

Abstract

The Ionian Revolt, Reconsidered

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The purpose of this study is to research the effect of Herodotus' bias towards the Ionians had on his account of the events, figures, and proposed purpose of the Ionian Revolt. Research has shown that Herodotus had a favorable perspective on other Greek groups. Unlike these groups, Herodotus' perspective of the Ionians as the weakest of the Hellenic ethnic groups permeates his account of the Naxian Expedition, the revolts in Ionia and Cyprus, and the Battle at Lade, collectively known as the Ionian Revolt. This thesis examines Herodotus' Ionian Revolt, its purpose and function, as well as the effect how the author's bias towards the group overshadow the historical significant and the profound political and military innovations of the revolt.

The Ionian Revolt, Reconsidered

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to all the *spirits* that held my hands during this process.

God, thank you.

My plan for your future has always been filled with hope

Jeremiah 29:11

To my daughter *Nadia Michelle*,
Mommy loves you.

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Introduction

The Greek Colonization of Ionia and Persian Intervention

The Mycenaeans seem to have been the first Greeks to colonize the west coast of Asia Minor. This massive migration took place during the sixteenth century BC¹. During the eleventh century, in a second wave of migration a cohesive group of Greeks from Attica and Boeotia established colonies over a short period of time.² In the tenth and ninth centuries, the migrants settled northwards along the coast of Asia Minor, and around the Gulfs of Ephesus and Miletus. They developed the *poleis* on the islands of Samos, Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, and Teos. These early tribes seem to have been Hellenistic in character, meaning these tribes were independent from one another and different from each other in many ways, such as religion, language, and politics.³ The community usually consisted of an aristocracy of landowners and a lower class of free framers, with a few craftsmen.

Politically, Ionia was more a construction of several tribal communities than an integrated political structure. In the mid-seventh century, the Ionians formed a dominant political structure called the Ionian League. The members of the Ionian League maintained a level of autonomy. Ephesus, for example, modified their original tribal structure into a territorial urban entity.⁴ This political and commerce shift is in fact attested in the inclusion of Greeks metics and Anatolian natives into the *polis*; others,

¹ All date hence forth are in BC.

² Carl Roebuck, "Tribal Organization in Ionia," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philology Association*, Vol. 92 (1961), 495.

³ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Ephesus: Text and Archaeology*, Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2008, 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

such as Miletus remained segregated.⁵ Once the Anatolian natives were allowed to participate, a cultural fusion began and Ionia became an international commerce center. They traded finished goods, such as pottery, and agricultural crops, such as cotton, olives, and wheat,⁶ via the Silk Road and overseas to Egypt, Phoenicia, and mainland Greece.⁷ The increase in economic growth of Ionia from the eighth to the sixth century, fostered by its *poleis*' trade and colonizing, created a new economic group among those that participated in international commerce. It produced a high level of prosperity among the entire population: Greeks, metics, and Anatolians.⁸ Increased prosperity is evident in the changes in pottery, art design, and architectural style.

In the sixth century, Ionia was a strong commercial center. As the wealth and population of Ionia increased, these neighbors engaged in petty wars, which forced them to develop their military prowess. The creation of the military led to the reorganization of the established political systems. Those men that had the resources to support a militia and those that had slaves who could fight rose through the ranks of power. These men often engaged in dubious practices to maintain that power. By the late sixth century and later, some Greek tyrants could no longer independently maintain their rule. They turned therefore to their neighbor to the east, the Persians, for financial and military support.

At this time, the Persians had a sizable army and their power extended to the coastline of Asia Minor (Hdt. 5.31), India, and Egypt. The Persian military force drew

⁵ Roebuck, 495.

⁶ Alan Greaves, *The Land of Ionia: Society and Economy in the Archaic Period*, Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, 71 and 75.

⁷ Greaves, 91

⁸ Roebuck, 506.

from the vast multi-ethnic cluster of nations over which the King had dominion.⁹ This heterogeneous state was marked by a high degree of organization and planning in the area of warfare. The Greeks' relationship with Persians was characterized by reciprocity. The Persians had a strong personal interest in individual Greeks, who volunteered to be of services in justified expectation of gaining power and rewards. For example, Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, fully realized the opportunities presented to him by rendering good service to Darius (Hdt 4.137-9, 141). During the Scythian Expedition 514 Histiaeus helped Darius and his army to escape from a Scythian trap. In return for his service, Histiaeus requested and was awarded Myrkinos, a settlement in Thrace rich in timber and silver. For some Greeks lending temporary aid to the Persian King, in expectation of his future favor was a calculated gamble to achieve their political ambition.¹⁰

When these ambitious Greeks failed to produce the results they promised to the King, dire consequences would ensue. For instance, in 499, when Aristagoras failed to secure the Aegean Island of Naxos to Darius, he faced the wrath of the King. In order to forestall the consequences of his failure, Aristagoras raised a banner of democracy across Asia Minor. The political activities of Aristagoras spread west across the Aegean Sea to Athens and Euboea in 499, east to Sardis in 498 B.C, and then south to Cyprus in 497. Shortly after reaching these vast locations, the political conflict manifested itself into acts of insurgency against the Persian supported tyranny. The Ionian Revolt was a complex series of military pursuits between the Persians and the Greeks that included

⁹ Duncan Head, *Achaemenid Persian Army* (Stockport: Montvert Publication, 1992), 16.

¹⁰ M.M. Austin, "Greek Tyrants and the Persians, 546-479," *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 40, iss. 2, (1990), 301.

the large scale use of sea power and land forces, and siege apparatus. It was the first international amphibious campaign between the Greeks and Persians.

These series of campaigns were a collective part of the Ionian Revolt, which lasted from 499 to 493. It was supposedly a result of the Greeks' attempt to free Ionia from Persian tyranny. It must be noted that although the word tyranny would later be associated in the minds of the Greeks with Persian rule and Persian intervention; it was indigenous to Asia Minor. Once the Persians extended their empire westward, the Persian practice, from Cyrus onwards, was to work with the established institutions of the people and countries that came under their domination.¹¹ By the time of Persian intervention, many Ionia *poleis* had already come to be ruled by tyrants during the Archaic Age, independent from any intervention by foreign powers.¹²

The primary source for the Ionian Revolt is Herodotus, a Carian born historian. His life spanned much of the fifth century, 484 to 414. It is usually thought that Herodotus wrote much of his *Histories* from the 450s to the 420s. He was exiled by the tyrant of Halicarnassus, Lygdamis, to the island of Samos. Later, Herodotus is said to have taken an active role in delivering his native city from tyranny;¹³ this may have been the reason for his distaste for this type of government. He spent much of his life in exile, in Samos, as well as Athens and Thurii. Herodotus supposedly travelled to a multitude of regions, such as Egypt, Babylonia, and Athens. By recording his travels and conducting his inquiry into the reason for the warring between the Greeks and non-

¹¹ D.F. Graf, "Greek Tyrants and Achaemenid Politics," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr*, John Eadie and Chester G. Starr. Latham: University Press of America, 1985, note 2.

¹² Austin, 301.

¹³ B.M. Mitchell, "Herodotus and Samos," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 95 (1975), 75.

Greeks, Herodotus exposes his readers to various cultures, stories of folklore, and scientific inquiry.

His purpose in writing was to prevent the great and marvelous deeds of Greeks and non-Greeks from being forgotten. In his *Histories*, Herodotus intended not only to remember great deeds, but also to warn the Greeks about the perils of *hubris*. The theme of *hubris* is echoed throughout the work and is strongly emphasized during the Ionian Revolt. Herodotus' assessment of the Ionian Revolt gave him a unique opportunity to warn the Athenians against accepting the tyrannical government that they had fought so valiantly against.¹⁴

Although his purpose is noble, Herodotus is biased against the Ionians and held sympathies towards others. Herodotus' belief that the Ionians were the weakest of Greek ethnic groups permeates his account of the Ionian Revolt. Due to his viewpoint, any possible successes achieved by the Ionians are deemed as good fortune or are simply ignored by the historian. This is markedly different from his view of the other Greek populations involved, such as the Samians. The Samians assisted the Ionians, but retreated during the Battle at Lade Island, when they questioned the commitment of the rest of the Ionian contingent to the revolt. Herodotus treated the Samians' departure as a reasonable response to the instability of the alliance rather than as a betrayal to

¹⁴ After the Greco-Persian Wars, the Greek *poleis* formed the Delian League. The league consisted of 173 Greek city-states; the purpose of the league was to "avenge the wrongs they suffered by ravaging the territory of the King" (Thuc. 1.96). The league members were eager to dissolve their involvement, possibly believing that the purpose of the league had been achieved; the Athenians then established themselves as leaders. The Athenians, unfortunately, did not heed Herodotus' warning concerning becoming a new type of tyrant and in 454 Athens became an empire. Twenty years later, the members of the Delian League declared war against Athens which prompted the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

the alliance. Herodotus' sympathy is likely due in part to the fact that he spent a considerable amount of time in this *polis* during his exile. There, however, can be no doubt that he obtained his information first hand during his exile from Samians who wished to be viewed favorably in history.

Herodotus' bias and sympathies notwithstanding, he is the only historian of this event. His investigative technique of examining archaeological evidence, such as the Royal Road, and recording oral accounts of military affairs was innovative, laying the foundation for inquiry into the causes and consequences of events. Herodotus was a sophisticated narrator who treated what people said and believed as if they mattered. Herodotus embraced mythical discourse and the affect it had on the past generations of Greeks. He understood the importance of ethnography and anthropology as a means of explaining people's lifestyles and their interaction with the other Greeks and non-Greeks. The author was conscious of the effects of geography, culture, economics had influence the actions of individuals and the means by which individual actions affected communities. He did nothing less than attempt to fashion for his Greek audience a portrait of themselves so that they would not repeat the mistakes of their past.

Two arguments developed in this thesis will add insight to the Ionian Revolt. The first argument is that the Ionian Revolt had multiple successes in the area of political and physical warfare. Both Histiaeus and Aristagoras were innovative strategists who could adapt to any situation. Although Herodotus deemed their actions as deceptive, these politicians were effective at exploiting the situation at hand. The second argument is that the Ionian Revolt was arbitrarily written off as a failure, whereas it had remarkable success in several spheres of interest. This accepted theory

that the Ionian Revolt was a failure is owed largely to the perspective of Herodotus. The author's own bias has distorted the importance of the revolt and there are several indications that his presentation of events was constructed to support his agenda, an agenda that introduced a failed attempt of the Ionians to free themselves from Persia in order show the Greeks as victorious underdogs of the Greco-Persian Wars.

Another argument of interest is the purpose of the revolt in the *Histories*. The revolt, placed at the very center of Herodotus' work,¹⁵ foreshadows in several respects the main object of the work---the Greco-Persian Wars. The themes that motivate war and the construction of tyranny connect the Ionian Revolt to the Greco-Persian Wars. Herodotus thus may have skillfully suggested connections on several levels, encouraging readers to compare the situations at each of these bids for or against tyranny to understand the motivation behind them. This narrative may provide a touchstone for comparing Persian tyranny with the Athenian sovereignty. The Ionian Revolt served to remind Herodotus' audience of the exact types of political problems besetting Greece toward the end of the fifth century and the origin of them.

¹⁵ Rosario Munson, "The Trouble with the Ionians: Herodotus and the Beginning of the Ionian Revolt (5.28-38.1)," in *Reading Herodotus: A Study of the Logoi in Book 5 of Herodotus Histories*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 146.

Chapter One

Herodotus' Perspective of Ionian Weakness and The Ionians' Reliance on the Strength of Persia

The Ionian Revolt began with the Naxian Expedition of 499. The expedition took place at Naxos Island, the largest Greek island of the Cyclades (map 1). The inhabitants of the island formed a democratic party and ousted the 500 members of the aristocratic party. The latter group sought refuge and assistance from Aristagoras, who in turn looked towards Persia for aid. The Naxian Expedition-an attempt by these three powers to retake Naxos-serves as an introduction to the type of relationship the Greeks had with the Persians and how that relationship created internal turmoil for both groups.

In 500/499, Naxos gained the attention of the Milesians, the Persians, and the Athenians. The ousted Naxians selected Miletus as a place of refuge. Miletus is located on the western coast of Asia Minor. In Miletus, the exiled Naxians believed they could initiate *xenia*, a sophisticated form of guest-friendship between strangers, with Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus (Hdt. 5.30). Under the guidelines of *xenia*, the displaced Naxians expected shelter, military support, and the necessary resources that would restore them to power at home.¹⁶ When the displaced Naxians arrived in Miletus, however, they discovered that Histiaeus was being retained in Susa, having left his nephew, Aristagoras, in power.¹⁷

¹⁶ Gabriel Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 39.

¹⁷ Aristagoras had been the tyrant of Miletus for approximately fifteen years. The duration of Aristagoras' governing Miletus can be deducted from the amount of time of Histiaeus' various absences: from 514/513 he participated in the Persian campaign against Scythia, traveled to Myrkinos and established fortifications, and then was sent to Susa until the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt in 499 B.C (Hdt. 5.23-25, 30, and 124).

Aristagoras agreed to assist the exiled Naxians; he believed that in return for his services, the Naxians would offer him the position of tyrant of Naxos. In terms of military strength, Aristagoras knew that the Naxians had eight thousand armed men and many warships, more military power than he could muster alone.¹⁸ Therefore the only possible way for this venture to be successful was for everyone to cooperate with Persia. Aristagoras believed that his friend, Artaphernes, the brother of King Darius, would assist them if he were asked (Hdt. 5.31).

Hence, Aristagoras attempted, in effect to by-pass Histiaeus' authority in order to create an opportunity to govern independently from his uncle. Aristagoras represented the displaced Naxians in a meeting with Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis. Aristagoras promised Artaphernes' various unspecified gifts and money in exchange for Persian support. He then stated that Naxos was fertile in natural resources, rich in slaves (map 2a and 2b) (Hdt. 5.30-1), and was also close in proximity to the Ionian coast (102 miles) and Euboea in Greece (130 miles). Naxos would thereby make the effective launching site for Persia to attack Euboea (map 3) (Hdt. 5.31), which was the second largest of the Aegean Islands and diverse in rich metals such as gold, silver, and iron.¹⁹ This opportunity sat well with Artaphernes, as Darius was in favor of extending his empire into the crucial area of the Cyclades. This successful negotiation betrayed the displaced Naxians and endangered mainland Greece. Several islands of the Aegean Sea, Naxos, Paros, and Andros, were now designated to be absorbed into the Persian Empire (map

¹⁸ Readers may note that it is interesting that, in Aristagoras' initial conversation with the displaced Naxians, he informs them of the island's military strength and not contrariwise.

¹⁹ Trudy Ring, Robert M. Salkin, and Sharon La Boda, "Euboea," *International Dictionary of Historic Places, Vol. 3: Southern Europe*, (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1995), 231.

4). This venture would also enable the Persians to threaten Greece by land from the north and from the east by the sea.²⁰ If the Persian policy of reciprocity still held true, Aristagoras was in prime position to be the next tyrant of Naxos.

Darius provided Aristagoras with two hundred triremes, which, according to Wallinga, was a huge commitment since his total strength was three hundred.²¹ Wallinga does not state where these triremes originated. It can assume that the triremes were probably Phoenician from the seaports of Tyre or Sidon (map 5).²² Darius sent a mobilized infantry force, with a tentative arrival time in Miletus in the Spring of 499. Once mobilized, the Phoenicians arrived somewhere in Persia to transport Megabates, the Persian commander, and his unit to Miletus, approximately 1,000 miles away. The Persians provided an estimated 42,600 men, including 170 Greek rowers and additional personnel per trireme.²³

Once the Persian fleet arrived at Miletus, Aristagoras made a decision for the fleet to travel northward towards the Hellespont and secretly dock at the Bay of

²⁰ Oswyn Murray, "The Ionian Revolt" in John Boardman *The Cambridge Ancient History Part IV: Persia, Greece, and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525.-479*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 473.

²¹ H.T. Wallinga, *Ships and Sea power before the Great Persian War: The Ancestry of the Ancient Trireme*, (New York: Brill, 1993) 133.

²² Sidon and Tyre were maritime centers and the principle naval bases of the Persian Empire. These harbors were easily defensible and provided seafarers with the option of beaching or anchoring their vessels. Nick Marriner, Christophe Morhange, and Nicolas Carayon, "Ancient Tyre and its Harbor: 5000 Years of Human-Environment Interactions," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, Vol. 35, Iss. 5, May 2008, 1281-1310. Nick Marriner and Christophe Morhange, "Under the City Centre, the Ancient Harbours Tyre and Sidon: Heritages to Preserve," *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, Vol., April-June 2005, 185.

²³ Aristagoras was awarded 200 triremes; each trireme usually has 170 rowers for a total of 34,000 men. Customarily, there are special personnel aboard the trireme including fourteen spearmen, four archers, and twenty-five officers equaling forty-three per trireme or 8600 total. This expedition was probably equipped with 42,600.

Kaukasa, Chios. The bay is an unknown site located somewhere on the southern part of the island. At Chios, the fleet would then change directions and travel southwest toward Naxos (figure 1). Chios was twenty miles closer to Naxos from Miletus; launching an attack from Chios would decrease travel time by three hours, thus allowing the fleet to arrive at Naxos during the day rather than at night. This position also allowed the fleet to attack Naxos directly from the north, rather than blindly approaching the island from the west²⁴ and allowed the fleet to take advantage of the Etesians winds, which blow from the north Aegean Sea. These fierce winds allowed the oarsmen to preserve their strength; they also were able to increase the speed of the fleet.

At this point, things were proceeding as planned. While docked at Chios, however, Megabates discovered that there were no guards posted aboard a Myndian trireme (Hdt. 5.33). In response, Megabates instructed his personal guards to find Captain Scylax. Upon Captain Scylax's arrival, Megabates implemented a "field punishment."²⁵ He ordered his guards to tie-up Captain Scylax and pushed his head through an oar-hole of the ship (Hdt. 5.33). Morrison and Coates describes the oar-hole as a "thalamian oar-port," which is customarily found in Corinthian designed trieres.²⁶ A Greek witnessed the event and informed Aristagoras that Megabates had mistreated Scylax. Aristagoras released Scylax and then told Megabates that he had overstepped his position:

²⁴ Andrew Robert Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defense of the West*, c. 546-478, (New York: Minerva Press, 1968), 196-7.

²⁵ Burn, 197.

²⁶ John Morrison and John Coates, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 41.

What has any of this business got to do with you? Didn't Artaphrenes send you to obey my commands and to sail wherever I tell you? Why don't you mind your own business? (Hdt. 5.33).

Megabates ordered some of his men to warn the Naxians about the impending invasion. According to Herodotus, the Naxians were not aware of the impending attack until Megabates' messengers informed them.

The story of Megabates' treachery illustrates the friction that existed between the Ionians and the Persians.²⁷ Keaveney believes that the Persians saw themselves as superior to all other ethnic groups. They had a socio-political structure where every man knew his place. Bearing this in mind, the Persians felt that the Greeks did not respect this hierarchy and thus the friction was created. He states that Megabates' actions were a way to counter Aristagoras' pompous attitude.

Other scholars, however, believe that this entire story was created after the failure of the invasion. Burn asserts that it seems incredible that an Achaemenid officer, whose own credit was involved in the success of this expedition, would do such a thing.²⁸ Cary agrees; he rejects the allegation that Megabates, "a keen and competent commander, and Persian noble-man, should have turned traitor out of pure spite is incredible." Strassler writes that this claim of sabotage by Megabates is unsatisfactory because it does not fit in the allotted timeframe. Megabates' message was sent to Naxos from Chios, a distance of about eighty miles, a voyage of less than eight hours, giving the Naxians far too little time to prepare for a four-month siege.²⁹ Strassler

²⁷ Arthur Keaveney, "The Attack on Naxos: A 'Forgotten Cause' of the Ionian Revolt," *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 38, No.1 (1998), 78.

²⁸ Burn, 196.

²⁹ Robert Strassler, *The Landmark Herodotus*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 764.

points out that the main difficulty of Herodotus' account is Megabates' conduct; Megabates would have been severely punished for intentionally failing to reduce Naxos. This event seems to be a libelous rumor to explain the failure of the expedition.

Megabates' notification was not the only way the Naxians could have been warned about the impending attack. It is possible that the Naxians heard about the attack from one of their own. Naxos was a commercial community; they exported much of their natural resources, such as sheep, goats, various cheese, hides, and emery. Possibly, one of the Naxian traders or other seamen may have seen Aristagoras' massive fleet at sea and informed his fellow countrymen of impending trouble in the Aegean. Another possibility is that an exiled Naxian informed the Naxians on the island about the endeavor as a token of good faith in order to return to Naxos. If we agree with Herodotus' account, then the Naxians must have been forewarned in enough time, possibly a couple of months, to stockpile their food supply and move the animals into the reinforced walls (Hdt. 5.34).

The Naxians' preparation for the siege was successful. Aristagoras, who believed the venture would be swift, improperly prepared for anything other than a prompt conquest. Aristagoras quickly ran low of money, food, and supplies. Before retreating, Aristagoras constructed a fortification for the exiled Naxians, somewhere on the island, and departed for Miletus (Hdt. 5.35).

The expedition for Naxos had failed. Megabates' supposed betrayal inadvertently dismantled Aristagoras' acquisition of Naxos and voided Aristagoras'

promise of the Aegean islands to King Darius. Moreover, it brought into question the fundamental basis of Miletus' formally egalitarian friendship and alliance with Persia.³⁰

The Naxian Expedition was Aristagoras' attempt to use the political chaos of the Naxos to gain political control over the *polis*. Aristagoras was able to garner military and financial support from Persia, as well as manpower from his Ionian supporters. Although, Aristagoras feared punishment from King Darius, he may have learned a thing or two about political strategy from his uncle Histiaeus. Herodotus' account of events appears to set the Ionian Revolt as a complete failure from beginning to end.

³⁰ Pericles Georges, "Persian Ionia Under Darius: The Revolt Reconsidered," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol.49, no.1. (1st Qtr., 2000), 17.

Chapter Two:

Herodotus' Missed Opportunities and Impeding Correlations

Aristagoras failed to deliver Naxos to King Darius; furthermore, he had destroyed his relationship with Artaphernes. Aristagoras believed that conflict with Megabates would not sit well with his investors. Without any hope of becoming a Persian-supported tyrant, Aristagoras looked for a new way to come to power in Ionia. Over the next couple of months, Aristagoras devised a plan to off-set his punishment from King Darius. His plan included raising a rebellion across Asia Minor. His goal was to induce Persian-supported Ionian tyrants to bear arms against the very people that put them into power. During this same time, Onesilus, a Cypriote, took advantage of the chaos stirring in Ionia. He, like Aristagoras, was thirsting for power and at the proper moment disposed of his brother and became King of Cyprus.

The Revolt in Ionia

Histiaeus concluded that, if trouble was stirring at home, Darius would send him to Ionia to settle the chaos. Histiaeus devised a plan to communicate this idea to Aristagoras. He tattooed the head of his most trusted slave, waited for the slave's hair to grow back, and then sent the slave to Aristagoras. The slave probably travelled from Susa to Miletus by the Royal Road (figure 2) which connected Sardis to Susa, it ran 1491 miles west of Susa or a three months' journey on foot.³¹ The road system, and 111 checkpoints it included, provided an infrastructure that linked Sardis to the vast

³¹ Calculation: 1491 miles in ninety days equals to sixteen miles per day. Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 13-14.

area of the Achaemenid Empire, to provide the King with a means to maintain constant communication with the distant regions of his territory.³² The slave, by taking the Royal Road from Susa to Miletus, travelled approximately 1568 miles or 98 days.

Murray is suspicious of this account; he believes that Herodotus wove this tale into Histiaeus' biographical account to please Herodotus' audience, who were fascinated with the idea of cunning intelligence.³³ Traver agrees with Murray. Herodotus appears to have used the literary technique of adding a folkloric nucleus into a biographical account.³⁴ Cawkell points out that if the slave was reliable enough to carry the message on his head, he was reliable enough to remember it.³⁵ The placement of the message hardly made the secret message secure: how was the message going to be concealed once the head was shaved? The slave would have to remain in Susa for four months waiting for the hair to grow back³⁶ before leaving for Miletus. For the slave, as well as Histiaeus, waiting approximately four months in Miletus or Sardis and traveling the Royal Road was a dangerous proposition for all parties involved. If anyone suspected that Histiaeus had plans to commit treason against the King, all of Ionia would suffer for his betrayal.

³² The Royal Road connected Sardis, located on the Ionian coast, to Susa, located west of the Persian Gulf and thence to Persepolis and even India; it intersected with other roads that led to Palestine, Egypt, Media, Bactria, and Sogdiana (Dusinberre, 14).

³³ Oswyn Murray, "The Ionian Revolt", in John Boardman, ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 4: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean C. 525 to 479* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 486.

³⁴ Andrew Traver, *From Polis to Empire: The Ancient World, c. 800 – A.D. 500: A Biographical Dictionary*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 201.

³⁵ George Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars: The Failure of Persia*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 69-70.

³⁶ *New Harvard Guide to Women's Health, The*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. s.v. "Hair Care," http://www.credoreference.com/entry/hupwh/hair_care (accessed April 15, 2010).

Once the slave reached Miletus with the instruction to shave his head; Aristagoras read a single message: revolt.³⁷ Aristagoras was more of a revolutionary leader than Histiaeus expected.³⁸ He publicly renounced his position; he converted Miletus to *isonomia*, a 'theoretical state' of equality before the law, so that citizens could voluntarily join the rebellion.³⁹ Kuhrt asserts that Aristagoras' action was a calculated move to distance the rebels publicly from Persian rule.⁴⁰ Gorman adds that *isonomia* was intended to allow Aristagoras to hold onto the reins of power despite the change in his "alleged" political stance.⁴¹ Next, Aristagoras rapidly organized the Ionian *poleis* to revolt politically against Persian rule. Tyrants across Ionian threw off the Persian yoke in support of Aristagoras. In some cities, tyrants were replaced by elected *strategoï*, other tyrants were killed, and some were allowed to go free. These *strategoï* now held the power formerly held by tyrants, and they like the previous governors, would take the necessary measures to remain in power. A similar change of power occurred after the Greco-Persian Wars and prior to the Peloponnesian War.

The victorious Greeks of the Greco-Persian Wars decided to create a league to protect themselves from another Persian invasion. The Delian League, to the Greek members was effective in warring off any impending attack, maybe too effective. Some Greeks decided to dismantle the league; the Athenians however had something better

³⁷ Richard Stoneman. *A Traveller's History of Turkey*. (Northampton, MA: Interlink Publishing, 2009), 37.

³⁸ Manville, 85.

³⁹ *Isonomia*, itself, is probably being used anachronistically and may mean that Aristagoras opened paths to political power to a larger number of his fellow citizens and supporters. Vanessa Gorman, *Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia: A History of the City to 400 E.*, (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2001), 136.

⁴⁰ Kuhrt, 214, note: 9.

⁴¹ Gorman, 136.

in mind. The Athenians decided to take control of the league and build up the Greek presence at sea. The agreement was that the other Greek *poleis*, in order to be protected, had to help finance the triremes and provide the manpower. In doing so, Athens was able to create an empire and financially handcuffed their members into submission. It appeared that the every political oppression that the Greeks fought against twenty years earlier, had been created by one of their own—the Athenians.

It should be noted that a multitude of research has been done concerning the economic distress the Greeks endured under Persian rule. Dandamaev writes that before the sixth century, the prosperity of craftsmen, merchants, sailors, and traders depended on the market system.⁴² The Asia Minor region was an international marketplace where professional groups traded their various products for foreign goods, such as timber from Thrace and grain from the Black Sea littoral.⁴³ After the sixth century, the Persians took control of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus Straits area. As a consequence, the commercial community of Asia Minor became beset by the various mercantile problems. These traders joined the Ionian rebels and played an active role in the revolt. It appeared that Aristagoras had gained the necessary vote of confidence and the necessary manpower to pull off this coup. Only Hecataeus of Miletus, the historian and cartographer, opposed Aristagoras. He is considered one of the wise advisors of Herodotus' work. Hecataeus advised Aristagoras to cease all hostilities against the Persian King; but his advice was rejected. Hecataeus then suggested that the rebels should gain control over the sea. In order to do this, the rebels would need to seize the treasures in the shrine of the Branchidae. The booty from the shrine would

⁴² Dandamaev, 157.

⁴³ Ibid., 157.

provide enough money to sustain their sea power and prevent Persia from doing the same.⁴⁴

Another wise advisor, similar to Hecataeus, was Artemisia, ally of Xerxes during the expedition against Greece. Of the entire navy at the Battle of Salamis, 480, the five ships she furnished were the most highly esteemed, after the Sidonians, and her counsel to the King was the best out of all the allies (Hdt. 7.99). She counseled King Xerxes not to wage a battle at sea against the Greek, for his strength lay with his army. Artemisia suggested that Xerxes should maintain his ships near land and advance into the Peloponnese (Hdt. 8.68). The Greeks, she predicted, would scatter and each *polis* would fall; but she cautioned that if he attempted to rush into another sea battle he would fail. The counsel of Hecataeus and Artemisia failed to protect their respective leader from demise.

Hecataeus' recommendation would later, during the Peloponnesian War, provide the roadmap for successful action. Themistocles and Alcibiades, both Athenian statesmen and general of the Peloponnesian War, saw the "value of converting neglected financial resources into working capital for naval arms."⁴⁵ Themistocles urged and was successful in persuading Athens to understand that its future lay with the sea.⁴⁶ At his recommendation, Athens became a sea power and one hundred new triremes were built. Within three years, the Athenians controlled two hundred triremes.⁴⁷ Alcibiades, during the second half of war also understood the power of being a naval

⁴⁴ Kuhrt, 214.

⁴⁵ Latenier, 147.

⁴⁶ John R. Hale, *Lords of the Sea: The Epic Story of the Athenian Navy and the Birth of Democracy*, (New York: Viking, 2009), 320.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

force and instructed Sparta to fortify a base of operation near Decelea in Attica. The purpose of the base was to block Athens' access to the silver mines, thereby prevent the Athenians from being able to construct new triremes.⁴⁸

Without considering Hecataeus' comments, Aristagoras sent Iatragoras to seize the fleet and its commanders docked at Myous (Hdt. 5.36). Through a ruse, not specified by Herodotus, Iatragoras successfully arrested commanders from Mylasa, Termera, Mytilene, Cyme, and many others (Hdt. 5.37). Aristagoras was by no means ignorant of the challenge faced and sought assistance from Sparta and Athens (map 6).

Aristagoras arrived at Sparta, with some Thraco-Scythian chieftains,⁴⁹ during the reign of Cleomenes. He brought a bronze chart engraved with a map of the whole earth, showing every stretch of sea and all the rivers. Aristagoras eagerly professed to Cleomenes that "these non-Greeks aren't formidable fighters, for they fight with bows and shorts spears; as opposed to Spartans who have attained the highest achievement of all military prowess" (Hdt. 5.49). He hinted that the inhabitants of that continent were richer in resources than the rest of the world and if Sparta was able to control the Asia's wealth—silver, bronze, yoke-animals, and slaves—then the Spartans could easily be rulers of Asia (Hdt. 5.49).

Aristagoras' tentative plan of attack was for Thraco-Scythians to invade Media via the river Phasis, while the Spartans marched inland from Ephesus. Cleomenes delayed his response for two days. On the second day, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras the length of the journey from the Ionian coast to King Darius. Aristagoras replied three

⁴⁸ Finley Hooper, *Greek Realities: Life and Thought in Ancient Greece*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), 310.

⁴⁹ Pericles Georges, "Persian Ionian under Darius: The Revolt Reconsidered," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 49, no.1. (1st Qtr., 2000), 38.

months. Kuhrt points out that Aristagoras cleverly misrepresented the Ionians' commitment to the cause and had thoroughly persuaded the Spartan King, until this point and he should have continued lying.⁵⁰ A three months campaign for the Spartans was impossible in 499, for four reasons: there was perennial danger of Helot revolt; previous Spartan maritime ventures had failed; lines of communication would be unsustainable, as Aristagoras inadvertently admitted (Hdt 5.50); and Agros was actively hostile and could not be trusted while a large portion of the Spartan army was overseas.⁵¹ In truth, Cleomenes believed that aiding Ionia was a poor investment.⁵²

Conscious of these reasons, Cleomenes dismissed Aristagoras, stating "guest-friend from Miletus...you speak a word which sounds not well in the ears of the Lacedemonians" (Hdt. 5.50). Aristagoras, unwilling to fail, went to Cleomenes' house with a branch of supplication in order to gain entry. Aristagoras pleaded his case, offering the king a bribe of fifty talents. This act of persuasion was interrupted by Cleomenes' daughter Gorgo. She advised her father to dismiss himself rather than risk being corrupted (Hdt. 5.51). Cleomenes followed his daughter's advice and left the room. Despite his masterful speech and crude bribery, Aristagoras achieved nothing and left for Athens. Waters believes that Herodotus' account of Aristagoras' lengthy speech to Cleomenes was purposefully written in order to present not only Aristagoras as overplaying his hand, but also to inform readers that Sparta's reluctance to send

⁵⁰ Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, vol. I, 215.

⁵¹ Donald Lateiner., "The Failure of the Ionian Revolt," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2nd Qtr., 1982), 137.

⁵² Lateiner, "The Failure of the Ionian Revolt", 138.

forces far from home was the real reason for the failure of the Ionian Revolt, rather than a mere pretext.⁵³

Turning to Athens, Aristagoras presented himself before the Assembly, which in 498 consisted of 30,000 men (Hdt. 5.97). He repeated the same speech he delivered to Cleomenes, King of Sparta. Aristagoras mentioned the riches of Asia and how easy it would be to defeat Persia. At this time, Athens had not begun to build her great navy, but the Athenians still managed to send twenty triremes out of a total seventy, to help the Ionians.⁵⁴ The Athenians assigned Admiral Melanthius as commander. As a bonus, Eretria sent five ships to Miletus in return for the services rendered during the Lelantine War centuries earlier (Hdt. 5.99). De Souza states that the Athenians probably assisted the Ionians because of the existence of “a greater kinship with the Ionians... they shared dialect, religious festivals, and ancestry”.⁵⁵ Other scholars believe that the reason for Athens’ support was not as noble. Ehrenberg believes that this opportunity also provided the Athenians with a means to gain access to the trade route from the Bosphorus Straits to the Black Sea (map 7), which was in Persian control.⁵⁶

Dandamaev disagrees with Ehrenberg; he believes that although the Persians had gained control over the Black Sea, they did not impede trade. The author maintains that the Persians did not desire to cause any hardship on the towns of Asia Minor of the Black Sea littoral. In fact, the Persians delegated the patrolling of the Black Sea area to

⁵³ Kenneth H. Waters, *Herodotos, the Historian: His Problems, Methods, and Originality*, London: Croom Helm, 1985), 65.

⁵⁴ William S. Ferguson, *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 100.

⁵⁵ Philip de Souza, *The Greek and Persian Wars 499-386*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 13.

⁵⁶ Victor Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates: Greek History and Civilization During the Sixth and Fifth Century*, (London: Routledge, 1968), 126 and 322.

the Phoenicians, who did not have a major economic interest in the region. The Phoenicians had access to the same resources from lands adjacent to Phoenicia: Egypt, Lebanon, and Babylonia provided them with grain and timber, at a lower price, than those in the Hellespont.⁵⁷ The hardship on the Asia Minor mercantile system was due to the Phoenicians becoming competitors with the lands of the Near East and other Greeks, such as Athenians. Archaeological finds, such as Athenian pottery products, in northern Syria attest to such competition. It is possible that the economic decline of Ionia was due to Athenian competition rather than any diminished access to the Black Sea.⁵⁸ The Ionian Revolt was not going to correct the economic downfall of Ionia. The addition of Athens, one of Ionia's main competitors, may have made matters worse for the Ionians. If the Ionian Revolt was successful, it could open new territory, formerly controlled by the Ionians, to Athenian merchants.

The revolt gained momentum through a deceptive appeal to the self-interest of larger cities, such as Athens and Euboea. With Athens and Euboea as allies, Aristagoras was able to convince others to mobilize.⁵⁹ The mobilization of Athens and Euboea gave a false sense of security to the smaller *poleis* who thought that this venture would be worth the risk. Unlike these two *poleis*, the small Ionia city-states were not in a position to remove themselves from the rebellion once the situation degenerated.⁶⁰ Aristagoras returned to Miletus and sent a message to the Paeonians. This tribe had been deported from the valley of the Strymon in Thrace to Phrygia in Asia

⁵⁷ Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, 157.

⁵⁸ Raphael Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States: ca.700- 338*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 177.

⁵⁹ Georges, 27.

⁶⁰ Emily Bragwanath, *Motivation and Narrative in Herodotus*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 169.

Minor by Megabyzus twenty years earlier (Hdt. 5.2). Aristagoras proposed that if they joined the rebellion, they could regain their freedom and return to their homeland.

According to Dandamaev, the insurgents were successful in returning the Paeonians to Thrace.⁶¹ This act angered Darius, but Aristagoras needed all the allies he could muster.

The Ionians army travelled to Ephesus and left their boats at Koresos. They then made their way inland, in considerable force and using Ephesians as guides. They were able to capture a part of the town of Sardis, was the capital of the former Lydian kingdom. It was known for its timber and various metals, such as iron, gold, silver, and copper.⁶² Both literary and archaeological evidences demonstrate active gold-mining during the Achaemenid period.⁶³ The Susa Foundation Text implies that, during the reign of Darius, Sardis was not only rich in timber but also in carpenters, similar to the Egyptians.⁶⁴ The city had enormous fortifications, with at least a primary outer wall and a secondary inner wall.⁶⁵ To sack Sardis, one had to enter the city by scaling the crumbling wall almost vertically, at a point that seemed impregnable.⁶⁶ It appears that only a spectacular feat of mountaineering could have breached the *polis*.⁶⁷

The Ionians were successful at reaching the outer wall. Artaphrenes and his garrison, however, remained in possession of and prevented its looting of the treasury

⁶¹ Dandamaev, 160.

⁶² Sharon Waxman, *Loot: The Battle over the Stolen Treasures of the Ancient World*, (New York: Times Books, 2008), 146.

⁶³ Pierre Lecoq, *Les Inscriptions de la Persae Achemende*. (Paris: Gallimard,1997), 234-237. Roland G. Kent. *Old Persian: Grammar, Text, Lexicon*, (New Haven: American Oriental Society,1953), 142-144.

⁶⁴ Lecoq, 219-221 and Kent, 136.

⁶⁵ Dusinberre, 37 and 47.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

within the inner wall of Sardis. Somehow, one of the Greek soldiers accidentally set a fire to a house, which engulfed the city.⁶⁸ The flames destroyed the temple of Cybele; the desecration of the temple provoked the Lydians to join the Persians. Some Persians and the Lydians were trapped in the city by the fire; they fled together to the agora and the Pactolus River.⁶⁹ Surrounded by fire, the soldiers made a stand. When the Ionians saw the determination of the Persians, the Ionians withdrew to Mount Tmolus and, under the cover of night boarded their ships for home.

When word reached King Darius that the Ionians had burned Sardis, he ignored the Ionians, but inquired about the Athenians. Then he shot an arrow into the sky asking Lord Zeus to make it possible for him to punish the Athenians. Darius ordered his attendant to remind him three times a day to remember the Athenians (Hdt. 5.105). After issuing these instructions, Darius summoned Histiaeus of Miletus. Darius confronted Histiaeus concerning his involvement with the Ionians and asserted that Ionians could not have succeeded without his help (Hdt. 5.106). Histiaeus replied that had he been in Ionia, this would have never happened. This chaos provided Histiaeus with the opportunity to leave Susa; Histiaeus assured the king that he could restore order and deliver the instigator to him, if he returned home (Hdt. 5.106). Darius believed him and allowed him to return to Miletus. Histiaeus promised that he would end the revolt and turn Aristagoras over to him. It was a ruse for he was simultaneously planning to make matters more difficult for the King.

⁶⁸ The fire spread to other house through-out the *polis* because Sardians constructed either all or a portion of their houses with reeds (Hdt. 5.101).

⁶⁹ The Pactolus River brings the gold dust to Sardis from Mount Tmolus and flows through the center of the agora before emptying into the Hermus River, which flows into the sea (Hdt. 5.101).

Two years after lending support, the Athenians recalled their ships and the Eretrians followed suit (Hdt. 5.103). Aristagoras appealed to Athens to remain steadfast, but the Athenians refused. Although, the Ionians no longer had Athens and Euboea as their allies, they continued their hostilities with the King. The Ionian rebels subdued Byzantium and other cities, secured the greater part of Caria as their ally, and attracted the Kaunians, from Kaunos, a city in Caria. The Kaunians joined after hearing that the Ionians had burned Sardis. Caria was incorporated into the Persian Empire as a satrapy in 545/4. It's most important city was Herodotus' home, Halicarnassus.

Herodotus regards the burning of Sardis only as an accidental act and not one that possibly renewed the spirits of other Ionians to revolt against Persia. Herodotus' failure to emphasize the tremendous success of the Ionians in putting the Persians on the defensive in their stronghold is a prime example of his bias toward the Ionians.⁷⁰ Herodotus also failed to credit Aristagoras with an uncanny ability to create new alliances when necessary. Herodotus was uncomfortable about giving praise to Aristagoras, who used the idea of democracy to avoid consequences from Persia, rather than participating in the genuine principles of freedom and Greek unity.⁷¹

The Persian army, located west of the Halys River, received word of the chaos at Sardis and gathered their forces to help. By the time the Persians reached Sardis, the Greeks had abandoned the city and were heading towards Ephesus. The Persians followed their trail and defeated the Greeks in the summer of 498/7.⁷² The Persian

⁷⁰ Mabel Lang. "Herodotus and the Ionian Revolt." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan., 1968), 32.

⁷¹ Baragwanath, 170

⁷² Dandamaev, 160.

generals Daurises, Hymaees, and Otanes divided the Ionian cities among themselves. Daurises headed for the Hellespont, but was killed in an ambush, along with the Persian generals Amorges and Sisimakes (Hdt. 5.122). Hymaees conquered Mysian Kios and then headed to the Hellespont. He subdued all the Aeolians inhabiting Illium, the Gergithians and the Teukrians. After Hymaees took these cities, he fell ill and died (Hdt. 5.122).

The Cypriot Revolt

Not long afterwards, the revolt spread to Cyprus, an island located south of Cilicia, north of Egypt, and west of Phoenicia (map 8a). The island is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea. The population of Cyprus was divided into two ethnic groups, the Greeks and the Phoenicians. There was strife between the two groups, especially in the cities of Salamis, located on the east coast of Northern Cyprus, and Kition, located on the southern coast of the island (map 8b). The Ionians gained support from the Salaminians by means of deceit. Onesilus wanted to defect to the Ionian side, but his brother and the King of Cyprus, Gorgos opposed the idea. Onesilos waited until his brother left Salamis, locked his brother from the city, and took control of the city (Hdt. 5.104). Gorgos fled to the Persians. Onesilos, with his new-founded power, besieged the town of Amathous, situated on the southern coast of Cyprus, about twenty-four miles from Kition.

Once in power, Onesilus sent heralds throughout Ionia calling for assistance. The Cypriots presented the Ionians with two options: they could either fight the Persians on land or the Phoenicians at sea. The Ionians maintained control of their ships (Hdt. 5.109). In 497, the Persians, commanded by Artybius, arrived with a large land force and met the Phoenician and Levantine fleets at the Keys of Cyprus, located on the north coast of the island (Hdt.5.108). The Keys of Cyprus, modern day Cape Andreas, is located on the north coast of the island.⁷³ The navies of the Persians and the

⁷³ Ibid., 134.

Salaminians engaged in battle (Hdt. 5.108).⁷⁴ Herodotus gives no details about the actual event, except that it was a Persian defeat.

On land, the Persian army was transported from the great naval base in Cilicia to Salamis, Cyprus.⁷⁵ When the Persian army reached the plain of Salamis, the Samian kings drew up their troops and selected the best men to oppose the Persians. The Persian general Artybios rode a horse that was trained to rear on its hind legs when directly in front of a soldier. When Onesilos learned this, he asked his shield bearer if he should attack Artybios or the horse. The shield bearer replied that a king and a general ought to confront each other (Hdt.5.112). As the two generals engaged in combat, Onesilos stuck the horse with a scythe, removing its forelegs and the Persian fell. With Artybios down, the Cypriots appeared to have the upper hand; however things changed when the Kourian contingent and the Salamians deserted the cause. The Cypriots no longer had the manpower needed to defeat the Persia's massive army. The Persians defeated the Cypriots, decapitated Onesilos, and hung his head over the city gates (Hdt. 5.114). The Persians gained control over all the Cypriot *poleis* except Salamis, which was handed to Gorgos. The Ionians retreated to Ionia.

As the Persians pursued the Ionians, Aristagoras proved himself to be coward (Hdt. 5.124). Worried about the impending consequences of his action, Aristagoras convened a meeting of his supporters. He asked whether Sardinia or Myrcinus was the best place for him to establish a colony (Hdt. 5.124). Hecataeus, the wise advisor, recommended that Aristagoras should establish a naval base on the island of Leros

⁷⁴ Lysanias of Mallos in Cilicia asserts that the sea battle took place in the Pamphylian Sea, between the Eretrians and a royal Persian fleet (Plut. *Mor.*861 B-C = FGH 426).

⁷⁵ Wallinga, *Ships and Sea power*, 134.

(map 9). It was a Milesian-controlled island located thirty miles south-west of Miletus. During the Peloponnesian War, the island was used as a point of reconnaissance by both Sparta and Athens (Thuc. 8.26). Hecataeus' advice was based on Aristagoras' ability to use sea power to defeat the Persians, which would be the decisive factor in the Greco-Persian Wars, as well as later in the Peloponnesian War. Gorman asserts that, at this time, Aristagoras was fleeing from the factional strife of his own people,⁷⁶ who realized that Aristagoras could not produce his promise of permanently removing Persia's influence. Hecataeus' advice was ignored for a third time and Aristagoras sailed for Myrkinos. Somewhere in Myrkinos, Aristagoras and his supporters were killed in a raid.

Once Histiaeus arrived in Sardis in 496,⁷⁷ Artaphrenes asked him what started the revolt. Histiaeus appeared completely ignorant, but Artaphrenes said, "I'll tell you what actually happened in this business, Histiaeus: it was you who stitched the shoe, while Aristagoras merely put it on" (Hdt. 6.1). This accusation made Histiaeus anxious; he therefore fled Sardis for Chios. The Chians were suspicious that Histiaeus was working for King Darius and imprisoned him. During his detainment, the Chians asked him why he had encouraged Aristagoras to revolt from the King. Histiaeus explained that King Darius had plans to relocate the Phoenicians to Ionia and to move the Ionians to Phoenicia (Hdt. 6.3). Herodotus notes that this was completely fabricated story and that Darius was planning no such thing (Hdt. 6.3). Georges states that only a dreadful prospect, such as deportation was used to motivate the Ionians to break their tie with

⁷⁶ Gorman, 141.

⁷⁷ Dandamaev, 163.

Persia.⁷⁸ This prospect was an actual threat to the Ionians; the Persians deported Paeonians to Asia Minor in 518. The Chians, being fully deceived, set Histiaeus free.

Later, Histiaeus deployed a certain Hermippus to transport a letter to his Persian allies in Sardis (Hdt. 6.4). Before delivering the message to the appropriate party, Hermippus first showed it to Artaphrenes. When Artaphrenes discovered Histiaeus' plot, Artaphrenes told the messenger to continue with the plan, but inform him first of the Persians' reply. Through this deceit, Artaphrenes was able to discover and put to death the Persians involved in the coup but Histiaeus was able to escape to Miletus (Hdt. 6.4). In Miletus, he attempted to force the Milesians into submission; but he was wounded in the thigh by one of the citizens and driven from the *polis*. Histiaeus made his way to Chios, yet failed to receive any assistance. Next, Histiaeus sailed to Lesbos and persuaded the Lesbians to give him eight triremes; from there he made his way to Byzantium (map 10). In Byzantium, Histiaeus created a base of operations and blockade any ships in the Black Sea.⁷⁹ Histiaeus lived in Byzantium until he received news of the Battle of Lade.⁸⁰

The Ionian and Cypriot Revolt demonstrate the internal struggle for power among the Greeks. It also shows how the Greeks used the Persians to gain power and then when it suited them, betrayed the relationship. In both revolt, readers will notice that the Ionian leaders had remarkable success in the first stage of their planning, such as gaining support from mainland Greece. Yet, the Ionians failed to remain loyal to each

⁷⁸ Georges, 24.

⁷⁹ Kuhrt, 223.

⁸⁰ Dandamaev, 124.

other and to see their strategy to its conclusion, such as the attack on Sardis, which the Athenians and Euboeans left once it appeared the Ionians were losing.

Chapter Three:

Herodotus' Account of the Battle of Lade and the Rise of Sea Power

For the Persians, the revolt had gone on for five years and conquering cities one by one was ineffective. Aristagoras was dead and Histiaeus was on the run. The Persian took full advantage of lack of leadership among the Ionians and prepared for an attack. The Persians set their sights on Miletus, the home of the revolt, and mobilized their army and navy. This final battle of the Ionian Revolt was the decisive act that changed the political landscape of Asia Minor.

In 494, the Persians were preparing to launch an amphibious attack against Miletus; they decided to mobilize at Lade Island.⁸¹ Lade Island is a dissected ridge of rock located north of Miletus (map 11). It is about two miles long and half a mile wide; the island is fairly defensible to the east, west, and south due to its landscape of various elevations, plateaus, mountains ranges, rivers, and rocky terrain.⁸² The harbor of Lade Island lies directly west of Miletus.⁸³ The Persians' plan was to force their way into the Latmic gulf, cross the Ionian front, and defeat them at sea.⁸⁴ Once the Ionian fleet was destroyed, the Persian army could then invade Miletus by entering Akbuk Bay. In Miletus, the Persian forces would unite to besiege the city.⁸⁵

⁸¹ It must be noted that the Battle at Lade was the first securely attested naval battle in which large numbers of triremes were involved. Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Warfare and Athenian Society," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles*, ed. Loren Smons (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 102.

⁸² John Myres, "The Battle of Lade, 494 B. C. (Herodotus vi. 6-17 with Map)," *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jun., 1954), 50.

⁸³ Dora Crouch. *Geology and Settlement: Greco-Roman Patterns*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 188.

⁸⁴ Myres, 51.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

When the Ionians learned of the Persians' assault against Miletus, they sent delegates to Panionium, in Mykale (Hdt. 1.148). The Panionium was the religious centre of the old Ionian League; the powers and responsibilities of the Panionium are ambiguous and were probably never defined.⁸⁶ The common decision-making body consisted of representatives (*probouloi*) from the following *poleis*: Miletus, Priene, Myus, Teos, Chios, Erythrae, Phocaea, Lesbos, and Samos (map 12).⁸⁷ These nine cities decided to send contingents to the battle of Lade. The *probouloi* decided to assemble every available ship (Hdt. 6.7), including those triremes acquired after the failed Naxos Expedition of 500/499 at Lade Island (Hdt. 5.36). The defense strategy of Miletus required each *polis* to appoint its own navy commander and raise its own army. The lack of organization and the inability to appoint a supreme commander was a basic weakness of the Ionian alliance.⁸⁸

The Ionian fleet was comprised of the Milesians with eighty triremes; the Prieneans with twelve triremes; the contingent from Myous with three triremes; the men of Teos with seventeen triremes; the Chians with a hundred triremes; and the Erythraeans and Phocaeans, with their squadrons of eight and three triremes, respectively. Next to these were the Lesbians with seventy triremes and the Samians held the western wing with sixty triremes. The Ionian navy force numbered about 353 triremes (Hdt. 6.8) and possibly, 75,189 men.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Donald Kagan, *The Fall of the Athenian Empire*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1987), 5.

⁸⁷ Murray, 481. Kagan believes that there were ten *probouloi*, one from each tribe. Kagan, 5.

⁸⁸ Murray, 488.

⁸⁹ The number of the crew is an estimate: 170 oarsmen per trireme and 43 specialized sailors and soldiers per trireme.

The Persians appointed a single naval commander, Datis, the Mede; however, they did not possess an overwhelming superiority at sea and initiated political warfare rather than an outright offensive strategy.⁹⁰ To combat their lack of numbers and knowledge of the sea, the Persians ordered the former tyrants of the Ionian cities to address their fellow countrymen about the repercussions of their actions. One tyrant, who had joined the Persians against Miletus, said to his peers that now is the time for each of them to show himself loyal to the King...if they complied, they would not be punished; but if they continued to rebel against the King they would face dire consequences (Hdt. 6.9).⁹¹ After this notice was given, the Persians waited until intrigue brought out the Ionian defectors.⁹² This meeting yielded no immediate results; each man decided to stay the course and remain in the alliance.

The Ionian alliance was addressed by Dionysius of Phocaea. If war was the course that the Ionians selected, he asked them to put themselves into his hands and assured them a victory (Hdt. 6.11). He stated that the road ahead would be faced with hard work, but in the long run they will be free. Dionysius was able to secure support from some of the Ionian contingent, but not all; it appears that some *poleis* still maintained some type of command over their own fleets.⁹³ The Phocaeans were skilled

⁹⁰ Burr, 207.

⁹¹ In 6.32 Herodotus states that the Persians castrated the most attractive boys, and the attractive girls were sent to King Darius.

⁹² Myres, 53.

⁹³ There is some discrepancy concerning Dionysius' authority. According to Morrison and Coates, he was admiral of the entire Ionian fleet (Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian Trireme*, 42); Murray suggests, however that his command only extended over his own three triremes (Murray, *The Ionian Revolt*, 488).

and disciplined seamen, comparable to the Phoenicians.⁹⁴ Dionysius wasted no time in preparing his men for battle.⁹⁵ Every day, he scheduled military exercise for the fleet, which included practicing “breaking-line” or *diekplous*.⁹⁶ The maneuver is an offensive tactic that allows a trireme or a squadron of triremes to sail through an opening in the enemy’s line of ships (figure 3). Once the ships were behind the enemy’s line, they would turn and ram their opponent on the beam or stern. After practice, Dionysius insisted that the fleet lie at anchor instead of coming ashore. In case of a surprise attack; he secured the base of the Ionian fleet at the entrance of the Latmic Gulf. In this position, the Ionians would be concealed until the Persians rounded Lade Island and were in the Latmic Gulf.

Under the command of Dionysius, these men did not get any rest and grew rebellious. These men began to ignore Dionysius’ orders and pitched their tents to rest. When the commanders from Samos witnessed this spectacle, they concluded that the Ionians lacked the discipline required to succeed against the Persians (Hdt. 6.13). Under the cover of night, the dismayed Samians requested a meeting with the Persians. The idea of dissension among the Ionians as a reason for the Samians’ desertion is unsubstantiated. Economics may have had more to do with the Samian treachery than rebellious sailors. The Samians may felt that Persian tyranny offered a more lucrative

⁹⁴ The poet Hipponax (fr.45) makes the first literary reference to a trireme; the Phocaeans are said to have had twenty of their triremes ruined after their rams were twisted off during the naval battle of Alalia (c. 535). Herodotus (1.165) states that the Phocaeans piratical raids lead to the battle of Alalia. Christopher J. Hass, “Athenian Naval Power before Themistocles,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 34, No. 1 (1st Qtr., 1985), 33 and 38.

⁹⁵ Morrison and Coates, 42; Murray, 488.

⁹⁶ J.F. Lazenby, “The Diekplous,” *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, vol. 34, no. 2 (Oct., 1987), 169.

opportunity than Ionian freedom and thus they decided to disembark.⁹⁷ Under the cover of night, the dismayed Samians requested a meeting with the Persians. The Samians and the Persians came to an agreement that at the proper moment, the Samians would disengage and sail for home.

The day of battle, the Persian advanced south from Halicarnassus and Cos and moved north toward Lade (figure 4). The Persians at this point were unprotected; the only shelter available was near Leros Island, where Alinda Bay opened east, about twenty-five miles southeast of Lade (map 13). Once the Persians were in sight, the Ionians scrambled to get into formation and sailed in line ahead to meet them (figure 5). At Lade Island, the Ionian squadrons were arranged from west to east, between Lade Island and Miletus. The east wing and right of the line consisted of the Milesians and Prienans. Across the Latmic Gulf lay Myus. In the center were contingents from Teos, Chios, Erthrae and Phocaea; on the north-west wing were Lesbos and Samos (figure 6). The triremes were positioned to correspond to the geographic location of the *poleis* represented. This enabled each *polis* to provide a seamless method for communicating and supplying its triremes.

Once the battle began, Dionysius activated his plan. The whole fleet moved off in line abeam, in parallel course to the Persians' columns as they entered the Latmic Gulf. The Chians, with a hundred triremes, accomplished the *diekplous*. Each principal squadron, along with its convoys, was wheeled into line ahead to strike the Persians' flank and broke through the Persians' line. The plan was for the Milesians to do the same maneuver; with the Chians and the Milesians acting together, they could possible

⁹⁷ Graham Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800-188* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 107.

cut off the Persian navy. At the pivotal point, however, forty-nine of the sixty Samian captains abandoned their position and sailed for home. The Lesbians, who were next in line, were exposed to the northwest and retreated. As a consequence of two of the Greek units “missing in action,” the rest of the Ionian contingent followed suit. The Persians were victorious at the Battle of Lade. They then proceed to fulfill their promise of punishing the Ionians for their crimes against the King. The male inhabitants were killed; the women and children were reduced to slavery. The surviving Milesians were taken to Susa and then relocated to the Red Sea in the town of Ampe on the Persian Gulf (map 14). The Persians kept the Milesian territory for themselves (Hdt. 6.19). Miletus was captured in the summer of 494; the Ionians were reduced to slavery in the sixth year after Aristagoras’ first revolted.

Only the Chians, who according to Herodotus were valiant fighters, remained (Hdt. 6.14). They had provided the Ionians with 100 triremes, 17,000 oarsmen, and 4,000 *epibatai* (deck soldiers).⁹⁸ The crippled Chian triremes were forced to beach at Mycale and made their way to Ephesus, as they tried to make their way home on land. Their journey brought them to the Ephesian territory during the festival of Thesmophoria. The festival of Thesmophoria was in observance of Demeter’s mourning of her daughter, Persephone, who dwells in the underworld. By imposing celibacy for three days, Thesmophoria liberated a wife from having sexual relations with her husband.⁹⁹ Men were strictly excluded; so when the Ephesians saw the armed Chians, they were absolutely sure that these men were coming to carry off their women. The Ephesians came out in full strength and killed the Chians (Hdt. 6.16).

⁹⁸ Morrison and Coates, 43.

⁹⁹ Elizabeth Abbott, *A History of Celibacy*. (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001), 34.

In Byzantium, Histiaeus and his Mytileneans preyed on Ionian merchant ships from the Pontus and recruited the crews willing to follow him. He sailed to Chios; but the Chians refused to let him pass. According to Kuhrt, the Chians put him in fetters, because they suspected him of planning mischief against them on Darius' behalf.¹⁰⁰ When the Chians learned that Histiaeus was revolting against the King, they released him. Histiaeus left Chios for Lesbos after he received the message of the Persian victory and crossed over to the mainland. With the assistance of the Lesbians, Histiaeus gained control of the island as a tyrant and launched a campaign against Thasos with a large Ionian and Aeolian force (Hdt. 6.26-27). While besieging the *polis*, Histiaeus learned that the Phoenician fleet had left Miletus to subdue the other Ionian *polis*. He therefore left his designs on Thasos unfinished in order to defend Lesbos.¹⁰¹

Histiaeus attempted to defend Lesbos from the Phoenicians. In order to feed his army, he led a foraging raid near Atarneus and Myus. There he was intercepted by some Persian forces led by Harpagus, thus commencing the Battle at Malene. The battle took place near the town of Malene in northern Asia Minor. There were heavy losses on both sides; however, the Persian cavalry got the best of the Ionian contingent. Histiaeus was captured by the Persians and when soldiers were about to kill him, he cowardly cried out in Persian that he was Histiaeus (Hdt. 6.29). The Persians subsequently brought him to Sardis where he was met by Harpagus (Hdt. 6.29). Harpagus gave him to Artaphrenes, who considered him the author of the Ionian Revolt; Artaphrenes had him impaled and embalmed his head. The embalmed head was sent

¹⁰⁰ Kuhrt, 223.

¹⁰¹ George Grote, *A History of Greece: From the Time of Solon to 403*, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 164.

to Darius. The King was upset by Histiaeus' death and the King castigated the Persians who were involved in the murder of Histiaeus (Hdt. 6.30), because he saw Histiaeus as a friend and ally to Persia.

The Battle at Lade was the first battle in which triremes were used. Although, the Ionians were defeated, the significant of this battle lies in the fact that the Ionians were able to provide 353 triremes and the men necessary to man it. Another point of interest is that the Greeks took advantage of their knowledge of sea power and the fact that sea power was a weakness of the Persians. Knowledge of the sea would be indispensable later during the Greco-Persian Wars, when the Greeks defeat the Persians at sea; thus enable them from being absorbed into the Persian Empire.

Conclusion

The Consequence of Herodotus' Bias towards the Ionians and His Depiction of the Ionian Revolt

The Ionian Revolt began when a group of exiled Naxian aristocrats arrived in Miletus seeking assistance to return to power in Naxos. The expedition failed, but ignited an international scale rebellion throughout the Persian supported Ionian *poleis*. In the course of surveying the Ionian Revolt, it becomes evident that Herodotus' bias towards the Ionians brings into question his account of the Ionian Revolt. There are several elements about the revolt that needs more investigation, such as the effect of Herodotus' bias towards the Ionians on his recounting of the Revolt, his lack of correlation of the revolt to the Greco-Persian Wars.

Herodotus' prejudice against the Ionians is evident in Book One, "the Ionians constituted by far the weakest and most insignificant part of [Greece]" (Hdt. 1.143). Herodotus represents the Ionian communities as ineffective in achieving their goal of removing the Persian yoke of tyranny from Ionia. Yet Herodotus' own account shows that Aristagoras, as well as other Ionian leaders, achieved notable successes, such as putting the Persians on the defensive in their own stronghold in Sardis. Herodotus also failed to give Aristagoras credit for building new alliances when needed: he attracted the Persians Artaphrenes and King Darius to the Naxian Expedition; he persuaded Athens and Euboea to join a rebellion hundreds of miles away, despite their lack of sea power at the time; and he successful called for the dismantling of the Persian yoke and remove several tyrants across Ionia.

Herodotus' bias may have stemmed from his relationship with Lygdamis, tyrant of Halicarnassus, who exiled Herodotus. Having personally experienced of tyranny and

having been active in deposing it, Herodotus may have felt that Aristagoras' use of *insonomia* to gain power was distasteful. His bias, however, prevented him from correlating the events of the revolt with those that would later occur during the Greco-Persian Wars. It also prevents readers from being able to correlate events, see similarities in peoples' actions, and understand the change in warfare.

The Ionian Revolt is an example of the importance of sea power for the Greeks. In the revolt, sea power was an underlying theme: the Naxian Expedition supposedly failed due to an unmanned post on the ship of Captain Scylax; the Cypriot Rebellion enjoyed a temporary victory after the navy defeated the Persians; and finally the Battle of Lade was a Persian victory because the Persians understood that they lacked the sea power necessary to defeat the Greeks. Having realized this, the Persians initiated an alliance with the Ionians that were not completely committed to the cause. This action was detrimental to the Ionians' performance at sea, and the Ionians were defeated. Later in the Greco-Persian Wars, sea power was the main factor in the Greeks securing victory over the Persians; it would also assist the Athenians in creating hegemony over the Greek *poleis* and commence the Peloponnesian War.

This thesis' identification of Herodotus' anti-Ionian bias implies that future research will need to concentrate on the international turmoil faced by the participants of the revolt and the individual rebellions throughout the Persian Greek satrapies. The Ionian Revolt affected Persia, mainland Greece, the Cycladic islands, the Black Sea littoral, and the towns of the Mediterranean Sea, such as those in Phoenicia and Cilicia. Aristagoras' call for democracy affected economic, political, and military strength of Ionia and Persia. These three points demonstrate the need for more research on the

implication of author's bias on the accounts he recorded and the influence of that bias on the research of historians. Herodotus' bias may have caused other historians to disregard the possible lessons that may be gained by understanding the motives and actions of the people involved, whether those actions are noble or disgraceful. It also overshadows the lessons learned from the less than noble deeds, for instance the use of betrayal, propaganda, and deceit in warfare; as well as demonstrating how individuals such as, Aristagoras and Histiaeus, were able independently to gather support from other Greeks and non-Greeks in order to gain power. The Ionian Revolt was a complex series of rebellions that unknowingly shaped the way that future nations, such as England, viewed and use sea power as a military strength and the importance of remembering the past in order not to repeat it.

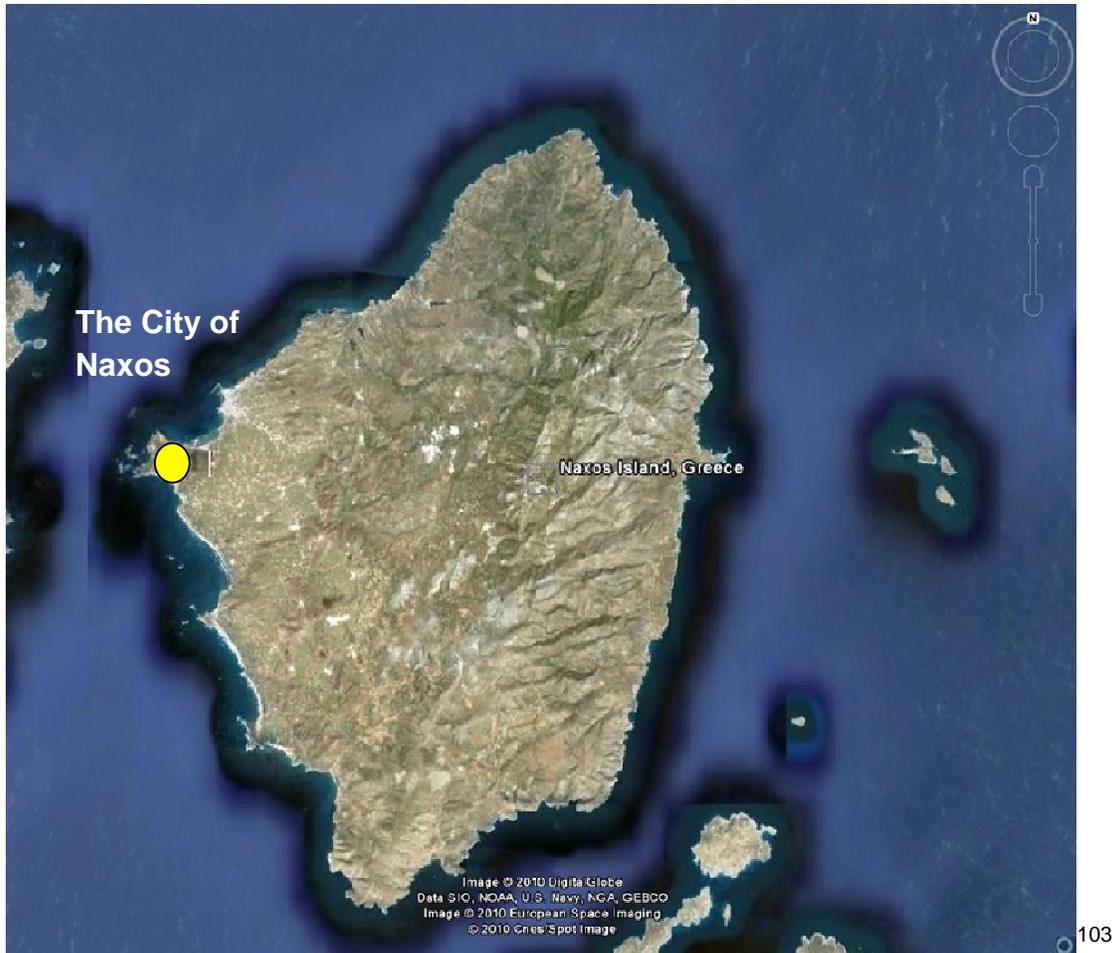
Appendix I: Maps



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Map 1: Islands of Cyclades Archipelago

¹⁰² "Image: Cyclades-Satelite.png." Wikipedia.
<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/5/58/Cyclades-Satellite.png>. Accessed 31 May 2010.



Map 2a: The City of Naxos, Naxos Island

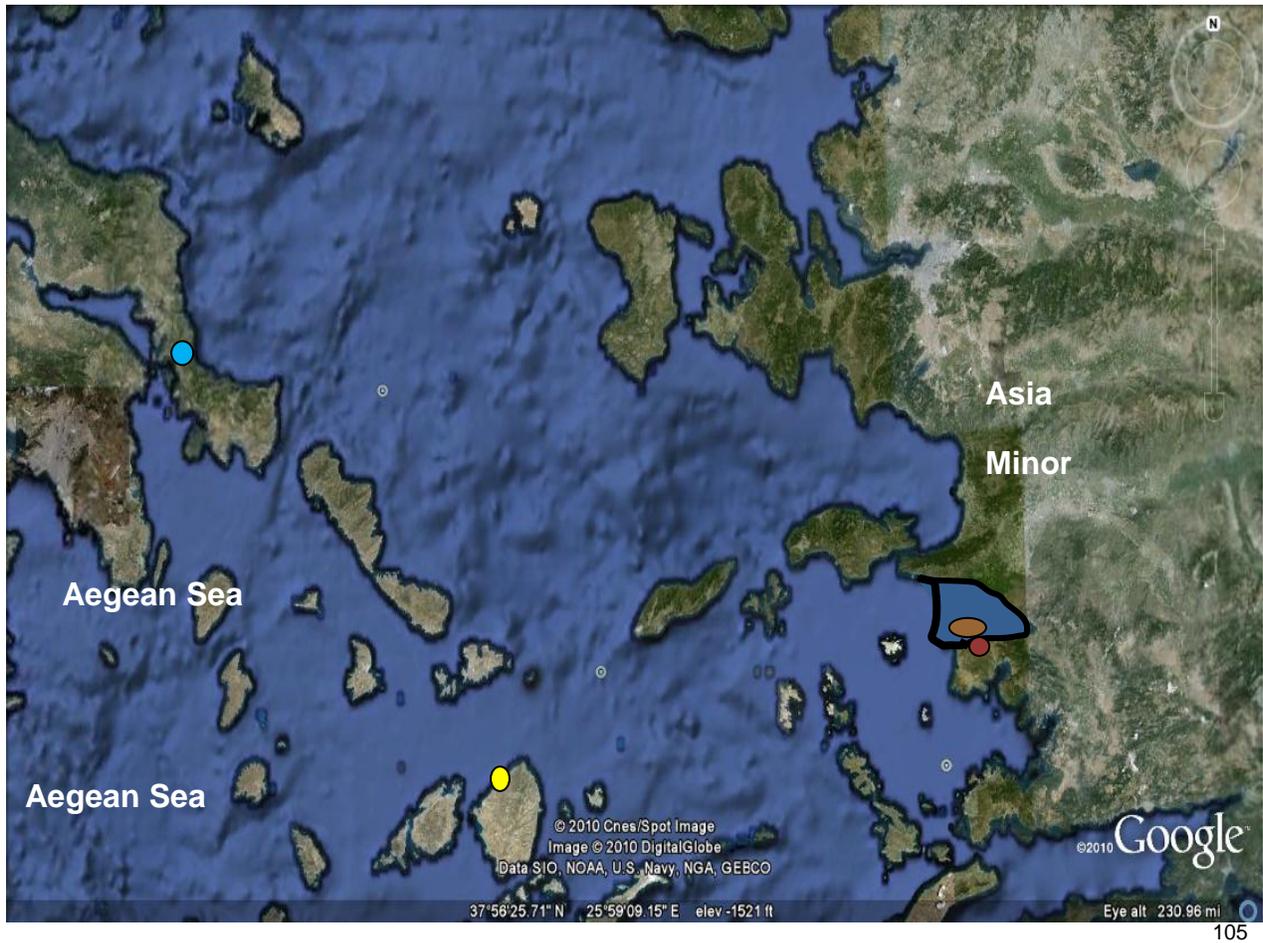
¹⁰³ "The City of Naxos." 37°06'24.56"N and 25°22'32.07"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. May 31, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



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Map 2b: The Shape of the City of Naxos

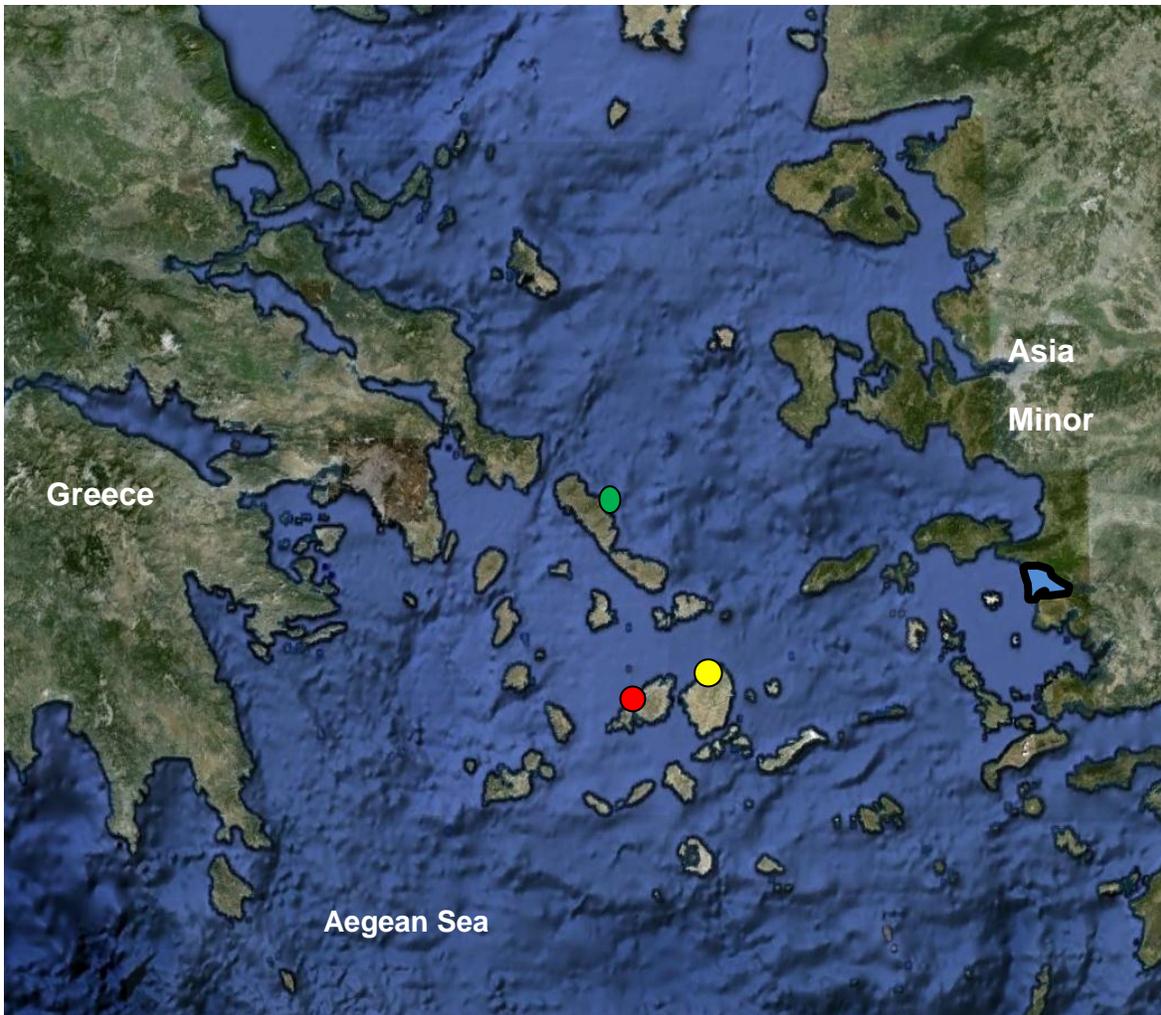
¹⁰⁴ "Palatia Islet." 37°06'22.72"N and 25°22'32.96"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. May 31, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



Map 3: Euboea, Miletus, and Naxos

Legend	
Miletus	●
Naxos	●
Euboea	●

¹⁰⁵ "Euboea." 37°56'25.71"N and 25°59'09.15"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. May 31, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.

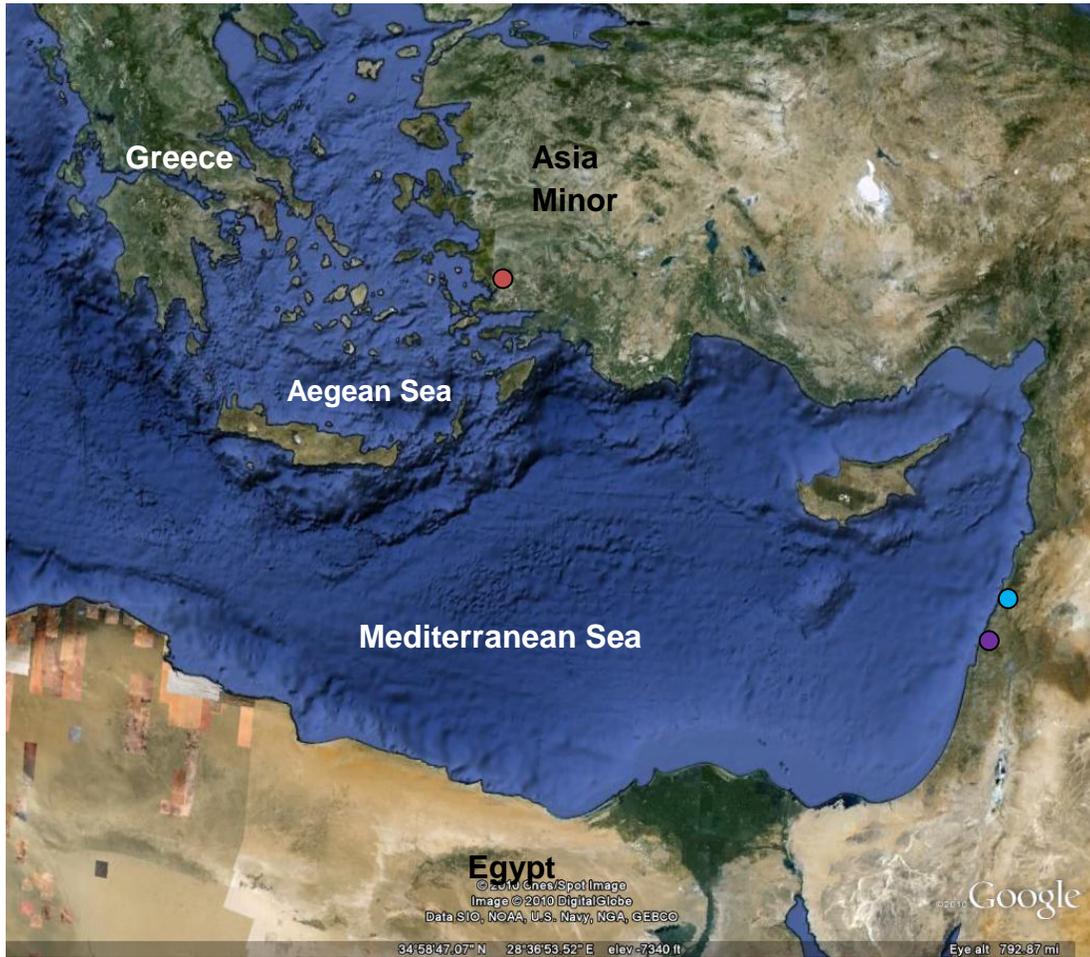


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Map 4: Naxos, Andros, and Paros of the Cyclades Islands

Legend	
Naxos	
Paros	
Andros	

¹⁰⁶ "The Aegean Sea". *Google Earth*. 2010. May 31, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



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Map 5: Sidon and Tyre, Phoenicia

Legend	
Tyre	
Sidon	
Miletus	

¹⁰⁷ "Lebanon." 33°41'37.20"N and 34°00'36.31"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. May 31, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



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Map 6: Athens, Sparta, Euboea, and Miletus

Legend	
Athens	●
Sparta	●
Miletus	●
Euboea	●

¹⁰⁸ "Sparta and Athens." 37°02'01.61"N and 25°54'09.51"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. June 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



Map 7: Bosphorus Straits and the Black Sea

¹⁰⁹ "Bosphorus Straits and the Black Sea." 41°03'06.60"N and 29°36'02.59"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. June 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



Map 8a: Cyprus

¹¹⁰ "Cyprus." 33°43'44.62"N and 31°53'08.41"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. June 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.

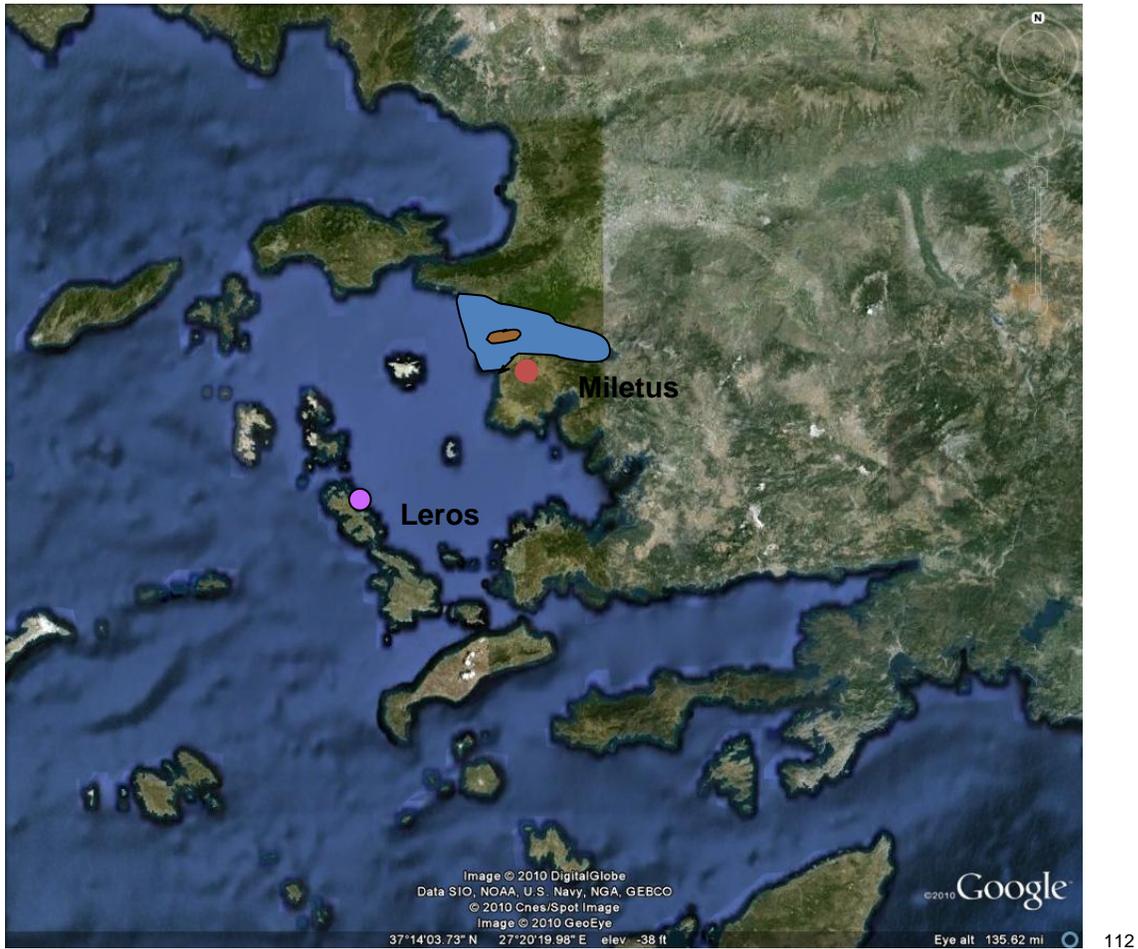


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Map 8b: Cities of Cyprus

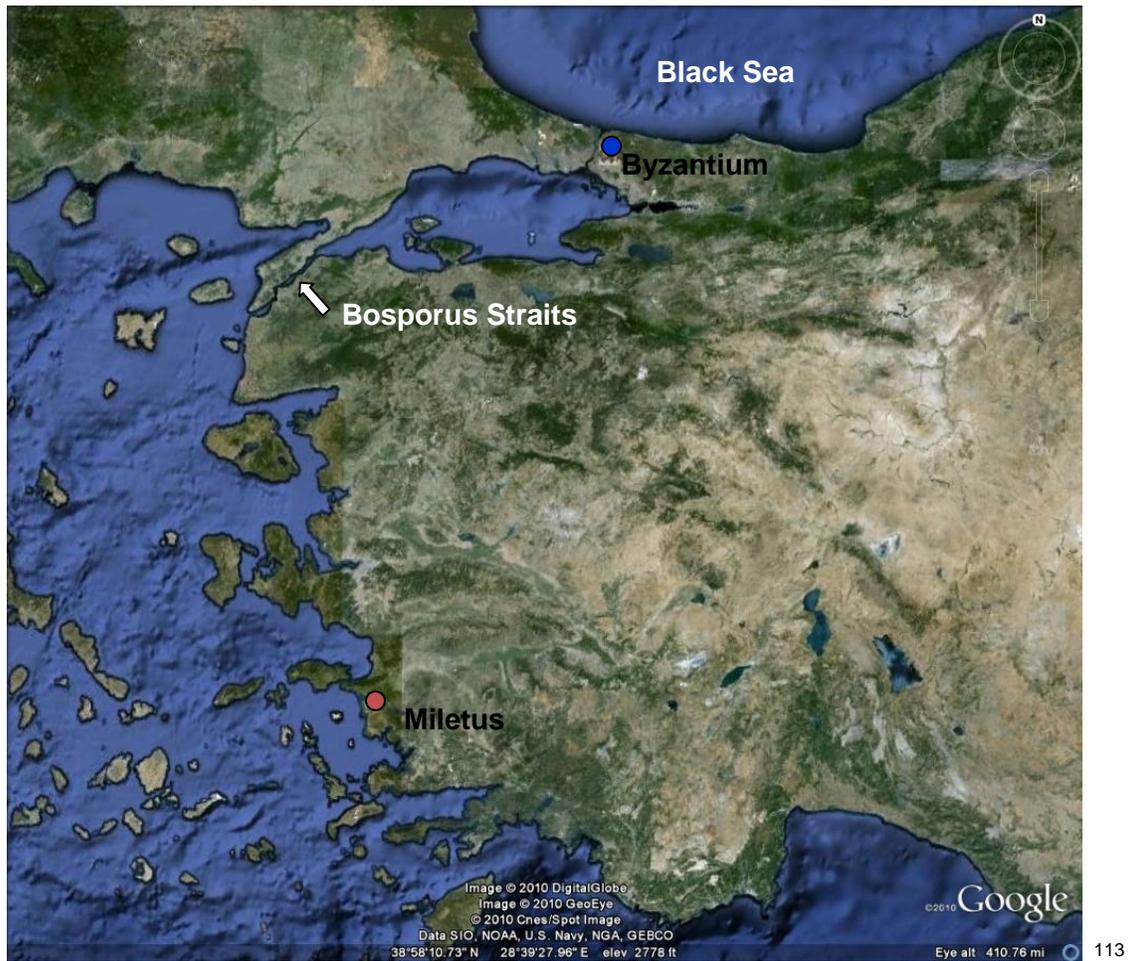
Legend	
Kition	●
Amathous	●
Keys of Cyprus	●
Salamis	●

¹¹¹ "Cities of Cyprus." 34°51'02.60"N and 33°26'59.49"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. June 3, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



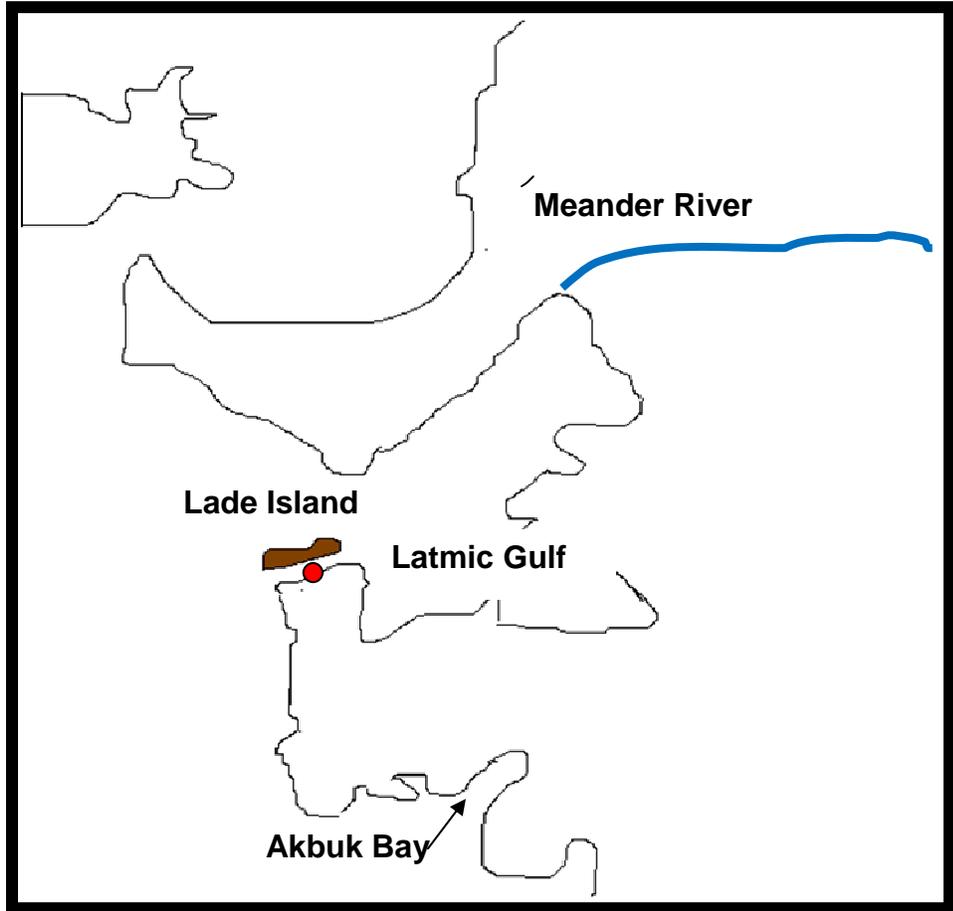
Map 9: The Island of Leros

¹¹² "Leros." 37°14'03.73"N and 27°20'19.98"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. June 3, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.

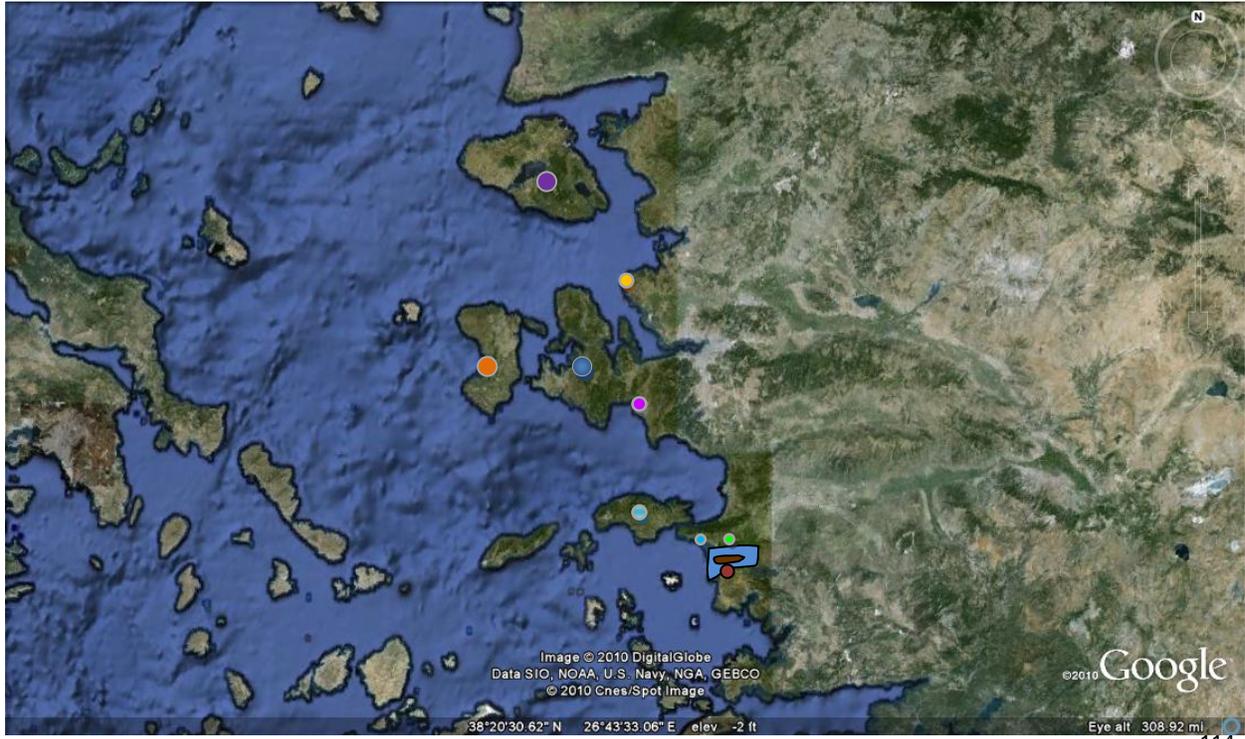


Map 10: Byzantium

¹¹³ "Byzantium." 38°58'10.73"N and 26°39'27.96"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. June 3, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



Map 11: Lade Island



Map 12: The Ionian *Poleis*

Legend	
Miletus (80)	
Priene (12)	
Myus (3)	
Teos (17)	
Chios (100)	
Erythrae (8)	
Phocaea (3)	
Lesbos (70)	
Samos (60)	

¹¹⁴ "The Ionian Poleis." 38°20'30.62"N and 26°42'33.06"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. July 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



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Map 13: Alinda Bay, Leros

¹¹⁵ "Alinda Bay, Leros." 37°07'09.82"N and 26°56'21.46"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. July 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author

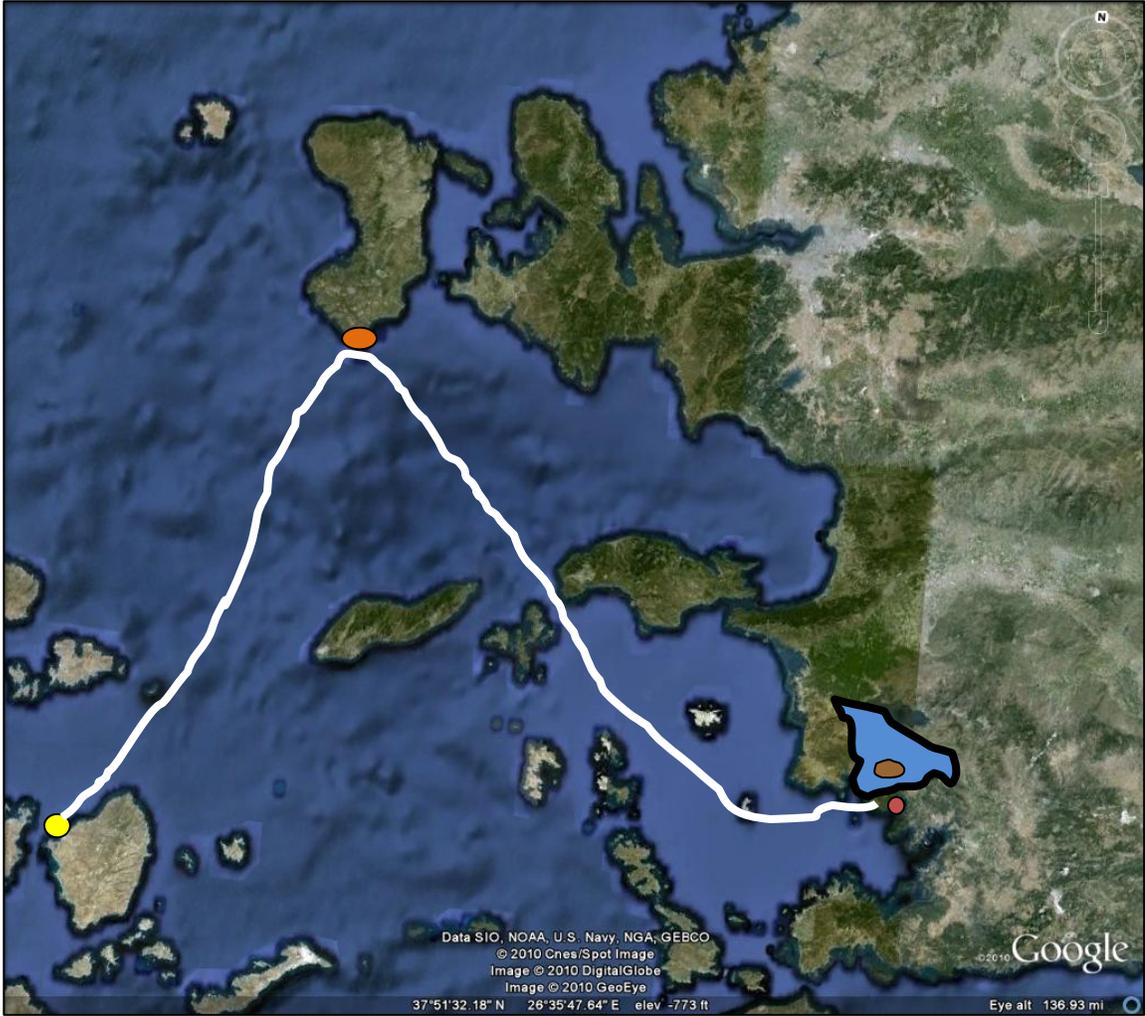


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Map 14: Relocation of the Milesians

¹¹⁶ "Town of Ampe." 25°24'57.17"N and 48°04'56.20"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. July 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author

Appendix II: Figures



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Figure 1: The Attack on Naxos

Legend	
Chios	
Miletus	
Naxos	
Route	

¹¹⁷ "Aegean Sea." 37°51'32.18"N and 26°35'47.67"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. May 31, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.

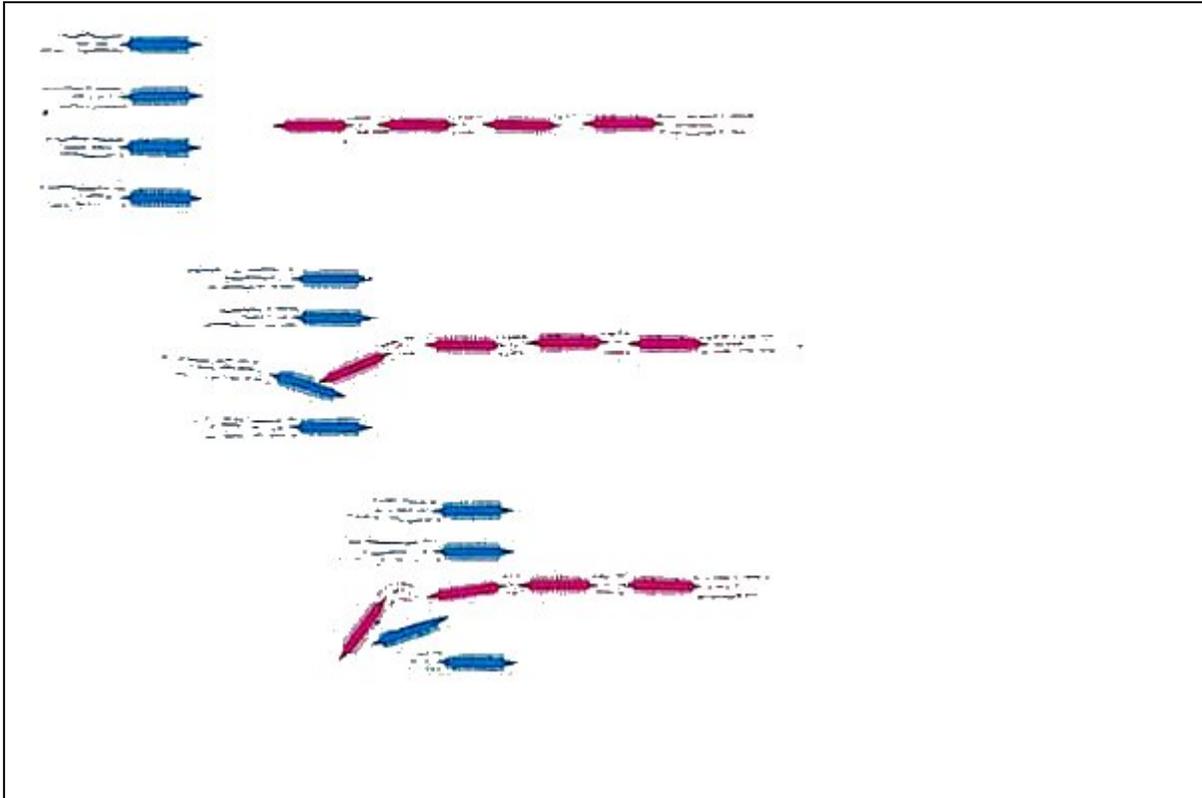


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Figure 2: Royal Road

Legend	
Persepolis	●
Susa	●
Miletus	●
Sardis	●
Royal Road	—

¹¹⁸ "The Royal Road." 33°41'57.17"N and 40°32'05.67"E *Google Earth*. 2010. June 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



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Figure 3: The *Diekplous*

¹¹⁹ Thomas Setzer, *Ancient Greek Naval Warfare*, <http://www.inisfail.com/oldsage/ancients/history/greek-naval.html>. accessed 05November2010.

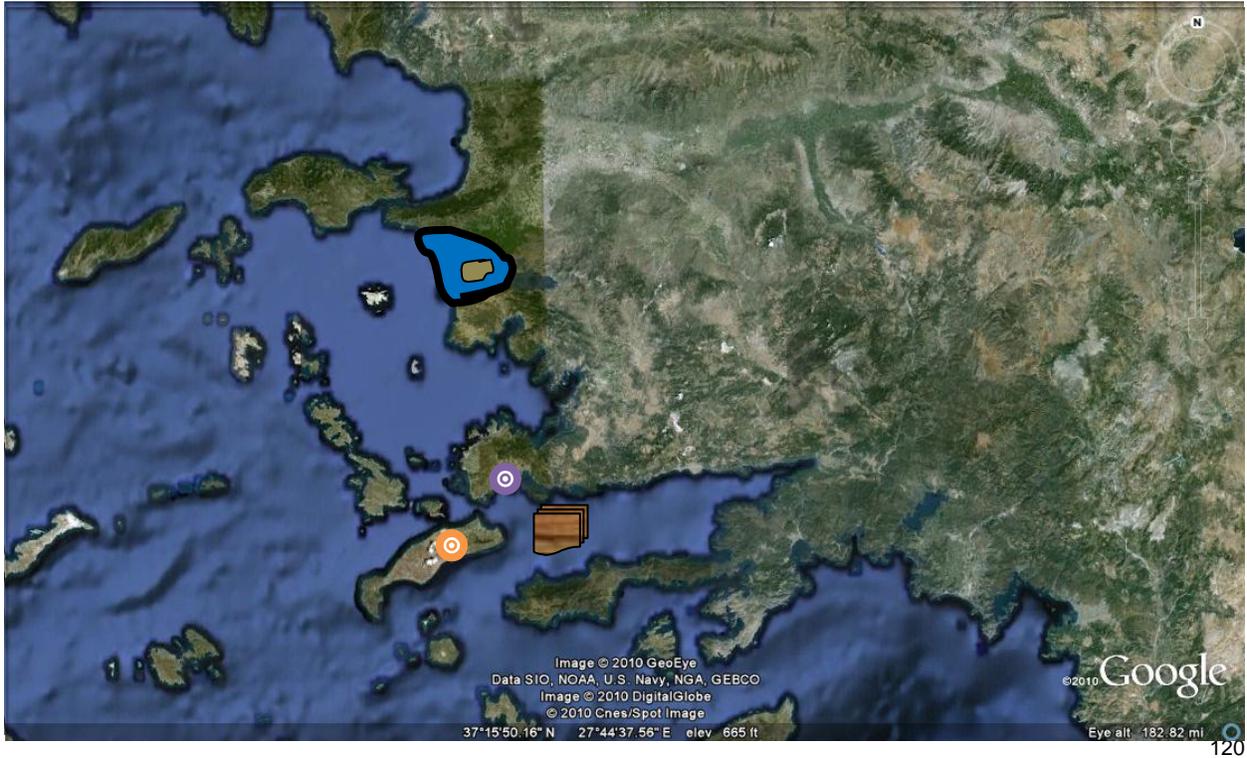


Figure 4: Day of Battle at Lade Island: Persian Advancement I

Legend	
Cos	
Halicarnassus	
Persian fleet	

¹²⁰ "Day of Battle at Lade Island: Persian Advancement." 37°15'50.16"N and 27°44'37.56"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. July 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author.



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Figure 5: Leros Island: Persian Advance II

Legend	
Cos	
Halicarnassus	
Persian fleet	
Alinda Bay, Leros	
Persian Route	-----

¹²¹ "Leros." 37°07'09.83"N and 26°56'21.47"E. *Google Earth*. 2010. July 1, 2010. The map is courtesy of Google Earth; alterations made by author

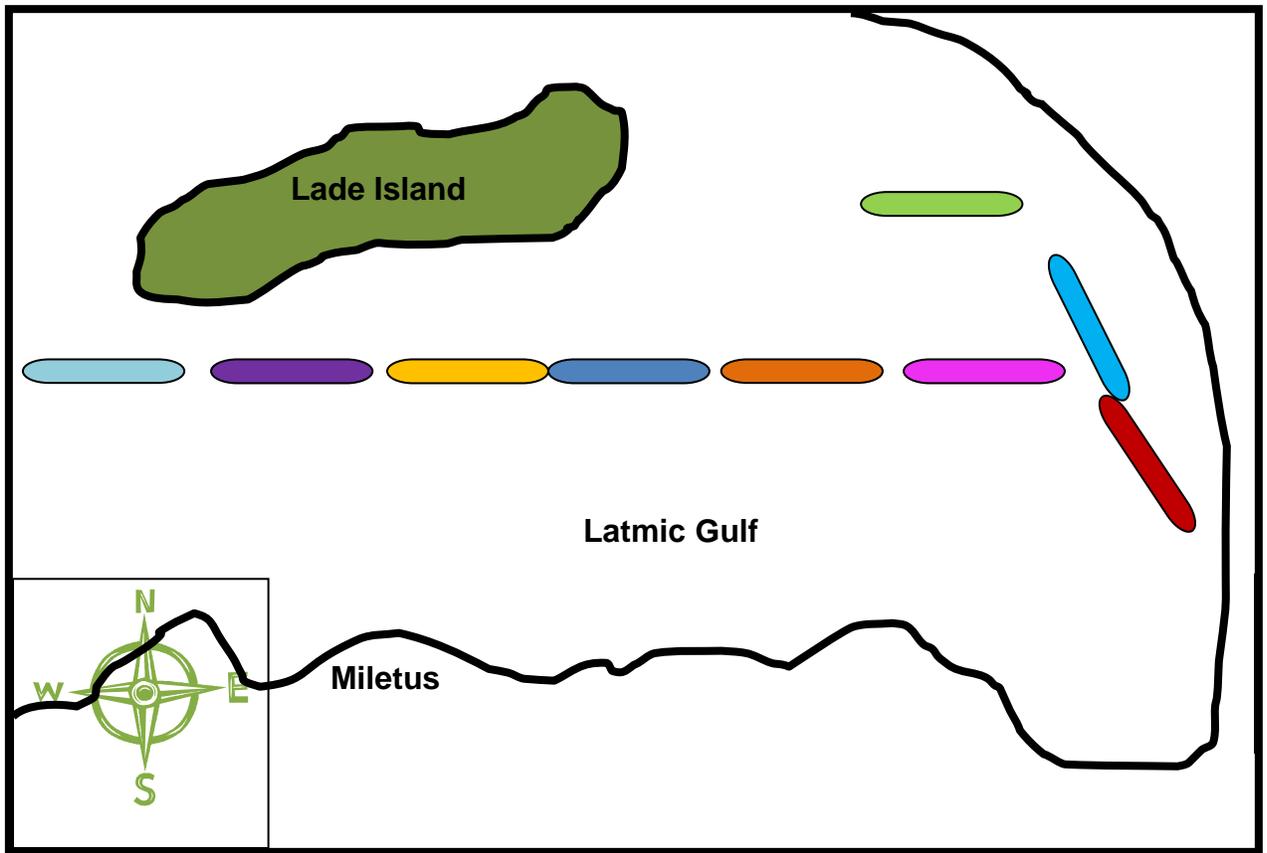


Figure 6: The Ionian Fleet Position

Legend	
Miletus (80)	
Priene (12)	
Myus (3)	
Teos (17)	
Chios (100)	
Erythrae (8)	
Phocaea (3)	
Lesbos (70)	
Samos (60)	

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