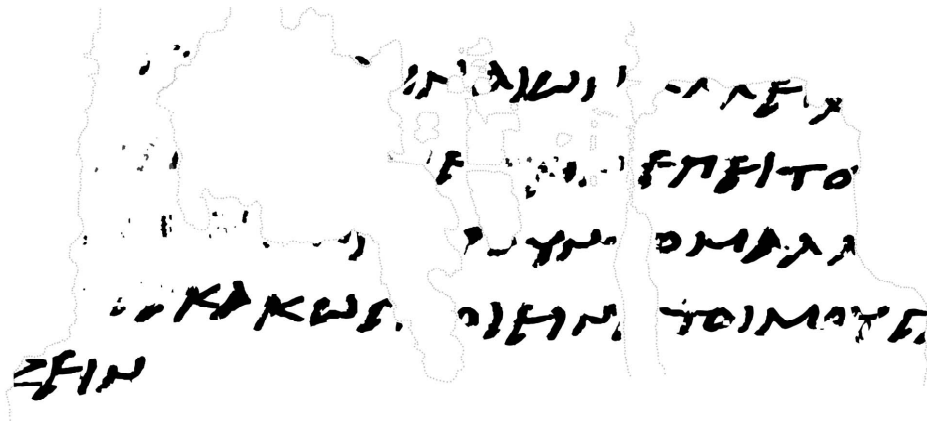


*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia, Col. XIII (G-H), 1-5.*

The top of column XIII of the London fragments of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* papyrus is badly damaged. I have examined the papyrus in the British Library and worked with a high-resolution photograph, and have been able to improve the transcript. Bartoletti's edition, and other more recent editions, which all follow the *editio princeps*, contain six incorrect readings of individual letters as well as four mistakes in the lacunae (even though the supplements are very small). Also, there are several legible letter traces that editors have never transcribed. With the corrections we can reduce the lacunae to the point where we can attempt a more or less complete reconstruction.

Because of the difficulty of describing mere fragments of letters, I have provided facsimiles of the papyrus to illustrate all claims about the readings and the restoration. The facsimiles show, in black, all preserved ink traces (with a faint dotted line representing the edge of the papyrus). These facsimiles were created from the high-resolution photograph (checked against the papyrus itself viewed under high magnification) and are extremely accurate. The grey sections, throughout, are proposed restorations of letters, formed by transposing letters digitally. I applied the standard that any reconstructed letter had to be identical to, or at worst only minutely different from, an original exemplar preserved elsewhere in the same column.<sup>1</sup>

(1) The following are lines 1-5 in facsimile, followed by an initial transcript of all letter forms that are certain or very probable *per se*. For now I omit the portions of the fifth line that are beyond the end of the sentence under study. Readings here that diverge from previous editions or add new sections to the transcript are explained in full below with larger illustrations.



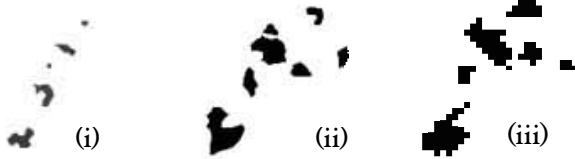
.....]Τ.Ω.[...]Θ.Η.ΝΑΙΩΝΑΛΛΕΙ,Χ.[.....  
 .....]Τ.Ε.[.....]..Ε.[.]Ζ.ΕΙΝΕΠΕΙΤΟΥ.[.....  
 .....]..Ε.[.]Ζ.Μ.Ο.Ν.[.]ΡΟΥΝΤΟΜΑΛΛ[.....  
 .....].Ε.Σ.ΚΑΚΩΣΠΟΙΕΙΝΕΤΟΙΜΟΥΣΑ.[.....  
 ....]ΖΕΙΝ

<sup>1</sup> In fact, all letters for the reconstructions (except the final one) were of necessity taken from the first thirteen lines of the column: my high-resolution photograph covered only that section. In my illustrations I use one image from the previous column — consequently at lower resolution, and the final, larger reconstruction makes use of letter combinations taken from several columns.

(2) In what follows, using close-up facsimiles, I explain (a) the reading of  $-\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in the second line, (b) the reading of  $-\epsilon\rho\epsilon[\iota]\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  in the second line, and (c) the reading of  $\kappa\epsilon[\iota]\zeta\mu\omicron\nu[\eta]\rho\omicron\nu\nu\tau\omicron$  in the third line.

(a) The first image here is the second (surviving) letter on the second line of the column. This is certainly  $\epsilon$ , given the distinctive triple dot pattern. (ii) is the better preserved  $\epsilon$  from the  $-\epsilon\iota\nu$  termination later in the same line (see (b), below). (iii) is the damaged second epsilon of  $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu$  in the previous column, and provides a very good match for (ii).

Dots of damaged letters typically correspond to points where the pen touches down, lifts off the papyrus, or forms a double layer of ink by intersection. (But not all surviving dots and traces are to be explained in these ways.) For  $\epsilon$ , after writing a single vertical stroke, the scribe added a foot, a cap, and a crossbar, resulting in thicker ink at three points as a result of those pen actions. All three  $\epsilon$ 's here show this three dot skeleton, and in (ii) and (iii) other extremities are also



preserved. The uppermost, tiny dot preserved in (i) is a remnant of the cap, better preserved in (ii) and (iii).



The first traces of the second line resemble the damaged  $\tau$  that is above them, in size, angles, and damage pattern. There are other possibilities, but  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$  allow the simplest restoration, assuming (plausibly) that the two dots are near the two extremities. To the right of  $\epsilon$  is a fragment of a vertical, in itself compatible with (at least)  $\varsigma, \iota, \pi,$  or  $\gamma$ , of which  $\varsigma$  and  $\iota$  are the most likely after  $\epsilon$ . It is almost certainly damaged, like the traces before it. I have assumed in my reconstruction that this letter extended lower than the fragment, so as to reach closer to the base of the line,

and I supply a  $\varsigma$  here, in view of the wider reconstruction (see below) which suggests that a new word (namely,  $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) begins immediately after this letter, making  $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  the most plausible option, as the termination of a participle. Previous editors print  $\pi$  as a reading of this trace, or of this trace in combination with the traces of  $\epsilon$  — incorrectly, since the printed letter should imply the most likely reading.

(b) This shows the reconstruction of  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon[\iota]\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  in the second line.

$-\epsilon\iota\nu$  is certain. Previous editors somehow read  $\chi\omicron\nu$  here and printed  $-\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu$ . Apparently the top right of the proposed  $\zeta$  was read as the top left of  $\chi$ . But the distinctive foot of  $\epsilon$ , and the point where  $\epsilon$ 's cross-bar meets the next letter, are both clearly visible, and the lower left diagonal of the proposed  $\chi$  is too steep for  $\chi$ . Also, there is no possible  $\omicron$  anywhere here (the letter between  $\epsilon$  and  $\nu$  is clearly  $\iota$ ). Finally, the comparison between this fairly well preserved  $\epsilon$  and the similarly damaged  $\epsilon$  from the previous column is conclusive in itself.

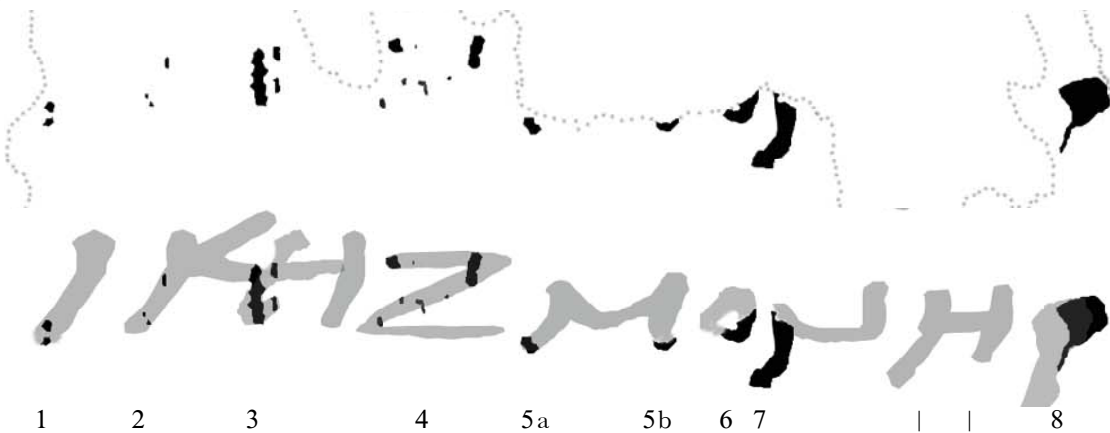


The traces to the left of ε are almost certainly ζ. Tiny but definite spots of ink reveal how the larger dots were joined, indicating the top right portion of ζ (and for this scribe, only ζ). The preceding ε, and the space after it, which is too large to be empty but



only large enough for ι, support this restoration, in so far as -εἰζεῖν is a plausible termination (probably representing -ίζεῖν) and the traces to the left of that are good for ρ, suggesting νεωτε]ρε[ι]ζεῖν or πο]ρε[ι]ζεῖν, of which the former perfectly suits the context and fills the available space neatly. The final remaining trace is then interpretable as the cross bar of ε or a fragment of ο. δα]νε[ι]ζεῖν also seems possible as a reading of these traces in isolation, and is worth considering in the context. Left is a comparison of the proposed reconstruction of ζεῖν and the same termination, largely intact, from three lines later. The size, spacing, and vertical positioning of the letters all match well.

(c)



This shows the badly damaged section of the third line, which contains traces of eight or nine letters and which I restore as  $\kappa\epsilon[\iota]\zeta\mu\omicron\nu[\eta]\rho$ , part of  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\kappa\epsilon[\iota]\zeta\mu\omicron\nu[\eta]\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\omicron$ . (For the spelling, see below.)

Previous editors all interpreted the end of this section (i.e., traces 5b, 6, 7 and 8 and following) as representing  $\pi\rho[\omicron\eta]\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\omicron$ . Note that this scribe never includes iota adscript. Trace 6 must have been badly misread as the right leg of  $\pi$ . Trace 7 was read as the lower portion of  $\rho$ . This reading is certainly wrong, for two reasons. (1) Trace 6 cannot be part of  $\pi$ . The trace descends a short distance then shows a clear curvature *upward and to the left*, back to the edge of the papyrus. No right leg of  $\pi$  anywhere on the entire papyrus is formed in that way. In fact the trace is only compatible with  $\omicron$  (as shown here) or perhaps, though less probably, the lower right of  $\nu$ . Whereas twenty columns of text fail to provide a single match for  $\pi$ , there are two models for the trace read as part of  $\omicron$  in the very next line: one excellent match (the second  $\omicron$  of  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\nu\varsigma$ ) and another tolerable match ten letters before that ( $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ ). (2) Also, the spacing for  $\pi\rho[\omicron\eta]\rho\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\omicron$  is not acceptable. If trace 7 is read as  $\rho$ , the resulting space is too small for  $\omicron\eta$  to fit before the next  $\rho$ . The two vertical markers between 7 and 8 show, respectively, where the top left of  $\eta$  starts as shown here (normal size, in a normal position) and where it would have to start after  $\rho\omicron$ . It would be an impossibly small  $\eta$ .

Trace 7 should instead be read as part of  $\nu$ , and this solves the spacing problem, as shown. In fact, it is the only satisfactory solution to the spacing problem, so that  $\nu$  can be regarded as certain. Trace 6 may then be read as  $\omicron$ , its most probable reading anyway, and

we then have an *-ov* termination before the plainer verb ἤροῦντο. ‘They opted for’, ‘they elected’ rather than ‘they preferred’.

To the left of *-ov* are two traces (5a, 5b) that are highly suggestive, from their position and orientation (one angled slightly towards the upper right, one angled slightly towards the upper left) of the feet of μ. On the traces alone, I would not absolutely rule out εἰ, αἰ, λι, ci, but consider μ far superior. Left is a comparison of the proposed reconstruction μo and an intact μo from the next line. (Note also the very similar lower right portion of ο.) Right is a match for the v. Not all v’s have this longer left leg, but plenty do. The first v here is taken from [α]θηναίων.



I read the set of traces above 4 as a ζ. ζ accommodates seven separate marks here. Also, the larger splodge at the top right seems to have been formed in two parts, and the two upper strokes of ζ (horizontal, diagonal) explain that. Four smaller dots fall neatly on ζ’s diagonal, except for a very small, descending portion of the third dot. But on close examination that portion proves to be an ink run (where the ink runs down a rut in the papyrus) and thus can only have formed *below* the path of the pen. (Elsewhere there are similar ink spills flowing down from the diagonal of ζ.) The trace at the top left appears to be an extremity that continued horizontally to the right. (That rules out η, which might otherwise seem possible here.) I also think I can see a brownish ink remnant (?) along the path of the top horizontal of the ζ. (This section of the papyrus could usefully be examined with the kind of technology that brings out ink traces more clearly.) Overall, it seems we can be very confident of ζ here.

Trace 3 is a fragment of a descending bar with two largish dots on its right side. The two dots very probably indicate remnants of two pen strokes or extremities, as usual. Thus κ or ε, as it seems. But in fact only ε can accommodate the traces, and I regard ε as very likely here. The remaining traces are nothing but tiny fragments and are restored here on the basis of the reconstruction of the word ἀττικειζμόν. I reconstruct the lower branch of κ as touching the ε, accounting for the top of trace 3, but otherwise the reconstruction of traces 1-2 only test a hypothesis, rather than showing letter forms suggested by the traces *per se*.



Traces 4-8, by contrast, do suggest *-ζμόν per se*, and that is enough to point us to ἀττικειζμόν ἤροῦντο, with ἀττικειζμόν a spelling of ἀττικιζμόν. This phrase, ‘they adopted an atticizing policy’ (?) fits well into a wider reconstruction of the sense (see below). The combination of that fact and the good physical evidence seems almost conclusive. As for the unusual spelling of ἀττικιζμόν, εἰ for ι presents no difficulty and ζμ for cμ, though rare, is reasonably well attested. In the Epicurean inscription by Diogenes of Oinoanda, which probably dates to within thirty years of our papyrus, among several other distinctive spelling habits that correspond to those used by the *Hellenica* scribe(s), we find seven instances of ζμ for cμ, including κόζμου, πέπειζμαι, φάζματα. (But we also find the more familiar *-cμ* spelling.) The same ζμ spelling is also found in papyri, before and through the right period: παρασφραγιζμόν, ἄζμένως, νομιζματος, ἐγνωζμένους, ἐξιργαζμένα, etc. True, there are no other surviving instances of ζμ in *this* papyrus. But there are only five or six other places where we might look to find ζμ, and only one other intact instance of a noun ending in cμoc. The sample size is thus too small to rule out ζμ against the traces. Elsewhere ζμ occurs as an oddity, never as a blanket spelling convention. Notably, there are instances of ζμ in the *Atheniensium Respublica* papyrus, which dates to within a century of the *Hellenica*

papyrus and is very similar in overall form and in its mediocre quality. Its text is about four times as long as the surviving portions of the *Hellenica* and it contains five instances of ζμ. Overall, therefore, the spelling does not seem to be a problem.<sup>2</sup>

(3) The following is my restoration of all the visible ink traces, and of all the (interior) supplements, and a transcript:

ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΛΕΙΧ  
 ΤΕΙΝΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΣ ΕΠΕΙΤΟΥ  
 ΙΚΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΡΟΥΝΤΟ ΜΑΛΛ  
 ΤΕΣ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΥΣ ΕΑ  
 ΖΕΙΝ

.....]τῶ [ν Ἀ]θηναίων, ἀλλ' εἰχ[.....  
 .....]τερος [νεωτ]ερε[ι]ζειν, ἐπεὶ του[.....  
 ...ἀττ]ικε[ι]ζμὸν [ῆ]ροῦντο, μᾶλλ[ον].....  
 .....]τερος κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους α[.....  
 ....]ζειν

(4) These lacunae are now more manageable, and we can attempt a fuller reconstruction of the sentence. The lead-in to our text is as follows:

ἐφρόνουν δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν αἰτίαν μὲν εἶχον ἀττικίζειν, ἐξ ὧν πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένοντο ὡς ἔφυγεν· οὐ μὴν ἐφρόν[τιζόν γε]<sup>3</sup> τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλ' ...

Of the two political factions, the party of Leontiades were pro-Spartan, while the party of Ismenias were criticized for being atticizers, because of their enthusiastic support for the [Athenian] *dēmos* in exile. Mind you, they weren't actually concerned about the Athenians; rather...

Commentators have supposed that this opening implies that P is saying, overall, that the party of Ismenias did *not* 'atticize'. They interpret οὐ μὴν ἐφρόντιζον τῶν Ἀθηναίων as having that sense in itself, and a standard translation goes like this: 'Ismenias' party were

<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, the existence of these several instances of ζμ in texts of the same form and period is a strong support for the reading. The initial transcription was made independently of any knowledge of the parallels. It threw up a rather odd prediction, as it seemed to this transcriber — namely, that there would be other instances of ζμ *somewhere* — and the prediction was confirmed.

<sup>3</sup> The spacing (see below) shows that there are a couple of extra letters here. I supply γε (which occurs twice elsewhere in P). That notorious space-filler actually may be right here. γε is very common and idiomatic after οὐ μὴν. If we exclude cases of οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, a slightly different idiom, in 4<sup>th</sup> century prose γε occurs with οὐ μὴν in this position in more than one third of all instances of οὐ μὴν. Xenophon adds γε in nine out of eleven cases. Another possibility, though, is οὐ μὴν ἐφρόν[τιζον αὐ]τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 'They weren't worried about the Athenians *per se*.'

accused of atticizing... *but in fact* they didn't care about the Athenians' i.e., 'but in fact the accusation was false'. That makes the phrase we have found on the papyrus (ἀττικισμὸν ἤροῦντο) seem rather awkward. But let's see where it can lead us.

ἀττικίζειν here refers to political colours and preferences, not to defection or fifth columnism, so αἰτίαν μὲν εἶχον does not refer to a charge of treason, but merely to a bad reputation — if indeed the phrase does not mean, as it sometimes does, 'had a reputation'.<sup>4</sup> A more neutral sense would be less overtly partisan of P. But if P is saying, as seems philologically more likely, that Ismenias was 'guilty' of atticism or 'charged with atticism' then he is expressing a political judgment. One might equally say, to adopt Ismenias' point of view, that Leontiades was 'guilty' of being pro-Spartan. Having pro-Athenian and, by implication, democratic leanings was not a crime for a Theban politician several years after the end of the war, or blameworthy except from an oligarchic perspective.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, Ismenias had won a great deal of credit for helping the Athenian exiles, which he had done quite openly, and he was at the height of his influence at home, surely in part *because of* his intervention on the side of the democrats, which Plutarch implies was supported by Thebans in general. So it seems implausible that later in the sentence P would be saying that this reputation for pro-Athenian and democratic policies was simply false. Ismenias' pro-Athenian policy was not something he could be, or needed to be, acquitted of; it was an established fact. In the οὐ μὴν clause P is much more likely to be saying something about the motives behind it. The function of οὐ μὴν is not to set up a contradiction ('but in fact'). 'X. οὐ μὴν Y.' always means 'X; mind you, although X, not Y.' οὐ μὴν should thus introduce here (and negate) some quite new claim. Something like this:

Ismenias and his party were much criticized for their atticism because of their effusive support for the exiles. Mind you, *in spite of this atticizing*, they weren't ...

In line with this, the phrase ἐφρόντιζον τῶν Ἀθηναίων is *not* synonymous with 'were atticizers'; rather, it implies a particular reason for atticizing, namely, interest in the fortunes of Athens (or, a better reading, genuine concern for the Athenian *exiles* in particular). That is to say, 'atticizing' should be taken as meaning *objective* support for Athens, or an *outwardly* populist political stance. In which case Ismenias was certainly atticizing. 'Atticism' need not imply subjectively pro-Athenian attitudes, a true love for Athens and its democratic ideals. P is going to claim that there was something more self-interested and opportunistic about this particular case of atticizing.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Republic* 435e: οἱ ...ἔχουσι ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, 'who have this reputation' Plato is talking about people who have a (morally neutral) reputation for *spiritedness*. *Theaetetus* 169a: αἰτίαν ἔχεις διαφέρειν ('you have a reputation for excellence'). In some 4<sup>th</sup> century instances the term even has a positive sense; cf. *Anabasis* 7.7.57: πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν, 'they were much thanked'; cf. also *Laws* 624a1. It is at least worth considering whether the phrase has that sense here. But much more often the term αἰτία has a negative sense. And for a close parallel, cf. Plutarch *Cimon* 17.6.3: ὄσοι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ λακωνίζειν αἰτίαν ἔσχον.

<sup>5</sup> P's phrasing here seemingly echoes the Spartan attitude to the Theban support for the Athenian exiles. Plutarch says that Lysander bore a grudge against Thebes, and this was its main source: (*Lys.* 27.2) μάλιστα δὲ [sc. ὠργίζετο] ἐπὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναίοις ἐλευθερώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων... He then terms this a 'charge' against Thebes: αἰτίας μὲν οὖν ταύτας ἔλαβε κατὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ Λύσανδρος.

<sup>6</sup> For this strictly *objective* sense of ἀττικισμός, cf. Thuc. 3.65.1: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνομεν. By the phrase ἀκούσιον μηδισμὸν the Thebans mean that they *objectively* supported Persia, but not *willingly*. By the phrase ἐκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν they mean that the Plataeans are *not only* atticizers (i.e., objectively pro-Athenian) but *also* willing ones. Clearly one might say of the Thebans here: 'They were blamed for their medizing; mind

We are also assuming here that ‘atticizing’ in this historical context implied two things: (1) a foreign policy of support for Athens against Sparta (especially during the Peloponnesian war) and (2) a pro-democratic or populist political stance at home. Ismenias’ material aid to the Athenian democrats (against the regime imposed by Sparta) loosely qualifies as atticism in the first sense. But that is probably not the main point here. His party also had a reputation for populism (according to a wealth of evidence in Plutarch) and it is that perception of them, plausibly, that P is referring to. As a nice illustration of this politicized use of ἀττικίζειν, consider these remarks from Isocrates’ *De Pace* (108.1):

Οὐχ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἀττικιζόντων πολυπραγμοσύνη λακωνίζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν, ἡ δὲ τῶν λακωνιζόντων ὕβρις ἀττικίζειν τὰς αὐτὰς ταύτας ἠνάγκασεν; Οὐ διὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν δημηγορούντων πονηρίαν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεθύμησεν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων καταστάσεως, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα μανίαν ἅπαντες δημοτικώτεροι γεγόναμεν τῶν Φυλῆν καταλαβόντων;

Isocrates here speaks of the ‘meddlesomeness’ of atticizers in the Greek city states, and in the next sentence of the ‘knavery’ of democratic leaders in Athens, who by the symmetry of the passage are clearly supposed to correspond to the atticizers elsewhere. And just as the brutality of ‘laconizers’ (i.e., pro-Spartan oligarchs) throughout Greece ‘forced those same cities to atticize’ (i.e., turned them democratic again), so in Athens the ‘insanity’ of the thirty tyrants ‘made everyone more democratic than the men who took Phylē’. Thus it seems quite clear that ‘atticizers’ refers to populist leaders outside Athens (who are also always pro-Athenian).<sup>7</sup> The accusation of ‘meddling’ is a familiar charge made against popular leaders, whose foreign policies sometimes veered into political and military adventurism, and who seemed — to oligarchs — socially disruptive at home.

This element of political ideology in the concept of ‘atticism’ is perfectly plain in P’s statement as well. Ismenias and his party were considered atticizers, he says, because they had supported Athenian *democrats* against equally Athenian *oligarchs*. Without that political implication in ἀττικίζειν, the sentence is a *non-sequitur*. It was this gesture of solidarity with a neighbouring *dēmos* (with accompanying populist rhetoric about ‘tyrannical’ oligarchs)<sup>8</sup> that cast Ismenias and his party as atticizers. Where P says ‘were criticized as atticizers’ Plutarch says ‘had a reputation for being a freedom-loving and democratic party’ (ἐταιρείαν...φιλελεύθερον ἅμα καὶ δημοτικὴν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν). It seems quite likely that they are talking about the same thing. Conversely, P certainly means that their opponents, the party of Leontiades, were pro-Spartan not just in a military sense but also ideologically. Plutarch calls *them* ἄνδρες ὀλιγαρχικοὶ καὶ πλούσιοι καὶ μέτριον οὐδὲν φρονούντες — die-hard oligarchs.

On this theory, then, P is saying something like this: ‘The party of Ismenias were criticized for being a populist, atticizing party, ever since the support they gave to the

you, they didn’t really want the Persians to win. They only took up medizing to survive.’ Our sentence has exactly that form, on this theory.

<sup>7</sup> For this firm association of democracy with atticism, oligarchy with laconizing, cf. also Thucydides 3.82 πᾶν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἕκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

<sup>8</sup> The thirty oligarchs led by Critias are always called just ‘the thirty’ by Xenophon, Isocrates (as in the passage quoted above) Plato, Lysias and Aristotle, *never* ‘the thirty tyrants’ or ‘the tyrants’. They must have been called, insultingly, ‘the tyrants’ by their democratic opponents and the term was widely used only much later. But it occurs in the decree issued by Ismenias, apparently quoted verbatim by Plutarch (*Lys.* 27.3): ἀντεψηφίσαντο Θηβαῖοι ... ἂν τις Ἀθήναζε διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους ὄπλα κομίζῃ, μήτε ὄραν τινα Θηβαῖον μήτε ἀκούειν.

democratic exiles. Of course, that's not to say they actually gave a damn about the exiles. They only atticized ...[for some other reason]'. On this view, it makes perfect sense that the text should contain the phrase ἄττικισμὸν ἤρουντο. If P is explaining the true reason Ismenias' party adopted atticism, then it is no surprise that his text contains the words 'adopted atticism'.

Elsewhere P shows himself extremely scathing in his accounts of the motives of democratic politicians.<sup>9</sup> This passage looks like it fits that pattern. Here too it seems that, so far from being fair to Ismenias' party (as is sometimes claimed) he is offering a debunking analysis of their reasons for supporting the exiles. Plutarch gives us a flattering account of those reasons, and whether or not it is accurate it must be closer to what Ismenias claimed at the time — and therefore it shows us what P is taking the trouble to contradict. According to Plutarch (*Lys.* 27.2-3), the Thebans (led by Ismenias) heroically and courageously defied angry threats and sanctions from Sparta and protected the exiles, on humanitarian grounds, against the outrages of the thirty tyrants; they then provided vital financial and military aid in order to help liberate Athens from tyranny.

P claims that this is baloney. 'Ismenias didn't really care about the Athenian <exiles>'. In what follows, enough of the text is preserved for us to put together his alternative explanation.

The place to start is the fully preserved phrase near the end of the sentence: κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους. This phrase, 'willing to make mischief', for reasons of space, surely has to be grammatically connected with the final infinitive, and easily the best verb to supply is παρασκευάζειν: '...to make [them] willing to do mischief...' (For this rather distinctive use of παρασκευάζειν in P, cf. 15.1.5: παρασκευάζειν προθύμους τοὺς Ῥοδίους ('...to make the Rhodians keen...'); 18.1.10: αὐτοῖς συμπαρασκευάζειν τοὺς πολίτας ('...make their citizens feel the same way as themselves...'). The sequence of μᾶλλον, followed by a participle, then παρασκευάζειν invites a reconstruction by way of the familiar μᾶλλον ... ἂν idiom:

...ἄττικ<ι>σμὸν ἤρουντο, μᾶλλον οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνοντες<sup>10</sup> κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους α[ὐτοὺς ἂν παρα]σκευάζειν.

'...they adopted an atticizing policy believing that that would be a better way of making them [i.e., the Thebans] willing to do mischief.'

κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους almost certainly refers here to willingness to break the peace; to rebel against Sparta and the status quo; to engage in international 'mischief-making.' Elsewhere P repeatedly accuses Ismenias and his party of trying to stir up a war against Sparta (and eventually, of actually doing so) so that this way of taking the phrase is the

<sup>9</sup> He says (7.2.17) that the democrats in Athens only agitated against Sparta so that they could provoke a new war so as to *profiteer from all the public spending* (ἴν' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ χρηματίζεσθαι). This seems needlessly cynical, considering that just a few years earlier the Spartans had dismantled the democracy and imposed a murderous oligarchy on Athens.

<sup>10</sup> Assuming a verb of thinking, believing, etc. A verb of hoping, expecting would need a future infinitive; also, μᾶλλον ... ἂν is common with verbs of believing. Since the participle ends in ες, ὑπολαμβάνοντες seems to be the best fit (see below for the issue of spacing and line division). Note also P's fondness for it. Cf. (*Flor.*) 1.2: χαλεπῶς εἶ[χο]ν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες [π]ροπετῶς αὐ[το]ῦς ἀνελέσθαι τὸν κίνδ[υ]νον...; 18.1.6: οἰόμενοι δὲ ῥαδίως τοῦτο πρ[ά]ξειν ὑπολα[μ]βάνοντες βασιλ[έ]α χρήματα π[α]ρέξειν. Of course, there must be other possibilities for the sense of the participle, but I have not yet found anything better. Whatever the exact text, it seems highly desirable to have the clause mean, somehow, 'with the aim of thereby making them more willing to do mischief.' It is arguable that ἂν needs to be at the front. So perhaps μᾶλλον ἂν οὕτως ὑπο[λ]αβόντες κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους α[ὐτοὺς συμπαρα]σκευάζειν.



obvious first choice. Cf. 18.1.2: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν καὶ τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν ἐσπούδαζον ἐκπολεμῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. For a closer verbal parallel, consider his description of the equivalent warmongering of the Athenian democrats: (sc. ἐμίουν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους) ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν. Here the references to warmongering are plain, but that final verb, πολυπραγμονεῖν ('to meddle') is similar to κακῶς ποιεῖν ('to make mischief'): both (on this view) refer, in moralizing terms, to breaking the peace. Cf. also Xenophon's descriptions of Ismenias: he calls him, bluntly, a πολεμοποιοῦντα, but also, in reference to his warmongering, a κακοπράγμων ('mischief maker'). Likewise, as we saw, Isocrates speaks of the πολυπραγμοσύνη of 'atticizers', in reference to their disruption of the peace, and in the next breath of the πονηρία of reckless democratic leaders (the latter, again, reminiscent of κακῶς ποιεῖν). So, if we have this right, P's claim here is that Ismenias and his party wanted a war with Sparta (for some prior, grubby reason) and were trying to get the Thebans to go along with that. They needed to 'make them ready to do mischief'. So they adopted 'atticism', i.e., a more populist political stance — which included the defiant gesture of standing up for the Athenian dēmos against the thirty tyrants — as a better way of winning support for their schemes. It seems certain that their support for the exiles made them popular with ordinary Thebans and other Boeotians. And in that fact P locates Ismenias' real motive. According to P, this policy of sucking up to the Boeotian dēmos by 'atticizing' was cynical ploy to win support for warmongering.

It should now be possible to restore the rest of the text. So far we have this:

ἐφρόνου δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν αἰτίαν μὲν εἶχον ἀττικίζειν, ἐξ ὧν πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένοντο ὡς ἔφυγεν· οὐ μὴν ἐφρόν[τιζόν γε] τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλ' εἶχ[.....|.....]τες [νεωτ]ερίζειν, ἐπεὶ το[υ.....|... ἀττ]ικ<ις>μὸν ἤροῦντο, μᾶλλ[ον οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνοντ]ες κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους α[ύτους ἂν παρασκευά]ζειν.

Let's pursue our hypothesis, and its implications, as far as they will take us. If the final section is right, or even roughly right, here is what follows:

(a) ἤροῦντο is our main verb, because no indicative verb comes after it, and the explanatory participle of the μᾶλλον ... ἂν clause cannot be attached to an ἐπεὶ clause. That would be syntactically clumsy, for any author, and P in particular always writes with a very simple syntax, almost to the point of dullness. It follows that there must be *another* indicative verb filling out the ἐπεὶ clause. There is only very limited space for that missing verb, which is good, because it greatly limits the possible supplements.

(b) Since ἤροῦντο is our main verb, the ἐπεὶ clause must look forward rather than back, as in (a) 'When they saw a hotel, they stopped for the night' rather than (b) 'They were tired, since they had driven all day.' ἐπεὶ can mean either 'when' or 'since', and can look forward or back, but in our sentence the main verb comes after the ἐπεὶ clause, and that shows us that we have (a) rather than (b). 'When they [something or other], they adopted atticism.' In dry prose like this the (a) usage of ἐπεὶ is in any case the norm; a backward looking ἐπεὶ is vanishingly rare.<sup>11</sup> It is a more colloquial usage, more or less confined to dialogue and drama.

(c) The claim that adopting atticism was a 'better way of making the Thebans willing to make mischief' is rather cryptic unless there is another, clearer reference to this

<sup>11</sup> If we take Thucydides, Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and P as our sample, and exclude all direct speeches, and also exclude ἐπεὶ καί (which is always backward looking, but which we do not have here) then out of about 700 instances of ἐπεὶ I find *five* that are backward looking.

goal earlier in the sentence. True, we found parallels for *κακῶς ποιεῖν* in the sense of ‘to rebel’ or ‘to warmonger’; but in those passages the immediate context helped make the sense clear. (E.g., *πολυπραγμονεῖν* got its sense by following *πολεμεῖν*.) The same is probably true here. And we have an excellent candidate in *νεωτ]ερίζειν*. That means ‘to revolt (i.e., against Sparta)’ or ‘to alter the political status quo’ (i.e., the Spartan hegemony) and so has basically the same sense as *κακῶς ποιεῖν*, but is more explicit, as required.

There was evidently a participle before *νεωτ]ερίζειν*, the sense of which should be ‘aiming’, ‘wishing’, ‘striving’ or some such, because the phrase should describe Ismenias’ political goal. On sense and P’s usage alone *ἐπιχειροῦν]τες* or *ἐπιθυμοῦν]τες* or *σπουδάζον]τες* would be ideal, but for reasons of spacing (see below) those seem to be ruled out, and I propose *ζητοῦν]τες*. For the resulting phrase, *ζητοῦντες νεωτερίζειν*, cf. 7.3.2: *οἱ μεταστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα ζητοῦντες*, used of the Corinthian anti-Spartan party. There the verb is used the same way (with an infinitive) and with the right sense (in reference to a political goal). More than that, *μεταστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα* means the same as *νεωτερίζειν*, and is being used by P as a description of the same goal that P attributes to Ismenias — anti-Spartan revolution.

(d) If we are roughly right in (1)-(3), then the syntax of the sentence after *ἀλλ’* does not permit an indicative verb at the front. Surprisingly, *εἶχ* cannot be part of *εἶχον*, as printed by all editors. There is no connective (*καὶ, ἀλλὰ, γὰρ, οὖν, δὲ*) between the *εἶχ* and *ἤροῦντο* (it would have to be immediately before or after *ἐπεὶ*) and without such a connective, *εἶχ* cannot be an indicative verb.<sup>12</sup> Also, it seems impossible to link *εἶχον* to the nearby infinitive, *]ίζειν*, without grammatical contortion, or bad Greek, or both.

There is another possibility. *ἀλλ’ εἶχ* might also be the start of *ἀλλ’*, *εἰ χ[ρῆ*, and thus open up a brief parenthesis, syntactically isolated from the rest of the sentence. A common parenthesis that would fit nicely here is *ἀλλ’ (εἰ χρῆ τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν)* or one of its close equivalents. P is not averse to this kind of parenthesis. Barely ten lines earlier (16.4.5) he has *ἀπλῶς δὲ δηλῶσαι*, ‘to explain it simply’. And since here he is giving us the *real* reason, the *true* explanation, as opposed to the alleged reason, that Ismenias’ party adopted their populist stance, it seems appropriate enough that he should begin with ‘Rather, (*to state the truth of the matter*)...’ or ‘Rather, *the fact of the matter is*...’.<sup>13</sup> So, if this is a fair possibility, then on the basis of the several independent pieces of evidence for the wider reconstruction I shall assume here that some such parenthesis explains *ἀλλ’ εἶχ*[, allowing us to leave the hypothesized syntax and content of the rest of the sentence intact. The best candidates for this parenthesis occupy the whole of the rest of the line, which is one quite important reason for preferring *ζητοῦντες* at the start of the next. Only if the parenthesis were briefer would *ἐπι|χειροῦν]τες* or *ἐπι|θυμοῦν]τες* fit. I am tempted by Demosthenes’ phrase, *εἰ χ[ρῆ μὴ φλυαρεῖν* — but it is probably too colloquial for P. But *any* such parenthesis must go at least a couple of words beyond *εἰ χ[ρῆ*, include an infinitive, and then end before the participle, which must be at least as long as *ζητοῦντες*.

(e) The *ἐπεὶ* clause must help to explain why Ismenias’ party ‘elected atticism’. It also apparently must contain a reference to the people that they were trying to ‘make

<sup>12</sup> Strictly, on my reconstruction, *εἶχ* can be indicative, but only if the text contains a miniature clause, and an asyndeton, like this: *ἀλλ’ εἶχ[ε ταῦτα οὕτως· ἐπι|θυμοῦν]τες νεωτ]ερίζειν...or ἀλλ’ εἶχ[ε τὰ πράγματα ὧδε· | ζητοῦν]τες νεωτ]ερίζειν...* But mid-sentence that would be quite absurd.

<sup>13</sup> The appeal to truth in giving real, as opposed to alleged, political motives is reminiscent of Thucydides’ phrase, *ἡ ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις*, used by him in stating the *true* motives of the Spartans at the outset of the war, as opposed to motives they claimed, and likewise the *true* motives of Athenians when they invaded Sicily. In both cases the true motives, by Thucydides’ analysis, are far less attractive than the proffered ones — exactly as in our text.

willing to do mischief', if αὐτοῦς in the final clause is right. That is, αὐτοῦς must get its reference from earlier, and the only place left is the ἐπεὶ clause. We assumed above that the only people that Ismenias' party could aim to influence in this way are their own citizens, the Thebans. Thus, we are forced to restore ἐπεὶ τοῦ[ς Θηβαίους...or perhaps ἐπεὶ τοῦ[ς πολίτας ('their fellow citizens'). ἐπεὶ τοῦ[ς Βοιωτοῦς is probably ruled out by the next sentence, which raises, as a new point, the effect of these parties on the other Boeotians. As for the missing verb, there cannot be many that fit the small available space (and the line division, which imposes further restrictions) and make good sense, and I have so far found only one good candidate: ἐπεὶ τοῦ[ς Θηβαίους οὐκ ἔπει|θον, 'when they could not persuade the Thebans'. That fits, above all, with the final reference to 'making [the Thebans] willing to do mischief'. Making someone willing to do mischief is a matter of persuasion — it means *persuading* them to do mischief — and if Ismenias' party felt they needed to become a more democratic party as a more effective way of persuading the Thebans to do mischief, then it follows that they weren't particularly effective at persuading them up till then. If the ἐπεὶ clause refers to that fact, then it nicely explains the need for a better method of persuasion, and the result is a clear overall structure for the train of thought, which we may paraphrase as follows: 'They wanted a rebellion, and when they couldn't persuade their citizens, they tried X, as a better way of making them willing to rebel.'

So our complete reconstruction of the sentence is as follows:

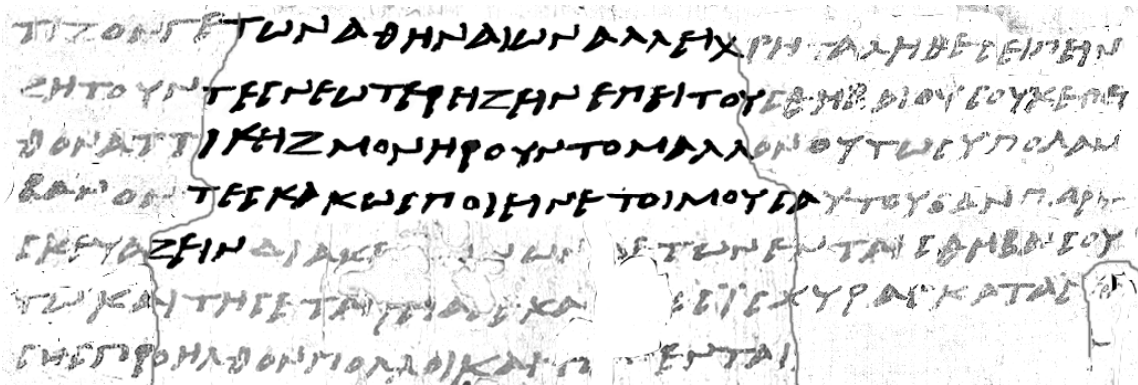
ἐφρόνου δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν αἰτίαν μὲν εἶχον ἀττικίζειν, ἐξ ὧν πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένοντο ὡς ἔφυγεν· οὐ μὴν ἐφρόν[τιζόν γε] τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλ' (εἰ χ[ρῆ τάληθὲς εἰπεῖν) ζητοῦν]τες [νεωτ]ερίζειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ[ς Θηβαίους οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἀττ]ικικμὸν ἤροῦντο, μᾶλλ[ον οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνον]τες κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους α[ὐτοῦς ἂν παρασκευά]ζειν

Of the two political factions, the party of Leontiades were pro-Spartan oligarchs, while that of Ismenias were criticized for being a populist, atticizing party, because of the enthusiastic support they had given to the democratic exiles. Of course, they weren't actually concerned about the exiles. The truth is that in their efforts to foment revolution, when the Thebans proved unresponsive, they took up atticizing with the idea that that it would be a more effective way of making them willing to do mischief.

## Appendix: Spacing

The following is a reconstruction of the first five lines in their entirety, with a transcript. (The transcript, of course, is of the actual papyrus, not of the reconstruction.) The black portions show the section already reconstructed above. The line shows the edge of the papyrus. The other sections are presented here as a check on the *spacing* of all the other proposed supplements. Even in cases where these supplements are speculative, or for that matter even if my reconstruction is rejected *in its entirety*, it still seemed useful to complete the lines so as to show scholars how much space is available for whatever alternative theories they might propose, using the unaltered facsimiles provided above. The edges of the column can be extended upwards from its lower half (which is very regular and survives with full width intact for some 25 lines) and as shown are accurate to within, at most, a third of a letter on the left, and a letter or so on the right. The edge is very straight on the left; more ragged on the right. But even on the right it is clear the scribe aimed, in principle, for a straight edge, either by eye or more likely with an actual guideline, and the

position of the target edge can be extrapolated from the intact lines. (The target runs alongside the final  $\mu$ ,  $\alpha$  and  $\nu$  in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> lines.) It is a rule for this scribe that no line may fall short of the target edge, and letters are never *stretched* to reach it, the but lines often go slightly beyond it, and about half of all intact lines show squashing of the last four or five letters, as the scribe tries to make the final syllable end right on, or not go too far beyond, the ideal edge. In my reconstruction, there is slight squashing in the first two of the five lines. There is also an original instance of such squashing in the 6<sup>th</sup> line: the syllable  $\tau\alpha$  (shown left, enlarged). The  $\tau$  is tiny, and the  $\alpha$ , as a result, falls right on the edge. If written at full size (e.g., like the previous  $\tau\alpha$ ),  $\tau\alpha$  would have extended well beyond the other lines. Also offered here is a proposed solution to a problem in the 6<sup>th</sup> line.



[τιζόν γε] τῶ[ν Ἀ]θηναίων, ἀλλ', εἰ χ[ρῆ] ... .. εἰν,  
 ζητοῦν]τες [νεωτ]ερε[ί]ζειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ[ς Θηβαίους οὐκ ἔπει-  
 θον, ἀττ]ικέ[ι]ζμόν [ῆ]ροῦντο, μᾶλλ[ον οὕτως ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνοντ]ες κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους ἀ[ύτους ἂν παρα-  
 κευά]ζειν. διακε[ιμ]ένων δὲ τῶν ἐν [ταῖς Θήβαις οὔ-  
 τω κ]αὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἐκατ[έρ]ας ἰσχυρᾶς κατασ]τά-  
 ρης, προῆλθον πολλοὶ... etc.