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THE BIOGRAPHIES OF *P.OXY.* 1800 (*FGRHIST* 1139)

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For the upcoming volume of Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* continued, vol. IV.A, fasc. 8 on anonymous biography, Chiara Meccariello and I have prepared a new edition of *P.Oxy.* XV 1800, soon to be published as *FGrHist* 1139.¹ In this article I present the most remarkable findings that emerged from my part of the work on the papyrus. In the course of the re-examination, I discovered a number of unpublished fragments in the frames, some of which could be connected to published material. In addition, I was able to align and connect published fragments on the basis of fibres. The present article discusses new discoveries in the *Lives* of Simonides, Thrasyboulus, and Hyperides, as well as a possible fragment from the *Life of Alcaeus*, which had not yet been identified.

P.Oxy. 1800 is a papyrus roll² containing remains of biographies of various historical and mythical figures, including the poets Sappho, Simonides, and perhaps Alcaeus, the fabulist Aesop, the historian Thucydides, the orators Demosthenes, Aischines, Hypereides and perhaps Lysias, the politician Thrasyboulus and the mythical characters Leukokomas and Abderos.

Hunt despaired of establishing an ordering principle in the organisation of the *Lives*.³ Difficult juxtapositions are Hypereides right before Leukokomas, and Thucydides next to Aesop. Lamedica likewise believes that no ordering principle is likely to be gleaned from the fragments, except that all *Lives* end in an abnormal death, with the exception of Simonides.⁴ Crönert points out the link between Aesop and Sappho (through Rhodopis), but we have no reason to assume that the *Life of Sappho* was near that of Aesop.⁵ Calderini tentatively proposes that there may be smaller groupings of people, perhaps in the format of parallel *Lives*.⁶ The combinations he points out are Sappho – Simonides and Demosthenes – Aischines. The new arrangement of frs. 4, 6, and 8 demonstrates that the *Lives* of Thrasyboulus and Hypereides were contiguous; two people known primarily as overthrowers of tyrants. The work on frs. 2 and 3 has led us to conclude that at least one column intervened between the two (as Hunt believed as well), and as a result it is unlikely that fr. 3 preserves the end of the *Life of Thucydides*. This allows for an intervening biography between that of Thucydides and Demosthenes, perhaps the thematical counterpoint to the *Life* of the historian. As a result, no juxtapositions remain that cannot be explained by a local thematic link: Alcaeus (?) – Sappho – Simonides, ? – Aesop, Thucydides – ?, Demosthenes – Aeschines, Thrasyboulus – Hypereides, Leukokomas – ?. Beyond these local connections, however, no overarching ordering principle can be established on the basis of our limited material. See the concluding remarks for some considerations about the possible function of this set of biographies.

(1) Life of Simonides (*P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 col ii)

Towards the end of the small extant passage from the *Life of Simonides*, the presence of the number 24 (κδ) strongly suggests that something is being said about the alphabet, with whose invention Simonides is

¹ The fragments published here were my responsibility, and the research presented is my own, but it has benefited considerably from the comments and ideas of Chiara Meccariello. In addition, I thank Peter Parsons, James Brusuelas, and Stefan Schorn for their valuable input, and Daniela Colomo for undertaking conservation and sharing her ideas. The digital images are courtesy of the EES and I would like to thank them especially for allowing me to include the unpublished fragments in this article. This publication was written during the tenure of a Veni grant funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), project number 275-30-038.

² For an extensive description of the papyrus and the hand, I refer the reader to the introduction of *FGrHist* 1139.

³ Hunt (1922: 137): 'no intelligible principle seems to have guided the compiler either in the choice of his characters or their grouping'.

⁴ Lamedica (1985: 56).

⁵ Crönert (1922: 425).

⁶ Calderini (1922: 261–262).



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

sometimes credited. Below is the text published by Hunt and accepted by all later editions, with the sole addition of accents and breathings.

προσεύρει[ν δέ φα-
 20 κει[. . .]στον τῶν κδ ἀπ[. . .]
 τ[. . .] εὐ[. . .] ηαα[. . .] εὐ[. . .]
 [. . .]

As Hunt notes, the traces after δ in l. 19 do not allow *διπ[λᾶ. Even if they did, there would be no space for [στοι] at the end of the line, which Hunt therefore dismisses as a supplement in line 19.⁷ Hunt was on the right track, however, and we can in fact supplement $\zeta\tau[οι]|χ\epsilon[\acute{\iota}\alpha]$. This may appear to leave the δ stranded, but not if we read it as $\bar{\delta}$, the numeral. The line that would in that case have been over the δ (cf. l. 20 κδ) falls exactly in the lacuna. Whereas Hunt was looking for supplements to express that Simonides invented two letters, as part of the tradition has it,⁸ in Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* 738f) and Pliny⁹ he is said to have introduced *four* letters; this matches the report in the *Suda* σ 439, s.v. Σιμωνίδης, although the sources do not agree about which four letters he introduced.¹⁰

Filling in $\pi\rho\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ τὸν in the remainder of the lacuna at the start of l. 20, the problem is what follows after α at the end of line 20. The trace most naturally resembles γ or π, but it is hard to come up with a masculine singular noun in the accusative (τόν) that would fit the line end. So we must consider that a longer masculine accusative singular is hiding in 20–21 ἀ[. . .]τ[. . .]ν. Of the letter following τ, only the tip of an apparent upright remains, suggesting e.g. η or ι. A philologically and palaeographically attractive supplement is ἀπ[αρ]|τ[ι]μ[ό]ν, ‘completion’.¹¹ For this kind of use of ἀπαρτιμός, see e.g. Eust. *Comm. II.* 1.44 πρὸς δακτύλου ἀπαρτιμόν. The resulting text reads:

προσεύρει[ν δέ φα-
 20 κει[. . .]στον τῶν κδ ἀπ[αρ-
 τ[ι]μ[ό]ν. εὐ[. . .] η[. . .] ε[. . .] εὐ[. . .]
 [. . .]

‘And some say that he further also invented four letters to the [completion] of the twenty-four.
 [..]’

⁷ Hunt (1922: 147); in the commentary he allowed that both κει[and χει[could be read at the start of line 20, although he printed κει[in his text.

⁸ [Theodosius] *Peri Grammatikes* (p. 3 Götting) ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν μακρῶν οὐκ ἤρξατο, ὅτι ὁ Κεῖος Σιμωνίδης ὑστερον τοῦ Παλαμήδου εφεύρεν αὐτά, Tz. *Chil.* 5.8 τὰ ἄλλα ὑστερον εφευρέθησαν παρὰ μὲν Σιμωνίδου, τὸ ἦτα λέγω καὶ τὸ ω, ἃ καὶ μακρὰ καλοῦμεν; some doubt about the identification of this inventor is expressed in Tz. *Chil.* 12.398 τοῦ ἦτα πάλιν καὶ τοῦ ω, τῶν δύο μακρῶν λέγω, τὸν Σιμωνίδην λέγουσιν εφευρετὴν ὑπάρχειν, εἴτε τὸν τοῦ Ἀμόργου δὲ τὸν Σάμιον ἐκεῖνον, εἴτε τὸν Λεωπρέπεος τὸν Κεῖον, οὐ γινώσκω.

⁹ Plin. *H.N.* 7.192 attulisse e Phoenice Cadmum sedecim numero, quibus Troiano bello Palameden adiecisse quattuor hac figura ΖΨΦΧ, totidem post eum Simonidem melicum, ΥΞΩΘ; cf. *An. Ox.* 4.319.29–31 (η, ω, ζ, ψ) and 4.400.12–15 (η, c, υ, ω). In all these texts, the strings of letters have been corrupted in transmission and subsequently heavily emended, so they carry little evidential value.

¹⁰ *Suda* σ 439, s.v. Σιμωνίδης claims that Simonides invented the long letters (H and Ω) and the double letters (Ξ and Ψ). Whichever letters originally stood in Pliny’s text, they may have had some support from Aristotle, since Plin. *H.N.* 7.192 continues: *Aristoteles decem et octo priscas fuisse et duas ab Epicharmo additas ΨΖ quam a Palamede mavolt.* This may suggest that although Aristotle’s account differs from the one Pliny gives as concerns Palamedes’ contribution, it does not do so as far as Simonides is concerned.

¹¹ The supplements given in lines 19–21 were the results of my editorial work. After proposing this reading, however, I uncovered the letter of Schmidt to Hunt, dated 24th of January 1924, in Hunt’s own copy of volume XV of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which is kept in the Papyrology Rooms of the Sackler Library in Oxford. In this letter, later published in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, Schmidt proposes exactly the same supplements for this passage, and he is therefore credited in the apparatus of *FGrHist* 1139 F 1.

In this reading, our text becomes a further early testimony to the tradition that Simonides introduced four new letters to the alphabet. It may suggest that these claims go back to a certain common source, perhaps in Simonides' poetry.

In l. 21, the traces suggest εὐρ[ε]τή[ς] δὲ [γ]έ[γ]ρα[ύ]με[ν]ο[ς] or δ' ἐ[γ]έ[γ]ρα[ύ]με[ν]ο[ς]. If the former, the following section may have told a story connected to Simonides' invention of these four letters. If the latter, it may have gone on to discuss yet another invention attributed to Simonides, e.g. the third note of the lyre.¹²

(2) Life of Alcaeus? (*P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 21 + unpublished fr. C)

These small fragments may be connected on the basis of appearance, horizontal fibres, and text. The space after φυ in l. 4 and the smaller size of the final c in l. 2 show that these are line-ends; the number of extant letters and their alignment suggest that about 1 letter is missing on the left. The text below differs from that given in *FGrHist* 1139 in that I have integrated the supplements suggested in the commentary there.

.

πα]ρ[α-

 c]κεννακάμεν[ος κα]ὶ εὐκα[ς [

 α]ὐτὸν περιεγένετο καὶ ἀνῆ[λ-

 θ]εν· δευτέρα[c] δ[ε] λαβῶν φυ-

5 γ]ῆς πεῖρ[α]ν

 .]π[ο]τ[

 .] [

.

‘Having prepared, and trusting(?) in himself, he survived and returned. Having experienced a second exile ...’

The minute traces in l. 2 do not obviously match a word like *πιπτεόαα*, but the fibres are quite damaged and displaced. This reading points to Alcaeus as the subject of this life, whose second exile is also mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XXIX 2506 fr. 98, ll. 4–5: *δευτέραν (...) φυγήν*.¹³ To find a *Life of Alcaeus* in this collection would not be surprising given the presence of the biographies of Sappho and Simonides in fr. 1. The identification of these fragments as concerning Alcaeus is further supported by the possibility that these fragments match the dimensions of fr. 1 col. i. The vertical fibres appear to align with those in fr. 1; one vertical cut about four letters from the left margin is especially suggestive (see figure 1). It would not cause any surprise if the *Life* immediately preceding that of Sappho was that of Alcaeus. If the fragment is to be placed there, this passage would probably belong in the latter part of Alcaeus' biography.

(3) Life of Thrasyboulus (*P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 4 + 5 + unpublished fr. A + 6 + 7 + 10 + 8)

Hunt aligned fr. 5 on the basis of Thrasyboulus' name in fr. 4 l. 8. In the process of re-editing, unpublished fr. A has been placed under fr. 4 and to the left of fr. 5, so that it supplies more of ll. 10 and 11, and adds traces of five additional lines.

Although fr. 6 also concerns Thrasyboulus, the look of the verso does not offer any clear continuing vertical fibres. Since fr. 4 represents the top of a column, however, we may yet suppose that it is part of the same column as 6, perhaps quite far down. Alternatively, fr. 6 would be the immediately subsequent column, but this would presuppose a very long biography of Thrasyboulus.¹⁴ See the commentary *ad* 15 below for a philological argument that the distance between fr. 4 and 6 cannot have been very great, suggesting that they formed part of the same column.

¹² *Suda* σ 439, s.v. Σιμωνίδης: καὶ τῆ λύρα τὸν τρίτον φθόγγον; cf. West (1992: 344).

¹³ For this passage in *P.Oxy.* 2506, see Barner (1967: 16–18).

¹⁴ We would have to assume at least 46 lines in the column of fr. 4 plus more than 20 lines in the column of fr. 6, since its top margin is not preserved.

Horizontal fibres continue from fr. 6 to fr. 8, and since there is a kollesis near the right edge of fr. 8,¹⁵ this fragment must have come to the right of fr. 6. See figure 2 for the new arrangement. The resulting aligned fragments give two columns containing the end of one unidentified biography and the start of Thrasyloulos' *Life* in col. i, and the continuation of that *Life* followed by the beginning of the *Life of Hypereides* in col. ii. From fr. 6 onwards, numbering is between brackets, since the vertical distance to fr. 4, and hence to the top of the column, cannot be established. If the columns are contiguous, as I believe, there will have been approximately 33 lines lost between col. i, l. (36) and col. ii, l. (18).

col. i	col. ii
[περὶ] Θρασυβ[ούλου]	
Θρα[σύβου]λος παῖ[ς μὲν ἦν Λύ-	
κου, τὸ δὲ γ]ένος Ἀθη[ναῖος,	
10 Στ]εῖ[ριε]ψ[ι] δὲ τῶν δῆ[μων. ὦν	
δ' ἀ]νήρ φιλόπατ[ρις ἐγένετο	
[] στρατηγ[ὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων (?]	
. .]ιςτη[ι]	
Λ]ακεδαιμ[ον	
15 τ]ῶν τριά[κοντα	
. .]ων[
.	
[c. 1–16 lines lost]	
.	
Θ]ρα[σύ]βου[λο]ς [κα]ῖ [.
οἱ σὺ]ν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλ[ῆ]ς	[. .]ηι
κατά]γο]υσι τὸν δῆμον· ὡς	[]ηδε
(20) δὲ κατε]λύθησαν οἱ τριά-	[]ετα
κοντα] ἔγραψεν ψήφισμα	[]οισιν
Θρασύ]βουλος μεταδιδούς	[]απο
αὐτοῖς] τῆς πολιτείας. ἀ-	[]ορχα
προβου]λεύτου δὲ τοῦ ψη-	[] τους
(25) φίσματος] γεναμένου οὐ	[] περ αὐ-
κῦρος ἦν τ]ῆς τιμῆς. ὁ δὲ πάν-	[τ-]ν Ἀθηναί-
τας προκρ]ίνας ἀγαπή-	[] ἀναχθε[ί]ς
α]ῖ ἔλεγ[εν] ἐν τοῖς δικα->	[] αν προς
σ]τηρίο[ις ὡ]ς κινδυνεύ-	[] μετὰ τὸν
(30) σο]ῖ ε. . . [. . . .] ὡς δ' ἐκωλυ-	[] ανατον
. .]ι ψηφισμ[α	[] ἀπ]ώλετ[ο]
. .]εδίδου	[>]
. .]αννον τῆς	
. .]εθανων	
(35) . .]επαρα	
. .]υς . . . [
.	

col. i 10–11 ὦν | [δ' ἀ]νήρ φιλόπατ[ρις De Kreij : λε πατ[Hunt 11–15 suppl. De Kreij (17)–
 (18) Θ]ρα[σύ]βου[λο]ς [κα]ῖ | οἱ σὺ]ν De Kreij : σ]ν Hunt (19) κατά]γο]υσι Hunt (20) δε κατε]λυθησαν
 Hunt (23) αντοις Hunt dubitanter : πᾶσιν Schmidt (26) κῦρος ἦν τ]ῆς Schmidt : -κ ετυχον τ]ῆς Hunt dubi-

¹⁵ Ed. pr. suggests that the top margin of the column is extant, with . θεωσ (fr. 8, col. ii, l. 2) on the top line. However, a clear trace of the first letter of the preceding line of col. ii is visible, and as a result we cannot establish where the top margin was.

tanter (26)–(30) παν[τασ προκρ]ίνας ἀγαπη[κα]ι *De Kreij* : πάν[τασ ἐξονόμ]ηνας ἀγαπη[τῶ]c ἔλεγ[εν] ἐν τοῖς δικα[κτ]ηρίο[ι]c ὡ[ς] κινδυνεύ[κο]ι μετ’ [αὐτῶν] *Schmidt* (28) [κα]ε̅ ε̅λη[*Hunt* col. ii (26)–(27) τῶ]ν Αθηνα[ίων] *Hunt* (31) ἀπ[ώ]λετ[ο] *De Kreij* : απ[ώ]λεε[. .] *Hunt*

‘[On] Thrasyboulus

Thrasyboulus was a son [of Lykos], of Athenian descent, from the deme of Steiria. [Being] a patriotic man, he [became] a *strategos* [of the Athenians?] [...] Lakedaimonians [...] of the Thirty

[...]

[unknown number of lines lost]

Thrasyboulus and those with him led the people down from Phyle. When the Thirty had been dispelled, Thrasyboulus wrote a decree conferring the citizenship to [them]. Since the decree was unlawful, however, the honour [was not ratified]. But he, [preferring] to welcome them all warmly, said in the law courts that it may [...]. And when [...] stopped [...] decree [...] gave [...]

[c. 33 lines lost]

[...] of the Athenians [...] having set out [...] toward [...] after the [...] died.’

Commentary

These fragments of *P.Oxy.* 1800 contain the only papyrus biography of Thrasyboulus. One other biography is extant, a short Latin *Life* by Cornelius Nepos. For his political and military career, there is evidence from contemporary orators and Xenophon. The new fragment shows that right from the beginning the biography focuses on Thrasyboulus’ life after the events of 404 BC. This aligns with the fact that from other sources too we hear little about his early life.

Col. i

7 [περὶ] Θρασυβ[ούλου] Thrasyboulus lived from c. 445–389 BC.¹⁶ Little is known of his personal life, and we have only limited knowledge of his activities before the end of the Peloponnesian war.¹⁷

11 ἀ]νήρ φιλόπατ[ρι]c Cf. Nep. *Thras.* 1 *neminem huic praefero ... in patriam amore*, and especially the scholion to Aristoph. *Pl.* 1146 Θρασύβουλος τις Ἀθηναῖος φιλόπατρις.¹⁸ For this mention of a character trait right at the beginning, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 col. ii, l. 12–13 (on Simonides’ greed for money) and fr. 8 col. ii, ll. 19–20 (on Leukokomas’ appearance).

15 τῶν τριά[κοντα] E.g. τὴν | τῶν τριά[κοντα] ἀρχήν ‘the reign of the Thirty’. Cf. [Plu.] *X Or.* 834f τῶν τριάκοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, Paus. 9.32.8, Poll. 8.100 τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα ὀλιγαρχίαν, Ael. *VH* 2.11, and the scholion to Aeschin. 3.181.

In 404 BC, Thrasyboulus opposed the thirty oligarchs set up in Athens by Sparta. The mention of the Thirty here suggests that the distance between fr. 4 and fr. 6, despite the material disparity, cannot have been too great. Diod. 14.32 may offer us an idea of what would have stood in the missing lines: Θρασύβουλος Στριεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος, ὦν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα πεφυγαδευμένος, συνεργούντων αὐτῷ λάθρα τῶν Θηβαίων κατέλαβετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς χωρίον ὀνομαζόμενον Φυλῆν.

¹⁶ Buck (1998: 18).

¹⁷ For Thrasyboulus’ early military exploits, see Buck (1998: 19–60).

¹⁸ The full passage runs: ἡ ἱστορία, ὅπως Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίους τριάκοντα τυράννους κατέστησαν, Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ αὐτούς· οἱ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κακῶς ἐποίουν τοὺς ὀμοφύλους καὶ συμπολίτας. ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος τις Ἀθηναῖος φιλόπατρις καὶ μισοτύραννος Φυλῆν κατέλαβε χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν νικᾷ τε αὐτούς καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἠλευθέρωσεν.

(18) ἀπὸ Φυλ[ῆ]c The biographer keeps this episode, which elsewhere is set out at length,¹⁹ quite short.²⁰ Thrasyboulus came from Thebes to take the Attic border fortress of Phyle with 70 men.²¹ Over time, more people flocked to his banner, and with this force he took Peiraeus and later beat the forces of the Thirty. In time, the Spartan general Pausanias came to aid the Thirty, and after narrowly beating Thrasyboulus allowed the Thirty to be exiled. An alternative version is known from Cornelius Nepos.

There is a clear pattern in the wording of this episode in the different sources, ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, κατάγω, οἱ σὺν αὐτῶι, and καταλύω return in a majority of sources. Especially close to our life is the scholion to Aeschin. (*Ktes.*) 3.181: νοεῖται δὲ ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶ τὴν Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες ἐπὶ τῶ τὸν δῆμον φυγόντα καταγαγεῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχὴν καταλύειν.²²

(21)–(23) ψήφισμα This law is discussed in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40.2. There it is stated that Thrasyboulus gave citizenship to the ξένοι and metics who helped liberate Athens: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γραψάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ Θρασυβούλου παρανόμων, ἐν ᾧ μετεδίδου τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ Πειραιεῶς συγκατελθοῦσι. Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.4) speaks of ἰσοτέλεια.²³ In *Lys. fr.* 22 (52c) Carey, the issue is discussed with particular reference to Lysias: Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στειριεὺς (...) ἔγραψε ψήφισμα δοθῆναι πολιτείαν (Λυσία τῶ) Κεφάλου τῶ ῥήτορι πολλὰ εὐεργετήσαντι τοὺς εἰς Φυλὴν καταφυγόντας. Cf. Nep. *Thras.* 3 *cum plurimum in civitate possset.*

(23)–(24) ἀ[π]ροβου]λεύτου Thrasyboulus' law was countered by Archinus, on the basis that Thrasyboulus had not gone through the proper protocol.²⁴ For this he was indicted and fined one drachm, see Aesch. 3.195 and *Lys. fr.* 22 (52c) τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης καὶ εἶλε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν τῶ Θρασυβούλω οἱ δικάσταὶ δραχμῆς μιᾶς. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ τιμῆσει παρελθὼν κτλ.

(25) γεναμένου I. γενομένου Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 2, l. 42 where the weak aorist ending, frequent from the second century onwards,²⁵ is changed to the correct Attic form.

(26)–(30) ὁ δὲ πάν[τα]c ... κινδυνεύ[co]i The reconstruction is based in large part on the supplements proposed by Schmidt, who starts from the assumption that this passage concerns Thrasyboulus' fight for citizenship or ἰσοτέλεια for the ξένοι and metics who helped liberate Athens from the Thirty. Despite Archinus' initial obstruction, the Athenians did in the end honour the non-Athenian allies of Thrasyboulus;²⁶ this may have been explained in the following fragmentary lines.

Another possibility is that the passage concerns the law or oath concerning μνησικακία. The story is that Thrasyboulus required an oath against μνησικακία of the people at this time,²⁷ namely that no-one's memory should be besmirched except that of the Thirty, the Ten that were set up briefly after them, and

¹⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 2.4, *Ath. Pol.* 37–40, Diod. 14.32–33, Nep. *Thras.* 2–3, Philost. *VS.* 1.16.

²⁰ See Steinbock (2013: 236–237) on such summary descriptions of the event.

²¹ There was no certainty about the number: Xen. *Hell.* 2.4 gives 70, Paus. 1.29.3 gives 60, Nep. *Thras.* 2 gives 30, and the scholion to Aristoph. *Pl.* 1146 gives 80; cf. Steinbock (2013: 239).

²² Cf. Dem. (*Fals.*) 19.280 ἐκείνον τὸν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ δημοτικῶ καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντος τὸν δῆμον; Str. 9.1.17 p. C 396 Φυλὴ δὲ ὅθεν ἐπήγαγε τὸν δῆμον Θρασύβουλος εἰς Πειραιᾶ κάκειθεν εἰς ἄκτυ; Paus. 1.29.3 τυραννίδα γὰρ ἔπαυσε τῶν τριάκοντα καλουμένων σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐξήκοντα τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὀρμηθεῖς ἐκ Θηβῶν and 9.11.6 on the statues erected for him and the other freedom fighters: Θρασύβουλος δὲ ὁ Λύκου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ σὺν αὐτῶ τυραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καταλύσαντες – ὀρμηθεῖσι γὰρ σφισιν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐγένετο ἡ κάθοδος – Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἡρακλέα κολοσσούς ἐπὶ λίθου τύπου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν, ἔργα δὲ Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον; Plu. *Lys.* 27.4 ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶ Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες ἐκ Θηβῶν ὠρμήθησαν; Plu. *Glor. Ath.* 349d ἡ δὲ Θρασυβούλου καταγεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἐλεύθερον; *Ath. Pol.* 37 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὴν Μουσιχίαν (...) τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν.

²³ See Rhodes (1981: 474–478) for an overview of the conflicting evidence on the rewards for the liberators; cf. Steinbock (2013: 240–241).

²⁴ See Buck (1998: 85) and Steinbock (2013: 240–241).

²⁵ Gignac (1981: II, 344–345).

²⁶ See the inscriptions Harding 1985 nn. 3 and 7 (= *IG* II², 10 and Raubitschek (1941: 284–295)); cf. Buck (1998: 84–86) and Steinbock (2013: 241–242).

²⁷ See Buck (1998: 84) on the status of this proposal.

the Eleven from Peiraeus. The phrasing of an oath is quoted in *And. Myst.* 90 φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, οἱ ὄρκοι ὑμῖν πῶς ἔχουσιν; ὁ μὲν κοινὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπάρη, ὃν ὁμομόκατε πάντες μετὰ τὰς διαλλαγὰς, ‘καὶ οὐ μνησικακῆσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα (καὶ τῶν δέκα) καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα· οὐδὲ τούτων ὃς ἂν ἐθέλη εὐθύναι διδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρξεν’. Ὅπου τοίνυν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τριάκοντα ὠμνυτε μὴ μνησικακῆσειν, τοῖς μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίοις, εἰ διδοῖεν εὐθύναι, ἧ που χολῆ τῶν γε ἄλλων πολιτῶν τι νηξιοῦτε μνησικακεῖν.²⁸ Nepos speaks of a law in *Thras.* 3 *Praeclarum hoc quoque Thrasybuli, quod reconciliata pace, cum plurimum in civitate posset, legem tulit ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarunt.*

Col. ii

(21)]οῖσιν ἄθρ]οῖσιν ‘collection’ is a likely supplement; according to the story told by Xenophon (see fn. 29), Thrasyboulus was in the Aegean in order to collect money for Athens just before his death. For this use of the term, cf. *Thuc.* 6.26.2 (not concerning Thrasyboulus) ἐς χρημάτων ἄθροισιν.

(27)–(31)] ἀναχθε[ῖ]c ... ἀπ]ώλετ[ο After visiting Lesbos, Thrasyboulus took his ship up the Eurymedon river to Aspendos, where he raided the town and his soldiers laid waste to the land. In the night the disgruntled men of Aspendos forced their way into to his camp and murdered Thrasyboulus in his tent.²⁹ Consider the following *exempli gratia* supplements:

] ἀναχθε[ῖ]c
δ[ὲ ναυτὶ τὴν στρατε]ίαν πρὸς
Ἄ[σπενδον ἤγαγεν, οὗ] μετὰ τὸν
(30) τῶν αὐτοῦ φρουρῶν θ]άνατον³⁰
αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἀπ]ώλετ[ο.

‘Having set out with ships, he led the army to Aspendos, where after the death of his guards he himself died in his tent.’

For the wording in l. (31), compare fr. 8 col. ii, l. 11–12 αὐτὸς ... [ἀπ]ώλετο.

Although we cannot establish much of a pattern from the limited material, it would perhaps be surprising if the biography of Thrasyboulus ended right after his death. In the lives of Aesop, Demosthenes and Hypereides, it is mentioned how they were honoured after their death. Nepos reports (*Thras.* 4) that Thrasyboulus received an olive crown, but this happened after his overthrow of the Thirty, and would have been discussed earlier in the *Life*. Paus. 1.29.3 does mention the tomb of Thrasyboulus in the δημόσιον σῆμα.³¹ In other words, it is not beyond doubt that l. (31) represents the end of the *Life*, as I have reconstructed above.

²⁸ Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 40 ἐπεὶ τις ἤρξατο τῶν κατεληλυθότων μνησικακεῖν, ἀπαγαγὼν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πείσαι ἀκριτον ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγων ὅτι νῦν δεῖξουσιν, εἰ βούλονται τὴν δημοκρατίαν σφῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένειν· ἀφέντας μὲν γὰρ τοῦτον προτρέψειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐὰν δ’ ἀνέλωσιν, παράδειγμα ποιήσειν ἅπασιν. ὅπερ καὶ συνέπεσεν· ἀποθανόντος γὰρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ὑστερον ἐμνησικάκησεν; *Xen. Hell.* 2.4.38 οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ’ ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχουν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα.

²⁹ *Xen. Hell.* 4.8.30 ὅπως (δ’) ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐρωμενέστατον τὸ στρατεύμα ποιῆσαιτο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἠργυρολόγει καὶ εἰς Ἄσπενδον ἀφικόμενος ὠρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. ἦδη δ’ ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὀργισθέντες οἱ Ἀσπένδιοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν. καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν; cf. *Diod.* 14.99.4, who adds: γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν Ἀσπένδιοι χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἐπέθεντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸν τε Θρασύβουλον καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεΐλαν.

³⁰ Or ἀνὰ τὸν | [Εὐρυμέδοντα], though this is harder to integrate into a coherent reading.

³¹ See Steinbock (2013: 235 n. 72).

(4) Life of Hypereides (*P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 8)

The line numbering continues from the preceding *Life*.

	col. i	col. ii
		· []·[· θεως [
(20)		εὐγενεία[() , ὅτ' ἐπολιόρκει ἡ Ἀθηναί[ων στρατεία Λαμίας τῆς [Θεσσαλίας. συνητύχη[ε δ' ὡς συνερ- γὸς τῷ Δημο[σθένει καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτ[ρου ἐν τοῖς
(25)		δέκα ῥήτορες [ἐξιτηθή. c. 2–3 τ' ὠν ἀτυχῆς [c. 10 αὐτὸς ἐν Μακ[εδονίαι ἀ- πώλετ' [ο]. Ἀθη[ναῖοι δὲ πά- λιν τὴν ἐλευθ[ερίαν ἀνακο- μικάμενοι κα[θὼς ἦρωα αὐ- τὸν ἀνδρίασιν ἐτίμησαν. >
(30)		
	περὶ Ὑπερείδου ῥήτω]ρος	
	Ἐπερείδης τὸ μὲν γένος ἦ]ν	
	Ἀθηναῖος,]τα	
(35)]· ε	
]· >	

col. i (32)–(34) *suppl. De Kreij* col. ii (19)–(21) ὅτ' ἐπολιόρκει *De Kreij* : επει δε] | η Αθηναί[ων στρατεία περι] | Λαμίας της [Θεσσαλίας] *Hunt dubitanter* (22) συνητύχη[ε δ' ὡς *De Kreij* : συνητύχη[εν ὡς *Hunt dubitanter* (23) καὶ *De Kreij* : ὠν *Hunt* (24)–(26) ἐν τοῖς] | δεκα ῥητορες [ρητηθη [sic] και παν]των ατυχης[αc *Hunt dubitanter* (25) ἐξιτηθή *De Kreij* (25)–(26) παν]των ἀτυχῆς[αc βοηθῶν *Schmidt* (30) κα[θὼς ἦρωα *Schmidt* (30)–(31) αὐ]τ[ον] ἀνδρίασιν ἐτίμησαν *Hunt*

‘[On Hypereides (the orat]or)

[Hypereides was Athenian by descent...]

[c. 32 lines lost]

[...] excellence, [when] the Athenian [army besieged] Lamia [of Thessaly]. But he fell on hard times with Demo[sthenes, as his collabo]rator, [and his surrender was demanded] by Antipater [among the] ten orators. [...] having failed, [...], himself died in Macedon. And the Athenians, when they had recovered their freedom, [honoured] him with statues [as a hero].’

Commentary

These fragments of *P.Oxy.* 1800 form the only biographical witness on papyrus for Hypereides. The other biographical sources are the *Life of Hypereides* in [Plu.] *X Or.* 849a–e, and the *Suda* v 294, s.v. Ὑπερίδης, gathered in Westermann (1845: 312–316). Other evidence for his life comes from his extant orations and those of his contemporaries. The extant part of the *Life* concentrates on Hypereides’ downfall, after the Lamian War, mostly conforming to the other sources. The claim that Antipater demanded the surrender of ten orators appears to have been confused with a similar event thirteen years earlier. Finally, the *Life* states that Hypereides was honoured with statues posthumously; this is not otherwise attested.

Fr. 8 col. i

(32)]ροϝ The hand is the same, but smaller and written well into the margin; its position and size suggest that it is a later addition. The other *Lives* appear to have the length of about one column (namely in *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 and fr. 3, where we can establish the length), and the next *Life* starts at this point in the following column. Moreover, we find ἀπ'ώλετ[ο] in l. (31), a line that appears to have been rather short. Considering these concurring facts, this smaller annotation may have been written after the title of the next *Life*, which would most likely have been that of Hypereides.

If this hypothesis is correct, the traces can be explained as follows. In all cases where the beginning of a *Life* is extant, the opening formula is δεῖνα τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν, except in the lives of Demosthenes and Aeschines, where ὁ ῥήτωρ is added. Here, we may hypothesize, the scribe forgot to include this specification in the first line, and later added ῥήτο]ροϝ (in the genitive) after the title.

(33) [Υπεριίδης τὸ μὲν γένος ἦ]ν The line has been supplemented on the basis of the hypothesis set out above. Hypereides was probably born around 390–389 and died in 322 BC.³²

(34)]τα These traces are difficult. The deme of Hypereides was Κολλυτιός (adj. Κολλυτεύς) and his father was called Γλαυκίππος. One possibility is that the author mentioned a discussion about his father's name;³³ cf. *Suda* υ 294, s.v. Ὑπερίδης: υἱὸς Γλαυκίππου τοῦ ῥήτορος, οἱ δὲ Πυθοκλέους, while in Dem. 18.187, in an apocryphal document, his name is given as Ὑπερίδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος. Hence e.g.:

[Ἀθηναῖος, παῖς δὲ κα]τὰ
[μὲν τινὰ Πυθοκλέου]ς, ἔ-
[τεροι δὲ Γλαυκίππου . . .] >

Although the construction κατὰ τινὰ ... ἕτεροι (or ἐτέροις / ἐτέρως) is asymmetrical, parallels can be found, e.g. Tz. *Chil.* 12.443.788 κατὰ τινὰ ὁ Ἄρης μὲν παῖς Ἐνυοῦς ὦν ἼΗρας, ἄλλοις υἱὸς τοῦ Ἄρεος, ἐτέροις δὲ θεράπων, Eust. *Comm. Od.* 2.102 λύπη γὰρ τακεῖα διεφθάρη κατὰ τινὰς, ἕτεροι δὲ ὡς καὶ προεῤῥέθη, ἀγχόνῃ φακὶν αὐτὴν μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον κτλ.

In what is lost, we may expect references to Hypereides' love of fish, wine, and women.³⁴ He is said to have had a different mistress in every town,³⁵ and he famously defended the hetaira Phryne. When she was about to be convicted, he took her robe, tore it down, and revealed her breasts. The judges were so amazed by her beauty that they could not convict her.³⁶ Also, the biography may have discussed his unsuccessful proposal after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 to extend citizenship to metics and others (cf. [Plu.] *X Or.* 849a).

Fr. 8 col. ii

(18) .θεωϝ [α, λ, or χ; e.g. ἀθέωϝ, Ἐρε]λχθέωϝ, -]λχθε ὡϝ, or -]λχθ' ἔωϝ? I have not managed to find a satisfying supplement. Λεωϝθ[ένης, a name that would fit perfectly in the context, cannot be read without assuming two mistakes: the θ near the start of the line would have to be deleted (no deletion sign in evidence), and the letter right before lacuna does not match θ.

(19) εὐγενειῶ[The term, specifically 'nobility of birth' or more generally 'excellence', combined with Lamia in l. (21) points towards Hypereides' *Funeral Oration*.³⁷ In this oration, Hypereides eulogized the

³² The date of birth is calculated in the basis of an inscription (*IG* II,941) in which Hypereides is named a διατητήρ in 330–329, combined with an observation in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 53.4 that this happens when a citizen turns sixty; cf. Colin (1946: 7). The fullest overview of his professional career is given in Colin (1946: 12–51).

³³ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 col. i, l. 5–7.

³⁴ See Ath. 8.341e.

³⁵ See Ath. 13.590c, [Plu.] *X Or.* 849d.

³⁶ See Ath. 13.590e, [Plu.] *X Or.* 849e.

³⁷ The term occurs, in its narrow sense, in Hyp. *Epit.* col. iv, l. 11.

Greeks who fell in the siege of Lamia and the later battle at Crannon, with particular praise for the general Leosthenes.

After the death of Alexander in 323, Hypereides was the political face of the revolt in Athens, with general Leosthenes as his military ally; their opponent was Antipater, who had been put in charge of Greece. After some initial successes, the Greeks besieged the Macedonians in Lamia, a city in Thessaly. In the process of this siege, Leosthenes was wounded and later died. Not much later, with the arrival of reinforcements, Antipater managed to break the siege and later defeat the Greek armies at Crannon; the Greeks surrendered in 322.³⁸

If in accusative, the word could have formed part of a construction like ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ ἐπήνεσε τὴν εὐγένειαν, but it is unclear how to fit in the traces of line (18). A dative or nominative is equally possible.

(20)–(21) ἡ Ἀθηναίων ... [Θεσσαλίας The supplements are largely Hunt's (see *app.*), the main difference being that I do not connect this clause to the construction in l. (22). For the wording see Hyp. *Epit.* col. v, l. 29–30 ἐπολι[όρ]κει κατακλείσας εἰς Λαμίαν, Cass. D. 287.22–23 τοῦ Φιλίππου δὲ τὴν Λάμειαν πολιορκῶντος and *Suda* α 2704, s.v. Ἀντίπατρος: ἐπολιορκήθη μὲν ἐν Λαμίᾳ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων.

(22)–(23) συνητόχης[ε ... τῷ Δημο[κ]θένει The verb normally takes a dative or μετὰ + genitive, so it seems most natural to take it with Demosthenes in the following line, rather than with another subject in the preceding as Hunt proposed.³⁹

(25) δέκα ῥήτορι: After defeating the Greeks at Crannon (see above *ad* (19)), Antipater requested that Athens hand over the demagogues who had argued against the Macedonians during the revolt. For the wording, compare [Plu.] *X Or.* 849a ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου, and in the section on Demosthenes (847d) ἡνίκα Ἀντίπατρος ἐξίηται τοὺς ῥήτορας. The number ten mentioned here echoes that in the *Suda* entry on Antipater (*Suda* α 2704, s.v. Ἀντίπατρος),⁴⁰ but this testimony cannot be right, since five of those listed there were already dead at the outbreak of the Lamian war.⁴¹ It seems there was confusion in the tradition with an event thirteen years earlier, when Alexander demanded that number. Arr. *An.* 1.10.4–5 tells this story, and includes Hypereides among the ten orators whose surrender Alexander demanded, a list overlapping almost perfectly with the one given in the *Suda* for the orators demanded by Antipater.⁴²

(26) τ' ὦν ἀτυχῆς [If the finite verb in (25) is the correct reading, there is room for c. 2–3 letters at the end of that line. A possible supplement is [εἶ]τ' ὦν ἀτυχῆς [ἐν τούτοις.] | αὐτὸς κτλ. For the construction with εἶτα followed by participle, see Isoc. 15.66 εἶτ' ἐξελῶν κτλ.

(26)–(27) ἀ]πῶλετ[ο] There is an apparent deletion dot over and just to the right of the o. It would serve to mark elision.

Hypereides died in 322 BC. The version in which Hypereides dies in Macedon is transmitted in [Plu.] *X Or.* 849c, in a passage attributed to Hermippus (*FGrHist* 1026 F 47).⁴³ Other versions reported in this text have Hypereides die in Corinth or in Kleonai (cf. Plu. *Phoc.* 29.1), while the *Suda* reports Hermione as his place of death.⁴⁴ What all accounts have in common is that Hypereides cut out or bit off his tongue

³⁸ See Colin (1946: 46–49) and Worthington (1999: 12–16).

³⁹ Hunt (1922: 143).

⁴⁰ νικήσας δὲ ἦται τοὺς ἑπτὰ ῥήτορας, οὓς ἐξέδοσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημοκθένην, Ὑπερίδην, Λυκοῦργον, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Θρασύβουλον, Χάρητα, Χαρίδημον, Διότιμον, Πατροκλέα, Κάσσανδρον.

⁴¹ Lykourgos, Ephialtes, Chares, Charidemos, and Diotimos; cf. Cooper (1993: 133).

⁴² ἐπιτολήν δὲ γράψας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐξίηται τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοκθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον· καὶ Ὑπερίδην δὲ ἐξίηται καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα; cf. Plu. *Phoc.* 17 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξίηται τοὺς περὶ Δημοκθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ὑπερίδην καὶ Χαρίδημον, Plu. *Dem.* 23, and Diod. 17.15. See for further discussion Cooper (1993: 133 with n. 13) and Bollansée (1999: 246–248).

⁴³ Following suggestions by Lamedica (1985) and Arrighetti (1977: 54 n. 9), Cooper (1993: 135) takes this as evidence that *P.Oxy.* 1800 contains epitomes of the biographies of Hermippus; see De Kreij and Meccariello forthcoming 2018/9 'Introduction'.

⁴⁴ *Suda* υ 294, s.v. Ὑπερίδης; see also Colin (1946: 49–50 n. 1) and Worthington (1999: 30).

(or that it was cut off by his captor) to protect the secrets of Athens, and it is remarkable that the detail is left out here.⁴⁵ [Plu.] *X Or.* 849c also records Heliodorus' (*FGrHist* 372 F 34) testimony that Hypereides' remains were repatriated and buried in the family grave outside the Knight's Gate; the author adds that the monument was later torn down, and was at the time of writing no longer visible.

(29)–(31) ἀνδρίασιν The *Life* states that when the Athenians were free again, they honoured Hypereides with statues (cf. *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 3 col. ii, l. 5–10 for Demosthenes). This statement has left no traces in literature or, for that matter, in scholarship; Colin even states 'nous n'entendons parler ni d'aucune couronne qui lui aurait été décernée de son vivant, ni d'aucune statue...'.⁴⁶ There is no reason to assume that the *Life* is mistaken, however, so it should count as an independent source for the existence of statues for Hypereides.⁴⁷ It is hard to establish what moment the author refers to with 'when the Athenians had regained their freedom'.

Concluding remarks

Arrighetti captures the still-prevailing opinion about *P.Oxy.* 1800 when he describes it as 'un'epitome di biografie del genere romanzato, ma non prive di elementi eruditi, del genere ermippeo'.⁴⁸ On closer analysis, we may challenge the idea that this papyrus was systematically excerpted from one text.

Crönert, Calderini, and Lamedica speak of the 'simple language' of the biographies.⁴⁹ At first sight, their judgment may seem right, but it glosses over the stylistic differences between (the different parts of) the *Lives*. The beginning of each *Life* consists of short formulaic clauses: τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν X, πόλεως δὲ Y, παῖς/πατρὸς δὲ Z. This style recurs elsewhere, but it is interspersed with more complex constructions like this one from the *Life of Sappho*: [ἀδελφοὺς δ'] ἔσχε τρεῖς [E]ὐ[ρύγγιον, Λά]ριχον, πρεσβύ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον, ὃς πλεύσας εἰς Αἴγυπτον, Δωρίχαι τινὶ προκο[ικειωθε]ῖς, κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταύτην πλειῖστα. In addition, note the use of τε to connect a new main clause ('sentential τε') in the *Life of Demosthenes*: Ἀθ[η]ναῖοι δὲ πάλιν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτησάμενοι ἐτίμησαν αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἀναστήσαντες ἐν Κεραμεικῶι, ἐπίγραμμα τ' ἐ[ν] κτήλει ἐνεκόλασαν το[ι]όνδε: ...⁵⁰

It is difficult to draw clear conclusions from this material, but we can no longer agree with the following: 'le notizie vengono date con frasi quasi sempre brevi e concise'.⁵¹ Lamedica takes this characterisation of the language as an argument for the idea that these are excerpts from longer biographies.⁵² If this hypothesis were right, we would have expected more consistently brief sentences, of the kind we find in the extant part of the *Life of Simonides*. In fact, however, the language does not reveal a systematic process of excerpting one text, and calling it an 'epitome' is therefore misleading. By extension, there is no reason to assume that the material in *P.Oxy.* 1800 goes back to one particular scholar, such as Hermippos.⁵³

Leaving aside the issue of its exact origin, we may ask what kind of use our collection of biographies may have had in Roman Egypt. Lamedica envisages the following readership: 'non (...) un'élite intellettuale in grado di apprezzare il serio lavoro di erudizione, ma una classe media desiderosa di apprendere, senza

⁴⁵ Compare Eratosth., *FGrHist* 241 F 20 about the death of Zeno; cf. Satyrus F 15.

⁴⁶ Colin (1946: 50); this study, as most relevant secondary literature, was written after the publication of *P.Oxy.* XV 1800, yet makes no mention of it.

⁴⁷ For the existence of multiple statues for an orator, compare e.g. Lollianos, in whose honour two statues were set up at Athens (Philost. VS. 1,23).

⁴⁸ Arrighetti (1977: 54 n. 9).

⁴⁹ Crönert (1922: 425), Calderini (1922: 163), and Lamedica (1985: 60).

⁵⁰ There are further examples of complex constructions in the *Lives* of Aesop, Demosthenes, and especially Aeschines (see *FGrHist* 1139 Intr.).

⁵¹ Lamedica (1985: 60), my italics.

⁵² Lamedica (1985: 61).

⁵³ A point pressed especially by Cooper (1993); see Bollansée (1999: 245–249) for a systematic counter to Cooper's arguments.

un eccessivo impegno, notizie su individui noti da sempre'.⁵⁴ Houston points out the connection between *P.Oxy.* 1800 and Grenfell and Hunt's 'second great find', a rich collection of literary papyri found together. He attributes this collection to 'a serious reader (or series of readers)', and believed that in that collection *P.Oxy.* 1800 served to 'provide background information on writers that would be particularly welcome to our collector'.⁵⁵ However, the rare and unsystematic discussion of scholarly issues, the clear errors,⁵⁶ the presence of mythical figures, and the lack of dates, whether absolute or relative, make Houston's assumption problematic.⁵⁷

The mixed language and style of *P.Oxy.* 1800, the loose thematic order of the *Lives*, the generic nature of the information provided, and the lack of scholarly details suggest to us a pragmatic purpose. Calderini first proposed that the text may have been used in an educational context: 'uno scritto di uso scolastico, appartenente forse ad un maestro di scuola'.⁵⁸ He bases this claim on the limited length of the *Lives*, the regularity of the structure, and the simplicity of the style and contents.⁵⁹ Criatore has shown that teachers would provide detailed information about the life of an author when studying his work, which would account for all authors, including the poets and Aesop.⁶⁰ In addition, the rhetorical exercises mostly took inspiration from Athenian history, especially 'the age of Demosthenes, and (...) Alexander and/or the period immediately after his death',⁶¹ which explains the presence of the other all historical individuals in *P.Oxy.* 1800. In short, the *Lives* provide all the material necessary for students to write different kinds of rhetorical exercises, such as encomia,⁶² invectives, comparisons,⁶³ and defence speeches. At the same time, its *Lives* of orators, historians, and lyric poets gave advanced students the necessary general background to better understand their work in its context. The presence of mythical figures, which has been hard to explain,⁶⁴ is no longer a problem if we place the text in an educational context.⁶⁵

The rich yields of the re-edition of the lives in *P.Oxy.* 1800 illustrate a larger opportunity in the field. A large number of papyri published in the early and mid-twentieth century, especially those containing sub- and paraliterary texts, are ripe for a thorough re-examination. There is much to be gained not only on the textual level, but also in the arrangement and attachment of fragments.⁶⁶ The tendency to focus on unpublished material is understandable, but given the limited number of scholars with access to collections of unpublished papyri, and the fact that most of these are small, enigmatic scraps, it is important to stress that there is plenty of work to be done on the easily accessible fragments in published corpora.

⁵⁴ Lamedica (1985: 75).

⁵⁵ Houston (2009: 259).

⁵⁶ The errors in the *Life of Demosthenes* and the *Life of Aischines* may have been a result of a misunderstanding of the authors' own works, cf. Lamedica (1985: 67).

⁵⁷ We may compare *P.Oxy.* 2438 (*FGrHist* 1 132 F 1), a biography of similar length but considerably more scholarly content, and *P.Oxy.* 2506, a much more extensive collection of biographical readings of lyric poetry.

⁵⁸ Calderini (1922: 263).

⁵⁹ Cf. Crönert (1922: 425): 'knappe *συναγωγή*, in der die *Βίοι ἐλλογίμων* vielleicht nur ein Teil waren, gibt die biographische *Vulgata*, vom Anekdotenhaften nur durchsetzt, nicht beherrscht, ganz schlichte Sprache, etwa der augusteischen Zeit' and Schmidt (1924: 13) '[d]as Ganze macht mehr den Eindruck von Schüleraufzeichnungen als den eines wenn auch noch so unbedeutenden Leitfadens'.

⁶⁰ Criatore (2001: 234).

⁶¹ Criatore (2001: 235, cf. 233).

⁶² The biographies of *P.Oxy.* 1800 bear a striking resemblance to short encomia as they are outlined in the progymnasmata: descent, upbringing, *φύσις*, *πράξεις*, and death; cf. Dihle (1987: 14–22).

⁶³ Cf. especially Lib. 10.3 *κύκλις* *Δημοθένους καὶ Αἰχίνου*.

⁶⁴ Cf. Lamedica (1985: 73–75) and Bollansée (1999: 248–249).

⁶⁵ Cf. Criatore (2001b: 241) 'the preliminary rhetorical exercises in particular rested heavily on poetry: Achilles, Ajax, or Medea defined the horizon of the student whose first serious compositions praised or impersonated a mythological figure'.

⁶⁶ See also the re-edition of those sections of *P.Oxy.* 2506 concerning Sappho in De Kreij forthcoming 2018b.

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