

A NOTE ON OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS 1610

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THIS PAPYRUS was originally published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1919,¹ and is one of several that have been identified, with varying degrees of certainty, as embodying parts of the lost *History* of the fourth-century historian Ephoros.² Since the fragments number altogether about 60, none of them very large, and there is no indication outside the text of the order in which they originally stood, the arrangement and restoration of the various sections of the text and the identification of the author as Ephoros required much painstaking work and some inspired guesses. This reconstruction was possible, it is fair to say, only because of the parallels that were found to exist between some of the more intelligible fragments of the papyrus text and parts of Diodoros Book 11.59–61,³ which suggested the assumption that the papyrus represented Diodoros' principal historical source for this period of Greek history.

It is a tribute to the care and ingenuity of Grenfell and Hunt that, although the papyrus has been republished several times since 1919, later editors have suggested remarkably few alterations in the text of the *editio princeps*.⁴ I propose in this paper to re-examine one section of the

¹B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XIII (London 1919) 98–127 (cited hereafter by authors' names alone).

²Besides this papyrus *P. Rylands* 18 and *P. Oxy.* 1365 were both claimed for Ephoros by F. Bilabel, *Die kleineren Historikerfragmente auf Papyrus* (Bonn 1923) nos. 1 and 2; Jacoby does not discuss the authorship of *P. Rylands* 18, but tentatively accepts Ephoros as the author of *P. Oxy.* 1365 (*FGrHist* 2 C, 336–338 [105 F 102]). For the arguments in favour of Ephoros as the author of *P. Oxy.* 1610, see Grenfell and Hunt 104–108. Although argumentation based on the close resemblance between this papyrus and Diodoros 11.59–61 must be treated with some caution in view of the editors' use of sections from Diodoros to fill in lacunae in the papyrus, the other arguments are sufficient to carry conviction. Jacoby (*FGrHist* 2 C, 90) canvassed, but rejected, the idea that the papyrus might be an epitome of Ephoros. More recently T. W. Africa ("Ephoros and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1610", *AJP* 83 [1962] 86–89) has tried to throw doubt on the identification, by pointing out, quite correctly, that much of Grenfell and Hunt's argument for Ephoros rests on details that have to be restored into the papyrus. He has not, however, been able to suggest any other possible identifications for the author, and has to conclude that he is an unknown, "another Oxyrhynchus historian" (89). His suggestion that the papyrus "could just as well be an epitome of Diodoros" (*ibid.*) is amply refuted by the arguments of Grenfell and Hunt (105–106), as well as by the relationship of fragment 6, lines 37–46, to Thuc. 1.98 and to Diod. 11.60.1–2, where the papyrus is stylistically much closer to Thucydides than to Diodoros.

³See Grenfell and Hunt, 98 and 102–104; also in detail in the commentary on particular passages, 117–127.

⁴See *FGrHist* 70 F 191, with Jacoby's commentary; F. Bilabel (above, n. 2) no. 3, pp. 7–11; M. Gigante, *Frammenti sulla Pentecontaetia (P. Oxy 1610)* (Collana di Studi Greci, 16; Napoli 1948).

papyrus, namely fragments 9 + 10 + 53, where it seems to me that the text restored by the first editors cannot stand.

The part of the text contained in these three fragments, which Grenfell and Hunt felt sure belonged together,⁵ is an account of a naval battle. They compared it to Diodoros 11.60.5–6, and thus identified it as narrating the action in the famous Battle of the Eurymedon, fought by an Athenian and allied fleet against a Persian fleet at some date between 470 and 465.⁶ Grenfell and Hunt printed the text as follows:⁷

[. . . . Κιμων πυν]
 [θανομενος το]ν τ[ων
 [Περσων στολο]ν περι
 [την Κυπρον συ]ν τετα
 [χθαι διακοσι]αις περ[
 [τηκοντα π]ρ[ος] | τρια[
 [κοσιας κ]αι τετ[ταρ]α
 [κοντα] παραταχ[θει
 [σ]ας δε πολυν χρονο[ν
 πολλας μεν των κ[ιν
 δυνευουσων βαρβα[ρι
 κων νεων διεφθε[ι
 [ρ]εν· εκατον δαυτοις
 [α]νδρασιν [ε]ιλε ζωγρ[η
 [σας τ]ον π[ρ]ο[ς]]ων.

The following is their translation of this text:

(Cimon attacked, perceiving) that the Persian fleet was drawn up off Cyprus, with two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. After they had opposed each other for a considerable time, he destroyed many of the barbarians' ships which ran into danger and captured a hundred of them with the crews, taking alive. . . .⁸

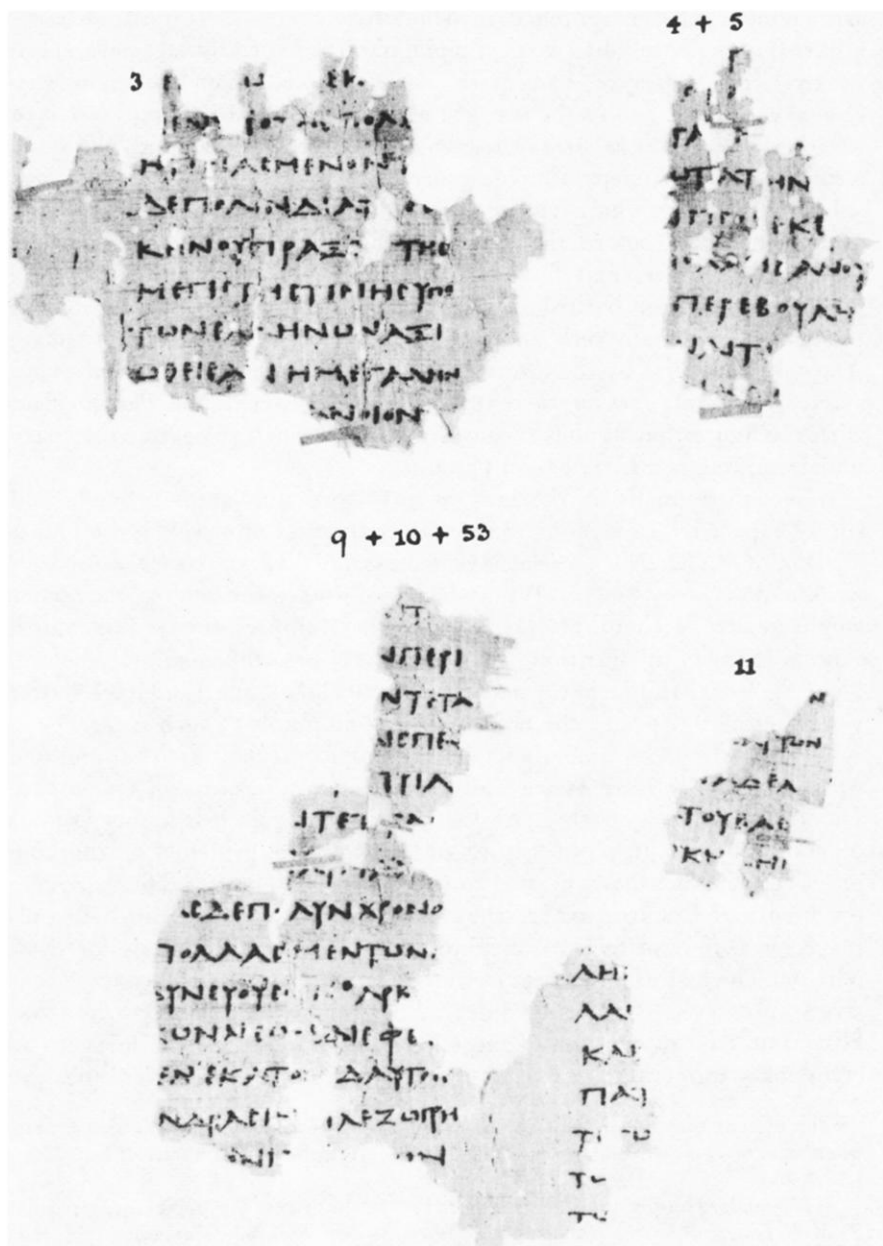
Several features of this text seem strange. First of all, although the restoration proposed for the first sentence clearly draws heavily on the parallel account of Diodoros (11.60.5–6), the sense of the narrative is much less satisfactory in the papyrus (P) than in Diodoros. Note the

⁵See their commentary on lines 66–69 (p. 122), and on lines 282–284 (p. 127).

⁶See their commentary on lines 62 ff. (pp. 121–123); on the date of the battle, see R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1973) 80–83.

⁷Pp. 114–115. I have given here only the text of column 1; of column 2 only a few letters survive at the beginning of each line.

⁸Grenfell and Hunt 121.



P.Oxy. 1610: British Museum inv. 2470, fragments 3, 4 + 5, 9 + 10 + 53, 11.

arrangement of the sentence in Diodoros: first the subject (Κίμων), followed immediately by two participial phrases joined by καί (πυνθανόμενος . . . περὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ πλείστας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους), then the main verb (ἐναυμάχησε), and finally the rest of the predicate (διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα). In P, on the other hand, the same elements are presumed to have occurred, but in a quite different order: subject and verb (whatever this was) must have come at the beginning of the sentence, before the preserved part of the papyrus, then the πυνθανόμενος phrase, and finally the rest of the predicate, namely the numbers of ships on both sides. The effect of this change in word order is to separate the main verb uncomfortably from the rest of the predicate (the ship numbers) by the intervening participial phrase (πυνθανόμενος . . . συντετάχθαι), and further to juxtapose the mention of the Persian fleet with the figure that applies to the Greek ships. Such impediment to easy understanding is a little hard to credit.

A second anomaly is the lack of any word for "ships": one would surely expect either ναυσὶ or τριήρεσι after the first numeral, as we find it in Diodoros (Κίμων . . . ἐναυμάχησε διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα). It may be urged that in the context the reader would realize without hesitation that the numbers referred to ships, especially given the mention of τὸν τῶν Περσῶν στόλον immediately before. Nevertheless, I think that, considerations of clarity apart, a Greek writer would normally specify the noun with the numerals in such a case.⁹

Thirdly, the two numerals have different forms, one with καὶ and one without (διακοσίαις πεντήκοντα πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα). Compare Diodoros, who gives both figures with καί. Here again it is a question not of comprehensibility, but rather of normal and probably unthinking practice. This is a hard matter to establish laws about.¹⁰ The surviving fragments of Ephoros, where they can be reasonably presumed to preserve his *ipsissima verba*,¹¹ offer no such compound numerals for comparison. The historians closest in time to Ephoros whose works are extensively preserved are Thucydides, Xenophon, and the Oxyrhynchos Historian. An examination of these three writers' practice with regard to compound numerals turned up no examples in Thucydides and the

⁹The present case is not the same as that of a list of several contingents in a fleet, where νῆες or τριήρεις would naturally be given only with the first numeral; e.g., Thuc. 1.27.2, 46.1.

¹⁰The standard authorities on Greek grammar do not discuss this point: see, typically, R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* (Hannover 1890) 1.1, §185.3, who merely notes that Greek allows numbers to be combined in either order (i.e., either πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι or εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε), and that the connecting καὶ may be omitted when the larger number precedes the smaller.

¹¹In this matter I have accepted the discrimination of quotations from paraphrases indicated by Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2 B.

Hellenika Oxyrhynchia, and only a few in Xenophon, without the connecting *καί*.¹² On the basis of this evidence, then, of the stylistic practice of three historians of one or two generations earlier, one may perhaps reasonably argue that Ephoros would probably not have used two different forms of numeral in the same sentence.

Finally, the start of the following sentence seems unsatisfactory in both sense and syntax. The initial participial phrase (*παταχθείσας δὲ πολλὸν χρόνον*) hardly supplies the necessary description of the action in the naval battle, which should surely follow the listing of the location of the battle and the forces involved, at the end of the previous sentence, and precede the statement of the result of the battle (*πολλὰς μὲν τῶν . . . νεῶν*

¹²For Thucydides I used the *Lexicon Thucydideum* of E.-A. Bétant (Hildesheim 1961, reprint of the original publication of 1843) and checked all the references listed there under *ἐκατόν*, *διακόσιοι*, etc. For the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* I used the *Index verborum* at the end (pp. 61–71) of Bartoletti's Teubner edition (Leipzig 1959). In this case I found only two compounds involving figures in the hundreds, a very small sample. For Xenophon, since the available lexica give only sample references for such common words, I compiled my own statistics for the *Hellenika* and the *Anabasis*. I found no examples of compound numerals without the connecting *καί* in the *Hellenika*. In the *Anabasis* I found 11 examples (out of a total of 43 compound numerals from 21 up); but nine of these occurred in just two sections of the text, which many editors stigmatize as interpolations (viz. 5.5.4 and 7.8.26; my method of counting enumerated separately each pair of numbers, so that, e.g., *χίλιοι ἐκατόν δέκα* would be registered as two compound numerals, *χίλιοι ἐκατόν*, and *ἐκατόν δέκα*). In the remaining two cases (1.1.10; 5.5.5) it is noteworthy that the compound without *καί* is not closely juxtaposed to a numeral written with *καί*, as in the restoration of the Ephoros papyrus which we are considering.

Since the works of none of the later-fourth-century historians, who perhaps wrote closer in time to Ephoros, are extant, I attempted to check the more nearly contemporary works of some fourth-century orators to see what was their practice regarding compound numerals. Orators do not, of course, usually have occasion to enumerate such a large variety of things so frequently as historians, so that the number of compound numerals was not great in most of the speeches I looked at; but I found no instances of compound numerals without the connecting *καί*. The speeches for which I compiled figures were: Demosthenes, *Against Aphobos* I and II; Deinarchos, *Against Demosthenes*; Hyperides, *Against Athenogenes*; Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates*; and Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* and *Euagoras*. Although these last two works were published in the generation before Ephoros began writing, I thought it desirable to investigate particularly Isokrates' use of numerals, because it is generally believed that Ephoros was much influenced by Isokrates in his style and manner of writing history (see G. L. Barber, *The Historian Ephoros* [Cambridge 1935] 75–83).

I am aware that some may regard this whole discussion of what form of numerals Greek authors generally wrote as misconceived, in view of the long-held opinion that in the original texts of works of the classical period all numerals would have been written in symbolic form, the transcription of which into words would have been performed later by copyists. Clearly, if this is correct, then it makes no sense to ask, "Did Ephoros consistently write compound numerals with *καί*, or without?" since the forms of numerals that we find in our texts will be due entirely to the scribes who made the transliteration from figures into words. This is not the place to consider this large and complex subject in detail. But it should be noted that of late several scholars have called in question the

διέφθειρεν, κτλ). This difficulty seems to have been felt by De Sanctis,¹³ who remarked of this fragment of the text:

è estremamente lacero, e i supplementi degli editori non soddisfano a pieno . . . Non so infatti come gli editori non si avvedano che il senso non corre affatto se non suppone che dopo συντεράχθαι sia caduto un πλεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐναυμάχησε che è agevole supplire da Diod. XI, 60, 6.

The supplement he suggests here would supply the description of the action (ἐναυμάχησε) that is wanting in Grenfell and Hunt's text. It would also obviate the problem of the confusing order of the previous sentence, by supplying a main verb at the same point as Diodoros has it, immediately before the numbers of the two fleets.

But in addition to this deficiency of sense, there is here a strangeness of syntax: παραταχθείσας must modify the noun (ναῦς) understood with πολλάς in the following first main clause; but this is not at all obvious when one reads the sentence for the first time. One expects in that position in the sentence a participle in the nominative, to modify the subject, or a genitive absolute, but not an accusative participle the reference of which remains obscure until one reaches the direct object of the main verb in the next line.

The first three of these problems prove most intractable, because they involve the restoration of a very seriously damaged part of the papyrus, only the last third of each line (approximately) being preserved. Grenfell and Hunt tried to surmount this difficulty, as they themselves stated,¹⁴ by assuming that Diodoros had copied very closely from P in this section,

traditional view, that classical authors wrote symbols for numbers, especially in the light of the growing body of evidence supplied by papyri regarding how manuscripts were written in later antiquity; see the remarks of P. Deane (*Thucydides' Dates 465-431 B.C.* [Toronto 1972] 22-28) and the works there cited by him (especially two reviews of B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* [Paris 1955], by K. J. Dover, *CR* 7 [1957] 23-25, and D. M. Lewis, *JHS* 77 [1957] 329-330; and R. A. McNeal, "Historical methods and Thucydides 1.103.1", *Historia* 19 [1970] 306-325) and also the very firm statement of E. G. Turner (*Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [Oxford, 1971], 18): "I know of only one Greek book manuscript (an unpublished papyrus of Strabo) in which figures are not written out in full, but given in numerical notation; and I have never observed in a well-written Greek papyrus manuscript of classical literature . . . the kind of abbreviation postulated by the emenders of such terms as δεκαρχίαν, Dem. vi 22, into τετραρχίαν . . .". The question clearly requires fresh treatment; and I hope to be able to make a contribution to this discussion at greater length elsewhere.

¹³In a review of the book by F. Bilabel cited above (n. 2), in *RivFC* 51 (1923) 488-489.

¹⁴Page 98, and pp. 121-123 (*passim*).

so that parts of the sentence in which he described what gave rise to the battle of the Eurymedon could be filled in to complete the gaps in P. I have argued above, however (359–361), that the alterations they had to make in Diodoros' sentence so that its mutilated members would fit the traces and spaces in P produced a text which was no longer normal Greek. But if we reject this procedure, then we have no easy way of divining how this sentence originally read. It is clear that Grenfell and Hunt too felt this difficulty, for in other parts of the papyrus where the text was very fragmentary they restored extensively only where the insertion of phrases borrowed from Diodoros yielded reasonable sense.¹⁵ Thus it seems clear that our chances of arriving at anything like a certain restoration of the present passage are rather small. It should be borne in mind as well that since Diodoros presumably condensed P's narrative somewhat to make it fit the scale and format of his own work, there were probably details in P which he did not take over.¹⁶ Thus reconstructing P from Diodoros will necessarily be much harder than the reverse process.

Can one make any progress, in spite of these difficulties? First of all, were Grenfell and Hunt right in joining together fragments 9, 10, and 53 as they did? The joins seem plausible enough from the photograph; and I am informed by Dr Marcia Weinstein of Union Theological Seminary, New York, who kindly examined the papyrus for me, that the fibres appear to match well among the three fragments,¹⁷ although she notes that fragment 53 is hardly big enough to enable one to be sure that it could not be fitted in elsewhere. Assuming, then, that these fragments are correctly joined, the only thing one can be sure of here is that the subject of this sentence, whether expressed or understood, must have been *Κίμων*, since he is the (understood) subject of the following sentence. Beyond that, it seems probable that the sentence ended with the number of Persian ships that fought in the battle, *viz.* *τρια*||*[κοσι-κ]**αι τετρα**[α|κοντα]*,¹⁸ for the sequence of letters *τετρα*- can hardly be anything but some form of *τέτταρες* or its compounds. For the earlier part of this sentence I can suggest no restoration.¹⁹

¹⁵E.g., frags. 2, 4 + 5, 8, and 11.

¹⁶See the list of "Omissions in Diodorus" given by Grenfell and Hunt 104.

¹⁷Grenfell and Hunt made this point (127, in the commentary on lines 282–284 = frag. 53). The papyrus is in the British Museum, London, inv. no. 2470.

¹⁸340 is Diodoros' figure for the Persian fleet (Diod. 11.60.6); Plutarch (*Kimon* 12) reports that Ephoros' figure was 350. Grenfell and Hunt noted this slight discrepancy, but commented, "No importance is to be attached to the variation in Plutarch's figure (350 instead of 340) of the number of the Persian fleet according to Ephoros" (122, in the commentary on lines 66–69).

¹⁹It has been suggested to me that even though my objections to the text as Greek are reasonable, Grenfell and Hunt may nonetheless have restored the papyrus text accu-

On the other hand, the fourth of the problems noted above (361–362) in Grenfell and Hunt's text, which concerns the first word of the following sentence, can perhaps be solved by a re-examination of the papyrus at this point. Grenfell and Hunt were so sure of their reading, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\chi[\theta\epsilon\iota|\sigma]as$, that they dotted only the initial π . In fact the photograph (plate 1) shows that the traces from which they reconstructed the following six letters are by no means perfectly clear and unambiguous; and two small points seem to tell against the correctness of their reading. First of all, both ρ and τ are normally written on this papyrus with long uprights; but in this line there is only one such long upright, to suit the ρ of $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\chi[\theta\epsilon\iota|\sigma]as$, while the upright that immediately precedes $\alpha\chi$ at the right-hand edge of the papyrus is clearly shorter than the base of the following α . I can find no other examples on the papyrus of τ having a centre stroke shorter than α . Secondly, there is not really enough room between the long tail to the left (ρ) and the presumed trace of τ for a letter as broad as α . These paleographical points I think strengthen the arguments made above on other grounds against the reading $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\chi[\theta\epsilon\iota|\sigma]as$.

Can any more satisfactory restoration be found? The traces of some letters are relatively clear. $\alpha\chi$ can be read with some confidence just before the right hand edge of the papyrus, and the second letter has to be α or λ from the angle of the strokes. Furthermore, the letter following this α has an upright that descends significantly below the line formed by the base of most letters, and must therefore be one of ρ , τ , or ν (ϕ might just be possible, only it seems usually to be longer than the other three letters). Of the initial letter only a right-hand upright is preserved. I would propose $\gamma\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\chi[\eta|\sigma]as$, with the initial upright being part of ν , the long tail belonging to ν , and the two small traces between ν and $\alpha\chi$ being the bottoms of the uprights of μ . Besides fitting the traces on the papyrus more satisfactorily than $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\chi[\theta\epsilon\iota|\sigma]as$, this word also provides better sense and syntax. It is a nominative participle agreeing with the subject of $\deltaιέφθειρεν$ (*viz.* Κίμων , understood from the previous sentence), and describing the action of the naval battle. The sentence will then read: "Having fought a lengthy sea-battle, (Kimon) destroyed many of the

rately, if one assumes that the edition of Ephoros from which the fragments come was a very carelessly produced one, in which the text had suffered considerable corruption. That many papyri are known which show corruption in varying degrees no one would deny. The difficulties in this sentence, however, go beyond those that can be attributed to a normal amount of scribal negligence; and no such large errors can be discerned in the other fairly intelligible fragments of this papyrus. The hypothesis suggested above will perhaps appear persuasive to anyone who is concerned to have P conform as closely as possible to Diodoros. I do not share this concern; and I note that it would have the odd consequence of making Diodoros' text resemble more closely a corrupt than an accurate text of Ephoros.

barbarians' ships that risked entering the action, and captured a hundred of them with the crews, taking alive"

The only objection that I can see to this reading concerns the length of the line in question (line 69), which will now contain only 12 letters ([*κοντα*] *παυμαχ*[*η*]), while the shortest of the completely known lines on this papyrus have 13 letters (e.g., line 24, in frag. 3; lines 102 and 104 [with final *ι* deleted], in frags. 12 + 13).²⁰ The number of letters per line does, however, vary considerably, where we can compute it²¹ (for many lines it depends on restorations of the text); and if one looks purely at the right hand margins of this column, the *η* at the end of *παυμαχ*[*η*] would be approximately in line with the final *ν* of line 76, the last preserved line of this column. If, then, it is thought that 12 letters is too short for this line, the fault would seem to lie with the restoration of the first part of the line, and not with *παυμαχ*[*η*]*σ*as.

If there is a general point to be extracted from all this, it is that, in using the text of Diodoros 11.60.5–6 as a "quarry" from which to extract likely restorations of the mutilated text of P, Grenfell and Hunt perhaps too readily assumed that Diodoros must have copied Ephoros' narrative almost verbatim. This assumption was, of course, more or less necessary as a means to their end. It was, however, quite clearly shown to be false by their discovery of numerous places where the two narratives could not by any ingenuity be brought into accord.²² These are not, to be sure, places where Diodoros' account differs from P substantially in factual details. But he does sometimes change the style and format of the material; and the number of places where he reproduces P with that truly "slavish" fidelity that has often been ascribed to him is comparatively small.²³ That he must have omitted many details which were in his sources in order to condense the narrative sufficiently to fit the scale of his "Universal History" has always been recognized. But it becomes clear from a comparison of P with Diodoros that his stylistic reworking sometimes made his version of a particular incident longer than that of his source,²⁴ so that he must have had to cut down even more drastically

²⁰Grenfell and Hunt (98) gave 12 and 17 letters as the lengths of the shortest and longest lines respectively on the papyrus. In fact, the only example of a 12-letter line seems to be line 59, in fragment 12, which has been extensively restored, although Grenfell and Hunt are very sure of their reading and of the line-division (121).

²¹See reference in note 20.

²²See Grenfell and Hunt's list of "Inexact correspondences with Diodorus", and "Omissions in Diodorus" (103–104).

²³This point emerges clearly from Jonas Palm's comparison of P and Diodoros, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien*, (Lund 1955) 56.

²⁴E.g., Diod. 11.60.1–2 as compared to P lines 37–46, Diod. 11.60.6 as compared to P lines 69–75, and perhaps Diod. 11.61.5 ff. as compared to P lines 92–112.

elsewhere in compensation. In other words, Diodoros did not condense the narrative he was following at a consistent rate.

All this should remove any surprise at the discovery that in the prelude to Diodoros' account of Kimon's victory at the Eurymedon he did not reproduce Ephoros' narrative word for word.²⁵

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²⁵I am grateful to Marcia Weinstein for examining this papyrus for me in the British Museum, to her and to Joan Bigwood for criticizing an earlier version of this paper, to Malcolm Wallace for discussing some of the points raised in note 12 above, to E. G. Turner for corresponding with me concerning the form of numerals in early Greek manuscripts, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce the photograph of part of the papyrus, BM inv. 2470.