

### Notes on the Text of the *Ath. Pol.*

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Aristotle's *Athênaiôn Politeia* (*AP*) has been edited again and again since the first edition by F. G. Kenyon (London 1891). For scholars, the most important editions are:

Kenyon, eds. 1, "2" (a reprint with a sheet of nine corrections), 3 (London 1891, 1892); ed. 4 (Berlin 1903, in the *Supplementum Aristotelicum* 3.2). His Oxford text, 1920 etc., might be called a fifth edition but has only a brief *apparatus*.

H. van Herwerden and J. van Leeuwen (Leiden 1891).

G. Kaibel and U. v. Wilamowitz (eds. 1, 2, Berlin 1891; ed. 3, Berlin 1898).

F. Blass (eds. 1-4, Leipzig 1892, 1895, 1898, 1903, the fourth reprinted 1908).

Blass's edition was the basis for that of Th. Thalheim (Leipzig 1909, reprinted 1914); this in turn was revised by H. Oppermann (Leipzig 1928, reprinted with addenda 1961).

J. E. Sandys (eds. 1, 2, London 1893, 1912).

Of all these editions, only those of Kenyon and Blass are based on a complete and direct collation of the famous British Museum papyrus No. 131. Kaibel and Wilamowitz, in their third edition, used the report of readings made by Ulrich Wilcken, who had already published certain findings in *Hermes* 30 (1895) 619-623. Van Herwerden and van Leeuwen worked only from the facsimile of the papyrus issued by the British Museum (eds. 1, 2, 1891); their edition remains valuable for its generally precise apograph of the text as the papyrus gives it. I am not here concerned with the two small fragments of the text, from a later papyrus, in Berlin; these were best edited by H. Diels, *Abh. Berl. Ak.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1885, 2.1.

Kenyon's fourth, or Berlin, edition is the most nearly accurate critical text and has by far the most informative *apparatus*. It is therefore the foundation for any possible improvements in our knowledge of the text as preserved in the papyrus. In 1965 I

collated the London papyrus and wish to present some corrections to Kenyon<sup>4</sup> and some new readings. The question arises at once whether any improvement is possible in a text that has been studied by such great scholars as Kenyon, Blass, and Wilcken. In fact, the residual errors in Kenyon<sup>4</sup> are few, and their over-all effect is to confirm the excellence of this edition. So that the reader may control some of these corrections for himself, I offer a few specimens where the right reading is visible in the British Museum's facsimile.<sup>1</sup>

First, I give three places at which the text of Kenyon<sup>4</sup> prints a reading that cannot be confirmed from the papyrus; next, six places at which a wrong reading appears in Kenyon's apparatus; and finally, six cases in which Kenyon silently corrects an error in the papyrus.

Col. and line in facsimile	Page and line in Kenyon <sup>4</sup>	Chapter and sect. of <i>AP</i>	Kenyon's text (or apparatus)	Papyrus
10.21	28.22	25.1	δε επτακαιδεκα	δεπτακαιδεκα
27.12	59.1	53.4	οι δε εφηβοι	οι δεφεηβοι
28.32	63.22	56.3	τω] τριακοντορωι	τ]ωι τριακοντορωι
13.3	34.32	31.1	πολιτιαν	πολειτιαν
13.21	35.10	31.2	συνβουλευεσθαι	συνβουλευσθαι
17.44	40.8	38.3	αποστατος <i>ante corr.</i>	αποστατος
19.9	41.15	39.6	ειουτως <i>ante corr.</i>	ειθυτως
23.29	48.14	44.4	τω δημω δοκη	τω δημωι δοκηι
27.43	61.8	54.7	επ[τ]ηρις <i>ante corr.</i>	επ[τ]ερις
6.13	18.15	16.2	πραος	πραος
13.41	35.21	32.3	ενατηι	ενατη
17.19	39.20	37.2	λακεδαμονιοι	λεκεδαμονιοι
18.14	40.19	38.4	ολιγαρχια	ολιγαρχια
26.40	55.13	52.1	κληρω	κληρω
30.42	74.7	63.2	βακτηριας	ιακτηριας

These examples, minor though they are, show that Kenyon's fourth edition still remains open to verification and improvement. I turn now to some other places requiring further discussion.

**Col. 1.42, AP 4.1.** ἡ δὲ τάξις αὐτῇ (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). Both Kenyon and Blass interpreted the mark after the *tau* of *αυτ-* as the supra-

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mr. T. C. Skeat, the Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, for his kind advice.

linear comma-like abbreviation for  $-\eta\varsigma$ , often used by the first of the four scribes who copied out the text. But since  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  is not grammar, both these editors assumed a corruption and emended to  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$ .<sup>2</sup> Wilcken, on the other hand, read this supralinear mark as *omicron*, which is an equally common abbreviation for  $-\sigma$ . My own examination of the papyrus, made in the presence of T. C. Skeat, convinces me that Wilcken was right. The photograph, figure 1, shows that the *omicron* is nearly complete and a fair amount of its left side is preserved. A ligature links it directly with the initial letter of the following word,  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\delta\epsilon$ . For Wilcken's testimony, see *Hermes* 30 (1895) 620 and his article in *XLVII. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner, Apophoreton* etc. (Berlin 1903) 85–98.

The establishment of the reading  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  is of some historical importance. Kurt von Fritz has recently asserted that "there is no specifically Dracontian constitution in Aristotle's work": *CP* 49 (1954) 83–84. He seeks support for this view in the phrase  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\Delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , "in the time of Draco," used to refer to the constitution of Chapter 4 when Aristotle resumes the whole series of constitutions in Athens, at the end of the historical part of the *AP* (41.2). It is true that this phrase, by itself, would not prove that Aristotle thought of Draco as the maker of a constitution; but the force of the argument based on the word  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  is considerably weakened by the fact that it is also used, at 41.2, to refer to Solon's constitution ( $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\Sigma\acute{o}\lambda\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ), and there can be no doubt that Aristotle considered Solon as a maker of a constitution:  $\text{πολιτείας κατέστησε}$  (7.1). But if we were to follow Kenyon and Blass in reading  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$  (which von Fritz quoted without referring to the controversy over the reading), we could translate the relevant clause at 4.1 as "this constitution took the following form." The acceptance of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  forces us to translate "his (sc. Draco's) constitution took the following form." Therefore the fourth century knew a tradition assigning Draco a constitution. Whether there ever actually was a Dracontian constitution, and whether Aristotle was the author of the much-disputed Chapter 4, need not be discussed here.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In his fourth edition, Blass went back to  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  but printed it between brackets.

<sup>3</sup> For the record, I hold that there was never in fact such a constitution, that Chapter 4 is an interpolation, and that the interpolator and/or author of Chapter 4 may or may not have been Aristotle; see J. Day and M. Chambers, *Aristotle's History of Athenian Democracy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962) 198.

**Col. 2.24, AP 5.3.** Solon reproaches some Athenians for their  $\phi\iota[\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho]\iota\alpha\nu$  (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). The facsimile shows that the word ended in  $-\iota\alpha\nu$ , and in the original  $\phi\iota-$  or even  $\phi\iota\lambda-$  can be read. Wilcken's final reading, as reported by Kaibel and Wilamowitz, was  $\phi\sigma \dots \epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ . Kenyon took a hint from Plutarch, *Solon* 14, where Solon is said to have objected to some people's  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\nu$ , and restored  $\phi\iota[\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho]\iota\alpha\nu$ , while Kontos and others opted for  $\phi\iota[\lambda\omicron\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau]\iota\alpha\nu$ . Now the *iota*, on which all agree, is joined to a previous letter, which I think was *tau*; and before that there seem to be the two wings of a fairly wide-spreading *upsilon*. The most likely reading is  $\phi\iota\lambda[\omicron\pi\lambda\omicron]\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha\nu$ ,<sup>4</sup> proposed by Blass in his third edition but abandoned in his fourth in favor of Kenyon's restoration. The one serious objection to  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha\nu$  is that it cannot be fitted into the second line of an elegiac couplet, which is what Aristotle seems to be quoting at 5.3. An escape from the dilemma is possible if we conjecture that Aristotle slipped and quoted Solon wrongly, perhaps by relying on his memory of familiar poetry. This suggestion is not so desperate as it might seem. Even classical authors could be misquoted. Plutarch, for example, notably misquotes Aeschylus in his *Aristides* 3, where he cites *Septem* 592 as  $\omicron\upsilon \gamma\grave{\alpha\rho} \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ , the right reading being  $\omicron\upsilon \gamma\grave{\alpha\rho} \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda$ .

**Col. 2.45, AP 7.3.** Solon distributed  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}[\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda]\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). The letters  $\mu\epsilon$  and  $\alpha\varsigma$  are certain, as the facsimile shows, and between these pairs there are further traces. Kenyon and Wilcken (*ap.* Kaibel-Wilamowitz) stated that either *lambda* or *tau* could be read before  $-\alpha\varsigma$ ; thus one could restore either  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (Kenyon) or  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (Blass, in his first edition; his  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  in his fourth ignores the definite traces within the lacuna). In fact, the letter before *alpha* slants downward and to the right, rather sharply; it seems to be *lambda*. Before it one can see a diagonal slanting upward and to the right, like the left leg of *alpha*. The most likely reading is  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ . This was indeed proposed by von Fritz and Kapp in their annotated translation

<sup>4</sup> I propose to use dots under letters to indicate both broken letters whose identity is fairly certain and letters whose identity is not certain. This system allows a regrettable ambiguity at times. But the distinction between "uncertain" and "broken but certain" letters is often highly subjective. Any system of notation purporting to keep these two classes of letter separate is bound to be unsatisfactory, and I see no alternative to the custom of using dots.

of the *AP* (New York 1950), page 155; to their citation of *Pol.* 1282A41, for the phrase *μεγάλαι ἀρχαί*, “important offices,” we may add (from Bonitz) 1299B29.

**Col. 3.15, AP 8.1.** Each tribe selected ten candidates for the nine archonships, καὶ <ἐκ> τούτων ἐκλήρουν (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). Kenyon saw του . . . . . ληρουν in the papyrus, but even before the *lambda* there are visible the rightward stroke of an *epsilon* leading into *kappa* and the vertical stroke of the *kappa*; thus ἐκλήρουν may be read. Kenyon also saw some traces above the line, after του. I was able to read these traces as τους, which was probably written above the line in correction of something else now illegible. I therefore suggest the reading καὶ τούτους ἐκκληρουν: “and they used to assign these men to the offices by lot.” I agree with Kenyon that the reading καὶ τοὺς θ’ ἐκλήρουν, proposed by Kaibel-Wilamowitz (suggested by Wilcken?) is too short for the space.

**Col. 3.45, AP 10.2.** The mina, πρότερον ἕχ[ο]υσα (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>) a weight of 70 drachmae, was now brought up to 100. Kenyon’s reading, adopted in his fourth edition, was also that of Wilcken; these scholars were followed by Kaibel-Wilamowitz<sup>3</sup>, Blass<sup>4</sup>, and Sandys<sup>2</sup>. The first letter after πρότερον seems to begin with a long vertical stroke compatible with *epsilon*, but a tear in the papyrus at the bottom of this stroke makes it look longer than it really is. Both Skeat and I read this letter as *alpha*, which points toward the reading ἄγ[ο]υσα. This was in fact read by Blass and Sandys in their first editions and should, in my opinion, be adopted. Compare ἀγούσας in the same chapter, *infra*.

**Col. 7.24, AP 18.3.** As Hipparchus was conducting the procession in 514, the two tyrannicides feared that their plot had been exposed. They descended from the Acropolis, made their move (προεξαναστήσαντες) earlier than τῶν [ἄλλω]ν (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>), and killed him. Kenyon calls his reading “lectio incerta”; Kaibel-Wilamowitz print [ἐτέ]ρων, but in their *apparatus* they record Wilcken’s reading, τ(ων) ισρων.<sup>5</sup> I believe that Wilcken’s reading accurately represents the letters in the papyrus and that it offers the basis for a correct reconstruction. One can see the lower half of *iota*, a curved stroke compatible with the bottom of a lunar *sigma*, the tail of *rho*, a short vertical that could be the middle

<sup>5</sup> The word τ(ων) is written, in abbreviated form, τ’.

stroke of *omega*, and a nearly complete *nu*. But the letter following *iota* could equally well be *epsilon*. I propose the reading τῶν ἱερῶν: the tyrannicides went into action before "the sacred ceremony" (τὰ ἱερά) began.

**Col. 15.41–42, AP 35.2.** The Thirty, among other actions, took down from the Areopagus those of Solon's laws that were controversial, i.e. διαμφισβητήσεις εἶχον (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). Kenyon's *apparatus* here does not quite record the actual text of the papyrus. This portion was copied by the second scribe, who wrote διαμφιζβηθε[ι]χον in line 41 (the *beta* was written over another letter, which I cannot read). Then, above δε[ι], he added της or perhaps even τησεις, of which the *tau* survives complete. Apparently dissatisfied with this patchwork correction, he began the next line, 42, with εις ιχον, which the fourth hand corrected by adding *epsilon* above the line. The incorrect *zeta* in line 41 was left unchanged, but the faintness of ε[ι]χον at the end of 41 suggests that one or the other scribe tried to erase it, perhaps because it extends beyond the line.

**Col. 18.41, AP 39.4.** δ[έκ]α ἡμερῶν (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>, Blass<sup>4</sup>, Kaibel-Wilamowitz<sup>3</sup>). There is a subjective element in the use of brackets, and an even greater one in the use of dots (which Kenyon in fact rarely used), in editing papyri and inscriptions; one should not quarrel over these without good reason. This is one place where the brackets give a false impression. As the photograph, figure 2, shows, one can see the complete *delta*, part of the upper arc of *epsilon*, the middle horizontal stroke connecting *epsilon* with *kappa*, and the vertical of *kappa* (a tear in the papyrus, which cannot be distinguished from ink in the photograph, makes the vertical look longer than it is). The presence and identity of these two letters need not be doubted, but since they are incomplete one should edit the word as δέκα.

**Col. 25.13, AP 47.2.** The *pôlêtai* are in charge of mines, including those in working order, which are leased for a term of three years, and also τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τὰ εἰς . εἴ[τη]. (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>, Blass<sup>4</sup>). The question is the length of the lease on these mines, which are of doubtful productivity and are leased, or perhaps assigned without rent. The word εἴ[τη]<sup>6</sup> is preceded by a numeral, as a horizontal stroke above the line shows. Kenyon

<sup>6</sup> I read εἴ[τη] with Kenyon against εἴ[τη] (Blass).



FIGURE 1. *AP* 4.1, η δ' (=δε) ταξίς αυτο (=αυτου) τονδ' (=τονδε)

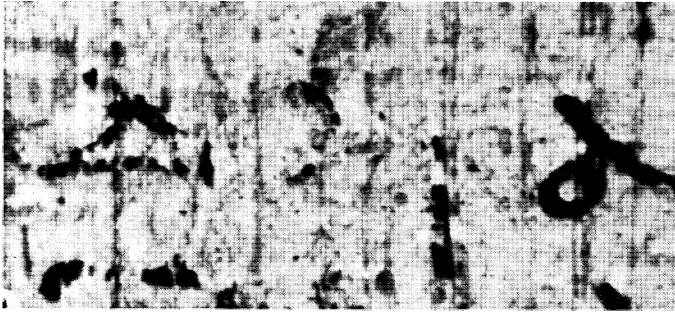


FIGURE 2. *AP* 39.4, δεκα

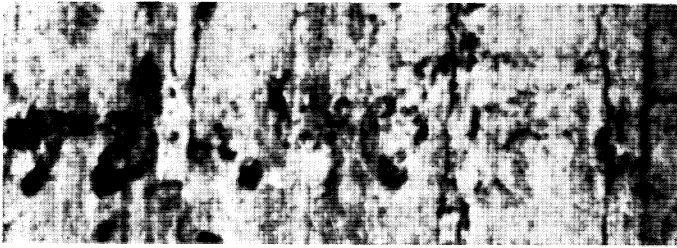


FIGURE 3. *AP* 47.2, τα εις γ' ε[τη



FIGURE 4. *AP* 47.2, οσ]α αν πριηται

stated that the numeral could be either 3 (*gamma*) or 10 (*iota*), and in his Oxford edition of 1920 he restored *iota* as being more probable on historical grounds (we might reply that the Athenians would not allow mines that might become productive to pass out of their hands for as long as ten years). In any case, I believe that Wilcken was right in reading the numeral as *gamma* (so printed by Kaibel-Wilamowitz<sup>3</sup>). Beneath the horizontal stroke one can see the two faint strokes of *gamma*; the upper stroke is not quite horizontal but slants downward to the left. Unfortunately, the *gamma* can be seen only dimly in the photograph, figure 3.

But even though *gamma* seems to be the reading of the papyrus, it is open to two objections. First, Kaibel pointed out a stylistic problem. Aristotle has just referred, in the same sentence, to mines in working order which are leased for three years; if he had then gone on to speak of another class of mines, also leased for three years, he would have included both kinds of mine within one clause: *Stil und Text der Πολ. Ἀθ. des Aristoteles* (Berlin 1893), 214 (followed by Sandys<sup>2</sup>). This kind of reasoning about an author's style may not be conclusive, but a second objection to *gamma* has been raised by M. Crosby in her exemplary edition of the relevant inscriptions: "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 189–312, especially 199–201. Such evidence as the inscriptions provide points toward a lease of *seven* years for the second class of mine. Also, Hyperides (4.35–36) mentions a man who had worked his mine longer than three years and was then confirmed in possession of the rest of his lease, which must therefore have been for a longer term than three years. The best answer to the problem is to assume that *gamma* was wrongly copied from the preceding clause and to restore the text with *zeta*, "seven."

**Col. 25.16, AP 47.2.** When a man rents a contract to collect taxes, the *pôlêtai* record his name and [ᾧσιν] ἂν πρίηται (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). But Wilcken (in Kaibel-Wilamowitz<sup>3</sup>) and Blass read [ᾧσ]α, rightly: before ἂν there is a diagonal stroke slanting downward and to the right, a clear indication of *alpha* (see figure 4). The *pôlêtai* are to record "how many taxes" (or "the value of the taxes") the man is renting.

**Col. 28.45, AP 56.6.** Among the lawsuits that can be tried before the archon, Aristotle lists a case in which one may demand liquidators, if the partners to an enterprise cannot agree on a method of liquidation, εἰάν τις μὴ θέλῃ κοινὰ [τὰ ὄντα νέμεσθαι]



(Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). The last six words of that phrase are quoted and ascribed to Aristotle in the *Lex. Cantabr.*, s.v. *εἰς δατηρῶν <αἵρεσιν>*, and they seem to fit the space in the papyrus. But the word following the assumed *νέμεσθαι* is *εἰς*, and just before *εἰς* one can see in the facsimile, and even more clearly in the original, the two tips of a lunar *sigma*. If the scribe meant to write *νέμεσθαι*, he did not finish the word; nor is there any trace of a supralinear *theta*, which would be an acceptable abbreviation for *-θαι*. Therefore if we wish to print the infinitive we must edit as *[νέμε]σ<θαι>*.

Another difficulty with Kenyon's text is that *κοινὰ τὰ ὄντα* "vix graecum est" (Blass<sup>4</sup>, p. 148). I agree with Blass, and I also think that Kenyon is right (as against Wilcken, *ap. Kaibel-Wilamowitz*) in maintaining that the papyrus has *θελη*, not *θελη τ[α]*. A solution is available, for there is enough space before *κοινὰ* to restore *τὰ* in line with Blass's suggestion. I therefore read *ἐάν τις μὴ θέλη [τὰ] κοινὰ [ὄντα νέμε]σ<θαι>*.

**Col. 29.16, AP 57.4.** Aristotle lists the kinds of trial over which the *basileus* presides. The jurors are said to be *οἱ λαχόντες ταῦ[τ'] ἐφέται*, except in the cases heard by the Areopagus. Kenyon<sup>4</sup> restored *ἐφέται* from Harpocration, s.v., who states that this name was given to the jurors who heard cases at the Palladium, at the Delphinium, at the Prytaneum, and in Phreatus. Since Aristotle has located some of the trials under discussion at three of these places, it seemed acceptable to restore the text so as to include the name *ephetai* as referring to the jurors in question. Wilcken, however, saw in the papyrus after *λαχόντες* the letters *ται . α . . . . σ*, which Kaibel supplemented as *ταῦ[τ'] ἄ[νδρε]ς* (in Kaibel-Wilamowitz<sup>3</sup>). Kenyon stated in his *apparatus* that he could see nothing of the *alpha* in *ἄνδρες*, and that the fragment of a letter read by Wilcken as *sigma* could be a line used merely to fill up space. I believe that Wilcken was right, and I was able to see traces as follows. After the *tau* there is a clear *alpha*, then a nearly vertical stroke, slanting downward and to the right, which could be the left portion of *upsilon*. Next, a faint line, slanting down to the right, which could be the upper stroke of *tau*. This is followed by the two strokes of a faint *alpha* and by the three faint strokes of a well-shaped *nu*. Nothing of *delta* can be seen. A vertical stroke, rather clear, may be the upright of *rho*. Nothing remains of *epsilon*. Of the *sigma* there is not only the horizontal stroke seen by Kenyon, but also a downward stroke, perhaps

curving slightly, that is probably the left-hand portion of the loop of *sigma*. I therefore suggest the reading  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\delta]\rho[\epsilon]\varsigma$ . Harpocration or his source may have been right in stating that these jurors are called *ephetai*, but it does not seem that they are so called in the papyrus.

**Col. 31.17, AP 64.3.**  $\delta[\tau\alpha\nu\delta\epsilon]\epsilon\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\iota$  ( $\epsilon\nu\beta$ -pap.) (Kenyon<sup>4</sup>). Wilcken read the *omicron* of  $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ , while Kenyon called it "minime certum." I believe that Kenyon's doubts were well founded. The letter that Wilcken read as *omicron* has an upper part that curls down toward the left. But it also has a stroke that is nearly horizontal (at the most, it slants down and toward the right a little); this seems more probably the horizontal stroke of *epsilon* than part of *omicron*. I suggest therefore that further consideration be given to  $\xi[\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta']$  which was suggested by B. Haussoullier, *RPh* 15 (1891) 99. The space in the papyrus is large enough to accommodate this reading.