

IX. A New Papyrus of Aeschines

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Among the papyri in the collection of Professor David M. Robinson is a fragment of unknown provenance containing parts of two contiguous columns of Aeschines' *Κατὰ Κτησιφώντος*.¹ Column I consists of eight incomplete lines from §24, Column II of the beginnings of twelve lines from the latter half of §26 and the first part of §27. The text of the Robinson papyrus falls within the part of the oration found in *POxy*.1625, a second-century papyrus containing §§14–27. The overlapping portion of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus is so fragmentary, preserving from two to seven letters at the beginnings of lines, that it coincides with only a small fraction of the Robinson papyrus, and then without variation. These two papyri are the earliest extant texts of this part of the oration.

The text is written in black ink on the recto of a piece of poorly preserved light brown papyrus measuring 10.5 × 12.5 cm. The verso is blank. The sole evidence for dating the papyrus, therefore, is the character of its hand. Written in broad, carelessly formed letters of medium size, sloping very slightly to the right, the hand seems transitional between the square "strenger Stil" of the second century and the sloping oval hand of the third. While no exact parallels have been found, the script shares many characteristics with the Michigan Dioscurides² and *POxy*. 852, 1788, 2312, and 2322 on the one hand, and with *POxy*. 23 and the Michigan *Shepherd of Hermas*³ on the other. The straight-backed, two-stroke ε and the τ commonly form ligatures with the letter following; especially characteristic are the ligatures for εα and τα. The shafts of ρ, φ, ψ, and particularly υ extend well below the line. The projection of α is

¹ I am indebted to Professor H. C. Youtie for reading this paper, for offering several useful suggestions, and for placing at my disposal the excellent facilities of the University of Michigan Papyrological Seminar. The photographs of the papyrus were provided by a grant from the Committee on Faculty Research of the University of Mississippi.

² Campbell Bonner, "A Papyrus of Dioscurides in the University of Michigan Collection," *TAPA* 53 (1922) 142–46 and Plate III.

³ *Idem*, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, "Univ. Mich. Studies," Hum. Ser. 22 (Ann Arbor 1934) 14–20 and plates.

narrow and angular; quite broad are η and ν ; σ is small and set high; ω appears sometimes with well-formed center peak, sometimes with its base almost flat; μ is a wide, cursive-like character with a rounded trough and spreading down-strokes. There are no lectional signs in the papyrus. A high small apostrophe fills the space at the end of a short line (Column I, 6). Generally, the hand seems to accord best with those attributed to the late second or early third century of our era.⁴

A top margin is preserved above both columns; though torn and frayed, it measures 2 cm. at its widest point. The margin between columns is 2 cm. wide. The estimated width of each column is approximately 8 cm. The bottom is torn away diagonally, leaving about the top one-fourth to one-third of the height of the papyrus roll. The surface at the left, especially near the top, is badly eroded and encrusted with salt. The lower right quadrant had been detached, apparently by a dealer, and skilfully remounted higher up so as to form a more regular rectangle; in the photographs it is shown restored to its proper place.

The lines vary in length from 18 to 23 letters, with an average of 21 letters to the line. From the end of the preserved text of Column I to the top of Column II there is a lacuna of 694 letters (according to the text of Blass), which would yield 33 lines ± 1 . Added to the 8 lines preserved in Column I, they would constitute a column of approximately 41 lines. If the papyrus, like some codices, devoted a separate line to the title $\Psi\Phi\text{ΙΣΜΑ}$ in §24, the column would contain 42 lines. An additional text of 50 letters⁵ found in a few codices would, if present, lengthen the column to 44 lines. Since it is omitted in *POxy.* 1625, it is possibly a later interpolation, not to be reckoned with in the papyri.

If, then, we may assume columns of about 42 lines with an average of 21 letters to the line, the complete text of the *Κατὰ Κρησιφώντος*, including titles, would fill 111 columns in the papyrus roll.⁶ The length of the roll, with 8-cm. columns and 2-cm. intercolumnar margins, would be approximately 11 meters — somewhat longer than the normal papyrus roll, unless the writing were compressed

⁴ Cf. W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* (München 1925) Abb. 83–87 and pp. 124–31; also C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford 1955) Pl. 15c (late ii) and 20a (early iii) and commentary.

⁵ See the *apparatus criticus* in the Budé edition of Aeschines by V. Martin and G. de Budé, *ad loc.*

⁶ I calculate approximately 97,200 letters and 22 titles in the Budé text.

later in the manuscript.⁷ With a lower margin slightly wider than the upper, the roll may have been about 30 cm. in height.

The Robinson papyrus brings to fourteen the number of published papyri of Aeschines, and to eight the extant fragments of the *Karà Kḗsifṓwros*. Though far below Demosthenes and Isocrates in popularity, to judge from the number of manuscripts listed in Pack's register,⁸ Aeschines papyri now appear third in frequency among the Attic orators, seventh among Greek prose authors, and sixteenth among all the writers of Greek literature. All of the fourteen ancient fragments belong to the Roman period, and all except one to the second or third century.⁹ Eight of these were known and collated in 1927–28 by Martin and de Budé in establishing the text for their Budé edition of Aeschines.

From a comparison of the script, line length, and column dimensions of the Robinson papyrus with those of the other Aeschines papyri which are adequately described or of which plates are published, it appears that the new fragment does not belong to any roll previously encountered.¹⁰

⁷ Cf. W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*² (Berlin and Leipzig 1921) 52–53, and F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*² (Oxford 1951) 53–55. Schubart says that the papyrus roll seldom exceeded 7 to 10 meters in length; Kenyon, that 35 feet (10.7 meters) "may be taken to be the extreme limit of a normal Greek literary roll." But the length of the Michigan Demosthenes papyrus containing the oration *Kar' 'Aristokrátwros* (P. Mich. Inv. 5472) is calculated by the editor to have slightly exceeded 11 meters (Elinor M. Husselman, "Two Literary Papyri from Karanis," *TAPA* 76 [1945] 121). It is impossible, of course, to estimate the length of a roll accurately from a small fragment, since the size of the script, the number of letters to the line, and the number of lines to the column often vary considerably within the same roll.

⁸ Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1952). Pack's list includes, for Demosthenes, 75 papyri; Isocrates and Plato, 35 each; Thucydides, 31; Xenophon, 25; and Herodotus, 21. Pack lists 10 Aeschines papyri. Below Aeschines fall Lysias, 5; Hyperides, 4; Isaeus and Lycurgus, 2 each; and Antiphon, 1.

⁹ A convenient summary of the twelve texts published up to that time is presented by Marie-Thérèse Lenger, "Un Papyrus d' Eschine: Contre Timarque, §§53–54," *Phoibos* 5 (1950–51) 88–89. To her catalog are to be added *PHamb.* 2.165, a second-century papyrus of *Karà Kḗsifṓwros* §§194–200 (erroneously stated in the title as §§94–200: see B. Snell, *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* 2 [Hamburg 1954] 111), and now the P. Robinson Inv.1.

¹⁰ The closest apparent parallel is *PHamb.* 2.165 (above, note 9), which presents lines of approximately the same length and letter count, columns of nearly the same height (40 lines), and margins within the usually tolerated variations. No photograph is published, however; the hand is described by the editor as "Schöne Buchschrift etwa des 2. Jahrh. n. Chr." Professor Ulrich Fleischer, who very kindly compared a photograph of the Robinson fragment with the original of *PHamb.* 2.165, has written me

P. Robinson Inv. 1
Provenance unknown

10.5 cm. × 12.5 cm.

Late ii or
early iii A.D.

Column I

- (§24) [το θε]ωρ[ικον α]ρ[χη]ν α[ρ]χω
[δε την τ]ων τειχοπο[ιων ο]νδ[ε]
[τερας] . . . ν πω των αρχων
[τουτω]ν λογον υμειν ουδ ευθυ
5 [νας δ]εδωκως ταυτ ηιδη πει
[ρασμο]ι διδασκειν υμας εκ'
[των δημοσιω]ν γραμματων
[και μοι αναγνωθι ε]πι τινος
-

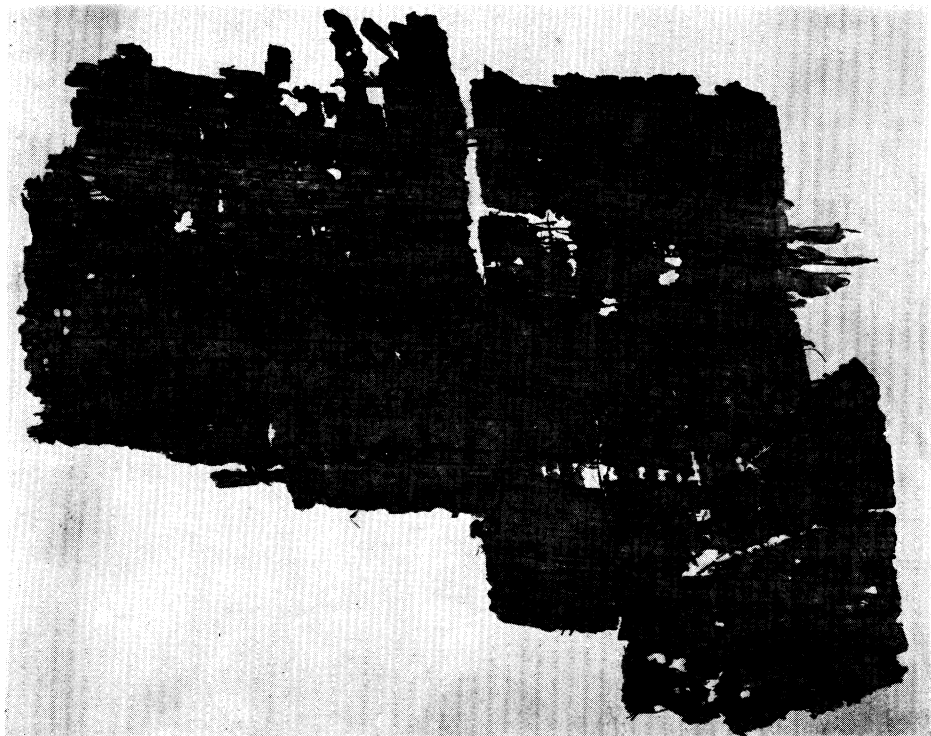
Column II

- (§26) τουτον [ουκ εα πριν αν λο]
γον και ευθ[υνας δω στεφα]
νον Κτη[σιφων δε Δημο]
σθενην [τον συλληβδην απα]
5 σας τας Αθη[ησιν αρχας]
αρχοντα ουκ [ωκνησε γρα]
(§27) ψαι στεφανωσ[αι ως τουνυν]
και την των τ[ειχοποιων αρ]
χην ηρχεν οθ [ουτος το ψηφισ]
10 μα εγραψεν κα[ι τα δημοσια]
[χ]ρηματα διεχ[ειριζε και επι]
[β]ολαζ επεβα[λλε
-

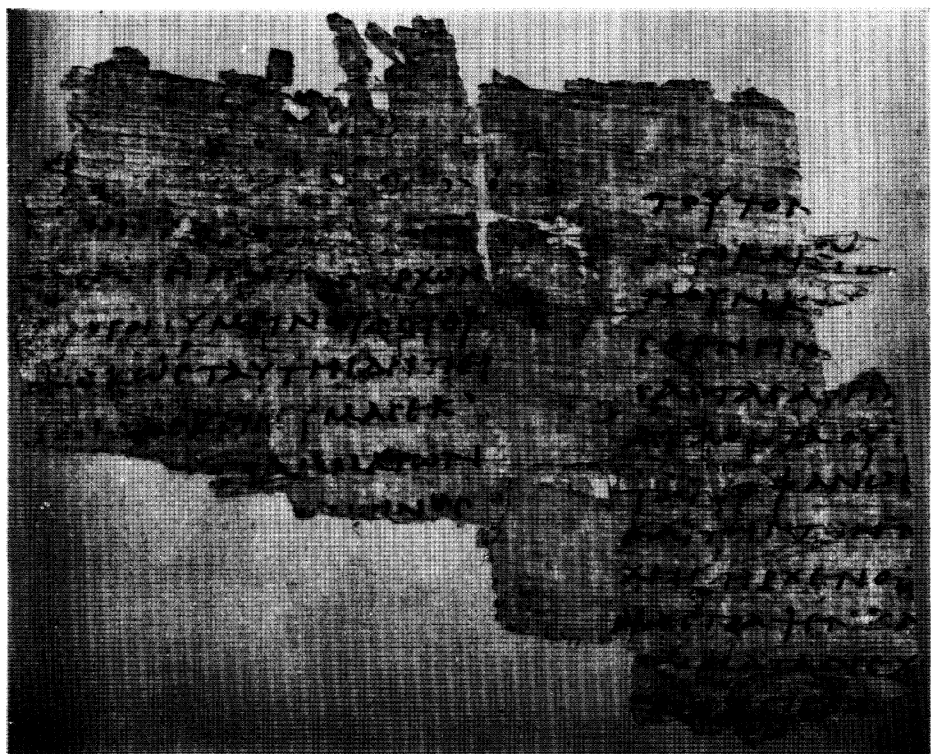
COMMENTARY

The text has been collated with the Teubner texts of F. Blass (ed. maior,² 1908) and F. Schultz (1865), the Budé text of V. Martin and G. de Budé (vol. 2, 1928), and with *POxy.* 1625. Variant readings in the codices

(on 7 November 1955): "Erkannte ich auf den ersten Blick, dass das Hamburger Fragment von dem der Robinson-Sammlung völlig verschieden ist. Es handelt sich nicht etwa nur um einen Unterschied der Hände, sondern um eine vollständige Verschiedenheit des Stiles der Schrift. Das Hamburger Fragment zeigt etwas von der Schreibart, die Schubart den strengen Stil der ersten Jahrhunderte der Kaiserzeit genannte hatte. Das o mikron ist gross geschrieben, das T gleicht dem lateinischen V. . . . Das blosse Nebeneinanderhalten beider Stücke zeigt eindeutig, dass sie nicht zu derselben Rolle und wohl auch kaum zu derselben Zeit gehören können. . . . Glaube ich ohne weiteres sagen zu können, dass das Fragment "Robinson" älter ist, als der Hamburger Papyrus."



P. Robinson Inv. 1 (tungsten photograph)



P. Robinson Inv. 1 (infra-red photograph)

are cited by the sigla used by Blass. Readings of mss not collated by Blass are cited with sigla assigned by the editors named in parentheses, from whose apparatus the readings are drawn.

The readings of the papyrus which depart from the mediaeval manuscript tradition support the eclectic principle ably presented by Martin and de Budé in their *Introduction* vi-xxvi.¹¹

Column I

1-2. The surface of the papyrus is so badly eroded that the scattered traces of ink in lines 1 and 2 cannot be read. The traces remaining seem to fit Blass' text, in as far as they are preserved. No evidence can be deduced for or against ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν, Blass' emendation (from §25 and following Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.1, 47.2) of the reading ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ (τῶν θεωρικῶν h) of the mss and POxy. 1625. Any of these readings could be accommodated within the limits of the lines in our papyrus.

3. The illegibility of the first four letters which are preserved poses a difficult problem. Blass and other modern editors, following Bekker, read οὐδετέρας δέ πω τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων, where d, f, and q omit δέ; A (Martin), e, k, p, and Vat. omit πω; and l reads οὐδετέρας δέ τούτων τῶν ἀρχῶν. POxy. 1625 is too fragmentary to afford help here. The text of our papyrus, however illegible, differed from all these. The traces of νθ at the end of line 2 seem to confirm ο]νθ[ετέρας, and the legible portion of line 3 assures πω τῶν ἀρχῶν [τούτω]ν. In the five intervening letter spaces, the ν immediately preceding πω appears certain. A δ in the first space, which seems to appear on both the tungsten and infra-red photographs, would suggest δ[έ]; but close examination of the papyrus itself leaves the δ, and hence the δέ, very doubtful. If one could assume δέ, there would remain space for a three-letter word ending with ν, preserved in no other ms. Since the sense of the clause seems complete without any additional word, Professor H. C. Youtie suggests that the word to be sought is a particle, possibly μὴν. The traces preceding ν may indeed fit η, but the next preceding letter offers little suggestion of a μ. Perhaps we should seek instead a five-letter word with final ν. No such suitable word has as yet suggested itself. πω, common enough in Isocrates, Lysias, and especially Demosthenes, occurs only here in Aeschines; cf. οὐ μὴν πω Dem. 19.22; οὐδὲ νῦν πω 47.7 (also Isoc. *Pan.* 23); οὐ τοίνυν . . . πω 23.163; νῦν δ' οὐδ' ὁποιαντιοῦν πω 51.6; except for οὐδέν (μηδέν) πω, I find no other instances of -ν πω in the Attic orators.¹²

¹¹ See also the discussion of PHamb. 2.165 by Snell (above, note 9) 111-12. He quotes in point Wilamowitz (*Platon* 2. 335): "Wir sollten doch aus den Papyri des Aischines . . . gelernt haben, dass die Unterscheidung der potiores und deteriores . . . in die Irre führt . . . denn die Papyri sprengen diese Klasseneinteilungen."

¹² The referee of this paper suggests that the reading may be an intrusive and erroneous αρχην. Apart from one's reluctance to assume an 'intrusive and erroneous' reading in an illegible passage or lacuna, a reëxamination of the original affords little support for αρχην. . . Traces of the first and third letters (no trace of the second survives) differ from the forms of α and χ elsewhere in this papyrus.

4. *υμειν*: read *ὕμιν*; *ὕμιν λόγον ε.*

5. *ταυτ ηιδη*: read *ταῦτ' ἤδη*, with mss and edd. Flor. reads *ταύτη δῆ* (cited by Schultz). *ταύτη δῆ*, a possible reading of the papyrus, is not attractive. There is no opportunity elsewhere in the papyrus to determine whether the scribe writes iota adscript or omits it.

6. *διδασκειν υμας*: *ὕμᾱς διδάσκειν* Blass, codd. The reading of the papyrus avoids hiatus. On hiatus, see Blass' *Praefatio* iv-vii. The apostrophe at the end of the line, though of unusual form, appears to be merely a space filler; it is not placed close to the preceding *κ*, but midway in the space. Such a mark is occasionally found after *κ* to indicate a word or syllable division, especially in Byzantine minuscule mss. (See V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie* 2 [Leipzig 1913] 397-99 and 406-7.)

Column II

1-2. *λο|γον*: *λόγους* codd.; the papyrus confirms the emendation of C. Scheibe (in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paed.* 68 [1853] 156), adopted by Blass and all modern editors.

3. *Κτη[σιφων δε: ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν* codd., retained by Martin and de Budé. Blass' emendation, *Κτησιφῶν δέ*, is thus established by the papyrus as an ancient reading. This is the shortest line of the papyrus, having only 18 letters; the average is 21, although three lines in Column II contain only 19. It is scarcely to be imagined, however, that a particle not preserved in the codices occurred in the lacuna.

4. *Δημο|σθενην*: unnecessarily deleted by Poutsma.

4-5. *απα|σας*: *ε, κ, and ι* (Blass' group A) omit *ἀπάσας*. *τας Αθην[ησιν αρχας*: *ρ* reads *τὰς ἀρχὰς Ἀθήνησιν*.

6. *αρχοντα*: *ἄρχοντα* codd.; *ἔχοντα* h Barb. Schultz emended to *ἄρχοντ'*, to avoid hiatus.

9-10. *ψηφισ|μα*: *ψήφισμ'* Schultz. Although in Column I, line 6 the papyrus avoids hiatus where the mss allow it, hiatus is tolerated here as in line 6 immediately above. *εγραψεν*: so *z* (Schultz): *ἔγραψε* Blass and codd.

11. *χ|ρηματα*: so codd.: *γράμματα* h (Schultz). *διεχ[ειριζε*: so most codd. and Blass: *διενεχειρίζε* Bern (Schultz), *διηγείριζε* Ald. (Schultz).

11-12. *επιβ|ολας*: so Blass and most codd.: *ἐπιβουλάς* c h l (Schultz).