

*A new supplement for lines 31-32 of the Theramenes papyrus (P. Mich 5982)**

A) '[...] statim [after its discovery] oritur quaestio, an hoc opus pars Hellenicorum esse possit (haec coniectura a Maximiliano Treu, 1970, et a Luciano Canfora, 1988, probata est). sane utitur auctor eadem clara et nuda lingua Attica saeculi quarti, sed primi editores negauerunt idcirco hunc textum e Hellenicis nostris uenisse posse, quia papyrus Michiganensis breue excerptum orationis a Theramene habitae (uersus 12-33) exhiberet, et in excerptis Hellenicorum quae habuimus ante contio nulla exstaret [...]' (Chambers p. XVII).

P Oxy V 15.2, ll. 365-368 (ca. 395): καὶ Δωρίμαχος [μ]ὲν αὐτῶν ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον οὐ̅περ εἰώθει κη[ρὺ]ττειν ὁ κῆρυξ, ἀνακραγὼν ὡς ἠδύνατο μέγιστον ἴωμεν, ὧ̅ ἄνδρες' ἔφη 'πολιται, ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους [τῆ]ν ταχίστην.'

Dorimachus got up on the stone where the herald made announcements, and, shouting out as loud as he could, said: 'citizens, let's go for the tyrants as quick as we can!'

B) The Theramenes Papyrus (P. Mich 5982):

- 1 τὸς Λακεδαιμονί[ους ἀν-]
τέλεγον αὐτῶι φάσκ[ον-]
τες ἀπάντων ἀτοπῶ[τα-]
τον αὐτὸν **διαπράττεσ[θαι]**, PSI 1304 4.4; P. Oxy. 842 V 15.2, 18.5
- 5 τὸς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους **τ[ἀ-]**
πόρρητα ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς[ς] P. Oxy. 842 V 6.1 ἐν] | ἀπορ<ρ>ήτω τ[ῆ β]ουλή
τοὺς πολε[μ]ίους, ἐκεῖν[ον]
δὲ περὶ ὧν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
ἐρεῖν μέλλει{ν} ταῦτα π[ρὸς]
- 10 τὸς πολίτας λέγειν μὴ τολμᾶν. ὁ δὲ
πρὸς τοῦτο παρελθὼν ε[ῖ-]
πεν· [τὸ] πλειῖστον τοῦ δέ-
ον[τος ἀ]μαρτάνουσιν
[οἱ] ῥήτορες. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἠ[μῖν]
- 15 [γε] ἦν, ἔφη, τῆν [εἰ]ρή[νην ἐπιτά-]
[ξα].ι, οὐδὲν δ[ι]έφερεν ἄ[ν ὑ-]
[μ]ᾶς ἀκούειν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτ[ῆν]
[ἠγ]οῦμαι τῆι πόλει ποιή[σα-]
[σ]θαι καλῶς ἔχειν. ἐπει-
- 20 [δῆ] δὲ οἱ πολέμοιοι κύριο[ι]
[κα]θεστᾶσιν, [ο]ὐκ ἀσφαλές
[ἐσ]τιν εἰκῆ περὶ αὐτῆς λέ-
[γε].ι.ν. οὐ γὰρ δηλονότι τῶ[ν]
[δι]δομένων αὐτοῖς πα-
- 25 [ρ' ἠ]μῶν οὐθὲν ἀξιώσου-

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- [σιν] ἀφαιρεῖν, ἕτερα δὲ πρὸς
[τού]τοις ἐπιτάττειν ἐπι-
[χειρ]ήσουσι. τὴν οὖν αἴρε-
[σιν] οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις
30 [θήσ]ουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν.
[...].υ.[.] γὰρ **τᾶ [π]αρ' ἐκείνων** P. Oxy. V 842 7.2, τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου χρήματα.
[.....].αντα ἐν τῷ βουλευ-
[σα]σθαί περὶ αὐτῶν. ὑπολα-
[β]ῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγειν αὐ-
35 [τὸ]ν ὁ δῆμος πρεσβευτὴν
[αὐ]τοκράτορα τὴν εἰρήνην
[πο]ιησόμενον ἀπέστει-
[λε]ν. Θηραμένης δὲ παραυ-
[τίκ]α μὲν ὡς ἠρέθη πρὸς
40 [Λύσ]ανδρ[ο]ν ἔπλευσεν εἰς
[Σά]μον καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον
[ἐπ]εχειρεῖ πράττειν τὰ
[περ]ὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. ἐπειδὴ
[δὲ] Λύσανδρος αὐτὸν ἐκέ-
45 [λευ]εν Λακεδαιμ[ο]νίο[ις]¹

... to the Spartans; [*they*] criticized him saying that he was behaving in the most extraordinary way, for while other people were acting in secret against the enemy, he for his part was not taking the risk of revealing to his fellow citizens what he was going to say to the enemies about the peace. And in response to that he came forward and said: 'the speakers thus far are very far from saying what they ought to say. In fact' - he said - 'if it had been in our own power to impose the peace plan, I believe that it would have not made any difference whether you heard what I think is in the city's interest to do. But because the enemies are the masters of the matter, it is not safe to speak randomly about the peace. Clearly they will not think it right to subtract anything of what we are offering to them; on the contrary they will try to impose further conditions in addition to those previously offered. Those speakers give to the Spartans control of the decision, I for myself give that to you'. [*missing letters*]. The Athenian demos judged that he had spoken appropriately and sent him as ambassador with full power (*autokrator*) to make the peace. And Theramenes soon after he was appointed went on a journey to Samos to meet Lysander. With him he began to negotiate concerning the peace. Because Lysander ordered him to ... to the Spartans...²

C) Lysias 12.69:

ὑπέσχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσιν μήτε ὄμηρα δούς μήτε τὰ τείχη καθελὼν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς· ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ ἠθέλησεν,³ ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πραπτούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτήρια,⁴ ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν Θηραμένει, εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν **ἄλλοι**

¹ I follow the edition of H. C. Youtie-R. Merkelbach, 'Ein Michigan-Papyrus über Theramenes', in *ZPE* 2 (1968), 161-169. The iota in the papyrus text is either adscript (ll. 12, 18) or subscript (l. 39), but when it cannot be read in the papyrus the editors subscribe it (l. 22, 32). As regards the form οὐθὲν (l. 25) it cannot be said whether it belongs to the original work or if it comes from the later process of transcription. See Engels, in *ZPE* 99 (1993), 127, note 6. Italics, and bolds are mine.

² The translation is mine, with the substantial contribution of C. Pelling.

³ The ταῦτα here refers to the expression of 12.68, πρᾶγμα μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον.

⁴ Cf. chap. 68: [*Theramenes*] ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε.

ἄνθρωποι τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκα τὰ πόρρητα ποιῶνται, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰπεῖν ταῦθ' ἅ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν⁵.

He promised to make the peace without either giving hostages, or tearing down walls, or delivering up ships. He refused to reveal to anyone his plan but bade all trust him. On the contrary, in the Council of the Areopagus, it was indeed you, Athenians, who were acting for safety. Moreover, many people spoke in opposition to Theramenes. You realised that while other people were acting in secret because of the enemy, he did not want to reveal to his own fellow-citizens what he was going to say to the enemies.⁶

D) P. Mich 5982 ll. 31-33, Youtie-Merkelbach's suggestion (p. 169):

[ἔπλ]ευσε γὰρ τὰ [π]αρ' ἐκείνων

[ἀπαντή]σαντα ἐν τῷ βουλευ-

[σα]σθαι περὶ αὐτῶν

Denn die Vorschläge, welche von ihnen (den anderen Rednern) kommen, werden zu Schiff (dem Gegner) überbracht, noch während wir darüber beraten.

While they were still deliberating about the questions, speakers' proposals (?) that met the assembly (?) took ship.

[δείκ]νυτ[α].ι γὰρ τῷ [ι π]αρ' ἐκείνων

[σκοπῶι] πάντα κτλ.

He shows everything to the Spartan spying.

E) Luppe's supplement (p. 15):

[φαν]οῦς[ι] γὰρ τῇ [ι π]αρ' ἐκείνων

[?σκοπῆ?] πάντα ἐν τῷ βουλευ-

[α]σθαι περὶ αὐτῶν

Denn sie werden (würden) 'der spartanischen Spionage' alles deutlich machen indem sie darüber in der Volksversammlung beraten.

Then they will (would) make everything known to the Spartan spying while deliberating about the questions.

⁵ Ed. Oxford 2007.

⁶ The translation is mine, and it also includes some suggestions made by C. Pelling.

F) Breitenbach's supplement (p. 123):

ἀκού]ουσι[ι] γὰρ τὰ [π]αρ' ἐκείνων

[ῥηθέντα] πάντα ἐν τῷ βουλευ-

[σα]σθαι περὶ αὐτῶν

Denn sie hören alles, was von jenen gesagt wird, noch während den Beratungen.

Then they (sc. the people assembled) listen to everything is said by those (sc. Theramenes' opponents) in the process of deliberation about the questions.

G) Vannini's supplement (p. 94):

κελ]εύω γὰρ τὰ [π]αρ' ἐκείνων

[εἰ|δότη]α[ς] παντα οὔτω βουλευ-

[σα]σθαι περὶ αὐτῶν

Vi esorto ad apprendere tutte le loro proposte (sc., degli Spartani) e, solo allora, a decidere riguardo ad esse.

I exhort you to listen to their proposals (sc. of the Spartans), and only after that you would decide on them.

H) New proposal:

[ἀλλ' ο]ὐ[δὲ] γὰρ τὰ [π]αρ' ἐκείνων

[εἶπεν ᾗ]παντα ἐν τῷ βουλευ-

[σα]σθαι περὶ αὐτῶν

Nor indeed did he [my opponent] say everything which was coming from their side either [i.e., any more than he should expect me to say publicly everything which we might have to offer] in the process of deliberation about the questions.

I) First assembly at Athens: Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.14-16:

(14) οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἤκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν: ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἕως ἄν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. (15) περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλευεῖν: Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ

Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιῆσθαι, ἐδέθη: προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου: ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύειν. (16) τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῆτον ἅπαντα ὅτι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν.⁷

(14) When the ambassadors got back to Athens and made their report, there was general despondency. The people saw nothing but slavery in front of them and knew that, while another embassy was on its way, many would die of famine. (15) But still no one wanted to make any proposal offering to destroy the walls. In fact when Arcestratus said in the Council that the best thing to do would be to make peace on the terms offered by Sparta (these being that ten stades of each of the Long Walls should be pulled down), he was thrown into prison. And a decree was passed forbidding anyone to make such proposals. (16) It was in that situation that Theramenes made a speech in the assembly saying that, if they were willing to send him to Lysander, he would go and return with information as to whether the Spartans insistence on the demolition of the walls was because they wanted to enslave the population of Athens or merely wanted a pledge of Athenian good faith. He was sent to Lysander and stayed with him more than three months, waiting for the moment when the Athenians, with no food left, would agree to any terms whatsoever.⁸

J) Second assembly at Athens: Xen. *Hell.* 2.2 17:

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχει, εἶτα κελεύει εἰς **Λακεδαίμονα** ἰέναι: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι **κύριος** ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ **τοὺς ἐφόρους**. μετὰ ταῦτα ἠρέθη **πρεσβευτῆς** εἰς Λακεδαίμονα **αὐτοκράτωρ** δέκατος αὐτός.

In the fourth month he returned and reported to the Assembly that Lysander had kept him there all this time and had then told him to go to **Sparta**. He had explained that only **the ephors**, not he, had **authority** to give Theramenes the information which he required. Theramenes, with nine others, was then chosen to go as **ambassador with full powers** to Sparta.

⁷ Ed. Oxford 1980.

⁸ Transl by R. Warner.

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