L

LABDA (Λάβδα, ἡ)

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Labda, lame daughter of the Bacchiad AMPHION, married EËTION and bore Cypselus, tyrant of CORINTH. According to Herodotus, Labda's lameness prevented her from securing an endogamic MARRIAGE, as was the practice of the BACCHIADAE, and thus prompted her marriage to Eëtion (5.92.β). The Delphic ORACLE foretold that the birth of Labda's son would bring ruin upon the rulers of Corinth and elucidated another formerly unintelligible oracle that had predicted this very outcome (5.92.β–γ). Soon after Labda had given birth, ten Bacchiadae were dispatched to kill the newborn and thwart the PROPHECY (5.92.γ). Unaware of their true intent, Labda placed her son in the arms of one of their number. As the infant Cypselus was passed from one man to the next, his smile dissolved the will of each of them to carry out their order. Labda later overheard them upbraiding one another for their hesitation and protected her son from their second attempt by hiding him in a vessel used for beehives (*kypselē*, 5.92.δ), from which, according to Herodotus, originated the name Cypselus. Herodotus' tale is noted for its folkloristic and mythical motifs. It is possible that Labda's name, echoing the lopsided Greek letter *la(m)bda*, might have signaled her physical deformity, or that her so-called "lameness" arose from her abnormal marriage to a non-Bacchiad (Gernet 1981, 293; Vernant 1982).

SEE ALSO: Cypselus son of Eëtion; Short Stories; Tyrants; Women in the *Histories*

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LABDACUS (Λάβδακος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, mythical king of THEBES. In his DIGRESSION on some "Cadmeian" INSCRIPTIONS in the sanctuary of APOLLO in Thebes, Herodotus gives the genealogy LAÏUS, son of Labdacus, son of POLYDORUS, son of Cadmus (5.59). Little is known of Labdacus other than that his rule was short-lived (Paus. 9.5.4–5).

SEE ALSO: Cadmeians; Cadmus son of Agenor; Genealogies; Myth

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The Herodotus Encyclopedia: Volume II, First Edition. Edited by Christopher Baron.

LABRAUNDA (Λάβραυνδα, τά)

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Carian sanctuary to ZEUS Stratios that served as a refuge for the Carian army after a defeat during the IONIAN REVOLT c. 496 BCE. The Carians are the only people Herodotus knows of who worship this Zeus "of the Army" (5.119.2). The site lies in the mountains fifteen kilometers northeast of MYLASA and received substantial patronage from the Hecatomnid rulers of CARIA in the fourth century. INSCRIPTIONS attest to Zeus Labraundos as the deity of the sanctuary, and both coins and sculptural elements indicate that the symbol of a double-axe was associated with the god.

SEE ALSO: Religion, Greek; Temples and Sanctuaries

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LABYNETUS (Λαβύνητος, ὁ)

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Although Herodotus announces that he will report in the Assyrian *logoi* on the many kings of BABYLON (1.184), in the *Histories* as we have them he only mentions SEMIRAMIS and a ruler named Labynetus (I) for the time before the fall of Ninus (NINEVEH). Labynetus, together with SYENNESIS of CILICIA, mediated the peace between the Median king CYAXARES and the Lydian king ALYATTES (1.74.3). Nitocris, acknowledged by Herodotus because of her great deeds—not least the diversion of the EUPHRATES, which will, however, prove fatal (1.185, 191)—appears as the widow and successor of this Labynetus (cf. 1.188.1). The SIEGE of Babylon by CYRUS (II), which imitates the queen's diversion of the river and is described in detail by Herodotus, takes place in the time of Nitocris' son Labynetus (II), whom Herodotus calls king of the ASSYRIANS (1.188.1; Bichler 2001, 140). It is this younger Labynetus whom CROESUS, now king in LYDIA, wants to gain as an ally against Cyrus (1.77.2–3). If in this context he is called ruler of the Babylonians, then Herodotus alludes to his already reduced domain of authority. The CHRONOLOGY of Cyrus' campaigns (initially against Lydia, then Babylon) suggested in 1.77 is correct.

Linguistically the name Labynetus is ultimately due to Babylonian *Nabū-nā'id* ("Nabū is praised") via an Old Persian intermediate stage **Nabunaita-* (Schmitt, *IPGL* 227–28 (no. 181)). However, apart from the opposition to Cyrus, hardly anything connects the Herodotean Labynetus with the last historical Neo-Babylonian ruler Nabonidus (especially not the GENEALOGY). And attempts to identify Labynetus (I) with the famous Nebuchadnezzar II are also of little historical help.

SEE ALSO: Cross-references; Medes; Near Eastern History; Nitocris the Babylonian

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LABYRINTH, *see* CROCODILOPOLIS; *THŌMATA*

LACEDAEMONIANS, *see* SPARTA; *PERIOECI*

LACMON (Mount) (Λάκμων ὄρος)

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The central part of the PINDUS MOUNTAINS, also called Lacmus (*BA* 54 D2). Lacmon is the source of four major rivers: the Aoüs, Arachtus, Inachus, and Peneius (Müller I, 905). The first of these is the river which flows near Apollonia into the ADRIATIC SEA (9.93.1; Strabo 7.5.8/C316). Herodotus does not name the Aoüs, but his description is similar to that of HECATAEUS (*BNJ* 1 F102, who calls it the Aias).

SEE ALSO: Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf; Euenius; Geography

LACONIA (ἡ Λακωνικὴ γῆ)

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The southernmost province of the PELOPONNESE (*BA* 58), surrounded by the high mountain ranges of the TAYGETUS in the west and Parnon in the east, and watered by the river Eurotas. Covering an area of 3,600 square kilometers, Laconia formed nearly half of the Lacedaemonian state and represented its center. Herodotus points that out clearly when writing about the honors of the kings of SPARTA: when they died, horsemen moved around Laconia to spread the news (6.58). This contrasts with MESSENIA and the Messenians, who were seen as enemies of days gone by (3.47; 5.49; 6.52) and as rebellious HELOTS of the present (9.35, 64). Laconia was famous for horse-breeding, and so Laconian HORSES often won victories at OLYMPIA (6.103). Only two places within Laconia are named by Herodotus: THORNAX (1.69) and CARDAMYLE (8.73). The coast opposite the island of CYTHERA is called the "Laconian coast" (7.235).

Generally "Laconian" in the *Histories* denotes "Spartan" or "Lacedaemonian." More than once Herodotus uses the attribute "Laconian" (ὁ Λάκων) for a single Spartan (e.g., 7.161, the Athenian refers to his Spartan colleague as such in front of GELON; 8.2, for EURYBIADES), for the army (9.53), or for fallen troops (8.66). And the term seemed to signify quality: ATOSSA, the wife of DARIUS I, tried to move her husband to make an expedition against Greece by alluding to female "Laconian slaves" (3.134); PAUSANIAS, the victorious commander at Plataea, preferred the "Laconian meal" to Persian luxury (9.82). What is meant by "Laconian dance-steps" (Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια), Herodotus does not make clear; but with this artful trick, HIPPOCLEIDES, suitor of the daughter of the Sicyonian tyrant CLEISTHENES, hoped to distinguish himself from his competitors (6.129).

SEE ALSO: Dorians; Peloponnesian League

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LACRINES (Λακρίνης, ὁ)

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The most distinguished among a group of Spartans sent on a mission to Ionia in the 540s BCE. When the IONIANS and AEOLIANS request Spartan assistance against the first Persian CONQUEST of Asia Minor led by CYRUS (II), the Spartans refuse but do send one ship east—to keep abreast of affairs there, Herodotus presumes. Upon reaching PHOCAEA, Lacrines is sent to SARDIS to declare on behalf of SPARTA that they will not stand by and watch if Cyrus harms any city in Greek land (1.152). After asking who the Spartans were, Cyrus responds with a famous barb, that he has never feared men who dedicate space in the middle of their city to swear false OATHS and cheat one another (i.e., the AGORA or marketplace, a typically Greek institution lacking among the Persians: 1.153). Nothing more is known of Lacrines (*LGPN* III.A, 266 (no. 3)).

SEE ALSO: *nomos*; Pythermus; Trade

LADE (Λάδη, ἡ)

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Lade, an island in the AEGEAN SEA off the coast of MILETUS, was the site of a key naval battle fought between an alliance of Ionian *poleis* and the Persians (6.6–33) in 494 BCE during the IONIAN REVOLT (see generally Tozzi 1978; Murray 1988). The Persians' decisive victory at Lade led shortly afterwards to the end of the revolt and the sacking of Miletus (for the chronological complexities, see

Scott 2005, 461–64). Herodotus makes characteristic use of *oratio recta* during the immediate lead-up to this military engagement, quoting SPEECHES that place special emphasis on FREEDOM and the necessity of military unity—themes fundamental to the subsequent and final three books of the *Histories*.

According to Herodotus, the Ionian Revolt was initiated by the deputy TYRANT of Miletus, ARISTAGORAS (1), who is depicted in Book 5 as attempting to gain the support of various Greek *poleis* (see further Pelling 2007). When the Persian armada of Phoenician, Cypriote, Cilician, and Egyptian ships descends upon Miletus, the Ionian ALLIES assemble and decide to have the Milesians defend their own city on land while the rest of the IONIANS fight the Persians by SEA at Lade (6.7). Herodotus details some 353 TRIREMES on the Ionian side, versus 600 ships on the Persian side (6.8.2–9.1), but it is likely that the NUMBERS on each side were comparable (Scott 2005, 92–95).

A cornerstone of the Lade narrative is the speech delivered by DIONYSIUS OF PHOCAEA, elected commander of the Ionian forces, whose stirring speech emphasizes the need to endure hardship and win freedom, and makes a clear Homeric allusion when he implores his men that "our affairs rest on a razor's edge" (ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, 6.11.2; cf. *Il.* 10.173–76). Dionysius initially unites the allies in a tough training program, but a military reluctance soon breaks out amongst the Ionian contingents, who declare that they would prefer Persian SLAVERY to this hardship (6.12.3; see further Zali 2014, 257–62). This is followed in quick succession by the flight of the majority of the Samian ships, persuaded by the Persian-sponsored entreaties of Aeaces, former tyrant of SAMOS.

Herodotus' narrative on the battle proper is a complex one (at 6.14.1 he observes the confusion amongst his SOURCES), but it is clear that the majority of the Ionian ships fled once the battle commenced (6.14.3). However, while the account is characterized by desertion and disorder on the Ionian side (see Tozzi 1978, 43–44 for connections with the later Battle of SALAMIS), Herodotus does report the laudatory conduct of the Chians, who refused to desert the alliance, "displaying deeds of great renown" (ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ, 6.15.1, phrasing that echoes the language of Herodotus' PROLOGUE). The Ionian defeat is nonetheless tragic in scale (Munson 2007, 148), and it is noteworthy that the charismatic general Dionysius, who failed to unite the Ionian allies, later immigrated to SICILY, ignominiously engaging in piracy against Carthaginians and Etruscans.

SEE ALSO: Aeaces son of Syloson; Chios; Generals and Generalship; Naval Warfare; Phrynichus; Softness

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LADICE (Λαδίκη, ἡ)

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According to Herodotus, Ladice was the wife of the philhellenic Egyptian king (pharaoh) AMASIS (r. 570–526 BCE). She was the daughter of BATTUS II, king of CYRENE, or (according to others) of a distinguished Cyrenean citizen named CRITOBULUS (2.181). Herodotus connects this MARRIAGE to the new diplomatic relations concluded between the Egyptian king and the city of Cyrene, but he does not exclude another, more prosaic, reason: that of simple "DESIRE" to have a Greek wife. The mention of Ladice is accompanied by an anecdote

concerning Amasis' inability to have SEX with her, which she resolves with the help of a vow to APHRODITE; Herodotus reports that the statue Ladice set up still stood at Cyrene in his time. The story is probably fanciful, but very interesting for the condition of women in the royal harem and, undoubtedly, symbolic of the place which EGYPT understood itself to have in its relations with Cyrene. When the Persians conquered Egypt in 525 (after Amasis' death), Herodotus writes, CAMBYSES (II) sent Ladice back to Cyrene unharmed.

SEE ALSO: Dedications; Sculpture; Women in the *Histories*

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LAÏUS (Λάϊος, ὁ)

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Mythical king of THEBES, descendant of CADMUS and AGENOR. Laïus was murdered unknowingly by his son OEDIPUS, as is most famously attested by Herodotus' contemporary SOPHOCLES. In the *Histories*, the story is not explicitly told but presupposed, when Herodotus tells us how the clan of the AEGEIDAE, in order to produce CHILDREN who would survive to adulthood, had to mitigate the avenging spirits (*erinyes,* FURIES) of Laïus and Oedipus (4.149), apparently a RITUAL to purge the FAMILY of the horrific deeds of their ancestors. Herodotus uses Laïus for purposes of CHRONOLOGY (5.59–60) and once mentions "ORACLES of Laïus" which ANTICHARES of ELEON cites, advising the Spartan DORIEUS to found a colony in SICILY. Dorieus has this confirmed by the Delphic oracle (5.43).

SEE ALSO: Cadmeians; Myth; Pollution

FURTHER READING

Gantz, *EGM*, 487–94.

LAMPITO (Λαμπιτώ, ἡ)

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Lampito was the daughter of the Spartan king LEOTYCHIDES II and the wife of Archidamus II. Lampito's father had conspired against and replaced his cousin DEMARATUS as the Eurypontid king of SPARTA in 491 BCE. Leotychides had only one son, ZEUXIDAMUS; Lampito was Leotychides' daughter by his second MARRIAGE. When Zeuxidamus died, Leotychides married her to Zeuxidamus' son ARCHIDAMUS in order to support the latter's claim to the throne (6.71.2). Although as his father's half-sister she was Archidamus' aunt, such marriages were permitted in ancient Greece for dynastic purposes. Lampito bore the future king Agis II to Archidamus.

SEE ALSO: Women in the *Histories*

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LAMPON (Λάμπων, ὁ) father of Olympiodorus

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Patronymic, father of the Athenian OLYMPIODORUS who commanded troops at ERYTHRAE in BOEOTIA during the lead-up to the Battle of PLATAEA in 479 BCE (9.21.3). An Athenian seer named Lampon became famous in the middle of the fifth century due to his association with PERICLES (Plut. *Per*. 6.2–3); he could be the

grandson of our Lampon, but nothing links the two with certainty.

SEE ALSO: Athens; Thurii

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LAMPON (Λάμπων, ὁ) son of Pytheas

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Following the Greek victory at PLATAEA (479 BCE), Lampon son of Pytheas, a prominent citizen of AEGINA, was eager to suggest that PAUSANIAS behead MARDONIUS' corpse and impale the head on a pole. He thought his plan would avenge LEONIDAS, intimidate the Persians, and bring glory to Pausanias. Herodotus reports that Pausanias thanked him for the advice, but warned him to be grateful that he would escape PUNISHMENT for such a barbaric, impious, and insulting proposal (9.78.1–80.1). The Homeric resonances in Lampon's and Pausanias' SPEECHES may emphasize the importance in this passage of Greek versus barbarian values (Pelling 2006, 98–100), especially significant considering that Herodotus seems skeptical about later claims of Pausanias' MEDISM (Flower and Marincola 2002, 12–14).

Lampon and his father Pytheas are likely members of the influential Psalychidae clan at Aegina and thus related to the brothers Pytheas and Phylacidas, sons of Lampon (son of Cleonicus), whose athletic victories are celebated by PINDAR (*Nem.* 5, *Isth.* 5 and 6; see Flower and Marincola 2002, 244).

SEE ALSO: Advisers; Barbarians; Homer; Pytheas father of Lampon; Pytheas son of Ischenous

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LAMPON (Λάμπων, ὁ) son of Thrasycles

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Samian, son of THRASYCLES. Lampon and two others (ATHENAGORAS and HEGESISTRATUS SON OF ARISTAGORAS) were chosen by the Samians to approach the Greek fleet at DELOS in the summer of 479 BCE and ask them to sail east and liberate the Ionian coast and ISLANDS from Persian rule (9.90.1). Given that the envoys were sent without the knowledge of the Persians or the Samian tyrant THEOMESTOR, it seems likely that Lampon and the others were leading men among the ARISTOCRACY at SAMOS.

SEE ALSO: Messengers; Mycale

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LAMPONIUM (Λαμπώνιον, τό)

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City located on the Gulf of ADRAMYTTIUM in the southern Troad (*BA* 56 C2; Muller II, 867–70). Herodotus mentions Lamponium in passing as one of the CITIES subdued by the Persian general OTANES (2) c. 510 BCE (5.26). Lamponium, also called Lampon(e)ia (Hecataeus *BNJ* 1 F223), later became a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE. It

was said to be a settlement of the AEOLIANS (Strabo 13.1.58/C610); remains of polygonal WALLS from the ARCHAIC AGE are still visible (Cook 1973, 261–64).

SEE ALSO: Antandrus

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IACP no. 783 (1011).

LAMPSACUS (Λάμψακος, ἡ)

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Phocaean colony in MYSIA, on the Asian side of the HELLESPONT (*BA* 51 H4). Besides a few cursory references (4.138, the city is ruled by the tyrant HIPPOCLUS; 5.117, conquered by the Persians), Herodotus focuses specifically on Lampsacus in his report (6.37) that MILTIADES THE ELDER made war on the city (in that period under Lydian hegemony), but was caught in an ambush and taken HOSTAGE. Then CROESUS of LYDIA intervened, ordering the Lampsacenes to release Miltiades, saying that otherwise he would "cut the city down like a pine tree." The Lampsacenes obey after understanding Croesus' words, i.e., that the city would be destroyed in such a way that no other foundation will be possible, exactly as a pine tree, once chopped down, does not produce any new shoot. Herodotus' main interest in this episode seems above all in Croesus' threatening and puzzling sentence, one among the several *gnōmai*, ORACLES, PROVERBS, and wise pithy sayings reported in the *Histories* (Miletti 2007, 215). Despite Herodotus' silence on the matter, Lampsacus was originally called Pityoessa (Charon *BNJ* 262 F7; cf. Strabo 13.1.18/C589), a name connected with the pine tree, and to which Croesus' words seem to allude. After Miltiades' death, his nephew STESAGORAS is said to have been assassinated by a man from Lampsacus (6.38).

SEE ALSO: Chersonese (Hellespontine); Phocaea; Trees

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LANDSCAPE

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Landscape constitutes the entirety of physical characteristics of an area of land as it is experienced by an onlooker. In expressions like "arid landscape," "mountain landscape," or "urban landscape," its most striking feature determines its qualification. Ancient Greek authors use *gē* (γῆ, "land"), *khōra* (χώρα, "place," "land"), or *topos* (τόπος, "place," "region") to refer to an area of land, but they lack the equivalent to our modern notion of "landscape." They do, however, describe landscapes, and they are aware of ways in which they relate to the behavior of those that live in them, as exemplified by the "meadow of love" motif (*locus amoenus*), which features from HOMER (*Il.* 14.346–51) onwards throughout ancient Greek and Latin literature. Furthermore, they refer to sacred landscapes, for instance with the term *alsos* (ἄλσος, "sacred grove," e.g., Hdt. 5.119.2): a sanctuary and its surrounding park or wood.

Herodotus is the first Greek author of whom we know to systematically weave descriptions of landscapes and their effects upon the inhabitants into his narrative. Thus he describes the dimensions of EGYPT and the NILE valley (2.7–9) and points out that the Egyptians are dependent upon the river's annual flooding for the growth of their crops (2.13–14, 92). As these floods may reduce the surface area of farmable land, the Egyptians are credited with the INVENTION of land-measuring techniques to

calculate taxes, damages, and compensation (2.109). In his Scythian GEOGRAPHY Herodotus draws a relationship between the limitless landscape full of RIVERS and without TREES, and the nomadic lifestyle of the SCYTHIANS, which also makes them exceptionally difficult to conquer in battle (4.19, 46–47). This is thematized in the narrative of DARIUS I's invasion of Scythia, which founders as he fails to engage the nomadic Scythians in combat (4.120–42). In a similar way, Persian attempts to conquer the DESERTS of LIBYA and ETHIOPIA fail because of the inhospitable landscape (3.25–26). In his description of these areas, Herodotus differentiates between the "more reddish and sandy" desert of Libya and the "more clayish and rocky" desert of the Levant and the Arabian peninsula (2.12.3).

Herodotus is also the first to point out that a landscape may change in the course of TIME. This concerns the silting up of valleys due to alluvial deposit and the resulting shifting of the shoreline and rising of the land. He identifies this process in the Aeolis (SCAMANDER, Simois, CAÏCUS), in Ionia (CAŸSTRUS, MAEANDER), in western Greece (ACHELOUS), and, on a larger scale, in the case of the Nile in Egypt, whose DELTA he acknowledges to be alluvial and only recently inhabited (2.10–15). He also observes that the rising surface here may lead to famine in the areas that can no longer be flooded (2.14). This process also makes a contemporary visitor look down into the sanctuary of BUBASTIS, which has remained undisturbed since it was built, whereas its surroundings have risen due the alluvial deposit (2.138.2). Herodotus' view upon such landscape change can be related to his general outlook upon human life as subject to continuous CHANGE (1.5.4).

Furthermore, Herodotus is aware that mankind may change the landscape. This may be done for practical purposes, as in the cases of the Egyptian irrigation CANALS that Herodotus ascribes to SESOSTRIS (2.108.2–4) and of lake MOERIS (2.149). When Persian kings, however, change the landscape, they do so as part of their imperialist agenda (Harrison 2007). CYRUS (II) punishes the GYNDES river by dividing it into small canals (1.189), and XERXES cuts his canal across the ATHOS peninsula on his way to conquer Greece (7.22–24). The hubristic implications of such large-scale interference in the landscape are confirmed by an anecdote about the Cnidians who become injured when they try to cut off their peninsula from the mainland in an attempt to thwart the Persians (1.174).

Landscapes also play a role in the narrative of the Greco-PERSIAN WARS. Herodotus makes MARDONIUS scorn the Greeks for ineffective tactics in WARFARE, as they seek a level terrain to fight one another (7.9.β.1). When confronting Xerxes, however, the Greeks organize their defense in places where the Persians are not able to benefit from their larger numbers, such as the TEMPE valley (7.173) and the narrows of THERMOPYLAE. The rugged landscape here is described in detail (7.176.3–5) as it contributes to the heroic resistance of the Greeks and the outcome of the battle (compare the detailed description of the ANOPAEA path, 7.216).

Herodotus uses a "hodological" perspective in describing the landscape, employing the viewpoint of someone who travels through that landscape (Janni 1984; Purves 2010). In general he measures distances in a landscape in temporal, not in spatial units. This can be witnessed in his description of the voyage from ELEPHANTINE in Egypt to MEROE in Ethiopia, which mentions a level plain, an island in the Nile, and a lake with pasture lands (2.29.2–4). This method hints at Herodotus' indebtedness to earlier geographers such as HECATAEUS, on whose *Periegesis* he sought to improve.

SEE ALSO: Climate; Geology; Measures; Temples and Sanctuaries; Travel

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LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

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Notwithstanding the fact that, in describing populations and regions, Herodotus almost always inserts remarks about languages, the notion that language is a systematic interest in Herodotus' inquiry has only in very recent times been fully accepted by scholars. Despite a pioneering article of Hermann Diels (1910), who showed how forms of communication were in themselves an object of Herodotus' research, Meyer's and Jacoby's influential positions remained long dominant, according to which the linguistic problem was minimized and Herodotus' interest in language was labeled as "total ignorance" ("totale Unkenntnis": Meyer 1892, 195; Jacoby 1913, 277, essentially adopts Meyer's perspective; discussion in Campos Daroca 1992, 32–33). A full re-examination arrived only beginning in the late twentieth century (Gambarara 1984; Campos Daroca 1992; Chamberlain 1999; Silvestri 1999; Harrison 2000; De Luna 2003; Munson 2005; Miletti 2008). These recent studies, although proposing different approaches and arriving at different conclusions, have made it possible to outline a more detailed profile of Herodotus' interest in linguistic phenomena.

In the *Histories*, the entire civilized world is dominated by a linguistic plurality: by marking a meaningful distance from the "monolinguistic" Homeric world, Herodotus represents linguistic alterity as the norm and, consequently, as a factor to be taken into consideration in order to describe human (and political) relations. Herodotus' conception of foreign languages does not lie on a mere Greek/non-Greek polarity, but encompasses a "net" of linguistic interactions: Greeks, Egyptians, Persians, etc., all speak their own language, which is different from anyone else's. Thus, as far as the concept of "barbarian" lies above all upon a linguistic alterity, every people may call others "BARBARIANS," as the Egyptians actually do (2.158.5). In this respect, Herodotus' treatment of languages has been seen as an expression of his cultural relativism (Munson 2005, 63–66), a fact, however, which does not prevent a superior wisdom achieved by any one people being transferred to others. Very revealing, in this respect, is CROESUS' dialogue with CYRUS (II) about SOLON's words on judging HAPPINESS only when life is coming to an end: although Cyrus understands Croesus' words only through INTERPRETERS, he is finally able to grasp their meaning, and orders a stop to the execution (1.86–88). Thus, a philosophical message passes from a Greek speaker to a Lydian, and then to a Persian, apparently without losing anything in translation (cf. Munson 2005, 74–76).

In the *Histories*, human languages, both in their written and oral form, are tools suitable to investigate the past of a specific population, its movements and MIGRATIONS, its affinities with other people, etc. Language and ETHNICITY are however two well-distinguished elements, which may not coincide in some cases: a population can change its language after being conquered by or assimilated to another, or because of other historical factors. The work is full of such "ethnolinguistic" remarks as, "The ARGIPPAEANS have the same traditions as the SCYTHIANS, but a language of their own" (4.23.2), or "The GELONIANS speak a language which is in the middle between Greek and Scythian" (4.108.2). But most revealing, in order to understand the historian's method in dealing with these issues, are two detailed discussions of, respectively, the PELASGIANS' ethnic and linguistic connection with the Greeks (1.57–58), and the four "different forms of language" spoken by the IONIANS in Asia Minor (1.142.3–4; see Munson 2005, 7–14).

When we pass from this macro-historical perspective to the level of individuals, we find the same categories at work, and we see how linguistic contact plays a major role (De Luna 2003, 155–213). Herodotus shows many ways through which these contacts happen. i) People speaking different languages can communicate with each other through interpreters (*hermeneis*), as in the case of Croesus and Cyrus mentioned above. This mediation is presented by the historian as a widespread practice, and he himself, in his research journeys, is in no way an exception (see e.g., 2.125: Herodotus reads the INSCRIPTIONS on the PYRAMIDS thanks to interpreters). ii) The historian mentions individuals who are bilingual or who manage, at least partially, to speak words in a foreign language (on bilingualism: Rochette 2014). This concerns also ORACLES: the future founder of CYRENE is addressed by the PYTHIA with a Libyan term, *battos*, whose meaning is "king" and which is also at the origin of his own name Battus (4.155.1–3); MYS is given a response in Carian language by the Boeotian oracle of APOLLO Ptoios (8.135). iii) Some episodes in the *Histories* deal with how people learn a language: the Scythian king SCYLES was taught by his mother to use Greek language and alphabet (4.78.1); the SAUROMATIANS speak an "imperfect" type of Scythian because their mothers, who were AMAZONS, did not learn this language perfectly, and so taught it incorrectly to their sons (4.111–14). Herodotus interprets the folkloric tale of the doves of DODONA as having originated from the fact that the Egyptian priestesses, before fully learning Greek, gave their responses in Egyptian, so their words were assimilated to birdsongs by the Dodonians, who could not understand what they said (2.55–57).

As far as the world described in the *Histories* is pervaded by a plurality of languages, it is not surprising that Herodotus, when describing practices and material objects of a foreign land, tries to furnish linguistic equivalences between Greek and foreign words (and sometimes between words of two foreign languages), by acting himself as an interpreter. Besides the cases in which he reports foreign words without suggesting any Greek equivalent, Herodotus more frequently establishes correspondences between the ways in which Greeks and, for example, Egyptians refer to a specific object, by utilizing in general such formulas as "*x* is called *y* by the Egyptians and *z* by the Greeks." In other cases, he claims that a foreign word, which refers to what the Greeks call *x*, "corresponds (in meaning)" (*dynatai*) to what the Greeks call *y* (see 2.30.1; 4.110.1; 4.192.3). Such remarks are of great linguistic interest, since they testify to Herodotus' tendency to distinguish between a referential plane and a semantic plane, and also because they are characterized by the metalinguistic use of the verb *dynasthai* in the sense of "to be equivalent (in meaning)"; the verb *sēmainein*, which later becomes the usual term for "to mean," is well-attested in the *Histories*, but always with the meaning "to indicate, point to," and never in strictly linguistic uses (Miletti 2008, 111–15). Herodotus' semantic investigation also displays itself (though less frequently than one may expect) in the practice of ETYMOLOGY (Munson 2005, 41–56). However, he applies the etymological method above all to foreign words, as if this was his particular contribution to this intellectual trend: in this respect, the etymological analysis of the Persian proper names Darius, XERXES, and ARTAXERXES (6.98) is wholly conducted "inside" the Persian meaning of each of them (and independently from how correct, or biased, or symbolic such etymologies may be considered: Miletti 2008, 104–10).

In a more theoretical perspective, from the amount of linguistic remarks and from the characteristics of the metalinguistic terminology which features in the *Histories*, Herodotus' conception of language seems to coincide primarily (but not exclusively) with that of "language-as-vocabulary," where, however, for the first time in extant Greek literature, words are not interpreted independently from the rules of the language they belong to (Gambarara 1984). More than on the functionally distinguished properties of words and their connections inside a proposition (as it will be in post-Platonic speculation), Herodotus' focus is above all on the meaning of the words and on their connection to reality: a language is above all a repertory of meaningful linguistic signs which can be expressed through the voice or WRITING. The term Herodotus uses to designate words is systematically *ounoma* (Attic *onoma*, "name"). The term *LOGOS* always refers to content, while frequent terms such as *rhema* and *epos* mean above all "(verbal) expression," in reference to words or sentences which are

reported *litteratim* (Miletti 2008, 125–35). In any case, Herodotus does show some interest in the minimal elements which constitute words, i.e., the phonemes, always defined by employing a term drawn from the domain of writing, *gramma*: see, for example, the discussion of the terminations of Persian proper names, all ending, without exception, with the letter "that the DORIANS call *san* and the Ionians *sigma*" (1.139), and on the terminations of the names of the Greek FESTIVALS, all ending, also here without exception, with the letter *alpha* (1.148.2). According to how they are formulated, and regardless of the debate over whether or not they have a symbolic meaning, these remarks have a certain theoretical insight and show a certain affinity with the modern concept of phonetic law. A connection between phonological change and mutation of alphabetic writing is also traced by Herodotus in a famous passage in which the adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet to Greek is described (5.58), and where the terminology (*rhythmos*, *metarrhythmizo*) coincides with that employed by the Atomistic School (Leucippus, DK 67 A6) in describing atoms' orientation in space (Chamberlain 1999; Miletti 2008, 39–43).

In light of these characteristics of Herodotus' linguistic remarks, the famous (and very controversial) "linguistic experiment" of PSAMMETICHUS I (2.2)—which enjoyed great fortune throughout the centuries, with its "innatist" theory according to which Phrygian should be the most ancient among the human languages (see Gera 2003, 92–111; Stevens 2016)—appears hardly compatible with the historian's more general methodological attitude (Vannicelli 1997; Miletti 2008, 141–43), although modern scholars remain considerably divided in their interpretation of this episode.

SEE ALSO: Dialects, Greek; Egypt; Ethnography; Gestures; Historical Method; Ionic Dialect; Metaphor; *nomos*; Persia; Symbols and Signs

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LAODAMAS (Λαοδάμας, ὁ) father of Sostratus

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Patronymic, father of SOSTRATUS of AEGINA, a famous merchant of the late sixth century BCE (4.152.3). Two inscribed bowls found at NAUCRATIS in EGYPT may have been dedicated by Laodamas and, a generation earlier, his father (also named Sostratus). The name of Laodamas' son Sostratus appears on an inscribed stone anchor from Gravisca in ITALY. Thus it appears that the FAMILY maintained success in international TRADE for at least a century (Torelli 1982, 317–18).

SEE ALSO: Dedications; Epigraphy

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LAODAMAS (Λαοδάμας, ὁ) of Phocaea

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Herodotus lists Laodamas of PHOCAEA as one of the Greek TYRANTS (4.138.2) who supported the proposal of HISTIAEUS to preserve the bridge of boats over the ISTER River which DARIUS I had constructed in order to invade SCYTHIA (c. 513 BCE), thus saving the king and his army. Nothing more is known of Laodamas; he was presumably one of the tyrants deposed by ARISTAGORAS (1) of MILETUS at the beginning of the IONIAN REVOLT in 500/499 (5.37).

SEE ALSO: Ionians

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LAODAMAS (Λαοδάμας, ὁ) son of Eteocles

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Mythical, son of ETEOCLES and grandson of OEDIPUS. Herodotus reports seeing three TRIPODS in the temple of Ismenian APOLLO at Boeotian THEBES with INSCRIPTIONS in "Phoenician" or "Cadmeian letters," one of which claims to have been dedicated by Laodamas "while ruling." Herodotus notes that during Laodamas' reign, the CADMEIANS were driven from BOEOTIA by the Argives and left for the land of the ENCHELEES (in ILLYRIA; cf. Paus. 9.5.13); the GEPHYRAEANS (an Athenian clan and the reason for Herodotus' DIGRESSION), however, made their way to ATHENS (5.61). The inscription is not genuine, of course, and scholars have debated Herodotus' credulity in this instance.

SEE ALSO: Evidence; Phoenicians; Writing

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LAODICE, *see* HYPEROCHE AND LAODICE

LAOS (Λᾶος, ἡ)

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City in southern ITALY (*BA* 46 C2). Laos was a colony of SYBARIS (Strabo 6.1.1/C253), and it received Sybarite refugees after CROTON's destruction of Sybaris (510 BCE); they were still living there in 494, at the time of the sack of

MILETUS (Hdt. 6.21.1). Laos was the western endpoint on an overland TRADE route which crossed the "boot" of Italy to Sybaris (Scott 2005, 124). Archaeological remains on several hills suggest the city's location may have shifted over time.

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Migration; Phrynichus; Scidrus

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LAPHANES (Λαφάνης, ὁ)

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Laphanes appears as one of the thirteen men who came to SICYON, from PAEON in AZANIA, as a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter AGARISTE (I), in the first half of the sixth century BCE (6.127.3). Nothing more is known of him (see ALCON for bibliography).

SEE ALSO: Arcadians; Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Competition; Euphorion the Azanian; Hippocleides

LAPITHS (Λαπίθαι, οἱ)

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Mythical clan of THESSALY. The Lapiths were chiefly known for their battle against the Centaurs ("Centauromachy") which broke out, in one tradition, at the wedding of the Lapith king Peirithoos (Pind. F166 S-M). The conflict was famously depicted on the sixth-century BCE "François Vase," as well as on the west pediment of the Temple of ZEUS at OLYMPIA and on the metopes of the Parthenon at ATHENS (both fifth century BCE: Manakidou 1994). EËTION, the father of the Corinthian tyrant CYPSELUS, claimed descent from the Lapiths (Hdt. 5.92.β.1).

SEE ALSO: Corinth; Myth

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LARISA(E) (Λήρισαι, αἱ)

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Aeolian city in western Anatolia, near the mouth of the HERMUS River (*BA* 56 E4). Herodotus writes *Larisai* (plural); XENOPHON writes *Larisa* (*Hell.* 3.1.7). There were numerous ancient Greek CITIES named Laris(s)a; this one was sometimes called Phriconian Larisa after a nearby mountain (Strabo 13.3.4/C621). Herodotus lists it (1.149.1) among the twelve Aeolian cities of the mainland conquered by PERSIA in the time of CYRUS (II). Xenophon writes that Cyrus gave Larisa to his Egyptian soldiers to inhabit (*Cyr.* 7.1.45). Excavations have revealed a sixth-century palace, but there is also contemporary evidence for Greeks worshipping ATHENA.

SEE ALSO: Aeolians; Larissa (Thessaly)

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LARISSA (Thessaly) (Λάρισ(σ)α, ἡ)

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The major city of ancient THESSALY, dominating the plain of the PENEIUS RIVER in the Pelasgiotis region (*BA* 55 C1). Larissa (or Larisa) was the seat of the ALEUADAE, a leading Thessalian clan.

Herodotus mentions Larissa only as the city-ethnic for THORAX (9.1, ὁ Ληρισαῖος), who provides crucial assistance to MARDONIUS and XERXES during the Persian invasion of 480/79 BCE. There were at least ten CITIES in the ancient Greek world by this name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα (Λ 45)).

SEE ALSO: Eurypylus; Larisa(e) (Aeolian); Pelasgians; Thrasydeius

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LASONIANS, *see* CABALES

LASUS (Λᾶσος, ὁ)

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Lasus of HERMIONE, an innovative lyric poet and musical theorist, was active in ATHENS during the last quarter of the sixth century BCE as a member of the artistic circle cultivated by the Peisistratid HIPPARCHUS. Herodotus records (7.6.3) that Lasus exposed a forgery inserted into the prophetic verses of the mythical poet MUSAEUS by the *chrēsmologos* (either "oracle-speaker" or "oracle-collector") ONOMACRITUS, who as a result was temporarily exiled from Athens by Hipparchus.

Ancient sources credit Lasus with introducing the first dithyrambic contest in Athens, during the early years of the DEMOCRACY; with writing the first treatise on MUSIC, which demonstrated his interest in concord ratios (the third, fifth, and octave) and the concept of pitch; and with writing songs that avoided the sound "s" as ill-suited for accompaniment by the wind instrument called the *aulos*.

SEE ALSO: Peisistratidae; Poetry; Prophecy

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LAUGHTER

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Laughter universally expresses EMOTION, but its visible facial expression and audible chortle show considerable semiotic variability and social visibility: a positive amusement or joy or, for the Greeks more often, a negative mocking derision and scorn. Visible amusement at another's incapacitated person or dense perceptions marks dangerous manifestations of self-perceived superiority. Herodotus features Hellenic and barbarian laughter, generally in dramatic moments when one culture confronts the values of another, or when one all-powerful person confronts someone powerless. CYRUS (II) laughs at his PRISONER-OF-WAR Croesus just before sending him to the pyre (1.90). CROESUS chortles at the poor (relatively, at least, if it happened) Athenian ALCMAEON stuffed with powdered GOLD that he had amassed on his person in one visit to the Lydian's treasure-house (6.125). XERXES laughs twice at deposed Spartan king DEMARATUS, his native quisling ADVISER (7.103). The first military victor never appreciates how quickly life and prosperity vanish; the second tyrant's WEALTH made him think himself superior to another man's greed; and the third monarch could not credit the lasting power of Spartan discipline. Thus, laughter, usually a prerogative of Eastern potentates, signals the misperceptions of Cyrus, Cambyses, Croesus, and Xerxes in Herodotus' telling. The "sudden glory" of eminence gestures at their future catastrophes. This Hobbesian formulation suits the crooked Spartan king LEOTYCHIDES II. He laughs derisively at Demaratus during a Spartan public FESTIVAL (*Gymnopaideia*), through an attendant, once he has deposed his rival. How did it feel to be a minor magistrate after having served as king? Soon after, he himself encounters exposure for pecuniary THEFT (6.67, 71–2). Only when the Spartan authorities catch Leotychides *in flagrante delicto* and depose him from the kingship does Herodotus mention the payback or *tisis*—a historical force that evens out disequilibria in all human affairs, especially power.

CAMBYSES (II) laughs in frustration after his failure to slay EGYPT's sacred APIS bull, and he fears being laughed at in turn for his impotence (3.29). He laughed after killing his vizier PREXASPES' son (3.35), and he laughed at the statue of Egyptian HEPHAESTUS (3.37). Herodotus' most frequent laugher was raving mad—laughter symptomatizes his disconnect from reality (3.38). Xerxes comes in second (six and four occasions, respectively). Xerxes laughs at Demaratus' accurate assessment of Spartan tenacity (7.103, 105), just before the battle at THERMOPYLAE. Even after that revelatory, first effective Hellenic resistance of 480, Xerxes thinks it laughable that Hellenic hundreds will resist his empire's myriads and PERSIA's elite troops (7.209). Herodotus explicitly explains Xerxes' self-condemning inclination to laugh: he just does not get it, "it" being reality. Xerxes' last presumptuous laugh comes at a Spartan HERALD's expense, after the Battle of SALAMIS. The "laconic" but diplomatic herald demands satisfaction for the death and corpse-desecration of the Spartan king and commander, LEONIDAS. Xerxes laughs, falls silent, and having pointed at his commander, he allegedly replied that MARDONIUS would requite the Spartans as they deserve. The statement proves ironically true, as his general's subsequent death at PLATAEA shows. Herodotus notes this unawares, true prediction only at its fulfillment, an example of his dramatic structures (8.114 with 9.64, *kleēdōn*, unintended verbal omen; Lateiner 2005). Elsewhere, he finds worthy of laughter (*geloion*) Xerxes' improvident ruse after eventually prevailing over the Hellenic delay at Thermopylae. The potentate ineffectually buries his army's corpses and flourishes the Hellenic enemies' corpses—fooling no one in his attempt to "write" his history (8.25; see Grethlein 2009). Laughter contributes to the autocrat-HYBRIS syndrome: envy, greed, fear, inappropriate SEX-partners, morbid ANGER, and brutal MUTILATIONS and executions, all repeated behaviors of Xerxes (7.39; 1.8–12; 9.108–13).

Conforming to this autocratic pattern of presumption (by Greek *POLIS* standards) are two rare examples of (non-Greek) group-laughers. A detachment of Egyptian soldiers guarding a thief's captured and publicly displayed corpse enjoys a brief laugh. Disguised as an ineffectual WINE-transporter, the corpse's brother outwits the Pharaoh's agents: he lulls them with his spilling beverage into a sleepy stupor, thus shaming and humiliating the guards by making them drunk. Comfortable in their presumptuous security, the confident drunks do not realize at first that the clever thief has shaved their heads asymmetrically as well as stolen back his brother's headless corpse, as their mother demanded (2.121). Some SCYTHIANS, in a different kind of laugh-scene, laugh derisively at Hellenic Borysthenites contorting themselves enthusiastically while engaged in Dionysiac "orgies." These BARBARIANS, remaining faithful to their own beloved religious observances, behead their king SCYLES for adopting alien Hellenic rites (4.79; cf. 9.82). The "downfall of laughers" pattern here uniquely cedes to a more dominant Herodotean pattern expressing the ubiquitous power of *NOMOS* (cf. the generalized 3.38). Men come to rue an unearned sense of superiority—whether derived from force or smarts. Herodotus' laughter motif reminds readers of humans' varied but ever-present vulnerability.

Most Herodotean laughers preemptively disdain their interlocutors. In this unseasonable sense of secure mockery, they align with HOMER's suitors and those confident characters in tragic dramas who prematurely jeer at heroes like disabled AJAX and OEDIPUS. Improvident laughter affirms Herodotus' view of the blind spots of autocrats. That structural weakness foreshadows the lability of their "unlimited" power (1.5, 3.53). Herodotus' twenty-eight laughter moments far outweigh THUCYDIDES' three. In fact, historians usually can know little but assert much about their deceased characters' psychology and motivation—e.g., Thucydides (4.27–28; 5.6–11) notoriously ascribes motives to his enemy Cleon. Herodotus' attributions of laughter resemble his direct "speech" quotations; they represent reconstructions of conflict situations from their consequent actions. What "must have struck individuals as funny" (Herodotus) resembles what individuals "must have said in particular circumstances" (Thucydides' admitted method for reconstructing speeches). Indeed, Xerxes' nonverbal emotional responses are less misleading than the words placed in Brasidas' mouth.

Once only does Herodotus himself laugh metaphorically, criticizing the unjustified symmetry of RIVERS and continents that clever Ionian

theoretical geographers patiently construct. With GEOGRAPHY as with history, he erected a "credibility shield"—determined to judge what is not known from what men can see. Nevertheless, although he knows the ragged edges of the physical world and human events, he too once falls into the same symmetry trap by making mirror-image parallel the courses of the ISTER (Danube) and the NILE (2.15–20, 33–34; 4.36–42). Blind laughter—marking human overconfidence—provides a pattern that "explains" the psychological deformations and excesses of autocracy and their inherent perils. Such dramatic, paraverbal moments of historiographical hilarity descend from Homer's presumptuous suitors. They had laughed convulsively while occupying PENELOPE's house—and received their "payback."

SEE ALSO: Disaster; Gestures; Insults; Madness; Reciprocity; Weeping

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LAURIUM (Λαύρειον, τό)

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MINING district in southern Attica (*BA* 59 D4). The SILVER mines of Laurium belonged to the city of ATHENS and were a significant source of wealth for the city and later the ATHENIAN EMPIRE. The silver from the mines was minted into the Athenian tetradrachm, one of the most popular coins of the classical period. The mines played an important role in the PERSIAN WARS. Around 483/2 BCE ([Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 22.7) a very rich vein of silver was discovered at Maroneia in Laurium which brought great profit to Athens. The initial plan was to distribute the MONEY among the citizens, giving each man 10 drachmas. THEMISTOCLES, however, convinced the Athenians to spend the money on building 200 ships to use in their war with AEGINA. The ships were not actually used for this purpose but proved critically important during the Persian Wars (Hdt. 7.144.1; cf. [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 22.7; Plut. *Them.* 4.1–3). Plutarch and Aristotle reduce the number of ships built to 100. Later, in the course of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, the mines started declining. XENOPHON notices a significant drop in production already in his times (Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.11–12); production continued intermittently until the first century BCE, but it never reached the peak of the classical period. In the second century CE Pausanias speaks of Laurium as the place "where once the Athenians had silver mines" (1.1.1).

SEE ALSO: Democracy; Ships and Sailing; Wealth and Poverty

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LAW

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Herodotus' attitudes toward and understanding of law and its operation in human society largely reflect the prevailing cultural and legal attitudes of contemporary ATHENS, though he obviously writes as someone armed with more observational "ethnographic" data than the average Greek. His treatment of the topic is oblique, as only once does he explicitly address the place of law as an abstract feature of Greek socio-political life (see below). Consistent with the prevailing intellectual climate of his day, Herodotus had a fluid understanding of the word he employs for law, *NOMOS* (νόμος): it encompasses our notions of statute law, custom, and culture, sometimes individually or in some combination, and he typically treats *nomos* as something conceived of and operating differently among the Greeks than among the *barbaroi*.

Though classical Greek possessed a word, *themis* (θέμις), inherited from the epic tradition and usually corresponding more closely to our concept of "custom," Herodotus employs it only once throughout his work (1.199.4, concerning the Babylonian MARRIAGE market). He abjures altogether the word *thesmos* (θεσμός), a term employed earlier in the Greek world to cover the legislative activity of such figures as Draco and SOLON (Humphreys 1987, 216–17), and only once employs a form of *thesmion* (θέσμιον, 1.59.6), in the plural and in the sense of existing legal/political institutions. As a result, he leans on *nomos* to describe both what we might think of as law and/or custom, though his usage conforms to patterns indicating that his understanding of this word may vary depending on cultural context. On at least one occasion, his use of *nomos* corresponds to what we might broadly consider "culture": DARIUS I of PERSIA inquires of Greeks in his service how much MONEY they would require to eat their dead fathers, and similarly of a people from INDIA (the CALLATIAE) whether they would burn theirs. Because each group responds with equal horror at the suggestion, Herodotus concludes that "PINDAR seems to me to have composed his POETRY correctly in saying that *nomos* is the king of all" (3.38.3–4). Thus we have Herodotus applying the term as indicative of more than a single norm or statute, but rather something approaching what Mauss (1925) described as the dynamics of a "total social phenomenon": issues of kinship, religion, aesthetics, politics, and economy all impinge. Here, Herodotus intends *nomos* as something that extends beyond law or custom, as a force that binds a variety of attitudes, beliefs, and practices indicative of what anthropologists would recognize as markers of culture writ large, and in this sense can represent a primary causative factor in Herodotus' historical narrative (Thomas 2000, 102–31).

Alternatively, Herodotus elsewhere identifies *nomos* as socio-politically determinative in a way that hews more closely to our sense of "law," or at least "the law," but clearly intends it to apply to Greeks, especially Lacedaemonians. In the exchange he reports between XERXES and the exiled Spartan king DEMARATUS, the latter tells the former that the Lacedaemonians are the best of warriors when they fight together, because they have *nomos* as "master" over them, and they fear it more than Xerxes' men fear him (7.104.4–5). Tellingly, Herodotus characterizes the Spartans as regarding the law as a *despotēs* (δεσπότης); he uses this word forty-seven times throughout the *Histories*, in all but four instances while discussing barbarian rulers. Indeed, Herodotus routinely intends the word to evoke that which the Greeks might find most appalling or blameworthy among barbarian rulers. Aside from the passage lately under consideration, only three other times does Herodotus use this word to describe relationships among Greeks: twice in noting private power over property (5.29.1) or persons (6.83.2), and once to represent a political relationship (5.78), where he says the Athenians had deliberately played the coward (*ethelokakeon*) because they worked for a master, referring to the PEISISTRATID tyranny.

Herodotus conceives of living under any mastery than that of *nomos* as *doulosynē* (δουλοσύνη), "SLAVERY," and those who so lived were subject to a *desposynē* (δεσποσύνη), "DESPOTISM." Demaratus' peroration begins at 7.102.1 with the statement that poverty is always present among the Greeks, but that they also acquire *ARETĒ* (ἀρετή, "virtue") through good judgment and by the force of their law, and that *aretē* is what allows the Greeks to stave off both poverty and *desposynē*.

Herodotus has Demaratus go on to say that, even were all other Greeks to come around to Xerxes' point of view—already established as unlikely—the Lacedaemonians would never accept the Great King's intentions to bring slavery (*doulosynē*) into Greece (7.102.2). Therefore, Herodotus' juxtaposition of *despotēs* and *nomos* at 7.104.4 is not accidental nor even casual: because of an excellence rooted in *sophia* and *nomos* the Greeks do not fall victim to *desposynē*. So *nomos* as "law" is crucial to warding off such slavery, and is clearly a different sort of *nomos* than that among the BARBARIANS.

On the other hand, Herodotus' conception of the barbarian being uniquely susceptible to rule by a *despotēs* above or outside the law is not uniform, as he makes allowances for the THRACIANS who will not bow to the *desposynē* of Darius (4.128.1), praises the *nomoi* of the SCYTHIANS in Book 4 as helping them frustrate Darius' ambitions, but decries the ANDROPHAGI for not using *nomos* at all (4.106). When it comes to *barbaroi*, Herodotus entertains some idea of a relationship between the degree to which a society possesses a sense of *nomos* and their attainment of civilization, but he was capable of inconsistency and idiosyncrasy on this point. He praises some *nomoi* of the Persians (e.g., 1.137.1, where he admires the *nomos* that the Persian king cannot kill a man for a single offense), but when we consider the way he generally portrays Persian rule—CAMBYSES (II)'s outrage against the corpse of AMASIS in violation of both Persian and Egyptian custom (3.16.3–4), Xerxes' inhuman treatment of PYTHIUS the Lydian, whose reasonable request to have his eldest son spared army service was met with the king's decision to have the son cut in two and laid by the sides of the road (7.38–39)—it is clear he judges Persian kings as violators of *nomoi*, whether Herodotus intends statutes or customs: these are men who ultimately rule above the law, which is to say there is no rule of law under them.

Regarding the Greeks, Herodotus is somewhat less indiscriminate when it comes to the use of *nomos*, but there is an important difference. Out of seventeen instances where Herodotus refers to *nomos* or *nomoi* among the Greeks (roughly 16 percent of the total), slightly more than half of the time it is clear he means *nomoi* as legislation (such as that of Solon, 1.29.1–2). Thus the Argives "made a law" (*epoiēsanto nomon* 1.82.7) regarding the cutting of men's HAIR; the Samians do likewise regarding provisions of sesame and honey for the choruses of young men and women involved in the FESTIVAL surrounding the Corcyrean SUPPLIANTS (3.48.3). A *nomos* is established (*ethetē*) at SPARTA in the aftermath of CLEOMENES' abortive invasion of Attica, stipulating that one king remain at home during campaigns (5.75.2). We hear otherwise of *nomoi* that sound like statutes rather than customs: the Corinthians could not by law give ships to the Athenians as a gift (6.89), the Spartans will not break the law to assist the Athenians (6.89), CLEISTHENES OF SICYON grants the hand of his daughter AGARISTE (I) to MEGACLES (II) and instructs that he marry her in accordance with the laws of the Athenians (6.130), and so on. Among the examples where Herodotus' use of *nomos* is less clear, it may well be that a written statute prevailed, or at the very least a "custom" that effectively had the force of law: Megacles' daughter complaining that PEISISTRATUS lay with her "not according to custom(?)" *ou kata nomon* (1.61.1); DORIEUS' anger that the Spartans followed *nomos* and made Cleomenes king (5.42.2); the Athenian *nomos* at the time of MARATHON that the polemarch should command the right wing (6.111.1); or Xerxes' jest to Demaratus that if any Lacedaemonian could best ten Persian soldiers, then surely in accordance with Spartan *nomoi* Demaratus should be able to defeat twenty (7.103), a reference perhaps to the double portion awarded the Spartan kings at the communal feast. Even when it is unclear that Herodotus necessarily means a written law by *nomos*, the Greek *nomos* he describes is often quite specific.

It is worth noting in conclusion that Herodotus also includes a *LOGOS* about the origin of formal dispute settlement. At 1.96–98, he tells the likely apocryphal story of the Median nobleman DEIOCES, who allegedly leveraged his talents as a mediator to establish leadership authority and ultimately kingship among the MEDES (Gagarin 1986). While the historicity of the story is dubious, Herodotus' account probably speaks to contemporary Greek assumptions about the historical relationship between judicial and political power, and provided a potentially potent and persuasive equation for Herodotus' Athenian AUDIENCE

whose own sovereignty was often expressed through their role as jurors.

SEE ALSO: Anthropology; Dike; Ethnography; Judges; Punishment; Themis; Tyrants

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LEAGRUS (Λέαγρος, ὁ)

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Athenian general, son of GLAUCON, who fought the EDONIANS in THRACE (at DATON; THUCYDIDES writes Drabescus, 1.100.3) in 465 BCE, as the Athenians attempted to establish a colony at Amphipolis. Herodotus mentions Leagrus in passing as co-commander on that expedition with SOPHANES, who had won honors as the bravest soldier at the Battle of PLATAEA in 479 (9.75). This represents one of Herodotus' few explicit references to events after the PERSIAN WARS, clustered especially in Book 9.

Leagrus' name appears on dozens of Attic red-figure vases dating to around 500 BCE, so-called "*kalos* inscriptions," in the days of his youthful beauty. He dedicated an ALTAR to the Twelve Gods at ATHENS around 480, as we know from the inscribed base found in the AGORA (*IG* I^3 951). Finally, "Leagrus son of Glaucon" appears on nearly 100 ostraca from the 480s found in the Cerameicus (see *PAA* 602645 for all this evidence).

Leagrus' son, Glaucon, served as a general at SAMOS in 441/0 (Androtion *BNJ* 324 F38) and at CORCYRA in 433 (Thuc. 1.51.4).

SEE ALSO: Athenian Empire; Democracy; Time

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LEARCHUS (Λέαρχος, ὁ)

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Learchus assassinated his brother, ARCESILAUS II king of CYRENE, c. 550 BCE. He took advantage of Arcesilaus' illness, after the king had been defeated in battle at LEUCON by the Libyans and the rebels who had founded BARCA, to strangle him. Learchus did not profit from his crime for long, since he himself was killed by the wife of the late king, ERYXO, by means of a ruse for which Herodotus gives no details (4.160). Some later authors (PLUTARCH, Polyaenus) make Learchus a friend of the king rather than his brother.

SEE ALSO: Murder

FURTHER READING

Corcella in ALC, 687–89.

LEBADEIA (Λεβάδεια, ἡ)

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City in northwest BOEOTIA famous for its oracle of TROPHONIUS. Herodotus says that MYS, a CARIAN, visited Lebadeia while carrying out the Persian general MARDONIUS' order to consult all possible ORACLES in the winter of 480/79 BCE. However, Mys paid a local man to "go down into the cave" (8.134.1); the elaborate and stressful process was well-known in antiquity (described by Pausanias, 9.39.5–14; cf. Plut. *Mor*. 590a–b; Bowie 2007, 221).

Ancient Lebadeia lay west of Lake COPAIS on the eastern bank of the Hercyna River, north of the present-day city Livadeia (*BA* 55 D4; Müller I, 520–23). Its likely site was a hill called Trypaeolithari,

where remains of an acropolis have been found. Pausanias says the city was previously called Mideia and stood on higher ground before it changed name and location (9.39.1). Mideia appears in HOMER's catalogue of ships (*Il.* 2.507).

SEE ALSO: Religion, Greek

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LEBAEA (Λεβαίη, ἡ)

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City in upper MACEDONIA. In his account of the origins of the Macedonian MONARCHY, Herodotus relates that PERDICCAS and his two brothers fled from ARGOS, through ILLYRIA, eventually to Lebaea; they worked as farmhands for the king there until, frightened by portents, he compelled the brothers to leave. This (mythical) event served as the catalyst for Perdiccas' CONQUEST of what would become Macedonia (8.137–38).

Lebaea appears only here in extant Greek literature. Two Roman-era INSCRIPTIONS from the sanctuary of Leukopetra (cf. *SEG* 63-414, §6) mention an *Aleb(a)ia* which is now believed to be identical, perhaps to be located at modern Daskio on the HALIACMON River, about 35 kilometers south of Ver(o)ia (Hatzopoulos 2003, map on 217).

SEE ALSO: Bermium (Mount); Epigraphy; Temenus, Temenids

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LEBEDUS (Λέβεδος, ἡ)

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Ionian city on the coast of Asia Minor (*BA* 61 D1; Müller II, 559–64), today the Kısık peninsula. Herodotus lists Lebedus as one of the members of the PANIONION. He groups it with other Ionian cities in LYDIA (1.142.3), in a passage that emphasizes Ionian disunity in a variety of ways, including GEOGRAPHY and dialect (Asheri in ALC, 173). Lebedus became a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE, contributing TRIBUTE of between one and three TALENTS. It revolted from ATHENS in 411 BCE (Thuc. 8.19.4).

SEE ALSO: Dialects, Greek; Ionians

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LECTUM (Λεκτόν, τό)

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The cape at the southwest corner of the Troad in northwestern Anatolia (*BA* 56 C3; Müller II, 874–75), today Babakale. Lectum extends into the AEGEAN SEA north of LESBOS from the base of Mt. IDA and offered anchorage to the Greeks sailing from MYCALE to the HELLESPONT in 479 BCE (9.114.1; cf. Thuc. 8.101.3, Strabo 13.1.5–6/C583–84).

SEE ALSO: Ships and Sailing

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LEIPSYDRIUM (Λειψύδριον, τό)

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A FORTIFICATION on the slopes of Mt. Parnes in Attica north of Acharnae (*BA* 59 B2). Herodotus says Leipsydrium ("Water-Lacking") was built by the ALCMAEONIDAE in advance of their failed bid to liberate ATHENS from the PEISISTRATIDAE (5.62.2) in 513 BCE. The remains with which it has been identified are too late to match the fortress mentioned by Herodotus (McCredie 1966, 58–61), though the site could be the same.

Herodotus places Leipsydrium "above Paeonia," presumably a mistake for the Attic deme PAEONIDAE. A reference in ARISTOPHANES' *Lysistrata* (664), produced in 411, would indicate that the Alcmaeonid defeat was still well-known. The late-fourth century *Constitution of the Athenians* ([Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 19.3) closely follows Herodotus' account of the incident (placing the fortress on Mt. Parnes) and includes four lines of a drinking-song (*skolion*) lamenting the loss of good men at Leipsydrium. All later surviving references seem to depend on this same tradition (Cromey 1978, 450–53).

SEE ALSO: Exile; Hippias; Tyrants

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LELANTINE WAR

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According to THUCYDIDES (1.15), a war during the ARCHAIC AGE between the two Euboean cities of CHALCIS and ERETRIA "most [of all], more [than the others]" grew beyond a quarrel between two neighboring Greek CITIES. Herodotus, in explaining why the Eretrians contributed ships to the IONIAN REVOLT, mentions an old war in which the Milesians had aided the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, while the Samians had aided the Chalcidians against the Eretrians (5.99.1). Aid for Eretria from MILETUS and aid for Chalcis from SAMOS suffices fully to justify Thucydides' claim about what modern scholars call the Lelantine War, for a strict reading of that claim precludes earlier scholars' speculations about gigantic multi-state alliances and so-called TRADE-leagues—the Lelantine War "more than the others" went beyond a border quarrel, but, presumably, had been essentially just that.

The modern name assumes that it was fought for the small but extremely fertile Lelantine Plain which lay between Chalcis and Eretria, the two most important *poleis* on the island of EUBOEA. Given Thucydides' implication that it was basically just a border quarrel after all, as well as other archaic wars fought over fertile plains (the Messenian Wars, the war over the Eleusinian Plain between ATHENS and MEGARA), this is surely correct. ARCHILOCHUS, in the mid-seventh century BCE, presumably refers to this war (F3 West, *IEG*^{2}). Given how other archaic "land wars" dragged on for decades with intervals of peace between episodes of war, the Lelantine War may have begun much earlier than Archilochus' mention of it. Since Chalcis later held the Lelantine Plain, it apparently won the war.

SEE ALSO: Warfare

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LELEGES (Λέλεγες, οἱ)

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A pre-Greek people whom ancient authors associate with numerous areas of mainland Greece, the Aegean ISLANDS, and Asia Minor (see Calame

1986, 156–59). While they could on occasion be considered autochthonous (e.g., Lelex, aboriginal first king of Laconia: Paus. 3.1.1), the Leleges are mostly used to represent wandering populations of ancient times. Herodotus writes that the Carians (of southwestern Anatolia) had previously been called Leleges, when they still inhabited the CYCLADES of the southern AEGEAN and were subjects of MINOS (1.171.2).

SEE ALSO: Autochthony; Caria; Ethnicity; Migration; Pelasgians

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LEMNOS (Λῆμνος, ἡ)

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One of the largest Aegean ISLANDS (477 km^2). Located in the northern AEGEAN SEA, near the exit of the HELLESPONT (*BA* 57 D2), Lemnos counted, during both the archaic and classical periods, two ancient *poleis*, MYRINA and HEPHAESTIA (cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.601).

The island first appears in Herodotus when the author explains that the first Lemnian inhabitants, descendants of the Argonauts, were expelled by PELASGIANS (4.145). These original Lemnians were then welcomed and settled on the west coast of the PELOPONNESE (8.73). As far as the new islanders were concerned, the Lemnians refused to follow the Persian king DARIUS I while he was attacking the SCYTHIANS (5.27.2). That is why, at the end of the sixth century BCE, OTANES (2), now head of Darius' troops on the coast, attacked IMBROS and Lemnos. These Lemnians bravely fought but were defeated (c. 511). The Persians imposed upon them a new governor, LYCARETUS (brother of MAEANDRIUS (II), at the time TYRANT of SAMOS: 5.26–27).

Two decades later, as MILTIADES THE YOUNGER was accused in front of an Athenian court, his friends remembered his successes, one of which was the capture of Lemnos on behalf of ATHENS (6.136). We can easily guess that this happened at the same time as the Athenian capture of Imbros (cf. 6.41, 104). As far as Lemnos was concerned, Miltiades used an old ORACLE to attack the island from the Athenian-controlled Hellespontine CHERSONESE. After a successful SIEGE of Myrina, the Athenians took the island and expelled the Pelasgians (6.140). The two Lemnian *poleis* remained under Athenian domination during the whole classical period (except during a short period of "independence" from 404 to 394), until the island was integrated into the Macedonian Empire at the end of the fourth century BCE. Even during the period of Persian domination in the 480s, Athenian sympathy and/or influence remained strong. At the Battle of ARTEMISIUM, the Lemnian ANTIDORUS commanded the only Greek ship to defect from the Great King before the battle (8.11.2); that ship later fought for the Greeks at SALAMIS (8.82.2).

SEE ALSO: Cleruchy; Tyrrhenians

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LEOBOTAS (Λεωβώτης, ὁ)

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Leobotas (also spelled Labotas) was a legendary king of SPARTA. According to Herodotus, he was a member of the Agiad branch and the nephew of the lawgiver LYCURGUS, who ruled for him during his minority. Lycurgus took the opportunity to

establish the "constitution" of the Lacedaemonians (1.65.4). Leobotas' name also appears, as the grandson of Agis, in the GENEALOGY Herodotus gives for LEONIDAS before the Battle of THERMOPYLAE (7.204).

Leobotas is otherwise unknown. PLUTARCH (*Lyc*. 1, quoting the archaic poet SIMONIDES) and ARISTOTLE (*Pol*. 1271b) make Lycurgus the uncle of Charilaus, a Eurypontid king. In that version, Lycurgus is not the regent for Charilaus but passes his LAWS during his nephew's reign. Herodotus' version has implications for the dates of Lycurgus, or at least the initial legislation attributed to him.

SEE ALSO: Agis son of Eurysthenes; Charilaus son of Eunomus; Chronology

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LEOCEDES (Λεωκήδης, ὁ)

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Leocedes, son of PHEIDON of ARGOS, 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 (6.127.1). It is not known whether Leocedes ever ruled at Argos as his father did, though if Herodotus' CHRONOLOGY can be trusted his reign must have been short (Kelly 1976, 130–33). Only PLUTARCH explicitly calls him a king (*Mor*. 89e; West 2015, 16); Pausanias reports that the kingship at Argos ended in the reign of his son, Meltas (2.19.2). Herodotus gives the Ionic form of his name; various other spellings are found, in Greek and in English (usually *Lac-/Lak-*; *LGPN* III.A, 265 s.v. Λακάδης).

SEE ALSO: Alcon; Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Competition; Ionic Dialect

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LEON (Λέων, ὁ) king of Sparta

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Leon was a Spartan king of the Agiad house c. 600–560 BCE, father of ANAXANDRIDES II and son of EURYCRATIDES (5.39.1; 7.204). According to Herodotus, Leon presided over SPARTA's first, abortive war with TEGEA along with several more successful wars (1.65.1). He was the paternal grandfather of two of Sparta's most influential kings, CLEOMENES I and LEONIDAS. The latter was doubly connected to Leon, since his mother was Leon's granddaughter.

SEE ALSO: Hegesicles; Leon of Troezen

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LEON (Λέων, ὁ) of Troezen

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A soldier aboard a ship from TROEZEN which was captured by a Persian advance force near SCIATHOS in 480 BCE. Herodotus claims that the Persians offered Leon as a SACRIFICE to the gods, cutting his throat at the prow, since he was the most handsome man on the ship and perhaps also due to his name ("Lion") (7.180). There is some uncertainty over Herodotus' exact meaning here, since the word *diadexios* is not otherwise attested.

SEE ALSO: Human Sacrifice; Leon (Spartan king); Praxinus; Prisoners of War

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LEONIDAS (Λεωνίδης, ὁ)

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Spartan king in command of the Greek forces at the battle of THERMOPYLAE in 480 BCE (7.201–39). After the Persians had outflanked his position, Leonidas decided to stay and fight to the DEATH rather than retreating with the main army. He died along with his escort of about 300 Spartans as well as their accompanying HELOTS, the contingent from THESPIAE, and some Thebans. Herodotus' presentation of Leonidas is positive and unqualified throughout, both for his individual heroism and for his leadership of the Spartans and the Greeks, a depiction in line with the posthumous glorification that began soon after the PERSIAN WARS. But Leonidas' succession to the throne in middle age was far from straightforward. And the strategy of defending Thermopylae with a small force, the failure of the defense of the ANOPAEA path, and Leonidas' MOTIVATION to remain and die in Thermopylae have all provoked diverse judgments.

Leonidas only became king in his forties, c. 490 (7.204–5). Although he was the son of the Agiad king ANAXANDRIDES II, he had an older brother, an older stepbrother and was a twin himself according to one report (5.41.3). He eventually succeeded his stepbrother, CLEOMENES, who had no son. Leonidas had married Cleomenes' daughter, GORGO, his own niece. Such marriages were common and, in this case, reinforced Leonidas' claim to the throne. Cleomenes had an active and long reign, but it ended with scandal, insanity, and a gruesome DEATH (6.74–75). Caught bribing the Delphic ORACLE, Cleomenes withdrew to THESSALY and then fomented trouble in ARCADIA, all of which must have raised Leonidas' hopes for the kingship. When Cleomenes was recalled to SPARTA, according to Herodotus he went mad and took to hitting other Spartans in the face with his staff. His "relatives" confined him in stocks, but he browbeat a Helot guard to give him a knife and killed himself (6.75.2–3). Since the "relatives" must have included Leonidas, who gained the throne by Cleomenes' death, some historians suspect foul play.

Leonidas did not command the earlier expedition to TEMPE, but later in 480 he set out to Thermopylae in command of the Greek forces and escorted by 300 Spartans whom he picked himself, all with living sons (7.173.2, 205.2). The Spartan king's bodyguard was regularly 300 strong (8.124.3); that it comprised only men with sons may have been a customary requirement, only later to be interpreted in light of the Delphic oracle to the effect that either Sparta would be destroyed or lose a king (7.220.3–4): Leonidas and his bodyguard knew they were going to die, and the death of a man with a son would at least not extinguish his line. Military historians, however, generally view the strategy of holding the Persians at Thermopylae and ARTEMISIUM (with the navy) as a reasonable one with some hope for success.

Herodotus' laudatory account—with its focus on the traitor, EPHIALTES of Malis—assigns no BLAME to Leonidas and little to the Phocians for the failure to prevent the Persians from getting around Thermopylae via the Anopaea path (7.213–18). He gives several explanations for Leonidas' subsequent decision to remain in Thermopylae (7.220). First, it would have been disgraceful for Leonidas and the Spartans to leave their assigned post, a motivation highlighted in SIMONIDES' epitaph for the Spartan dead (7.228.2). Spartans could retreat with HONOR, if it were advantageous or necessary, but staying to fight was generally more in line with their ideal of self-sacrifice and the personal bravery expected of a Spartan king. Second, Leonidas wanted lasting glory for himself and to ensure that Sparta not be ravaged. This latter concern for Sparta depends upon and leads up to the oracle foretelling either the death of a king or the destruction of Sparta. Finally, although Herodotus does not mention it, the last stand in the pass distracted the Persians and kept them from pursuing the various retreating Greek contingents.

Herodotus introduces Leonidas as the most admired man in the army and traces his ancestry back twenty generations to HERACLES (7.204), a grand introduction even if a less important king, LEOTYCHIDES II, also receives the same full pedigree (8.131.2–3). After the Persians outflanked Thermopylae, Leonidas ordered most of the other Greeks to retreat, a command that saved their honor (7.220). Leonidas also receives high PRAISE when he died fighting: "the most valiant of them all" (7.224.1). Even after his death, Herodotus describes a bitter fight over his body as if he were a Homeric hero: the Greeks recovered his body after routing the Persians four times and killing two brothers of XERXES (7.225.1). Leonidas' leadership of the Greeks and Spartans and his personal heroism are both unproblematic, a rarity in Herodotus.

Of course, Leonidas' corpse soon fell back into the Persians' possession, and Xerxes ordered the head be cut off and impaled, an uncharacteristic brutality, which Herodotus attributes to hatred (7.238). After SALAMIS the Lacedaemonians, advised by an oracle, demanded recompense for the killing of Leonidas (8.114). Xerxes replied that his general MARDONIUS would give them payback, unwittingly predicting the outcome of the battle of PLATAEA (9.64.1). After that battle, PAUSANIAS indignantly rejected the suggestion of mutilating Mardonius' body in revenge for Leonidas' mistreatment (9.78–79). In the mid-fifth century, the Spartans reportedly brought Leonidas' bones back to Sparta and gave him hero cult (Paus. 3.14.1). By celebrating him then, the Spartans may have hoped to rehabilitate the reputation of the Agiad line after a number of scandals.

SEE ALSO: Agis son of Eurysthenes; Fame; Generals and Generalship; Hellenic League; Heroes and Hero Cult; Lions; Mutilation; Thebes (Boeotian)

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LEONTIADES (Λεοντιάδης, ὁ)

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Commander of the Theban troops at THERMOPYLAE in 480 BCE (7.205.2). Leontiades may have held the position of Boeotarch, though Herodotus does not specify such (Buck 1974). Herodotus claims that the Thebans arrived unwillingly, and that the Spartan king and general LEONIDAS requested their presence precisely because they had been accused of medizing (Thebes had, in fact, given EARTH AND WATER to Xerxes' MESSENGERS: 7.132). Prior to the third day of the battle, when the Greeks knew they would soon be surrounded, Leonidas dismissed the rest of the ALLIES but held the Thebans as HOSTAGES (7.222). In the final stages of the battle, according to Herodotus, the Thebans began to fight the Persians but defected at the first opportunity, claiming they had been forced to come to Thermopylae. The Thessalians supported their claim, but nonetheless XERXES had most of the Thebans "branded with royal marks" (like fugitive slaves), beginning with Leontiades (7.233).

PLUTARCH, a native of BOEOTIA, several centuries later vehemently challenged Herodotus' account, ridiculing some aspects and citing a local historian, Aristophanes of Boeotia (*BNJ* 379 F6), for evidence that Leontiades was not the Theban commander at Thermopylae (Plut. *Mor*. 866d–867b/*DHM* 33). Since Leontiades' son, EURYMACHUS, helped instigate the PELOPONNESIAN WAR by planning a treacherous attack on ATHENS' ally PLATAEA in 431 (Thuc. 2.2.3), some scholars have seen Athenian calumny behind Herodotus' report of defection and branding (Hammond 1996, 19). But the evidence of the local Boeotian historian—not to mention Plutarch's use of it—must also be treated cautiously (Chaniotis 1988, 207, 290–91). In addition, a funerary inscription from MEGARA dating to c. 470 records the branding of a defeated soldier named Pollis who nonetheless fought bravely: some read this as apologetic, or as meant to contrast with the cowardly Thebans who suffered the same fate (see *SEG* 45-421; Ebert 1996, 19–25).

SEE ALSO: Eurymachus father of Leontiades; Medize; Prisoners of War; Slavery; Thebes (Boeotian)

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LEONTINI (Λεοντῖνοι, οἱ)

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Greek settlement in eastern SICILY (*BA* 47 G4) founded by Chalcidians from Sicilian NAXOS, with a traditional foundation date of 729 BCE (Thuc. 5.4.3–4). Leontini was one of a handful of inland western Greek colonies. Polybius (7.6) describes the town as situated between two hills, each with its own ACROPOLIS; excavations have confirmed this topographical description and revealed habitation areas and abundant ceramics dating back to the late eighth century. The material evidence also suggests close relations with the local Sicel population. The *khōra* of Leontini stretched over most of the plain of Catania and was highly regarded for its agricultural productivity (Diod. Sic. 4.24.1; 14.58.1). Such a characteristic also made it, however, a target for territorial acquisition by other Greek states. Herodotus mentions (7.154.2) the SIEGE and capture of Leontini by HIPPOCRATES (4), tyrant of GELA, in 496/5; twenty years later, HIERON, in his position as ruler of both Gela and SYRACUSE, transplanted the populations of Naxos and Catania to Leontini (Diod. Sic. 11.49.2). The *POLIS* regained its independence sometime after the death of Hieron in 467/6 and forged alliances with Naxos, RHEGIUM, and ATHENS (cf. *IG* I^3 54) during the third quarter of the fifth century. In the 420s, Leontini again received new citizens, which may have contributed to *STASIS* within the city and the eventual incorporation of the city into the Syracusan state.

SEE ALSO: Chalcis; Colonization; Sicels

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LEOPREPES (Λεωπρέπης, ὁ) father of Simonides

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Patronymic, father of the poet SIMONIDES, of Iulis on the island of CEOS (7.228.4). Based on the traditional dates for Simonides' birth (c. 556 BCE, others c. 532: see Molyneux 1992, 307–27), Leoprepes would have been born in the first half of the sixth century. The Roman-era author Aelian (*VH* 4.24) attributes a brief piece of advice concerning FRIENDSHIP to him.

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LEOPREPES (Λεωπρέπης, ὁ) father of Thearidas

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Patronymic, Spartan, father of THEARIDAS (6.85.2). Nothing more is known of this Leoprepes (*Laprepas* in Doric), though Herodotus describes his son as "a man of repute at SPARTA," also indicated by his speech which prevents King LEOTYCHIDES II from being delivered as a HOSTAGE to AEGINA (c. 490 BCE).

FURTHER READING

LGPN III.A, 269 s.v. Λαπρέπης (1).

LEOTYCHIDES I (Λευτυχίδης, ὁ) son of Anaxilaus

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Son of Anaxilaus, member of the Eurypontid royal house at SPARTA. Herodotus mentions Leotychides (I) in his GENEALOGY of LEOTYCHIDES (II) SON OF MENARES (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 Leotychides in the junior branch (Bowie 2007, 219–20).

SEE ALSO: Anaxilaus son of Archidamus; Euryp(h)on; Hippocratides

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LEOTYCHIDES II (Λευτυχίδης, ὁ) son of Menares

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Referred to by modern historians as Leotychides II, Leotychides son of MENARES succeeded to the Spartan kingship in the Eurypontid line in 491 BCE after conspiring with the Agiad king, CLEOMENES, to depose his cousin DEMARATUS. Herodotus explains that enmity had arisen between Leotychides and Demaratus after Demaratus stole Leotychides' intended bride, PERCALUS, for himself. Cleomenes, who had his own reasons to be unhappy with Demaratus, persuaded Leotychides to allege that Demaratus was not the natural son of his father ARISTON (6.65). The matter was referred to the ORACLE at DELPHI, whose answer Cleomenes was able to influence (6.66). Demaratus was therefore deposed, and Leotychides took his place as king. Taunted by Leotychides for his loss of the kingship, Demaratus left SPARTA for PERSIA (6.67).

As king, Leotychides fulfilled his bargain with Cleomenes (6.65) by supporting the latter's demand that leaders of the medizing Aeginetans be given to the Athenians as HOSTAGES (6.73). After the downfall and DEATH of Cleomenes following the discovery of his conspiracy against Demaratus (6.74–75), Leotychides was accused of unjust actions against AEGINA and was almost handed over to the Aeginetans. He was spared this PUNISHMENT when he agreed to go to ATHENS to persuade them to return the hostages (6.85). Leotychides attempted to convince the Athenians by telling them a story about GLAUCUS SON OF EPICYDES (6.86), but the Athenians refused to listen (6.87). Johnson (2001, 20–23) suggests that Leotychides' story about Glaucus has implications beyond its immediate context.

In 479, Leotychides took command of the Greek fleet in the AEGEAN (8.131.2). At DELOS, he received the alliance of the Samians (9.90–92). Reaching SAMOS, he attacked and defeated the Persian forces in Asia Minor at the Battle of MYCALE (9.98–106). He then sailed to ABYDOS but returned home with the Peloponnesian forces after learning of the destruction of XERXES' bridges across the HELLESPONT, leaving the Athenians to besiege SESTOS (9.114).

After the PERSIAN WARS, Leotychides led an invasion of THESSALY to punish the ALEUADAE for their collaboration with the Persians. While there, however, he was found to have been bribed; he was subsequently tried at Sparta, exiled, and died at TEGEA (6.72). Herodotus mentions this affair to show that Leotychides was ultimately

punished for his part in the deposition of Demaratus (*tisis*, 6.72.1: see RECIPROCITY). Leotychides' grandson Archidamus II succeeded him as king.

Other ancient sources add little to Herodotus' information about Leotychides. The Roman-era author Pausanias provides a bit more detail on his campaign in Thessaly and downfall; in contrast to Herodotus he suggests that Leotychides voluntarily became a SUPPLIANT at Tegea (3.7.9–10; cf. 3.5.6). Diodorus Siculus places his death in 476/5 (11.48.1–2), but this may be incorrect, and neither the expedition to Thessaly nor Leotychides' EXILE and death can be securely dated; for a clear discussion of the problem, see Scheiber (1982).

SEE ALSO: Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus; Bribery; Eury(p)hon; Hellenic League; Leonidas; Leotychides I son of Anaxilaus; Medize; Monarchy

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LEPREUM (Λέπρεον, τό)

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City on the western coast of the PELOPONNESE, in a region later called Triphylia, at a crossroads between ELIS, MESSENIA, and ARCADIA (*BA* 58 B3). Herodotus says Lepreum was one of six CITIES founded by the MINYANS who threw the CAUCONES and PAROREATAE out of their territory (4.148.4). Although he notes that "most of these cities were sacked by the Eleans in my time," Lepreum was not necessarily destroyed (Hornblower 2008, 72). Two hundred Lepreates fought at the Battle of PLATAEA in 479 BCE (9.28.4). Between 479 and 431 Lepreum became dependent on Elis (Nielsen 2005). With the help of SPARTA, the city briefly recovered its autonomy in 421, was later reconquered by Elis, and liberated again around 400 (Thuc. 5.31, 34, 49–50; Xen. *Hell*. 3.2.21–25; 6.5.11). After the Battle of Leuctra (371), Lepreum turned away from Sparta and joined the Arcadian League. An Aristotelian *politeia* of Lepreum is attested (Heraclid. Lemb. 42). Excavations in the north of modern Lepreo revealed, among other remains of the ancient ACROPOLIS, parts of a ring wall and a Doric temple of the fourth century BCE, dedicated to DEMETER (Knell 1983).

SEE ALSO: Epium

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LEROS (Λέρος, ἡ)

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Small ISLAND in the Sporades, thirty miles southwest from MILETUS (*BA* 61 D3; Müller I, 970–71). When the IONIAN REVOLT begins to crumble, HECATAEUS suggests Leros as a potential refuge for ARISTAGORAS (1) and his followers (5.125). Following the standard trope, Aristagoras ignores this advice and DISASTER follows. Leros may have been under Milesian control from the sixth century BCE (Thonemann 2011, 283–84).

SEE ALSO: Advisers; Myrcinus

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LESBOS (Λέσβος, ἡ)

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Island in the northeastern AEGEAN SEA (*BA* 56 C3), settled by AEOLIANS. It is the third largest island in Greece. Herodotus notes that there are five Aeolian CITIES on Lesbos; these were MYTILENE, METHYMNA, Antissa, Eresos, and Pyrrha. Only the Mytileneans are mentioned specifically in the *Histories* as political and military actors; elsewhere Herodotus refers to the Lesbians as a collective (e.g., 1.23.1). He adds that there had been a sixth city, ARISBA, but that its population had been enslaved by the Methymnaeans by the time of his writing (1.151.2). Herodotus also mentions that Lesbos is home to the lyric poets SAPPHO (2.135) and ALCAEUS (5.95). Due to its location near Ionia, the island plays a moderately large role in the affairs between the Ionian Greeks and PERSIA. Moreover, Herodotus often speaks of Aeolia and Ionia as a single unit.

Lesbos, along with the rest of Aeolia, was under the control of CROESUS (1.28) until LYDIA fell to the Persians in the mid-sixth century BCE. After this, Lesbos must have eventually surrendered to the Persians during the subjugation of Ionia by HARPAGUS THE MEDE, general of CYRUS (II), as Herodotus counts IONIANS and Aeolians among Harpagus' army during his subsequent conquest of the rest of Asia Minor in 545 (1.169, 171.1). According to Herodotus, Lesbos was among the many ISLANDS conquered by the tyrant POLYCRATES of SAMOS (c. 540–522), when the Lesbians attempted to assist MILETUS; Polycrates enslaved the prisoners and used them dig a trench around the city of Samos (3.39.4; Carty 2015, 133–35).

The Mytileneans took part in DARIUS I's invasion of SCYTHIA (c. 513), under their general COES (4.97.2). As a reward for advising Darius well, Coes became TYRANT of Mytilene after his return. However, the Mytileneans executed him at the beginning of the IONIAN REVOLT in 499 (5.38.1). During the revolt, HISTIAEUS came to Mytilene upon being rejected by the Milesians. From there, he and eight Lesbian ships went to BYZANTIUM, where they seized passing ships (6.5.1–3).

In 494, the Lesbians contributed seventy ships to the Greek fleet at LADE (6.8.2). During this battle, the Lesbians withdrew soon after they saw the Samians doing so, followed by most of the other Ionians. This led to a Persian victory and the fall of Miletus (6.14.3). In 493, the Persian fleet took the islands of CHIOS, Lesbos, and TENEDOS before conquering Ionian cities on the mainland (6.31.1–2).

Herodotus tells that in 479, following the Greek victory at the Battle of MYCALE, the Peloponnesians wanted to resettle the Ionians in mainland Greece in order to protect them from the Persians. However, the Athenians successfully argued against this, and as a result Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and other ISLANDS avoided evacuation and entered into the Greek alliance (9.106.4). After the PERSIAN WARS, Lesbos was one of the few members to contribute ships rather than TRIBUTE to the DELIAN LEAGUE (Thuc. 1.19; 2.9.5). In 428, Mytilene and all of the other cities on Lesbos, excluding Methymna, led an unsuccessful revolt against ATHENS, for which the Lesbians were harshly punished (Thuc. 3.8–50). They attempted another revolt in 412 (Thuc. 8.5.2); finally, in 405, the Spartan Lysander freed the island from Athenian domination. In the 370s, all five cities of Lesbos joined the Second Athenian League.

SEE ALSO: Athenian Empire; Conquest; Naval Warfare; *polis*; Rebellion; Slavery

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LETO (Λητώ, ἡ)

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Mother of the gods APOLLO and ARTEMIS. Herodotus mentions a sanctuary and ORACLE of Leto in BUTO (modern-day Tell el-Faraʿin), a settlement in the flood plain of the northwestern Nile DELTA (2.152, 155–56). He describes the temple of the goddess in some detail because of its remarkable ARCHITECTURE and its location within a large sanctuary, whose monumental gates were reportedly 10 fathoms (60 feet) high. The temple itself is described as a structure that was 60 × 60 feet and was made out of a single block of stone, while its roof was made of another large block of stone whose cornice measured 6 feet. Besides a temple of Apollo and Artemis that was situated in Buto, the island of CHEMMIS—a floating island, according to local legend, located in the middle of a nearby lake—housed another temple of Apollo. According to Herodotus (2.152), the sanctuary of Leto was particularly revered and had been famously consulted by Pharaoh PSAMMETICHUS (Psamtik I, r. 664–610 BCE) after he was ousted from the throne a second time.

Herodotus' account obviously suggests that the Greeks of EGYPT brought their own narrative on the perils of pregnant Leto into alignment with the Egyptian MYTH of the wandering pregnant ISIS. Persecuted by a jealous HERA, Leto eventually gave birth to her divine twins on the once floating island of Asteria/DELOS, just like a fleeing and pregnant Isis gave birth to her son HORUS on the floating island Chemmis. In Herodotus' account of the birth of Horus in Chemmis, Leto is identified with Wadjet, the goddess of Buto who was sometimes associated with Isis.

SEE ALSO: Religion, Herodotus' views on; Temples and Sanctuaries

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LEUCADIANS (Λευκαδίοι, οἱ)

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Inhabitants of Leucas, an island of the IONIAN GULF off the Acarnanian coast of western Greece (*BA* 54 C4). Originally Dorian Greek colonists from CORINTH (8.45.1), the Leucadians took part in the Greek resistance against PERSIA at both SALAMIS and PLATAEA (480–479 BCE).

STRABO relates that Leucas was a peninsula until Corinthian colonists sent by the tyrant CYPSELUS (c. 630 BCE) dug a CANAL, severing the isthmus and creating the island (10.2.8/C452). This may corroborate HOMER's possible reference to Leucas as a "promontory of the mainland" (ἀκτὴν ἠπείροιο, *Od*. 24.377). Herodotus asserts that among the Greek forces at Salamis, the Leucadians were the most distant nation represented, apart from those of CROTON in ITALY (8.47). The Leucadian contribution to the fleet was a modest three TRIREMES (8.45). In his CATALOGUE of Greek forces at Plataea, Herodotus groups the Leucadians together with the Anactorians, bringing a total of 800 HOPLITES (9.28.5). The Leucadians and others were arrayed against the SACAE (9.31.4). One Leucadian was also present on the Persian side: HIPPOMACHUS served as seer for the Persians' Greek ALLIES (9.38.2).

SEE ALSO: Acarnania; Anactorium; Divination; Hellenic League; Islands

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LEUCAE STELAE, *see* WHITE PILLARS

LEUCE ACTE, *see* WHITE POINT

LEUCON (Λεύκων)

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Site in LIBYA (north Africa), location unknown; perhaps the Leukoe (Λευκόη) mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in western Cyrenaica (Ptol. *Geog*. 4.5.28; Chamoux 1953, 137). Herodotus places a battle at Leucon between the Cyreneans under ARCESILAUS II and Libyans led by the brothers of Arcesilaus who had founded the city of BARCA. The Cyreneans suffered a disastrous defeat, supposedly losing 7,000 HOPLITES (4.160.3).

SEE ALSO: Cyrene; Disaster

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"LIAR SCHOOL"

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The nature of Herodotus' work, which mainly relied on oral tradition, combining ethnographic stories, novels, and wondrous tales with political and military history, affected negatively the historian's reputation, provoking accusations of lying and DECEPTION. In modern times, *The Liar School of Herodotos* is the title of an influential book published by W. Kendrick Pritchett (Pritchett 1993). Pritchett coined the term "liar school" to refer to a category of scholars who had disputed (or even denied) directly or indirectly Herodotus' veracity. The main advocate of the "liar school" is Detlev Fehling, who propounded the provocative thesis according to which all Herodotus' SOURCE-CITATIONS are fictitious (Fehling 1989). Fehling criticized Herodotus for (ab)using source-citations in order to confer authority to extraordinary and implausible tales, and he attributed to him the intention of deceiving his AUDIENCE. Other representatives of the "liar school," according to Pritchett, include Stephanie West, who expressed some reservations regarding Herodotus' use of INSCRIPTIONS, spotting inaccuracies and inconsistencies (West 1985); François Hartog, who analyzed the "imaginary SCYTHIANS" as a model of otherness for the Greeks (Hartog 1988); and the Doris survey team, who challenged Herodotus' topographical accuracy concerning the battlefield of Thermopopylae. Pritchett offers a devastating critique of the results of the alleged "liar school." By drawing on a wide range of archaeological and topographical evidence and by exploiting the findings of experts on specific fields (such as Assyriologists, Egyptologists, Iranologists, etc.), he systematically argues that the information contained in Herodotus' history is most of the time accurate or makes sense in the context of the fifth century BCE. Although Pritchett's approach is marked by some rigidity (e.g., his efforts to prove that Herodotus was always accurate sometimes seem strained) and the scholars he treats cannot be placed at the same level (e.g., Hartog is not interested in the Scythian *realia* and is not directly concerned with the issue of Herodotus' RELIABILITY), his book demonstrates convincingly that the characterization of Herodotus as a liar stems from modern and anachronistic assumptions about the role of the historian, which disregard the intellectual and religious milieu in which Herodotus wrote his history and the expectations of his audience. In Herodotus' time TRUTH was not wholly incompatible with MYTH; stories which shock modern readers as incredible could seem perfectly plausible to Herodotus and his public (Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012).

The debate about Herodotus' reliability as a historian has a long tradition dating back to Greek antiquity. Herodotus enjoyed an ambiguous reputation in antiquity as FATHER OF HISTORY and

father of lies (Evans 1968). THUCYDIDES does not explicitly characterize Herodotus as a liar, but classifies him in the category of those who privilege the mythical and the pleasant over truth (Thuc. 1.20–22). By dismissing ETHNOGRAPHY and storytelling and by making contemporary events the center of objective history, Thucydides set new standards for the writing of history and is to be held responsible for the declining reputation of Herodotus (Momigliano 1958). Herodotus' ethnographic excursuses became the main targets of attack by his detractors. CTESIAS, a Cnidian doctor of the Persian court, who wrote a history of PERSIA, openly attacks Herodotus by calling him a liar (ψεύστην) and a fabricator of tales (λογοποιόν) (*FGrHist* 688 T8). ARISTOTLE also denounces Herodotus' mistakes concerning some issues of natural history and labels him a "storyteller" (μυθόλογος: *Hist. an*. 3.5/756b5). Authors of the Hellenistic period were greatly influenced by Herodotus' ethnographical discourse (Priestley 2014) but also attempted to discredit their predecessor. Diodorus Siculus characterizes the Egyptian material in Herodotus as marvels and myth (Diod Sic. 1.10: παραδοξολογεῖν καὶ μύθους πλάττειν), while STRABO includes Herodotus among his targets when he states that all those who wrote a history of INDIA are tellers of lies (ψευδολόγοι: 2.1.9/C70). From the Hellenistic period onwards an anti-Herodotean literature developed which continued down to the Roman period. Some titles of lost works have been preserved: *Against Herodotus* by Manetho, *On Herodotus' Thefts* by Valerius Pollio, *On Herodotus' Lies*, by Aelius Harpocration, *Against Herodotus* by Libanius. Cicero characterizes Herodotus as the father of history, but also assimilates him with THEOPOMPUS as a notorious liar (*Leg*. 1.5; cf. *De or*. 2.55, *Div*. 2.56.11). Seneca (*QNat*. 4.3.1) criticizes Herodotus' methodological principle, according to which the historian's task is to report what he hears, regardless of whether he believes it or not (Hdt. 7.152.3). Ammianus Marcellinus indirectly scorns Herodotus' treatment of the PERSIAN WARS, juxtaposing it with his own opting for trustworthy EVIDENCE (18.6.22).

Herodotus did receive praise in antiquity, but only for his style, not for his historical accuracy. LUCIAN imitates Herodotus' language (*Syr. D.*) and praises him for his proem (*Hist. Conscr*. 54), but he also puts Herodotus side by side with Ctesias and HOMER as liars and storytellers (*Philops*. 2.15, *V.H*. 2.31). Similarly, DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS gives more credit to Herodotus when he compares him with Thucydides, but for reasons which have nothing to do with Herodotus' search for the truth: his choice of subject, his arrangement of material (*Pomp*. 3). PLUTARCH devotes a treatise to Herodotus (*De Herodoti Malignitate*), in which he launches a detailed attack against him, accusing him of bias and deliberate deception. Herodotus became a model for rhetoricians and Byzantine historians (Procopius of Caesaria, Laonicus Chalcocondyles), but he was never considered a model of reliability. The Renaissance inherited Herodotus' ambivalent reputation. Italian humanists who translated or edited Herodotus (Guarino, LORENZO VALLA, Mattia Palmieri Pisano) enjoyed reading him, but also felt the need to defend him against Thucydides and Plutarch.

A decisive step for Herodotus' rehabilitation was Henricus Stephanus' *Apologia pro Herodoto* (1566). Through a comparison of Herodotus' descriptions with modern customs, Stephanus defended Herodotus' trustworthiness and also expressed the view that Herodotus could not be a liar because of his religious sentiment. The European discovery of America and contact with its wonders contributed to the mitigation of charges against Herodotus. Reformation also played a positive role in this direction, since Herodotus' history, with its metaphysical aspect, tended to be perceived as a complement to the Bible. During the seventeenth century Newton declared his faith in Herodotus, while other authors (such as Hobbes and Bolingbroke) openly contested Herodotus' reliability. In the eighteenth century Herodotus was considered the wise cosmopolitan, while in the nineteenth century the interest in political history directed attention towards Thucydides. The reputation of Herodotus as a liar began to fade, and he started to be seen as the representative of the history of civilization as opposed to Thucydidean political history (Momigliano 1990, 29–53; Morley 2016).

SEE ALSO: Historical Method; Scholarship on Herodotus, 1945–2018; *thōmata*; Travel; various entries on Reception of Herodotus

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LIBATIONS (σπονδαί, αί)

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A libation consisted of the pouring out of a liquid, such as WINE, and was a customary act accompanying a SACRIFICE. When Herodotus describes the oddities of Persian sacrificial practices, he notes that they neither build ALTARS, nor light fires, nor use libations, pipes, garlands, or barley (1.132). *A contrario*, libations were integral to the Greek conception of religious action. The action might entail pouring wine on to the ground, but in many cases cognates of *spendō* ("pour out") are used to describe the action of sprinkling a sacrificial victim. PLUTARCH (*Mor*. 435b–c) asks the purpose of sprinkling (*kataspeiseis*) sacrificial animals. Similarly, Herodotus reports that the Egyptians take the sacrificial animal to the altar, light a FIRE, and sprinkle (*epispendō*) wine on the victim before sacrificing it. This practice is repeated throughout all EGYPT (2.39). The purpose may have been to make the animal shudder, thereby proving its vitality.

Libations were also used to solemnize acts such as treaties and truces. The plural, *spondai*, came to be synonymous with "treaties," since it was the act of pouring out a drink offering that sealed an agreement. Herodotus recounts treaty negotiations between ARGOS and the rest of the Greeks that also included discussions of a thirty-year truce between Argos and SPARTA. In each case the word for the agreement is *spondai* (even when the proposed treaty with the rest of the Greeks failed to materialize: 7.149). The language of libation is also reflected in another expression for an alliance: Herodotus reports that in negotiations with ARTAXERXES the Argive ambassadors asked if the FRIENDSHIP they shared (*sunkerannumi*) with his predecessor XERXES was still in effect (7.151). The verb refers to the action of mixing wine for drinking and libations.

SEE ALSO: Allies; Religion, Greek; Ritual

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LIBYA (Λιβύη, ἡ)

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The *Libykoi logoi* form part of Herodotus' fourth book, constituting its final section (4.145–205) and thus coming after his famous treatment of the SCYTHIANS. The link between the two parts is rather tenuous: the Persian expedition against Libya is supposed to have taken place at the same time as that of the Persian general MEGABAZUS in the HELLESPONT region, which Herodotus mentions at the end of the Scythian excursus (4.144). As with that against the Scythians, the account of the expedition against the Libyans is a pretext for presenting the history, GEOGRAPHY, and ETHNOGRAPHY of the region. Herodotus relied on diverse SOURCES for it. It made heavy use, no doubt, of HECATAEUS, but it also added elements drawn from Herodotus' own inquiry. It seems rather likely that Herodotus visited at least CYRENE, around 440 BCE, given that a large part of his information derives from there, plainly of an aristocratic origin, although some elements concerning Battiad propaganda can equally be found in certain passages. But he also cites other informants, such as the Theraeans, the Egyptians, or the Carthaginians.

The Libyan *logoi* can be divided into three parts (which perhaps explains Herodotus' plural). The first (145–67) is centered on the history of Cyrene, after a rather long flashback to the mythical origins of the Theraeans, whom Herodotus presents as descendants of Spartans, Argonauts, and PHOENICIANS (linked to CADMUS SON OF AGENOR) all at the same time. Once the adventures of THERAS have been reported, Herodotus comes to the foundation of Cyrene, presenting two different versions of it: the first belonging to the Theraeans, the second to the Cyreneans. From there, Herodotus relates the history of the new colony, reign by reign, from BATTUS I to ARCESILAUS III. Herodotus closes the "historical" part of his account (fairly long and anecdotal) with the revenge of PHERETIME, mother of Arcesilaus III, aided by the Persian satrap ARYANDES.

It would have been logical to follow this story with the Persian expedition to Libya. Instead, Herodotus inserts at this point a long ethnographic DIGRESSION (168–99), which constitutes the second part of the Libyan *logoi*. Thus he draws up the CATALOGUE of Libyan peoples, presenting them, on one hand, according to an east-west progression (168–80); on the other hand, he classifies Libyan territory and its peoples who inhabit parallel zones in accordance with their distance from the MEDITERRANEAN coast (173, 181, 185): from the SEA to the barren and unpopulated DESERT, passing through zones occupied by wild beasts and oases. Herodotus establishes a final distinction between nomadic tribes, spread out between EGYPT and Lake TRITON, and sedentary tribes, to the west of the lake.

By supplementing information in Book 4 with certain passages from Book 2, it is possible to gain an idea of Herodotus' Libya. It was delimited to the east by the PLINTHINE GULF (2.6), to the west by the promontory of SOLOEIS outside the PILLARS OF HERACLES (2.32; 4.43), to the north by the Mediterranean, and to the south by the Southern and ERYTHRAEAN Seas (4.42). This matches the common Greek usage of "Libya" to refer often to the African continent as a whole (at least the parts they knew of), outside of Egypt.

After this long digression, Herodotus picks up again the story of Aryandes' expedition to Libya (4.200–4), which he presents as a pretext for the Persians to expand their empire further west. Although ending in victory (at least against BARCA, the city through which Herodotus focalizes his account), the Persian campaign does not seem a complete success, since the historian indicates, in the course of his ethnographic presentation, that the majority of the Libyan peoples were totally ignorant of the Persian king (4.197). Some commentators (e.g., Corcella in ALC, 670) have emphasized the clumsiness of the Libyan excursus. Indeed, certain passages proceed too rapidly

or are barely understandable (e.g., 4.149, 156). His knowledge of the Libyan tribes becomes less dependable the farther west he goes. Boiled down to the history of Pheretime and the capture of Barca, the Persian expedition becomes too allusive and seems to have served as a pretext for expositing more general information about Libya, which Herodotus introduces sometimes in a slightly artificial manner (e.g., at the end of 4.167). That said, Herodotus' Libyan accounts remain fundamental, if only because they represent our principal source of knowledge on the region. The main parts of Herodotus' information seem, moreover, to be confirmed by other evidence, particularly epigraphic (see e.g. the "Founder's Stele," discovered at Cyrene and dating to the fourth century BCE). Additionally, his concern for mentioning his sources is invaluable, in particular for the episode of the foundation of Cyrene. Overall, despite their imperfections, one finds in the Libyan *logoi* all the characteristic elements—which make it so valuable—of the Herodotean project.

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Epigraphy; *logos*; Nomads

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LICHAS (Λίχης, ὁ)

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One of the Spartan AGATHOERGI, Lichas finds and returns to SPARTA the bones of ORESTES (1.67–68). Unsuccessful in their war against TEGEA, the Spartans consult the Delphic ORACLE, which promises success if they find and control the bones of the hero. When Lichas marvels at a Tegean smith's IRON-working skills, the smith tells of the bones of a seven-cubit-long skeleton found in his courtyard (for other traces of giant figures from the HEROIC AGE, possibly remains of Pleistocene-era megafauna, cf. 2.91.3; 4.82; 9.83.2). Lichas immediately understands the oracle's cryptic words about the location of the bones, a place where there are "two WINDS," "blow and counterblow," and "woe upon woe" (1.67.4). Perceiving the metaphorical quality of these words, he connects them with the bellows of the smithy, the blow of hammer on anvil, and the fact that iron is responsible for weapons and human destruction (1.68.4). Lichas' sign-reading and Spartan control of Orestes' hero cult ensure success against the Tegeans and dominance over the PELOPONNESE, attracting the attention of CROESUS in the mid-sixth century BCE. He is perhaps the great-grandfather of the Lichas mentioned by THUCYDIDES as Olympic champion and Argive *PROXENOS* (Thuc. 5.49).

SEE ALSO: Heroes and Hero Cult; Metaphor; Peloponnesian League; Symbols and Signs

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LIDE (Mount) (Λίδη ὄρος)

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Mountain in the area of HALICARNASSUS in southwest Anatolia. Lide was fortified by the people of PEDASA and allowed them to hold out for a time against CYRUS (II)'S general HARPAGUS THE MEDE (c. 540 BCE) before they were conquered (1.175). The traditional identification places Lide northeast of Halicarnassus (*BA* 61 F3), but given Pedasa's position northwest of that city, the rocky massif on the peninsula may be more likely (Müller II, 323–24).

SEE ALSO: Fortifications; Persia

LIGDIANS, *see* AEGLIANS

LIGURIANS (Λίγυες, οἱ)

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A tribe inhabiting the Maritime Alps; Liguria still today is the name of a region in northwest ITALY (*BA* 16 E2). Herodotus notes that the word *sigynna* means "shopkeeper" among the Ligurians, contrasting it with its meaning in CYPRUS ("spear") and with the Balkan tribe by that name (5.9.3). In 480 BCE, the Ligurians fought as MERCENARIES in the Carthaginian force which invaded SICILY and was defeated at HIMERA by the Syracusan tyrant GELON (7.165; see Fariselli 2002, 258–64).

Little is known of the Ligurians' early history; other than Herodotus, we have passing mentions preserved from HECATAEUS (*BNJ* 1 FF 53–58; see also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.22). They were subjugated by the Romans over the course of the second century BCE. The toughness of their land and people was legendary (e.g., Diod. Sic. 5.39; Strabo 3.4.17/C165).

SEE ALSO: Carthage; Ligyans; Massalia; Sigynnae

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LIGYANS (Λίγυες, οἱ)

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In his CATALOGUE of Persian forces, Herodotus lists the Ligyans similarly equipped as and fighting alongside several other peoples of Anatolia (7.72). No people of this name is otherwise attested, nor are they likely to be identified with the LIGURIANS (also Λίγυες in Greek) of the western MEDITERRANEAN. If a variant MANUSCRIPT reading at 3.92.2 were accepted—*Ligdōn* for *Aiglōn*—it is possible to imagine a corruption from *Ligyōn*, though the exact location of that people is also unknown.

SEE ALSO: Aeglians; Mariandynians; Matienians; Syrians

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LIMENEIUM (Λιμενήιον, τό)

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Herodotus reports that the Lydian king SADYATTES (probably late seventh century BCE) inflicted two major defeats on the Milesians during their twelve-year war, one "in their own Limeneian territory" and the other on the plain of the MAEANDER (1.18.1). The Greek word *limēn* (λίμην) means "harbor." In later centuries MILETUS was known for its four great HARBORS (e.g., Strabo 14.1.6/C635), but Herodotus' "Limeneium" is otherwise unattested. Moreover, the coastline around Miletus changed significantly even during antiquity (cf. *BA* 61 E2, with inset).

SEE ALSO: Alyattes; Lydia

FURTHER READING

Müller II, 564–65.

LINDUS (Λίνδος, ἡ)

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Greek *POLIS* on the island of RHODES, in the Dodecanese (*BA* 60 G3). ATHENA Lindia was the city's main goddess, whose monumental temple was situated on the ACROPOLIS. Lindus belonged to the Dorian pentapolis (formerly hexapolis) together with IALYSUS, CAMIRUS, COS, and CNIDUS (1.144). According to Herodotus, the Egyptian king AMASIS dedicated two stone statues of himself and a marvelous linen breastplate to Athena of Lindus, in recognition of the temple's foundation by the daughters of DANAUS during their flight from the sons of Aegyptus (2.182, see also 3.47.2; Lloyd in ALC, 377–78). Lindians are said to have participated in the foundation of GELA in SICILY (7.153.1). A long Hellenistic-era inscription known as the Lindian Chronicle claims to be a record of the DEDICATIONS made at the temple of Athena, from its mythical foundation down to 392/1 BCE (*FGrHist* 532; see C29 for Amasis' dedications).

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Dorians; Egypt; Temples and Sanctuaries; Textiles

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LINUS (Λῖνος, ὁ)

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In emphasizing the Egyptians' adherence to their ancestral customs, Herodotus reports on the "Linus" song (2.79). This is a dirge dedicated to young men who die before their time, sung in PHOENICIA, CYPRUS, and other places, under different names (*Linos* is the Greek version). In EGYPT he is called Maneros (Μανερῶς), "the only son of the first Egyptian king," i.e., MIN (Lloyd 1976, 337–40). Herodotus wonders openly where the Egyptians obtained the song, "for it is clear that they have always sung it."

HOMER attests the Linus song, on the "Shield of Achilles" (*Il.* 18.570), being sung at the vintage (end of summer); in the Hesiodic corpus (F305 M-W) Linus was the son of the Muse Urania (cf. Paus. 9.29.6). In some accounts, Linus was HERACLES' music teacher—a dangerous job, one would imagine, and in fact the story was that Heracles beat Linus to death with his lyre or stool after the teacher had chastised the student (e.g.,

Diod. Sic. 3.67.2; Gantz, *EGM* 379). Another tale had Linus as the son of APOLLO with an Argive girl named Psamathe; the deaths of mother and son were mourned by the women of ARGOS with a dirge so powerful that a version was sung at every sad occasion (Conon *BNJ* 26 F1.19; see the commentary by Sandra Blakely).

SEE ALSO: Music; *nomos*; *thōmata*; Time

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LIONS

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Herodotus notes the presence of lions among the fauna of LIBYA (4.191) and reports, as part of his discussion of ecological balance between predators and prey, the belief that a lioness gives birth only once because of the damage which the claws of the cub do to her womb (3.108): the context suggests that this misconception might owe something to contemporary scientific thought (Thomas 2000, 139–53). He also describes attacks by lions exclusively on the CAMELS in XERXES' invasion force of 480 BCE, observing that their range in EUROPE is restricted to northern Greece between the rivers NESTUS and ACHELOUS (7.125–26, endorsed by ARISTOTLE: *Hist. an*. 579b5–8, 606b14–16, though lion bones are attested from Bronze Age sites further south), while a lion cub is a typical royal pet, to be set to fighting a puppy for sport (3.32). The long-established status of the lion as a heraldic animal makes it a natural subject for one of CROESUS' DEDICATIONS (1.50; see Asheri in ALC, 111) and for the statue at THERMOPYLAE commemorating LEONIDAS (7.225): in the latter case there is also an allusion to his name, which perhaps derived, like that of his ancestor Leon (1.65, 5.39, 7.204), from the descent of the Spartan royal houses from HERACLES. Another Leon, a handsome Troezenian marine, was sacrificed by the Persians as a kind of perverted first-fruit from their PRISONERS OF WAR (7.180): here the symbolic resonances of lions may be in play, since Herodotus speculates that his fate was partly due to his name.

Symbolic lions are ambiguous from their appearance in Homeric similes onwards, powerful and majestic, but also destructive (Brock 2013, 44, 89–90, 118 with references there). Hence they naturally feature in oracular language, in Herodotus associated with TYRANTS: in the oracle to HIPPARCHUS (5.66) the reference is perhaps partly complimentary, though it foretells his death (like a Homeric lion at bay) and speaks of PUNISHMENT, but in the case of Cypselus (5.92.β) the implication is simply of destructiveness, anticipating his coup d'état. To dream of giving birth to a lion, or actually to do so, is likewise portentous: however, the Lydian king MELES failed to exploit fully the talismanic power of "the lion which his concubine bore" (1.84; the phrasing hints at a folk-tale) to render the walls of SARDIS impregnable. Most famously, Herodotus concludes his account of ALCMAEONID family history by relating that Agariste dreamed that she gave birth to a lion shortly before the birth of PERICLES (6.131): the way in which Herodotus immediately pauses the narrative without offering any comment pointedly leaves it to his readers to decide how to interpret the inherent ambiguity.

SEE ALSO: Cypselus son of Eëtion; Dreams; Human Sacrifice; Leon (Spartan king); Leon of Troezen; Oracles; Prophecy; Science

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LIPAXUS (Λίπαξος, ἡ)

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City on the THERMAIC GULF in Chalcidice, northern Greece. Its exact location is unknown; Herodotus implicitly places Lipaxus between POTEIDAEA and HAESA (*BA* 50 D4) in his list of CITIES from which XERXES' fleet picked up troops after it passed through the ATHOS canal in 480 BCE (7.123.2).

SEE ALSO: Chalcidians in Thrace; Crossaea

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LIPOXAÏS (Λιπόξαϊς, ὁ)

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The eldest of three brothers whom the SCYTHIANS claim as forefathers (4.5–6). Lipoxaïs and ARPOXAÏS were prevented by flames from touching a group of golden objects which had fallen from the sky; when the FIRE abated at the approach of the youngest brother, COLAXAÏS, they acknowledged him as sole king. From Lipoxaïs are descended the Scythians known as AUCHATAE. Herodotus reports this foundation story (followed by two other versions) at the beginning of his Scythian ETHNOGRAPHY. The second element in the brothers' names may stem from the Iranian form *xšay-*, "to rule." The story has parallels elsewhere in Iranian traditions; its tripartite nature recurs throughout Indo-European mythology.

SEE ALSO: Myth; Targitaus

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LISAE, *see* HAESA

LISUS RIVER (ὁ Λίσος ποταμός)

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River in THRACE. Herodotus places the Lisus River between the CITIES of MESAMBRIA and STRYME. Its identification is uncertain, though most likely it is the modern Filiouri/Philiouri (Müller I, 68–69; now labeled "Lissos" on some maps). However, based on Herodotus' description, it would seem to be east of MARONEIA, rather than west (see Tuplin 2003, 387–88). XERXES' Persian invasion force drank the river dry as it crossed in 480 BCE (7.108.2–109.1).

SEE ALSO: Briantice; Rivers; Persian Wars

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LOCRIS (Italy) (Λοκροί, οἱ)

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Town near the southern tip of ITALY's "boot" (*BA* 46 D5, *Lokroi Epizephyrioi*) which provided a landing point for Samians fleeing after the IONIAN REVOLT (6.23.1). The Locris in Italy may have been founded by either of the two CITIES by that name in central Greece, Western (Ozolian) or Eastern (Opountian) Locris; STRABO (6.1.7/C259) prefers the Ozolians and reports that they first settled at Cape Zephyrion (hence "Epizephyrian Locris"), though no evidence of that original settlement exists. Locris

itself, founded in the early seventh century BCE, is well-documented in literary, archaeological, and numismatic sources.

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Locris (Opountian); Locris (Ozolian); Samos

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LOCRIS, OPOUNTIAN (Λοκροί οἱ Ὀπούντιοι)

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Opountian Locris, named after its chief city Opous (modern Atalanti), is a region on the east coast of central Greece opposite the island of EUBOEA (*BA* 55 D/E3). It lies along the main sea route between northern and southern Greece through the Euboean straits. The region has good HARBORS and was known in antiquity for its pirates. Inland to the west across Mt. Chlomon is PHOCIS, to the south BOEOTIA, to the north Malis. Herodotus distinguishes between Opountian (7.203.1; 8.1.2) and Ozolian (8.32.2) Locrians; moderns often call them East and West Locrians, respectively. Herodotus puts (7.216) the northern limit of East Locris at ALPENUS near THERMOPYLAE, encompassing the area northwest of Mt. Cnemis that other ancient sources name Epicnemidian Locris. Opountian Locris proper lies southeast of Cnemis, whence it is sometimes named Hypocnemidian.

Opous and other nearby Locrian sites appear in the *Iliad* (Kramer-Hajos 2012). The Opountian Locrians were founding members of the Delphic AMPHICTYONY. They were often at odds with the Phocians, against whom they sometimes sought Boeotian protection. By the fifth century BCE the region was organized into a confederacy dominated by Opous.

Herodotus (7.132.1) reports unspecified Locrians submitting to XERXES in the summer of 480, but also says (7.203.1) Opountian troops came in full force, perhaps a thousand strong (Diod. Sic. 11.4.7), to defend Thermopylae. Seven Opountian penteconters joined the Greek fleet at ARTEMISIUM (8.1.2). The Opountians reacted angrily to a proposed retreat from Thermopylae, leading LEONIDAS to keep the army in place (7.207). They fought alongside the Spartans until Leonidas ordered them to withdraw (7.220.1), and STRABO (9.4.2/C425) describes a stele the Opountians erected at Thermopylae to honor their fallen.

From Thermopylae, Xerxes' army advanced inland through Phocis (8.32–33) while his fleet passed quickly through the Euboean straits to ATHENS (8.66). The Locrians went over to Xerxes after Thermopylae and Artemisium (8.66) and fought on the Persian side at PLATAEA (9.31.5).

Archaeologists have located many East Locrian settlements named in ancient sources (Fossey 1990), including the coastal town of Halae, where a destruction layer can be dated c. 480. Whether the Persians or an EARTHQUAKE caused this damage remains unclear (Coleman 2015; Domínguez Monedro 2013, 468–69). The region is prone to earthquakes (see e.g. Thuc. 3.89).

SEE ALSO: Locris (Ozolian); Locris (Italy); Medize

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LOCRIS, OZOLIAN (Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι)

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Region on the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, northwest of Boeotia and west of DELPHI, sometimes referred to as West Locris (*BA* 55 C4; Müller I, 525–26). It is to be distinguished from Opountian (East) Locris, which lies to the northeast of Delphi, and Epizephyrian Locris, in present-day ITALY. Herodotus mentions Ozolian Locris specifically only once (8.32.2), as the location to which the majority of the Phocians fled from the Persians after evacuating their own land during XERXES' invasion in 480 BCE.

SEE ALSO: Amphissa; Locris (Italy); Locris (Opountian); Medize; Phocis

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LOGOS (λόγος, ὁ)

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The Greek verb *legein* (λέγειν), underlying the noun *logos* (λόγος), may, in its primary meaning "to collect," be used figuratively, as collecting facts in the form of speech or narration; at the same time, however, this can include the rational gathering of thoughts. The *logos* is part of the discourse as well as a modality of speaking and arguing; it is the means of the *Histories* at hand as well as its explicit and implicit result. Based on the meaning of the concept *logos* in the *Histories*, which is to be determined, Herodotus' discourse behavior differs from that of men referred to as *logopoioi* and *logioi*. Furthermore, the concept of *logos* can be distinguished from seemingly synonymous or antonymous concepts such as *epos* and *mythos*, and eventually be more carefully analyzed on the different levels of discourse—as words, SPEECHES, narrations, and the *Histories* themselves.

As a successor to HOMER, the Herodotean *logos* must be understood as a "narration" (*Il.* 15.393) or "argumentation" (e.g., *Od.* 1.56; Hdt. 6.124.2), and consequently as a speech act, the result of which is a single word or a (well-arranged) cluster of words (Verdenius 1966). The meaning "mind" or "reason" which we later find in Plato—as a (verbal) reflection of human *ratio*, taking part in the world *logos*, as already suggested in the Pre-Socratics—cannot be proven in the *Histories*; it rather refers to the sense perceptions, especially the AUTOPSY that is named as the basis for Herodotus' KNOWLEDGE already in his PROLOGUE. Nevertheless, Herodotus' *logos*, in the sense of his complete account (2.123.1), comparable to the Heraclitean *logos*, possesses a certain power as well. It is a movement (1.5.3), a search (1.95.1) with mandatory rules Herodotus feels bound to (Dewald 1987): the *logos* demands to speak about some things, to remain silent on others (2.32); to name existing versions (3.9.2); to mention, but not to believe, everything (7.152.3); and to openly speak one's mind (7.139.1). This *logos* can be broken down into large cycles of narration, which may in turn be called *logoi* as well, the Lydian *logos* 1.6–94 plus the cycles of the Persian kings: 1. CYRUS (II) (1.95–216), 2. CAMBYSES (II) (2.1–3.83), 3. DARIUS I (3.84–7.3), 4. XERXES (7.4–end). The geographical-ethnographical reports may also be understood as *logoi*: for example, the book on EGYPT as a whole (2.2–182), which according to Cagnazzi (1975) must be further broken down (2.1–34, GEOGRAPHY; 2.35–98 customs; 2.99–182, history).

Herodotus introduces the different modes of narrative communication right at the beginning: he conveys the opinions of the Persian *logioi* in indirect discourse, presents the Greeks' reaction as a dramatic action, and with CROESUS and SOLON as protagonists, he introduces direct dialogue. Such dialogues are again designed with different degrees of directness: Greeks, and surprisingly ARTEMISIA of HALICARNASSUS, express themselves according to Herodotus' maxim (7.139.1: "I see myself forced to openly speak my mind") and, in contrast to the Persians, always directly (Pelling 2006). The *Histories* take up the modes of EPIC POETRY—action, direct

discourse combined with narration—and at the same time they offer something new: indirect discourse, in which the author can present himself as recipient and informant. Despite the corresponding prominence of the word *logos*, Herodotus would refrain from calling himself a *logopoios* (writer of PROSE); rather it is AESOP and his own predecessor HECATAEUS whom he designates with this slightly pejorative word (2.134.3; 5.36.1). Instead, Herodotus must be regarded in the context of the Persian *logioi* he refers to right at the beginning: they are, like Herodotus himself and comparable to the Greek SOPHISTS of the late fifth century BCE, renowned experts who provide information on major issues, express their views on them, and conduct etiological research. Herodotus is superior even to them due to his comprehensive approach that is intentionally independent of any local tradition (Luraghi 2009).

The question of the origin of this highly differentiated Herodotean *logos* remains a persistent subject of debate: as *historiēs apodexis* (a performative showing, and teaching based on autopsy), it is conceptually and methodically closely inspired by the pre-Socratic natural philosophers and combines this with an epic way of representation and recourse to leitmotifs and mythical elements. Herodotus succeeds in overcoming the impression of contingency of the particularities in his historiographic *logoi*, the presented individual events (Schubert and Sier 2012), and in thereby poetically "generalizing" the complete *logos* in the Aristotelian sense. However, the ancient concept of *mythos* involves certain difficulties and cannot easily be equated with our concept of MYTH as a traditional narration of GODS, HEROES, or armed conflicts with social relevance, which may virtually be regarded as an antonym to the *logos*. First of all, *logoi* are neutrally formulated statements (Baragwanath and de Bakker 2012) that always have a context and can be marked as describing the TRUTH itself (*ton eonta logon*, 1.95) or, in order to be marked as untrue, must be given corresponding attributes (implausible *logoi*, 7.214, 8.11; saying things that are not credible, 1.182.1, 4.5.1, etc.). By contrast Herodotus designates such narrations as "mythos," the verisimilitude of which he is unable to assess epistemologically due to the temporal distance from the depicted events. We cannot find any actual conflict between *mythos* and *logos* (Pl. *Prt*. 320c) in his case; instead, *mythos*, which Herodotus names only twice as such (2.23, 45), is a subtype and a means of *logos*. Committed to oral tradition, Herodotus takes up histories of the past whose *kleos* (FAME) is to be preserved and reflects them anew with regard to the present. In this point his *Histories* correspond to the discursive practice of contemporary poets and rhetors, using mythical material to provide proof of their own verbal skills or to support their arguments. For this purpose, narratives may be changed, because "the present helps to create the record of the past" (Fowler 2003). Even if Herodotus considers the TROJAN WAR as historical (2.118–20), he doubts the historicity of a large part of the myths, which he indicates by comparison of different versions at the beginning of the conflict between Greeks and BARBARIANS. Using what we would define as a myth, he again draws the attention to the power of *logos* but also to the manipulability of records by language.

The semantically more heavily charged word *epos* (pl. *epea*) can also be found relatively often in the *Histories* alongside *logos*, but in contrast to the universally usable *logos*, it refers to particularly "powerful" words: Homeric verses (2.116), Solon's POETRY (5.113.2), metrically formulated ORACLES (1.13.2), and a DREAM that is formulated in hexameters (5.56.1). Those are therefore speeches that are associated with a certain claim to authority (Hollmann 2000). Accordingly, statements that are conversely formulated in prose, if they are called *epea*, point to their far-reaching significance, which the speaker himself might not be aware of (e.g., 3.151.1). Correspondingly, Herodotus designates the orders and words of the Persian king (3.128.3–5), like those of so-called "warner figures" (e.g., 3.36.1), as *epea*.

Such a directly or indirectly conveyed speech, be it as a *logos* or *epos*, may be designed dialogically ("conversationalized narratives," Gray 1989) and therefore recall Herodotus' research activity itself as well as the present result, that is, the work as a dialogue with the actual recipient (Fox and Livingstone 2007); or, it may, as in THUCYDIDES, render a complex debate with a political or military-strategic content (although unlike in Thucydides' work, Herodotean speeches may be voiced by female characters:

e.g., Artemisia, 8.68). Therefore, such *logoi*, alongside *ERGA*, count as reportable, as in Thucydides (1.22), and may be part of a smaller or a larger *logos*, or encompass it as a whole. Pelling (2006) has observed that Herodotus emphasizes a character's manner of speech in *oratio recta*, which is preferably used in decisive moments, whereas in *oratio obliqua* it is rather the content of what is said that is in question. But he possibly also uses the latter in order to distance himself from this content. The *logos* is, therefore, to be found on two distinct discourse levels: as in the *epos* the *logos* addresses the intradiegetic recipient in a motivating, explaining, and warning way; but at the same time, it addresses the extradiegetic recipient as well. This shows that Herodotus, befitting the context of Sophistic, reflects on the discursive power of *logos* and uses the instrument of speech to make the recipient aware of the weaknesses of communication, or the language's (the *logos*') power to deceive. Thus, already the first dialogue, between Croesus and Solon, should perhaps be programmatically (Pelling 2006) considered a failure, since Croesus disregards the warning. Or else the reasoning succeeds, with the rhetorical means, however, and the quality of the result being, like Odysseus' speeches or those of the gods in epic, rather dubious and, therefore, subject to debate (for example INTAPHERNES' wife, 3.119). In other cases, the speaker expresses himself in a deliberately ambiguous way, even deceptively, and thereby adapts to the requirements of his surroundings (e.g., with regard to his own safety). The recipient finds himself thus prompted to balance the *logoi* that are presented to him, with his own knowledge, to examine their likelihood. Moreover, Herodotus points to the necessity of constant critical attention by the fact that, in forty-one passages of his work, he does not believe the truth content of the presented version, and in another ninety-nine places he at least doubts it (Dewald 1987; e.g., 4.105.2, 7.152.3). Since the extradiegetic recipient perceives the content of speech differently than the intradiegetic recipient, the speeches often stand in an ironic light (Schellenberg 2009); Herodotus many times uses subtle irony instead of a METANARRATIVE commentary (e.g., 8.3; on possible analogies in contemporary Attic drama and its reception cf. Fornara 1971; Raaflaub 1987; Stadter 1992). In this way, Herodotus is a strong presence as a historian.

The next largest unit of *logoi* (next to dialogues and speeches) are short, vivid, and clearly formulated histories (Gray 2002). These can, according to Bonheim, narratively be designed in four ways: as description, report, speech, or commentary. They thereby follow a consistent narrative pattern in that they are always condensed towards the end and are heading for a turning point (crisis) (e.g., 9.107–13: XERXES and MASISTES). The individual *logoi* are also distinguished by the fact that, in most cases, they are designed as a RING COMPOSITION. They begin with a headline, an introductory sentence, and are brought to an explicitly remarked-upon conclusion. In many cases a warner appears, pointing towards the future. The insertion of such *logoi* is often motivated by some kind of "wonder" (Welser 2009: e.g., ARION, 1.23–24; 1.194; 2.35; 4.30; 6.117; 9.65). These individual *logoi* constitute essential parts of the entire *logos* (4.30.1), therefore they are not to be considered as isolated units within the frame narrative but must be understood as "pointers" (Raaflaub 1987) in contrast or ANALOGY to each other, and thus in a clear context to the recipient's expectations as well as to the main narrative. They may serve as mises-en-abyme or mirror texts (e.g., the banquet of ATTAGINUS: Pavlidis 2012). Narrated details are either intensified or they cause a leap in narrative TIME (analepsis or prolepsis). Moreover, later *logoi* refer back to earlier ones, or Herodotus himself revisits them, and thereby weaves them into the complex overall structure of his *Histories*, which only will be recognized by a reading recipient. Only twice are advance references to pending *logoi* not honored afterwards: the conquest of NINEVEH by the MEDES (1.106.2) and the Assyrian *logoi* (1.184; see CROSS-REFERENCES). We cannot answer the question whether these *logoi* were present in a former version of the work or whether we have an incomplete, unedited version (Drews 1970).

On the next higher level of the *logos*, Herodotus presents his agents as members of a group that has its own customs and rites (Benardete 1969). The respective *logoi* address both the natural and geographical conditions of each country, the inhabitants' traditions and marvels (*THŌMATA*)

that are passed down in foreign *logoi* as well as historical events. Herodotus integrates all these kinds of *logoi* into the syntagm of his entire *logos*, which is ultimately like a web. For both elements, Griffiths (2006) introduces the METAPHOR of the deep pool (an in-depth focus) and meandering creeks that seemingly only on the surface stream in one direction or the other. Obvious, recurring joints occur at the nodal points because here Herodotus must help recipients avoid losing their orientation within his overall work.

Finally, the argumentative function of the Herodotean *logoi* can be clarified with the help of two examples. Chiasson (2003) refers to the ATYS-ADRASTUS-narration (1.34–45) within the Lydian *logos* (1.6–94) not only as dramatic, but also as tragic (cf. Lesky 1977, who added the GYGES-CANDAULES-*logos*, 1.8–11) and compares Croesus' fatal decision with OEDIPUS' reaction to the Delphic oracle. The contest (*agōn*) between Croesus and Atys furthermore recalls that between Creon and Haemon in SOPHOCLES' *Antigone*. When, at the end, Atys' corpse is carried in, this also recalls contemporary TRAGEDY: more concisely, the tableau which opens up before the viewers' eyes in the form of an *ekkyklema* or a report by a MESSENGER (e.g., Euripides' *Hippolytus*), and the *opsimathia*, the belated recognition, which can already be found in Homeric epic (cf. Hector and Polydamas, *Il.* 12.211–29; 18.254–83). As in tragedy, the Atys-Adrastus *logos* is divided into several parts, dialogic or monologic scenes that are marked by the entrance or exit of characters. Herodotus' own voice specifying his sources is missing in this type of *logos*, which suggests that he writes most freely here (Chiasson 2003).

In his second-to-last *logos* (9.107–13: Xerxes and Masistes), in a large ring composition, Herodotus returns from his war report to the tragic, fictive-appearing narratives of his first books, to the Gyges-Candaules *logos* (1.8–13) in particular. Both address the topic of transgression and retribution; in both a virtuous woman takes VENGEANCE for the lust-driven behavior of a man; in both an unfortunate outcome had been predestined (Welser 2009). Xerxes does not receive his (divine) PUNISHMENT in the *Histories*, but only in the extradiegetic reality. Therefore, it is the recipient himself who has to bring this *logos* to a conclusion. With the final *logos*, Herodotus recalls the handling of transgressors who see and admit their fault, which had been demonstrated in many examples: they are pardoned (e.g., Croesus, 1.86.6), not least for fear of forestalling a god, which also does not go unpunished (e.g., PHERETIME, 4.205). In this final, possibly also incomplete narrative, Herodotus demonstrates (9.121) how the Athenians under XANTHIPPUS punish ARTAΫCTES despite his admission of his faults. Herodotus makes recourse to another pattern of his *Histories* here: the punishment of the parents by the DEATH of their CHILDREN (e.g., 3.14–15, 34–35; 7.38–39). Accordingly, on a second level, the *logoi* serve didactic purposes by directing the recipient's expectation, so that the recipient, who has reached these final two *logoi*, no longer directs his experiential knowledge to the past but to Xerxes' and his own future, the future of ATHENS.

SEE ALSO: Audience; Authority, Narrative; End of the *Histories*; Historical Method; Language and Communication; Narratology; Orality and Literacy; Philosophy; Rhetoric; Short Stories

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LOT(S)

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Drawing lots appears in the *Histories* as a means of selecting a hero among noble competitors (an EPIC theme: Demont 2000), e.g., the Persian who shall kill OROETES (3.128.1), or the noble NASAMONES who are to explore the DESERTS (2.32.3). Settlers may also be selected by lot, as with "one of every pair of brothers" from THERA (4.153: this is a likely meaning) and the Lydians migrating to ITALY after a famine (1.94.5). Lastly, drawing lots is a characteristic of DEMOCRACY and "equality": "it determines offices by lot, and holds power accountable, and conducts all deliberating in public" (3.80.6: an anachronistic statement by the Persian OTANES (1), who later suggests that the king could be chosen by lot, 3.83.2). In ATHENS, before the Battle of MARATHON, CALLIMACHUS is "chosen by lot" as polemarch (6.109.2: probably from among the archons, who were at this time elected, cf. [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 22.5). In addition, drawing lots may be a horrible *thōma*: starving Persians select by lot those who would be eaten (3.25.6); the GETAE choose "a messenger to [their god] SALMOXIS" by "tossing up [one of them, selected by lot] on spear-points" (4.94.2): if he dies, he will become this messenger (the only example of religious confirmation of lot in Herodotus).

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Constitutional Debate; Decision-making; *tychē*

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LOTUS-EATERS (Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ)

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The Lotus-Eaters are described by Herodotus (4.177) as a people inhabiting the coast of LIBYA in the Tripolitania facing SYRTIS Minor. They are most famously known from Odysseus' encounter with them in HOMER's *Odyssey* (9.82–104), where they consume an unidentified flowery fruit. The fruit of the plant was a narcotic that induced effects similar to strong opiates: after Odysseus' crew eats the plants, they lose their desire to return home and want to stay with the Lotus-Eaters. Odysseus forcibly returns them to the ships. Without directly referencing the *Odyssey*, Herodotus only mentions that the Lotus-Eaters make a WINE from the fruit and does not attribute such potency to the wine (4.177).

The *Odyssey* does not give a location for the Lotus-Eaters. Odysseus finds them after being blown off-course by a storm near Cape MALEA in the PELOPONNESE (*Od.* 9.62–82). While traditionally Odysseus' wanderings were located in the central and western regions of the MEDITERRANEAN, it is perhaps counter-intuitive that being blown west from the Peloponnese would be inconvenient for Odysseus' journey home to Ithaca (Page 1973). It is perhaps more likely that the wanderings actually occurred in the eastern Mediterranean and the EUXINE (Black) Sea (West 2005). Therefore, Herodotus' placement of the Lotus-Eaters in western Libya may be the first evidence we have of the shift from east to west.

SEE ALSO: Ethnography; Food; Geography; Gindanes

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LOUDIAS, *see* LYDIAS

LOXIAS, *see* APOLLO

LUCIAN

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Lucian of Samosata on the EUPHRATES, in Commagene (born before 125 CE, died after 180: Luc. *Alex.* 48; Hall 1981, 13–16), was a rhetorician (*Apol.* 15) and later a satirist and a prolific author. He wrote in an Atticizing Greek (Swain 1996, 45–49), although he refers to himself as "Syrian" (e.g., *Ind.* 19), "Assyrian" (*Syr. D.* 1) or "barbarian" (*Bis Accusatus* 27, 34; cf. *Ind.* 4), designations that may indicate he was originally of the indigenous Semitic population (see Jones 1986, 6–8). Yet, this presentation as an outsider with the ability to move between worlds or between cultures was common at the time, corresponding also to the requirements of deviation from tradition and of being innovative (Whitmarsh 2005, 34–37; Almagor 2016, 117–18). His style appealed to many readers (Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 128 (Henry vol. II); Hall 1981, 389–94; Jones 1986, 155–59).

Extant are more than eighty works under his name or falsely attributed to him, including satiric dialogues, essays, and PROSE fiction. Lucian traveled widely for his studies, as an orator and in the entourage of the Roman co-emperor Lucius Verus in his campaign to the east (Ionia and Greece, Italy, Gaul, and EGYPT: *Bis Accusatus* 27, 32; *Apol.* 12, 15; *Demon.* 1; Martin 2010). He had an extensive knowledge of Greek literature and art (*Somn.*). Explicit and implicit allusions to Herodotus permeate many of Lucian's writings (Householder 1941, 64), and his example is thus an instance of the reception of Herodotus not only by later Greeks but also by the very BARBARIANS of which he wrote (cf. Saïd 1994, esp. 163–67).

In an early work, *De Domo*, a declamation in praise of a house, Lucian brings the figure of "Herodotus, son of Lyxes, of Halicarnassus" as a "witness" (20) before the jury to testify (in the Ionic Greek dialect) to the greater power of seeing than hearing (~ Hdt. 1.8; Anderson 1976, 182). This Herodotean passage is again referred to in *De Saltatione* (written in Antioch in 163/4), where the eyes are singled out as more credible witnesses than the ears when it comes to appreciating

pantomimes (78), although these appeal to both senses. The work *Macrobioi* ("Long-Lived Men") attributed to Lucian misquotes Herodotus (1.163) in assigning a life of 150 years to ARGANTHONIUS, king of the Tartessians (10), instead of 120 (cf. Anacreon F361 Campbell; Cic. *Sen*. 19.69).

In his lengthy mock-travel and ethnographic depiction *True Histories*, Lucian may allude to Herodotus in mentioning at the beginning (*Ver. Hist*. 1.3) "many other" predecessors, who "have written about imaginary travels and journeys of theirs," portraying huge beasts, cruel men, and alien ways of living (Georgiadou and Larmour 1998, 55). Other implicit allusions to Herodotus in this work include the reference to HERACLES' footprints in the rock (1.7 ~ Hdt. 4.82), giant ANTS (1.16 ~ Hdt. 3.102), and dog-faced men (1.16 ~ Hdt. 4.191). Furthermore, the customs of the moon-men concerning the effects of the smoke resemble those of the MASSAGETAE (1.23 ~ Hdt. 1.202), their glass clothing (ὑαλίνη: *Ver. Hist*. 1.25) may be a pun on wooden clothing of the Indians (ξυλίνη: Hdt. 7.65), the Vine-women may be a parody on hybrid creatures in Herodotus (1.8 ~ Hdt. 4.9, snake women; cf. Georgiadou and Larmour 1998, 76), and the boat-like islands evoke the floating island in Egypt (1.40 ~ Hdt. 2.156). Even the narrator's reluctance to record the nature of the so-called "Ostrich/Sparrow acorns" or "Crane Cavalry," lest it "appear incredible," recalls Herodotus (1.13 ~ Hdt. 1.193). Lucian mentions (*Ver. Hist*. 2.5) the ISLAND OF THE BLESSED, possessing exquisite fragrance, "like Herodotus describes as coming from Arabia Felix" (cf. Hdt. 3.113).

In conformity with the attitude of the contemporary Greek intellectual environment (like PLUTARCH), Lucian seems intolerant of some of the peculiar and imprecise traits of Herodotus' writing, if not utter lies. In the isles of the wicked (*Ver. Hist*. 2.31), Herodotus and CTESIAS themselves (among other false historians) are portrayed as being continuously punished for their lies. In *Lover of Lies* (*Philopseudes*, written between 166 and 170: Schwartz 1965, 108), Lucian picks up again (2) the theme of Herodotus the liar, with Ctesias (and the poets), who convey their lies to posterity.

The work *On the Syrian Goddess* (*Syr. D.*), dealing with the shrine of Atargatis in Syrian Hierapolis, may with confidence be ascribed to Lucian (Hall 1981, 374–81; Jones 1986, 41–43; discussion in Lightfoot 2003, 184–208). Its use of IONIC DIALECT, unique style of depiction, and emphasis on AUTOPSY may be considered an imitation, pastiche, or parody of Herodotus (Swain 1996, 304–5; Lightfoot 2003, 196–99). The brief dialogue *Anacharsis or On Athletics* (Anderson 1976, 114–16, 154–55; Branham 1989, 82–104) is based on Herodotus' story of ANACHARSIS' visit to Greece in the attempt to import Greek rites to his country (4.76–77; cf. *Anach.* 38 on Anacharsis' acquaintance with Spartan practices). In the dialogue *Charon* (9–14) between HERMES and the ferryman of the dead, several scenes from Herodotus are alluded to, concerning CROESUS, CYRUS (II), and POLYCRATES.

Testifying to the popularity of topics taken from Herodotus and the PERSIAN WARS, Lucian mocks extemporizing SOPHISTS in his *A Professor of Public Speaking* (*Rhet. praec*. 18) in his call to use the stock historical examples of MARATHON, the crossing of ATHOS and the bridging of the HELLESPONT, XERXES fleeing, and LEONIDAS receiving admiration, whether relevant or not to the argument at hand.

In his *How to Write History* (*Hist. Conscr*., written after 166), dealing with the vices of contemporary historiography of Rome's recent war with Parthia, Lucian complains against the surge of imitators of Herodotus, THUCYDIDES, and XENOPHON (2, 18). In the same work he commends the prefaces to the works of Herodotus and Thucydides (54) as securing the reader's attention to the greatness of the events narrated. At another point he mentions the admiration given to Herodotus, which bestowed the names of the Muses on his nine books (42). In the first part of the prologue (*prolalia*, perhaps to a public lecture) *Herodotus, or Aetion* (*Her.*), Herodotus is said to come to the gathering of Greeks in OLYMPIA, wishing to gain the widest reputation in the quickest and easiest manner (cf. Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc*. 54; Phot. *Bibl*. cod. 60/19b (Henry vol. I)). In line with the sentiments and references of Lucian's own age, Herodotus is turned into a sophist, engaging in performance and declamation rather than writing; he is a foreigner in Greece like Lucian himself.

SEE ALSO: Hellenistic Historians; Josephus; Reception of Herodotus, Ancient Greece and Rome; Reliability

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LUXURY, *see* SOFTNESS; WEALTH AND POVERTY

LYCARETUS (Λυκάρητος, ὁ)

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Citizen of SAMOS, brother of MAEANDRIUS (II) and CHARILAUS. When Maeandrius, serving as TYRANT of Samos after the DEATH of POLYCRATES (c. 521 BCE), falls ill, Lycaretus executes the noblemen his brother has taken prisoner, expecting that power will soon fall to himself (3.143.2). However, Maeandrius recovers, and the ill-will incurred by the executions leads the Samians to welcome Persian occupation. Later (before 500), the Persians installed Lycaretus as tyrant at LEMNOS after conquering the ISLAND. Herodotus reports that Lycaretus was eventually killed by the Lemnians for his harsh treatment of them (5.27.1–2).

SEE ALSO: Maeandrius (I); Murder

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LYCIA (Λυκίη, ἡ)

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Region in coastal southwestern Anatolia that is bordered to the north by CARIA, Pisidia, and PAMPHYLIA (*BA* 65 B4). The earliest certain reference to Lycia is at the end of Book 2 of HOMER's *Iliad*, which mentions the Lycian army as Trojan ALLIES and its leaders: SARPEDON, king of Lycia, son of ZEUS and Laodameia, and grandson of Bellerophon; and his cousin GLAUCUS (son of HIPPOLOCHUS), the latter coming from the area near the river XANTHUS (*Il.* 2.876–77; cf. Hdt. 1.173). Sarpedon plays a vital role in some of the most challenging battles between the Greeks and the Trojans, boosting Trojan morale besides excelling above his allies (*Il.* 5.470–92) before

dying heroically at the hands of Patroclus (*Il.* 16.419–683). Glaucus is Sarpedon's second-in-command and almost enters a duel with DIOMEDES, which both valiant HEROES abort when they realize their families are bound by *xenia* (GUEST-FRIENDSHIP) (*Il.* 6.119–236). He is killed by AJAX in the now lost EPIC poem *Aithiopis* (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.4).

The history of Lycia is older and precedes the Greeks. The region and several of its later known major CITIES have been convincingly identified with the "lands of Lukka" and various toponyms, all mentioned in the thirteenth-century BCE Hieroglyphic Luwian Yalburt inscription that partly narrates its conquest by the Hittites. Lycia was vulnerable to invaders both by sea, via the Xanthus valley, and from the north; the latter included the Hittites, the Persians (under HARPAGUS THE MEDE, commander for CYRUS (II), 1.176), and Alexander the Great. The languages that were successively spoken there were Luwian, Lycian, and Greek.

According to Herodotus, the Lycians were a non-Greek population that originally came from CRETE, which was reportedly inhabited by "BARBARIANS" as the historian puts it (1.173). Although the evidence, in its current state, supports the theory that the population of Minoan Crete was indeed non-Greek, it is almost certain that the language of the Cretan Hieroglyphs and of Linear A was not Luwian. In the Greek version of the MYTH as transmitted by Herodotus, Sarpedon was a son of EUROPA and Zeus and brother of MINOS. The two brothers quarreled over the throne of Crete, and Minos drove Sarpedon and his supporters out of the island. The group settled in Milyas in Lycia which, at the time, was called Solymi, and the population was henceforth called TERMILAE before acquiring the name "Lycians" from the Athenian exile LYCUS, son of PANDION and brother of the Athenian king AEGEUS. The story seems unlikely, of course. However, whether the early Lycians indeed partly followed Cretan customs, as Herodotus affirms, is unclear, although their reported preference for their maternal lineage (1.173.4) is intriguing if we take into account that Minoan women may have enjoyed a high status, as suggested by the archaeological evidence. Herodotus also reports that early Lycian women had the right to produce legitimate CHILDREN by slaves, a privilege that was not extended to males (1.173.5). It is noteworthy that STRABO disagrees with Herodotus' position that the SOLYMIANS were Lycians, citing Homer's distinction between the two (12.8.4–5/C572–73).

Herodotus lists Lycia in the first provincial district of the Persian Empire under DARIUS I (3.90.1). In the catalogue of XERXES' invasion force of 480 BCE, the Lycians appear among the naval contingents, supplying fifty ships, the men armed with bows of cornel wood (7.92; some MILYAE also carried "Lycian bows," 7.77). Herodotus includes the Lycian CYBERNIS among his list of the most famous commanders in the fleet (7.98).

SEE ALSO: Cossica(s); Olen; Patara; Telmessians; Trojan War; Women in the *Histories*

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LYCIDES (Λυκίδης, ὁ)

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Lycides, an Athenian, member of the council of 500 (*boulē*). According to Herodotus (9.5) the Athenians stoned Lycides to DEATH in 479 BCE after evacuating to the island of SALAMIS because he advised them to accept MARDONIUS' proposal and become ALLIES of PERSIA; his wife and CHILDREN suffer the same PUNISHMENT carried out by the Athenian women. The late-classical Athenian orator Lycurgus (1.122) probably alludes to the stoning of Lycides, while his contemporary Demosthenes (who places the incident before the Battle of Salamis: 18.204) and the Roman statesman Cicero (*Off.* 3.48) tell a similar story about an Athenian called Cyrsilus, who advised submission to XERXES.

SEE ALSO: Athens; Bribery; Medize

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LYCOMEDES (Λυκομήδης, ὁ)

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Athenian, son of AESCHRAEUS. Herodotus names Lycomedes as the first of the Greeks to capture an enemy ship on the first day of the Battle of ARTEMISIUM in 480 BCE (8.11.2). Herodotus often remarks on such individual exploits in his battle narrations; the attention drawn to the "first man" to strike has an epic resonance (Bowie 2007, 103). PLUTARCH (*Them.* 15.2) credits Lycomedes with this exploit at SALAMIS rather than Artemisium, and adds that he dedicated the prow of the captured ship to APOLLO at Phlya (a DEME of ATHENS). In that regard, a comment by the Byzantine author Theodorus Metochites concerning political conflict between a Lycomedes and THEMISTOCLES, though very late (Connor 1972), becomes more intriguing.

SEE ALSO: Epic Poetry; Naval Warfare; Trireme

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LYCOPES (Λυκώπης, ὁ)

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Spartan who died fighting at SAMOS, on behalf of Samian EXILES against their tyrant POLYCRATES, in 525 BCE (3.55.1). Herodotus praises Lycopes and his fellow soldier ARCHIAS (1) for their COURAGE; had it been matched by the rest of the Spartans that day, he says, they would have captured the city. Such PRAISE may be exaggerated (Cartledge 1982, 251), and the episode may serve narrative purposes which belie its historical significance (Irwin 2009, 408–9).

SEE ALSO: Counterfactual History; Sparta

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LYCOPHRON (Λυκόφρων, ὁ)

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Lycophron was the younger son of PERIANDER, tyrant of CORINTH, and MELISSA, daughter of PROCLES OF EPIDAURUS. In Herodotus' history, Lycophron is estranged from his father upon returning from a visit with his grandfather Procles, who reportedly insinuated Periander's

responsibility for the MURDER of Melissa (3.50). Periander initially turned his recalcitrant son out of the house, but, after seeking hospitality from other Corinthians and refusing to reconcile with his father, Lycophron was eventually sent off to the Corinthian colony of CORCYRA (3.51–52). In fact, he probably ruled the latter as TYRANT according to usual Cypselid practice (Libero 1996, 161–63). Herodotus says that Periander's eldest son was unfit to rule and want of a successor to the tyranny at Corinth later prompted him to attempt a rapprochement with Lycophron (3.53). When his first message proved in vain, Periander dispatched Lycophron's sister with the aim of persuading her brother to relent (3.53). Lycophron ultimately agreed that he would succeed as tyrant at Corinth, if Periander retired to Corcyra (3.53). But the Corcyraeans murdered Lycophron in putative fear of Periander's arrival, thus offering grounds for his VENGEANCE on them—the story within which Herodotus embeds his account of Lycophron (3.48).

SEE ALSO: Colonization; Ring Composition

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LYCURGUS (Λυκοῦργος, ὁ) father of Amiantus

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Patronymic, father of AMIANTUS of TRAPEZUS in the PELOPONNESE. Amiantus came to SICYON as a suitor of AGARISTE, Cleisthenes' daughter, in the first half of the sixth century BCE (6.127.3). Nothing more is known of this Lycurgus.

SEE ALSO: Arcadians; Lycurgus of Athens; Lycurgus of Sparta

LYCURGUS (Λυκοῦργος, ὁ) of Athens

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Lycurgus, son of ARISTOLAÏDES, c. 560 BCE was leader of the "party of the plain" at ATHENS, according to Herodotus (1.59.3). Lycurgus opposed MEGACLES (II) and his faction, the "party of the coast." These factions were at odds when PEISISTRATUS SON OF HIPPOCRATES arrived on the scene and, according to Herodotus, constituted a third party of the "beyond-the-hills men," seemingly dwellers in the Attic *mesogaia*. Lycurgus joined with Megacles to expel Peisistratus shortly after the latter seized tyranny a first time, but then fell out again with Megacles who subsequently allied with Peisistratus and brought him back for a second tyranny (1.60). We hear nothing of Lycurgus thereafter. The Aristotelian *Athenaiōn Politeia* states that the "party of the plain" was oligarchic (13.4), but it is likelier to have been aristocratic, conservative, and anti-democratic in accordance with SOLON's portrayal of party-strife at Athens in the early sixth century BCE.

SEE ALSO: Alcmaeonidae; Aristocracy; Oligarchy; *stasis*; Tyrants

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LYCURGUS (Λυκοῦργος, ὁ) of Sparta

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The legendary founder of the Spartan constitution (*eunomia*, "good order"), who was honored with a cult in SPARTA (1.65–66; Paus. 3.16.6). There is a great number of competing traditions concerning Lycurgus' life, and ancient authorities

held widely different opinions about Lycurgus' dates, ranging from the eleventh to eighth centuries BCE (Xen. *Lac*. 10.8; Plut. *Lyc*. 1.1); one historian excluded him from Spartan history altogether (Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F116). Multiple modern attempts to recover a historical Lycurgus have brought equally divergent results (with dates spaced throughout the ARCHAIC AGE). We also cannot date the inception of the myth of Lycurgus, although the fact that there are no references to Lycurgus in the extant POETRY of Tyrtaeus is significant. A more fruitful approach, based on our appreciation of the ideological power of the figure of Lycurgus, is to explore the agendas of different variants. For example, Herodotus reports a Spartan tradition that Lycurgus was a regent for his nephew, King LEOBOTAS, of the Agiad royal house (1.65.4); however, other ancient sources (both earlier and later than Herodotus) make Lycurgus a member of the second royal line, the Eurypontids (Plut. *Lyc*. 1.4, citing SIMONIDES), naming Charilaus as Lycurgus' nephew and ward (Arist. *Pol*. 1271b26; Plut. *Lyc*. 3.4). The alteration of Lycurgus' descent between the royal lines must have been politically significant. Similarly interesting is Herodotus' account that the Spartans claimed that Lycurgus had brought the constitution from CRETE (1.65.4, also in Arist. *Pol*. 1271b20–28). Herodotus also relates an alternative Panhellenic version that Lycurgus received the totality of Spartan customs and LAWS from the PYTHIA in DELPHI (1.65.4). At a later point, Delphic authorization of Lycurgus' laws entered the Spartan official account (Xen. *Lac*. 8.5).

The story of Lycurgus' SUICIDE (Plut. *Lyc*. 29) exemplifies the value of immutability associated with Lycurgus' constitution: Lycurgus made the Spartans promise that they would not change any regulations in his absence, and then traveled to Delphi and starved himself to death there in order to ensure his system remained unalterable. However, the immutability of the system was purely notional. Lycurgus could be credited with diametrically opposite reforms: Herodotus' observation that Sparta refrained from foreign contacts in the period of "bad laws" before Lycurgus (1.65.2) is at odds with the tradition that Lycurgus put an end to interactions with foreigners (Plut. *Lyc*. 27.3, compare Thuc. 2.39.1). Moreover, ascribing a certain new regulation to Lycurgus could be used to validate political arguments. For example, the "Lycurgan" prohibition of gold and silver MONEY (Plut. *Lyc*. 9.1) probably stems from a political episode in 404 BCE, while the notion of Lycurgus' land redistribution (Plut. *Lyc*. 8) can be connected to the reforms of kings Agis and Cleomenes in the third century BCE (Flower 2002, 193–96). Denying that Lycurgus made a certain regulation was also effective: the view that the ephorate postdated Lycurgus (Pl. *Leg*. 3.692a; Arist. *Pol*. 1313a25–28), at variance with Herodotus' account (1.65.5), can be traced to the exiled Spartan king Pausanias in the beginning of the fourth century BCE. Thus, the imagined antiquity and permanence of Lycurgus' lawmaking could by themselves become vehicles of innovation and variance.

SEE ALSO: Charilaus son of Eunomus; Ephors; Heroes and Hero Cult; *nomos*; *polis*

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LYCUS RIVER (PHRYGIA), *see* COLOSSAE

LYCUS RIVER (ὁ Λύκος ποταμός), Scythia

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River in SCYTHIA (4.123.3) flowing from the land of the THYSSAGETAE into Lake MAEOTIS (Sea of Azov). Its location and identification are uncertain (cf. *BA* 84 C1); there were numerous RIVERS by this name (meaning "wolf" in Greek) in the ancient world, and some scholars suspect

the Lycus here may be redundant with the HYRGIS ("Syrgis" in the MANUSCRIPTS).

SEE ALSO: Iyrcae; Tanais

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LYCUS (Λύκος, ὁ) son of Pandion

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Mythical, son of PANDION, the legendary king of ATHENS. In describing the origins of the Lycians in southwestern Anatolia, Herodotus writes that they obtained their current name from Lycus, who was driven from Athens by his brother AEGEUS and arrived among SARPEDON and the TERMILAE (1.173.3; 7.92). Lycus was associated with the cult of Apollo Lykios (Paus. 1.19.3, compare the "Lyceum" at Athens) and credited with bringing the MYSTERIES of DEMETER to MESSENIA (Paus. 4.1.6–9). The name means "wolf."

SEE ALSO: Lycia; Myth

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LYCUS (Λύκος, ὁ) son of Spargapeithes

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Patronymic, father of the Scythian GNURUS and grandfather of ANACHARSIS (4.76.6). Herodotus names Lycus as part of a short GENEALOGY of Anacharsis; he is otherwise unattested. Lycus ("Wolf") was a common Greek name, but a Hellenized form of an Iranian or Scythian name cannot be ruled out (Schmitt, *IPGL* 230 (no. 186)).

SEE ALSO: Lycus River (Scythia); Scythians; Spargapeithes

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Corcella in ALC, 637.

LYDIA (Λυδίη, ἡ)

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Kingdom in western Anatolia, located between PHRYGIA in the east and the Ionian Greek CITIES along the AEGEAN coast in the west. The heartland of Lydia was dominated by the TMOLUS range (Boz Dağı) and was centered on the fertile river valleys of HERMUS (Gediz) and CAŸSTRUS (Küçük Menderes), which flowed west from the Anatolian interior. Not much is known about the early history of the Lydians. Their language belongs to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family and was related to the Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic languages, so their ancestors most likely inhabited western Anatolia in the second millennium BCE when the region was known to the Hittites as Assuwa, the root of the later name ASIA. Since any potential Lydian literature and archives are lost, we rely largely on Greek writers, especially Herodotus (1.6–94), for reconstruction of Lydian history.

HOMER calls the inhabitants of the Hermus valley MAEONES (*Il.* 2.864; 5.43–44), probably an earlier name for the Lydians (Hdt. 7.74; Strabo 14.5.23/C678). According to Herodotus, Lydia was successively ruled by three dynasties—Atyadae, HERACLEIDAE, and MERMNADAE (1.7)—but there is no contemporary historical or archaeological evidence about Lydian kings before the Mermnadae, who rose to power around 680 BCE and led Lydia to a period of greatness and prosperity. GYGES SON OF DASCYLUS (ruled 680–652), the founder of the

Mermnad dynasty, was a courtier of the last Heraclid king CANDAULES. He assassinated the king and usurped the throne (Hdt. 1.8–11; cf. Pl. *Resp*. 359d). Thereafter he reinvigorated the Lydian kingdom by policies of aggressive expansion towards the Greek cities in Ionia (Hdt. 1.14) and of active international engagement in EGYPT and Assyria (Pedley 1972, 82–83; cf. Hdt. 2.152). His son ARDYS (r. 652–630) and great-grandson ALYATTES (r. 610–560) continued to attack the Ionian *poleis* (PRIENE, MILETUS, CLAZOMENAE, SMYRNA: Hdt. 1.15–22). Alyattes extended the borders of his kingdom as far as the HALYS RIVER (Kızılırmak) and stopped the westward expansion of the MEDES after the famous battle of the ECLIPSE on May 28, 585 at PTERIA in central Anatolia (1.73–74). During the reigns of Gyges and his successors, Lydia was attacked and plundered by the CIMMERIANS, who, driven from their homeland north of the EUXINE (Black) Sea by SCYTHIANS, entered Anatolia via the CAUCASUS toward the end of the eighth century and wreaked havoc in the peninsula (1.15). They devastated Urartu, destroyed the Kingdom of Phrygia c. 695 BCE, and attacked Lydia. Although Gyges lost his life in battle against the Cimmerians (Pedley 1972, 82–83) and the lower city of SARDIS was captured during the reign of his son Ardys (Hdt. 1.15), the Lydians withstood the Cimmerian invasions and finally expelled them from the region during the reign of Alyattes (1.16).

Alyattes' son and successor CROESUS (r. 560–546) was the most famous Mermnad, who was seen by contemporary and later Greeks as the symbol of both wealth and misfortune (1.29–45). Croesus expanded the kingdom to its greatest extent—all the peoples west of the Halys except the Lycians and CILICIANS (1.28)—and came into conflict with PERSIA. But Croesus was no match for CYRUS (II), the charismatic king of the Persians who captured Sardis and brought the Lydian Kingdom to an end c. 546 (1.79–80, 84–86). Lydia became a satrapy, called *Sparda* by the Persians, with Sardis its administrative center (1.153; 3.90). When DARIUS I constructed the famous ROYAL ROAD, he privileged Sardis as its western terminus, its eastern terminus being the royal capital of SUSA (5.52–54).

Lydia under Mermnad rule rose to prominence both in the East and the West, aided by the east-west orientation of the rivers and the mountains which facilitated communications between the Aegean and the Anatolian interior. At the beginning of the seventh century Lydia was an obscure land in the eyes of the ASSYRIANS. But after the accession of Gyges, Lydia became a major player in the East, establishing contact with the Assyrians, sending MERCENARIES to Egypt (Pedley 1972, 82–83; cf. Hdt 2.152), and fighting the Medes to control central Anatolia (1.73–74). In the west, the Greeks knew Lydians as a warrior people with an excellent CAVALRY tradition (Mimnermus F14 West, *IEG*^{2}; Sappho F16 Campbell; Hdt. 1.79). They also knew Mermnad Lydia as a kingdom of legendary wealth (Archilochus F19 West, *IEG*^{2}) and imagined the palace at Sardis, sometimes humorously, to be full of GOLD (Hdt. 6.125). The mineral wealth of the kingdom, especially gold and SILVER, led to the invention of coinage and stimulated the economy (see MONEY), turning Sardis into a bustling trading center. Not surprisingly some Greeks thought of Lydians, wrongly, as the first retail traders (1.94). Although the Mermnads followed an expansionist policy against the Greeks of Asia Minor, they had close relations with some Greek *poleis* (Spartans: 1.69–70) and families (Cimonids (6.37) and ALCMAEONIDAE (6.125) at ATHENS; the Melas family of EPHESUS: Ael. *VH* 3.26) and made fabulous DEDICATIONS at Greek oracular centers and temples in mainland Greece and Ionia (Hdt. 1.14, 50–52, 92). The cultural exchange between Lydians and the Greeks was well-known and acknowledged (1.94.1), though some Greeks were annoyed by the Lydian influence, which, they believed, led to SOFTNESS, luxury, and effeminacy (Xenophanes F3 West, *IEG*^{2}; Anacreon F481 *PMG*; cf. Hdt. 1.55).

According to Herodotus, Lydia did not really have "any marvels [*THŌMATA*] which are worth recording," except for the gold dust washed down from Mt. TMOLUS (1.93; 5.101.2). However, the giant burial mound of Alyattes, six miles north of Sardis in the Lydian necropolis now called Bin Tepe ("Thousand Hills"), also caught Herodotus' eye; he describes it as "by far the biggest in the world except for those of the Egyptians and Babylonians" (1.93.2).

SEE ALSO: Ionians; *logos*; Lydus; Sadyattes; Satrapies; Trade; Wealth and Poverty

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LYDIAS RIVER (ὁ Λυδίης ποταμός)

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River in MACEDONIA (*BA* 50 B3; Müller I, 264–65), modern Loudias (also spelled that way by some ancient authors; *Loidias* in Hecataeus *BNJ* 1 F145). When the Persians arrived at THERME in 480 BCE, Herodotus tells that the army occupied the coastal area from Therme stretching west along the THERMAIC GULF to the Lydias and HALIACMON rivers. These two RIVERS, Herodotus adds, come together into one river which forms the boundary between the regions of BOTTIAEA and Macedonia (7.127.1). According to STRABO (7 F11a Radt), the Lydias flows from a lake of the same name. Beginning in the late fifth century BCE, the city of PELLA, a short journey up the Lydias River (Ps.-Scylax 66.2), became the capital of Macedon and the most prominent city in the region. Perhaps as early as the fourth century, the Lydias flowed directly into the sea between the Haliacmon and the AXIUS, as it still does today.

SEE ALSO: Persian Wars

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LYDUS (Λυδός, ὁ)

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Son of Atys and founder of the first dynasty to rule LYDIA, who gave the Lydians their name (1.7.3; 7.74.1). He is the brother of CAR and MYSUS, making Lydians, Carians, and Mysians kinsmen (κασίγνητοι, 1.171.6). Lydus is presumably also the brother of TYRSENUS, son of Atys and founder of the TYRRHENIANS (1.94.5–7), but this may not stem from the same tradition. The espoused kinship with CARIA is unsurprising given the external evidence for ties between the two regions (Ratté 2009).

SEE ALSO: Atys son of Manes; Mysia

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LYGDAMIS (Λύγδαμις, ὁ) father of Artemisia

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Lygdamis, of HALICARNASSUS, was the father of ARTEMISIA. She became TYRANT of Halicarnassus after her husband's death and famously led a contingent in the Persian fleet during XERXES' invasion of Greece in 480 BCE. Lygdamis' wife was from CRETE (7.99; cf. 1.171 for the Carian-Cretan connection). The name appears to be Carian (Blümel 1992, 14), though it occurs in many places throughout the ancient Greek and non-Greek world (Vannicelli and Corcella 2017, 414).

SEE ALSO: Caria; Lygdamis of Naxos; Lygdamis son/grandson of Artemisia

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LYGDAMIS (Λύγδαμις, ὁ) of Naxos

AIDEEN CARTY

Lygdamis supplied men and money to help PEISISTRATUS achieve his third period of tyranny in ATHENS (1.61.4). Peisistratus conquered NAXOS in a war, gave it to Lygdamis to rule, and secured his tyranny by sending Athenian HOSTAGES into Lygdamis' care (1.64.2). Herodotus says that Lygdamis' support for Peisistratus in the build-up to the Battle of Pallene was enthusiastic and freely given (see also [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 15.2–3). The CHRONOLOGY of that battle has been much debated, but Herodotus' placement of the story suggests that it preceded the fall of SARDIS by a short time, thus c. 547/6 BCE. Later sources provide more information about Lygdamis. ARISTOTLE (*Pol.* 1305a) says that he was originally a Naxian oligarch, and records Lygdamis selling confiscated goods back to their exiled Naxian owners ([*Oec.*] 1346b). Polyaenus (*Strat.* 1.23) describes how POLYCRATES, the tyrant of SAMOS, consolidated his rule by requesting troops from Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos. As a result, it appears that Lygdamis had GUEST-FRIENDSHIP ties with both Peisistratus and Polycrates. Lygdamis was deposed by the Spartans (Plut. *Mor.* 236c, 859c–d; schol. Aeschin. 2.77), an action generally thought to be part of the Spartan campaign against Polycrates c. 525.

SEE ALSO: Exile; Pallene (Deme); Tyrants

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LYGDAMIS (Λύγδαμις, ὁ) son or grandson of Artemisia

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Lygdamis, either the son or grandson of ARTEMISIA, ruled Herodotus' native *POLIS* of HALICARNASSUS as tyrant around the mid-fifth century BCE. Herodotus never mentions Lygdamis by name. During a DIGRESSION on Artemisia, who participated in XERXES' invasion of Greece in 480, Herodotus says that she was the daughter of Lygdamis, a Halicarnassian, and a Cretan mother, widow of the late tyrant of Halicarnassus; and he mentions that Artemisia had a son (7.99).

According to the Suda entry for Herodotus, Artemisia's son was named Pisindelis, and his son Lygdamis was the third tyrant to rule Halicarnassus after Artemisia. Pisindelis, therefore, is thought to be the son referenced by Herodotus. It is Pisindelis' son Lygdamis whom the Suda names as responsible for Herodotus' banishment from Halicarnassus

and his subsequent EXILE on SAMOS. The Suda (s.v. Πανύασις (Π 248)) also accuses Lygdamis of the MURDER of the fifth-century epic poet PANYASSIS, Herodotus' cousin or uncle. A fifth-century stele recording a law that was ratified by Lygdamis, the Halicarnassians, and the Salmacites is usually interpreted as positive confirmation of his rule (ML 32). The Suda also reports that Herodotus returned from exile and drove Lygdamis from power, before falling into disfavor with his fellow citizens. He eventually quit Halicarnassus for THURII (s.v. Ἡρόδοτος (Η 536)).

Older scholarship placed Lygdamis' downfall shortly before 454, when Halicarnassus first appears on the Athenian tribute-quota lists as a member of the DELIAN LEAGUE (see *IG* I^3 259). In light of the inclusion of other CITIES ruled by TYRANTS in the league, current scholarly opinion no longer maintains Halicarnassus' enrollment as a secure *terminus ante quem* for Lygdamis' removal.

The date of Lygdamis' overthrow also has ramifications for the nature of his relationship with Artemisia. Earlier interpretations that assigned a firm *terminus ante quem* of 454 for the end of the tyranny and low estimates of Pisindelis' age at the time of Xerxes' invasion confronted chronological dilemmas. In 480, Pisindelis was still too young to have fathered a son who could have succeeded him and been overthrown before 454 BCE. Lygdamis, therefore, was not Pisindelis' son, as the Suda claimed, but was more likely his brother and thus Artemisia's younger son. Reconsideration of the date of the end of the tyranny pushing it beyond 454 and a higher CHRONOLOGY for Pisindelis' birth year (c. 510–500), on the other hand, eliminate these difficulties. By 480, Pisindelis would have been a man of twenty or thirty, allowing him ample time to have had a son who could have ascended to the tyranny after his death (see McLeod 1966).

SEE ALSO: Herodotus of Halicarnassus; Lygdamis father of Artemisia

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LYNCEUS (Λυγκεύς, ὁ)

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Mythical figure, son of Aegyptus. In the most familiar version of the story (AESCHYLUS' *Suppliants*, the only surviving play from his dramatic tetralogy on the subject), Lynceus along with his forty-nine brothers were betrothed to the fifty daughters of DANAUS (their first cousins). The women fled EGYPT for ARGOS; the sons of Aegyptus pursued them, were married, but then were killed by their brides on the wedding night—except Lynceus, whose wife Hypermestra saved him (Aesch. *PV* 853–69; Ovid, *Her*. 14, imagines her love letter to him). Various accounts of strife between Lynceus and his father-in-law Danaus (Hes. F129.1–2 M-W) resolve, in one fashion or another, with Lynceus' descendants ruling Argos (Gantz, *EGM* 203–8).

Herodotus was told, when he asked why the people of CHEMMIS alone of the Egyptians honor PERSEUS, that the hero's ancestors Danaus and Lynceus had originally been from Chemmis before sailing for Greece (2.91.5).

SEE ALSO: *historiē*; Myth

LYRIC POETRY, *see* POETRY

LYSAGORAS (Λυσαγόρης, ὁ) father of Histiaeus

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Patronymic, father of HISTIAEUS the TYRANT of MILETUS. Though Histiaeus is mentioned numerous times before, Herodotus delays providing his father's name until the outbreak of the

IONIAN REVOLT and in the same sentence in which ARISTAGORAS (1) is introduced (5.30.2). Nothing more is known of Lysagoras.

FURTHER READING

Hornblower, Simon, ed. 2013. *Herodotus: Histories Book V*, 130. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LYSAGORAS (Λυσαγόρης, ὁ) son of Teisias

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In 489 BCE, the Athenian general MILTIADES THE YOUNGER led an attack on the AEGEAN island *POLIS* of PAROS (6.133–36). Herodotus writes (6.133.1) that the reason given—a Parian TRIREME fighting on the Persian side in DATIS' campaign the previous summer—was merely a pretext, and that actually Miltiades wanted personal VENGEANCE on Lysagoras son of TEISIAS for speaking badly of him to Hydarnes (presumably the high-ranking Persian general who would later command the IMMORTALS at THERMOPYLAE). It is possible that Lysagoras' alleged slander was connected with Miltiades' actions in the Hellespontine CHERSONESE, perhaps during the IONIAN REVOLT (Georges 2000, 38–39).

SEE ALSO: Causation; Hydarnes son of Hydarnes; Insults

REFERENCE

Georges, Pericles B. 2000. "Persian Ionia under Darius: The Revolt Reconsidered." *Historia* 49.1: 1–39.

FURTHER READING

Develin, Robert. 1977. "Miltiades and the Parian Expedition." *AC* 46.2: 571–77.
Kinzl, K. H. 1976. "Miltiades' Parosexpedition in der Geschichtsschreibung." *Hermes* 104: 280–307.

LYSANIAS (Λυσανίης, ὁ)

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Lysanias, from ERETRIA in EUBOEA, 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 else is known of him, nor does Herodotus provide a patronymic. (See ALCON for bibliography.)

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

LYSICLES (Λυσικλέης, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of the Athenian ABRONICHUS (8.21.1), of the DEME Lamptrae. Lysicles' name appears as a patronymic on numerous ostraca from the 470s/460s BCE, when Abronichus (an associate of THEMISTOCLES: Thuc. 1.91.3) was a candidate for ostracism. Lysicles was a fairly popular Athenian name (*LGPN* II, 291 (no. 32)).

SEE ALSO: Athens; Democracy

LYSIMACHUS (Λυσίμαχος, ὁ)

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Patronymic, father of the Athenian ARISTEIDES (born c. 520 BCE) who was known as "the Just" (8.79.1). Lysimachus owned land in the Attic DEME of ALOPECE, and he may have married a daughter of the Olympic victor CALLIAS (1) SON OF PHAENIPPUS (Plut. *Arist*. 25.3–6; see Davies 1971, 48–49, 256–57). His name appears as a patronymic on numerous ostraca from ATHENS (*PAA* 616300); his grandson, also named Lysimachus, appears as a character in Plato's *Laches*.

SEE ALSO: Democracy

REFERENCE

Davies, J. K. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 BC*, 48–49. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

LYSISTRATUS (Λυσίστρατος, ὁ)

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An Athenian *chrēsmologos* (someone who speaks, collects, or interprets ORACLES: Bowden 2003, 261). After the Battle of SALAMIS, much of the wreckage of the ships was washed onto the shore of Attica at COLIAS. Herodotus comments that this fulfilled a previously unnoticed oracle belonging to Lysistratus, that "The women of Colias will do their roasting on oars" (8.96.2). Lysistratus is otherwise unknown.

SEE ALSO: Divination; Prophecy; Religion, Herodotus' views on

REFERENCE

Bowden, Hugh. 2003. "Oracles for Sale." In *Herodotus and His World: Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forrest*, edited by Peter Derow and Robert Parker, 256–74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Wilson, N. G. 2015. *Herodotea. Studies on the Text of Herodotus*, 164. Oxford: Oxford University Press.