of natural BOUNDARIES, symbolic of a violation of *NOMOS* in a broader sense (Immerwahr 1954, 19–28 and 1966, 325; Konstan 1983; Lateiner 1989, 126–44; Stadter 1992, 785–95; Payen 1997, 138–45); the failure of a superpower (a "soft culture" in anthropological terms) to conquer a primitive ("hard") opponent (Hellmann 1934, 77–98; Cobet 1971, 172–76; Redfield 1985; Flory 1987, 81–118); the ignored or misunderstood prophecy (Corcella 1984, 160); the figures of the unheeded tragic warner or the successful practical ADVISER (Bischoff 1932; Lattimore 1939; Dewald 1985), or of the exiled individual as informer at a king's court (Boedeker 1987, 191–92). The typical monarch, for his part, repeatedly pursues inquiry for his own purposes, in a role that both by analogy and opposition meta-historically throws light on the activity of Herodotus himself (Christ 1994).

Synchronic analogy in Herodotus is less dependent on the reader's interpretation and very much on the surface of the text. In a geographical and ethnographic context, where difference is expected and often underlined (see e.g., 2.35.2), similarity needs explicit advertisement (Hartog 1988, 225–50; Munson 2001, 82–110). Statements that establish that something is like something else in certain respects are frequent and varied. The narrator explains foreign objects by "putting them together" (verb *συνβάλλειν*, 2.10.1, 4.99.5) with familiar realities, just as he "conjecture[s] on the things that are not known on the basis of those that are apparent" (verb *συνβάλλεσθαι*, 2.33.2, 34; cf. Anaxagoras DK 59 B21a, with Lloyd 1966, 337–44; Thomas 2000, 200–11). The NILE is unique but also similar to other RIVERS, since they all conform to the same *physis* (Corcella 1984, 74–84; Thomas 2000, 135–38). Faraway sites reproduce the outlines of Greek landmarks (4.99.4–5, 156.3, 182, 183.1); exotic animals, fruit, and plants each combine aspects of different domestic species

(e.g., 2.71, 92.2–4; 3.102.2). Foreign foods, fabrics, clothing, buildings, and utensils resemble products from one region or another of the Greek world (1.195.1; 4.61.1). Comparisons of this kind make the exotic familiar (Hartog 1988, 225–30; Corcella 1984, 69), but are also a manifestation of Herodotus' ideology of a patterned unitarian world.

In the sphere of customs, the frequent similarities Herodotus points out between different ethnic groups result from common origin or mutual contact and diffusion (2.104.2–4), or emerge as unexplained "wonders" (2.79). They all represent additional signs that, in humankind as in the environment, opportunities for variation, although great, are nevertheless limited. Even radical divergences can be analogized in terms of equivalence, as when the text indicates that burning, embalming, or eating the dead all constitute a funeral (3.38.3–4). Like the far less numerous glosses of similarity in the history, metanarrative comparisons in the ethnographic sections cooperate with the effects of implicit analogy Herodotus achieves by narrative means, as when he plants familiar Greek-like features in his descriptions of alien customs (2.158.5). Greeks, Persians, Egyptians, Scythians, Babylonians, and other *ethnea*, hard or soft, are grouped in shifting clusters, distinct as well as mutually same when each is considered in relation to different others. The analogies Herodotus establishes among peoples' practices and beliefs explain the actual or projected similarities in their diachronic development and historical outcomes. In both history and ETHNOGRAPHY analogy makes it possible to infer what is not known from what is apparent.

SEE ALSO: Extremes; Geography; Historical Method; Philosophy; Science; Symbols and Signs

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ANAPHES (Ἀνάφης, ὅ)

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In his CATALOGUE of XERXES' invasion force of 480 BCE, Herodotus names Anaphes, son of OTANES (5), as commander of the Cissian units (7.62.2). The name probably derives ultimately from Old Iranian *Vana-farna, "he who wins glory" (Schmitt, *IPGL* 75 (no. 24)).

SEE ALSO: Cissians

ANAPHLYSTUS (Ἀνάφλυστος)

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A DEME (district, precinct) of ancient ATHENS, on the western coast of the southern tip of Attica (BA 59 C4), modern Anavyssos. Herodotus uses Anaphlystus, along with THORICUS, to illustrate his point about the TAURIANS of Crimea and their position vis-à-vis SCYTHIAN territory, relying on the presumed familiarity of his AUDIENCE with sailing along the Attic coastline (4.99.4); for those unfamiliar, he offers an example involving IAPYGIA in ITALY. Two fourth-century BCE authors attest the presence of FORTIFICATIONS at Anaphlystus (Xen. *Vect.* 4.43; Ps.-Scylax 57.2).

SEE ALSO: Analogy; Geography; Ships and Sailing; Thurii

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ANAUA (Ἄναυα, τὰ)

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A city in southwestern PHRYGIA (BA 65 C2; Müller II, 95–98), mentioned by Herodotus as XERXES' Persian army passes through on its way to invade Greece (7.30.1). Anaua has been identified with the modern village of Sarıkavak, north of Lake Acı Göl (the remnant of the "salt lake" Herodotus mentions) and 55 kilometers east of the modern city of Denizli.

SEE ALSO: Persian Wars

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ANAXANDER (Ἀνάξανδρος, ὁ)

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Spartan king, son of EURYCRATES, member of the Agiad royal house of SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Anaxander in the GENEALOGY he provides for LEONIDAS before the Battle of THERMOPYLAE (7.204). The Roman-era author Pausanias associates Anaxander with the outbreak of the Second Messenian War (Paus. 4.15.3; Schneider 1985, 51–55).

SEE ALSO: Agis son of Eurysthenes; Eurycratides; Messenians

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ANAXANDRIDES II (Ἀναξανδρίδης, ὁ) son of Leon

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Anaxandrides II (c. 560–516 BCE) was one of the kings of SPARTA during the Second Arcadian War (c. 550; Hdt. 1.67.1). He was a member of the Agiad branch, the son of LEON and father of CLEOMENES I.

Herodotus tells the story (5.39–41) of how Anaxandrides married a second wife, against Spartan custom but at the EPHORS' urging, in order to ensure the succession of the throne. Cleomenes was born from his second MARRIAGE, and Anaxandrides' first wife then produced three CHILDREN of her own. The eldest of these was DORIEUS, who later resisted Cleomenes' rule and chose to leave Sparta.

SEE ALSO: Arcadians; Ariston king of Sparta

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ANAXANDRIDES (Ἀναξανδρίδης, ὁ) son of Theopompus

CHRISTOPHER BARON

University of Notre Dame

Son of the Spartan king THEOPOMPUS, member of the Eurypontid royal house at SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Anaxandrides in his GENEALOGY of LEOTYCHIDES II (8.131.2). The king-list given by the Roman-era author Pausanias differs here (3.7–10; see Carlier 1984, 316–17), but there seems no reason to emend

Herodotus' text in order to place Anaxandrides in the junior branch (Bowie 2007, 219–20).

SEE ALSO: Eury(p)on; Leotychides son of Anaxilaus

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ANAXILAUS (Ἀναξίλεως, ὁ) son of Archidamus

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Son of Archidamus, member of the Eurypontid royal house at SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Anaxilaus in his GENEALOGY of LEOTYCHIDES II (8.131.2). The king-list given by the Roman-era author Pausanias differs here (3.7–10; see Carlier 1984, 316–17), but there seems no reason to emend Herodotus' text in order to place Anaxilaus in the junior branch (Bowie 2007, 219–20).

SEE ALSO: Archidamus son of Anaxandrides; Eury(p)on; Leotychides son of Anaxilaus

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ANAXILAUS (Ἀναξίλεως, ὁ) son of Cretines

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TYRANT of RHEGIUM in southern ITALY from 494 to 476 BCE (Diod. Sic. 11.48.2). Anaxilaus (or Anaxilas) appears in two contexts in the *Histories*.

First, in his narrative winding down the unsuccessful IONIAN REVOLT, Herodotus tells how the Samians who fled Persian rule captured the Sicilian city of ZANCLE for themselves (494 BCE): they had originally aimed for CALEACTE ("Fair Point") on the northern coast of SICILY at the invitation of the Zancleans, but Anaxilaus persuaded them instead to occupy Zancle—directly across the straits from Rhegium—whose inhabitants were away besieging a Sicel city (6.23). Anaxilaus renamed Zancle Messana (or Messene), after his ancestral homeland (MESSENIA in the PELOPONNESE), according to THUCYDIDES (6.4.6; cf. Paus. 4.23.6).

In his second appearance (Hdt. 7.165), Anaxilaus, who had married CYDIPPE the daughter of TERILLUS, tyrant of HIMERA, assists his father-in-law's attempt to regain his tyranny. Terillus appeals to the Carthaginian general HAMILCAR, to whom he was tied by GUEST-FRIENDSHIP. Anaxilaus offers Hamilcar even more: his own CHILDREN as HOSTAGES. Hamilcar's massive invasion of Sicily ends in DISASTER, however, at the Battle of Himera in 480.

SEE ALSO: Carthage; Cretines (1); Micynthus; Sicels

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ANCHIMOLUS (Ἀγχίμολος, ὁ)

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Prominent Spartan, son of ASTER. When the Delphic ORACLE (bribed by Athenian EXILES, according to some) urged the Spartans to drive the Peisistratid tyrant HIPPIAS from ATHENS, they chose Anchimolus to lead the invasion—seaborne, unusually for the Spartans (c. 511 BCE).

The Spartans landed at PHALERUM in Attica but were routed in battle by Thessalian CAVALRY (Athenian ALLIES). Among the many Spartan dead were Anchimolus, whose tomb Herodotus notes as being “next to the sanctuary of HERACLES in CYNOSARGES” at ALOPECE (5.63; on the burial, see Pritchett 1985, 163–64).

There is no evidence that Anchimolus was king, and Herodotus does not call him such. Sparta responded to the failure by having King CLEOMENES lead a land-based invasion in 510, which succeeded in driving out the PEISISTRATIDAE.

The MANUSCRIPTS of Herodotus read “Anchimolius” (Ἀγχιμόλιος), but references to the same event by later authors ([Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 19.3; schol. Ar. *Lys.* 1153) give “Anchimolus,” which recent editors prefer (Wilson 2015, 102).

SEE ALSO: Burial Customs; Cineas; Sparta; Thessaly; Tyrants

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ANDREAS (Ἀνδρέης, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of MYRON. Herodotus mentions Andreas (6.126.1) as part of his “pedigree” for Cleisthenes, TYRANT of SICYON, at the beginning of his story regarding the suitors of Cleisthenes’ daughter AGARISTE (I). Later sources (e.g., *BNJ* 105 F2) also report Andreas as the father of the first tyrant of Sicyon, Orthagoras (who does not appear in the *Histories*).

SEE ALSO: Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Genealogies

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ANDROBULUS (Ἀνδρόβουλος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of TIMON (7.141.1). Timon was a prominent citizen of DELPHI and perhaps a representative (PROXENOS) of ATHENS there who advised the Athenians about approaching the ORACLE in 480 BCE. Androbulus’ name (“Counselor of manly things”) is remarkably suited to Timon’s actions, one of numerous so-called “speaking names” in the *Histories* (see Lateiner 2005, 43–45).

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ANDROCRATES (Ἀνδροκράτης, ὁ)

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The sacred precinct (*temenos*) of the hero Androcrates was near the spring of GARGAPHIA in the territory of PLATAEA; its precise location is unknown (Wallace 1982, 186–87; Pritchett 1965, 112–15). The Greek forces made their second encampment near here (or possibly Herodotus means between these landmarks and the Asopus River: Lazenby 1993, 223–27 with map) in the lead-up to the Battle of Plataea in 479 BCE (9.25.3). THUCYDIDES mentions the *heroön* of Androcrates in his account of the siege of Plataea during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (3.24.1–2), and PLUTARCH says the Greeks offered SACRIFICE to Androcrates before their battle with the Persians (*Arist.* 11).

SEE ALSO: Asopus River (Boeotia); Heroes and Hero Cult; Temples and Sanctuaries

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ANDRODAMAS (Ἀνδροδάμας, ὁ)

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Patronymic, Samian, father of THEOMESTOR (8.85.2; 9.90.1). Theomestor was appointed TYRANT at SAMOS by the Persians in 480 BCE as a reward for his service at the Battle of SALAMIS; it is unlikely that Androdamas served as tyrant previously (Berve 1967, 1: 115–16), but nothing else is known of him.

SEE ALSO: Polycrates

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ANDROMEDA (Ἀνδρομέδη, ἡ)

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Wife of PERSEUS and daughter of Cassiopeia/Cassiopeia and CEPHEUS. Cepheus was son of BELUS and an early king of the Persians, according to Herodotus (7.61); other authors cite Cepheus as king of BABYLON (Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F59), Ioppa/PHOENICIA (Conon *BNJ* 26 F1.40),

or ETHIOPIA (Eur. *Andr.*; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.3). In Greek mythology, Andromeda was bound to a rock as a victim for a monster sent by POSEIDON to destroy the land of Cepheus (Eratosth. [*Cat.*] 15–17, 36). Perseus killed the monster, saved Andromeda, and married her, bringing her to ARGOS and TIRYNS, where she bore him several children (Herodorus *BNJ* 31 F15; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4–5). According to Herodotus, Andromeda and Perseus’ son PERSES succeeded Cepheus and became the eponymous king of the Persians (7.61, 150).

SEE ALSO: Artaeans; Myth; Persia

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ANDROPHAGI (Ἀνδροφάγοι, οἱ)

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A tribe of cannibals (their name means “Man-eaters”) who lived beyond the SCYTHIANS north of the EUXINE (Black) Sea, at the edge of the known world (4.18, 100). Although they dressed like Scythians, the Androphagi were not Scythian (4.18; *pace* Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F158), but a lawless and nomadic people who spoke a language unique to themselves (4.106). Pliny the Elder, citing Isogonus of Nicaea rather than Herodotus, calls them “Anthrophaghi” (cf. Amm. Marc. 31.2.15) and says they drank from human skulls and wore scalps over their chest like napkins (*HN* 7.12). Along with several of their neighbors, the Androphagi refused to assist the Scythians against DARIUS I during the Persian invasion of the region and threatened to stand their ground should either of the two enter their territory (Hdt. 4.119). However, when the Scythians reached their lands with the Persians in pursuit, the

Androphagi fled into the desolate lands to the north (4.125). Herodotus' Androphagi are unrelated to the African tribe of the same name mentioned by Philostratus (VA 6.25) and Pliny (HN 6.195, again "Anthropophagi").

SEE ALSO: Anthropophagy; Ethnography; Extremes; Language and Communication; Nomads

FURTHER READING

Corcella in ALC, 656.

ANDROS (Ἄνδρος, ἥ)

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The second largest Cycladic ISLAND, Andros lies south of EUBOEA (BA 57 C4 and 60 A4). Her significant prehistoric remains find no trace in Herodotus, for whom "Andros" was probably the settlement at Palaeopolis on the mid-west coast. Vestigial remains include HARBOR installations and the late classical fortification WALLS linking the harbor to its steep ACROPOLIS.

Of Andros in the ARCHAIC AGE little is known. Two tenth-century BCE settlements founded on headlands, Zagora and Hypsele, were abandoned c. 700 and c. 480, respectively. Despite Herodotus' account of the Andrians' claim of poverty (8.111), local wealth is attested by some archaic-period SCULPTURES and monumental architectural remains as well as the report of an Olympic pentathlete victor (9.33; Paus. 6.14.13). Archaic Andros minted SILVER coins on the Aeginetan standard.

Andros was under the control of NAXOS in 500 (Hdt. 5.31.2) and contributed ships to XERXES' invasion in 480 (8.66), probably as one of the island conquests of DATIS (6.99; Aesch. *Pers.* 887). THEMISTOCLES' lack of success besieging Andros after the Greek victory at SALAMIS (8.121) suggests that the town was fortified, like its predecessors at Zagora and Hypsele. Perhaps an original DELIAN LEAGUE member, Andros' *phoros* of twelve TALENTS in 451/0 (IG I³ 262.19) was halved to six in 450/49 (IG I³ 263. IV.22), providing the time-frame for an Athenian CLERUCHY on the island (Plut. *Per.* 11.5).

SEE ALSO: Athenian Empire; Cyclades; Monumentality; Siege Warfare; Tribute; Wealth and Poverty

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ANERISTUS (Ἀνήριστος, ὁ) father of Sperthias

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Patronymic, father of Sperthias and a Spartan of noble birth. Sperthias was sent as a herald to the Persian king XERXES (c. 482 BCE) in an attempt to atone for the Spartans' MURDER of HERALDS sent by DARIUS I (7.134.2). Nothing more is known of this Aneristus (LGPN III.A, 40 (no. 1)), though Herodotus' description of the sons as "having attained the first ranks of wealth" at SPARTA sheds interesting light on the legend (ancient and modern) of Spartan austerity and equality.

SEE ALSO: Aneristus son of Sperthias; Sperthias and Bulis; Wealth and Poverty

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ANERISTUS (Ἀνήριστος, ὁ) son of Sperthias

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Around 482 BCE, two Spartans, SPERTHIAS AND BULIS, were sent to die in PERSIA in order to atone for the killing of Persian HERALDS sent a decade earlier by DARIUS I (7.134–36). Although Sperthias and Bulis were spared by XERXES, years later during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, their sons—Aneristus and Nicolaus, respectively—traveled as MESSENGERS of SPARTA “to ASIA,” but they were betrayed in THRACE and turned over to the Athenians, who executed them (7.137). THUCYDIDES gives further details about this incident, which occurred in the summer of 430 (2.67).

Herodotus further identifies the younger Aneristus as the man who captured the Peloponnesian city of HALIEIS (held by EXILES from TIRYNS at the time) in a surprise attack, with a merchant ship (7.137.2). This exploit is not otherwise recorded, but is most likely to have taken place between 461 and 450, during the so-called “First Peloponnesian War” (cf. Macan 1908, I.1: 181).

Herodotus claims that the deaths of Aneristus and Nicolaus fulfilled the divine retribution demanded by TALTHYBIUS for the killing of Darius’ heralds (7.137.2). This story supports the Greek notion that PUNISHMENT for the crimes of a FAMILY or community can be inflicted on subsequent generations (see Gagné 2013, 296–306).

The Athenians’ execution of Aneristus and Nicolaus is the latest event explicitly and unambiguously mentioned by Herodotus and has often been viewed as a *terminus post quem* for the “publication” and/or final composition of the *Histories*. However, allusions to even later events have been posited, and recently it has been argued that Herodotus does, in fact, refer to an event of 413 in Book 9 (Irwin 2013a). Some scholars see the references to Aneristus’ exploit at Halieis and to his and Nicolaus’ deaths as later additions to the text by the author himself, as revealed by perceived rough edges in the Greek syntax (Wilson 2015, 139).

SEE ALSO: Aneristus father of Sperthias; Athens and Herodotus; Date of Composition; Nicolaus father of Bulis; Reciprocity; Treachery

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ANGER

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Anger comes in a number of forms in the *Histories*—as *cholos* (the primary term in HOMER), as *orgē* and *thymos* (the regular terms in Herodotus’ own day), occasionally also as *mēnis*. The latter is normally used of GODS (7.197.3) or HEROES (7.134.1, 137.1–2; 9.94.2), but may also be used of humans (e.g., 7.229.2, 9.7.β.2). *Thymos* and *orgē* are occasionally used interchangeably (3.34.3/3.35.1), as are *orgē* and *cholos* (1.114.5/1.118.1). As in other authors, both *orgē* and *thymos* have wider meanings (e.g., *orgē* as “temperament,” 6.128.1; *thymos* as “spirit” or “COURAGE,” 1.120.3 etc.; as DESIRE, 1.1.4 etc.; or as “mind” or “heart,” 1.84.4 etc.); but anger is a regular and focal sense. The phrase *deinon poieisthai* (“considering it terrible”) normally refers to anger or indignation. Other terms (*enkotos*, *lypē*, *nemesis*, *phthonos*) also occasionally come into play in anger scenarios.

For ARISTOTLE, anger's motivation is the desire for redress (*timōria*) following an unwarranted slight (*Rh.* 1378a30–31), or the desire to return pain for pain (*De an.* 403a29–30). Given that forms of retribution and retaliation loom so large in the *Histories* as aspects of CAUSATION and MOTIVATION, anger is one of the work's most prominent EMOTIONS. The characteristic link between anger and slights, i.e., dishonor, is as clear in Herodotus as elsewhere: at 1.114.5 it is the HYBRIS his son suffered at the hands of Cyrus (as yet unrecognized) that provokes the Mede ARTEMBARES' *orgē*; this is a loss of HONOR (*timē*) that Artembares' king, ASTYAGES, wishes to make good (1.115.1), but he himself then experiences *cholos* at the insubordination of his retainer, Harpagus, in failing to expose the infant Cyrus in the first place (1.118.1). The sister of LYCOPHRON, son of the Corinthian tyrant, PERIANDER, describes her brother's persistence in anger as "love of honor" (*philotimia*)—a stupid attitude, in her eyes (3.53.4).

Anger is regularly elicited by personal slights and features prominently in rivalries between persons and communities. It is PEISISTRATUS' disrespectful treatment of the daughter of MEGACLES (II) that arouses Megacles' *orgē* (1.61.2). DARIUS I's implication that the SCYTHIANS are his slaves excites their kings' *orgē* (4.128.1). The Sicilian tyrant, GELON, claims the moral high ground by publicly disavowing the *thymos* that the Spartans' *atimiē* and *hybris* warrants (7.158.4, 160.1), but he is in fact indignant (*deinon poieisthai*, 7.163.1) at the idea that he, as tyrant of SYRACUSE, should be under their command. *Deinon poieisthai* is used repeatedly in scenarios in which agents present it as beneath their dignity to be thought inferior or unfavorably compared to those who are not in fact their superiors (1.127.1; 4.147.3; 5.42.2; 8.15.1, 16.2, 93.2). In a similar way, the Spartans are indignant at the idea of sharing their civic status with a non-Spartan (9.33.5—which they did only in this one exceptional case, 9.35.1). Like all forms of anger in Herodotus, this can be taken to EXTREMES: the Persian commander, ARTAÏNTES, is so enraged (*deinon poieisthai*) at being called "worse than a woman" by XERXES' brother, MASISTES, that he draws his sword and tries to kill him (9.107.2); the plan of ZOPYRUS (1) to mutilate himself in order to capture BABYLON for Darius is motivated by

his indignation that ASSYRIANS should mock the Persians (3.155.2). This concern for the honor of one's state or nation is widespread, both in individuals and in the groups to which they belong, so that (for example) it is *cholos* towards each other as long-standing enemies that determines the policy of both the Thessalians and the Phocians towards PERSIA in 480 BCE (8.27.1, 31).

No doubt most if not all of these angry individuals and communities considered themselves justified. Herodotus' narrative often seems to suggest that anger is warranted, for example, EUENIUS' heroic *mēnis* (9.94.2) and indignation (*deinon poieisthai*, 9.94.3) at being first blinded, then cheated by his fellow-citizens. And because anger in Greek is typically represented as a response to gratuitous harm ("negative reciprocity": Sahlins 1972), even purely interpersonal cases can be associated with ideas of "justice." Thus Darius' *orgē* at the Eretrians (6.119.1) encompasses the notion that they took the initiative in harming him and thus committed *adikia*. Just as no one in Persia can be executed for only a single offense, so a master may not do irrevocable harm to a slave for a single offense; but if a slave's *adikēmata* outweigh his services, then the master may give vent to his *thymos* (1.137.1). The Spartan judicial decision to hand over their king, LEOTYCHIDES II, to the Aeginetans for PUNISHMENT is questioned by one Spartan, taken in *orgē* as it was (6.85.2).

On the whole, however, it is extreme, irrational, and pathological forms of anger that make the greatest impression. CYAXARES' humiliation of his Scythian protégés, out of anger (*orgē*) at their failure to bring anything home from the hunt, leads them, in their indignation, to invite Cyaxares to a cannibal feast (1.73.4–5). Extreme anger is one of the ways in which the powerful abuse their position. This is true not only of kings (who must be approached with caution, 4.97.2), but also of subordinate figures such as the Persian, MEGABATES, who, furious to find that one of the allied ships under his command has been left unguarded, has the captain bound half-in and half-out of one of the oar-holes (and is then just as furious when ARISTAGORAS [1] sets the man free: 5.33.2–4). But the classic examples involve such prototypes of the insane oriental despot as CAMBYSES (II), whose outbursts of extreme

anger Herodotus repeatedly represents as merely some among the many examples of his MADNESS (e.g., 3.37.1; cf. Harris 2001, 230). In one account of his MURDER of his wife, Cambyses' fury (*thymos*) at her frankness leads him to jump on her so that she miscarries and dies (3.32.4). Angered by his officer PREXASPES' suggestion that his only weakness is love of WINE, he sets about demonstrating his sanity by shooting Prexaspes' son through the heart (3.34–35). This elicits from his adviser, CROESUS, a tactful warning about the dangers of youthful *thymos* (3.36.1).

Xerxes fully conforms to this type (Harris 2001, 231), as signaled by his fury at ARTABANUS' opposition to his plan to invade Greece (7.11.1). Famous for his furious WHIPPING of the HELLESPONT (*deinon poieisthai*, 7.35.1), and for punishing a man who requested that one of his five sons be spared military service by cutting the boy in half (7.38–39), he also takes it as a personal INSULT when the Greeks at THERMOPYLAE refuse to retreat in the face of Persian numerical superiority (7.210.1). The *thymos* he showed then re-emerges when, in violation of Persian values regarding the honor due defeated enemies who have fought well, he has LEONIDAS' head impaled on a post (7.238.2). His mild response (7.105.1) to DEMARATUS' argument that Spartan fear of the LAW makes them more formidable opponents than Xerxes' subjects (who merely fear him) plays on our knowledge that he would very probably have been furious had he taken his interlocutor seriously. The last anecdote we hear about him (at 9.108–13) portrays a degenerate, power-crazed royal household riven by sexual intrigue and petty rivalries. Xerxes first takes a fancy to his brother's wife, but then, having married his son to his brother's daughter, ARTAYNTE, transfers his affections to her. He gives her a shawl made by his wife, AMESTRIS, which makes the wife angry (*enkotos*), not with Artaynte, but with her mother. She demands that the woman be handed over to her, which makes Xerxes angry (*deinon poieisthai*, 9.110.3) at the thought of depriving his brother of his wife and allowing an innocent woman to be harmed. But this justified anger does not last. Xerxes' brother, Masistes, begs to be allowed to keep his wife and rejects the offer of Xerxes' own daughter as a replacement. Furious (9.111.5), Xerxes withdraws his offer and commands

divorce. By this time, Amestris has horribly mutilated Masistes' wife; Masistes leaves, intending to pursue Xerxes' overthrow, but is killed on Xerxes' command before he can do so.

Though a more positively characterized oriental king, such as CYRUS (II), can occasionally control his anger (1.156.2, on Croesus' advice, 1.155.3), there is a marked preponderance of the emotion, especially in its extreme forms, among non-Greek commanders and potentates (Harris 2001, 175–76): 53 percent of the instances of *orgē* and 80 percent of those of *thymos* refer to the behavior of oriental despots. If we add the cases associated with Greek TYRANTS and the like, the association of anger with unfettered power is even more pronounced (71 and 93 percent, respectively). The figures for *cholos* are too low to be statistically significant, while those for *deinon poieisthai* show a greater degree of nuance: only 44 percent of the occurrences are associated with rulers and tyrants, 83 percent of whom are non-Greek.

But *deinon poieisthai* is far from always being a reasonable or justifiable response: it can refer to the extreme, pathological forms of anger that are typical of oriental despots (e.g., Xerxes' lashing of the Hellespont, 7.35.1), and even when predicated of Greeks it is not always commendable—it is used both of the fury of the Athenian women who use the pins of their dresses to kill the sole Athenian survivor of a battle against the Aeginetans, and of male Athenian outrage at this behavior (5.87.2–3). By contrast, the Spartan commanders' anger (*deinon poieisthai*) at the insubordinate bravado of AMOMPHARETUS (9.53.3) appears warranted in circumstances in which a single individual risks undermining the strategy of an entire force (see also SHAME). The term conveys a sense of proper pride and self-worth when it is used (by the Athenian envoys at SPARTA prior to PLATAEA, 9.7.a.2) of Athenian commitment to Greek FREEDOM. Yet this is also true slightly earlier, when it is used of the Athenians' indignation at the idea of coming to terms with MARDONIUS (9.5.2); this justified indignation spills over into mob VIOLENCE, as the councilor who proposed such a motion is stoned to death and his wife and children suffer the same fate at the hands of the Athenian women on SALAMIS.

The expression of anger in Herodotus is often similarly brutal: violence, MUTILATION, and

killing are typical (Lateiner 1987, 92–93). By contrast, the historian has comparatively little to say about anger's symptoms, phenomenology, or expression in the face or the body. Non-violent, passive-aggressive forms of expression are, however, found, in the silence with which Periander's son, Lycophron, responds to all overtures to heal the breach with his father (3.50.3, 52.4–6) and in Demaratus' covering of his head to advertise his anger at the insult he has just received at the hands of Leotychides, who has taken his place as king (6.67.3; cf. Cairns 2001).

SEE ALSO: Barbarians; Characterization; Despotism; Reciprocity; Vengeance

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ANGITES RIVER (ὁ Ἀγγίτης ποταμός)

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A river in western THRACE, tributary of the STRYMON (BA 51 B3; Müller I, 42–43). Herodotus (7.113.2) makes the Angites the northwestern border of a region around Mt. PANGAEUM which he calls PHYLLIS. The Angites and Strymon are responsible for the region's marshy plains and fertile agricultural land. A Roman-era village by the same name is attested in an inscription from Thrace (SEG 34-691).

SEE ALSO: Edonians; Myrcinus; Nine Ways; Rivers

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ANGRUS RIVER (ὁ Ἄγγρος ποταμός)

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A river flowing north from Illyria (4.49.2), through the TRIBALLIAN PLAIN and into the BRONGUS RIVER, a tributary of the ISTER (Danube). The location and identification of the Angrus are unknown; it may be part of the modern Morava River system in Serbia.

SEE ALSO: Illyrians; Rivers

FURTHER READING

Corcella in ALC, 618.

ANIMALS, see ANTS, GIANT; BIRDS; CAMELS; CATTLE; CROCODILES; DOGS; FISH; GRIFFINS; HORSES; LIONS; MULES; PIGS; SNAKES; SYMBOLS AND SIGNS

ANOPAEA (Ἀνόπαια, ἡ)

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A mountain path leading around the narrow pass at THERMOPYLAE in north-central Greece (7.216). In 480 BCE, after two days of failed attempts to dislodge the Greek forces, the Persians learned of the Anopaea path from EPHIALTES, an inhabitant of nearby Malis. Late that evening, Persian troops led by Hydarnes ascended the Anopaea, chased away the Phocian contingent assigned to guard the mountain, and descended on the rear of Thermopylae, arriving on the morning of the third day and soon annihilating the remaining Greek force of 300 Spartans.

The route of the path has long been a source of scholarly dispute (e.g., Pritchett 1982, 176–210), in part due to the fact that the landmarks Herodotus names—Melampyrgus (“Black-bottom”) Rock, Seats of the Cercopes, and even the settlement of ALPENUS—cannot be identified with any certainty. The most recent discussion (Sánchez-Moreno 2013, 313–20) suggests the quest for certitude is futile, since even in antiquity the route was probably a loose collection of pathways rather than a well-marked trail.

SEE ALSO: Asopus River (Trachis); Hydarnes son of Hydarnes; Landscape; Malians; Persian Wars; Phocis; Treachery

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ANTAGORAS (Ἀνταγόρας, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of HEGETORIDES, from the island of COS. His son is described as a close guest-friend of the Spartan regent PAUSANIAS (9.76.2). Nothing more is known of Antagoras. He shared his name with the son of the legendary Coan king Eurypylus (Hom. *Il.* 2.677); the mythical Antagoras foolishly challenged a shipwrecked HERACLES to a

wrestling match and lost (Plut. *Mor.* 304c–e; Gantz, *EGM* 444). Today, one can find on Cos a (modern) statue of Heracles and Antagoras wrestling, as well as a sports complex named after Antagoras.

SEE ALSO: Guest-friendship

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ANTANDRUS (Ἀντανδρος, ὁ)

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A city on the Gulf of ADAMYTTIUM in the southern Troad below Mt. IDA (BA 56 D2). Herodotus mentions Antandrus in passing twice: as one of the CITIES subdued by the Persian general OTANES (2) c. 510 BCE (5.26), and along the route of XERXES’ invasion in 480 (7.42.1). In the latter passage Herodotus calls the city “Pelagian,” while THUCYDIDES (8.108.4) makes the inhabitants AEOLIANS. Other sources assign Antrandrus’ origins to various non-Greek peoples, including the LELEGES (Alcaeus F337 Campbell), the EDONIAN Thracians or CIMMERIANS (Aristotle F478 Rose), and the CILICIANS (Demetrius of Scepsis: Strabo 13.1.51/C606). The city was brought into the ATHENIAN EMPIRE in the 420s after the Mytilenean Revolt (Thuc. 4.52.3). It was later occupied by a Persian garrison, which was driven out in 411 (Thuc. 8.108); two years later, the Antandrians were building ships for the fleet which the Persian satrap Pharnabazus supplied to the Spartans (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.25–26).

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity; Lesbos; Pelasgians

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ANTHELA (Ἀνθήλη, ἥ)

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A village two miles west of THERMOPYLAE on the shore of the MALIAN GULF (BA 55 D3). Anthela was the ancestral seat of the Amphictyonic states, who, by the sixth century BCE, controlled DELPHI. A shrine of the local hero AMPHICTYON and a sanctuary of ARTEMIS Amphictyonis were located here (7.200.2). The road through Thermopylae was at its narrowest near Anthela, according to Herodotus (7.176.2), no wider than a cart track. Extensive silting has altered the geomorphology of the region (Kase et al. 1991). Sondages confirm that the coastline in 480 BCE was much closer to the cliffs of Thermopylae.

SEE ALSO: Amphictyones; Phocis

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ANTHEMUS (Ἀνθεμοῦς, ὁ)

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The Macedonian king AMYNTAS SON OF ALCETAS offered Anthemus to HIPPIAS, the exiled Athenian TYRANT, after SPARTA's allies refused to help re-install him at ATHENS (c. 504 BCE). Hippias declined and withdrew to SIGEUM in the Troad, a traditional power base for the PEISISTRATIDAE (5.94.1). The city of Anthemus appears to have developed only in the fourth century BCE, so Amyntas' offer must pertain to a

region: the valley of the Anthemus River, flowing from the interior of the Chalcidice peninsula into the THERMAIC GULF south of the later site of Thessalonike (BA 50 D4). The offer indicates that the area was under Macedonian control at this date (cf. Thuc. 2.99.6); Amyntas may have acted with an eye to pleasing the Persian King (Xydopoulos 2012).

SEE ALSO: Iolcus; Macedonia; Medize

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ANTHROPOLOGY

PASCAL PAYEN

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The *Histories* ("inquiries") of Herodotus is one of the founding texts of western culture. For more than twenty-five centuries, it has constantly been interpreted, translated, and commented on, alternately relegated to the back shelves and held up as exemplary. We owe to the scholars of ancient Alexandria the division of this long, strange PROSE text into nine books: the first four are devoted to the description of many barbarian peoples, and are followed by the account of the IONIAN REVOLT against PERSIA and the story of the PERSIAN WARS, from 499 to 479 BCE.

The rising importance of anthropology in western universities during the period 1930–70, linked with the decolonization movements in Africa and Asia, transformed research in this field of the humanities. The focus was now more on the margins than on the center, more on alterity than on identity, more on the questions that the *Histories* themselves sought to address. Concerning Herodotus, the most important book on these problems was François Hartog's *Le Miroir d'Hérodote* (*The Mirror of Herodotus*, 1980; English translation by Janet Lloyd published in



Figure 1 Theseus fighting the Amazons (red-figure Attic krater attributed to Polygnotus, 450–430 BCE, found near Tarentum). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Médailles et Antiques, Luynes.722 – De Ridder.421. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1988). The sub-title, *The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, shows that the aim is to analyze how the Greeks of the classical period thought of the non-Greeks, the BARBARIANS. The object was to lay the foundations for a history of otherness, based on Herodotus' own way of practicing ethnology, that is to say, by field study, and by traveling through the territory of the Others, without concealing one's own identity, while being particularly attentive to speaker identity markers or signs of the investigator's presence. Hartog's study thus aims to reconstruct a "rhetoric of otherness," to identify the words and narrative procedures that enabled Greek readers to visualize different lifestyles, "other" societies (Geertz 1988; Jacob 1991). This rhetoric of alterity is based on three main techniques: inversion, difference, and ANALOGY. SACRIFICE as practiced in Greece thus becomes the implicit reference for describing, by inversion, barbarian sacrifices: "When the Persians wish to immolate victims, they do not set up an ALTAR nor light a FIRE, they do not make LIBATIONS" (Hdt 1.132). The anthropology developed by Herodotus is not limited or fixed in its nature, however. He is equally interested in the

origins of customs, the GENEALOGIES of peoples, and the complexities of MIGRATIONS.

More recent work has compared Herodotus with the anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, as presented in *Tristes Tropiques* (1955). The analogy with the famous PROLOGUE of the *Histories* is based on four main points. First of all the term *HISTORIË* (a variant of *historia* in the IONIC DIALECT Herodotus uses) does not refer to either the literary genre nor the discipline of history, but describes the process of field *inquiry*. Furthermore, this investigation concerns "Man," *anthrôpoi*, in the generic sense of humanity in its entirety, overriding the traditional distinction, in cultural terms, between Greeks and barbarians. A third similarity lies in the purpose of the investigation: to save from oblivion the deeds of men. Lastly, the observer should be guided by amazement, by the feeling of "strangeness." But the analogy between Lévi-Strauss and Herodotus depends on an even more fundamental point. Herodotus can also be seen in this passage as an ethnologist "working on the inside," with two ways of seeing: at one moment, and more frequently, observing Greek culture, in the next examining the barbarians.

The nature of Herodotus' concerns, and the strangeness that this gives his work, opened up new avenues for studying the links between ethnology, or anthropology, and history.

In this context of the development of historical anthropology (Gernet 1981 [1968]), scholars of antiquity defended themselves valiantly, whereas their situation could be considered vulnerable, at least from the inside. Jean-Pierre Vernant, author of *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*, first published in 1965, founded in 1986 the journal *Mètis*, sub-titled *Anthropological Review of the Ancient Greek World*. Vernant was not alone. Between 1965 and the end of 1980, with him and around him major studies appeared by Marcel Detienne, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Nicole Loraux, François Hartog, François Lissarrague, Françoise Frontisi, and others, alongside collective works such as *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks* (1979). However, in 1989, Vernant published in *Mètis* a synthesis, "De la psychologie historique à une anthropologie de la Grèce ancienne" ("From historical psychology to an anthropology of Ancient Greece"), in which he expressed a certain concern and again spelt out the basic objectives of an anthropology of Greece. It should essentially be devoted to a study of the categories of space and TIME, the uses of MEMORY, the structures governing the narration of legends, the frameworks of thought underlying political and judicial discourse, medical and philosophical treatises, and to the analysis of the forms of practical intelligence (shrewdness, cunning, craft artefacts, etc.), and of the relationship between acts and individuals.

Like Lévi-Strauss, Herodotus "begins by paying homage to the power and the insignificance of the event" (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 408), before its incidental nature which he expresses on every page. At the same time, he makes every effort to detect "a unity and a consistency behind everything that would not necessarily emerge from a mere description of the facts, simply laid out in a disorganized manner under the gaze of the scholar" (Lévi-Strauss 1971, 614). Regarding Herodotus as a kind of Lévi-Strauss casts light on who the Greek historian really was, forged in the Western tradition and accepted as the "FATHER OF HISTORY" despite the fact that he never claimed that title for himself. He was more interested in the diversity of the cultures he

encountered, which each raised questions for the Greeks on how they saw themselves.

SEE ALSO: Black Athena; Ethnicity; Nomads; *nomos*; Orientalism; Reciprocity; Scholarship on Herodotus, 1945–2018; Scythians; *thōmata*; Travel

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ANTHROPOPHAGY

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Anthropophagy is the eating of human flesh (cannibalism). A recurring theme in the *Histories*, cannibalism is often described as a barbaric custom of less civilized tribes who dwell at the edges of the earth. Although Herodotus says the SCYTHIANS are not cannibals (4.18), they do engage in a form of cannibalism by drinking the blood of the first man they kill in battle (4.64), and they fashion drinking cups from their skulls (4.65). The ANDROPHAGI were a lawless tribe of “man-eaters” who lived north of the Scythians, though who their victims are is never specified (4.18, 106). Tribal cannibalism usually involves the eating of one’s own clansmen. The MASSAGETAE, an Iranian nomadic people from the steppes, would kill their tribesmen who were very old and feast on their flesh. This they considered the best of all deaths, and they refused to eat those who died of illness (1.216; Strabo 11.8.6/C513). Among the ISSEDONES, who dwell north-east of the Massagetae near the Urals (cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 6.16.5), when a father dies, his sons and nearest relations prepare a feast of his flesh mixed with that of their flock. They then strip his skull and gild it to be used as a relic for religious offerings (4.26). The CALLATIAE, living at the eastern edges of the world in INDIA, are likewise said to eat their parents (3.38). Another tribe of Indians called the PADAEANS would kill those who became sick and eat them before the DISEASE rendered them inedible. The slaying was carried out by those closest to them, with men killing men and women killing women. They also slaughtered and ate those who grew very old, but few reached this stage in life, having been euthanized earlier after falling ill (3.99). The tradition of locating cannibals at the edges of the world would be continued by later writers including STRABO, and into the Middle Ages, with explorers such as Marco Polo and John of Plano Carpini. After the discovery of the New World, explorers and missionaries such as Columbus and Joseph Francois Lafitau, the latter being especially influenced by Herodotus, continued to describe savage tribes of cannibals in unfamiliar lands.

In addition to accounts of customary cannibalism, Herodotus relates several specific episodes in

which it occurred. While in EGYPT, CAMBYSES (II) led a disastrous campaign against the ETHIOPIANS during which all of their provisions ran out and the men resorted to cannibalism by killing and eating one in every ten men (3.25; John of Plano Carpini 4.52 relates an almost identical episode occurring in the army of Genghis Khan). Other episodes involved cannibalism through DECEPTION as a form of VENGEANCE. After HARPAGUS THE MEDE, the cowherd of ASTYAGES, failed to kill the baby Cyrus as ordered, he was invited to a FEAST by the king at which he was served the flesh of his own son. Much like the feast of Thyestes, the head, hands, and feet were removed and ultimately shown to Harpagus, revealing Astyages’ plot (1.119). CYAXARES, the king of the MEDES, had entrusted several Median youths to be trained by Scythians in ARCHERY. After being mistreated by Cyaxares, the Scythians killed one of the boys and served him up to the king and his companions at a banquet (1.73).

SEE ALSO: Barbarians; Ethnography; Extremes; Meat; *nomos*; Reception of Herodotus, 1350–1750

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ANTHYLLA (Ἀνθυλλα)

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A city in the northwestern Nile DELTA of EGYPT near the mouth of the Canobic branch (BA 74 C2). Anthylla lay on the route taken by ships sailing to NAUCRATIS. Its claim to FAME, Herodotus says, was the HONOR of providing shoes to the wife of the ruler of Egypt since the time of the country’s incorporation into the Persian Empire (2.97.2–98.1). Six centuries later, Athenaeus, a native of Naucratis, lauds the WINE of Anthylla as the best in Egypt; he also says Persian kings used revenue from the city to buy girdles for their wives (1.33f).

SEE ALSO: Archandropolis; Bodily Adornment; Canobus; Dress; Persia

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ANTICHARES (Ἀντιχάρης, ὁ)

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Antichares of ELEON (Boeotia), using the “ORACLES of LAÏUS” (mythical father of OEDIPUS), advised the exiled Spartan king DORIEUS to establish a colony at Heracleia (MINOA) in SICILY, saying all of ERYX belonged to the descendants of HERACLES (5.43). Antichares was probably an “oraclemonger” (*chrēsmologos*) using apocryphal oracles collected under Laius’ name (How and Wells 1912, 2: 17). Dorieus indeed went to Sicily but was defeated and killed there by the PHOENICIANS (5.46). A *kalos* inscription from the necropolis of Rhitsóna near Eleon refers to an Anticharos, perhaps the same person (Burrows and Ure 1909, 342–44).

SEE ALSO: Bacis; Colonization; Heracleidae

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ANTICYRA (Ἀντικύρη, ἡ)

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A *POLIS* on the southern bank of the Spercheius River in Malis, exact location unknown (*BA* 55 C3; Müller I, 304), and not to be confused with the

better-attested Anticyra in PHOCIS which does not appear in the *Histories*. Herodotus describes Anticyra as the first city on the MALIAN GULF when one is traveling from Achaea (Phthiotis) into Malis. The Persians’ route led them through here on their way to TRACHIS in 480 BCE (7.198.2). EPHIALTES, who betrayed the Greeks at THERMOPYLAE, was later killed at Anticyra (7.213.2).

SEE ALSO: Achaeans of Phthiotis; Corydallus; Malians; Polyas

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ANTIDORUS (Ἀντίδωρος, ὁ)

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On the first day of fighting at ARTEMISIUM (480 BCE), Antidorus of LEMNOS deserted to the Greek side, alone of the Greeks fighting for PERSIA; Herodotus reports that the Athenians awarded him land on the ISLAND of SALAMIS as thanks (8.11.3). Presumably this means Antidorus became an Athenian citizen as well (Figueira 1991, 254), though he may already have had some status at ATHENS given their previous possession of Lemnos after Miltiades’ CONQUEST of it (6.136–40). When the IONIAN REVOLT failed, the island reverted to Persian control. Antidorus fought on the Greek side again at the Battle of Salamis (8.82.2).

SEE ALSO: Miltiades the Younger; Naval Warfare

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ANTIOCHUS (Ἀντίοχος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of Teisamenus and HAGIAS, of ELIS (9.33.1). Teisamenus was the most successful seer of his time and a member of the IAMIDAE family; since the practice of seercraft was often hereditary, Antiochus was presumably a seer as well. Nothing more is known of him.

SEE ALSO: Divination; Teisamenus son of Antiochus

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ANTIPATER (Ἀντίπατρος, ὁ)

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Prominent citizen of the ISLAND of THASOS in the northern AEGEAN. Antipater was chosen to organize the feeding of XERXES' invasion force as it marched through Thasian territory on the mainland (the Thasian *peraia*) in 480 BCE; the total expense was 400 TALENTS of SILVER (7.118). The name "Antipater" was extremely common in ancient Greece; Antipater's father, ORGEUS, is attested in a contemporary inscription.

SEE ALSO: Aristocracy; Food; Persian Wars; Wealth and Poverty

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ANTIPHEMUS

(Ἀντίφημος, ὁ)

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Herodotus names Antiphemus (and the Lindians) from RHODES as the founder of the Greek city of GELA on SICILY (7.153.1). Antiphemus' role is attested by other authors (Thuc. 6.4.3; Paus. 8.46.2; Higbie 2003, 105–6), and an INSCRIPTION on a cup from Gela indicates that he was receiving hero cult in the early fifth century BCE (Arena 2002, 35–36 (no. 27): "Mnasithales dedicates [this] to Antiphemus").

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Heroes and Hero Cult; Lindus

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ANTS, GIANT

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The main part of Herodotus' excursus on INDIA is the account of the ferocious gold-digging giant ants, as told by Persians (3.102–5). These ants (μύρμηκες) are smaller than DOGS but larger than foxes and live in a DESERT north of India. The Indians living near BACTRIA undertake an expedition to rob the gold-sand dug up by them, which they use to pay their TRIBUTE to the Persian Empire. The account can be compared with the gold-guarding GRIFFINS of the far north (3.116.1; 4.27) and has some parallels in Chinese tradition. More important is that ant-gold or GOLD dug by ants is also found in Indian tradition (*Mahābhārata*, Buddhist sources, etc.: see von Hinüber 1985, 1123–24). Ant stories and ant gold are also known in Tibet and Mongolia

(Laufer 1908), but the sources are late and could have Indian or western origins. A little more than a century after Herodotus, Megasthenes (see *BNJ* 715 F23) seems to locate the ants in Dardistan (northern Pakistan), but this tradition may be independent of Herodotus. They are also mentioned quite often in later literature—as late as 1786 it was still suggested that they were really living in some unknown corner of Central Asia.

A number of theories have been proposed as explanation, but few seem convincing. The Tibetan miners of Schiern (1873) can be put aside as can badgers, leopards, and pangolins, not to speak of the fantastic combinations of characteristics of two animals and of “ant-like” gold grains. The old marmot theory, proposed as early as Malte-Brun (1819, 380–81), has surfaced again and again (e.g., Peissel 1984) and seems to be the most popular, but it is not clear how peaceful marmots were turned into ferocious ants. The most reasonable explanation is perhaps given by Tarn (1951, 106–8; see further Karttunen 1989, 171–76), who saw it as a story invented by traders bringing gold from Siberia or somewhere else in order to hide its real origin.

The gold-digging ants created a lasting tradition. Nearchus (*BNJ* 133 F8) claimed to have seen their skins during the Indian campaign of Alexander III of Macedon (329–327 BCE). Pliny the Elder (*HN* 11.111) had seen their horns brought to the West. Pomponius Mela, Lucian, and Aelian knew them. Some authors (SOPHOCLES, Agatharchides, Solinus) located them in ETHIOPIA.

SEE ALSO: Extremes; Reliability; Trade

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ANYSIS (Ἄνυσις)

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1) A blind Egyptian pharaoh, according to Herodotus (2.137, 140) the successor of ASYCHIS. Herodotus writes that it was during Anysis' reign that the Ethiopian Shabako (SABACOS) completed the invasion of EGYPT begun by his brother, Piye (Piankhy), initiating the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty, an actual event dated to c. 715 BCE. When faced with the invasion, Anysis retreated to the marshlands of the DELTA, where he waited out the fifty years of Ethiopian occupation before returning to the throne when they withdrew. During his internal EXILE, Anysis lived on an ISLAND in the marshes named ELBO, which he augmented with ash that his former citizens brought him as a gift.

The story embodies three folkloric elements. The island growing out of the water may echo the *benben*, the first, PYRAMID-shaped land that according to Egyptian creation-lore emerged from the primordial waters. The once-and-future king theme is familiar in folk tales such as that of King Arthur. Finally, blindness is a recurrent motif in Herodotus' stories (cf. 2.111; 4.2; 6.177; the ARIMASPIANS have only one eye, 3.116). As a result of this highly folkloric content, Lloyd (1988, 90) reasonably suspects that Anysis stands for the whole of the 23rd Dynasty.

2) An Egyptian city, probably Tell Belim, 19 kilometers northwest of El-Qantara, in the NILE Delta. According to Herodotus (2.137) it was the hometown of Anysis (1).

SEE ALSO: Amyrtaeus; Anytis; Disabilities; Ethiopians; Monarchy

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ANYSUS (Ἄνυσος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of TETRAMNESTUS (of SIDON in Phoenicia). Tetramnestus served as one of the non-Persian admirals in XERXES' fleet in 480 BCE (7.98). The Phoenician form of Anysus' name is not known, and some MANUSCRIPTS of the *Histories* read "Allesus" (Ἄλλησος) instead. The CHRONOLOGY of the known dynasties at Sidon remains uncertain (Elayi 2006).

SEE ALSO: Persian Wars; Phoenicians

REFERENCE

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ANYTIS (ὁ Ἀνύτιος νομός)

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An administrative district or nome (Greek νομός, Egyptian *spṯ* [*sepat*]) of ancient EGYPT. Herodotus lists Anytis as one source of men for the CALASIRIES, a group within the Egyptian warrior class (2.166.1). Herodotus' list does not map exactly onto other ancient evidence for nomes, but Anytis was probably located in the northeast portion of the Nile DELTA. Its capital

was presumably ANYSIS, usually identified with the later Roman Heracleopolis Parva, modern Tell Belim.

SEE ALSO: Warfare

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APARYTAE (Ἀπαρύται, οἱ)

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In providing a list of the provinces (*archai* or SATRAPIES, 3.89.1) into which DARIUS I divided the Persian Empire, Herodotus states (3.91.4) that the Aparytae were part of the seventh administrative district (νομός, nome). They may have inhabited an area west of the INDUS RIVER (BA 6 B3), near modern-day Peshawar, Pakistan.

SEE ALSO: Catalogues; India

FURTHER READING

Asheri in ALC, 479–81, 538–42.

APATURIA (Ἀπατούρια, τά)

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The Apaturia (or Apatouria) was a FESTIVAL considered a marker of Ionian identity, according to Herodotus, who says that IONIANS were those "who derive from Athens and celebrate the Apaturia festival. All Ionians celebrate it except the Ephesians and Colophonians" (1.47). Most of our knowledge of the festival comes from ATHENS. The Apaturia was associated with the phratries, social groups in which membership was hereditary, and whose main function in the

classical period in Attica was supervision of the legitimacy of the CHILDREN of members. The phratries celebrated the Apaturia during the month of Pyanopsion at individual phratry centers throughout Attica. It lasted for three days, and the main function was to enroll new phratry members (see schol. Ar. *Ach.* 146 for the names of the days of the festival and the main SACRIFICES and observances).

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity; Religion, Greek

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APHETAE (Ἀφέται, αἱ)

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Coastal town in MAGNESIA in northern Greece, located on the Gulf of PAGASAE. XERXES stationed his fleet there after losing 400 ships in a storm near Cape SEPIAS (7.193, 196) and used it as a base of operations for his naval campaign against the Greek fleet at ARTEMISIUM in 480 BCE (8.4–12; Diod. Sic. 11.12.3), nearly 80 stades (about 9 miles) to the south. A man named SCYLLIAS was said to have deserted from the Persians by swimming the entire distance from Aphetæ to Artemisium underwater (8.8).

The exact location of Aphetæ is unknown, but it lay somewhere on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ, perhaps in the vicinity of Trikeri just inside the gulf's mouth (Leake 1835, 4: 396–97) or further east on the southern coast of Magnesia facing the Artemisium Channel (Stählin 1967, 55–56; cf. BA 55 E2). According to the tradition reported by Herodotus (7.193; similarly Strabo 9.5.15/C436, Ap. Rhod. 1.591), the place takes its name from the fact that JASON and the Argonauts

decided to leave (ἀφήσειν, *aphēsein*) HERACLES there when they were heading out to SEA on the way to COLCHIS (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀφέται (A 553)). Drawing from Pherecydes, whom Herodotus may also be following, Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1.9.19) reports that it was the ARGO itself who spoke to Jason in a human voice, warning him that Heracles would have been too heavy to take on board.

SEE ALSO: Etymology; Myth; Naval Warfare; Persian Wars; Thessaly

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APHIDNA (Ἀφιδναι, αἱ)

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A DEME (district, precinct) of ancient ATHENS, in northeastern Attica inland from MARATHON (BA 59 C2; Müller I, 603–4). Aphidna was the second-largest Attic deme, after Acharnae. Aphidna appears in Herodotus' mythological DIGRESSION on DECELEA after the Battle of PLATAEA: the Athenians say that when the sons of TYNDAREUS invaded Attica to recover HELEN from THESEUS, they were guided to Aphidna, which TITACUS betrayed to them (9.73). Aphidna also occurs as a demotic for two Athenians: CALLIMACHUS (commander-in-chief (polemarch) of the Athenian army at Marathon, 6.109.2) and TIMODEMUS (an enemy of THEMISTOCLES, 8.125.1).

SEE ALSO: Date of Composition; Myth

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APHRODISIAS ISLAND (ἡ Ἀφροδισιάς νῆσος)

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Island off the coast of LIBYA (north Africa) east of CYRENE (BA 38 D1, *Laia/Aphrodites Nesos*). Herodotus names Aphrodisias Island as the western boundary of the region inhabited by the GILIGAMAE, and in which silphium grows (4.169.1; Ps.-Scylax 108.2). The island was apparently also known as Laia in antiquity (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.4.15). Today it is called Jazirat Kirissah (or Geziret Chersa), less than two miles off the Libyan coast between Derna and Kirissah (32°50'17.9"N 22°29'55.8"E).

SEE ALSO: Geography; Islands

FURTHER READING

Corcella in ALC, 696.

APHRODITE (Ἀφροδίτη, ἡ)

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Herodotus never employs the name “Aphrodite” for a Greek deity. Rather, he uses it, sometimes accompanied by the modifier *Ouraniē*, to denote various erotically-charged eastern goddesses, including Arabian ALILAT (1.131.3; 3.8.2), Assyrian MYLITTA (1.131.3, 199.3), Scythian ARGIMPASA (4.59.2), Persian “MITRA” (1.131.3), and goddesses of EGYPT (2.41.5, 112.2), ASCALON (1.105.1), and CYRENE (2.181.4), whose indigenous names go unmentioned. Responsibility for (and interest in) sexuality can be a prime feature of these goddesses (MacLachlan 1992), as when a Cyrenean woman asks Aphrodite to help consummate her MARRIAGE (2.181.4); when the Assyrian Aphrodite requires Babylonian women to prostitute themselves (1.199.1–5); or when Ascalon’s Aphrodite (= Atargatis) transforms SCYTHIANS who defiled her temple into androgynes (1.105.1–2; 4.67.2; see ENAREES). Although some scholars still follow Herodotus in grouping these deities together

as “Near Eastern fertility goddesses,” this oversimplifies a more complex situation, emphasizing a few shared features of a general sort, while ignoring those distinctive to each goddess, e.g., Alilat’s role as guarantor of OATHS (3.8.1–2), Argimpasa’s control of DIVINATION (4.67.2), or an Egyptian Aphrodite’s concern to exhume and rebury the bones of sacred CATTLE (2.41.4–6). In Greek religion, Aphrodite’s role similarly expands well beyond the erotic, as evidenced by her role in certain cosmogonies and the maternal care she shows for her son, Aeneas.

SEE ALSO: Gods and the Divine; Religion, Herodotus’ Views on; Sex

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APHTHIS (ὁ Ἀφθίτης νομός)

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An administrative district or nome (Greek νομός, Egyptian *sp̄t* [*sepat*]) of ancient EGYPT. Herodotus lists Aphthis as one source of men for

the CALASIRIES, a group within the Egyptian warrior class (2.166.1). Herodotus' list does not map exactly onto other ancient evidence for nomes, but Aphthis was probably located in the northeast portion of the Nile DELTA near TANIS.

SEE ALSO: Warfare

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APHYTIS (Ἀφυτίς, ἡ)

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City on the PALLENE peninsula in northern Greece (BA 51 A4). XERXES' fleet picks up troops from Aphytis and other CITIES in the region after it passes through the ATHOS canal in 480 BCE (7.123.1). The city was founded in the eighth century; it was known for a sanctuary of DIONYSUS (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.19) and, at least from the fourth century, its devotion to Zeus AMMON (Tsigarida 2011, 143–45; cf. Paus. 3.18.3). Aphytis was a particularly loyal member of the DELIAN LEAGUE.

SEE ALSO: Chalcidians in Thrace; Persian Wars

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API (Ἀπί, ἡ)

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The name of a Scythian goddess whom Herodotus equates with the Greek earth goddess Gaia (Gē, 4.59.2). However, the Old Iranian root *āp-* denotes "water." Though some scholars believe Herodotus (or his source) to be mistaken, or posit a brief lacuna in the text (Humbach and Faiss 2012, 7), the link between water and the life-giving power of the earth may explain Herodotus' identification (Ustinova 1999, 74–75). As a river goddess, Api may correspond to the "daughter of BORYSTHENES" whose union with ZEUS (Scythian PAPAEUS), according to the SCYTHIANS, produced the first man, TARGITAUS (4.5.1).

SEE ALSO: Ethnography; Gods and the Divine; Religion, Greek

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APIDANUS RIVER (ὁ Ἀπιδανός/Ἡπιδανός ποταμός)

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A river in THESSALY (BA 55 C2; Müller I, 309), the modern Farsaliotis/Pharsalitis with its source near the ancient city of Pharsalus. Herodotus lists the Apidanus as one of the five most important tributaries of the PENEIUS (all on its right bank),

the major river in the region (7.129.2). In fact, the Apidanus and ENIPEUS merge before flowing into the Peneius; ancient authors differed on which of the two took precedence (cf. Strabo 8.3.32/C356 and 9.5.6/C432). Later, Herodotus refers to the Apidanus (spelling it Ἡπ- rather than Ἀπ-) as “the greatest of the RIVERS in Achaea” PHTHIOTIS (southern Thessaly) and notes that it barely provided sufficient water for XERXES’ invasion army (7.196).

SEE ALSO: Geography; Persian Wars

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APIS (Ἄπις, ἦ), city

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A city in the northwest Nile DELTA near Lake Mareotis (2.18.2). Scholars have identified it with the Egyptian *Niwt nt Ḥpy*, “city of Apis.” The precise location is, however, unknown.

SEE ALSO: Apis (god); Nile; Egypt

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APIS (Ἄπις, ὁ; Eg. Ḥpw), god

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Apis (Eg. Ḥpw) is the sacred bull of MEMPHIS, worshipped since the 1st Dynasty in EGYPT as a fertility god. When each Apis died, he was embalmed and buried, and the priests chose a successor based on a fixed set of physical signs: he must be all black except for a white square on his

forehead and on his back must be the form of an eagle. Greeks identified him with Epaphus (2.38, 153), son of ZEUS and the cow-formed girl, IO (Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980, 2: 42–45). The 26th Dynasty pharaoh PSAMMETICHUS I (Psamtik I, r. c. 664–610 BCE) built him a temple (2.153). As one of the many acts of MADNESS that Herodotus alleges—almost certainly without justification—CAMBYSES (II) of PERSIA perpetrated in Egypt, he fatally stabbed the Apis bull in the thigh, ridiculing the Egyptians for thinking that any being that could feel pain was a god (3.27–29; cf. Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 44 (*Mor.* 369)). Greeks, however, did believe gods feel pain (Apul. *Met.* 5.23 gives a list of instances; Ar. *Ran.* 634, which denies this, is a joke).

SEE ALSO: Apis (city); Cattle; Gods and the Divine

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APOLLO (Ἀπόλλων, ὁ)

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Apollo, the youthful god of MUSIC and ARCHERY, was above all an oracular divinity, a master of PROPHECY. He was a god of ecstatic or “mad” DIVINATION. He informed humans through his inspired prophets or prophetesses who acted as his medium. Apollo's major oracular shrines were at DELPHI, Claros, and Didyma (see BRANCHIDAE). Yet the Delphic ORACLE alone enjoyed an international prestige in the ARCHAIC AGE and classical era, the god's medium there being a female virgin, the PYTHIA. In Herodotus' *Histories*, Delphic Apollo is the most important

oracular divinity concerning political and religious matters, consulted by Greeks and Lydians.

Apollo was consulted by the Lydians after GYGES killed CANDAULES and took the kingship (1.12–14). The oracle confirmed Gyges' kingship, which established the dynasty of the MERMNADAE—but also warned that they would lose the throne in the fifth generation. Gyges expressed his gratitude by dedicating to Apollo many SILVER and GOLD vessels. CROESUS, the last of the Mermnadae, during the planning of an attack on the Persian Empire, tested the wisdom of prominent Greek oracles (1.46–49). Apollo's Delphic oracle and the Boeotian oracle of AMPHIARAUS alone passed the test, Amphiaraus' oracle being housed in the temple of Apollo *Ismenius* in Herodotus' time. Croesus, sending numerous gifts of gold to DELPHI, asked the oracle whether he should make war on PERSIA (1.53–56.1). Pleased with the Pythia's response, Croesus marched against the Persians. When, however, he was captured, he demanded to know why Apollo had encouraged him to make this expedition (1.86–91). The Pythia replied that not even a god could escape his ordained FATE, and that *Loxias* had simply predicted that “if he attacked the Persians, he would destroy a great empire”; it was Croesus who had neglected to consider whose empire that was (1.91.1–4). CLEOMENES, the Spartan king, on being informed that he had burned the sacred grove of the hero Argus, accused *Loxias* of leading him to believe that he would capture the city of ARGOS (6.80). Apollo's indirect and veiled revelation was the reason why he was called *Loxias*, “the Oblique.”

Phoebus Apollo urged BATTUS (I), when he visited Delphi, to establish a colony in LIBYA, leading to the foundation of CYRENE (4.155–58). DORIEUS, on being advised to establish a colony in SICILY, asked the Pythia whether he would capture the land he was heading for, and received a positive reply (5.43). The DOLONCIANS, pressed by war, sent their kings to Delphi to ask about the war. The Pythia replied that they should invite to their land the first man to offer them hospitality after they left the shrine, and make him their founder. This happened to be MILTIADES THE ELDER (6.34–37).

During Xerxes' expedition against Greece in 480 BCE, the Delphic oracle urged the offering of PRAYERS to the WINDS (7.178), which resulted in the destruction of a large part of the Persian fleet off ARTEMISIUM and EUBOEA (7.189–90).

The Pythia's promise to the Athenians that “the wooden wall would not be taken,” which was interpreted by THEMISTOCLES as referring to the fleet, resulted in the Athenian victory at SALAMIS (7.140–41). The Delphic oracle foretold the DEATH of MARDONIUS and his soldiers, and by means of oracles indirectly designated the specific site of PLATAEA (8.114; 9.33–5). The “oracular wisdom” of Apollo played the single greatest “religious” role, as Mikalson (2003) has argued. The golden TRIPOD that the Greeks dedicated at Delphi from the spoils of Plataea was a token of their gratitude (9.81.1).

SEE ALSO: Carneia; Causation; Colonization; Dedications; Gods and the Divine; Hyacinthia; Religion, Greek

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APOLLONIA on the Black Sea (ἡ Ἀπολλωνίη ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ)

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Apollonia Pontica, a Greek city on the coast of the EUXINE (Black) Sea (BA 22 E6), modern Sozopol in Bulgaria. A colony of MILETUS founded in the

late seventh century BCE (Gorman 2001, 251), Apollonia was the first major HARBOR for ships sailing north from the Thracian BOSPORUS and also stood at the end of land routes from the AEGEAN coast and the Balkan interior (Isaac 1986, 241–47). Herodotus only mentions the city twice in passing (4.90.2, 93) as he describes the campaign of DARIUS I against the SCYTHIANS. After the Greco-Persian wars, Apollonia may have been a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE: it appears on the Athenian Tribute Lists in 425/4 (IG I³ 71.IV.128).

SEE ALSO: Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf; Colonization; Thrace

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APOLLONIA ON THE IONIAN GULF (Ἀπολλωνία ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἰωνίῳ κόλπῳ)

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A city on the IONIAN GULF between Epirus and Illyria, north of the Aoüs River, to be distinguished from several other cities of the same name (BA 49 B3; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀπολλωνία (A 361)). Apollonia was founded by CORINTH around 600 BCE, but was also claimed by CORCYRA (Strabo 7.5.8/C316) and had its origin attributed to the god APOLLO (Paus. 5.22.3). The city has left a rich archaeological record, but it plays no role in the *Histories* other than as the location for Herodotus' backstory of EUENIUS, whose son DEIPHONUS serves as seer for the Greek fleet in 479 BCE (9.93–94). In Roman times, Apollonia was connected to

EPIDAMNUS by road and served as a base for Julius Caesar during his pursuit of Pompey (Caes. *BCiv.* 3.12).

SEE ALSO: Apollonia on the Black Sea; Digressions; Illyrians; Mycale

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APOLLOPHANES (Ἀπολλοφάνης, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of BISALTES (of ABYDOS). Histiaeus leaves control of affairs in the HELLESPONT region to Bisaltes near the end of the IONIAN REVOLT, c. 494 BCE (6.26.1). The name Apollophanes was extremely common in ancient Greece; nothing more is known of this man.

SEE ALSO: Apollo; Histiaeus son of Lysagoras

FURTHER READING

- LGN V.A, 45–46 s.v. Ἀπολλοφάνης.

APPARITIONS

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Herodotus does not use the Greek word ἐπιφάνεια, a term with a broader sense than the English “epiphany” (see Pfister 1924, 277–79; Graf 2004, 113, 118–22, 127), but he often uses φαίνομαι, ἐπιφαίνομαι, and related terms. These may refer to visible or physical manifestations of the divine (e.g., of APIS' appearance in the form of a calf, 3.27.1), but in other cases the nature of a hero's or

god's manifestation is not specified and may well not be visual (cf. PAN, 6.106; PERSEUS' appearance in CHEMMIS, 2.91.3, 91.5; Versnel 1987). In some cases neither φάσμα ("apparition"), εἶδωλον ("phantom," "ghost") nor (ἐπι)φαίνομαι are used—instead the action of figures recognized to be divine is simply described (6.69.1–4; 8.38–39.1; on the diverse forms of Greek epiphany see Petridou 2015, 20–22). Apparitions which visit the sleeping and the waking are described in near-identical terms: compare HIPPARCHUS' "dream vision" (5.56.1) with the figure seen by EPIZELUS while fighting at MARATHON (6.117.2–3). Here, as often, the divine figures are identified as "tall" and/or "handsome."

Reports of divine apparitions are not confined to the chronological or geographical fringes of the *Histories*—they occur most often on Greek soil, to Greek witnesses, and in the context of the PERSIAN WARS (epiphanies during battle are particularly common in the Greek world; cf. Pritchett 1979, 11–46). Herodotus records two stories of epiphanies during or after the Battle of Marathon: Pan's appearance to PHILIPPIDES (6.105; Paus. 8.54.6) and the large HOPLITE who kills a Greek soldier and blinds Epizelus (6.117.2–3; retold with differences at Plut. *Mor.* 305c). He also transmits three reports of apparitions connected with XERXES' campaign: the tall and handsome divine figure who (several times) appears in the DREAMS of Xerxes and ARTABANUS (7.12–18), the defense of DELPHI by two large figures identified by the Delphians as the heroes PHYLACUS (2) and (8.37–39), and a female apparition who, on one account, rebukes the Greeks for their cowardice at the beginning of the Battle of SALAMIS (8.84). Other manifestations of divine presence during Xerxes' campaign include the dust cloud and Bacchic cry witnessed by DEMARATUS and DICAIEUS during the Persian occupation of Attica (8.65; cf. Plut. *Them.* 15.1–2), and the mysterious boat of men which, on the Athenian account, reproached ADEIMANTUS and the Corinthians at Salamis (8.94).

While such events are clearly remarkable, they were perhaps not wholly unexpected by the combatants and in some cases may have been actively sought: before Salamis, Herodotus reports, the Greeks sent a ship to fetch AEACUS and his offspring from AEGINA (8.64; cf. 8.121). Nor are

all divine apparitions one-off events. Various traditions present the appearance of gods as recurring: the Egyptians of Chemmis say that Perseus often appears to them (2.91.3–5), Apis is believed to appear to the Egyptians periodically as a calf (2.153; 3.27), and finally Zeus BELUS and Theban ZEUS are claimed to sleep with mortal women in their TEMPLES, one of the few types of divine epiphany of which Herodotus expresses disbelief (1.182). A smaller number of "one-off" epiphanies predate the Persian Wars: Herodotus describes two apparitions connected with the Spartan king ARISTON's wife (which must be dated in the early- and mid-sixth century: 6.61.3–5, 69.1–4), and the dream-figure which appears to Hipparchus and predicts his DEATH in riddling hexameters (5.56, in 514 BCE). The εἶδωλον of the dead MELISSA, appearing to PERIANDER's MESSENGERS, instructs her former husband to burn clothes to keep her warm (5.92.η.2 and 4). Finally, the *Histories* also recounts an epiphany set in the mythical past: TRITON's appearance to JASON in LIBYA (4.179.2–3).

In Greek PROSE narratives, the appearance of gods and HEROES is most often associated with crisis situations (battles, illnesses, etc.) and with explanations for the origins of new cults and RITUALS. Many of Herodotus' apparitions fall within these categories. The appearance of Pan caused the Athenians to establish a cult to him (6.105), and the appearance of Triton is associated with a lost cult object hidden by the Libyans (4.179.3; cf. the sanctuary built to BOREAS after he responded to Athenian PRAYERS and destroyed much of the Persian fleet, 7.189).

In addition to these accounts, which purport to describe genuine divine apparitions, Herodotus also describes fake epiphanies staged for personal advantage. The most infamous is the elaborate plot hatched by MEGACLES (II) and PEISISTRATUS to bring about the latter's return from EXILE: they dress up PHYE, a tall woman, as ATHENA, and she rides into ATHENS in a CHARIOT alongside Peisistratus while messengers proclaim that the goddess is leading her favorite back to her temple at the ACROPOLIS (1.60.3–5; [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 14.4). Herodotus wonders that the famously clever Athenians fell for such a simple trick, but it may be that he is astounded not by their belief that gods sometimes appear to men but rather by their

inability to distinguish between a true epiphany and a tall woman dressed in armor. Another staged apparition is that of SALMOXIS, the former slave of PYTHAGORAS, who is said to have hidden underground for three years before “appearing” to his Thracian followers (who believed him dead) thereby convincing them of the truth of his promises about eternal life (4.95.3; cf. Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F73, Diog. Laert. 8.41). Finally, TELLIAS, a seer from ELIS, devised a stratagem for the Phocians during a night battle with the Thessalians: he painted the 600 best Phocian soldiers white with chalk and told them to kill anyone they saw not painted white. The Thessalian sentries, thinking the white figures a prodigy (τέρας), took fright and fled (8.27.3; cf. Paus. 10.1.7, 10.13.6).

It is striking that, of the many reports of divine or heroic apparitions to waking witnesses, Herodotus is always careful to identify his SOURCES and never explicitly endorses them in his own voice. An apparition must, of course, be seen or recognized *by someone*, and any witnesses are thus an integral part of the story. Since the narrative comes at second hand, attention to sources is to be expected, especially given the possibility of staged epiphanies (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.7). Nevertheless, the fact that Herodotus never states his belief in an anthropomorphic appearance of heroes or gods has struck some as a sign of skepticism, compounded by the fact that the testimony for many episodes is in various ways tenuous, either because they rely on a single source (5.92; 6.105, 117.2–3; 6.61.3–5, 69.1–4), because they are one of several competing accounts (the woman at Salamis, 8.84), or because they are part of a story that is, on other grounds, suspect (8.94; see Graf 2004, 115–18). Further support for this view might be sought in Herodotus’ (approving?) report of the Persian view that the Greeks are foolish for thinking the gods to have human forms (1.131.1). Any skepticism, however, must be inferred from equivocal evidence. When Herodotus describes an apparition using the word θῶμα (“wonder”) and related terms, it is sometimes unclear whether he is describing his astonishment at something he accepts is miraculous or his skepticism at something he thinks implausible (further Harrison 2000, 76).

This cautious distance is notably absent in stories of dream apparitions. No sources are provided, for example, in the account of the dream

which announces Hipparchus’ death (5.56). In the most infamous divine apparitions of the *Histories*—where a figure commands the unwilling Xerxes and Artabanus to proceed with the abandoned plan to attack Greece—the divinity of the dream is tested by the skeptical and rationalistic Artabanus. Not only is the dream proven divine, this version of events is taken for granted in the later dialogue at ABYDOS (7.47.1; the source attribution at 7.12.1, then, seems not to indicate that the narrator thinks the tale dubious). In this case Herodotus builds direct divine-mortal communication mimetically into his *Histories* in a manner reminiscent of the omniscient epic narrator (cf. e.g., Hom. *Il.* 2.5–15, *Od.* 6.13–47). One reason for Herodotus’ more accommodating approach to dreams in general is perhaps that these form the dramatic hinge for some of his novellas, which, in turn, tend to be less source-conscious than the rest of his narrative. Herodotus’ acceptance of dream-apparitions may, however, simply be due to a greater familiarity with the phenomenon in Greek culture (today, too, dreams remain much more common than waking visions).

Ultimately, Herodotus gives us no reason to doubt his belief in the *possibility* that gods or heroes might appear in visible form to waking witnesses (further Harrison 2000, 91–92). He reports several stories of anthropomorphic epiphanies without a hint of skepticism (see esp. 8.37.2–38, witnessed by a host of Persian troops and accepted by the Delphians), clearly considers the direct intervention of an individual god in battle plausible (9.65.2; cf. 9.100.2), and never categorically dismisses anthropomorphic epiphanies, despite outspokenly rejecting other types of divine mortal interaction, for instance sex between mortals and gods (1.182; 4.5.1, 11.1; 6.53.1). Whatever our conclusions about Herodotus’ own beliefs, the *Histories* contains a wealth of evidence for the stories of epiphanies which circulated in classical Greece about relatively recent historical events, and shows that these were particularly connected with traumatic occurrences and warfare. This impression is further confirmed by epigraphic sources (see Pritchett 1979, 12–14; Graf 2004).

SEE ALSO: Fate; Helen; Gods and the Divine; Religion, Greek; Religion, Herodotus’ views on; *thōmata*

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APRIES (Gk. Ἀπρίης, ὁ; Eg. *W3ḥ-ib-rʿ*)

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Apries was the fourth pharaoh of the Saite (26th) Dynasty of EGYPT (Wahibre, r. 589–570 BCE, died probably in 568/7), the son and successor of PSAMMIS (Psamtik II). He was succeeded by the usurper AMASIS.

Herodotus states that Apries was one of the most fortunate of the Egyptian pharaohs (2.161), but he does not discuss the invasion of Egypt in 582 by the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar II. This invasion, however, did not result in the CONQUEST of Egypt or apparently any significant or long-lived foreign domination of the country. It was prompted by Apries' continuation of the Saite's political and military meddling in SYRIA and Palestine. Herodotus (2.161) and Diodorus Siculus (1.68) both discuss Apries' successful campaigns in Palestine. Diodorus also says that he campaigned successfully against CYPRUS. Nothing else is known about Apries' reign until its last few years.

Apries led a campaign against CYRENE (c. 571–570) but it ended disastrously (Hdt. 2.161–69). The Egyptian warrior-caste revolted against Apries under the leadership of Amasis, a general under Apries' father Psammis who led a successful

campaign against ETHIOPIA. While the native Egyptian troops rallied to Amasis as the new pharaoh, Apries retained the loyalty of his Carian and Ionian MERCENARIES (30,000, according to Herodotus). Apries' ARMIES were defeated and Amasis (officially) became the next pharaoh. While Herodotus narrates the decisive battles at MOMEMPHIS and Apries' death by strangulation at the hands of the Egyptians as all part of the same revolt in 570, the modern scholarly consensus differs. It seems that Apries survived the revolt until 568/7, when he attempted to stage a counter-REBELLION to regain his power. He died in the fighting by drowning.

Herodotus states that despite the Egyptians' hatred of Apries, he was still buried with the other Saite pharaohs in SAIS (2.169). This assertion is our primary evidence for the ancestral tomb of the Saite rulers, since Sais is too damaged to confirm this fact archaeologically.

It is commonly believed that the Egyptian pharaoh Hophra mentioned by the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah (44:30) is to be equated with Apries (Eg. *W3ḥ-ib-rʿ*), given Jeremiah's connection of Hophra with Nebuchadnezzar II and mention of his death at the hands of his enemies.

SEE ALSO: Burial Customs; Calasiries; Caria; Hermotybies; Near Eastern History; Patarbemis; Stratopeda

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APSINTHIANS (Ἀψίνθιοι, οἱ)

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Thracian tribe living just north of the Hellespontine CHERSONESE (BA 51 H3), the modern Gallipoli peninsula in European Turkey. According to the story Herodotus relates, the

Apsinthians indirectly instigated Athenian settlement of the Chersonese by making war upon the DOLONCIANS, another Thracian tribe (6.34.1). The Doloncians sought help and ended up bringing MILTIADES THE ELDER from ATHENS to rule them; he walled off the isthmus in order to keep the Apsinthians out (6.36.2–37.1; Sears 2013, 239–43). Near the end of the *Histories*, the Apsinthians capture the Persian OEOPAZUS OF CARDIA, who had escaped from the Athenian siege of SESTOS. They sacrifice him to their god PLEISTORUS and kill his retinue “in a different manner” (9.119.1).

SEE ALSO: Human Sacrifice; Thrace; Walls

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ARABIAN GULF, *see* ERYTHRAEAN SEA

ARABIANS (Ἀράβιοι, οἱ)

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Denizens of Arabia, the southern edge of the inhabited world (3.107.1). An unnamed Arabian king granted safe passage to the army of the Persian king CAMBYSES (II) on its way to EGYPT and provided water during the journey, c. 525 BCE (3.7). In exchange, the Arabians were considered ALLIES, not subjects, of PERSIA and were exempt from paying TRIBUTE (3.88.1, 91.1).

Herodotus writes concerning Arabian religion that Arabians only believe in DIONYSUS and Urania (APHRODITE: *see* 1.105), whom they call OROTALT and ALILAT, respectively (3.8.3). Elsewhere, he says that the Persians learned to

worship Aphrodite from the Arabians (1.131.3). The Arabians held OATHS in especially high regard; they consecrated oaths by cutting their palms, applying their blood to seven stones arranged between the two pledging parties, and invoking Dionysus and Urania (3.8).

Arabia was the ancient Greek world's only source of frankincense, and a prominent source of other rare spices, including myrrh, cassia, and labdanum (3.107.1). According to Herodotus, the process of harvesting these spices was made difficult by the local fauna. Winged serpents guarded the frankincense TREES (3.108); aggressive bat-like creatures guarded the lake where cassia grew (3.110); and cinnamon had to be stolen from the nests of giant, CATTLE-eating BIRDS who procured it from unknown places (3.111). Labdanum was procured in an easier, but equally peculiar way; it naturally built up in goats' beards, during foraging.

SEE ALSO: Deserts; Ethnography; Extremes; Geography; Gods and the Divine; Snakes; Trade

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ARADUS (Ἀραδος, ἡ; Ἀράδιοι, οἱ)

ERAN ALMAGOR

Jerusalem

A Phoenician city (Arwad) on an ISLAND bearing the same name, modern *er-Ruwad*, opposite Tortosa (Tartus) and Marathus (Amrit) on the Syrian mainland (BA 68 A4; Strabo 16.2.13–14/ C753–54). It is mentioned in the Amarna letters of

the fourteenth century BCE and later in Assyrian and Babylonian texts (Akkad. *Arwada*, Heb. *arvad*: Ezekiel 27:8 and 11). Herodotus mentions the Aradians (7.98) in his CATALOGUE of XERXES' invasion force, as the place of origin of MERBALUS son of AGBALUS, one of the most noteworthy sailors in the service of Xerxes. Aradus was taken by Alexander III of Macedon in 332 BCE (Arr. *Anab.* 2.13.7, 2.20.1; Curt. 4.1.5).

SEE ALSO: Phoenicians; Syria; Tyre

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ARARUS RIVER (ὁ Ἄραρος ποταμός)

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River in Scythia, tributary of the ISTER (Danube); perhaps to be identified with the modern Siret in eastern Romania, though this remains uncertain. Herodotus places the Ararus between the PORATA/Pyretus (modern Prut) and TIARANTUS rivers (4.48.2–3; Corcella in ALC, 617).

SEE ALSO: Rivers; Scythians

ARAXES RIVER (ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμός)

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A major river of the CAUCASUS, over 650 miles long (BA 88, 89, and 90), modern Aras or Araks. The Araxes arises in eastern Turkey and flows along the southern side of the Lesser Caucasus mountains. It forms the southern borders (modern) of Armenia and Azerbaijan before joining the

Kura River in the latter country, which empties into the CASPIAN SEA about 100 miles south of Baku. For Herodotus, the Araxes represents one potential border between EUROPE and ASIA (4.40.1), though at times he appears to confuse it with the Oxus or Jaxartes Rivers in Central Asia (e.g., 4.11.1).

The Araxes forms a crucial physical and metaphysical boundary in Herodotus' narrative of the final campaign of the Persian king CYRUS (II), against the MASSAGETAE c. 530 BCE (1.201–14). When Cyrus attempts to bridge the river, the Massagetan queen TOMYRIS offers him the option of choosing which side of the river he would like to fight on. On the advice of CROESUS (and against that of his own generals: cf. 3.36.3), Cyrus elects to cross over the Araxes—thus from Asia into Europe—and fight in enemy territory. After a DREAM in which he sees DARIUS I on the Persian throne, Cyrus dies in battle against the Massagetae. Though Herodotus does not explicitly emphasize it here, the disastrous consequences of violating a “natural” boundary foreshadow the fates of Darius and XERXES.

However, the river at the center of this conflict cannot be the Araxes: Herodotus places the Massagetae east of the Caspian (1.204.1), but elsewhere (1.202.3; 4.40.1) he clearly describes the modern Aras River in the Caucasus. The first of those descriptions accompanies a brief ETHNOGRAPHY of the peoples who live on large ISLANDS in the river or in the swamps around its mouth (Herodotus shows no knowledge of the Kura River, and his story of all but one of the forty mouths ending in the swamps may reflect garbled information about the Volga: How and Wells 1912, 1: 152). He portrays abundant plant and animal life, though the people lead a primitive existence. Similarly, the Massagetae enjoy abundant FISH from the river (1.216.3).

SEE ALSO: Boundaries; Conquest; Geography; Persia; Rivers

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ARCADIAN PELASGIANS, *see* PELASGIANS

ARCADIANS (Ἀρκάδες, οἱ)

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Inhabitants of Arcadia, the mountainous region in the central part of the PELOPONNESE (BA 58 C2; Müller I, 750–51). Their claim to AUTOCHTHONY, attested already in the Hesiodic corpus (Hes. F160–61 M-W with Fowler 2013, 84–96 and 103–12), is fully endorsed by Herodotus, who counts the Arcadians among the PELASGIANS (1.146; 2.171; 8.73). While defined by this close connection to their land, the Arcadians also took part in the Greek COLONIZATION of the MEDITERRANEAN. Herodotus mentions their presence in Asia Minor as an argument against the supposed ethnic purity of the Ionian Dodecapolis (1.146); later, he lists the Arcadians among the seven tribes that make up the population of CYPRUS (7.90).

SPARTA's expansionist policy in the Peloponnese inevitably led to conflicts with Arcadian city-states. Herodotus narrates extensively Sparta's repeated attempts to capture TEGEA after annexing MESSENIA (end of seventh century BCE); the Lacedaemonians only succeeded after they recovered ORESTES' bones from Tegea (1.66–68). Furthermore, when King CLEOMENES took refuge in Arcadia, he was preparing the locals for hostilities against the Spartans; according to Herodotus, this threat led the Spartans to bring Cleomenes back (6.74–75). Finally, two of the five great victories that the Spartans achieved after they employed the famous Iamid seer Teisamenus were against Arcadian CITIES (9.35).

During the PERSIAN WARS, Arcadian cities contributed 2,120 men to the Greek army sent to the THERMOPYLAE (7.202) and participated in the Peloponnesian effort to fortify the ISTHMUS (8.72). Arcadian soldiers also fought at PLATAEA (9.28); most of them were from Tegea, while the Mantineans arrived shortly after the battle (9.77).

SEE ALSO: Ethnicity; Ionians; Mantinea; Peloponnesian League; Teisamenus son of Antiochus

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ARCESILAUS I
(Ἀρκεσίλεως, ὁ)

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Son of the founder of the Greek city of CYRENE in LIBYA (North Africa), Arcesilaus I reigned over Cyrene for 16 years (c. 600–583 BCE). Herodotus gives practically no information on his reign, except for its length and the fact that the number of colonists remained the same as it had under his father, BATTUS I (4.159). Overall Arcesilaus seems to have pursued policies put in place by his father, to whom cult worship was instituted in his role as founder. A hereditary MONARCHY was thus established in Cyrene, a distinctive feature which could stem from Libyan influences—relations with the native inhabitants were good under the first two kings.

SEE ALSO: Battus II; Colonization

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ARCESILAUS II (Ἀρκεσίλεως, ὁ)

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Son of BATTUS II, king of CYRENE in LIBYA (North Africa), Arcesilaus II had a difficult reign (from after 570 until around 550 BCE) marked by conflict with his brothers, who were no doubt at the head of the aristocratic party at Cyrene. Desiring FREEDOM from kingly rule, they founded the city of BARCA with the help of the native Libyans. When Arcesilaus attacked these Libyans and pursued them into the DESERT, they turned to the attack and destroyed the troops of the king at a place called LEUCON. Humiliated after losing 7,000 HOPLITES, Arcesilaus fell sick and was, according to Herodotus, strangled by one of his brothers, LEARCHUS. His MURDER was avenged by his wife, ERYXO (4.160).

SEE ALSO: Aristocracy; Battus I; Battus III; Vengeance

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ARCESILAUS III (Ἀρκεσίλεως, ὁ)

TYPHAINE HAZIZA

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Arcesilaus III, king of the Greek city of CYRENE in LIBYA (North Africa) from around 530 until 519 BCE. He did not accept the reforms of DEMONAX, an arbitrator called in from MANTINEIA, which were imposed by Arcesilaus'

father, BATTUS III. Herodotus, our principal source for this conflict (4.162–64), insists upon the tyrannical character of the power Arcesilaus sought to put in place with the aid of his mother, PHERETIME. In his struggle against the great landowners of Cyrene, he relied on help from the common people and also received, before he was forced into EXILE, the support of POLYCRATES, tyrant of SAMOS, who supplied him with MERCENARIES. This assistance allowed him to retake power at Cyrene, which he quickly conferred upon his mother. Arcesilaus did not hesitate to place himself under the authority of the Persians, who had just conquered EGYPT, in 526/5 (4.165.2). He ended up being assassinated by his adversaries while he was taking refuge with his father-in-law, ALAZIR, at BARCA (having misinterpreted an ORACLE which Herodotus reports, 4.163); but he left to Cyrene a regime which the last two Battiad kings maintained.

SEE ALSO: Monarchy; Stasis

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ARCHAEOLOGY

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Herodotus is often described as the first anthropologist but, in view of his notably material outlook, he can also be seen as an archaeologist, seriously engaged in study of the physical testimonies to the past. Sometimes Herodotus is perceived as mis-quoting or mis-remembering elements of the material world, leading to doubts about his frequent claims to AUTOPSY. At other

times archaeological investigation has found surprising and notable corroboration of details that had seemed too fantastic to be true.

Herodotus' "archaeological" interests emerge in such details as attention to skeletal remains, whether ascribed to flying SNAKES (2.75) or human remains on battlefields in Lower EGYPT (3.12) and at PLATAEA (9.83). He often appeals to objects dedicated in sanctuaries (that clearly provided an important locus for living MEMORY of Greek cultural history): for example, the throne of MIDAS (1.14), the various offerings of CROESUS (1.50–52, 92), and prow ornaments of captured ships (3.59). Some descriptions exceed our knowledge, like the tithe of a successful trading voyage to IBERIA at the HERAION on SAMOS (4.152): the bowl with griffin heads around the rim is well attested in sanctuaries of the eighth/seventh centuries BCE, sometimes of very large scale, but typically they rested on BRONZE stands. Human-shaped supports like that of the Samians' tithe are known, but are much smaller, standing figures of stone, and they support only stone perirrhanteria (Sturgeon 1987, 14–21).

The sanctuary of APOLLO at DELPHI features prominently in the *Histories*. Excavation in the nineteenth century confirmed that the late archaic Doric temple of Apollo, constructed c. 540–506, was indeed built with Parian marble on the east façade (5.62), and to replace a late-seventh-century temple that had been destroyed by FIRE (2.180.1). The early importance of the Doric TREASURY of the Corinthians is borne out by its close proximity to the temple terrace and ALTAR of Apollo; its primitive U-shaped cuttings for hoisting date construction to the start of ashlar stone masonry in Greece. It housed many important offerings in Herodotus' day, some placed there after the destruction of the early temple (1.50–52; 1.114.2–3). The Ionic Treasury of the Siphnians at the archaic sanctuary entrance, described by Herodotus as an expression of a "lucky strike" by the people of SIPHNOS (3.57), is indeed of Parian marble and the most beautifully ornamented treasury at Delphi. East of the altar, excavators recognized the stepped circular base for the commemorative Plataean gold TRIPOD on its bronze serpent column (9.81.1; see ART); the column itself survives in Istanbul, sent there

by the Roman emperor Constantine. Herodotus' erroneous report that one snake with three heads (rather than three intertwined snakes) supported the cauldron can easily be explained as the misperception of someone standing at ground level.

At Samos, Herodotus' account of the three great ENGINEERING achievements of the ARCHAIC AGE (3.60) is essentially accurate. The protective HARBOR mole exists beneath later constructions but has not been precisely dated. Herodotus describes the Temple of HERA as the "largest of temples known to us" (see 2.148.2); his mention of RHOECUS as architect seemingly conflates the c. 560 structure with its longer and higher marble successor, normally associated with the tyrant POLYCRATES. The latter temple was indeed the largest in Greece. In the case of the tunnel of EUPALINUS, constructed to secure the water supply, excavation in 1971–1973 proved the accuracy of Herodotus' description and led to the suggestion that the project started about 550, before Polycrates' tyranny (Kienast 2005, 37).

Reports of the other major Ionian sites are surprisingly limited. The archaic hypaethral Temple of ARTEMIS at EPHEBUS, beneficiary of Croesus' patronage (1.92), has yielded inscribed column drums that can be restored with the name of Croesus. It, along with the Samian Heraion, is cited as the most memorable of Greek MONUMENTS (2.148.2). Yet the third great Ionic temple, at the oracle of Apollo BRANCHIDAE, only somewhat shorter than the



Figure 2 Fragment of the top of a marble column base from Ephesus, preserving a small portion of an inscription which reads "King Croesus dedicated (this)." BM 18720405.2. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

other two, is omitted despite mention of the oracle and precious offerings gifted by foreign kings (1.92, 5.36; 2.159). Presumably the omission arises from its sorry state, as it was burned in the IONIAN REVOLT (6.19) and not rebuilt until the later fourth century.

Both iconographic evidence and excavated materials show the accuracy of Herodotus' account of the WEAPONS AND ARMOR of XERXES' invading army. The *akinakes*, glossed as the "Persian sword" (7.54), is recognizable in Persian arts; chapes in wood and bone from its distinctive scabbard have been recovered. The Persian *gerron* shield (9.61) can be recognized on a few Attic red-figured cups, as well as the relief SCULPTURE of PERSEPOLIS; actual examples, excavated at Pazyryk and Dura, give insight into the method of construction. Most of the Persian War votive monuments, apart from the "Serpent Column" noted above, disappeared without a trace, but the arrangement of statues of gods holding a ship's *akroterion* or *aphlasta*, like that at Delphi from the booty at SALAMIS (8.121), can be reconstructed with the aid of images on Attic red-figure pottery (see also Miller 1997).

Archaeological investigation has especially cast light on Herodotus' account of the SCYTHIANS and Thracians. Careful analysis of the range of evidence from 200 years of investigation in the regions east and north of the Black Sea has confirmed many details about the Scythians that seem improbable to modern readers. For example, analysis of Scythian BURIAL CUSTOMS (4.71–72) corroborates Herodotus' account, but finds that he ascribes to the Scythic peoples as a whole a custom that was practiced only by some (Ivantchik 2011). One of the three "traditions" about the origin of the Scythians involves a goddess with snaky limbs (4.5–12, esp. 4.9) whose artistic representation across Iron Age EUROPE attests to a widespread folk tradition (Ustinova 2005). As for THRACE, one find seems to support what seemed an incredible detail, that the "Thracians who live above the Crestonians" killed a man's favorite wife so that she might accompany her husband to the grave (5.5). Excavation at Ispérihova has yielded a grave dating to the seventh/sixth centuries containing a male inhumation accompanied by a beheaded female (Boteva 2011).

The situation regarding Egypt is more complex. Omissions and misunderstandings have strained credulity on the part of some readers, and some details still defy explanation. Yet here, too, archaeology provides corroborating detail: evidence confirms Herodotus' description of Egyptian boat-building practice (2.96; Haldane 1993, 240–49). The report of 345 generations of PRIESTS as represented by wooden statues at THEBES (2.143) is found to lie within the realm of the possible (Moyer 2013).

Absolute errors do exist. In Greece, archaeological evidence clearly contradicts Herodotus' discussion of peplos pins (5.87–89; cf. Jacobsthal 1956, 90–91, 100). The ascription to the Egyptian SESOSTRIS of the Hittite relief at Karabel in western Turkey (2.106.2–5) is possibly based on an assumption that all hieroglyphs are Egyptian (see Collins 2007, 66–67). The description of the city of BABYLON includes factual elements alongside fantastic features (1.178–87).

Some omissions attest to Herodotus' selectivity, reflective of his narrative strategies. At Delphi, no mention is made of the Athenian dedications. In his discussion of the burning of the Athenian ACROPOLIS, Herodotus makes reference to the Propylaea and the "Temple" (presumably the Old Temple of ATHENA Polias), but he is silent about the "pre-Parthenon," which we know was under construction at the time. Of OLYMPIA, Herodotus comments only on the prestigious victories won by various worthies there, most notably in the chariot race; ironically it is at Olympia that actual DEDICATIONS from the PERSIAN WARS have been excavated.

SEE ALSO: Architecture (Temples); Epigraphy; "Liar School"; Numbers; Reliability; *thōmata*; Vessels (drinking)

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ARCHAIC AGE

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The period in Greek history from the middle of the eighth century BCE to the early fifth century BCE is referred to as the archaic age, during which many of the characteristic elements of Hellenic society and culture developed, including the adoption and spread of the alphabet, the emergence of the *POLIS* as the dominant form of political organization, the spread of Greek settlement throughout the MEDITERRANEAN and the EUXINE (Black) Seas, the development of HOPLITE warfare, the flourishing of expressions

of aristocratic culture in the form of POETRY, athletics, and the symposium, the appearance of characteristic Greek artistic forms such as monumental temple ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, and decorated fine pottery, the rise of SPARTA as the dominant state in the PELOPONNESE, and the emergence of DEMOCRACY in ATHENS. The era culminated in conflict with the expanding Persian Empire, resulting in the IONIAN REVOLT, the failed Persian invasions of Greece, and the emergence of Athens and Sparta as the dominant powers in classical Greece.

The contemporary documentation for this period is scant. That any records survive from the archaic age is due to the adaptation of the Phoenician consonantal alphabet to record the Greek language, with the addition of vowel signs, sometime around the middle of the eighth century. A theory that the alphabet was adopted to record early EPIC POETRY remains controversial (Powell 2002, 125–33). The Homeric epics are thought by a majority of scholars to have reached their final form in the later eighth or seventh centuries, although some argue that they were not written down until later. The poems relate events of an earlier HEROIC AGE, but arguably incorporate details of the social world of more recent times. The Boeotian poet HESIOD's *Works and Days*, likely from the seventh century, provides insight into contemporary social structures and farming and merchant practices. His *Theogony* provides the first extended account of Greek mythology, supplemented by the later *Homeric Hymns*. Other epic poems, as well as lyric, iambic, elegiac, and other forms of poetry composed in the seventh and sixth centuries, survive mainly in quotations and summaries by later writers, and the occasional recovered papyrus fragment. Philosophical poetry and PROSE emerged in IONIA in the sixth century, along with GEOGRAPHY; all of these literary products are lost except in later quotations. A small assortment of INSCRIPTIONS from this period, found on stone, BRONZE, and pottery, provide valuable primary evidence: these include graffiti, DEDICATIONS, statements of possession and funerary inscriptions, and later decrees, legal material, and treaties. ARCHAEOLOGY has also greatly expanded our understanding of the archaic age. On-going excavations at the major Greek

poleis, at the large and small sanctuaries, and exploration of smaller settlements and rural locales by means of surface survey, remote survey, and rescue excavations, have uncovered a wealth of data about the communities and material culture of the archaic Greek world.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the contemporary evidence, Herodotus provides the closest we have to a coherent historical narrative for the period. Until he turns to the events at the end of the sixth century, however, Herodotus only provides continuous connected narratives concerning LYDIA, EGYPT, and PERSIA. His accounts of the Greek states are disconnected, not offered in sequential order, and are largely limited to a few communities, primarily Athens, Sparta, CORINTH, SAMOS, and CYRENE. He also provides occasional snippets of information about other places in the Greek world with which he was familiar, such as DELPHI, SICYON, and NAUCRATIS in Egypt. With the beginning of the Ionian Revolt, his accounts of events in Greece become more continuous, if still highly selective. Much of his information was gathered from local oral SOURCES, but he may have used predecessors such as the geographer HECATAEUS of MILETUS. Herodotus can be supplemented by later historians, such as the fourth-century EPHORUS of CYME, also preserved in fragments. Information about the archaic age preserved in sources of the Hellenistic and Roman eras, such as STRABO, Pausanias, and scholiasts, is often of doubtful pedigree and shaped by later perspectives.

After the destruction and abandonment of the palace centers of the AEGEAN Bronze Age, the Greek world underwent a period of state collapse, depopulation, loss of literacy, isolation, and a decline of material culture, traditionally known as the “Dark Age,” though the excavations of the cemeteries and settlement at Lefkandi on EUBOEA, and of several settlements on CRETE, have shown that the poverty and isolation of this period was not as uniform and long-lasting as had earlier been believed. By the early eighth century, signs of recovery in several major centers appear, and the numbers of settlements (and their population) throughout Greece increase (Snodgrass 1980; Morris 1987; but cf. Osborne 1996, 74–81). Burials show a rise in WEALTH

and status disparities in the form of GOLD and other jewelry, and increasingly elaborately decorated pottery. Some settlements seem to be resettlements or continuations of Bronze Age centers, such as Athens, THEBES (Boeotian), and Cnossus; while others, such as Corinth and the cities of the northern and eastern Aegean, likely represent new foundations. A later tradition of a war over control of the Lelantine Plain between coalitions of cities led by CHALCIS and ERETRIA might be taken as evidence for fully functional states by the end of the eighth century; but the historical reality of this war has been questioned (Hall 2014, 1–8).

The expansion of the population in the Greek mainland, contacts with the states of the Near East, and growing interest in commercial opportunities and resources not available at home, encouraged the expansion of Greek settlement beyond the Aegean (Tsetschladze 2006–2008). THUCYDIDES’ account of the settlement of SICILY, later sources such as Strabo and Eusebius, and archaeological investigation, indicate that Greek expansion in what is conventionally called the “colonization movement” started with the creation of settlements in south ITALY and Sicily in the mid-eighth century (although recently the distinction between this phase of COLONIZATION, and earlier expansion in the eastern Aegean, has been questioned). Euboeans from Chalcis and Eretria, along with settlers from the Peloponnese, particularly ACHAEANS and Corinthians, played a leading role in the initial movement west. By the seventh century, colonial settlement had spread to the HELLESPONT, PROPONTIS, and the Euxine, led by Miletus and its daughter cities. Further settlement took place in the seventh century in Cyrenaica in LIBYA, and as far west as MASSALIA in southern France and EMPORION in northeastern Spain. The choice of location was determined by the availability of resources and arable land, and was limited by the power of local states and by competition from the PHOENICIANS, chief rivals to the Greeks in settlement and TRADE in the central and western Mediterranean. The colonies, or *apoikiai*, sought to control the surrounding hinterland, become agriculturally self-sufficient, and generally become independent *poleis*, keeping only ritual ties with their metropoleis (see

Graham 1983). In pursuit of trading opportunities, Greeks also established *emporía*, smaller commercial enclaves, in places such as Al Mina in SYRIA, Naucratis in Egypt, and PISTYRUS in THRACE; it is not certain, however, if an absolute distinction between *emporía* and *apoikiai* can be maintained.

A key development of the archaic age was the emergence of the *polis*, usually translated as “city-state,” as the most characteristic form of political organization throughout the Greek world. The Greek *poleis* shared key physical features, and a fundamental similarity in political organization, having replaced the monarchies of the Bronze Age with independent oligarchic systems dominated by one or several aristocratic families. The *polis* was far from universal in the Greek world—federations and kingdoms endured in the Peloponnese and in central and northern Greece (Morgan 2003)—but the widespread distribution of the *polis* and its normative status in Greek political thought have led some to argue that it may have emerged early, in the course of the Dark Age. Physical evidence for governing and civic structures, and legal and political inscriptions, only appear in the seventh century and later, however. The rise of the hoplite phalanx, trained and well-armed infantry recruited from the ranks of the moderately wealthy land-holders, as the dominant element in cities’ ARMIES may have put pressure on the elites to share access to power. The role of the *dēmos*, the (exclusively male) citizen body as a whole, was limited to approving LAWS, and the lowest orders—the *plēthos* or *thētes*—were often excluded from the full rights of citizenship. Intra-elite conflict (so Forsdyke 2005) or struggles of the disenfranchised to gain more power in the cities led to *STASIS*, civic unrest. One common result was the establishment of tyrannies, in which an individual used personal prestige, popular support, and in some cases external backing to seize power and rule unconstitutionally. Although as a rule respecting the constitutional norms of their cities, TYRANTS were by and large not successful in establishing dynasties that lasted beyond a second generation.

Sparta and Athens developed unique political institutions in the archaic age that laid the foundation for their future dominance. Located

in the Eurotas valley in LACONIA, Sparta came to control substantial territory in the southern Peloponnese. Its political structure contained the unique hereditary dual kingship (whose origins are reported by Herodotus, in folktale fashion: 6.52); but what made Sparta distinctive was its social and economic structure, including the limited franchise, the peculiarly communal lifestyle of the Spartiates, the use of HELOTS as semi-enslaved labor, and the subjugation of the neighboring MESSENIANS in a series of wars of which Herodotus is vaguely aware (3.47.1; cf. 5.49.8; 1.65; but see Hall 2014, 181–88, who doubts much of what is recorded of the Messenian Wars). After the conquest of Messene, Sparta’s power in the Peloponnese grew, and its domination of its neighbors, most notably TEGEA, in the later sixth century, led to the formation of the PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE with Sparta as its leader. The Athenians, on the other hand, followed a different path. Athens did not play a prominent role in the colonization movement, and its role in trade was secondary to the commercial powerhouses of Corinth and Miletus. Conflict over political control and the resulting *stasis* led to attempts at tyranny by CYLON in the later seventh century, and, despite the legal and political reforms of SOLON, by PEISISTRATUS SON OF HIPPOCRATES in the mid-sixth. The latter was successful in gaining control of Athens; his FAMILY’s power lasted until an assassination plot against his sons miscarried but precipitated an uprising among Athenians, led by the aristocratic ALCMAEONIDAE, who enlisted the Spartans to intervene to drive out the PEISISTRATIDAE. In the subsequent renewed *stasis* the Alcmaeonid CLEISTHENES SON OF MEGACLES, building on the earlier reforms of Solon, created a system of governance, later named *dēmokratia*, in which power was vested in a council comprised of representatives from all sectors of society and the assembly of Athenian citizens.

The archaic age witnessed the rebirth of monumental ART and architecture in Greece, almost exclusively in dedicatory or commemorative contexts. The period saw the rise of major religious centers devoted to the worship of the Olympian gods, as well as local deities. All Greek

poleis developed sanctuaries to several gods, located both within the confines of the town proper—sanctuaries of the tutelary god of the city on the ACROPOLIS, as well as other sanctuaries in or near the AGORA—as well as in the surrounding *chora* (Polignac 1984). In addition to sanctuaries controlled by individual *poleis*, the age saw the rise of a number of Panhellenic sanctuaries, whose prominence was due either to a close association with an important deity, with an oracular shrine, or ultimately with major athletic and artistic competitions. The sanctuaries that hosted the major Panhellenic games—first OLYMPIA, later Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmia—developed a cycle of competitions that attracted competitors and spectators from all over the Greek world, and became venues for the sharing of artistic ideas, as well as the exchange of information about political events. Throughout the Greek world, sanctuaries hosted the first major monumental architecture, TEMPLES to house the cult statues and dedications to the deity; several of these, such as the temple of ARTEMIS at EPHEBUS, of ZEUS Olympeios in Athens, the temples of Sicily, and the HERAION on Samos, reached massive proportions. Only towards the end of the archaic age do civic structures such as stoas and *bouleuteria* (council-houses) begin to reach substantial scale.

Monumental sculpture appears in the early archaic age, mainly in the form of dedicatory statues in marble (bronze, wood, and chryselephantine being highly perishable). The most common form of these statues is the *kouros*, the standing nude male youth, and the *korē*, the standing clothed female; statues of gods and monsters, often in mythological tableau, are also common. Little monumental painting survives; but an abundance of pottery from Corinth, Athens, and other centers survives, much of it with the characteristic Black-Figure decoration (gradually replaced by the Athenian innovation of Red-Figure near the end of the sixth century), to give a clear indication of developments in painting. Much of the pottery of the age was produced for the symposium, DRINKING parties that were a major venue for the display of aristocratic culture. In addition to eating, drinking, and sexual activity, the symposium was also the site for the performance of a good deal of the

lyric poetry of the age, as well as musical and other artistic performances, and political and philosophical discussions. The sixth century saw the development of natural PHILOSOPHY, particularly in East Greece, a result of growing skepticism about traditional mythological accounts of the world leading to cosmological speculation, as well as a growing interest in man's role in the world.

The growth of the Greek city-states in the archaic age led to greater contact with the neighboring states and peoples of the East Mediterranean. Such contact was first predicated on commercial exchange, at trade centers established by Euboeans at Al Mina in Syria, and by Phoenicians on Crete and the Dodecanese. Greeks also made their way to Egypt, where they enlisted in the service of the Saite Pharaohs; some went as far as BABYLON to serve as MERCENARIES. The Greek presence in Egypt grew with the establishment of an *emporion* in Naucratis in the Nile DELTA, as well as at Herakleion/THONIS on the coast. These trading centers may help to account for the presence of Egyptian and Near Eastern objects dedicated on RHODES, Samos, Crete, and Perachora in the Corinthia. With the rise of the Lydian kingdom, several of the Greek CITIES of the Anatolian coast came under the control of SARDIS. The cities of East Greece became conduits for Near Eastern ideas and influences: coined currency was pioneered by the Lydians in the early sixth century but quickly to spread to Ephesus, Miletus, AEGINA, and throughout the Greek world. With the overthrow of CROESUS by CYRUS (II) in 546, the cities of East Greece came under the control of the Persians. Persian tributary exactions and the ambitions of the Milesian tyrants HISTIAEUS and ARISTAGORAS (1) led to a revolt of the Ionian and allied cities in Anatolia and CYPRUS, supported by Athens. DARIUS I's satraps and generals suppressed the revolt and then sought to incorporate all of Greece into the Persian Empire; several attempts failed, ending with the defeat of the Persian forces at MARATHON in Attica in 490. Several years later, Darius' son XERXES launched his major two-pronged invasion, which ultimately failed at SALAMIS (480) and PLATAEA (479). The Persian failure to conquer Greece led to its

withdrawal from the Aegean, and left Athens and Sparta as the dominant powers in the region, a situation that would continue throughout the fifth century. In addition, the conflict coincided with, and perhaps inspired, major developments in art and thought that would characterize classical Greece; these were, however, clear and direct developments from the preceding archaic age.

SEE ALSO: Aristocracy; Competition; Hellas; Heroes and Hero Cult; Lelantine War; Monumentality; Near Eastern History; Panhellenism; Writing

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ARCHANDER (Ἀρχάνδρος, ὁ)

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Mythical, Greek hero from Achaea PHTHIOTIS in THESSALY, the son or grandson of ACHAEUS. Archander went to ARGOS with his brother Architeles, where they each married one of the daughters of DANAUS, who had fled EGYPT (Paus. 7.1.6). Herodotus mentions Archander as the possible derivation of the name of a city, ARCHANDROPOLIS in the northwestern Nile DELTA of Egypt (2.98.2).

SEE ALSO: Achaeans of Phthiotis; Myth; Phthius

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ARCHANDROPOLIS (ἡ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις)

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A city in the northwestern Nile DELTA of EGYPT near the mouth of the Canobic branch (BA 74 C2). Archandropolis lay on the route taken by ships sailing to NAUCRATIS. Herodotus remarks on the non-Egyptian nature of the city's name and suggests that it may derive from the legendary Greek hero ARCHANDER, who had a connection with Egypt via DANAUS (2.97.2–98.1).

SEE ALSO: Anthylla; Canobus; Nile

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ARCHĒ (ἀρχή, ἡ)

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Archē, power or rule over others, is a recurrent feature of and key theme in Herodotus' narrative, operating both at the individual level and, more typically, as empire or hegemony. To some extent it appears a natural human drive, revealed by recurrent examples of individuals seeking power over their communities, a process most fully explored through the career of DEIOCES (1.96–101), where there is a characteristic tension between Herodotus' aversion to DESPOTISM and his recognition that for some societies MONARCHY is an effective form of government (cf. e.g., 2.147; 3.82). Likewise his observation that if the Thracians united under a monarch they would be invincible (5.3) implies that peoples able to take control of their neighbors may be expected to do so (as Deioces' successors do: 1.102–3), but he does not regard it as inevitable or admirable, as shown by the rebuke of the Ethiopian king to Persian imperialism, in a context which has established his moral superiority (3.21; compare Cadmus' laying down of the tyranny of COS, motivated by "justice": 7.164).

Nevertheless, it is a key structural feature of Herodotus' work, which is organized around the ascendancies of three *archai*, those of LYDIA, the MEDES, and PERSIA, especially the last (Immerwahr 1966); many scholars have also detected a fourth, the contemporary ATHENIAN EMPIRE, lurking in the background (e.g., Fornara 1971). Others noted as ruling over others are the ASSYRIANS (1.95), SCYTHIANS (1.106), and Egyptians, notably under SESOSTRIS (2.102–10); typically, this is marked by the imposition of TRIBUTE (1.6, 27, 106; 2.182; 3.67, 89–96), a notorious feature of Athenian imperialism. Given his belief in the mutability of human fortune, programmatically stated at 1.5 (see *TYCHĒ*), Herodotus regards *archē* as inherently unstable, and liable to a recurrent pattern of uncontrolled ambition which in due course will lead to overreach and DISASTER, one of the repeated patterns which he perceives in historical events and through which he seeks to make sense of them. Thus the desire for power and territory grows into

uncontrolled greed (*pleonexia*), even megalomania (7.8.γ; for the moral aspect see Fisher 2002, 217–24), and this leads to a failure to respect BOUNDARIES, symbolically represented by the repeated crossing of river borders of which CROESUS crossing the HALYS is the classic instance (indeed proverbial: Aesch. *Pers.* 865–66; Arist. *Rh.* 1407a37–39), echoed in the crossing by CYRUS (II) of the ARAXES, by DARIUS I of the ISTER (Danube), and by XERXES of the HELLESPONT; CAMBYSES (II)'s abortive desert campaigns against ETHIOPIA and the Ammonians (3.25–26) likewise exceed natural limits, though inverting the motif. The transgression is even more marked when continents are linked together by BRIDGES as Darius and Xerxes do (4.83, 87–88; 7.34–36), or land is turned into SEA by the digging of a CANAL (Red Sea: 2.158; ATHOS: 7.22–24; contrast 1.174, and for Persian kings manipulating natural water features cf. Cyrus and the GYNDES river (1.189) and Darius in CHORASMIA (3.117)): such interference with the natural order hints at a HUBRIS which Xerxes' WHIPPING of the Hellespont makes explicit (7.35, with 8.109). Since in eastern monarchies such policies are determined by the will of individual kings, these ideas are enmeshed with Herodotus' thinking on despotism. That imperialistic expansion becomes an end in itself is underlined both by the discarding of considerations of justice (1.26, 76; 7.8.γ, 9) and by episodes in which it is pointed out that the aggressors stand to make no material gain from their conquests, as Croesus is warned by SANDANIS (1.71): the poverty of Greece in comparison to Persia is highlighted in Xerxes' conversation with DEMARATUS (7.102) and even more in the object lesson mounted by PAUSANIAS (9.82). These ideas themselves form part of wider reflections on the relationship between austerity and *archē*: hard lands produce hard men with the capacity to resist aggression, exemplified by the Scythians as well as Cyrus' Persians and the Greeks of 480 BCE, but it also supplies such men with both the capacity to seek power themselves and a motive for doing so (1.125–26). The increase in Persian material prosperity after their conquest of Lydia (1.71, 89, 135; note in particular the use and abuse of WINE in relation to the MASSAGETAE and Ethiopians: 1.133, 207, 211–12; 3.20–22) suggests a gradual decadence as the explanation for Persian

failure to conquer Greece (see SOFTNESS), but the re-appearance of the theme in the elusive final chapter (9.122) implies that this is not the whole story, and the Persian choice not to migrate to a soft land chimes with Herodotus' recognition of Persian valor (Flower and Marincola 2002, 311–14). We should note, too, that while the Lydians and Medes fall into subjection as a result of the downfalls of Croesus and ASTYAGES (though the effeminization of the Lydians comes later and was not inevitable: 1.154–56 with 79–80), the Persians and their empire survive the repeated overreaching of their rulers. This might be no more than an acknowledgment of contemporary reality, but it also suggests that Herodotus is not a simple determinist with a cyclical view of history.

Herodotus clearly has his own times in view, and particularly the rise of the Athenian Empire and the resulting tensions in the Greek world which culminated in the battle for *archē* in the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (esp. 8.3; 6.98; prolepses extend as far as 430 BCE: 7.137), and some scholars have read the work as closely foreshadowing those developments (Raaflaub 1987) and as warning the Athenians that their empire will share the fate of its predecessors (Moles 1996). Certainly there are disquieting elements in the closing chapters, in which the Athenians carry the war into ASIA, impale ARTAYCTES (a Persian punishment: see MUTILATION) and stone to death his innocent son (9.114–21: the annalistic formula at the end of the passage positively invites meditation on the sequel), and already after the Battle of Salamis THEMISTOCLES had begun to extort money from other Greeks (8.111–12; note the Andrian rebuff in terms of their poverty), though the complexities of the passage, including evocation of the TROJAN WAR, the differences between Greece and Persia which contribute to Herodotus' explanation of the outcome of the war, and the ambiguities surrounding Persia's failure already noted all leave scope for a more open-ended reading of this enigmatic and not obviously closural sequence (Boedeker 1988; Dewald 1997; and see END OF THE HISTORIES).

Indeed, while on one level Herodotus indubitably takes a moralizing view of empire, he also recognizes it as a comprehensible human drive explicable in terms of a variety of factors which are not mutually exclusive. Beyond the natural will to power and the

desire to expand, attacks on neighbors may be pre-emptive and motivated by concern for self-preservation (1.46; 7.11), or else envisaged as retaliatory (1.73, 75; 7.8.β, 11 and see RECIPROCITY and VENGEANCE: revenge on the Athenians for the burning of the temple of CYBELE in SARDIS is a recurrent motif in Xerxes' campaign, e.g., 8.68, 102, 140.α; cf. 6.101), while the cases of Darius (3.143) and Xerxes (7.8) show that individual kings may feel, or come under, pressure to take imperial initiatives for personal reasons, to present themselves as worthy and manly rulers and to live up to their predecessors, influenced by a perception that expansion has become a national tradition (which indeed might to some extent reflect authentic Persian ideology: Harrison 2015). These reasons are often combined, as when Darius plans to use revenge on the Athenians as a pretext (*prophasis*) for subjecting those Greeks who had not given EARTH AND WATER (6.94), and in the most fully developed cases, those of Croesus and Xerxes, the full range of human motivations are simultaneously in play, alongside the broader theological and cosmic patterns generated by Herodotus' thinking about GODS AND THE DIVINE.

SEE ALSO: Athens and Herodotus; Causation; Conquest; Date of Composition; Wealth and Poverty

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ARCHELAOI, see DYMANATAE

ARCHELAUS (Ἀρχέλεως, ὁ)

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Legendary Spartan king, son of AGESILAUS (1), member of the Agiad royal house of SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Archelaus in the GENEALOGY he provides for LEONIDAS before the Battle of THERMOPYLAE (7.204).

SEE ALSO: Agis son of Eurysthenes; Teleclus

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ARCHERY

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Archery carried powerful symbolic associations in both the Ancient Near East and Greece. Achaemenid Persian reliefs avoid the image of the

king in combat, but show him with bow in hand, confronting defeated enemies (BISITUN) or watching over loyal subjects (Naqsh-e Rostam). Royal darics and sigloi minted in western Anatolia show the royal archer in more active stances, drawing his bow in Type II, and advancing with bow and spear (Type III). Herodotus is well aware of the bow's associations with Persian masculinity and royal might (1.136.2; 3.30.1; 5.105.1). Greek perceptions of archery included the divine and heroic (APOLLO, ARTEMIS, HERACLES, and Odysseus), although a negative connotation, perhaps alluded to by HOMER (*Il.* 11.385–87), grew more common in the classical period.

In practice, units of archers formed important components of Ancient Near Eastern ARMIES. Regular Persian infantry were armed with both bow and spear, and some Persian CAVALRY carried bows instead of, or in addition to, javelins. Bowmen were common in early Greece, and although they declined in number during the later ARCHAIC AGE, some continued to support hoplite spearmen during the PERSIAN WARS (van Wees 2003, 170–71; Davis 2013). In 479 BCE, ATHENS' archers helped HOPLITES repel Persian cavalry at ERYTHRAE in Boeotia, and PAUSANIAS requested their aid (too late) at PLATAEA (9.22.1, 60.3). Unfortunately, Herodotus does not number them; THUCYDIDES claims that Athens possessed 1,600 archers in 431, compared with 29,000 active hoplites and reservists (2.13.6–8).

Ancient archers used a great variety of bows. The simple bow, carved from a single piece of wood, was easiest to draw and least powerful; taller ones increased the string's tension and the arrow's velocity on release. Composite bows were constructed from two pieces of wood, reinforced with sinew, horn, and bone, which increased the tension on the string and released arrows with much greater force. The shape of the bow also affected its strength—re-curved tips, common in tall Elamite and Persian bows, added tension to the string, as did the double curve of the shorter but more powerful "B-shaped" Scythian bow (Zuttermann 2003). The most common Greek bow, from the Bronze Age into the classical period, was the simple type, sometimes carved with a double arc, but Cretans preferred composite bows (Snodgrass 1999, 24, 40, 99). Greeks also gained

familiarity with Scythian bows, often shown in images of Heracles, in the later archaic period. Persian and Scythian bows are most common in images of Achaemenid soldiers, although the empire's subjects used other types as well (Hdt. 7.61.1, 64.1, 65, 69.1–2, 77).

Archers' greatest advantages were the number and range of their missiles. The fifth-century horseman Gadalyama, preparing for a royal muster in Babylonia, brought 120 arrows (Lutz 1928), and the Scythian *gorytos* quiver held between 200 and 300 (Snodgrass 1999, 82). Arrows released from composite bows at high angles might travel 300 meters or more, but the effective range was usually 150 or less. Individual shots were rarely accurate at more than 60 meters, and the power to penetrate armor declined with greater range (McLeod 1965; Krentz 2010, 26–27).

Archery played an important role in SIEGE WARFARE, as shown by the numerous arrowheads found in the remains of PAPHOS (cf. Hdt. 8.52.1 for Persian use of flaming arrows at Athens). Small numbers of archers also shot from the decks of TRIREMES in NAVAL WARFARE. In pitched battles on land, repeated barrages of arrows could inflict both physical wounds and psychological distress, alluded to in the Trachinian's warning that Persian arrow volleys would blot out the sun at THERMOPYLAE (7.226.1). Nevertheless, they were unlikely to kill large numbers of well-protected troops at significant distances. Archers could not use shields on their left arms, and were vulnerable to enemy weapons if not protected; in archaic-age battle, some Greek archers sought protection between the ranks of shield-bearing hoplites, and Herodotus depicts Persian archers at Plataea shooting from behind a barricade of tall wicker shields (*gerra*) fixed in the ground (9.61.3).

The Persians enjoyed a significant advantage in archery during the invasions of Greece, although the brevity of Herodotus' battle accounts leaves its role obscure at important occasions such as MARATHON. Archers contributed to Persian victory at Thermopylae (7.218.2, 225.3), and horse archers separated the Greeks from their water supply during the Plataea campaign (9.49.2–3). Nevertheless, in the final battle at Plataea, archers were unable to stop the Spartans from tearing down their barricade and engaging at a fatally close range (9.62.1), and their failure played a major role in the Persian defeat.

SEE ALSO: Immortals; Orientalism; Persian Wars; Scythians; Warfare; Weapons and Armor

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ARCHESTRATIDES (Ἀρχεστρατίδης, ὁ)

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Patronymic, Samian, father of ATHENAGORAS (9.90.1). Athenagoras was part of a secret embassy sent by the Samians to the Greek fleet in 479 BCE. Nothing more is known of Archestratides, though the family was presumably part of the ARISTOCRACY at SAMOS (Shipley 1987, 109).

SEE ALSO: Theomestor

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ARCHIAS (Ἀρχίας, ὁ)

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1) Spartan who died fighting at SAMOS, on behalf of Samian EXILES against their tyrant POLYCRATES, in 525 BCE (3.55.1). Herodotus praises Archias and his fellow soldier LYCOPEs for their COURAGE; had it been matched by the rest of the Spartans that day, he says, they would have captured the city. Archias was honored with a public burial by the Samians (3.55.2)—presumably after the city's tyrant Polycrates had died a few years later. Archias' son was named Samius, perhaps posthumously (see below).

2) Grandson of (1), son of SAMIUS. Herodotus says he met the younger Archias when he visited PITANE in SPARTA, who told him that his father had been named Samius due to the exploits of the elder Archias. Herodotus reports that the younger Archias honored Samian guest-friends above all others because the Samians had given his grandfather a public burial (3.55.2; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 860c/DHM 22). This is one of the rare instances in the *Histories* when Herodotus mentions a personal informant by name (Asheri in ALC, 450). Archias may have been PROXENOS for Samos at Sparta c. 440 BCE and may be the father of the Spartan admiral named Samius active around 400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.1; Diod. Sic. 14.19.4, "Samus").

SEE ALSO: Burial Customs; Guest-Friendship;
Source Citations

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ARCHIDAMUS (Ἀρχίδημος, ὁ) son of Anaxandrides

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Son of Anaxandrides, member of the Eurypontid royal house at SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Archidamus in his GENEALOGY of LEOTYCHIDES II (8.131.2). The king-list given by the Roman-era author Pausanias differs here (3.7–10; see Carlier 1984, 316–17), but there seems no reason to emend Herodotus' text in order to place Archidamus in the junior branch (Bowie 2007, 219–20).

SEE ALSO: Anaxandrides son of Theopompus;
Euryp(h)on; Leotychides son of Anaxilaus

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ARCHIDAMUS (Ἀρχίδημος, ὁ) son of Zeuxidamus

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Archidamus II, king of SPARTA at the outbreak of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR in 431 BCE, was the son of ZEUXIDAMUS and grandson of the Eurypontid king LEOTYCHIDES II. Zeuxidamus predeceased Leotychides, who then married Archidamus to the daughter of his second marriage, LAMPITO, in order to shore up his grandson's claim to the throne (6.71). Archidamus became king around 469 and ruled until 427. When the Peloponnesian War began, it was

Archidamus who led the first two Spartan invasions of Attica. The first phase of the war is thus known as the Archidamian War.

SEE ALSO: Date of Composition

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ARCHIDICE (Ἀρχιδίκη, ἡ)

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A courtesan (*hetaira*) in NAUCRATIS, a Greek settlement in EGYPT. Near the end of his DIGRESSION on the courtesan RHODOPIS (to whom one of the PYRAMIDS at Giza had been falsely attributed on account of her immense WEALTH and FAME), Herodotus notes that the courtesans in Naucratis "have a certain tendency to be charming (*epaphroditos*)." He gives Archidice as an example of one whose fame was celebrated in song throughout Greece, though she was less "notorious" (*perileskhēneutos*, the only occurrence of the word in extant ancient Greek literature) than her predecessor Rhodopis (2.135.5). Naucratis was the major port of call in Egypt, and worship of APHRODITE was prominent (Gutzwiller 2010, 135–36). An inscription on the foot of a vase discovered at Naucratis in the 1890s (Hogarth et al. 1898–99, 56 and plate V, no. 108) reads Ἀρχιδίκη, that is, (Ar)chedice, the spelling of her name which is found in later authors (Ath. 13.596d–e; Ael. VH 12.63).

SEE ALSO: Epigraphy; Prostitution; Sex; Women in the *Histories*

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ARCHILOCHUS (Ἀρχίλοχος, ὁ)

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Archilochus was a poet from the island of PAROS, active in the second half of the seventh century BCE, whose fragmentary verses address a wide variety of topics, project a passionate but unsentimental persona, and demonstrate great poetic skill (including a notorious gift for invective). Herodotus cites Archilochus only once (1.12), for mentioning the contemporary Lydian king GYGES SON OF DASCYLUS (c. 680–644) in a poem—a citation ostensibly intended to help Herodotus' Greek AUDIENCE identify a long-deceased foreign monarch.

In one of his best-known narratives, Herodotus tells how Gyges founded the Mermnad dynasty by killing CANDAULES and marrying his widowed queen (1.8–12). At the end of the story, Herodotus describes Gyges as one "whom in fact Archilochus of Paros, living at the same time, mentioned in an iambic trimeter poem" (1.12.2). (Four lines of the poem survive: see Gerber 1999 F19.) The authenticity of this citation has been questioned: Asheri (in ALC, 84) considers it a post-Herodotean interpolation because of its "technical" metrical terminology, and because no such clarification would have been necessary for a king as well known as Gyges was during Herodotus' day. However, there are parallels for Herodotus' specifying the meter or genre of poetic sources that he cites (e.g., SAPPHO at 2.135, SOLON at 5.113.2), possibly to indicate the degree of their historical RELIABILITY

(Boedeker 2000). Moreover, the historical grounding provided by Archilochus' contemporary witness initiates a transition between the "mythical" narrative mode of the Gyges story (whose details are scarcely factual) and the "historical" narrative mode of its sequel, the political agreement brokered by DELPHI between the Lydians and Gyges' partisans (Baragwanath 2019).

SEE ALSO: Authority, Narrative; Lydia; Mermnadae; Poetry

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ARCHITECTURE (TEMPLES)

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When Herodotus wrote his *Histories* the Ionic and Doric orders had only been established a few generations before. The Temple of ARTEMIS at EPHESUS (1.92) and the Temple of APOLLO at DELPHI (5.62), respectively, well epitomize the distinct natures of the two orders as they established themselves in the first century of their existence. Scholars have traditionally viewed Ionic and Doric TEMPLES as variations on a theme, the differences lying mainly in decorative details of their façades, and it is true that the essential purpose of both was to house a cult image. But, in fact, in their origins Ionic and Doric represent different conceptions of temple architecture, different design solutions for different conceptions of divinity and the RITUALS surrounding it. Indeed,

their molded bases, spirally-voluted capitals, and continuously carved friezes immediately distinguish Ionic from Doric, whose columns have no base, whose capitals are simple bowls, and whose frieze is broken into an alternating pattern of triglyphs and metopes. But much more significant and essential, the early temples of IONIA were colossal in scale (4–5 times larger in plan than contemporary Doric ones), and the siting of the temples and the overall visual organizations of the façades of the two orders accomplished completely different things (Rhodes 1995, 54–60).

In Doric the geometry of the façade becomes increasingly elaborate from bottom to top, from temple platform to roof, and, in many cases, leads to the temple's most elaborate visual display, the carved and painted pediments at each end. Everything about the elevation of the Doric temple emphasizes the vertical, leads the eye up, and, in those temples where it exists, it focuses the worshipper's attention on the most elaborate conditioner of temple approach, the temple pediment, the emblem of divinity (see SCULPTURE). It was here, outside, under the gaze of the east pediment that Doric divinity was confronted, that SACRIFICES were made, that communication between human and divine took place.

In direct contrast to the vertical emphasis of Doric, the effect of the early Ionic temple is emphatically horizontal. The decorative elaboration of its façade is not graduated from bottom to top; it is confined to the colonnade and equally distributed within it. The colossal colonnade is the temple's decorative elaboration, a band whose horizontal impact is magnified by its immense length and by the strong horizontal lines of the three-stepped lintel (epistyle) that bounds it on top and that emphatically separates the colonnade from the completely unadorned and immense pediment above.

The horizontal emphasis of Ionic responded to and interacted directly with its surroundings: the colossal temples of Ionia were sited in flat coastal plains, and the boundaries between temple and LANDSCAPE and within the temple itself were intentionally blurred. The proportionately insignificant steps (of similar height to those of Doric temples despite the greater scale of the Ionic structure) barely broke the horizontal continuity of temple and landscape, and instead of clean

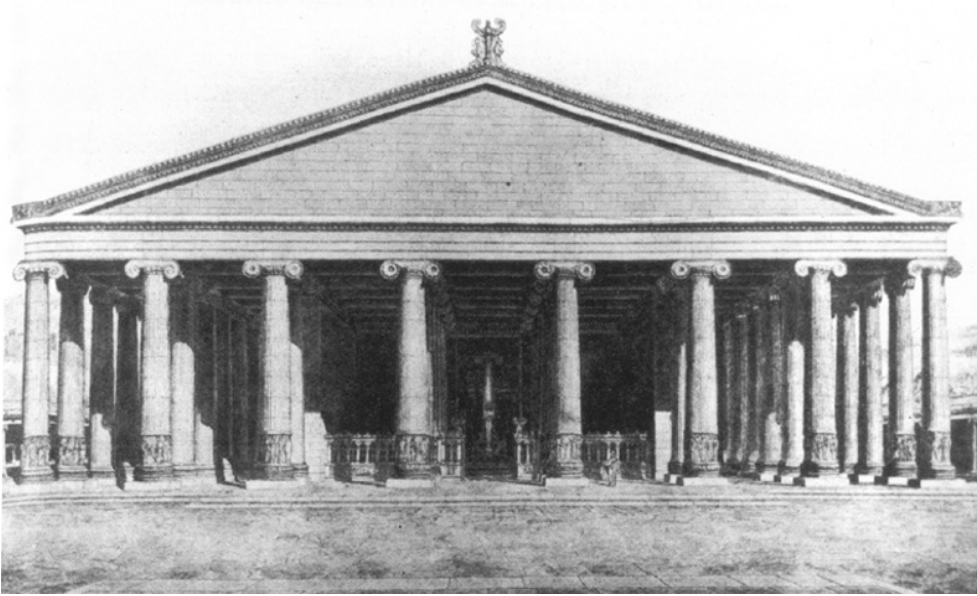


Figure 3a Reconstructed view of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, mid-sixth century BCE. From A. E. Henderson, "The Croesus (VIth Century BC) Temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus," *Journal R.I.B.A.* 16.3 (1909), 77–96, fig. on p. 77 (reproduced in R. F. Rhodes, *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis*, 59, fig. 33b). Public domain.

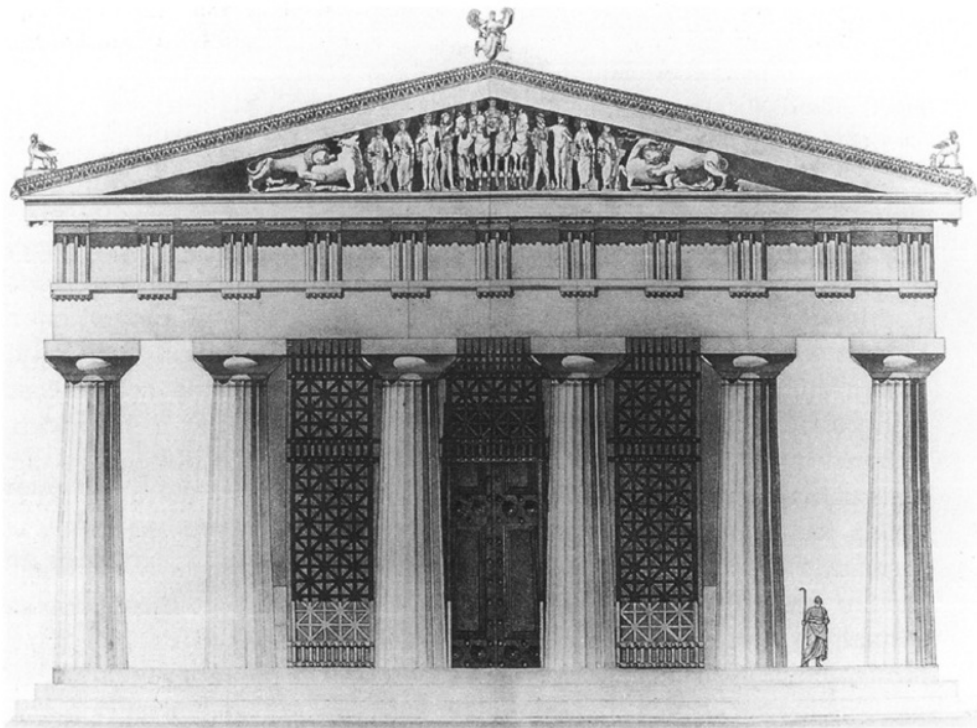


Figure 3b Temple of Apollo at Delphi, reconstructed E façade; late sixth century BCE. From M. Courby, *La Terrasse du Temple, Fouilles de Delphes II: Topographie et Architecture* (Paris: de Boccard, 1915–27), pl. XII (*Relevés et Restaurations* par H. Lacoste, 1920) (reproduced in R. F. Rhodes, *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis*, 96, fig. 51b). Public domain.

separations between inside and outside, the temple presented itself in gradients of exterior and gradually increasing interior: from the outer edge of the temple's top step to the outer colonnade, set well back from the step; to a second row of columns that also surrounds the temple; to pairs of columns that exactly repeat the wide central intercolumniation on the front of the temple and carry it back into and through the front room (the *pronaos*) to the wall of the *cella* proper, the main and innermost room. Lacking any clear and definitive boundaries between landscape and temple and between successive elements of plan, the spaces of the temple bled into each other and thus encouraged the passage from one to another. In the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus the transitions were even more ambiguous, as the temple was approached through a sacred grove, which became a forest of columns that led, deeper and darker within the temple to the final temple ambiguity and monumental confounder of expectation: the *cella* was unroofed, a blaze of light at the end of the religious procession. The continuity of the flat landscape and forest with the temple plan and horizontal emphasis of the elevation reflected and encouraged religious procession that began in the landscape and made its way through the ambiguous boundaries of nature and temple to the heart of the temple itself.

This was in direct contrast to Doric temples, whose vertical emphasis interacted with and complemented their siting on eminences in the landscape: lifted above the realm of everyday experience, they were approached from below and afar, eyes raised at a distance, eyes raised upon arrival by the geometry of the façade and by the significant proportional height of the temple steps. Unlike Ionic, Doric columns clearly marked the boundary of the temple, raised as they were above their immediate surroundings and set exactly at the edge of the top step. Here there was no ambiguity about where the temple began and where the realm of humans ended. Nor was there any architectural compulsion to enter: no horizontal continuity with the surrounding landscape, no processional spacing of the façade columns, no continuity of column spacing, scale, and alignment from exterior to interior; and, finally, there was the pediment which, until the construction of the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi in the later sixth century BCE, confronted the viewer with terrifying images of

monstrous creatures looking directly into the eyes of anyone approaching and wreaking bloody havoc.

SEE ALSO: Acropolis; Art; Dorians; Dialects, Greek; Ethnicity; Monumentality; Religion, Greek

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ARDERICCA (Ἀρδέρικκα)

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1) A village in Assyria (Mesopotamia), location unknown. Herodotus relates how the Babylonian queen Nitocris diverted the flow of the EUPHRATES RIVER, in order to build defensive improvements in BABYLON, by digging channels near Ardericca so that the river curved three times—as it still does in his own day (1.185.2).

2) A site in CISSIA, exact location is unknown; perhaps near modern Qirab in western Iran (Forbes 1964, 40–41). Herodotus describes it as a royal *stathmos* (either a staging post of the ROYAL ROAD or part of a royal estate) and places it 210 stades (about 23 miles) distant from SUSA (6.119.2). DARIUS I forcibly relocated the population of ERETRIA on EUBOEA to Ardericca after the Persians captured their city in 490 BCE. Herodotus notes natural deposits of BITUMEN, salt, and oil near Ardericca and describes how they are collected (6.119.3).

SEE ALSO: Assyrians; Fortifications; Measures; Nitocris (1); Prisoners of War; Rivers

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ARDYS (Ἄρδυσ, ὁ)

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Lydian king, son of Gyges, second in the Mermnad dynasty. According to Herodotus, Ardys ruled for forty-nine years, brought PRIENE under Lydian rule, and attacked MILETUS (1.15). Another tradition preserved by Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90 F63) gives his name as Alyattes (Pedley 1972, 22). We know from Assyrian documents that Gyges' son (not named) succeeded to the Lydian throne c. 644 BCE (Cogan and Tadmor 1977, 79–80). It is possible that “Ardys” was in fact a title meaning “son” (Carruba 2003, 151–54), and Nicolaus (*FGrHist* 90 F44) also records an Ardys among the earlier Heraclid kings of LYDIA.

SEE ALSO: Alyattes; Assyrians; Gyges son of Dascylus; Mermnadae; Near Eastern History

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AREIANS (Ἄρειοι, οἱ)

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Areians (or Arians, but see the separate entry) appear in Old Persian INSCRIPTIONS as *Haraiva* (e.g., DB §6). They occupied territory in present-day Afghanistan around Herat (*BA* 98 B4). In providing a list of the provinces (*archai* or SATRAPIES, 3.89.1) into which DARIUS I divided the Persian Empire, Herodotus states (3.93.3) that the Areians were part of the sixteenth administrative district (νομός, nome). They also appear in the CATALOGUE of XERXES' invasion force, carrying Median bows but otherwise equipped like the BACTRIANS (7.66.1, spelled *Arioio* here).

SEE ALSO: Archery; Arians; Sisamnes

FURTHER READING

Asheri in *ALC*, 479–81, 538–42.

AREOPAGUS (Ἀρήιος πάγος)

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The Areopagus is a rocky outcropping located west of the Athenian ACROPOLIS. Herodotus mentions the hill once as the place from which the Persians began their assault on the Acropolis in 480 BCE (8.52.1). The AMAZONS were later thought to have anticipated the Persians by using this same hill as a base for their earlier attack on the Acropolis (Aesch. *Eum.* 685–90). Herodotus makes no mention of the Areopagus council, even though ARISTOTLE later believed that its patriotic actions during the evacuation of Attica did much to ensure victory ([Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 23.1).

SEE ALSO: Athens; Salamis (island and battle)