Harpokration, s. v., "Ἱππαρχος ... ἄλλος δὲ ἔστιν "Ηππαρχος ὁ Χάρμου ... περὶ δὲ τούτου Ἀνδροτίων ἐν τῇ β' φησίν ὅτι συγγενής μὲν ἦν Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ πρώτος ἐξωστρατικότητα τοῦ περὶ τὸν δοστρατικόν νόμον τότε πρώτων τεθέντος διὰ τὴν ύποψίαν τῶν περὶ Πεισιστράτου, ὅτι δημαγωγὸς ὤν καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐτυράννησεν.

The divergence between this problematic text and Aristotle’s report (AP 22.3) on the establishment of the ostracism law at Athens has spawned an enormous and still growing scholarly literature. Ostensibly, it commits Androtion to dating the law’s enactment to the year of its first successful use, 488/7, against Hipparchos Charmou Kollyteus. Thus, it makes him the only ancient author to date the law so late and puts him into conflict with Aristotle (AP 22.1, 3) and Philochoros (FGrHist 328 F30), who attribute its establishment to Kleisthenes (ca. 508/7).

Why Androtion should have made such a claim has inspired much debate and conjecture. Some have seen a conservative bias in his Atthis and an effort here to clear Kleisthenes of any charge that he fashioned the weapon that in the fifth century became so formidable in the hands of a jealous radical democracy. Others, supposing Androtion was disturbed by the twenty year gap between a Kleisthenic enactment of the law and its first application against Hipparchos, have thought the Atthidographer opted to date the law to the earliest event for which he had hard data. But

---

1) It would be redundant to cite the voluminous literature here. The works cited below are the most recent important efforts and they contain good bibliography and discussion of earlier materials. See, for example, P. Harding, “Atthis and Politeia,” Historia 26 (1977) 157 (esp. nn. 51–55).

2) See also Ephoros (?) ap. Diod. Sic. 11.55.1 who also would appear to date ostracism to Kleisthenes’ reforms. It should be noted Keaney (below, n. 8) 8 suggests Philochoros drew on Androtion for his report on ostracism.


4) See Keaney (below, n. 8) 2; Hignett (above, n. 3) 160; R. Werner, “Die Quellen zur Einführung des Ostrakismos,” Athenaeum n.s. 36 (1958) 88.
the assumption of Androton's *Tendenz* has recently been shaken, if not indeed overthrown5). The twenty year gap is more a modern, historicist issue and probably did not perplex the ancients. It betrays a naive belief that constitutional devices should be used—or, used effectively—as soon as devised6).

The other main analysis has been to explain or emend the text to make it agree with Aristotle and the major tradition. The justification for this effort is the obviously close verbal relationship between Aristotle and Androton7). It indicates that Aristotle followed Androton here and that the disparity of Harpokration’s text with the *AP* is due to some corruption or alteration of that text when it was excerpted or copied. But the earlier emendations and explanations are undermined either by being improbably complicated, or because they are governed by historiographic or historical preconceptions which the corrected text is made to serve8). I, too, offer a textual solution to the problem. Its advantages over the others, I believe, are that it is simple and economical and that it treats the text linguistically without trying to justify a view of Athenian history or of fourth century historiography. I suggest that there was a crucial omission from the Androton passage when it was excerpted that was followed by a copyist’s error or effort at correction that has further distorted our text. I conjecture that τότε πρωτότον in Harpokration is really a corruption of το πρωτότον from the exemplar and that in Androton’s original text,


7) See the remarks of Keaney (below, n. 8) 2; or of Dover (above, n. 6) 256.

8) Jacoby (above, n. 3) 3Bii 114–115 discusses (and criticizes) the various early attempts to reconcile the texts (but he thought Androton dated the law to 488/7 in accord with his bias, i.e., to divorce the law from Kleisthenes and make him more acceptable to ‘moderates’). Dover (above, n. 6) 256–7 posits Harpokration incorrectly paraphrased Androton; the difficulty here is that it is implausible Harpokration would have paraphrased in more words than the original text, or have completely inverted the meaning of what must have been perfectly clear (in Dover’s reconstruction, at least). J. J. Keane, “The Text of Androton F6 and the Origin of Ostracism”, *Historia* 19 (1970) 1–11 offers a brilliant emendation, but it is so complicated and requires so many steps that it is very unlikely. In fact, his insistence that τότε πρωτότον stood in the exemplar governs his emendation; but πρωτότον I take to have been simply a scribal error (and to that extent it is a red herring).
from which our version descends, there stood a correlative εἰτα or ἕπειτα δὲ clause, excised as unessential to the lexicographer’s concern, which was, “not to study historical problems for their own sake, but to explain the orator’s allusions to people, places, and institutions.” That is, when Harpokration, or his source(s), excerpted this passage from Androtion, he did so not for information on ostracism per se but on the personage, Hipparchos Charmou; indeed, other Hipparchoi are included in this entry. Only so much of Androtion was quoted as was relevant to Harpokration’s purpose, i.e., what was significant about Hipparchos Charmou (πρώτος ἑξωστρατισμόθε), and what else followed was omitted. What was left out may have been a notice that ostracism was eventually exploited by the Athenian demos against the powerful and successful in general. Thus, the τὸ πρῶτον phrase, on this hypothesis, would explain that ostracism was first set up against the Peisistratids and their followers, and then later (εἰτα δὲ) turned by the demos against any who seemed too powerful. Indeed, there is a statement in Aristotle (AP 22.6) that is close to making this very point, and it is possible that it was adapted from Androtion’s original account: ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἐτή γ’ τοις τῶν τυ- ράννων φίλους ὑποτάξειν, ἣν χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῷ τετάρτῳ ἐτεί καὶ τῶν άλλων εἰ τὶς δοκοῦτη μείζον εἶναι μεθίσπαντο.

There are two possibilities for how the putative corruption τότε πρῶτον might have arisen, one based on the mechanics of copying, the other on a reader’s possible correction.

1. A reader of the Lexicon, alerted by the grammatical signal τὸ πρῶτον, but puzzled to find no subsequent correlative, may have assumed an error in his text and emended τὸ πρῶτον to τότε πρῶτον to give better sense. This correction was then incorporated into all later copies.

2. Alternatively, it is possible that a careless copyist may, through a lapsus oculi, have dropped ΠΡΩΤΟΝ from the phrase ΝΟΜΟΥΤΟΠΡΩΤΟΝΤΕΘΕΝΤΟΣ. By ditography the initial TE of ΤΕΘΕΝΤΟΣ was repeated, perhaps thereby to make sense of the otherwise meaningless TO. The result was ΝΟΜΟΥΤΟ- ΤΕΤΕΘΕΝΤΟΣ. When the omission of ΠΡΩΤΟΝ was noticed, it was reinserted, but TOTE was not changed back to TO –

9) Dover (above, n. 6) 257.
10) Werner (above, n. 4) 86; Dover (above, n. 6) 256–257.
11) Keaney (above, n. 8) 3, n. 8.
either through oversight, or because τότε πρώτον would make good sense, if not good history\textsuperscript{12}).

The first version has the advantage of simplicity and, perhaps, a degree of elegance, yet it requires an intelligent reader’s alteration of the text. The second is more mechanical, and is based on typical scribal errors known elsewhere in Harpokration\textsuperscript{13}), but it has the disadvantage of being more complicated. In any case, the following is a possible conjecture for what may have stood in Androtion’s original text (with the εἴτε δὲ clause filled out in Greek, exempli gratia): ...

\[ ...\pi\rho\omega\tau\zeta\varepsilon\xi\omega\sigmaτ\varrho\alpha\xi\omega\theta\eta\tau\varrho\iota\iota{\eta} \tau\varpi\iota\iota \tau\iota \iota \tau \rho\omicron \pi\omicron \omega\mu\omicron \tau\omicron \iota \rho\omicron \iota \iota \tau\iota \iota \tau \omicron \iota \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicr...}