

## 7. Appendices

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### 7.1. The Debate on the Development of Local Historiography and Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5,1-3

The present work assumes the existence of a “local” historiography, as opposed to a “universal” historiography, and that it is possible to work with literary genres as theoretical tools. On the one hand, if we define historiography according to the regions under scrutiny, local history includes those works which describe just one Greek region or city, whereas ethnography properly focuses on non-Greek areas.<sup>1513</sup> On the other hand, working on the history of a region from the point of view of its literature allows a more genuine perspective of its society: the idea of a “literary genre” now entails a re-evaluation of the performance of the texts and of the social context where most of the Greek literature of the Archaic and Classical Ages was spread.<sup>1514</sup> Despite linguistic and formal (metrical,

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1513 Jacoby 1909: 109-21 (=1956: 49-62 = 2015: 49-68); Fornara 1983: 22: “Horography was the hellenic side of ethnography, a product of the same urge to codify the collective lives of disparate groups”; Tober 2017. In contrast to local historiography, universal history (πράξεις ἑλληνικαί: what Jacoby called *Zeitgeschichte*, i.e. “History in time”) dealt with scenarios expanding over more than one region or city: Jacoby 1909: 96-109 (=1956: 34-49 = 2015: 27-49). The three subgenres that constituted *Zeitgeschichte* were “Monographie, Universalhistorie, Hellenikatypus” (Jacoby 1909: 96). The actual content and characteristics of these works is definable *per negationem*; see Bianco 2015 for an introductory discussion (*ibid.* 114: “[Universal history] non sembra mai limitarsi alla storia di una singola città, né comprendere categorie etnografiche, ma rivolgersi agli eventi contemporanei di tutta la Grecia in una prospettiva continua”; for another perspective on the relationship between *Greek Histories* and general *Histories*, see n.150 in the Introduction). The present discussion summarises and partially coincides with the arguments followed in Tufano 2019: 98-102. A fuller treatment of the scholarly debate is now offered by Thomas 2019: 29-73.  
 1514 Cp., in general, Rossi 1971, and Marincola 1999 on historiography.

but not only) boundaries among different kinds of literary production, areas of compenetration and recirculation of texts existed.<sup>1515</sup>

While there is an undeniable discrepancy between a dithyramb, say, and a script *On Nature* or a book of *Histories*, it is fair to acknowledge that different literary genres might answer the same questions.<sup>1516</sup> Historiography is meant for an audience that listens and, probably from the full Classical Age, reads, with knowledge of the world. This was the result of literary outputs that were very different from one another.<sup>1517</sup> Furthermore, we must also consider the debt of the first historiographers to the previous epic and lyrical production –a debt hardly detectable and still part of an ongoing scholarly discussion.<sup>1518</sup>

Historiography contributed, therefore, to a more general research on the local past and present (in other words, those past answers to present problems, which underlie the slow formation of an intentional history).<sup>1519</sup> Apart from a few bigger names strictly associated

1515 We can think of symposial reuse in Classical Athens as part of previous lyrical output, originally composed for public contexts or for agonistic aims. A further meaningful example is the complex tradition of the *corpus Theognideum* (Selle 2008; Colesanti 2011; see further Giordano-Zecharya 2003, on how music might act as a mnemonic help, for the circulation of monodic lyric).

1516 The birth of prose production, in itself a debated issue, must be seen in the same regard. According to Goldhill (2002), for instance, there is a link between the rise of democracy as a political regime that grants more space to verbal competition, and the birth of prose, its most apt instrument. If we look at the areas of origin of three exemplary names among the first logographers (Hekataios, Pherekydes, and Akousilaos), we see that there was an early affirmation of democracy (Miletos, Athens, Argos). Nevertheless, this picture is somewhat obscured by the uncertainties surrounding the diffusion of alphabetization. The issue, then, is also an issue concerning the possibility that the first written drafts of their works circulated and were available to the same audience, who had the inscriptions readily available (on this correlated topic, cp. Missiou 2011 and Cavallo 2014).

1517 Porciani (2001a) suggested that the birth of local historiography should be understood in the milieu of the public *logos epitaphios* (but see Camassa's objections: Camassa 2010: 35). On the context of Herodotus' work, see Luraghi 2001a and Thomas 2000. See Grethlein 2011, Skinner 2012, and Tober 2017, on historiography and on ethnography in Greece. A similar hypothesis might be advanced for the Roman world, since the *fabulae praetextae* contributed to the formation and diffusion of Roman historical knowledge (Beck – Walter 2005: 31-2).

1518 On the common stylistic features of these authors (Pherekydes of Athens, Hekataios, Akousilaos, Charon, Hellanikos, Heraclitus, and Pherekydes of Syros), see the still useful Lilja 1968: 14-34. An old view considered the birth of historiography in contrast to lyrical production (cp. e.g. Sinclair 1934: 158). These contrapositions, however, might be useless, or sometimes ahistorical: in the Hellenistic period, local history could even be written in epigrams, and this did not represent a challenge or a real revolution (Chaniotis 1988; Clarke 2008: 338-46; Petrovic 2009: 216; see *supra* 1.2.5 on the characteristics of Boiotian Hellenistic historiography).

1519 According to Gehrke (2010: 16-7), intentional history deals with “elements of self-categorisation relevant for collective identity [which] are regularly projected into the past or [...] older traditions [which] are re-interpreted in their light, should it be necessary.” Cp., on this topic, Assmann 1992; Gehrke – Möller 1996; Malkin 1998; Gehrke 2000;

with a single genre (nobody would ever think of Sophocles as a historian or of Herodotus as a playwright), for figures like Ion of Chios or Hellanikos it is pointless to prioritize them, in their vast production, as chronographer, local historian, or philosopher.<sup>1520</sup> Local and universal history developed in a highly productive atmosphere, where prose is charged with a vast sphere of expressions, according to which Hellanikos is as much a σοφιστής as Hippias or Critias.<sup>1521</sup>

The specific relationship between the predominance of a local and that of a Panhellenic perspective, then, might be more the result of a contemporary quest for systematisation and order among the disparate evidence of names and titles<sup>1522</sup> from this period, than the actual reconstruction of a process. Jacoby<sup>1523</sup> and Wilamowitz<sup>1524</sup> held different views on the relationship between local and universal history, but a truism must be restated: for all the historians preceding Herodotus and those living until Xenophon's age (this last author being only partially better known than the others), we only possess meagre hints on their dates. The *testimonia* collected in the main collections consist either of excerpts from single

Gehrke 2001; Hokwerda 2003; Candau-Morón – González Ponce – Cruz Andreotti 2004; Gehrke 2004; Desideri – Roda – Biraschi 2007; Giangiulio 2010; Foxhall – Gehrke – Luraghi 2010; Malkin 2011; Proietti 2012; Steinbock 2013. These are, *exempli gratia*, some of the most important studies that applied the label of *intentional* to Greek history. I therefore chose not to mention fundamental works, which stand at the basis of the aforementioned scholarship, like M. Halbwachs' book (1925) and the update by P. Ricoeur (2004). See Bearzot 2017 for a careful redefinition of the idea of "intentional history".

1520 Ion of Chios has been the subject of meaningful and general studies, after the critical edition of all the fragments of his work (Leurini 2000). He is among the few fragmentary authors to whom a companion was devoted (Jennings – Katsaros 2007), and recent editions with commentaries on his poetical and historical fragments have also emerged (Valerio 2013; Federico 2015; Katsaros 2016).

1521 On the meaning of σοφιστής at the end of the fifth century BCE, see *supra* (4.6.2).

1522 The titles of most local historiographical works have often been connected with those of previous poetical works. Cp. e.g. Fowler 1996; Clarke 2008: 188–90; Camassa 2010: 31 and n.10. However, the probable absence of authorial indications should warn us against a direct attribution to a specific genre. Only between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BCE, according to Schmalzriedt (1970), do we see a prompt desire to give a title to prose works; see further on this *supra* 4.1.1.

1523 Despite the fact that here, and afterwards, I mainly focus on the article published in 1909, which laid the foundations of the *Fragmente*, we should remember that Jacoby's thoughts on the matter were subject to evolution (for instance, he changed his mind on the ascription to Daimachos of the *Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos*: Jacoby 1924; Jacoby 1950; see Lérica Lafarga 2007: 114–206 and Occhipinti 2016: 2–5 for an overview of the scholarship on its authorship). On this development, useful contributions can be found in Chambers 1990 and Wiesehöfer 2005. Cp., moreover, the various contributions edited by Ampolo (2009), especially Porciani 2009 and Schepens 2009.

1524 Momigliano (1953: 264) observed that Wilamowitz's fascination for local history, first observed in his *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), started after the 1891 discovery of a papyrus of the Aristotelian *Athenaion politeia*.

fragments (whence a mere *terminus post/ante quem* is to be deduced, from time to time), or of anecdotes and stories much later than their birth.

Overall, these glimmers often allow us to reconstruct a general chronological span that is necessarily better defined only for those figures (such as Hekataios, Herodotus or Thucydides) who enjoyed greater fortune in antiquity.<sup>1525</sup> For the others, we depend on the first traditions around their names,<sup>1526</sup> which have similar forms to those of early political figures (such is the case of the sophist Herodotus in Aristophanes' F 5), and on the output of the Alexandrian scholars. These often left an undetectable sign behind the long chain of deductions and assumptions in the first century BCE. Leone Porciani's studies on local historiography and on its scholarship<sup>1527</sup> have shown the limits of the application of a chronological principle to lists of names.

Here probably lies a weak point of Felix Jacoby's reconstruction of the relationship among the historiographical genres, which was first outlined in his seminal article published in 1909. The article reached a compromise between the demands of an editor and those of a scholar: the starting point was the quest for a criterion which could be feasible for a reader, who must understand the quality of the production by a single author, without forgetting the literary context and, at the same time, the chronological span. In Jacoby's words, the goal of the entire collection was both practical and scientific:

“The historian wants to learn what information we have about a people, a city, a man, a certain epoch; how the different authors and traditions are related to one another; whether we find progress towards more exact research, or, on the contrary, romantic and tendentious embellishment or distortion [*zu romanhafter*

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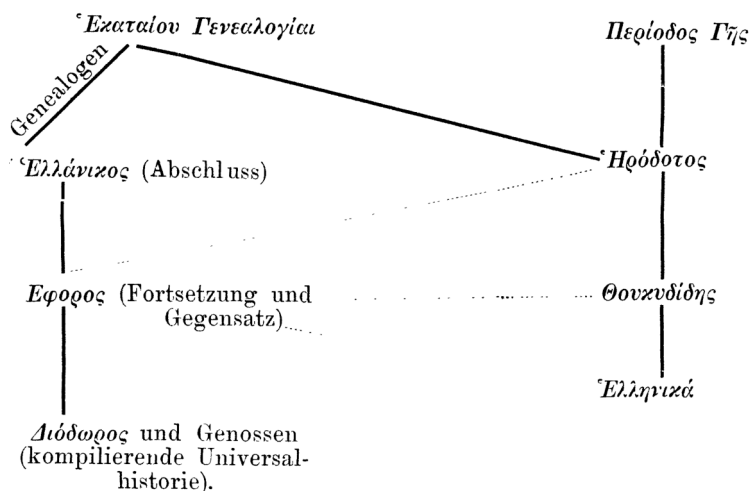
1525 On the slow formation of the biography of the poets who lived in the Classical Age, and on their characteristics, see e.g. Bing 1993 and Graziosi 2002, with additional resources available online at <https://livingpoets.dur.ac.uk>. On Herodotus and Thucydides, see respectively Priestley 2014 and Piccirilli 1985.

1526 Cp. *supra* (1.2.1) for the case of the personal name Ἑλλάνικος.

1527 Porciani 2001a; Porciani 2001b. Cp. a singular *Zitatenmest* (Joseph. *Ap.* I 215-7 = Aristophanes F 12), which, as is argued in the commentary (4.13), belongs to the homonymous grammarian and not to the historian.

*und tendenziöser Ausschmückung oder Verdrehung], the alphabetical arrangement makes the task harder rather than easier.*"<sup>1528</sup>

With this necessity in mind, Jacoby then suggested the following scheme of the evolution of Greek historiography:



In any case, this prudence must be applied both when we consider single genres, and to the chronological relationship among these authors. For instance, whereas we know for sure that Ephoros lived much later than the models he critically sets himself in contraposition to, the interrelationship between Herodotus and Hellanikos should be, at the very least, problematized:<sup>1529</sup> they might have worked at the same time, in fact, if not for a long period.

The development of historiography and its connection with the ἀναγραφαί, the lists of archons furnished with brief evenemential notes, represents a point of deep contrast

<sup>1528</sup> Jacoby 2015: 3 (=1909: 81 = 1956: 17–8).

<sup>1529</sup> See *supra* for a witness to his life (1.2.1). Only in one case is there a possible similarity in content between Hellanikos' Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα (BNJ 4 F 73) and Herodotus' *Histories* (4.95). Nonetheless, it is a mere allegation by Porphyrios (BNJ 4 T 17) that Hellanikos copied Herodotus. According to Fowler (2013: 683), this allegation was only based on that piece of information on Salmacis. More generally, even if we did not accept the considerable chronological change to sometime after 421 BCE for the publication of the *Histories* (Fornara 1971, on the basis of Hdt. 9.73.3; cp. nonetheless Fowler's skepticism [Fowler 2013: 683 n.7]), their circulation in the twenties of the fifth century certainly overlapped with part of the production of Hellanikos' works, since he was surely active in this period.

between Jacoby and his teacher Wilamowitz.<sup>1530</sup> In *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), U. Wilamowitz put forward a theory, centered on the direct relationship between the inscriptions of archons of the Archaic and Classical ages<sup>1531</sup> and the rise of local historiography in the Classical Period. This genre, therefore, preceded the “great historiography” written by Herodotus and Thucydides. This evolution was inspired by two factors: an analogy with the Roman picture, since Wilamowitz believed that the literary annals had all been inspired by the chronicles written by the *pontifices maximi*,<sup>1532</sup> and the centrality of Athens.<sup>1533</sup>

Moreover, we must be aware of the vast influence of the evolutionary theory of literary genres on Jacoby’s reconstruction of Greek historiography, which recognized in them the behaviour of living organisms, doomed to develop and decay, with inescapable relationships of derivation.<sup>1534</sup> Both Wilamowitz and Jacoby shared the positivist faith of philologists like F. Leo, who studied the genre as a cage which imposed characteristics and

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1530 The recognition of this undeniable and strong disciple-hood should not allow us to forget that F. Jacoby considered Hermann Diels his first teacher. In fact, in the preface to his young *Apollodors Chronik* (1902), Jacoby mentions Diels, whereas he only dedicates a few lines to his “zweitem Lehrer, Prof. v. Wilamowitz”, mainly to criticize him (cp. Chambers 1990: 205).

1531 We know much more today about inscriptions relating to archons, thanks to a rich epigraphical set of documents dating from the seventh century BCE on: see, in general, Boffo 2003: 11–2. This can be specifically proved for Thebes, even though the peculiarity of the Boiotian case complicates the scenario; cp. 4.7.3 *ad στρατηγός*. Clarke (2008: 36–40) mentions other interesting cases of sacrifice calendars, among which we find one from Corinth that dates to ca. 600 BCE (*ibid.* 37).

1532 There are differences, however, between the models followed in the *Fasti* and in the *Annales maximi*, and the chronological method of the first Roman historians (cp. Beck – Walter 2005: 45–6).

1533 The role of Athens was heightened in those years by the discovery, in 1891, of a papyrus with the Aristotelian *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. Wilamowitz believed that the pre-literary chronicles were published around 380 BCE, even though they already acted as an incubating factor for Herodotus and Thucydides.

1534 This influence has been duly considered by Porciani 2009: 182–4. At the end of the nineteenth century the evolutionary approach was particularly vital, thanks to the influential *L'évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature* (1890) by F. Brunetière (on F. Brunetière, see Hall 1963: 124–8 and Hoeges 1980: 67–93; Hoeges [*ibid.* 78–82] shows how the criticism by F. Curtius [1914] was unfair, since Brunetière was aware of the continuing reception of a genre and its *Fortleben*). The Italian case, represented by the coeval studies of De Sanctis on Greek historiography, differs because, as Momigliano (1975a: 185) signalled, Croce’s aesthetics played a big role, especially for the scarce interest in the social context of the birth of a literary genre.

style, almost insurmountable for an author: “Dass die Gattung ihren eigenen Stil hat ist ein ursprüngliches Kunstgesetz.”<sup>1535</sup>

The evolutionary approach has been slowly superseded in the last twenty years by a more nuanced view of these problems, which, in the absence of clear chronological evidence, tries to attribute more weight to cultural context. On the other hand, we cannot detect a large degree of flexibility, as far as the internal laws of the genre are concerned. Despite an important contribution by Marincola (1999), which showed the limits of Jacoby’s criteria in the separation of the genres, the majority of later scholarship has been looking for exceptions in order to redefine previously consolidated rules. Only recently, the eventful contribution of new epistemological resources, such as the conception of intentional history,<sup>1536</sup> allowed us to go beyond some of these borders, with relevant consequences in the appraisal of obscure figures and historical problems.<sup>1537</sup>

In his seminal article “Ueber die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie und den Plan einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Historikerfragmente [*On the Development of Greek Historiography and the Plan for a New Collection of the Fragments of the Greek Historians*]” (1909),<sup>1538</sup> F. Jacoby laid the foundations for his collection of fragments of

1535 Leo 1898: 178 = 1960: 287 (this apodictic statement is instrumental to the demonstration of Tacitus’ authorship of the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, which is written in a neo-Ciceronian style, quite different from the one adopted in his historical works). In the same year (1898), E. Norden expressed the very same position in the first volume of his *Antike Kunstprosa* (1898: 11-2). We might suppose that the Bonn years, where both Leo and Norden were Usener’s and Bücheler’s students, left a lasting mark on the two scholars. For a long time, Norden expressed thanks to Usener, from his *Antike Kunstprosa* (1898), to his last book, *Aus römischen Priesterbüchern* (1939; cp. Kytzler 1990: 341-2; on Usener’s pupils, like Diels, Kaibel and Schwartz, and his school in Bonn, useful indications in Bremmer 1990: 465-6). However, later on, as Lilja (1968: 14-6) noted, Norden (1913: 368 n.1) reconsidered this position, possibly after the publication of Jacoby’s entry on Hekataios (Jacoby 1912a).

1536 Just consider, for example, Bourdieu’s (1972) influence on Skinner’s (2012) valuable contribution to Classical ethnography. On this influence, I dare to mention Tufano 2014.

1537 A telling example is Charon of Lampsakos. The main problems concerning this figure are the chronological extent of his Ἑλληνικά, the correlation between this work and his Περσικά (and, at the same time, with Herodotus’ *Histories*), and whether Charon lived before, immediately before, or after Herodotus. There is now vast scholarship on Charon, who remains a controversial topic because of the ambiguous status of the witnesses of his life (Porciani 2001a: 62-3; Rengakos 2011: 328-30). Both Meister (1997) and Ceccarelli (2014) have convincingly reasserted the impossibility, on the basis of the available evidence, of expressing certain conclusions on the aforementioned issues.

1538 The article was a revised version of a paper given a year before in Berlin (8/8/1908) for the *Internationaler Kongress für historische Wissenschaften*. This talk inspired a long and vivid discussion among the speakers, of which we find frequent hints in the written version of the paper. Cp., for instance, the quote of Wilamowitz’s intervention on

Greek historians.<sup>1539</sup> He started from the common ground of a positivistic approach to literary genres and to their internal fixity, but developed a new, original theory of the evolution of historiography.<sup>1540</sup>

In his entire reflection on Greek historiography, Jacoby always judged as fundamental the contribution provided by the two great historiographers of the second half of the fifth century BCE: Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus, in particular, enjoyed a particularly high status, in light of the greater fame of Thucydides in the years when the project of the *Fragmente* was devised.<sup>1541</sup> As F. Jacoby wrote in his *Atthis* (1949: 100), there could be no “little Herodotoi” before Herodotus, i.e. predecessors who understood the importance of the treatment of contemporary history and given expression to it, so as to be sources for the historian from Halikarnassos.<sup>1542</sup>

Thucydides in Jacoby 1909: 113 n.1 (=1956: 53 n.97 = 2015: 54 n.97): “Ich war erstaunt, dass Wilamowitz in der Diskussion von Thukydes als von einem Annalisten sprach.”

1539 Grafton 1997 offers an overview of the main collections of fragments, starting from the Renaissance. A relevant one, for almost a century and a half, was the second edition (1651) of G.J. Voss’ *De historicis Graecis* (specifically on this, cp. Costa 2012a). F. Creuzer’s project, realized in more than one work (cp. his *Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entstehung und Fortbildung* [1803<sup>1</sup>; 1845<sup>2</sup>]), represents a turning point, partially thanks to the good reviews it received (on these, see Momigliano 1946). If we add to this that his studies contributed to influential readings of the texts, like the idea of the rationalism of Hekataios (Nicolai 1997: 162–4), we can reasonably consider his investigation as the first step towards a story which directly leads to Müller’s *FHG* and Jacoby’s *Fragmente*.

1540 Jacoby put genealogy at the beginning of his *Fragmente*. Hekataios, with his attention to genealogies and kinship ties, superseded the purely geographical approach to the world and began a completely new genre. The original plan presented in the article published in 1909, in fact, included a section before Hekataios, which dealt with “die nicht zahlreichen Zeugnisse über die allgemeine Entwicklung der historischen Literatur [...] und das Wenig, was es aus dem Altertum über Theorie und Methodik der Geschichtsschreibung gibt” (Jacoby 1909: 84; in the translation of this article published in 2015 (7 n.14), Chambers and Schorn note that this section entered the Sixth Part of the *Fragmente*, as is signalled by Jacoby 1923a: V.). After this stage, came ethnography. The chronological relationship between Hekataios and ethnography, and that between ethnography and Herodotus, were two themes on which Jacoby would often return. He reached, in the last volume of the *Fragmente*, an apparently different thesis (for a detailed reconstruction of the evolution in Jacoby’s thought, see Zambrini 2009 and Skinner 2012: 30–4).

1541 Despite the fact that, from the seventies of the nineteenth century, Thucydides’ reputation as an exemplary historian was undergoing an evergrowing revision (Momigliano 1984: 13–36), which would culminate in Cornford’s *Thucydides mythistoricus* (1907), Jacoby’s education was marked by the idealisation of the historical method of Thucydides, as it was taught in German universities in the second half of the nineteenth century. For a concise overview of Thucydides’ fortune in Germany in that period and in the following century, see, with previous scholarship, Morley 2014; Meister 2015; Hesk 2015.

1542 This theoretical conundrum is analyzed by Porciani 2001a: 32–3, whereas Camassa 2010 mostly focuses on the editorial development of *Atthis*. Cp., for instance, the date of Dionysios of Miletos’ Περσικά: he was dated to the nineties



Since the ethnographical titles of the period all belong or are assigned to Hellanikos, who was deemed, at the time, sensibly later than Herodotus,<sup>1543</sup> it was necessary to consider ethnography later than Herodotus. Thus, ethnography was considered a later development, in this linear reconstruction, just like local history.<sup>1544</sup>

In Jacoby's opinion, local history sprang up as the last historical genre,<sup>1545</sup> after genealogy and the birth of the *Zeitgeschichte*, i.e. contemporary history. Local history answered limited needs and horizons, for it emerged as a chauvinistic production, automatically biased.<sup>1546</sup> The starting point was the spread of Herodotus' *Histories* and its representation of the Persian Wars, with which the various communities interacted. From the local version of the events, other expansions on the city or the region were added, in the directions of space and time.

Jacoby found a relevant piece of evidence for the later development of horography in the lack of signs in the text of Herodotus that might derive from the (per)use of preliterate chronicles. This *argumentum e silentio* still has its supporters,<sup>1547</sup> but shares the same limits of the supposition that the readings of Herodotus' *Histories*, and then those of Hellanikos' and the sophists' works, elicited the emergence of this local literature. It is far more arguable that all the first local histories followed the chronological order of the archons in their

of the fifth century in an article published in 1909, as a work coterminous with and inspired, in the choice of the subject, by the Ionian revolt. However, at the end of his career, Jacoby considered this ethnographical treatise a work of the second third of the century, which made it unavailable to Herodotus, in the probable years when this historian was gathering his references (460–40 BCE; cp. Skinner 2012: 33 and n.123 on Jacoby's wavering stance towards Dionysius).

1543 Nowadays, we tend to believe that Hellanikos was a more long-lived contemporary of Herodotus (cp. 1.2.1). We lack any reliable indication on the dates of their deaths.

1544 As a result, in the scheme as it is announced in the first volume of the *Fragmente* (*FGrHist* I: Jacoby 1923a), ethnography was situated with horography after Herodotus, and this collocation was respected until the publication of the last volume of the commentary (*FGrHist* IIIC: Jacoby 1958).

1545 I do not consider here the other historical genres. Both in the article of 1909, and in private worknotes, Jacoby can be shown to be aware of the necessity to include further material in a collection of fragmentary historians. This inclusive approach is currently implemented, both in printed version, and online, in *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued: Part IV and V*. For a presentation of this project, see Schepens 1997.

1546 As a matter of fact, for Jacoby (1909: 82 n.2 = 1956: 19 n.7 = 2015: 5 n.7), "bei den echten Lokalgeschichten fallen Entstehungsort und lokale Erstreckung des Inhalts ja zusammen."

1547 Porciani 2001a: 29–31; Porciani 2009: 177.

internal disposition of events.<sup>1548</sup> The significant example of Hellanikos' *Atthis*, in some of whose fragments an archon is used as a chronological pinpoint,<sup>1549</sup> does not confirm that the criterion was systematically applied. The annalistic criterion was of a certain interest in the peripatetic culture, as can be shown by Apollodoros of Athens' works and by the general fascination, in the first Hellenistic period, for the research of convenient dating systems for more than one subject.<sup>1550</sup> The same interest, nonetheless, cannot be applied to all the other geographical contexts which developed a local historiography.

In the second half of the fifth century, it is only safe to assume that there was an incipient attentiveness to chronology and to dating structures, which could escape a merely local horizon (as is the case of the Olympic games, in Hippias). This curiosity seems to have been prominent in Hellanikos. We can accept Jacoby's use of *horography* as a synonym for local history, only if we keep in mind that *Horoi* is a title that could be assigned to works not ordered through archons.<sup>1551</sup> This title may even be an imposition of a later age (peripatetic? Hellenistic?): a systematic use of the noun "horography", in fact, seems etymologically improper, since it can make us forget the variety of titles and expressions, which can aptly be considered in the world of local history.<sup>1552</sup>

In Herodotus we cannot assume the use or the absence of local histories simply because he mentions local chronicles.<sup>1553</sup> We can only go further in the direction of an assessment of

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1548 The Boiotian case is probably more obscure than others, for the scarcity of sources for calendars of archons (but see *supra* n.19). It is nevertheless relevant, as Ceccarelli (2014) remarked, that in his *Ἔρωποι* Charon does not seem to have structured the work using archons, despite the clear indication that he could have used sources that support this, had he wanted to profit from them.

1549 This principle was refused by Toye (1999), but it has been reaffirmed by Möller (2001) and Ottone (2010).

1550 Clarke 2008: 56-89.

1551 In truth, Jacoby recognized the limits of his own idea of a systematic archontal disposition of the *Horoi* (Jacoby 1949: 68), but this prudence has only been recently reasserted (see e.g. Landucci 1997: 205-6; Möller 2001: 249-54; Thomas 2014b: 120).

1552 See Thomas 2014a. As a matter of fact, it has been pointed out that it is not certain whether Hellanikos decided to give a title to his various works (Nicolai 2010: 12).

1553 We are in a better position today to understand his sources and the possible inclusion of written documents in Herodotus. On the presence and the meaning of epigraphical texts in Herodotus, after S. West (1985), see the overviews of Luraghi 2001b, Fabiani 2003, Hornblower 2012, and Kosmetatou 2013. Besides, we should always contemplate the possible referral to texts which are not explicitly quoted: Herodotus' use of documents implies a method and a consciousness of different traditions, which differ from those of his contemporary historians (Rhodes 2001b: 143; Corcella 2003).

the relationship between Herodotus and local historiography if we know more about the single names of the second, vast genre. This would help us appreciate with greater precision, for example, the divergence of representation of the behaviour of the Thebans during the Persian Wars, which emerges between Herodotus and the Theban defense in Thucydides' third book.<sup>1554</sup> For Theban history, in fact, Herodotus seems to have drawn mainly on Athenian sources,<sup>1555</sup> but what we can read from Aristophanes of Boiotia does not explicitly contradict Herodotus' text and cannot necessarily be reduced to a patriotic agenda.<sup>1556</sup> Herodotus was in Thebes, read the texts displayed in the local Temple of Apollo Hismenios, and we can reasonably accept that he may have heard materials that found a different echo in local historiography.<sup>1557</sup> It was among the aims of the current work to reassess this specific relationship from a local point of view.

A second limit, in Jacoby's idea that local history came after Herodotus as a reaction to him, is represented by the circumstances which may have given rise to these local responses. In order for the Panhellenic character of the *Histories* to be clear, in fact, the dispersion of the text was mandatory. Now, even if we put aside doubts on the performative context of historiography,<sup>1558</sup> it is hard to imagine how different audiences could be aware of the general framework of the *Histories*. Not coincidentally, Jacoby isolated and focused on the figure of Aristophanes of Boiotia<sup>1559</sup> as an alleged confirmation of the anti-Herodotean character of local history.

The Boiotian perspective can add to our knowledge of Greek local historiography, if we remember that Jacoby accepted Plutarch's view on the contrast and the dissonance

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1554 Thucydides' rendition of the dialogue between the Thebans and the Plataians in 427 BCE (Thuc. 3.53–67) is one of the most important documents for the reconstruction of the relationship between the two cities and, in general, for the history of Boiotia in the Archaic Age. On the relevance of the dialogue for the history of the region in the Archaic and in the Classical Age, see Buck 1994: 18; Larson 2007: 176–8; specifically on Plataia: Prandi 1988: 93–7; Kühr 2006: 295–8. For the light that Thucydides can shed on the conflicts between Thebes and Athens, and Athens and Plataia, cp. Steinbock 2013: 120–7; Fragoulaki 2013: 100–39; van Wijk 2017.

1555 See Moggi 2011 for an overview of Herodotus' representation of the Boiotians.

1556 Cp. the commentary on Aristophanes' F 6 (4.7.4).

1557 For the specific relationship between the sources of Herodotus and his Theban experience, cp. Porciani 2016.

1558 Momigliano 1978=1982: 111–2. Cp. 4.6.2 *ad* χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας..., on a fragment by Aristophanes (F 5), where Herodotus is a travelling sophist.

1559 Doubts on the awareness of the audiences: Porciani 2009: 175. Isolation of Aristophanes: Jacoby 1909: 118–9 (=1956: 59; 2015: 63–4).

between Aristophanes and Herodotus. This was, according to what we read in *On the Malice of Herodotus*, the consequence of the refusal, by Aristophanes, of Herodotus' narrative.<sup>1560</sup> In fact, it has been shown that fragments 5 and 6 by Aristophanes, quoted by Plutarch, owe much to the cultural context to which the treatise belongs.<sup>1561</sup> Besides, we must recall here the non-derogatory description of Thebes in F 5. The alleged *Lokalpatriotismus* of the local historians is therefore an assumption that must be demonstrated on a case by case basis: Aristophanes' example is telling, in the way in which it shows how the witnesses can be a distorting lens. Ancient witnesses were therefore responsible for a biased reception of local historiography.

Despite these limits, Jacoby's exegetical picture represented an undeniable model for more than a century. A recent approach, however, has started unmasking the internal contradictions in the scholar's thought and, in this way, the possible open characteristics of the seemingly closed framework of the *Fragmente*. In short, Wilamowitz's idea of a possible preexistence of local historiography has slowly gained new supporters, already, if not successfully, thanks to Laquer's voice on local history (*Lokalgeschichte*) for the *RE* (Laquer 1926). According to this scholar, local history started in Ionia at the end of the sixth century BCE, and was preceded by chronicles known to the first authors.<sup>1562</sup>

More generally, there are reservations from two directions: on the one hand, the richness in production of names like Ion of Chios and the existence of narrative elegies<sup>1563</sup> suggests that there could be, if not a proper example of local historiography, then merely a sense of it.<sup>1564</sup> Even if these works were not written in prose or were not proper historical compositions, they followed a local perspective, which is certainly true if we focus on all

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1560 On Aristophanes as an important case for Herodotus' precedence, see also Jacoby 1949: 68–9 and Jacoby 1955a: 152.

1561 For a short presentation of Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus*, see 4.6.1.

1562 See specifically Laquer 1926: 1083–6; 1091,28–50.

1563 Lulli 2011: 29 (overall, a starting point for the study of historical elegy).

1564 See, for example, the picture provided in Mazzarino's *Pensiero storico classico*, where the focus is on the thought and the meaning of history, more than on historiography in itself as a restricted genre (Mazzarino 1966: 23–52). The intersection of poetry and history notoriously represents a vast issue – for some observations on how prose and poetry dealt with local memory, see e.g. Clarke 2008: 341–66.

the literary genres.<sup>1565</sup> On the other hand, the analysis of single cases (like Atthidography and the previous names who might lie behind Thucydides' reference in I.97.2 [τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἄπασιν]) prompts more and more a rectification of the posteriority of local history<sup>1566</sup> in favour of a return to Wilamowitz's picture, albeit from a different perspective.

A relevant place was occupied by a vexed chapter of Dionysius of Halikarnassos' *De Thucydide* (5.2), where there is a list of the ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς who lived before Thucydides.<sup>1567</sup> The passage has been interpreted as direct proof, gaining credence through its antiquity, of the precedence of horography over general historiography. This deduction emerges from the characteristics of the production of the majority of the names mentioned by Dionysius, and from their recourse to μνημαί and to γραφαί. This method seems to follow up the applicability of the Roman model of the *Annales maximi* championed by Wilamowitz, and it constitutes, according to some scholars, proof of the use of lists of archons from the Archaic period by the local historians:<sup>1568</sup>

Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5,1-3: μέλλων δὲ ἀρχεσθαι τῆς περὶ Θουκυδίδου γραφῆς ὀλίγα βούλομαι <περὶ> τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων εἰπεῖν, τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀκμασάντων ἐκείνων χρόνους, ἐξ ὧν ἔσται καταφανὴς ἢ τε προαίρεσις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ χρησάμενος διήλλαξε τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις. 2 ἀρχαῖοι μὲν οὖν συγγραφεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς ἔστιν Εὐγέων τε ὁ Σάμιος<sup>1569</sup> καὶ Δηίοχος <ὁ

1565 In this direction, cp. especially Fowler 2001: 113-4. We ought not to forget, as was noted by Thomas (2014b: 163), that, "hinting at or referring to isolated incidents and stories of the past is a somewhat different process (and result) from creating a prose work purporting to record local history."

1566 On Atthidography, see the recent thematic commentary by Harding 2007 and the studies in Bearzot – Landucci 2010, with previous scholarship. Porciani (2001a: 29-31) showed that it is hard to accept the previous positions held by Mazzarino (1966: 97-8) and Maddoli (1985) that there were local histories of Attica before Herodotus that were available to this last author.

1567 Cp. Laquer 1926: 1090,34-47 for an early study of the passage.

1568 This is the chapter, in the edition provided by Aujac 1993, with a translation and selected notes of commentary.

1569 *EGM I T \*\*1 = BNJ 535 T 1*. Here Aujac accepts the unanimously transmitted lesson Εὐγέων. However, after the emergence of an important epigraphical witness (*EGM I T 1A = LPriene 37, II 154*; cp. Magnetto 2008: 92), we should refer to an author whose real name was Εὐάγων, as it is widespread after the edition in the *Fragmente* (Fowler 2013: 653; nevertheless, this does not allow us to correct the name Εὐγαίων, in the present passage by Dionysius, as Fowler [2000: 116] chooses to do, in the edition of the witness printed as Hec. *EGM I T 17a*). Apart from this scanty witness, we do not have many fragments from Euagon's works, nor can we assess much of their contents: the two fragments dealing

Κυζικηνὸς<sup>1570</sup> καὶ Βίων> ὁ Προκοννήσιος<sup>1571</sup> καὶ Εὐδημος ὁ Πάριος<sup>1572</sup>  
καὶ Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεὺς<sup>1573</sup> καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος,<sup>1574</sup> ὃ τε

with myths, usually associated with Euagon, are printed by Fowler (2000: 103) with a double asterisk because they convey deviant forms of his personal name. In one case (Phot. *Lex.* p. 298,7 Porson = *Suda* v 360, s.v. νῆϊς), Dobree's correction Εὐγαίων should probably be accepted (it is kept by West 2003b), but the original form was probably Εὐταίων, whereas the other fragment (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 3) almost certainly has Εὐμαίων, which Meineke corrected to Εὐγαίων. The other two fragments (*BNJ* 535 FF 3-4) confirm that Euagon of Samos dealt with the Melian War (F 4; on the war, see Ragone 1986 and Magnetto 2008: 81-97) and that he was deemed a local authority for Samos by Aristoteles (F 3). We can agree with Breglia (2012: 265 n.5) that these foreshortenings rebut the suggestions of those scholars (like Toye 1999: 244-9) who deny any attention to evenemential history in the local historiography that preceded Herodotus.

1570 *EGM* I T 1. The integration <ὁ Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Βίων> was proposed by Jacoby, and it derives from the fact that we know that this Dei(l)ochos came from Kyzikos (*FGrHist* 471 F 3; Fowler 2013: 647). Jacoby's suggestion was recently rejected by Breglia (2012: 269-70 n.18), because, as Vecchio (1998: 12-3) firstly remarked, the following Προκοννήσιος may refer to the synoecism between Kyzikos and Prokonnesos of 362 BCE. It would not be puzzling, then, to describe Dei(l)ochos as a citizen of Prokonnesos. Nevertheless, I am uncertain as to whether the Hellenistic genesis of the present list justifies the attribution to Deiochos of an ethnic which could have contradicted a previously well-known description of the author. At the same time, it is methodologically unwise to add the name of a new historian, Bion, to the text. We have 13 fragments of Dei(l)ochos, who wrote *On Kyzikos* and *On Samothrace*. He seems to have had a penchant for local variations of panhellenic myths, but “we get little idea of the author from the fragments” (Fowler 2013: 647).

1571 *BNJ* 332 T 2. It is unclear whether this Bion (*BNJ* 14) can be identified with the namesake Atthidographer (*BNJ* 332). Other doubts concern the content of his two books in the Ionic dialect (*BNJ* 14 T 1). In reference to an early date for this scholar, Dionysios' passage is the only witness, along with the problematic ὁ Φερεκίδηι τῶι Συρίωι συνακμάσας in Diog. Laert. 4.58 (*BNJ* 14 T 1).

1572 Only the context, i.e. the kind of authors with whom he is associated, may suggest that Eudemos (*BNJ* 471) wrote about his own Paros, or, according to another witness, about Naxos. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.26.8) blames Eudemos and other names, such as Aristocles (*BNJ* 33), for having plagiarized Amelesagoras. Yet, it is likely that it was actually this Amelesagoras, a learned Athenian who lived in the third century BCE, who consulted the works of the names that are mentioned with him, as Jacoby firstly suggested (on Amelesagoras, see Marasco 1977 and Fowler 2013: 655).

1573 “One of the more obscure writers one might expect to encounter” (Fowler 2013: 648). Before the recent edition of his fragments in the *EGM*, Müller (*FHG* II 20-1) advanced the idea that the sections of Strabo's *Geography* on the Ionic city of P(h)ygeia may derive from Demokles (Strabo [12.3.22.551] explicitly mentions Demetrios from Phaleron; Str. 14.1.20.639, with a not impossible etymological suggestion: Radt 2009: P(h)ygeia: *IACP* n. 863; for the form of the toponym, see Ragone 1996: 214 n.8). Demokles might have flung himself “contro i funambolismi del ‘Lokalpatriotismus’ pigeleo” (Ragone 1996: 234). It is worth nothing that, in the fifth century, this center structured itself as an independent *polis* and treasured its local legends, focused on Agamemnon, so that the development of local historiography, in Phygela, could parallel the very definition of a civic identity. This form of the ethnic, Φυγελεὺς, only became common as of the fourth century BCE, which is considered by Ragone (1996: 233 n.56; cp. 343) as a positive indication of Dionysios of Halikarnassos' recourse to a tradition hardly precedent to this chronological span.

1574 Hekataios, *BNJ* 1 T 17a. According to Jacoby (1923a: 318) Hekataios should not be mentioned and Dionysios did not read him.

Ἀργεῖος Ἀκουσίλαος<sup>1575</sup> καὶ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων<sup>1576</sup> καὶ ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος Ἀμελησαγόρας,<sup>1577</sup> ὀλίγω δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος<sup>1578</sup> καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγυεῖς<sup>1579</sup> καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Χῖος<sup>1580</sup> καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς<sup>1581</sup> καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. 3 οὔτοι προαιρέσει τε ὁμοίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεις οὐ πολὺ τι διαφερούσας ἔσχον ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἀναγράφοντες ἱστορίας, οἱ δὲ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς, καὶ αὐτὰς τε ταύτας οὐ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσφάζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις<sup>1582</sup> μνημαὶ κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις,

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1575 Akousilaos, *BNJ* 2 T 2; Jacoby (1949: 354): “Actually, the early historians Hekataeus and Akusilaos do not belong to the κατ'ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαιροῦντες; the whole idea is wrong that Greek historiography began with local history.”

1576 Charon *EGM I T* 3a.

1577 It is still uncertain whether we should accept the existence of two namesakes: a historiographer who lived in the fifth century BCE and a forger who lived at the beginning of the third century BCE, as is argued by Marasco (1977). Fowler (1996: 64; 2013: 655) suggests, in fact, that the later Amelesagoras did not invent his previous namesake. See on this issue Pritchett 1975: 52–3, for a defense of the existence of the first Amelesagoras, and Jones 2013 for a critical overview.

1578 Hellanikos *BNJ* 4 T 5.

1579 Damastes *EGM I T* 2. This scholar is credited by the *Suda* (*EGM I T* 1), among his other works, with a *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι γενομένων, Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων* in two books, *Ἐθνῶν κατάλογον καὶ πόλεων*, and a *Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν*. His date is one of the most debated issues in the study of Greek Classical historiography (see e.g. Mazzarino 1966: 203–5; Gallo 2004), but it seems that the constant association of Damastes to Hellanikos should suggest, if not a proper teacher/disciple relationship, that they were coterminous (Fowler 2013: 644).

1580 Xenomedes of Keos (*EGM I T* 1) is one of the best-known local historians in the present list for his explicit mention by Callmachus in a fragment of his *Aitia* (F 75,50–76 Pf. = *BNJ* 442 F 1). Xenomedes probably lived in the same period as Hellanikos and Damastes, i.e., roughly in the last third of the fifth century BCE (Fowler 2013: 733). Both Pritchett (1975: 53) and Jenkins (2012b *BNJ* 442 T 1) support the emendation of Wilamowitz to Κεῖος in the present passage, as it was also confirmed by the *P.Oxy.* 1011,54, with the aforementioned fragment of the *Aitia*. Nevertheless, it is probably better, with Aujac, to stick to the transmitted lesson, as the mistake probably dates back to Dionysios' source (see the aberrant form for Euagon's name); I therefore choose, even in the translation, to keep Χῖος.

1581 *FGrHist* 765 T 1. For his date in the fifth century BCE, see Gazzano 2009: 263–4.

1582 The many problems of this witness should not make us forget that, from the fifth century BCE on, the adj. ἐπιχώριος was used to define the reality of the inhabitants of a place, as seen from the perspective of an external observer (see Goldhill 2010: 49). It could even be argued that, originally, local historiography was not always performed by native intellectuals, but, as Hellanikos' case confirms (1.2.1), by travelling historians, or at least by people who may be seen as distinct from the local community.

<ἦ><sup>1583</sup> εἴ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες· ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοί τινες ἐνήσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαί τινες περιπέτεια πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι.

“Before engaging in my treatment of Thucydides, I would like to spend a few words on the other prose writers who lived before him and who distinguished themselves during his lifetime: from this, his resolution, by which he excelled over his predecessors, and his talent will be very clear. 2. Because there were many ancient prose writers and they came from many places: among them were Euagon of Samos, Dei(l)ochos of Kyzikos, Bion of Proconnesos, Eudemos of Paros, Demokles of P(h)ygela, Hekataios of Miletos, Akousilaos of Argos, Charon of Lampsakos, and Amelesagoras of Chalkedon. Not long before the Peloponnesian War, and up to Thucydides’ main activity, lived Hellanikos of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeion, Xenomedes of Chios, Xanthos of Lydia, and numerous others. 3. All these authors employed a similar resolution, in the choice of their topic, and generally had the same talent; some of them wrote down *Greek Histories*, others of barbarians, and they did not connect these singular works to each other. In fact, they separated their pamphlets according to people and to cities, and told these histories separately, for their only goal was to tell, for the profit of the general knowledge of everyone, the traditions which were kept by the locals, in the single populations and in the cities, as well as the written evidence, in sacred and in profane places. They would not add or subtract anything to the evidence they had collected; herein were myths, which had been believed for a long time, and dramatic upheavals of fortune, which would seem childish to the everyday reader” (tr. S. Tufano).

Nevertheless, if Dionysius of Halikarnassos proved fundamental in confirming and promoting a return to pre-Jacobian theories, a careful reading of the list actually provides

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1583 Aujac’s integration is accepted by Porciani 2001a: 17–8, who argues that the inclusive meaning, resulting from this choice, should be preferred (even though, on a palaeographical basis, the scholar would actually print καί), and by Breglia (2012: 272 n.31 “anche se con qualche dubbio”).



us with new doubts on the limits that this witness can have, in view of the clear evolutionary model of Greek historiography that it follows. Jacoby (1949: 86; 354 n.13), in fact, underlined that Dionysius is very probably following a thesis which finds its roots in Theophrastos' reconstruction of literary genres, where the evolution from the particular to the universal is declined in historiographical terms.<sup>1584</sup> At the same time, since, in a later chapter of the same treatise of Dionysius (*Thuc.* 23), there are many discrepancies with *Thuc.* 5.2, it is likely that the list of names actually makes use of a further source, which has been identified by Porciani (2001a: 28–63, *spec.* 44–7) with a Hellenistic commentary on *Thuc.* I.21.1.<sup>1585</sup>

This reconstruction is aimed at supporting Porciani's thesis that the *logos epitaphios* and the so-called 'technicians of local memory' represented the natural premise of the genesis of local history. In any case, the multilayered character of Dionysius' chapter cannot be denied. This passage, in sum, owes much to the literary debate on the genres of the Hellenistic period, as it was rethought and reimagined in Rome in the first century BCE. In the same direction, a recent contribution (Breglia 2012) has tried to restate a single source for the list of historians, adding new arguments to Fornara's idea that the list of these ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς in *Dion. Hal. Thuc.* 5.2 comes from Praxiphanes.<sup>1586</sup> The list would therefore prove both Dionysius' independent position towards Theophrastos (since the deviation would not be casual) and the likely provenance from another peripatetic source, i.e. Praxiphanes' *Περὶ ἱστορίας* (F 21 Matelli).<sup>1587</sup>

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1584 Jacoby tended to give more credit to the historians we can read in their overall works, than to antiquarian literature. Cp. Jacoby 1949: 176–85, on the internal contradictions in the passage, and for Jacoby's refusal of its value. Further supporters of the Theophrastan origin are quoted by Porciani 2001a: 40 n.90.

1585 ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἂ διήλθον οὐχ ἀμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῆ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, "Who would judge, upon the aforementioned evidence, that what happened followed the course that I went through, would not err. For he would not trust more what the poet sang on those events, because they make it up for the best, or what the chroniclers put together, in their wish to please the audience more than the truth" (tr. S. Tufano). The passage strengthens the idea of how important poetry was at a local level; for the development of local history, as argued, among others, by Càssola 2000: 17; Ambaglio 2001: 15–6; Pretzler 2005: 240; Marincola 2006 (on Herodotus).

1586 Fornara 1983: 16–23; Breglia 2012: 286–8.

1587 We know Praxiphanes' work from a quote by Marcellinus (*Vita Thuc.* 29), in a debated passage on the figures known under the name "Thucydides". See Breglia 2012: 287 n.85 on this much debated problem.

As a matter of fact, what we know of names like Eudemos or Dei(l)ochos supports the view that these authors were known to Hellenistic poets and intellectuals (just think of Callimachus and Xenomedes), who were interested in the history of Ionia. At the same time, Hekataios and Akousilaos were among the sources of the Aristotelian *Constitutions*, which grew in the same cultural context of Praxiphanes.<sup>1588</sup> It is not certain, however, whether the synchronic method was always applied by Praxiphanes to historians different from Thucydides.<sup>1589</sup>

In any case, it is hard to escape the impression that Dionysius' reconstruction of the development of historiography (which probably follows a teleological principle up to Thucydides) is highly derivative. Therefore, it cannot substitute a modern approach to the subject, especially because it is hard to accept that he could actually still read all these ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς, who are mainly quoted on stylistic grounds. In other words, Dionysius of Halikarnassos engages in this topic, starting from a study on Thucydides, without a much deeper appraisal of the overall picture of the relationship between universal history and local history. His theory may have its strong points, but it tends to reproduce a series of prejudices about the content of local history (not least, its penchant for myths, still considered a truism in modern reconstructions of local historiography) and should not carry more weight because of its antiquity.<sup>1590</sup>

## 7.2. Hellenikos' F 2 and Contemporary Scholarship

During the nineteenth century, Sturz (1826: 68–70) and Müller (1875: 46–7) divided Hellenikos' F 2 into three sections. They only differed on the interpretation of the initial

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1588 Breglia 2012: 88.

1589 On the fragment from the Περὶ ἱστορίας and on the diverse theses regarding the structure of this text, see Matelli 2012: 277–81.

1590 On Dionysius' own theory, see Sacks 1983. For the possibility that Dionysius still read these authors, cp. Brown 1954 and Thomas 2019: 33–6 (on the basis of the fortune of local historiographers in antiquity). Modern prejudices: Luce 1997: 118: “Local histories by their very nature would present the legends, institutions and history of a city in a favorable light, although they need not have been falsified or even much exaggerated.”

reference to Aonia, which Sturz ascribed to Hellanikos (*ibid.* 69–70), but Müller considered as beginning with the words Εὐρώπης γὰρ τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς (a 4). The first section would end with the causal clause ὡς οὐχ εὐρήκει αὐτήν (a 6) and would be an original revision of the information present in Hellanikos and in Apollodoros (Müller 1875: 46). The first author is inferred for exclusion, because, in this section, Europa is the daughter of Phoenix (a 4) and not of Agenor (Apollod. 3.1.2). The scholiast, moreover, sets the kidnapping in Sidon, a city which is not mentioned by Apollodoros. The second section finishes with the birth of the Spartoi (a 17: ἐγένοντο οἱ γηγενεῖς), and, for its many linguistic affinities, it was considered by both Sturz and Müller as a copy of Apollodoros' text (3.21–5). Apollodoros himself used Hellanikos for his own narration.<sup>1591</sup> The final part of the fragment, on Ares' wrath and the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, was identified as the only section exclusively deriving from Hellanikos.<sup>1592</sup>

In 1898, Koehler criticized this tripartition, because its last output was the ascription of much of the content of the scholium to Hellanikos. According to him, especially for the central part of the fragment, between the Delphic consultation and the birth of the Spartoi, Apollodoros and the scholiast referred to a further source (different from Hellanikos), namely an “*amplius quoddam enchiridion mythographicum*” (220). While Koehler invited more prudence before accepting the indications of the subscriptions (221), he underlined a few discrepancies between the text of the scholium and the sources: in the scholium, Harmonia is the daughter of Aphrodite and Ares, whereas in Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 23) she is the daughter of Helektra and of Zeus. Further, in the scholium the sowing of the teeth happens under Athena's exhortation, but Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 1a) mentions Ares. Apollodoros is aware of the opposing tradition which identifies Europa's father with Phoenix, and not with Agenor (3.2), whereas in the scholium she is only τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς. Moreover, Apollodoros recalls the fight among the Spartoi after their birth (3.23), a fact that is absent in the narrative of the scholium. Finally, where Apollodoros

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1591 Sturz 1826: 69: “Hactenus Apollodori cum Hellanico consentienti verba.”

1592 Müller 1875: 47: “*Quae sequuntur, solius Hellanici esse videntur*”.

only knows of gifts from Kadmos to Harmonia for the wedding (3.25),<sup>1593</sup> the scholium specifies that every god gave her a present.

The fact, then, that the scholium differs both from Hellanikos and from Apollodoros might imply a referral to a third source of larger momentum. However, Koehler was optimistic on the possibility of recovering peculiarities of Hellanikos: first, the absence of a fight of any nature, after the birth of Spartoi, is in line with two fragments (*BNJ* 4 FF 1a-b), where Hellanikos is credited with mentioning *only* their birth and names, without additional details: this *argumentum ex silentio* would suggest the absence of a conflict. Second, another fragment by Hellanikos (*BNJ* 4 F 98) mentions the chiton given by Athena to Harmonia and seems thus to confirm the version of the scholium on the divine gifts (against the sole provenance of these from Kadmos). Koehler concludes therefore that the scholiast did not directly use the sources quoted at the end, but rather a source of junction, which may justify the divergences from Apollodoros' text. If we now eliminate from this middle source the elements in common with Apollodoros and compare the information obtained with the other fragments by Hellanikos, we can ascribe two pieces of information as probably deriving from Hellanikos: the absence of a fight between Kadmos and the Spartoi (or among the Spartoi, without Kadmos' intervention), and the bestowal of gifts to Harmonia.

Jacoby's commentary (1923a: 452) confirmed the discrepancy between the narrative of the scholiast and what we can positively know on the genealogy of Harmonia and on the relationship between Kadmos and Ares, on the basis of the other fragments of Hellanikos. In the current *BNJ* 4 F 1a-b, Kadmos sows following the god's advice, and, thus, it seems that the god is benevolent to him. This further difference from the text of the scholium brings the scholar to the conclusion "die Kadmosgeschichte [...] ist nicht aus H[ellanikos]."

As far as the initial etymology of Boiotia is concerned, Jacoby reprised a then widespread skepticism:<sup>1594</sup> his hypothesis that Boiotos' parents, if Hellanikos had quoted them, would have been Poseidon and Arne, hinges on a comparison with Thuc. 1.12 (on the role of the

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1593 Here, the generally acute analysis by Koehler neglected a possible ambiguity in Apollodoros' text: he only says that the participation of the gods was meant to gladden the party with their songs (τὸν γάμον εὐχούμενοι καθύμνησαν), but he knows that one of the gifts by Kadmos, the necklace, was ἠφαιστότευκτον (i.e., actually received from Hephaistos).

1594 See e.g. Wilamowitz 1921: 64-5 = 1971: 441-2.

Thessalian Arne in the migration of the Boiotians). If this were true, it might put Hellanikos among the first sources alluded to in the scholium (κατὰ μὲν τινὰς ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἄρνης).<sup>1595</sup> Nevertheless, this suggestion, despite its recent fortune,<sup>1596</sup> lacks positive comparisons in the other fragments we possess.

The later contributions most often dealt with the myth and only in passing touch upon the hard issue of the reliability of the final subscriptions. A possible exception was F. Vian in his *Origines de Thèbes* (1963: 21–6): he first thought that one of the main discrepancies between the scholium and Apollodoros, Europa’s father (Phoenix in the scholium, Agenor in Apollodoros, who knows both versions), could be influenced by Homeric genealogy, since in the *Iliad* (14.321), Europa is the daughter of Phoenix. Vian’s suggestion is that the scholium might base itself on a different version of Apollodoros’ text,<sup>1597</sup> “à juger par les bonnes variantes<sup>1598</sup> qu’il donne dans la première partie du récit” (*ibid.* 25).

Vian founded his argument on Pherekydes’ current *BNJ* 3 F 22 a–b, quoted in the relevant Apollodorean chapters. This mythographer:

- sets the sowing of the teeth after the foundation of Thebes. Kadmos acts, respecting Ares’ and Athena’s will;
- adds the character of Aietes, who receives half of the teeth;
- mentions the reciprocal massacre of the Spartoi (except the usual five survivors), after the throwing of the stones by Kadmos.

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1595 Jacoby 1923a: 452: “[N]annte er den eponymen Βοιωτός, so werden die eltern wegen Thuk. I 12 Poseidon und Arne gewesen sein.”

1596 Larson 2007: 22.

1597 Schwartz (1881: 438–63) was the first scholar who suggested a different *recensio* of Apollodoros in our scholium. On the possibility of a diverse original version of the text, and on the importance of the scholia for the *constitutio textus* of the *Library*, cp. Huys 1997: 345.

1598 Some of these are also discussed by Lünstedt 1961: 28–9. The principal variations are: (1) the use of χέρνυψ in the scholium (a 11), instead of ὕδωρ (Apollod. 3.22), for the water that Kadmos’ comrades had to fetch for the sacrifice: χέρνυψ is actually quite common for the description of sacrifices, and it is used, in the same context, in Eur. *Phoen.* 662; (2) Ἀρητιὰς κρήνη (a 11), whereas Apollodoros refers to an Ἀρεΐα κρήνη (Apollod. 3.22): here the scholium adopts a rarer adjective, which is more frequent for the spring in the Hellenistic Age (see Ap. Rhod. 3.1180: see *supra*, in the commentary on this collocation).

Taking into due considerations these three details, Vian limited the extension of the following *BNJ* 3 F 22c, quoted in a section of direct interest here, to the throwing of the stones: Pherekydes did not know anything about Ares' wrath towards Kadmos. The source behind this hatred, then, must have been another one, even though the other author behind Apollodoros' *Library* had to link the resentment not to the massacre of the Spartoi, but to the death of Ares' offspring, the dragon. Consequently, Vian's reconstruction removes the parenthesis from Pherekydes in Apollodoros and the deceptive link, in Apollodoros, between the killing of the other Spartoi and Ares' wrath. Vian is therefore forced to infer that Apollodoros had *another* source where this wrath was the consequence of the killing of *the dragon*. After the reconciliation, through Kadmos' slavery, a wedding followed.

This is the exact version of the scholium, except for a digression in the apparent contradiction with the main storyline: ὀργισθέντος δὲ Ἄρεως καὶ μέλλοντος Κάδμου ἀναιρεῖν ἐκώλυσεν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἄρμονίαν αὐτῶι συνώικισε (a 17-8: “Because Ares was angered and was going to kill Kadmos, Zeus forestalled him and had him marry Harmonia”).<sup>1599</sup> It is unclear if Zeus really forestalled Ares' grudge, since immediately after, Kadmos still endures slavery (a 19-20: πρότερον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ δράκοντος ἐνιαυτὸν θητεῦσαι). The “maladresse” of the first digression would therefore prove, according to Vian (1963: 25), that it is the only section from Hellanikos that was inserted into the scholium.

Hellanikos, then, ignored the slavery and accepted another version of the myth where Zeus' reconciling act was successful and, among the consequences, there was a quiet sowing of the teeth (out of Ares' will: *BNJ* 4 F 1a), the fightless birth of the Spartoi (*BNJ* 4 F 1b), and the wedding. According to Vian, Hellanikos was driven by the desire to eliminate all the details “qui choquaient la raison ou le sentiment religieux” (mostly, the massacre of the Spartoi and Ares' resentment).<sup>1600</sup>

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1599 Crusius (1890-4: 829,7) defined the whole scholium “konfuser Bericht” considering this contradictory remark.

1600 This approach to the variations in Hellanikos appears unnecessary today. Vian put forward that Zeus' role may have already been present in a few verses of a fragmentary dithyramb by Pindar (F 70b,27-9 S. – M.: ἐνθα ποθ' Ἄρμονίαν φάμα γαμετάν/ Κάδμον ὑψηλαῖς πραπίδεσσι λαχεῖν κεδ-/ νάν; Vian 1963: 25 n.4 and 27); these somewhat obscure

In a study on Kadmos, meant to reestablish the plausibility of his Phoenician origin after the important discovery of Babylonian seals on the Kadmeia,<sup>1601</sup> R. Edwards drew on previous skepticism concerning the possibility that the scholium might report information from Hellanikos.<sup>1602</sup> In her view, the myth of Kadmos and the foundation of Thebes had no original relationship to Europa’s kidnapping: in the fifth century BCE there was more than one version of the kinship between Kadmos and Europa,

“nor can there be any certainty about their relationship in Hellanikos, since [...] this reference [*i.e.* the scholium] cannot be taken as reliable evidence for details of Hellanikos’ version.”<sup>1603</sup>

According to this scholar, the scholium is a source on its own,<sup>1604</sup> distant from Apollodoros and from Hellanikos, and whose content must be considered as a coherent whole. For example, the provenance of the characters from Sidon is irrelevant, “since often both Sidonian and Tyrian seem to be used loosely as synonymous with Phoenician” (Edwards 1979: 47). The Phoenician origin of Kadmos, mentioned in the fragment, is considered an original element of the myth and not recent,<sup>1605</sup> as Vian and Wilamowitz thought.<sup>1606</sup> She

verses, nevertheless, only confirm Zeus’ intercession in the wedding. The nucleus of this happy ending could be narrated without the prelude.

1601 Among the first publications, see at least Falkenstein 1964 and Platon – Touloupa 1964; cp., moreover, the interpretations given by Porada 1981, Aravantinos 2000: 32-3, and Kopanias 2008. Schachter (1985: 146-7) undermined the value of this discovery for the reconstruction of the international relationships of Thebes and its links with the East in the LH III. According to him, a possible historical setting for the birth of the tradition on the Eastern origin of Kadmos was the Geometrical period – a period of migrations to Boiotia.

1602 Edwards 1979: 24; 45; 47, and 71 (“A substantial part of the narrative is verbatim the same as our text of Apollodoros, which leaves it doubtful how much might have been derived from Hellanikos”).

1603 Edwards 1979: 24 n. 33. Cp. *ibid.* 24-5: “After the fifth century many writers continue to refer to Kadmos as son of Agenor and to Europê as daughter of Phoinix the son of Agenor, but a large number allude to them as *brother and sister*, sometimes without mentioning the names of their parents, and sometimes making them both children either of Phoinix or –much more commonly – of Agenor.”

1604 It is worth quoting how our fragment is listed, among the sources which consider Europa and Kadmos siblings as Phoenix’s children: “See Konon *FGrH* I A, 26fr. 1, *Narr.* XXXII and XXXVII, and Schol. ad Hom. *Il.* 2.494” (Edwards 1979: 25 n.34; at 47 the “scholiasts to the *Iliad* (2.494)” are (only) Hellanikos).

1605 Schachter (1985: 151-2) contrasted Edwards’ position, while at the same time distancing himself from the Ionic thesis (see n.1607). Kadmos’ figure was a secondary creation, after an original myth centered on the birth of the Spartoi. An etymology quoted by Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 F 60a-c = F 2a-c Harding: διὰ τὸ [...] σποράδην οἰκῆσαι; see Harding 2008: 16) describes an original synoecism around the Kadmeia. After the name of the acropolis/citizen, then, came a tradition on the name of the founder (cp. Schachter 1985: 152: “First \*Τὸ Κάδμος, the akropolis, from which Καδμεῖοι,

does, however, concede that Hellanikos *may* have accepted this tradition in his work, but more as an author who lived at the end of the fifth century BCE, than on the basis of the actual fragment (71).

The religious–historical perspective, enhanced by M. Rocchi, then, allows a finer understanding of the meaning of the wedding between Kadmos and Harmonia, seen as a “mito di fondazione della giusta connessione tra cielo e terra” (1989: 13). Nevertheless, the frequent use of Nonnus’ rewriting of the myth, which is both exceptional for its late date and for the setting of the event in Libya (*ibid.* 16–23), is detrimental to an effective analysis of the scholium and, in general, of the initial stages of the tradition. As far as Hellanikos is concerned, Rocchi accepts an internal divergence among his works: one version that describes Harmonia as Helektra’s daughter,<sup>1607</sup> and another where she is Ares and Aphrodite’s child (*ibid.* 41 n.1). This kinship is functional for the location of the wedding party on the Kadmeia and its general link with Thebes, a city that functions as an earthly junction between men and gods (57). Their reciprocal contacts were interrupted, after a long series of interactions:

“I miti di Kalydna, Ogygia e Tebe Kadmeia e delle vicende dei loro fondatori avevano senso solo in quanto davano fondamento alle medesime prerogative attribuite ad una sola città” (Rocchi 1989: 52).

It goes without saying that Hellanikos could adopt different versions, as long as these were known in different regions of the Greek world. As such, it should be considered that

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Καδμειῶνες, Καδμεία Γῆ/ Πόλις. Thence, with the synoikismos, ὁ Κάδμος”; Berman 2004: 16. Another possibility is that *Kadmos* derives from the ethnic name, as it is argued by Prandi 1986: 42–3 and Beekes 2004: 171; on the actual meaning of these etymologies, see in general Kühr 2006: 87–91).

1606 Wilamowitz (1884a: 139) and Vian (1963: 51–63) argued that the Phoenician element was an elaboration, originally developed in Miletos and in Ionia between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE, to justify some homonymies. Miletos, in particular, was prone to promoting this narrative, for the existence of a namesake Kadmos of Miletos, on whom we know only a few unremarkable facts (cp. the rebuttal by Edwards 1979: 83–4, nn. 77–8).

1607 *BNJ* 4 F 23. Rocchi 1989: 27 n.26. This variant, according to Rocchi 1989: 35–40, is associated with a version of the wedding which circulated in Samothrace. Particular importance is given to Ephoros’ *BNJ* 70 F 120, which touches upon a rite, set in Samothrace, when the inhabitants ζητοῦσιν αὐτήν [Harmonia] ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς.



Hellanikos could *also* share the genealogy where Harmonia was Aphrodite’s daughter, as in the previous sources we are aware of.

Other later cautious positions allude to unspecified “portions of Hellanikos” in the scholium.<sup>1608</sup> The majority of contemporary scholars tend to come back to Jacoby’s skepticism on the possibility of finding the most ancient elements of the scholium.<sup>1609</sup> This picture finds additional support in a comprehensive and exhaustive analysis of the development of the myth of Kadmos and of its later interrelation with the myth of Europa. When we consider, for instance, that the same author, Euripides, has Kadmos come in one instance from Tyre, and in another instance from Sidon,<sup>1610</sup> it is hard to define a fixed set of elements and details associated to the storyline at the end of the fifth century BCE, so as to contrast it with the complex stratification behind our scholium.

More recently, Fowler (2013: 381-2) indicated three hypotheses:

1. after a commentary on the etymology written in “Apollodoros-of-Athens-style”, we have a paraphrase of the corresponding section of Apollodoros’ *Library* (3.21-3), with variations depending on different stages of the tradition of the *Library* and being ascribed to Hellanikos because the scholiast thought that the historian had dealt with this subject;
2. the scholium relies on Apollodoros of Athens’ commentary on the *Catalogue of Ships*, where Hellanikos and Pherekydes were both quoted.<sup>1611</sup> This same text was also being exploited by the Apollodoros who wrote the *Library*. Fowler is suspicious of this scenario, because it does not match what we know of Apollodoros’ commentary. A “third book (a 17-8: ἐν τῷ Γ)” seems incongruent with the position

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1608 Berman 2004: 5 n.10; 2013: 48-9.

1609 Cp. e.g. Kühr 2006: 83 n.1 and Fowler 2013: 186 n.125; 357-61 (357: “The scholiast has his material from the *Bibl.*, and his ascription of fr. 51a to Hellanikos has little value”; Fowler seemed less doubtful in a previous contribution [1996: 73 n.86], where the treatment is considered proof of the use, by Hellanikos, of the μετωνομασία as an example of rationalism).

1610 Tyre: Eur. *Phoen.* 638-9: Κάδμος ἔμολε πάνδε γᾶν/ Τύριος, with Mastronarde 2005 *ad loc.*; cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 171; 1025. Sidon: Eur. *Phrixos B*, *TrGF* 819,1: Σιδώνιον ποτ’ ἄστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπών.

1611 Other supporters of this reconstruction are Cameron 2004: 98; Berman 2013: 48-9; Kenens 2013: 106.

of the verse in the *Catalogue* (Hom. *Il.* 2.494), and Hellanikos will hardly have accepted an etymology βουῖς > βοιωτία;

3. both the scholiast and the Apollodoros of the *Library* follow the *Mythographus Homericus*, but Apollodoros independently added the quote from Pherekydes.

Fowler leans towards the first scenario (a: Apollodoros of the *Library* as the main subtext), but our commentary has hopefully shown that it is advisable to analyse all the single points of this long scholium.<sup>1612</sup> It is possible to accept the reading offered by Pàges (2017), namely, that the scholiast found these references to further sources (in our case, Hellanikos), in the *Mythographus Homericus*: this would explain why these names are absent in our text of the *Library*, which was supplemented by the scholiasts through the *MH*. However, I disagree with the possibility that the similarity in wording between the scholium and Apollodoros completely excludes the possibility the use of the *Library*. According to Pàges,

“the D-scholiast replaced the MH text by the story from the *Bibliotheca* because not only were they narrating the same story but they were also very similar in wording, and this similarity might be due to the fact that both, the MH and Apollodoros were following the same source, namely, a summary of Hellanikos’ *Boeotiaca*” (Pàges 2017: 74).

The slight differences between Apollodoros and the scholiast derive, in fact, from the fact that Apollodoros’ version obscures the variations of the story, which can be ascribed to Hellanikos. The reference to Pherekydes, in our extant text of the *Library*, would indeed suggest that Hellanikos was quoted by the *MH*, but maybe not in the sources used by Apollodoros. As suggested by our commentary, the safer explanation is to think that both the scholiasts and Apollodoros were drawing on the *MH* (Fowler’s third scenario): by the time the final stage of the D Scholia was reached, namely in the manuscript tradition, the copists could also refer to the *Library*, but the similarities ultimately derive from a previous stage of the tradition.

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<sup>1612</sup> Panzer 1892: 47: “Verum in omnes quae exstant subscriptiones inquirendum est, priusquam quid de unaquaque iudicandum sit adpareat.”

### 7.3. The Theban Sea Campaign: A Résumé

In 366/365 BCE Epameinondas promoted a sea campaign. This campaign responded both to an internal impulse, to profit from the current successes on the continent, and to the necessity of reacting to Athenian operations in the Northern Aegean Sea, where the Athenians were founding new cleruchies, and, more generally, acting as part of the Second Athenian League.<sup>1613</sup> With the likely help of the Persians,<sup>1614</sup> Thebes built a fleet, probably from scratch: their previous commitments on the sea had not had an extension or an impact that implies the creation of a big or even middle sized fleet.<sup>1615</sup> They now built a force that consisted of 100 triremes.<sup>1616</sup> The Thebans also fortified the main harbours of the region on the southern and eastern coasts.<sup>1617</sup>

The naval mission of Epameinondas in 364<sup>1618</sup> was not a complete failure, because it brought to light the difficulties that the Athenians were experiencing, as well as brought about the defection of Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium.<sup>1619</sup> The island of Chios abandoned

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1613 The main treatment of this naval campaign is still Carrata Thomes 1952. Fossey (1979: 9-10) suggested that the Thebans aimed at interrupting the arrival of grain supplies from Thrace to Athens. See also, in general, Buckler 1980: 160-5; Roy 1994: 200-1; Buckler 1998; Tejada 2015; Russell 2016 (further scholarship *ibid.* 186 n.1). The date of the beginning of the campaign is debated: see a summary of the sources and the main issues in Mackil 2008: 181.

1614 The support of the Persians is not explicitly mentioned by the sources on this occasion, but there were previous meetings. On this: Carrata Thomes 1952: 22-4; Fortina 1958: 80-1; Buckler 1980: 161; Roy 1994: 201; Buckler 1998: 192. Skepticism on the financial help of the Persians has been expressed by Schachter (2014a: 325-7) and Russell (2016: 186 n.2).

1615 Cp. Carrata Thomes 1952: 13-8; Salmon 1953: 358-60; Munn 1997: 92; Vela Tejada 2015: 53 n.3 for a list of the main episodes. Thucydides (8.3.3), for instance, surprisingly recalls that the Spartans, in the winter 413/2 BCE, asked for twenty-five ships from the Boiotians, since they were allies. The number is high, compared to the fifteen that were demanded from the Corinthians in the same context. We do not know, however, whether all the ships required by the Spartans were actually built. In 377 BCE, Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.56-7) mentions the dispatch of two Theban triremes to Pagasae, but we ignore what proportion of the city fleet they represented.

1616 Diod. Sic. 15.78.4-79.1. Glotz (1933) argued that the inspiration behind the naval construction program was Nōbas, son of Axisubos, a Carthaginian, who was honored as proxenos by the *koinon* (IG 7.2407 = RO 43). Cawkell (1972: 272 n.1) and Rhodes and Osborne (2003: 218-9) reject this hypothesis, since there are many other Carthaginians who travelled to Greece during the fourth century BCE (sources: Chandezon – Krings 2001).

1617 On the harbours, see Carrata Thomes 1952: 27-9; Fossey 1979: 10-1

1618 Buckler 1980: 258-9.

1619 Diod. Sic. 15.79.1 (a debated passage, for the understanding of the meaning of ἰδίαις: see at least Buckler 1998: 193-4; Vela Tejada 2015: 53; Russell 2016: 69). Isoc. *Philippus* 5.53; Plut. *Phil.* 14.1-2. Rhodes and Chios did not defect for a long time (Diod. Sic. 16.7.1; their revolt, however, is certain: Russell 2016: 78), whereas Byzantium remained

the alliance with Athens and united itself, in *isopolitia*, with Histiaia (in Euboia).<sup>1620</sup> Finally, according to Justin (*Epit.* 16.4.1-3), Epameinondas intervened in the internal conflicts of Herakleia Pontike.<sup>1621</sup> Other signals of the impact of the mission are the proxenies which locate Thebes in a strong and meaningful network of contacts in this period: Epameinondas obtained a proxeny in Knidos (*SEG XLIV 901*), while Thebes granted the same honour to a series of characters in order to present the city as a naval power.<sup>1622</sup>

The Theban attempt to summon on the sea that same terrestrial hegemony,<sup>1623</sup> then, produced a success that went beyond what is acknowledged in the literary sources.<sup>1624</sup> In fact, the Athenian fear of Theban propaganda and the concurrent development of a structure that resembles a naval league, if short-lived, confirm the general impression of success for Epameinondas.<sup>1625</sup> The exception of Diodorus, then, may actually depend on

independent, because the city was still hostile to Athens in 362 BCE (Dem. [50.6]; Roy 1994: 202 n.17; Cordano 2009: 401-2; specifically on Byzantium's revolt, see Russell 2016: 66-7).

1620 Tod 141. Cabrias probably put an end to this turmoil (RO 39); cp. Russell 2016: 187 n.17.

1621 Carrata Thomes (1952: 8) put forward that Justin might be drawing on Ephoros, who read Boiotian historiographers of this period, such as Daimachos (TT 1-2), Anaxis, and Dionysodoros (*BNJ* 67-8); cp. however Vela Tejada 2015: 55-6, for some possible alternative explanations of the internal strife. In truth, it seems that Epameinondas had no impact on the establishment of a democratic government (Buckler 1980: 172; Rhodes 2016: 63).

1622 Papazarkadas 2016: 139-41 (cp. Vela Tejada 2015: 57 for the possible irrelevance of the Knidian proxeny of Epameinondas). The scholar mentions the proxeny decrees for a Macedonian (*SEG XXXIV 355*), a Byzantine (*IG* 7.2408), and a Carthaginian (RO 43). Further discoveries came to light in the last ten years, among which are one text giving proxeny to a Lacedaemonian, Timeas (*SEG LV 564bis*; Mackil 2008), and one to two men from Olynthos and from Corinth (Vlachogianni 2004-9; on these, see Russell 2016: 69). For a complete list of the proxenies granted in Thebes and in Boiotia, see Fossey 2014: 3-22 [an updated version of Fossey 1994b] and this resource: <http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk>.

1623 The motif of the double hegemony, on land and on sea, was a common *topos* in the fourth century BCE, received by our tradition on Epameinondas, who suggests to the Boiotian assembly to περιποιήσασθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν (Diod. Sic. 15.78.4; on the motif, see Carrata Thomes 1952: 6-7 and Bearzot 2015).

1624 Buckler 1998: 195: "Good will Epameinondas gained, but, as Isokrates and Plutarch rightly say, hegemony of the sea he did not"; the fleet, according to the same scholar (*ibid.* 203), was a diplomatic instrument, to counter Athens, by extending the conflict to a larger area.

1625 See in particular, Russell (2016: 67-9) on the Athenian echoes of this campaign and on the necessity to not minimize its outcome in the general situation of the Bosphorus in the years between 364 and 357 BCE. This study also generally shows the limits of a potential emphasis of the excessive success of Epameinondas, while taking into account all the epigraphical evidence. The more skeptical position of Vela Tejada (2015: 54-5) seems to focus eminently on Aeneas' Tacticus and on the concurrent evidence of Memnon of Herakleia (*BNJ* 434 F 1).

the attention of his sources (Ephoros, but maybe also Anaxis and Dionysodoros) to this chapter of the history of the sixties.<sup>1626</sup>

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1626 Bearzot 2015: 90-1.