

THE BERLIN FRAGMENTS OF THE ATH. POL.

MORTIMER CHAMBERS

University of California, Los Angeles

The first known papyri preserving sections of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* (*AP*) were two fragments that reached Berlin in 1879. They were first published by Blass in 1880 as *P. Berlin* 163. After the second World War, they were removed to Russia along with many other antiquities from Germany. By good fortune, these scraps are again in the Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin as Inv. No. 5009. The bibliography on these papyri follows:

Blass: F. Blass, "Neue Papyrusfragmente eines Historikers im Aegyptischen Museum zu Berlin," *Hermes* 15 (1880) 366-82. Blass published two further notes in *Hermes* 16 (1881) 42-46, 18 (1883) 478-80.

Bergk: Th. Bergk, "Zur Aristotelischen Politie der Athener," *RhM* 36 (1881) 87-115.

Landwehr: Hugo Landwehr, *De Papyro Berolinensi No. 163. Quaestiones ad historiam Atheniensium vetustiore pertinetes*. Diss. Berlin (Gotha, Perthes) 1883.¹ Landwehr corrected some of his readings in his "Forschungen zur älteren attischen Geschichte," *Philologus* Suppl. 5, 97-196, esp. page 195.

Diels: H. Diels, "Ueber die Berliner Fragmente der 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία des Aristoteles," *Abhandlungen der königl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1885, Philos.-hist. Cl. II, pp. 1-57. See Blass's review, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 7 (1886) 184-85.

Six years after Diels' edition of the fragments, which was the best down to its time, the British Museum published the London papyrus of the *AP*. The London papyrus includes all the passages in the Berlin fragments. Yet, as the bibliography shows, no scholar ever

¹ I have used the pamphlet by Landwehr with this title. His dissertation also appeared under the title *Papyrus Berolinensem No. 163 musei Aegyptiaci commentario critico adiecto edidit Hugo Landwehr* (Gotha 1883).

made a systematic study of the Berlin fragments using the London text as a control. The result is that inaccurate readings from the Berlin papyrus have been passed down through all editions of the *AP*, including even the most scrupulous, namely the fourth edition by Sir Frederic Kenyon (*Suppl. Arist.* 3.2, Berlin 1903). Moreover, the beginning and end of the several columns in Berlin have never been correctly identified. Kenyon, for example, followed Diels in stating that Berlin fragment Πb ends with the words *τριήρεις ἑκατόν* (*AP* 22.7); but in fact there are remains of no fewer than nine lines in the Berlin papyrus following the line containing *ἑκατόν*. This well-nigh incredible situation deserves rectification.

In drawing attention to certain defects in earlier versions of the Berlin papyrus, I am expressing no disrespect for the work of Blass and his successors. To decipher the fragments in the first place was a task calling for high skill. The writing is small and faint, and the papyri are in worse condition than usual, even for such fragile documents: "negant enim qui museo Aegyptiaco Berolinensi praesunt viri docti ullam se peius habitam chartam adservare" (Kaibel-Wilamowitz, ed. 3 of the *AP*, praef. x). It is, however, regrettable that the Berlin papyrus was not re-edited half a century ago, for its condition is now worse than before. It was covered with varnish by Herr Haubenreisser, a restorer in Berlin, in 1885;² this made the letters temporarily clearer, but as the varnish has darkened over the years the letters have become even harder to make out. To photograph it is useless, as it was also in the 1880's. In many places it can be read only with the aid of the London text. The fact that Blass could decipher it, for the most part accurately, without the aid of the London text, speaks eloquently for his genius. The correct restorations by these nineteenth-century editors also deserve commendation.

In 1965 I twice examined the papyrus and prepared a tentative text of it. At that time Dr. Wolfgang Müller, the Director of the Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen, studied parts of the papyrus with me and himself discovered several hitherto unread lines in column Πa . In 1966 I verified my text and once more had the advantage of Dr. Müller's collaboration. We went through the text

² See Diels, p. 4, note 1.

line by line together, and in my text I have printed no reading on which we did not agree. I here offer him my sincere thanks for his kind advice.

Before coming to the text itself, we may briefly survey the contributions of the earlier editors.

Blass first deciphered the text and numbered the two fragments as I and II; the order that he gave them turns out to be right. Blass also observed that fr. I contains remains of two columns of writing on each side. From the less well-preserved columns on either side he was able to read only a few scattered letters (practically nothing of these columns can be read now). He recognized that the left margin of col. I a and the right one of col. I b are preserved (Diels unwisely violated these margins with restorations). He rightly assumed that the verses of Solon in I a were a citation. As concerning the author of the text, Blass suggested Theopompus: the papyrus could be from the tenth book of his *Philippica*, which was partly devoted to a censorious review of the Athenian demagogues.

Bergk examined the papyrus and at once made his most valuable contribution by showing that it contained excerpts from the *AP*; Blass himself justly called this identification brilliant. Bergk saw that col. II b, lines 2-4 (as numbered by Blass) could be restored in accordance with the following citation from the *AP* as preserved by the scholia to Aristophanes, *Clouds* 37: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ περὶ Κλεισθένους φησί· “κατέστησε καὶ δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς πρότερον ναυκράροις. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δῆμους ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν.”³ Since the other side of fragment II concerns ostracism and the activities of Themistocles in the 480's, Bergk rightly inferred that Blass's numbering of the columns on this fragment must be reversed: col. II a concerns the reforms of Cleisthenes and col. II b the events of the 480's. Bergk's order has henceforth been adopted.

Bergk was perhaps naturally most interested in the long quotation from Solon on the fragment numbered by Blass as I a. According to a theory long maintained, ancient authors shrank from spoiling the unity of their style by quoting the words of others in their writings.

³ I quote Dübner's text.

This view (it is to be hoped) is no longer taken seriously, but in Bergk's day it found wide acceptance.⁴ Bergk could not believe that Aristotle, or any other historian, would have quoted Solon's poetry at such length; he therefore inferred that col. I a was not part of Aristotle's *AP*. He suggested that the papyrus originally contained excerpts from the *AP*, to which someone had appended the Solonian verses; alternatively, Bergk was prepared to allow that the papyrus was part of a collection from various authors of passages relevant to the Athenian constitution.

Blass re-examined the papyrus in the light of Bergk's identification and made another important suggestion. He had earlier seen, on the fragment containing col. I b (Damasias), parts of another column of writing on the other side of the fold in the papyrus: this column we may call I c. In his *editio princeps*, Blass had read a few letters in this column. Now, in *Hermes* 16 (1881) 42-43, he tried to associate these letters with the context of the Cleisthenes-fragment so as to show that col. I c was really the beginning (that is, the left-hand portion) of the mutilated col. II a (see figure at end of this article). In other words, both Berlin fragments were originally from one sheet of papyrus that had been bound into a codex. Blass's proof rested on these lines (numbered according to my text):

I c		II a	
5		- - -	δήμους ἀν[τι] τῶν
6	να[υκ]καριῶν -	- - -	δὲ τῶν
7	δ[ι]ή[μ]ων - - -	- - -	δ' ἀπὸ
8	τῶν - - - -	- - -	ὑπάρχον ἐν
9	τοῖς [δη]μοῖς -	- - -	φρατρίας καὶ
10	φα[τρ]ιάρχους -	- - -	κατὰ τὰ πά-
11	τρι[α] - - - -	- - -	ἐκ τῶν
12	ἐπ[ι]φανεστάτων -	- - -	σ[η]μαί[ν]ειν
13	λ[ο]γῶν - - - -	- - -	γενομένων τῶν
14	μ[υ]θῶν - - - -		

The present state of the papyrus makes it almost impossible to identify any letters in col. I c securely enough to confirm Blass's suggestion. If we have recourse to the work of editors who studied the papyrus when it was in better condition, we find that both Landwehr and Diels did read some letters that are close to those seen by Blass, as follows:

⁴ A judicious history and refutation of the hypothesis of the "Stilgesetz" is given by Carl Meyer, *Die Urkunden im Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (Munich 1955) 1-10.

	Blass	Landwehr	Diels
line 8	των	των	των
line 9	τοις	τοις	αυτοις (av extra marg.)
line 10	φα	φ	φα
line 11	τρι	. /ρι	ατρι (α extra marg.)

These letters, read by all three editors, would suggest that Blass's theory may well have been right. Against him, however, is the fact that the *phi* in line 10 cannot be fitted into the text as the London papyrus enables us to restore it. Moreover, this *phi* is one of the few letters that can be read today with some certainty in col. 1 c. Therefore it seems best to treat col. 1 c as an unidentified passage from the *AP* and to deal with 11 a separately, while still leaving open the possibility that the two columns were originally part of the same one.

Blass also remarked that he saw nothing impossible in Aristotle's Laving included a citation from Solon in his work.

Landwehr's edition, embedded in a brief dissertation, did not radically improve the text, but the author made two useful contributions. He was the first to maintain that all four columns came from a codex of the *AP*. He also resisted the opinion of Bergk, namely that the writer had copied the Solonian verses from a text of Aristides, *Or.* 28; Landwehr listed (p. 16) some ten places at which the papyrus and the manuscripts of Aristides differ (in three of these, at least one manuscript of Aristides does agree with the papyrus). The discovery of the London papyrus confirmed Landwehr in his opinion that the verses came directly from Solon and not through Aristides.

Landwehr also included a hand-drawn facsimile of the papyri and of the letters he had read.

The edition of Diels far surpassed all others in size and utility. He included several pages reproducing the texts of Blass, Bergk, and Landwehr, as well as a carefully drawn facsimile that is still of great assistance in studying the papyrus. His own text was the most nearly accurate that had appeared. He read the papyrus immediately after the application of varnish by Haubenreisser, and he was able to discover some new letters, including even a few in column 1 d—that is, the column across the fold in the papyrus on the fragment containing col. 1 a (Solon). None of the letters tentatively read by Diels (they are drawn with dotted strokes on his facsimile) can now be seen in col. 1 d. Diels

even thought he saw some letters lying directly over the fold in the papyrus; none of these can be seen and I doubt if any were ever there.

Like Landwehr, Diels accepted the probability that all four columns are part of Aristotle's *AP*, but he chose to regard the papyrus as a series of excerpts copied out on two loose sheets "by a schoolboy of Arsinoe" (p. 8). He did not accept the suggestion of Blass, that both scraps come from one sheet of papyrus, because he was unable to find a context for the faint letters he had read in col. 1 d. In fact, however, some of these letters actually do fit the text of 11 b, which would be the adjoining column if both fragments come from a single sheet. I give some examples, printing first the text of 11 b as it can be reconstructed, and then the readings tentatively made by Diels that would come at the end of each line:

	11 b	Diels
8	- - τυράννων	ων
11	- - καὶ πρῶ-	ρω
13	- - μετὰ	ετα
14	- - τὰ μέ-	ταμ
20	- - Ἀθηναίων ἐκα-	λεκα

These letters read by Diels support the possibility that we are dealing with two parts of the same sheet, but their identity was never unequivocal and they cannot be read today. Therefore we do not have sufficient reason to join the two fragments together.

I turn to the text in its present condition. Earlier editors dated it to the second century A.D., following the authority of Charles Graux. But Kenyon (*AP*, ed. 4, 1903, praef. vi) dated it to the fourth century, and his opinion has prevailed with Thalheim and Oppermann. I believe, however, that Blass was justified in placing the fragments in the second century. As he observed, the script is much like that of the Hyperides papyrus, *P. Lit. Lond.* 132, which is now placed in the first half of the second century.⁵ The writing of the Berlin text is small, neat, rounded, and well aligned. It becomes pinched at the ends of lines and columns, but it still remains vertical. It is not, indeed, as

⁵ Illustrated by C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400 (corr. imp. Oxford 1956) no. 13b.

neat as that of the Berlin Commentary on the *Theaetetus*,⁶ nor has it the pretensions to elegance of *P. Oxy.* 2450;⁷ but the sketch given by Diels makes it unduly slovenly.

A few ligatures are admitted. There are no marks of breathings (here I agree with Diels, 4-5, against Blass). By exception, the scribe placed a diaeresis over the *iota* of *ίέντας* (I a 13). Adscript *iota* is always omitted; I restore this as subscript in my text.

If the papyrus comes from the second century, it joins a rare group of papyrus codices from that date.⁸ This would lend some support to the often-stated view that the *AP* was an exoteric, or published, book, in contrast to most of the works of Aristotle. We have evidence pointing this way in the fact that the *AP* was much quoted by lexicographers.

In commenting on the text, I shall not mention readings made by earlier editors that are now shown by the London papyrus to have been wrong; but I shall note some letters credibly attested by other editors that no longer exist and must be printed in brackets. The text is reproduced in its condition as of July 1966.

	I a (12.3-4)	number of letters
1	κακοῖσιν] ἐσθ[λοὺς ἰσομοίριαν ἔχειν. πάλιν	? 35
	δὲ καὶ περὶ] τῆς ἀ[ποκοπ]ῆς τ[ῶν] χρεῶν καὶ τῶν	? 34
	δουλεϋόντων μὲν πρό[τ]ερον ἐλεϋθερ[ωθέντων]	36
4	δὲ διὰ τὴν σ[ε]ισάχθειαν· Ἐγὼ δὲ [τῶν μὲν οὐνεκα ξυνήγα-	42
	γον δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖ[ιν] ἐπαυ-	30
	σάμαν; συμμαρτυροῖν ταῦτ' ἄ[ν] ἐν δίκη χρόνου	36
	μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλ[υμπίων] ἄριστ[α],	34
8	Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε ὄ[ρο]υς ἀνεῖλον πολ[λα]-	36
	χῆ πεπηγότας, πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύο[υ]σα, γ[ῆν]	33
	ἐλευθέρα. πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας, πατρὶδ' [ἐς θεόκτι]τογ,	40
	ἀνῆγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκ[ω]ς, ἄ[λλ]ογ δι-	36

⁶ See W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* (Bonn 1911) no. 31; id., *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (ed. 3 by E. Paul, Heidelberg 1962) p. 105.

⁷ Fragments of Pindar, dated to the first or early second century by Lobel.

⁸ C. H. Roberts, "The Codex," *Proc. British Academy* 40 (1954) 169-204, lists (p. 184) nine papyrus codices of Greek literature, excluding Christian writings, that may be dated to the second century.

12	καίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ χρεῶν φηγγόντα[ς, γλῶσ-	39
	σαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἰέντας, ὡς ἄν πολ[λα] χ[ι] π[λα-	35
	νωμένους, τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα	36
	ἔχοντας, ἥθη δεσποτῶν τρομευμέν[ου]ς, [ἐλ]ευθ[έ]-	36
16	ρους ἔθηκα. ταῦτα μὲν κράτη, ὁμοῦ βίην δ[έ] καὶ δί-	37
	κην συναρμόσας, ἔρεξα, καὶ διῆλθ[ον] ὡς ὑπεσχό-	36
	μην. θε[σ]μὸν δ' ὁμοίως τῷ καλῷ [τε] κατ[ὰ] θῶ, εὐθεῖ-	35
	αν εἰς ἕκαστον [ἀρμ]όσα[ς] δί[κην], ἔγ[ραψα]. κέντρον	37
20	δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγ[ὼ] λ[α]βών, [κακοφρ]αδ[ί]ης τε καὶ φι-	33
	λοκτῆμων ἀ[ν]ήρ, οὐκ ἄν κατ[έ]σχε δῆμον· εἰ	31
	γὰρ ἤθελον ἂ το[ῖς] ἐναντίοισιν ἦνδανεν τότε,	36
	αὐτ[ις] δ' ἂ τ[οῖς] οὐτέροι φρασαίετο, πολλῶν ἂν	37
24	ἀνδρῶν ἧδ' ἐχειρώθη πόλις. τῶν οὐνεκ' ἄλ-	? 32

This poem is quoted, beginning with *συμμαρτυροίη*, line 6, by Aristides, *Or.* 28.138–40 (2.185–86 Keil). The London text shows that Aristotle began his quotation with *ἐγὼ*, line 4. It is also edited in *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* (Diehl), ed. 3, Solon fr. 24.

1. 2. These letters are uncertain traces. They can be read only with the aid of London and cannot be used to confirm the London text.

6. -σάμαν: read -σάμην with London. Read also *συμμαρτυροίη* with Aristides and London.

8. τῆς (Berlin, London) confirms Scaliger's correction of ῆς (MSS of Aristides).

9. δέ: so Berlin, London, Aristides; but consideration should be given to γε; Joseph Mayor, *CR* 5 (1891) 109: "The participle [*δουλεύουσα*] is not opposed to what precedes but gives a reason for *συμμαρτυροίη*."

10. After *πατρίδ'* Diels read ε and s faintly. ἐς (Diehl), not εἰς (London, Aristides).

12. Either *χρεῶν* (Berlin) or *χρειοῦς* (London) would be acceptable: the people had fled "because of (a) debt(s) arising out of necessity"; *χρησμόν λέγοντας* (Aristides) can scarcely be translated.

13. *πλαν[ω]μ'ους* London.

15. *τρομευμ'ους* London.

16. For δ[έ] (Berlin), read τε (London, Aristides; note that Diels read a faint ε). Another difference is more weighty. Berlin reads *κράτη ὁμοῦ*; just before *ὁμοῦ* there seem to be marks like the first upright and the diagonal of *nu*. But since corrections are usually written above the line (as in line 18 of this column) it seems better not to regard these faint marks as an attempt to change *ὁμοῦ* to *νόμου*. London reads *κρατεει νομου*, which Kenyon

(followed by several other editors) altered to *κράτει νόμου*. The MSS of Aristides fluctuate between *κράτη ὁμοῦ* and *κράτει ὁμοῦ*. Plutarch (*Solon* 15) attests *ὁμοῦ*. Blass defended Berlin's *κράτη*, citing Sophocles, *Antigone* 485 in support: Solon could well be saying "These acts of force I accomplished, joining together strength and justice." This possibility was rather abruptly dismissed by Kaibel (*Stil und Text* etc., Berlin 1893, 151). Kaibel-Wilamowitz, Thalheim, and Blass (in his Teubner edition of the *AP*) chose *κράτει ὁμοῦ*: "These things I accomplished by force, joining together strength and justice." This is probably the best reading. It seems preferable to Kenyon's, which would mean "These things I accomplished by the force of law, joining together strength and justice": only London has *νόμου*, while *ὁμοῦ* is well attested elsewhere.

The Ionic *βίην* (Berlin) is preferable to *βίαν* (London, Aristides).

17. All three earlier editors were able to see *διήλθον*. *ὑπισχόμεν[ν]* London.

18. *θεσμὸν δ'*: so Berlin, with *δ* above this line; *θεσμούς θ'* (*θ* above the line, correcting *τε*) London, rightly; *θεσμούς δ'* Aristides. *καλῶ*: so Berlin, but misread by earlier editors; *κακῶ* London and Aristides, probably rightly.

19. *αρ. οσας δίκην* € Blass, Landwehr; *αρμοσας δίκ. ν* € Diels.

20. *εγω λαβω. κακοφ* Blass, *εγω λαβω* Landwehr, *εγω λαβων* Diels.

21. *αηρ ουκ αν κατε* Blass, *α. ηρ ουκ αν κατε* Diels.

22-24. Part of the papyrus has been lost since the earlier editions.

22. *εναντίοισιν* Blass, *το - - ν. αντ . . . σιν* Diels.

23. *αυτις δ' α τ[* Berlin, *αδ[θι]ς δ' αυτοισιν* London, agreeing with Aristides, MS U, *αδθις δ' α τοισιν* Aristides ASQT, rightly.

24. The exact length of this line is uncertain. In 1965 I read *ανδρων ηδ' εχ[*. Blass read *ανδρων η . . χε* and Diels *ανδρων ηδ εχε*. But everything after *ανδρω* is now lost.

I also read traces from another line (25), but this too is now lost.

The portion of the text missing between the end of col. 1 a and the beginning of 1 b can be recovered with the aid of London. It extends approximately from *πάντοθεν* (*AP* 12.4) to *τέτταρα διήγον* (13.1). This text can be arranged into 13 lines with an average length of some 35 letters. At least one of these lines was under line 24 of 1 a. I shall return (p. 63) to the question of how the other 12 lines were arranged. In any case, the addition of 12 lines between 1 a and 1 b brings the original number of lines in these columns to 37. I assume that the scribe used the same number of lines in each column of his book; even if he did not, he probably never used fewer than 36 or more than 38.

I b (13.1-5)

- 1 τέτταρα διηγῶν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ· τῷ δὲ [πέμπ]τω με[τὰ τὴν ? 38
Σόλωνος ἀρχὴν οὐ κατ[έστ]ησαν ἄρχοντα [διὰ 34
τὴν στάσιν, καὶ π[άλιν] ἔτει πέμπτῳ διὰ ταύτην τὴν 39
4 αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐ]ποίησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν 39
αὐτῶν χρόνων] Δαμασίας αἰρεθεὶς ἄρχων ἔτη δύο καὶ 41
δύο μῆν]α[ς ἥρξε]ν, ἕως ἐξηλάσθη βία τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἴτ' 38
ἐ]δο[ξέ]ν αὐτο[ῖς δι]ὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἐλέσθαι 42
8 δέ]κα, πέντε μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δ' ἀποίκων, δύο 38
δέ] δημιουργῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν ἡρ- 37
ξα]ν ἐνιαυτόν. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μεγίστην δύναμιν 38
εἶχ]εν ὁ ἄρχων· φαίνονται γὰρ ἀεὶ στασιάζοντες 37
12 περὶ τ[αύτης] τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὅλως δὲ διετέλουν τὰ πρὸς 39
ἑαυτο[ῦς], οἱ μὲν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ἔχοντες τὴν 38
τῶν] χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν (συνεβεβήκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γεγ- 39
ονέ[ναι] πένησιν), οἱ δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες 41
16 διὰ τὸ] μεγάλην γεγονέναι μεταβολήν, ἔνιοι μὲν διὰ 41
τὴν πρ[ὸς] ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ στάσεις 41
τρεῖς· μία] μὲν τῶν παραλίων, ὧν προεστήκει Μεγακ- 39
λῆς ὁ Ἀλκμέω]νος, οἱ δὲ ἐδόκουν μά[λι]στα διώκειν 38
20 τὴν μέση]ν πολιτ[ε]ρίαν· ἄλλη δὲ [τ]ῶν π[ε]δ[ι]ακῶν, 34
οἱ τὴν ὀλ]ιγαρχίαν ἐζ]ήτην[εν], ἡ]γάγετο δ' ἀ[ν]τιτῶν 34
Λυκοῦργος· τρίτῃ δ' ἡ τῶν διακρίων, ἐφ' ἣ τ]εταγμένος ἦν 42
Πεισίστρατος, δημοτικώτατος] εἰ[να]νι δοκῶν. προσε- 40
24 κεκόσμητο δὲ τούτοις οἱ τε ἀφρημένοι] τὰ χρέα 39
διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ οἱ τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροὶ] διὰ 37

3. πέμπτῳ διὰ ταύτην τὴν: so Berlin; London has πέμπτῳ τ' αὐτ' αἰτίαν. Editors follow the text as restored by Kenyon: πέμπτῳ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν.

6. ἐξηλάσθη Berlin, London; van Herwerden *et al.* correct to ἐξηλάθη.

8. δ' ἀποίκων: London reads δὲ ἀγροίκων, only slightly mutilated: part of the *gamma* can be seen, and the *rho* is nearly complete, with the tail easily seen. London is probably right, but we do not know who the *agroikoi* were.

10. μεγίστην δύναμιν εἶχεν Berlin, μεγίστην εἶχεν δύναμιν London; the latter—a less elementary word-order—is followed by all editors.

11. ἀεὶ: αἰεὶ London. Meisterhans (*Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*³, 1900, 33) shows that ἀεὶ displaced αἰεὶ in the late fourth century; therefore ἀεὶ should be written in editions of the *AP*.

12. After διετέλουν, add νοσοῦντες from London.

16. μὲν: δὲ London, rightly.

17. *φιλονεικίαν*: read *φιλονικίαν* with London. δὲ αἰ: δ' αἰ London; but hiatus after δέ is permitted in the AP; see J. W. Headlam, CR 5 (1891) 270-72. London has, for example, δὲ ὦν at 18.1 and δὲ ἦ at 41.2 (only van Herwerden-van Leeuwen and Thalheim, copied by Oppermann, record the latter case, and Thalheim says without reason that ε seems to be deleted in the London papyrus).

18. *προεστήκει*: *προειστήκει* London, rightly.

19. οἱ δέ: read οἷπερ with London.

24. Blass, *Hermes* 16 (1881) 45, and Diels both saw *μεν* from *ἀφρημένοι*. In August 1965 I read *Ἰμενοι*, but a small part of the papyrus has since been lost, and only *Ἰτὰ χρέα* survives.

25. *διὰ*: represented only by points of ink. In August 1965 I read *καθῖαροι*, but nothing of this word survives.

II a (21.4-22.4)

I	- - - τοὺς νεοπολίτας, ἀλλὰ τῶν δῆμων] ἀνα- γορεύωσιν· ὅθεν καὶ καλοῦ]σιν Ἀθηναῖοι σ- φᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν δῆμων. κατ]έστησε δὲ καὶ δημάρ-	33 36
4	χους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπ]ιμέλειαν τοῖς πρό- τερον ναυκράροις· καὶ] γὰρ τοὺς δῆμους ἀν[τὶ] τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν. πρ]οσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δῆμων τοὺς με]ν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τ-	36 38 35 32
8	ῶν κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ] ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἐν τοῖς τόποις. τὰ δὲ γέν]η καὶ τὰς φρατρίδας καὶ τ- ὰς ἱερωσύνας εἶασεν ἔχειν] ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πά- τρια. ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐπο]ί[η]σεν ἐπωνύμους ἐκ τῶν	32 36 38 38
12	προκριθέντων ἐκατὸν] ἄρχηγέτων, οὓς ἀνείλ- εν ἡ Πυθία, δέκα. τούτ]ων δὲ γενομένων δη- μοτικωτέρα πολὺ τῆς Σό]λωνος ἐγένετο ἡ πολι- τεία· καὶ γὰρ συνέβη] τ[ο]ῦς Σόλωνος νόμους	35 31 36 33
16	ἀφανίσαι τὴν τυραννίδα δι]ὰ τὸ μὴ χρᾶσθαι, και- νοὺς δ' ἄλλους θεῖναι] τὸν Κλεισθένη στο]χαζόμε- νον τοῦ πλήθους, ἐν οἷς ἐτέθη] καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ δσπρα- κισμοῦ νόμος. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔτει] πέμπτῳ μετὰ	37 33 + 4 40 37
20	ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν ἐφ' Ἐρμοκ]ρέοντος ἄρχον- τος τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις τὸ]ν ὄρκον ἐποί- ησαν ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμνύουσιν. ἔ]πειτα τοὺς στρα- τηγούς ἡρῶντο κατὰ φυλάς, ἀ]πὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης	38 38 38 37
24	ἔνα, τῆς δὲ ἀπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγ]εμῶν ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος. ἔτει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα δωδε]κάτῳ νικήσαντες τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην] ἐπὶ Φαινίππου ἄρχοντος, διαλιπόντες ἔτη δύο μετὰ] τὴν ν[ί]κ[η]ν, θαρροῦντ-	41 36 35 37

28	ος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου τότε πρῶτον ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ	38
	τῷ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν, ὃς ἐτέθη διὰ τὴν ὑπο-	36
	ψίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι γ, ὅτι Πεισίστρε[α]τος	37
	δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς] ὧν τύραννος κ[α]τέστη.	38
32	καὶ πρῶτος ὀστρακίσθη τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν	37
	Ἰππαρχος Χάρμου Κολλυτεύς], δι' ὃν καὶ μάλλ[ι]στα	37
	τὸν νόμον ἔθηκεν ὁ Κ[λ]εῖσθ[ε]νης, ἐξελάσαι βουλό-	? 38

1. The beginning of this line (and therefore the number of letters in it) is uncertain. At the end are faint traces of ink compatible with *ἀνα*, but the reading is uncertain. The right margin of the column is preserved, and all the final letters are well aligned vertically. Restorations belong at the beginning of the lines; Landwehr followed Blass in putting them there, but Diels wrongly extended his restorations into the right margin.

4. ἐπ[ι]μέλειαν: ἐπιμέλιαν London. Earlier editors read the first two letters of this word; these are now lost.

8. ὑπῆρχον ἐν [τοῖς τόποις Berlin, ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις London. The several German editors of the *AP* follow Berlin here (Blass was wrong in thinking that London also read ἐν), while Kenyon and Sandys follow London. Papageorgios, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 4 (1892) 554, suggested ὑπῆρχον ἔτι ἐν τοῖς τόποις.

9. τοῖς was once read by Blass and formed part of his case for joining the two Berlin fragments (see above, p. 52), but the suggested collocation of fragments is highly uncertain.

16. χρᾶσθαι: χρῆσθ(αι) London, rightly.

17. The letters στο are dimly visible, but complete, above the line. Blass, without knowledge of the London text, read αζομ on the line; this is no longer extant but fits perfectly. Probably the scribe wrote *chi* above the line.

24. Kaibel-Wilamowitz (ed. 3 of *AP*, praef. x-xi) record that Wilamowitz examined our papyrus for the sake of their third edition. He was able to add [μ]ων ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος to the already-known text, but he overlooked the nearly complete *epsilon* before μων. Kenyon, in his fourth edition (1903), took no notice of Wilamowitz' discovery and continued to state that Berlin stopped at line 23, "praeter litteras nonnullas incertas."

30-34. The letters in these lines are faint and nearly all uncertain. They can be read only by deductions based on London. The end of 34 is uncertain.

Col. II a is continued directly overleaf by II b, with the loss of only a small portion of text. The missing text can be arranged in three lines as follows:

μενος αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς τῶν τυράννων	38
φίλους, ὅσοι μὴ συνεξαρμαρτάνοιεν ἐν ταῖς ταρα-	39
χαῖς, εἰὼν οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, χρώμενοι τῇ εἰώθ-	36

These lines bring the original number of lines in both II a and II b to 37 (unless the scribe was inconsistent in the number of lines he copied into each column). This number agrees with the number we have reckoned for cols. I a and I b.

II b (22.4-8)

I	υί[α τοῦ δήμου πραότητι· ὦν ἡγεμῶν καὶ προστάτ-	37
	ης ἦν Ἱππαρχος. εὐθ[ύς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει ἐπὶ Τε-	36
	λεσίγῳ ἄρχοντος ἐ[κνύαμυσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρ-	37
4	χοντας κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ	35
	τῶν δήμων πεντακοσίων τότε μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶ-	42
	τον· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν αἰρετοί· καὶ ὠ-	36
	στρακίσθη Μεγακλή[ς Ἱπποκράτους Ἀλωπεκῆ-	35
8	θεν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ξτ[η τρεῖς τοὺς τῶν τυράννων	35
	φίλους ὠστράκιζον, [ὦν χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη,	34
	μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ τετ[άρτῳ ἔτει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ	37
	τις δοκοίη μείζων [εἶναι μεθίσταντο· καὶ πρῶ-	36
12	τος ὠστρακίσθη τ[ῶν ἄπωθεν τῆς τυραννίδος	35
	Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφ[ρονος. ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ μετὰ	34
	ταῦτα Νικοδήμου ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἐφάνη τὰ μέ-	33
	ταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρ[ωνεία καὶ περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει	38
16	ἐκ τῶν [ἐ]ργῶν ἑκατ[ὸν τάλαντα, συμβουλευ-	32
	όντων τινῶν τῷ [δήμῳ διανείμασθαι τὸ ἄρ-	32
	γύριον Θεμιστ[ο]κ[λῆς ἐκώλυσεν, οὐ λέγων	32
	ὅ τι χρήσεται τοῖς[ς χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ δανεί-	32
20	σαι κελεύων τοῖς π[λουσιωτάτοις Ἀθηναίων ἑκα-	38
	τὸν ἐκάστῳ τά[λαντον, εἴτ' ἐὰν μὲν ἀρέσκη	32
	τὸ ἀνάλωμα, τῆς πό[λεως εἶναι τὴν δαπάνην,	33
	εἰ δὲ μή, κομίσασθαι τὰ [χρήματα παρὰ τῶν	32
24	δανεισαμένων. λαβ[ῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐναυ-	32
	πηγήσατο τριήρεις ἐκ[ατόν, ἐκάστου ναυ-	32
	πηγουμενόν τῶν ἐκατὸ[ν μίαν, αἷς ἐναυμά-	32
	χησαν [ἐ]ν Σαλαμῖνι π[ρ]ὸς [τοὺς βαρβάρους.	32
28	ὠστρακίσθη δ' ἐν τούτοις [τοις καιροῖς	31
	Ἀριστέιδης ὁ Λυσιμάχο[υ. τετάρτῳ δ' ἔτει	32
	κ[α]τεδέξατο πάντας τοὺς [ὠστρακισμέν-	32
	ους ἄρχοντος Ὑψι[χίδου, διὰ [τὴν Ξέρσου	31
32	στρατιὰν· κα[ὶ] τὸ λοιπὸν [ῴρισαν τοῖς ὠ-	31
	στρακισμένοις] ἐντὸς [Γεραιστοῦ καὶ	31
	Σκυλλαίου κατοικεῖν [τῇ ἀτίμους εἶναι	31

5. *δήμων*: read *δημοτ'* (= *-τῶν*) with London. *πεντακοσ[ίων]*: London has the complete word. But it is difficult to believe that each of the ten tribes ever had the right to nominate 50 preliminary candidates for sortition, since in *AP* 8.1 Aristotle states that in his day there were but 100 candidates (ten from each tribe). Kenyon's correction of 500 to 100 (assuming that *ρ'* in an earlier MS was miscopied as *φ'*) seems plausible, but it is notable that the presumed error is common to both papyri.

7. Earlier editors read *Μεγακλῆς*. Diels's restorations in this column violate the left margin, which is and should remain intact.

12. Diels and Blass read the complete *τῶν*.

14. *Νικοδήμου*: London reads *Νικομήδους*; but the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 8.83, surely points toward following Berlin, as Cadoux did in his learned edition of the archon-list, *JHS* 68 (1948) 118. A. E. Raubitschek, *Historia* 8 (1959) 127–28, suggests that the two names represent two different archons, but the parallel confusions assembled by Cadoux make it seem likely that London merely has the name misspelled.

15. Earlier editors saw *Μαρω[*.

31. The papyrus is complete at the beginning of this line, but the first 14 letters are so faint that they must be bracketed.

32. *σ]τρατεία*: *στρατίαν* London.

32–34. Weak traces of ink, legible only by conjecture based on London. Length uncertain.

We are now in a position to draw some conclusions about the original form of the book from which our fragments have survived. The first point to observe is that there are traces of writing on the second fragment in addition to the columns of text: namely, alongside col. II a, in the right margin, and alongside col. II b, in the left margin. Blass noticed this fact in passing, *Hermes* 15 (1880) 376, but Diels evidently did not: at least, his facsimile shows no traces of writing in these spaces. The letters are now unreadable. Their significance could not have been recognized until the discovery of the London text. Since II b continues II a directly (with the loss of only three lines: above, p. 60), these faint columns must be some kind of scholia or commentary. The need to leave space for these scholia explains why the makers of our book left a margin at least 4 cm. wide.⁹

⁹ It is possible that the outer margin of fragment II has been mutilated and was once wider than 4 cm., but in my reconstruction I assume that the margin is essentially complete.

It is also practically certain that the book had only one column of text, along with scholia, on each page. We have already seen that each column had some 37 lines of text; the height was about 20 cm. But the columns are over 10 cm. wide. Thus an assumed page containing two such columns, a space between the columns, and scholia would have been at least 27 cm. wide, and thus wider than it was tall. Perhaps this arrangement cannot be ruled out as impossible, but it seems unlikely. Also, there was evidently no column of scholia in the inner margin, a fact suggesting that the scholia were comments on only one column of text.¹⁰

We can also now be specific about the disposition of the text that is missing between col. I b and col. II a. It will be remembered that 12 lines of text must be added to both cols. I a and I b; this brings both columns to 37 lines. The best result is obtained if we assume that these 12 lines are to be added to the bottom of each column. The lines of I b average about 38 letters. If we add 12 times 38 letters from the Teubner text of Oppermann (1928, reprinted 1961), we find that the original text of I b ended more or less with the phrase *δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ* at 14.2 (p. 16, line 19 Opp.). Between that point and the point where the text resumes in II a, namely the word *ἀναγορεύουσιν* in 21.4 (p. 28, line 4 Opp.), there are 253 lines in Teubner. The average length of a Teubner line is about 43 letters; so about 10,879 letters are missing. The average length of a line in the Berlin papyrus is 36 letters; thus about 302 lines in the papyrus are lost. Reckoning 37 lines to a column, we may estimate that about 8 columns and 6 lines are missing. Since col. I b was on a left-hand page and II a was on a right-hand page, 8 columns would bring us to the beginning of II a. Three of the 6 "extra" missing lines can be accounted for by observing that II a is only 34 lines tall as it stands. The result of this computation therefore seems acceptable. Thus I infer that we have preserved the top lines of cols. I a and I b, and that the first three lines of cols. II a and II b are missing.

Conjecture can also help us to estimate the original length of our

¹⁰ Most papyrus codices have but one column of writing on a page. In examples having two columns, the columns are usually much narrower than those in our papyrus. See W. Schubart, *Das Buch* etc. (above, note 6) 122-23; F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*² (Oxford 1951) 109.

book. Allowing for the short lines here and there, I reckon that the Teubner text of the *AP* contains about 1937 lines of about 43 letters each, or about 83,291 letters. This much would be equal to about 62.5 columns (in effect, pages) in the Berlin papyrus. To this we must add something to allow space for the portion of the *AP* that is lost at the beginning. This opening lost portion (as we see from the Epitome of Heraclides) treated the coming of Ion, the formation of the state by Theseus, and the end of the monarchy. I suggest that Aristotle needed about four pages, and certainly no more than six, for this highly mythical period. The last section of the *AP*, on the courts, seems to end with a logical close, so we need estimate no additional pages at the end of the text. The codex therefore contained about 66 pages. The interior margins in fragment I are small: the space between the two columns is only 2 cm. We have no margins preserved at the top or bottom of a column, but we might guess that these margins were each about 2 cm.

Seventeen sheets of papyrus were needed to make 66 pages (they actually make 68). They were probably laid atop one another with the "recto" side uppermost. (I use the word "recto" to mean "with the fibers horizontal," and "verso" to mean the reverse.) They could have been folded so as to make only one quire or gathering, for we know of some papyrus codices in which a gathering contained dozens of sheets. In fact, however, this was not done, as computation shows. The preserved portion of the *AP* before the beginning of col. I a (*AP* 12.3) is about 260 lines in Teubner; this works out to about 8.4 Berlin-columns. If we add about four columns to accommodate the lost part at the beginning, then I a came on about page 13. This page was a right-hand page in the book, with verso before recto.¹¹ As we have seen, fragment II was eight pages farther on in the book, and it too was a right-hand page. But in the case of fragment II, recto precedes verso, and this can only happen in the second half of a gathering. But the 23rd page would not be in the second half of a gathering containing 17 sheets (i.e. 34 leaves, 68 pages). So we need at least two gatherings; it is easiest to assume that there were only two. Whether

¹¹ I do not know whether the scribe began his text on a left or a right-hand page. Col. I a must have come from a right-hand page; but if the scribe began with a left-hand page, then of course col. I a was from an even-numbered page.

the first gathering consisted of eight or nine sheets, column II a was on about the 23rd page, in the second half of this first gathering.¹²

In sum, the book from which fragments survive in the Staatliche Museen was a codex of the *AP* containing about 66 pages. It comprised two (?) gatherings, perhaps one of eight sheets and one of nine sheets. The book was about 24 cm. in height and (when folded closed) about 15.3 cm. in width. Each page contained one column of text in 37 lines. The columns were about 20 cm. high and about 10.3 cm. wide; the average length of a line was 36 letters. Scholia were written in the outer margins, a fact suggesting that the book might have been part of an academic library. The book was probably made in the second century A.D. Its text agrees closely with that of the London papyrus, written on rolls in the late first century. Such agreement between two papyri is not conclusive, but so far as our evidence goes it suggests that the text of Aristotle's *Athenaiôn Politeia* was transmitted fairly well from antiquity.

I append a reconstruction of the Berlin pages, showing the relation between the preserved fragments and the sheets from which they were torn. The measurements are given in centimeters and must be considered approximate rather than precise.

¹² If the first gathering contained nine sheets, all these columns could have come from the seventh. This is additional evidence in favor of Blass's hypothesis that both fragments are part of one sheet.

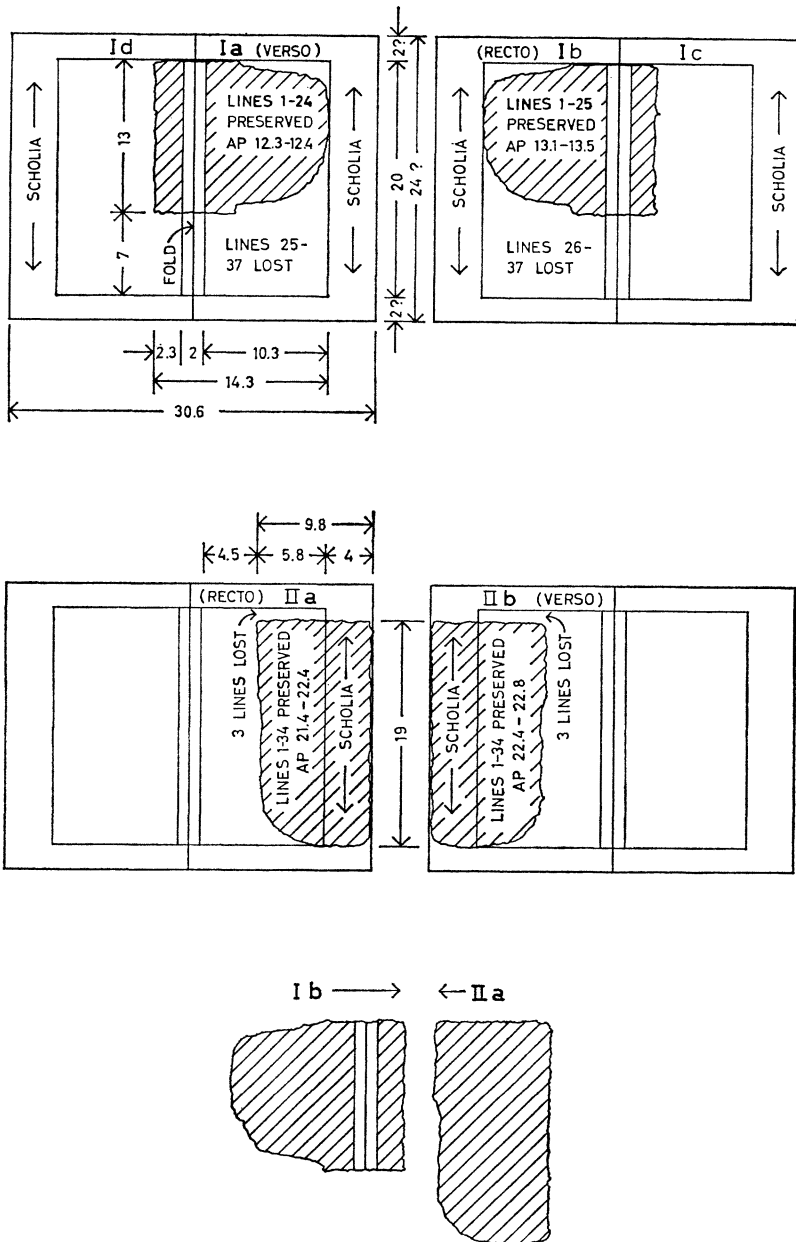


FIGURE 1. Sheets reconstructed from remaining fragments. The drawing at the bottom represents Blass's proposed arrangement. (All measurements are in centimeters.)