

**HERODOTUS.
VOL. III**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649126965

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Cover @ 2017

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WILLIAM BELOE

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

CHAPTER I.

SUCH was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt.—Histieus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes the governor asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt? He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him that the matter might be thus explained: "You," says he, "made the shoe which Aristagoras has worn."

II. Histieus, perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea: and instead of fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histieus was afterwards interrogated by the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Aristagoras to revolt, a circumstance which had occasioned the loss of so many of their countrymen. His answer was insidious, and calculated to impress the Ionians

with alarm; he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius to remove the Phœnicians to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phœnicia.

IV. His next measure was to send letters to certain Persians at Sardis, with whom he had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt; these he intrusted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abused the confidence reposed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himself with their contents, desired Hermippus to deliver them according to their first directions, and then to give to him the answers intended for Histæus. In consequence of the intelligence which he by these means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Persians to death.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Histæus failing in this project, prevailed on the Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Aristagoras, had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admission to a second master. Histæus, attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was by some unknown hand wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again set sail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refused to intrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene. Having obtained from the Lesbians, the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his station, and intercepted all the vessels coming from the Euxine, except those which consented to obey him.

VI. Whilst Histæus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itself was threatened with a most formidable attack both by sea and land. The Persian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of those who assisted them by sea, the Phœnicians were the most alert. The Cyprians, who had been recently subdued, served with these, as well as the Cilicians and Egyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panionium. The result of their deliberations was, that they should by no means meet the Persians by land; that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; and that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness, they should meet at Lade, and risk a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a small island immediately opposite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and assembled at the place appointed; they were reinforced by the collective power of the Eolians of Lesbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milesians furnished eighty vessels, which occupied the east wing; next to these were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Myusians with three ships; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred vessels, and the Teians in seventeen: beyond these were the Erythreans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ships. The Lesbians in seventy ships were next to the Phocæans; in the extremity of the line, to the west, the Samians were posted in sixty ships; the whole fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The Barbarians were possessed of six hundred vessels; as soon as they came before Miletus, and their land forces also were arrived, the Persian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adversaries' force; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by sea might at the same time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expose them to the resentment of Darius. With these sentiments, they called together those Ionian princes who, being deposed by Aristagoras, had taken refuge among the Medes, and were present on this expedition. They addressed them to this effect: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his zeal in the royal cause, by endeavouring to detach from this confederacy, his own countrymen: allure them by the promise that no punishment shall be the consequence of their revolt; that neither their

temples nor other edifices shall be burned; that their treatment shall not in any respect be more severe than before. If they persevere in trusting to the event of a battle, tell them that the contrary of all these will assuredly happen;—themselves shall be hurried into servitude, their youths castrated, their daughters carried to Bactra, and their country given to others.”

X. Under cover of the night the Ionian princes were despatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians, who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone. Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians at Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had been appointed, and among the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius the Phocæan leader expressed himself as follows:—“Our affairs are come to that delicate point, O Ionians, that we must either be free men or slaves, and even fugitive slaves. If you willingly submit to the trouble, your situation will at first be painful, but having vanquished your enemies, you will then enjoy your liberties; if you suffer your vigour to relax, or disorder to take place among you, I see no means of your evading the indignation with which the Persian king will punish your revolt. Submit yourselves to my direction, and I will engage, if the gods be but impartial, that either the enemy shall not attack you at all, or, if they do, it shall be greatly to their own detriment.”

XII. In consequence of this speech, the Ionians resigned themselves to the will of Dionysius. Every day, he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the use of the oars: he then taught them to manœuvre their ships, keeping the men at their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay at their anchors. Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians till the seventh day punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigue, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur:—“We must surely,” they exclaimed one to another,

“ have offended some deity, to be exposed to these hardships ; or we must be both absurd and pusillanimous, to suffer this insolent Phocæan, master of but three vessels, to treat us as he pleases. Having us in his power, he has afflicted us with various evils. Many of us are already weakened by sickness, and more of us likely to become so. Better were it for us to endure any calamities than these, and submit to servitude, if it must be so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us obey him no longer.” The discontent spread, and all subordination ceased ; they disembarked, fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves under the shade, would neither go on board, nor repeat their military exercises.

XIII. The Samian leaders, observing what passed among the Ionians, were more inclined to listen to the solicitations of the Persians to withdraw from the confederacy : these solicitations were communicated to them by *Æaces*, the son of *Syloson* ; and the increasing disorder which so obviously prevailed among the Ionians, added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Persian monarch, sensible that if the present naval armament of *Darius* were dispersed, a second, five times as formidable, would soon be at hand. Availing themselves therefore of the first refusal of the Ionians to perform their customary duty, they thought this no improper opportunity of securing their private and sacred buildings. *Æaces*, to whose remonstrance the Samians listened, was son of *Syloson*, and grandson of *Æaces* : he had formerly enjoyed the supreme authority of *Samos*, but with the other Ionian princes, had been driven from his station by *Aristagoras*.

XIV. Not long afterward the Phœnicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle ensued, but who among the Ionians on this occasion disgraced themselves by their cowardice, or signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain ; for they reciprocally reproach each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with

Æaces, left their place in the line, and set sail for *Samos*. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their superiors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour the general council of the *Samians* ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column, which is still to be seen in their forum. The *Lesbians*, seeing what was done by the *Samians*, next to whom they were stationed, followed their example, as did also the greater number of the *Ionians*.

XV. Of those who remained, the *Chians* suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of a hundred vessels, each manned with four hundred chosen warriors. They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained, they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own, they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to *Mycalæ*. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them, marched on foot over the continent. Entering the *Ephesian* territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of *Ceres*. The *Ephesians* had heard nothing concerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs upon their women. They assembled therefore to repel the supposed invaders, and killed them all on the spot. Such was the end of these *Chians*.

XVII. *Dionysius* the *Phocæan*, perceiving the *Ionian* power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ships. He did not however go to *Phocæa*, which he well knew must share the common fate of *Ionia*, but he directed his course immediately to *Phœnicia*. He here made himself master of many vessels richly laden, and a considerable quan-

tity of silver, with which he sailed to Sicily : here he exercised a piratical life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not molesting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians, having thus routed the Ionians, laid close siege to Miletus, both by sea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every species of military machines against it. In the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras, they took and plundered the place. By this calamity, the former prediction of the oracle was finally accomplished.

XIX. The Argives, having consulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an answer which referred to themselves in part, but which also involved the fortune of the Milesians. Of what concerned the Argives, I shall make mention when I come to speak of that people ; what related to the absent Milesians, was conceived in these terms :—

Thou then, Miletus, vers'd in ill too long,
Shalt be the prey and plunder of the strong ;
Your wives shall stoop to wash a long-hair'd train,
And others guard our Didymean fane.

Thus as we have described, was the prediction accomplished. The greater part of the Milesians were slain by the Persians, who wear their hair long ; their wives and children were carried into slavery ; the temple at Didymus, and the shrine near the oracle, was destroyed by fire. Of the riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter, were carried to Susa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther punished them than by removing them to Ampe, a city near that part of the Erythrean sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus, the Persians reserved for themselves ; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus.

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with that return from the people of Sybaris, who had been driven from Laon