

The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia: philological and historical problems.

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Antonis Tsakmakis
(University of Cyprus)

JACOBY
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BRILL

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΑ
ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΕΩΝ
ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΩΝ

HELLENICA
OXYRHYNCHIA

ΑΡΧΑΙΑ

ΕΠΙΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΕΩΣ

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΣ

ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΩΝ



Hellenica Oxyrhynchia

about 4300 words of text (<50% of the average book length of Xen. *HG*, <25% of Thuc., <20% of Herod.)

London fragments (>70% of total length)

(events of 396-395 BC)

Grenfell, B.P. - Hunt, A.S., "Theopompus (or Cratippus) Hellenica", *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 5, London 1908, 110-242.

Florence fragments (>10% of total length)

(events of 409-407 BC)

Bartoletti, V., "Nuovi frammenti delle »Elleniche di Ossirinco«", *Papiri Greci e latini* 13.1 (1949), 61-81

Cairo fragments (<10% of total length)

(events of 409 BC)

Koenen, L., "Papyrology in the Federal Republic of Germany and Fieldwork of the International Photographic Archive in Kairo", *Studia Papyrologica* 15 (1976) 39-79.

Thucydides continued:

Xenophon, *Hellenica* (411- 362)

7 books

Theopompus, *Hellenica* (411- 394)

12 books □ 19 fragments

Cratippus (seems to have included information about
Conon's activities in the 390s)

□ 4 fragments

[Theopompus or Cratippus]?, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*

Controversial issues

Authorship

Date – relationship to Xenophon's *Hell.*
(356?)

“Theramenes Papyrus” (question of
speeches)

Historical value

Tendency

Stylistic merits



Commentaries:

London

Grenfell/Hunt (1909)

Jacoby (1926: *FGrHist*)

London – Florence

Bruce (1968)

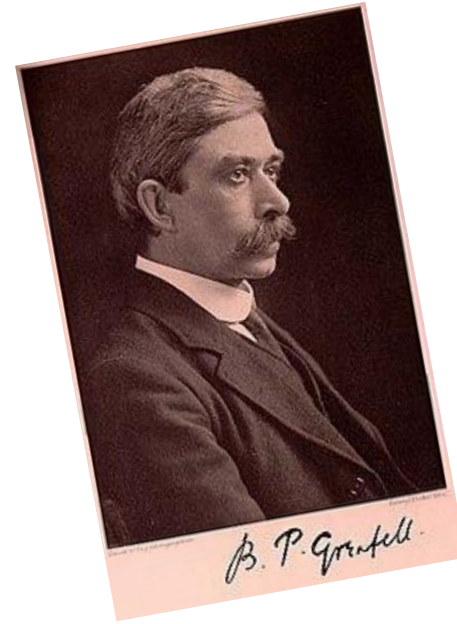
London – Florence – Cairo

MacKechnie – Kern (1999)

Behrwald (2005)

Lerida Lafarga (2007)

Billows (2016: *BNJ*)



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
5408 SOUTH DIVISION STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
TEL: 773-936-3700
WWW.CHEM.UCHICAGO.EDU

P. Cair., 37-79; temp. inv. no. 26/6/27/I-35

(I.1) [...]ς προσβαλεῖν τοῖς τε[ίχεσι(?)] τὰς
π]λείστας τῶν τριήρω[ν]

.]ετερὰς τόπον τῆς Ἐφεσ[ίας]
ἐκ]βιβ[ά]σας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν [δύναμιν προήγα
γε]ν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Ἐφέσιοι [δὲ καὶ τῶν Λα
κε]δαμονίων αὐτοῖς οἱ πα[ρόντες τοὺς
μὲ]ν μετὰ τοῦ Πασίωνος τῶν Ἀθηναίων
[οὐ]χ ἑώρων, ἔτυχον γὰρ ὄντες ἔτι πόρρω καὶ
[μα]κροτέραν ὁδὸν τῶν ἑτέρων βαδίζοντες·
[τοῦ]ς δὲ περὶ τὸν Θράσυλλον ὄρῶντες ὅσον
[οὔ]πω παρόντας ἀπίντων αὐτοῖ[ς] πρὸς
[τὸ]ν λιμένα τὸν Κορησσὸν καλούμενον
[ἔ]χο]ντες συμμάχους τοὺς τε βοηθήσαντας
[....] ..π[ρ]ότε[ρ]ον(?) καὶ πιστοτάτο[υ]ς τότε ..(?)
[....]νη τῶν ἠκ[ό]ντων(?) ...[.]ε [τ]ῶν ἐ[ν]
Κιλ]βί[ω]ι(?) πεδίοι κατοικούντων.

(I.1) . . . to attack the walls (?) . . . most of the
triremes . . . an area of Ephesos . . .
disembarking the entire force, he led it
against the city. Now the Ephesians and those
of the Lakedaimonians who were with them
did not see those of the Athenians who were
with Pasion, for they chanced to be still far
off and proceeding on a longer road than the
others; but seeing that those with Thrasylos
were not far away, they advanced against
them at the harbor called Koressos, having
as allies those helping . . . before (?) and the
most trusted then (?) . . . of those arriving (?) . .
. of those dwelling in the plain of Kilbios (?).

Xen. *HG* 1.2.6-7 Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσοῦμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἵππείας ἀπέστειλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θράσυλλος δὲ ἑβδόμη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἀπέπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἵππείας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο στρατόπεδα.

After this, Thrasyllus led the army back to the sea, intending to sail to Ephesus. Tissaphernes, however, perceiving Thrasyllus' goal, gathered together a large army and dispatched cavalry, announcing to all that they must bring help at Ephesus to Artemis. On the seventeenth day after the incursion, Thrasyllus sailed off towards Ephesus and disembarked his fleet's hoplites around Koressos, while he stationed the cavalry, slingers, marines, and all the rest around the marsh on the other side of the city. At dawn he led both units forward.

Xen. *HG* 1.2.8 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν †σφίσιν† οἳ τε σύμμαχοι οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἳ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἴππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῶ ἐβοήθησαν. τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι.

The Ephesians from the city advanced to meet him, as did the allies whom Tissaphernes had brought there, and the Syracusans – both those from the earlier group of twenty ships and those from the later group of five (who happened to be present there, having recently come with Eucles the son of Hippon and Heracleides the son of Aristogenes) – and the men from the two ships from Selinus. These all at first attacked the hoplites in Koressos, routed them and killed about a hundred of them, pursuing them down to the sea. Then they turned to assault those alongside the marsh. There, too, the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were killed.

DS 13.64.1 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Θρασύβουλος πεμφθεὶς παρ' Ἀθηναίων μετὰ νεῶν τριάκοντα καὶ πολλῶν ὀπλιτῶν σὺν ἵππεῦσιν ἑκατὸν κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον· ἐκβιβάσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ δύο τόπους προσβολὰς ἐποιήσατο. Τῶν δ' ἔνδον ἐπεξελθόντων καρτερὰν συνέβη μάχην συστήναι· πανδημεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἀγωνισαμένων τετρακόσιοι μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Λέσβον

Koenen:

..... ἐπεχείρησεν εὐ-
θὺς προσβαλεῖν τοῖς τε[ίχεσι κελεύσας τὰς |
[π]λείστας τῶν τριήρων ὀρμίσασθαι, τὰς |
[δ'] ἑτέρας τόπον τῆς Ἐφε[σίας καταλαβεῖν.

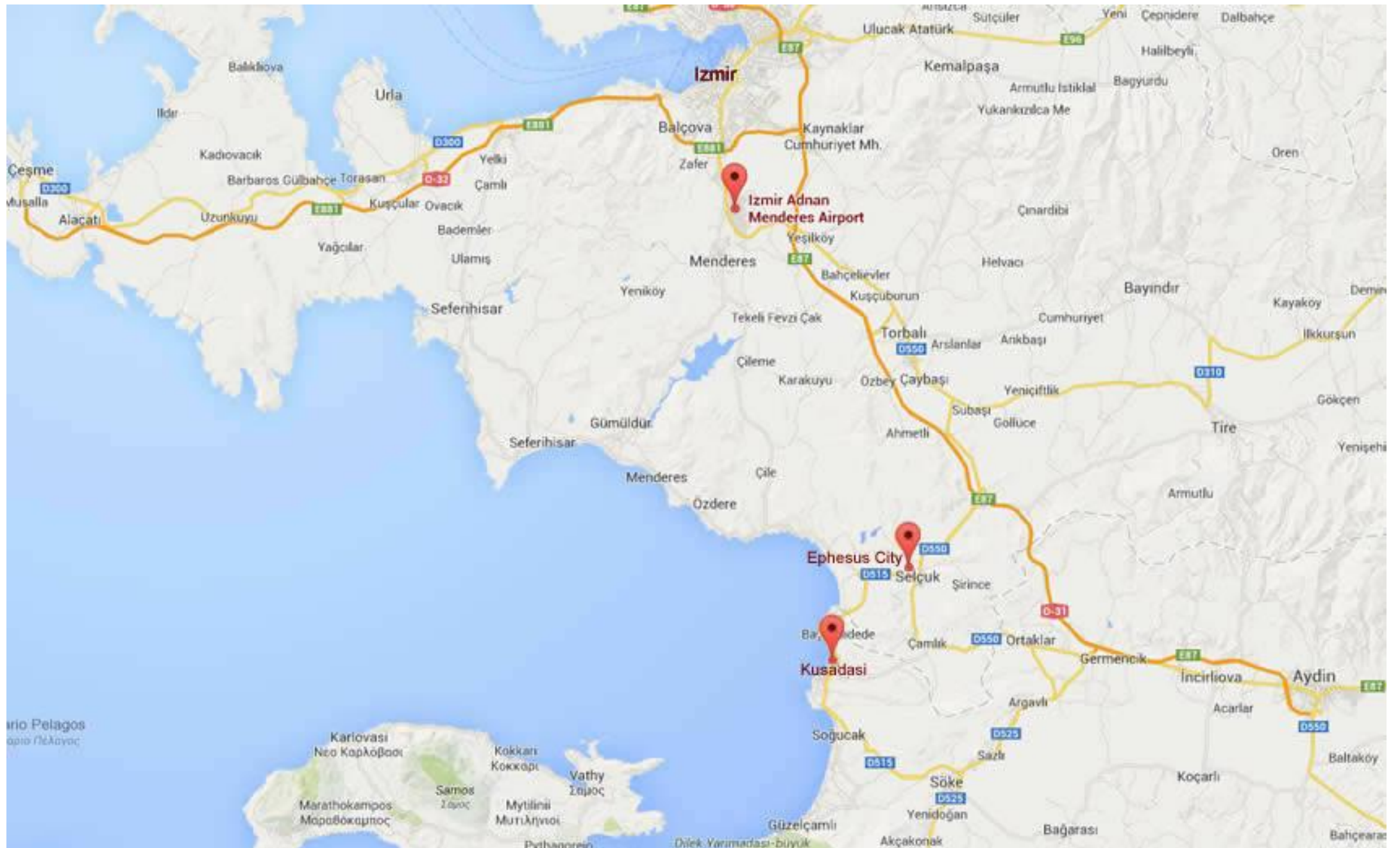
[8] οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν τσφίσιντ οἳ τε σύμμαχοι οὖς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἳ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἦκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἴππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῶ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. [10] οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῶ.

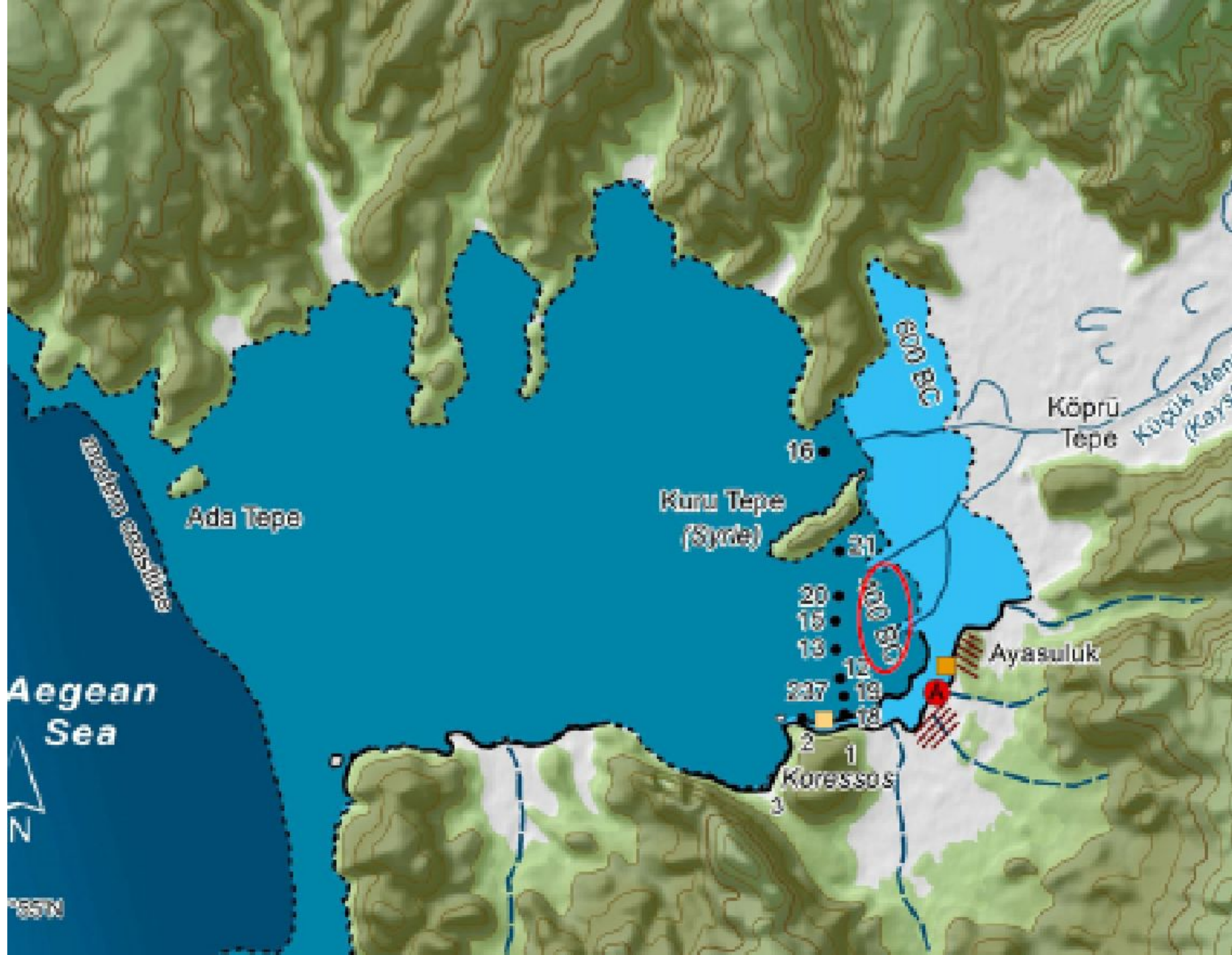
The Ephesians from the city advanced to meet him, as did the allies whom Tissaphernes had brought there, and the Syracusans – both those from the earlier group of twenty ships and those from the later group of five (who happened to be present there, having recently come with Eucles the son of Hippon and Heracleides the son of Aristogenes) – and the men from the two ships from Selinus. These all at first attacked the hoplites in Koressos, routed them and killed about a hundred of them, pursuing them down to the sea. Then they turned to assault those alongside the marsh. There, too, the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were killed. The Ephesians set up a trophy there and another one at Koressos.

Billows:

“Exploration of Ephesos has shown, in fact, **that the city had no fortification walls in the fifth century**... this restoration would have the author perpetrating a notable anachronism in having the Athenians attack the walls of Ephesos at this time, which is certainly possible but would be uncharacteristic for the careful, well-informed, and detail-oriented author of the HellOxy. What convinces me that the author made no such error is that in the narrative of the actual fighting at the city of Ephesos, which details the attempts of the Athenians to break into the city at col. I lines 18-23 and at col. II 10-14, **we see no mention of a *teichos*** (city wall); instead, only the word *polis* (town or city) is used. It seems to me that the author was aware that no fortification wall obstructed the Athenians in their assault on Ephesos—it was, perhaps, for this reason that Thrasyllus thought the attack worth attempting at all with his **relatively small force** (1,000 hoplites and up to 5,000 peltasts, according to Xenophon). The τ and ε of Koenen’s τε[ί]χεσι are, in fact, uncertain, and I think some other word must have stood here: perhaps Ἐφεσίοις or λόφοις *vel sim.*”

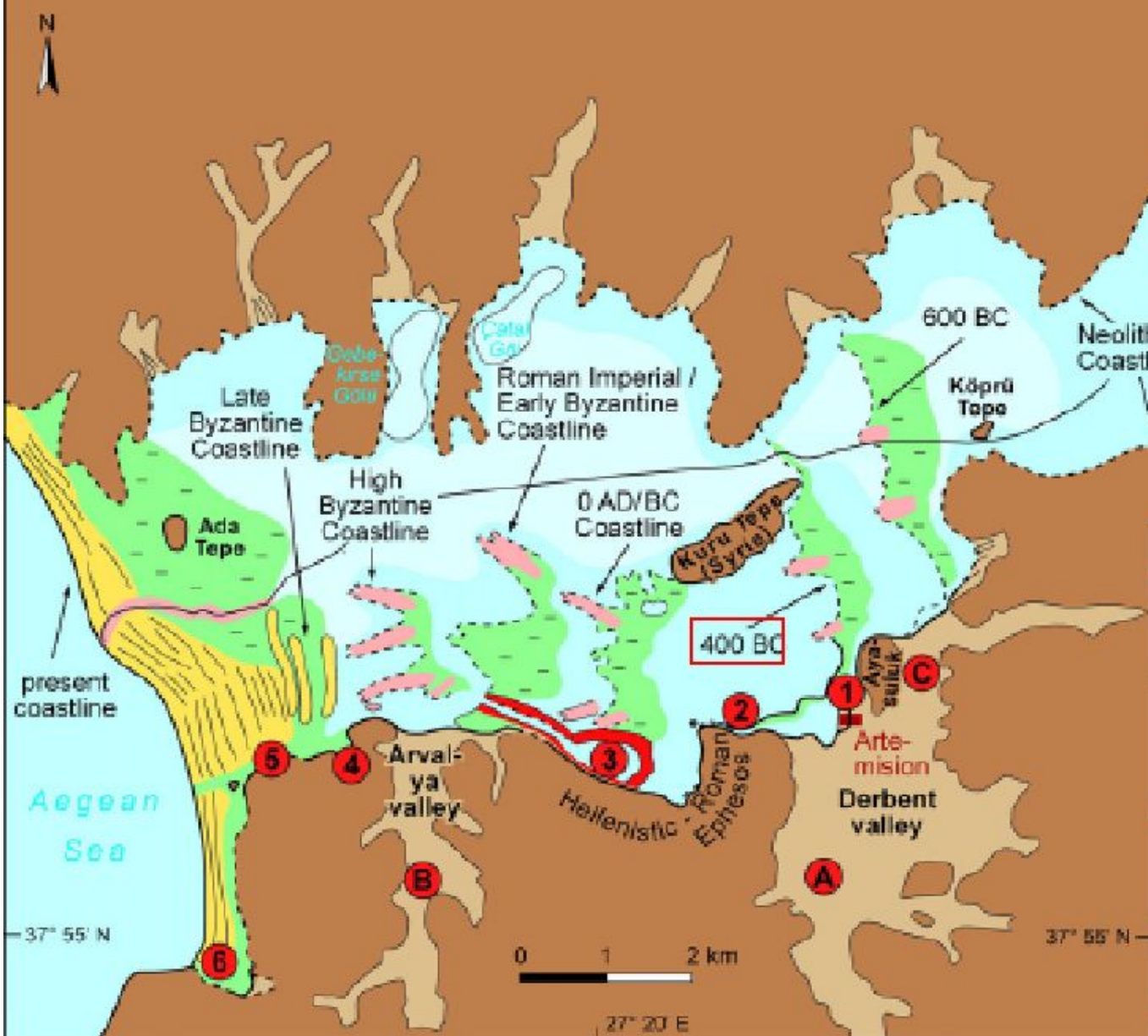






Küçük Menderes Delta

27° 20' E



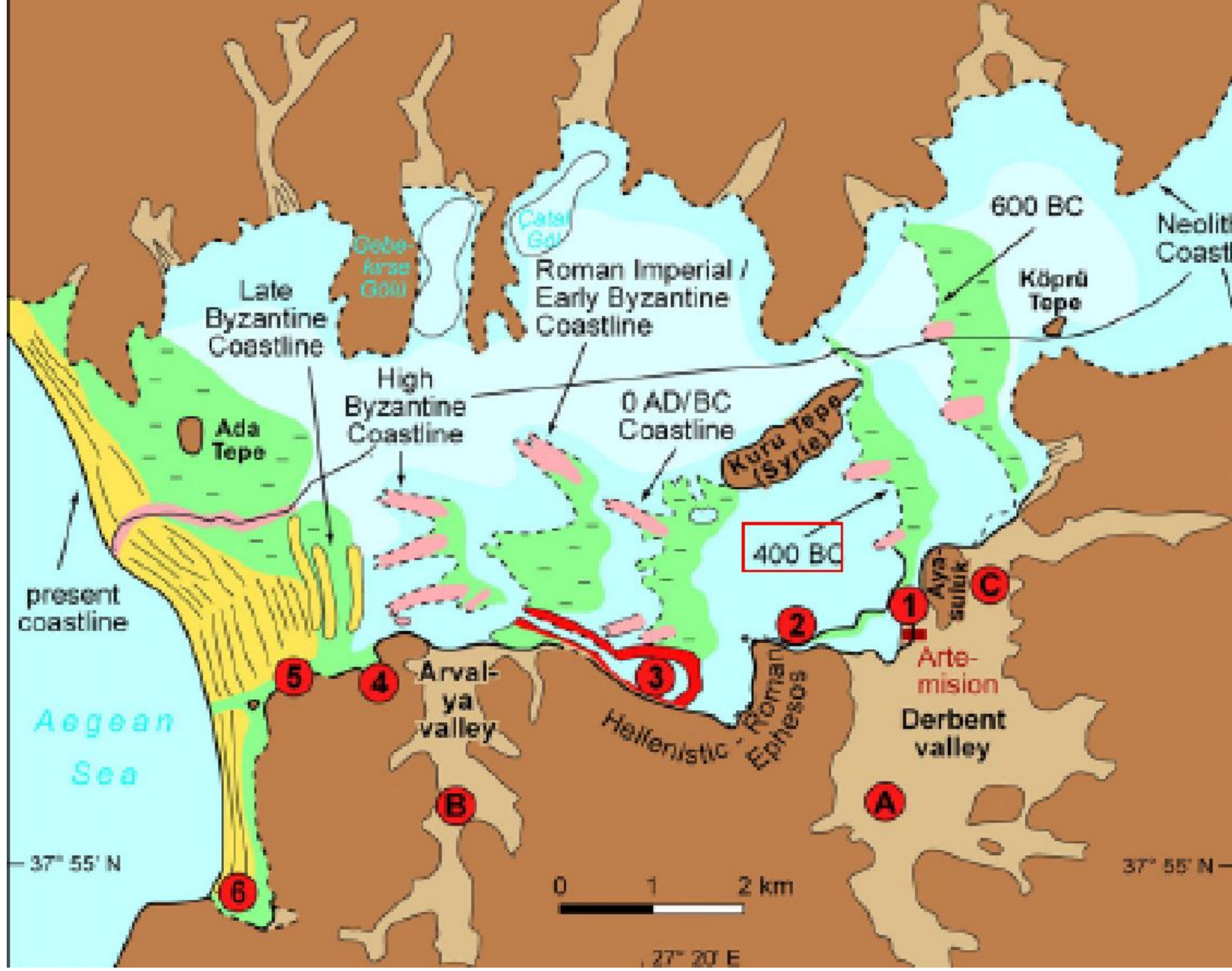
Harbour sites

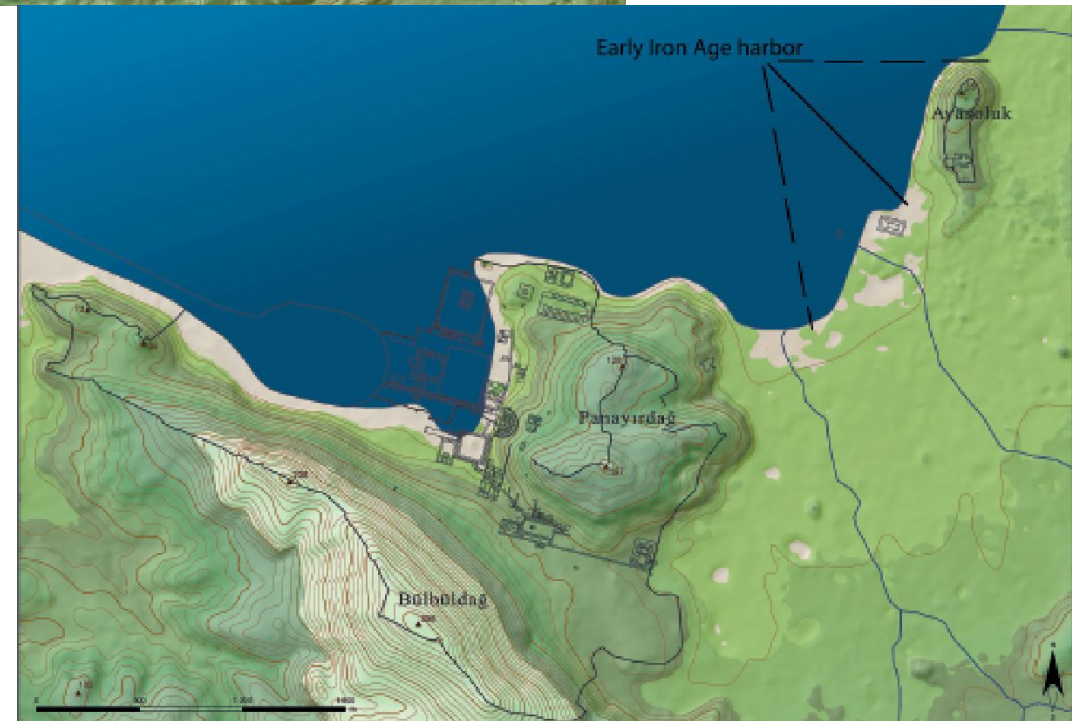
- 1 Sacred Harbour

Neolithic sites

- A Cukurici Höyük

Cartography: C. Mann







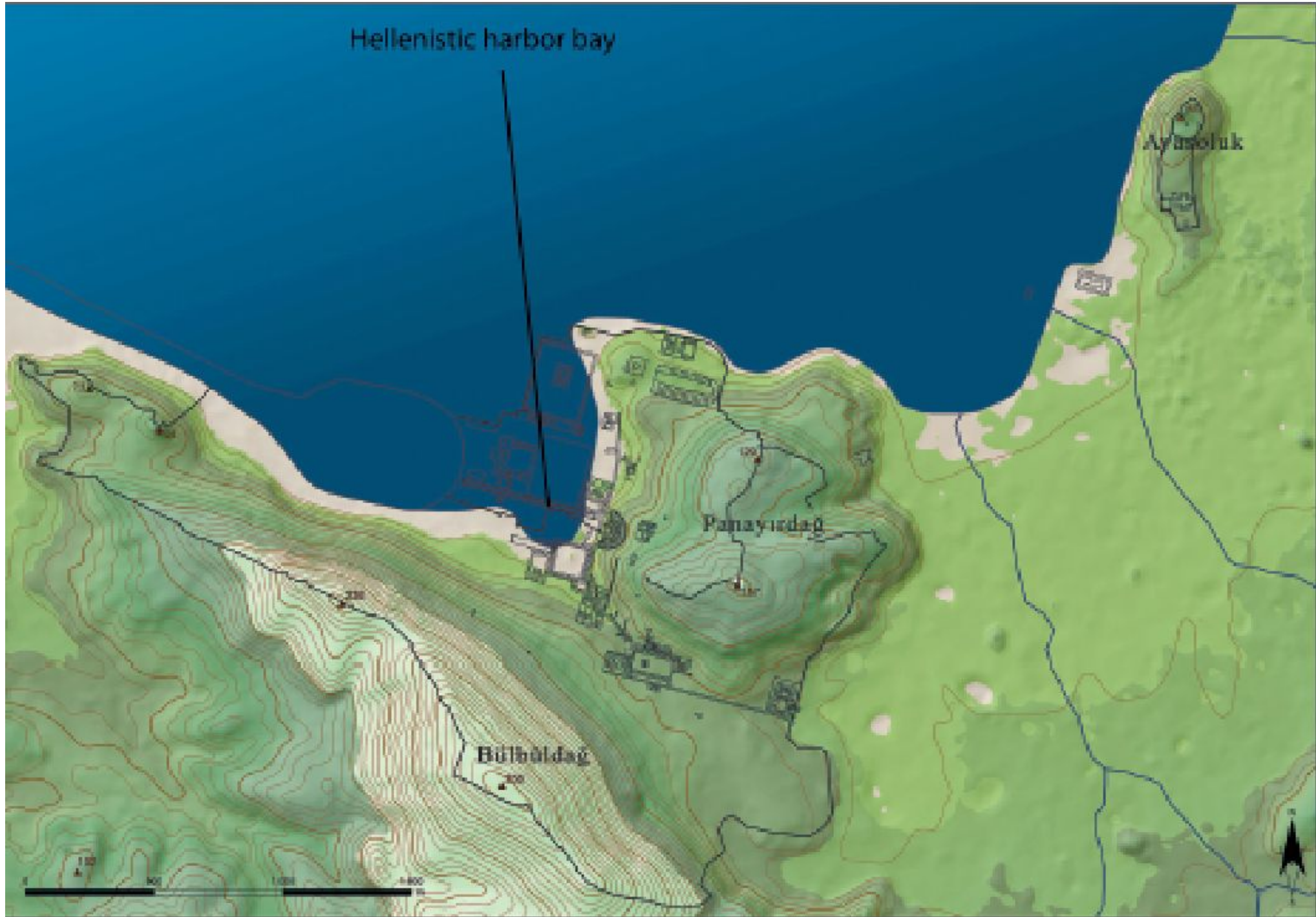
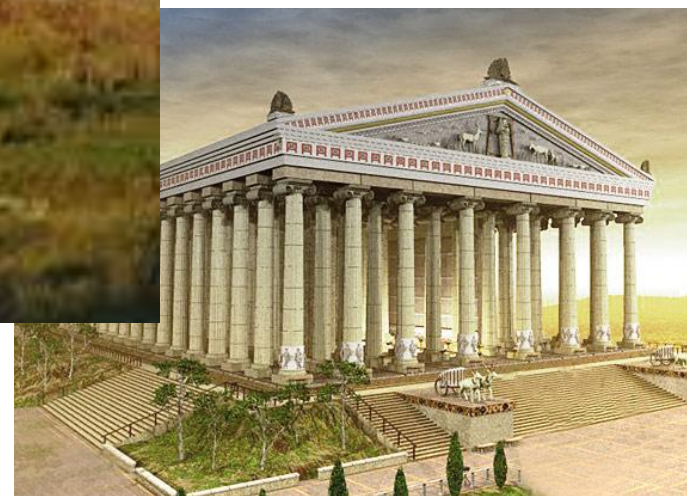


Fig. 10
Location of
the Hellenistic
harbor bay
(maximal
marine
transgression)
(C. Kurtze –
M. Steskal
© OEAI, based
on Kraft et al.
2000, 211 fig. 6)





10 Luftbild von Osten über den Panayirdag mit Rekonstruktion des ungefähren Küstenverlaufs in archaischer bis frühhellenistischer Zeit. Auf der Spitze der Tracheia (r.) ist der Felspaltempel als heller Fleck erkennbar, ganz unten rechts die Hafenucht von Koresos



Abb. 1 Ephesos. Siedlung an der Nordostseite des Panayırdağ, Ansicht vom Ayasoluk-Hügel. Das in klassischer Zeit ummauerte Areal ist weiß hinterlegt. (Foto N. Gail; Bearbeitung: I. Benda-Weber. © ÖAI Wien).

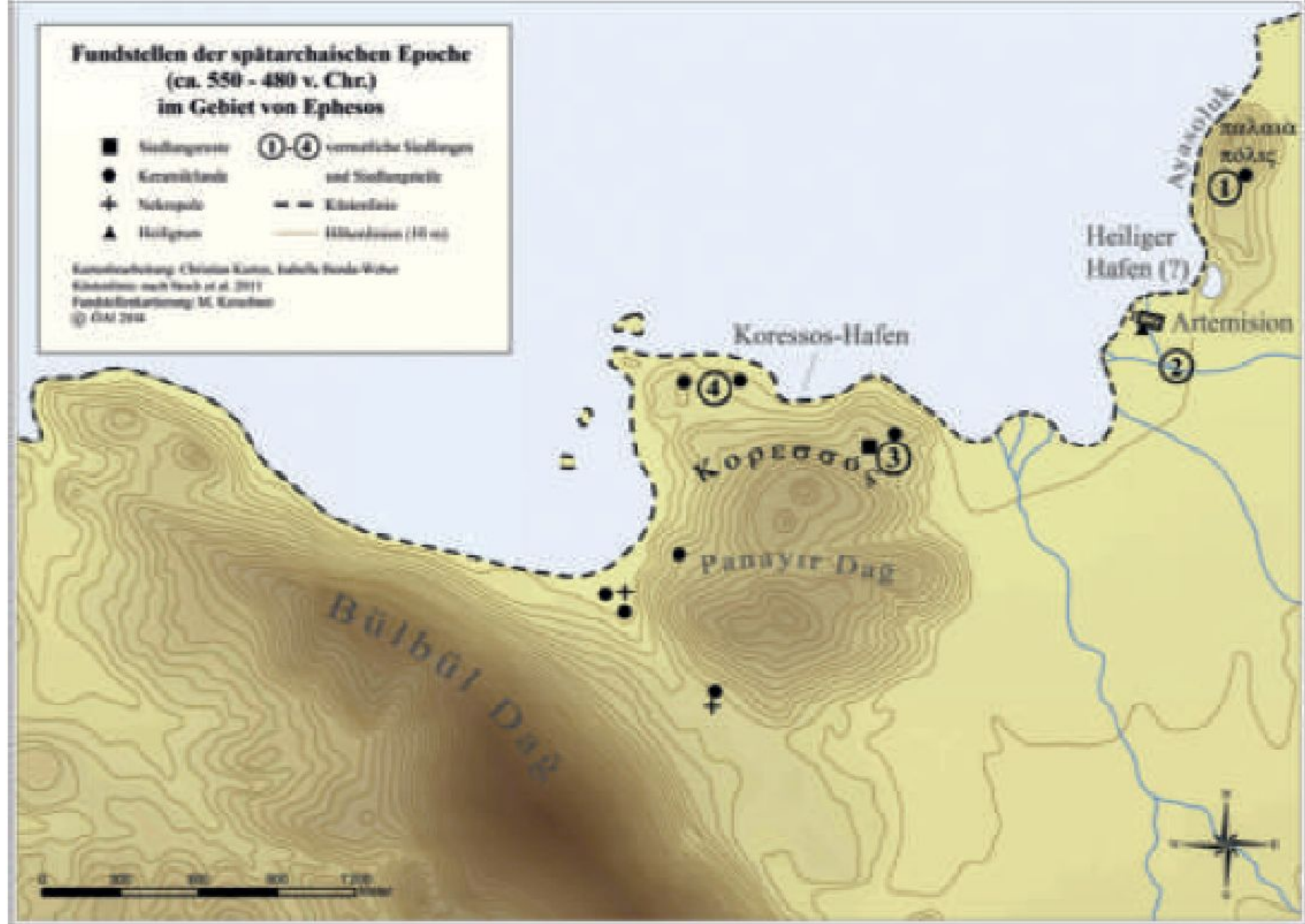


Abb. 6 Ephesos. Fundstellen der spätarchaischen Epoche (ca. 550 – ca. 480 v. Chr.). (Kartenerstellung C. Kurtze; Kartierung: M. Kerschner. © ÖAI Wien)

Papyrus

.....

.]ς προσβαλεῖν τοῖς τε[..... |

.]λείστας τῶν τριήρω]. |

.] ἑτέρας τόπον τῆς Ἐφε[.....

Koenen

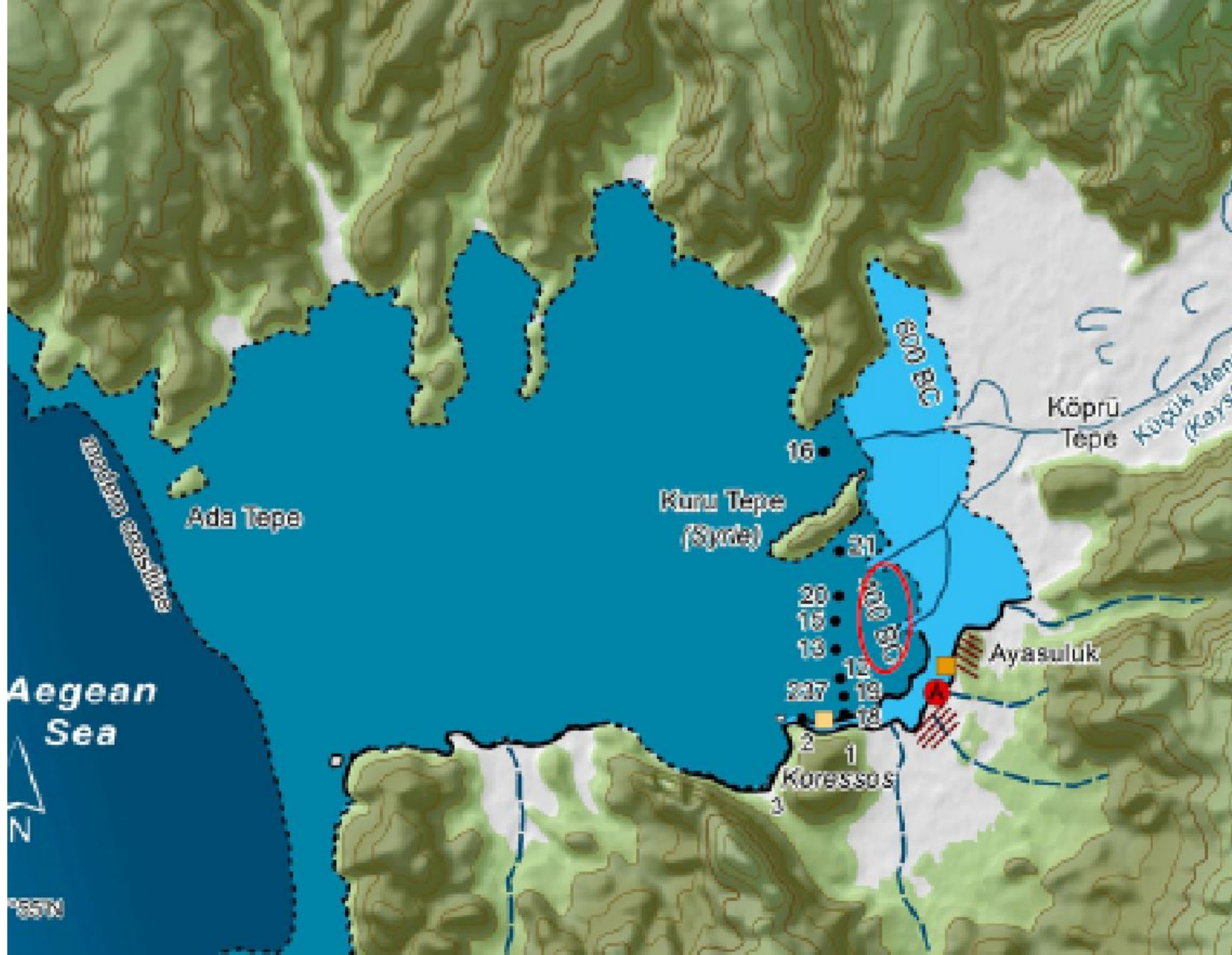
[ἔπεχειρήσεν

εὐ] |

θὺ]ς προσβαλεῖν τοῖς τε[ίχεσι κελεύσας
τὰς |

[π]λείστας τῶν τριήρων ὀρμίσασθαι, τὰς |

[δ'] ἑτέρας τόπον τῆς Ἐφε[σίας
καταλαβεῖν.



(2)μ[ετ]ὰ δὲ |
 [ταῦ]τα Θράσυλλος μὲν ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 [στρα]τηγός, ὡς ἦκε πρὸς τὴν πόλι[ν, ἔλι]πέν |
 [τιν]ας μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν προσβα|
 [λό]ντας, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν λόφον α[ὐ]τὸς |
 [προ]σῆγεν ὃς ὑψηλὸς καὶ δύσβατός ἐστιν καὶ |
 [τὰ μ]ὲν ἐντὸς ἔστραπται, τὰ δ' ἔξω τῆς πό|
 [λεως]. τῶ[ν] δ' Ἐφεσίων ἡγοῦντο καὶ Τίμαρ|
 [χο]ς καὶ Ποσικράτης οἱ [.....|
] .. βει[....].σ.[.....

(2) Afterwards, Thrasyllus the general of the Athenians, when he arrived at the city, left some of the soldiers assaulting it and himself led the rest against the hill, which was high and difficult and partly curved back inside, but partly was outside the city. Timarchos and Possikrates were leading the Ephesians, and they . . .

(several lines too fragmentary to gather any sense;
 lines 26-30 entirely lost)

.....]υτους πρα.[.....|.....]σι τινας τῶν
 [.....|.....]μα νουντ[.....|.....]..ντας
 πα[.....]

(II.1) γησε[.....]|
 πιλ[...].αλ[.....]|
 μιβ[.]ς Θρασ[υλλ.....]|
 τασ[.] λειπ[.....]|
 ται. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προ[.....]|
 .[.] πρὸς καρτερὰ χωρ[ί]α [.....]|
 .[.]. καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέφευ[γον, ὁ δὲ (?) τὸ]
 στρατ[ό]πεδον ἐπήγεν. ὑποχ[ω]ρούντων |
 δὲ τῶ[ν] ἐναντίων οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι προ|
 θύμως ἐπηκολούθουν ὡς κ[α]τὰ κράτος |
 ληψ[ό]μενοι τὴν πόλιν· [Τ]ίμαρχος δ[ὲ] καὶ |
 Πο[σσ]ικράτης οἱ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἡγε[μόν]ες |
 ἀνεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὀπ[λ]ίτας. [παρ]ελ|
 θόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηαίων .[.....]ν|
 τες πάλιν οἱ ψιλοὶ τῶν ἀνόδ[ων] |
 εἰσβάλλουσι μετὰ τῶν .ο..τ.[.....]η|
 [...]: οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶ[ν μ]ε|
 τὰ δ[ὲ β]ραχὺν χρόνον .[.....]|
 ρο[.]. ἐνέπεσεν τῶ[ι]|
 ἀπο[πει]ρώμεν[ο]ι [..... κατα]|
 πλαγέντες διέλυσα[ν] τ[ὴν μάχην καὶ] |
 πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἀτάκτως [.....] | ἔφευγον.

(II.1)
 (illegible fragments) . . .
 Thrasyllus . . .
 (illegible fragments) . . .
 But since . . . to (or against) stronger forts . . . and they fled
 to them, [but he] (?) led the army on. Now that the
 opponents were retiring, the Athenians followed them
 eagerly hoping to take the city by storm; but Timarchos
 and Possikrates the leaders of the Ephesians called up
 their own hoplites. When the Athenians came up . . . the
 light armed troops returning (?) from the trackless (hill or
 similar?) . . . attacked with the . . . and they, because of the . .
 . after a short while . . . fell upon the . . . attempting . . .
 panic-stricken they lost the battle and in disorder to the
 ships . . . they fled.

(2) ὅσοι μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν τ[ὴν εἰς θά]λατταν ὁδὸν ἀπεχώρουν ἀσφα[λῶς ἐπο]ρεύθησαν· τῶν δὲ τὴν ἄνωθε[ν ὁδὸν ἐλθόν]των πολλοὶ διε]φθάρησσα[ν] ..[..... |
]ωσεν δι' αὐτοῦ [..... |
]υν.υς πεμψαν[..... |
]ων κα[τ]α[..... |
]πρε..με[.....]
 (III.1)] .[.]ς οἱ προ[..... |
]ον ἀποβ[..... |
 στρ]ατιῶτων παρ[..... |
 ...ως ὑπὸ το[ῦ] πρατ[τ..... |
 Συρ]ακούσας [....]δι[..... |
 ..τ]ῆς σαφηνε[ί]α[ς] .[.....] |
 π[.]νεων ..αίν. [.....] |
 ἵππαρχον [.]..υς[.....] |
 ἐκεῖνος ...[.]..[.....] |
 τοὺς στρατιῶτα[ς] .[.....] |
 τῆς Ἐφέσου .[.....] |
 ἐπιμείναντες α[..... κιν]|
 δυνεύειν [.]π[.....]|
 χώρισε καὶ [.....]|
 τα[..... | ..]ονε[.....]

(2) Therefore, those of them retreating along the road to the sea got away safely; but of those on the upper road many were destroyed . . . because of this (or him?) . . . sending (or sent?) . . .
 (illegible fragments) . . .
 (III.1) . . . the . . .
 (illegible fragments)
 . . . of the soldiers
 . . . by (or below) the
 . . . **Syracuse** . . .
 of the manifest . . .
 (illegible fragments) . . .
 cavalry commander . . .
 that man . . .
 the soldiers . . .
 of Ephesos . . .
 remaining . . .
 to be in danger . . .
 went away and . . .
 (illegible fragments) . . .