

ATHENIAN RESOURCES IN 449 AND 431 B.C.

PART I: THE ANONYMUS ARGENTINENSIS

THE subject of this paper was examined by us and by Malcolm McGregor in volume III of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (1950). Much of the argument there depended on the Strasbourg papyrus,¹ which we have come to know requires closer attention than we had given it.²

As early as 1948 we were so well aware of the difficulty presented by line 8, and specially by the words *μετ' ἐκέλευο*, that we printed in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 61 (D13), a text which stopped at the beginning of that line.³ A closer study of the whole document and of the author's manner of work and way of writing has given us eventually a solution of this line which we find satisfactory. We believe that this solution shows, in a way that we had not at all expected, that both parts of Perikles' decree as we had imagined it⁴ were known to the author of the papyrus. As we now interpret it, in lines 6 and 7 something was to be done with 5000 talents "which were lying available," and in line 8 some *second thing* (most probably a "carrying up to the Acropolis") was to be done "*thereafter*" (*μετ' ἐκέλευο*). Comparison with the Decree of Kallias of 434 B.C.⁵ leaves little doubt, we believe, what this second thing was.

Two considerations, above all, have brought us to this result: (1) we have come to realize that it was against our author's practice to start his comment on a lemma with such words as *μετ' ἐκέλευο* (with their evident backward reference), and (2) we have found that we had been operating with too short a line. Without more ado we give here the complete text which we now propose. This will be followed by a discussion of the length of line and of our author's use of lemma and comment, then by an analysis of the text, section by section, and finally by some conclusions.

¹ *A.T.L.*, I, p. 572 (T9); II, p. 61 (D13). In our earlier work on the Tribute Lists we have been fortunate in having the collaboration of Malcolm F. McGregor, who is now at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. It has not been possible for him, because of distance, to participate in this present study, but we have kept in touch with him constantly and have discussed (by letter, and twice by interview) our problems and their resolution. It is a great pleasure to be able to say that he is in accord with the conclusions reached in this paper.

² We could not have attempted this present study except for the extreme generosity of M. Jacques Schwartz, Professor of Greek Letters and Papyrology at the University of Strasbourg, who has placed at our disposal the results of his minute and scrupulous examination of the papyrus. We express our warm thanks to him, and to M. Pierre Amandry, of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Strasbourg, who has also responded most kindly to our many requests by letter.

³ R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes, in their edition of Hill's *Sources for Greek History* (1951), p. 51, printed the version of line 8 given in *A.T.L.*, I, p. 572 (T9), justly noting "8: supplementum valde dubium."

⁴ *A.T.L.*, III (1950), pp. 328, 355.

⁵ See the text in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 46 (D1, lines 3-4), quoted in note 57, below.

I [----- ὥστε εἶναι τοῖς τε πρυτάνεσι]

Text earlier than line 1 was in a preceding column, now lost

[τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ τοῖς προέδροις το]ῖς ἐννέα ἐπιστάτας δύο, καὶ πρόβου First han

[λοι καὶ συγγραφεῖς ὁπότε δέοι δέκα ἦσα]ν· ἐκάστης γὰρ φυλῆς ἓνα ἡρῶντ' ἄν

II 3 [ἐκάστοτε "Ὅτι ὠκοδόμησαν τὰ Προπύλαι]α καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα. μετ' ἔτη τρι Sec

[άκοντα μάλιστα ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Μηδι]κῶν ἤρξαντο οἰκοδο[με]ῖν, ἐποι 450/49 B

[ήσαντο δ' ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων εἰπόντος ἐπ' Εὐ]θυδήμου Περικλέους γνώμη[ν] εἰς

6 [τὰ Παναθήναια ἀνενεγκεῖν τῇ Ἀθηναί]α τὰ ἐν δημοσί[κω] ἀποκείμενα τάλαν

[τα ἅπερ συνηγμένα παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἦν πε]ντακισχέιλια κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστέι

[δου τάξιν καὶ ἄλλα τρισχέιλια ἀναφέρ]ειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετ' ἐκείνο γίγν

9 [μένων τῶν ἔργων· θαλάσσης δ' ὅπως ἂν κρατ]ῶσι, τὴν βουλὴν τῶν παλαιῶν τριῆ

[ρων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥστε ὑγιεῖς παραδι]δόναι, καινὰς δ' ἐπιναυπηγεῖν ἐκάσ

III [του ἐνιαυτοῦ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις δ]έκα "Ὅτι τρισὲν ἡμέραις ἐβοήθησαν

12 [Εὐβοεῦσιν. τούτοις μὲν παρεγένοντο] Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμουμένοις, Θη[β]αίων

IV [δ' ἐκράτησαν βοήθειαν λαβόντες καὶ π]ρὸς τοῦ ῥήτορος τριῆρει ἐπίδο[σίμωι] "Ὅτι

[Δεκελικὸς εἴρηται ὁ πόλεμος. τὸν Πελοπ]ονησιακὸν πόλεμον Δεκελικὸν ἔφη

V 15 [κατὰ μέρος· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Σικελικὸς εἴρητ]αι καὶ Ἀρχιδάμιος "Ὅτι τῶι πο[λ]έμωι

VI [παρέστησαν. προδόντος τὰς ναῦς Ἀδειμ]άντου ἠττήθησαν "Ὅτι τῶν τριηρο

[ποιῶν ἀποδρὰς ὄχετο ὁ ταμίεας. οὗτος ἦ]ν ταμίαις τ[ῶν] ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆ[ς] ἐψη]

18 [φισμένων τοῖς τριηροποιῖς χρημάτ]ων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐκά[στου] ἐνιαυ]

VII [τοῦ ὧν πρότερον αὐτοῖς ταμίαι ἦσαν οἱ] πάλαι κωλακρέται "Ὅ[τι] οἱ θεσ[μοθέτ]αι

[εἰσῆγον τὰς περὶ τῆς ἐταιρήσεως δίκας.] διὰ τὸ δίκας ἐ[πι]δεταγμένα[ς] διδόναι[ι

21 [ἐαντοῖς οὗτοι κύριοι ἦσαν ταύτας εἰσά]γειν αὐτο[ί]· μ[ε]τέβαινον ἄ[ρ]χ[ον]τες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν θεσμοθετῶν εἰς] Ἀρ[έ]ιον Πάγο[ν], τ[οῖ]ς δ' ἐξ θε[σ]μοθετῶν

[προσετίθεντο οἷδε τρεῖς ὃ τε ἐπώνυμος] πρὸς ὃν αἱ χρ[ο]νογραφίαι καὶ βα[σ]ι

24 [λεὺς ὁ τὰ ἀσεβειῶν διοικῶν καὶ ὁ πολέ]μαρχος, κα[ὶ] νομοφυλάκων ἀρχα[ί]α

VIII [φέρουσαι ἦσαν καὶ δεσμοφυλάκων ἧτις ἄν]δρῶν ἰα "Ὅτ[ι] δημοτε[κν]ῶν δ[ὲ] κα

[κῶς λέγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. οἵα ἦσαν κατὰ] τῶν πρότερον ἀρχ[όντων] παρ

Text following line 26 was in a succeeding column, now largely lost

[ρησῖαι δηλοῦσιν οἱ κωμικοί -----]

Vs. 3 μετ' ἔτη incipit manus secunda. Vs. 19 οἱοι (sc. ὅτι οἱ) ex οἱοισ correctum. Vs. 22 δεξ δ' ἐξ) mutatum in δεξ (sc. δὲ ξ), tum θεμ[ε]. Vs. 24 litterae κα bis correctae (ex οτ in το, unde

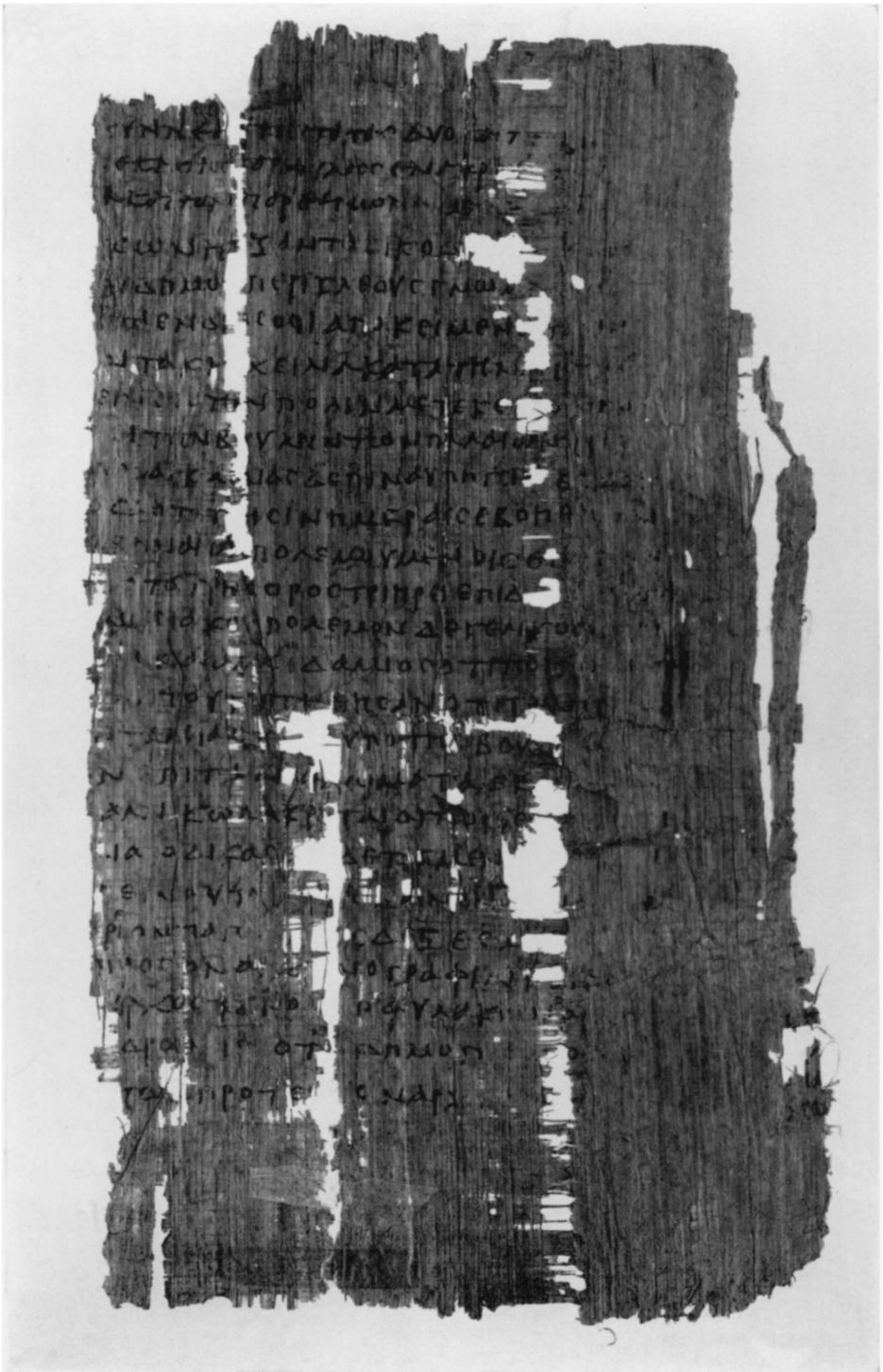


FIG. 1. The *Anonymus Argentinensis*

The Length of Line

Bruno Keil's supplements contained seldom more than 22 letters in the left-hand portion of each line (24 in line 15),⁶ Wilcken's seldom more than 24 (though for line 9 he suggested 27, and for line 3 about 26).⁷ In *A.T.L.*, I and II, we kept to about the same length. Now we believe that all of these were too short, and that we must posit a minimum of about 30-32 letters to the left of the main break in each line.⁸ If rather more than half of each line has to be restored we can probably never achieve a wording so close as to determine absolutely the column's width. But considerations of various kinds make it likely that in lines 2, 3, 8, 14, 16, and 17, we have something like a minimum, and it is perhaps not accidental that these restorations are all of something fairly close to 30 letters. We take these one by one (not in order) and refer, in general, to the detailed discussion of the eight sections which follows later (pp. 172-188).

Line 17: If the lemma of Section VI keeps as close to Demosthenes' words (XXII, 17) as we have presumed, there is here a restoration of 30 letters.⁹

Line 14: The comment is certain, as a minimum: it could perhaps be longer. The lemma could hardly be put much shorter. The restoration is of 32 letters.⁹

Line 16: The lemma is almost certain; the comment might conceivably be cut by omitting *τὰς ναῦς*, but this is hardly likely. The restoration is of 31 letters.⁹

Line 3: Wilcken's suggestion (which we have adopted; see below, p. 182) requires a supplement of 23 letters *plus* the overspill which must be assumed from line 2.⁹ He estimated this overspill at (roughly) three letters, which already makes this one of his longest lines (26 letters restored). But three letters for the overspill are a minimum (Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 385) and not a very likely minimum: it is not easy to imagine what word of five letters could be plausibly added to the words in line 2 which Wilcken read (the possibility of *ἄν|δρα* is discussed below). We owe to Schwartz the information that, in his judgment, Wilcken's *ἡροῦντρο* at the end of line 2 cannot be read: the

⁶ *Anonymus Argentinensis* (Strassburg, 1902): the *editio princeps*.

⁷ U. Wilcken, *Hermes*, XLII, 1907, pp. 414-415. Wilcken was the first to recognize that the papyrus depends on Demosthenes' speech against Androtion (XXII).

⁸ The need to lengthen the line was first suggested to us by Raphael Sealey (by letter; he has written of the need for a fresh treatment of the papyrus in *Historia*, III, 1954/5, p. 333). We have been concerned to find a minimum length; a maximum limit is harder to fix, but we believe that the minimum need not and should not be exceeded. The supplements in lines 16 and 17 cannot be lengthened very readily. Perhaps a date by archon could be added in line 16, but this would be hard to square with what follows in line 17, and we believe it was not the commentator's usual practice to give dates. In line 5 the date was needed for the argument: Demosthenes had spoken as if the Parthenon was built by the victors of Salamis, and the commentator says, "No, some thirty years later—as is proved by the date of this decree."

⁹ This presupposes the system of lemma and comment which we argue below (pp. 166-172).

last letter “ n’est sûrement pas un o.” He suggests it may be alpha, with one more letter which could be iota or upsilon. We are dealing here with the first hand, that is, with the first of our two scribes, the one who wrote lines 1-2 and most of line 3. We believe that in this hand a damaged nu could look not unlike iota or upsilon.¹⁰ We suggest that the end of this line be read *ηρουνταυ*. We thought at first that the scribe might have written *ενα ηροουντ’ αυ* [*δρα*]; but neither the superfluous word nor the elision before it is very probable. But if omikron cannot be read, there must have been elision, perhaps easier in a compact phrase like *ηροουντ’ αυ*, and we suggest that this is what was written. This removes the formal necessity for an overflow: yet, in our judgment, the words *ηροουντ’ αυ* make rather an abrupt close to the sentence. Idiomatic *αυ* will read more naturally if we write, e. g., *ηροουντ’ αυ* [*εκάστοτε* – – –].¹¹ For line 3, then, we find ourselves wanting a restoration of 31 letters.

Lines 2 and 8 depend on rather detailed argumentation, for which we refer forward to pp. 173-175 and 182-186. The restorations claim 32 letters in line 2 and 31 letters in line 8.

If, then, we supply something like 30 letters for the left-hand portion of each line, we shall have a column about 0.14 m. high and about 0.18 m. wide. We note finally (a) that the lateral spacing of the letters is irregular, and (b) that the main break which makes the left edge of the preserved verso of the papyrus, though almost straight, is not absolutely so. There must be some allowance for slight variations in length of line.

Lemma and Comment

The 26 lines of the extant column contain parts of eight sections; six of these (II-VII) were complete within the column, but the first (I) began in the previous column and the last (VIII) probably ran over into the following column. It appears that each section began with the word *δρι*. This is extant and readily legible for III (line 11), V (line 15), VI (line 16), extant and legible for IV (line 13), and virtually certain for VII (line 19, where it was mistakenly written *ουτι*), and VIII (line 25: *δρι*). We have accordingly followed Wilcken in supplying it at the beginning of Section II in line 3. We know nothing of how Section I began, but we may presume that it conformed.

This word *δρι* occurs frequently (though perhaps not before Byzantine times)¹²

¹⁰ Sc. upsilon if the first stroke be lost, iota if two strokes be gone. Cf. in line 1 the upsilon of *δνο*, in line 2 the nu of *ενα*. See the photograph facing p. 164 (Fig. 1).

¹¹ See below, p. 172.

¹² The *Excerpta Constantiniana*, from which most of the lost books of Polybios and Diodoros have to be reconstructed, are tenth-century compilations. The *Epitoma Vaticana* of Apollodoros is very likely later still (Wagner attributes its composition to Tzetzes). The *Epitome* of Polyainos may perhaps be associated with the Emperor Leo's *Strategemata*, of the tenth century. It is these and similar works which have made the formula with *δρι* familiar.

at the beginning of excerpts or of the sections of an epitome. Keil believed that we had the epitome of a history of the Periklean age: Reitzenstein had already taken the recurrent *ὄτι* to show “den epitomatorischen Charakter des Textes” (Keil, *op. cit.*, p. 7), and Keil took *ὄτι* to mean “(the historian says) that — — —.” Wilcken exploded this alleged historian by pointing out, so that it is now a mere matter of observation, that the successive sections depend on successive passages in Demosthenes, XXII. “This main conclusion,” Wilcken justly claims (*op. cit.*, p. 415), “will stand.” He adds that he has further thought it self-evident “from the opening of each section with *ὄτι*, from the absence of lemmata, from the brief and thrifty style of most sections,” that what we have is not the actual commentary but excerpts from it. Wilcken, then, took *ὄτι* to mean “(the commentator says) that — — —.” In *A.T.L.*, I, p. 572, we questioned this absence of lemmata. The lemma, we suggested, was not given verbatim, but paraphrased: we took *ὄτι* to mean “(the orator says) that — — —.”

Wilcken had already observed that all the sections we can control begin in fact with a paraphrase of Demosthenes’ words.¹³ Even so, he contends, “the Epitomator has not transcribed the [verbatim] lemmata which must, by all analogy, have stood in the Commentator.” A few lines later he modifies this; leaving it an open question what the Commentator did about verbatim lemmata, he conjectures that these “paraphrases” were prefixed to the comments by Commentator rather than by Epitomator.¹⁴ Wilcken was brought to this conclusion by his study of line 3. He recognized that the restoration must be [— — — τὰ Προπύλαι]α καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα, words taken from Demosthenes (XXII, 13), and since a verbatim quotation was impracticable¹⁵ he restored the closest paraphrase which could be had with *ὄτι*, viz., [*ὄτι* ἀκοδόμησαν τὰ Προπύλαι]α καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα. For this section, therefore, he found himself with a paraphrased lemma followed, with asyndeton, by the comment. We believe this to be the rule, valid not for Section II only but for all sections.

Section II is the only section in which the letters are extant where the paraphrase closes and the comment begins; but a similar arrangement can readily be restored in all the others, and in some of them (III, V, and above all VI) it is virtually demanded.

¹³ *Hermes*, XLII, 1907, p. 385: er — — — scheint gern im Anfang jedes Abschnittes, wenn auch in freierer Form, den Demosthenischen Gedankengang angedeutet oder mit aufgenommen zu haben. He was precluded from utilizing this observation by his belief that a section began in line 5, thus breaking the rule: [*ὄτι* ἐπ’ Εἰ]θηδῆμον, etc.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 385: Freilich ist nicht ausgeschlossen dass schon der Commentator — — — diese Paraphrase — — — vorgelegt hat, und dies dürfte sogar das Wahrscheinlichere sein. We are inclined to disagree: the use of paraphrase seems to reflect the Epitomator’s lack of interest in verbal matters.

¹⁵ That is to say, impossible with *ὄτι*, and also against our author’s practice. Wilcken weighed and rejected the possibility that these words (without any verb and without *ὄτι*) might constitute a verbatim lemma.

[We note that Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 384, justified his restoration of a finite verb in line 3 partly by the consideration that "Propylaia and Parthenon" could not be (as Keil had supposed) the object of ἤρξαντο οἰκοδο[με]ῖν, in line 4, because the Athenians "began to build" these two at different times. This seems hardly cogent, and we have not scrupled to restore ταῦτα (*sc.* both buildings) as object of the verbs in line 4. But Wilcken adds (*ibid.*) that the closing of a sentence with Παρθενῶνα is further indicated palaeographically: not only is there a change of hand at this point, but the word closes with a "Schlussalpha,"¹⁶ indicating that the first scribe laid down his pen "mit Absicht und Bewusstsein."]

We do not, of course, question the fact that our author has made excerpts from some fuller commentary. His eight comments, dealing with Demosthenes, XXII, 5 (or possibly 9), 13, 14, 15(*bis*), 17, 21, and perhaps 32, make the bent of his interest reasonably clear. He is not concerned with interpreting Demosthenes or this particular speech: his interest is in the history, specially the constitutional history, of Athens.¹⁷ His excerpts are "Belegstellen," items suitable for a note-book, or even slips for a card-index. We do not, therefore, expect him to pay attention to the orator's argument in the way the marginal scholia do:¹⁸ and we expect each section to be (unlike the marginal scholia) independent, without reference forward or backward. On his infinitely more modest scale, we may apply to him what Diels-Schubart say of the writer of the "Didymos" papyrus: he chooses *historico maxime gustu*.¹⁹ Questions of language, Attic usage, etc., do not seem to interest him; and a concern with the substance, not the words, is perhaps indicated by his practice of paraphrasing rather than quoting his lemmata.

[In *Hermes*, XLIII, 1908, pp. 220-228, R. Laqueur argues that our text is not an Epitome, but a *Capitulatio*, a Table of Contents, of the full commentary. He thinks it likely (*op. cit.*, p. 228, note 1) that this full commentary is Didymos' work *περὶ Δημοσθένους*, a treatment of all the speeches in succession, of which we have some portion on papyrus.²⁰ He takes the *tituli superscripti* of that papyrus as a *capitulatio*

¹⁶ Other letters of this kind (Schlussbuchstaben) are the sigma of *πολεμουμένους* in line 12, the iota of *πολέμωι* in line 15, and the iota of *ᾄτι* in line 13. They indicate the end of a clause, or of a line.

¹⁷ Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 416: Nur an einer einzigen Stelle schien es, als ob ein seltenes Wort (*παρέστησαν* in Section V) nach seiner Bedeutung erklärt werden sollte. Not even here, we believe, is he concerned so much with the *word παρέστησαν* as with Adeimantos' treason. Even more conspicuous, in comparison with the marginal scholia, is his indifference to Demosthenes' argument. Cf. note 18.

¹⁸ See, e. g., on XXII, 5 (594, 24 and 25), XXII 8 (595, 23).

¹⁹ Diels and Schubart, *Didymi de Demosthene commenta* (Teubner, 1904), p. VII. See note 20.

²⁰ Berlin papyrus 9780, published by Diels and Schubart in *Berliner Klassikertexte*, I (1904), and republished by them in the Teubner *Didymus*. Diels-Schubart believe that what we have is not

of this kind, perhaps part of the same *capitulatio* as the Strasbourg papyrus, both perhaps compiled by Didymos himself. He likewise presumes that the Diodoran summaries of each book (τάδε ἔνεστω ἐν, etc.) are by Diodoros himself, and that it was customary in the Augustan age for writers (especially "hand-book" writers) to provide such tables of contents. Laqueur's view is commended by Gudeman in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, II A1 (1921), col. 702, lines 29-34, *s.v.* Scholien.

It is perhaps sufficient to observe that a *capitulatio* of this kind could not use the particle γάρ, as our author does in line 2. We believe that this use of γάρ is enough, but it is of course only one of the more palpable among many signs that our text is not a *capitulatio*.

Further, Laqueur's view accounts no more than Wilcken's for the fact that our author's units start (wherever we can control this) from the statement or implication of the orator. This is, of course, totally distinct from the vague "Berührung mit dem Demosthenestext" of which Laqueur collects nine examples (*op. cit.*, pp. 224-225) from the *tituli superscripti* of the Didymos papyrus. These nine instances name always, as we should expect, subject-matter of Didymos, not of Demosthenes: the enquiries of a grammarian about Nikaia, Philip's wounds, the Orgas, the word σκορακίζεν, etc., and not Demosthenes' statements or implications about these matters. The only ὅτι example, ὅτι β' Ἀριστομήδεις (from Demosthenes, X, 70), makes this distinction very clear.

Our author, on the contrary, always starts from some statement or implication of Demosthenes and moves thence to his comment: this (we submit) is the method of "lemma and comment."]

We know of no parallel to this regular use of paraphrased lemmata, introduced by ὅτι. It is the rule of papyrus scholia, like the marginal scholia of mediaeval manuscripts, to give the lemmata verbatim. The comment follows, usually but not always, with asyndeton. In the great Didymos papyrus the rule of asyndeton is absolute: there is a clear distinction between lemmata and *loci citati*: the former are always, the latter are never, followed with asyndeton.

The Patmos scholia,²¹ whose concern is almost wholly with the meaning of words and Attic usage, commonly have two lemmata: first the orator's verbatim words, and second the single word to be explained, as, for example, from the speech against Androtion (XXII, 9): ὅτι²² πρῶτον μὲν οἱ προεδρεύοντες τῆς βουλῆς: πρόεδροι: οἱ

from a complete copy, but a copy of selections: eclogae integrae historico maxime gustu selectae (Teubner edition, p. VII). The *subscriptio* (see Wilcken, *Hermes*, LV, 1920, pp. 324-325) says this is Book 3 on the *Philippics* and Book 28 of the *περὶ Δημοσθένους*.

²¹ Sakkellion, *B.C.H.*, I, 1877, pp. 10-16, 137-155.

²² The word ὅτι is here part of the verbatim text and depends on ἀντειπεῖν which immediately precedes.

διοικούντες τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, etc. This "second lemma" lends itself to alphabetization, and the several Rhetorical Lexica which have survived commonly begin their articles with such single words. A papyrus fragment of such an alphabetic lexicon, on a single speech (Demosthenes, XXIII), was published by F. Blass in *Hermes*, XVII, 1882, pp. 148-163, and republished by Diels-Schubart in their Teubner text of Didymos (see note 19, above). Here, the procedure of the Patmos scholia is seen in reverse: the single word stands first, the orator's full phrase follows. Both sides (A and B) of a single sheet of codex are preserved, except for the lower lines on each face. The first twenty lines of A deal with Miltokythes, who was named at XXIII, 104, but the lemma stood on the previous sheet. The remainder may be tabulated:

A 21	μόραν: καὶ τὴν μ[όραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης (XXIII, 198): συν]
22	τάγματά τιν[α Λακωνικά, etc.]
[foot]	[Νάξος: καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ἐνίκα ναυμαχίαν Χα] [βρίας (XXIII, 198): etc.]
B 4	ὁδός[ς: ἦ] ἐν [ὁδῶι καθελών (XXIII, 53): τουτέστιν] ἐν λόγῳ κ[αὶ ἐ]
5	ν[ἐ]δρα[ι, etc.]
B 7	ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος (XXIII, 28): ²³ Δ[ιδ]υμος ὁ γραμματικός, etc.
B 25	ὅτι Θε[μιστοκλῆς ἐξωστρακίσθη: ἐκείνοι] Θεμιστο κλέ[α λαβόντες μείζον αὐτῶν ἀξ]ιοῦντα φρο νε[ῖν ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως (XXIII, 205): ὅ] τι ἐστὶν ὄστρα [κισμὸς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ εἰρήκα]σιν καὶ Φιλόχο [ρος, etc.] ²⁴

Here, again, the items are chosen *historico gustu*. Except for ὁδός, the single words (Μιλτοκίθης, μόραν, Νάξος, and we may add ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος) have clear historical meaning. But it is, of course, the last lemma which interests us most, a lemma paraphrased from Demosthenes with introductory ὅτι like those now under consideration in the *Anonymus Argentinensis*. We have here, in fact, one instance of what in our author was a regular habit, but the gap between this instance and the regular habit is still wide.

To help in bridging this gap, something may be found in the ten entries in Harpokration's *Lexicon* which begin with ὅτι: ²⁵ (1) ὅτι διαμαρτάνει, (2) ὅτι ἐξακισχίλια, (3)

²³ Note that only one lemma is given, presumably because here the author's phrase and the "alphabetizable minimum" coincide exactly.

²⁴ "B 25, 26 non iam legi possunt"—Diels-Schubart. We give Blass' readings here and at A22 and B7: also ἐν at B4 (our restoration here differs from that of Blass and of Diels-Schubart, following Harpokration's article ἦ ἐν ὁδῶι καθελών as well as his ὁδός). At B4 the papyrus has οχλωι; but cf. Harpokration. The Naxos-lemma, suggested by Blass, fits the alphabetic order and conforms to the writer's practice better than what Diels-Schubart suggest. It is, of course, doubtful whether we should write Νάξος (like ὁδός) or Νάξον (like μόραν).

²⁵ The first two are out of alphabetical order, one before and one after ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος (Suidas has them all three under this one heading).

ὅτι νόμος, (4) ὅτι ξένους, (5) ὅτι οἱ ἀλόντες, (6) ὅτι οἱ ποιητοί, (7) ὅτι τὰ ἐπικηρυττόμενα, (8) ὅτι πρὸς τὴν φυλὴν, (9) ὅτι παιδί, (10) ὅτι χιλίας.

In most of these (3-10) the word ὅτι depends on some main verb (of saying or implying) which follows. A single example is 9: ὅτι παιδί καὶ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐξήν συμβάλλειν πέρα μεδίμνου κριθῶν, Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κλήρου φησίν. The passage is extant: Isaios, X, 10 (Harpokration has written Ἀλεξάνδρον by mistake for Ἀριστάρχου): ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην καλύει παιδί μὴ ἐξεῖναι συμβάλλειν μηδὲ γυναικὶ πέρα μεδίμνου κριθῶν. The entry of Harpokration is a plain statement by a grammarian: "Isaios says that — — —." It has no lemma, and therefore is not, as it stands, comment on a lemma. We do not know why it was culled; but if the words from Ἰσαῖος to φησίν are knocked away there is left a paraphrase of Isaios which resembles our author's paraphrases pretty nearly.

The paraphrase is looser in 3 (ὅτι νόμος, from Aischines, I, 11) and much looser again in 5 (ὅτι οἱ ἀλόντες, from Demosthenes, XXIII, 45). In both these a second author is named (for 3 Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., 56, 3; for 5 Theophrastos, περὶ νόμων) and the paraphrase keeps closer to the second author. We can see this in 3, and presume it in 5 from the different verbs used of the two authors (Δημοσθένης — — — ὑποσημαίνει καὶ Θεόφραστος — — — δηλοῖ). In 7, 8, and 10, the orator's words are evidently the main evidence, but the speeches in question are lost and we cannot see how they have been paraphrased. For 6 Solon is quoted, as well as a lost speech of Antiphon. We cannot be quite sure which of the two is paraphrased more closely.²⁶

In the above (3, 5-10) we have a series of interesting statements culled from speeches, sometimes further confirmed from other sources. The orator's words are always paraphrased, closely or loosely. These are not the normal λέξεις of Harpokration's *Lexicon*: none of them is a word or phrase (a *lemma*) taken from a speech and then explained with a *comment*.

The remaining three (1, 2, 4) are rather different. The first and fourth need not detain us,²⁷ but 2 is of interest since here the phrase with ὅτι is for once treated as a lemma: ὅτι ἑξακισχίλια ἦν τάλαντα τὸ τίμημα τῆς Ἀττικῆς. The verb on which ὅτι depends is left unexpressed, as in ὅτι Θε[μιστοκλῆς ἐξωστρακίσθη] (see p. 170, above) or in ὅτι τῷ πο[λ]έμῳ [παρέστησαν] (of our papyrus). The word ὅτι simply introduces the statement on which comment is to follow. The comment then follows, with asyndeton: Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν (XIV, 30) φησίν οὕτως· ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ

²⁶ Did Antiphon quote Solon? Or was the Solonian formulation known from some later work (Theophrastos? Aristophanes of Byzantium?) on Solon's text? The apparent exactness of the reference to Solon (ἐν κα νόμων) is against its being from Antiphon; on the other hand, it is unlike the other "exact" references to Solon's text.

²⁷ The first is an excerpt from a grammarian: "Demosthenes is wrong in his statement — — —." The fourth is more or less like 3 and 5-10 except that the long quotation is given verbatim and introduces an argument.

τῆς χώρας τίμημα — —, etc.” The comment is elaborate: “the lemma says 6000, Demosthenes says 8000. This may be a slip of the pen, since his items total to 6000, or a piece of rhetorical artifice.” Finally, Philochoros is called in evidence (Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, 328 F 46). We have here something not unlike one of our author’s sections, viz., some author’s statement,²⁸ introduced by ὄτι, followed with asyndeton by a comment.

None of these ten entries gives a really close analogy to our author’s practice: 1 is totally different, 3-10 have no lemma, and in 2 the lemma looks to be taken from Philochoros rather than from an orator. We may perhaps recognize, however, in 3 and 5-10 the habit of culling a fact from a speech and paraphrasing the words: in our papyrus we may perhaps understand (in each of our author’s paraphrases) some verb such as φησίν or δηλοῖ or (ὑπο)σημαίνει.

In our search for parallels to this unusual form of lemma we believe that we have gained a better conception of our author’s interests and method of work, and that we may draw at least three specific conclusions, valid specially for the understanding of the text of this papyrus:

- i. The author’s factual preoccupation seems to make him treat the orator’s words with indifference, paraphrasing rather than quoting the lemma.
- ii. We may reasonably generalize his practice in line 3 and expect, as in other commentaries and extracts from commentaries, asyndeton regularly after the lemma.
- iii. The items are independent of each other, not strung upon the orator’s thread of argument, so that μετ’ ἐκείνο in line 8 is not likely to refer back to any earlier item.

Sections of the Text ²⁹

I. Readings: Line 1: Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 380) reads προβου; Schwartz puts lines under all six letters.³⁰ Line 2: before ἐκάστης Keil (*op. cit.*, p. 23) restored ἐξ; Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 380) says ξ is impossible and suggests ν, “aber ganz sicher ist mir letzteres nicht.” Schwartz writes “il est impossible d’affirmer que c’est ν; il ne reste qu’une très faible tache d’encre.” Clearly iota could not be excluded. At the end of the line Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 380) reads ηρουνητο. . ; Schwartz reads ηρουνητ. . , and adds “Le τ pourrait être aussi un π ou même un κ. La lettre suivante n’est sûrement pas un ο. La dernière lettre est ι (précédé de α ?) ou υ.” On the grounds of this information we have suggested (pp. 165-166, above) the restoration ἡροῦνητ’ ἀν | [ἐκάστοτε — —].

²⁸ What author? Perhaps Philochoros; this seems likely when we compare the last sentence of the comment with the lemma. If it be the fact, we need not go into its implications.

²⁹ We deal with the sections in order, except that Section II is kept to the last.

³⁰ A line under a letter means that it is identifiable though not completely preserved. Since such letters are in fact considered certain no special mark is placed under them in our text.

Lemma: XXII, 5: (Androtion will say) *περὶ τοῦ ἀπροβουλεύτου* — — — *ταῦτ' ἐπήρητο, φησὶν, ὁ ἐπιστάτης* — — — *οὐδὲν δεῖ, φησί, προβουλεύματος ἐνταῦθα*. The lemma for this section stood in the previous column and is completely lost, but no doubt it paraphrased some part of the above, or else the second mention of the epistates (and also the proedroi: *οἱ προεδρεύοντες τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ὁ ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφίζων ἐπιστάτης*) in XXII, 9. We suggest below (p. 179, note 46) some such paraphrase as [*ὅτι παράνομον ἦν τὸ ἀπροβούλευτον*].

Comment: The beginning of the comment, like the lemma, is lost. In what is left mention is made of (presumably a distinction is made between) two kinds of epistates. After that, reference is made to some boards of ten, the probouloi and some other officers. The interest of these two fragmentary lines lies in (a) their evidence for the length of line, and (b) our author's choice of material.

It is doubtful whether the main topic here is *probouleusis* (XXII, 5) or *epipsephisis* (XXII, 5 or 9). We incline to the former, chiefly because of the letters *προβου* at the end of line 1. Wilcken believed that these letters were some part of the name probouloi, a board of ten men ('Αθ. Πολ., 29, 2) appointed late in 413 B.C. *οὔτινες προβουλεύσουσιν* (Thuc., VIII, 1, 3); we think this very probable, though conceivably the letters are some part (rather) of the verb *προβουλεύω* or its derivatives. Either way, they point to probouleusis as the topic. The business of the epistates whom Demosthenes twice mentions (XXII, 5 and 9) was, however, epipsephisis; and Aristotle makes it plain that the probouloi, though they encroached heavily on the functions of the Council,³¹ had left epipsephisis in the usual hands.³²

The two kinds of epistates mentioned in line 1 are described and distinguished in 'Αθ. Πολ., 44: *ἐπιστάτης πρυτάνεων* and *ἐπιστάτης προέδρων*. The former was president of the Council for one day, and if the Council prepared business for that day it did so under his presidency. But the conduct of the business was the province of the proedroi, and their epistates, likewise chosen for one day only, put questions to the vote,³³ in both Council and Ekklesia. While both epistatai had a share in probouleusis, the epistates of the proedroi was responsible for epipsephisis. The phrasing in line 1 is clumsy, but it seems clear that the two kinds of epistates were mentioned (and therefore distinguished?). The distinction was too hard for the Patmos scholiast, as well as for the marginal scholia of the mediaeval manuscripts and for the second

³¹ See specially Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 809: *παραδοὺς ἐτέρῳ τὴν βουλείαν*. The play was given in spring of 411 B.C., so that it is the *βουλευτής* of 413/2 (*τῶν πέρυσιν τις βουλευτής*) who is being mocked.

³² 'Αθ. Πολ., 29, 4: *ἐπάναγκες* — — — *τοὺς πρυτάνεις* — — — *ἐπιψηφίζειν*. The responsibility lay with the presiding board (prytaneis in 411, proedroi in Demosthenes' time); the actual act was performed by their chairman, the epistates.

³³ Before the institution of proedroi early in the fourth century questions were put to the vote by the *ἐπιστάτης πρυτάνεων*.

hypothesis to Demosthenes, XXII. If our author made it, and then went on to speak of probouloi, there is some case for supposing that probouleusis was his topic and that the lemma was taken from XXII, 5.

[There is one objection to this, perhaps not very serious. One of the speaker's main contentions, which dominates at least XXII, 8-20, is that the Council in whose favor Androtion made his proposal had disqualified itself by failure to build the warships required by law. This topic is first raised, and this law is first mentioned, in XXII, 8. Section I deals with XXII, 5, and Section II (as we shall see) deals with XXII, 13. It looks, then, as if our author had passed over XXII, 8, without any notice of the "shipbuilding law." The matter is aggravated by the fact that a shipbuilding law of some kind is mentioned in Section II. We hope to show that the shipbuilding law in Section II is not the law of which Demosthenes speaks in XXII, 8-20, and that it is not offered by our author as such. If we are wrong in this, then we must face the inference that our author has not strictly followed Demosthenes' order, and this is in itself not impossible.³⁴ If we are right, and if (further) Section I is a comment on XXII, 5, then it seems that our author has indeed passed over XXII, 8, without commenting on the law. It may be that an appropriate and sufficient mention had been made in the Commentator's introduction (*ὑπόθεσις*): there is in fact mention of it in the second hypothesis of our manuscripts of this speech. Or it might be that the Commentator had no facts about it which interested our author. Or, finally, it might be that Section I comments on XXII, 9 (not 5), and that the appropriate comment on XXII, 8, on the shipbuilding law, stood next above it in the lost column.]

The restoration of *πρόβου| [λοι]* in lines 2-3 has important implications for the length of line. The probouloi came once only in Athenian history. Created in the emergency of 413 B.C., they held their office till the summer of 411. Their relevance here is their probouleutic function: their assignment was to prepare legislation from time to time so far as it concerned the present emergency (Thuc., VIII, 1, 3). In 411 the existing ten probouloi were reinforced by twenty new members and became *συγγραφεῖς*, instructed to prepare business for one more Ekklesia ('Αθ. Πολ., 29, 2),³⁵ the famous Ekklesia at Kolonos which voted the Four Hundred into power (cf. Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, III, 18, 6). Since the probouloi came in this one emergency only, the tense of *ἡροῦντι*' (apart from the idiomatic phrase *ἡροῦντι ἄν [ἐκάστοτε]*) shows that some other officers must have been named besides.³⁶ These

³⁴ There are several confusions of the order in the Patmos scholia (cf. p. 169, note 21, above).

³⁵ Harpokration, *s.v.* *συγγραφεῖς*, deals with Aristotle's disagreement here with Thucydides, VIII, 67, 1, and he quotes Androtion and Philochoros as supporting Aristotle (F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, 324 F 43, 328 F 136). Thucydides, having overlooked the reinforcement, speaks of the original ten only (*περὶ τῶν ἰ ἐμνημόνευε, μόνον, τῶν προβούλων*) and calls them "ten Syngrapheis." [Harpokration's explanation is lucid and reasonable and hardly deserves Jacoby's censure in *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, Suppl. 2, p. 137.]

³⁶ We do not know whether the probouloi were re-elected annually, *sc.*, in 412 and 411; it is

were no doubt the Syngrapheis.³⁷ Their assignment was similar to that of the probouloi: they were charged like them with preparing legislation, but they were commonly charged with one piece of business only, and they were appointed more than once as occasion required (*ὅποτε δέοι*).³⁸

For idiomatic *ἄν* in the sense of “were in the habit of doing,” “were prone to do,” we quote from Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, 1, p. 211: Erstens dient der Indikativ der historischen Zeitformen mit *ἄν* zur Bezeichnung einer unter gewissen Umständen wiederkehrenden oder sich wiederholenden Handlung der Vergangenheit (These are exactly the circumstances of the election, from time to time as occasion required, of *συγγραφεῖς*). Der Begriff der Wiederholung ist aus dem Gedankenzusammenhange oder, wenn ein Nebensatz hinzugefügt ist, aus dem in diesem Falle üblich gewordenen Optativ – – (We have restored *ὅποτε δέοι*, taken from Harpokration’s note, in the early part of line 3). Die Partikel *ἄν* aber deutet auf besondere Umstände und Verhältnisse hin, unter denen die Handlung sich wiederholte und ist demnach auch hier mit „je nach den Umständen, eventuell, wohl“ zu übersetzen. This justifies, we believe, our restoration of 32 letters to the left of line 2.³⁹

III. Readings: Line 12: The last letter of *πολεμουμένοις* is of the kind that indicates some sort of pause (see above, p. 168, note 16; Wilcken, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-404), here the end of a grammatical clause. Line 13: Wilcken (*loc. cit.*) writes: Im Anfang von Z. 13 habe ich durch Glättung von Fasern noch eine halbe Rundung) gewonnen, die entweder zu ο passen würde (also]ο[.]s) oder zu dem Kopf von ρ (also]ρ[.]s). Schwartz writes: La première lettre ne peut être qu’un ρ; la troisième est ο ou φ. We believe, from our photograph (facing p. 164), that the second letter was ο, and read π]ρός. At the end of the line, after *επιδ*, Keil had ε, though he notes (*Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 45) that ο is equally possible, and Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 404) agrees with this. Keil, Wilcken, and Schwartz have all read *στυ* at the end of the line (*sc.*

usually supposed that they remained unchanged. Annual elections might perhaps justify the imperfect tense, but not (of course) the idiomatic *ἄν*.

³⁷ We owe this suggestion to Edwin L. Brown, a member of the graduate seminar in Thucydides at Princeton University in 1956.

³⁸ Harpokration, *s.v.* *συγγραφεῖς*. The limitation to one named day (*εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν*) is generalized from Thucydides (VIII, 67, 1), whom Harpokration quotes.

³⁹ Harpokration does not fix the number of Syngrapheis at ten but says merely *πληθὸς τι*. There were thirty Syngrapheis in 411, and the notorious Thirty Tyrants of 404 were perhaps originally Syngrapheis (Xenophon, *Hell.*, II, 3, 2, *οἵτινες* – – – *συγγράψουσι*, perhaps confirmed by Isocrates, VII, 58). But these bodies had exceptionally comprehensive assignments; the number ten was no doubt more normal. In the Fifth Century we hear of these more normal Syngrapheis in 450/49, in *I.G.*, I², 22, line 3 (for the text see *A.T.L.*, II, D11), some time later in *I.G.*, I², 76, line 3, and in 410/09 in *I.G.*, I², 109, line 8 (*A.T.L.*, II, D9).

the start of Section IV). Keil and Wilcken reckon room for five letters between *επιδ* and *οτι*, while Schwartz transcribes *επιδ*. . [. .] . . *οτι*.⁴⁰

Lemma: XXII 14: ἴσθ' ὅτι πρώην Εὐβοεῦσιν ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ Θηβαίους ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεπέμψατε. The lemma paraphrases closely, but our author's linguistic indifference (cf. p. 172, above) shows in the change in the order of words and specially in the change of case to *τρισὶν ἡμέραις*.

Comment: The main fact is that Demosthenes served as volunteer trierarch on this occasion,⁴¹ and we take it as certain that the section ends with *τριήρει ἐπιδο[σίμωι]*.⁴² Restoration in the beginnings of the lines is less certain, but there can be no doubt about the event or the comment on Demosthenes' participation in it.

IV. Readings: Line 13: For *ὅτι* at the end of the line see Schwartz's comment cited in note 40, below. Line 14: Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 406) reads the last letters as *ε[.]ρη*, having first thought of *ετη*; Schwartz writes "la dernière lettre est sans doute un *η*, mais, juste avant, ce n'est sûrement pas un *ρ*," and he attributes three letters to the available space. The word which Schwartz says cannot be *ερη*, which Wilcken thought might be *ετη*, we believe to be *ἔφη*. Line 15: Wilcken reads the first letters as *σκαί*; Schwartz writes "le *σ* lu par Wilcken est impossible, je proposerais ou *ν* ou *νη* ou *δι*, tous mutilés et douteux." Since alpha and delta are so nearly alike we take this as the end of [*εἶρηγ*]αί.

Lemma: XXII, 15: ἐπὶ τοῦ Δεκελικοῦ πολέμου. The main verb comes some four lines later, and is in fact the lemma of the next section (V). Since our author's custom was to make a lemma with *ὅτι* and a finite verb, we suggest here *ὅτι* [*Δεκελικὸς εἶρηται ὁ πόλεμος*], with a reference to the verb as restored also in line 15. In both places *εἶρηται*, we believe, might equally well be read as *λέγεται*.

Comment: The author notes that the Peloponnesian War could be subdivided, and the parts given their own names. There is relatively little latitude here in the restorations possible, so that the indications of length of line are valuable.

⁴⁰ In response to further inquiry about the end of this line Schwartz (Jan. 26, 1957) affirms that *ὅτι* is certain. He prefers *επιδε* to *επιδο* and doubts whether there is room for six letters—as earlier indicated—between *επιδ* and *οτι*.

⁴¹ This was first observed by Pohlenz, *Hermes*, XLIII, 1908, p. 228, note 2.

⁴² The phrase is known from *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 960-961: *ἐπιδόσιμος τρ[ι]ήρης; τοῦ ῥήτορος* is the regular commentator's phrase for Demosthenes; the fact that he volunteered as trierarch on this particular occasion is often mentioned. It was the first time that trierarchs volunteered; cf. Demosthenes, XVIII, 99, and XXI, 161 (*ἐπιδόσεις παρ' ὑμῖν πρῶται*). In both passages Demosthenes mentions his own volunteering, in the second he names his colleague Philinos. The ship was called "Dawn" and is named in *I.G.*, II², 1612, lines 301-302: *Φιλίνον Λακί Δημοσθέ[ν]ην [Παυα] | ἃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔω ὤ[φ]ειλο[ν]*. This voluntary service is also mentioned in the decree passed in Demosthenes' honor in 280/79 B.C.; cf. [Plutarch], *Moralia*, 850 F.

V. Readings: The extant words are all legible, and all, except for [Ἄδειμ]άντου, are virtually complete.

Lemma: XXII, 15: οὐ πρότερον τῷ πολέμῳ παρέστησαν πρὶν τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο. The “paraphrase” apparently kept the actual words.

Comment: The author signals the treason of Adeimantos: [προδότος τὰς ναῦς Ἄδειμ]άντου ἠττήθησαν. This restoration gives 31 letters in the left half of line 16, and is one of the best indications of the length of line.

VI. Readings: Line 16: Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 408) gives the reading τριηρο at the end of the line as “völlig sicher.” Line 17: After ταμίας Wilcken writes that after τ the space seems to fit two letters better than three (Keil); Schwartz agrees (reading τ[. .]), and adds that there is room for six or seven letters at the end of the line after βουλ. The eta of βουλή[s], which is anyway certain, is quite legible in the photograph. Line 18: The only doubtful letter is the first: ον (Wilcken and Schwartz) or ων? Only part of the right rounding of the letter has been seen, so that it could be either ο or ω: we have restored [χρημάτ]ων. Line 19: Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 408) reports that the π of πάλαι is not palaeographically certain.

Lemma: XXII, 17: (Androtion will say that) ὁ τῶν τριηροποιῶν ταμίας ἀποδρὰς ὄχετ' ἔχων πένθ' ἡμιτάλαντα. The paraphrase cannot have kept the identical order of words, but otherwise may have kept very close: ὅτι τῶν τριηρο[ποιῶν ἀποδρὰς ὄχετο ὁ ταμίας].

Comment: The treasurer's functions are described, and his fifth-century predecessors are named.

The supplements to the left in lines 18 and 19 must give the sense pretty closely, though the wording is arbitrary. Line 17, however, may claim to be reasonably like what was written, and to be fair evidence for the length of line.

VII. Readings: This section is remarkable for its many scribal errors, some corrected and some not. Line 19: ὅτι was miswritten οἰτι, and οἶ was corrected from οσ (Wilcken, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411). Schwartz confirms the trace of alpha before the final iota. Line 20: Keil (*op. cit.*, p. 61) read the first letters as να, though allowing δια as possible. Wilcken reads δια, which Schwartz regards as probable without absolutely ruling out να. In the middle of the line τεταγμενα was miswritten δεταγμενα, an error which Wilcken explains (*op. cit.*, p. 412) as a mark of the vulgar Greek of Egypt. At the end of the line Schwartz reports that final iota is certain, and he estimates that there is room for six letters in the gap which precedes. We have restored seven, noting that the last alpha of ἐ[πι]δεταγμένα[s] and the last iota of this line stand respectively under (slightly to the left of) the first epsilon and final iota of θεσ[μο-

θέρ]αι in the line above. Thus seven letters in the gap give a spacing like that in line 19. Line 21: Near the beginning Keil (*op. cit.*, p. 62) read αὐτά and said that the last alpha could not be doubted, but both Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 410) and Schwartz prefer omikron. Wilcken adds that there is room after ο for one letter, e. g., αὐτο[ί]; Schwartz suggests “il ne manque probablement rien après l’ο.” Our judgment, based on the photographs, is that there is room for iota but for no larger letter. The last letter in μ[ε]τέβαινον is certain, one of the clearest letters in the line and read by Keil and Schwartz. Its omission by Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 411) was perhaps an oversight. The particle δέ was omitted after μ[ε]τέβαινον, and had to be inserted above the line, where the delta is still preserved. At the end of the line our restoration ο[ι ἄρξα]ν[] [τες — —] conforms to Wilcken’s indications but does not quite tally with the faint traces reported to us by Schwartz, viz., ο[. .]αι[ε] [.]ν or ο[. .]ια[ν] [.]ν.⁴³ Line 22: The ε of Ἄρειον was omitted, and added above the line: we need not scruple, among the many scribal errors here, to presume that the σ of θε<σ>μ[— —] was likewise omitted and not corrected.⁴⁴ After θεμ Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 410) suggests “vielleicht noch ε”; Schwartz reads simply θεμ.[— —]. The τ of τ[οῦ]ς which was read by Wilcken is described by Schwartz as “ni certain ni impossible.” At the very end of the line Schwartz reports space to be restored after θεμ.[— —] of about six letters: enough, i. e., for θε<σ>μ[οθέταις]. But the main crux in line 22 is the numeral, where both Wilcken and Schwartz read ξ̄. The horizontal stroke over this numeral is as clear as the stroke over ια in line 25 (ιᾶ), the only two places on the papyrus where alphabetic numerals occur: and the letter ξ has certainly been written, but it has also been written over. Here again, in fact, the scribe has corrected what he wrote. He first wrote δεξ̄ (*sc.* δ’ ξ̄ξ) and then for whatever reason⁴⁵ he was dissatisfied and corrected the last letter to ξ̄ (*sc.* δὲ ξ̄), a heavy digamma on top of the ξ, and a horizontal line above it. The numeral intended, at both stages, is “six.” Line 23: After χρ[ο]νογραφίαι Keil read καιηα, which he interpreted as καὶ ἡ Ἄ[τθίς]. Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 410) comments: “s i c h e r nicht,” and tentatively offers ηδι, noting that the fourth letter could be “auf keinem Fall η.” Schwartz writes . . . α in his transcript, and notes και as possible for the first three letters. For the last three (or four) he suggests βα[] (or λαφ. []): “la dernière lettre a une haste verticale et termine peut-être la ligne.” In the photographs και seems to us quite clear, and we so read it. The final vertical stroke we take

⁴³ These readings were not included by Schwartz in his transcript of the text and are all of them except initial ο marked with a query. Our greatest discrepancy, perhaps, is that we write no more than iota in the gap which Schwartz marks as enough for two letters: after that, αρξ[α]ν is perhaps not too far from αιε[.]ν. The ο of ο[ι] is virtually certain and cannot be ε, and we think there is no letter after the last nu, which must therefore close a syllable. Both these considerations are against Jacoby’s proposal (*Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, Suppl. 2, p. 243, note 10): ξ[σ]τεφα]ν[ωμένοι].

⁴⁴ Cf. the uncorrected miswritings in line 20 (ἐ[πι]δεταιμένα[s]) and especially in line 19 (οιτι).

⁴⁵ Perhaps because of the ambiguity of δεξ̄ = δ’ ξ̄ξ or δὲ ξ̄.

to be iota, and on the basis of Schwartz's note and our own examination of the photograph read $\beta\alpha[\sigma]\iota$ to end the line. Line 24: Between $\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ and $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ two or three letters have been corrected (Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 411: stark corrigirt; Schwartz, $\tau\omicron$ en surcharge sur $\sigma\tau$). We understand the scribe to have begun a new section here, with $\delta\tau\iota$, then to have changed his mind, perhaps with the idea of writing $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ δὲ δεσμοφύλαξι — —, but getting no farther with it than a corrected $\tau\omicron\iota$, when he began to write $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$, utilizing the iota as the initial stroke of nu in the new word. But this still left an almost hopeless blemish in the text which we believe he finally tried to turn into $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$. One can still see the bold upright and lower stroke of kappa in the first space where \omicron and τ had been previously written. In the second space the omikron superimposed on tau gives a combination of strokes not unlike alpha if the extraneous parts are thought away. But iota had already been used as the initial stroke in nu of $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$. The passage can only be considered corrupt, but if our diagnosis of the writer's intention is correct the reading should best be made as $\kappa\alpha\langle\iota\rangle$. At the end of the line Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 411) read $\alpha\rho\chi$. Schwartz suggests $\alpha\rho[\cdot]\varphi.[\cdot\cdot](?)$. We believe $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ to be impossible, and write $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha[\iota\ \delta\iota\alpha]$.

Lemma: XXII, 21: (Androtion will say) $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ — — $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\eta\tilde{\eta}\ \pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$. The paraphrase is not close, since it has the thesmothetai as subject of the sentence, but our author has picked out the fact behind Androtion's alleged plea: it is the thesmothetai who handle charges of prostitution.⁴⁶

Comment: The author explains first how certain charges are assigned to certain courts, next the fact that the thesmothetai pass into the Areopagus, as do also the other three archons, and last, he has some remark about the nomophylakes.

As our text is restored with reference to the first item, the thesmothetai, being responsible for assigning cases generally, have to give to themselves the cases involving prostitution. The main outlines of the procedure and the special responsibility of the thesmothetai to themselves are already known from Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., 59, 1-3, so that lines 21-22 offer no particular problems, except as already discussed under readings on p. 178, above. And yet we might well have despaired of this corrupt and difficult section but for the fortunate circumstance that its main substance is in the Second Hypothesis to Demosthenes, XXII: $\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. $\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\ \tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$. $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$. $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. $\omicron\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\eta}\rho\chi\omicron\nu$, $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\rho\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$, $\acute{\eta}\rho\chi\omicron\nu$

⁴⁶ Similarly, in Section I, where he presumably paraphrased Androtion's alleged plea $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ (XXII, 5), he may have written something like $\delta\tau\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$.

τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. εἶτα πάλιν μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκρίνοντο, εἰ καλῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἦρξαν, καὶ εἰ δικαίως ὄφθησαν ἄρξαντες προσετίθεντο τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἀρειοπαγιδῶν. The hypothesis does not mention the nomophylakes.

Our author has defined the *eponymus* by referring to him the framework of the *chronographiai*,⁴⁷ and he has defined the *basileus* with reference to his responsibility for cases of impiety. The words of our restoration in line 24 are taken directly from the Second Hypothesis except that we have omitted τῶν ὀρφανῶν καί. The author of the Second Hypothesis was in error in having the *basileus* in charge of the orphans: this duty belonged to the *archon eponymus* (cf. Aristotle, Ἰθ. Πολ., 56, 7).

The final clause of the section concerns the nomophylakes — — — and the Eleven, though it is difficult to determine what idea our author had in bringing them so close together. Plainly, the nomophylakes were added as an afterthought (cf. p. 179, above). It was held by some that they were the same as the thesmothetai,⁴⁸ and this idea, or the refutation of it, was no doubt sufficient reason for the added note. At the end of line 24 the plural form ἀρχα[ί] lends itself by interpretation to two or more different magistracies as well as, or better than, to a series of boards in one magistracy. The lexicographers, and before them Philochoros, knew that nomophylakes and thesmothetai were not the same. Harpokration, e. g., has *s.v.* νομοφύλακες· ἀρχή τις παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, διαφέρουσα τῶν θεσμοθετῶν. It may be that our author was noting this difference, and noting also the difference from the Eleven, who were also sometimes confused with the nomophylakes, owing (apparently) to confusion between nomo- and desmo- phylakes: Pollux, VIII, 102, οἱ ἔνδεκα· — — — νομοφύλακες δὲ κατὰ τὸν Φαληρέα Δημήτριον μετωνομάσθησαν — — — τοῦ δὲ νομοφυλακίου θύρα μία Χαρώνιον ἐκαλεῖτο. For the term δεσμοφύλαξ as jailer see, for example, *Acta Apostolorum*, XVI, 23. Our restoration, for which we make no claim to certainty, is based on these considerations.⁴⁹

VIII. Readings: Line 25: Wilcken (*op. cit.*, p. 413) read δημοπ, which he called "certain"; he tried δημοσι, but concluded "es ist palaeographisch nicht haltbar." After an interval of three spaces he read τοσρον, but he said that the traces do not favor the restoration of δημοπ[οίη]τος. Schwartz gives a different account of this badly damaged line: après δημο, τι[— — n'est pas impossible mais n'est pas certain non plus. Wilcken: τοσρον ne se lit pas. In the photographs the letters δημοπ or δημοσι are very clear, then, after a badly damaged space of about four letters is a relatively clear omikron. Line 26: Schwartz reads parts at least of all the letters τωπρωτεροναρχ, supplementing Wilcken.

⁴⁷ For this reason Jacoby cites this paragraph in *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, 329 F 6.

⁴⁸ See Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, 328 F 64bβ: οἱ νομοφύλακες τίνες· ἔδοξε τισι τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοῖς θεσμοθέταις.

⁴⁹ For the nomophylakes see Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 328 F 64 and commentary.

Lemma: XXII, 32 (?): ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐδ' ἂν ὦσιν ἔτ' Ἀνδροτιώνος τινας αἰσχιον βεβιωκότες οὐκ ἔστι λέγειν κακῶς τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Demosthenes here explains what he has meant by his statement just earlier that democracy is the form of constitution most antagonistic to men of vicious life. Restraint of slander is presented as an evil of oligarchy: full license of speech is democratic: ὅτ[ι] δημοσι[κὸν τ]ὸ [κακῶς λέγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας].

Comment: Our text shows how we have ventured to restore this extremely mutilated passage. For comment our author can have noted the parrhesia of Old Comedy, and perhaps certain subsequent restraints. Too little is preserved to allow anything more than a tentative interpretation.

II. Readings: Line 3: After Παρθενῶνα, which ends with “Schlussalpha,” and which terminates the work of the first hand (p. 168, above), Schwartz reads μετετη. . to the end of the line. For the last two letters, left blank in Schwartz’s transcript, Wilcken has suggested that the last is η and the penultimate perhaps a numeral with horizontal stroke above to denote it as such: “wenn ich mich nicht täusche, sehe ich noch den Kalamuseindruck der horizontalen Linie der Zahl, während ihr Endpunkt noch in Tinte erhalten ist.” But he does not offer this as decisive evidence (*op. cit.*, p. 383). At our request Schwartz gave particular attention to this, and reports “on ne peut dire s’il y a un trait horizontal au dessus de l’avant-dernière lettre ou non—La dernière lettre pourrait être η—De l’avant-dernière, il ne reste guère qu’une petite haste verticale.” We have, then, something like three vertical strokes, one for the “penultimate” letter and perhaps two for the “last” letter (read as η). The “penultimate” may be described as a vertical upright (Schwartz, agreeing with Keil and Wilcken) plus a horizontal more or less preserved (Wilcken as above and Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis*, p. 27: they refer perhaps to different traces). This should be read as τ, and this should be the first letter of a cardinal numeral written out in full.⁵⁰ Following, is a letter which looks to both Schwartz and Wilcken like η. The papyrus is badly damaged at the ends of all the lines, some of the vertical fibres of the verso having been lost. This leaves some vertical strokes intact, but breaks the horizontals: here, the verticals have survived, the horizontals are doubtful. In the “final” letter, read as η, if the horizontal be damaged, one might in fact have two letters ρι occupying the same space as η.⁵¹ We read τρι.⁵² Line 5: At the end Wilcken

⁵⁰ The numerals are all written out, thus, until line 22, where ξξ was corrected to ξ̄ (see p. 178, above).

⁵¹ The horizontal bar of η is normally high in this hand. In the word τριήρει in line 13, the likeness of ρι and η (juxtaposed) can be seen: if the horizontal strokes were damaged they would be almost indistinguishable.

⁵² *Sc.* τρι|[άκοντα], rather than τρι|[α καὶ τριάκοντα]. It is doubtful if τρι|[α would be so divided, and Gomme’s criticism of the false precision of “33 years” is probably just (*Commentary on Thucydides*, II, p. 29, note 1).

reads *γνωμη[ν]εισ*; Schwartz writes that ξ is not possible: *je lirais plutôt πρ[. et même, peut-être, ποι, l'ο etant des plus probables.*" This is one of the few passages where the photographs have given a small measure of control, and what we see—the traces of ink where the letters must have been at the end of the line—leads us to favor Wilcken's reading. Line 6: *δήμωι* or *δημοσι*? Schwartz reports that *δημοσι* is the original, *δημωι* the correction: "Le scribe — — — a changé οσ en un ω maladroit."

Lines 7-8 offer no seriously doubtful readings. Line 9: At the beginning Schwartz says "*σι* plutot que *ει*," where Wilcken (*op. cit.*, pp. 388-389) had read *ει* and before it a vertical hasta which he took for τ ; if it was τ , then Wilcken assumes that the horizontal bar has been lost. But the trace of the stroke is such that it may have been the left upright of ν , perhaps the left upright of η , or quite possibly the top of the central stroke of ω . Lines 10-11 offer no seriously doubtful readings.

Lemma: XXII, 13: *οἱ τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶν' οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκείνοι — — ἴστε δήπου τοῦτ' ἀκοῆ ὅτι — — τὴν πόλιν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες ἔσωσαν.* Our author, not chiefly concerned with the main verb (*ἔσωσαν*), has probably converted the participle *οἰκοδομήσαντες* into a finite verb, so that he may start with *ὅτι*. This seems to us, in fact, virtually certain, and we follow Wilcken in making the restoration.

Comment: The first point is that Demosthenes has implied a false date for the buildings, by saying that those who built were the victors of Salamis. This is corrected by reference to a Periklean decree dated thirty years later than Salamis but prior to the Parthenon. The details of this decree appear to make up the remainder of the comment.

The comment has a certain polemical aspect in that the commentator corrects the orator's statement. This is unlike our author, who elsewhere shows no interest in how Demosthenes argues. Does the polemic belong rather to the commentator whom he is excerpting? This seems indicated by the fact that our author's lemma cannot easily be restored to include any mention of Salamis. The commentator, then, had noted Demosthenes' "error": our author, indifferent to that, has excerpted the decree which illuminates the circumstances in which "they built the Propylaea and the Parthenon." It is incomparably the most important among the items which he has preserved for us. Fortunately, it was to his taste, and he has given us generous measure.

At first sight there seems to be not much coherence in lines 3-11. We hear successively of the great Acropolis buildings, of Perikles in the year of Euthydemos, of 5000 talents in the public treasury and the assessment of Aristeides, and of a law about the building of ships. The section has, consequently, usually been divided up, sometimes one way and sometimes another. Both Keil and Wilcken separated off the Acropolis buildings in lines 3-4, and made a new section start with Euthydemos. In

A.T.L., I, p. 572 (T9), we separated the triremes in lines 9-11, and tried to make a new section start in line 8. We believe that these divisions are impossible. The doctrine which we have formulated above (p. 172) about our author's use of lemma and comment has compelled us to face this problem squarely: we have found no place for any plausible lemma between lines 3 and 11,⁵³ so that the beginning of the buildings (line 4), the year of Euthydemos (line 5), the provisions about money (lines 6-7) and about ships (lines 9-11) had to be brought within the range of one single comment.

The problem of Euthydemos' year is not very embarrassing. It must be emphasized that (a) there is literary evidence for three fifth-century archons named Euthydemos (*P.A.*, 5654, 5515, 5655, of 450/49, 431/0, and 426/5 respectively); (b) there is inscriptional (contemporary Athenian) evidence for two of these, in 450/49 and 426/5, showing that in both instances the name is miswritten in the literary tradition and should be *Εὐθύνοσ* [or possibly *Εὐθύνουσ*]; and (c) there is no inscriptional evidence yet for the third archon, in 431/0, and since it is uneconomical to suppose a third error, it is presumed that the literary tradition (for once) is right. But our author is not a contemporary Athenian; he belongs to the literary tradition; and he could perfectly well use the name Euthydemos for any one of the three.

More embarrassing, apparently, are the provisions for ship-building in lines 9-11. Probably all students of this text have felt some reluctance (once Wilcken had demonstrated its dependence on Demosthenes, XXII) to separate these provisions from those ship-building provisions on which Demosthenes keeps insisting in XXII, 8-20. It was a further embarrassment that notice of these provisions should stand so relatively late among his comments (after the comment on XXII, 13). We believe that in fact these two embarrassments cancel each other. The ship-building provisions basic to the speech will have been noticed somewhere before our fragment starts, and what we read of in lines 9-11 are different provisions.

Wilcken had accepted (*op. cit.*, pp. 402-403) the second of these two embarrassments, and regarded lines 5-11 as comment on XXII, 8 (*μὴ ποιησαμένη* — — — *τὰς τριήρεις*), out of its proper order. He notes that some words in XXII, 13 (*ἐκ τοῦ τριήρεις ἔχειν*) may perhaps have sent our author back to XXII, 8. For Wilcken, then, these ship-building provisions were part of the Periklean laws of 431 B.C. (Thuc., II, 24, after midsummer, *sc.* in the year of Euthydemos) whose primary purpose was the creation of an "iron reserve" of 1000 talents and 100 triremes: the shipbuilding provision of line 10 (he supposed) was part of that law though relatively incidental.

No doubt all students of this text will have felt how felicitous this confrontation is; and Wilcken's date for Euthydemos (431/0) has an arresting *prima facie* claim. But it compelled him to divide off lines 3-4 (on the building of the Propylaia and the

⁵³ On this point, which has been a matter of some controversy (e. g., *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 214; A. W. Gomme, *Historia*, III, 1954/5, p. 337, note 1), we have learnt from our critics.

Parthenon) from lines 5-11 (the decree of Euthydemus' year) in a manner which we hold to be impossible. It is, therefore, demanded of us, we believe, that we bring the start of the great buildings, the year of Euthydemus, and the provisions about money and ships all into a single context.

Wilcken's confrontation has, however, served to emphasize one important characteristic of Perikles' legislation as known to us. It has served to show that provisions about money and about ships may naturally come into a single decree, or group of decrees. We have to look for an occasion that will embrace the building schemes as well.⁵⁴ And this means, almost certainly, that we must understand Euthydemus as Keil and Beloch⁵⁵ did, to be the archon of 450/49.

Another major embarrassment in lines 3-11 has been the phrase *μετ' ἐκέεινο* in line 8. These words compelled Wilcken to divide Perikles' legislation of 431 B.C. into two *dogmata*; and though there is nothing intrinsically improbable in this, yet lines 8-9 are surely the least felicitous part of Wilcken's text.⁵⁶ In the text which we offered in *A.T.L.*, I, p. 572, we took this phrase to be the opening words of a new comment, following (with *asyndeton*) on the lemma which we tried to discover in line 8. That false trail prevented our recognizing the real meaning of this phrase. Though we eventually conjectured (from the other evidence) that Perikles' decree of 450/49 had contained two main financial provisions, viz., the immediate gift of 5000 talents to Athena in 449 and a subsequent series of payments (to total 3000 talents in 15 years), it did not occur to us that this is, in fact, just what the author was telling us.

Now we recognize that it was stylistically harsh to have a stop before *μετ' ἐκέεινο* and then to make this phrase depend on the clause with *γίγνο[μεν -- --]* which follows it. We must rather join together the words [*ἀναφέρ]*ειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετ' ἐκέεινο. That this "subsequent series of payments" was to total 3000 talents and was completed in 434 B.C. is what Kallias' decrees of 434 inform us.⁵⁷

In lines 4-5 we have given the restoration *ἔποι[ήσαντο δ' ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων]* to show

⁵⁴ Note that the decrees of Kallias (*A.T.L.*, II, D1 and D2), primarily financial, touch also on Acropolis building expenditure (D2, lines 2-11) and defense expenditure (D1, line 31). The combination of the three topics, natural at any time, is specially Periklean. The best example, and that most pertinent to the present argument, is the Congress Decree (*A.T.L.*, II, D12) of Plutarch, *Pericles*, 17, in which the Greeks were asked to send representatives to Athens to discuss common problems of repairing their temples, policing the seas, and providing for their festivals. The financial concern of the Congress Decree, as well as its concern for buildings and ships, is emphasized by Wade-Gery in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 222-224.

⁵⁵ *Griechische Geschichte*, II², 2, p. 328.

⁵⁶ Particularly the position in its own clause which he must assign to *μετ' ἐκέεινο*.

⁵⁷ *A.T.L.*, II, D1 (lines 3-4, 5-6) and D2 (lines 22-23). The vital words are τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντ[α] ἀνενέγκται ἐς πόλιν ἢ ἐφσέφιστο.

the source from which the expenses were met. We had previously restored ἐποι[ήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα] (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 61 [D13]), feeling that mention of the statue was in place in the prospectus of the great building program set in motion by Perikles,⁵⁸ and remembering also that the marginal scholia on this passage of Demosthenes make mention of the statue.⁵⁹ In lines 5-6 the restoration of the phrase εἰς [τὰ Παναθήναια] reflects our belief about the time, and the occasion, of the transfer,⁶⁰ and in line 6 ἀνενεγκεῖν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ has been suggested by the words of Kallias' decree (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 46 [D1, lines 3-4]): ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντ[α] ἀνελένεγκται. In line 8 we restore the 3000 talents with the present tense [ἀναφέρ]ειν because this was not to be a single payment, as the 5000 had been; it was to be paid in instalments. We had already inferred this payment by instalments from Kallias' statement that the transfer of 3000 talents was recently completed in 434 and from his naming also the sum of 200 talents for payment thereafter to the Other Gods (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 47 [D2, line 22]) in a way which made this seem to have been a likely available annual amount; the transfer by instalments is now further indicated by the present tense of γίγν[ο]μέν — —. We take this to mean "during the period of construction" and restore γίγν[ο]μένων τῶν ἔργων] in lines 8-9.⁶¹

The 5000 talents and the 3000 add up to 8000. It was W. Bannier, writing in *Rheinisches Museum*, LXXV, 1926, p. 197, to whom it first occurred that these 8000 might be the sum named by Isokrates, VIII, 126: vielleicht setzen sich die Isokr. Fried. 126 genannten 8000 Talente sogar aus den 5000 des Anonymus und den 3000 der Inschrift zusammen. But since he held firmly to 431/0 for Euthydemus, and also put Kallias' decree into that same year, he could make nothing of the idea. The full details of Perikles' budget of 449 B.C. are not yet entirely known, and our speculations

⁵⁸ Building accounts of the overseers of the statue are preserved (*I.G.*, I², 354-362; *S.E.G.*, X, 257-263), as well as the accounts of the overseers of the Parthenon (*I.G.*, I², 339-353; *S.E.G.*, X, 246-256 [cf. XII, 47, and XIII, 23]) and the Propylaea (*I.G.*, I², 363-367; *S.E.G.*, X, 264-266 [cf. XII, 48-50]).

⁵⁹ οἱ τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τὸν παρθενῶνα] προπύλαια λέγονται οἱ μέγιστοι πυλῶνες τῶν ἱερῶν. Παρθενὸν ναὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει παρθένου Ἀθηναῖς, περιέχων ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐποίησε Φειδίας ὁ ἀνδριαντοπλάστης ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος — — κτλ.

⁶⁰ See *A.T.L.*, III, p. 328, as quoted in note 62, below. For εἰς [τὰ Παναθήναια] to express the time of the transfer, cf., e. g., the scholion on Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 504, for the time of payment of tribute: εἰς δὲ τὰ Διονύσια ἐτέτακτο Ἀθήναζε κομίζειν τὰς πόλεις τοὺς φόρους.

⁶¹ Gomme, *Historia*, III, 1954/5, p. 337, finds it unlikely that Perikles could have consulted with his architects in 450/49 and devised a 15-year plan. In our opinion it was not only natural that Perikles should make a plan for the buildings, but that he should prepare also for the financing of them. Of course we agree with Gomme that he could not have foreseen the Samian War. This must have been one of the untoward events that slowed down the building program, so that in fact the architects had not finished by 434 B.C.

in *A.T.L.*, III,⁶² are not all proved quite up to the hilt by the *Anonymus*, but we are disposed to claim that line 8 gives our main deductions a very striking confirmation.

The 3000 talents were brought up to the Acropolis "for Athena" (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 46 [D1, lines 3-4]) and we infer that the 5000 had the same destination. The 5000 came from the *demosion*, and we infer that the 3000 did likewise, and that both alike came from the tribute of the Athenian allies.⁶³ This raises the question of where the *demosion* was located (on the Acropolis? or in the lower town?) and Kallias' ἀνεπέ-νεγκται strongly suggests that it was in the lower town. We had located it, earlier, on the Acropolis,⁶⁴ partly because this seemed the safest place, and also because Thucydides at II, 13, 3, implies that in 431 Athens had no important accumulated resources other than those on the Acropolis.⁶⁵ If, as we now believe, the *demosion* was in the lower town, this indicates that it contained no accumulations. We have always supposed this true for the kolakretai's account,⁶⁶ and we now reaffirm it for the hellenotamiai's account also,⁶⁷ and take it to be the settled policy after 449 B.C. that the hellenotamiai should accumulate no reserve.⁶⁸

We have assumed, then, that the 3000 talents shall be "carried up" from the hellenotamiai's current money in the *demosion*, over 15 years, presumably at the rate of 200 talents a year. This interpretation is strongly supported by the definition of money detailed for a repayment to the Other Gods in Kallias' decree of 434 (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 46 [D1, lines 5-7]): "the money which has been designated by decree for

⁶² Especially p. 328: "It is an economical interpretation of the evidence to assume that this decree [*sc.* the decree mentioned by Kallias (D1, line 4, and D2, lines 22-23)] is, in fact, the Papyrus Decree (D13), moved by Perikles in 449, in which the initial grant of 5000 talents was voted out of past reserves. But this was only one of the financial clauses, dealing with the past; presumably the 5000 talents were to be given to Athena on her birthday, only a short time hence, at the Panathenaia of 449. The second clause provided that thereafter a sum of 200 talents should be taken up to the Akropolis at every succeeding Panathenaic festival until an additional total of 3000 talents had been reached." We now feel more confidence also in our interpretation of what was planned in 421 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 355): "It is our belief that the same procedure was followed in 421 that had been followed in 449 — — with an initial instalment (all that was available) — — and then with succeeding annual instalments."

⁶³ This has been set forth *in extenso* by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 215-226.

⁶⁴ *A.T.L.*, III, p. 333 with note 24. Wilcken, *Hermes*, XLII, 1907, p. 397, note 1, thought that ἐν δημοσίῳ in line 6 could not be understood to mean "in the public treasury," an opinion in which we believe him wrong.

⁶⁵ See *A.T.L.*, III, p. 333. That later writers (e.g. Deinarchos) thought of the money of the hellenotamiai as lying on the Acropolis, we believe, proves only that it did in fact lie there after Perikles had so transferred it and does not help in placing the *demosion* from which it came.

⁶⁶ Cf. *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 337-339.

⁶⁷ That money for the hellenotamiai came into the *demosion* is implied by our papyrus (line 6), and confirmed by D3, line 10 (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 48), since Methone's "debts" can only be arrears of tribute. Cf. *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 336-337, 359-362. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 220-223, argues against Gomme's idea of a *demosion* separate from the chest of the hellenotamiai.

⁶⁸ See, especially, *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 327-332.

repayment to the Gods, money which the hellenotamiai have now in hand, other moneys of the same category, and whatever may be realized from the farming of the dekate." This money was from the same chest as that which had just been "taken up" to the Acropolis, and it shows, together with the Papyrus Decree, not only that the money of the hellenotamiai was in the demosion but also that the demosion was in the lower city.

The maintenance of the fleet was part of the Periklean program. Our decree provides that mastery of the sea shall be maintained and that the fleet shall not be starved for the sake of the buildings.⁶⁹ It was still the imperial fleet, and Athens more than ever the *ἡγεμών* now that practically all members of the Confederacy were paying in tribute rather than in ships: indeed, one hidden purpose of the Papyrus Decree was, no doubt, to make a good case—through the maintenance of the fleet—for collecting tribute in time of peace. The Council, which had charge of old triremes and of the building of new ones,⁷⁰ was to hand on each year the old ones in good condition (*ὕγιαις*: the word is from Thuc., VIII, 107, 2) and build ten new.⁷¹ We base our restoration of the lost part of line 11 on the report given by Diodoros (XI, 43, 3) of a motion made by Themistokles after the Persian Wars that the Athenians each year should build twenty new triremes in addition to those already on hand: *ἔπεισε δὲ τὸν δῆμον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ναυσὶν ἑκκοσι τριήρεις προσκατασκευάζειν*. If it is true for the years between 477 and 450 B.C., or even for a considerable part of that time, that the Athenians had built each year twenty new triremes, then the new decree of Perikles in 450/49 marked a lessening of the tension, and a slacking off of building from 20 to 10. This would be a consequence, presumably, of the Peace of Kallias. Our papyrus thus suggests that the fleet was being maintained, but on a peace-time, rather than a war-time, basis.⁷²

Perikles' motion, as our author reports it, was as follows: [to carry up] at [the Panathenaia for Athena] the money lying in the public treasury [which had been collected from the cities], a sum of 5000 talents, according to Aristeides' [assessment, and to carry up] to the Acropolis after that [a further 3000] during the period of

⁶⁹ The restoration [*θαλάσσης δ' ὅπως ἂν κρατῶσι*] seems to us a suitable transition from the buildings to the fleet and a fitting introduction to the provisions which follow for keeping the naval strength up to a satisfactory complement. Mention here of the supremacy of the sea holds closely to the agenda proposed in the Congress Decree. See above, p. 184, note 54.

⁷⁰ Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 46, 1: *ἐπιμελείται δὲ καὶ τῶν πεπονημένων τριήρων καὶ τῶν σκευῶν καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων, καὶ ποιέται καινὰς* — — —. Our restoration of line 10 takes its verb from this passage.

⁷¹ The phrase *ἕκασ[του ἐνιαυτοῦ]* in lines 10-11 is restored from the Old Oligarch, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, III, 4, where it occurs in a passage dealing with the Council's annual duty to adjudicate disputes about trierarchic liability.

⁷² Cf. especially *A.T.L.*, III, p. 89.

[construction; and in order to] maintain [control of the sea] the Council to [care for the] old triremes [so as to] hand them over [sound] and to build new ones in addition each [year, besides those already on hand, to the number of] ten.

A word must still be said about the value of this papyrus as evidence for the financial administration of Perikles. It repays, we believe, intensive study. We have tried to show in the preceding pages something of the nature of our author's interest and the methods of his work. His resumé, in Section II, of the decree of Perikles is a historical contribution of primary importance. We do not hold that we have recovered word for word the language which he used in making his summary, but we do claim that the structure of this section begins now to be clear⁷³ and that we may take our stand on the preserved portions of the papyrus with confidence in our interpretation, no matter what the precise restorations may be.⁷⁴

PART II: THE BEST TEXT OF THUCYDIDES

The text of II, 13, 3, as reported in the scholia on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, line 1193, reads (in part): τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο. The reference is to the 6000 talents which formed a reserve on the Acropolis, more or less constant, from 449 down to 431 B.C. The words which Thucydides has put into the mouth of Perikles are his statement that at the time of his speech (431 B.C.) most of them, lacking 300, still survived. We have argued¹ that this is what Thucydides wrote, and that the book-texts of this passage have been corrupted. Our critics (of whom A. W. Gomme has been the most articulate) have objected on several grounds, but particularly because the text we favor appears to them to be bad Greek.² Three statements in which Gomme makes this point are here quoted verbatim:

⁷³ There is no longer room for restorations to be put forward, for example, in which the proposer himself does not believe (cf. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, II [Oxford, 1956], p. 31, note 1).

⁷⁴ The value of the papyrus no longer depends on its missing letters, for the meaning, if not the words, has taken shape. We do not share the pessimism of Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 30). His most recent comments in *Historia*, III, 1954/5, pp. 333-338, have added little except a new metaphor which has been industriously culled by J. and L. Robert in *R.E.G.*, LXIX, 1956, p. 120. But they have simply repeated something which evidently struck their fancy: epigraphists by now have learned to know some of the vagaries of their bulletin.

¹ See Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, III, pp. 120, 129; A. W. Gomme, *Historia*, II, 1953/4, pp. 7-8; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 193-195; Gomme, *Historia*, III, 1954/5, pp. 333-335; *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, II (Oxford, 1956), pp. 27-28.

² Other scholars have thought the phrase not un-Thucydidean; cf. E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle: Le trésor d'Athènes de 480 à 404* (1908), pp. 107-111; M. Croiset, as quoted in *Actes du Congrès de Strasbourg* (Ass. Budé, 1939), p. 90; A. H. M.

I. *Historia*, II, 1953/4, pp. 7-8: Secondly, the scholiast's words, τὰ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα, 'the greater part less 300', do not make sense. Logic demands a *figure* which is short by 300. The authors of *A.T.L.* are of course aware of this, and therefore translate "the greater part, actually 5700 talents"; but the Greek for this is τὰ πλείστα, λέγω δὲ ἑξακισχίλια τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα—which is indeed to put it clumsily, and I am sure that had Thucydides wished to express 'this sum was still there less 300 talents', he would have written τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγω ἐλάσσω περιεγένετο (or, more probably, περιῆν). The supposed parallel to the scholiast's words, vii 57. 4, τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πλήν Καρυστίων ('the majority, that is to say, all except Karystos'), is exactly not parallel, for πάντες may take the place of the necessary numeral that is wanting in our passage. The argument therefore that the scholiast's version is consistent in itself — — — will not stand.³

II. *Historia*, III, 1954/5, p. 333: In *Hesperia*, xxiii, 1954, 185-231, Professor Meritt has replied at length to my contention (*Historia*, ii, 1953, 1-25) that the 'book-text' of this passage in Thucydides must stand and the text of the quotation in the *Ploutos*-scholion be rejected, and that the reconstruction of the story of Athenian finance from 454 to 431 made by the authors of *A.T.L.*, vol. iii, therefore, fails too. The main objection to the scholiast's text is, of course, that it does not make sense: Meritt does not find it so illogical; but in fact τὰ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα is not Greek for 'the greater part, that is, the figure just mentioned less 300', any more than 'the greater part less 300' is English for it. We must have either a figure from which to subtract 300, or a word like πάντα or τοσαῦτα which implies the figure just mentioned.

III. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, II (Oxford, 1956), p. 27: But much the greatest linguistic difficulty is that τὰ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα is a meaningless phrase: it should be translated 'the greater part less 300 tal.', not 'the greater part, that is, the sum just mentioned less 300 tal.' We should need τοσαῦτα or τὰ πάντα (cf. vii. 57. 4, τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες — — — πλήν Καρυστίων, the passage cited in *A.T.L.* to justify their translation), or the figure, from which a figure can be deducted; in fact, I am sure that Thucydides would have written τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγω ἐλάσσω περιεγένετο to express this meaning. A number then has been dropped by mistake in the scholion — — —.

In demanding that the whole, of which τριακοσίων is a part, must be made explicit,

Jones, in his review of Gomme's book in *The Cambridge Review* of Oct. 20, 1956, p. 61; F. M. Wassermann, in his survey of Thucydidean Scholarship from 1942 to 1956 in *Classical Weekly* (Vol. L, no. 5) of Nov. 30, 1956, p. 67.

³ This objection has been passed in review by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 193-195.

Gomme is insisting on what, for lack of a better term, we may call a “mechanical” logic, the sort of logic which Milton defies deliberately when he writes:

Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

Milton means (we know) fairest of all women, including her daughters and herself: “<fairer than> the fairest of her daughters.” He could no doubt have said this. He wrote as he did deliberately, we presume, because this informal or “non-mechanical” pattern pleased him. And it pleases his readers: it is the index of a certain energy and warmth in the process of his thought. Thucydides’ thought had not less energy, it was no more frigid, than Milton’s. Though he does not parade this fact deliberately, we must expect it sometimes to show through.⁴

Every reader of Thucydides will no doubt call to mind some particular instance of his informality of language, of his habit of taking more aboard than he can quite comfortably carry; and most readers of Attic prose will recognize how, e.g., Isokrates, lacking this warmth and energy of thought, achieved an idiom in some ways more lucid.⁵ For Thucydides, we offer an example from a group of passages (e.g., I, 23, 6; I, 138, 3; IV, 74, 4; V, 74, 1) where two or more superlatives modify each other. These passages do not follow one single pattern, and we believe that the group of them deserves more study. It will be enough here to take one of them, IV, 74, 4: *καὶ πλείστον δὴ χρόνον αὐτὴ ὑπ’ ἐλαχίστων γενομένη ἐκ στάσεως μετάστασις ξυνέμεινεν*, “of new forms of government which issue from civil strife, this was operated by fewest men and lasted for longest time.” The revolution took place in 424 B.C.; so that the new constitution cannot (at the outside) have lasted much more than twenty years when this sentence was written. *Μετάστασις ἐκ στάσεως* was fairly usual in Greece and had often lasted much longer than that. Thucydides means (perhaps) two things: (1) it had lasted longest in proportion to the numbers of men who operated the change, and (2) it had been operated by fewest persons in proportion to the time it lasted. Or rather: the “all-time high”⁶ to record is this record-breaking combination of few operators and long duration.

⁴ At I, 50, 2 (*αὐτὴ* — — — *μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς*), he uses the same figure, and is disclaiming comparison with later battles. The usage is rather more natural in Greek than in English; cf. *Iliad*, I 505, VI 295, XXIII 532. May it perhaps be said that some informality of logic is as native to early Greek as any substantial looseness is alien?

⁵ Of course the two chief masters of Attic prose, Plato and Demosthenes, sacrifice neither energy nor lucidity.

⁶ Probably neither of the superlatives is absolute, *sc.* he does not mean simply “by very few men” or “for a very long time.” The combination of superlative and demonstrative pronoun with the particle *δὴ* almost always registers some kind of record: cf. I, 1, 2; I, 50, 2; I, 74, 1; I, 138, 3 (*κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος*); II, 31, 2; II, 49, 1; etc. At V, 74, 1 (*πλείστον δὴ χρόνον μεγίστη δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν*) the words *πλείστον δὴ χρόνον* most probably mean (as Crawley translates them) “for a very long while,” and this is perhaps one of the singularities of that phrase.

Other examples could be quoted where compact and knotty thought issues in language which does not mean exactly what a frigid analysis might demand. Thucydides could break the formal pattern when he chose. Did he choose to break it in the way which we impute to him at II, 13, 3? It may be difficult to prove this on grounds of style alone, though it would not prove the contrary even if no passage can be found quite parallel in form and language.

In *A.T.L.*, III, p. 131, we adduced two passages, the first at I, 18, 1: οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ. On this we were wrong. Here πλὴν qualifies τελευταῖοι ("all that were left, except — — —") and not οἱ πλείστοι, which looks to quite other exceptions (Korinth, Samos). If we had given proper attention to the brief and excellent note in Gomme's commentary we would not have adduced it. But at VII, 57, 4 (τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πλὴν Καρυστίων, quoted by us, *ibidem*, in a rather misleadingly abbreviated form) we question the translation which Gomme gives in *Historia*, II, 1953/4, p. 7. He translates: "the majority, that is to say, all except Karystos," and says that this is "exactly not parallel" because of πάντες.

What Thucydides means in this passage is hardly in doubt, but "informal" is a mild word for the way he has said it. He has embarked (in VII, 57) on a complicated account of who is fighting whom, and why, and in spite of what. In 57, 4, what he has to say is this: "There are ten cities, subjects of Athens, and Ionians (note, however, that one is not subject and one not Ionian). They make a group of whom we may say that although their action is dictated nevertheless they are *Ionians fighting Dorians*." His words are: καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐρετριῆς καὶ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Στυρῆς καὶ Καρύστιοι ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἄνδριοι καὶ Τήνιοι, ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ Χῖοι. τούτων Χῖοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες φόρου ναῦς δὲ παρέχοντες αὐτόνομοι ξυνέσποντο. καὶ τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πλὴν Καρυστίων (οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Δρύοπες) ὑπήκοοι δ' ὄντες καὶ ἀνάγκη ὁμῶς Ἴωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς ἠκολούθουν. With this order of words it is only possible to take πάντες πλὴν Καρυστίων together (meaning "all except Karystos") if we attach them to οὗτοι and make them the subject of the sentence (meaning "all these except Karystos"). But this gives real nonsense: "all these except Karystos were mostly Ionians!" In fact, the subject of the sentence is οὗτοι πάντες, "all these," *sc.* "all ten of them, Chios and all,"⁷ and what is said of these ten, among much else, is that "they were mostly Ionians and Athenian colonists, except Karystos which was Dryopic." This, we submit, is not nonsense; and it is a reasonably close parallel to τὰ γὰρ πλείεστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγέμετο, "most of them, except three hundred, were still there."

⁷ Classen writes: οὗτοι πάντες weist bis auf die ὑπήκοοι καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς mit Einschluss der geographisch dazu gezählten Chier zurück.

If Gomme's contention about VII, 57, 4, be, as we understand him, that τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες πλὴν Καρυστίων is nonsense, while τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες, πάντες πλὴν Καρυστίων would be good sense, we may meet this contention with two simpler examples:

1. I, 2, 3: μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἢ ἀρίστη αἰεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων εἶχεν, ἢ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα.

“The richest districts were most constantly changing their inhabitants; for example, the countries which are now called Thessaly and Boeotia, the greater part of the Peloponnesus with the exception of Arcadia, and all the best parts of Hellas.” (Jowett)

2. VII, 23, 4: καὶ ἔνδεκα μὲν ναῦς τῶν Συρακοσίων κατέδυσαν, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτειναν, πλὴν ὅσον ἐκ τριῶν νεῶν οὓς ἐζώγησαν.

“They sank eleven ships of the Syracusans and killed most of the men, except the crews of three ships whom they made captive.”

Here is the same figure of speech, with “most of the Peloponnesos, except Arkadia,” and “most of the men, except the crews of three ships.” We submit that, logically, there is no distinction whatever between τὰ πλείστα at II, 13, 3, τὸ πλείστον at VII, 57, 4, τὰ πολλά at I, 2, 3, and τοὺς πολλοὺς at VII, 23, 4. It will make no difference to this argument if it should turn out (as is possible) that Thucydides did not write the words at I, 2, 3, as they now stand. The fact will remain that for many centuries this figure of speech has passed without protest as Thucydidean at I, 2, 3, at VII, 23, 4, and at VII, 57, 4.

At II, 13, 3, the word which means “excepting” or “lacking” is not πλὴν, but ἀποδέοντα. It is an exceedingly rare word, and occurs elsewhere in Thucydides only at IV, 38, 5, where the number of prisoners captured at Sphacteria is put at 292: ὀκτὼ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι. Indeed, there is no other arithmetic example of it, so far as we know, in any writer earlier than the Christian era. Δέω, on the other hand, is an extremely common word in expressing numbers: e.g., ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτη, δυοῖν δέουσαι δέκα νῆες. Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.*, VII, 3, 2), perhaps imitating Thucydides, has ἰππεῖς δυεῖν χιλιάδων ἀποδέοντες εἶναι δισμύριοι, but εἶναι is added after ἀποδέοντες. Plutarch often uses ἀποδέω in describing armies, usually in the sense of *absum*, *desum* (not *indigeo*), and his examples are hardly parallel cases to Thucydides, except once (*Demetrius*, 43, 2): μυριάδας δέκα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεύσας. Here the sense is that of *indigeo*, as in Thucydides, and it should be noted that the larger number from which the smaller is taken precedes, as it does in our text of Thuc., II, 13, 3: τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα. The same is true of a passage in

Longus (*Daphnis and Chloe*, I, 7: ὁ μὲν πέντε καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς, ἡ δὲ τοσούτων δυοῖν ἀποδεόντων, "he of fifteen years, she of like number lacking two"). It would be rash indeed to generalize from the single example of Thuc., IV, 38, 5, and to say that in II, 13, 3 a numeral (*sc. μύρια*) must have followed ἀποδέοντα. From Plutarch, and from Longus, one might also argue that a numeral, or its equivalent (*sc. τὰ πλείστα*) must precede τριακοσίων. The order was immaterial.

The reader of Thucydides will observe that in II, 13, 3-9, Perikles' exposition is made wholly dependent on the series of verbs of which Perikles is subject: ἐκέλευε, προσετίθει, ἀπέφαινε, ἔφη, ἐθάρσυνεν, ἀπέφαινε, ἔλεγε: these are the main verbs; the rest is *oratio obliqua*.⁸ In the three interruptions, on the other hand, we find that there are three main finite verbs: περιεγένετο [the book-texts have ἐγένετο], ἐφύλασσον (followed, after γάρ, by ἦσαν and ἔστι), and ὑπῆρχεν; that the subjects of these are, respectively, (a) τὰ γὰρ πλείστα, (b) τοσούτοι γάρ, (c) ταῦτα γὰρ — — καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων; and that these words annotate, respectively, the figures (a) ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων, (b) ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων, and (c) ἱππέας — — διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους — — ἑξακοσίους — — καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις — — τριακοσίας, if not indeed the whole chapter.

These three interruptions are of the same kind: Perikles names a figure, and Thucydides notes that the figure is just. They are like the footnotes that a modern writer might append to a document:

I. "Besides our annual income we have on the Acropolis a more or less regular reserve of 6000 talents." This figure was at the moment slightly reduced (to 5700) because of exceptional expenditures.

II. "We have, besides our hoplite force, a garrison force in reserve of 16,000 men." The high figure is explained by the great length of the wall which was kept manned; it is correct for the beginning of the war.

III. "We have 1200 cavalry, 1600 archers, 300 triremes." These three items were [or perhaps, *all the above resources were*], at the beginning of the war, fully up to standard.⁹

⁸ We do not include here the finite verbs in relative clauses.

⁹ For the reference of this note see *A.T.L.*, III, p. 119, note 2. We there inclined to the opinion (A) that the reference was only to the three items in II, 13, 8; but we noted the possibility of B, that all the items (those in II, 13, 3-6 included) were intended. The commentators are almost wholly silent on this issue. Some translators imply A: e.g., C. F. Smith in the Loeb Classical Library (1928—apparently influenced by Jowett), "For these were the forces, and not less than these in each branch, which the Athenians had — —." Others have the ambiguity of the Greek, e.g., R. Crawley in *Everyman's Library* (1876), who writes: "Such were the resources of Athens in the different departments when — —." But in fact Crawley's words would, we believe, be taken by most readers in sense B, and we are inclined now to think that his translation is, in this respect, just: that "in

The book-texts of II, 13, 3, change the first footnote altogether, and change slightly the Periklean statement that calls for the footnote:

“ Besides our annual income, we still have on the Acropolis a reserve of 6000 talents.” This figure had at one time been near 10,000 (9,700), but certain outgoings had brought it down.

In this form the footnote is not in any way absurd, yet it is less nearly parallel to the other two, and the particle *γάρ*, which introduces all three, will in this case have to refer pretty closely to the words *ἔτι τότε*. But these three interruptions in the shape of footnotes must be studied together.¹⁰ In the second and third it is evident that Thucydides is concerned to certify to the resources *when the war commenced*. If the book-texts are correct, we must assume that the first note has not kept as close as the other two to the situation in 431.¹¹ The only text which achieves this purpose and keeps the first footnote in harmony with the other two is that of the scholia: *τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο*. This, we submit, is a strong argument that the scholiast's text is what Thucydides wrote.

The book-texts of Thucydides I, 2, 3, have *Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας*, meaning “ the greater part of the Peloponnesos with the exception of Arkadia.”¹² But there is now a papyrus fragment covering this passage¹³ which has the variant *Πελοπόννησός [τε πλὴν Ἀρκαδί]ας*. We do not know which of these two versions Thucydides wrote, but we believe that they are synonymous and were found synonymous by the scribe who created the false variant, whichever that may be. Turner, who republishes the papyrus, claims that the scribe of the papyrus simplifies by writing *Πελοπόννησός τε* “ instead of the typically Thucydidean variation with the partitive genitive *Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλά*.” But whichever variant we prefer, there is no doubt about the meaning.

This small fragment of papyrus in Hamburg is of more than usual interest, for it is by far the oldest surviving witness to the text of Thucydides. Turner notes,

the different departments” does justice to *ἕκαστα*, and “ the resources of Athens” to *ταῦτα* — — — *Ἀθηναίους*. In sense A the gender of *ταῦτα* is not quite easy, though it may be explained by the fact that triremes are included (or we might compare Xenophon's use of the neuter participle *φρονρούμενα* in *Anabasis*, I, 4, 8). It is harder to explain why, in sense A, Thucydides wrote *ταῦτα* and not *τοσαῦτα* (or *τοσοῦτοι*); in sense B this is because some of the items (e. g., in II, 13, 4) were not exactly numerable.

If this is right, and if our text at II, 13, 3, is right, then the words *οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων* take account, in II, 13, 9, not only of Perikles' reported words but of Thucydides' careful qualification of them as well.

¹⁰ Cf. *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 118-119.

¹¹ This anomaly, with the difficulty it raises for the book-text, is stressed in *A.T.L.*, III, p. 128, note 23.

¹² See above, p. 192.

¹³ Hamburg papyrus 163, republished with a brief commentary, and dated *ca.* 250 B.C., by E. G. Turner, *J.H.S.*, LXXVI, 1956, pp. 96-98.

with acknowledgment to K. J. Dover, that the papyrus reads οὔτε μεγέθει [πόλε]ων ἰσχυρον οὔτε τῆι [ἄλλῃ] διανοίαι as a variant which it shares with H (Ms. Paris. gr. 1734) in place of the traditional οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἰσχυρον οὔτε τῆι ἄλλῃ παρασκευῆ. This appearance of διανοίαι instead of παρασκευῆ, Turner observes, confirms Hemmerdinger's view that H was collated with an independent tradition¹⁴ different from the canonical CGABEFM, and shows that one ancient tradition, possibly sounder than the generally accepted text, had διανοίαι at least as early as the middle of the third century B.C. Turner makes several very acute observations of more general applicability, for the number of variant readings found in the Hamburg fragments "in less than eighty words of Greek contrasts strikingly with the much closer conformity to the manuscript tradition found in the papyri of Roman date." This suggests that our "book-text" may have become more or less standardized by deliberate editing which excluded many sound readings known in earlier copies, some of which survived out of the main stream of the *textus receptus*. If διανοίαι and not παρασκευῆ be what Thucydides wrote (as Turner suggests) it is possible also that Πελοπόννησος is closer to Thucydides than Πελοποννήσου τὰ πολλά.

Returning for a moment to II, 13, 3, we find that τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο is rejected by Gomme not only for his reasons as given above, but also, *inter alia*, because he regards the μύρια of the traditional text τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο as stemming from the "best" text of Thucydides.¹⁵ He further asserts that "the later literary evidence supports it."¹⁶ The statement to which we here take exception is that the "book-text" is the "best text."

The belief that there exists a "best text" which will excuse us from exercising choice has been challenged many times, notably by Wilamowitz in 1921:¹⁷ "Notwendig ist für die gesamte Kritik, dass die Beurteilung der Handschriften sich von Vorurteilen befreit; Steup hat bei Hude nicht gelernt, C zu werten, Hude hat den Glauben an die "beste Überlieferung" noch nicht überwunden . . . Hier, wo wir eine reiche Überlieferung haben und ihre Schwankungen bis ins Altertum verfolgen können, ist die Textkritik schwer, aber sie kann auch etwas erreichen. Eklektisch muss sie sein; die richtige Methode ist, sich von dem freizumachen, was einst als Methode galt und Autoritätsglaube war. Nur muss Sprachkenntnis und Stilgefühl hinreichend vorhanden sein, dass das Richtige gewählt wird." We would add only the necessity

¹⁴ Bertrand Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris, 1955), pp. 55-60; cf. McGregor's review in *A.J.P.*, LXXVII, 1956, pp. 323-325.

¹⁵ *Historia*, III, 1954/5, p. 337: "I am only drawing a natural inference from the figure mentioned by three writers of the fourth century and the same figure found in the best text of Thucydides."

¹⁶ *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, II (Oxford, 1956), p. 28. For the view that the later literary evidence does not support it, see Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 215-220.

¹⁷ *Sitzungsb. Ak. Berlin*, 1921, pp. 317-318, quoted in the introduction (p. 7) of Luschnat's Teubner edition of Thucydides I-II (1954).

for Sachkenntnis as well. To argue that *μύρια* is correct because it is in the "best" text is no more legitimate than to argue that *μύρια* is wrong because it is not in the best text. The question is how to determine in any given instance what the best reading may have been.¹⁸ And for this other than internal criteria are sometimes necessary.¹⁹

In addition to the evidence adduced in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 230-231, for the validity of a so-called indirect tradition generally, there is now a summation by D. M. Lewis of evidence for variant editions of Thucydides.²⁰ And finally there is the evidence of these early papyri that readings different from those of the book-text (which has *μύρια*) were in existence within a century and a half of Thucydides himself, with some indication that these earlier variant readings may belong to a superior tradition. As Turner says, these papyri do indeed pose afresh the question of ancient editions. We believe that the validity of at least one of them is demonstrated by the scholiast's text of II, 13, 3, which we have found to be not only good Greek but sound history.

New modern texts of Thucydides are constantly appearing,²¹ but none has as yet used the modern aids of punctuation and parenthesis so as to make clear the remarkable structure of II, 13, 3-9. As the first footnote is put in parentheses, so ought the second and third footnotes of II, 13, 7, and II, 13, 9, to be put in parentheses too. If the text were being published today for the first time, the footnotes would of course be relegated to the bottom of the page in smaller type. As a visual aid to understanding, we offer such an arrangement here (the Perikleian statements in the main text, the Thucydidean justifications at the bottom of the page):

(3) *θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει αἰεὶ ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων,*²² (4) *χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκευὴ περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκύλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος {ἦν} ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων.* (5) *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρῆσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἦν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσίοις ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίου*

¹⁸ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 190-192. A. Dain's comment, "Il n'y a pas de bon manuscrit," is very much to the point (*Les Manuscrits*, Paris, 1949, p. 155).

¹⁹ See *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 230.

²⁰ *Towards a Historian's Text of Thucydides* (Diss. Princeton, 1952). Cf. especially the reading *Μέθανα* in IV, 45, 2 (Strabo, *Μεθώνη*, quod ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις invenit Strabo, codd.) [H. Stuart Jones *ad loc.*]. The dissertation is deposited in the Princeton University Library.

²¹ E. g., the Teubner edition by O. Luschkat, Books I-II (Leipzig, 1954).

²² (3) τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγέμετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἕς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτειδαίαν ἐπανηλώθη.

ἀπέφθου, καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστήσαι πάλιν. (6) χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑπαλξίν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων.²³ (8) ἰππέας δὲ ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἵπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας.²⁴

Athens was a wealthy city, on Greek standards, in most of the Fifth Century B.C.; her natural resources were large, her craftsmen exceptionally skilful; but her greatest asset was the military and political energy which made her, from 478 onward, the executive head of a very wealthy alliance. About the middle of the century this alliance changed in nature, since Athens now claimed to determine its action, and to expend its resources, at her own discretion. This change was chiefly the work of Perikles, whose influence was strong through most of the third quarter of the century. He argued (it seems) that Athens' obligation was to assure the alliance's defense, and that this could not be done without a revenue from the allies: if the defense was assured, Athens could use the revenue (and its accumulations) as she judged fit.

However we may define the doctrine, the consequences are not in doubt. Between 450 and 430 two things happened: first, the Parthenon and Propylaea were built and the Athenian Acropolis was given substantially the form which it has had ever since, and second, Athens embarked on a war with Sparta which was to ruin the fifth-century civilization. It is probable that neither of these two things would (or even could) have happened unless the Periklean doctrine had prevailed,—that Athens could use at her discretion the full monetary resources of the alliance.

We may, if we will, call the Acropolis buildings a positive achievement and the war with Sparta a disaster; but it is likely that in Perikles' thought there was always some connection between them, or at least between the unfolding of Athenian civilization and the affirmation of Athenian power. Of both these things, of the civilization and of the power, Athena was the symbol: the resources were therefore "given to Athena" or (more soberly) "taken up to the Acropolis," and were there available for either purpose. This was the idiom which Perikles shared with his countrymen.

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²³ (7) τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσαν τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλίται ἦσαν. τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα (ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ), τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἕξωθεν ἐτηρέιτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνιχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὄν ἦμισυ τούτου.

²⁴ (9) ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων, ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.