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Institut für Informatik

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Summer Semester 2015

The Revolt of Samos in the Ancient Sources

Monica Berti

8th Common Session - May 26, 2015

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The Delian League
(478 – 404 BC)
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Military operation (with date)
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KOS
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Persian Empire of the Achaemenids
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460 Cyprus, Levantine coast, Egypt
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0 50 100 150 km
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The Revolt of Samos (441-439 BC)

why this event?

- crucial event in the history of the "Pentekontaetia"
- good test case for the work on the "Digital Pentekontaetia"
- interesting collection of fragmentary sources on the revolt

- work supported by the College of the Holy Cross (Department of Classics) + published papers
- Digital Pentekontaetia at the University of Leipzig (Humboldt Chair of Digital Humanities)

The Revolt of Samos (441-439 BC)

- Samos and the Delian League
- the Revolt of Samos
- Sources on the Revolt of Samos
- the Revolt of Samos and the Digital Pentekontaetia

The Revolt of Samos (441-439 BC)

Samos and the Delian League

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Samos

- member of the Hellenic League before 478 BC
- charter member of the Delian League (Ionian District)
- contributes ***ships*** to the Delian League - no ***phoros*** payment

* Hdt. 9.106; Thuc. 1.94-95; Plut. *Arist.* 23.4-5

Samos (after 439 BC)

- forced to
  - surrender the fleet
  - tear down the walls
  - pay an enormous indemnity (apparently instead of the tribute)

* Thuc. 1.117.3; Plut. *Per.* 28.1; Diod. 12.28.3-4

The Revolt of Samos
(441-439 BC)

The Revolt of Samos

the revolt (441-439 BC)

- 441 BC: war between Samos and Miletus for the possession of Priene
- Athens intervenes in support of Miletus, sails to Samos and installs a democracy
- rebellion of Samos (with the support of Byzantium)
- Athens defeats the revolt

The Revolt of Samos
(441-439 BC)

Sources on the Revolt of Samos

- **Literary Sources**
  - **Thucydides; Aristophanes; Isocrates; Aristoteles; Diodorus Siculus; Cornelius Nepos; Plutarch; Harpocration; Athenaeus; Aelianus; Justinus; Photius; Suda; scholia to Aelius Aristides; scholia to Aristophanes**
- **Fragmentary Sources (quotations and text reuses)**
  - **Eupolis; Alexis; Androtion; Aristodemus; Stesimbrotus; Aristoteles; Aristophanes; Ephorus; Heraclides Ponticus; Douris of Samos; Ion of Chios; Lysimachus**
- **Inscriptions**
  - **IG I^2 293 = M-L 55 = IG I^3 363; IG I^2 50 = ATL II D 18 = M-L- 56 = IG I^3 48; IG I^3 68, ll. 20-21 = M-L 68; IG I^3 369, ll. 41-43 = M-L 72; IG I^3 370, ll. 17-18 = M-L 77; IG I^2 297, ll. 16-17; IG I^3 375, ll. 20-21 = M-L 84; IG I^3 375, ll. 34-37 = M-L 84**

The Revolt of Samos (441-439 BC)

the Revolt of Samos and the Digital Pentekontaetia

demo.fragmentarytexts.org

The Revolt of Samos

The aim of this section is to provide a test case for designing a "synoptical representation" of primary sources. By this expression we mean a way to identify chunks of separate sources corresponding to one another and align them. We have chosen the example of the Athenian suppression of the revolt of Samos (441-439 BC) because we have literary and epigraphical texts that can be aligned together.

The sources are grouped into different pages corresponding to different topics on the revolt of Samos. They are aligned in columns and it is also possible to highlight source passages where we have same or similar words about the same subject (click on this symbol ✎). The texts are presented both in the original Greek language and in English translation, and they are provided with links to the full TEI XML digital sources published in the Perseus Digital Library or to print edition pdf files stored in Internet Archive or Google Books.

For a collection of sources on the revolt of Samos, see G.F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*, Oxford 1897, pp. 137-146, and its revised edition by Meiggs and Andrewes (Oxford 1951).

For two reports on this project, see M. Berti, 'Citazioni e dinamiche testuali, L'intertestualità e la storiografia greca frammentaria', in V. Costa (ed.), *Tradizione e trasmissione degli storici greci frammentari* 2, Tivoli (Roma) 2012, pp. 439-458; M. Berti, 'Collecting Quotations by Topic: Degrees of Preservation and Transtextual Relations among Genres', in *Ancient Society* 43 (2013), pp. 269-288.

* We are very grateful to the Classics Department of the College of the Holy Cross for supporting this project.

The revolt — Read more

Perikles' funeral speech — Read more

The Athenian generals (441/40 BC) — Read more

The role of Aspasia — Read more

The Athenian generals (439/38 BC) — Read more

The tattoo of the prisoners — Read more

Sophokles' strategia — Read more

The treason of the Samian — Read more

Expenses of the war — Read more

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- provide a test case for designing a "synoptical representation" of primary sources (i.e., identify chunks of separate sources corresponding to one another and align them)
- for the revolt of Samos we have literary and epigraphical texts that can be aligned together
- sources are grouped and treated according to different topics on the revolt of Samos
- texts presented in the original Greek language and in English translation, and provided with links to the full TEI XML in the Perseus Digital Library or to print edition pdf files stored in Internet Archive or Google Books

COLLECTING QUOTATIONS BY TOPIC: DEGREES OF PRESERVATION AND TRANSTEXTUAL RELATIONS AMONG GENRES*

Abstract: This paper aims at exploring many issues concerning the difficult task of collecting quotations and text re-uses of lost historians. The subject is addressed not by author or by work, but focusing on a topic and discussing sources that belong to different genres and are characterized by different degrees of preservation. The test-case is constituted by the sources on the revolt of Samos (440-439 BC).

The aim of this paper is to address some questions concerning the difficult task of collecting fragments — i.e. quotations and textual re-uses — of lost texts of Classical prose writers. With this goal in mind, I am not going to talk about a fragmentary author or about a modern edition of fragments, but I will present my reflections focusing on a topic and gathering ancient sources about it. The rationale for this choice is to collect evidence that belongs to different genres and is characterized by different degrees of preservation. The ultimate purpose is to explore connections among sources and point to a *relation type perspective*, which is one of the most challenging issues when dealing with quotations[1].

This comparative analysis is the first step in examining three basic aspects of fragments of ancient works, combining both an endotextual and an exotextual approach: (1) the contribution of fragments to our knowledge of a certain topic, (2) the reasons for quoting them, and (3) their role inside the context of transmission[2]. This means investigating their level of distance from the original text, which is lost, and the intention of the author who has selected, excerpted, and quoted a portion of the original text in a new (con)text. At the same time, gathering ancient sources by topic enables us to put together fragments that modern editors have been forced, for more or less compelling reasons, to collect and classify into distinct categories, although the differences among their supposed genres are often not so evident and therefore definable.

* I express my warmest thanks to Guido Schepens and Stefan Schorn for giving me the opportunity to discuss with them the contents of this paper and for their precious suggestions. I am also very grateful to Thomas R. Martin and D. Neel Smith for a preliminary discussion about the role of new editors of fragments of ancient literature.

[1] See Berti (2012a) and (2012b).

[2] On the concept of 'cover-text' of historical fragments, see Schepens (1997a) 166-168.

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Monica Berti

Citazioni e dinamiche testuali
L'intertestualità e la storiografia greca frammentaria

In una lunga sezione tematica dell'introduzione al volume *Greek Historiography* Simon Hornblower introduce il concetto di *intertestualità* e ne verifica le possibili applicazioni al campo della storiografia greca [1]. Lo studioso definisce questo approccio come un problema di interrelazione implicita o esplicita, e consapevole o meno, tra uno storico e l'altro e tra le opere di storiografia e gli altri generi espressivi. La questione è affrontata citando alcuni esempi particolarmente dibattuti oltre a quelli trattati nei saggi raccolti nel volume, e cioè il rapporto tra Ecateo, Erodoto e Tucidide, le fonti di Strabone e la sua conoscenza dell'opera tucididea, le fonti di Arriano, il rapporto tra Polibio e Tucidide, il metodo di lavoro di Diodoro e di Plutarco e l'influenza dell'epica omerica sulla storiografia del V secolo [2].

Le riflessioni di Hornblower evidenziano alcune questioni fondamentali della moderna ricerca storiografica sulle quali vale la pena soffermarsi brevemente:

> Anzitutto la storiografia non può essere considerata come una semplice διαδοχή, ossia una successione lineare di autori, perché è molto difficile valutare il grado di consapevolezza di uno

[1] S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography*, Oxford 1994, pp. 54-72 (Section IV: *Intertextuality and the Greek historians*).

[2] I saggi del volume riguardano queste tematiche: Polibio e i suoi predecessori (P. Derow); Erodoto e la religione (J. Gould); Erodoto su Alessandro I di Macedonia (E. Badian); tecniche narrative in Tucidide (S. Hornblower); il mondo di Teofrasto (P.M. Fraser); la tradizione sulla Prima Guerra Sacra (J. Davies); Diodoro e le sue fonti (K.S. Sacks); la tradizione sulle Guerre Persiane nell'impero romano (A. Spawforth).

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GREEK HISTORY

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BY

G. F. HILL, M.A.

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228. Plut. *Per.* 24: Ἐκ τούτου (τοῦ περὶ Εὐβοίας πολέμου) γενομένων σπονδῶν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰς ἔτη τριάκοντα κ.τ.λ.

229. Justin. iii. 7. 1: His malis fracti Lacedaemonii in annos xxx pepigerunt pacem, sed tam longum otium inimicitiae non tulerunt.

230. Andoc. 3 *de Pac.* 6: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δι' Αἰγυπτίας εἰς πόλεμον κατέστημεν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ παθόντες πολλὰ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπεθυμήσαμεν πάλιν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ᾑρέθησαν δέκα ἄνδρες ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης αὐτοκράτορες, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ πάππος ὁ ἡμέτερος. οὗτοι ἡμῖν εἰρήνην ἐποίησαν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτη τριάκοντα.

Paus. v. 23. 4. See below **233**.

Further conditions of the Peace.

231. Thuc. i. 35. 1, 2; 40. 2; 66; v. 40. 1, 2.

Aigina.

232. Thuc. i. 67. 2; 139. 1; 140. 3.

Argos.

233. Paus. v. 23. 4: Ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου στήλη χαλκῆ, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνθήκας ἔχουσα εἰρήνης ἐς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. ταύτας ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ δεύτερον Εὔβοιαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς * * ὀλυμπιάδος ἣν Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον[1]. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τόδε εἰρημένον, εἰρήνης μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῷ Ἀργείων μὴ μετεῖναι πόλει, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους, ἢν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Settlement of disputes.

234. Thuc. i. 78. 4; 140. 2; 144. 2; 145; iv. 118. 8; v. 18. 4; 79. 4; vii. 18. 2.

Regulation of Commercial Relations.

235. Thuc. i. 67. 4; 144. 2.

Commemoration of the Peace.

236. Paus. v. 23. 4. See above **233**.

Cf. Thuc. v. 18. 10; 47. 11.

[1] See above 205.

The Revolt of Samos.

237. Thuc. i. 115. 2–117; cf. i. 40. 5; 41. 2.

238. Diod. xii. 27: Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμοκλέους . . . Σάμιοι μὲν πρὸς Μιλησίους περὶ Πριήνης ἀμφισβητήσαντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις διαφέροντας πρὸς Μιλησίους, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ Περικλέα προχειρισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμίους ἔχοντα τριήρεις τετταράκοντα. (2) οὗτος δὲ πλεύσας ἐπί τε τὴν Σάμον * * παρεισελθὼν δὲ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος κατέστησε δημοκρατίαν ἐν αὐτῇ. πραξάμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν Σαμίων ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἴσους ὁμήρους παῖδας λαβών, τούτους μὲν παρέδωκε τοῖς Λημνίοις, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἅπαντα συντετελεκὼς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. (3) ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάμῳ στάσεως γενομένης, καὶ τῶν μὲν αἱρουμένων τὴν δημοκρατίαν, τῶν δὲ βουλομένων τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι, ταραχὴ πολλὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεῖχε. τῶν δ' ἐναντιουμένων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ διαβάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πορευθέντων εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Πισσούθνην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν σατράπην περὶ βοηθείας, ὁ μὲν Πισσούθνης ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας ἑπτακοσίους, ἐλπίζων τῆς Σάμου διὰ τούτου κυριεύσειν, οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι μετὰ τῶν δοθέντων αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν νυκτὸς πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἔλαθόν τε [τὴν πόλιν] παρεισελθόντες, τῶν πολιτῶν συνεργούντων, ῥᾳδίως τ' ἐκράτησαν τῆς Σάμου, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας αὐτοῖς ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· τοὺς δ' ὁμήρους ἐκκλέψαντες ἐκ τῆς Λήμνου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σάμον ἀσφαλισάμενοι, φανερῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέδειξαν πολεμίους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. (4) οἱ δὲ πάλιν Περικλέα προχειρισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμίους μετὰ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς ναυμαχήσας πρὸς ἑβδομήκοντα τριήρεις ἐνίκησε τοὺς Σαμίους, μετατεμψάμενος δὲ παρὰ Χίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων ναῦς εἴκοσι πέντε μετὰ τούτων ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν Σάμον. (5) μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας Περικλῆς μὲν καταλιπὼν μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνέζευξεν, ἀπαντήσων ταῖς Φοινίσσαις ναυσίν, ἃς οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς Σαμίοις ἦσαν ἀπεσταλκότες. (28) οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι διὰ τὴν ἀνάζευξιν τοῦ Περικλέους νομίζοντες ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐπίθεσιν ταῖς ὑπολελειμμέναις ναυσίν, ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπ' αὐτάς, καὶ νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φρονήματος ἐπληροῦντο. (2) ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς ἀκούσας τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἧτταν, εὐθὺς ὑπέστρεψε καὶ στόλον ἀξιόλογον ἤθροισε, βουλόμενος εἰς τέλος συντρῖψαι τὸν τῶν ἐναντίων στόλον.

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9. IONIA AND THE AEGEAN

1. Conditions in Ionia, etc.: B 116, cf. B 26 (Erythrai): Suidas s.v. *Ἡρόδοτος*; *B 111* (*Tod 25*) (Halikarnassos): C 11 (Lykia): *B 114* (*Tod 35*), 115 cf. B 30 (Miletos): *B 104* (*Tod 23*) (Teos).
2. Athenian cleruchies: Plut. Per. 11^{5-6}; Diod. xi. 88^{3}; for detail see III. 4^{9}.
3. Athenian colonies: (?) B 57 (Er . . .); (?) B 56 (unidentified).
4. Revolt of Samos: *Thuc. i. 115*^{2}*–117, viii. 76*^{4}; Diod. xii. 27–8; Plut. Per. 24^{1-2}, 25–8 (Stesimbrotos, fr. 8; Arist. fr. 577, 578; Ar. fr. 64; Ephoros, fr. 194, 195; Herakleides Pontikos, p. 89; Douris, fr. 67; Ion, fr. 16); Aristod. 15^{4}; Ar. Vesp. 281–4 with schol.; Arist. Pol. $1284^{a}38$, cf. Rhet. iii. 4^{3}. $1407^{a}1$; cf. Harpokr. s.v. *Ἀσπασία* (Douris, fr. 65, Theophrastos); cf. Eupolis, fr. 154; cf. Alexis, fr. 1; (?) Justin iii. 6^{12-13}.
   Athenian generals: Androtion, fr. 38; B 62^{41-6}; *Thuc. i. 117*^{2}; Ion, fr. 6; Schol. Ar. Pax 697; Aristod. 15^{4}.
   Treatment of prisoners: Photios s.vv. *Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος* (Ar. fr. 64; Lysimachos, fr. 7; Douris, fr. 66), *τὰ Σαμίων ὑποπτεύειν*; Plut. Per. 26^{4} (Ar. fr. 64), 28^{2} (Douris, fr. 67); Aelian, VH ii. 9.
   Costs of siege: B 61 (Tod 50), 63; *Thuc. i. 117*^{3}; Diod. xii. 28^{3}; Isokr. xv. 111; Nepos Tim. 1^{2}; cf. Plut. Per. 28^{1}.
   Settlement after revolt: see III. 4^{5}.
   Threat of Persian intervention: *Thuc. i. 115*$^{4-5}$, *116*^{1,3}; Diod. xii. $27^{3,5}$; Plut. Per. 25^{3-4}, 26^{1} (Stesimbrotos, fr. 8); Schol. Ar. Vesp. 283.
   Threat of Peloponnesian intervention: *Thuc. i. 40*^{5}, *41*^{2}, *43*^{1}; (?) B 62^{7}.
   Perikles' funeral speech: Plut. Per. 8^{9} (Stesimbrotos, fr. 9), 28^{4-7} (Ion, fr. 16); Arist. Rhet. i. 7^{34}. $1365^{a}32$, cf. iii. 4^{3}. $1407^{a}1$; cf. *Her. vii. 162*^{1}.
   [Samians at Anaia: *Thuc. iii. 32*^{2}, *iv. 75*^{1}.]
5. Other areas affected: *Thuc. i. 115*^{5}, *117*^{3}; restored, B 61^{18} (Tod 50); (?) *B 60*^{45} (*Tod 48*) (Byzantium); (?) *B 60*^{1} (*Tod 48*) (Chersonese).

Σαμοθράκη: Antiphon, fr. 50.
Σάμος, conference after Mykale: *Her*
alliance: *Her. ix. 106*^{4}. Offer
(?) Allied to Athens in 472 B.C
treasury: Plut. Arist. 25^{3}. Athe
24^{2}. Revolt from Athens, see I
Athenian sacred property: B 96
Σάρδεις, Themistokles and statue:
i. 115^{4}; Diod. xii. 27^{3}.

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