

Lesbos' Other Lyricist: Studies in Alcaeus

Il-Kweon Sir

Merton College

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Classical Languages and Literature

2020

Word Count: 99,781

Preface

The primary aim of this thesis, the first thesis-length study of Alcaeus' poetic oeuvre as a whole for almost forty years, is to improve appreciation of Alcaeus' poetry in scholarship. In the modern period, Alcaeus' poetic skills have been found wanting, especially in comparison with his contemporary and compatriot, Sappho: one typical reviewer of Theodor Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig, 1866) declares that his 'drinking songs and war songs have indeed great beauty; but they are not to be named in the same breath, for perfection of style, with the stanzas of Sappho' (*The Westminster Review*, July 1872, p.68). The publication of papyri, more than a century ago now, have changed such views but a little. Common complaints have included snobbery, chauvinism, drunkenness, repetitiveness, and lack of imagination. Since the publication in 1980 of Rösler's *Dichter und Gruppe* and the broader acceptance of performance-oriented approaches to Greek lyric, Alcaeus, almost by default, since he was chosen by Rösler as the archetypal example, also became predictable: Alcaeus' poetry was composed for his *hetairia* to be performed at symposia and could only be interpreted in this way. Finally, interest waned with predictability. Only in the past five years have scholars returned to Alcaeus with a different focus as part of a wave of attention on literary aspects of lyric. This thesis argues that he requires and deserves more attention and that many complaints against his work are unjustified; making use of diverse approaches, it goes further than recent work on Greek lyric by focusing only on Alcaeus and treating his entire corpus. Thus Part I, 'Fresh Perspectives', attempts to show that fruitful new questions can be asked even of aspects of Alcaeus that are considered the most dry or over-examined (epithets, metre, imagery, performance, history); Part II, 'Text and Interpretation', aims to demonstrate that, although there have been no significant papyrological discoveries since the Cologne fragment (fr.298), important advances can be made with Alcaeus' text and interpretation.

This thesis was conceived by chance during my master's year, when I was surprised by the disparity of scholarship on Sappho and Alcaeus, but builds on my interest in lyric poetry. I am grateful to my undergraduate tutors, Prof. Stephen Harrison and Prof. Tim Whitmarsh, as well as

Prof. Jane Lightfoot, Prof. Stephen Heyworth, and Dr. Gail Trimble, for encouraging my interests in metre, lyric, and textual criticism. My greatest thanks go to my long-suffering supervisor, Prof. Gregory Hutchinson, who has always responded to my ideas with an open mind, and offered sage advice, encouragement, and time with characteristic generosity and patience; this thesis would have been much poorer without his guidance. Further thanks are due to Prof. Ettore Cingano, who commented on parts of Chapter 2, to Prof. Martin Hose and Dr. Evert van Emde Boas, who read versions of Chapter 3, to Dr. Peter Haarer, who kindly commented on a draft of Chapter 5 with his customary frankness and saved me from many grave missteps, and to Prof. Richard Rutherford, Prof. Armand d'Angour, and Prof. Felix Budelmann for reading sections of Part II and for advice on the project as a whole. It goes without saying that all shortcomings are my own. I am also grateful to Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield and Mr. Robert Minte for helping me access the papyri in the Weston Library, to Dr. Daniela Colomo for help with the papyri in the Sackler Library, and to the Oxford Classics Faculty and Merton College, Oxford, which generously funded my graduate studies. Special thanks are due to my friends and colleagues Tom McConnell and Theodore Hill, who have been my patient sounding boards, and to Henry Tann, Leah King, Olivia Thompson, and Marguerite Kühn, who have contributed in innumerable ways, not least with their erudition, kindness, and friendship.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, who have supported my endeavours without always knowing what they were. This thesis is for my grandparents.

A Note on the Text

All fragments refer to those of Alcaeus unless otherwise stated. For Sappho and Alcaeus, I follow the texts and numeration of Voigt 1971, Page 1974, Obbink 2009 and 2016, except those edited here. Where different numerations could cause confusion, I also provide the numerations of Lobel and Page 1955, Campbell 1982, or Liberman 1999. For other lyric poets, I follow Page 1962, 1974, Davies 1991, and West 1989-1992. Abbreviations of the names of authors and works generally follow those of the *LSJ* and *OLD*.

Contents

List of Tables and Figures: p.7

Abstract: p.8

Introduction: p.9

Part I: Fresh Perspectives: p.13

Chapter 1: Epithets: p.13

1.1. Epithets in Alcaeus: p.14

1.2. Distribution: p.28

1.3. Close Readings: p.36

Chapter 2: Metre: p.42

2.1. Strophe, Couplet, and Line: p.42

2.1.1. Alcaeus' Strophic Poems: Alcaic Stanzas: p.43

2.1.2. Alcaeus' Strophic Poems: Sapphic Stanzas: p.46

2.1.3. Alcaeus' Strophic Poems: Others: p.47

2.1.4. Sappho's Strophic Poems: Sapphic Stanzas: p.47

2.1.5. Sappho's Strophic Poems: Others: p.50

2.1.6. Preliminary Conclusions: Strophic Poems: p.51

2.1.7. Alcaeus' Stichic Poems: p.53

2.1.8. Sappho's Stichic Poems: p.55

2.1.9. Preliminary Conclusions: Stichic Poems: p.59

2.2. Metre and Content: p.60

2.3. Metre and Style: p.72

Chapter 3: Immersive Lyric: p.75

3.1. A Cognitive Approach: p.76

3.2. Immersive Alcaeus: p.80

3.3. Figures for 3.2.: p.93

Chapter 4: Performance: p.96

4.1. Banquets: p.97

4.2. Alcaeus' *betairia* and the dissemination of Alcaeus' poetry: p.100

4.2.1. Alcaeus' 'dunkle Stellen': p.102

4.2.2. Alcaeus and the Book: p.111

4.3. Performance and Reperformance: p.116

4.4. Controlling the Narrative: p.123

Chapter 5: History: p.125

5.1. Alcaeus' Mytilene: p.125

5.1.1. The πόλις: p.126

5.1.2. Politics: p.131

5.1.3. Beyond Lesbos: p.135

5.2. Filling in the Gaps: p.137

5.2.1. Before Pittacus: p.137

5.2.2. Pittacus: p.143

5.2.3. Broader Context: p.154

5.3. Dates: p.160

5.4. Conclusions: p.169

5.5. Appendix: Chronological Summary: p.169

Part II: Text and Interpretation: p.172

Introduction to the Papyri: p.172

Chapter 6: P.Oxy.1233: p.175

Chapter 7: P.Oxy.1234: p.265

Conclusion: p.340

Bibliography and Abbreviations: p.342

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Epithets and Nouns in Alcaeus and their Parallels: p.16

Table 2: Content of Fragments of Alcaeus by Metre: p.65

Table 3: Content of Fragments of Sappho by Metre: p.65

Table 4: Uses of the First Person in Alcaeus: p.106

Table 5: Chronology in Alcaeus: p.169

Figure 1: Text-World Diagram of fr.6: p.93

Figure 2: Text-World Diagram of fr.338: p.94

Figure 3: Text-World Diagram of fr.130b: p.94

Figure 4: Text-World Diagram of fr.129: p.95

Abstract

'Lesbos' Other Lyricist: Studies in Alcaeus' argues that Alcaeus is a sophisticated poet. It offers new approaches to and interpretations of his poetry, and provides a re-edition and close reading of Alcaeus fr.33-57, 59-111.

Part I suggests new approaches to Alcaeus and Greek lyric that emphasise literary interpretation. In contrast to the dominant approaches that treat Alcaeus as a source of historical data or consider his works largely understandable from the context, this study highlights the interpretative benefits of a more varied approach. It therefore goes further than recent works on the literary aspects of Greek lyric by focusing on a single poet and his oeuvre in a thesis-length study, uniting diverse approaches, and asking new questions of old topics. New approaches to the study of epithets, metre, immersion, performance, and history are explored for literary interpretation.

Part II presents a new text, apparatus, and textual and interpretative essays on P.Oxy.1233 and 1234 with their joined fragments (Alcaeus fr.33-57, 59-111). Focusing on these papyri, which represent a large portion of Alcaeus' poetic fragments and include a broad range of his poetry, forces confrontation with a mixture of famous and under-studied fragments and enables detailed study of the fragments alongside the methodologies of the first half.

As the first thesis-length study of Alcaeus' entire corpus for forty years, this project presents a more nuanced view of Alcaeus, provides fresh interpretations of fragments, and suggests new approaches for Alcaeus and Greek lyric more broadly.

Introduction

These are exciting times to study Lesbian poetry. The publication of the ‘New’ and the ‘Newest Sappho’ fragments initiated a wave of research on Lesbian poetry on a scale not seen since their first papyrological discoveries more than a century ago. Unsurprisingly, Sappho has been the near-sole focus of this new work, with only a few treatments of Alcaeus following later. Meanwhile, the field of Greek lyric has changed dramatically since the early 20th century, when biographical and aesthetic approaches influenced by Romanticism were prevalent; in the 1980s, they were overturned by performance-oriented anthropological approaches that privileged socio-pragmatic aspects of Greek lyric.¹ These have remained dominant.² Only in the past five to ten years has interest in the aesthetics of Greek lyric been revived, through research on the ancient senses and a greater acknowledgement of the importance of reperformance.³ Sappho and Alcaeus have played central roles in these developments: Sappho was considered the pinnacle of personal, emotive poetry; Alcaeus was used as the central example to show the workings of the social function of archaic poetry; and the two poets dominate the latest contributions. However, while Sappho has rarely lacked thorough scholarly treatments and is furnished with at least three new or forthcoming commentaries on either a substantial portion of her work or her entire oeuvre, Alcaeus has not seen a full-scale treatment of his poetry dedicated to him for almost forty years, but is largely considered in articles or chapters using a few work-horses.

This thesis attempts to redress this imbalance. It offers a reappraisal of Alcaeus as a sophisticated poet, presenting new approaches to and interpretations of his poetry by bringing

¹ Rösler 1980, Gentili 1988.

² Cf. e.g. Caciagli 2011, Benelli 2017.

³ The senses: e.g. Cazzato and Lardinois 2016 for lyric; cf. e.g. Porter 2010, Peponi 2012, Sluiter and Rosen 2012 on Greek literature more broadly. Reperformance: Hunter and Uhlig 2017, Budelmann and Phillips 2018a.

together the historicising and literary approaches to Greek lyric,⁴ and provides close textual scrutiny of both famous and under-studied fragments, which has been rare in recent Alcaean scholarship. Part I investigates the broader questions from fresh perspectives, while Part II presents a new text, apparatus, and textual and interpretative essays on a significant portion of his poetic corpus. These parts mirror two main issues in Alcaean scholarship: a lack of interest in exploring literary complexity and in engaging with the text. Part I addresses an expectation of simplicity in Alcaeus whereby epithets are simply reused, metre is technical or theoretical, performance is limited, simple entertainment, or propaganda, and history is straightforward, while Part II confronts the perception that little progress can be made with the text and the issue of relying on a few fragments. This thesis will demonstrate the advantages of abandoning these attitudes.

Part I, 'Fresh Perspectives', suggests new approaches to Alcaeus (and Greek lyric more broadly) that emphasise literary interpretation. In contrast to the dominant approaches that treat Alcaeus as a source of historical data or consider his works largely understandable from the performance context, this study highlights the interpretative benefits of a more varied approach. It goes further than recent works on the literary aspects of Greek lyric by focusing on a single poet and his oeuvre in a thesis-length study, uniting diverse approaches, and asking new questions of old topics. The topics explored in these chapters were chosen because they have previously been investigated without much regard for poetic interpretation.

In contrast to the aims of earlier scholarship that examined epithets and metre in Lesbian poetry to construct a prehistory or an earlier tradition of myths, genres, or language, I suggest a synchronic analysis of these elements and interpret outlying cases in terms of poetic effect. Chapter 1 ('Epithets') reviews the distribution of noun-epithet clusters in the 'monodic' poets and shows

⁴ I use the term 'literary' loosely to contrast with anthropological approaches to lyric; it points to the aspects of archaic poetry that transcend contexts (e.g. linguistic, structural, conceptual elements) and acknowledges the similarities that modern or secondary audiences share with the original audience, which have been undervalued in scholarship. Cf. Budelmann and Phillips 2018b: 9-15.

through close readings of individual fragments that understanding Alcaeus' use of epithets produces new interpretative possibilities. In Chapter 2 ('Metre'), I investigate differences in content and style, which have previously been denied, between Lesbian poems in different metres by examining the use of enjambement in strophic and stichic compositions, and by exploring the relationships of metrical form with content and with narrative presentation.

Chapters 3-5 treat the most discussed aspects of Alcaeus' poetry: his imagery, the identity of his speaker, and politics, which became central in the performance-oriented approach to lyric. I suggest that, by concentrating not solely on context but also considering literary aspects, these issues can illuminate neglected aspects of Alcaeus' poetic craft. Chapter 3 ('Immersive Lyric') shifts attention to the sense of immersion noted by ancient and modern scholars of lyric and introduces cognitive stylistics to explore world-creation and immersion as poetic tools for affecting both primary and secondary audiences. In Chapter 4 ('Performance'), I attempt the first full-scale refutation of Rösler's influential position that Alcaeus composed solely for his *betairia*. I argue on historical, rhetorical, and logical grounds for a consistent compositional style and poetic autobiography aimed also at secondary audiences, suggesting that persuasion rather than solace is the primary rhetorical effect of his political poetry. Chapter 5 ('History') investigates Mytilenean history for the interpretation of Alcaeus by compiling the historical evidence attested in Sappho and Alcaeus before providing a fuller picture of the events concerned from other sources. I suggest that the contemporary events mentioned in Alcaeus should be examined both within the framework of his poetry and from a historical perspective, and argue that Alcaeus' political situation and perspective are more complex than usually supposed.

Part II, 'Text and Interpretation', continues these arguments in the context of individual fragments. It presents a new text, apparatus, and textual and interpretative essays on the fragments of P.Oxy.1233 and P.Oxy.1234 and their joined fragments (detailed in the apparatus): Alcaeus frr.33-57 and 59-111. Focusing on these papyri forces confrontation with a mixture of famous and under-studied fragments from an edition consisting of all Alcaeus' poems known in the Hellenistic

period. These fragments represent a large portion of Alcaeus' poetic fragments and include a broad range of his poetry in content and form, enabling detailed study of fragments and building on the findings of Part I alongside traditional philology. Further, these papyri have not been re-edited from autopsy since *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*,⁵ and my new readings show that these papyri, published a century ago, may still contain new information. Although supplements have been out of favour, I often use them to indicate limitations to the possibilities of interpretation of fragments imposed by argumentative structures, language, and the papyrus, which have not always been observed. My text is provided without supplements, except those that are inevitable or make little difference to the meaning, in order to clearly differentiate the text supported by the papyri from conjectures. The apparatus does not aim to include all proposed alterations to the text, but includes the most popular opinions as well as examples of different approaches to the text, even where these are impossible or unlikely, as a historical summary of scholars' interpretations, although not all items are discussed in the accompanying essays.

⁵ Lobel and Page 1955. Voigt 1971 remains the 'standard' text, but includes very few original contributions to the reading of the text, while Liberman 1999, the latest full edition of Alcaeus, did not examine the papyri from autopsy.

Part I: Fresh Perspectives

Chapter 1: Epithets

Epithets in Lesbian poetry have rarely been considered from a literary angle, despite receiving detailed study,⁶ which has approached them from linguistic and literary-historical perspectives. Due to the strong associations of epithets with early Greek hexametric poetry (henceforth EGHP), particularly the Homeric poems, previous research on epithets in the Lesbians have had an almost exclusive focus on hexametric influences.⁷ However, despite valuable work on the influence of EGHP on Lesbian epithets, conclusions have rarely gone beyond the identification of parallels or the categorisation of epithets by content. Further, these are yet to influence literary interpretations of Lesbian poetry. Indeed, scholarship overlooks a key difference between epithets in hexametric and lyric poetry: epithets in EGHP are much more commonplace and many are ‘ornamental’,⁸ while in lyric, epithets are generally fewer and repetition rare. This raises the question: if they are grammatically unessential and regular use is not part of the style,⁹ what is their purpose?¹⁰

This chapter attempts to fill this gap by examining the use of epithets in Lesbian poetry anew in the context of archaic Greek poetry more broadly and by observing the effects created by the use of epithets within the surviving fragments as a whole. I will reexamine the literary history of epithets in Alcaeus, establish a pattern of distribution of epithets in the lyric poets, and consider

⁶ The study of epithets has a long history in classical scholarship, which cannot be examined here; for a detailed discussion: Hummel 1999.

⁷ Gerstenhauer 1892, Weber 1955, Treu 1955, Harvey 1957, Marzullo 1958, Kazik-Zawadzka 1958, Romè 1965, Broger 1996, Steinrück 1999.

⁸ On ‘ornamental’ vs. ‘particularised’ epithets: Parry 1971b: especially 155-156.

⁹ There is also a difference between ‘monodic’ and ‘choral’ lyric; the former preserves fewer and less regular use of epithets than the latter (especially Stesichorus, Ibycus, and Bacchylides). This chapter focuses solely on ‘monodic’ lyric.

¹⁰ For a summary of answers for Homeric epithets: de Jong 2012: 25-28.

the effects of epithets in individual fragments in light of these findings. My investigation will show that the influence of EGHP on the use of epithets in lyric was not uniform across all contexts, and that the lyric poets exploited the associations of epithets, in combination with other techniques, to nuance and complicate the tone and presentation.

1.1. Epithets in Alcaeus

Although lists of epithets in Lesbian poetry and their parallels are available in Broger's monograph, Broger limits herself largely to reporting Homeric parallels and similarities, only offering other hexametric or lyric parallels when these are lacking.¹¹ While her methodology is suitable for exploring specifically (heroic) 'epic' influences, it is less useful for (1) the examination of the relationship of Alcaeus to non-Homeric poetry, (2) the separate analysis of the epithet, its noun, and their combination, or (3) distributional analysis. Consequently, I present here a table of epithets, their accompanying nouns, and syntagms in Alcaeus alongside parallels in EGHP and other poetry.¹²

In the following table, 'EGHP' refers to the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, the Hesiodic *Shield*, Hesiodic fragments, Homeric Hymns,¹³ and the Cyclic epics; 'Other Poetry' denotes archaic lyric (broadly conceived, including 'monodic' and 'choral' melic, elegy, and iambus), although classical lyric, and sometimes the tragedians are cited in the absence or meagreness of other parallels. 'Y' in the 'EGHP' columns denotes that the lemma or syntagm (without regard to meaning) is attested in several (usually three or more) of the texts included; 'Y' in the 'Other Poetry' columns denote their attestation in several of the well-preserved lyric poets of the 7th and 6th centuries BC; 'Sim.' in the syntagm columns denotes the lack of exact parallels but the existence of

¹¹ Broger 1996. Cf. also Romè 1965: 213-229.

¹² This is an attempt to provide in one table the classes of information provided in the four concordances of Pindaric epithets by Hummel 1999: 363-422.

¹³ The entire collection is included despite chronological variation as they may provide hints to earlier hexametric poetry.

similar syntagms (an archilexemic or typological parallel).¹⁴ Where attestations and similar syntagms are distributed less widely within ‘EGHP’ or ‘Other Poetry’, the ‘texts’ or the specific references (for few attestations or similar syntagms) are listed. The table does not provide an exhaustive list of possible similar syntagms. For the purposes of this chapter, epithets are defined as attributive adjectives; adjectives in apposition are excluded. Further, no differentiation between ‘defining’ and ‘ornamental’ epithets has been made. The epithets are listed by fragment number and line, except where the same epithet is used with another noun elsewhere in the corpus. Lemmata are given in the Lesbian nominative singular (masculine, if relevant) but parallels may be in other cases, genders, or dialects.

This separation into hexametric and non-hexametric poetry is desirable and necessary. It is justified because ever since the formula (however loosely defined) was considered a primary constituent of Homeric diction, epithets and noun-epithet combinations have been considered hallmarks of Homeric and hexametric poetry, while archaic non-hexametric poetry was observed to contain fewer epithets. Further, these texts can be understood as exemplars of ‘sub-genres’ (e.g. heroic narrative, wisdom poetry, cosmogony) sharing common themes and structural elements (e.g. hymn, catalogue, type-scenes) within the ‘superordinate genre’ of hexameter poetry,¹⁵ and thus constitute a recognisable grouping that can be contrasted with those outside it. Moreover, the listing of individual texts in cases where lemmata are not widely attested avoids the wrongful inclusion of a particular text from skewing the interpretation of the findings and allows more detailed observation of distribution of lemmata within EGHP. The separation therefore counterbalances the overwhelming Homeric bias of previous scholarship. Meanwhile, grouping

¹⁴ An archilexeme (developing Trubetskoy’s archiphoneme) is a lexical unit that neutralises contrasting elements of lexemes (‘hyponyms’) with otherwise identical semantic content (Kastovsky 1988: 197-198); cf. archilexeme SEAT and hyponyms *stool*, *chair*, *sofa*, etc.

¹⁵ Gainsford 2016: 34-56, building on e.g. Hutchinson 2013 on genres and super-genres (in Latin literature). However, Gainsford’s criteria for distinguishing between structural, thematic, and sub-generic elements are not always clear.

non-hexametric poetry together and compiling it systematically increase the number of comparanda and enable broader comparison between the groups.

Caution is required in interpreting the data, as, especially given the current state of preservation of archaic poetry, the lack of attestation is not evidence of non-existence of a lemma or syntagm, and the geographical and chronological distribution (beside technological factors) must be considered to establish direct influence of any ‘text’ on another. Further, the orality and fluidity of archaic poetry is a complicating factor. Opinions on the fixity of EGHP differ widely and this is not the place for a detailed exploration of this subject; this thesis will not assume any position on this, nor will its analyses require one. Whatever degree of fixity EGHP may have had at the time of the Lesbians, different noun-epithet combinations from the ones attested may be presumed to have existed and may have affected choices in lyric.

Fr.	Alcaeus		EGHP			Other Poetry		
	Epithet	Noun	Ep.	N.	Syntagm	Ep.	N.	Syntagm
5.7, 117b.16 , 130b.13	μάκαρ	θεός	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
129.4		ἀθάνατος		Y	Y					Sol. 4.2, Thgn. 759, 834^{16}
314, 349c	ἀθάνατος	θεός	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6.8	ἔχυρος	λίμην	<i>Op.</i> 429 ¹⁷	Y	N	Sa. 88a.17 ¹⁸	Thgn. 114, 460	In prose (Th. 4.8.6)
6.9	μόλθακος	ἄκνος	Y ¹⁹	Y	Sim.: Hes. fr. 239.4 ²⁰	Y	N	Sim.: Thgn. 470, ²¹ Pi.
338.8		γνόφαλλον		N	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> , ²²		N	Sim. (clothing): Sa. 46.1-2, 94.21, Archil. S478a.44-45;

¹⁶ All with θεός (as often in EGHP).

¹⁷ Predicative.

¹⁸ Predicative.

¹⁹ As μαλθακός or μαλακός.

²⁰ Of a dream.

²¹ Of a dream.

²² Of beds, robes, and clothes.

					<i>bH.30.1</i> 5 ²³			(Sounds: Alcm. 4 fr.1.5, Pi.)
6.14, 72.13	ἔκλος	τόκευς	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Od., Sc.,</i> Hes. fr. ²⁴	Y	Y	Sim.: Archil. S478a.11, Semon. 6; ²⁵ Thgn. ²⁶
6.12	δόκιμος	ἄνηρ	N	Y	N	Pi. N.3.11, A. <i>Pers.</i> 87, E. <i>Supp.</i> 277	Y	Sim. cf. Thgn. ²⁷
10.1	αἰσχρός	μόρος	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.,</i> <i>Od.,</i> <i>bH.</i> ²⁸	Y	Y	S. <i>Aj.</i> 1059. Sim.: Semon. 1.18, Pi. N.1.66; ²⁹ (with other abstracts), Archil. 328.21, Tyrt.10.16, 12.17, Thgn.
10.4	ἀνίατος	πᾶρος	N	N	N	N	N	N
10.5	φόβερος	εὐθύς	N	Y	N ³⁰	Anacr. 346.2	Y ³¹	Sim.: Anacr. 346.2-3 ³²
34.5	εὐρυς	χθῶν	Y	Y	Y ³³	Y	Y	Stesich. 233.5-6 (=270a.5-6 F), Pi. fr.33c.3-4
34.6	ὠκύπως	ἵππος	Y	Y	Y ³⁴	Y	Y	Thgn. 889-90, B. 4.6, Pi. fr.94b.44

²³ Of flowers.

²⁴ Of πατήρ, μήτηρ, υἰός.

²⁵ Of mothers, wives.

²⁶ Of friends, gods, people (amongst other things).

²⁷ E.g. ἐκθλός ἀνὴρ (1112), ἀνὴρ εὐθυντήρ (39-40), πιςτός ἀνὴρ (77).

²⁸ With κακός. Otherwise, αἰσχρός is used with ἔπος in *Il.*; of Artemis (regarding beauty) in *bH.3.197*.

²⁹ δυστήνῳ μόρῳ (Semon. fr.1.18); ἐχθρότατον μόρον (Pi. N.1.65-66).

³⁰ εὐθύς in EGHP with φίλος, λαχνηίς; also ἀργύρεος (*bH.6.10*), ἀπαλός (Hes. fr.75.10).

³¹ Only found with adjective in Anacr. 363.2-3.

³² With φρήν.

³³ IE origins: Broger 1996: 143.

³⁴ IE origins: Broger 1996: 144.

34.7-8, 61.14	ζακρούεις	θάνατος	Y	Y	N ³⁵	N	Y	N ³⁶	
34.9	εὐκδυγος	ναῦς	Y	Y	<i>Od.</i> 13.116, 17.289	N	Y	Sim.: Alc. 249.3	
249.3	φερέεδυγος	ναῦς	N	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> ³⁷	Ibyc. 6.6 ³⁸	Y	N	
34.11	ἀργάλεος	νύξ	Y	Y	N ³⁹	Y	Y	N ⁴⁰	
129.12		φύγα			Y		Sim. ⁴¹	Y	Sim.: Tyr. 10.16, 12.17 ⁴² ; Thgn. 210 ⁴³
344.2		κεφάλαια			Y		Sim. ⁴⁴	Y	(Proverbial)
364.1	ἀργάλεος ἄσχετος	κάκον	Y; Y	Y	<i>Od.</i> 12.1 19; ⁴⁵ <i>Il.</i> 16.54 8-549 ⁴⁶		Y	Sim.: Sol. 13.61, Mimn. 2.6, 4.2, 5.5, 6.1, 9.4, Thgn. 1214, 1338, B. 11.72 ⁴⁷	

³⁵ The meaning of ζακρούεις (again with θάνατος at Alc. fr.61.14) is difficult (already Wilamowitz 1914: 241).

Homer contains compounds in ζα- <*/dja/, e.g. ζάθεος, beside δα- with the same function. Further, Homer shows a certain interchangeability between δακρούεις and κρούεις, e.g. κρουεροῖο γόοιο (*Il.*24.524, *Od.*4.103, 11.212) and δακρούεντος γόοιο (*Od.*4.801, etc.). For Alcaeus, either meaning could have been possible (Broger 1996: 144). Cf. κρούεις used of Ἴωκή (*Il.*5.740), Φόβος (*Il.*9.2), πόλεμος (Hes. *Th.*936), Τάρταρος (Hes. *Sc.*255). Cf. δακρούεις: δακρούεντα πότμον (E. *Hel.*1115); with πόλεμος (*Il.*5.737, 8.388, 17.512; Hes. fr.25.9), people/gods (*Il.*6.455, 16.10, 18.66, 21.493, 21.496, 21.506, 22.499; *Od.*10.415), ἰώξ (*Il.*11.601), μάχη (*Il.*13.765, 16.436), γόος (*Od.*4.801, 17.8, 24.323), ἄλγος (Hes. *Th.*227). In Homer: θάνατος is found with δυσχηγής, θυμοραϊστής, κακός, λευγαλέος, μέλας, οἰκτικτός, ετυγερός, τανηλεγής (Broger 1996: 144 n.338).

³⁶ δακρούεις with πόλεμος: Thgn. 890, Anacr. eleg. 2.2, Ibyc. S151.7; with αἰχμή: Anacr. 382. κρούεις with θάνατος: Stesich. fr.S11.5 (=15.5 F., conjecture), Alc. fr.48.12 (possibly in lacuna); with μάντευμα: Pi. P.4.73; with συντυχία in Pi. I.1.37; and with πόλεμος in B. 7.12.

³⁷ εὐζυγος (*Od.*13.116, 17.288), ἑκατόζυγος (*Il.*20.247), πολύζυγος (*Il.*2.293).

³⁸ Of horses.

³⁹ ἀργαλέος with gods. In Homer, night with e.g. ὀλοός (*Il.*16.567; *Od.*11.19), κακός (*Il.*10.188; *Od.*14.457, 14.475), δυσκηδής (*Od.*5.466).

⁴⁰ In lyric, νύξ mostly with μέλας or δυοφερός.

⁴¹ ἀργαλέος with toil (*Il.*4.470-471, 13.85), φονή (*Il.*10.521), Eris (*Il.*11.3-4, 17.385, 21.386), wound (*Il.*11.812, 16.528), ditch (*Od.*5.175), disease (*Il.*13.667), penalty (*Il.*13.669), war (*Il.*14.87, *Od.*24.531), battle (*Il.*17.543-544), fear (*Il.*17.667), groan (*Il.*19.214), fate (*Il.*22.61), way (*Od.*4.393, 4.483).

⁴² φυγή with αἰσχρός, as 'flight' not 'exile' (Alcaeus).

⁴³ τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἔστιν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότερον (Thgn. 210~Thgn. 332b).

⁴⁴ ἀργαλέος with body-part: *Od.*22.137 (στόμα).

⁴⁵ Appositive; implied in *Od.*4.698. Similar idea in *bH.*2.311 (of hunger).

⁴⁶ ἄσχετος with πένθος.

⁴⁷ Of things poets bemoan and are often called κακόν: disease (Solon), old age (Mimnermus), cares (Mimnermus), hybris (Mimnermus), slavery (Theognis), toils (Theognis), necessity (Bacchylides).

34.12, 208.4	μέλας	ναῦς	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	E. Cyc.466, Hermipp. fr.63.3 K-A
38a.10, 130b.14		χθῶν		Y	Sim.: <i>Il</i> , <i>Od</i> , <i>Tb</i> . ⁴⁸		Y	Archil. 130.2, Semon. 1.14, Pi. O.9.50 ⁴⁹
38a.2, 38a.8	δινναίεις	Ἀχέρων	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il</i> , <i>Od</i> , <i>bH</i> , <i>Tb</i> . ⁵⁰	(Sa. 65.10) ⁵¹	Simon. 564.2	Sim.: Simon. 564.2-3 ⁵²
38a.3	κόθαρος	φάος (ἄλιος)	Y ⁵³	Y	Sim.: <i>Il</i> 5.120, <i>Op</i> .155, Hes. fr.58.12 , ⁵⁴	Y	Archil. 122, Semon . 1.19, Sa. 56.1, Stesich . S102.8 (=104. 8 F), Thgn.	Pi. P.6.14. Sim.: Thgn. 569, Pi. P.9.90. ⁵⁵
38a.5	Αἰολίδαις βασίλευς	Κίκυφος	Y	Y	Hes. fr.10.1- 2, <i>Il</i> 6.153	Y	Y	Pi. fr.5.1
38a.9, 387	βασίλευς	Κρονίδαις	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Sol. 31.1, Thgn. 1346
42.4	ἥρος	Ἥλιος	Y	Y	<i>Il</i> , <i>Od</i> .	Y	Y	Sim.: Alc. 48.10, 69.3-4, Sa. 44.6
48.10		Βαβύλων		N	N		Pi. fr.52d .15, 70dc.9	N
130b.20	ἥρος ἐνιαύσιος	ὀλολύγα	Y; Y	<i>Il</i> 6.30 1, <i>bH</i> 5. 19	N ⁵⁶	Y; N	Pi. fr.52nc .4	N
42.8	ἄβρος	πάρθενος	Hes. fr.339 .3	Y	Hes. fr. 339.3 ⁵⁷	Y	Y	A. fr.313.1 R.; Sim.: lyr. adesp. 926a.2, Anacr.

⁴⁸ μέλας with γῆ/γαῖα is common (*Il*2.699, 15.715, 17.416, 20.494, *Od*11.365, 11.589, 19.111, *Tb*.69, *Cypria* fr.9 B. Conversely, κελαινός with χθῶν is found (*Il*16.384).

⁴⁹ Cf. μέλας with γῆ/γαῖα: Alc. 89.3, Sa. fr.1.10, 16.2, Sol. fr.38.4-5, Thgn. 878=1070b.

⁵⁰ δινῆεις never of Acheron in EGHP, but of rivers (ποταμός, Σκάμανδρος, Ζάνθος, Ἐρμος).

⁵¹ Very similar to fr.38a in parts; also in Pi.

⁵² δινῆεις of river Anauros. Broger 1996: 149 wrongly says this combination is only preserved here: A.R. 2.355.

⁵³ Cf. καθάρως of θάνατος at *Od*22.462.

⁵⁴ Slightly further: φάος ἱερόν of the sun (*Op*.339).

⁵⁵ Slightly further: Archil. fr.122.3-4.

⁵⁶ In EGHP, ὀλολυγή with διαπρύσιος (*bH*5.19); ἐνιαύσιος only at *Od*16.454 as 'a year-old', and at *Op*.449 as 'yearly' (adverbial).

⁵⁷ παρθένος is found with αἰδοῖος, ἀλφειβιοῖος, ἀδημῆς, ἰοχέαιρα.

								373.3, ⁵⁸ Archil. S478a.6, Hippon. 119. ⁵⁹
45.6		χῆρ		Y	N		Y	Sim.: Anacr. 347.1
42.14	ὄλβιος	ἔλατηρ	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Od.</i> 24.3 6, Hes. fr.211.7	Y	Pi. O.4.1	N ⁶⁰
42.14	ξάνθος	πῶλος	Y	Y	<i>Il.</i> 9.407, 11.680, Hes. fr.180.8	Y	Y	S. <i>El.</i> 705, E. <i>Phaeth.</i> 74 D. Sim.: B. 20C.4, S. fr.475.2 R. ⁶¹
44.7	ἐννάλιος	νύμφα	<i>Od.</i> , <i>HH</i>	Y	N ⁶²	Archil. 122.8, Thgn. 576, Pi. ⁶³	Y	N ⁶⁴
45.1	πορφύριος	θάλασσα	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> ⁶⁵	Y	Y	Sim.: Alcim. 89.5, Semon.1.16, Thgn. 1035, Anacr. 347.18
45.8	θήιος	ὔδωρ	Y	Y	N ⁶⁶	Y	Y	N
58.9	μέγας	κέραμος	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> 5.387	Y	Xenop h. 1.7	Sim.: Xenoph. 1.7
58.27		πῦρ		Y	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i>		Y	N
140.2		δόμος		Y	<i>bH</i> ⁶⁷		Y	Sim.: Thgn. 1124 ⁶⁸
141.3		κρέτος		Y	Y ⁶⁹		Y	E., S.
208a.5, 338.1-2		χείμων		Y	N ⁷⁰		Y	N ⁷¹

⁵⁸ Corrupt.

⁵⁹ ἄβρός used erotically of a girl (Anacr. 373.3 (corrupt)), with bodyparts (Anacr. 347.1), movement (Anacr. 461), and 'lovely' song (Anacr. 373.2).

⁶⁰ Often of men in general.

⁶¹ ξανθός with ἵππος. Otherwise in lyric, πῶλος with ἄθλος, ὠκύς, Θρήκιος, ραδιός, ποικιλάνιος, ἀελλοδρόμας.

⁶² εἰνάλιος only of sea-creatures in *Od.*; of places in *bH*.

⁶³ In Archilochus and Theognis, strictly of things in the sea, but more widely in Pindar, including of Poseidon (Pi. P.4.204).

⁶⁴ Cf. Νηρέος εἰναλίου τε κόραι | Νύμφαι τ' ὀρίπλαγκτοι (Ar. *Thesm.*325-326).

⁶⁵ πορφυρέος with ἄλς or κῦμα.

⁶⁶ But θεῖος is used of rivers and streams.

⁶⁷ Homer (and Hesiod) always has μέγας with δῶμα, but *bH* have μέγας with δόμος.

⁶⁸ μέγας with δῶμα, used of Hades.

⁶⁹ μέγα κράτος (e.g. at *Il.*752); with the superlative e.g. at *Il.*2118, *Od.*1.70.

⁷⁰ χειμών is in EGHP with δυσθαλής (*Il.*17.549), πολὺς (*Od.*4.566, *Op.*652), ἔκπαγλος (*Od.*14.522), κακός (*Op.*496).

⁷¹ χειμών in lyric with πολὺς (Semon. fr.7.25), ἄγριος (Anacreon 362.3-4).

307a		Ζεῦς		Y	Y ⁷²		Y	Ibyc. 282a.4, B. 5.79, Lamprocl. 735a.2 ⁷³
364.1-2		λαός		Y	Sim. ⁷⁴		Y	N
365		λίθος		Y	<i>Th.</i> 485		Y	N
58.19	ἰλλάεις	θῦμος	N ⁷⁵	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>bH.</i> , <i>Op.</i> ⁷⁶	N ⁷⁷	Y	Sim.: (Alc. 34a.3?), Archil. 23.10
61.10	κρύτερος	μέριμνα	Y	<i>Op.</i> , <i>HH</i>	Sim. ⁷⁸	N ⁷⁹	Y	Sim.: Sa. 1.25-26, Mimn. 1.7, Thgn. 343, 1153, 1323-1324, Pi. fr.124ab.5 ⁸⁰
286a.3		πάγος		N ⁸¹	N ⁸²		N ⁸³	N
68.3	λάβολος ⁸⁴	πάτηρ	N	Y	N	N	Y	Sim.: Alc. 298.3 ⁸⁵
68.6	ἄλιτρος	μίκος	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> ⁸⁶	N	N	Semon., Sol., Thgn., Pi.	A.	Sim.: Semon. 7.7, Sol. 13.27, Thgn. 377 (with abstract noun), 745
69.6-7	ποικιλόφρων	ἄλώπα[	N	N	Sim.: <i>Od.</i> ⁸⁷	E.	Archil., Semon., Sol., Anan., Pi.	Sim.: Archil. 185.5-6, 201, Semon. 7.7, Sol. 11.5 ⁸⁸
70.4	ἄλέματος	φίλων	N	N	N	Sa. 26.5	N	N

⁷² A common epithet for Zeus. In Homer, the combination appears to be exclusively in the genitive.

⁷³ Common in tragedy; Ζεῦς with μέγιστος in B. 6.1, B. 9.55.

⁷⁴ πολὺς with λαός (e.g. *Il.*2.115), τόσσος with λαός (*Il.*4.430), τοιόσδε τοσόσδε with λαός (*Il.*2.120, 2.799).

⁷⁵ ἴλαος is common.

⁷⁶ ἴλαος with θυμόν/καρδία.

⁷⁷ ἴλαος is common.

⁷⁸ For κρύτερος with intangible nouns, cf. *Il.*13.48 (φόβος); *Il.*24.524, *Od.*4.103, 11.212 (γόςος); *Th.*657 (ἄρη), *Op.*153 (Αἶδης); μέριμνα with θαμινός (*bH.*4.44), μέγας (*bH.*4.160), χαλεπός (*Op.*178).

⁷⁹ Cf. κρυσίς (fr.48.12) and ζακρυσίς (fr.34.7-8, 61.14).

⁸⁰ Μέριμνα with χάλεπος (Sappho), κακός (Mimnermus, Theognis), θυμοβόρος (Thgn. 1324), καματώδης (Pindar).

⁸¹ Not as 'frost'.

⁸² Meaning 'crag', cf. πάγος with ὄξυς (*Od.*5.411).

⁸³ Not as 'frost'.

⁸⁴ Predicative?

⁸⁵ λαβόλιος with αὔχην(?); later: λιθόβολος in e.g. E. *Ph.*1063.

⁸⁶ Only predicatively.

⁸⁷ Of Odysseus at *Od.*3.163, 7.168, 22.115, 22.202, 22.281 with ποικιλομήτης.

⁸⁸ But not expressed through epithet. With epithets, Pl. R.365c.

70.10	θυμόβορος	λύα	<i>Il.</i>	N	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> ⁸⁹	Thgn.	Alc. 36.11, Pi.9.14	Sim.: Thgn. 1323-1324 ⁹⁰
70.11	ἔμφυλος	μάχα	<i>Od.</i> 15. 273	Y	N ⁹¹	Sol., Thgn.	Y	Sim.: Sol. 4.19, Thgn. 51 ⁹²
70.13	ἐπήρατος	κῦδος	Y	Y	N ⁹³	Sa. 44.32, 96.22, Pi. ⁹⁴	Alc. 259a.1 5, Sol. 31.2, Thgn. 464, Ibyc. S176.1 2, Pi.	Sim.: Pi. <i>P.</i> 5.73, <i>I.</i> 6.12
72.12	ἐλεύθερος	ἄνηρ	Y	Y	N	Sol., Thgn.	Y	E.
76.11	ἀτάσθαλος	ἄνηρ	Y	Y	<i>Il.</i> 22.41 8, <i>Od.</i> 8.16 6, 24.282	Thgn. 749, Anacr. 445.1	Y	Thgn. 749
112.7	πολυδάκρυος	ἄεθλον	<i>Il.</i> 17.1 92	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> 17.19 2 ⁹⁵	Tyrt. 11.7	Y	Sim.: Tyrt. 11.7, Mimn. 11.3, Thgn. 549 ⁹⁶
112.10	ἀρείσιος	ἄνηρ	Y	Y	<i>Il.</i> 13.49 9	Pi., B.	Y	B.3.69 ⁹⁷
115a.8	ψῦχος	ὔδωρ	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> , <i>Tb.</i> , <i>Op.</i>	Y	Y	Sa., Thgn., Pi., Xenoph. 1.8	Y	Sa. 2.5, Thgn. 882, Xenoph. 1.8
117b.5	κοῦφος	δρόμος	Y	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> , Hes. fr.	N	Sol. 13.36, Thgn., Anacr., Pi., B.	Anacr. 417.4, Pi., B.	N
117b.27 , 305a.10 -11	πόλιος	ἄλς	Y	Y	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i>	Y	Y	Archil. 8.1, Thgn. 10, 106, Pi. <i>O.</i> 1.71, <i>P.</i> 2.68, <i>I.</i> 4.56
359.1-2		θάλασσα		Y	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i>		Y	E. <i>Hel.</i> 1503

⁸⁹ θυμόβορος with ἔρις.

⁹⁰ θυμόβορος with μέριμνα.

⁹¹ For destructiveness of battle, cf. *Il.*13.339, *Od.*22.297 (φθισίμβροτος).

⁹² ἔμφυλος with στάσις (Sol.) and φόνος (Thgn.).

⁹³ κῦδος often with μέγας. In EGHP, ἐπήρατος of clothing (*Od.*8.366), feasting (*Il.*9.228), places (*Il.*18.512, 22.121, *Od.*4.606, 13.103, 13.347, *bH.*3.286, 521, 529), voice (*Tb.*67), beauty (*Op.*63), people (Hes. fr.25.39).

⁹⁴ In Sappho, ἐπήρατος of song and beauty.

⁹⁵ πολυδάκρυος with μάχη; πολύδακρυς with Ares, war, and battle in *Il.*3.132, 8.516, 19.318, 3.165, 22.487, 17.544.

⁹⁶ Ἄρης with πολυδάκρυος (Tyrtaeus); ἄεθλον with χαλεπήρης (Mimnermus); πόλεμος with πολύδακρυς (Theognis).

⁹⁷ Similarly, Pi. *O.*2.42 (γένος ἀρήϊον).

117b.31	ὠλόμενος	κακότας	Y	Y	N ⁹⁸	Tyrt. 7.2, Thgn., Pi.	Alc. 132.4	N ⁹⁹
129.2	εὐδείλος, μέγας	τέμενος	N	Y	Sim.: <i>Od.</i> , <i>bH</i> ¹⁰⁰	N	Alc. 130b.1 3, Pi.	Sim.: Pi. O.1.111, P.4.76
129.5	ἀντίαιος	Ζεῦς	N	Y	N ¹⁰¹	N	Y	N
129.6	Αἰόληιος κυδάλιμος	θεός	N; Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> , <i>Scut.</i> , Hes. fr. ¹⁰²	N; N	Y	N
129.8-9	κεμήλιος ὠμήσταις	Ζόνυκος	N; <i>Il.</i> , <i>Th.</i> ¹⁰³	Y	N	N; B. 13.13 ¹⁰⁴	Y	N
129.9-10	εὔνοος	θύμος	N	Y	Sim.: <i>Od.</i> 17.5 31, 14.63	Thgn., ¹⁰⁵ Hippon. 182.6	Y	N ¹⁰⁶
130b.2	ἀγροιώτικος	μοῖρα	N	Y	N ¹⁰⁷	N	Y	N ¹⁰⁸
130b.7	ἀλλαλόκακος	πολίτας	N	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> , <i>bH.</i>	N ¹⁰⁹	N	Y	Sim.: Archil. 109.1, Mimn. 7.1 (=Thgn. 794), Pi. P.11.28
130b.19	θεσπέσιος	ἄχω	Y	<i>bH.</i> , <i>Scut.</i>	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> ¹¹⁰	Sa. 44.27, P., B. 13.75	B.	Sa. 44.27
130b.17-18	ἐλκεσίπεπλος	Λεσβίας	<i>Il.</i> , Hes. fr.	N	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> 6.442, 7.297, 22.105, Hes.	N	N	N

⁹⁸ In EGHP, κακότης with βαρύς (*Il.*10.71) and πικρός (*bH.*8.12). οὐλόμενος with abstract nouns in EGHP: e.g. μῆνις, *Il.*1.1; ἄτη, *Il.*19.92; γῆρας, *Th.*225; Πενίη, *Th.*593, *Op.*717; ἔρις, Hes. fr.58.15.

⁹⁹ οὐλόμενος with μοῖρα (Tyrt. fr.7.2), ἀχρημοσύνη (Thgn. 156), γῆρας (Thgn. 272), ἔρις (Thgn. 390, 527, 768, 1012, Pi. P.10.41), πενίη (Thgn. 1062), ὕβρις (Thgn. 1174), νοῦκος (Pi. P.4.293), κτάσις (Pi. fr.52k.15).

¹⁰⁰ εὐδείλος of Ithaka (6x in the *Odyssey*), of an island (τις νήσων εὐδείλος, *Od.*13.234), of Crisa (*bH.*3.438).

¹⁰¹ Cult titles abound.

¹⁰² κυδάλιμος in EGHP only of heroes and mortals, never of gods.

¹⁰³ Only of animals and beasts.

¹⁰⁴ Of a lion.

¹⁰⁵ Substantivised at Thgn. 641.

¹⁰⁶ Not regarding divinities.

¹⁰⁷ In Homer: μοῖρα κραταιή (*Il.*5.83, 5.629, 16.334, 19.410, 20.477, 21.110, 24.132, 24.209, *Ilias Parva* fr.21.5), μοῖρα δυσώνυμος (*Il.*12.116), μοῖρα κακή (*Il.*13.602), μοῖρ' ὀλοή (*Il.*16.849, 21.83; *Od.*2.100, 3.238, 19.145, 24.29, 24.135); ὀλοῖη μοῖρα (*Il.*22.5).

¹⁰⁸ In lyric before Pindar: οὐλομένη μοῖρα (Tyrt. fr.7.2).

¹⁰⁹ πολίτης not found with an epithet in EGHP.

¹¹⁰ θεσπέσιος with ἠχή.

					fr.193.2 111			
140.4	λάμπρος	κυνία	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il</i> .17.26	Y	Y	Sim.: Alc. 329.1 ¹¹³
383		ἄρμενον		<i>Tb.</i> , <i>Op.</i>	9, 13.132 (=16.21 6), 13.265 (=19.35 9) ¹¹²		Thgn., Pi.	Sim.: Alc. 140.4, 140.7-9
140.7-9	χάλκιος λάμπρος	κνᾶμις	Y; Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> ¹¹⁴	Y; Y	N	Sim.: Tyrnt. 19.20, (Anacr. 501.9?), Pi.; ¹¹⁵ Alc. 383
140.5	λεῦκος ἵππιος	λόφος	Y; Y	Y	<i>Il</i> .15.53 7 ¹¹⁶	Pi.	Tyrnt., Alc. 388, Pi.	N
140.9	ἰσχυρός	βέλος	N ¹¹⁷	Y	Sim.: <i>Il</i> .5.104 118	N ¹¹⁹	Y	Sim.: Mimn. 14.8, Ibyc. S167.8, Pi. ¹²⁰
140.11	κοῖλος	ἄσπις	Y	Y	N ¹²¹	Y	Y	Tyrnt. 19.7, Mimn. 13a.2
167.20	ὠκύαλος	ναῦς	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i>	Y	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i> ¹²²	Pi. fr.94b.19	Y	S. <i>Aj</i> .710
169a.4- 5	ἄμυδρος	ἄνηρ	N	Y	N	Archil. 231.1 ¹²³	Y	N
169a.5	πάλαος		Y	Y	<i>bH</i> .3.16 0; Sim.: <i>Il</i> .14.13 6 ¹²⁴	Y		Sim. ¹²⁵

¹¹¹ ἑλκεσίπεπλος with Τρωιάς (*Iliad*) and Καδμηίς (Hesiod). Similar epithets include εὐπεπλος (e.g. *Il*.5.424), ἑλκεχίτων (*Il*.13.685; *bH*.3.147, of Ἰάονες).

¹¹² λαμπρός with κόρυς (and phrases involving helmets).

¹¹³ χρυσόπαστος with κυνία.

¹¹⁴ χάλκεος very often with arms. Cf. χαλκοκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί (*Il*.7.41), who are usually ἐκνήμιδες.

¹¹⁵ χάλκεος with various weapons.

¹¹⁶ ἵππιος with λόφος. Cf. also λόφον ἵππιοχαίτην (*Il*.6.469), κυνέας ἵπποδαρείας (*Od*.22.111, 22.145).

¹¹⁷ Noun ἰσχύς first in *Tb*.146, 153, 823.

¹¹⁸ καρτερός with βέλος.

¹¹⁹ Noun ἰσχύς at Solon fr.27.8.

¹²⁰ βέλος with πικρός (Mimnermus), ἀδινός (Ibycus).

¹²¹ κοῖλος mostly of ships and places; the closest it is applied to a weapon is to the quiver (*Od*.21.417, *Scut*.129) and the νάρθηξ (*Tb*.567, *Op*.52).

¹²² *Il*.15.704-705, *Od*.12.182, 15.473.

¹²³ Referring to a reef.

¹²⁴ παλαιός with ἀνήρ (*bH*.3.160), with φώς (*Il*.14.136).

¹²⁵ Substantivised adjective: Tyrnt. fr.10.19, 12.37, 12.42, Thgn. 936.

283.4	Ἄργειος	Ἄλένα	Y	Y	Y ¹²⁶	Y	Y	N
283.4-5	Ξενναπάτας	ἄνηρ	N	Y	N	Ibyc. 282a.10	Y	Sim.: Ibyc. 282a.10 ¹²⁷
283.8	εὐστρωτος	λέχος	bH	Y	bH.2.28 5, bH.5.15 7 ¹²⁸	N	Sa. 121.2, Pi.	N
296b.2	ἐρόεις	ἐλαία	bH	Y	Sim.: bH ¹²⁹	inc. auct. Lesb. 16.2, Anacr., Ibyc. 282a.44	Anacr. 443, Pi.	N ¹³⁰
298.9	πολύλαϊς	ἄθανάα	N	Y	N ¹³¹	N	N	N
298.16	ὄλοος	λύσσα	Y	Il.	Il.9.305	Alcm. 7.17, Pi. fr.52iA.11	B. 11.102	Sim. ¹³²
298.25- 26	οἴνοψ	πόντος	Y	Y	Y ¹³³	N	Y	N
319	βληχρός	ἄνεμος	N ¹³⁴	Y	N ¹³⁵	Pi., B.	Y	N ¹³⁶
319	ἀχείμαντος	πνόα	N	Y	N ¹³⁷	B. fr.30.1	Y	N ¹³⁸
325.1	πολεμάδοκος	ἄθανάα	N	Y	N	Pi. P.10.13, Lamprocl .	Y	Sim.: Lamprocl. 735a

¹²⁶ E.g. *Il*.6.323, 4.184.

¹²⁷ Ξειναπάτης with Πάρις. Cf. also E. *Tr*.865-866, *Med*.1391-1392, Pi. *O*.10.34.

¹²⁸ in Homer, λέχος (and the plural) is usually the accusative object of στόρνυμι (e.g. *Il*.9.617, 9.655, 9.656, 24.648; *Od*.23.171, 23.172).

¹²⁹ ἐρόεις not in Homer; in *bH*, of divinities (Hesiod also: e.g. *Th*.245), animate things, and flowers (*bH*.2.109, 425, 4.31). ἐλαία in EGHP with τανύφυλλος (*Od*.13.102, 13.372, 23.195) and ἀγλαόκαρπος (*bH*.2.23).

¹³⁰ ἐλαία in lyric with χλωρός (Anacr. 443 (corrupt)), χρύσεος (Pi. *O*.11.13), κκληρός (Pi. *O*.7.29). ἐρόεις is found with μορφή (Ibyc. 282a.43-44), δῶρα (Anacr. 346), πηκτικός (Anacr. 373.2-3), βωμός (inc. auct. Lesb. 16.2), and Ἄβανθις (inc. auct. Lesb. 35.8).

¹³¹ Athena is often ἀγελείη (*Il*.5.765, 6.269, 6.279, 15.213; *Od*.16.207; Hes. *Th*.318), and ληϊτικὸς 'plunderer' (*Il*.10.460). Cf. also ληΐδα πολλήν (*Il*.12.7) and ληΐδα δ' ἐκ πεδίου κυνελάσσαμεν ἤλιθα πολλήν (*Il*.11.677).

¹³² In lyric, ὄλοος with ὕβρις (Alcman), στοναχή (Pindar); λύσσα with δύστανος (Bacchylides).

¹³³ οἴνοπα πόντον is a common hexameter ending (e.g. *Il*.2.613).

¹³⁴ According to Leumann 1950: 55, 340, βληχρός is from ἀβληχρός by false division of μάλ' ἀβληχρός.

¹³⁵ In EGHP, ἀβληχρός with χεῖρ (*Il*.5.337), τείχεα (*Il*.8.178), θάνατος (*Od*.11.134-135, 23.282-283).

¹³⁶ βληχρός with ποταμός (Pi. fr.130.2, of night), νεϊκος (Pi. fr.245), ἀρχά (B. 11.65), [τίσις] (B. 13.193, noun uncertain).

¹³⁷ For πνόαι ἀνέμων, cf. πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο (*Il*.12.207, 23.367, 24.342; *Od*.1.98=5.46, 2.148), ἀνέμων πνοιῆσι (*Th*.268).

¹³⁸ ἀχείμαντος of a city at B. fr.30.1 (Memphis) before Theophrastus; ἀχείματος in A. *Supp*.136 with πνοή.

327.2	εὔπέδιλος	Ἴρις	N	Y	Sim. ¹³⁹	N	Xenop h. 33.1	Sim.: Sapph. 103.13, 123 ¹⁴⁰
327.3	χρυσοκόμαις	Ζέφυρος	<i>Tb.</i> 94 7	Y	Sim.: <i>Tb.</i> 947 ¹⁴¹	Tyrt., Alcm., Anacr., Pi., Sim., B. 4.2	Pi.	Sim.: Tyrt. 4 (Diodorus' alternative beginning, l.2), Anacr. 358.2, B. 4.2 ¹⁴²
329.1	χρυσόπαστος	κυνία	N	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> 5.743- 744 ¹⁴³	A. <i>A.</i> 776	Y	N ¹⁴⁴
334.2	ἄλμυρος	πόντος	<i>Od.</i> , <i>bH.</i> , <i>Tb.</i> Hes. fr.	Y	<i>Tb.</i> 107, 964 ¹⁴⁵	Y	Y	Sa. 44.7-8. ¹⁴⁶
335.3	ἄριστος	φάρμακον	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
338.6-7	μέλιχρος	οἶνος	N	Y	Sim. ¹⁴⁷	Anacr.38 3.1	Y	Anacr. 383.1-2
343	αἰγίοχος	Ζεῦς	Y	Y	Y	Sa. 86.2, Pi. <i>I.</i> 4.58	Y	N
344.1	ἐργάσιμος	λίθος	N	Y	N	N	Y	N ¹⁴⁸
345.2	ποικιλόδειρος τανυσίπτερος	πάνελοψ	<i>Op.</i> 203; <i>Od.</i> , <i>bH.</i> , <i>Tb.</i> <i>Op.</i>	N	Sim. ¹⁴⁹	N; Ibyc. 317a.4	Ibyc. 317a.3	Sim.; Ibyc. 317a.3 ¹⁵⁰

¹³⁹ χρυσοπέδιλος of Hera (*Od.*11.604, *Tb.*454), καλλιπέδιλος of Maia (*bH.*4.57). In EGHP, Iris with ποδήνεμος (e.g. *Il.*2.786), χρυσόπτερος (e.g. *Il.*8.398), ἀέλλοπος (*Il.*8.409), ταχύς (e.g. *Il.*8.399), ὠκύς (e.g. *Il.*2.786).

¹⁴⁰ χρυσοπέδιλος of Dawn. Cf. also ποικιλοκάμβαλος of Lesbian girl in Anacreon 358.3.

¹⁴¹ χρυσοκόμης of Dionysus.

¹⁴² Of Apollo (Tyrtaeus, Simonides, Bacchylides), and Eros (Anacreon). Cf. also ὁ χρυσοκόμας as Apollo in Pindar (*O.*6.41, 7.32, fr.52e.41).

¹⁴³ χρύσεος of κυνέη.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. weapons of fr.140. Closer is τήρηι χρυσοπάστῳ (*Hdt.* 8.120).

¹⁴⁵ ἄλμυρος most often with ὕδωρ (e.g. *Od.*4.511, sometimes qualified by θαλάσσης, e.g. at *Od.* 12.236); also found with οἶσμα θαλάσσης (e.g. *bH.*2.14).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. also ἄλμυρος with θάλασσα (*Sa.* fr.96.10).

¹⁴⁷ μελιθής with οἶνος (e.g. *Il.*6.258), μελίφρων with οἶνος (e.g. *Il.*6.264).

¹⁴⁸ ἐργάσιμος otherwise in prose.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. ποικιλόδειρος ἀηδῶν (*Hes.* *Op.*203); τανυσίπτερος of ὄρνις (*Od.*5.65, *Op.*212), of κίχλη (*Od.*22.468), of οἰωνός (*HH.*2.89); τανυπτέρυξ of οἰωνός (*Il.*12.237) and of ἄρπη (*Il.*19.350).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. αἰολόδειρος of πανέλοψ (*Ibyc.* 317a.2-3), τανυσίπτερος of ἀλκυών (*Ibyc.* 317a.4), τανύπτερος of πορφυρίς (*Ibyc.* 317b), τανυπτέρυγος of οἰωνός (*Alcm.* 89.6) and μυῖα (*Simon.* 521.3), and ποικιλόπτερος of κύκνος (*Pratinas* 708.5).

346.1	ποίκιλος	κυλίχνα	Y	N	Sim. ¹⁵¹	Y	Alc. 322	Sim. ¹⁵²
346.3	λαθικάδης	οἶνος	<i>Il.</i> 22.8 3	Y	N	N	Y	N
347b.2	λίγυρος	αἰίδα	Y	Y	<i>Od.</i> 12.4 4, 12.183, <i>Op.</i> 583, 659	Sa., Pi. O.6.82, B. fr.20B.2	Y	Sa. 103.10 ¹⁵³
348.1	κακοπατρίδαις	Φίττακος	N	N	N	Alc. 67.4, 75.12, 106.3; (Thgn. 193) ¹⁵⁴	N	Sim. ¹⁵⁵
348.2	ἄχολος βαρυδαίμων	πόλις	<i>Od.</i> 4.2 21; N	Y	N ¹⁵⁶	N; N	Y	N ¹⁵⁷
350.1-2	ἐλεφάντινος χρυσόδετος	λάβρα	N; N	N	N ¹⁵⁸	Alcm. 10b.6(?), Anacr. 388.11; E.	A.	Sim.: Anacr. 388.11, E. <i>Phoen.</i> 805 ¹⁵⁹
350.5-7	βασιλήϊος	πᾶχυς	Y	Y	N	Tyrt. 12.7, Alc. 130.15, Sa. 94.20, Pi. O.14.3	N ¹⁶⁰	N ¹⁶¹
130.15		τεῖχος		Y	N		Y	N
355	νιφόεις	ὠρανός	Y	Y	Sim. ¹⁶²	Pi.	Y	Sim.: Alcm. 3.67 ¹⁶³
360.2	ἀπάλαμνος	λόγος	Y	Y	Sim.: <i>Il.</i> 5.597 ¹⁶⁴	Y	Y	Sim.: Sol. 27.12 ¹⁶⁵

¹⁵¹ Vessels in EGHP largely χρύσεος (e.g. *Il.*3.295).

¹⁵² With κύλιξ: ποίκιλος (*CEG* 460; 5th century), φοξός (*Sem.* 27.1), χρύσιος (*Sa.* fr.2.14).

¹⁵³ Cf. also λιγυρός with γᾶρυς (*Bacchylides*).

¹⁵⁴ As κακόπατρις.

¹⁵⁵ Thgn. 193; for εὐπατρίδης, found first in literature in tragedy, but Aristotle quotes earlier. Also inscriptions: *IG* I³ 1516 (Euboea, 6th century: Χαίριον | Ἀθηναῖος | εὐπατριδῶν | ἐνθάδε κεί-|τα(ι)); *TAPA* 69 (1938) 51,5 (Olynthus, late 5th/early 4th century BC); *SEG* 41:16, h(2) (Athens, Kerameikos; 5th century BC).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. ὀλβιοδαίμων of Ἀτρείδης (*Il.*3.182), εὐδαίμων (*Op.*826).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Archil. fr.234 for ἄχολος; A. A.1660, E. *Alc.*865, Ar. *Ec.*1102-1103, Sol. fr.13.26 for βαρυδαίμων.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. μελάνδετος of φάσγανον (*Il.*15.713); *ka-ko-de-ta* /k^halkodetai/ (KN So 894.2) of wheels. Homer has κώπη (not λαβή): cf. κώπη ἐλέφαντος (of a key handle, *Od.*21.7) and with ἀργύρεος (of a sword's hilt, *Il.*1.219).

¹⁵⁹ ἐλεφάντινος of κιαδίσκη (*Anacr.*); χρυσόδετος of περόνη (E. *Phoen.*805).

¹⁶⁰ As 'arm'.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Hdt. 1.178, 7.117.

¹⁶² νιφόεις with Ὀλυμπος (e.g. *Il.*8.616).

¹⁶³ αἰγλάεις with ὠρανός.

¹⁶⁴ ἀπάλαμνος with ἀνήρ.

¹⁶⁵ ἀπάλαμνος with ἔργον. Cf. also μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα (Thgn. 481), ἀπάλαμνος with φρήν (Pi. O.2.57).

362.2	πλέκτος	ὑπάθυμις	Y	N	Sim. ¹⁶⁶	Sa. 94.16, Anacr. 397.1, Pi. fr.169a.26	Sa. 94.15, Anacr. 397.2	Sa. 94.15-16, Anacr. 397.1-2
362.3	ἄδυσ	μύρον	Y	N	Sim.: <i>Od.</i> , <i>bH</i> ¹⁶⁷	Y	Y	Sim.: Xenoph. 1.4 ¹⁶⁸
367.1	ἀνθεμόεις	ἔαρ	Y	Y	N ¹⁶⁹	Anacr. 396.1, Pi. fr.107a.4, B.	Y	Sim.: Mimn. 2.1-2, Pi. P.4.64 ¹⁷⁰
368.1	χαρίεις	Μένων	Y	Y	Hes. ¹⁷¹	Y	N	Alcm. 159 ¹⁷²
384	ἰοπλοκος ἄγνος μελλιχομειδης	Σάπφω/ Ἄπφω	N; <i>Od.</i> , <i>HH</i> , <i>Op.</i> , <i>Scut.</i> ; N	N	Sim. ¹⁷³	Pi., B.; Y; N	N	Sim. ¹⁷⁴
386	ἄγνος	Χάρις		Y	Sim. (above)	Y	Y	Sapph.53
397	τέρην	ὀπώρα	Y	<i>Il.</i> , <i>Od.</i>	Sim. ¹⁷⁵	Y	Alcm., Pi.	A. <i>Sapph.</i> 998, Sim. ¹⁷⁶

Table 1: Epithets and Nouns in Alcaeus and their Parallels

1.2. Distribution

Even a cursory glance at Table 1 suggests distributional groups based on the content and context of the poems: (1) divine, mythological, and heroic material, (2) symposiastic and erotic material,

¹⁶⁶ Cf. πλεκτός of ἀναδέεμη (*Il.*22.469), χειρή (*Od.*22.175, 22.192).

¹⁶⁷ In EGHP, ἡδύς mostly of wine, song, laughter, voice, sleep, or (adverbially) manner, but with ὀδμή (of wine: *Od.*9.210; of meat: *bH.*4.131-132) and αὐτμή (of κνίση: *Od.*12.369).

¹⁶⁸ εὐώδης with μύρον.

¹⁶⁹ ἀνθεμόεις in EGHP of places and things, not seasons; ἔαρ with πολιός (e.g. *Op.*477), πολυανθής (*bH.*19.17).

¹⁷⁰ πολυάνθεμος ὥρη | ἔαρος (Mimnermus), φοινικάνθεμος with ἔαρ (Pindar).

¹⁷¹ χαρίεις never of whole persons in Homer (but of shrines or buildings (*Il.*1.39), handiwork (e.g. *Il.*6.90, 6.271, 5.905; *Od.*10.232), and body-parts (e.g. *Il.*16.798, 18.24, 22.403); in Hesiod, with goddesses and women (e.g. *Th.*247, Hes. fr.17a.5).

¹⁷² χαρίεις of Ἀλκμάν. Sappho 108: χαρίεις of a woman.

¹⁷³ ἰο- adjectives in EGHP exist, but are not used with people (ἰοειδής with πόντος: e.g. *Il.*11.298; with κρήνη: *Th.*3; ἰοδνεφής with εἶρος: e.g. *Od.*4.135). ἄγνος regularly of divinities, places and things in EGHP. For μελλιχομειδης, cf. φιλομειδής of Aphrodite (e.g. *Il.*3.424).

¹⁷⁴ Pindar and Bacchylides: ἰοπλοκος and ἰοπλόκαμος of goddesses and women. ἄγνος regularly of divinities, places and things in lyric; cf. of a man (fr.130b.1).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. τέρην with ἄνθος (e.g. *Od.*9.449).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. e.g. τερείνας ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν (Pi. N.5.6), τέρην with ἄνθος (inc. auct. Lesb. 16.3, adesp. 929e.4-5).

and (3) contemporary socio-political material. A similar analysis of epithets in Sappho and Anacreon, omitted due to space, yields the same pattern. Epithets can now be discussed by distribution groups within the broader context of archaic poetry.

Gods in Alcaeus and other monodic lyricists are usually paired with epithets. Thus, we find e.g. Δίος ἐξ αἰγιόχῳ (fr.343), εὐπέδιλος Ἴρις (fr.327), βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν (Sa. fr.102.2), ἐρίβρομον | Δεόνυκον (Anacr. 365). This is unsurprising, since divine epithets were central in cult and poetry,¹⁷⁷ although cultic and poetic epithets could be distinguished in antiquity.¹⁷⁸ The overlap of the cultic and poetic is clear in fr.129: ἀντίαος, used of Zeus, is found only here and probably at Sappho fr.17.9 (again of Zeus of the same sanctuary), suggesting it is a cult title of Zeus at Messon, while the *hapax legomena* κειμήλιος and ὠμήτταις of Dionysus also appear to be cult titles.¹⁷⁹ However, these appear beside less likely cult epithets, such as κυδάλιμος of Hera (notably, Hera is the only divinity of the trinity whose epithets are not 'named' by the Λέκβιοι in the fragment).¹⁸⁰ Nevertheless, despite this expectation, epithets (cultic or poetic) can create literary effects, as the epithets in fr.129.5-9 together create an atmosphere of great, grim, and monumental power.

Names of gods (with their epithets) are found in lyric poetry in poems or sections with hymnic elements or with divine, mythological, or heroic narrative.¹⁸¹ These also contain other noun-epithet clusters. For the abundance of noun-epithet clusters in poems with hymnic elements, a good example is fr.34, which starts with a call to the Dioscuri followed by an extended hymnic relative clause and contains a cluster in almost every line: παῖδες(?) ἴφθ]ιμοι, εὐνόω]ι(?) θύ[μ]ωι, εὐρηαν χ[θόνα], ὦ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων, θα[ν]άτω ... ζακρυόεντος, εὐςδ[ύγ]ων .. νάων, ἀργαλέαι δ' ἐν νύκτι, νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίνοι. Similarly, Sappho fr.2 shows an extensive range of noun-

¹⁷⁷ See Gladigow 1981 and Parker 2003 for the Greek cult epithet.

¹⁷⁸ Parker 2003: 173 with n.3.

¹⁷⁹ Hutchinson 2001: 197-199.

¹⁸⁰ On Hera's importance in Lesbos: Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2014.

¹⁸¹ An apparent exception are some poems of symposiastic content such as Alcaeus fr.338 (on which, see below).

epithet clusters: ναῦον | ἄγνον, χάριεν ... ἄλκος, ὕδωρ ψυχρον, ὕδων | μαλίνων, λείμων
 ἱππύβοτος, ἠρίνοιαι(?) ἄνθεαι, χρυσίααι ἐν κυλίκεσσιν. The coincidence of noun-epithet
 clusters and mythological or heroic narratives is perhaps most obvious in Alcaeus fr.42, where,
 even with line-beginnings missing, the number is noteworthy: κάκων [... ἔργων(?), ἄ[χος(?)] ...
 πίκρον, Ἴλιον ἴραν, Αἰακίδαῖ[ς] ἄγαυος(?), πάρθενον ἄβραν, ὄλβιον ... ἐλάτη[ρα], ξάνθαν ...
 [πῶλων(?). In Sappho, most mythological elements are found in poems with addresses to
 divinities, but the most extended mythological narration is the famous marriage of Hector and
 Andromache in fr.44, which is well-known for close similarities with hexameter poetry,¹⁸² including
 its use of noun-epithet clusters. A further extension can be found in descriptions of *loci amoeni*. In
 Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon, it is usually with sanctuaries, mythological locations, or seasons.
 Again, an obvious case is Sappho fr.2, and we see the same in Alcaeus fr.115 (possibly by Sappho)
 and 296b. The season and location appear to contribute to the numinous and wondrous
 atmosphere suitable to the mysterious power of the gods. This atmosphere is made hyper-realistic
 and presented through heightened senses, idealised ideas of nature, and uses for humans: thus in
 fr.296b hyacinths are for garlands, olive trees are lovely, spring is fair and has gates, and humans
 smell of divine ambrosia.

It is telling that many noun-epithet clusters are found in hymnic fragments or sections and
 divine, mythological, and heroic narrative, which are best known to us as the material of EGHP.
 Indeed, noun-epithet clusters in these poems or sections coincide with other elements characteristic
 of early Greek hexameter poetry. Thus, in fr.34, beside the clusters, all of which (except
 θα[ν]άτω ... ζακρυόεντος and ἀργαλέαι δ' ἐν νύκτι) find exact parallels in EGHP, we also find
 ῥῆα (l.7), an Ionic form of epic origin,¹⁸³ and the cluster νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίνας at the adonean period-end
 of the Sapphic stanza, corresponding to the common hexametric line-end νηὶ μελαίνῃ (e.g.

¹⁸² Cf. e.g. Rissman 1983: 119-148, Meyerhoff 1984: 118-139, Schrenk 1994, Tsomois 2001: 241-246, Pallantza 2005:
 79-88, Benelli 2017: 217-243, Spelman 2017.

¹⁸³ Bowie 1981: 93-94.

*Il.*1.300). Similarly, in fr.42, where almost all the noun-epithet clusters have exact parallels in EGHP,¹⁸⁴ we find the epic borrowing ἀμφί + dat. (ἀμφ’ Ἐ[λέναι]),¹⁸⁵ a close reformulation of the Iliadic phrase Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες (e.g. *Il.*1.255) in Περράμωι καὶ παῖς[ι], the Iliadic line-end Ἴλιος ἱρή (e.g. *Il.*4.46, in various cases) in the adonean stanza-end, as well as the Trojan saga as content. Such close connections with EGHP in the sphere of gods and divine, mythological, and heroic narrative are not limited to melic monodists, but are found in elegy too.¹⁸⁶ The coincidence of content, and style across the hexametric, elegiac, and melic corpora suggests at least a shared verbal culture for the hymnic form and divine, mythological, and heroic narrative, if not an influence of hexameter poetry on lyric (and elegiac) poetry, considering the Ionic linguistic borrowings specifically from the hexameter tradition.

Components of the symposium, such as wine, cups, garlands, perfumes, and participants, are also accompanied by epithets. For example, in lyric (broadly conceived) up to the fifth-century, οἶνος is found with μέλιχρος (fr.338.6-7, Anacr. 383.1-2), ἄπυρος (Alcm. 92a), λαθικάδης (fr.346.3), μελιδής (Thgn. 475, Pi. fr.166.2), γλυκύς (Xenoph. fr.13.3 G-P), ἡδύς (B. fr.21.5). Similarly, in EGHP, we find noun-epithet clusters for similar items, such as αἶθοψ (e.g. *Il.*1.462), εὐφρων (*Il.*3.246), μελιδής (e.g. *Il.*4.346), μελίφρων (e.g. *Il.*6.264), ἡδύς (e.g. *Od.*3.51) with οἶνος, ἐπιτεφής οἶνοιο (e.g. *Il.*8.232), χρύσεος (e.g. *Il.*23.219), ἀργύρεος (e.g. *Il.*23.741), πανάργυρος (e.g. *Od.*9.203) with κρατήρ, εὐώδης (Hes. *Th.*576) and νεοθηλής (*Cypria* fr.5.2 B.) of στέφανος, and εὐώδης (*Od.*2.339) of ἔλαιον.

However, monody, elegy, and hexameter poetry use these epithets somewhat differently from one another. Firstly, between EGHP and lyric (broadly conceived), the immediate internal context is markedly different: in hexameter poetry, the context in which these words are found is

¹⁸⁴ ὄλβιον ... ἐλάτη[ρα] (l.14) is the only partial exception: while ὄλβιος with ἐλάτηρ is not found elsewhere, ὄλβιος is found of Achilles, as here, at *Od.*24.36 and Hes. fr.211.7.

¹⁸⁵ Bowie 1981: 107.

¹⁸⁶ For divinities, cf. Sol. fr.4.3-4, Mimn. fr.1.1, Tyrt. fr.2.12; for narratives, e.g. Tyrt. fr.2.12-16 and Mimn. fr.11.

not always identifiably the ritualised drinking-party found in the later archaic period and is often, especially for garlands and perfume, not a drinking or feasting occasion, while their occurrences in lyric are, when identifiable, linked to the symposium. Secondly, except for wine, there is little overlap between the nouns. Thus **δέπας**, one of the most common words for ‘cup’ in the Homeric poems, is only found in lyric in Stesichorus (**δέπας**: S17.2=fr.8a.2 F., S19.1=fr.22a.1 F.), who is traditionally considered the ‘most Homeric’ (cf. [Long.], *de sub.* 13.3),¹⁸⁷ similarly, **κρατήρ**, another important wine-vessel in EGHP, is only found in fragments with clear epic interactions or mythological content in the Lesbians (in Sappho fr.44.29, in banquets of gods at fr.206.3 and Sappho fr.141.2, and in fr.367.2, a poem with markedly hexametric morphology (**ἐρχομένοιο**)).¹⁸⁸ Further, nouns not found in EGHP abound: e.g. **κυλίχνα** (fr.346.1, 322), **κύλιξ** (Semon. fr.27, Sapph. fr.2.14, *CEG* 460, Hippon. fr.14.2), **κελέβη** (Anacr. 356a.2, 383.2, 409), **ὑπάθυμις** (fr.362.2, Sapph. fr.94.15, Anacr. 397.2), **γνόφαλλον** (fr.338.8), **πᾶκτις** (fr.36.5, Sapph. fr.156.1, Anacr. 373.3, 386), **βάρμος** (Sapph. fr.176, Alc. fr.70.4), and **μύρον** (Semon. fr.7.64, 16.1, Sapph. fr.94.18, Alc. fr.50.1, 362.3, Anacr. 363.3). In terms of distribution, Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon are generally further from EGHP than other lyric poets: as well as having more nouns in this field shared amongst each other and more localised nouns, there are fewer epithets that are paralleled in EGHP.

The differences between EGHP and lyric (broadly conceived) are perhaps related to the greater importance of the symposium as the described setting in lyric. While there are notable depictions of symposia or banquets in EGHP, it is not the main internal setting of hexametric poetry:¹⁸⁹ since the symposium is more central as internal setting to lyric, it seems natural that it should display a greater abundance of treatment within a shared verbal culture. The difference and

¹⁸⁷ On Stesichorus’ interaction with epic, see now West 2015, Kelly 2015, and Carey 2015.

¹⁸⁸ This is not the case in Anacreon eleg. 2.1, which nevertheless may be making a generic point about kinds of poetry.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. *Il.*9.185-191, *Od.*8.62-83, *hH.*4.54-61.

variety in vocabulary perhaps also suggests a difference in symposiastic practice or expectations. The closer formal relationship of elegiac and iambic poetry with the hexameter than Aeolian and Ionian monody may also play a part in the differences in the choice of epithets.

The importance of the symposium as the internal setting may also explain the use of epithets for participants in lyric (broadly conceived), which are often attested as epithets of goddesses or parts of bodies in EGHP but not humans; since the earliest erotic inscriptions are of the type *καλός X*, it is unsurprising to find this in our sympotic-erotic poetry (e.g. *τὸν χαρίεντα Μένωνα*, fr.368.1).¹⁹⁰ These clearly serve a pragmatic function in performatively praising the named person. Similarly, the symposium as the setting for most erotic lyric (broadly conceived) also explains the frequency of noun-epithet clusters in this context: this is perhaps clearest in Anacreon 383, 396, and 407 and the so-called Book 2 of the *Theognidea*. Although the context for Sappho is less clearly the symposium, the garlands and other items related to the symposium found in the male poets still bear epithets; we might perhaps see a parallel ritual setting in women's gatherings, or the style influenced by male sympotic-erotic poetry. Notably, outside of these items and people, elegy and melic avoid noun-epithet clusters in sympotic and erotic contexts. Thus the treatment of epithets found with components of the symposium (including *ἔρωσ*) in Aeolic and Ionian lyric has more in common with the treatment in elegy and iambus than with EGHP, notwithstanding a shared typology.

Finally, we turn to contemporary socio-political material. Socio-political discussions are one of the central concerns of extant archaic elegy; in elegy with socio-political content, however, the frequency of epithets is much lower, and most of these are paralleled, or typologically similar to noun-epithet clusters found in extant EGHP, or demonstrate an awareness of EGHP treatment. Noun-epithet clusters are found in elegy with socio-political content with abstract words, and with words concerning the state. With abstract words, this tendency is clearly also present in EGHP,

¹⁹⁰ In Alcaeus, no non-mythological human names, which are so often accompanied by epithets in EGHP, are found with an epithet outside sympotic contexts.

especially Hesiod, and new pairings, such as δουλίην ἀεικέα (Solon fr.36.13; cf. ἀεικέα λαιγὸν (e.g. *Il.*1.97) and ἀεικέα ... λώβην (e.g. *Il.*11.142)), appear to be part of this continuum. Such cases sometimes show awareness of hexameter pairings: πενίην θυμοφθόρον (Thgn. 155) can also be found at Hesiod *Op.*638, and Hesiod's famous crooked and straight judgements can be seen behind δίκας σκολιάς (Sol. fr.4.36) and ἰθεῖα γνώμη (Thgn. 397). In lyric more broadly, socio-political contexts have fewer noun-epithet clusters. Similarly, although few abstract nouns survive in extant lyric, for example, ἀργάλεον Πενία κάκον ἄσχετον (fr.364.1) is very similar to formulations in EGHP. Further, with Ἀμαχανίαι σὺν ἀδελφείαι (fr.364.2), not only is the sentiment of this fragment very similar to several Theognidean passages, but the anthropomorphic and genealogical idea for ἀμηχανία is only found elsewhere at Thgn. 385. Both Alcaeus and Theognis are probably drawing on a proverb or a common anthropomorphic and genealogical conception of ills, as at *Theogony* 211-232.

Similarly, words relating to the state appear to show an awareness of hexameter treatments. In hexameters, these are rarely accompanied by epithets, and the few epithets attested with πόλις and δῆμος are physically descriptive and positive. In fr.348, however, the city is characterised negatively and by the morality of its occupants. However, this appears to purposefully portray the opposite of the expected hexameter ideal; thus instead of being of good stock, one is κακοπατρίδαις (cf. κακόπατρις, Thgn. 193), and instead of being full of χόλος like heroes and wishing to be lucky (cf. e.g. ὦ μάκαρ Ἀτρεΐδῃ μοιρηγενὲς ὀλβιόδαιμον, *Il.*3.182), the city is ἄχολος and βαρυδαίμων. Similarly, Anacreon 353.3 appears to use the hexameter coupling of ἱερός with cities ironically (cf. ἱερὴν πόλιν, e.g. *Il.*1.366) when Samos under the control of rebellious fishermen is ἱρὸν ἄστυ. Therefore it appears that in contemporary socio-political material, nouns are rarely embellished with epithets, and the few instances of noun-epithet clusters appear to interact with EGHP.

Interestingly, the content with which epithets are associated in lyric loosely parallel the contents of 'sub-genres' of EGHP: divine and mythological material of hymns, heroic material of

heroic narrative, abstract nouns of socio-political material of wisdom poetry. In contrast, non-epic contemporary material and accoutrements of the symposium, which are less central to EGHP, have fewer and different epithets. This distribution pattern suggests that EGHP as a whole was influential on the Lesbian poets' use of epithets, but that the Homeric bias of earlier scholarship occluded many aspects of this usage.

My findings can be usefully compared with Harvey's conclusions on the distribution of epithets in lyric poets. Without considering frequency of use, Harvey categorises epithets into (1) the narration of an epic story, (2) hymns, (3) the description of nature, and (4) *Lieblingswörter* consisting of colours, and words like ἱμερόεις, χαρίεις, ἄβροός, and ἱερός.¹⁹¹ Harvey's (1), (2), and (3) largely come under my divine and mythological category, which I have suggested was influenced by EGHP. Harvey was struck by the Lesbians' use of epithets for nature, suggesting:

the description of natural scenes demands considerable linguistic resources; it is not as simple as writing love poems or political verses and cries out for an elaborate poetic diction. Only one ready-made poetic diction was available to the lyric poets, that of Homer; and it is perhaps not surprising that they drew upon it more liberally than usual when faced with the task of describing beauties of nature.¹⁹²

Harvey had not noticed the context: hyper-realistic and extra-ordinary contexts, often in hymns or at least fragments with addresses to a divinity or set in a sanctuary. Finally, Harvey's *Lieblingswörter* may be recognised largely as epithets in the sympotic-erotic contexts, and we will see how they need not simply be explained away as *Lieblingswörter*. My proposed categorisations thus improve on

¹⁹¹ Harvey 1957. Romè 1965: 237 concludes, 'il linguaggio tradizionale affiora in notevole misura in punti particolari e specifici della produzione poetica dei due lirici: (1) nei carmi di contenuto mitico-eroico, (2) negli Inni, (3) nei passi a carattere descrittivo, dove il poeta aveva bisogno di disporre di una ricca e varia terminologia, che il vocabolario tradizionale era in grado di fornirgli?'; Romè's (1) and (2) are the same as Harvey's, and (3) merely collapses Harvey's (3) and (4).

¹⁹² Harvey 1957: 215.

such previous attempts as it takes into account the influence of prevailing literary traditions as well as the frequency of epithets.

1.3. Close Readings

With these findings, we can finally examine the literary effects of epithets in their contexts.

In Sappho fr.94, the use of direct speech within a narrative is notable. In Lesbian poetry, this is a rare technique that appears to be consciously borrowed from EGHP, most obviously in the long direct speech in Sappho fr.44. Here, the borrowing appears to be confirmed by the reuse of the epic phrase τὸν/τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' X in τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμεαν (l.6) in precisely the context of this technique, used at the head of a stanza after ending the direct speech in the previous stanza just as τὸν/τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' X is used in EGHP at line-beginnings. After an extended section without any noun-epithet cluster, not for the lack of nouns as there are garlands and flowers (ll.12-14), the stanza of ll.15-17 provides two in quick succession (ὑπαθύμιδας | πλέκταις, ἀπάλαι δέραι), and in the following stanzas also πολλῶνι ... μύρωι | βρενθείωι, στρώμ[αν ... μολθάκαν, and something agreeing with ἀπάλαν and]νίδων.

The clusters themselves can be categorised with components of the symposium. ὑποθυμία is only found here, at fr.362, and Anacreon 397.2, coupled with πλεκτός, with the erotic and symposiastic associations confirmed in the somewhat later coupling of πλεκτός with στέφανος at Xenophanes fr.1.3 and Euripides *Hipp.*73 (in the meadow). Meanwhile, ἀπαλός with body parts (especially the neck, as here) is very common in EGHP, referring to the delicateness of women's body-parts and of the parts of men's and animals' bodies where it is easy to pierce, suggesting a degree of delicacy and intimacy. After earlier stanzas that seemed to draw on features typical of EGHP such as direct speech with lamentation (ὦιμ' ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν, l.4) and concerns of memory (μέμναις', l.8; ὄμναις, l.10), the referents of the epithets shift away from EGHP types, perhaps undercutting an expectation of heroic narration or reminder (of genealogies or previous achievements) by replacing it with an erotic narration.

At the same time, the richness of detail and the EGHP pedigree of some syntagms (e.g. ἀπαλός with body parts) produce a mixed erotic and idealised setting, both grounding the items in the erotic-sympotic sphere and suggesting idealised beauty. This is extended with the mention of perfume, which is coupled with the rare epithet βρενθεῖος, which is only otherwise found in Pherecrates until much later. Whether βασιλιγίωι refers to the perfume or something else, this stanza thus continues the erotic atmosphere by having epithets with components of the symposium and the idea of luxury, as well as again ‘elevating’ the symposium to an extra-ordinary level by referring to kingliness and using an epithet common in EGHP, mostly used of people, for a component of an erotic gathering. This technique is continued in στρώμ[αν ... μολθάκαν, which is not a pair found in EGHP, but is a variation on the hexametric syntagm (εὐνή with μαλακός). This adaptation of hexametric features to non-heroic situations ensures that the atmosphere of the poem lies between the quotidian and EGHP’s mythological ideals.

Alcaeus fr.140, a fragment almost wholly focused on the accoutrements of war, is striking in having an epithet for almost every noun. Alcaeus appears to play with hexametric elements by turning an arming type-scene into other hexametric elements of catalogue and ecphrasis.¹⁹³ Here, Alcaeus tries to surpass the model by extending the model, as well as by adding a couplet of his own. In this context, τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ’ too stands out as a reformulation of the common litotic Homeric phrase for remembering (cf. e.g. οὐ λήθετο χάρις, *Il*.12.393; φυλακῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθωνται, *Il*.10.99). However, despite the overwhelming influence of heroic narrative here, appropriate for a martial topic, the treatment of epithets is unusual: only one out of the many noun-epithet clusters in this poem is exactly paralleled in hexameter poetry (ἵππιοι λόφοι), with the rest having similar syntagms but no direct parallels. Alcaeus appears to create a hyper-epic atmosphere here by piling on the epic elements in combination with a flurry of epithets, effectively

¹⁹³ The description of armour is based on a Homeric precedent (*Il*.3.330-338=16.131-139): Page 1955: 211-212. Similarly, on a linguistic level: Hooker 1977: 42-43.

creating a completely idealised vision of military activity that is steeped in mythological and heroic resonances. Further, just as he plays with the type-scene, he interacts and plays with the epithets by making them his own. However, Alcaeus undercuts the idealised scene, formally with the un-epic epithets, the emphasis on the weapons' decorativeness instead of their use (beside the lack of men and fighting in the scene), and the scene's fragility (τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ').

In fr.70,¹⁹⁴ after describing a symposium (ll.2-5), about which little is certain, the remaining two stanzas provide a complex example of Alcaeus' use of epic resonance through noun-epithet clusters. The register changes with the change of stanza between ll.5 and 6: what precedes is grounded in the symposiastic world of music, and features a noun-epithet cluster consisting of two words not attested earlier than Alcaeus (φιλώνων ... ἀλεμ[άτων, l.4), but at l.6, there is a sudden switch to a heroic epic atmosphere. Alcaeus directly collapses the Mytilenean civil war with the Trojan saga, with the mention of the Atreids for the Penthilids; he names the god to refer to the matter (Ἄρευσ); and he brings in anger, an emotion particularly associated with the *Iliad*. The noun-epithet cluster in l.10, θυμοβόρω λύαα may recall an Iliadic pairing of θυμοβόρος with ἔρις (*Il*.7.210, 7.301, 16.476, 19.58, 20.253). At 7.301 and 19.58, the context is of release from soul-devouring strife, as here (χαλάσσομεν). It is tempting to see a relationship with *Iliad* 19, where it is said by Achilles to Agamemnon to put an end to the schism in the Achaean army; if so, it would be associated with ending internal discord. ἐμφύλω τε μάχαα rules out other occurrences as the other instances are between Greeks and Trojans, and Achilles' mention of Briseis as their source of conflict is paralleled here in παώθεια Ἀτρείδα.¹⁹⁵ Alcaeus' replacement of ἔρις for λύαα, and

¹⁹⁴ See pp.298-305.

¹⁹⁵ Such reference may be surprising at such an early date, but is not entirely unexpected. The view that the Homeric poems (and EGHP in general) were fixed textually at a late date, with multiformity often assumed not only in the archaic but also in the classical and hellenistic periods (the so-called 'evolutionary' model) is increasingly preferred over the so-called 'oral-dictation' model (of Albert Lord), but, beside the important arguments against the 'evolutionary' model (cf. Reece 2005), specifically in relation to Alcaeus, fr.44 may already show awareness of *Iliad* 1 as a unit (West 2002), and the near word-by-word reformulation of a section of Hesiod's *Op.* in fr.347 suggests the

adding ἐμφύλω τε μάχας, therefore poignantly parallels the Achaean division with the civil war of Mytilene, and himself with Achilles (ἔάκομεν, *Il.*19.65). Alcaeus thus effectively casts Pittacus as the unreasonable and greedy king (δαπτέτω πόλιν, fr.70.7), an Agamemnon (cf. esp. *Il.*9.331-333), and of bringing the people to disaster, which is what happens in the *Iliad* until Achilles returns. Thus calling the Penthilids ‘Atreidae’ in l.6 retrospectively gains a further layer of meaning. Moreover, this fight is said to be started by one of the Olympians, just as it is in *Iliad* 19.87-89.

Nevertheless, Alcaeus keeps the poem grounded in the present and does not commit fully to epic style: ἐμφύλω τε μάχας is an un-epic cluster, with close affinities to socio-political elegy (cf. Solon fr.4.19; Theognis 51).¹⁹⁶ Similarly, κῦδος ἐπήρ[ατ]ον perhaps nods at the end to the earlier symposiastic scene and perhaps brings the two parts together by making a heroic theme (glory) symposiastic, as ἐπήρατος is not only used of feasting in the *Iliad*, it is often used in erotic-sympotic contexts (e.g. ἐπήρατον ὄσσαν, Hes. *Tb.*67; εἶδος ἐπήρατον, Hes. *Op.*63; μόρ-|φαν ἐπή[ρατ]ον, Sappho fr.92.22-23). Thus the contextual differences are marked out by different noun-epithet clusters even within the poem, and epithets create a wide range of effects. The second half of the surviving poem heroises the participants and current events, treating it as if it were a struggle of mythological proportions, in a typologically similar way that the physical and temporal setting and the participants of erotic poetry are elevated to an extra-ordinary level with epithets usually reserved for the divine sphere.

The contrast of hexametric and non-hexametric epithets comes to the fore in Alcaeus fr.130b. Here, μοῖραν ... ἀγροῖωτίκων is the first of a sequence of echoes of epic language that have been reworked; μοῖρα is the fate of the hero, which one assumes should be his, but this is undercut by the delayed epithet ἀγροῖωτικός, which is built on ἀγροιώτης, found in heroic

likelihood of a much more fixed state than the ‘evolutionary’ model allows. For arguments on fixity and possibilities of allusion in EGHP: Currie 2016: 12-22.

¹⁹⁶ But cf. ἐπιδήμιος of πόλεμος at *Il.*9.64. ἐμφυλος may be a defining adjective here, but the effect remains the same.

epic of country folk only in similes and in stories away from the action at hand, i.e. detached from heroic life. Thus Alcaeus uses a mixture of epic language to describe his un-heroic socio-political situation while hinting that it should be heroic. Meanwhile in the second stanza, Alcaeus gives πολίτης an epithet, which is not found in extant epic: [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολίταν. Archilochus, Mimnermus, and Theognis, who have similar compound epithets for πολίτης (see table), appear to have used these rare epithets to markedly convey the distaste with an ironic epic ring. At the same time, the first three stanzas are otherwise strikingly empty of noun-epithet clusters, with the *agora*, *boule*, fathers, and *stasis* left unadorned; this is in keeping with my finding that fewer epithets are used in socio-political contexts. In the fourth stanza, two very common pairs are found in μακάρων ... θέων and με[λ]αίνας ... χθόνος, as expected from my findings. It continues with three noun-epithet clusters: Λ[εβί]αδες ... ἐλκεσίπεπλοι clearly chimes with Τρωιάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους (*Il.*6.442=22.105) and Καδμηίδες ἐλκεσίπε[πλοι] (Hes. fr.193.2), recalling the great cities of Troy and Thebes (and other cities in the epic tradition) in contrast to the great wilderness. ἐλκεσίπεπλος, which appears nowhere else in extant lyric, highlights the inversion of social expectations through the epithet's association with hexameter poetry. In contrast to the men with their unepic epithets, women are the epic figures here who make noise and act in a group like epic men, while preserving their femininity with the female-specific epithet, and ritual cries, especially ἄχω θεσπεσία, which is used of maidens' songs at the wedding of Hector and Andromache (*Sappho* fr.44.27). Thus the description of the *kallisteia* becomes extra-ordinary, partly through carefully chosen and placed epithets, in contrast with the unheroic speaker and his surroundings.

This chapter has investigated epithets in archaic lyric, providing a table of Alcaean noun-epithet clusters with reference to EGHP and other poetry, suggesting a new interpretation of the distribution of epithets in lyric, and offering close readings to show how a better understanding of epithets in lyric could benefit literary interpretations. The wider class of poetry considered for comparison with Alcaeus, and the division of hexameter and non-hexameter poetry allowed the

differences in the frequency of noun-epithet clusters in different categories as well as the relationship between the categories and different kinds of poetry to be observed. The final section showed that epithets could be used to great effect, with an awareness of the distribution pattern observed, such as contributing to the generic identity, nuancing the tone, and even making allusions, and are not simply to be explained away or condemned as clichés. In contrast to an image of Alcaeus as ‘the most careless of all the lyric poets in his use of Homeric epithets’,¹⁹⁷ this chapter has shown that Alcaeus’ use of epithets are considered and purposeful.

¹⁹⁷ Harvey 1957: 215.

Chapter 2: Metre

Lobel's inquiry into the language of Lesbian poetry, finding lexical and morphological differences between 'normal' and 'abnormal' poems of Sappho (but not of Alcaeus) along metrical lines,¹⁹⁸ stimulated research into Lesbian poetic lexis and morphology.¹⁹⁹ Meanwhile, metrical studies of Lesbian poetry, beyond metrical descriptions, have largely aimed at reconstructing the history of Greek and Indo-European metres, with Aeolic metrics playing an important role in many developmental theories of the hexameter.²⁰⁰ There has been little attention to the synchronic study of Lesbian metres,²⁰¹ and no serious attempt to consider metres in interpretations.²⁰² To remedy this oversight, this chapter attempts to discern the role of metre in composition and content through three investigations. The first examines the strophe, couplet, and line as compositional units by surveying the poets' use of enjambement. The second considers the relationship between metre and content by observing correlations of metre and content. Finally, differences in narrative presentation between strophic and stichic compositions are explored.

2.1. Strophe, Couplet, and Line

The first investigation attempts to discern the importance of strophes, couplets, and lines as compositional units. Enjambement is an appropriate phenomenon to survey for this purpose as it has been used productively in Homeric scholarship to examine metrical units for composition.²⁰³ I

¹⁹⁸ Lobel 1925, Lobel 1927.

¹⁹⁹ E.g. Mastrelli 1954, Marzullo 1958, Kazik-Zawadzka 1958, Hooker 1977, Bowie 1981, Somolinos 1998.

²⁰⁰ Starting with Meillet 1923; more recently, West 1973a, West 1973b, Nagy 1974 (often further refined), Peabody 1975, Berg 1978, Bowie 1981: 16-46, West 2007: 45-60, Tichy 2018.

²⁰¹ An interesting recent exception is Garner 2003, which attempts to demonstrate the Lesbians' orality through metrical investigation (argued further, without metrical analysis, in Garner 2011).

²⁰² Lidov 2009 is a rare partial exception that considers metrical style through word-division but does not touch on broader comparisons explored here.

²⁰³ Enjambement in EGHP has been researched heavily since Parry 1971c, e.g. Edwards 1966, Kirk 1966, Clayman and van Nortwick 1977, Higbie 1990, Bakker 1997, Clark 1997, Garner 2003, Friedrich 2019.

adopt here a version of Higbie’s definition of enjambement: ‘enjambement occurs when sentence end and verse end do not coincide, when the clause continues across the verse boundary into the next line and even beyond.’²⁰⁴ Instead of sentences, I use clauses, since they are grammatically self-contained and her four-fold categorisation is unnecessary for my analysis. When clause-end coincides with line-end, the line or stanza is considered ‘self-contained’.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, I am concerned with potential clause-ends rather than actual clause-ends: a line with a clause that contains all the necessary grammatical elements (a subject, a predicate, and any obligatory accompaniments of the predicate) is considered self-contained, and any further modifications (e.g. adverbial, prepositional) are considered additions.²⁰⁶ I treat all schemes where the same metrical colon is repeated throughout as ‘stichic’ (even when the cola may be grouped into couplets), in contrast to schemes where at least one colon is different from the others, which I call ‘strophic’, as the couplet-structure is often unclear.

2.1.1. Alcaeus’ Strophic Poems: Alcaic Stanzas

There are 25 extant fragments, of which six (fr.76, 310, 311, 328, 331, 332) are too fragmentary for discussion here. Parts of eight stanzas are preserved in fr.6, of which the transition between the first and second (ll.4-5), fourth and fifth (ll.16-17), and seventh and eighth (ll.28-29) are missing. The other stanzas are all self-contained syntactically at the clause-level (| | | καὶ μὴ, ll.9; | | | καὶ μὴ, l.13; | | | ἀλλ[, l.21; | | | μὴδ’, l.25). However, if Liberman is right in seeing a different metre from l.29 onwards,²⁰⁷ which is possible, our unknown stanzas are reduced to two, of which ll.4-5 are hopelessly lost, but ll.16-17 probably suggest a new clause-beginning at l.17. For while | | | ἔοντε[c (l.17) probably continues οἴ] τᾶνδ[(l.15), since ‘being’ is neither a verb that suggests a direction

²⁰⁴ Higbie 1990: 28, who deals with sentence-ends and verse-ends. By adapting to clause-ends, it is possible to simplify her four-fold categorisation of enjambement types.

²⁰⁵ However, the clause may not have begun at the line- or stanza-beginning.

²⁰⁶ Similarly, *mutatis mutandis*, Higbie 1990: 29-31. We both also recognise vocative clauses, which fall outside this structure.

²⁰⁷ Liberman 1999: 25.

to a city nor likely to have a direct object but could well have ἄπ πατέρων as a complement, ||| ἔοντε[ς probably begins a new clause. Thus all analysable stanzas in fr.6 are syntactically self-contained. Furthermore, ||| καὶ μή (l.9), ||| καὶ μή (l.13) clearly reveals an intent to use the stanzaic structure to emphasise the point by paralleling syntax with stanza. In fr.72, of the four surviving stanzas, the two fully preserved stanzas are self-contained (||| λάβρωσ δέ, l.3; νη· ||| κῆνος δέ, ll.6-7, punctuation in papyrus; πύθμην· ||| εὐ δὴ, ll.10-11, punctuation in papyrus), and the fourth stanza at least begins with a new sentence. Similarly in fr.73, two stanzas are reasonably well-preserved out of the remains of four; both are self-contained at the clause-level (||| καὶ κύματι, l.3; ||| κήνα μὲν, l.7; ||| τῷ δ', l.11).

Five stanzas are preserved in fr.119. The the first stanza-beginning coincides with the sentence-beginning (as the poem-beginning), as do the third (|ο· ||| κοὶ μὲν, ll.8-9) and the fifth (·]τοι γάρ, l.17), and thus the second and fourth stanza-ends coincide with ends of sentences. The remaining stanza-beginnings and -ends (except the unascertainable last) may be explained such that all the stanzas are self-contained at the clause-level. Thus ||| δεύοντος οὐδέν (l.5) may be a clause on its own or an addition, and ||| ...]ψ[·] (ἀλλ' ὄ]ψ[ι?) (l.13) is probably an addition to a syntactically complete clause, similar to additions in Homeric hexameters in the so-called 'adding style'. There are lots of enjambements within stanzas, and many sentences start mid-line. In fr.129, where seven (of eight preserved) stanzas can be read, all stanzas (except the unascertainable seventh) are self-contained at the clause-level, which are textually guaranteed by punctuation (ll.12, 20) or by connectives (ll.5, 17), if ||| Ζόνυσσαν ὠμήσταν (l.9) is considered an appositive addition (and if ||| οὐ κὰν νόμον (l.25) is not the beginning of a new clause, it can be considered an addition). Enjambement is common within stanzas. Fr.208 preserves five stanzas, but the fifth is very fragmentary, and the end of the fourth is missing; all other stanzas are self-contained on the clause-level, if we consider ||| ἐ<ν> βιβλίδεσσι (l.13) an addition.

In the badly preserved fr.249, there is a sense-pause at the end of the second stanza (ο[ύ]κ ἄρηον |]ω κατέχην ἅγταις, ll.4-5), and there is a preserved high-point in the papyrus at the end

of the third stanza (ἀνάγκα, l.9), making it syntactically self-contained. The papyrus is too fragmentary for comment on other stanzas. The lines too appear self-contained on the clause-level. Similarly in our longest and best-preserved papyrus, fr.298, all the surviving stanzas show that they are self-contained at the clause-level, if we treat ||| γόργωπι]ν· (l.24) as an addition (no preserved line-beginnings of ll.28-49 contradict this). There is a lot of enjambement within stanzas.

Frr.325, 327, and 335 preserve only one stanza each, but are all self-contained. In frr.325 and 327, each of the lines are also self-contained on the clause-level; in fr.335, the first two lines are self-contained, but the third and fourth are bound (φάρμακον δ' ἄριστον | οἶνον ἐνειακμένοις μεθύσθην, ll.3-4). In fr.338, which preserves two stanzas, both stanzas are self-contained on the clause-level (||| κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων', l.5). Fr.334, οὐδέ πω Ποσειδαν | ἄλμυρον ἐτυφέλιξε πόντον. |||, which preserves only the third and fourth lines of a stanza, nevertheless shows that the stanza is self-contained.

Some fragments only preserve evidence for a section of a stanza, and hence cannot provide information for the stanza as a compositional unit but can still offer evidence for the importance of lines as compositional units. In fr.71, which preserves the first two lines of a poem, there is enjambement, but | καὶ χοῖρον is really an addition to a syntactically complete first line. Fr.58, which preserves no line-beginnings, does not provide enough evidence to discern sentences; the fourth lines of stanzas are such that nothing contradicts self-contained stanzas. Similarly, in fr.75, which also preserves line-ends, nothing certain can be said about the stanza, but τ]υραννεύ-| (l.13) shows synapheia across the third and fourth lines of the stanza. Both frr.332 and 382 have enjambement.

This leaves fr.206 as the only fragment with syntactically bound stanzas. In fr.206, we have ν]ῦν δὲ Δίος θυ[γάτηρ ~-x||| ὤπασσε θέρρος· (ll.1-2). If there was no verb in the lacuna,

which, given the unlikelihood of a coordinating conjunction in l.2,²⁰⁸ seems inevitable, this would be the only evidence for an Alcaic stanza that was not self-contained at the clause-level, but a hanging participial phrase is possible (e.g. ἰδοῖσα).

2.1.2. Alcaeus' Strophic Poems: Sapphic Stanzas

There are eleven poems securely in Sapphic stanzas, of which three (fr.41, 66, 150) preserve too little for any comment.

In fr.34, which preserves three stanzas and a handful of letters, all three stanzas are self-contained at the clause-level (καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κεσ· |||, l.4; ῥήα δ' ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[υ]άτω ῥύεσθε | ζακρυόεντος ||| εὐζ[ύ]γων θρώσκοντ[ε]ς, ll.8-9; νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίνας, l.12, punctuation in papyrus). All lines are also self-contained. In fr.45, both stanzas are self-contained, guaranteed by a high point in l.4 and indications of a coronis at l.8.²⁰⁹ Both stanzas of fr.69 are also self-contained on the clause-level, and there are enjambements within stanzas. In fr.283, all four stanzas with four lines preserved appear self-contained at the clause-level, and there are enjambements within stanzas. Fr.308 preserves only one stanza, which is self-contained on the clause-level, with enjambement between lines. The stanza of fr.362, constituting two separate non-overlapping quotations, if scholars are right to join them, appears self-contained.

In contrast, fr.42 is the only fragment of Alcaeus in Sapphic stanzas not to consist of self-contained stanzas. Even if we consider the first stanza self-contained by allowing parenthetical pauses as well as clause-end pauses as appropriate moments for stanza-changes, with parenthetical ὥς λόγος (l.1),²¹⁰ ἐς δ' ἐνίαυτον ||| (l.12) is syntactically bound to the following stanza. Nevertheless, all other stanzas are self-contained (||| ἐς δόμον Χέρρωνος· is an addition). Interestingly, the fourth lines of stanzas appear to form units of composition in this poem, though

²⁰⁸ The left margin is not preserved, but there is not enough space, compared to the lines below, to reconstruct any such conjunction (e.g. κ]ῶπασσε).

²⁰⁹ See pp.241-243.

²¹⁰ See pp.218-221.

they are all syntactically bound (except the final line). Fr.68 is not well preserved enough to point either way.

2.1.3. Alcaeus' Strophic Poems: Others

From Voigt's *conspectus metrorum*, only three other strophic fragments preserve enough for any comment. In fr.5, which preserves five stanzas of the shape (gl^c | | gl^c | | gl^c | | gl | | | : xxx-uu--uu-uu-x | | xxx-uu--uu-uu-x | | xxx-uu--uu-uu-x | | xxu-uu-uu-x | |), the papyrus preserves a high point at the end of stanzas at ll.2, 6, 10, 14, and a coronis at l.18, making all the surviving stanzas self-contained (except the first, of which only two letters are visible). Similarly, in fr.130b (gl^c | | gl^c | | hipp | | ,gl^c | | | or gl^c | | gl^c | | gl gl^c | | gl^c | | |), all six stanzas are self-contained on the clause-level, taking | | | καὶ β[ό]λλας· (l.5) as an addition; there are enjambements within stanzas. Finally, in fr.70, which provides traces of a line and three whole stanzas in ia gl | | gl^c | | ia gl | | gl^c | | | , all stanzas appear self-contained, though there is uncertainty about l.2; there are enjambements within stanzas.

2.1.4. Sappho's Strophic Poems: Sapphic Stanzas

There are seven full stanzas preserved in fr.1, all of which appear self-contained at the clause level (| | | ἀλλά, ll.5; χιρύσιον ἦλθιες | | | ἄριμ' ὑπακδειύξαια, ll.8-9; διὰ μέσσω· | | | αἴψα δ' ἐξίκοντο·, ll.12-13; δηῦτε κίἀλιηιμι | | | κῶττι, ll.16-17; ἀδίκησι; | | | καὶ γάρ, ll.20-21; κωὺκ ἐθέλοια. | | | ἔλθε, ll.24-25; κύμμαχος ἔσσο. ⊗, l.28). Enjambement is frequent between all lines, especially in stanzas 2 and 7, but some stanzas also reveal an awareness of lines as units in themselves, such as αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δῶσει, | αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει | κωὺκ ἐθέλοια (ll.22-24) where the anaphora reinforces the repeated sentence structure. The final adonean appears to have some sense as a unit too (though enjambement between third and fourth lines is common), such as at l.24, where after the anaphora, it appears as an unexpected addition and concession, and in l.28, where it encapsulates the point of the prayer.

All four preserved stanzas of fr.2 (after l.1a) appear self-contained at the clause level ([λι]βανώτω(ι)· | | | ἐν δ', ll.4-5; †καταιριον· | | | ἐν δέ, ll.8-9). Although the connection between

the third and fourth stanzas is unclear, [] ||| ἔνθα δὴ (ll.12-13) suggests a self-contained third stanza; the text of the fourth stanza is debated, but most provide a finite verb and thus a self-contained stanza. Enjambements are common across all lines. Fr.5 preserves five stanzas; the first two appear self-contained (κῆνο τελέεσθην· ||| ὄσσα δέ (punctuation in papyrus), ll.4-5; μηδ' εἶς· ||| τὰν κασιγνήταν δέ (punctuation in papyrus), ll.8-9) as well as the fifth stanza (||| καὶ τιμα[, l.17). There is not enough preserved for the third and fourth stanzas. Enjambement is common.

All six stanzas of the 'Brothers Poem' are self-contained (if our first stanza is the poem-beginning; if not, the stanza-end at least must coincide with clause-end): ||| ἀλλ', l.5; ταῦτα νόησθαι, ||| ἀλλὰ καὶ, ll.8-9; νᾶ Χάραξον ||| κᾶμμ', ll.12-13; αἴψα πέλονται. ||| τῶν κε βόλληται, ll.16-17; καὶ πολύολβοι· ||| κᾶμμες, ll.20-21; αἴψα λύθειμεν. ⊗, l. 24. The poem also shows an awareness of stanza-structures through anaphora (||| ἀλλ', l.5, with ||| ἀλλὰ καὶ, l.9; ||| κᾶμμ', l.13, with κᾶμμες, l.21). Enjambement is common throughout. The fourth line again can sometimes be a recognisable unit (αἴψα πέλονται, l.16; αἴψα λύθειμεν, l.24).

Fr.17 consists of three well-preserved stanzas, and parts of another two; the three near-whole stanzas are self-contained at the clause-level, while the other two are unclear. Enjambement is frequent. Fr.15 preserves parts of three stanzas, of which only the third is analysable (as self-contained: ||| Κύ]πρι, κα[ί c]ε, l.9; ἦλθε. ⊗, l.12). Fr.18 preserves sparse elements of four stanzas, about which we can say little except that the first stanza appears to be self-contained at the clause-level (||| κᾶνδρι, l.5). In fr.22, which preserves parts of five stanzas, the beginning of the third stanza is unclear, but it appears to end with a clause-end, taking τὰν κάλαν as an addition (ᾶς ce δηῦτε πόθος τ[] ἀμφιπόταται ||| τὰν κάλαν, ll.11-13) and the fourth appears self-contained at the clause-level (Κ]υπρογέν[ηα ||| ὦς ἄραμα[ι, ll.16-17); the rest is unclear. In fr.30, which preserves parts of three stanzas, the two better-preserved stanzas are self-contained (||| πάρθενοι δ[, l.2; νύμ-|φας ἰοκόλπω. ||| ἀλλ', ll.4-6; ὕπνον [ί]δωμεν ⊗, l.9); there are enjambements within stanzas. Similarly, in fr.31, which preserves four stanzas and a further line, all four whole stanzas are self-contained at the clause level (ὑπακούει ||| καὶ ll.4-5; ἔτ' εἴκει, ||| ἀλλά, ll.8-9;

ἐπιβρό-|μεισι δ' ἄκουσαι, ||| τέκαδετ' μ' ἴδρωσ κακχέεται, ll.12-13; αὐτ[αι ||| ἀλλά, ll.16-17).

Things are less clear-cut in fr.9, which preserves parts of six stanzas. Stanza 1 is possibly self-contained at the clause-level, as the Burris-Fish-Obbink papyrus has a high point after ἐόρταν, though the P.Oxy papyrus does not. Stanza 2 may run into stanza 3 (|||].ν', l.8, though this could be an addition), which itself ends self-contained (|όηεν· |||, l.11). Stanza 4 is self-contained (|||]-δ' ἔγω, l.16), while stanza 5 appears to run over (|||]ερων·, l.20), but this could well be an addition after ὀφέλλησ |||). Fr.16a preserves parts of three stanzas; the first could be self-contained (e.g. ἔγω] δ' ἔμ' αὐται | [τοῦτο κύνοιδα.], ll.3-4), and the second and third stanzas appear self-contained (||| ωσδ[, ll.9; ἐξ ἀδοκή[τω ⊗, l.12). Enjambement is common across all lines. Fr.18a preserves elements of three stanzas, of which the first is too badly preserved for comment. The second stanza appears to start with a new clause (||| καὶ γάρ, l.2), but we cannot tell how it ends, while the third stanza's end must at least coincide with a sentence-end (due to the coronis). The 'Kypris Poem', which preserves parts of four stanzas, also presents an unclear situation. One could argue that ποῖ]ον ἔχησθα could be treated as a complete clause, and consider ||| νῶν] (l.5) as an addition, making the first stanza self-contained. The transition between stanzas 2 and 3 is unclear, but stanza 3 appears to end with a clause-end (τοῦτο κύνοιδα |||, l.12).

Some fragments only preserve enough to show coincidence between stanza-beginning or -end with clause-beginning or -end. Fr.3 only preserves enough for a clause-end at the end of the third stanza (|διάκηται, l.9), with enjambements within stanzas (e.g. ἄσαιο· τὸ γὰρ ν|όημα |, l.7). Similarly, fr.4 provides no information on stanzas, but shows enjambement at least once (|ακ κεν ἦ μοι |, l.5). Fr.24a preserves parts of two stanzas; nothing can be said but that the first stanza's end coincides with clause-end (ταῦτ' [έ]πόημεν· ||| πόλλα [μ]έν γάρ, ll.4-5). Similarly, fr.25 preserves a stanza-end coinciding with a clause-end (ἄ]βρα· |||, l.4), but not much else. Fr.27 preserves parts of four stanzas, with too little preserved of the first and fourth for comment; stanza 2, however, appears self-contained (σ· ||| ...]. καὶ γὰρ δὴ κύ, ll.3-4; ἄ]δρα χάρισσαι· |||

c]τείχομεν γάρ, ll.7-8), while the third may be. Fr.39 only preserves a part of a stanza, but it ends on a clause-end. Fr.7 provides no information on stanzas.

There is only one fragment in Sapphic stanzas with a secure necessary enjambement across stanza-boundary. In fr.16, which preserves five stanzas, stanza 2 has a necessary enjambement into stanza 3 (Ἐλένα [τ]ὸν ἄνδρα | τὸν [... ἀρ]ιστον ||| καλλ[ίποι]ς' ἔβα, ll.7-9), while stanza 3 probably also runs into stanza 4 (||| [... γν]άμπτον γὰρ [...] νόημα, l.13). Enjambement is common across all lines.

2.1.5. Sappho's Strophic Poems: Others

Fr.94 (gl | gl | gl^d | | =xx-uu-ux | xx-uu-ux | xx-uu-uu-ux | |) preserves parts of ten three-line stanzas. All the whole stanzas (ll.2-26) are self-contained syntactically except the last, which is not well-preserved enough to tell: ἄ με ψιδομένα κατελίμπανεν ||| πόλλα καὶ τόδ' ἔειπέ [μοι, ll.2-3; ἀπυλιμπάνω. ||| τὰν δ', ll.5-6; πεδήπομεν· ||| αἱ δὲ μή, ll.8-9; ἐπάσχομεν· ||| πό[λλοις γὰρ, ll.11-12; π(ε)ρεθήκα(ο) ||| καὶ πόλλαις, ll.14-15; πεποημέναις. ||| καί, ll.17-18; βασι]ληίωι ||| καί, ll.20-21;]νίδων ||| κωῦτε, ll.23-24; ὅππ[οθεν ἄ]μμεσ ἀπέσκομεν, ||| οὐκ ἄλλος, ll.26-27. There is also awareness of the stanza structure, as Sappho echoes the speech of the two speakers by starting the speech on the second lines of stanzas 2 and 3, and the sentence-end at the end of stanza 3 lull the audience into thinking this an exactly parallel and balanced exchange before Sappho launches into an extension that is unexpected and has a casual air (||| αἱ δὲ μή, l.9). Similarly, we find this in the repetition of πόλυς at ll.12 and 15, and the stanza-opening καί in stanzas 6-9.

In fr.98 (gl | gl | cr gl | | =xx-uu-ux | xx-uu-ux | -u-xx-uu-x | |), parts of eight stanzas are preserved across fr.a and b. In fr.a, stanza 2 is probably self-contained (.,]θος· ἄ γάρ μ' ἐγέννα[τ' (e.g. ἔειπέ μοι Snell) ||| c]φᾶς ἐπ' ἀλικίας μέγ[αν, ll.1-2; αἴ τις ἔχη ... | πορφύρωι κατελιξαμέ[να (e.g. πλόκωι Vogliano) ||| ἔμμεναι, ll.3-5), as well as stanza 3 (with appropriate supplements), and stanza 4 may well be if we supply a verb in l.10. Not enough survives

of stanzas 1 and 5 for comment. In fr.b, we seem to have a necessary enjambement from the first stanza into a lost stanza, while ll.7-9 appears to be a self-contained stanza.

Things are even less clear in fr.88, whose metre cannot be entirely reconstructed. Of the ten partially preserved stanzas, we can make out that stanza-end and clause-end coincide at ll.10 (οἴτθα καῦτα· |||) and 16 (Ἰαι μελήσῃν· |||); all else is insecure. Meanwhile, fr.141 preserves two self-contained sentences, but our lack of knowledge of the precise metrical form makes further judgement unattractive. Similarly, fr.111 preserves lines that are difficult to interpret because of lack of certainty about the metre, but the first four lines could form a unit (thus Voigt, suggesting pher| ia| |pher^d||ia||| = xx-uu-x||u-ux||x-uu-uu-x||u-ux||), according to which we would have two self-contained stanzas, with an enjambement across ll.1-3. Finally, fr.104a may preserve a two-line stanza of different metrical form (6 da·|ia|pher^{2d}||| = -uu-uu-uu-uu-uu-x||u-uu-xx-uu-uu-uu-x||), which is self-contained.

2.1.6. Preliminary Conclusions: Strophic Poems

A survey of enjambement in the strophic compositions of Alcaeus and Sappho has shown a very strong tendency for strophic stanzas to be syntactically self-contained, with only perhaps Alcaeus fr.206 in Alcaic stanzas, Alcaeus fr.42 and Sappho fr.16 in Sapphic stanzas, and Sappho fr.98b for other strophic metres displaying enjambement across stanza boundaries.

Perhaps most interesting is Sappho fr.16. Here, Sappho is clearly creating suspense by delaying the actions of Helen: [τ]ὸν ἄνδρα | τὸν [...ά]ριστον, could in fact refer to either Menelaus or Paris at this point for the first-time listener, especially as Sappho presents this as an explanation for her statement that whatever one loves is the most beautiful thing. It only becomes clear in l.9, where the surprise is highlighted by a concise clause full of movement (finite verb, preposition, two participles: καλλ[ίποι]ς' ἔβα 'c Τροΐαν πλέοισα), which neatly contrasts the act of leaving and going by juxtaposition. This is complemented by a change of pace as the static and elaborate clauses yield to a quick series of actions with the change of stanza that lends a feeling of inevitability as the verbal element is delayed, which mirrors the change from the glorious but

static life of Helen before Paris and her active new life. Thus Sappho here appears to be exploiting the expectations of a clause end at the end the stanza to create an element of suspense and change.

In Alcaeus fr.42, the enjambement across ἐκ δ' ἐνίαυτον ||| παῖδα γέννατ' highlights the wait between Thetis' marriage and motherhood, and speeds up the narrative by starting the narration on the next part of Thetis' life earlier than expected (by beginning a new sentence in the adonean), contrasting with the longer description of the marriage (that ran over into the next stanza by addition: ||| ἐκ δόμον Χέρρωνος, which also perhaps plays with expectations, as one expects to lead the bride home rather to someone else's).²¹¹ Alcaeus fr.206, if indeed it is an exception, is too fragmentary, but a sudden change in circumstances (already hinted in ν]ῦν δὲ Δίος θυ[γάτηρ, l.1) might be seen that may be a turning-point in the poem from earlier gloom to new-found courage (ὤπασσε θέρρος), with the turning-point only confirmed after the delay.

The regularity of self-contained stanzas also appears to contribute to the narrative structure of poems, as often ideas or scenes are structured in stanzaic units. This is perhaps clearest in fr.70, where the first complete stanza focuses on the symposium, the second on the man devouring the city, and the third on Alcaeus and his audience. This is reflected on the level of argument too, most clearly with the stanzas beginning ||| καὶ μὴ (ll.9, 13) in fr.6. Similarly, in fr.298, we can see the first stanza presenting the broad argument (with reference to the present?), the second presenting either an example case or a further specification of the broad argument in the first, with the rest of the well-preserved part of the fragment concerned with the narrative; in the narrative, the third stanza presents the scene in the temple of Athena, focusing on Cassandra, with the fourth describing the destruction in Troy more broadly, the fifth brings the focus back to the temple of Athena and Ajax while the sixth remains with the temple of Athena but focuses on Cassandra, and the seventh zooms out from Troy to Athena and the sea.

²¹¹ However, already in the François Vase, the procession ends with Peleus greeting Chiron.

A particularly interesting aspect of this structure is how despite the stanzaic organisation, there is great fluidity. Thus, again in fr.298, the turn to the destruction from the third to the fourth stanza is anticipated in l.11 (δυσεμέ]νεες δὲ πόλη' ἔπηπον), but there is still a contrast between the stanzas as the anticipation in the third is more focused on the enemy while the fourth is filled with details of the suffering Trojans. Similarly, the transitions from Ajax to Cassandra to Athena are managed intricately, as in the fifth stanza, Ajax is in the foreground but placed in relation to Athena (Αἴας ... ἐς ναῦο]ν ἄγνακ Πάλλαδος, ll. 16-17), before placing Cassandra in the foreground in the sixth stanza, whilst Ajax is never fully out of sight as he is kept as the subject even as Athena is again introduced. The contrast in the anticipation in the sixth stanza of Athena (to come in the seventh), complemented by the adding enjambement of l.24 (γόργωπι), meanwhile, lies in the change of subject and the shift from the narrow focus on one individual to a panoramic view of the sea. Thus the poet can use stanzaic form in complex ways to provide organisational structure to the argument, narrative, and description.

My survey has also shown that enjambement between lines within stanzas is very common. However, especially for strophes with repeated cola or periods, the repeated rhythm does appear to be exploited sometimes for rhetorical effect. The clearest instances of a rhetorical use is in the sense of balance in rhythmns to complement grammatical balance, such as at fr.67.1-2 (οὐ πάντ' ἦς ἀ[| οὐδ' ἀκύννετ[ο]ς), 69.5-6 (οὐ πάθοντες οὐδάμα πῶςλον οὐ[δε]ν | οὐδὲ γινώσκοντες), and 208.2-3 (τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται, | τὸ δ' ἔνθεν) and 6-7 (πὲρ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἰστοπέδαν ἔχει, | λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἦδη). However, despite the parallelling of rhythms, especially at line-beginnings, exact repetition of rhythm and grammar appears to be avoided.

2.1.7. Alcaeus' Stichic Poems

We turn now to stichic poems to discern whether Lesbian stichic poems are metrically organised by line or couplet, and how the organisational practice of stichic poems might differ from that of strophic poems. Many stichic verses of Alcaeus have survived, but very few consecutive lines. I

will only comment on fragments of note. Most of the lines that are self-contained within the line at the clause-level are single line quotations, which have a distorting effect, and cannot be relied on heavily; these include e.g. fr.356, 349b, 387, 322, 376 (in the order of Voigt's *conspectus metrorum*). In fr.368, we find two lines preserved in a quotation, where both lines are self-contained at the clause level; one wonders if Hephaestion quotes the two lines together because they formed a couplet, but it could also be because he preferred to quote entire sentences.

In contrast, in fr.345, a quotation of two lines in the scholion to Aristophanes' *Av*.1410, there is syntactically necessary enjambement from the first to the second line and the sentence ends with the second line. In fr.358, a much longer fragment, ll.2-3, 4-5, and 6-7 appear to be self-contained on the clause-level, with words being split across ll.4 and 5, and 6 and 7. But whether the metre should be understood as verses of two cola or an organisation by couplets is unclear.²¹² In fr.364 and 369, verses of two cola are preserved with enjambements and sense-ends at the end of l.2. In fr.141, where out of four lines, only two consecutive lines are clear, l.3 runs into l.4, which appears to be self-contained. Finally, fr.38 is divided into couplets by the papyrus, which are all self-contained at the clause level, except for stanzas 4 and 5, as there is no connective (or good reason for its absence) at the beginning of l.5 and little to supplement at the end of l.4 that would provide a self-contained couplet.

Enjambements are more common. In fr.350, while the two lines quoted by Hephaestion as an example of 'the Asclepiad' could be construed as a self-contained couplet with enjambement within the couplet, the reconstructed continuation of the fragment (reworking Strabo) is neither end-stopped nor self-contained within couplets. Fr.50, which preserves the first half of seven lines, is neither end-stopped (except l.1) nor self-contained within the couplet. Similarly, the reconstruction from Aristotle's *Poetics* in fr.348 is neither end-stopped nor construable as self-

²¹² Cf. p.227.

contained couplets. The long fr.296b is still very fragmentary, but there are clearly enjambements across lines and potential couplets.

Longer fragments all show the same tendency. Beginning with the most uncertain, fr.117b, though quite fragmentary, shows that there are enjambements, but also some line-ends that coincide with sentence ends (ll.7-12). While it is tempting to see couplets from the enjambement of ll.6-7 and 8-9, which appear self-contained, too much is uncertain for further deduction. Fr.346 preserves six lines, where there are some end-stopped lines (e.g. ll.1, 2, 4 (clause-end)) but also enjambements. Perhaps ll.1-2 and 3-4 constitute self-contained couplets, but it is uncertain. Fr.a of fr.347, a heavily reconstructed fragment, is noteworthy for being mostly self-contained within lines, except ll.5-6;²¹³ there is no general agreement about the reconstruction of fr.b. Finally, in fr.140, our best preserved stichic fragment, ll.3-9 are not self-contained within lines, which still holds even when taking into account our line numberings dividing between the two cola of the verse (hence word-division across ll.6-7). However, from l.10 onwards, the lines are end-stopped (reckoning in two-cola terms). A mixture of end-stopped and enjambed lines might be typical of stichic lines, though perhaps not so markedly grouped.

2.1.8. Sappho's Stichic Poems

Turning to Sappho's stichic poems, we will begin with the metres of which we have more lines for a broader picture then consider the shorter fragments.

The metre of the second book in the Alexandrian edition, gl^{2d} | | (x̄x-υυ-υυ-υυ-υx | |), is well attested in our corpus (fr.43-52), including two long fragments (fr.44, 44A). Fr.44 preserves 34 mostly continuous lines. The poem can be seen as being composed of self-contained couplets, with enjambements only within couplets, if l.1 is considered the second line of a couplet, and a new couplet begins after the second lacuna at l.21. In this division, the only cases where couplet-end does not coincide with clause-end is at ll.5-8 and ll.26-27. If this structure were correct, we would

²¹³ The lacuna after l.3 complicates matters further.

have a couplet Ἔκτωρ καὶ συνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοις' ἐλικώπιδα | Θήβας ἐξ ἱέρας Πλακίας τ' ἀπ' [ἀ]ν<ν>άω (ll.5-6) and another ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον | πόντον (ll.7-8). However, we would have to count ἐλικώπιδα as a sufficient object for ἄγοις' to complete the clause, and not wait for Ἀνδρομάχαν. This is possible if we consider ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν as an addition. Hector and Andromache's placement at the head of separate couplets would further tie them together through the couplet.

In the second passage, ll.25-26 should form one couplet (καὶ ψ[ό]φο[κ]ροτάλ[ων]]ως δ' ἄρα πάρ[θενοι | ἀειδον μέλος ἄγν[ον, ἴκα]νε δ' ἐκ ἀἴθ[ερα) and ll.27-28 (ἄχω θεσπεσία γελ[| πάνται δ' ἦς κὰτ ὄδο[ις) another. Here, ἄχω θεσπεσία, the subject of its clause, is in the couplet after the rest of the clause (ἴκα]νε δ' ἐκ ἀἴθ[ερα); however, ἴκα]νε δ' ἐκ ἀἴθ[ερα makes sense without a subject (the first-time audience at this point could have construed this first with μέλος of the previous clause) and treat ἄχω θεσπεσία as a correcting addition. One could also consider poems built on couplets admitting some lines that are not strictly syntactically self-contained as couplets for variation or special effects. This fragment, which has largely proved to be easily divisible into couplets, does not preserve any paragraphoi in either of the two papyri. Page thinks this implies that fr.44 'was composed not in stanzas or pairs of lines, but with the single line as the unit', though he admits the possibility that the paragraphoi 'may have been discarded in the course of the tradition'.²¹⁴ Our discussion would suggest the latter (see also below).

Our second long fragment in this metre is fr.44A, sometimes attributed to Alcaeus (fr. 304 LP), where twelve lines are preserved in fr.a and ten in fr.b. Nothing can be ascertained about couplet-structure or about lines in fr.b; in fr.a, self-contained couplets appear possible since the papyrus marks so many line-ends with punctuation, and those that are not marked do not contradict such an interpretation. There are largely end-stopped lines with some enjambement, but

²¹⁴ Page 1955: 68-69.

enjambement does not make clear which lines should be coupled together. Similarly uncertain is fr.43, which preserves nine line-ends, including the poem-end (presumably, as the papyrus is blank below it); the lines could be divided into couplets, counting from l.9, but one can only ascertain that the final couplet could be self-contained and l.1 does not contradict this. Fr.47 preserves a half-line and a full line with an enjambement and could be understood as a couplet but not necessarily. Similarly, fr.48, 49, 50 all preserve two lines, both of which are self-contained, but conceivable (though not necessarily) as couplets. Fr.51 preserves one self-contained line, while fr.52's one line is corrupt. Very uncertain is fr.46, which preserves a line and a half with an enjambement; the second half of the full line has a corruption.

Another well-attested stichic metre is ἄhipp^{2c} || (x-uu--uu--uu-u-x ||), perhaps the metre of the fourth book. Fr.58.1-10, which is a different poem from what follows ('Tithonus Poem'), is too fragmentary to help. The 'New Poem' (P.Köln ll.1-8) appears to form self-contained couplets, as ll.5-6 and 7-8 can easily make couplets,²¹⁵ though the connection between ll.3-4 is less clear. The 'Tithonus Poem' (P.Köln ll.9-20+fr.58.11-22) can be divided into self-contained couplets: χελύνναν· |||, l.2; μελαίναν· ||| βάρυς δέ, ll.4-5; τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχηθ' ἴσα νεβρίοις. ||| τὰ <μὲν>, ll.6-7; γένεσθαι. ||| καὶ γάρ, ll.8-9; εἰς ἔσχατα γὰρ φέροισα[v, ||| ἔοντα [κ]ἄλον, ll.10-11. There is enjambement within couplets (e.g. ἀλλ' αὐτον ὕμῳ εἴμαρψε | χρόνῳ πρόλιον γῆρας, ll.11-12). Where line-beginnings are preserved, our division aligns with the paragraphoi of the papyrus. The 'Habrosyne Poem' (fr.58.23-26+fr.59) could also be divided into self-contained couplets (at least the first two couplets). Fr.81 preserves parts of three lines and four full lines, which could be divided into self-contained couplets, with enjambement within the couplet (here, at ll.6-7). Fr.82, finally, preserves a single self-contained line.

Fr.62 and 67a could also be in the same metre. Fr.62 preserves the line-beginnings of twelve lines, which are divided into couplets by marginal paragraphoi. All the couplets appear to

²¹⁵ Cf. e.g. the conjectural text in West 2005: 3. Nothing much can be made of the 'Success Poem' (fr.58.1-10).

be self-contained (||| πᾶν δ', l.3; ||| καὶ ταῖσι, l.5; ||| μύγισ δέ, l.7; ||| τέαυτα δέ, l.9; coronis at l.12) except couplet 5, which appears to run over into the final couplet (||| ἔφθατε, l.11). This may be stylistic, with ἔφθατε mimetically placing the meaningful action first, but no special pleading is required here as the person of the verb remains the same (ἴκεσθ', l.10), and so the participial phrase would make a complete clause before the finite verb (though the participle is supplementary). Fr.67a similarly preserves line-beginnings with marginal paragraphoi marking couplets and the couplets seem self-contained: ||| κ]αὶ τοῦτ', l.2; ||| οὐ μᾶν, l.4; ||| τὸ δ', l.6; |||]υδ' [, ll.8.

Beside these, there are also shorter fragments in less well-attested metres. Fr.105 (6da_Λ ||: —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—x ||) preserves three end-stopped lines in fr.a, making a couplet structure possible but not demonstrable, and two lines in fr.b that require a necessary enjambement from l.1 to l.2, which could be self-contained as a couplet. Fr.168B (Λhipp ||: x—υ—υ—x ||) preserves four lines, which are self-contained as a four-line unit, but not as couplets; all lines are self-contained except l.2. Fr.130 (gl^d ||: xx—υ—υ—υx) also preserves four lines, but they are preserved as two groups of two lines, which could be seen as self-contained couplets and lines. Similarly, fr.110 (pher^d ||: xx—υ—υ—x) preserves three self-contained lines, where a couplet structure is possible. Fr.112 (cho ba cho ba ||: —υ—υ—x—υ—υ—x ||) preserves five lines, of which the first four could be seen as two self-contained couplets, with ll.1-2 showing enjambement within a couplet. Similarly, in fr.132, consisting of three lines, the first two lines could be a couplet with necessary enjambement. Fr.55 (gl^{2c}) preserves four lines, which are difficult to divide. It could be a unit of four lines, which seems easier, or two units of two if one supplies the copula in ll.1 and 3 (which come in ll.2 and 4). For fr.57 (gl^{2c}), only the last of the three preserved lines can be analysed (as self-contained).

Fr.106, 142, 143, 107, 134, 117, 116, 129b, 155, 146, 136, 53, and 128 preserve only a single apparently self-contained line; nothing can be made of their couplet structure. Fr.54, which preserves a single line, would be self-contained if part of a couplet, or continuing from a previous line. In contrast, fr.113 preserves a line-end enjambed into a whole line; this could still allow it to

be a self-contained couplet. Fr.135, 123, 151 and 127 preserve a single line, which require a necessary enjambement. Fr.138 preserves a line and a half, which both appear self-contained. Fr.117B (= inc. auct. Lesb. 24 LP) preserves two separate lines, which are both exclamations and units of their own. Fr.115, 154, 102, 140 preserve two self-contained lines. Fr.133 preserves two separate lines, the second of which is grammatically incomplete. Fr.158 also preserves two lines, which are grammatically dependent on another clause, but could yet be self-contained as a couplet if its main clause preceded.

More interesting are fr.96 and 95. Fr.96 (cr 3gl ba || : -υ-xυ-υυ-υ--x-υxυ-ux-υυ-υυ-x |) is preserved as three-line units marked by marginal paragraphoi. As word-breaks within the period are not uniform, it has not been possible to discern a strophic form,²¹⁶ but the verse is much longer than other preserved stichic metres. All the well-preserved parts are self-contained within this three-line unit. More of the poem is required to discern any couplet-like structure here. Fr.95, which is possibly in the same metre, is similarly divided, and similarly self-contained in the three-line units (except ll.14-16, which are not well-preserved): ||| ἦρ', l.2; ||| ἦ, l.5; ||| εἶπον', l.8 (probably 'having done X, I said'); ||| καθάνην δ', l.11. Paragraphoi, dividing the poems into these three-line units, are preserved for fr.96 but not fr.95.

2.1.9. Preliminary Conclusions: Stichic Poems

The investigation is hampered by fewer well-preserved fragments of stichic poems (particularly of Alcaeus) surviving and the disagreement of larger fragments. For Alcaeus, enjambement is common across lines, and enjambement does not suggest consistent organisation into couplets. For Sappho, at least in the larger fragments, couplets appear to be an important compositional unit for stichic poems.

This raises the question: what do the paragraphoi preserved in the papyri of stichic poems tell us? Some papyri of both poets preserve paragraphoi, but their meaning is unclear. At least,

²¹⁶ Sappho once treats the first two verses of the Sapphic stanza in synapheia (fr.31.9-10).

those poems marked by paragraphoi must have had an even number of lines. Whether these marked compositional units for the Lesbians is another matter. Indeed, our question chimes with an ancient controversy, as found in Ps.-Hesphaestion, *περὶ ποιημάτων* i.3.63-15-24 and *περὶ ποιήματος* i.59.7-10 on Sappho's Books 2 and 3. Ps.-Hesphaestion admits both options are possible, but considers division into couplets to be better.²¹⁷ Indeed, it would be a great coincidence for all the poems in Sappho's Books 2 and 3 to have an even number of lines. Since Sappho's surviving stichic poems can also be divided into largely self-contained couplets, it seems fair to assume that the couplet played a role in Sappho's compositional technique, at least with $gl^{2d} ||$ and $gl^{2c} ||$. However, we do not hear about the number of lines in Alcaeus' stichic poems, and we cannot discern a couplet structure reflected on the level of syntax. Paragraphoi of Alcaean papyri may preserve something of note, but we cannot currently discern a two-line structure. If so, Sappho and Alcaeus would differ in metrical practice on a structural level. The prosodic difference in the treatment of the final adonean in the Sapphic stanza (Alcaeus, unlike Sappho, always has a word-break before the adonean) and the fact that their poetry serve different sexes already hint at this, but their treatments of stichic compositions further suggest that they are part of close but separate parts of the same poetic tradition.

2.2. Metre and Content

Differences may exist not just between strophic and stichic structures but between individual metres. Since Maas declared that early poetry (including Archilochus and the Lesbians) was neutral regarding metrical ethos,²¹⁸ little attention has been paid to discerning differences between Lesbian metres. While the fragmentary nature of our evidence makes it difficult to judge, some links between form and style can be found.

I have produced the following tables, listing by metre the general content of each fragment. The content is categorised under 'Eros', *Philo?*, 'Marriage', 'Politics/War', 'Symposium', 'Hymn',

²¹⁷ Van Ophuijsen 1993: 811-812.

²¹⁸ Maas 1923: §73.

‘Myth’, ‘Gnome’, ‘Riddle’, ‘History’, ‘Festival/Ritual’, and ‘Muses’. These categories are not mutually exclusive and sometimes overlap heavily. Thus, ‘Hymn’ includes prayer or extended human addresses to divinities and is reserved for fragments with hymnic invocation or style, while other divine or heroic appearances, such as narratives, which could be from hymns but cannot be ascertained as such, are classed under ‘Myth’. Meanwhile ‘Festival/Ritual’ is reserved for descriptions of humans engaging in such activity, as opposed to the verbal content of them. ‘Symposium’ is used in a narrow sense here, only for fragments that appear to thematise it as the subject or that contain many references to sympotic activities, such as by having drinking as the rhetorical point of the poem or listing drinking vessels. Fragments containing references to other material that appear to overshadow the symposium context are not listed under ‘Symposium’, but under the relevant category (e.g. ‘Eros’ and ‘Politics/War’). Similarly, fragments with hymnic invocation or style that are overshadowed by other elements are listed under the more prominent category. ‘Marriage’ encompasses the nexus of ideas around marriage, including nuptials, brides and grooms, and maidenhood. ‘*Philo?*’ is used for fragments that chiefly concern the speaker’s family, friends, and former friends; the distinction between the ‘*Philo?*’ and ‘Eros’ categories can be fine, especially in Sappho. ‘Muses’ is used for fragments involving the Muses, Graces, style, and song. Labels such as ‘Gnome’, ‘Riddle’, ‘History’, and ‘Myth’ are also used despite often being elements within poems dominated by other categories, as they allow the content of a fragment to be noted without committing to specific interpretations.

These labels do not refer to specific generic or sub-generic categories, except the category ‘Hymn’, such as ‘Eros’ for love lyric, but to content and the nexus of ideas associated with it. This focus on content is an attempt to mitigate the difficulties arising from the poets’ fragmentary survival. In surviving fragments, shifts in themes from one part of the poem to another are frequently detected, such as, in Alcaeus fr.338, the shift from a description of the weather to a call to drink at the stanza turn, or, in Alcaeus fr.140, the sudden turn from the sustained description of weapons to the step out in the final two lines. Further, contextualising the content can often be

difficult. By focusing on content, it is not assumed that the content maps straightforwardly onto generic categories, but broader conclusions can be explored with further context in the discussion. ‘Hymn’ is different, as it consists both of content and stylistic elements, elements that could point to expectations of a certain kind of discourse. Such a treatment is justified as hymnic material is particularly well attested in our corpus (and beyond) and hence better understood, and the same material (e.g. mythical, political, erotic) is treated differently in hymnic and other contexts. My conclusions are necessarily partial and subject to change with further textual discoveries, though this should not stop scholars from investigating this aspect in the meanwhile.

The following adopts the metrical analyses of Voigt’s *conspectus metrorum*.²¹⁹ Strophic fragments in metres other than Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas are listed under ‘other stanzas’ as too few are preserved for individual interpretation. Where Voigt categorises a fragment as perhaps a certain meter under more than one metre, the fragment is listed (arbitrarily) only under the first metre treated in her *conspectus*. The number of lines preserved, if fewer than five, are recorded in brackets beside the fragment number.

Alcaeus		
fr.	Metre	Content and notes
6	Alcaic stanzas	Politics
58		Symposium (Politics?)
71 (2)		Symposium (Politics?)
72		Politics, Symposium
73		Ship, probably Politics, Symposium
75		Politics
76		Politics
119		Politics or Eros (often thought to be by Sappho)
129		Politics
206		Symposium (possibly Politics and/or Hymn)
208		Politics
249		Ship, probably Politics
298		Politics, Myth
307 (1 +paraphrase)		Hymn
310 (1)		Hymn?
311 (1)		Politics?
325 (4)		Hymn

²¹⁹ Voigt 1971: 15-26.

327 (3)		Hymn? Myth
328 (1)		Politics?
331 (1)		Politics
332 (2)		Politics
334 (2)		Myth
335 (4)		Symposium (Politics?)
338		Symposium
382 (2)		Myth? Hymn? (Martial)
7	Perhaps Alcaic stanzas	History (Politics?)
74		Politics (from scholia)
124		War?
132		Unclear (possibly Politics)
149		Unclear
204		Unclear
300		Politics
302c		Politics
313		Unclear (Hymn?)
314		War
320		Unclear (Gnome?)
329		War? ²²⁰
330		War
333		Gnome (Politics?) ²²¹
336		Unclear (Politics? Myth?)
337		History
339		History or Myth
34	Sapphic stanzas	Hymn
41		Symposium or Eros?
42		Myth
45		Hymn
66		Politics
68		Politics
69		Politics and Hymn
150		Unclear
283		Myth
308 (4 + paraphrase)		Hymn
362 (2)		Symposium
35	Perhaps Sapphic stanzas	Unclear (perhaps Politics? or Symposium?)
51		Unclear
63		Politics
148		Politics
200		Politics?
214		Unclear
302a		Politics (from scholia)
361		Politics?
363		Unclear

²²⁰ The closest similarities are with fr.140 and 350.

²²¹ Cf. the political side to knowing your friends and enemies in the *Theognidea*.

130a	Other stanzas	Politics	
67		Politics	
5		Politics	
3		Hymn? (possibly military?)	
130b		Politics	
70		Politics	
117b.24-40		Politics or Eros	
303Aa		Politics? (sometimes attributed to Sappho)	
303Ab		Politics	
10		Eros	
1		Unclear (perhaps political)	
167		Politics (2-line stanzas)	
169		Politics	
364 (2)		5da √- | |	Gnome
369 (1)		8da √- | |	Symposium
393 (1)	2io | |	Gnome?	
397 (1)		Unclear (season)	
380 (1)	3io | |	Eros	
388 (1)	2ia | |	War?	
400 (1)		War	
374 (1)	4ia | |	Eros	
372 (1)	gl | |?	War	
378 (1)		Unclear	
322 (2)	perhaps pher | |	Symposium	
356 (1)	hipp?	History or Myth	
375 (1)	ia √hipp | |	Unclear	
384 (1)		Unclear	
323	perhaps ia √hipp | |	Unclear	
386 (1)	ia gl | |?	Myth	
354 (1)	perhaps ia gl | |?	Myth	
355 (1)	gl ia | |	Myth	
319 (1)	√gl ia | |	Unclear	
141 (2)	gl ^{2d} | |	Politics	
365 (1)		Unclear	
38	perhaps gl ^{2d} | |	Symposium (with gnome and myth)	
318 (1)		Unclear	
366 (1)		Gnome	
112 (1)	gl ^c | |	Politics	
117b.1-12		Eros	
350 (2)		<i>philo</i>	
351 (1.5)		Unclear (gnome?)	
352 (1)		Symposium	
34b	perhaps gl ^c | |	Hymn or Politics?	
50	gl ^{2c} | |	Symposium	
340 (1)		Gnome?	
341 (1)		Gnome?	
342 (1)		Gnome	
343 (1)		Myth	
344 (2)		Gnome	

345 (2)		Riddle
346		Symposium
347		Season (Hesiod)
348 (2.5)		Politics
349b (1)		Myth (involving Dionysus)
39	perhaps gl ^{2c} ||	Politics
44		Myth
120		Unclear (Invective according to scholia)
353 (1)		Unclear
387 (1)	gl ^{3c} ||	Myth
115	perhaps gl ^{3c} ||	locus amoenus
380 (1)		Eros
36	gl ^{xc} ||	Politics
296b		Hymn and Eros
286	perhaps gl ^{xc} ||	Unclear
48	perhaps ^hipp ^{xc} ||	War
61		Unclear
37	aeol ^{xc}	Unclear (gnome?)
305a.14-15	perhaps aeol ^{xc}	Politics
392 (1)	perhaps aeol ^{xc}	Politics?
322 (1)	pher | gl | | ?	Symposium
376 (1)	gl | hipp | | ?	Symposium
140	2gl ia | |	War
358 (2)		Symposium
359 (2, 2)		Unclear
360 (2)		Gnome
383 (2)		War
43	perhaps 2gl ia | |	Unclear
143		Politics? (Invective)
179		War
181-184		Unclear
395 (1)		Unclear

Table 2: Content of Fragments of Alcaeus by Metre

Sappho		
fr.	Metre	Content and Notes
1	Sapphic stanzas	Hymn, Eros (hurt)
2		Hymn
3		<i>Philoï</i>
4		Eros
5		Hymn, <i>philoï</i>
6		Unclear (but includes divinities)
7		<i>Philoï</i>
8		<i>Philoï</i>
9		Festival
10		<i>Philoï</i>
15		<i>Philoï</i>
16		Eros/ <i>Philoï</i>
16a		<i>Philoï</i>
17		Hymn

18		<i>Philoï</i>
18a		Unclear
19		Ritual (<i>Philoï?</i>)
20		Sailing (<i>Philoï?</i>)
22		Eros
23		Eros
24		Eros
26		Eros (hurt)
27		Marriage
29		<i>Philoï</i>
30		Marriage
31		Eros (Marriage?)
32 (2)		Unclear
33 (2)		Hymn
34 (4)		Unclear (Eros?)
35 (1)		Hymn or Eros
36 (1)		Eros
37 (1)		Eros (hurt)
38 (1)		Unclear (Invective? <i>Philoï?</i>)
39 (3)		Unclear
40 (1)		Unclear
41 (2)		Eros or <i>Philoï</i>
42 (2)		Unclear
94	Other strophes	Eros, <i>Philoï</i>
101 (4)		Unclear (addressed to Aphrodite; luxury items)
98		Politics? <i>Philoï?</i> Eros?
88		Eros (hurt)
64a		Unclear (Eros? Marriage?)
65		Unclear (addressed to Sappho, by Aphrodite?)
73		Eros
101A (4)		Season (Hesiod) (sometimes attributed to Alcaeus) (two-line stanza)
104a (2)		Hymn (two-line stanza)
141		Myth, Marriage
111		Marriage
117B (2)	2 da | |	Hymn (calls to Hymen and Adonis)
105	6 da˘ | |	Marriage
106 (1)		Marriage
142 (1)		Divine narration
143 (1)		Unclear
107 (1)	? da	Marriage
113 (1)	3 io | |	Marriage
135 (1)		Hymn
134 (1)		Hymn
117 (1)	3 ia˘ | |	Marriage
116 (1.5)	perhaps hipp? | |	Marriage
129b (1.5)		Eros
168B (4)	˘hipp | |	Eros (spurious)
155 (1.5)	cr ˘gl | |	Politics? <i>Philoï?</i> Invective

123 (1)	cr hipp | | ?	Myth	
138 (2)	perhaps ia ^gl | |	Eros? Marriage? Invective (scholia)	
137.1-2	ia ^hipp | | ?	Unclear (Spurious)	
154 (2)	^gl ba | |	Ritual	
102 (2)	ia gl ba | | ?	Eros	
130 (4)	gl ^d | |	Eros	
110	pher ^d | |	Marriage	
146	perhaps pher ^d | |	Gnome	
43	gl ^{2d} | |	Festival	
44		Marriage, Myth	
44Aa		Apollo and Artemis (including on virginity)	
44Ab		Muses	
45 (1)		Unclear	
46 (2)		Eros?	
47 (2)		Eros	
48(2)		Eros	
49 (1, 1)		Eros, <i>Philoï</i>	
50 (2)		Eros, Gnome?	
51 (1)		Eros	
52 (1)		Unclear	
115 (2)		pher ^{2d} | |	Marriage
136 (1)		Unclear	
149 (1)	perhaps pher ^{sd} | |	Unclear	
166 (2)	gl ^c | | ?	Myth	
151 (1)	pher ^c | | ?	Unclear	
53 (1)	gl ^{2c} | |	Muses	
54 (1)		Myth, Eros	
55 (4)		Muses	
56 (2.5)		Muses, Poetry	
57 (3)		Poetry? Eros? Invective?	
103.1		perhaps gl ^{2c} | |	Marriage
103.8			Marriage
103.9	Muses?		
120 (2)	Eros (<i>Philoï</i> ?)		
150 (2)	Muses		
140 (2)	pher ^{2c} | |	Hymn (call and response)	
58 (Success poem)	^hipp ^{2c} | |	Muses?	
58 ('58b')		Muses?	
58 (Iithonus poem)		Muses	
58 (Habrosyne poem)		Eros	
81 (4)		Muses	
82 (1)		Eros	
91 (1)		Invective	
103.2		perhaps ^hipp ^{2c} | |	Marriage
103.7		Muses	

103.10		Myth
96	cr 3gl ba | |	Eros
95	perhaps cr 3gl ba | |	Eros
133 (2)	ia 2io anacl | |	Eros
114.1	3cho ba | |	Marriage (call and response)
128 (1)		Muses
103.3	perhaps 3cho ba | |	Myth
103.4		Unclear (<i>Philoï</i> , invective?)
168C	--∪-- | hem | |	Unclear
124 (1)	eras ith | |	Muses
127 (1)	ith | ith | |	Muses
112 (3 +2, 2)	cho ba cho ba | |	Marriage
158 (2)	ad ad | | ?	<i>Philoï</i> , invective?

Table 3: Content of Fragments of Sappho by Metre

Firstly, for both poets, the majority of hymnic fragments are limited to strophic poems: 7 of 11 Sapphic fragments with hymnic content are strophic and 9 of 11 such Alcaean fragments are strophic. Further, the main exceptions appear to be hymns of a different kind to those found in the strophic poems, such as those involving calls and responses or approximations of ritual cries (e.g. Sappho fr.140, 117B), which are not found in the strophic fragments. Moreover, the remaining stichic fragments with possibly hymnic content (Sappho fr.134 and 135, and Alcaeus fr.34b and 296b) are not securely hymnic in the same way as the others, which all have direct (and often extended) invocations or requests. However, Sappho fr.134 and 135 do not have an extended invocation, but rather just a vocative (Κυπρωγένη, Ὠϊρανα), the vocative form itself in fr.134 is not secure, and the statements in the two one-line fragments could fit into other categories (e.g. ‘Eros’). Further, we cannot rely on these two fragments (Sappho fr.134 and 135), as they (currently considered 3io) may be part of ionic strophes similar to Anacreon 410 and 411 (3io anacl) and Alcaeus fr.10 (3io | | 3io | | 4io or 4io | | 4io | | 2io). Finally, Alcaeus fr.34b may not be hymnic at all.²²² This is not to say that the Lesbian poets did not include any prayers or divine requests in stichic compositions (cf. e.g. fr.112.21 (τό)σσουτον ἐπέυ[χο]μαί)), but the full hymnic form may have been more strongly associated with strophic compositions in Lesbian poetry than with stichic compositions.

²²² See p.187.

It seems clear that, beside hymns, Book 1, the book of Sapphic stanzas, comprises poems concerning her *philoí*, love, and marriage. One could argue that gods, *philoí*, love, and marriage constitute the subject matter of Sappho's entire oeuvre, but these subjects appear to be treated differently from other metres. This is perhaps clearest in fr.27 and 30. Unlike other 'Marriage' fragments, which consist of songs in praise and suggestive teasing of the bride and groom,²²³ there is little sense that these fragments actually are or are drawing heavily on ritual wedding songs. In fr.27, $\text{c]}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$ (l.8) has been understood to point to a wedding song,²²⁴ but there is no praise or teasing of the bridal party, while the argument of the poem, inasmuch as it is apparent from the surviving fragment, seems much closer to those where the speaker asks his/her interlocutor to remember the past (cf. e.g. Sappho fr.94) than any wedding song; it seems less problematic to think that the wedding here is incidental. Similarly, fr.30 is usually considered a wedding ritual song,²²⁵ but the scene described in the fragment does not fit the usual interpretations as a $\text{d}\iota\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ or $\text{p}\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\varsigma$.²²⁶ 'But wake up and go [fetch] the young men your comrades [so that we may see less] sleep than the clear-voiced [bird]' (ll.6-9) makes no sense uttered at dawn as the speaker would have already been awake all night, but it only makes sense before people retire for the night's sleep, while $\text{\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma}$ also suggests someone is asleep, ruling out a $\text{p}\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\varsigma$. The rest could suit a poem on love with references to marriage (ll.4-5: cf. Sappho fr.94.9-10).²²⁷ Thus it seems ritual wedding songs do not appear to have been associated with the Sapphic stanza.

²²³ Tsomis 2001: 232-241.

²²⁴ Thus Castiglioni 1914: 246, Snell 1944 286, Schadewaldt 1950: 58, Gallavotti 1953: 163-165, Page 1955: 125-126, Bowra 1961: 215, Lardinois 1994: 68, Parker 1996: 160, Stehle 1997: 80, Aloni 1997: 57, Tognazzi 2009, Caciagli 2009b, Benelli 2017: 129.

²²⁵ Wilamowitz 1914: 228-29, Lobel 1951: 123, Gallavotti 1953: 125-126, Page 1955: 125-126, Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990: 100-101, Tsomis 2001: 241, Ferrari 2003: 53-56, Livrea 2008, Neri and Cinti 2017: 126, Benelli 2017: 152-159.

²²⁶ Cf. already Page 1955: 126. For performance at daybreak: e.g. Treu 1958: 192-193.

²²⁷ Note that $\text{\nu}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$ can mean 'young woman' (as opposed to 'bride') in Homer (e.g. *Il.*3.130). This argument rules out the main evidence for hypothesising that the wedding songs of Sappho were placed at the end of each book in the Alexandrian edition according to metre, with the remaining wedding songs in metres not used for metrical arrangement elsewhere in the edition collected in a short book of *Epithalamia*.

Similarly, other strophic compositions (frr.94, 98) mentioning her *philoï* could perhaps be better seen as love or political poems, while we hear much less about her *philoï* (and none about her family) in the stichic poems; *philoï* in stichic fragments appear potentially only in frr. 49, 120, 155, 158, which all have in common the fact that Sappho's view of them has changed.²²⁸ This would suggest then that Sappho composed most songs that have *philoï* as the main focus in Sapphic stanzas, though she sings of them (differently) in other metres too. However, the scarcity of evidence means that the findings are suggestive rather than conclusive.

A slightly different trend can be observed in Alcaeus. Beside hymns, strophic compositions are dominated by political or military content. Indeed, outside the hymns and 'uncertain' fragments, there are no strophic fragments for which a political or military interpretation is excluded. The only potential difficulties are frr. 42, 283, 338, 362, and 10, but the Helen poems (frr.42 and 283) are incomplete and could have been exempla or parts of hymns;²²⁹ frr.362 and 338 appear solely to be involved in the symposium, but could be continued by (e.g. the refusal of or reflection on) the political situation; and fr.10 is an odd poem in Alcaeus' oeuvre for many reasons.²³⁰ This is not to suggest a political reading of all strophic fragments in Alcaeus, but to highlight the preponderance of political and military material in Alcaeus' strophic poems. However, these are not restricted to strophic compositions, but appear to be less dominant in the stichic compositions (at least in our current corpus).

There is also a preponderance of sympotic material in Alcaeus' greater asclepiads (gl^{2c} | |). Of fragments of certain metre, only frr.347, 348, and 349b are not related to the symposium. However, fr.349b is attributed by Priscian (our only source) to Sappho, mythological exempla are also not out of place in symposiastic poems (cf. e.g. fr.38), especially given that we have gnomes in these fragments, and fr.349 appears to have a drinking theme (Hephaestus, brought back drunk by

²²⁸ Even fr.120 suggests that there would be reason for Sappho to be spiteful were she not one for grudges.

²²⁹ See pp.217-221.

²³⁰ See pp.110-113.

Dionysus, liberates Hera from his chair).²³¹ Meanwhile, the metre of fr.348 is reconstructed from prose and of questionable value. However, one need not think of $gl^{2c} ||$ as having to be exclusively sympotic for it to be perceived as a particularly sympotic metre. Fr.347 is interesting in this light; many have wondered why Alcaeus ‘translates’ an extract of Hesiod’s *Works and Days* into Lesbian with minimal changes. The ‘original’ element of the fragment is the opening line, which turns the wisdom poetry into evidence for the need to drink, paralleled here by the change from the hexameter to this metre closely associated with the symposium.

Sappho’s greater asclepiads ($gl^{2c} ||$) and acephalous hipponactean with double choriambic expansion ($\grave{h}ipp^{2c} ||$) also appear interesting. All fragments securely in $gl^{2c} ||$ are concerned with the Muses, Graces, poetry, and Eros; this might be a long list for only five fragments, but the Muses and poetry naturally go together, while Eros and Graces are often found together in love poetry.²³² The sense of this group appears to be encapsulated by ἔσσειτ’ οὐδὲ πόθθα εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχησι βρόδων | τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας (fr.55.2-3). Similarly, $\grave{h}ipp^{2c} ||$ also seems concerned with the Muses, poetry, and Eros. The ‘New Fragment’ of the New Sappho concerns a lyre (πᾶκτιν, l.7; χε|λύγγαν, l.8) and a feast (θαλ[ί]α, l.3) in Sappho’s old age, while many scholars would supply a form or derivative of Μοῖσα; the ‘Tithonus Poem’ also concerns old age, music, dance, and love; the *habrosyna* poem combines talk of love and beauty; and the ‘Success Poem’ appears to be about fame through words. Fr.81 contains the idea of discrimination, beauty, and the Graces that we found in the other fragments; fr.82 appears to be erotic, and could similarly be interpreted with discrimination in mind, while fr.91 is difficult to interpret without context.

It is probably not a coincidence that $gl^{2c} ||$ and $\grave{h}ipp^{2c} ||$ are the same except that $gl^{2c} ||$ ($\times x - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup x$) has an additional syllable in the beginning and $\grave{h}ipp^{2c} ||$ ($\times - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - \cup x$) an additional syllable at the end; the similarity of rhythm may indicate a shared association

²³¹ Wilamowitz 1935-1972: V.2 5-14, Eisenberger 1956: 27-33, Liberman 1999: 152.

²³² For the close connections of Muses and Graces to these ideas: Sappho fr.103.5, fr. 128, Thgn. 15-18, *bH*.27.15, Pi. N.9.54-55, Ar. *Ecol*.974-975, Pl. *Leg*.682a. Individually, more often.

with these ideas. Thus $g^{2c}||$ and $\text{^}hipp^{2c}||$ appear to be the metres in which Sappho sings most about the relationship of poetry, love, and style. The sympotic character of Alcaeus' $g^{2c}||$ and the associations of Sappho's $g^{2c}||$ and $\text{^}hipp^{2c}||$ with the Muses, Grace, and Eros are perhaps then linked as the ideas are closely related to each other throughout Greek poetry.

A difference in content by metre is thus discernible in the poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus. Moreover, there appear to be both super-metrical tendencies, i.e. between strophic and stichic compositions, and metrical tendencies, such as the sympotic or musical/erotic associations of $g^{2c}||$ and $\text{^}hipp^{2c}||$. These analyses have not been exhaustive and much remains to be done with the data, but I have suggested how even these preliminary findings could be used for literary interpretations.

2.3. Metre and Style

The preceding investigations, considering differences in syntax and content, have suggested a difference in treatment between strophic and stichic compositions; these differences may be complemented by a difference in the manner of presentation. I suggest that strophic compositions generally present the subject in a 'nodular' way, with an extended focus on one element at a time with a regularity of the duration of attention, while stichic compositions appear largely arranged in an 'agglutinative' way, with an even focus on elements, one following another, and more varied durations of attention. These can be understood as literary (structural, narrational) interpretations of findings of the syntactic investigation of enjambement above.

In narrative sections, the nodular arrangement appears to present the matter in 'snapshots' (be it of scenes or episodes). Thus in Sappho fr.1, we follow Aphrodite on her ornate throne (ll.1-4) to her movement from far away in Zeus' house to Sappho's presence (ll.5-13), to their extended meeting (ll.13-24). These 'snapshots' or 'nodules' appear to take advantage of the strophic structure as there is usually one focus per stanza: in Sappho fr.1, the focus is on the power and attributes of Aphrodite in the first stanza, her distance in the second, her chariot of sparrows in the third, her arrival and appearance in the fourth, questions in the fifth, solutions in the sixth, and Sappho's

present request in the final stanza. Of course, the stanza boundaries are not absolute, but the poets skillfully link one to the other by anticipation and through continuation on other levels, such as syntax: for example, *πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποινα | χρύσιον ἦλθεε* (ll.7-8) contributes to the distance of Aphrodite (cf. *πήλοι*, l.6), but also anticipates her travel, which is the focus in the next stanza, and the continuation is underlined by a syntactically unnecessary enjambement across stanza-boundary with *ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαινα* (l.9), which begins the focus on the mode of transport; similarly, *αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο* (l.13) at the start of the following stanza is the sudden end to the focus on transport as well as the beginning of the focus on Aphrodite's appearance.

In contrast, stichic fragments' narratives do not organise material into 'nodules' or 'snapshots' of extended focus of similar length, and therefore, no specific element can be seen as the focus of an extended section through the regularity of metrical structuring alone. For example, Sappho fr.44.5-20 could probably be seen as a section united by movement and carriages, but the focus within the section rarely remains on the same thing for long: this is particularly clear from l.11 on, where we move from Priam rising (l.11) to the news spreading in the city (l.12), to the sons of Ilus yoking carriages (ll.13-14), to women (ll.14-15), to the daughters of Priam (l.16). Instead, each element appears to be linked on the same level of focus, and arrangement into scenes appears to be more flexible in terms of size and predictability.

In descriptive sections too, the nodular arrangement seems to provide more extended focus of similar lengths. Thus Sappho fr.2 structures the description by stanzas (||| *ἐν δ' ὕδωρ*, l.5; ||| *ἐν δὲ λείμων*, l.9; ||| *ἐνθα δὴ κύ*, l.13) in equal sections of description even though the second and third stanzas do not necessarily form a separate entity beyond the structuring such as through a contrast in content, or in location, or in attributes. Thus by the creation of two moments of focus, Sappho creates the feeling of description scene by scene or in snapshots. Meanwhile, Alcaeus fr.140, a stichic poem, appears to feign a lack of structure and the ecphrasis of ll.2-13 appears to be a unit as a whole, with the listing of armour making it difficult for an individual item to be more structurally noticeable than another. This is complemented by a lack of uniformity in description

within the ecphrasis: fr.140 describes some things more than others and seems to pursue diversity of description in the ecphrasis: new items are introduced in different parts of the line, and even spatial relations are generally treated with variety. Thus we find different ways of expressing ‘below’ in $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau \mid \tau\tilde{\alpha}\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau \acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma \beta\epsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$, and even the repetition of $\pi\grave{\alpha}\rho \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ serves to diversify the expression.

This chapter has surveyed three aspects of the Lesbians’ metre: the syntactic treatment of metrical units, the associations between metrical form and content, and differences in the manner of presentation. The first investigation showed that Alcaeus’ and Sappho’s strophes have a very strong tendency to be syntactically self-contained and that Sappho’s (though not Alcaeus’) stichic compositions appear to be syntactically grouped into couplets. The difference in strophic and stichic compositional units appear to be paralleled by the difference in content, as shown by the second investigation, and the presentation of narrative and argument, as discussed in the third investigation, which can provide new perspectives in interpretations. The second investigation also explored differences in content between individual metres, which offered new light on the interpretation of fragments. Although these findings cannot be conclusive, these investigations have shown that differences of the content and of style in relation to metre exist in Lesbian poetry, contrary to general opinion. Much more remains to be done, but the differences in compositional units, content, and style between metrical schemes and my application of these findings to interpretative matters have shown the importance of considering metre in interpretations.

Chapter 3: Immersive Lyric

Perceptions such as ‘vividness’ and ‘directness’ are perhaps elements that have most enduringly interested scholars of lyric.²³³ Despite warnings against Romantic anachronism, few scholars argue that poets such as Sappho and Alcaeus do not present strikingly clear scenes or create a sense of immediacy or intimacy. It is unsurprising, therefore, that scholars have recently returned to this aspect of poetry,²³⁴ after focusing since the 1980s on the socio-pragmatic aspects by mapping metaphors and *ecphrases* onto the performance context, and on using performance context in turn to explain imagery. Since the early 2000s, scholars have increasingly turned to these perceptions, especially by focusing on pragmatics and the senses.²³⁵ At the same time, research on deixis in lyric has led to an awareness of the difference between the described context and the performed context.²³⁶

This chapter aims to go further in shifting the emphasis from the historical context of the performance, of which we have little evidence, to the described context, which the fragments preserve, which can (but need not accurately) overlap significantly with the former. The following will examine the described setting both of the original audience (shared by the poet-performer) and the setting shared by all audiences: the setting imagined from the description and imagery of the poems and experienced by audiences.²³⁷ These settings will not only be described, as in previous

²³³ Cf. e.g. τίς οὐκ ἂν εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς προτρεχούσης [Alcaeus fr.208.1-9] περὶ τὸν πόντον εἰκασίας ἀνδρῶν πλωιζομένων θαλάττιον εἶναι νομίσειε φόβον; (Heraclit., *All.* 5).

²³⁴ E.g. Cazzato and Lardinois 2016 and Budelmann and Phillips 2018a.

²³⁵ Pragmatics: *Arethusa* 37 (2004), edited by Felson, captures the moment of this shift since, even as the introduction emphasises the creative potential of deixis (Felson 2004: 264-266), the contributors only touch on this with respect to performance. Nevertheless, the contrast between earlier (e.g. Danielewicz 1990, where deixis is discussed to pin down performance) and later literature (e.g. D’Alessio 2009: 115-120, which acknowledges the complexities of deixis and uses pragmatics more generally) is clear. Senses: cf. most obviously for lyric, Cazzato and Lardinois 2016; in general: Butler and Purves 2013, Bradley 2015, Squire 2016, Rudolph 2017, Purves 2017, Butler and Nooter 2018, and *Pallas* 92 (2013), only the last of which considers lyric at any length.

²³⁶ Yatromanolakis 2004: 65-66, d’Alessio 2018.

²³⁷ The importance of reperformance is treated in detail in Chapter 4.

scholarship, but also investigated with a cognitive approach for the multisensory and emotive effects induced by Alcaeus' poetry that create impressions such as 'vividness' and 'directness' in the audience. This chapter thus attempts to highlight the complexity of Alcaeus' descriptions and offer a new approach to studying settings and deixis in Greek lyric.

3.1. A Cognitive Approach

My object of study is the perception of settings and their sensory and emotive effects. Cognitive poetics, emerging from cognitive sciences and linguistics, similarly aims to study 'readerly experience',

a 'product, on the one hand, of the words on the page, of the text's semantic, syntactic and sonic (or phonetic) features, which act as the stimulus to evoke complex thoughts and emotions in the reader; and, on the other, of the reader's cognitive faculties, which inevitably intervene in, and shape, her or his experience of the text'.²³⁸

This so-called 'readerly experience' is otherwise called 'texture', defined as the 'experiential quality of textuality',²³⁹ where 'textuality refers to the stylistic patterns in evidence in a text', which is 'a linguistic object in which elements are perceived as being linked or patterned, and which is most typically perceived as being coherent'.²⁴⁰ Since 'text' is defined simply as a 'linguistic object', there is no hindrance in expanding 'readerly experience' to 'audience experience' for performed literature, as with Alcaeus. Borrowing methodologies from cognitive poetics can help reconceptualise current impressions of the fragments with more systematic analyses, but can also provide more sophisticated or new interpretations.²⁴¹

²³⁸ West 2016: 110. Therefore, it takes the 'cognitive' part of 'cognitive poetics' seriously, and thus shares the central tenets and assumptions with the cognitive sciences: Stockwell 2009a: 2-6.

²³⁹ Stockwell 2009a: 14.

²⁴⁰ Stockwell 2016: 458.

²⁴¹ For a history and state of the field, including criticisms, inconsistencies, and gains, cf. Vandaele and Brône 2009 and Freeman 2014.

The following further makes use of Text World Theory (henceforth TWT), a cognitive discourse grammar proposed by Werth.²⁴² It enjoys attention within cognitive poetics despite being one of several ‘world theories’ because it is context-sensitive. Neither the texture approach nor TWT have been adopted substantially by Classicists;²⁴³ for TWT, it has only recently been used for languages other than English,²⁴⁴ and has not yet been applied to pre-modern performed poetry with the original audience in mind.²⁴⁵ However, since TWT is supposed to be a model for all discourse types, with the prototypical discourse type the face-to-face conversation,²⁴⁶ and since diachronic continuity is a core principle of cognitive poetics,²⁴⁷ there is no theoretical hindrance to the analysis of archaic Greek performed poetry through these approaches.²⁴⁸

TWT has three world-levels of discourse: the discourse-world, the text-world, and the sub-worlds. The discourse-world is a representation of the situation in which two or more discourse participants communicate with each other and contains the participants, objects, and personal and cultural knowledge of the participants (i.e. all possible contextual materials that could impact on the construction and understanding of the discourse).²⁴⁹ The discourse-world is ‘an act of

²⁴² Most fully by the proposer, Werth 1999; the current standard version is Gavins 2007. Good short summaries: Lahey 2014 and Giovanelli 2013: 10-32.

²⁴³ For TWT, I am only aware of Selter 2010 and Hutchinson forthcoming; Evert van Emde Boas is also preparing an application of TWT in lyric poetry, with different emphases. For texture, I am unaware of other applications in Classics.

²⁴⁴ E.g. Lugea 2016.

²⁴⁵ Harbus 2016 analyses *Beowulf*, only considering the modern reader’s response.

²⁴⁶ Werth 1999: 85. For a TWT analysis of face-to-face conversations: van der Bom 2016. On the continuity between read and performed literatures and between literary and conversation languages: Cave 2016: 3-5.

²⁴⁷ Stockwell 2009b: 26 notes ‘a cognitive poetic account of prestigious texts is unavoidably diachronic, since almost all canonical literature originates in the great swathe of the past that is not the near-past contemporary; this allows the issue of universal and persistent cognitive constraints to be examined.’

²⁴⁸ TWT is well-suited for literary scholars, especially those working on ancient cultures, who are worried about universalist and essentialist tendencies of scientists, due to the importance of ‘common ground’, which in TWT limits how the ‘text’ is understood by the discourse-participants.

²⁴⁹ Gavins 2007: 9-10.

negotiation in process',²⁵⁰ under the meta-principles that discourse should be assumed to be (1) communicative/informative (hence purposive and efficient), (2) coherent, and (3) cooperative (taking part in these meta-principles and being authoritative and responsible).²⁵¹ Knowledge is transferred between participants by incrementation with the specific knowledge accessed determined by the principle of text-drivenness: the text itself both determines the knowledge required and enables access to it.²⁵² The discourse-participants construct mental representations of the discourse in the discourse-world, which is called the 'text-world', the next level; the levels parallel the difference in ontological status of the text-world as a mental representation of discourse-world participants.

Two types of textual information construct the text-world: (1) world-building elements (deictics) that specify time, place, objects, and relationships between them,²⁵³ and (2) function-advancing propositions that fulfil the function of the discourse (e.g. plot, argument).²⁵⁴ The final layer, the 'sub-world', which originate from the text-world but represent a shift from the deictics of the text-world. The term 'sub-world', not used by Gavins, is kept to refer to the two sub-world-types: (1) world-switches for spatial, temporal (including direct speech), and spatio-temporal shifts,²⁵⁵ and (2) modal worlds for deontic, boulomaic, and epistemic modal contexts.²⁵⁶ The sub-worlds have different 'privileges of access' due to differences in ontological status determined by who creates the sub-world, as participants are bound by the principles of cooperativeness, coherence, and communicativeness, while enactors (characters who are not discourse participants) are not. Worlds created by participants are 'participant-accessible' and those created by enactors

²⁵⁰ Gavins 2007: 20.

²⁵¹ Werth 1999: 49-50.

²⁵² Werth 1999: 103; Gavins 2007: 29-30.

²⁵³ Relational processes in systemic functional linguistics. Gavins 2007: 36-37, 43.

²⁵⁴ Similar to material processes in systemic functional linguistics.

²⁵⁵ Gavins 2007: 45-50.

²⁵⁶ Gavins 2005, 2007: 73-125. Boulomaic modality concerns situations that are unrealised at the time of their creation but wished, hoped for, or desired.

are ‘enactor-accessible’;²⁵⁷ participant-accessible sub-worlds are thus more reliable than enactor-accessible sub-worlds.

Since TWT’s focus on the creation of mental representations prompted by the text and the use of ‘common ground’ (everything in the discourse world) allows for multiple interpretations depending on differences in the participants’ knowledge and attitude, TWT is a good framework in which to explore both the poet’s creation of described settings that are shared by all audiences and the differing reactions experienced by audiences. Further, the principle of text-drivenness is not only second nature to classicists, but also useful for archaic literature for which little reliable non-textual knowledge exists. World-building elements in effect offer a new approach to deictics in archaic lyric, creating described (or imagined or mental) contexts for the audience, which may vary in closeness to the physical world of the poet-performer.

TWT is also useful in discussing immersion and emotional involvement, which have been considered consequences of crossing ontological boundaries whereby ‘readers’ psychologically project into the text-worlds.²⁵⁸ I adopt here Whiteley’s terminology for various types of projection.²⁵⁹ ‘Deictic projection’ is the simplest form where ‘the features mapped from the discourse-world to text-world are the discourse-world participant’s embodied sense of space and location’;²⁶⁰ such projection is the basis for the sense of immersion.²⁶¹ ‘Perspective-taking projection’ allows an imaginative reconstruction of the minds of text-world characters (including their worldview, attitudes, emotions, goals, etc.) using cues in the text, allowing discourse participants to treat and emotionally respond to text-world characters as if they were ‘real’ people.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Gavins 2007: 73-79.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Stockwell 2009a: 134-167; Whiteley 2011. For empirical findings that demonstrate ‘readers’ implicating their ‘sense of self’ during literary reading: Kuiken et al. 2004.

²⁵⁹ Whiteley 2011 and 2016a.

²⁶⁰ Whiteley 2011: 27.

²⁶¹ Gavins 2007: 40.

²⁶² Whiteley 2011: 27; 2016a: 510.

Finally, with ‘self-implication’ or ‘identification’, the reader/audience recognises aspects of their own personalities and those of text-world enactors and the reader’s/audience’s sense of self is involved in the creation of the text-world.²⁶³

3.2. Immersive Alcaeus

Turning to Alcaeus, literary discussions of fr.6 have focused on whether the ship imagery is an allegory of the city, which parts of the imagery have counterparts in ‘real life’, and its performance context.²⁶⁴ Indeed, allegorical readings of the so-called ‘ship-of-state’ poems have been central in arguments for bridging the supposed gap between content and original performance contexts.²⁶⁵ The original audience has an advantage in sharing the physical space and time with the original speaker, as with face-to-face conversations, and in having access to the immediate surroundings to which the speaker might refer. Nevertheless, since Alcaeus’ fragments are effective and evocative to later audiences (creating a split discourse-world),²⁶⁶ it is legitimate to consider the effects created for both kinds of audiences. An obvious element that makes this poem equally effective to both kinds of audiences is the immersiveness of the first two stanzas.

The first stanza is busy and action-packed, as the poem begins by plunging *in medias res*, but a sense of immersion is created by world-building and the first-person plural. Firstly, because the speaker uses the first-person plural (ἄμμι,] ὄμεθ’), the audience not only shares the deictics of the scene created, but a sense of self is created with reference to group mentality, which is made even clearer with jussives from l.7 and even group history (τῶ περιστέρῳ νέμω).²⁶⁷ Thus we have a

²⁶³ Whiteley 2011: 27.

²⁶⁴ Heraclitus, *All.* 5 (p.5 Buffière); Wilamowitz 1914: 236, Theander 1922, 1943, Treu 1963: 161, 163, Kirkwood 1974: 77-78, Nicosia 1976: 143-149, Rösler 1980: 126-134, Gentili 1988: 197-215, Liberman 1999: 24, Tsomis 2001: 188-190.

²⁶⁵ See Uhlig 2018: 63-79 for the history of scholarship and the importance of the ship poems in scholars’ aims (especially Rösler’s and Gentili’s) to unearth the original performance context. Recent reactions against this focus have emphasised the universality, generality, and formlessness of the spatial settings: Nunns 2010: esp. 25-29, Uhlig 2018: 80-91.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Gavins 2007: 26-27.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Chapter 4 on pronouns.

strong case of self-implication. Further, the speaker places us in the present *hic et nunc*, with τὸδ' and present-tense στείχει, which create a sense of immediacy and directness. The speaker, however, provides strikingly few spatial deictics: the only participants and characters are the speaker and 'us', the only objects are the wave and parts of the ship.²⁶⁸ This, paradoxically, emphatically profiles the two elements (people/ship v. water) against an empty background.²⁶⁹ At the same time, a sense of busyness and immediate action is created by the short description of this water (as there having been one previously, and the coming toil of the present one), further enhanced by αὖτε, which suggests this scene is continuously repeated. In TWT-terms, within the first two lines, we not only have the text-world, but also two world-switches that show how busy (linguistically and cognitively) these lines are in creating this atmosphere and image from the few details (Figure 1: p.93).

The rest of the preserved fragment emerges from this text-world, but does not remain on the text-world level. Instead, the jussive subjunctives throughout the rest of the fragment place the rest in a deontic modal-world, and it is possible that we are only in the text-world level for the first clause (and possibly in l.4). It also freezes the moment: after the first clause where we hear that the wave is coming, no concrete action happens, but the rest of the preserved fragment is composed of things that will happen and should happen. This analyses the preserved fragment as what the poet wishes the group (and the audience) to think in the face of the oncoming political storm. Indeed, as the large deontic modal world shows, most of the preserved fragment is instructive, emphasised on the syntactic (repetitive use of the jussive subjunctive), stylistic (e.g. chiasmus: φαρξώμεθ' ὡς ὠκιστα[| ἐς δ' ἔχυρον λίμενα δρό[μωμεν), and metrical levels (||| καὶ μή ... ||| καὶ μή). The deontic modal-world is straightforward here, forming a list of actions one

²⁶⁸ I consider this a choice; Alcaeus could have included countless other things from the weather to specific individuals.

²⁶⁹ Of course, not literally empty, but one of the most prominent conceptions of the sea in Greek is that of expansiveness (cf. θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο, e.g. *Il*.15.381; ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, *Il*.20.228) and barrenness and sterility (cf. e.g. ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης, e.g. *Il*.14.204): Beaulieu 2016: 2, Lindenlauf 2004.

after another (according to the surviving fragment). Indeed, in this flurry of instructions, the attention of the poem moves elsewhere.

Stockwell's resonance-attention model can nuance this interpretation further.²⁷⁰ Resonance is a 'feeling of affective power of an encounter with a piece of literature' that remains in the memory after reading,²⁷¹ a 'textured prolonged feeling that can be revived periodically after the initial experience'.²⁷² Stockwell's model suggests that the elements of the text-world provide perceptual stimuli, some of which are perceptually more likely to attract attention (so-called 'attractors') than others, influenced also by the reader's/audience's disposition. Thus resonance can be viewed as 'a feeling which arises from the interaction between the configuration of attractors in a text and a reader's disposition and reading intensity'.²⁷³ An attractor can catch the attention by being newly introduced or revived. With reference to the 'inhibition of return', 'by which the eye gets bored by static unchanging objects and is attracted by variation and newness',²⁷⁴ attention can be maintained by sustaining attention or by the absence of shift-devices, or dissipated by neglect through disengagement or occlusion.²⁷⁵ Adapting psychological research on attention, Stockwell lists typical features of good attractors:²⁷⁶

- **Newness** (currency: the present moment of reading is more attractive than the previous moment)
- **Agency** (noun phrases in active position are better than in passive position)
- **Topicality** (subject position confers attraction over object position)

²⁷⁰ Stockwell 2009a: 17-55; Stockwell 2009b.

²⁷¹ Stockwell 2009b: 28.

²⁷² Stockwell 2009a: 17.

²⁷³ Whiteley 2016b: 170.

²⁷⁴ Stockwell 2009a: 24. The same processes apply *mutatis mutandis* to other sensory organs.

²⁷⁵ Similarly, Hutchinson 2017: 152. For other application of attention in Classics, from different perspectives: Möller 2013, Scodel 2014, Hutchinson 2017.

²⁷⁶ Stockwell 2009a: 25.

- **Emphatic recognisability** (human speaker > human hearer > animal > object > abstraction)
- **Definiteness** (definite ('the man') > specific indefinite ('a certain man') > non-specific indefinite ('any man'))
- **Activeness** (verbs denoting action, violence, passion, wilfulness, motivation or strength)
- **Brightness** (lightness or vivid colours being denoted over dimness or drabness)
- **Fullness** (richness, density, intensity or nutrition being denoted)
- **Largeness** (large objects being denoted, or a very long elaborated noun phrase used to denote)
- **Height** (objects that are above others, are higher than the perceiver, or which dominate)
- **Noisiness** (denoted phenomena which are audibly voluminous)
- **Aesthetic distance from the norm** (beautiful or ugly referents, dangerous referents, alien objects denoted, dissonance).

Finally, the degree of attraction is affected by the nature of the object and an object's attractiveness may be heightened by another's unattractiveness.²⁷⁷

From newness, agency, definiteness, activeness, and because there is nothing else in the perceptive field, κῦμα is the most attractive element in the first line as the wind is subordinate to it grammatically, and is less attractive by not being the agent or active. In l.2, another attractor arrives, 'we', which has the potential to be attractive due to emphatic recognisability but does not take over, as it is inactive and not an agent, until it becomes the subject in l.4 (Ἰ,όμεθ'), before which νᾶος (l.3) briefly vied for attention. 'We' remains the most consistent attractor through the rest of the poem. But the attention on the ship and wave are maintained in the second stanza, with the mention of (presumably) a part of a ship (φαρξώμεθ' ὡς ὤκιστα [τοιίχοις (Murray)) and a

²⁷⁷ Stockwell 2009a: 26.

harbour (ἔχυρον λίμενα). The attentionally prominent elements of ship and wave are then neglected in the rest of the preserved fragment. The intense image of the first two stanzas resonates still in the third stanza, where some verbal and semantic similarities maintain a link with the first stanza (τῶ περιστερίῳ ἕμεω ~ τῶν πάροιθε μ[; μνάσθητε; πόνον ~ μ[όχθω (Wilamowitz)). These similarities may keep the audience searching for marine parallels, but the revived elements are the non-marine ones, while the short and bright sentence πρόδηλον γάρ· and the new temporal deixis and human agent of l.12 (νῦν τις ἄνηρ δόκιμος γε[νέσθω),²⁷⁸ helped on the metrical level as a self-contained line and the surprise asyndeton, occlude the marine imagery. This appears deliberate as this is paralleled by a movement from the sea to the land (γαῖα, τὰν πό[λιν) in the fourth stanza.

However, although the image of the ship does not resonate beyond the third stanza, the busy and hurried tone that the image created remains in the rest of the preserved fragment due to the sustained instructiveness of the language and the continuation of the deontic modal-world. An emotive element here is highlighted by the contrast between these shifts in attention and the concept of resisting fear, which is sustained throughout the and fourth stanzas, probably still in the fifth stanza (ἄπ πατέρω[ν ... θυμ), and which is even possibly the main idea in the seventh stanza (μοναρχίαν δ[| μ]ηδὲ δεκωμ). Since the element of self-implication is continued, these emotive effects are closely felt by the audience. Such an analysis suggests that the highly immersive world established in the first two stanzas also created the atmosphere of fear and resisting it that is maintained beyond the visuals of the image. Therefore, the concreteness of the imagery, previously interpreted allegorically, works here on a different level to create a sense of spatial and emotional immersion and the imagined world can steal the limelight from (both original and secondary) performance contexts.

²⁷⁸ The short sentence πρόδηλον γάρ· is secure as a high point.

In fr.338,²⁷⁹ a vivid and detailed scene is set in the first two lines of the first stanza, and the remainder of the first stanza probably elaborated on this further. However, deictics relating to discourse-participants only appear in the second stanza with *κάββαλλε* (the second-person addressed audience). Since the scene of the second stanza is inside, in opposition to the outside-scene of the first, the first stanza is revealed to be spatially different to the actual text-world and thus to be a world-switch world.²⁸⁰ This reanalysis requires a world-replacement, where repairs to the structure of the entire text-world is necessary due to damage to the text-world from new information.²⁸¹ The text-world diagram (Figure 2: p.94) shows the poem's differences in complexity between the analyses. This world-replacement is playful because *κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων'* is mimetic of the immersed audience, which moves from the vivid outside world of the storm/winter into the inside world of warmth and wine, from the dramatic and stylised (*Ζεῦς*; lack of verb in *ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας | χεῖμων*; tense of *πεπάγαισι*; circumlocution in *ὑδάτων ῥόαι*) to the quotidian (*κάββαλλε*; everyday things like fire, cups, and wine; second-person singular and sense of one-to-one conversation). It is almost metapoetic: the sudden, asyndetic, short phrase *κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων'* dispenses with third-person narrative for a second-person interaction.

The second stanza is more emphatic than the first as the world-building elements are all placed in relation with the second person (the audience), as the verbs link the objects to the audience-addressee. Thus, further contrast with the world of the first stanza is made, as the second stanza is more immersive since it has the audience-addressee deictically positioned in the scene. Similarly, in terms of attention, the scene in the first stanza as we have it appears static: raining is a constant, continuous activity, the omission of a verb in *ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας | χεῖμων* makes the phrase appear perfective/stative, as does the tense and meaning of *πεπάγαισι*, while the second

²⁷⁹ On this underappreciated fragment: Page 1955: 309-310, Rösler 1980: 248-255, Tsomis 2001: 147-148.

²⁸⁰ Hutchinson 2018: 120-124 shows that this switch, characteristic of Alcaeus, is his usual structuring (conflict and resolution) represented spatially.

²⁸¹ Gavins 2007: 142.

stanza is full of motion, where there is always a sense of direction (καβ-, ἐν, ἄμφι). These contrasts make the second stanza even more intense and immersive than the first.

One might object that the original audience did not experience world-replacement as the original audience presumably would have been inside in the sympotic scene before the poem began.²⁸² However, unless the poem was performed during a particular sympotic-chain where such reversal was expected, the audience could not know that the poet was not offering a narrative or the length of the narrative. Even if not, the contrasts between the worlds intensifying the sense of immersion still holds, with the audience made hyper-aware of aspects of their own spatial setting.²⁸³ Similarly, in fr.6, the original audience knows it is not on a ship mid-storm, but it too is immersed in the storm-world of the first two stanzas, and the audience is lulled into a sense that this will be a narrative about the speaker and audience on a ship, until, little by little, it realises that it was a metaphor, resulting in a world-repair. For fr.6, the effect is of comparing the emotional aspects of the imagined world and the original performance context. Investigating the sensory and emotional pulls of the imagined world can thus enhance our understanding of the structure of the poems and its effects.

Fr.140 is a work-horse in modern scholarship because of its evident vividness. Nevertheless, identification of the armour and space has most occupied scholars,²⁸⁴ not how Alcaeus constructs the space. Recently, Strauss Clay has shifted the discussion in this direction, and notes that our gaze moves downward from the roof to the floor and that the spatio-visual ordering of the catalogue suggests that the exhortation at the end is more than a simple call not to ‘forget these things’ but

²⁸² Thus Rösler 1980: 251, criticising non-historicising approaches.

²⁸³ Given the generic nature of this sympotic scene, a very similar effect can be envisioned for Greek secondary audiences too.

²⁸⁴ Page 1955: 212-223, Snodgrass 1964: 182-183, Bonanno 1976, Tammaro 1975-1977, Degani and Burzacchini 1977: 213-216, Rösler 1980: 148-158, Latacz 1990: 247-254, Del Frio 1993, Colesanti 1995, Cirio 1995, Cirio 2001, Marzullo 2009, Neri 2011: 224, Clay 2013, Caciagli 2014. Fearn 2018: 104 refreshingly argues for ‘a clear tension here between the vividness of the description, marked with the initial word *μαρμαίρει*, “glitters”, and the lack of straightforward access to the world being described’.

rather perhaps a ‘mnemonic device for recalling the scene and its setting each time the poem is sung, creating for the *betairia* a shared communal vision’.²⁸⁵ However, it is doubtful that this scene, so steeped in Iliadic elements,²⁸⁶ is real, and hence unlikely to recall a ‘shared communal vision’, unless a collective purpose is meant rather than an actual memory of a place.²⁸⁷

The sheer amount of detail is largely responsible for the vividness; no other fragment of Alcaeus comes close to providing as much descriptive detail and sustaining it. The effect is striking and obvious. Wherever the actual original performance was held, the description must have interacted with the (primary and secondary) audience’s physical setting in *andrones*,²⁸⁸ which, according to vase paintings,²⁸⁹ had arms hanging on the walls. Indeed, the movement of the description from ceiling to floor and attention to individual items one by one direct the audience to do the same, mentally visualising the arms and the poem’s *andron* while possibly also looking at (or being aware of) the physical *andron*. Further, the treatment of arms one by one, item by item, has the effect of creating a world zoom;²⁹⁰ we are told the scene is the μέγας δόμος, then zoom onto individual items in a long sequence of zooms within the world to the extent that the idea of the μέγας δόμος is in the background, not the foreground.²⁹¹

These senses are further heightened by the step out of the description. We do not know how the poem began. If the poem began with the description of the building, a world-replacement would presumably have occurred. If the poem began at the text-world level and the ‘we’ of the poem, then there would be no world-replacement, but a texture analysis is still useful. The sub-world here is an epistemic modal-world as it is remembered, and there could still be a world-repair

²⁸⁵ Strauss Clay 2016: 207.

²⁸⁶ Page 1955: 211-223. For further epic elements, see the summary in Budelmann 2018a: 106. See also pp.39-40.

²⁸⁷ Thus Spelman 2015.

²⁸⁸ For the *andron* as the physical setting of symposia, see Chapter 4.

²⁸⁹ See Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 17-31.

²⁹⁰ For world zoom, see Giovanelli 2013: 82-87.

²⁹¹ This is responsible for the sense of pace felt by Maurach 1968; the shorter descriptions coupled with the movement onto the next item as the poem progresses thus creates a feeling of increased acceleration in the narration.

at the end even if the poem began with the ‘we’, as the description might have been suggested to be a simple world-switch instead (e.g. a different time). The change in worlds from the epistemic modal-world to the text-world highlights the differences between them: the epistemic modal-world of epic allusions, light (μαρμαίρει, λάμπραιον, λεῦκοι, ἀγάλματα, λάμπραι), fullness (of things), different textures (χάλκωι, ἵππιοι λόφοι, χιάλκιαι, λίνω), and movement (of sight from roof to floor, νεύουσιν) in contrast with an empty and static text-world of thought expressed in an impersonal construction (of an unforgettable thought, at that). Indeed, even the final line of the preserved fragment does not remain in the text-world but goes into a world-switch to a previous time (ἐπεί). Clearly, the excellent attractors of the sub-world resonate beyond its borders. We do not know if the poem-end is preserved, but even if the poem continued, it would take a lot to dissipate the resonance. This spilling-over of vividness through resonance is appropriately mimetic of the situation, and is precisely the point, as the original and secondary audiences cannot forget this description, as the speaker says.

The sense of vividness in fr.130b is difficult to explain,²⁹² as there are very few spatial descriptions of the location.²⁹³ The sense of vividness here is less visual/pictorial and more atmospheric. This is cultivated by the speaker’s insistence on saying what he lacks: in the first stanza, the spatial deictic elements are placed in a boulomaic modal world, and in the second stanza, there is a world-switch to the past explaining the speaker’s loss of property. In the third and fourth stanzas finally we find some description of the present text-world location, but only in vague non-sensory terms (ἐχάτῃαι, λυκαιχιμίαι). This lack of sensory content in the text-world level, marked by what the speaker lacks, creates a sense of an empty location, confirmed by the barrenness of the evaluative terms applied. This is also supported by the speaker using the first-person singular in a poem not ostensibly about the symposium (as most political poems use the

²⁹² On this fragment: e.g. Page 1955: 197-209, Rösler 1980: 272-285, Burzacchini 1994, Hutchinson 2001: 205-214, Ferrari 2016, Budelmann 2018a: 100-106..

²⁹³ Thus already Hutchinson 2001: 192-194.

first-person plural,²⁹⁴ this fragment already stands out in intimacy); the loneliness of this singular speaker is marked from the very beginning (ἄγνος) and contributes to the atmosphere.

The sense of an empty world is made starker by the sensory boulomaic modal-world of the first stanza (sensory: ἄκουσαι | καρῦ[ζ]ομένας; nominal deictics: ἀγόρας, β[ό]λλας) and the presence of other people in the boulomaic modal-world and the world-switch. Similarly, the lonely location of the first four stanzas is intensified by the most sensorially vivid stanza (stanza five) where suddenly the audience is told of the assembly of women here that is depicted visually and aurally, and vice versa. The inclusion of the women in the text-world, however, does not make the atmosphere less lonely as the speaker stays away, and the *kallisteia* might warrant a separate world (world-switch). Indeed, the women are sudden interrupters, and this stanza marks an unexpected attentional shift (newness, agency, activeness, fullness, noisiness) that reinforces the feeling of separation by the coincidence with a zoom out from the speaker-focused text-world and from the past (see the text world diagram of fr.130b (Figure 3: p.94)). The return to the speakers' world in the final stanzas thus feels cruelly empty from the contrast with the sensorially rich female world.

If scholars are right in assuming this location is the sanctuary at Messon,²⁹⁵ then this isolation is also more literary than realistic; while it is literally on the borderlands (ἐχρατία), on the boundaries of Pyrrha, one assumes this important pan-Lesbian sanctuary is not so empty, especially for the *kallisteia*. Indeed, ἐχρατία' may be an ironic joke to highlight hyperbolically the strange situation where the speaker can simultaneously be at Messon ('the middle' of the island) and be at the ends of the world. The separation here then is a spatial representation of the speaker's attitude, and not strictly spatial. With such views expressed in the first-person singular, we would have perspective-taking projection, but the extreme isolation created perhaps hinders self-implication. However, such a poem may have found, amongst the large number in the late archaic

²⁹⁴ Cf. Rösler 1980: 37-39 and my discussion on pronouns in Chapter 4.

²⁹⁵ See Robert 1960 and Caciagli 2010 for an overview; Quinn 1961b and Picard 1962 prefer the less likely alternative on Cape Phocas.

period that experienced exile, an audience that could easily identify aspects of their own personality in the speaker.²⁹⁶

Probably depicting the same location is fr.129.²⁹⁷ Despite being called conspicuous (εὐδειλον), there are very few deictics that visualise the place.²⁹⁸ The speaker, however, is situated in the precinct (τόδε).²⁹⁹ The sense of immersion in this fragment is created from the evocation of the past: in the text world diagram (Figure 4: p.95), the emptiness and the lack of material processes of Text-World 1 contrast with the busy sub-worlds emerging from it. Thus the sense of monumentality that the speaker claims for the precinct by calling it εὐδειλον τέμενοισι μέγα is supported by a story from the past, told through a world-switch to explain τόδε. The deictic τόδε makes sure that the world-switch is kept connected with the text-world. The world-switch appears to take its authority from the fact that it is the near mythical past with the Λέεβιοισι, the names and titles of the divinities, the extraordinariness of the joint venture (Ξυῖνον, Αἰολίην), and perhaps the ritual nature of the acts. Thus, while the world-switch is not visual, it is full of evocative names and ideas that permeate through to the text-world, probably emphasised at the stylistic level by the postponement of the most ritualistic and fearful name till last (ὠμήειον). Almost as soon as this world-switch is over, a deontic modal-world (the prayer) is triggered. Here, again, as the first-person plural is used, the speaker appears to include the audience in the poem, and projection is made

²⁹⁶ From a cognitive poetics perspective, a range of categories (e.g. experience of exile) impacts on the way the audience reacts to a given text. Alcaeus' contemporary and near contemporary audiences could have been more open to his poetry than the modern audience because their experiences would have been more similar, though it would also create barriers to any level of projection for those against Alcaeus.

²⁹⁷ On this fragment: Page 1955: 161-169, Degani and Burzacchini 1977: 201-206, Rösler 1980: 191-203, Burnett 1983: 157-163, Meyerhoff 1984: 211-218, Hutchinson 2001: 195-204, Caciagli 2009a, Budelmann 2018a: 92-100.

²⁹⁸ Indeed, clearly 'its very sparseness of metaphor or of vivid physicality should be seen, in this writer, not as artlessness but as one particular mode of art' (Hutchinson 2001: 194).

²⁹⁹ Caciagli 2019: 33-34 argues that the deixis of the opening line requires the poem to have been sung within sight of the altars, which is without basis and underestimates the diverse referential potential of demonstrative pronouns. It should be acknowledged that the physical description is not the poet's primary aim at this point and that by focusing so minutely on such details, we may be losing sight of other interesting aspects.

easier. However, unlike in fr.6, where anyone could feel equally immersed in the world created, with this prayer, which has so many referents to specific political events, while the deictic position allows perspective-taking projection, self-implication in the ‘we’/‘our’ is perhaps reserved for the *betairia*.

The complex deontic modal-world appears to occupy the rest of the surviving fragment. With ὣς ποίτ’ ἀπώμινυιμεν we have a world-switch from within the deontic modal-world, from which rises two deontic modal-worlds. The world-structure here demands more attention by its complexity.³⁰⁰ Here, the world-switch telling Pot-Belly’s betrayal assumes another negativised world-switch with the same contents as the preceding deontic modal-world; this, in effect, makes the audience dwell on the contents of the oath again. The unexpected result of the oath-taking is emphasised stylistically by the lack of connection, mimetically marking the suddenness and unforeseeable nature of the betrayal, recreating the feel of the sudden change. The name for Pittacus used also shows this change with the parallel change in the speaker’s view of him with the switch from τὸν Ἵρραον δὲ πα[ῖδ]α to ὁ φύκων. The text’s creation of emotive effects are twofold: first, as the audience is considered one of the first-person plural group whose prayer is telling this tale of high-stakes politics and betrayal; and second, as the audience who listens (in real life) to the prayer that details the reasons behind the speaker’s emotions.

We can see how fr.130b and 129, whose physical location has so often been emphasised, use imagined worlds to endow the spaces with not only sensory description, but also emotion and character. Such an approach is important for the study of Alcaeus, and of archaic Greek lyric more generally, especially given previous scholars’ focus on locating poems and physical descriptions, and on identifying allegorical matches between description and historical facts. Even with the recent turn to more literary settings, visibility has been central in analyses. The approach adopted

³⁰⁰ Stockwell 2009a: 63-65.

here sheds light on the effects of these imagined worlds and emotions in Alcaeus that have not been previously investigated.

This chapter has thus explored the texture of some fragments of Alcaeus with a view to examining the sense of immersion that has often been noted by scholars. The concept of texture and the use of Text World Theory has helped to bring out the ways in which Alcaeus creates worlds through his words (particularly deictic elements), not necessarily corresponding to the physical context of the poet-performer. We have focused on Alcaeus' complex use of contrasting worlds to highlight the vivid visuality, emotions, and associations. We have also touched on the importance of the deictic force of the pronoun for projection, to be discussed further in Chapter 4. My cognitive analyses are also reinforced by observations on careful use of deictics (fr.6, or lack of them in the lonely fr.130b), juxtaposition of contrasting scenes (fr.338, 140), and narration of events and wishes (fr.129, for emotional immersion). A key benefit of working with cognitive poetics has been in supporting and expanding our interpretations, especially when the sense of immersion is less sensory and more emotive, and in providing a consistent framework for analysing audience experience.

This chapter aimed to shift the balance of scholarly attention from investigating imagery and description in order to localise a performance context (and vice versa). It has gone further than recent attempts by suggesting new approaches, particularly the application of texture and Text World Theory, and new areas of research, especially in the exploration of both sensory and emotive aspects of imagined worlds, and by demonstrating the efficacy of the poetry for secondary as well as for original audiences.

3.3. Figures for 3.2.

Key:

TW – Text-World

WS – World Switch

↓ – Material Processes (Function-Advancing Propositions representing changes in state)

→ – Relational Processes (Function-Advancing Propositions relating to steady states)

Dotted lines and boxes represent negated worlds and relations.

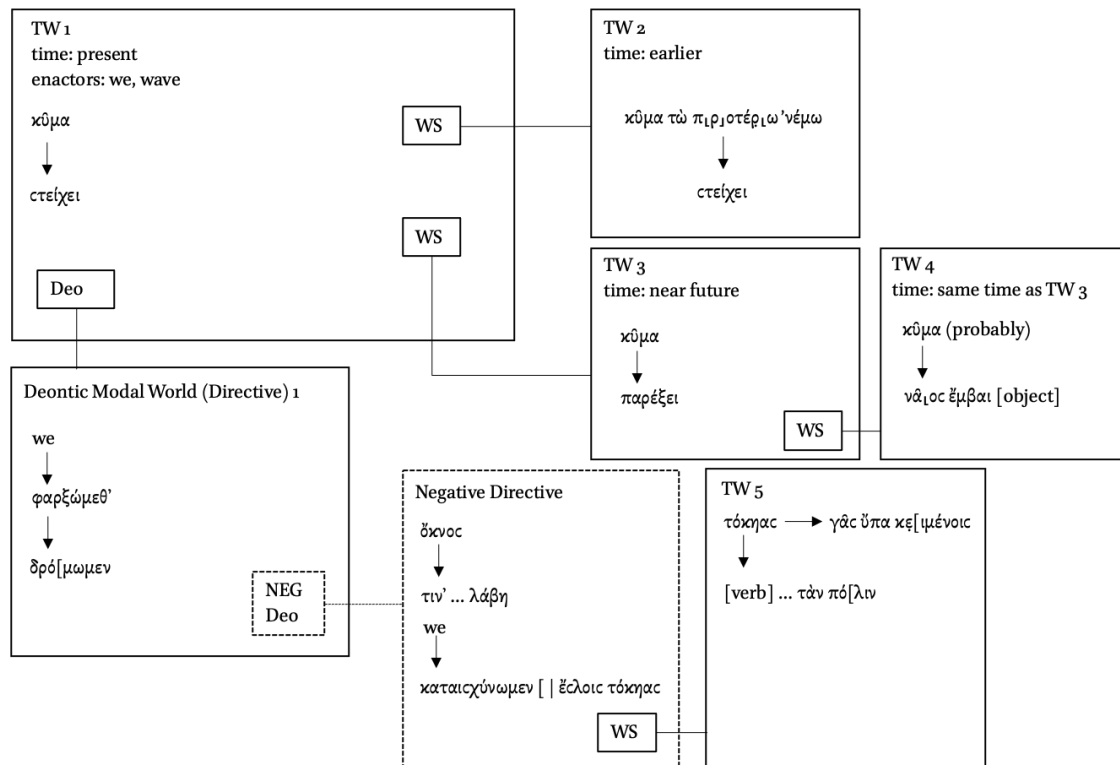


Figure 1: Text-World Diagram of fr.6

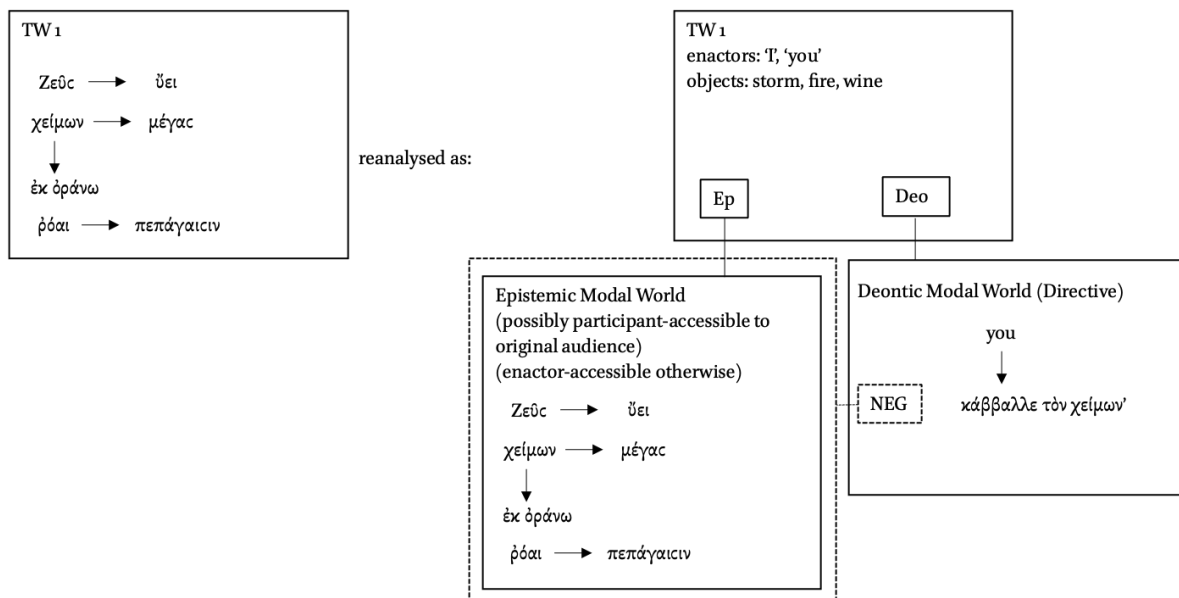


Figure 2: Text-World Diagram of fr.338

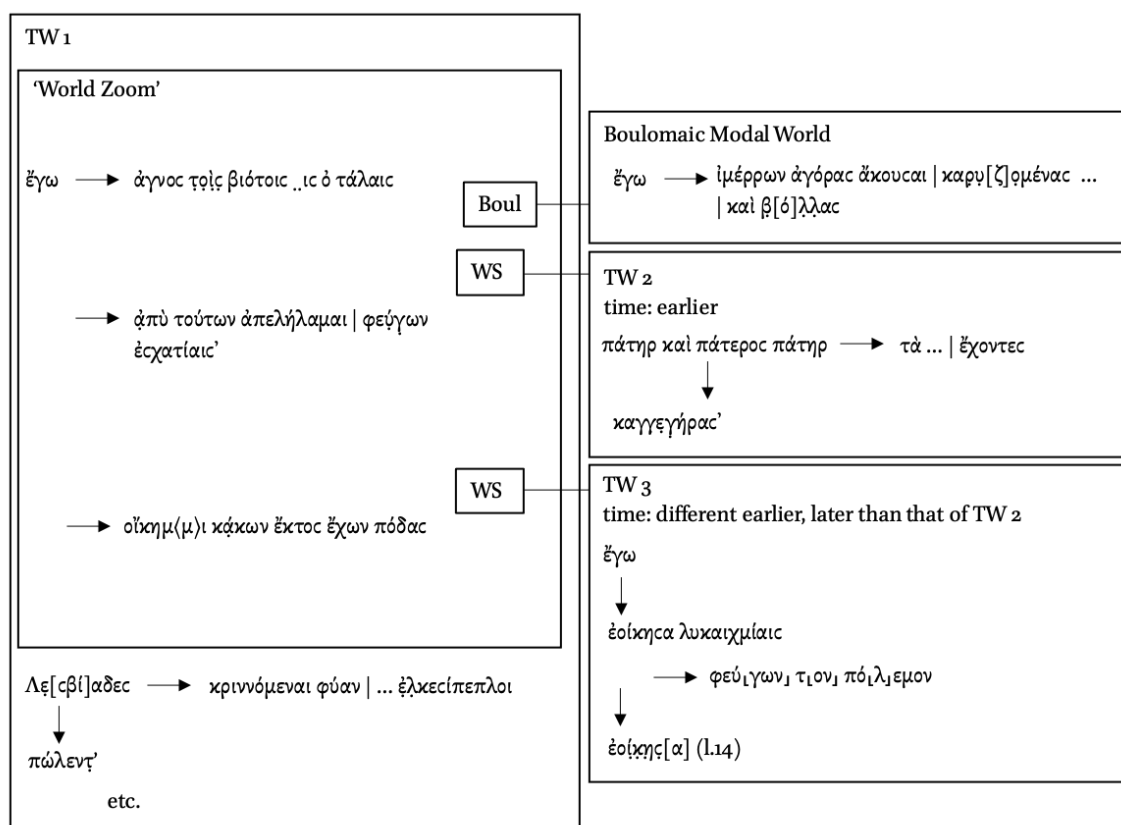


Figure 3: Text-World Diagram of fr.130b

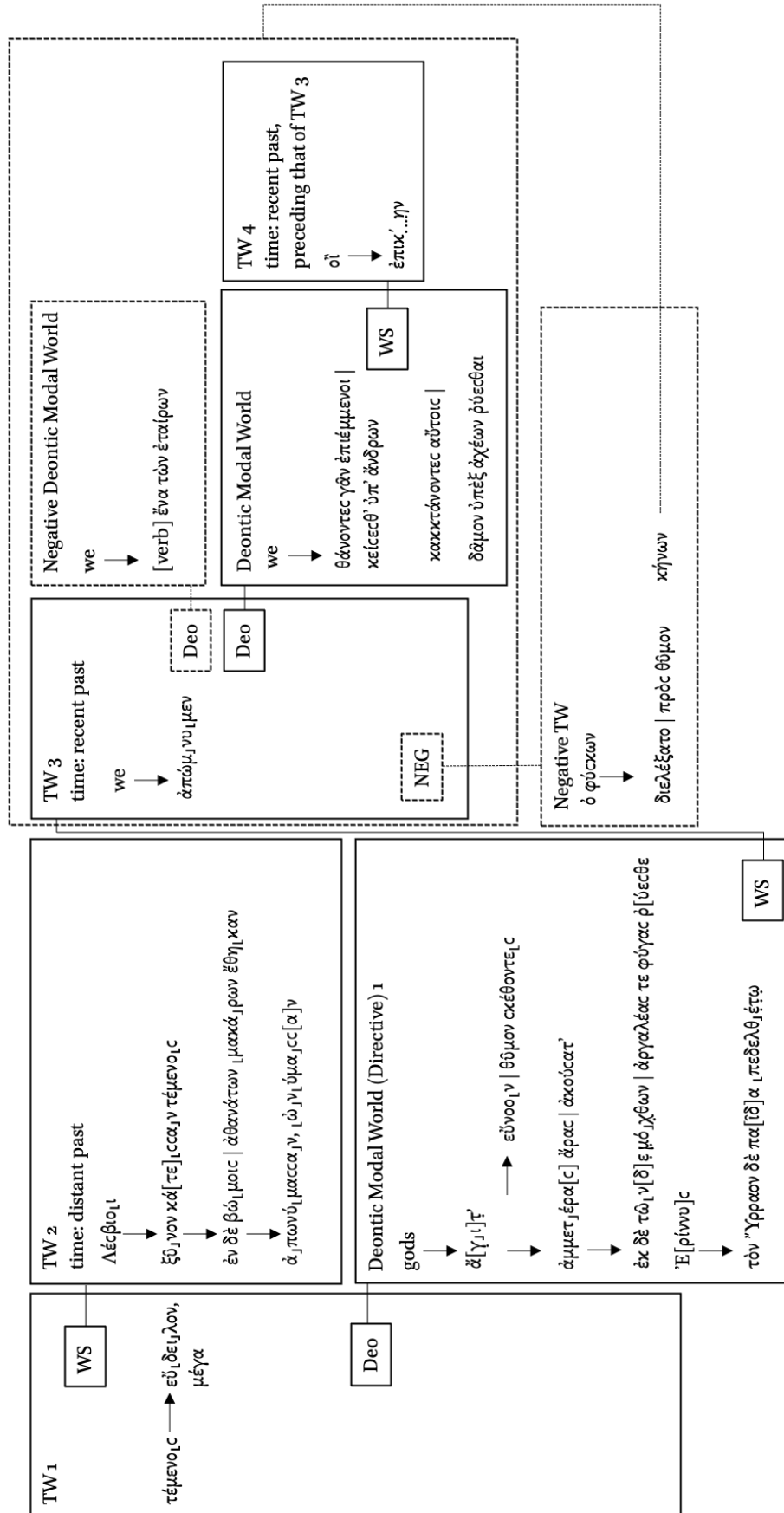


Figure 4: Text-World Diagram of fr.129

Chapter 4: Performance

The performance-oriented approach to Greek literature, which gained momentum in the 1980s,³⁰¹ has dominated scholarship of Greek lyric for the past four decades.³⁰² Meanwhile, the symposium captivated scholarly attention,³⁰³ and was increasingly recognised as the performance context of much Greek lyric poetry.³⁰⁴ Alcaean scholars played an important role in these developments, especially Rösler,³⁰⁵ who identified the symposium as the performance setting of Alcaeus' poetry and Alcaeus' *betairia* as the intended audience. His work has been consistently and frequently cited in scholarship, and his findings and methodological focus on social pragmatics and the audience are still rarely challenged. However, while the recent scholarly recognition of reperformances and secondary audiences of Greek lyric poetry has been influential in shaping our perceptions of the audience of choral lyric,³⁰⁶ significant reinterpretation of Alcaeus in this vein has not yet fully materialised.³⁰⁷ It is not my intention here to challenge the general view that the symposium was the original performance context of most of Alcaeus' poetry, but to show that the surviving fragments suggest that Alcaeus could and did envision reperformance and secondary audiences beyond his *betairia* and to illuminate literary consequences of this view. This chapter will provide

³⁰¹ E.g. Gentili 1969, Gentili 1988, Herington 1985.

³⁰² Budelmann 2009b: 15.

³⁰³ Murray 1990b and Murray 2003 explain the intellectual background and development of symposium studies.

³⁰⁴ E.g. Vetta 1983b.

³⁰⁵ Rösler 1980, building on Trumpf 1958.

³⁰⁶ Discussions of reperformance of Pindar and epinician have a long history; some recent works include Morgan 1993, Currie 2004, Hubbard 2004, Morrison 2007, Athanassaki 2012, Budelmann 2017, Uhlig 2017, Currie 2017, Spelman 2018. A parallel lively discussion exists for classical drama but is beyond the scope of this thesis: see Csapo et al. 2014 and *Trends in Classics* 7.2 (2015) for bibliography and overview.

³⁰⁷ Budelmann 2018a: 87 is a rare paragraph-long exception; contributions in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a are important first steps in this direction.

an overview of the Greek symposium and consider the audiences of Alcaeus' poetry with regard to transmission and poetic techniques that point to performance and reperformance.

4.1. Banquets³⁰⁸

The archaic Greek banquet took place in dining rooms, the *andron*, with couches along the walls. The standard-types, for seven and eleven couches, are well-attested archaeologically for the archaic period in sanctuaries, civic buildings, and private homes,³⁰⁹ their shape is square, and the standard sizes are related to the number of couches they could accommodate.³¹⁰ Even less regular types are constructed so that the space across the room allows the participation of whole group in conversations and games.³¹¹ Further, *andrones* appear to be the most prestigious part of the house, where wealth is most visibly on display,³¹² and positioned close to the street entrance, away from women's quarters. From these types, we can deduce the regular size of a symposium-gathering as fourteen or twenty-two men.

Vase paintings may help to envision the banquet inside *andrones*.³¹³ Banquet-scenes of Alcaeus' time are found on Corinthian vases of the late 7th/early 6th centuries BC: bearded revellers recline on couches,³¹⁴ before whom are (the same number of) tables with dishes and drinks, and below the couches and tables are footstools and dogs; in the background are banquet-related items (e.g. jugs, lyres, drinking horns), or military accoutrements (e.g. bows and quivers, javelins, swords, shields). On the other side are armed horsemen or hoplites of the same number as in the banqueting

³⁰⁸ For introductions to the Greek banquet: Fisher 1988, Kannicht 1989, Schäfer 1997, Schmitt-Pantel et al. 2004, and Murray 2009.

³⁰⁹ See the list in Schmitt-Pantel et al. 2004: 231-232.

³¹⁰ McCartney 1934, Bergquist 1990: 37.

³¹¹ Bergquist 1990.

³¹² Van Wees 1995: 177-178.

³¹³ The interpretation of banquets on pottery is not straightforward: 'L'image prend des éléments du réel, les choisit, les sélectionne, opère des montages, des transpositions, une mise en place. L'image est un système de signes et la construction abstraite de l'image est un travail de la pensée dans une société donnée' (Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 19).

³¹⁴ In contrast with banqueting scenes on earlier pots, where revellers sit on stools (Schäfer 1997: 25): cf. Attic oinochoe (National Archaeological Museum in Athens inv. 18542; photograph: Schäfer 1997 Tafel 1.1).

scene.³¹⁵ In archaic literary evidence, the arms are paralleled in Alcaeus fr.140, often considered to depict an *andron*,³¹⁶ Alcman 19 attests to reclining, the number of couches, and the equal number of tables, and Alcaeus fr.338 and 362 attest to fillets and garlands.

The Greek banquet consists of the meal (δειπνον) followed by drinking (συμπόσιον),³¹⁷ which could be followed by a revel (κῶμος); in Epicharmus' words: (A.) ἐκ δὲ | θοίνας πόσις ἐγένετο. (B.) χαρίεν, ὥς γ' ἔμοι <δοκεῖ>. | (A.) ἐκ δὲ πόσις κῶμος, ἐκ κώμου δ' ἐγένεθ' ὑανία (fr.146). The symposium is the occasion for the creation of archaic poetry and constitutes one of the themes of such poems. After the δειπνον, the tables are cleared and the room and guests are ritually cleansed; the symposium begins with the tables being brought back along with the crater of diluted wine, when a series of libations is performed, with the proceedings presided over by a symposiarch.³¹⁸

An early poetic narrative of an ideal symposium can be found in Xenophanes fr.1. Almost everything in Xenophanes fr.1, both the 'good' and 'bad' practices, can be paralleled in Alcaeus: the garlands (fr.338, 362), myrrh (fr. 50, 362), mixing bowls (fr.206), hymns (e.g. fr.307, 34, 308, 325), heavy drinking (e.g. fr.332, 338, 346), retelling myths (e.g. fr.42, 44), speaking of στάσις and ὕβρις (e.g. fr. 70, 76, 129, 130b, 208a, 298). The lyric poets demonstrate the importance of

³¹⁵ Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 17-18. Good examples are the Eurytios crater (Louvre E 635), Louvre F 630 (Schmitt-Pantel 1992 Fig. 2), Hermitage GP-10427 (Schmitt-Pantel 1992 Fig. 4).

³¹⁶ See p.86 n.284 for bibliography. However, one wonders whether, without any indications of a banquet such as food, wine, or musical instruments, this question is a red herring. Aristophanes (*Vesp.*1214-1215) attests to this kind of observation of the *andron*.

³¹⁷ Scholarship often uses the word 'symposium' to encompass a wide range of banqueting activity, from those at sanctuaries and city buildings to those in individuals' houses, and both eating and drinking. However, despite the scholarly emphasis on the second part of the banquet (the symposium), both vase paintings and literary evidence do not allow us to privilege the symposium over the δειπνον for the archaic period (Schmitt-Pantel 1990). Archaic poems appear to refer mostly to the symposium rather than the δειπνον. For Alcaeus, the invitation to a friend for a kid and pork (fr.71) is important; one supposes that an invitation to dinner assumes that the guest would stay for the symposium too. The reconstruction of the symposium that follows is based on Classical and later sources beside archaic evidence.

³¹⁸ See Węcowski 2014: 36-40 for a full account with sources.

poetry at the symposium, as part of the symposium's prizing of the art of literary and philosophical conversation.³¹⁹ Other kinds of entertainment include music (e.g. fr.58, 70), and games (e.g. cottabus (fr.72), riddles (fr.345)).³²⁰ Alcaeus also perhaps mentions the κῶμος in fr.374, which has often been considered a paraclausithyron.³²¹ Xenophanes' reflexiveness on the symposium too is not new, and the symposium as a microcosm of the *polis* and sympotic behaviour as a reflection of one's true self is reflected in archaic poetry and history.³²² Similarly, Alcaeus suggests bad sympotic behaviour is related to bad political behaviour and expresses it as a ravenous appetite (e.g. fr.70, 72, 129), and pronounces οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ δίσιπτρον (fr.333).³²³ The most famous archaic historical example reflecting this mentality is how Hipponax was winning in the contests of singing and speaking in the banquet (μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον) but his uncontrolled table-top dancing led Clisthenes to claim that Hipponax had danced away his marriage (Herodotus 6.129).

One of the most influential aspect of symposium studies has been its human composition and social significance. Oswyn Murray identifies the symposium participants as members of a *Männerbund*, listing the chief aspects of the symposium:

‘(1) It is an all-male gathering. (2) Its members are aristocratic or of high social class. (3) The principle of equality between participants is observed. (4) The emphasis is on drinking rather than eating, though both occur. (5) Normally the property relationship enters in only in terms of each member contributing equally from his private property to the common table.’³²⁴

³¹⁹ See especially Ford 2002: 25-45. For hints of philosophical thoughts in Alcaeus, cf. e.g. fr.38 and 320, though often difficult to distinguish from proverbs in fragments.

³²⁰ On symposium entertainments more broadly: Murray 2009: 517-520, Węcowski 2014: 40-55.

³²¹ Lambin 1992: 56.

³²² E.g. Slater 1976, Davies 1978, Rossi 1983, Bowie 1986, Lissarrague 1990.

³²³ Similarly, e.g. Solon fr.4.7-10.

³²⁴ Murray 1983a: 50.

By participating in shared ritual drinking and entertainments, the *Männerbund* cultivates and strengthens its bonds and group cohesion. Thus the symposiasts, often called ἑταῖροι, form a gathering of equals, around whom are attendants or boys (παῖδες), such as the οἰνόχοος, ἑταῖραι, and ἄκλητοι, whose statuses are below those of the adult male symposiasts.³²⁵

Developing Murray's formulation that symposiasts were aristocratic or elites, often couched with caveats regarding difficulties of defining such a class for early Greece and the symposium's possible adoption by those who could afford such a lifestyle,³²⁶ many have claimed the symposium as an occasion of anti-*polis* bonding and class solidarity against the 'middling' ideology of the *polis*.³²⁷ However, this view is unsatisfactory as the norms of the Greek banquet mirror the civic ideology of the *polis*,³²⁸ social standing in archaic Greece was precarious and unstable,³²⁹ and neither visual nor literary evidence allow us to conclude that the symposium was the exclusive reserve of the elite or such ideology.³³⁰ Instead, we should imagine people of different social and economic standing participating variously according to their means.

4.2. Alcaeus' *hetairia* and the dissemination of Alcaeus' poetry

As the frequent references show, the original performance context of Alcaeus' poetry was the symposium, and, consequently, his audience was his fellow symposiasts, i.e. *hetairoi*. However, *hetairia* in Alcaean scholarship and *hetairia* in symposium scholarship are not always the same. In

³²⁵ The status of women, especially in comparison with male youths (Schmitt-Pantel 2003), in the symposium is hotly debated: see e.g. Davidson 1997: 73-167, Cohen 2006, Corner 2012. For ἄκλητοι, who were expected to perform amusing or humiliating activities in return for food and drink: Węcowski 2014: 57-63.

³²⁶ The caveats are present already in Murray 1983a, and Murray 2018b clarifies his stance against such a view. However, Murray 1983b claims that the symposium is the 'organ of social control' used by aristocrats, which is now denied: 'The *symposion* was essentially a form of pleasure, not of social control, and sympotic attitudes cannot be translated into rigid hierarchies' (Murray 2018b: 142).

³²⁷ The bibliography is vast; the more influential opinions are Kurke 1994, 1997, 1999, Morris 1996, Stehle 1997: 213-261, Neer 2002, 2012.

³²⁸ Schmitt-Pantel and Schnapp 1982, Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 1992: esp. 46-52.

³²⁹ Duploux 2006, Węcowski 2014: 19-26.

³³⁰ Hammer 2004, Yatromanolakis 2009b, Corner 2010. See also Chapter 5.

the latter, *betairia* simply designates the banqueting group, such as *sysitia*.³³¹ However, when scholars discuss Alcaeus' *betairoi* and his *betairia*, they do not simply mean his fellow symposiasts, but specifically his co-conspirators and his faction.³³² This is not an issue if one believes that Alcaeus' poetry is solely aimed at his faction, but the following argues that the group of Alcaeus' fellow symposiasts (his audience) is not coextensive with his co-conspirators or even his faction (the *betairia*, as used in Alcaean scholarship). It seems *a priori* unlikely that they are coextensive,³³³ and the onus should be on those who wish to claim that they are to show it. To avoid confusion, I will only use *betairia* to refer to Alcaeus' co-conspirators and faction. This is justified, as Alcaeus refers to his co-conspirators as his *betairoi* (fr.129.16), unlike other archaic poets.³³⁴ Similarly, we should be cautious in comparing Alcaeus' *betairia* with the political clubs of fifth-century Athens, which may differ somewhat from the sworn band of Alcaeus,³³⁵ though Herodotus' description of Cylon's revolution may attest to the existence and workings of similar *betairiai* in the seventh century (Herodotus 5.71).³³⁶

³³¹ E.g. Murray 1983b: 196.

³³² Caciagli provides an interesting development of Sartori 1957: 30-33 that the *betairia* and *synomosia* should be distinguished, with the latter a 'federazione' of *betairiai*, seeing the oath of fr.129.14-20 as one binding the *betairiai* of Alcaeus and of Pittacus (Caciagli 2011: 50). He defines the *betairia* as 'un gruppo di "amicizia", la cui ragion d'essere è radicata in vincoli parentali o potenzialmente tali' (Caciagli 2011: 91). Caciagli's lengthy discussion of the words ἑταῖρος and φίλος does not convincingly support this; the terms have a wide range of meanings and cannot be pinned down so narrowly.

³³³ Indeed, in Classical Athens at least, it was possible to be part of more than one symposium group (Hansen 1987: 79) and to other groups based on a wide variety of criteria (Osborne 1990).

³³⁴ Archilochus' ἑταῖροι (fr.168.3, 196) appear to be synonymous with 'friend' or 'fellow symposiast'; Hipponax too refers to a fellow symposiast in fr.3a.2, but is ambiguous in fr.115.16 (strong similarities with Alcaeus' ship poems and Alcaeus fr.129.22-23 suggest allusion or an established trope); Theognis is somewhat ambiguous as every instance of ἑταῖρος could refer simply to a 'friend', but could also have a political meaning in cases when 'difficult/serious matters' or exile are mentioned (e.g. ll.79, 115, 209).

³³⁵ On Athenian *betairiai*: Calhoun 1918, Sartori 1957, Ghinatti 1970, Connor 1971: 25-29, Hansen 1987: 78-81, Vlassopoulos 2009, Ismard 2010.

³³⁶ See Hornblower 2013: 210-213, esp. 211, Nenci 1994: 262-266.

The key arguments, rarely challenged,³³⁷ for Rösler's view that Alcaeus composed exclusively for his *betairia* are (1) that he is too niggardly with contexts required for interpretation (too many 'dunkle Stellen'),³³⁸ and (2) that he could not have expected to be remembered by posterity due to the lack of a book trade.³³⁹ However, I will argue that these arguments are not supported by the evidence.

4.2.1. Alcaeus' 'dunkle Stellen'

As Chapter 5 shows, the background to many of Alcaeus' poems is unclear. However, this is more due to their fragmentary survival than Alcaeus assuming too much.

It is likely that knowledge of Mytilenean politics was quite widespread. Sticking with Rösler's own examples of 'dunkle Stellen', the Lydians' support of Alcaeus' *betairia* in fr.69 (and presumably fr.63.7) was probably not a secret and news between Lydia and Mytilene would have flowed naturally through personal and commercial connections;³⁴⁰ Pittacus' marriage to the 'Atreids' (fr.70.6) should be clear to anyone who knew of the Pentilids, the ruling clan within living memory, and their Atreid genealogy;³⁴¹ and the unspecific mention of the civil war in ἐπεὶ | δὴ πρῶτιστ' ὑπὰ τῶργον ἔσταμεν τόδε (fr.140.15-16) and the toils in fr.129.11 do not hinder understanding even in these incomplete fragments as the sentiments are general. Further, an audience of Mytilenean news beyond the city too can be envisioned since, even beyond the spread of news through guest-friends, Alcaeus went to other parts of Lesbos (notably Pyrrha in his first exile: Σ

³³⁷ Such instances are short and without extended arguments: Liberman 1999: xxiii with n.68, Budelmann 2018a: 87. Works most sceptical of his claims remain the reviews to his book.

³³⁸ Rösler 1980: 41-43.

³³⁹ Rösler 1980: 45-56.

³⁴⁰ See pp.137-139, 158-162.

³⁴¹ And to anyone who had heard anything about the 'Aeolian migration' (whether real or mythological): Strabo 13.1.3. For details and attestations of the genealogy: *FGrH* 4 F 32 (Hellanicus) with Jacoby's commentary and Pownall's commentary in *BNJ* 4 F 32, beside *FGrH* 70 F 4 (Ephorus) with Jacoby's commentary and Parker's commentary in *BNJ* 70 F 4.

fr.114) and beyond;³⁴² the Mytileneans were an important presence in Naucratis, as one of the founding members (Hdt. 2.178.2), whence knowledge of Mytilenean politics could easily spread further; and Mytilenean cultural and military power in the Aeolis was significant and expanding, as exhibited in the Sigeon War against Athens. Such interest seems socially diverse too: *PMG* 869 may attest to a socially broader knowledge or interest in Mytilenean politics (to a degree) that would make Alcaeus' songs intelligible to a much wider audience than the *betairia*.³⁴³ Even that some familiarity with Mytilenean politics is likely within and beyond Lesbos may be beside the point as the events mentioned are easily intelligible without detailed knowledge: it is not difficult to see the argument in fr.69 that even the Lydians, foreigners who are pointedly characterised as unbiased, sympathise with Alcaeus' cause.

Furthermore, Alcaeus appears to create a speaker and poetic biography recognisable to those outside the *betairia*, by repeatedly providing autobiographical details and a consistent attitude: a character. The creation of a character 'Alcaeus', overlapping with the biographical poet in details but ultimately embellished, is well paralleled in lyric,³⁴⁴ and is a reasonable way to control his image in the public arena, especially over a prolonged period or wide area. If Alcaeus' poems circulated more widely, people would be able to remember the basic outline of his biography and the issues of his group. Autobiographical details, whether common knowledge or not, are scattered throughout Alcaeus' oeuvre: fr.69 mentions that the Lydians gave them two thousand staters; fr.350, addressed to Alcaeus' brother, mentions Antimenidas' travels and feats with the Babylonians; and fr.129 explains the whole feud between the faction and Pittacus. Secondary audiences do not need to have been acquainted much with Alcaeus' poetry before being able to figure out the basic outline of this poetic biography, especially as Alcaeus appears to remind the audience of the salient points

³⁴² Asia Minor (e.g. fr. 306Ab, 306Ae, 306Af); possibly also Egypt (fr. 432), Boeotia (fr.306Ac, 325), and Thrace (fr.45).

³⁴³ The song is said by Plutarch's Thales to be sung by a hostess in Eresus. The interest may also be a result of the lasting popularity of Alcaeus.

³⁴⁴ See e.g. Slings 1990b, Morrison 2007: 36-102, Budelmann 2018a: 14-15, Budelmann 2018b.

if specific facts needed to be recalled.³⁴⁵ Thus we find the Lydian staters in fr.63 and 69, and possibly Antimenidas' Babylonian exploits in fr.48 and 350. A particularly striking reminder is fr.129, where the entire story of the faction is retold. Similar consistent authorial self-characterisation across poems can be observed elsewhere in archaic poetry, such as in the sexual narratives of Archilochus and Hipponax, which appear to feature the same characters (Lycambes and his daughters; Bupalus and Arete),³⁴⁶ and in Hesiod.³⁴⁷ Particularly close are Sappho's frequent mentions of, interactions with, and addresses to members of her circle (cf. e.g. fr.94-96) and family members (cf. the 'Newest Sappho').³⁴⁸

This character 'Alcaeus' goes further, composed not just of a series of events, but also of an attitude. The clearest is the third-person imperative, which he uses at fr.5, 70, and 129 in the political poems; Alcaeus exerts an atmosphere of authority mixed with despair at the present but hope for the future that comes from the 'come what may' attitude. Such imperiousness can also be seen in the way Pittacus' intelligence is always undercut as a back-handed compliment, as in ὁ δ' ὡς ἀλώπα[| ποικ[ι]λόφρων εὐμάρεα προλέξα[ι]c | ἤλπ[ε]το λάcην (fr.69.6-8) and especially in the anaphoric litotes of οὐ πάντ' ἦc ἄ[| οὐδ' ἄcύννετ[ο]c (fr.67.1-2). Alcaeus also adds to the authoritative persona with his frequent use of the first-person plural, and particularly the jussive subjunctive, which puts him in the rhetorical role of a passionate leader, such as at fr.6, 70, and 167.³⁴⁹ This passion is evident also in the sense of forthrightness that is cultivated by using more 'extreme' words, phrases, and constructions than the unmarked thought. For example, in

³⁴⁵ This seems preferable to the idea that the repeated subjects in the corpus are works of other *betairoi* performed in a sympotic chain (see below); how tedious would, say, fourteen poems in a row on Lydian staters be?

³⁴⁶ On the importance of narrative in iambic poetry: Bowie 2001. On stock characters and conventions: West 1974: 23-30, Nagy 1976. On the close relationship between fiction and biography: Carey 1986 (Archilochus and Lycambes), Miralles and Pörtulas 1988 (Hipponax), Rosen 1988 (Hipponax and Bupalus), Swift 2019: 3-4.

³⁴⁷ Hes. *Op.*11 referring to *Tb.*225. For other poets, see Morrison 2007: 45-67.

³⁴⁸ On the reconstruction of the stories behind Sappho's poetry about her friends and lovers, cf. recently, Ferrari 2010; on various reconstructions of stories about her family in her poetry: cf. Bierl and Lardinois 2016.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Iliadic leaders' use of the jussive subjunctive in calling for action (e.g. *Il.*3.94, 9.27, 112).

fr.332, Alcaeus does not simply exhort, but claims it is necessary, and not only to drink but also to get drunk and to do it with all one's might as well as universalising and generalising the celebration, which is contrasted with the death of the single person. Alcaeus' many names for Pittacus too such as ὠναίχυντος ἐπ[| μ[ι]cos ἄλιτρον (fr.68.5-6), and those in fr.429 are direct and visceral. Similarly, there is an emotiveness in sudden apostrophes to those who are absent; thus when the speaker says *cù δῆ τεαύταc* beginning a new stanza with this turn from the third-person, the target suddenly seems closer.

This consistency does not mean that the poet's attitude is uniform. In the context of confident authority, Alcaeus does not hold back from describing moments of his own weakness that contrasts sharply with the confidence and violence elsewhere. A poignant example is ἀσυν(ν)έτημι τῶν ἀνέμων cτάcιν (fr.208.1), which at least the modern reader of the surviving corpus of Alcaeus cannot help but compare with οὐδ' ἀcύννετ[ο]c (fr.67.2) used of Pittacus, and consider his self-awareness, though the relative chronology and whether the same audience heard both poems are uncertain. Better is fr.70: ll.2-5 appear to describe a shameful symposium with empty baggarts, which is followed by a mocking jibe at Pittacus and/or at the Penthilids by saying that he is married to the Atreids (l.6), the tone of which appears to be confirmed by the third-person imperative (δαπτέτω πόλιν, l.7) and which is continued by stating that this can only continue until Ares wishes to come to the *betairia's* aid (ll.8-9), a statement of great confidence. But in the following stanza, we learn that it is not only the city that is being feasted on, but the strife is 'heart-devouring' too (τὰc θυμοβόρω λύαc, l.10), in contrast to which one of the Olympians (even the lack of specificity may create a sense of helplessness) is giving κῦδος ἐπήρ[ατ]οῦ (l.13) to Pittacus, who is thus far from being mocked by Alcaeus' mock-epic elevation but is being glorified. All this reveals his earlier self-confidence to be a front.³⁵⁰

³⁵⁰ See further pp.298-305.

Two fragments contrast drastically with the characterisation elsewhere: fr.130a and 130b. Here, little hope is expressed by the speaker, except perhaps in the final verses (καπιπέτων | ἐχέπ[.] [.]α τεῖχος βασιλῆιον, fr.130a.14-15; ἀπὺ πόλλων πρότα δὴ θεοί, fr.130b.21); instead, the speaker is completely isolated. In fr.130b, the isolation is not only from the city and friends (cf. fr.130a.1: ἀχνιάσθημι κάκως. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φίλοι) but from people, citizenship, family, history, humanity, and masculinity.³⁵¹ These fragments have an even more isolating and shocking effect because of the usual persona cultivated by the poet.

The use of the first-person plural by the speaker seems to be an important element of the usual attitude of the speaker. While Alcaeus uses both the first-person singular and plural for the speaker, a large proportion of our surviving corpus of Alcaeus uses the plural, though this may be due to chance. The following table presents the use of the first-person in Alcaeus; in the plural, a distinction is made between the ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ plural, depending on whether the audience (with ‘you’-function pragmatically, despite not necessarily being the formal poem-internal addressee) is excluded from the referent of ‘we’ or not (e.g. due to naming of the specific addressees or the specificity and impossibility or unlikelihood of repetition of the situation).³⁵²

Fragment	Evidence	Notes
1 st -person singular fragments		
1	πεισομαι[, l.7	
37	ἔγωδα[, l.4	
38	ἔμοι, l.1	
39	με, l.3	
50	μοι, l.1 (reconstructed)	
58	ἔμεθεν, l.10; μ’, l.21; μοι, l.25	
75	μέ]μναιμ’, l.7; οἶδα, l.9	
112	ἐπεύ[χο]μαι, l.21	
117b	ἔγω, ἔχω, l.22	Spurious
119	τά]ρβημι, l.15	Spurious
122	μ’, ll.3, 6	Spurious
124	βιάω, l.7	Spurious

³⁵¹ See further pp.90-92.

³⁵² On ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ first-person plurals of the linguistic person and pronouns as ‘moi+vous’ and ‘moi+eux’ and the importance of inclusion or exclusion of ‘vous’, Benveniste 1966: 233-235. Most non-Indo-European languages mark such plurals morphologically or lexically; an interesting case is Korean (Lim 2018).

130a	ἀχνιάσδημι, 1.1	
130b	ἔγω | ζῶω, 11.3-4; ἔγω, 1.8; ἀπελήλαμαι, 1.8; εἰκόησα, 1.10; μ', 1.15; οἴκημι, 1.16	
148	πλά]σδομ', 1.4	
208	ἀσυν(ν)έτημι, 1.1; με, 1.13	
305a	κᾶμοι, 1.14	
344	οἶδ', 1.1	
367	ἐπαίον, 1.1	
368	κέλομαι, 1.1; ἔμοιγε, 1.2	
374	με, 1.1; λίσσομαι, 1.1	
375	ἔγω μὲν οὐ δέω	
377	μ'	
378	ἔμ' αὐτῶι παλαμάσομαι	
380	ἔπετον	
439	Πιτάνη εἰμί	
1 st -person plural inclusive		
6	ἄμμι, 1.2;] ὀμεθ', 1.4; φαρξώμεθ', 1.7; καταισχύνωμεν, 1.13	
48	ἄμμι, 1.17	
66	ἄμμα, 1.8	
69	ἄμμ', 1.3; δυνάμεθ', 1.3	
70	λαθοίμεθ' [, 1.9; χαλάσσομεν, 1.10	
76	]ν[ο]ρθώθημε[, 1.14	
129	ἀμμετέρα[ς], 1.10; ἀπώμνυμεν, 1.14; ἄμμι, 1.24	
140	ὑπὰ τῶργον ἔσταμεν, 1.16	
167	ἐρύσσομεν, 1.20	
179	ἀμμέων[, 1.74	
207	]ίκοίμεθα[, 1.8	
335	προκόψομεν, 1.2	
346	πώνωμεν, 1.1; ὀμμένομεν, 1.1	
352	πώνωμεν, 1.1	
353	ἀμμέων, 1.1	
1 st -person plural exclusive		
38	ἀβάσομεν, 1.11	
43?	νῶ, 1.1	νῶ=νοῦ?
58	φειδόμεθ', 1.3;] ὕσαμεν, 1.17	inclusive?
73	ἄμμες, 1.11	inclusive?
208	φορήμ<μ>εθα, 1.4	
305	ἄμμε, 1.22	

Table 4: Uses of the First Person in Alcaeus

27 fragments use the first-person singular, 15 fragments the first-person inclusive plural, and potentially 6 fragments with the first-person exclusive plural. In contrast, in our Sapphic corpus, the first-person singular dominates and the first-person plural appears to be largely exclusive.

Notably, fr.130a, 130b, and fr.208 are the only securely political fragments (of those that preserve more than scraps) using the first-person singular, while the first-person plural is used in the other securely political fragments (fr.6, 69, 70, 129, 140). All three first-person singular fragments of Alcaeus appear to make a point of isolation and helplessness. In contrast, the six political fragments in the first-person plural appear to create a sense of leadership, not only by giving orders, but also by giving voice to (and assuming the voice of) the group. The latter point is particularly clear in fr.140, where the vivid ecphrasis of the great house is presented in the third-person, as if it were an objective description, to be capped at the end with τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ' that implies that it is the group's perception and the speaker speaks for the group.

The focus has been on political fragments, but the Alcaean corpus preserves many fragments where the symposium is the theme without recognisable political references. Here, the analysis is hindered by the fact that most non-political poetry of Alcaeus is preserved in a worse state, usually one or two lines. A little hint of similar treatment in non-political poetry might be gleaned from the (possibly) non-political fr.71: the two-line fragment provides an image of earlier generosity which sets up the sense of betrayal just as in fr.129 but is addressed to a former beloved, according to the scholion. If we trust the scholion, this fragment might be thought to show a similar attitude of authority and occupying the moral high ground (οὕτω τοῦτο νομίδεται, l.2).

A consistent self-characterisation of the speaker thus paints the speaker 'Alcaeus' as a man of authority, conviction, and passion who speaks for his *betairia*.³⁵³ The speaker is thus humanised by the use of these multiple aspects of personhood that deepen the biography. However, he adopts at least one other persona. In fr.10, the speaker is a woman. Indeed, if Hephaestion, Herodian, and a scholion to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* did not all attribute the fragment to Alcaeus, scholars would be tempted to ascribe it to Sappho. Given how remarkable it would be for the Alexandrians to have attributed a poem with a female first-person singular speaker to Alcaeus instead of Sappho,

³⁵³ This need not mean he was also the political leader.

fr.10 was probably thought by at least by the Alexandrians to be by Alcaeus. One is left to ponder whether Alcaeus is using grammatical form to indicate the assumption of the voice of a character other than ‘himself’, or whether another’s poem entered the Alcaean corpus. If the former, how many voices or characters can Alcaeus assume? Can Alcaeus only assume another voice if that voice is female (the only obvious grammatical differentiator), or can he assume the voice of other men?³⁵⁴ If the latter,³⁵⁵ when a poem with a speaker who is ostensibly not identifiable with the poet can end up in the corpus, do the authorship of fragments in the corpus and the judgement of ancient editors appear less authoritative?

These questions pose a further question: just how much of our Alcaean corpus is securely by Alcaeus? An obvious division for our Alcaean corpus is: (1) fragments with contemporary or political references, and (2) fragments without contemporary or political references. The former group contains clear references to specific people and events (far more explicitly than in the *Theognidea*, to the extent that the major events of Alcaeus’ *hetairia* could be pieced together from the poetry) while the latter lack chronological anchors. Recently, Colesanti argued for a Theognidean corpus where the other symposiasts of the *hetairia* of Theognis are all poets in their own right, all of them submerged by Theognis, and that the collections of other lyric poets are similarly composed.³⁵⁶ In this reasoning, it is possible that the group of fragments with contemporary or political references too are of uncertain authorship – that is, that these fragments are the works of Alcaeus and his *hetairia*; with Alcaeus named explicitly only once (fr.401Ba=fr.428LP), it is impossible to prove that Alcaeus was the author of the whole group of poetry. However, the poetic biography and consistent attitude of the speaker in the political fragments make it more likely that most of this group of poetry should be attributed to a single poet.

³⁵⁴ The questions, posed already by Dover 1964: 208-211, who also points to Archilochus fr.19 and 122, and Anacreon 376, 378, and 385, remain relevant today.

³⁵⁵ This is a small step from Page’s suggestion in Dover 1964: 214 that fr.10 and Anacreon *PMG* 385 ‘were in fact recited by women and written for that purpose’ (presumably by Alcaeus).

³⁵⁶ Colesanti 2014: 101-102.

The group of poetry without contemporary or political references is much less fixed as the fragments cannot be dated. Even some poems with proper names may be part of this group, e.g. fr.38: although Melanippus, the addressee in fr.38, is mentioned by Herodotus (5.95.2) as the addressee of the poem in which Alcaeus names himself (fr.401Ba=fr.428LP), the name could have been reused from the Alcaean tradition. Such an explanation could also be appropriate for the repetition of the phrases in different poems, e.g. τὸ γὰρ ἄκτρον περιτέλλεται (fr.347.1, 352), which could be due to the fluid memory and reworkings of poets in this tradition. It should be noted that this group of poems largely consist of poems with specific references to the symposium and its activities.³⁵⁷ Perhaps this group should be considered akin to Lesbian *carmina convivalia*. However, this group is particularly badly preserved and firm conclusions should be avoided.

Fr.10 could then be considered in the group of poetry without contemporary or political references, thus limiting the question of intrusions of other poets into the corpus to this group of poems, but the female voice is still remarkable. This female voice is markedly different from the usual Alcaean persona: she herself is characterised in animal terms and she is mad. The accusative of exclamation, which with δειλός is only found in hymns and ritual laments (e.g. Call. *Hymn* 5.89; Bion, *Adonis* 28) or at points of high emotion (e.g. Ar. *Av.*1269), especially with the dramatic anaphora, makes for a very emotional, almost melodramatic opening, which creates an air of incongruous drama by the hyperbolic use of epic language in μόρος αἴσχ[ρο]ς (l.3) and epic imagery with the deer in l.5. We can compare the dramatic complaint about the speaker's misfortunes in love with ὦμ' ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν (Sappho fr.94.4), the link between love and death with τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω (Sappho fr.94.1), the talk of pains with Sappho fr.1.3, 63.3; the talk of being maddened with μαινόλαι θυμῶι (Sappho fr.18), and the physicality of feeling with καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαιεν and τρόμος δὲ | παῖσαν ἄγρει (Sappho fr.31.6,

³⁵⁷ Hymns also sometimes lack contemporary or political references in our corpus (e.g. fr.34, 307, 308, 325), but these are also incomplete.

13-14). If fr.10 is by Alcaeus, such close parallels between our knowledge of love poetry in the female tradition alongside such identifiably epic elements may suggest a parodic tone here in a playful reimagining of female poetry by the poet.

To return to characterisation, consistent characters are not limited to ‘Alcaeus’. Pittacus is presented in a consistent manner throughout the surviving fragments of Alcaeus as an overly clever sweet-talker (οὐδ’ ἄκκύνετ[ο]ς, fr.67.2; ποικ[ι]λόφρων εὐμάρεια προλέξα[ι]ς, fr.69.7-6; οὐ διελέξατο | πρὸς θῦμον, fr.129.21-22), compared to an animal (ὡς ἄλώπα[ι], fr.69.6; δαπτέτω, fr.70.7 (sim. fr.129.23), fr.433), and associated with shameful deeds and people (ἄείκεια, fr.5.10?; τίς τῶν κ[α]κοπατρίδαν, fr.67.4 (sim. fr.75.12); ὠναίχυντος, fr.68.5; μ[ι]τος ἄλιτρον, fr.68.6; φιλώνων πεδ’ ἄλεμ[άτων, fr.70.4), excess, harsh punishment (πραυλάβολον, fr.68.3 (sim. fr.298.1-3); fr.143?; fr.298), and darkness (νύκτι [...]ὄνῶρινε νύκτας, fr.72.5, 9; fr.74; exemplum in fr.298; ζοφοδοπίδαν, fr.429). This characterisation of Pittacus is also used as foil: in fr.69, the two-faced fox-like Pittacus is contrasted with the Lydians, who are presented as trusting and simple (fr.69.5-6), while on a broader scale, the implication is that Alcaeus is the opposite of all that Pittacus is (a straight-talking, rational, moderate, righteous man).

Alcaeus’ ‘dunkle Stellen’, then, may not be so dark; they are important constituents of Alcaeus’ multi-layered poetic biography. The speaker is made identifiable by the biographical details, political events, and personality (from tone to attitude), which are repeated whenever required and form the basis of contrasts in poems set in different circumstances. The inclusion of personality in the biography seems particularly important as a humanising and relatable factor.

4.2.2. Alcaeus and the Book

The use of writing in the transmission of poetry in the archaic period is controversial. Rösler admits that there may have been a written record of Alcaeus’ poetry near his lifetime and that it may have formed the basis of later texts, but he assumes this did not play a major role in its dissemination as

it was an oral society.³⁵⁸ However, Rösler goes further. He argues that Alcaeus cannot have imagined a wider audience, denying Alcaeus' familiarity with Archilochus and with other lyricists' desire for posthumous fame, in contrast to the *kleos*-conscious hexameter bards. This is unsatisfactory. The most striking case is the shield-poem, fr.401B (=428 L-P), whose links with Archilochus fr.5 Rösler denies because the details are not all identical.³⁵⁹ However, the situation and tone are unmistakably the same. Nor is quotation of non-hexametric poetry unparalleled outside hexameters in this period, as Solon fr.20-21 reworking Mimnermus shows.³⁶⁰ Even more difficult to accept is his claim that Sappho does not expect her poetry to be admired by posterity but only that they will remember that there once was a poet called Sappho,³⁶¹ despite fr.55, 65, 147, 193.³⁶² Indeed, most archaic lyric poets appear to present a 'poetics of permanence', envisioning their song living on forever.³⁶³

To turn to constructive evidence, Alcaeus' poetry *did* spread beyond the *betairia*. This suggests that the *betairia* was, or rather that the symposia at which Alcaeus sang were, not completely exclusive. Otherwise, how could his poetry end up outside it? The obvious answer is that Alcaeus' symposia had a greater audience than his *betairia*. Since Rösler, scholars have

³⁵⁸ Rösler 1980: 45-56. For an overview of writing and poetry in the archaic period: Herington 1985: 45-50, 201-210; Pöhlmann 1990: 18-23; Tedeschi 2015. Regarding Lesbos, the earliest inscription dates possibly from the end of the seventh century (*IG XII Suppl.* p.23, 64), while papyrus, the probable writing material for the libraries of Polycrates and of Pisistratus (Athenaeus 1.3a) and attested on vases from c.500 BC, could have been imported from Naucratis. Writing down poetry is nothing new, as ceramic evidence shows (evidence usefully gathered in Powell 1991).

³⁵⁹ Rösler 1980: 110-111.

³⁶⁰ See Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 399-402 for Solon's creation of new poetry through referencing here. Cf. also Simonides 542.11-13 referencing Pittacus; similarly, Alcaeus fr.360.

³⁶¹ Rösler 1980: 72-75.

³⁶² E.g. West 1970: 315. See now Spelman 2018: 155-162.

³⁶³ Spelman 2018: esp. 146-171 and *passim*. Perhaps the most obvious and notorious example of poetic expectation of permanence is the *sphragis* of Theognis, where concerns of plagiarism and poetic immortality go together but clearly assume a culture of repeating old songs alongside new; similarly in EGHP, Telemachus' comment τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, | ἢ τις ἀκούοντες νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται (*Od.*1.351-352) suggests an appetite for new songs alongside established ones.

considered Alcaeus' audience as a closed group at 'private' symposia held in 'private' locations. But we ignore other kinds of symposia beside those of friends in domestic *andrones* or in rented *andrones* at sanctuaries.³⁶⁴ Indeed, Mytileneans probably had banquets as a citizenry:³⁶⁵ Καφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαινεῖ ὡς οἰνοχοοῦντα ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις (Athenaeus 10.425a). Assuming Athenaeus is not inventing the instances where Sappho often (πολλαχοῦ) mentions Larichus pouring wine in the prytaneum, we should seriously consider Alcaeus performing at least some songs there, where, presumably, those who were not part of his *betairia* (*betairoi* of the faction) were also his fellow symposiasts (*betairoi* of the banquet). Even with domestic symposia, while it seems unlikely that an outright enemy (e.g. Myrsilus or Pittacus) would have attended,³⁶⁶ there is no reason to exclude those in Alcaeus' broader social circle, who in turn could have reperformed Alcaeus' songs at other symposia.

Similarly, Alcaeus may have attended symposia in exile (cf. e.g. fr.130a-b), at homes and cities of guest-friends, who might reperform his songs. Aelian's anecdote about Solon asking his nephew to teach him a song of Sappho (Strabo, *Flor.* 3.29.58) perhaps records the kind of transmission involved. Such transmission seems politically valuable; as I suggest below, Alcaeus' political poetry aims to persuade, and it is much more useful to persuade others (to join the faction, gain wider sympathy, prejudice them against his enemies, grant financial support, be new guest-friends) than to preach to the converted. In addition to possible performances at non-Lesbian symposia,³⁶⁷ it has also been suggested that Alcaeus may have composed poetry for participation

³⁶⁴ Further, not all symposia took place in *andrones*, but outside too, though we cannot press this too far for Alcaeus (despite Cazzato 2016).

³⁶⁵ Such public commensality has been described as 'mark of belonging to the citizen group' (Schmitt-Pantel 1990: 24; cf. Schmitt-Pantel 1992).

³⁶⁶ At least, people who are clearly not on Alcaeus' side are also addressed, possibly with a plea to settle differences: fr.305a.

³⁶⁷ Bowie 2009: 118-122, with fr.347 and 325 at Boeotian symposia, fr.307 at Delphic symposium (or festival), fr.45 in Aenus (already Fränkel 1944: 293-294; see p.249-250), fr.140 in an unspecified *andron*.

at *agones musikoi*, especially in Delphi, possibly on tour.³⁶⁸ Presumably, Alcaeus' poetry became popular not only because of its high quality, but also because of the relatability of the experiences he depicts in his poetry throughout Greece, since he became a staple that was then taught in symposia and schools with the aid of written records.

Another possibility is diffusion in writing from a very early date during or close to Alcaeus' lifetime.³⁶⁹ This could explain how, after four centuries, ten books, probably totalling 10,000-12,000 lines, about the length of the *Iliad* but in different metres and a less widely used dialect, could survive without dedicated performers (e.g. rhapsodes for epic poetry). It seems important to point out that significant amounts of poetry from the seventh century on, when alphabetic writing was becoming more common, were preserved for the Alexandrians to produce multivolume editions of individual poets, while earlier poets remain but names. Much of Chris Carey's arguments for an early written text of Alcman applies to Alcaeus. He notes:

'By the end of the fourth century there must have been complete texts of Alcman (and all the other lyric poets) available in Athens, since the scholars of the Lyceum needed texts to consult; we do not imagine that they worked from memory. It is unlikely that these texts arose from the transcription of a previously circulating oral library. Oral dictated texts may make sense in the context of a consolidated epic narrative such as the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*; but this is a less plausible model for the consolidation and editing of the scattered songs of a whole host of lyric poets.'³⁷⁰

He therefore concludes that the continuous tradition of performing maiden songs in Sparta 'required a textual base, given the scale of Alcman's corpus' and that 'Alcman's poems were

³⁶⁸ Rutherford 2001: 27. Bowie 2009: 120-121 suggests the *Pythia* (from the time of year) and points out that overseas wandering makes sense for Alcaeus during Pittacus' rule, conventionally 589-579 BC, and that the reorganisation of the *Pythia* for a major *agon musikos* appears to have happened in 586 BC.

³⁶⁹ Bolling 1961: 152; Liberman 1999: xxxvi.

³⁷⁰ Carey 2011: 454.

preserved in Sparta; and they were probably preserved as text', which was the ultimate source of the Alexandrian texts, beside excerpted segments preserved in parallel in symposiastic performance.³⁷¹ This does not mean that it was necessarily written down early; but the surprising infrequency of textual corruptions in our papyri of Alcaeus, especially considering the dialect may point to an early Lesbian textual preservation,³⁷² while excerpts of Alcaeus were preserved in Attic symposia, as attested by Aristophanes and the Attic skolia.³⁷³ The Theognidean collection may be an appropriate parallel if we accept Hubbard's attractive argument that the *sphragis* elegy and ll.805-810 concerning the *theoros* to the Delphic oracle presuppose a written text and that the *sphragis* elegy shows an intent for widespread dissemination.³⁷⁴ Unfortunately, this matter remains unresolved. In this case, if Alcaeus' poetry was preserved in writing in his lifetime, it is difficult to see why it would not be used for dissemination on some level. If it was preserved soon after his death, it suggests dissemination beyond the *hetairia* (now defunct) and widespread demand during his lifetime, since it is difficult to imagine an 'official' record of the poetry of a losing party and it is unlikely that Mytilene would provide it protection from textual 'submersion'.³⁷⁵

While it cannot be proved that Alcaeus' poetry was preserved in writing close to his lifetime or demonstrated exactly how it was disseminated, my discussion has shown that dissemination

³⁷¹ Carey 2011: 456.

³⁷² The dialect and numerous metres, in combination with the partisan content, make a prolonged purely oral preservation like for the *Rigveda*, which further has the advantage of being a sacred text, less attractive.

³⁷³ E.g. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1232-1235 for Alcaeus fr.141; *PMG* 891 for Alcaeus fr.249.6-9, with telling textual variance. Similarly, it is difficult to imagine that so many poems were preserved for the Alexandrians through a tradition of 'concert odes' performed at festivals (as suggested by Nagy 2007).

³⁷⁴ Hubbard 2007. It would be an even better parallel if Theognis' dates were secure; the most convincing dates for Theognis are c.600-560 BC (Lane Fox 2000: 40), though other opinions include the second half of the seventh century (West 1974: 65-71) and a tradition spanning 640-479 (Cobb-Stevens et al. 1985: 1).

³⁷⁵ For submersion: Rossi 2000, Colesanti and Giordano 2014. Because Alcaeus is a political loser, his situation is different from Solon's, for whom we could imagine an early fixed text reflecting the interest of the *polis* (e.g. for the sake of civic performance: Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 45-55). Similarly, the sort of civic protection of Alcman's works envisioned by Carey 2011 cannot be expected for Alcaeus. Therefore, the options are texts preserved by Alcaeus' family and his supporters, or wider diffusion.

beyond Alcaeus' *betairia* is not only necessary to explain the current state of preservation but also probably assumed and targeted by the poet.

4.3. Performance and Reperformance

What is gained by Alcaeus envisioning reperformance already during composition? I suggest that Alcaeus' rhetoric and use of emotions reveal a persuasive tendency that attempts to manipulate an intended wider audience, and that Alcaeus' poetry shows an awareness of the potential for reperformance through world-building, as explored in Chapter 3, and in the inclusiveness of his pronoun-positioning, as investigated above. Alcaeus attempts to persuade his audience, which Alcaeus need not do with his *betairia*,³⁷⁶ in many ways, some widespread in Greek, such as extended mythological exempla (e.g. fr.42, 298), or proverbial or rhetorically authoritative pithy aphorisms (e.g. fr.333, 339, 341, 364), and others less widespread, such as by epistolarity and manipulation of emotions. The following will focus on this second group of persuasive strategies.

Instead of participating in the debate about the existence of literary epistles in this period, often the chief concern of commentators on fr.130b due to the isolation of the speaker (ἄγνος τοῖς βίοτοις; ἐσχατίαις) and by comparison with fr.401Ba, Herodotus 5.95, and Archilochus fr.185 and 89,³⁷⁷ it seems more fruitful to consider it as being in an epistolary mode.³⁷⁸ Epistolarity

³⁷⁶ Stehle 1997: 217 claims that 'the very existence of the *betairia* depends on its members' continuing to prize their *philia* (friendship) with one another above competing allegiances, for no external structure maintains it. Each member must be persuaded that the goals of the group are his also. Each must therefore articulate his loyalty and his worthiness to be part of the group so that mutual trust is constantly reaffirmed.' However, for Alcaeus, the *betairia* was already persuaded that the goals of the group were the goals of individuals also and was bound by an oath (fr.129.14-20), and thus these *betairoi* came together in just the sorts of 'difficult times' in which Theognis warns *betairoi* abandon friends (e.g. 79-82)). In Classical Athens, the betrayal of the *betairia's philia* could even be portrayed as treacherous as parricide: Andoc. 1.67 (Burkert 1993: 184). Pittacus' betrayal must be a singular, unforeseen event.

³⁷⁷ Bowra 1961: 145; Rösler 1980: 272; Liberman 1999: xxvi, 63; Tsomis 2001: 188. The epistolary character of the Archilochus fragments is uncertain (Burzacchini 1986: 374 n.6), Strabo's formulation λέγει δὲ πρὸς τινα κήρυκα, κελεύσας ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ (fr.401Ba) suggests that fr.401Ba was part of a longer poetic narrative, and Herodotus seems to have extrapolated from such a poem that Alcaeus sent a poem back home. Furthermore, poems are unlikely to have been Alcaeus' main medium of communication from exile.

³⁷⁸ For 'mode', see Fowler 1982.

is ‘the use of the letter’s formal properties to create meaning’,³⁷⁹ but works ‘that at first appear not to be epistolary may in fact create meaning through the literary structures particular to the letter or letter form.’³⁸⁰ Of six representative properties of letters,³⁸¹ the polar dimensions of bridge-barrier, *confidence-non-confidence* (i.e. emotional investment), writer-reader (i.e. speaker-audience), and I-you/here-there are highly appropriate in our fragment. In fr.130b, Alcaeus bridges the distance between the isolated speaker and the addressee, creates a sense of *confidence* (ὁ πάλαις ἔγω), and sets up an I-you relationship in the address (ὦ Ἀγεσιλαΐδα), and here-there state in (μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγροῖωτίκην, | ἡμέρων ἀγοράς ἄκουσαι). With the speaker’s unfulfillable desire (present ἡμέρων), complaining about the past (ll.7-8), denigrating fellow citizens (l.7), and talking about his disgrace (ἀγροῖωτίκην), Alcaeus further creates a sense of intimacy, either allowing the audience to take the place of Agesilaidas or feel the effect of eavesdropping. This intimacy in turn produces an atmosphere of sincerity akin to the effect in Sappho fr.94 of eavesdropping on an emotional conversation between lovers, and in Sappho fr.31 of hearing the speaker’s emotions, and thereby makes the speaker’s version of events in fr.130b appear highly trustworthy.³⁸²

Further, the performance context seems unclear. The location of the speaker is clearly the sanctuary at Messon since we have reference to the *kallisteia* (ll.17-20), but the audience is unimaginable: the speaker claims he settled alone in that place (ἐνθα[δ’] οἶος εὐόκησα, l.10), so the original context seems unlikely to be a symposium of his *betairoi* (cf. similarly οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φίλοι, fr.130a.1), and the unflattering presentation of his locale makes a symposium at his guest-friend’s unattractive, though we can account for rhetorical exaggeration. Whatever the original context, this poem seems at its most effective in reperformance with fellow symposiasts singing these plights of exile in one symposium after another, and the poem’s themes resonating with

³⁷⁹ Altman 1982: 4.

³⁸⁰ Altman 1982: 4.

³⁸¹ Altman 1982: 196-7.

³⁸² The idea of trust is important in lyric, as the audience depends entirely on the speaker for information (Budelmann 2018b: 240-241); fr.130b just takes this further.

different types of audiences from those sympathetic to Alcaeus' cause, those opposed to him (with an element of Schadenfreude?), to those beyond Lesbos suffering or having suffered exile throughout the archaic and classical period.

Another exile fragment, fr.129, persuades in a different way. The logic is simple (let the Furies pursue Pittacus since we swore an oath and he broke it) but the amount of detail enables the audience to reach the conclusion on their own. We should note here that Alcaeus exploits the cletic hymnic discourse: it rhetorically endows the speaker's version of events with trustworthiness (as an address to gods), it makes the retelling of the past, which is used to remind the audience of the events or tell a more ignorant audience the events (details unnecessary for Alcaeus' *betairia*) or provide an alternative version, structurally natural, and it makes the change in tone at l.21 (φύσσω), a pivot in the poem, stand out by creating even greater distance between the polite, ceremonial register for divinities and the scopic, colloquial register.³⁸³

Furthermore, Alcaeus manipulates emotions in this poem alongside the persuasive rhetoric. Modern research in psychology refers, rather than to emotions themselves, to 'emotional episodes' ('the story of an emotional event')³⁸⁴ that 'begin with cognitions – perceptions of (or thoughts about) a situation – and our interpretations of them, frequently called the "antecedent conditions"'.³⁸⁵ In effect, if Sappho fr.31 shows emotion by describing the physiological and sensorial effects of emotion, Alcaeus provides antecedent conditions (such as by narration of the past events from the victim's perspective) to induce emotion (indignation from l.21 onwards). Thus for fr.129, if ll.21-24 are the climax, ll.1-20 (a narration about the sacredness of the precinct and the oath that the

³⁸³ Yatromanolakis 2008: 174-181 rightly notes that words like φύσσω are part of the sociolect of Alcaeus' group which incorporates different but complementary types of discourses such as prayer, curse, oath, and political abuse, and that thus such words are not 'stylistically dissonant to the members of the *betairia*' (179). However, this should not distract from the shift in the type of discourse and that the transition appears to be purposefully sudden and rough to give this change a greater emotive effect.

³⁸⁴ Parrott 1991: 4.

³⁸⁵ Sanders 2014: 2. On scripts and emotional episodes, see e.g. Shaver et al. 1987, Frijda 2008, Niedenthal 2008.

group swore) serve as the cognitive antecedent conditions, which are triggered by the breaking of the oath (κῆνων ὁ φύσκειν οὐ διελέξατο, l.21) to let forth the emotional climax of the present (l.23). The cognitive processes behind recognising injustice and breaking divine laws, far from demanding strict logical argument from the audience, are potent conditions for a variety of emotions from envy to indignation. The narration and its suggestion of treachery themselves are insufficient logically to persuade that Pittacus is either acting immorally or devouring the city,³⁸⁶ but the carefully cultivated inclusiveness of the first-person plural and of the idea of community (ll.1-8), contrasting with the singular de-humanised Pittacus, allows audiences of all kinds to identify emotionally with the speaker. Further, as Alcaeus controls every aspect of the narration, he can channel the audience towards the intended emotional state by leading it through the necessary experiences.³⁸⁷ Therefore, I suggest that Alcaeus' use of emotion is motivated by the purpose of his political poems to persuade others of his perspective.

These arguments do not suggest that Alcaeus did not compose for the *betairia*, but that, as well as for his *betairia*, Alcaeus composed for a wider audience, who were perhaps his most desired audience, and adapted the transmission of his poetry for his political ends. The most obvious rhetorical quality of his political poems is persuasiveness, which is unnecessary for his *betairia* but much more useful for a wider, as yet unconvinced audience beyond his *betairia*.³⁸⁸

The effectiveness of the poems' transferability is therefore crucial. I showed in Chapter 3 how Alcaeus creates an immersive world, and how Alcaeus often shifted temporally and spatially between text-worlds.³⁸⁹ Such detailed world-creation of spaces and times are similarly effective in reperformance, especially with Alcaeus' use of emotional immersion. A narratological perspective is helpful here. The combination of the first-person singular speaker with an overt narratee

³⁸⁶ Hutchinson 2001: 202.

³⁸⁷ For an ancient perspective on such emotional manipulation, cf. e.g. Lys. 1.28.

³⁸⁸ This is not to deny the effect of reinforcement or religiously charged exhortation for Alcaeus' *betairoi*.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Hutchinson 2018.

(Agesilaidas) in fr.130b creates the effect of the audience eavesdropping on (one side of) the dialogue between the speaker and his addressee that does not lose its effectiveness when reperformed in producing a sense of trustworthiness of the information or privacy implied in a one-on-one conversation between friends. In most other fragments, Alcaeus has a first-person plural inclusive narrator; this 'we' creates a rhetorical scenario where the audience is implied to be both one of the narrator's first-person plural and the covert narratee. Such is the case in fr.6 or 338, where the audience is implicated in the actions that the speaker urges; these, again, do not lose their rhetorical effectiveness when reperformed with different, extra-*betairia* audiences. In situations like fr.69 or 129, where 'we' is perhaps specifically of the *betairia*, the covert narratee still allows the poems to be effective with extra-*betairia* audiences by creating a sense of eavesdropping on a closed conversation or of being told of the *betairia*'s actions in a dialogue.

Further, there is always an element of fiction even in 'original' performance. Especially in poems of the 'let us drink' type, the scene often does not seem 'real': are the symposiasts not drinking until such a poem has been sung? An extreme example is fr.347, whose fictionality of the scene draws attention as the reworking of Hesiod's *Op.*582-587. Similarly, fr.346 and 338, whose settings, while vivid, are generic and conventional, and poems with single addressees, if they are sung at symposia, artificially create a sense of intimacy between the speaker and audience as it immerses itself into the position of the single addressee. Thus, one does not expect Melanippus to be alone with the speaker in fr.38a, nor Agesilaidas in fr.130b. The conventions of such poetry already incorporate fictive situations for the speaker and audience without diminishing the rhetorical effect of the language.

Let us now focus on the effects created by reperformance, and moments where Alcaeus hints at reperformance. Alcaeus' poetry contains many deictics, which, as a 'shifter' (a word with the property of having a different meaning depending on the situation),³⁹⁰ would often have

³⁹⁰ In the sense employed by e.g. Jakobson 1971, who limits it to deictics (in contrast to the wider application by e.g. Jespersen, who includes certain common nouns).

different referents in reperformance. The most striking change is the one in performer. Since most of Alcaeus' poetry appears to have a first-person speaker-narrator, a change in performer creates a strange effect. The first person is different from other shifters in not requiring demonstration,³⁹¹ with Benveniste arguing that the first person has no object reference but only with reference with locution:

Je ne peut être défini qu'en termes de "locution", non en termes d'objets, comme l'est un signe nominal. *Je* signifie "la personne qui énonce la présente instance de discours contenant *je*". Instance unique par définition, et valable seulement dans son unicité.³⁹²

A reperformer, then, performatively becomes the poet's speaker. In contrast to most of the first-person poetry in the *Theognidea*, which (usually) by its lack of specific and identifiable local, temporal, and personal details makes the identification of reperformer and author seamless and neither the poet's nor the re-performer's identity need be more prominent, the strong identity of Alcaeus' speaker and the specifics complicate identification of re-performer and author.³⁹³ The re-performer takes on the identity of Alcaeus' speaker and experiences the poetry *as* Alcaeus' speaker, just as an actor in a play 'becomes' the character played.

This strong multiple identity of the reperformer perhaps creates a much more direct relationship between the poet and his secondary audiences, collapsing not only the spatio-temporal distance with the techniques discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, but also the distance in identity between Alcaeus' speaker and performers.³⁹⁴ The effect is stronger than in (non-interactive) drama as the audience is so often deictically incorporated into the poetic world through the use of 'we' (and

³⁹¹ Parret 1980: 97. However, the first person can be an indexical in certain situations (Urban 1989).

³⁹² Benveniste 1966: 252. For greater detail and broader view of the personal pronoun's referentiality: Bhat 2007: 37-46.

³⁹³ It is no accident that Alcaean lines excerpted as *skolia* or as *sententiae* are lines that do not have such specifics.

³⁹⁴ Cf. the dual identity of actors and their characters in Greek tragedy: Lada-Richards 2002. On metalepsis more broadly in Greek tragedy: Whitmarsh 2013.

through the narration of the *betairia*'s activities) and hence cast into the role of Alcaeus' *betairoi*. Further, the effect is not limited to the audience's experience of the poetry, but also concerns the reperformer. Scholars, not just in Classics but in literary studies in general,³⁹⁵ have often focused on the audience/reader of lyric as the imagined addressee, but have neglected the reperformer, who 'becomes Alcaeus' not only for the audience,³⁹⁶ but also, to an extent, cognitively for themselves.³⁹⁷ Although 'anonymous' poetry might be suitable for a greater number of reperformances,³⁹⁸ the effect of political poetry experienced as Alcaeus may be part of another persuasive strategy.

Finally, there are moments that show an awareness of reperformance in Alcaeus. The most obvious is fr.6, which points to the past (αὖτε) and the future (παρέξει). As has been shown for δηῦτε in erotic contexts,³⁹⁹ αὖτε here appears to bring the sense of endless repetition of the same scenario, which may also be seen as an acknowledgement of the pre-existence always already of past performance or 'preperformance',⁴⁰⁰ of the poem, the situation, and the imagery. A different kind of reperformance can be found in fr.129 where the speaker reports the oath that the group took in *oratio obliqua*, in effect performing the oath again, but with a new target this time.

Slightly different is the repetition of subject matter and of imagery. In Nunns' recent treatment of this subject, she writes:

'Interpretation is an act, involving poet and audience, in which meaning is communicated and received and made relevant to its receivers. When there is a

³⁹⁵ E.g. Culler 2015: 186-243.

³⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. Ion as the 'best rhapsode in Greece' (Pl. *Ion* 541b) and as 'Homer' in performance.

³⁹⁷ On actors' empathy with characters from both Stanislavskian and cognitive perspectives, cf. Blair 2009 and Kemp 2012: Chapters 5-6.

³⁹⁸ Unlike poems with contemporary references; a similar division of effects may be found in Sappho, where poems with references to specific individuals require the re-performer to re-live 'Sappho', while poems such as fr.31 allow for a much broader application.

³⁹⁹ Mace 1993.

⁴⁰⁰ For 'preperformance': Budelmann 2017, especially 47-49.

strong familiarity between audience and poet, additional layers of symbolism and association might attach themselves to words, phrases and images. [...] Images in Alcaeus' poetry ask an audience to 'see' something and, when those images recur, a well-primed audience might also be expected to 'see between the lines' and infer more than is given at face-value. [...] The visual aspects of Alcaeus' poetry would therefore be a powerful vehicle for manipulating layers of meaning as understood by a group.⁴⁰¹

Consequently, she argues for the interpretation of the 'ship poems' (fr.6, 73, 208) as a group of poems related by the similar imagery.⁴⁰² Although she envisions this audience as Alcaeus' *betairia*, if the dissemination of Alcaeus regularly went beyond his *betairia*, the same expectation for the audience to 'see' something in this imagery would exist in this larger audience that is familiar with his oeuvre. Thus, while the order of poems may be unclear, the repeated use of the ship metaphor in the political context suggests that Alcaeus was engaging with his own earlier imagery as if it were common knowledge and already made famous by reperformance, thereby acknowledging earlier performance and dissemination of his own works.

4.4. Controlling the Narrative

In socio-pragmatic terms, the persuasive strategies and repeated narration of political events from the poet's perspective suggest an attempt to create a narrative for the audience that is more persuasive than the audience's own. Neither extra-institutional politics nor the use of poetry is unparalleled. For the latter, Solon's use of poetry and theatricality may have allowed circumvention of the law on not speaking about Salamis and even the resumption of the Salaminian war.⁴⁰³ For the former, at least for Classical Athens, the rumour-mill preserved in the orators show how crucial

⁴⁰¹ Nunns 2010: 12-13.

⁴⁰² Nunns 2010: 42.

⁴⁰³ See Irwin 2005: 274 and 139-142; Gottesman 2014: 78; but contrast Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 203-210, who thinks the story was reconstructed from the poem.

public opinion is in institutional decision-making, policing behaviours, and enforcing decisions; without public support, no decision could be passed and no decision upheld.⁴⁰⁴ Isocrates tellingly mentions a man who repeatedly told his version of a financial dispute ἐφιστάμενος εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους καὶ καθίζων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργατηρίοις (18.9); nor is such talk limited to the elite.⁴⁰⁵ In this light, one can justifiably consider Alcaeus envisioning a much wider audience than his faction with his portrayal of events,⁴⁰⁶ if not his poetry, spreading through interactions in symposia and the streets.

Our discussion has shown that while the symposium is the immediate performance context of Alcaeus' poetry, Alcaeus did not compose solely for his *betairia* but in fact not only envisioned a wider audience but also aimed to reach a wider audience and exploited the transmission of poetry for his own ends. Reperformance and dissemination therefore loom large in his poetry, as is shown by his strategies for persuasion and the transferability of 'settings' between performance contexts. Chapters 3 and 4 together have thus considered the importance of world-building, of constructing and maintaining poetic biographies, of rhetoric, and of pronouns to make his poetry effective to both primary and secondary audiences.

⁴⁰⁴ Gottesman 2014.

⁴⁰⁵ Gottesman 2014: 55-63; for social mixing: Vlassopoulos 2007.

⁴⁰⁶ See pp.155-156 on rumours.

Chapter 5: History

The most consistently favoured approach to Alcaeus has been the historical.⁴⁰⁷ Indeed, as the majority of the surviving fragments mention contemporary events, engagement with Mytilenean history is essential. Many have attempted rather more, aiming for a historical reconstruction of the events and their causes: historians, for a greater understanding of archaic political and social history, and literary scholars, for facts on which to base interpretations. The latter aim is hindered by the multitude of reconstructions without an emerging consensus. In response, this chapter aims to examine Mytilenean politics as presented by Alcaeus, refute some popular theories, and explore interpretative possibilities previously excluded on questionable historical bases. To this end, I will first consider in isolation the events, people, and places mentioned by Alcaeus, then attempt to reconstruct a fuller history from all available sources, examine Alcaeus' presentation of people and events in this context, and assign a chronological scheme.

5.1. Alcaeus' Mytilene

Ancient historians use a variety of sources, often relying on later accounts for archaic Greece due to the scarcity of contemporary evidence. For the history of Mytilene at the time of Alcaeus, there is also contemporary material: Sappho and Alcaeus. This section attempts to see how much can be reconstructed from the Lesbians themselves as a starting-point for a fuller account since much of the current uncertainty depends on the interpretation of later evidence.

While this material is poetic and thus not necessarily aimed as an accurate record of events, it should not be dismissed out of hand. For the poets are unlikely to depart far from actual events when referencing contemporary political events.⁴⁰⁸ If, as usually assumed, Alcaeus composed for

⁴⁰⁷ Alcaeus is already used to write history by Herodotus (5.95) and Aristotle (*Pol.* III.1285^a).

⁴⁰⁸ There is a scale of expectations for truth: no audience is likely to believe in or rely on the truthfulness of the poet's narratives or interactions with gods (e.g. Muses' visit to Hesiod, Sappho's conversation with Aphrodite), as these are fundamentally unknowable, or of minor events that are not life-events (e.g. Sappho's conversation with the

his *betairia*, fabrication seems implausible, since the *betairia* would have known them first-hand; if, as I argue, Alcaeus composed to entertain and persuade a broader audience of Mytileneans and interested observers, such an audience would probably have known the basic elements of contemporary Mytilenean politics. Similarly, the passing mentions of political events in Sappho (e.g. Sappho fr.98) are unlikely to create background events *ex nihilo*. In contrast, motivations are subjective, and should be treated with caution. Further, at least for the purposes of this thesis, not only the historicity of events is of interest, but also the events as presented by Alcaeus. Indeed, in interpreting this poetry, it is much more important to reconstruct the image of the society and events presented by the poet, since the political world must be transformed into a literary form to be accessed by the listener, however close the two worlds may be, just as Alcaeus creates a poetic version of himself. Finally, later sources themselves may largely be based on these poets: if they are the only sources for the period to which later authors such as Aristotle had access,⁴⁰⁹ their conclusions should largely be verifiable, although we have access to less material; if there were other sources,⁴¹⁰ one should give greater weight to elements that can be corroborated by contemporary evidence.

A further distinction should be made between the *ipsissima verba* of the poets and the judgement of scholiasts. The latter postdate Herodotus and Aristotle,⁴¹¹ our main non-poetic sources, and some (e.g. fr.306Ae) even show controversy around the basic facts of Alcaeus' life. Therefore, the scholia will be treated cautiously unless the material can be paralleled in the *ipsissima verba*.

5.1.1. The πόλις

family-member in the 'Brothers Poem'), as the audience has little stake in them being true. However, an audience might reasonably expect recent public events and actions to largely fit with or not to contradict their knowledge.

⁴⁰⁹ Fehling 1985: 104-108; Alcaeus appears to have overshadowed even the local historians as a source of historical information of the period (Thomas 2019: 268).

⁴¹⁰ Jacoby 1902: 163.

⁴¹¹ On the nature of Alcaean scholia: Porro 2004: 75-80.

Alcaeus only names Mytilene twice (fr.169a.7, 152.4), both in uncertain contexts, once as κ]ύδνας Μυτ[ιλήνας (fr.152.4). πόλις alone also probably refers to Mytilene in contemporary contexts, as Aristotle assumes at *Pol.* III.1285^a, mentioning Μυτιληναῖοι ‘electing’ Pittacus as αἰσυμνήτης and quoting fr.348, which does not name the city. The poet sometimes simply calls the πόλις ‘our πόλις’ or otherwise links it closely with the first-person plural (frr.66.8, 129.25). Alcaeus also presents a broader Lesbian and Aeolian identity, mentioning the island in frr.34b.10, 129.2-3, and 130b.17, and Aeolians/Aeolids at frr.7.6, 38a.5, 129.7, and 169a.7. We can therefore perceive a strong Mytilenean identity, and some identification as Lesbian and Aeolian by our poet.⁴¹² Intra-island rivalry appears to have been strong throughout Lesbian history, despite the establishment of Lesbian *koine* in the Archaic and Hellenistic periods,⁴¹³ and there was competition over the ownership of Lesbian identity,⁴¹⁴ but the Macar myth, the Trojan connection, and the sanctuary at Messon in later sources appear to reinforce collective identity.⁴¹⁵ Alcaeus’ use of these Lesbian and Aeolian identities in this connection may thus be an attempt to present the events of his poetry as a pan-Lesbian, regional, or even pan-Hellenic affair.

The πόλις is variously conceived. The πόλις as a territory (χώρα) is clearest when he mentions their limits, such as in ἀ]πὺ τούτων ἀπελήλαμαι | φεύγων ἐςχατίαις’ (fr.130b.8-9; sim. fr.328). A similar awareness of territory might be seen in fr.131.1-2 (γᾶς δα[| φευγον]) and Θραικ[ίας ... γαίας (fr.45.3). Alcaeus seems to exaggerate at fr.130b.8-9 since ‘ends of the earth’ appears to be a common phrase in Lesbian poetry (e.g. frr.345, 350, Sa. fr.58.20) and he is surrounded by Lesbian women, most likely at the ‘Great Temenos’ of fr.129 (of Hera: Σ DA ad *Il.*9.129), usually considered the temple at Messon, at the centre of Lesbos, on the edges of

⁴¹² Meanwhile, Sappho never mentions Mytilene or Lesbos by name; she does refer to some as ‘the Mytilenean’ (Sappho fr.98b.3).

⁴¹³ cf. e.g. Mytilene’s forced attempt at synoecism: Thuc. 3.2.3-3.3.1 with Hornblower 1991: 384.

⁴¹⁴ Ellis-Evans 2019: 222-243.

⁴¹⁵ Thomas 2019: 260-274; Ellis-Evans 2019.

Mytilenean territory.⁴¹⁶ Further, μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγροῖωτίκων (fr.130b.2) implies a syncretism between πόλις and participation in the life of the πόλις on the one hand, and the ἄγρος (countryside) and political exclusion on the other. This, not rival attitudes towards eastern luxury, probably lies behind ἀγροῖωτις in Sappho fr.57. Such loss of civic life is found in ἀγόρας ἄκουσαι | καρυ[ζο]μένας ὠγεσιλαΐδα | καὶ β[ό]λλας (fr.130b.3-5), i.e. participation in political activity, and τὰ πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ | κα<γ>γ[ε]γήρας' ἔχοντες, i.e. rights and property. This also attests to the existence of an ἀγόρα and βόλλα; if the activity of the ἀγόρα being called and the βόλλα are separate, perhaps the institution in the ἀγόρα is the assembly.⁴¹⁷ We could probably also deduce from Alcaeus' previous participation in the βόλλα that he was of significant social standing.⁴¹⁸ Ἄ πρυτανεῖον in Mytilene is mentioned later (Sa. fr.203a=Athenaeus 10.425a, Eust. 1205.17-20). Consequently, there is evidence for some political engagement of citizens. How much of a legal-judicial system existed remains unclear, but there are vague references to νόμοι (fr.35.1, 129.25, also 181.1?).

The πόλις is also seen as its occupants: τὰ πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ [...] τῶν [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολ[ε]ίταν (fr.130b.5-7). The πόλις is the πόλις of one's ancestors and of citizens. The coinage of ἀλλαλόκακος suggests that citizens should in essence not be harming each other;⁴¹⁹ the sentiment is rather close to Theognis 367-370 and 287-292, with citizens acting contrary to how they should. Alcaeus' opinions about how citizens should act are found elsewhere too: ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος πύργος ἀρεύιοι (fr.112.10) and Aelius Aristides' paraphrase (possibly of this line) (fr.426=Ael. Arist. *Orat.* 46.207=Photius, *Bibl.* 248) shows a city consisting of its

⁴¹⁶ Robert 1960, Spencer 1995d: no. 103, Caciagli 2010. Less likely is Cape Phokas: Quinn 1961b, Picard 1962.

⁴¹⁷ On the ἀγόρα as assembly: Kolb in *BNP*, s.v. 'Agora'.

⁴¹⁸ On the membership of the βουλή: Ehrenberg 1969: 59-65, Rhodes 1985.

⁴¹⁹ Sappho too talks of ἐπαγ[ορί]αι πολίταν | ὥς ποτ' οὐ[κ] ἄλλως (Sappho fr.5.14-15) for her brother.

citizens, and that ‘warlike men’ are the prominent men who defend the city.⁴²⁰ A similar idea may lie beneath the paraphrase of Alcaeus by the scholiast on Aeschylus’ *Sept.*398 (fr.427).⁴²¹

Genealogies and families, unsurprisingly, are a strong link between the πόλις and its inhabitants. Beside fr.130b, the mention of fathers and grandfathers occurs often (e.g. fr.6.14, 6.17, 61.5, 68.3, 68.4, 72.13, (77. i.11), 339, 371). The idea of not disgracing their fathers related to political activity (fr.6.12-14) offers a familial angle to πόλις-life. A similar idea is behind κακοπατρίδαις (fr.67.4, 75.12, 106.3, 348.1); much has been made of εὐγεγόνων (fr.72.11) having to refer to the addressee’s mother, but we also find a shameless man’s father and grandfather suggested as worthy of stoning and worse (fr.68.3-4). The plural (e.g. fr.67.4) might suggest that they were a defined group,⁴²² or at least identifiable as a group, but the meaning of κακοπατρίδαις is unclear (see below). Further, we find numerous clan-names (Cleanactids, fr.112.23, Sappho fr.98b.7; Archeanactids, fr.112.23; Pentilids, fr. 75.10; Polyanactids, fr.303Aa.2, 303Ab.14 (=Sappho fr.99LP), Sappho fr.155). They are found more in the scholia and later sources, but cannot be identified with specific individuals. The Newest Sappho, particularly the ‘Brothers Poem’, also shows how individual members’ honour are connected with the family’s; Alcaeus too sings of his brother’s achievements (at least fr.350).

Less specific is the δᾶμος (fr.70.13, 129.20, possibly 131.1). In fr.70.13 and 129.20, Alcaeus suggests that Pittacus is the source of the δᾶμος’s woes, and that Alcaeus is working to rescue the Mytileneans from Pittacus. Therefore, there is some advantage in assuming the responsibility of the δᾶμος. The δᾶμος appears similar to the Homeric δῆμος, which is usually

⁴²⁰ This is a well-parallelled sentiment, e.g. S. *Aj.*160-161.

⁴²¹ Fr.112.10’s mention of towers is interesting, as towers are well-attested on Lesbos from the archaic period. These are found on the borders, far from the cities, and their primary function appears to be prestige-building and boundary-marking (Spencer 1995b). If we take πόλις seriously and locationally, there is an awareness of the city as a physical space (alongside the mention of the agora; also cf. κ]ορύφαν πόλιος, fr.41.18) and as a fortified place. Remains of Mytilene’s archaic walls have been found (6th century BC: Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1373).

⁴²² Thus most persuasively, Rösler 1980: 186-191.

considered to be the population excluding only the ‘leading men’.⁴²³ The λαός is also mentioned (fr.364, 356, 143.3) and appears similar to the Homeric sense, the entire people,⁴²⁴ and little difference can be perceived between the two terms in Alcaeus. Indeed, Alcaeus might not always be so precise with such terminology. Although fr.364 and 356 could be of people in general, fr.143 appears to be referring to events in Mytilene; if Barner’s supplements δαμάσζ[ομεν | λάοις λύς[ομεν are adopted, it may parallel δᾶμον ὑπέξ ἀχέων ῥύεσθαι (fr.129.20).

Alcaeus sometimes makes little distinction between δᾶμος and πόλις. Particularly interesting are δαπτέτω πόλιν (fr.70.7) and δάπτει | τᾶν πόλιν (fr.129.23-24). The phrase clearly draws on δημοβόρος βασιλεύς (*Il*.1.231), with the concept enjoying widespread recognition later (e.g. Thgn. 1181). The πόλις is personified in fr.348: ἄχολος and βαρυδαίμων are striking, even if πόλις is understood as the people of the πόλις.⁴²⁵ βαρυδαίμων consistently means ‘luckless’ (e.g. paired with δυστυχής at *Ar. Ecol*.1102), but ἄχολος is used to mean ‘calming anger’ at *Od*.4.221 (of a drink), and in medical or biological contexts to mean ‘without bile’; ‘calming anger’ at *Od*.4.221 is clearly a semantic extension, since the drink makes one be ‘without bile’; Alcaeus presents Mytilene as a city that should be angry but inexplicably is not.

The fate of the πόλις appears closely bound with the morality of its leaders and the gods seem to be expected to take an interest in the workings of the state and be involved in justice (cf. fr.70.8-9). Poems that clearly assume this principle include fr.67, 69, 70, 112, 129, 130b, 205, 206, 296a, 298. However, there are also other socio-religious practices of Lesbos, such as the *kallisteia*, which is a yearly rite (fr.130b.20).

The picture of the city gleaned from these fragments is very close to the findings of the Copenhagen Polis Centre on πόλις in general.⁴²⁶ If Alcaeus’ conception of πόλις is thus

⁴²³ Though not always. For a succinct overview, see Ruzé 1997: 70-74.

⁴²⁴ Ruzé 1997: 69-70.

⁴²⁵ Alcaeus is the first attestation of the idea of the πόλις as its inhabitants.

⁴²⁶ Hansen 2006: 56-57.

paralleled, it may be justified to extrapolate other aspects of the πόλις by comparison with other πόλεις. At least, it suggests that Alcaeus' Mytilene is not qualitatively different from other Greek πόλεις as we understand them. Such closeness may also help to explain the appeal of Alcaeus' poetry in πόλεις throughout the Mediterranean as poetry of πόλις life.

5.1.2. Politics

Although several events are mentioned, their nature is rarely clear. However, one can tell that there is civil strife: ε]υνθήμενοι λύαις (fr.36.11), χαλάσσομεν [...] λύας (fr.70.10), ἐμφύλω τε μάχας (fr.70.11), στήθιν (fr.208.1). Yet more is found in the scholia. To ascertain what is secure, and what may be later interpretation, I will precede first with information from the poetic fragments, then with information from the scholia.

In fr.348, Pittacus is made τύραννος with μέγ' ἐπαίνεντες ἀόλλεες. The word ἀόλλης is frequently used in Homer as 'all together' or 'in groups', 'in throngs', but otherwise only once in *hH*. 2.127 and Hes. fr.204.83 before the 5th century. Perhaps it means 'all together' here, but the subject with which it is in apposition (as often in Homer) may be missing, which could reduce the 'approving' group. If, however, it refers to the whole citizenry, it is not called the πόλις or one of its institutions, and whether there was an election is unclear.⁴²⁷ Also noteworthy is τύραννος: it and its cognate are also found at fr.34b.8 and 75.13. The context in fr.34b.8 is unclear, but it is plural and the referents are unclear, while μειχμ[may relate to overthrowing or confounding a situation or in the common phrase 'mix battle' (cf. fr.330).⁴²⁸ Fr.75 is more promising: if ὁ πεδέτροπ[ε is the same as the one 'being a tyrant' (τυραννέ-), this may be Pittacus (from fr.348), but there are many issues in this fragment.⁴²⁹ Other fragments use a similar 'overthrowing' image;

⁴²⁷ ἀόλλεες would not necessarily be a positive sign of Pittacus' 'legitimacy' or point to a procedural approval of him by the δᾶμος: it is used only once in the *Iliad* for an orderly gathering (of the Achaean leaders at Agamemnon's tent for a feast, then council, at *Il*.9.89), but elsewhere it is always of a disorderly impromptu group, usually with an element of raucous tumult (in battle, or of excitement).

⁴²⁸ Cf. e.g. Pl. *R*.548c, *S*. *E*.1485.

⁴²⁹ See pp.327-333.

the overturner in fr.76.13-15 cannot be identified just from poetic fragments, but the scholia identifies him as Pittacus with a superlinear gloss over ὦνηρ (Φίττακ[ος] in fr.141, and there is a marginal gloss by ll.4-6 in fr.72, which might mention Pittacus (Πίττα]κός, Diels) and scholars agree that the addressee is Pittacus, though the referent of the ὦνηρ here is disputed.

There are further scholia on τυράννοι. Σ fr.74 mentions resisting the tyrant in paraphrases that suggest Alcaeus addressing Mytileneans directly, but it is unclear who the τύραννος is.⁴³⁰ τύραννος also appears in fr.306g.3-8, where the most economical interpretation appears to be that it is Pittacus,⁴³¹ as rushing on the back of Pittacus (ἐνορμ[ῆσαι τ]οῖς τ[ο]ῦ Φιτ-|τάκ[ο]υ νότ[οις [...]] [τὸ]ν τύραννον | παῦσαι) seems most likely to mean to attack him, unless one assumes that the τύραννος here is Myrsilus and Alcaeus suggests attacking them both. The following lines are similarly ambiguous:

Καὶ ἀ[ύ]τη κατὰ | Φιττάκου γέγ[ρα]πται πε-|ρὶ τῶν ὄρκων [τῶν
 γ]ε[γ]ε-|νημένων ἐν [(fr.306g.9-12).

If one assumes καὶ ἀ[ύ]τη κατὰ | Φιττάκου applies only to γέγ[ρα]πται, the former conclusion is reached; if one assumes it applies to γέγ[ρα]πται περὶ τῶν ὄρκων [τῶν γ]ε[γ]ε-|νημένων ἐν [, the latter. We can get no further without more information. Finally, μοναρχία, the first attestation of the word in Greek, is found at fr.6.27; this might be glossed Μυρσίλου in an otherwise illegible scholion in the lower margin, but this could be commenting on another poem. There is also βα]σίλευς ἔχην at fr.5.14, but it could be in a comparative clause. Furthermore, we cannot expect Alcaeus to use these terms precisely and consistently, considering the wide variation of usage in Herodotus.⁴³²

Of individuals, we find Melanchrus only once: Μέλαγχρος αἶδωσ ἄξιος ἐς πόλιν (fr.331); it is not even clear whether this is positive or negative. We hear more about Myrsilus: ὦς

⁴³⁰ See pp.323-326.

⁴³¹ Porro 1994: 100-102.

⁴³² For Herodotus' usage: Dewald 2003.

καὶ πεδᾶ Μυρσί[λ]ω[(fr.70.7, in a poem about Pittacus), Μύρσιλ[ο (fr.129.28, in an ill-preserved stanza), and in a poem celebrating his death (fr.332). Thus Pittacus was in cahoots with Myrsilus at some point, and Myrsilus died. The scholia add further information. Σ fr.112.23-24 (τ(ὸν) Μύρσιλ(ον) glossing Κλεανακτίδαν and τ(ὸν) Φιττακ(όν) glossing ἤρχεανακτίδαν on the following line) is controversial, as Strabo's text (13.2.3=fr.468; 1st c. AD) suggests that Myrsilus, Melanchrus, and the Cleanactids are different,⁴³³ and Pittacus' father is otherwise known as Hyrrhas (fr.129.13, 298.47). A persuasive argument for these identifications is still forthcoming (see below). More promising is Σ fr.60, which suggests a link between spear-bearers and Myrsilus, unless γάρ here refers only to what was said to Bycchis. Crucial is Σ fr.114, which claims that there was a first exile (and hence at least a second) and that Alcaeus and his comrades plotted against Myrsilus, but they failed and fled to Pyrrha. One might connect the incident between Mytilene and Pyrrha of Σ fr.60 with the plot revealed in Σ fr.114, but this is uncertain.

In commentaries, fr.305a.14-31 mention Myrsilus' return from exile. ζ[οῖ] κᾶμοι | πόλεμος μήτε γένοιτ[ο] is apparently addressed to Mnamon who provided a boat for Myrsilus' return and to whom Alcaeus wishes to make clear he does not blame him. Then ὅστις δ' ἄμμε διαστα[.] θέλει are explained as referring either in general (ἦτοι καθόλου) or]των | περὶ Φιττακόν; the possibilities do not inspire confidence, but the other comments on the poem appear to be close paraphrases. The same poem is perhaps discussed in another commentary (S267=fr.306Cd Liberman), which goes on to comment on fr.208, suggesting either that fr.208 followed the Mnamon-poem in the Alexandrian edition, or the scholiast chose to treat it together for some reason (due to boats, Myrsilus, or similar time-period?). Unfortunately, S267 does not comment on who wishes them apart or explain why Pittacus is mentioned. Finally, in another commentary (S263=fr.306B Liberman), which appears to be following the poem closely as it simply

⁴³³ Unless one deletes καί: Ἀλκαῖος μὲν οὖν ὁμοίως ἐλοιδορεῖτο καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, Μυρσίλωι καὶ Μελάγχρῳι καὶ (καὶ delevit Wilamowitz) τοῖς Κλεανακτίδαϊς καὶ ἄλλοις τισίν.

transfers Lesbian into Koine in ll.8-10, little is clear, except]υῖος τοῦ Κλεάνορος ὅτι [| ἐξῆς τὸν Μύρσιλον .εγε[(fr.306B.11-12). Some think that Myrsilus is υῖος τοῦ Κλεάνορος, but that is uncertain; indeed, ἐξῆς makes this questionable. In fr.157, the scholion to ll.1-2 mention περὶ Φιττακὸν[, and scholion to ll.3-5 mentions ος/ιλουφονὸ (=ἔστι) (Μυρς)ίλου φόνος(?) amidst vague mention of violence. There are also several less useful scholia. The scholion to fr.77c preserves ὁ δὲ μύδρος[| ἴνα μὴ ἀνέλ[θηι | τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μ[ύρσιλον, but it reveals little about the events.⁴³⁴ Similarly, fr.241 might mention Myrsilus and Pittacus in close proximity, but even the names are uncertain.

In Alcaeus' *ipsissima verba*, Pittacus is called clever (fr.67.2), and appears to be involved in an oath at the altar of Apollo (fr.67.3). Some assume that the oath mentioned in fr.129 (never to abandon their comrades, but to kill their opponents or die, and to rescue the δᾶμος from their woes) was sworn in the same precinct as the setting of the fragment: Messa. While there may have been several oaths or oaths might have been reaffirmed, surely oaths lose their exceptionality and importance if they have to be repeated. It seems more likely that one was the main oath to which the group could refer back. Indeed, fr.129 does not mention where they swore the oath, so it seems probable that the oath of fr.67 is the oath that Pittacus broke. It might even have greater symbolic value if this altar of Apollo is an important Mytilenean one; Thucydides mentions a temple to Apollo Maloeis just outside the city where the whole of Mytilene would celebrate festivals to Apollo (Thuc. 3.3).⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ See pp.337-341.

⁴³⁵ Apollo's altar is appropriate for political oaths. Apollo is strongly associated with young men, *Männerbunde*, and political organisation throughout Greece (cf. Graf 2009: 84-100; Apollo's name may be related to the assembly: Burkert 1975, but see Beekes 2003). His cult is one of the most prominent and oldest on Lesbos (as well as the Troad) (Shields 1917: 1-12), and one of the Penthilid colonists is called 'Smintheus' ([Plu.], *Sept. sap.* 20), an important Apollonian epithet. Apollo is the only recognisable divinity portrayed on the Lesbian billon coins (1/8 stater: *HGCS* VI.1083; 1/12 stater: *HGCS* VI.1089; both c.550-480 BC) and is the most common divinity on archaic and classical Mytilenean coins (including electrum stater *HGCS* VI.923, c.428-427 BC; electrum hektai *HGCS* VI.958, VI.959, c.487-455 BC; silver drachm *HGCS* VI.1036, c.440-400 BC), while coins of other Lesbian cities appear to favour other divinities (Hermes for Eresus, Athena for Methymna).

Fr.70 ends with Pittacus; κῆνος δὲ παῶθεις Ἀτρεΐδα[ν] (fr.70.6) refers to him and confirms Aristotle's reports that Pittacus married into the Pentilids. Since ὡς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω[ς] suggests he is no longer ruling with Myrsilus, Pittacus appears to have ruled after Myrsilus' death. Similarly, the marriage may have happened around this time, especially if παῶθεις has a causal and temporal sense. Fr.5 also concerns a man's marriage (κεκρ[ί]μενος γάμει, fr.5.11). If it is about Pittacus, which is very uncertain, ξυστοφο[ρή]με[νος] (fr.5.12) might suggest he has bodyguards, chiming with the later trope of tyrants and showing a similarity with Myrsilus (Σ fr.60). Finally, fr.170 col.ii preserves ἐπῶνε[] | κοίλαιω[] | μηδ[] | Φίττ[ακ-] | τωδη[] | σπις· ν[]; if [ἄ]σπις is read, there may be a reference to the Sigeian episode. Pittacus is also mentioned in fr.348 discussed above. Much more information is available in the scholia, though many are of dubious worth. Otherwise, a list of insults that Alcaeus apparently used against Pittacus is reported by Diogenes Laertius (fr.429; 3rd c. AD).

5.1.3. Beyond Lesbos

Not everything happened in Lesbos. Fr.401B attests at least to Alcaeus losing his armour to Ἄπτικοι; since Herodotus even names the addressee and quotes it, Herodotus probably had good reason to think it was from the Sigeian War. In fr.167, Phrynon is mentioned in the scholion to l.3, but nothing substantial can be deduced; however, it might relate, even if tangentially, to the Sigeian War as its Athenian commander (Strabo 13.1.38=fr.468, Plutarch, *de malig.* 858ab).

From fr.306Aa.3, one might surmise that fr.306Ab.5 (], ὑποδικ[-]) also quotes Dicaearchus as source, who wrote a treatise on Alcaeus (fr.94-99 Wehrli). The same commentary on a lost poem mentions an addressee who died at the hands of the Allieni (fr.306Ab.18-22), but the rest resist clarification beyond that an Amardis suspected Alcaeus of the death, an addressee ran away, and the speaker claims not to be responsible. There are possible Allienoi in Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, and Caria, and Alcaeus either travelled there or had contacts with business there.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ Treu 1966.

Alcaeus' other exile(s) are mentioned in fr.306Ae (=S282) (τῆ]ν δευτέ-|ραν [.....]. α̣ϕ φυγῆν (fr.306Ae iii.4-5)) but the location remains unclear. This may or may not be contemporaneous with the 'action at the bridge' (fr.306Ae iii.6-7), but at both events (fr.306Ae iii.7-8), Alcaeus apparently mentions Antimenidas, his brother who is said to have fought alongside the Babylonians (fr.350). The scholiast mentions a debate about when Alcaeus died and how many exiles he had, and a war between Alyattes and Astyages (fr.306Ae col.iii.14-17), but how these fit together is unclear. In fr.306Af, we have a king of the Lydians, Antimenidas as Alcaeus' brother, something about hatred, Pittacus, and Croesus. These are strange together, especially Croesus, who postdates Alcaeus. However, the scholiast of fr.306A appears to deal with several works on Alcaeus, not always using Alcaeus himself as source, and is therefore potentially unreliable. Similarly, the 40th Olympiad (620 BC) in fr.306Ag is puzzling, but overlaps with dates found in later sources for Alcaeus (below).

The Near East appears elsewhere too. Fr.48 mentions the sack of Ashkelon by the Babylonians;⁴³⁷ fr.69 mentions the Lydians giving 2000 staters to enter a city, a possible sign of foreign interests in Mytilene;⁴³⁸ fr.166 preserves καβᾶλ [for Καβηλέεσ (Kabelians, a people of Asia Minor), or καβάλλειον (draft horse/couch/peg), or καβάλλης (draft horse, or eunuch); fr.20.10 mentions a royal tent, possibly referring to a Near Eastern military context; and Alcaeus mentions the history of Antandrus (fr.337) and Pitane (fr.439) as well as localities in Mysia (fr.440). More everyday connections are visible in Sappho, who uses Lydian chariots as reference-points (fr.16.19), mentions movement, perhaps even marriage, between Mytilene and Lydia (fr.16, 96), and has access to Lydian fashion (fr.39, 98).

Alcaeus also shows knowledge of mainland Greece and the Western Mediterranean. Thus fr.7.9-12 mention Crisa and Phalanthus, probably from the tale of Phalanthus being shipwrecked near Crisa and rescued by a dolphin (Paus. 10.13.10) on his way to found Taras. Similarly, if the

⁴³⁷ See pp.253-260.

⁴³⁸ See pp.292-297.

cottabus game really originated from Sicily, fr.72 could point to cultural contact with the West, though in fr.322 he appears to use Tean cups for it. In some of these fragments, there is an awareness of Greek colonisation in the more mythical stories. This is complemented by his poem on Aenus (fr.45). Trade lurks in the background, for which cargo (e.g. fr.73.1, 208a.14, 167.7) implies an awareness, as do foreign items, such as eastern boots (fr.77A i); κύπρος, a Pontic word for a ‘measure’ (fr.312); and Tean cups (fr.322). Trade was also probably the reason for his trip to Egypt (fr.432), like Sappho’s brother (cf. Brother’s Poem).

5.2. Filling in the Gaps

An outline of Alcaeus’ society emerging from the Lesbians poets – of Alcaeus’ conception of the πόλις, political institutions, and some individuals - can now be contextualised with archaeological material and other sources.

5.2.1. Before Pittacus

Aristotle is our chief source for early Mytilene:

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰκισθῆναι πληγαῖς ὀργισθέντες οἱ μὲν
διέφθειραν, οἱ δ’ ἐνεχείρησαν ὡς ὑβρισθέντες, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας. οἷον ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ τοὺς Πενθιλίδας
Μεγακλῆς περιόντας καὶ τύπτοντας ταῖς κορύναις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ
τῶν φίλων ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ ὕστερον Σμέρδης Πενθίλον πληγὰς λαβῶν καὶ
παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελκυθεὶς διέφθειρεν. (*Pol.* V.1311^b)

Aristotle suggests that the Penthilids were οἱ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας in Mytilene. As they are still relevant for Sappho and Alcaeus (frr.70.6, 75.10, 302b.1; Sa. fr.71.3), they appear to be the ruling clan around their time too.⁴³⁹ Carlier thinks that the report of the seven ἀρχηγέται and βασιλεῖς, with an eighth man as chief (cf. twelve βασιλεῖς and thirteenth chief Alcinous of the Odyssean Scheria) in Plutarch’s *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 20 may hint at the organisation of

⁴³⁹ The usual identification of the Penthilus killed by Smerdes with the Penthilus whose daughter was married to Pittacus (D.L.1.81) is uncertain as it was presumably a common name in the family.

the Pentilids in the 8th/early 7th century and the antiquity of the college of βασιλεῖς in Lesbian cities.⁴⁴⁰ However, Theophrastus mentions that Pittacus required that property sales were done before βασιλεῖς and πρύτανις as magistrates.⁴⁴¹ Similarly, a college of βασιλεῖς in Mytilene is attested in the Classical period (*IG* XII ii.6 and XII Suppl. p.3=Buck no.26=Osborne and Rhodes no.85B) as judiciary magistrates.

The δυναστεία before Megacles sounds more like a closed oligarchy, similar to Bacchiad Corinth. But if Megacles and his friends removed the Pentilids, he or they do not seem to have necessarily set up a new system or a τυραννίς (or it did not last), since a Pentilus is removed later by Smerdes. Aristotle's account sounds suspiciously similar to the prelude to other tyrannical revolutions (indeed, Mytilene is an example for a common situation), not least the rise of Cypselus and Pisistratus, the former escaping death as a baby and the latter feigning an attack.

Acts of ὕβρις as a motivation for στάσις are attested in Greek lyric. In Solon fr.4 (especially ll.7-20), Solon remarks that the day of reckoning is nigh (ἐτοῖμον) for the leaders of the δῆμος with ἄδικος νόος, probably the ruling class,⁴⁴² ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης, which is explained as inability to act with restraint thereby causing public and personal injury. The referent of τοῦτ' (l.17) that is coming upon the city, be it the retribution of Δίκη (ll.15-16) resulting from ὕβρις or acts of ὕβρις themselves (ll.5-14),⁴⁴³ is thus said to be responsible for στάσις and war. Although Solon emphasises wealth (solely in fr.13.7-16), it seems that κόρος entailed outrage against both property and persons.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed, Fisher claims that the Pentilids' action 'attests widespread, unchecked, acts of sympotic and komastic *hybris* by the ruling clan'.⁴⁴⁵ Similarly, Theognis links acts of ὕβρις

⁴⁴⁰ Carlier 1984: 459.

⁴⁴¹ Carlier 1984: 458.

⁴⁴² Thus Nagy 1985: 43, Fisher 1992: 72, Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 228, against West 1974: 68-69 (who considers them demagogues).

⁴⁴³ Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 244-245, with references.

⁴⁴⁴ Fisher 1992: 72. In this connection, cf. Sappho fr.68a.8 (| κόρον οὐ κατισχεῖ |) in a moral context (ἀλίτρα[, l.4).

⁴⁴⁵ Fisher 1992: 207.

by the ruling class with *κτᾶσις* and also suggests that this could lead to the rise of a sole-ruler (ll.39-52). Similarly, *ὑβρις* and violence are closely linked at ll.835-836.⁴⁴⁶ One might then cautiously infer from the similarities with Athenian and Megarian accounts that Mytilene was governed by a closed hereditary oligarchy run by the Pentilids, which acted (in Alcaeus' view) with *ὑβρις*.⁴⁴⁷ Given the agreement between Alcaeus, Solon, and Theognis, the resultant state of retaliation against the *ἡγεμόνες* may be called *κτᾶσις*.

Somewhat clearer is Melanchrus. Called a *τύραννος* by Strabo and Diogenes, he was apparently abused beside Myrsilus by Alcaeus (Strabo 13.2.3) and overthrown by Pittacus and Alcaeus' brothers (D.L. 1.74). Not much else is known about him. Boruhovič thinks Aristotle mistakenly calls Melanchrus Megacles, since in Boruhovič's view, Diogenes' description indicates that Melanchrus was the first Mytilenean tyrant, as Aristotle's description indicates for Megacles.⁴⁴⁸ However, although a scribal mistake is possible, Diogenes provides no grounds for such assumptions. Berve argues that, since there is no mention of the *δῆμος*, Melanchrus relied on aristocratic *betairiai*,⁴⁴⁹ however, given the scarce evidence, it seems unwise to infer anything from silence. Many wonder why Alcaeus appears to be excluded from the fight against Melanchrus. The usual supposition is that he was perhaps too young (cf. fr.75);⁴⁵⁰ however, some argue that he did participate.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁶ This is not a 'Cyrnus-poem', and hence of unknown date and origin.

⁴⁴⁷ I use oligarchy in a non-technical sense. Note that the word first appears in Herodotus, in describing Bacchiad rule (5.92) and in the Persian constitutional debate (3.80-84). For debates on defining oligarchy: Caire 2016, especially 27-58. Simonton 2017: 8 differentiates classical 'oligarchy' from earlier types, suggesting that 'Archaic elite-led government did not define itself, as Classical oligarchy later did, as a united front of the elite against the demos'.

⁴⁴⁸ Boruhovič 1981: 253.

⁴⁴⁹ Berve 1967: 91-92.

⁴⁵⁰ Sceptically, Page 1955: 152; Andrewes 1956: 93; Rösler 1980: 33; De Libero 1996: 315 n.7; Liberman 1999: xvi-xvii n.26. See pp.327-333.

⁴⁵¹ Gallavotti 1948a: 16-17, relying heavily on absolute dates for overthrowing Melanchrus and Pittacus' Sigeon duel; Trumpf 1958: 40, emphasising the importance of *betairoi* to be of the same class and same age-group and assuming a corruption in Diogenes. Neither is convincing; however, a scribal omission is possible.

Since Melanchrus' removal was the result of political action, one expects its leader(s) to have become the new *τύραννος* or have restored the previous situation. The latter seems likelier since Myrsilus is the next known *τύραννος* and no-one mentions him as part of the overthrowing group. After the Pentilids, a widening of the politically active group might be expected, extending to more of the richer and established families, with the higher offices at least newly accessible to those with the social and economic means. The situation, then, is similar to other archaic Greek *πόλεις* where the elite competed to gain recognition. Therefore, fierce intra-elite competition should be assumed after the fall of Melanchrus.

Nothing much can be made of the spear-men mentioned in proximity to Myrsilus in Σ fr.60 as a way of establishing himself as a *τύραννος*.⁴⁵² We hear of Myrsilus' return in fr.305a.15-21 and S267 (=fr.306Cd Liberman), but whether this is from the time of Melanchrus or after a period of his tyranny is unclear.⁴⁵³ Although Liberman assumes the former,⁴⁵⁴ the latter may be more plausible. The relative order of fr.305a and 305b (i.e. fr.208), as suggested by S267, does not matter as the fragments may be contemporary.⁴⁵⁵ One assumes Myrsilus was exiled, since he needs Mnamon's help to return, while his exile makes no sense unless he attempted a *μοναρχία* or was exiled by a *τύραννος*. The latter seems unlikely since, as Alcaeus has to say that there is no ill will (and Mnamon expects it), presumably because Myrsilus desired *μοναρχία*. If Heraclitus (*Alleg. Hom.* 5) is right, fr.208 is set when Myrsilus is planning or starting (present participle: *τυραννικῆ* [...] *ἐγχειρομένη κύστασις*) a plot for *τυραννίς*. If Heraclitus is further right that fr.6 is also referring to Myrsilus (cf. *Μυρσίλου* in the scholion possibly referring to fr.6), Alcaeus mentions Myrsilus' desired *μοναρχία* (cf. fr.6.27). Further, expecting Myrsilus to seek *μοναρχία* makes more sense if he had had it before: for Pisistratus, few claim to have suspected his motives the first

⁴⁵² Contra De Libero 1996: 316.

⁴⁵³ Barner 1967: 165-166; De Libero 1996: 316.

⁴⁵⁴ Liberman 1999: xviii and 86 implicitly.

⁴⁵⁵ *Pace* Gentili 1988: 296 n.10 and Liberman 1991: 222 n.199. The order in S267 may be due to thematic analysis.

time,⁴⁵⁶ but it was clear by his third return. Further, a barb about sole-rule would be ineffective if Alcaeus or one of his group were currently or previously engaged in it, so scholars' remarks that Alcaeus would have taken sole-rule if he could seem unkind;⁴⁵⁷ his politics appear more oligarchic.

Fr.129 recounts an oath that was taken previously (ll.14-20) and shows Pittacus having already broken his oath (ll.21-24) and profiting alongside Myrsilus (fr.129.28).⁴⁵⁸ If Myrsilus had two tyrannies, then Pittacus is most likely to have changed sides around Myrsilus' return.⁴⁵⁹ However, although there is little reason for Pittacus to be rewarded if Myrsilus was already in power (unless he frustrated a plot), this change of sides could have happened after Myrsilus' return. Fr.129 appears to be set at the sanctuary at Messa on the edge of Pyrrha's territory.⁴⁶⁰ Pyrrha is the location of Alcaeus' first exile due to a failed plot by οἱ π(ε)ρι τὸν Ἀλκαῖον against Myrsilus(Σ fr.114). A commentator in the margins would not necessarily include both Myrsilus and Pittacus as the targets of the plot,⁴⁶¹ and Alcaeus could have plotted solely against Myrsilus even after Pittacus' betrayal, since the celebratory mood of fr.332 suggests Alcaeus does not foresee Pittacus' rise. Thus the action probably happened after Myrsilus' return, or during Myrsilus' attempt to establish his second *μοναρχία*, when Pittacus betrayed them, triggering Alcaeus' exile. This last possibility perhaps gains support from Pittacus being mentioned in connection with something unpleasant for Alcaeus during Myrsilus' return (fr.305a.24). Fr.129 need not coincide with the first exile, but Alcaeus'

⁴⁵⁶ However, this may be unreliable as the theme of trickery is central to the Athenian self-exculpation for submitting to tyranny.

⁴⁵⁷ This has a long history and is present already in Strabo (13.2.3).

⁴⁵⁸ Contra De Libero 1996: 317.

⁴⁵⁹ Barner 1967: 166. Gentili 1988: 296 n.10 uses fr.305a.22 to suggest that Pittacus must have been 'he who wishes to set us at odds', but this requires Gallavotti's supplement *διάττα[κα]*, which is impossible due to a horizontal line emerging from the hole near the top of the notional line. However, Di Benedetto's supplement *διάττα[ντ]ε*, embraced by Liberman, pairs a dual with a plural, and the lemma does not make sense on its own.

⁴⁶⁰ Labarre 1996: 197. Cf. also Zenobius' proverb εἴ τι κακόν, εἰς Πύρραν (*Proverbia* IV.2 Gaisford), which is interesting in connection with Alcaeus' exile.

⁴⁶¹ Pace Page 1955: 180, approved by Porro 2004: 84.

second (and third?) exile seems further away,⁴⁶² and it gives time for Alcaeus to go to Asia Minor (e.g. fr. 306Ab, 306Ae, 306Af), Egypt (fr.432), and elsewhere.⁴⁶³

Dale argues from Herdotus 1.7 and toponyms of Mursilis in Lydia and Caria that Myrsilus was used as a royal name or title amongst Luwic- and Greek-speaking peoples and claims that using Myrsilus for a Lydian king (Candaules, Hdt. 1.7) shows that the Greeks used the name of the Hittite king as a throne name and title in previously Hittite regions.⁴⁶⁴ He applies this view to fr.383 (ἦρ' ἔτι Δινομένη(ι) τῶι Τυρρακῆω(ι) | τᾶρμενα λάμπρα κέοντ' ἐν Μυρσινῆωι), which perhaps mentions a 'Myrsileion'. He claims this cannot be a cult site as the worship of historical figures is not otherwise seen until the fifth century, but rather a βασιλειον.⁴⁶⁵ He thus concludes that (1) either there was 'an indigenous royal house on Lesbos, a Luwic "Myrsilidae"', or (2) there was no one named Myrsilus, but two *myrsiloi* (Melanchrus and Pittacus).

However, the *paradosis* of Hephæstion (‘μυρσίνωι cod. A, ut vid., ἰ ex η corr. A¹, μυρσινῆω cod. I’)⁴⁶⁶ support ἐν Μυρσινῆωι (fr.383), perhaps a precinct related to myrtle.⁴⁶⁷ The second option (no Myrsilus) can be rejected easily: all our sources agree that the brothers of Alcaeus and Pittacus overthrew Melanchrus together, ruling out the notion that Pittacus ruled alongside Melanchrus at the end of Melanchrus' career (καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσι[λ]ῶ[ι], fr.70.7). Pittacus taking an oath against the *myrsilos* Melanchrus, only to break it to rule with him, but then join the Alcaean party again to overthrow him, without being associated with them to a sufficient extent to be trusted to fight against the exiles, is beyond belief. Further, the first option undermines Dale's

⁴⁶² Liberman 1999: xx-xxii. This would go against Page 1955: 197-198, who rails against Mazzarino 1943: 67 and Pugliese-Carratelli 1943.

⁴⁶³ Liberman 1999: xxiii.

⁴⁶⁴ Dale 2011: 17-19.

⁴⁶⁵ Dale 2011: 20.

⁴⁶⁶ Lobel and Page 1955: 279.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. myrtle groves as a place for mystic *thiasoi* (Ar. *Ran.*156-8), Philostratus' description of a picture where maidens hymn Aphrodite in myrtle groves (*Imagines* 2.1), and a narthex called Myrsineum (Basil of Seleucia, *De vita et miraculis sanctae Theclae* 2.23). Cf. the toponyms Myrsinus (*Il.*2.616) and Myrsinon (*Septuagint*, Judges 1:35).

conclusions; for Myrsilids to exist, there needs to be a Myrsilus; nothing hinders associating Melanchrus with this clan, but Dale himself admits that Melanchrus and Pittacus cannot belong to the same clan, due to Pittacus' initial hostility; but this in turn rules out Pittacus being called Myrsilus.

5.2.2. Pittacus

How Myrsilus died is unknown, but it is greatly celebrated (fr.332), suggesting that he was still in power when he died, and that Alcaeus was unaware that Pittacus would come into power. This suggests that Pittacus was not as important as Myrsilus, ruling out a formal joint-rule; most see a power-sharing agreement, but ὥς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω[(fr.70.7) may be Alcaeus exaggerating Pittacus' role to draw parallels and continuities between them. Alcaeus' second exile probably happened just before Pittacus' rise to sole-power, if Aristotle's wording is reliable:⁴⁶⁸

οἶον εἶλοντό ποτε Μυτιληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν
προειστήκεσαν Ἀντιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής (*Pol.* III.1285^a).

This leaves open whether Alcaeus returned from exile before or upon Myrsilus' death. It seems more likely that Alcaeus attempted a return during the power-vacuum rather than during a more secure time under Pittacus. Alcaeus' third return seems to be associated with a war between Astyages and Alyattes (fr.306Ae.15-17), which can be dated with the help of Thales' eclipse (585).⁴⁶⁹ Pittacus releasing Alcaeus (D.L. 1.75) could have happened in either return. An attempted return can be seen in fr.306g,⁴⁷⁰ though the τύραννος here could be Myrsilus.⁴⁷¹

Pittacus appears to have married after Myrsilus' death; Alcaeus appears to always connect the marriage with sole-rule.⁴⁷² Indeed, fr.70 seems to suggest that Myrsilus is gone (ὥς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω[, fr.70.7, glossed: ὥς κ(αὶ) πρώην μ(ετὰ) τοῦ Μυρσίλ(ου)) and the delightful

⁴⁶⁸ Trumpf 1958: 67.

⁴⁶⁹ Liberman 1999: xx.

⁴⁷⁰ Porro 1994: 100-102.

⁴⁷¹ Barner 1967: 85 n.3; Liberman 1999: 223 n.202.

⁴⁷² De Libero 1996: 320-321.

glory goes to Pittacus, while in fr.5, the marriage is mentioned beside βασιλευς ἔχην and bodyguards. Similarly, fr.75 mentions the Pentilids before going on about being a τύραννος. The marriage implies the Pentilids' continued prestige in Mytilene; Gagné suggests that by calling the Pentilids Atreids in fr.70, Alcaeus tries to flip this advantage by introducing the Atreids' ancestral fault.⁴⁷³ If so, Alcaeus implies the bad have found each other (the ancestrally bad Pentilid with the *kakopatrid* Pittacus).

The nature of Pittacus' rule too is unclear. Pittacus is called αἰσυμνήτης (Aristotle *Pol.* III.1285^a), τύραννος (Alcaeus, Suda, D.L.), βασιλεύς (*PMG* 869), and νομοθέτης (e.g. Diod. 9.11.1, Aristotle *Pol.* III.1274^b). I will only consider the earliest testimonies, for brevity. The specifics of these terms are debated, but αἰσυμνήτης has largely escaped controversy. Despite Romer's article problematising Aristotle's αἰρετή τυραννίς,⁴⁷⁴ most standard handbooks and scholars still consider this to be an important aspect of Pittacus' sole-rule. According to Romer: Aristotle considers Pittacus and the αἰσυμνήτης as a type of μοναρχία, like τυραννίς in being autocratic and βασιλεία in being elective or having a willing populace (*Pol.* III.1285^{ab}); Alcaeus' verses only attest to Alcaeus calling Pittacus a τύραννος, not that they *elected* him since ἐτάσαντο (fr.348.3) means only that some group established Pittacus as τύραννος, while ἐπαίνεντες is used technically to mean agreeing to or ratifying a decision;⁴⁷⁵ the obvious parallel of Solon putting an end to στάσις by being a mediator then leaving for ten years clearly influenced Aristotle's definition,⁴⁷⁶ helped by cognates of αἰσυμνήτης in Homer meaning mediator. This seems sound. Faraguna emphasised the idea of the mediator at the core of the essence of the αἰσυμνήτης, considering Pittacus and others known as αἰσυμνήτης in Classical Greece (mostly in Ionia) as well as in the cult title of Dionysus at Patrae in Achaia.⁴⁷⁷ He also interestingly highlights the Aristotelian

⁴⁷³ Gagné 2009.

⁴⁷⁴ Romer 1982.

⁴⁷⁵ Romer 1982: 32.

⁴⁷⁶ Romer 1982: 36-38.

⁴⁷⁷ Faraguna 2005.

Constitution of the Cumaeans fr.524 Rose (αἰσυμνήτην τὸν ἄρχοντα λέγεσθαι), compares the Phaeacian αἰσυμνήτης (*Od.*8.528-560), and highlights αἰσυμνήται as eponymous officials in some πόλεις (especially Miletus); Faraguna thus considers αἰσυμνήτης an early civic official.

It remains unclear if searching for the essence of the αἰσυμνήτης is helpful. The Milesians, Naxians, Teans, and Patraean Dionysus are too late to serve as contemporary parallels, and they are all controversial and different from each other. The Cumaeans are interesting (as Aeolians), but we return to Aristotle, and the *Suda* (τ 1187, s.v. τύραννος) notes ὁ δὲ Ἄριστοτέλης ἐν Κυμαίων πολιτείαι τοὺς τυράννους φησὶ τὸ πρότερον αἰσυμνήτας καλεῖσθαι. εὐφημότερον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄνομα. Since we have no evidence beyond Aristotle for Pittacus as αἰσυμνήτης and since Aristotle's quotation of Alcaeus is the only source for an election, Pittacus as αἰσυμνήτης and his election are doubtful.

The word τύραννος itself is difficult. Many etymologies have been proposed; most assume a non-Greek word, be it from the Pre-Greek substrate or from Anatolian languages.⁴⁷⁸ The theory that it is derived from the Hieroglyphic Luwian *tarwanis* 'ruler' has found some favour,⁴⁷⁹ but presents insurmountable phonological difficulties.⁴⁸⁰ Nevertheless, due to non-Greek origins and the earliest attestation (*Archil.* fr.19) in the context of Gyges of Lydia, many assume 'oriental' origins. This is unhelpful; almost all terms for Greek political offices are not inherited from Indo-European, and if we extend the argument, not only τύραννος,⁴⁸¹ but βασιλεύς, πρύτανις, αἰσυμνήτης, and ἄναξ should be considered 'foreign'.⁴⁸² Further, if it is from Pre-Greek, it must

⁴⁷⁸ See Chantraine 1990, s.v. τύραννος for references. For Pre-Greek, Beekes 2014: 130. Labarbe 1971 provides an array of opinions from antiquity.

⁴⁷⁹ Giusfredi 2009: 141.

⁴⁸⁰ Parker 1998: 145-149.

⁴⁸¹ If τύραννος is borrowed from Luwian or Lydian, which are Indo-European, it was not inherited only to be reintroduced (through borrowing) later.

⁴⁸² Contrast e.g. κοίρανος (< PIE **keor(i)h₂*) (Beekes 2010, s.v. κοίρανος).

have been alive in non-literary contexts for centuries, and a ‘foreign’ connotation would be impossible.

Another myth about **τύραννος** is that ‘a clear and consistent concept’ of the term defined against **βασιλεία** first appears only in Thucydides,⁴⁸³ and some argue this distinction only emerged in Attic.⁴⁸⁴ The word could have negative connotations before (e.g. in Herodotus), but inconsistently,⁴⁸⁵ and most agree that the earliest attestations of the word are neutral.⁴⁸⁶

This is not entirely accurate. According to Hippias of Elis, the word entered Greek in the time of Archilochus and Euphorion claims that Gyges was the first to be called a **τύραννος**.⁴⁸⁷ Their source appears to be Archilochus fr.19, which is often interpreted as Charon making a point of saying he does not care for things that everybody wants (being rich and powerful like the tyrant Gyges). This sentiment is apparently also found in Archilochus fr.23.17-21, which scholars again claim are clear and self-evident: that everyone is jealous of tyrants and hence desirous of tyranny. However, these fragments have not been understood literarily. Archilochus fr.19 consists of a classic priamel: I care nothing for X, Y, or Z, followed by an overturning phrase. Like many priamels, the elements rejected are linked: they are all excessive; the wealth of Gyges is legendary, the deeds of the gods are beyond men, and tyranny is, I suggest, limitless power. Everyone wants these things, but those who strive for them end badly. Further, Gyges’ rule is not called a **τυραννίς**, as those who claim Archilochus demonstrates tyranny’s eastern origins do,⁴⁸⁸ but it is a separate element of the priamel. Similarly, the point in fr.23 is that the addressee has accomplished a deed of heroic proportions (**μέγα κλέος**) and she has limitless power over this **πόλις**, which now

⁴⁸³ Parker 1998: 164.

⁴⁸⁴ Parker 1998: 171.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. e.g. Dewald 2003.

⁴⁸⁶ Reaffirmed recently in Dreher 2017: 169.

⁴⁸⁷ *FGH* 6 F 6; *FHG* 3 p.72 fr.1.

⁴⁸⁸ E.g. Pleket 1969: 21; McGlew 1993: 52; De Libero 1996: 24, who is attracted also to the idea of a Lydian context for fr.23.

recognises it. Semonides fr.7.57-70's mare-woman, thought to show the simple equivalence between kings and tyrants from the juxtaposition of κρηπτοῦχος and τύραννος, can be similarly interpreted. The mare-woman is the symbol of boundlessness, free from household chores and able to force men to have sex with her several times a day, that only those with boundless power can control her. The king's or tyrant's exceptionality is clear as the only exceptions to a general rule for all men.

This latent ambiguousness is fundamental: it is as dangerous as aiming for divine deeds, accomplished with destructiveness that can engulf a city, and the norms of humanity do not apply. This becomes amplified in Solon (e.g. fr.32-34) where envy and violent consequences of τυραννίς take centre stage. The only fragment of Alcaeus where τύραννος survives with any context is the fragment quoted by Aristotle, which cannot be used independently; some have suggested that fr.34b.6's Ἰ.ραννοῖς must be neutral as fr.34b appears to be a hymn to the Dioscuri, who are perhaps called τύραννοι. However, even if fr.34b were a hymn, Ἰ.ραννοῖς might not refer to the Dioscuri and the context is entirely missing, making a disapproval of Ἰ.ραννοῖς just as likely.⁴⁸⁹ Therefore, the word could have latent negative associations due to close links with excessiveness.⁴⁹⁰ Such is the nexus of excess into which Alcaeus inserts Pittacus by calling him τύραννος.

What does Alcaeus accuse Pittacus of being? Thucydides' and Aristotle's conceptions have been hugely influential in scholarship; many differentiate τυραννίς from βασιλεία as unconstitutional sole-rule,⁴⁹¹ differentiated by how they attain power: most see δῆμος-leaning politics coupled with popular support,⁴⁹² with some adding the so-called levelling effect of hoplite

⁴⁸⁹ See further p.187.

⁴⁹⁰ The issue, then, is about morality, not constitutionality (see also below). The τύραννος is not bad *tout court*, but because he breaks the norms of elite oligarchic power-sharing through his boundless power, which is then represented moralistically in other spheres (e.g. sex, greed), particularly in lyric, where politics is often discussed moralistically (cf. e.g. ἀγαθοί/έχθλοί and κακοί/δειλοί in the *Theognidea* and Solon).

⁴⁹¹ Influentially reaffirmed by Berve 1967.

⁴⁹² E.g. Mazzarino 1989: 191-252; Mossé 1969; Pleket 1969; Lavelle 2005.

warfare.⁴⁹³ The latter has often been undermined by questions about the spread of hoplite warfare at this time, and demonstrations that hoplite warfare may not have created a collective unity due to the organisation of soldiers, that there were stark vertical differences within hoplite armour, and more.⁴⁹⁴ The former seems attractive in many cases, but does not appear universal.

In contrast, many see archaic τυραννίς as a continuation and result of elite rule and competition.⁴⁹⁵ Taking this further, Anderson claims that τυραννίς was nothing new, but rather a ‘mainstream oligarchic leadership in its most amplified form’.⁴⁹⁶ Whilst I agree with his criticisms of the common attributes of τύραννοι, he does not demonstrate that τυραννίς *per se* did not exist,⁴⁹⁷ but only that the attributes are unsuitable defining criteria. Indeed, the only attractive criterion is legitimacy, the sole criterion for Aristotle. The rest, including policies of helping other τύραννοι, policies against idleness, massive building programmes, tyrants as democratic champions, tyrants as dictators, is noise. Anderson tackles legitimacy throughout his article, but never finds the bull’s-eye. Instead, he poses questions such as ‘if a tyrannos did no more than “superimpose” his will on an otherwise unchanged apparatus of state, was his authority necessarily “illegitimate”?’ Legitimacy is key in his refutation, where he argues that their actions in becoming τύραννοι were not illegitimate and that they did not overthrow a constitution.

However, constitutional frameworks in archaic Greek πόλεις are so shadowy that it is impossible to talk about legitimacy or constitutions; instead, one requires a disturbance in the assumed order. In Mytilene, the assumed order after Pentilid rule was probably a wider oligarchic leadership. Mytilene may have had power-sharing/power-limiting structures amongst the elite

⁴⁹³ Notably Andrewes 1956; de Ste Croix 1981: 280-282; Murray 1993: 141-144.

⁴⁹⁴ E.g. van Wees 2000c.

⁴⁹⁵ Influentially, Heuß 1946; Stahl 1987; De Libero 1996.

⁴⁹⁶ Anderson 2005. Lewis 2009 argues that archaic ‘tyrants emerged from aristocratic groups fighting among themselves for power’ (26) but that they did good for the people because of the precariousness of their position.

⁴⁹⁷ This idea is developed in another direction by Mitchell 2013, who argues that τύραννοι and βασιλείς should be seen as ‘heroic rulers’ and as ‘part of a same ideological and value system’ (24).

similar to those elsewhere, such as one-year terms and time-limits before a second term of the Athenian archonship, or the *kosmos* of Dreros and Gortyn. If so, Melanchrus and others might have attempted to prolong power. Similarly, the Athenian Damasias ruled for another fourteen months after his archonship (by unknown means) only to be pushed out ‘by force’ ([Arist.], *Ath. Pol.* 13.2).⁴⁹⁸ If not, the Mytilenean elite failed to share power fairly, and discontent amongst the elite or violent competition for power led to factions winning out. Such states have been discussed by van Wees, without linking it to definitions of **τύραννοι**, and his secondary conclusions about the involvement of the **δῆμος** need not be accepted to agree that a violent intra-elite zero-sum game was common.⁴⁹⁹

Anderson’s points should be reconsidered in this light. Anderson argues that tyrants’ assumption of power did not mark a new form of sole-rule, but that ‘there was in fact no absolute distinction between early *turannoi* and orthodox oligarchic leaders’, because

‘the two groups conformed to much the same general standards of public conduct, favored much the same overall style of self-representation, and pursued the same de facto species of political power. The difference between them lay in the quantity rather than the quality of the power attained.’⁵⁰⁰

However, at a certain point, quantity becomes quality. Monopolies and cartels similarly create a qualitative difference in their behaviour from a quantitative advantage, and by virtue of the market becoming a monopoly or a cartel, the behaviours possible change. Once an individual (or faction) passes the tipping point quantitatively, this quantitative difference becomes a qualitative difference, resulting in a changed system. Such a tipping point seems to be reached at the rise of many archaic sole-rulers labelled **τύραννοι**. Thus Cypselus can exile significant portions of the Bacchiads when

⁴⁹⁸ For Pittacus ‘elected’ sole-rule, one might imagine an election as an *archon-* or *kosmos-*equivalent, then either an extension of his rule like Damasias, or an extension by the council, perhaps similar to the offer of sole-rule said to have been offered to, but refused by, Solon (Plutarch, *Sol.*xiv.3-4).

⁴⁹⁹ van Wees 2000b, 2008.

⁵⁰⁰ Anderson 2005: 202.

he becomes τύραννος. Similarly, Pittacus can banish Alcaeus. This is quite appropriate for the limitless power of the τύραννος, possibly implied in fr.141.3-4: ὦνῆρ οὔτιος ὁ μαιόμενος τὸ μέγα κρέτος | ὄνιτρέψει τάχα τὰν πόλιν (ἴνῆρ οὔτ[glossed Φίττακ(ος)). This manifest change in quality of power is reflected in Myrsilus and Pittacus being able to maintain power indefinitely, until they no longer want it or are overthrown.

Finally, was it exceptional at the time to call Pittacus τύραννος? The reference is clearly to Pittacus only at fr.348.3. At S271 fr.12a.5, μοναρχ[is found nearby, and μοναρχίαν is found in fr.6, which the marginal note and Heraclitus claim is a poem on Myrsilus, so the term may also have been used of him. At fr.302b and 34b.6, it is in the plural, so there must have been more than one τύραννος (if denoting humans in fr.34b) Alcaeus could refer to. Therefore, it was possible for Alcaeus to call the other sole-rulers in Mytilene τύραννοι, or those in other cities. Alcaeus probably called Melanchrus and/or Myrsilus τύραννοι too (cf. Strabo 13.2.3) and his audience seems to know what he meant when he did so. Nevertheless, one doubts that they called themselves τύραννοι, or that it was ever an official title (as a *de facto* position). Further, there is no evidence for temporally unlimited sole-rule in any Greek city at this time, except perhaps at Argos.⁵⁰¹ Consequently, a life-long or indeterminately long sole-rule was exceptional, appropriate for an exceptional word. Although τυραννίς appears similar to the earlier oligarchic system or other forms of sole-rule in Greece, for contemporaries it marks a change by moving from several rulers taking turns to one indefinitely.

Investigating the nature of τύραννοι is important because Alcaeus' use of the word for Pittacus is usually brushed aside without considering effects on interpretation. For example, the use of the non-official label in fr.348 would jar with formulaic, legalistic phrasing (ἐπτάκαντο, ἐπαίνεντες), emphasised by the sense of disorder (μέγ', ἀόλλεες), effectively highlighting the madness of the city in this act. Similarly, the associations of τύραννος with limitless power contrast

⁵⁰¹ Kelly 1976: Chapter 7-8; Mitchell 2013: 33; Hall 2014: 160.

with the communal nature of the act, as presented here; instead of understanding the communality of fr.348 as Alcaeus railing against popular politics, one may see him highlighting this irony through his word-choice. Indeed, this reading suits the mixed sense of outrage (ἀχόλω) and pity (βαρυδαίμονος) better than a more uniform reading of anti-popular anger. Further, the emerging idea of τύραννος as an excessive being not only plays into the topsy-turvy world here, but also adds to Pittacus' boundlessness and inhuman voraciousness elsewhere.

Broadly two views of Pittacus' social politics dominate, following scholarly divisions on tyranny (δῆμος-orientated/elite-orientated): Pittacus represented the views of a people's party, and Pittacus was an elite heading an elite faction. Both positions claim support from the word κακοπατρίδαις. This much-debated word deserves serious thought. There are four options:

- (1) Pittacus was of humble origins on his father's side;⁵⁰²
- (2) Pittacus cannot have been low-born since he is a member of Alcaeus' *hetairia* (fr.129), but κακοπατρίδαις applies because his family is Thracian;⁵⁰³
- (3) κακοπατρίδαις refers to Pittacus' politics since he supports the κάκοι as if he were one, and a noble Thracian accepted into noble circles could be reanalysed as an outsider;⁵⁰⁴
- (4) Pittacus is neither Thracian, nor low-born on his father's side, but he is a bastard from a humble mother.⁵⁰⁵

None of these is satisfactory. The fourth can be disregarded: the interpretation of fr.72, on which it relies heavily, is too uncertain, as is fr.68.⁵⁰⁶ The validity of the second is doubtful: Pittacus' Thracian origins are suspected from the Suda entry and D.L. 1.74 and can only be supported by his name, which is the name of a Thracian (Thuc. 4.107). The name is probably related to

⁵⁰² Wilamowitz 1914: 235-236.

⁵⁰³ Mazzarino 1943: 38-52; Page 1955: 170-173.

⁵⁰⁴ Rösler 1980: 186-191, followed by Kurke 1994: 84-85.

⁵⁰⁵ Gomme 1957: 255-256; Di Benedetto 1955: 100-108.

⁵⁰⁶ See pp.286-291.

Πιττάλακος, Πίτταλος/Φίτταλος, and Πίττας.⁵⁰⁷ Thracians and Greeks had coexisted for a long time, and there are many signs of interactions, from Thracian rulers using Greek, Greeks adopting Thracian names, intermarriage, and religious practices.⁵⁰⁸

The third option too can be excluded, as, at least from Alcaeus' perspective, Pittacus is not acting for the δῆμος, since Alcaeus consistently claims that Pittacus devours the πόλις and brings ruin. Even if one accepts that that is what κακοί do, κακοί, for the use of which Rösler appeals to the *Theognidea*, is much vaguer and contrasts with the specificity of κακοπατρίδαις, developed in fragments discussing parentage (e.g. fr.68, 70, 72, 298).⁵⁰⁹ On similar grounds, one can exclude the possibility that, aware of the Attic usage of εὐπατρίδης as 'defenders of the fatherland' for the anti-Pisistratid groups,⁵¹⁰ Alcaeus uses κακοπατρίδαις as 'betrayers of the fatherland'.⁵¹¹ For Alcaeus appears not to wish the δᾶμος ill will, but even claims to be its champion: δᾶμον ὑπέξ ἀχέων ῥύεσθαι (fr.129.20). He also notes that Pittacus' success is contrary to the people's interests: δᾶμον μὲν εἰς ἀνάταν ἄγων | Φιττάκῳ δὲ δίδοις κῦδος ἐπήρ[ατ]ον (fr.70.12-13, note μὲν ... δέ; similarly, fr.348.1-3, 70.7, 129.23-24, 141.4). Alcaeus saying that δᾶμος and πόλις are both suffering under Pittacus, and his repeated mention of the pains of the δᾶμος should be considered seriously in interpretation. Alcaeus portrays himself as the defender not necessarily of the most humble, but of the entire citizenry.⁵¹² Of course, anything can be claimed as the will of the people, but Alcaeus' sustained rhetoric is that he is the people's champion and Pittacus the people's ravager. This should also rule out κακοπατρίδαις suggesting Pittacus acting in the interests of the δᾶμος, whether historically true or not.

⁵⁰⁷ Detschew 1957: 371-372.

⁵⁰⁸ Fol 1991; Ilieva 2007; Tiverios 2008: 128-129.

⁵⁰⁹ Thus also Lapini 2007: 169-170. Contra Ferrari 2010: 90, who thinks Thracian origins can be reinterpreted for invective.

⁵¹⁰ Figueira 1984: especially 458; Duploux 2003.

⁵¹¹ Duploux 2003: 10. One expects this meaning for κακόπατρις, rather than for Alcaeus' κακοπατρίδης (Wackernagel 1925: 50-51=*Kl. Sch.* 2.858-859).

⁵¹² Page 1955: 177.

This leaves option one: Pittacus was of humble origins. If so, his low birth (relative to the rest of the *hetairia*) may be being attacked, perhaps reinforced by his behaviour in breaking an oath. A new variation supposes that Alcaeus purposefully mixes up absolute low birth with relative low birth in comparison with his Penthilid wife, but this must be true of any non-Penthilid bridegroom.⁵¹³ It seems more likely that Alcaeus claims his father was *κακός* in character (incorporating fr.68), and Alcaeus then exploits the ambiguity of the word to suggest humble origins. Or, he really was ‘low-born’. This can fit into the current understanding of the *hetairia* as an association of close-knit men of similar backgrounds, if Pittacus’ family is a relatively new arrival to Mytilene: just as Alcaeus mentions his great-grandparents, curiously at the usual limit between social and distant cultural memory (three generations);⁵¹⁴ perhaps all Pittacus’ *κακοπατρίδαι* shame is based on is that his family arrived within recent memory and thus could not claim (near-)legendary lineage (like the Penthilids).

However, the most attractive interpretation seems that *κακοπατρίδαι* is a slur with little basis in reality. No one seriously thinks that Alcaeus’ names for Pittacus in Diogenes (fr.429) are truthful,⁵¹⁵ so why should *κακοπατρίδαι* be different? Alcaeus perhaps undermines Pittacus by subverting a normal heroising patronymic.⁵¹⁶ If so, *κακοπατρίδαι* cannot help elucidate the

⁵¹³ Lapini 2007: 170.

⁵¹⁴ Assmann 1992: 48-56.

⁵¹⁵ This is not to deny that there might be some relation to reality. The names probably could not contradict reality (e.g. *φύκκων* makes it unlikely that Pittacus was notably thin), but they need not be entirely accurate (e.g. he is unlikely to be particularly dirty or careless).

⁵¹⁶ The power and politics of false rumours is well-attested, at least for Classical Athens: Gottesman 2014: 13-19. On topics of slander in Athens, see Süß 1910: 245-254; accusations that one’s parents are slaves, prostitutes, or foreigners (e.g. Lys. 13.18, Dem. 18.129-130, Aeschin. 2.78) or about their sexual deviance (Lys. 1.15-17, 14.41, And. 1.124) are rampant. Rumours could be lasting and politically effective: Cimon’s rumoured relationship with his sister Elpicine (already in Eupolis fr.221 KA) appears on an ostrakon (Brenne 2002: T1/67). Literature (and performance) reflected and propagated such rumours (especially in comedy: Carey 1994, Bertelli 2013) and was no less effective, as Pl. *Apol.*18d shows of Socrates’ portrayal e.g. in Aristophanes’ *Clouds*.

situation behind Pittacus' *μοναρχία*. Fr.429 raises important questions about the relationship between Alcaeus' portrayal and 'reality', which have not been explored.

Alcaeus' descriptions of Pittacus are evocative of the later *τύραννος*-tropes. Diogenes' names suggest lameness, pride, weight (i.e. greed), secretiveness, and dirtiness; elsewhere we find *κακοπατρίδαις*, wiliness (fr.69.6-7, 67.2), impiety (oath-breaking, fr.70.8-9, fr.129, fr.130b, fr.298), and sexual excess (fr.117b?). These coincide with motifs in representations of *τύραννοι* explored in structuralist frameworks as tyrant-heroes.⁵¹⁷ One could then incorporate Pittacus into folkloric tropes of untrustworthy evildoers and Alcaeus could provide a unique opportunity to observe how the negative attributes of *τύραννοι* preserved in later sources emerged in a mythology of *τύραννοι* through less than accurate invectives against them by their political enemies. Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, analysing the Oedipus myth and Cypselus' tyranny, note how 'lameness' entailed an ambivalence by marking both deficiency and signalling physical, mental, and genealogical exceptionality.⁵¹⁸ Similarly, 'reading' Pittacus in Alcaeus as a myth, his lameness could be linked with his intelligence, sexual excess, and being *κακοπατρίδαις*. However, while Vernant and Vidal-Naquet were taking the story of Cypselus as a myth, using later sources, Alcaeus is a contemporary witness to the events and these labels were probably slurs.

5.2.3. Broader Context

Little more about the social and political context is reliable. Scholars have attempted to assign individuals to clans, mostly from names: for the Archeanactids, *Ἀρχαίαναξ* (fr.468, who fortified Sigeum) and *Ἀρχεάνασσα* (Sappho fr.103Ca.4; context is uncertain, but possibly relating to Pleistodice); for the Cleanactids, *Κλεάνωρ* (S263.11=fr.306B.11 Liberman) and *Κλείς* (Sappho fr.98b.1, 132.2, 252, 253; supplements at 298a.1, 98b.1, 213Ag.6); for the Polyanactids, *Πωλύνακτις* (Sappho fr.155); for the Penthilids, *Πένθιλος* (fr.469, 472; cf. *Πενθίληος*,

⁵¹⁷ Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988b, Catenacci 1996, Luraghi 2015: 72-77.

⁵¹⁸ Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988: 209-212.

fr.75.10, Sappho fr.71.3). However, no key players have been convincingly identified. Nevertheless, Ferrari's suggestions have gained some traction:⁵¹⁹ he accepts Κλεανακτίδαν (fr.112.23) as Myrsilus, following the scholion in the right-hand margin,⁵²⁰ adducing Cleanor (S263.11) who is possibly said to be his father;⁵²¹ he further assumes that Sappho is a Cleanactid from the name of her mother and daughter Cleis, related to the **klen-* root,⁵²² noting the Anatolian name Myrsilus and the possible Semitic origin of Sappho's name.⁵²³

It is unclear whether the **klen-* root can reliably identify Cleanactids; this principle, in the extreme, would merge the clans since most have ἄναξ in their names (and what about Anactoria?). Further, the Sapphic link is weak; Ferrari admits that Sappho's brothers (Charaxus, Larichus) lack the **klen-* root, instead suggesting that membership of the Cleanactids depended on the female line, with the phenomenon absent on the male side.⁵²⁴ But if so, what about Cleanor? Indeed, Cleanor in S263.11 seems unlikely to be Myrsilus' father.⁵²⁵ And what about Κλεωνα[(fr.306a.14)? Lobel wondered if this could be for Κλεάναξ, but **klen-wana-* cannot yield Κλεώναξ. Probably Κλέων (nom.) or Κλέωνα (acc.) should be read. Only the identification of Myrsilus as a Cleanactid in fr.112 remains possibly acceptable. Ferrari further suggests that Pittacus is a Polyanctid, arguing from the similarity of fr.303Aa (=Sappho fr.99 i.1-9 LP) to the symposium in fr.70.3-5, and suggesting that Archeanactides in fr.112.24 is a proper name (not a patronymic), with the gloss (τὸν) Φιττακ(όν) explaining the former element (in the lacuna), noting that the only known attestation of Polyanax is from Apollonia Pontica (*IGBulg* I² 458.1 and 2, from 4th/3rd century BC).⁵²⁶ This is enticing, but very fragile. Indeed, even the attribution of fr.303Aa is uncertain, beside

⁵¹⁹ E.g. followed by Benelli 2017.

⁵²⁰ Accepting also with Mazzarino 1943: 56-57 the emendation of Strabo 13.2.3 above.

⁵²¹ Ferrari 2010: 10.

⁵²² Ferrari 2010: 17.

⁵²³ Ferrari 2010: 17-18.

⁵²⁴ Ferrari 2010: 17 n.2.

⁵²⁵ See pp.135-136.

⁵²⁶ Ferrari 2010: 82-89.

which the Polyanactids are unattested in Alcaeus or his testimonia. No identification solves the problem in Strabo 13.2.3 (above); with Wilamowitz's deletion of $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$, it is strange for Myrsilus, a Cleanactid, to become allied with Pittacus, when he is directly involved in the fall of Melanchrus, who is also said to be a Cleanactid here, but with $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$, the identifications fall.⁵²⁷ Either Strabo's statement or the gloss must be ignored to resolve this impasse.

Near Eastern connections are important in Mytilenean society. The Lydians offered Alcaeus 2000 staters (fr.69), either suggesting a great interest in the workings of Mytilenean politics or hiring the faction as mercenaries.⁵²⁸ If the fox is Pittacus, this must have happened during Pittacus' sole-rule. Some see Myrsilus (for Mazzarino, the Cleanactids in general), arguing from his 'Lydian' name, as a commercial ally of Lydia, which was exploited for political ends.⁵²⁹ Such arguments are unsatisfactory. For example, Mazzarino's relies on Sappho fr.98, arguing that the Lydian headband was not easily available in Sappho's mother's day, suggesting that the Cleanactids began the trade. However, such headbands were already widely distributed (e.g in Alcman's Sparta (1.67)). Further, it seems incomprehensible for there to be little trade between Mytilene and Lydia even a generation earlier, given the proximity, and the amount of cultural exchange from extensive similarities between Lesbian and Near Eastern compositions,⁵³⁰ suggesting prolonged contact, to the invention of the harp ($\pi\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma$, fr.36.5, Sappho fr.156.1) by Terpander a generation earlier, which (at least at Pindar fr.125) was inspired by Lydian banquets.

Some claim that Mytilenean political troubles were related to different attitudes of the elite towards Lydian luxury. Building on Mazzarino and Lombardo,⁵³¹ Kurke claims that Sappho's "I love *habrosune*" is a programmatic political statement. It means, I align myself with an aristocratic

⁵²⁷ Pugliese-Carratelli 1944: 170.

⁵²⁸ Cf. pp.292-297. On mercenaries: pp.254-256.

⁵²⁹ Gallavotti 1948a: 24-25; Mazzarino 1943: 57-61. Burnett 1983: 112 dismisses them by claiming (wrongly) that fr.305a 'proves that Myrsilus had been at some point allied with Alcaeus' own noble faction'.

⁵³⁰ West 1997: 526-532

⁵³¹ Mazzarino 1947: 191-246; Lombardo 1983.

elite that has strong ties with the East.⁵³² This has been accepted by many, including Ferrari in his reconstruction of Sappho's communities and rivalries, explaining Sappho's attacks on rustic dress as a part of rival schools teaching rival lifestyles.⁵³³ Such an explanation aligns with another widespread belief, that Pittacus limited trade with the East, deduced from his sumptuary legislations on burial and inebriation,⁵³⁴ which, they claim, explains Sappho's lack of headband. Even if the sources for these laws are reliable,⁵³⁵ it is unreasonable to think of Sappho fr.58.25 (= 'ἄβροσύνα poem' l.3) as a political statement; it is the only occurrence of a *habros*-word in the Lesbians, and the Cologne fragment shows ἄβροσύνα is closely related to ἔρος rather than luxury.⁵³⁶ Further, symposia need not be publicly visible, except the κῶμος, which might be indirectly controlled in this way; funeral expenditure was already on the decline at this period across Greece, with elite money flowing to rural sanctuaries instead (and towers in Lesbos).⁵³⁷ Moreover, if Sappho's fashions are dictated by her family politics, it is surprising that we find nothing similar in Alcaeus. Further, Pittacus is as much of a drinker and symposiast as anyone (fr.70, 72, 429).⁵³⁸

Moreover, stopping or limiting trade is economically and historically nonsensical. Mytilene and Hieria's territories together are still smaller than the agricultural area of Arisbe, from which Bresson argues that Mytilene's wealth and power comes from trade with the Near East.⁵³⁹ Indeed, Mytilene, exceptionally in Lesbos, did not invest in archaic towers or enclosures, whose primary

⁵³² Kurke 1992: 96.

⁵³³ Ferrari 2010.

⁵³⁴ Mazzarino 1947: 193; Lombardo 1983: 1100-1101; Benelli 2017: 21. Funeral laws: Cic. *De leg.* 2.64-66; inebriation: Aristotle, *Pol.* II.1274^b; cf. *Rhet.* II.1402^b; [Plu.] *Sept. sap.* 13.155.

⁵³⁵ The law on funerals is first attested in Cicero, and one suspects an approximation to Solon. The law on drunkenness is attested in Aristotle, but, as Bernhardt 2003: 32 notes, there are good reasons to be sceptical of his sources. Some argue against the historicity from their views of aristocratic behaviour (e.g. De Libero 1996: 327-328).

⁵³⁶ West 2005: 7-8, with n.9.

⁵³⁷ Spencer 1995b.

⁵³⁸ On the flaws of the 'elite' v. 'middling' worldview model, see Ma 2016.

⁵³⁹ Bresson 1983.

function appears to be elite display of wealth with a communal angle,⁵⁴⁰ perhaps because Mytilenean elites were more outward-looking and seeking ventures abroad.⁵⁴¹ Indeed, Lesbian ceramics are found even in Ashkelon before 604; at Naucratis, despite no pots securely from Lesbos itself, two early sixth-century grey wares from the Troad dedicated by Mytileneans (BM GR.1888.6-1.634; BM GR.1888.6-1.613a) are found, while another from the Troad (without inscription) and an oinochoe from Cyme/Larisa are from the late seventh or early sixth century.⁵⁴² Further, the implied wealth of Sappho's brother, Charaxus, who is involved in the wine-trade suggests its lucrativeness.⁵⁴³

The political turmoil has also been seen as a reaction against 'ethnic discrimination against Mytileneans of Thracian or Anatolian origin'.⁵⁴⁴ However, this idea, based on names, is unpersuasive for disregarding earlier Lesbian history; in the Bronze Age, Lesbos is archaeologically speaking 'an outpost of Anatolia', with ceramics and metalwork indicating a cultural extension of Anatolia and the Troad,⁵⁴⁵ while Protogeometric and Geometric Greek material is just as rare as Mycenaean wares.⁵⁴⁶ Even after the 'Aeolic migration', Lesbos preserves a conservative Anatolian influence archaeologically through the archaic period.⁵⁴⁷ Further, Lesbos is one of the few Greek places attested in Hittite sources: KUB V.6 (13th century) mentions a divinity of Lazba city (and that of Ahhiwaya (Achaea)) brought to Hattusa, and KUB XIX.5 (13th century) mentions the capture and removal of workers from Lazba by Pjamaradu of Milawanda (Miletus). Unlike Milawanda, which was Ahhiyawa's mainland outpost and never under Hittite influence for long,⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁰ Spencer 1995b.

⁵⁴¹ Spencer 2000. However, other Lesbians do participate in some colonisation, especially in Thrace.

⁵⁴² Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006: 62.

⁵⁴³ Hdt. 2.135; Strabo 17.1.33; Athen. 13.596b-c; now also Sappho's 'Brothers' Poem'.

⁵⁴⁴ Wallace 2009: 412.

⁵⁴⁵ Spencer 1995c: 273-275.

⁵⁴⁶ Spencer 1995c: 275-277.

⁵⁴⁷ Spencer 1995c: 293-303.

⁵⁴⁸ Collins 2010: 59, 62, with references to debates about the extent of Mycenaean presence.

Lesbos was an integrated into the Hittite empire through the Seha River Land,⁵⁴⁹ and is listed in the *Iliad* within Priam's dominion.⁵⁵⁰ Given the popularity of Mursili's name throughout Anatolia, it would not be surprising for an island long under Hittite influence to preserve the name in its population. For whatever reason, the Aeolians did not organise their cities into *phylai*;⁵⁵¹ archaeological evidence suggests integration in both directions. Furthermore, it is arbitrary to group Thracian and Anatolian identities together. Since *κακοπατρίδαις* as 'foreign' remains unlikely, there is no basis for racial tensions.

Finally, Tausend has suggested that the Lydian king offered Alcaeus 2000 staters because he had been vexed by Pittacus' campaign in Sigeum, in the Lydian sphere of influence.⁵⁵² This is unlikely; Alcaeus too was involved alongside Pittacus (fr.401B). More importantly, the war was with the Athenians, not the Lydians. Further, Mytilene held a large and profitable *peraia* in the Troad and Aeolis, stretching as far north as Ophryneum until 427 BC (following Mytilene's failed revolt against Athens).⁵⁵³

The question remains why the Lydians gave Alcaeus money. Mytileneans and Lydians are in close contact with each other: the Mytilenean *peraia* on the coast of Asia Minor was the breadbasket of Mytilene, with no independent urban centres,⁵⁵⁴ and most *πόλεις* on the coast opposite were subject to Mytilene,⁵⁵⁵ while there appears to be movement between Mytilene and Sardis even of women (cf. Anactoria of Sa. fr.16 and the woman in Sa. fr.96). Geographically, the Anatolian coast is visible from most of the northern, eastern, and southern coast of Lesbos, even from as far away as ancient Antissa or Cape Phocas; the mountainous terrain means travel was easier with Asia

⁵⁴⁹ Starke 1997: 451; Hawkins 1998: 23-24.

⁵⁵⁰ *Il.*24.544-545. Latacz 2004: 273; West 2011: 421. On the possible location of Lazba, see Tausend and Tausend 2006.

⁵⁵¹ Funke 1993.

⁵⁵² Tausend and Tausend 2006: 102-107.

⁵⁵³ Ellis-Evans 2019: 156-159.

⁵⁵⁴ Kondis 1978: 58-76.

⁵⁵⁵ Mason 1993: 228.

Minor than between Lesbian cities. Further, the history of contact between Aeolic and Ionian settlements and Lydia is long, with potters at Sardis already influenced by Greek Protogeometric style in the 10th century BC,⁵⁵⁶ and trade intensifying from the second half of the 8th century and culminating in the first half of the 6th century BC.⁵⁵⁷ Politically, the Lydians employed a variety of strategies for influence in Ionia and the Aeolis, from bribery (Alyattes against the Colophonians: Polyaeus 7.2) and war (Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes against Miletus: Herodotus 1.14-22) to marriage (Alyattes' daughter to Melas, tyrant of Ephesus: Aelian, *VH* 3.26) and religious observation (votives offerings to Delphi by Gyges (Hdt. 1.14), Alyattes (Hdt. 1.25), and Croesus (Hdt. 1.50-51); to Didyma: Hdt. 1.92). We even hear of Ardys, son of Adyattes, king of Lydia, in exile in Aeolian Cyme (Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90 F44), which story is reflected through a Greek source in the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Cumaeans* (Arist. fr.611.36 Rose).⁵⁵⁸ Thus, Lydian support for one faction over another in a neighbouring Greek πόλις does not seem extraordinary.

5.3. Dates

Having established a relative chronology, we now turn to absolute chronology. While absolute dates may not affect literary interpretations as much, they remain important for contextualising the poets more broadly.

The only absolute date in Alcaeus' *ipsissima verba* is Nebuchadrezzar's destruction of Ashkelon, to which scholars believe fr.48 alludes, which is securely dated to Kislev (November/December) 604 BC as it is recorded in the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (BM 21946).⁵⁵⁹ Unfortunately, there is no indication of where this fits within Alcaeus' life, other than, if Alcaeus knew about Ashkelon through the involvement of his brother in that expedition and fr.350 refers

⁵⁵⁶ Kerschner 2010: 248.

⁵⁵⁷ Kerschner 2010: 252.

⁵⁵⁸ On this story, see Paradiso's commentary in *BNJ* 90 F44a.

⁵⁵⁹ See pp.254-256.

to the same expedition, which is uncertain, he is old enough to be a symposiast when he welcomes Antimenidas back.

The chronographical tradition offers other ‘absolute dates’ in combination with synchronisms. Eusebius preserves:

OL 43.2 (607/6): Pittacus Mytilenaeus, qui de septem sapientibus fuit, cum Frynone Atheniensi Olympionice congressus eum interfecit.

AA 1409 (607/6): Pittak der Mitylenäer, einer von dem Sieben Weisen, kämpfte mit Phrion dem Athener den olympischen Einzelkampf und tötete jenen.

OL 45.1 (600/599): Sappho et Alchaeus poetae clari habentur.

AA 1421 (595/94): Sappho und Alkeos als Poeten gekannt.

The Suda does not preserve much of use under Ἀλκαῖος, but under Καπφῶ, notes γεγονυῖα κατὰ τὴν μβ’ Ὀλυμπιάδα [42nd Olympiad=612-609], ὅτε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Πιττακός, and under Πιττακός:

οὗτος γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λβ’ Ὀλυμπιάδα [32nd Olympiad=652-649], εἷς καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ζ’ σοφῶν. ἔγραψε νόμους καὶ τῇ μβ’ Ὀλυμπιάδι [42nd Olympiad=612-609] Μέλαγχρον τὸν τύραννον Μιτυλήνης ἀνεῖλε καὶ Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν Ἀθηναίων πολεμοῦντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σιγείου μονομαχῶν ἀπέκτεινε, δικτύῳ περιβαλὼν αὐτόν. γηραιὸς δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενος στρατηγεῖν ἔφη· ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.

Further, D.L. 1.79 notes:

Ἦκμαζε [sc. Πιττακός] μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα [42nd Olympiad=612-609]· ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος [3rd year of 52nd Olympiad=570/69], βιοῦς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα, ἤδη γηραιός.

The Suda and Diogenes appear to draw on the same source with the coincidence of the 42nd Olympiad: Diogenes preserves Pittacus’ acme in the same Olympiad as the Suda preserves for his

overthrowing of Melanchrus, an appropriate acme. This takes away the evidence for his birth year forty years earlier (32nd Olympiad).⁵⁶⁰ The source is probably Apollodorus (2nd c. BC) via Sosicrates, as Diogenes cites Apollodorus (1.74) for Periander’s arbitration of the Sigean War and the form of the statement (1.79) with the archon’s name, Olympic year, and age at death is elsewhere in Diogenes attributed to Sosicrates, often his source for Apollodorus.⁵⁶¹ The death-year is troublesome: Diogenes suggest he died after more than eighty years, not merely seventy. Thus Jacoby assumes dittography of β of the acme-date (μβ’) in the Olympiad number for his death (νβ’ for original ν’).⁵⁶² Mosshammer notes that the Eusebian dates for the duel in Sigeum (607/606) fall in between the acme and rule, as well as being another part of the ten-year interval pattern, and also expects Apollodorus to have given dates for Periander’s arbitration and Alcaeus’ exile.⁵⁶³ As the Eusebian *floruit* of Sappho and Alcaeus (600/599 or 595/594) coincides with the interval between Pittacus’ duel and his rule, and the same date would probably have been given by the Parian Marble A.36 for Sappho’s exile,⁵⁶⁴ a tradition dates Sappho’s and Alcaeus’ exiles to 600/599 or 595/594.⁵⁶⁵ If Jacoby’s emendation of ‘seventy years’ is accepted, Pittacus ruling for ten years then living another ten in retirement (D.L. 1.75) can be included, to offer the following Apollodoran chronology:

birth of Pittacus (Suda): 652-649;

Pittacus’ acme/40th year (Diogenes) and overthrow of Melanchrus (Suda): 612-609;

Pittacus’ duel (Eusebius): 607/606;

⁵⁶⁰ Mosshammer 1979: 113-127.

⁵⁶¹ Mosshammer 1979: 247.

⁵⁶² Commentary to *FGrHist* 244 F 27b; this is preferable to Diogenes confusing the date of Pittacus’ death with that of his retirement in Jacoby 1902: 162.

⁵⁶³ Mosshammer 1979: 249-250.

⁵⁶⁴ ἀφ’ οὗ Σαπφῶ ἐγ Μυτιλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε φυγοῦσα [---|--- ἄρχο]ντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν Κριτίου τοῦ προτέρου, ἐν Κυρακούσσαις δὲ τῶν γαμῶρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν (Parian Marble A 35, text of Rotstein 2016). Jacoby in commentary to *FGrH* 239 A36 links the Parian Marble with Eusebius here. The date on the marble is missing, but with 605/603 for A35 and 591/590 for A37, it must be between 602 and 592.

⁵⁶⁵ Mosshammer 1979: 250.

exile of Sappho (Parian Marble) and Alcaeus (Eusebius, through Sappho): 600/599 or 595/594;

Pittacus' rule (Diogenes): 597/596-588/587;

and Pittacus' retirement and death (Diogenes): 587/586-578/577.

This neat reconstruction by Mosshammer requires re-examination: Alcaeus is not mentioned beside Sappho on the Parian Marble. Nevertheless, Sappho-Alcaeus synchronism probably goes at least as far back as Apollodorus as Eusebius and the Suda show it, and the same political situation could have exiled Sappho and Alcaeus (the exile-date is not essential for the chronology). The Suda also suggests that the 42nd Olympiad was Sappho's *birth-year*, which affects other dates. This does not necessarily refute the common tradition behind the shared 42nd Olympiad of the Pittacus' overthrow of Melanchrus (Suda) and Pittacus' acme (Diogenes) as the Suda on Sappho does not mention Melanchrus' fall. In textual-critical terms, one could easily suppose that the compiler or a copyist (1) began with a passage like its entry for Pittacus (birth-Olympiad followed by acme-Olympiad) but compressed them, or (2) began with such an entry but skipped ahead (from λβ' to μβ'). This mechanical mistake would not seriously question the date's reliability. Further, γέγονε also appears to have been used by chronographers to mean 'was born' and 'he lived' (i.e. 'had his/her acme'), though this has been questioned.⁵⁶⁶

The ultimate source of these dates is also tricky.⁵⁶⁷ Perhaps Pittacus' rule was recorded in a Mytilenean ruler-list, though even if so, it was probably not contemporary.⁵⁶⁸ If so, a local tradition would be behind these dates, which may have influenced Lesbian chronographers (e.g. Phainias, Hellanicus). Even if these dates are only approximate, the fact that the dates of fr.49 and the chronographic tradition overlap is encouraging. To these should be added a possible mention of a

⁵⁶⁶ Rohde 1878, problematised in Shaw 2003: 79-81.

⁵⁶⁷ Mosshammer 1979: 251-254.

⁵⁶⁸ Jacoby 1902: 163; Jacoby's commentary on *FGrHist* 244 F27; Mosshammer 1979: 246. The Athenian archon-list appears to have been published around 425 BC, with the earlier archons recorded from memory (or created): cf. e.g. Miller 1969.

war between Alyattes of Lydia and Astyages of Media, if the supplements are correct, in fr.306Ae.12-13, which, in combination with the Eusebian dates for a war in 582/1 (583/2 Armenian version) and in 577/6 (574/3 Armenian version), could suggest Alcaeus' knowledge of an event as late as 574/3.⁵⁶⁹

Against this chronology is Herodotus' account of the Sigean War, which inspired the influential lower dating.⁵⁷⁰ Herodotus 5.94-5 quotes fr.401B in his account, where Hegesistratus, a son of Pisistratus, was in charge of Sigeum, and Periander mediated in the war. The mismatch in the dates of Hegesistratus and Pisistratus on the one hand and Alcaeus, Pittacus, and Periander on the other is called 'ein altes Skandalon der Chronologie Herodots'.⁵⁷¹ It would be easy to dismiss Herodotus' account as an extrapolation, were the episode not also told in Strabo xiii.1.38-40 and D.L. 1.74-75, which broadly agree with Herodotus but also appear independent of him as they include other details. I suspect here that we are dealing with one tradition; for Strabo, Diogenes, and the Suda τ 1659 (s.v. Πιπτακός) all agree on the non-Herodotean details: Pittacus, one of the Seven Wise Men, was the στρατηγός, had a one-to-one encounter with Phrynon, an Olympian victor, whom he killed through deception with a net. Diogenes also names his source for the arbitration under Periander as Apollodorus, who must be a strong candidate for the source of Strabo, Diogenes, and the Suda, especially as Diogenes and the Suda use Apollodorus' dates.

⁵⁶⁹ Huxley 1965 reconciles these dates with Herodotus 1.74, which suggests that Alyattes fought against Cyaxares and that the war ended soon after the battle of the eclipse (585 BC): '(1) Kyaxares was king of Media *ca.* 590 at the beginning of the Lydo-Median war. (2) He died during the war. (3) Astyages conducted the war, after the death of Kyaxares; but (4) it is not certain whether Kyaxares or Astyages was king of Media at the time of the eclipse said to have been predicted by Thales. (5) Astyages was already king, no longer crown prince, when he married Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes. (6) There were no hostilities after the marriage.' (205).

⁵⁷⁰ Beloch 1912-1927: I.ii 355-356, 363-364, followed by e.g. Mazzarino 1943: 73-78 and Fehling 1985.

⁵⁷¹ Fehling 1985: 107.

If so, the source of this extra-Herodotean information (and hence of Diogenes)⁵⁷² may be the Wise-Men tradition. Indeed, not only do all the sources call him one of the Seven Wise Men, the style is typical of the Wise-Men tradition. The typological characteristics of the Wise Men include their political and strategic ‘wisdom’,⁵⁷³ and the use of it for the good of the community.⁵⁷⁴ Furthermore, if the Suda’s γηραιὸς δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενος στρατηγεῖν ἔφη· ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι is part of the Sigean episode, it is the report of the performance of wisdom, which has been argued to be the key shared characteristic of the Seven Wise Men,⁵⁷⁵ as his wisdom as fighter and duty as *strategos* wins the bout. Even if not, its position in the entry next to the episode suggests a deep affinity with the Wise-Men tradition. Similarly, the paragraph following Diogenes’ account (i.e. D.L. 1.75) where his governmental role,⁵⁷⁶ the religious wisdom in establishing a shrine on the land granted by the Mytileneans called Πιττάκειος,⁵⁷⁷ and a supposed refusal of money (from Croesus,⁵⁷⁸ who is linked to the Wise-Men tradition),⁵⁷⁹ is full of Wise-Men characteristics that make this section very likely to come from that tradition. Finally, ὦσι κράτης δέ φησιν ὅτι ὀλίγον ἀποτεμόμενος ἔφη τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντός πλεῖον εἶναι (regarding the land) (D.L. 1.75) shows Diogenes quoting his chief source for Apollodorus testifying to a quintessential Wise-Man performance of aphoristic, paradoxical, self-less ‘wisdom’-gnome.

The Sigean War should be considered in this context. Periander’s appearance is somewhat unexpected, as an arbitrator is unnecessary after a duel. Presumably, this is why Strabo adds

⁵⁷² This does not necessarily contradict Jacoby’s reconstruction of Mytilenean records similar to the Athenian archon-list for sources of Apollodorus, as the Wise-Men tradition could have been inspired by/the basis of these later public records. However, Mytilenean public record would probably not name Pittacus as ‘one of the Seven Wise Men’, as such public lists aim for uniformity of information and presentation.

⁵⁷³ Rösler 1991: 360; Martin 1993: 115.

⁵⁷⁴ Rösler 1991: 360.

⁵⁷⁵ Martin 1993: *passim*, especially 115-124.

⁵⁷⁶ Rösler 1991: 360; Martin 1993: 115.

⁵⁷⁷ Rösler 1991: 360-362; Busine 2002: 37-38.

⁵⁷⁸ Busine 2002: 17-26.

⁵⁷⁹ Rösler 1991: 360.

μένοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου; similarly, Diogenes' statements fail to make sense as a judgement: for Athens, it is not a success, and it is difficult to imagine Mytileneans honouring Pittacus in these circumstances. Modern scholars are not alone in bewilderment, as Demetrius argues against Timaeus' mention of Periander fortifying Achilleum. Demetrius' objection is surely justified.⁵⁸⁰ The solution that the Suda's Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν Ἀθηναίων πολεμοῦντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Cιγείου μονομαχῶν ἀπέκτεινε is wrong (or rather modern scholars have read it wrong by assuming ὑπὲρ τοῦ Cιγείου goes with μονομαχῶν rather than πολεμοῦντα), but that it is over Achilleum that Pittacus fights a duel, and that Periander rejects the claims of both parties for the entire Troad but assigns to each what they have under the principle of *uti possidetis*, remains attractive.⁵⁸¹ However, Strabo does not mention when Periander is said by Timaeus to have fortified Achilleum, and it makes sense if Periander required Achilleum be fortified as part of his judgement.⁵⁸² Nevertheless, it is unclear what this would achieve.

Periander's story may be explained by the Wise-Men tradition. The conception of the Wise Men is heavily influenced by Solon, and the myths around Solon have consistently been applied also to the other Wise-Men figures.⁵⁸³ Here, Periander's role as an arbitrator is suspiciously like his role as judge in the story of Arion (Herodotus 1.23-4), and Solon's as διαλλακτής. Further, the synchronism of Pittacus and Periander is unsurprising with the progressive synchronism of the Wise Men and the myths of their contests and banquets.⁵⁸⁴ Despite the Wise Men not being fixed by

⁵⁸⁰ Similarly, Servais 1969: 46; Lapini 1996: 86.

⁵⁸¹ Jacoby 1902: 157-158, joined by e.g. Manfredini 1981: 267; Nenci 1994: 302; Lapini 1996: 86-87. Di Benedetto 1955: 114-115 claims that the Periander's intervention presupposes a disfavoured situation for the Mytileneans and that this was due to Alcaeus, who was responsible for the defeat in which he fled leaving his shield; this is unattractive as there is no evidence that the Mytileneans and Athenians did not simply tire of a long war or that Alcaeus was the leader responsible, and it gives too much historical value to what is clearly a *topos* (cf. Archilochus fr.5; Anacreon 381b).

⁵⁸² Also Lapini 1996: 86-87.

⁵⁸³ Busine 2002: 15-27, 38-40.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. also Heraclides Ponticus' synchronism of Periander and Solon at the time of Pisistratus in P.Oxy.664.

Herodotus' time, Herodotus nevertheless shows traces of the tradition,⁵⁸⁵ so Periander in Herodotus could be an early trace of his Wise-Man status. However, nothing in Periander's traditional chronology makes his participation ahistorical.⁵⁸⁶ Although Heraclides Ponticus could consider him contemporary with Pisistratus in P.Oxy.664, as he is not a gifted scholar but a popular philosopher,⁵⁸⁷ Periander may have been included through synchronism with Solon in a fictional philosophical symposium-based treatise.

Hegesistratus too is problematic. He plays an important role in the Battle of Pallene, which secures Pisistratus' third tyranny ([Aristotle], *A.P.* 17.4). Herodotus implies that this occurred before (if only just) the fall of Sardis (547/546), which serves as the *terminus ante quem*. Hegesistratus is said to be the son of a marriage during Pisistratus' first tyranny or first exile ([Aristotle], *A.P.* 17.4), which would make his birth-year 561/560 at the earliest since Pisistratus first became tyrant in the archonship of Comeas (561/560; [Aristotle], *A.P.* 14.1). With the fall of Sardis at 547/546, and hence Pallene probably at 546/545,⁵⁸⁸ Hegesistratus could not be older than fifteen years old, which does not contradict the testimony.⁵⁸⁹ However, Hegesistratus' rule of Sigeum follows Pallene but the chronographical date for Pittacus' duel is 607/606. Of course, the dates are approximate; but even if one assumes that Alcaeus was a young adult singing at his first symposium at the time of the fall of Ashkelon (604), Alcaeus would have to be at least sixty-five years old. Moreover, Pittacus is usually considered older than Alcaeus.

The only solution for the Herodotean text has usually been Page's suggestion that γάρ of πολέμεον γάρ means 'you must know'.⁵⁹⁰ This would be satisfactory if, having accepted an abrupt,

⁵⁸⁵ Busine 2002.

⁵⁸⁶ Salmon 1984: 186 n.1 considers the Cypselid chronological debate over, pointing to Servais 1969: 30-32. This is reaffirmed by Lapini 1996: *passim*, especially 149-151.

⁵⁸⁷ Gottschalk 1980.

⁵⁸⁸ [Aristotle], *A.P.* 15.2 puts Pallene at 536/535, perhaps due to misunderstanding Herodotus (Rhodes 1981: 197).

⁵⁸⁹ Rhodes 1981: 196-199.

⁵⁹⁰ Page 1955: 155-157. Similarly, Servais 1969: 43, Cataudella 1964: 217, and Hornblower 2013: 270.

long digression, we did not have an abrupt end of the digression, followed by a return to a subject (Hippias) that is not the last item (Hegesistratus) before the digression. Lapini's suggestion that the digression starts at 5.95.1 (πολεμεόντων δέ σφεων) and ends with *Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι* is better,⁵⁹¹ as it shortens the digression, and *πολεμεόντων* comes to refer to *ἐπολέμεον ... ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρόν* that presumably started in the time of Pittacus and Alcaeus, whilst removing the chronological inconsistency. Nevertheless, *Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι*, which finishes off the Alcaean digression, remains awkward as Herodotus' last mention of Athenians fighting for Sigeum before the digression was that Pisistratus had taken Sigeum by force of arms without mentioning previous occupation of Sigeum by Athenians, but the phrase must refer to how Sigeum first became Athenian. Given the influence of the Wise-Men tradition in Herodotus' account (and the Sappho-Rhodopis-Amasis synchrony),⁵⁹² Herodotus' synchronisms here seem unreliable.

Archaeology may further question the lower dating. Troy appears to have been destroyed around 650-625 BC according to the ceramic evidence of G2/3 ware and Anatolian Grey ware covered by rubble of the destruction level, with no signs of these ceramics above that layer, and it is only after this destruction that 'the first Attic, Corinthian, and East Greek vessels such as the Wild Goat Style, Ionian cups and Rosette bowls appear'.⁵⁹³ At Sigeum, excavations have uncovered Archaic Greek pottery of the late seventh to sixth century BC, with native production of Attic style pottery in the region (Swan style, a type of black figure group) confirmed by Neutron Activation Analysis, as well as East Greek styles.⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, the same East Greek pottery styles (Wild Goat Style, Ionian Cups) and Early Corinthian wares have been found at Ashkelon at the

⁵⁹¹ Lapini 1996: 84.

⁵⁹² Herodotus 2.134-135 mentions Sappho's brother being involved with Rhodopis at Naucratis during the reign of Amasis (570-526). However, as the lover of Sappho's brother is called Doricha by Sappho (fr.15b.11), the identification need not be taken seriously. For a summary of the issues, see Hutchinson 2001: 139-140, Lidov 2002.

⁵⁹³ Aslan and Pernicka 2013: 39.

⁵⁹⁴ Aslan and Pernicka 2013: 39, with bibliography.

destruction layer (and other Palestinian sites),⁵⁹⁵ as those reported of Troy and Sigeum. Attic presence at Sigeum would fall within a reasonable space of time from the fall of Ashkelon, and hence Pittacus and Alcaeus.

5.4. Conclusions

In the space of one lifetime, Mytilene experienced the fall of the Penthilid oligarchic regime, a war in the Troad, and three *μόναρχοι* interspersed with periods of a broader oligarchy, while colonising new cities and trading throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. However, it remains easier to list what we do not know than what we know: we hear of Melanchrus but scarcely anything about him; we know Myrsilus became a *μόναρχος* but not how he became *μόναρχος*, when/why he was exiled, or how he dies; we know Pittacus became sole-ruler and was called *τύραννος* by Alcaeus but not if he was elected by the some group or assumed power through a *betairia*, if he was a nobleman or low-born, and so on. Nevertheless, this chapter has dispelled some long-standing myths of Alcaean history, and attempted, unlike previous scholarship, to privilege Alcaeus' presentation of historical data to guide literary interpretation, suggesting benefits of engaging with history in a more literary way.

5.5. Appendix: Chronological Summary

No.	Event	Absolute Date	Frr. in this period	References to this period	Notes
1	Penthilid rule			<i>Arist. Pol.</i> V.1311b	Birth of Pittacus in 652-649 (Suda)
2	Megacles kills Penthilids			<i>Arist. Pol.</i> V.1311b	
3	Smerdes kills Penthilus			<i>Arist. Pol.</i> V.1311b	
4	Unclear Period				
5	Melanchrus			fr.331	
6	Melanchrus as tyrant			Strabo 13.2.3, D.L. 1.74	
7	Melanchrus overthrown by Pittacus and Alcaeus' brothers	612-609 (Suda)		D.L. 1.74, Suda	Pittacus' 40 th year (Suda)

⁵⁹⁵ Waldbaum and Magness 1997: 27-36.

8	Pittacus' duel with Phryon in Sigeum	607/606		Eusebius	Sequence unclear; between 10-19
9	Fall of Ashkelon	604 (Babylonian Chronicles)		fr.48	
10	Myrsilus' preparations for tyranny/monarchy		fr.6, 208	Heraclitus, <i>Hom. Alleg.</i> 5	
11	Myrsilus as tyrant			Strabo 13.2.3	
12	Myrsilus having bodyguards			Σ fr.60	Sequence unclear; after 10
13	Myrsilus' 'return'			Alc. Commentary fr.305a.15-21, S267	Sequence unclear; after 11, before 18
14	Oath of Pittacus and Alcaeus' group			fr.67, 129	Sequence unclear; after 10, before 18; poss. same as 15
15	Alcaeus's group plot against Myrsilus			Σ fr.114	Sequence unclear; after 10, before 18; poss. same as 14
16	Pittacus breaks oath			fr.129 (67)	Sequence unclear; after 14
17	Pittacus πῆδα Μυρσίλω			fr.70.7	Sequence unclear; after 13 and 16; poss. during 18/19?
18	Alcaeus' 1 st exile		fr.129, 130a, 130b	Σ Alc. fr.114 (Pyrrha as location)	18 and 19 - same event?
19	Sappho and Alcaeus' exile	600/599 or 595/594			
20	Death of Myrsilus		fr.332		
21	Alcaeus' 1 st return?				Deduced. Perhaps no return until after beginning of 24.
22	Alcaeus worries about Pittacus		fr.141	fr.141 (gloss)	
23	Alcaeus' 2 nd exile?			Alc. commentary fr.306Ae.5	During one period of Pittacus' rule (e.g. 24). (Changes if 21 moves)

24	Pittacus as sole-ruler	597/596-588/587 (D.L.)	fr.348	Many sources	
25	Pittacus' marriage		fr.5	frr.70, 75; D.L.	Closely related to the beginning of 24
26	Lydians give 2000 staters		fr.63, 69		
27	Alcaeus' plot against Pittacus			Alc. commentary fr.306g	Sequence unclear; after beginning of 24
28	Pittacus lets captured Alcaeus go			Diod. Sic. 9.12.3, Val. Max. 4.1 ext. 6, D.L. 1.76	Sequence unclear; after beginning of 24
29	Pittacus' retirement and death	587/586-578/577 (D.L.)		D.L.	
30	Alcaeus' 3 rd return?	Around 574/573 (Eusebius)		Alc. commentary fr.306Ae.12-13	

Table 5: Chronology in Alcaeus

Part II: Text and Interpretation

Introduction to the Papyri

This part of the thesis presents a new text and apparatus of the two largest papyrus fragments of Alcaeus, P.Oxy.1233 and P.Oxy.1234 with adjoining fragments, both of which are dated to the 2nd century AD and were largely published in 1914.⁵⁹⁶ Both are now in the Bodleian's Weston Library. P.Oxy.1233 is written in uncials similar to that of another fragment of Alcaeus (BKT 5.2.6-8 XII.2 = Alcaeus fr.58); at least one other fragment copied by the same scribe survives (P.Oxy.2307 = Alcaeus fr.306).⁵⁹⁷ P.Oxy.1234 is written in uncials similar to but less angular and contrastive than those found in the London Bacchylides (P.Lond.Lit. 46). Both papyri show editorial signs, including the paragraphos, coronis, and diplo, and preserve occasional punctuation and accentuation by original and secondary hands.⁵⁹⁸ P.Oxy.1234 further contains extensive marginal notes.

It appears that the Alexandrian editions of Alcaeus by Aristarchus and Aristophanes were not organised by metre, as for example for Sappho, and the organisation of poems into ten books remains a matter of fierce debate,⁵⁹⁹ in which our fragments play an important role. Since the widespread rejection of largely fictitious generic or content-based labels, inspired by mentions of τὰ στασιωτικά (Strabo 13.2.3) and ὕμνοι (Plu. *de mus.* 14.1135f), the debate has focused on identifying broader subdivisions or organisational patterns:

⁵⁹⁶ Hunt 1914.

⁵⁹⁷ Scribe A32 in Johnson 2004; attribution at P.Oxy.3891 (Haslam 1990).

⁵⁹⁸ On marginalia in Alcaeus: Porro 1994: 217-226. The usage of the coronis alone to divide poems differs from Hephaestion's report of the principles used for the editions of Aristarchus and Aristophanes (see Liberman 1999: xlvi-xlvii).

⁵⁹⁹ *ID.*1400.7 (τρίγωνον θήκην ἔχουσαν βιβλία Ἀλκαίου) suggests 4+3+2+1=10 structure and no book-number higher than 10 is attested (Irigoin 1993: 47-48).

- (1) According to Pardini, one can identify a properly ‘stasiotic’ group of poems related to internal Mytilenean civic strife in fr.59-111 (P.Oxy.1234), 129-138 (P.Oxy.2165), and the poems discussed in fr.306, which appear to belong to a single book, in contrast to political poems of a wider nature;⁶⁰⁰
- (2) Accepting Pardini’s division of ‘stasiotic’ and political poems, Porro suggests that the ‘stasiotic’ group was organised according to whether they relate to the rule of Myrsilus or Pittacus.⁶⁰¹
- (3) In contrast, Liberman suggests that the poems were organised chronologically.⁶⁰²

Pardini’s and Porro’s reconstructions have been convincingly refuted by Liberman in great detail,⁶⁰³ but Liberman’s view is hindered by a lack of evidence: one need only glance at the chronological table in Chapter 5 to see how few fragments can be dated to a particular period. Further, such a theory of organisation tells us very little, since it cannot help to reconstruct relative positions of poems in the edition or relative chronology, or help interpretations, as not enough fragments that follow one another are preserved and the chronology must be general anyway.⁶⁰⁴

It seems better to acknowledge that at least the book from which P.Oxy.1234 comes deals with largely political poems from a bad period for Alcaeus (the period might cover the beginnings of Pittacus’ betrayal before the exile (fr.74) and one of the exiles (frr.129-139)).⁶⁰⁵ There is certainly

⁶⁰⁰ Pardini 1991.

⁶⁰¹ Porro 1996b.

⁶⁰² Liberman 1993, Liberman 1999:liii-lx.

⁶⁰³ The greatest issues are in the arbitrary and anachronistic separation of politics within Mytilene and beyond and the overlap in poems concerning Myrsilus and Pittacus.

⁶⁰⁴ Indeed, ancient collections ordered chronologically are usually not consistently concerned with chronology: e.g. Ovid’s *Ex Ponto* and Cicero’s *Letters to Atticus*.

⁶⁰⁵ There is no reason to think that political or military poems were only found in this book, as P.Oxy.1233 also mention them (e.g. fr.36, 48). One might further question the assumption of scholars that the fragments from the same scribe are all from the same book (rather than the same set of books), which would deprive us of most of the evidence for division of books.

in this book an attempt to place poems of a similar period and place together (frr.129-139).⁶⁰⁶ However, the great variety of the content of P.Oxy.1233 (hymns (e.g. fr.34), sympotic arguments (fr.38), mythological narratives (frr. 42, 44), and other less easily classifiable items (e.g. frr.45, 48)), which do not suggest any chronological, locational, or thematic continuity in the current state, should make us pause before assuming a broad organisational principle for the entire edition, which must remain uncertain. Similarly, unlike the many connections between poems in P.Oxy.1234, there are no clear connections in neighbouring poems of P.Oxy.1233 (e.g. frr.42-45), except perhaps in frr.34-34a. The resulting picture of the organisation of poems is one of variety, in contrast to the metrical differentiation between books and alphabetical ordering within books (for at least Books 1, 2, and 4) for Sappho;⁶⁰⁷ this variety itself may be being imitated by Horace's organisation in *Odes* 1.⁶⁰⁸ Within books, one might consider groupings of poems of similar length, as frr.129-130b appear long and frr.43-45 quite short,⁶⁰⁹ although too few survive complete for much confidence.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 192-194. On thematic organisation within books (of Sappho): Neri 2015, Neri and Cinti 2017: xxxv n.38.

⁶⁰⁷ For an overview, cf. Battezzato 2018.

⁶⁰⁸ If Lyne 2005 is right to see Alcaeus Book 1 behind the ordering of *Odes* 1.

⁶⁰⁹ On the lengths of frr.43-45, see p.241 with n.832.

Chapter 6: P.Oxy.1233

33

	a		b		c

	.	.]....	.	.
	].	.	]τοσῶ	.	.
	☩κος	.	]εκκεκαλυπ	.	.
	δευρ	.	]υκεπονάμ	.	]δαυτ
	ἄβα[ι]c	5	]..σκεγήρά[.]c	.	]ντολωπ
5	έξαυω	.	]..φαφ	.	]ετιγύιαφ
	πληην	.	.	.	]τολαιφορ
	αιδεκε	.	.	5	]νδιδηο
	είc ἴραν	.	.	.	]μενοcδ
	καυωχ	.	.	.	]ωμον
10	☩μενω	.	.	.	]ν ταδα
	.	.	.	.	]νμπ

d

].....

]οc

]εcθαι

]cαν

5]ρω

]μμι

]πόλιάτᾱν

]οc

a P.Oxy.2166 (b) 11 = P.Oxy.1233 fr.10. **b** P.Oxy.2166 (b) 6 et P.Oxy.1233 fr.16 coniunxit Lobel.
c P.Oxy. 1233 fr.28, 13, 27 coniunxit Lobel. **d** P.Oxy.2081 (d) 3 et P.Oxy.1233 fr. 22 coniunxit
Hunt.

Haec fragmenta collocavit Lobel 1951: 128 seq., qui tamen scribit incertum esse utrum fragmenta
a et b et c et d ex eadem columna profecta sint an fragmenta a et b et c an solum fragmenta a et b,
quae appareant inter se magis propinqua quam cetera. Quia fragmentum d ex eadem columna
atque c profectum esse mihi non videtur (nam versus 5 fragmenti c iam finem versus praebere
apparet), puto aut fragmenta a et b et c aut solum a et b ex una columna esse. Si tamen a et b et c
ex una progrediuntur columna, tum difficile est, etsi non impossibile, unum invenire metrum quod
omnibus fragmentis conveniat (hipp^{2c} (Lieberman)).

a 8 ἶρ **9** fortasse = καὶ εὐωχ[Lobel et Page **10** dubito an coronis hic steterit (vide
infra) **b** 1].. : hasta verticalis sub lineam descendens, tum linea horizontalis curvata imis litteris
adaequata **4** νᾱ́ (accentum fecit manus secunda) fortasse ε[ἐπονάμε[cθᾱ ? **5**
aut]ο aut]ω; si ο, duo punctula [.] opinantur alii c (e.g. Lobel et Page) alii ε (e.g. editores
principes) linea transfixum esse, sed omnes valde haesitant post c (inusitatae speciei)
spatiolum vacuum est, sed non finis versus esse videtur quia ᾱ́ indicat unam saltem syllabam sequi
6].. : circuli arcus supra, tum fortasse αμφ (quod Lobel (et Lobel et Page) legi posse negare false

asseverat Liberman) vel λμφ, sed pro μ fortasse duae litterae legendae sunt :]τ' ἀμφαφ legit Hunt
 c 1 α[vel ο[2 λῶπφ[Hunt 4 litterae ç inusitatam speciem ducunt Lobel et Page,
 sed c in Alcaei fr. 34 (a) 11 φε]ροντες (id est P.Oxy.1233 fr. 4) simillimum est 5] :]φ vel]ω
 (inusitatae speciei), est etiam hastulae transversae pars, quam Lobel et Page potius deletionis quam
 ligaturae indicium esse iudicaverunt; non autem inveni alias in hac papyro ligaturas quae vel ex ο
 vel ex ω procedunt (saepe tamen e c et ε) :]ὄνδίδηο ab ὄνδίδημι ~ ἀναδέω Liberman 6]φ
 vel]ώ 8] : lineae dextrorsum descendens apex 9]ç (contra Lobel et Page) vel]λ :
 'Ο]λυμπ[Voigt d 1]λε vel]λο, tum fortasse υ vel ι vel similis, et ρ vel ψ vel φ 2]λ
 vel]μ vel]α 3] : hasta verticalis 5]γ vel]τ 8]ι vel]ν

According to Lobel's joins, we have remains of four poems:

1. frr.a.1-2+b.1-3;
2. frr.a.3-10+b.4-6+c.1-8;⁶¹⁰
3. fr.c.9;
4. fr.d.

In the first poem,] εκκεκαλυπ[, the earliest attestation of the compound ἐκκαλύπτω, suggests an unveiling or unmasking. This is appropriate for an act in the symposium as part of a game, for a gnome (perhaps involving wine, cf. fr.333), for a political poem (someone's nature is revealed?), or for a mythological narrative (someone is revealed: cf. e.g. *Il.*21.549). However, if this is the end of the poem,] εκκεκαλυπ[is unlikely to be pluperfect but probably perfect, which would be unexpected for a generalisation or the end of a myth or narrative, making a present situation in the

⁶¹⁰ The coronis at fr.a.10 looks so different from other coronides in the papyrus that it might be considered doubtful. The angle of its preserved vertical element is different, and the central line starts much further leftwards and barely penetrates the left-hand alignment; the difference from the coronis a few lines above is stark. Further, if the placement of fr.c is correct, the very short sentence at the end of the line suggested by a high point in fr.c.8 (]ν ταδα]) adds further doubt. However, the placement of fr.c depends on similar horizontal fibres in frr.a, b, and c, which cannot guarantee their coming from the same column.

symposium or in the political arena more likely. The third poem may be a hymn or mention a myth, if Ὀ]λυμπ[is right, and the fourth was probably a political poem (]πολιάταν).

The second poem preserves more. δεῦρ[(fr.(a).3), probably δεῦρ[ο, suggests an addressee, who could be human (cf. probably in fr.401b) or divine (cf. Sa. frr.2, 53, 127, 128, and probably in fr.34a.1). However,]υκεπονάμ[(fr.b.4), in the same initial line, makes a human addressee more attractive if]υκεπονάμ[contains a form of πόναμι (ἐπονάμε[σθ(α)?),⁶¹¹ which would not suit a god, even if negated (ο]ύκ). If so, δεῦρο κύμπωθι (fr.401b) seems an apt parallel, as other elements could also be symposiastic:⁶¹² ἄβα[ι]c[, ἔξασω[, πλεην[, καυωχ[, and]νδιδηο. If καυωχ[conceals καύωχ[(= καὶ εὐωχ[)], from εὐωχέω ‘I entertain sumptuously’, a symposium seems appropriate, and ἄβα[ι]c[could be understood like *συνηβάω* (cf. possibly fr.38a.11). While ἔξασω[is not otherwise attested, it could be a strengthened form of αὔω or αὔοc, which would introduce the concept of thirst,⁶¹³ suggesting draining draughts or extreme thirst. Liberman’s suggestion that]όνδιδηο is from ἀναδέω ‘I crown’ is attractive here; unfortunately, it is unparsable: it could be an athematic present imperative, but the expected Lesbian form from δίδημι is δίδε(σ)ο, while second-person singular imperfect would require an augment.⁶¹⁴ The blank space after]όνδιδηο might suggest this is the end of the line, but no other line appears to finish there, and, if the placement of the papyrus is correct, and if there is a coronis in fr.a.10, the

⁶¹¹ πόναμι: Lesbian has a long stem+athematic inflection (e.g. φίλημι, τίμαμι, στεφάνωμι ~ φιλέω, τιμάω, στεφανόω (Blümel 1982: 167-169; Hamm 1957: 138-142)); Alcaeus also has πονήμε[ν]οι (fr.5.9), πονήμ[ενοι (fr.119.17), and ἐ]πόνησας (117 (b) 23). A form of ἐπονίναμι is also possible, but the compound is not attested until Schol. Pind. III.98.7, though ὀνίνημι is common. The -a- stems are unusual, but paralleled: πονάω in Pi. O.6.11 and Theocritus, *Id.*15.80; ὀνίναμι (the reconstructed root is *h₃neh₂- (Beekes 2010, *s.v.* ὀνίνημι), so -a- is regular) in Theocritus, *Id.*7.36; ὄνασιc in Theocritus, *Id.*16.23; ἐπόνασιν in Alcaeus fr.368.2.

⁶¹² Liberman 1999: 29.

⁶¹³ αὔω: =ξηραίνω (Herodian); cf. ἀφάύω (Ar. *Eq.*394). αὔοc: cf. δίψηι δ’ εἰμι αὔη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι (IG XIV 638).

⁶¹⁴ Hamm 1957: 167 tentatively lists δίδηο from here as an imperfect, but my objections stand. The only remaining ways to understand]νδιδηο [are as a genitive singular of a substantive in -δηc (unaeolicised in transmission), or as]νδιδη with letters lost after ο.

lines must be longer (fr.c.8:]ν·ταδα); textual corruption seems likely. Finally, we might detect the ship of the symposium in seafaring vocabulary (πληην[, λαιφοϛ), but this is uncertain.

However, the most striking theme is old age, especially with *κξεγήρά[]c [* (probably containing *γηράκω*). In this context, *άβα[ι]c[* can be understood as ‘being youthful’, or as the noun, contrasting with *γηράκω*, and *έτι γυῖα φ[έρην* could refer to symptoms of old age.⁶¹⁵ Perhaps *δεκε[* (from *δέκομαι*?) hints at awaiting old age, and *είc ἴραν[* could refer to going to a city (Mytilene?).⁶¹⁶ If the former, the seafaring could be a metaphor for the journey of life;⁶¹⁷ if the latter, seafaring could be a metaphor for Alcaeus’ cause.⁶¹⁸ In either case, *έξαιω[* could mean ‘exhausted’ or ‘trembling’.⁶¹⁹

It seems likely then that the poem was a variation on drinking to forget pain and taking a rest before renewing action.⁶²⁰ The poem would start with a call to drink (*δεῦρ[*) and to forget toils (*]υκεπονάμ[]*), followed by an explanation of what is suitable for the young (*άβα[ι]c[*) and the old (*κξεγήρά[]c*), then an elaboration of the ills of old age or the tiredness of the youthful band (Alcaeus’ symposiasts) (*έξαιω[*), and a metaphor for life or wish to return to Mytilene. It returns to enjoying festivities at the end (*καύωχ[*) and staying put or waiting for something to happen (*μένω[μεν?*).

⁶¹⁵ Thus Preisshoffen 1977: 65. Cf. *οὔ μ’ έτι [...] | γυῖα φέρην δύναται* (Alcman 26.1-2). Liberman 1999: 29 (following Voigt) objects to *φ[έρην* (*vel sim.*) on metrical grounds, but short *ε* is metrical if we read *γυῖα*, instead of *γυῖα*; the diaeresis in papyri does not always (or often) indicate pronunciation as separate syllables.

⁶¹⁶ Tsomis 2001: 255, comparing *ά[κε δυναίμεθ’ ἴρ[| έc πόλιν έλθην* (fr.69.3-4).

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Sol. fr.26.

⁶¹⁸ Or an ‘allegory’ for Alcaeus’ *betairia* (Preisshoffen 1977: 65).

⁶¹⁹ *LSJ* s.v. *αὔοc*.

⁶²⁰ For a similar movement of taking a break in between work: Hor. *Carm.*1.7.

34

a

νᾶ]σον Πέλοπος λίποντε[ς

]ιμοι Δ[ίος] ἠδὲ Λήδα

..... ω]ι θύ[μ]ωι προ[φά]νητε, Κάστορ

καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κες,

5

οἱ κατ' εὐρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν

παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ' ὦ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων,

ρήα δ' ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[ν]άτω ρύεσθε

ζακρυόεντος

εὐςδ[ύγων] θρωίσκοντ[ες ..] ἄκρα νάων

10

π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι προτο[.....]ντες,

ἀργαλέαι δ' ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες

νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίνοι·

]νε[

]ος[

· · · · ·

b = 34A V.

	·	·	·
		].ανδ[
	⊕—	].ων [
		]εμπε[
		]...ν γε[
5		]δευκε[
		]παρποτ[
		].[.]τοι μειχμ[
		.].ραννοις [.]δη..[	c
		]ποίας πόριιν ἵππο[	·
10		]λίποντες Μάκαρο[	ε]πηρατ[.]αν
		]αν ἔλθετε τὰν κ[~	]γέμει [
		]ντες[.]μασδ[	]απος [
		].[	]ρωσατε[
		·	]ῥησ ἔων[
15			]πολιν [
			]ιαν [
			]ἀπὺ τῶστίω[

a P.Oxy.1233 fr.4 (vv. 1-14), v. 1 accedunt P.Oxy.2166 (b) 9, et vv. 5-7 P.Oxy.2166 (b) 3. **b et c** P.Oxy.2166 (b) 10 = **b** P.Oxy.1233 fr.5, 6, 26, **c** P.Oxy.1233 fr.7 et P.Oxy.2081 (d) 5

Haec fragmenta a et b coniunxit Lobel, id quod mihi quidem dubitationem iniicit maximam: etiam dixit ‘veri simile est hic eiusdem carminis deesse vv. octo, scilicet huius strophae reliquos duo, sequentis quattuor, ultimae strophae duo priores, ita ut totius carminis finis v. (b) 2 infra fuerit’.

a supplevit Hunt 1 δεῦτ[έ] μοι νᾶ]σον] ex Alcaei S286 ii.1 (=fr.306D Liberman) λίπ
2 παῖδες (Hunt) ἴφθι]μοι vel ὄβρι]μοι vel ἄλκι]μοι Wilamowitz 3]ω[ι]θυμω[ι], casum
correxit Hunt : εὐνόω]ι Diehl : ἰλλά]ωι Wilamowitz κάσ 4 post κεσ est linea transversa

et punctum (/·) 5 *έυ* 6 *ϸθ'* *πων·* 7 *ρήα : ρῆα* Hunt *·ρ·* super *λύ*
scripsit manus secunda 9 *υ* supra inter *ε* et *ϸ* *scripsit manus secunda* [*ύγ*] Edmonds
ρώϸ, *ι* supra inter *ω* et *ϸ* *scripsit manus secunda* *άκ* 10 *π]ήλ* *λάμ* *προ[* super
οιτϱ[*scripsit manus secunda* (unde *προτό[νων* *έπέντεϸ* Hunt) : *προ[*]*τρ[.....]ντεϸ*
intellexit Lobel et Page (unde *πρό[τον' όν]τρ[έχο]ντεϸ* Bowra) *τεϸ·* 11 *εāι* 12
ναϊ *ιναί·* 14]*οϸ[* vel]*αϸ[*
b et **c** post versum secundum finem carminis posuit Lobel, metro nitens 3 *πο[* legi posse
duxit Lobel (cf. *π]έμπω[* Hunt), sed hasta horizontalis post circulum videri potest 5 *Κάϸτορ*
καί (Diehl) *Πολύ]δευκεϸ* Snell : *ά]δευκεϸ* Lobel 8 *τ]υράννοιϸ* Hunt ante *δ* hastae
pes (*α* vel *ι*), id est []*ιδη-* legi potest, unde [*ά]ιδήλϱ[ιϸ* Liberman 9 *ίππο[ιϸί τ(ε)* Lobel
10 *Μάκαρο[ϸ νάϸον* Lobel ante *η* in linea est punctulum 11 *γαϊαν* *έϸ* *μεγάλ]αν*
Liberman *θ* ex alia littera factum est *κ[ῆνοϸ άνηρ]?* Liberman *έμ* 12
λαί]λαποϸ Hunt 14 *αίνοπ]άθηϸ* Liberman 16 aut]*α* aut]*δ* aut]*λ*

Most accept Lobel's suggestion that fr.b.1-2 form part of the same poem as fr.a. However, nothing points to the join beyond the fact that fr.b.2 looks as if it could be an adonean and the coincidence, since column-height is considered known for P.Oxy.1233,⁶²¹ that the right number of lines (eight) are missing if fr.a and b are placed in the same column. Further, fr.b.1-2 contains no recognisable words. Although nothing stands against the hypothesis, the assumption (of such conviction that fr.b.1-2 are printed as part of the text of fr.a by Voigt) must be recognised as a suggestion from convenience. Metre shows that fr.b.3 begins a new poem, though the coronis is lost.

Fr.a, in Sapphic stanzas, appears to be a cletic hymn: *δεϿτ[έ] μοι νά]ϸον*. This part of the line is supplied from S286 ii.1 (=fr.306D ii.1 Campbell/Liberman); it could belong to another (unpreserved) poem, but, given the fairly secure *προ[φά]νητε* (l.3), another imperative in the first

⁶²¹ From the join of P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 and 3 (Lobel 1923), which I consider doubtful: see pp.229-230.

two lines seems natural and calls to gods to come from their abode is a common hymnic opening.⁶²² Other elements point to the hymnic opening: naming (Κάκτορ | καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κες), genealogy (Δ[ί]ος ἠδὲ Λήδα),⁶²³ reference to their power (παῖδες ἴφθι[μοι]),⁶²⁴ and the call to be well-disposed (εὐνόω)ι θύ[μ]ωι).⁶²⁵ The second and third stanzas are occupied with a hymnic expansion of their characteristics through grammatical connection (οἱ ...).⁶²⁶

A striking feature of fr.a is its similarity to the beginning of Sappho fr.1, which also begins with an address to the goddess, her genealogy, request for her appearance, and a description of her previous appearance after leaving their abodes, as well as the help they bring to mortals. However, the tone is very different: Sappho fr.1 creates a much more intimate and urgent atmosphere. Her piled epithets (ποικιλόθρον', ἀθανάτ', δολόπλοκε, πότνια), which might otherwise have suggested a very formal beginning, are shown to have personal significance,⁶²⁷ and are scattered by parenthetical intrusions that punctuate her address as if her request cannot wait. Similarly, a sense of urgency is also conjured up as events are narrated through finite verbs (ἔκλυες, ἦλθες, ἄγον, etc.) and her sentences overrun her stanzas,⁶²⁸ creating an impression of hurried narrative (e.g. ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαια, following ἦλθες at the beginning of the third stanza, which logically follows the yoking). Moreover, the personal connection, forged in the interjection λίττομαί σε, is constantly maintained with the deictic τιδ', possessive τὰς ἑμας αὐδας, and narration from personal memory (αἰ ποτα; ἦρε' ὅτι δηῦτε πέπονθα). In contrast, excluding

⁶²² Cf. e.g. Sa. fr.2.1-2, 53; *Il*.23.770, Hes. *Op*.1-2.

⁶²³ Cf. e.g. fr.327, Sa. fr.44A.1-2=Alc. fr.304.1-2 LP, *bH*.4.1.

⁶²⁴ Cf. e.g. fr.325.1, *bH*.3.1-2.

⁶²⁵ Cf. e.g. fr.129.9-10, Anacr. 357.6-7, *bH*.3.165.

⁶²⁶ Cf. e.g. Anacr. 357.1-4, *bH*.3.1-2.

⁶²⁷ ποικιλόθρον' and δολόπλοκε, especially.

⁶²⁸ Though not clauses, in keeping with her usual practice (see Chapter 2).

δεῦτέ μοι, little links the gods and Alcaeus,⁶²⁹ and nothing binds them together in an intimate way. This may be due to a difference in the ‘argument’ of their hymns.⁶³⁰ Sappho’s argument is of the type *da quia dedisti*,⁶³¹ which is exploited to create maximum personal connection. Alcaeus’ argument, insofar as we can tell, appears to be of the type *da quia hoc dare tuum est*,⁶³² as the second and third stanzas describe the Dioscuri being a light to hopeless sailors. With such differences, and with other aeolic hymnic varieties, it seems overly positivistic to assume more than a general aeolic tradition of hymns, or even a ‘type of hymn especially cultivated by Aeolic poets of the era of Sappho and Alcaeus’.⁶³³

Further arguments may have followed, but this cannot be ascertained. However, one might expect a reason for calling the Dioscuri. Three thematic possibilities present themselves: firstly, a request to join in the banquet at which this hymn is sung;⁶³⁴ secondly, for protection for a comrade on a maritime journey (in a *propemptikon*); thirdly, for political help. An invitation for the gods to attend the symposium can be paralleled in the end of Pindar’s *O.3* (ll.36-41), and is suitable for the symposium, which featured hymns.⁶³⁵ For a *propemptikon*, very apt for a prayer to the Dioscuri, one could imagine Alcaeus asking the Dioscuri to keep his friend(s) safe, as Horace does at *C.1.3.2* for Vergil, though perhaps the perils of the trip are excessively detailed. Most, however, have sought a political reading. Since the Dioscuri are often conceived as helpers in war and represent the *καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί*, Luria considers Alcaeus and his *betairia* calling to war-gods for help in their

⁶²⁹ Even with δεῦτέ μοι, there is no reference to Alcaeus elsewhere in our surviving fragment. This, I suspect, is the reason why some scholars have found the poem intimate (e.g. Bowra 1961: 168). The request for their presence (προ[φά]νητε), however, weakly includes his presence in the background.

⁶³⁰ Bremer’s term (1981: 196) for Ausfeld’s *pars epica*, otherwise labelled *sanctio* (Danielewicz 1974).

⁶³¹ Type (3) in Bremer’s analysis.

⁶³² This is, considering the other standard types (*da quia dedi* and *da ut dem*), the least personally involved type.

⁶³³ As suggested by Martin 1972: 83 and approved by Tsomis 2001: 54.

⁶³⁴ Burnett 1983: 129.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Xenophanes fr.1 for the religious atmosphere in symposia. For the wider religious background to the symposium: Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 6-11.

civil war.⁶³⁶ In such cases, the ship would refer to Alcaeus' fugitive ship or the 'ship of state'.⁶³⁷ If a scenario relating to 'real life' is sought, Bowra's suggestion of a poem composed as 'a thanksgiving after returning from a rough voyage' seems most natural.⁶³⁸ All suggestions remain possible.

The poem's artistry has not always been appreciated: Wilamowitz labels the epithets 'ganz leerer Schmuck',⁶³⁹ which Jurenka only tolerates as 'ihn doch daraus Vater Homeros grüßte' and Fränkel attributes to tradition,⁶⁴⁰ while Page ponders whether it is a 'literary exercise'.⁶⁴¹ However, fr.a is remarkable and sophisticated.⁶⁴² From the first line, there is movement (λίποντε[ς] from the Peloponnese, which, fittingly for gods, is made a land of myths by its designation (νᾶ]CON Πέλοπος).⁶⁴³ This is continued as Alcaeus covers the world expansively as both χ[θόνα] and θάλασσαν are given epithets in chiasmic arrangement, with παῖσαν underlining the vastness over which the Dioscuri travel by overflowing into the following line and which separate the world of the gods and myths in the first line of the first stanza and the world of mortals and cold death in the last line of second stanza. In the third stanza, their activeness is continued while a light-dark contrast is created by making the Dioscuri λάμπροι and making them bring φ[άος to the μέλαινα ship in the night. Here, Alcaeus avoids a neat contrast as the adjectives are applied aptly (gods are often λάμπροι, and ships are standardly μέλαινα in Homer) but also wrongly (light is bright, and

⁶³⁶ Luria 1947: 82-83.

⁶³⁷ Thus Coppola 1927: 216.

⁶³⁸ Bowra 1961: 167.

⁶³⁹ Wilamowitz 1914: 233.

⁶⁴⁰ Jurenka 1914: 232; Fränkel 1924: 78 n.2.

⁶⁴¹ Page 1955: 266.

⁶⁴² As Treu 1963: 148, followed by Tsomis 2001: 53-54, realise.

⁶⁴³ The journey of the Dioscuri is remarkably reduced to the single line if we accept S286.ii.1 (=fr.306D Liberman), almost as if emphasising the divine speed (later, ὤ[κνυπό]δων), effortlessness (later, ῥήα), and magical power (later, ἴφθ[μοι]).

night is black). Such slight mismatch adds to the sense of wonder and awe at their appearance and power.

By the end of the third stanza, we have experienced a zoom from the Western end of mainland Greece to (presumably) the Eastern end of the Aegean near Lesbos, from mention of an entire peninsula to a single ship, from great power to helplessness and pain. The sentence and stanzaic structures too are exploited to highlight this sense of movement: phrases become longer and longer as the poem moves away from designation (first stanza) to description; the grammar and the number of verbs change by stanza with one imperative in the first stanza, two indicative verbs in the second stanza, and three participles in the third (one in each verse). The significance of this movement is succinctly shown by π]ήλοθεν which renews the idea of distance that the Dioscuri travelled and the far reach of their powers, which are both awful and helpful. Such a build-up suggests that the third stanza is the climax.

The language of this poem has also often been noted, especially ἠδέ, ῥήα, ζακρυόεντος, and ἀργαλέαι. This poem has an uncharacteristically large number of epithets, reminiscent of hexametric style. For example, εὐχδ[ύγων] ... νάων, which combination is found twice in the *Odyssey* and is considered merely ornamental here,⁶⁴⁴ parallels another separated compound epithet-noun combination (ὦ[κυτό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων). The mode of transport of men and gods is paralleled and contrasted as the bench of the ship is stationary in contrast to the swiftness of the divine horses. Similarly, the epithet of the commonplace εὔρηαν χ[θόνα] has an emphasis on the expanse of the earth that the Dioscuri traverse, especially as it surrounds the two nouns of earth and sea with παῖσαν. With ζακρυόεντος, Alcaeus appears to have applied epic phrasing with a twist of his own, in effect emphasising death's harshness and encapsulates its loneliness by filling the adonaeon alone. This contrasts with the ease with which the Dioscuri deliver men from it, highlighted by the juxtaposition of ῥήα and ἀνθρώποι[ς]. The form ῥήα exemplifies Alcaeus'

⁶⁴⁴ Broger 1996: 145.

technique: a mixture of EGHP tradition with the local and idiosyncratic, as the corresponding ‘vernacular’ form is βρᾱ ((=φρᾱ) Herodian. II.214; cf. βραϊδίωσ, fr.129.22),⁶⁴⁵ but Alcaeus instead uses the Ionian/epic form ῥεῖᾱ with Lesbian sound change /ey/>[e:].⁶⁴⁶ Similarly, the expected use of epithets in the initial address and naming is lacking,⁶⁴⁷ and Alcaeus instead phrases differently to atmospheric effect.

Meanwhile, fr.b, in greater or minor asclepiads (gl^{2c} or gl^c), offers little. Many have tried to read Κάστωρ καὶ Πολύ]δευκες, but as Lobel’s ἄ]δευκες shows, it is far from clear that the poem is about the Dioscuri at all, though ἵππο[ις τε (Lobel) makes it conceivable. What is clear is that it deals with Lesbos with an air of grandeur (Μάκαρο[ς νᾶσον ἐ]πηράτ[η] [αν), but probably not entirely mythologised with τ]υράννοισ,]πολιν, and τώστίω (τῶ ὀστίω?, τῶ ἄστίω?). If the Dioscuri are involved, it was probably in a way similar to fr.129, where the gods are addressed and asked to hear the *betairia*’s prayer and rescue it from hardship and exile (fr.129.9-12), which would explain the second person plural verbs (ἔλθετε,]ρωσατε), with reference to contemporary events told grandiosely, heroising the struggle.

⁶⁴⁵ Blümel 1982: 81-82.

⁶⁴⁶ Blümel 1982: 70.

⁶⁴⁷ Bremer 1981: 195.

καννομο[
 ἐν μελάθρο[ι(ν)
 ποικίλαις κ[
 ..].. τεφα[

P.Oxy.1233 fr.14

1 κὰν νόμον Lobel : κᾶννομον Hunt ὕ[vel ἰ[3 κίλ supplevit Hunt 4
 fortasse ...]ῦτε legendum est :]ῦτε legit Hunt

The structure, content, and theme of this small fragment, probably in Sapphic stanzas,⁶⁴⁸ are unclear. Since we do not know what preceded this column, it is unclear if these lines, at the top of a column, constitute the beginning or continuation of a poem. However, κᾶννομον seems an unlikely poem-beginning due to the conjunction. Further, ἔννομος is otherwise unattested before the 5th century BC, while κὰν νόμον is found at fr.129.25. However, even if κὰν νόμον were certain, a connective may have followed or this could be a continuation from a previous stanza. The supplement μελάθρο[ι(ν), the earliest instance of the plural for this word, seems unavoidable; since ‘on roofs’ seems unlikely, this would also be the first instance of its meaning ‘dwelling’, suggesting an indoor scene.

Something may be made of ποικίλαις: it is used only of armour, chariots, garments, and hides (and animals) in Homer (and Sappho); in Alcaeus, it is found only here and at fr.346.2 (qualifying κυλίχναις). This suggests that the noun we are missing is likely to be referring to an item of war, clothing, or the symposium. Metre rules out the simplest symposiastic supplements κ[υλίχναις and κ[υλίκας, but κ[νάμιδας or κ[υπάσσιδας are possibilities, though neither are attested with ποικίλος. However, other words might have intervened, in which case κυλίχναις

⁶⁴⁸ The Sapphic stanza is the only known Alcaean metre to fit these lines. However, stichic metres such as cr ᾠ-hipp^d | |, cr ᾠ-gl | |, or 3tro | | are also possibilities if Sapphic metres are included.

vel sim. (at the end of l.3) remains a possibility.⁶⁴⁹ Feasting and customs are discussed together in Alcaeus also at fr.71 and 72, and such a context would not be out of place here. However, something like fr.140 is equally possible, as ποικίλος items are also often shining or gleaming.

⁶⁴⁹ Already Liberman 1999: 32 n.61. The separation of noun and adjective is not troublesome: cf. εὐχδ[ύγων] [...] νάων (fr.34a.9).

-
-],βα[...],[
],αις καὶ με[
]τονελισσομ[
]εστον μεν[
 5 π]άκτιδι μ[...],αι
]ειν ὄνειδεσιν
]ις ἀπυκέκριται
]τόν τιν' ἐκα[ς]τέρω
],αταλάμψεται·
 10]ρπον εὐόκοτες
]υθήμενοι λύαις
]ήματα συλλέγη[
]νον[...],δοκημ[
 κ]άκχε[...], ἀ]νθίνω
 15]α[.....]ν
],αρες[
-

P.Oxy.1233 fr.1.i. + P.Oxy.2081 (d) 1

- 1]ς[, vel]ε[, vel alia 2]: vestigium atramenti imis litteris adaequatum μεν[vel μελ[3
 super secundum c vestigium atramenti fortuitum ἐλίτσομ[εν vel -μ[αι vel -όμ[αν Hunt :
 fortasse τ' ὄνελίτσομ[εν ? 4]: hasta verticalis 5 supplevit Hunt]άκατι, alterum
 α delevit manus secunda μ[έλπετ]αι Diehl 7 κέκ 8]τόν τι: ι inusitatae
 speciei supplevit Hunt 9 ἔς]χατα vel χρή]ματα λάμψεται· καταλάφεται
 Wilamowitz : λάφεται Voigt 10 ἔ]ρπον vel κά]ρπον vel δό]ρπον ? 11 σ]υν Hunt
 12 χρ]ήματα Hunt : κτ]ήματα ? συλλέγη[ν Hunt 13]νον [δε]δοκημ[εν-

Hunt :]νον[τα] δοκήμ[ατα vel]νον [ἐκ] δοκήμ[ατα vel]νον [ἐκ] δοκήμ[ατος ? κ]άκ
 Hunt primum ε refecit manus prima [μ' ἄ]νθίνω Diehl θίν 16]: summa
 hasta verticalis .[: vestigia litterae rotundae vel hastae verticalis ού]κ ἄρέεϛ[ει vel
 ἄρέεθ]αι Voigt

Despite the number of lines preserved, little has been written about this fragment. The fragment is assumed to be a single poem, as the left-hand margin has not been preserved and a change of metre, an expanded glyconic (gl^{xc}), has not been detected.⁶⁵⁰ However, the situation is more complex. First, there is an inexplicable blank space on l.15 after the final ν, which falls just below the ν and θ of ἄ]νθίνω, while l.16's]αρεϛ.[occupies the part of the line just below the blank. The short l.15 then may be in a different metre, as no other surviving line of this fragment is so short. Since l.16 appears only slightly longer than the longest surviving line without a deletion (l.6) and what survives is commensurate with the metre, a new poem would be stanzaic, in contrast to much of the apparently stichic fragment. Of the known stanzas of Alcaeus, there are five possibilities:

- (1) 'A3': xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|| (gl^c|gl^c|gl^c||), e.g. fr.130a;
- (2) 'A4': xx-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|| (gl^c|gl^c|gl^c||), e.g. perhaps fr.67;
- (3) 'A5': xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-||xx-υυ-υυ-|| (gl^c|gl^c|gl^c|gl^c||), e.g. fr.5 and perhaps fr.3, 67;
- (4) 'A6': xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-|x-υυ-υυ-υυ-|| or xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-υυ-|xx-υυ-υυ-x-υυ-υυ-υυ-|| (gl^c|gl^c|hipp|gl^c||), or gl^c|gl^c|gl^cgl^c||), e.g. fr.130b;

⁶⁵⁰ P.Oxy.1233, unlike P.Oxy.1234, does not securely preserve any two consecutive poems in the same metre, except perhaps between fr.41 and 42, which some consider one poem (see pp.215-216).

(5) ‘A8’: x-υυυ-υ-| |x-υυυ-υ-υ-υx| |x-υυυ-υ-| |x-υυυ-υ-υ-υx| | | (.gl| |.gl
 ia| |.gl| |.gl ia| | |), e.g. Alcaeus fr.303Aa V. (=Sappho 99 L-P).⁶⁵¹

If our metre is ‘A3’, the new poem would begin at l.14; if ‘A4’ or ‘A8’, at l.15; if ‘A5’, at l.12; and if ‘A6’, at l.13. It is impossible to determine which metre (and hence opening line) is correct. A new poem beginning at l.14 seems natural as imperatives often begin poems, and fr.50 begins with a call to pour perfume, but we may have had other imperatives before (e.g. ‘bring a wreath/wine’) and imperatives can come towards the end of the the first sentence or stanza (e.g. fr.34a.3).

If l.14 were part of the preceding poem, from the harp in l.4 and flowery perfume (implied in κ]άκχε[ἄ]νθίνω) in l.14,⁶⁵² and reproach and civil strife in between, a contextual frame of a symposiastic mise-en-scène might be envisioned, surrounding a political central section.⁶⁵³ Further, we can note a difference between the third-person singular middle or passive verbs (ἀπυκέκριται, λάμψεται) and the masculine plural subjects (ἑοίκότες, ἵπυθέμενοι). Clearly, a section, which began at least by the end of l.7, concludes (at least grammatically) at the end of l.9. τιν’ is probably for τινά, not τινί (with]τον); indeed, all instances of ἑκατέρω appear with an intransitive verb (e.g. ‘to be’, or ‘to live’) or with a verb of motion, and here we might imagine something like ‘send’ or ‘drive’. Wilamowitz noted that λάψεται (<λαμβάνω) was more likely than λάμψεται (<λάμπω),⁶⁵⁴ but the unnecessary macron over the α is common and one cannot distinguish between the two graphically as the nasal infix in the future and aorist of λαμβάνω is a common spelling, even outside Ionic, in papyri.⁶⁵⁵ There is also ample scope for both verbs semantically:

⁶⁵¹ Labels and analyses of metres from Voigt 1971: 21. All of these possibilities have l.15 be shorter by the length of approximately three syllables (-υx), which is also approximately the length by which it is shorter in our papyrus. A unique, unattested metre remains possible.

⁶⁵² For the use of the πηκτίς in symposia: Sappho fr.156, and especially Anacreon 373; for perfume: fr.50.

⁶⁵³ Similarly, Tsomis 2001: 166.

⁶⁵⁴ Wilamowitz 1914: 244. Wilamowitz also assumes a κατᾶ- compound, which is rejected by Hamm 1957: 110 n.238 on dialectal grounds. Marzullo 1958: 112 n.1 accepts the compound as an epicism, but attacks Lobel for preserving the intrusive nasal, which he considers an ionicism or a Koine-contamination.

⁶⁵⁵ Gignac 1976: ii.269; Threatte 1992: ii.555.

the third-person singular subject could just as well take hold of something as shine. Nevertheless, we detect a temporal movement in these lines as we have what happened (and the present consequences) in the perfect ἀπυκέκριται, then a verb of motion probably in the present or also in the perfect in l.8, and finally a future tense verb in λάμψεται.

The participles εἰκότες and ε]υθήμενοι have a different subject, but may be picking up the subject of the verb in l.3 that cannot be third-person singular, which would make first-person plural ἐλίττω[εν more attractive than ἐλίττω[αι or ἐλίττω[αν. If there was a return to a symposiastic context in l.14, then there must have been a shift from first-person plural subject to first-person singular viewpoint, after having already switched twice before; four changes in subject within such a short space seems unlikely. Therefore, l.14 is probably part of the second poem (and ‘A4’ and ‘A8’ may be ruled out for its metre). εἰκότες also suggests that the plural subject appears in a specific way, or that we have a comparison (cf. ὡς ἄλωπα[in fr.69.6 (and also probably ἔοικε[in fr.6.19)). Therefore, one expects a semantically appropriate adverb or a dative of comparison;]ρπον cannot be dative, and no such adjective or adverb is appropriate. Consequently, we may have a finite verb (e.g. εἶρπον or its compounds, but this goes against the accent) or a noun (only κά]ρπον or δό]ρπον suggest themselves, but the sense is unclear). None of these are convincing. In l.13, Hunt supplies [δε]δοκμη[εν-; this is probably [δε]δοκμή[ενοι, agreeing with the masculine plural subjects of the other participles,⁶⁵⁶ which would also make it likely that l.14 is the beginning of the second poem. We could also supplement a form of δόκημα in l.13, which would be appropriate in bringing plans into sight or putting action from one’s imagination into effect. This too would make l.14 the likely beginning of the second poem.

Alcaeus fr.70 is an interesting parallel for this fragment.⁶⁵⁷ In fr.70 too, we have a musical and symposiastic scene (ll.3-4), a stanza focused on politics, and a call to forget and take a break

⁶⁵⁶ Alternatively, one might consider e.g. impersonal [δε]δοκμή[ενον, on which would depend an infinitive e.g. συλλέγειν.

⁶⁵⁷ See further pp.298-305.

from politics (however ironic the tone may be). In fr.36, the third-person subject is likely to be a specific person (otherwise there would be both an indefinite subject and object), which would suit Pittacus or another enemy: he has separated himself from the group, does something further, and will take/shine; Pittacus might even be the subject in l.5 if we supplement π]άκτιδι μ[έλπετ]αι, which would be very similar to fr.70.3. Unlike fr.70, however, the evidence fits an exhortation to continue fighting the good fight better than a reprieve. Although some have argued that c]υνθέμενοι λύαιc can mean both to take up and end civil strife, it seems likely to mean ‘set in order or organise civil war’ (*LSJ* s.v. *συντίθημι* B.I.2) if λύαιc is the direct object, or ‘agree to [verb] civil war’ (*LSJ* s.v. *συντίθημι* B.II.3) if not.⁶⁵⁸ Given the juxtaposition, the former appears more likely, but the latter does not exclude the idea of taking up civil discord. Indeed, we should appreciate the etymological joke, previously unmentioned, in χαλάccομεν [...] λύαιc (fr.70.10, ‘dissolving the dissolution’), which might be reflected in a similar word-play here as ‘binding the dissolution’. Further, it makes more sense if collecting money is involved (l.12).

Finally, the beginning of our fragment should be reconsidered. ἐλίccομ[εν (with standard word division) could mean many things (‘we turn/go about/are constantly in/dance’), but perhaps it is worth considering ὀνελίccομ[εν (from ἀνελίccω) to mean ‘we move backwards/counteract’, which would be suitable if Pittacus’ faction is ascendant, if there is a call to abandon the cause in l.11, or if Alcaeus exhorts because he claims that the *betairia* is losing ground.

The word λύαι is only found here, at fr.70.10, and at Pindar, *N*.9.14. It is glossed by Hesychius, but even without the glosses, the meaning is clear from the clear association of λύαι with political faction and cτáαιc. Most consider the word limited to Aeolic and Doric, but it has also been suggested that λύη· ή cτáαιc ἀπὸ τῆc διαλύccεωc (Herodian, *Gr. gr.* 3.i.206.25 Lentz, and similarly at 3.ii.61.25), whence Arcadius 103.23 Barker (λύη (ή cτáαιc)), might point to an

⁶⁵⁸ ‘To conclude civil wars’ seems extremely unlikely. The meaning of agreement is very much alive in *συντίθημι*, and it is difficult to imagine what ‘agree civil war’ would mean; I can find no instance of discordant events (e.g. war, *stasis*, disagreement) as direct objects of *συντίθημι*, but only of concordant events (e.g. treaty, friendship).

epic source;⁶⁵⁹ however, given Callimachus' *hapax* ἐλύησαν (fr.43.74 Harder) in the foundation of Sicilian cities, it seems more likely that it had a dialectal flavour.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁹ Braswell 1998: 70, which goes on to support the traditional etymology from the root of λύω. See also Beekes 2010 s.v. λύω.

⁶⁶⁰ Already Cahen 1929: 494 sees this as a 'gloss' from 'la langue populaire' in contrast to 'la langue savante' and Schmidt 1970: 17 calls it Aeolic. Iannucci 1998: 177-179 seems right to see the dispute between the Muses as a parallel for the public *stasis* between the settlers of Zancle, and to consider the word a learned gloss.

· · ·

ἐ[

τέαυτ[

οὐδεν[

ἔγω δα[

5 φέρην[

τὸ γὰρ ἀ[

☩ θεοι[.....] ν ὥς κ[ε] θέλωσ[

P.Oxy.1233 fr.1.ii.1-7

1 [: hasta verticalis, tum duo vestigia atramenti imis litteris adaequata 2 τέ (accentum addidit

manus secunda) 5 [: δ[vel λ[7 θεοι ci[?] ν: hasta verticalis, η legit Lobel

θέλωσ[ι Hunt : θέλω c[?

This fragment, of unclear meter,⁶⁶¹ is ignored by scholars beyond noting the use of the first person and acknowledging a myriad of situational possibilities.⁶⁶² Arguments have been made about the poem-length, but these depend on the join of P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 and 3, and should be abandoned.⁶⁶³

It seems that ll.2-3 comment on what preceded (τέαυτ[]) probably in an extreme way (οὐδεν[]), which the speaker (ἔγω) seems to remark that he/one will bear (φέρην) in some way; this remark is explained (γὰρ)⁶⁶⁴ by an appeal to some general principle that appears to be within the domain of the gods (θεοι[]).⁶⁶⁵ In l.7, gods are mentioned and a comparison with someone's

⁶⁶¹ A glyconic, hipponactean, or pherecratean with cretic expansion(s): ××[]—○○—[.

⁶⁶² E.g. Martin 1972: 34.

⁶⁶³ See pp.229-230.

⁶⁶⁴ τό of l.6 may be a sentential relative/demonstrative (i.e. 'for this is the way things are').

⁶⁶⁵ Barner 1967: 107 n.4 calls the whole couplet a gnome, but it is unclear how he fits in 'as they wish' as well as θεοι. It is difficult to see the gnome continuing in l.7 unless either θεοι is part of the gnome in enjambement, or we do not, in fact, have dative plural, but rather nominative plural (i.e. θεοι ci[, 'the gods do as they please').

wishes. There is little to choose between θέλωσ[ι and θέλω σ[: the general sense appears to be ‘may things turn out with the help of the gods/be accomplished by the gods as I/they wish them to be’.⁶⁶⁶

These argumentative sections seem to fall neatly within couplets, as divided in the papyrus. This suggests that the antecedent of τέαυτ[probably occupies the entire couplet that ends in l.1, unless this ends a catalogue. A situation, scene, or list followed by a turn of sorts is common in Alcaeus, as in fr.72.11 (σὺ δὴ τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων), fr.73.7 (ἐν τούτ[referring to the situation of shipwreck described in the previous stanza), and fr.140.15 (τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ’, referring to a catalogue). Similarly, a contrast between the people in or associated with the described situations is common, sometimes combined together, as in fr.73.11 (τῶ δ’ ἄμμεσ) and fr.70.10 (χαλάσσομεν δὲ). Thus the organisation of thought and movement between contrasts appears to be in key with Alcaeus’ usual techniques.

Two obvious thematic possibilities present themselves: politics and old age. For the former, the couplet of (or couplets upto) l.1 would depict a negative scene or situation, which would be judged in ll.2-3 (e.g. ‘such things are worthy of no man/city’, ‘such a woman/... of such a woman is nothing/in no way ...’ etc.), and rejected by the speaker (reading δ’ in l.4, with Hunt), who finds it difficult to bear because it is not good and wishes for victory to be granted by the gods. For the latter, a list of ills of old age would end in l.1,⁶⁶⁷ which would be judged by the speaker (e.g. ‘nothing is worse than these ills’), who would complain of suffering them, remark that they nevertheless

⁶⁶⁶ The dative can be used of animate agents (as in θεοισι), as with a wide variety of verbs, including τελέω; cf. Schwyzer 1950: II.150 and Tzamali 1996: 421-22.

There is ample space following to be supplemented, considering fr.38, which follows this fragment on the same papyrus and is lost at the same point along the line, is frequently supplemented by up to seven letters.

⁶⁶⁷ This negative focus of old age is a common theme in archaic lyric: cf. e.g. Mimnermus fr.1-6; Anacreon 395; Alcaeus fr.50.1-2(?), 117b(?), 119(?); the Cologne Sappho ‘Tithonus Poem’. Contrast a more balanced view in epic (Galhac 2006, on Mimnermus fr.1, 2, and 5). Cf. Brandt 2002: 29-38.

have to be endured (with drink?) as it is as the gods ordained, and wish that he may live or die as he or the gods wish.

a



πῶνε [.....] Μελάνιππ' ἄμ' ἔμοι. τι[.][
 ἔ]τοταμε[.]διννάεντ' Ἀχέροντα μεγ[
 ζάβαι[*c* ἄ]ελίω κόθαρρον φάος [
 ὄψεσθ', ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ μεγάλων ἐπ[
 5 καὶ γὰρ Cίκυφος Αἰολίδαις βασίλευς [
 ἄ]νδρων πλεῖστα νοηράμενος [
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολύιδρις ἔων ὑπὰ κᾶρι [
 δ]ιννάεντ' Ἀχέροντ' ἐπέραιε, μ[
 α]ὔτω(ι) μόχθον ἔχην Κρονίδαις βα[
 10]μελαίνας χθόνος. ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ τα[
]ταβάσομεν αἶ ποτα κάλλοτα [
 ...]ην ὅττινα τῶνδε πάθην τα[
 ἄνε]μος βορίαις ἐπι [

b

]ος βορίαις [
]πολιν εἰς α [
]ις κίθαρις δ [
 ὑ]πωροφίων ! [
 5]ω πεδεχ[.] [
]ε [

Test.: **a**=P.Oxy.1233 fr.1 ii.8-20, cui 7-12 accedit P.Oxy.2166(b) fr.1 **b**=P.Baden 174 a.13 et
 b.1 eundem versum esse putat Diehl

a 1 [καὶ μέθυ, ὦ] Diehl ἰππ' (scripsit manus altera) ἀμέμοι· τί[θεις ? : τί [φαῖς
 Schmidt 2 διννάεντ' ὄτα με[transposuit Hunt χέρ μεγ[άβρομον Jurenka
3 ζᾶ λιωι correxit Hunt κό [εἴσα(ε)ι ? : ἄψερρον Diehl 4 θ' ἀγι
 (accentum fortasse addidit manus altera) ἐπ[ιλάθεο ? : ἐπ[ιβάλλεο Wilamowitz 5
 εεις correxit Hunt cíλ [ἔφα Wilamowitz: [θάνεν Friedländer 6 άν εἶς
 κάμ [θανάτω κρέτην Page : [θάνατον φύγην Wilamowitz 7 κᾶρ [δή vel
 [τρῖς ? : [δίς Wilamowitz : [δάμεις (κάκαι) vel [δαμάσθεις Cannatà Fera (quae metrum aliter
 explicat) 8 νᾶ σε· μ[έμηδε δ' ὦν Page : μ[έγαν δέ οἱ Wilamowitz 9
 αὔτ]ω(ι) Schubart ante P.Oxy.2166(b) fr.1 coniunctam δᾶι βα[σίλευς (Jurenka) ὑπᾶ
 Page : βα[ρὺν ὥρισε Wilamowitz 10 χθόνος· τά[δ' ἐπέλπεο Wilamowitz : τά[δε
 βόλλεο vel συννόη ? 11 ἔ]στ' Diehl : σύ]ν τ' Diehl : μέ]στ' Gallavotti : θᾶ]ς τ' Page
 ι[vel ν[vel πι[vel γ[legi potest, unde ν[ῦν Diehl 12 φέρ]ην Diehl τῶν τά[χα
 δῶι θεός Diehl 13 ἄνε]μος Wilamowitz ἐπι[μαίνεται Diels
b 1 ἄνεμ]ος Diehl 2 αυ[vel ακ[Gerhard, unde εἰς ἀ[νάταν ἄγ- Diehl 4 supplevit
 Diehl 5 πεδέχ[οισα Gerhard

Although this fragment is much admired,⁶⁶⁸ scholars differ widely on interpretation. Fr.a is usually considered complete, or interpreted as if it were so; some posit the end after l.13,⁶⁶⁹ while others consider ending the poem at l.12.⁶⁷⁰ A few unconvincingly prefer a continuation with fr.b.⁶⁷¹ The following concerns only fr.a.

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. 'il più bello di quanti frammenti di Alceo noi abbiamo' (Coppola 1923: 291).

⁶⁶⁹ Jurenka 1914: 224.

⁶⁷⁰ Page 1955: 302 and Bowra 1961: 162.

⁶⁷¹ Gerhard 1938: 17-18 added P.Baden 174 to l.13 on account of the overlap of]ος βορίαϊς[. However, even if P.Baden is of Alcaeus, 'it would be absurd to suppose that the word βορίαϊς could have occurred in no other context but this' (Page 1955: 301). If fr.b is from the same poem, the continuation would concern the city and a call to play the lyre. For ὑ]πωροφίωv, cf. 'the domestic lyre' (Pi. P.1.97).

Most consider fr.38 either as a *carpe diem* poem or as a response to (pseudo-)philosophising. Some think the tone is serious, with Alcaeus resigning his political hopes and seeking solace in drink.⁶⁷² However, this goes against the prevailing spirit of Alcaeus' other poems (even in the bleak fr.130b; cf. fr.140),⁶⁷³ where wishes outweigh hardship. Others follow Athenaeus' comment (10.430a) that Alcaeus drank in all circumstances and consider fr.38 a light-hearted exhortation to drink.⁶⁷⁴

However, Rösler thinks it odd that Alcaeus asks 'why do you say/think you will see the sun again' in response to Melanippus' abstinence, not 'why do you behave as if you could see the sun again?'⁶⁷⁵ Therefore, Rösler claims that Alcaeus responded 'traditionally' to Melanippus' progressive belief in proto-Pythagorean metempsychosis,⁶⁷⁶ making Sisyphus' cleverness (l.6-7) imply that such new-fangled ideas are 'dangerous'.⁶⁷⁷ Subsequent scholars have largely accepted this interpretation. For example, Meyerhoff objects only to linking cleverness with progressiveness (as being anachronistic),⁶⁷⁸ and others emphasise that Melanippus need only not exclude returning from Hades, and make the point that youths should not escape hardship through death.⁶⁷⁹ However, 'Why do you think X' is rhetorically equivalent to 'why do you behave as if you believe X'. Such equation of action and belief is paralleled, for example in ὄρκων δὲ φρούδη πίςτις οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν | εἰ θεοὺς νομίζεις τοὺς τότε οὐκ ἄρχειν ἔτι (E. *Med.*492-493), equivalent to 'why do you behave as if gods don't exist?' Thus actual belief is not questioned. Further, πῶνε shows the answer does not matter anyway. Moreover, τί [φαῖς is a conjecture; the meaning of the

⁶⁷² Coppola 1927: 210-214 and Maehler 1963: 56.

⁶⁷³ For fr.140 in this light, see Spelman 2015.

⁶⁷⁴ E.g. Page 1955: 300-03 and Fränkel 1973: 195-96.

⁶⁷⁵ Rösler 1980: 266-67 n.36.

⁶⁷⁶ Rösler 1980: 267-68. See West 1967 for proto-Pythagorean ideas already in Alcman.

⁶⁷⁷ Rösler 1980: 269.

⁶⁷⁸ Meyerhoff 1984: 207-08.

⁶⁷⁹ Liberman 1999: 33, Tsomis 2001: 156.

is the point of the *exemplum*, used as a reason for *carpe diem*.⁶⁸⁴ General *sententiae* are found elsewhere in Alcaeus,⁶⁸⁵ and drinking to forget grief is widely paralleled.⁶⁸⁶ The overall argument, then, is for experiencing everything (ὄττινα τῶνδε πάθην) while they are young ([, ταβάκομεν) as death is inevitable:⁶⁸⁷ the speaker reminds Melanippus that he will die, but neither with spirit-shattering resignation or philosophy, nor with a drunk's joviality.⁶⁸⁸

In light of this, the text of l.4 requires more thought. Scholars have argued for translating μεγάλων of ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ μεγάλων ἐπ[as 'great' for *carpe diem* interpretations, or as 'overly-great' or 'haughty' for philosophising interpretations, but both should be understood: 'great' referring teasingly to Melanippus' worries before the *exemplum*, and revealed to be 'haughty' afterwards, referring to what Melanippus' behaviour represents in light of the *exemplum*. At the line-end, instead of the unduly pessimistic ἐπ[ιβάλλω 'aim', I suggest ἐπ[ιλάθεο, where the speaker urges Melanippus not to forget the important things (whatever they may be).⁶⁸⁹ This would be unsurprising, while ἐπ[ιβάλλω is clearly influenced by Horace, who fuses such exhortation with Epicurean and Stoic ideas.⁶⁹⁰ The *exemplum* too appears suitable, as 'life is short' makes it crucial that the joys of life or their political cause are achieved now.

Alcaeus plays with hexametric diction, subject, and narration in this fragment, often choosing phrasing paralleled in EGHP but with his own twist. Thus, Homer uses δινήειοι of rivers

⁶⁸⁴ As often in Horace (cf. C.1.11, 2.3, 2.14).

⁶⁸⁵ E.g. fr.333, 358 and 366.

⁶⁸⁶ E.g. Alcaeus fr.335 and Archilochus fr.11.

⁶⁸⁷ [, ταβάκομεν: The word-division is debated. Upon inspection, there is space for two wide letters or three narrower letters before τ. μέ]στ' (=μέσφα) is impossible: 'until' or 'before' makes no sense with ἀβάκομεν. θᾶ]τ' is semantically appropriate, but the acute accent should be heeded as the scribe's other accents are correct. κύ]ν τ' is attractive (see Hutchinson 2018: 124 n.10) as the meaning is appropriate, and there is space, though the accent comes quite far right (cf. the accent of ἄ on l.6 similarly appears above ν); ἔ]στ' is semantically appropriate and palaeographically possible (confirmed by tracing) if the accent was placed after the ε, as often.

⁶⁸⁸ Indeed, drinking appears secondary, and the tone does not seem festive (as e.g. fr.332).

⁶⁸⁹ cf. τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ' (fr.140.15). Perhaps followed by μὴ τά[δε συννόη/βόλλω in l.10.

⁶⁹⁰ E.g. Hor. C.1.9.15-16.

but never of Acheron, and Alcaeus seems to be the first to associate *δινῆεις* or *δινεύω* with rivers of the Underworld,⁶⁹¹ casting Sisyphus' journey as a feat of the mythical past; *ἀ]ελίω κόθαρων φάος* is also a common Homeric formula, usually combined with *όράω* to mean 'to live', always in the context of death (e.g. *Il.5.120*)⁶⁹², but Alcaeus combines this with *καθαρός*, which is not found of the sun before the fifth century,⁶⁹³ appropriately contrasting the purity of life with the pollution of death. Hexametric flavour is present in the formulations *Κίκυφος Αιολίδαις βασίλευς* and *Κρονίδαις βα[σίλευς*,⁶⁹⁴ combined with a Lesbian feel through their aeolicised forms. Even the addressee's name is Homeric, but also possibly a real member of Alcaeus' sympotic group.⁶⁹⁵ This epic atmosphere, further reinforced as the epic diction is complemented by a metre of dactylic movement and by the epic narrative of *katabasis*, marks this out as a time different from the speaker's, implying that Sisyphus' achievement is impossible for contemporary men, highlighted structurally by the framing of the epic content with the sympotic lyric calls to drink.

⁶⁹¹ *τοταμε[...]*δινάεντ' Ἀχέροντα is difficult; *δινάεντ'* (unmetrical) may have intruded from a gloss on Ἀχέροντα, but both may be interpolations. Many transpose *δινάεντ' Ἀχέροντα* to the line-beginning (cf. l.8), but there may not be metrical repetition (cf. *ἀλλ' ἄγι μή*). *ὄτ(ι)* is necessary for *oratio obliqua* due to finite *ὄψεσθ'*. Since no word beginning with *ἀμε-* fits, *δινάεντ'* seems unoriginal.

⁶⁹² Similarly in lyric, also usually in death-related contexts (e.g. *Mimn. fr.1.5-8*), and specifically associated with god-granted life (*PMG* 934, 1019).

⁶⁹³ *καθαρός* with the 'light of the sun' too is not found elsewhere until the fifth century (again with divine associations): *Pi. P.9.89a-90*, *Pi. fr.108b*, *Emp. fr.10.1-3*; *Pl. R.616b*.

⁶⁹⁴ For parallels, see Table 1. Becker (in Schubart 1948: 319) suggests *Κρονίδαις βα[σίλευς* is Hades, taking it with *μελαίνας χθόνος*. Hades is *ἄναξ* in Hesiod (*Jc.226* ; *Th.850*) and a son of Cronus (*Il.15.187*; Hes. *Th.850*), but he is never *the* son of Cronus (Meyerhoff 1984: 200 n.8). Therefore, Zeus must be the subject.

⁶⁹⁵ Melanippus is a Trojan killed by Teucer (*Il.8.276*), and is widely-found by the sixth century (in Cyrene and Rhodes: *LGPN* I.302-3). Herodotus (5.94-95) calls Melanippus Alcaeus' *ἀνὴρ ἑταῖρος*, quoting fr.401B. An association with horses at this time probably indicates wealth and station, *pace* Degani and Burzacchini 1977: 192, who quote *Ar. Nub.63ff.*, which actually mocks Strepsiades' wife's pompousness in her obsession with names in - *ἵππος*.

a			
	· · ·		
1	]ρφασι[
	]μματατουταυτ[	b	
	]ευτέ με γῆρας τε[· · ·	
	]το λάθε[σθ]αι χ[.]ρ[	]ρτατο[
5	]δων ἀπάλων σ' ὕμν[	]ν οἶν[
	]ται πολιάταν ὀλιγον σφ[	]ην λα[
	]το γὰρ ἐμμόρμενον οὐ[]..[
	]ις ἄνδρεςι τοῖς γεινο[μεν-	· · ·	
	]· κόφος ἤ<ι> καὶ φρέσι πύκνα[ιςι		
10	]ς παρὰ μοῖραν Δίος οὐδὲ τρίχ[
	]όντες ἄσαις με [
	]· φέρεσθαι βάθυ[
	· · ·		

P.Oxy.1233 fr.8 (=fr.(a)) et 20 (=fr.(b)) collocavit Lobel, sed in fragmento 20 litterae maiores videntur esse quam in fragmento 8

a 1 οὔτε πα]ρφάσι[εσ Diehl (πα]ρ- iam Hunt) vel υ[**2**]μα, alterum μ supra scripsit manus secunda :]εμα vidit Hunt, unde οὔτε κλ]έμματα Diehl : νοή]μματα ? τούτωι[?
3 γῆρ vel γε[τε [νόσοι τ' Diehl **4** λάθ inter χ et ρ uni (velut α) vel duabus litteris spatium est, unde χ[α]ρ[ίτων supplevit Diehl, χ[ά]ρ[ιτος Edmonds, χ[α]ρίεσσ- vel χ[α]ρίεντ- Treu **5** καὶ παί]δων Diehl ὕμν[ον ἀείδην μελιάδεα Diehl **6** vel]σαι δέσπο]ται Tsomis ἰάτ ὀλ **7** ἐμμομονον in ἐμμο^ομενον correxit manus secunda ου: vel hasta verticalis deleta **8**]:]α vel]λ πάρφ]αις Treu γειν, cuius ε ex c factum esse videtur γεινο[μένοισιν Hunt : γεινο[μένοισιν θάνατον φύγην Treu :

γεινο[μένοις Ἀῖς ἐπενήσατο Voigt (conferens *Il.*20.127-128), vix recte 9]α vel]η καῖ
 πάντ]α vel ὅς πάντ]α ? : καὶ πάντ]α Wilamowitz κόφ ἦ πύκνα[ιαι (Hunt)
 κεκάσμενος Wilamowitz (Diehl conferente *Il.*20.35) 10 οἶδεν ὦ]ς Fränkel : νήπιο]ς Diehl :
 οὐκ (οὐδ' melius puto) ἄνθο]ς Liberman (conferens Theoc. *Id.*7.121) πᾶρα τρίχ]εσ
 ἔρρυν Diehl 11]όντ δ]όντες Wilamowitz (apud Lobel) : γυ]όντες Diehl :
 ἐνεγκ]όντες Wilamowitz (vix recte si καὶ πάντα in versu 9 suppletum est) 12 φέρ
 b 1 φε]ρτατο[- Liberman vel ω[2 οἷ (accentus intellegitur ex duobus vestigiis
 atramenti, quae supra dispiciuntur inter ο et ι, nam in alio loco starent, si diaeresin constituerent
 οἷν]ος Hunt : οἷν]ον Liberman

This fragment of at least one poem provides puzzles at every turn.⁶⁹⁶ The standard interpretation has the speaker counsel resignation in the face of fate while contemplating old age.⁶⁹⁷ However, this runs into trouble already in the first two lines. Most commentators have assumed Diehl's πα]ρφάαι] in l.1 (inevitable unless we accept γὰ]ρ φάαι]ς, which is not attested until the 5th century, or, unjustifiably, a non-Aeolic φα- stem for φημί) and have interpreted it negatively as 'deceitful speaking'. This, however, appears unrelated to old age and singing for tender boys. Tsomis therefore explains, 'er sagte vielleicht, daß weder die einen noch die anderen ihn, nachdem er alt geworden sei, beirren könnten',⁶⁹⁸ but how is such a statement appropriate in this context, and what rhetorical purpose would this achieve?

⁶⁹⁶ Only Liberman 1999: 34 considers the possibility of more than one poem. All things considered, there is no compelling reason for division; the lines can make good sense with ll.3-6, and γὰ]ρ of l.6 speaks against division there. The most likely place for division is after ll.1-2, whose negative sense has been thought jarring by some commentators (e.g. Tsomis 2001: 254). The second poem would then begin with l.3. The metre appears consistent with the greater asclepiad (gl^{2c}) throughout.

⁶⁹⁷ E.g. Barner 1967: 110-112, 161, Fränkel 1973: 197, and Burnett 1983: 146, who fails to mention the problematic πολίταν (l.6).

⁶⁹⁸ Tsomis 2001: 254.

Another point of confusion is the mention of citizens (πολιάταν ὀλιγον). An interesting supplement here is δεσπό]ται for the beginning of l.6, which, Tsomis argues, would make the point that the power of despots (and all men) is limited by the will of Zeus,⁶⁹⁹ a point similar to that of fr.38. However, this is unattractive. Firstly, δεσπό]ται seems inappropriate: δεσπό]ται πολιάταν suggests there is more than one master of the citizens (assumed to be Mytilenean), but δεσπότης qualified by a citizenry of sorts always designates an absolute and singular ruler,⁷⁰⁰ while the only use in Lesbian poetry is at Sappho 95.8, as an epithet of a god (probably Hermes). Even if plural (successive) tyrants are meant, Alcaeus is unlikely to counsel simply waiting for death. Further, there is no plausible connection between the first part of the poem (ll.1-5) and the second part (ll.6-12) concerning citizens and the workings of fate, even with his explanation of ll.1-2 and insistence that γῆρας refers to neither the speaker's nor the addressee's.⁷⁰¹ In contrast, Liberman wonders if the wine of fr.b is to be a diversion to worries caused by engagement in politics,⁷⁰² but the precariousness of the placement of fr.b should give one pause. Treu's suggestion that ll.4-5 refer to exclusion from musical life, and l.6 to exclusion from political life (i.e. participation in politics as another thing that old age stops men doing),⁷⁰³ is attractive, but seems unlikely as archaic poets suggest the opposite.⁷⁰⁴

⁶⁹⁹ Tsomis 2001: 253.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. *LSJ* s.v. δεσπότης, I.2; Plato, *Leg.*859a equates and assimilates the two (τύραννον καὶ δεσπότην). ἐπτὰ δεσποτῶν (E. *Sapph.*636) may appear to be an exception, but 'of the seven leaders against Thebes' is the normal usage of δεσπότης as leader of an army (*LSJ* II).

⁷⁰¹ Tsomis 2001: 254.

⁷⁰² Liberman 1999: 35.

⁷⁰³ Treu 1963: 182, though he suggests that l.5 refers to being no longer able to hear, which is not necessary for his (and is undesirable for my) point.

⁷⁰⁴ Poets often compose with an old-man(/-woman) persona (e.g. fr.50; Anacreon 379(a), 395, 418, 420; Sappho's 'Tithonus poem'). The wisdom of old age is commonly acknowledged, extraordinarily in Solon fr.27, where the last three hebdomadads are when a man is νοῦν καὶ γλωσσαν (and in σοφίη, l.16) ... μέγ' ἄριστος (l.13), though 'the capacities of eloquence and intellectual elaboration are weaker during the ninth hebdomad' (Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010: 388) than those described in the seventh and eighth. Outside lyric, cf. Nestor in the *Iliad*.

Several problems bedevil attempts to interpret ll.7-12. Most importantly, there appear to be two gnomes (beginning in ll.7 and 10). As both seem to relate to the workings of fate (ἐμμόρμενον, μοῖραν), one wonders whether they form one long gnome. Firstly, while ἦ (l.9) may be the adverb, all (correctly, in my opinion) assume ἦι (present subjunctive of εἶμι).⁷⁰⁵ The only reasonable solution to the subjunctive is to introduce a conditional or concessive clause,⁷⁰⁶ which αἰ or καὶ αἰ (καῖ) and possibly κε would naturally introduce. How then might a conditional or concessive clause fit within these lines? With a probable gnome (l.10) near where we expect the apodosis and the present subjunctive, it seems most likely that we have a generalising present conditional, which would also explain the third person:⁷⁰⁷ ‘if [one] is wise and [excels?] with sharp wits...’ This construction can be done with just a subjunctive (without κε) in many poets, so l.9 could begin καῖ πάντ]α or ὅς πάντ]α by adapting Wilamowitz’ conjectures. For connecting this protasis to the apodosis, Fränkel’s suggestion οἶδεν ὦ]ς at the beginning of l.10 appears apt.

Meanwhile, ll.7-8 lines appear to form a unit as ἐμμόρμενον is most naturally construed with a dative (*LSJ* s.v. μείρομαι A.III.) and it is difficult to bring in a nominative masculine singular subject (l.9). While it is easiest to take ἐμμόρμενον impersonally, as ‘it is fated’, it is possible that it is agreeing with a neuter singular noun, but this does not appear to drastically change the sense of these lines, as this noun (with probably a verbal predicate) is probably still ‘fated for’ these men. τοῖς in l.8 is the regular Lesbian dative plural of the article,⁷⁰⁸ and is resumptive/attributive: ‘men who are born’.⁷⁰⁹ No supplement for the end of l.8 is appealing: Treu’s πάρφ]αίς ἀνδρεῖ τοῖς γεινο[μένοις θάνατον φύγην is attractive since it uses l.1, but, again, old age and its symptoms,

⁷⁰⁵ The missing iota adscript is not a problem; papyri preserve both forms with and without: Hamm 1957: 166.

⁷⁰⁶ The only other instance of a present subjunctive of εἶμι in Sappho and Alcaeus (Sappho fr.4.5) appears to be a conditional of sorts.

⁷⁰⁷ Schwyzer 1950: 684-685.

⁷⁰⁸ Lobel 1925: xi.

⁷⁰⁹ Burnett 1983: 146 translates as ‘our ancestors’ (and similarly at 149), impossibly. For ἀνὴρ meaning ‘mortal’, ‘human being’ (as opposed to gods or monsters), cf. πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (e.g. *Il.*1.544) and βροτοὶ ἄνδρες (e.g. *Od.*5.197); *LSJ* s.v. ἀνὴρ II. For the stem γειν- for γεν-: Schulze 1892: 182-184.

which probably occupy ll.3-6, are ignored and the turn to death, if there was one (as often in poems on old age, there is no mention of death), seems too sudden. Meanwhile, Voigt's γεινο[μένους] Αἴς' ἐπενήσατο has good literary parallels, but seems tautologous (the concept of fate is repeated twice, i.e. it is fated to live one's fate) and grammatically impossible.⁷¹⁰ We should rather expect a reference to growing old or not staying young forever.

In contrast, I suggest that we have a rare pederastic poem of the sort that are mentioned in our testimonies of Alcaeus but unattested.⁷¹¹ I propose that we consider πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων (*Il.*14.217), and supply νοή]μματα.⁷¹² We would then have in ll.1-2 '[your?] allurements/attractions [has stolen] my ability to think', perhaps prematurely ('[as if/just as: ὥσπερ?] when old age [takes me, it is befitting] to forget⁷¹³ charming things and how to hymn you amongst tender boys'), which would then be used as an explanation for l.9 (i.e. 'wise is he who isn't persuaded').

This agrees with our knowledge of poems on old age: what old men are excluded from is the world of love, in which they are (often self-)ridiculed and depicted as unwilling participants.⁷¹⁴ In this case, the mention of citizens is not necessarily a part of a political point.⁷¹⁵ It could rather provide a city background, as in Sappho fr.24a.6, and ὀλιγον would either be in apposition with

⁷¹⁰ The problems are numerous and unpromising. We need an article or a demonstrative as in her literary example (ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα | γιγνομένω ἐπένησε, *Il.*20.127-8) to act as the object of what Voigt presumably wishes to be middle (ἐπενήσατο), which voice is, however, unattested for ἐπινέω. If she wished a passive, it cannot fit in this part of the metre without leaving a monosyllable at the end.

⁷¹¹ Alcaeus fr.368, Horace *C.*1.32.11-12, Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 1.79. Tsomis 2001: 254 suggests the possibility without development.

⁷¹² For the geminate μ, cf. Sappho fr.41.1, 60.3, 90c.4, Alcaeus fr.62.11, 292.1, inc. auct. Lesb. fr.31a.2 Voigt. For the meaning 'understanding', 'mind' (i.e. rational faculty), cf. *LSJ* s.v. νόημα II, already in Homer. The error of leaving out the first is easy palaeographically.

⁷¹³ For 'forgetting' as akin to no longer having share of something, cf. λαθήβας· γέροντας (Hesychius λ 97.1).

⁷¹⁴ Cf. Ibycus 287.6-7 (with Plato's summary at *Prm.*137a), Anacreon 418, and Mimnermus fr.1. Thus Falkner 1995: 108-152.

⁷¹⁵ If the Theognidean *erotica* are any guide, even if fr.39 is pederastic, it can still have a political aspect (see the following note), but one might not be looking for specific political events rather than generalised political ideas.

c(ε), much as in Sappho fr.49, or (if c(οι)) the genitive *πολιάταν* would parallel the genitive *παίδων ἀπάλων* and *ὄλιγον* would be an adverb denoting how low the speaker is regarded.⁷¹⁶ Then *γάρ* would mark the beginning of the explanation (ll.7-11 or longer) for the aptness of the comparison: ‘for it is fated ... for [all] men who are born ... [even if/one] were wise and [excels?] with sharp wits, [he knows that?] not even a hair [falls?] against the fate of Zeus [...] the distresses [of old age?]’.⁷¹⁷ If so, the gnome of the hair, which is usually considered an early parallel to the idea preserved in Luke 12:7,⁷¹⁸ would have sexual connotations as hair is connected with sensuality, attractiveness, and life in Greek thought,⁷¹⁹ and this fate of Zeus would play on the idea of god-given beauty.⁷²⁰ This would make ll.11-12 refer to the pains of love (*ἄσκις*, cf. Sappho fr.1.3) and its highs and lows (*φέρεισθαι βάθυ*), cf. Anacreon 376).⁷²¹ Such a structure has the advantage of being somewhat flexible with the specific tone and emphasis, as a pederastic poem may have some political or moral bent.⁷²²

Alcaeus’ literary techniques are on full show here. Alcaeus appears to write in couplets here as the subjects appear to be naturally grouped into two-line units. Further, if my interpretation is correct, we can see Alcaeus using a simile, gnome, interaction with epic tradition, and tropes of pederastic poetry in a highly individual way. Alcaeus fuses the admonitory tone and stance of

⁷¹⁶ Perhaps the sense is akin to the complaints of ‘Theognis’ either that his desire and favours are met with little, as in Thgn.253-4 and 1263-66, or that his political actions are not appreciated by the people, as in Thgn.24, 368=1184b. This is further underlined by the in-built contrast between the *πολιάταν* and *παίδων ἀπάλων*. For a play on others’ undeserved low opinion in love poetry, cf. *rumoresque senum severiorum* (Cat. 5.2).

⁷¹⁷ For *πάρφασις* overcoming even sharp wits, cf. *Dios Apate* (Il.14.217), to which this may be being ironically alluding.

⁷¹⁸ ‘But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered.’ (KJV); cf. Matthew 10:30.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. Onians 1951: 98-99 (hair and death), 126 n.3 (fertility), 229-33 and 530-31 (puberty). Hair in archaic poetry relating to sexual appeal: Anacreon 388, 395, 414, 418, especially Lucian, *Herz.* 8, quoting Anacreon 379a. Cf. Sappho’s ‘Tithonus Poem’, especially l.4.

⁷²⁰ Cf. e.g. Thgn.1319-22. The argument of these four lines would then be similar to this fragment’s.

⁷²¹ L.12 could also refer to being carried deep into the earth (i.e. to the Underworld), as Tsomis 2001: 254 understands, or mean something like ‘bear it with a heavy heart’ (cf. Thgn.1322).

⁷²² See the Theognidean examples in n.716.

pederastic poetry, as represented by the theme of old age and gnome, which we can glimpse from the Theognidean pederastic elegies, with a more melic stance on love, which, from Sappho and Anacreon, appear more subjective and focused on the speaker's emotions (in contrast the *Theognidea*, where ἔρωc appears more rationalised and argued from social tenets) to create an original tone.

]νδρ' ἔω[
]τεc ἄβρω[
]αντοcα[
 —]
 5]cδα[
]
]ν ἄγναι
 —]
]νναν ἴραν [
 10] φόρεν[τ]εc [
]ε' οἴν[ο]ν
 —]
]λιc [']των
]δε θυμ[
 15] κίθαριc δ[
 —]
 τέ]μενοc λαχοιc[α
 κ]ορύφαν πόληοc
]ν Ἀφρόδιτα [
 20 —] []
]ν γυν[

P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 i 22-29, 12, 15 (cui accedit P.Oxy. 2081 (d) 2), 23

1 ἄ]νδρ' ἔω Kalinka, fortasse ἔω[ν ρέω 2 κάβ ἄβρω[ν vel ἄβρω[ι vel ἄβρω
 [vel ἄβρω[c ? 3 cā vel cλ[5 vel γ[, π[, ν[, alia possis 7 utrum νᾶι sit an νᾶι
 incertum esse putat Lobel; ego tamen video non accentum sed partem litterae versus prioris 9

Μύρι]νναν Lobel ἴραν 10 supplevit Lobel 11 κάκχ]ε' vel ἔγχ]ε' Lobel : μελιάδ]ε'
 (conferens *Il.*4.346, Alcaei fr.367.2, 369.1) vel λαθικάδ]ε' (conferens Alcaei fr.346.3) Voigt
 εοῖ supplevit Lobel 13 vel]αις : πό]λις ? post c spatium vacuum unius litterae
 [ἐρώ]των ? 14]κδε vel]λδε possis 15 κίθ 17 τέ]μενος Wilamowitz λαχοίς[α
 Hunt 18 ὄν vel κάκ (Wilamowitz) κ]ορύφαν Hunt ρύφ πόλ 19
 χρυσοτέφα]ν' Hunt (conferens Sa. fr.33.1) ρόδ 21 γυν[αικ- Hunt

These lines, in Sapphic stanzas, were largely ignored by scholars until Rösler suggested that ll.17-21 preserve the beginning of fr.42.⁷²³ His arguments are both papyrological and literary. He notes that fr.41 is from the top of the column preceding fr.42 and deduces from Lobel's reconstruction of the papyrus that there are 19 lines between fr.41.21 and the beginning of fr.42. Further, he claims that the few recognisable words clearly show the preservation of two different poems, one sympotic (οἶν[ο]ν, κίθαρις) and one cultic (τέ]μενος), and argues that the latter poem concerns women (γυν[αικ]), which relates to the mythological syncretism of the good and bad woman in fr.42. While Rösler is right to argue that fr.42 is incomplete (see below),⁷²⁴ it is debatable whether a god or simply a mythological figure is addressed in ἐκ κέθεν (fr.42.3),⁷²⁵ while an address to Aphrodite is even more unexpected.⁷²⁶ However, the matter is not quite so clear-cut. While the missing space would neatly fit the number of lines for six complete stanzas from l.17, there may well have been

⁷²³ Rösler 1980: 233-234.

⁷²⁴ Rösler 1980: 223-227.

⁷²⁵ Addressing humans who are long dead is possible already in epic (Meyerhoff 1984: 94-95).

⁷²⁶ Aphrodite plays no part in the Peleus and Thetis myth in all other depictions (outside the judgement of Paris): Meyerhoff 1984: 112 and Tsomis 2001: 264 n.6. Further, a plea, not a complaint is expected after a hymn-like address, making the negative tone of the example in fr.42 an unlikely continuation. In contrast, Vetta 1981: 487 agrees with Rösler, calling fr.42 a *Beschwerdegedichte*, adducing Thgn. 373-392 as example and comparing Thgn. 1231-1234 for a *skethliasmos* of Eros or Aphrodite. However, neither example is helpful, as οὐ τεαύταν (fr.42.5) makes it clear that there is a comparison between Helen and Thetis but it is unclear what sort of complaint to Aphrodite would create a distinction between the two women as both seem to lead to destruction.

shorter poems in between our remnants of columns i and ii. Furthermore, the column-height, on which Rösler depends, is questionable.⁷²⁷

Very little can be made of the fragment. The only sure things are that we have reference to a man (ἄνδρ'), something soft (ἄβρω[]), something pure or chaste (women?, ἄγναι), something holy (city?, ἱραν), bearing (φόρεν[τ]εσ), wine (οἶν[ο]ν), lyre (κίθαρις), taking a sanctuary (τέ]μενος λαχοις[α]), top of a city (κ]ορύφαν πόληος), and an address to Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτα). Even ll.17-19, the best preserved lines, are difficult. τέ]μενος λαχοις[α is troublesome because the sense 'obtaining a sanctuary by lot' is unattractive,⁷²⁸ and τέμενος is never attested as the direct object of λαγχάνω. Further, the perceived similarities with Sappho fr.2 and Alcaeus fr.296(b) should be abandoned,⁷²⁹ as very little connects these fragments beyond the presence of Aphrodite and a landscape. The direct address to Aphrodite suggests that the speaker calls for her presence, perhaps at the κορύφα πόληος, which is elsewhere attested only at Pindar N.1.15, referring to the splendour of Sicilian cities, and probably points to the acropolis of a city. This still leaves us with little idea of the scene. We need not assume that a new poem begins at l.17 (with Rösler) because of the vocative.⁷³⁰ Indeed, music (κίθαρις), wine (οἶν[ο]ν), and chaste things (women?, ἄγναι) are very well-suited to the surroundings that Aphrodite might be called to visit (e.g. a symposium, or especially a festival). If Lobel's Μύρι]νναν ἱραν is right, we might have a scene where the speaker describing the occasion of the founding of a new sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Aeolic settlement, which is celebrated with music. However, all this remains speculative.

⁷²⁷ See pp.229-230.

⁷²⁸ The sense of sortition is not always necessary, but it does not improve the sense.

⁷²⁹ E.g. Burnett 1983: 138 n.34.

⁷³⁰ Eisenberger 1981: 36.

ὡς λόγος κάκων . [
 Περράμω(ι) καὶ παῖς[ι
 ἐκ σέθεν πίκρον, π[
 Ἰλιον ἴραν·
 5 οὐ τεαύταν Αἰακίδαι[ς
 πάντας ἐς γάμον μακ[
 ἄγετ' ἐκ Νή[ρ]ηος ἔλων [
 Πάρθενον ἄβραν
 ἐς δόμον Χέρρωνος· ἔλ[υσε δ'
 10 ζῶμα παρθένω· φιλο[
 Πήλεος καὶ Νηρείδων ἀρίστ[ας.
 ἐς δ' ἐνίαυτον
 παῖδα γέννατ' αἰμιθέων [
 ὄλβιον ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα πώλων,
 15 οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντ' ἀμφ' Ἐ[λέναι
 καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν.

P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 ii.1-16

1 κάκ ἄ[χος ἔννεκ' ἔργων Page : δ[Diehl 2 Περράμω(ι) correxit Hunt παῖ
 παῖς' [Ἐλένα ποτ' αἴσχωρος vel παῖς' [Ἐλένα ποτ' ἤρξεν vel παῖς[ι ποτ', Ἔωλεν', αἴσχωρα ? :
 παῖς[ι ποτ', Ἔωλεν', ἤλθεν Page 3 ε[ξ]κ'ε ρον· π[ύρι δ' αἰθάλωσας
 Wilamowitz : π[ύρι δ' ὤλεσε Ζεῦς Page : Π[άρι, καὶ κατεῖλε ? 4 > in margine ἴραν·
 5 τεαύ ἄκοιτιν Barkhuizen : ποθένηνη Trypanis 6 μάκ[αρας καλέσσαις Wilamowitz
 7 τ' νή ἐλ [μελάθρων Wilamowitz 8 πά 9 χέρ νος·
 ἄγνας Wilamowitz 10 θένωι· (i delete) φιλό[τας δ' (Hunt) ἔθαλε Page 11 πῆ
 ρ[η]᾽εῖδ ρίς supplevit Hunt 12 > in margine νί 13 γέννατ' (γ e c fecit

manus prima) [κράτιστον Hunt : [φέριστον Diehl 14 ξάν λάτ 15 ώλοντ'
 16 άυτων· πόλιται ? : κάκιστα Hall : Φρύγεσ τε Wilamowitz

Ever since its publication, fr.42 has consistently been one of the most discussed and controversial fragments of Alcaeus, not least because it is relatively well-preserved, but due to other treatments of Troy and Helen by the Lesbians.

The completeness of the fragment is a subject of fierce debate. The views are: fr.42 is (i) complete,⁷³¹ (ii) preceded by at most one stanza,⁷³² (iii) part of a much longer poem,⁷³³ and (iv) a self-contained unit.⁷³⁴ The surviving fragment begins at the top of a column and ends at l.16 (guaranteed by a coronis), but it is unknown whether the poem began here. However, the syntax of ὥς λόγος may provide clues. Jurenka claims that the lack of a connective in l.1 implies that the poem began here,⁷³⁵ but asyndetic phrases are found elsewhere (e.g. fr.45.7-8), and are not uncommon at the end of a unit for summaries (e.g. S. *Aj.*480) or reasons (e.g. Pi. *O.*2.85-86).

More usefully, Rösler wonders whether ὥς λόγος of the papyrus is relative ὥς λόγος or demonstrative ὥς λόγος, and whether either could begin a poem.⁷³⁶ Rösler and Meyerhoff assert that relative ὥς λόγος is frequently used as a *Zitatformel* and is syntactically ‘enclitic’.⁷³⁷ A more accurate assessment would be that relative ὥς λόγος never appears in first position in the first of a series of examples.⁷³⁸ My investigation of relative ὥς λόγος in a sentence in Greek up

⁷³¹ Jurenka 1914: 229, Pfeiffer 1930: 317; Davies 1986: 260 n.15; Budelmann 2018a: 90 acknowledges that it could be incomplete but suggests there is ‘a good chance that it is indeed complete’.

⁷³² Wilamowitz 1914: 231.

⁷³³ Colonna 1955: 310-311, Rösler 1980: 233-238.

⁷³⁴ Treu 1963: 154-155.

⁷³⁵ Jurenka 1914: 229.

⁷³⁶ Rösler 1980: 223-227. Cf. Schwyzer 1950: II.1.2.B.V.3.b.β.36; continuity to something following is excluded by the coronis. On *Zitatformeln*: Oehler 1925: 53.

⁷³⁷ Rösler 1980: 225, Meyerhoff 1984: 93.

⁷³⁸ It is not in any technical sense enclitic (‘a clitic attached phonologically to the word which precedes’: Matthews 2007: 122).

to the 2nd century AD shows that exceptions are only found for cases where *λόγος* does not mean ‘story’ or ‘report’, but rather ‘argument’ and in conversations agreeing with a proposition just made.⁷³⁹ The same positioning and exceptions are found for *ὦς+λέγω/φημί*.⁷⁴⁰ Meyerhoff adds that an ‘enclitic’ phrase at the beginning of a strophe is rhythmically impossible,⁷⁴¹ but parentheses assume pauses before and after, making the beginning of a stanza a natural place, while the clausal break after *ὦς λόγος* (–υ–|) is paralleled in Sapphics (e.g. fr.69.1, Sappho fr.22.13). Therefore, a stanza-initial relative *ὦς λόγος* cannot be ruled out, but a relative *ὦς λόγος* cannot begin a poem. Further, it cannot begin a self-contained unit.

The behaviour of demonstrative *ὦς λόγος* is different. Meyerhoff and Rösler disagree on whether *ὦς λόγος* could refer to what follows, considering as guides fr.360 and *Il*.17.420 (*ὦς δέ τις αὖ Τρώων μεγαθύμων αὐδήσασκεν*), which Aristarchus athetised (for reasons unknown). My investigation of demonstrative *ὦς λόγος/λέγω/φημί* indicates that it is almost never securely used parenthetically,⁷⁴² and that the only cases (other than *Il*.17.420) that the demonstrative refers to what follows are fr.360 and Herodotus 6.77.2. It should be noted that the cases are not of simple *ὦς λόγος* but extended versions, which might explain, as for relative *ὦς*

⁷³⁹ Instances like Hdt. 6.54, Pl. *Grg*.463b3, and Pl. *Phlb*.65c are instances where relative *ὦς λόγος* begins a second (or later) example in a series of examples (as part of *μέν ... δέ ...* clauses); this also applies when the first example does not contain *ὦς λόγος* (e.g. Hdt. 1.75.3). A similar explanation might apply to Dio Chrysostom 63.4, where initial *ὦς λόγος* begins the narrative of the example just mentioned in greater detail. Cases of *λόγος* not meaning ‘story’ or ‘report’ include e.g. Pl. R.334a, 399d, 584a, D. 11.23, Arist. *EE*.III.1233^b, Aristotle *Metaph*.VII.1034^b. The Platonic examples are also instances from conversations; they always provide an affirmative answer to a thesis posed to verify the logic of the addressee and the use of *ὦς λόγος* in such cases is akin to a final position *ὦς λόγος*, spoken by a different speaker. Finally, cases where *ὦς λόγος* is extended by other elements (e.g. a name or verb) are more likely to deviate from the usual positions. The other case of *ὦς λόγος* appears in fr.339, of which only 1 line survives and cannot provide information on whether it is the beginning of a complete sentence, or whether it is relative or demonstrative.

⁷⁴⁰ In conversations: S. *OC*.415, Pl. *Grg*.470e, *Phlb*.15c; part of a series: Plu. *Mor*.921b, Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 2.2, Schol. A.R.1.1126-31b (Hellanicus *BNJ* 4F89), most of which are also extended versions of the phrase.

⁷⁴¹ Meyerhoff 1984: 93.

⁷⁴² The only possible exception I found is Pi. O.8.41-46, where the phrase is extended and could also refer to what preceded alone.

λόγος, the rare variation in position. More interestingly, the line ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων from the Herodotean oracle is a jumble of Homeric phrases;⁷⁴³ ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει (*Il.*4.182, 6.462, 7.91) is only used in Homer to refer to what precedes, not to what follows (as here), which together may suggest a straining of syntax for metre by a less-than-accomplished versifier. Meanwhile, the Alcaean, Iliadic, and Herodotean examples all quote a short sentence (1 line in Alcaeus and Herodotus; 2 lines in the *Iliad*), which may suggest that ὥς λόγος (*vel sim.*) could perhaps be used to introduce such short quotations. Since demonstrative ὥς λόγος/λέγω/φημί referring to what precedes is extremely common, and demonstrative ὥς λόγος/λέγω/φημί referring to what follows is (at best) extremely rare and appears limited to introducing short quotations (unlike here), of the two, demonstrative ὥς λόγος/λέγω/φημί completing a tale and a new unit beginning after it is much more likely. Consequently, a demonstrative ὥς λόγος cannot begin this poem either, and fr.42 must be incomplete.⁷⁴⁴

The two remaining options are a relative ὥς λόγος in at least second position, meaning that the sentence began in the previous unpreserved stanza, or a demonstrative ὥς λόγος (or a relative ὥς λόγος) in final position, concluding a tale in the previous stanza. With demonstrative ὥς λόγος (and final-position relative ὥς λόγος), what preceded was probably a timeless element or a myth,⁷⁴⁵ which would be confirmed or contrasted by the surviving part. However, we would expect connection: upon autopsy, the last trace of l.1 is a triangular letter with a rightward curve (i.e. α or δ), making δ[έ possible. With relative ὥς λόγος, Hunt's original reading can be kept, and the fragment would have been preceded by a series of myths or something relevant that the surviving fragment would explain. It seems likely then that whether we have the relative or

⁷⁴³ On this oracle and the Homericisms: Hornblower and Pelling 2017: 193-195 with Piérart 2003.

⁷⁴⁴ Bernsdorff 2014: 6-7 claims that Ἐλένην ποτὲ λόγος (P.Mich. inv.3250c r. col.i.5) provides a (non-Lesbian) lyric parallel for a Helen poem beginning with λόγος. However, it does not show that fr.42 must/could have begun with ὥς λόγος, as the syntactical question lies in ὥς, not λόγος.

⁷⁴⁵ Direct speech, closing which is by far the commonest use of ὥς with *verba loquendi*, could also be imagined, but it is not found elsewhere in Alcaeus (the only exception is fr.360, quoting a maxim).

demonstrative, the preceding section also had myth, and possibly a reference to Alcaeus' time somewhere in the poem.⁷⁴⁶

There appears to be little to choose between these options: with relative ὡς λόγος, the myth of the fragment would be the 'proof' of a point made earlier (cf. e.g. Sappho fr.16.5), while, with demonstrative ὡς λόγος the fragment would be a continuation or elaboration on a summary of the story. However, the papyrus has a high point at each main sentential break (where the papyrus survives) in our fragment (ll.4, 10, 16), which might allow us to put some weight on the scribe's punctuation here, despite the usual inconsistency: there is no high point after ὡς λόγος. On balance, then, relative ὡς λόγος appears more likely.

Since the fragment is syntactically incomplete, it is impossible that our poem was composed as a *skolion*.⁷⁴⁷ In addition, it is far more complex than any other extant *skolion*, where one expects minimal differences for 'capping'. Nevertheless, it remains possible that the poem may have been reused as a *skolion*,⁷⁴⁸ and may thus have been truncated, explaining why fr.42 is one of only two surviving 'monodic' poems known to end with a myth alongside the Tithonus poem according to the Cologne Sappho.⁷⁴⁹ In such cases, it is easy to imagine fr.42 being reperformed in symposia in the context of a debate about Helen, just as modern scholars juxtapose fr.42 and 283 with Sappho fr.16. Indeed, fr.42 shows such affinity with fr.283 that Colonna claims they are one poem, with υϛ (fr.283.19) as υϛ of ὀνόρο]υϛ' ἀ[π' ἔργων (his supplement for fr.283.19).⁷⁵⁰ Fr.283 provides a story to precede ὡς/ὡς λόγος, but being at least 40 lines long, it would be second in length only to the exceptionally long fr.298, there is a sense of repetition of events that do not fit with ὡς/ὡς λόγος, and the trace after υϛ at fr.283.19 (an upright) is

⁷⁴⁶ In the well-preserved fragments of mythical content, mythological narrative appears not to be self-standing: cf. fr.38a, 117b, 298.

⁷⁴⁷ Caprioli 2012: 37, developing Jurenka 1914: 226.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. Ar. *Th.*160-163 and fr.223 K.

⁷⁴⁹ Edmunds 2009, *contra* Bernsdorff 2005.

⁷⁵⁰ Colonna 1955: 310-311, followed by Arena 1970: 94-96.

inconsistent with α. Rather, we should note Alcaeus' versatility in treating the same material, particularly the sequential treatment in fr.283 contrasting with the summary treatment in fr.42.

Another debate concerns the nature of the contrast in οὐ τεαύταν; most see a contrast between Helen's immorality and Thetis' morality.⁷⁵¹ However, this is based almost entirely on conjectures and the assumption that Helen must be the addressee (ἐκ κέθεν, from ἀμφ' Ἐ[λέναι]). Even Gomme's objection ("Thetis happy? What strange memory of Homer is this?") fails to consider why Helen alone should be blamed, and why only the Trojans should suffer.⁷⁵² Thus Burnett suggests that 'it is not two women, but two marriages that are here juxtaposed'.⁷⁵³ However, the myths of the women and their marriages can hardly be separated.⁷⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Davies claims that these concerns are inappropriate as the poet does not intend unmentioned elements of the tradition to be considered.⁷⁵⁵ However, these glaringly simplified versions of Helen and Thetis, in combination with the *Zitatformel* ὡς λόγος and the Homeric resonances, appear to demand from the audience further recollection of the mythological and poetic traditions (see below).⁷⁵⁶ Indeed, Gomme's concern may be allayed if one observes that the established contrast invites the audience to question the contrast. This is encapsulated neatly in the final two lines, where even as Alcaeus attributes the destruction of the Trojans' city to Helen (ἀμφ' Ἐ[λέναι]), the sentence οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντ' ἀμφ' Ἐ[λέναι | καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν is presented as the natural and sequential consequence of Thetis giving birth to her warrior son.⁷⁵⁷ Thus the poem denies the audience a simple acceptance of the argument but requires that it question the logic of morals and who really

⁷⁵¹ E.g. Page 1955: 280-281, Eisenberger 1956: 61-64, Bowra 1961: 168-169, Barkhuizen 1977: 2-5, Davies 1986, Race 1989, Tsomis 2001: 265.

⁷⁵² Gomme 1957: 258.

⁷⁵³ Burnett 1983: 191, developing Cataudella 1928: 81 and Barner 1967: 220. Similarly, Maronitis 2004b: 77-88.

⁷⁵⁴ Caprioli 2012: 24.

⁷⁵⁵ Davies 1986, followed by Race 1989, seeing a contrast between Alcaeus' collective morality and Sappho fr.16's individual focus.

⁷⁵⁶ Budelmann 2018a: 89.

⁷⁵⁷ Far from being ignored, as Kirkwood 1974: 90 claims, the irony of Achilles' destruction is made poignant by this movement and the omission of Achilles in the final sentence.

is at fault through irony and conflicting presentations, which effect is only intensified by the fact that the poem ends on these twin arguments.⁷⁵⁸

Helen is usually considered the addressee, but Aphrodite,⁷⁵⁹ Achilles,⁷⁶⁰ or Paris have also been considered.⁷⁶¹ Nevertheless, Aphrodite (of fr.41, according to Rösler)⁷⁶² is inappropriate as we expect praise or pleading (cf. fr.129, Sappho fr.1), not blame, and Achilles seems unlikely to be reproached as Alcaeus glorifies his parents and calls him ὄλβιον. Against Paris, it has been argued that Helen must be mentioned shortly before τεαύταν and that the point of contrast in the connection of τεαύταν should be between Peleus and Paris, if Paris was the addressee.⁷⁶³ However, τοιοῦτος can refer back a long way and this kind of connection and contrast is paralleled in fr.72: cὺ δὴ τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων (fr.72.11) refers back to a subject last mentioned at least two stanzas earlier, and the contrast in the connection through τεαύτας is not simple but involves a sudden turn. Further, like Helen, Paris is often accused of destroying Troy and its inhabitants (*Il.*6.328-329, 6.523-525), but the 'Trojans' suffering is natural as Paris is Trojan. In addition, the Peleus myth appropriately contrasts with Paris' ξυναπατία: Peleus was offered the hand of Thetis by Zeus, in most versions, as a reward for respecting guest-friendship in refusing the advances of Acastus' wife (*Pi. N.*4.57-61, 5.25-39). Several paths, then, are open for

⁷⁵⁸ Acknowledging or thematising these myths as being able to be interpreted moralistically in opposing ways has a long literary history. For Helen and Paris, already the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* present differing views on her guilt (notably Priam in *Il.*3.164-165 and Penelope in *Od.*23.218-224 exculpating Helen), while early lyric poets differ amongst themselves: Sappho fr.16 and Ibycus S151.1-9 exculpate her, while Alcaeus fr.42 and 283 appear harsher, and Stesichorus thematises the difference in *Helen* and *Palinodes*. For Thetis and Peleus, the *Iliad* already places Thetis in the sea after leaving her husband, whom she did not want to marry (*Il.*18.432-434, also *Pi. N.*3.35-36, 4.62-65 where Peleus wrestles her), Hesiod fr.210 already has Zeus marrying Thetis to a mortal out of anger, *Pi. I.*8.27-47 and *A. PV* note the tradition of Thetis being given in marriage to a mortal for expediency, and the traditions are thematised in Aristophanes, *Nu.*1063-1070.

⁷⁵⁹ Barner 1967: 220, Rösler 1980: 233-235.

⁷⁶⁰ Martin 1972: 74.

⁷⁶¹ Pallantza 2005: 22-34.

⁷⁶² See pp.215-216.

⁷⁶³ Budelmann 2018a: 90-91, with notes of omitted parts of the tradition.

supplements, including the following, provided *exempli gratia*, which still mention Helen in the first surviving stanza:

[εὐκομος⁷⁶⁴ δ' ἤρξεν⁷⁶⁵,]

ὦς λόγος, κάκων ἄ[χος ἔννεκ' ἔργων (Page)

Περράμω(ι) καὶ παῖς⁷⁶⁶ [Ἑλένα ποτ' αἴσχρωσ

ἐκ céθεν πίκρον, Π[άρι, καὶ κατεῖλε

Ἥλιον ἴραν.

or:

[Δύσπαρι μάργε/φαῦλε,]

ὦς λόγος, κάκων ἄ[χος ἔννεκ' ἔργων (Page)

Περράμω(ι) καὶ παῖς' [Ἑλένα ποτ' ἤρξεν

ἐκ céθεν πίκρον, π[ύρι δ' ὤλεσε Ζεῦς (Page)

Ἥλιον ἴραν.

However, while an address to Paris remains open, an address to Helen appears the most likely, since he, unlike Helen, was never a figure of cult and has little poetic tradition dedicated to him.

Nevertheless, some mention of Paris in these lines might provide a welcome counterbalance to

Peleus in the following stanza, along the lines of:

[εὐν Πάριδ' ἤρξας,]

ὦς λόγος, κάκων ἄ[χος ἔννεκ' ἔργων (Page)

Περράμω(ι) καὶ παῖς[ι ποτ', Ἥλεν', αἴσχρο

ἐκ céθεν πίκρον, π[ύρι δ' ὤλεσε Ζεῦς (Page)

Ἥλιον ἴραν.

⁷⁶⁴ Of Helen 7x in the *Iliad*.

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. with *ρέζω* instead of *ἔργω*: δαιμονίη τί νύ σε Πριάμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες | τόσσα κακὰ *ρέζουσιν* (*Il*.4.30).

⁷⁶⁶ For elision of final iota in the Lesbians: Hamm 1957: 39-40.

Scholarship has been unkind to fr.42, especially in comparisons with Sappho fr.16. However, this is a delicate and sophisticated composition, playing with myths, narrative technique, language, and metric rhythm. The first surviving stanza lulls the audience into thinking that this exemplum will be about Helen. Indeed, Alcaeus endows it with a tragic and emotional atmosphere as he reworks Homeric language and technique such as Περράμω(ι) καὶ παῖς[ι, which plays on the Homeric line-end Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες (e.g. *Il*.1.255), and ἐκ céθεν, which, as an apostrophe to a mythological figure, is unexpected, rare, and reminiscent of Homer’s sparing use at points of high emotion (often with pity).⁷⁶⁷ Just as Alcaeus comes to the end of the Sapphic stanza, with the rhythmically closural adonean that only contains ἴλιον ἴραν, which also draws on epic ἴλιον ἰρήν (e.g. *Il*.4.416), resonating with the end of the city, the narration is overturned with the sudden change (note the lack of connection) of narrative subject: this emotive, epically resonant Helen turns out to be a foil.

If Helen is cast as an epic doomed figure, Thetis is cast as a lyric erotic girl: πάρθενον ἄβραν.⁷⁶⁸ Indeed, while Peleus is glorified with a patronymic,⁷⁶⁹ and with attendance by all the gods (πάντας) at his wedding, Thetis is portrayed as a girl, simply a daughter led from her father’s house, whose marriage is the loosening of her girdle, and she only becomes heroic after her

⁷⁶⁷ Treu 1970: 67 sees Alcaeus turning Homer’s pitiful address into an invective. If so, it is ironic that it is not Helen (or Paris) but others who suffer. We might consider ἐκ céθεν playing on the hymnic formulation of asking favours with the opposite result.

⁷⁶⁸ ἄβρος is used erotically of a girl (Anacreon 373.3 (corrupt)), with reference to body-parts (Anacreon 347.1), movement (Anacreon 461), and ‘lovely’ song (Anacreon 373.2). It means ‘being in the flower of youth’ (Verdenius 1962), not ‘chaste’ or ‘pure’. For two very different approaches to the way Helen’s and Thetis’ broader mythological traditions are left out by Alcaeus: Davies 1986 and Blondell 2010.

⁷⁶⁹ Jurenka 1914: 229 calls this poem γρίφωδες because Peleus (on his first appearance) and Thetis are not named straightforwardly. However, Peleus (named at l.11) is well-known as the son of Aeacus (*Il*.21.189) and Thetis is constantly associated with her father and sisters. Further, Davies 1988: 40-42 shows that such allusive references to mythical figures is ‘idiomatic’ of paradigmatic myths in lyric.

marriage as the ‘best of the Nereids’ and through her son, who parallels her as the ‘best of the demigods’.⁷⁷⁰

Suddenly and unexpectedly, Achilles brings us back to Helen in a ring composition that is matched by the correspondence of Ἰλιον ἴραν with καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν in the adoneans. The audience was led to believe Helen was just a foil, but something more complex is at work. On the surface, Thetis becomes the foil for Helen, and οὐ τεαύταν and Thetis are introduced to narrate in silence how Helen’s Trojan marriage was neither initiated by her father nor procreative. At the same time, it is not Helen who suffers in the end, but the Trojans and their city:⁷⁷¹ οἱ δ’ ἀπώλονται [...] | καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν.⁷⁷² The many shifts in attention (Helen–Thetis–Trojans) follow the many surprises Alcaeus throws at his audience, making them think and feel one thing as it is said, then reassess those thoughts and feelings in the next stanza, then yet again. The second to the fourth stanzas are an extended narration of the first stanza: everyone dies because of her (ἀμφ’ Ἐλέναι), including Achilles, whose birth is the climax of the section on Thetis. This stirs up pity for him by the innocent picture of Thetis as a young newlywed and emphasising the swiftness and shortness of time, achieved with ἐκ δ’ ἐνίαυτον (highlighted by being isolated in the adonean), the very compression of the entire Trojan episode into these short stanzas, and association with the Achilles’ short life. However, the emphasis on Helen’s responsibility (ἐκ κέθεν, ἀμφ’ Ἐλέναι) creates tensions with Achilles’ role in the Trojans’ destruction. Through these multiple competing

⁷⁷⁰ Even then, Thetis never fully recovers her divinity. Her son is a demigod (αἰμιθέων), and his ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα πῶλων] references Achilles’ horses (e.g. *Il.*16.149) but turns them into foals, both miniaturising and suiting a baby hero. This miniaturisation of both epic hero and saga into a short lyric composition is expected more of a Hellenistic poet than traditionally of an archaic poet, but this should not hinder us from appreciating Alcaeus’ artistry here.

⁷⁷¹ And, indeed, for Thetis. The reference to Achilles’ horse is ironic: Alcaeus poignantly alludes to Achilles’ death just as he is born (Xanthus, whose name is probably punned in ξάνθαν, prophesies Achilles’ death at *Il.*19.404–417), by miniaturising the Trojan saga, and seriously undercuts his blessedness (ὄλβιον).

⁷⁷² Φρύγες τε (Wilamowitz) in l.15 would make this the earliest attestation of Phrygians for Trojans by a century for no reason (Hall 1988: 16–18). κάκιςτα reinforces the ring-composition with the first (extant) stanza, but I think a noun seems more appropriate before καὶ πόλις, and suggest πόλιται.

narrative structures, Alcaeus presents a complex exemplum, demanding that the audience to reflect carefully.



νῶ μέν κ' ἔννεκ' ἐ[
 κ[α]ῖ cὺν γεράνοιcινέ[
 ἦλθον χλαῖναν ἐχ[
 τᾶ[ι] πρωταλίαι πίθειc[

5 τ[έ]αυτ' ὦδε δὲ μηπ[
]μηδετ[
]λαμέν[

[☿]

P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 ii 17-23

ad versus 2, 4, 6 paragraphos supplevit Lobel (confer fragmenta 44 et 50)

1 νῶ (accentum fecit manus altera) μένκ' ἔννεκ' (', ut videtur, fecit manus altera) 1-
 2 inter hos versus diplen oblismenen, fortasse per incuriam, posuit manus prima κ[α]ῖ
 supplevit Hunt ἐ[video, sed ἐ[possis (sic Lobel) 3 λαῖν ω[, ο[, ε[possis 4
 τᾶ[ι] supplevit Hunt πρῶτᾶλαι (ρ refecit, accentum, brevem, et hyphen (lineam
 infra litteras scriptam) addidit manus altera) πῖθ (π e c fecit manus prima, accentum et
 brevem manus altera) πίθειc[Lobel : (ἐ)'πίθειc[suspicatur Hunt 5 supplevit Diehl
 ὦδε (accentum manus altera) legerunt Lobel et Page, sed ὦδέ antea Lobel (1923), unde ὦδέ με
 δῆ Lobel

Almost nothing can be ascertained about this fragment. A coronis guarantees the beginning. The diplo obelismene between ll.1 and 2 is probably 'due to a mere inadvertence of the scribe, who began to make his coronis a line too low'.⁷⁷³ However, Lobel also restores a coronis at l.8 and

⁷⁷³ Lobel 1923: 21.

paraphoi at ll.2, 4, 6 and 8;⁷⁷⁴ these are all suspect. The left-hand margin of ll.1-5 are clearly preserved, and does not preserve paraphoi. If these are restored, we are assuming that the mistaken dipele obelismene has probably deterred the scribe from writing further paraphoi for this poem to be neat. However, so much about this column is surprising that caution seems advisable. Metrical analysis suggests that we have a hipponactean (xx-uu-[v--]) followed by a telesillean and iambic (x-uu-u-x-u-), which might well be better understood as a stichic poem in 2gl ia | |, which is well-attested in the Alcaean corpus (e.g. fr.140, 358, 359, 360).⁷⁷⁵ Such a conception might be behind why the scribe did not write paraphoi here, while in fr.37, 38, 44, and 50 (all stichic repetition of the same line) he did. Lobel's and Liberman's restoration of paraphoi every two lines (as printed) seems thus unwise, especially if the practice of fragments that are possibly in this metre (fr.143, 158, 178-179, 181-184, 319, 395) is taken into account: in fr.143 and 179 paraphoi are preserved every four lines, which probably mark out couplets of 2gl ia | |.⁷⁷⁶ If paraphoi should be restored here, it would be at l.4 (with Voigt), but its absence in a less cluttered environment than Lobel's evasions is odd.

There are also issues with poem-length. According to Lobel's universally accepted papyrus-join,⁷⁷⁷ the left-hand alignment moves further to the left at (the hypothetical) l.25 of the column (P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 ii.25, the line after the missing l.8 of Alcaeus fr.43 or the first line of Alcaeus fr.44=P.Oxy.1233 fr.9.1), making it clear that a new poem (fr.44) begins there, confirmed by the change in metre. The natural place to put a coronis when the lines that follow are in ecthesis would be to place it in alignment with the margin of the ecthesis so there is no protrusion into the text

⁷⁷⁴ Lobel 1923: 20.

⁷⁷⁵ Thus for fr.140, Irigoin 1957: 235-236. The papyri of fr.140, the only other fragment in this metre with papyrological testimony, is missing the left-hand margin.

⁷⁷⁶ Barner 1967: 31-32. More evidence like this would help the investigation on couplet-structure in Alcaeus.

⁷⁷⁷ Lobel 1923. The difficulty is at least acknowledged by Gallavotti 1948a: 99 and Tsomis 2001: 266.

following.⁷⁷⁸ Yet, although the left-hand margin is preserved from the beginning of fr.44, we do not find a coronis. If the coronis was placed aligned to the margin of fr.43, as coronides in this papyrus take up the height of approximately two to two and a half lines, either the coronis would protrude into the text of the following poem, which seems unlikely; or we would have two lines missing between l.7 and the beginning of the next poem, the second of which would be blank (as we expect an even number of lines due to the metre), but there is only space for at most one and a half lines with the join in its current form.⁷⁷⁹ This leaves us with two possibilities: (1) there is no coronis, but either the change in alignment alone was sufficient to mark a change in poem, or a change in alignment with another, smaller critical sign (e.g. a paragraphos, or a diplo oblismene, which could motivate the unexplained appearance at fr.43.1 through anticipation) was used; or (2) P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 and 9+3 do not join in this way. There is no certainty either way, but the coincidence of the papyrus-break and ecthesis is itself suspicious; the difference between sequential fragments in the use of the paragraphos to mark couplets (fr.43 without paragraphoi, fr.44 with) is odd; and the change in angle of certain horizontal fibres is worrying, despite some promising fibres. If the join in its current form is rejected, we would no longer know the lengths of fr.43 (and fr.44, or the column-height of this papyrus).

Numerous disputes about the text make interpretation difficult, but all agree that it concerns a time of the year and seafaring (ll.2 and 4). The reference to cranes (γεράνοικινέ!) makes the setting either spring or autumn, when they can be seen migrating at the end of February/mid-March and October.⁷⁸⁰ Wilamowitz suggests that the cranes, along with the cloak

⁷⁷⁸ In the other instance of change in alignment in non-dramatic lyric papyri I am aware of, BKT v.(2) xii.1 col.ii=Alcaeus fr.113-114, the end of the first poem is marked with a coronis, but the second poem is written in enthesis, so the coronis would not have protruded into the text, unlike here.

⁷⁷⁹ I am, however, open to a lacuna longer than that posited by Lobel; more lines per column than currently assumed (40) are possible within the usual range of 25-50 lines (Johnson 2004: 124-125, with Table 3.7).

⁷⁸⁰ Lambert 1957: 52. However, the season could differ depending on where the poem is set: the crane is known to have bred (April-June (Meine and Archibald 1996: 10)) in the Evros/Hebrus Delta as recently as 1965 (Johnsgard

(χλαῖναν), supports a springtime scene,⁷⁸¹ while Liberman uses the same evidence for a wintertime voyage.⁷⁸² However, archaic evidence appears likely to refer to the autumn migration: Homer’s cranes χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον (*Il.*3.4), and Hesiod says that their crying ἀρότιό τε κῆμα φέρει καὶ χεῖματος ὥρην | δεικνύει ὄμβρηροῦ (*Op.*450-451).⁷⁸³ Aristophanes appears to be the first to unambiguously mention their springtime migration, when the sycophant says μετὰ τῶν γεράνων τ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναχωρῶ πάλιν (*Av.*1428),⁷⁸⁴ and the movement remains a common sign for spring (cf. Verg. *A.*10.265-266). This chronological observation perhaps supports the autumn. However, it would be a strange time for a first-time voyage, as suggested by πρωταλία. This is a *hapax*, but Hesychius π 4160 (πρωτόαλος· πρωτόπλους) suggests that this is an adjective meaning ‘of first sea-voyage’,⁷⁸⁵ here substantivised with the article.⁷⁸⁶ Since winter is not a time for sea-faring, assuming that l.4 is set at the same time as l.2, this would suggest springtime.⁷⁸⁷

Aristophanes, *Av.*709-712 may help:⁷⁸⁸ the cranes signal the beginning of the sowing season (autumn), but also the end of the sailing season, and a need for cloaks. This is probably supported by the other Alcaean allusion in the play (*Av.*1410-1417). The scholiast notes that the sycophant’s question plays on Alcaeus fr.345, to which the answer is ‘the swallow’ (as Pisthetaerus

1983: 229), though it is now extirpated as a breeding species in southern Europe (Meine and Archibald 1996: 162-165); Pliny, *NH.*X.30-33 knows of the crane’s migratory patterns in Crimea and ‘Pythonos Come’ in ‘Asia’ (Siberia?).

⁷⁸¹ Wilamowitz 1914: 240 n.1.

⁷⁸² Liberman 1999: 37, especially n. 76.

⁷⁸³ Most commentators assume the autumn: West 1978: 272, Kirk 1985: 264-265, Bowie 2019: 91-92. Similarly, Thgn.1198 says that a bird’s cry ἄγγελος ἦλθ’ ἀρότου.

⁷⁸⁴ Dunbar 1995: 679 assumes this ‘return’ is the spring migration.

⁷⁸⁵ The adjective in -αλιος of the sea finds a parallel in ἐνν]αλιαν (Alc. fr.44.7).

⁷⁸⁶ Thus Hamm 1957: 102, in key with Alcaeus’ (and Sappho’s) usual omission of the definite article with adjective + noun or noun + adjective when no other rules apply to it (Lobel 1927: lxxviii).

⁷⁸⁷ Treu 1963: 177.

⁷⁸⁸ Dunbar 1995: 451: ‘we do not know if Ar. thought of it himself or got it from an earlier poet, e.g. Alkaios, who clearly referred to cranes in a poem (43)’. The coincidence of various themes makes me think an Alcaean allusion very likely, though it could have been traditional.

alludes at 1417). Here, Pisthetaerus' response at 1416-1417 refers to the Alcaean 'skolion',⁷⁸⁹ and the need for swallows is a play on the proverb μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ, related to the idea that swallows are the signs for spring (714-715), when one dispenses of the heavy winter cloak for a lighter one (715). Therefore, *Av.* 709-712 appears to be alluding to a winter migration in a particularly Alcaean passage. Consequently, if the time of the cranes is the setting for τὰ[ι] πρωταλῖαι, then a difficult, ominous winter sailing might be the subject of the poem.⁷⁹⁰ Indeed, the close association of the crane's migration and ceasing sailing (Hesiod, Theognis, Aristophanes) may point to a trope and the first-voyage might be a symbol for dangerous action rather than a real voyage.

Textual issues further complicate the scene. It is unclear whether πίθειε[or 'πίθειε[should be read. Most follow Lobel and Page in reading πίθειε[from πίθημι, built on Homeric πιθήσω, πιθήσας,⁷⁹¹ and attested at fr.117b.28 (π[ί]θην) and Sappho fr.60.8 (πίθειεα[), instead of Hunt's 'πίθειε[(<ἐπιτίθειμαι).⁷⁹² The former is better as a poetic licence does not have to be assumed and the sense is clear ('trusting in the ship on its first voyage'), though an aorist might have been expected. A temporal circumstantial participle (instead of a participle of manner) is possible with (ἐ)πίθειε[(aorist passive participle), but the sense would be 'having put [my hand?] on the ship on her maiden voyage' (*LSJ* s.v. ἐπιτίθημι, B.I)⁷⁹³ or 'having turned towards the ship on her maiden voyage' (*LSJ* s.v. ἐπιτίθημι, A.I.2).

⁷⁸⁹ Dunbar 1995: 676, however, thinks it may refer simply to the swallow line.

⁷⁹⁰ Thus, Liberman 1999: 37 without such concerns. Such a thought might underlie the corrupt last line of Theognis 1197-1202. Cf. Servius' on Verg. *A.10.266* (*grues significant tempestatem futuram*).

⁷⁹¹ Hamm 1957: 140.

⁷⁹² Gallavotti 1948a: 98, with aphaeresis and synecphonesis.

⁷⁹³ Cf. E. *Andr.*1210-1211.

The first word may be understood either as a dual,⁷⁹⁴ or as a contracted form of νόου.⁷⁹⁵ As the dual of the personal pronoun is badly attested in Aeolic,⁷⁹⁶ though it could have been used as an epicism and the contraction of ο+ο is regular (though often left uncontracted),⁷⁹⁷ the latter has become the consensus. Lobel's suggestions for the translation ('in point of sense',⁷⁹⁸ 'in fancy' as opposed to 'in bodily presence')⁷⁹⁹ are not obvious. Firstly, ἔνεκα is not found with the meaning 'with respect to' or 'regarding' before the fifth century, but only as 'on account of'. With this meaning, it is difficult to imagine Alcaeus argue that he is acting 'on account of sense/thought/reasoning': for what other reason would he act? Rather, we expect something more like 'mind' (as the seat of thoughts and feelings~θυμός), 'wisdom', 'thought'/'plan', or 'intention'/'desire'.⁸⁰⁰ A winter's sea-journey makes 'on account of my wisdom' or 'out of fancy' unlikely, unless it is the wisdom or fancy of an opponent. If 'on account of my [saddened?] heart' or 'on account of [my?] plan', we would expect this poem to be about leaving Mytilene or another reason for Alcaeus to risk making a dangerous voyage. There is little to choose between these and 'for our sake'.

We now must explain μέν, which as far as we can tell has no following δέ *vel sim.*, but is perfectly suitable as an emphatic μέν,⁸⁰¹ though a resumptive δέ might be found in the lacunae or in l.5, where the postponement after a linking demonstrative and adverb seems acceptable.⁸⁰² Lobel emended the curiously accented ὦδε δὲ μηπ[to ὦδέ με δῆ, which is attractive especially if we have dual νῶ, which would contrast two people acting together with just the one, but emendations

⁷⁹⁴ Wilamowitz 1914: 243.

⁷⁹⁵ Lobel 1923: 21.

⁷⁹⁶ Hamm 1957: 107.

⁷⁹⁷ Blümel 1982: 60.

⁷⁹⁸ Lobel 1923: 21.

⁷⁹⁹ Lobel 1927: xxxii.

⁸⁰⁰ All these meanings are attested already in the *Iliad* (Montanari 2015, s.v. νόος).

⁸⁰¹ Denniston 1950: 360.

⁸⁰² Cf. similar postponement in τοῦτο κοὶ δ' ἐφίεμαι (S. *Aj.*116) and Denniston 1950: 187-189.

are unwise in a text providing little sense. Perhaps κ' provides a hint of the argument of the poem: someone ('out of fancy?') would have made a perilous winter journey (ll.1-4), but such things did not happen in this way (ll.5-8). Little more can be deduced.



ἀ[.....], [
 ἄκ[.....], [
 θ[.....], [
 ἐ[.....], [] ρ[.], []

5 μ[] ρ[.....] νι κάκω περρ[
 μάτε[ρ.....] άδων έκάλη να[
 νύμφ[.....] αλίαν· ά δέ γόνων [
 ἱκέτευ[.....] τω τέκεος μάινι [

P.Oxy.1233 fragmenta 9. 1-8 et 3. 1-7 (ad versus 2-8 dextra) coniunxit Lobel, qui duxit hoc et subsequenta carmina eiusdem columnae εν έκθέσει scripta esse.

1 γ[(Lobel) vel υ[2 η[possis 5 .ρ[vel .υ[vel .ψ[vel .φ[κάκω(ι) ? Diehl
 Περρ[αμ- Diehl : Περρ[αμίδαις' West conferens fr.42.1-2 6 μάτε[ρ Lobel όνι]άδων
 Lobel : έξονομ]άδων Page Νά[ιδα (Wilamowitz) φερτάταν Diehl : Νά[ιδ' ύπερτάταν
 Page 7 νύμφ[αν ένν]αλίαν (aut accusativum aut genitivum) Lobel λιαν· [άψαμένα
 (vel sim.) Δίος (Wilamowitz) vel Δία (Meyerhoff, sed hiatus displicet, cf. Tsomis 2001: 266 n.12)
 Lobel 8 κέτ [άγαπά]τω Lobel et Page : [όλόαν] τώ Maas conferens *Od.*3. 135 : μή]
 τώ ... [άτιμάσαι vel [άπυστρόφην (vel άπυστρέφην ?) Lobel τέκ μάιν έπιρρέπην
 vel έποικτίσαι vel ύπιστάναι vel έπιστάναι vel όμορρόθην ?

This well-known fragment, probably in greater asclepiads (gl^{2c}), unusually has largely found consensus amongst scholars. However, the main questions of length and the use of myth are worth considering again. Until the join of P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 and 3+9 becomes certain, the beginning of (and hence the length) of this poem should be presumed to be unknown, though a coronis marks

the end of the poem. This dramatically changes the interpretation of the poem, as most commentators have made its brevity the focus.⁸⁰³

There are two main interpretations, with minor variations, based on ll.6-8, the only lines with more than one word preserved. Since its publication, the fragment has been recognised as recounting the anger of Achilles and Thetis' conversation,⁸⁰⁴ as reminiscences of *Iliad* 1 (in whatever form) are so significant that Alcaeus' debt to Homer (however loose) appears almost undeniable: γόνων (cf. μιν γουνάσομαι, *Il.*1.427; λάβε γούνων, *Il.*1.500), ικέτευ[(cf. Δία λίσαι, *Il.*1.394), τέκεος μᾶνιν (μῆνιν ... Ἀχιλῆος, *Il.*1.1). Consequently, Wilamowitz's reading where Thetis supplicates Zeus to satisfy her son's anger, as in the *Iliad*, has become the *communis opinio*.⁸⁰⁵ In contrast, Treu argues that Alcaeus is deliberately reworking the *Iliad* and that Thetis implores Zeus to abate Achilles' anger,⁸⁰⁶ claiming 'einen übelgesinnten Aufwiegler wäre der Wunsch zuzutrauen: Unterstütze die Menis dieses Mannes, fördere sie, mehre sie!' and that the mother only wants an end to grief.⁸⁰⁷ With this reading, ἀπυστρέφην might be an appropriate supplement at the end of l.8. Burnett seems to acknowledge Treu's discomfort in suggesting an ironic reading akin to 'be careful what you wish for', as 'the honouring of Achilles' wrath would cost him all he cared for most'.⁸⁰⁸ Of course, these are variations on the same idea of dependency, but the Homeric example should abate such discomfort concerning Thetis' actions; indeed, is not keeping Achilles away from battle (and the war in later sources)⁸⁰⁹ Thetis' desire?⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰³ Already, e.g. Fränkel 1928: 272.

⁸⁰⁴ Hunt 1914: 68.

⁸⁰⁵ Wilamowitz 1914: 232.

⁸⁰⁶ Treu 1963: 124, 155-156.

⁸⁰⁷ Treu 1970: 70.

⁸⁰⁸ Burnett 1983: 185.

⁸⁰⁹ From the 5th century BC on, Thetis is attested as hiding Achilles amongst the daughters of Lycomedes to stop him going on the Trojan War (Paus. 1.22.6; Apollod. 1.171; E. fr.682-686).

⁸¹⁰ Cf. *Il.*18.94-96, 1.415-418. Further, Thetis knows that Achilles is short-lived, and herself considers honour as recompense (*Il.*1.505-506).

Thus Wilamowitz's reading remains attractive. Nevertheless, the lacunae of l.8 have been troublesome. Although it is tempting to read [ὀλόαν] τῷ τέκεος μᾶνιν (Maas) as a reminiscence of *Il.*1.1-2, a reading with a definite article τῷ is questionable as Sappho and Alcaeus do not use the article as a sign of possession or of words denoting relationships.⁸¹¹ Page's supplement ἀγαπά]τω is extremely attractive, as it is found in the *Iliad*, and is used particularly of one's own children.⁸¹² The other problem lies in supplying an appropriate infinitive after ἰκέτευ[. However, in Homer, μῆνις is only found as the direct object with verbs of avoiding and abating, a tendency that continues. Only from the 5th century are these appropriate: ἐπιρρέπω (*A. Eum.*889) and ἴστημι (*S. OT.*698). Thus ἐπιρρέπην, an Iliadic word found of fate, seems apt, though it lacks the expected support and endorsement, unlike ὑπιστάναι or ἐπιστάναι. Of verbs not attested beside μῆνις, ἐποικτίσαι is attractive, which would have Zeus supporting Achilles from his empathy, as are ἀτιμάσαι (Lobel) or ὀμορρόθην.

Although the poem-length is uncertain, Alcaeus appears to have compressed Iliadic scenes here:⁸¹³ Achilles' call to his mother, his complaint, and Thetis' intercession. Such concise retelling of this story already occurs in Homer (*Il.*8.371-372, 15.75-77),⁸¹⁴ which might show Alcaeus reworking the traditional epic *aides-mémoire* into an external allusive technique, playfully using a Homeric technique to allude to Homer. This playfulness is also evident in the choice of words and epithets. Wilamowitz's Νά[ιδα is now thought unlikely since Naiads are spring- and river-nymphs in the archaic period,⁸¹⁵ rather than sea-nymphs like Thetis. However, Thetis is also far from a

⁸¹¹ Lobel 1927: lxxiii-lxxiv, though this analysis is quite strict.

⁸¹² Chadwick 1996: 32-34.

⁸¹³ The following interpretation does not necessarily require a high degree of fixity of the Homeric poems, but only the sequence of narration and the general structure; it thus works with most views of epic oral tradition.

⁸¹⁴ Meyerhoff 1984: 52.

⁸¹⁵ Meyerhoff 1984: 48.

νύμφη in this period,⁸¹⁶ except in the sense of a bride, which she is not here. Given that a form of νύμφα seems unavoidable, **Ναιάκ** too should not be dismissed out of hand. More interesting is ἐννα]λίαν, as εἰνάλιος is not found in the *Iliad* and is only used of sea-creatures in the *Odyssey*,⁸¹⁷ which link with beasts is still strong in Archilochus fr.122.8. Only in the later *bH*. 6.3 is the epithet used of Cyprus, and it is used of people or gods for the first time in Aeschylus (fr.46a, of Zeus) and then in Euripides (*El*450, of Thetis). Either Lobel's conjecture is wrong, or Alcaeus uses the typically epic noun-epithet cluster and two Homeric words playfully as Thetis is described in grand constructions with vocabulary unexpected of a dignified goddess. Further, the coincidence of the hyperbolic phrasing **Νά[ιδ' ὑπερτάταν | νύμφ[αν ἐνν]αλίαν** is noteworthy. The change of subject mid-line for Thetis' supplication of Zeus is also pointed, as Thetis waited several days in the *Iliad* to see Zeus since he was visiting the Ethiopians. The deliberate brevity of the narration of such a specific well-known and divided passage appears to contrast the expansiveness of heroic epic with the miniature of Alcaeus' lyric. It is often considered that Alcaeus is too early for such ludic techniques, but here and elsewhere Alcaeus reveals pointed generic self-consciousness.

The brevity and compression of this episode creates a fast pace. This in turn provides a sense of urgency, selective vision, and great emotion; Alcaeus achieves this effect through the opposite technique to Homer, who provides a wealth of information. This too lies open for possible generic play as Alcaeus uses indirect speech implied in **ικέτευ[**, which we find elsewhere in Alcaeus, most notably in fr.73.5 (**φαῖς' οὐδὲν ἰμέρρην**), as well as direct speech (fr.10), but these are very rare instances. Here, it is part of the technique of summarising, but with a nod to the mimetic aspect of Homer's speeches. The pace also makes the omission of Zeus' response

⁸¹⁶ In the Homeric poems, νύμφη designates young women, brides, or lower goddesses of the woodlands, springs, and rivers; some are daughters of Zeus, but never of Nereus. The closest we find is *Od*.13.348, which is missing in many manuscripts; Phorcys (here, the 'old man of the sea') is, according to Hes. *Th*.237, the brother of Nereus, making this the only occurrence of νύμφη and **Ναιάκ** as sea-goddesses related to Nereus in EGHP, which is later found at S. *Pb*.1470.

⁸¹⁷ *Od*.4.433, 5.67, 15.479.

even more surprising,⁸¹⁸ as it feels like a sudden stop; the whole point of supplications and prayers is that there is a response, and the narrator in the Homeric poems mentions the granting or refusal of the requests. Here, Alcaeus denies the audience the response; this leaves the audience on a lower level of knowledge than the ‘characters’, as Thetis knows the response she receives. Alcaeus’ audience did know the response, but only through the tradition, which further highlights Alcaeus’ nod to the tradition.

The ludic element does not make the poem any less ‘serious’, nor is it the only purpose; indeed, it could have a present significance. However one interprets the poem, a scene where ‘the best of the Achaeans’, an adult warrior in whose hands lie the fate of cities, calling on his mother in pain (μάτε[ρ].....ὄνι]άδων ἐκάλη) is pitiful and pathetic, made more so by the helpless image of a mother supplicating on behalf of a beloved son (γόνων ... ἰκέτευ’ [ἀγαπά]τω τέκεος). Such evocation of emotions may well be the purpose of the poem if this is a purely narrative poem.⁸¹⁹ However, the poem may not entirely be about Achilles’ wrath and material relating to the present may have preceded,⁸²⁰ which would decide which aspect would carry the emphasis, but the suggested interpretations above work for both. Eisenberger makes an interesting suggestion, that the myth and the poem is about the meaning of honour and the consequences of its infringement on one’s personal self-evaluation, and hence that it concerns blame.⁸²¹ In this connection, whether in the beginning of the poem Alcaeus spoke in the first person of Pittacus or Myrsilus, or called on a divinity (just like Achilles), or we have more of the myth, Tsomis considers a relation between Agamemnon’s ἀτιμία of Achilles and the *betairia*’s ἀτιμία of repeated exile.⁸²² In contrast, according to Meyerhoff, it is more likely that Alcaeus, as in fr.129, sang ‘schwerlich ohne Sympathie’

⁸¹⁸ Fränkel 1928: 272.

⁸¹⁹ Wilamowitz 1914: 233; Pfeiffer 1930: 317.

⁸²⁰ E.g. Page 1955: 482; Meyerhoff 1984: 52.

⁸²¹ Eisenberger 1956: 69.

⁸²² Tsomis 2001: 267.

for Achilles about μῆνις on account of withheld rights.⁸²³ Similarly, Pallantza suggests that Achilles is the ideal figure for the noble *betairia* to identify with,⁸²⁴ and that Achilles' μῆνις for being wronged and the consequences for the Achaeans could apply paradigmatically to Alcaeus and the Mytilenaeans.⁸²⁵

Given Alcaeus' self-identification with Achilles elsewhere, not only in situations (e.g. fr.70, 130b) but in vocabulary and allusions,⁸²⁶ such an identification may be possible. Indeed, Pittacus' betrayal is linked to marrying a Penthilid, Pittacus has taken power for himself (instead of sharing?; fr.70, 129), the Achaeans are elsewhere identified with the Mytileneans (fr.289), and the sentiment of ruin on Mytilene due to the leader's wrongdoing (cf. Agamemnon wronging Achilles) is present throughout his political poems. If the identification is secure, then Alcaeus also heroises himself, and portrays himself (and his *betairia*) as the key to the success of Mytilene. This naturally makes Pittacus the typological parallel of Agamemnon, who in the *Iliad* is at times portrayed as a sole-ruler. Thus, if fr.44 was political, the opening may have had an address to Pittacus (e.g. 'Pittacus, will you let Mytilene suffer as Agamemnon did and the gods punished them?'), or an address to a god ('O god(dess), things have happened just as it happened to Achilles; avenge me'). The identification therefore has a further rhetorical point than one of argument, as it is implied that the people of Mytilene (~Achaeans) are blameless sufferers of a tyrant (cf. *Il*.1.335-336). The identification is also particularly apt in this poem, since it is so poetically self-conscious, and this is another parallel with Achilles, who famously broods on his lyre during his self-exile at the edges (cf. ἐκχατρία, fr.130b.9) of the Achaean camp (*Il*.9.186). However, fr.44 may have been a purely narrative poem.

⁸²³ Meyerhoff 1984: 53.

⁸²⁴ Pallantza 2005: 44.

⁸²⁵ Pallantza 2005: 46.

⁸²⁶ Cf. pp.40-43.



Ἔβρε, κ[άλ]λιστος ποτάμων παρ Αἴϊνον

ἔξι[... ἐς] πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν

Θρῆαικ[... ἐρ]ευγόμενος ζὰ γαίας

4]ιππ[.] [...]ι·

καί σε πόλλαι παρθένικαι πέ[

....]λων μήρων ἀπάλαισι χέρ[σι

....]α· θέλγονται τ... ν ὡς ἄλει[

8]θῆ[ῖο]ν ὕδωρ.

P.Oxy. X 1233 fr.3.8-15, cui accedunt fr.18 (ad versuum 2-4 initia) et fr.9.9 (ad versus primi initium) et P.Oxy.XVIII 2166 (b) 2 (ad versum 8); omnia coniunxit Lobel.

1-2 supplevit Lobel e Schol. Theoc. *Id.*7.112 p. 106 W: Ἀλκαῖος φησιν, ὅτι Ἔβρος κάλλιστος ποταμῶν (ποταμός codices KLUEA), Διοκλῆς (διὰ Θράικης coniecit Fränkel) δὲ καταφέρεισθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ῥοδόπης καὶ ἐξερεύεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν Αἴϊνον 1 α[~

Αἴϊνωι Page ex Hdt. 4.90.2 (ἐκδιδοῖ Ἔβρος) ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴϊνωι πόλι, sed accentus repugnat 2 ἐξι[ησθ' Lobel ἐς] Lobel (εἰς iam Hunt) 3 θρῆαι Θρῆαικ[ίας

Diehl : Θρῆαικ[ίαν vel Θρῆαίκ[ων Lobel ἐρ] Hunt γαίας vel γαῖαν scripsit manus

secunda 4 vel]ν· ν[ίππ[α] π[όλη]ι ? : C]ίππ[Lobel 5 καί λάι πέ

π[vel γ[vel κ[vel ρ[, unde (ἐ)πέπ[οιαι vel (ἐ)πέπ[οιαι Lobel, πέκ[ονται Hunt 6 κὰκ

κά]λων Gallavotti : παγκά]λων ? : κάπά]λων Hunt : καὶ κά]λων Edmonds χέρ[σι Hunt

7]α· νίππ[α Page : νίππ[α (= νίμμ]α Edmonds) Liberman : χεῦμ]α ? τ... ν, post τ

aut ο aut ε, tum littera incerta, tum ο vel littera triangula, quas litteras scripsit manus secunda; τε

çὸν ? (τ' iam Hunt) : τε πᾶν ? : τὸ çὸν Schubart : τὸ πᾶν Diehl ἄλει[ἄλει[ππα

Lobel (ex ἄλιππα Aeoliis ab Et. Mag. 64. 40 tributo), unde ἄλει[ππ' ῆ ? : ἄλει[φον ? : ἄλει[φαρ

Hunt

This fragment in Sapphic stanzas has not been much discussed, in part because it does not have clear thematic or stylistic links with other fragments, and in part because the text, though relatively well-preserved, is difficult to construe. However, a re-examination of the papyrus shows previously unreported signs of a coronis that warrant a fresh look at the fragment and its importance.

As the left-hand margin is lost from l.2 onwards, it was assumed that we cannot know if the poem was complete. However, a long line of the kind seen elsewhere in this papyrus only beside a coronis is visible at l.8.⁸²⁷ In this papyrus, there are twenty surviving examples of the standard paragraphos, a shorter line.⁸²⁸ Out of four preserved coronides, there are two examples of coronides with a long horizontal central line (fr.37.7, 44.8),⁸²⁹ and two examples of coronides with a short horizontal central line (fr.33a.2, 42.16).⁸³⁰ Both the standard paragraphos and the shorter horizontal line beside coronides are about the length of one average letter (e.g. κ, π) or shorter, while this longer line is about the length of two average letters.⁸³¹ The line in l.8, previously assumed to be a standard paragraphos, extends well beyond the first letter (θ) up to the end of the second letter (η). Hence a coronis should be supplied here, and the fragment should be considered

⁸²⁷ The paragraphos at fr.33a.8 (= P.Oxy.1233 fr.10.8) is also long, but its wayward angle and thickness suggest this is unintentional.

⁸²⁸ I exclude from this number: the horizontal lines found beside coronides; the horizontal line in question (at fr.45.8); the diplo oblismene at fr.43.1 (= P.Oxy.1233 fr.2 ii.17), which appears to be a mistake; and the horizontal lines at fr.33a.8 and 10 (the line at l.8 is long, but its wayward angle and thickness suggest this is unintentional; on l.10, see p.177 n.610).

⁸²⁹ The clearest example of this long line is found at fr.37.7; the surface damage to the papyrus at fr.44.8 makes the second half of this line appear fainter.

⁸³⁰ The use of coronides with a long horizontal central line alongside those with a short horizontal central line is paralleled in other papyri. Within Alcaean papyri, we have P.Oxy.1234+1360: Alcaeus fr.64.9, 66.8, and 68.6 have a long line, and fr.70.13 has a short line.

⁸³¹ At fr.37.7, the line reaches the beginning of the third letter (ο) in θέοιϛ[.].

a complete poem. If this is accepted, fr.45 would be our first (largely) complete poem by Alcaeus and the shortest known Lesbian poem of certain length at 8 lines.⁸³²

The sense in ll.1-3 seems to be ‘Hebrus, you flow out as the most beautiful of rivers by Aenus into the heaving sea, pouring forth through the land of Thrace’; the choice between the supplements proposed makes little difference to the meaning. However, l.4 has so far proved impossible to supplement. There is really only space for one letter at the beginning of]ιππ[, and the second π is secure, despite palaeographically possible alternatives.⁸³³ This rules out a part or compound of ἵππος, often considered likely given the association of Thrace with horse-rearing,⁸³⁴ unless we have something like τ’] ιππ[, which seems impossible with the preceding line’s ζὰ γαίαις. Fränkel suggests (surely correctly) that Horace drew inspiration from fr.45 for his *Liparaei nitor Hebrī*, | *simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis* (C. 3.12.6-7) and wonders if *Liparaei* (or something that could inspire it) could be found in l.4,⁸³⁵ but no appropriate word begins λιππ-. The only other suggestion is a form of Cίππη (a lesser known variant of Cίπη), a Thracian town, but I cannot see how this could fit the metre.

Consequently, instead of looking for a place-name or qualifying Θραικ[... ζὰ γαίαις further, an accusative object of ἐρ]ευγόμενος or a nominative in apposition with the verbal subject might be sought, depending on whether ἐρ]ευγόμενος is used transitively or

⁸³² Fr.33a, 43, and 44, each considered 8 lines long, are currently the shortest Lesbian poems of certain length. I doubt the coronis (and hence length) of fr.33a (p.179 n.610), while the lengths of fr.43 and 44 depend on the uncertain papyrus join between P.Oxy.X 1233 fr.2 and 9+3 (see pp.229-230). Even if the join is accepted, fr.45 would join fr.43 and 44 as the shortest known Lesbian poem at 8 lines, and the shortest stanzaic Lesbian poem of known length at two stanzas; it is certainly the most complete of the surviving poems of Alcaeus of known length.

⁸³³ For example,]ππγ[must be excluded as as -πγ- is impossible in Greek;]ππτ[, possibly easier to supplement, is palaeographically unlikely.

⁸³⁴ See Treu 1963: 174. No form of ἵππος, except the nominative and accusative singular, for which there is insufficient space (as they require a new clause), fits the metre. All metrical compounds of ἵππος leave insufficient space palaeographically and metrically for the next element and no room for the second element joined by τε before the new sentence beginning with καί (l. 5).

⁸³⁵ Fränkel 1928: 273 n. 3; but *Liparaei* could have been drawn from ἄλει[(Treu 1963: 174, also noting the close allusion to these lines at Verg. *G.* 4.372-373).

intransitively.⁸³⁶ One might consider ν[ί]ππ[α] (=νίμμα;⁸³⁷ no other possibility for single letter + ιππ- is found in dictionaries), perhaps paired with π[όλη]ϊ.⁸³⁸ If ἐρ]ευγόμενος is used transitively, one would translate ‘Hebrus, you flow out as the most beautiful of rivers by Aenus into the heaving sea,⁸³⁹ pouring forth through the land of Thrace the water in which the city washes’. If intransitively, ‘pouring forth through the land of Thrace as the water in which the city washes’. Although both are possible, the intransitive seems more attractive, as ν[ί]ππ[α] π[όλη]ϊ in apposition to ‘you’ and the prepositional phrase Θραϊκ[... ζὰ γαίαια of ll.3-4 create a clear parallel and contrast with κ[ά]λιτος ποτάμων παρ Α[Ἴ]νον in apposition and ἐς] πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν. This seems a neat reconstruction that embraces all the palaeographical details and that anticipates the following stanza; it makes bathing a key part of the Hebrus’ identity and highlights the playful tone of the poem created by the movement from the grandiose and expansive nature (κ[ά]λιτος ποτάμων, πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν) to the humble act of washing and its relationship with people (ν[ί]ππ[α] π[όλη]ϊ).

⁸³⁶ Both uses are found with rivers. Transitive use: e.g. ἔνθεν τὸν ἄπειρον ἐρεύγονται κότον | βληχροὶ δνοφεραῖς νυκτὸς ποταμοί (Pi. fr.130); Dion. Perieg. 300, Posidipp. 113.10 A-B (fountain), Dion. Perieg. 539 (sea). Intransitive use: e.g. Ναύαιθος ἔνθα πρὸς κλύδων’ ἐρεύγεται (Lyc. Alex. 921); A.R. 2.983-984, App. *Mith.*480, Pi. P.1. 21-22 (Aetna).

⁸³⁷ For Lesbian -ππ- for -μμ- (< -pm-), cf. ὀππάτεσσι for ὄμμασι (Sa. fr.31.11) and]απαππένα for -αμμένα (< ἥμμαι, pf. pass. of ἄπτομαι) (fr.298.10), with Hamm 1957: 21. νίμμα is only found a couple of dozen times, but it is attested already in the 4th century BC (Dromo fr.2.2 K-A), the verb from which the noun is derived is very common, and the Lesbian poets preserve several deverbatives in -μα (Somolinos 1998: 202-203 for the Lesbians; Chantraine 1979: 175-190 for Greek generally).

⁸³⁸ The form is unattested in Lesbian (Hamm 1957: 158; in inscriptions, we find -ι: see Blümel 1982: 258-259 and Hodot 1990: 113-114). However, we find the πολη- stem of πόλις in πόληος at fr.41.18, and πόληϊ is found in Homer (*Il.*3.50), where too the common πολη- stem makes πόλις somewhat exceptional amongst *i*-stem nouns (Chantraine 2013: I.214). A Homeric form in this fragment would be unsurprising, given the other non-Lesbian elements (see below).

⁸³⁹ The verb ἐξί[η]θε’ is used intransitively, as often of rivers (cf. e.g. Hdt. 2.10.3) (*LSJ* s.v. ἐξί[η]μι, I.2); ἐς] πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν could go with either ἐξί[η]θε’ or ἐρ]ευγόμενος, but the balance of qualifiers and word-order makes the association with the former more attractive, though the sense is appropriate with both. If ἐξί[η]θε’ is transitive, a use I cannot find with rivers, it would mean ‘send forth’; for the use with or into a liquid object, cf. E. *Ba.*1122 (ἄφρον ἐξιέτα), and Pl. *Ti.*82c.

The second stanza is even less well understood. Since a high point is clearly visible on the papyrus before **θέλγονται** (l.7), there must be a verb either at the end of l.5 or at the beginning of ll.6 or 7. A third-person plural finite verb in ll.6 or 7 for **πόλλαι παρθένικαι** to govern seems impossible; only the end of l.5 remains, where Lobel's **(ἐ)πέπ[οις]** has been the only suitable supplement.⁸⁴⁰ This has been universally understood as 'visit'.⁸⁴¹ However, it is difficult to construe **...]λων μήρων** without a participle of manner, for which there is no space.⁸⁴² The only way to make 'visit' work is if we take the supplement of l.7 (**νίπτρ]α, νίππ]α, χεῦμ]α**) in apposition to **σε**,⁸⁴³ and translate 'many girls visit you, the water for washing their beautiful thighs with their soft hands' (i.e. **κάκ κά]λων** is excluded, and **χεῦμα μήρων** (*vel sim.*) is an objective genitive) but so many qualifiers for the supplement of l.7 remain unattractive. However, if we understand **(ἐ)πέπ[οις]** in the primary meaning of **ἐφέπω** as 'ply', 'wield' with a direct object,⁸⁴⁴ **σε** becomes the direct object of **(ἐ)πέπ[οις]**, and we can translate satisfactorily: 'and many maidens apply you down their fine (**κάκ κά]λων**) thighs with their soft hands as water for washing'.

The problems in the final sentence have often been ignored by assuming that the sentence ran over into the next stanza,⁸⁴⁵ but this is no longer justifiable if one accepts that fr.45 is complete. Difficulties first arise because of the unclear reading **τ...ν**, where not only has the original hand

⁸⁴⁰ For prodelision, cf. fr.283.5 (**ξ[ε.]ναπαταπιπ[**, i.e. **ξ[ε.]ναπάτα(ι) (ἐ)πί π[όντον**). Lobel's other suggestion, **(ἐ)πέπ[οις]**, is impossible without more space for a finite verb. Hunt's **πέκ[οντα]**, palaeographically possible, runs into trouble with **]λων μήρων**.

⁸⁴¹ *LJ* s.v. **ἐφέπω** A.II.3.

⁸⁴² Cf. 'nombre de jeunes filles (se rendent) auprès de toi, (moyen pour elles de se laver) de leurs mains délicates (en te versant sur leurs belles) cuisses' (Lieberman 1999: 39).

⁸⁴³ Lieberman 1999: 207 n.80 notes that this is also how he takes it, but his problems are due to **κάκ** supplied in the beginning of l.6 with **(ἐ)πέπ[οις]** as 'se rendre auprès de'.

⁸⁴⁴ *LJ* s.v. **ἐφέπω** A.I.1. Cf. Pi. *P.6.33* (**ὁ δ' ἔφεπεν | κραταιὸν ἔγχος**). This appears, at first, to be a rare usage, but the Pindaric example is an application with an inanimate object of the very widespread use of sense A.I.2. 'apply', 'direct towards or against', where the subject directs an animate accusative object (e.g. **ἔφεπε κρατερῶνυχας ἵππους**, *Il.16.732*); thus Montanari 2015, s.v. **ἐφέπω** lists both applications under the translation 'to impel, direct towards, launch'. We might then translate as 'apply' or 'direct'.

⁸⁴⁵ E.g. Lieberman 1999: 207-208 n.81, explicitly.

been altered by another, but there is also surface damage to the papyrus. Since we expect a connective after **θέλγονται**, the paleographically and metrically possible **τε** suggests itself;⁸⁴⁶ the remainder may be **παν** or **ρον**,⁸⁴⁷ but it is difficult to judge due to unclear grammar. Interpretation hinges on the voice of **θέλγονται**. The major dictionaries list **θέλγονται** here as the present middle with active meaning.⁸⁴⁸ However, not only would this be the sole attestation of the middle of **θέλω**, the sense is unsatisfactory even if we accept it, with **θέλγονται τ...ν ὡς ἄλει[ππα/ἄλει[φον | θή[ϊο]ν ὕδωρ**: the maidens ‘charm the water divine as an unguent’, or the maidens ‘charm the divine water as/as if it anoints them’.

It seems probable, then, that **θέλγονται** is passive. In this case, **θή[ϊο]ν ὕδωρ** becomes difficult: it cannot be nominative, but an accusative is unexpected with the passive; and, while accusatives of respect are found with **θέλω** in the passive,⁸⁴⁹ these are with parts of the body or the mind and the meaning is unclear here. A solution would be to transfer **θή[ϊο]ν ὕδωρ** to another clause. We cannot supplement a finite form of the verb **ἀλείφω** (**ἀλεί[φεις/ἀλεί[φει]**) in l.7 as the papyrus preserves an accent on the **α**. However, **ὡς ἄλει[ππ’ ἦ | θή[ϊο]ν ὕδωρ** (‘as if the divine water were an unguent’),⁸⁵⁰ or **ὡς ἄλει[ππα / ἄλει[φον** with the copula understood (‘as the divine water is an unguent/is anointing’) seem attractive.⁸⁵¹ In these cases, the maidens are enchanted by the water and **θήϊον** is used to highlight the magical power of the river, depending

⁸⁴⁶ Already, Hunt 1914: 68 considers **θέλγονταί τ’**.

⁸⁴⁷ Diehl 1936 suggests **τὸ παν**, which is palaeographically possible but grammatically impossible: Page 1955: 287 notes that Lesbian does not use the article with **παῖς**, and also usefully rejects Diehl’s other suggestions. On the length and accentuation of the neuter singular nominative/accusative of **παῖς**, cf. Sa. fr.62.3, where the papyrus has **πᾶν**, with *LSJ* s.v. **παῖς**. Schubart 1948: 319 suggests **τὸ ρον** (rejected by Lobel 1927 (‘vix legend.’)); having inspected the papyrus, I see no palaeographical reason to rule out **ρον** as the alteration makes the traces unreliable.

⁸⁴⁸ E.g. *LSJ* and Montanari 2015 s.v. **θέλω**.

⁸⁴⁹ E.g. *Od.*18.212, A.R. 2.771-772.

⁸⁵⁰ On the elision, cf. Hamm 1957: 39; for the subjunctive form, cf. Sappho fr.4.5, Alcaeus fr.39a.9.

⁸⁵¹ The omission of the copula is common in Alcaeus (e.g. fr.140.10-13; 333; 335.3-4; 347a.2, 4, 5; 364.1; 400). The periphrastic present is found already in Homer (e.g. *Il.*2.295-296); for an overview of the εἶμι + present participle construction, cf. Bentein 2012: esp. 10-13 with Dietrich 1973a: 189-203 and Dietrich 1973b.

on the idea of an unguent as the medium of *θέλιξις*.⁸⁵² It would, however, remain difficult to understand *τ...ν*; the only possibility along these lines becomes *τε πάν*, translating ‘and they are completely enchanted’.⁸⁵³ A further option is have two main clauses: *θέλγονταί τε· ζὸν ὡς ἄλει[ππα | θή[ῖο]ν ὕδωρ*, ‘and they are enraptured as they do so; (for) your divine water is like unguent’.⁸⁵⁴ This view seems preferable, as it does not posit rare usages, accounts for the traces, and provides better sense. The comparison might appear to be faint praise for Hebrus, but the Lesbians often combine the powerful with the humble and quotidian,⁸⁵⁵ and washing is part of the nexus of praiseworthy elements for rivers.⁸⁵⁶ This disparity, as we will see, may also be pointed and playful. Further, the reading balances *ν]ίππ[α] π[όλη]ϊ* (l. 4) well, while returning the focus to Hebrus and praising the river in keeping with other hymnic elements (below).

This interpretation multiplies the similarities between Horace’s *C.3.13*, which Theander noticed already in the movement from *Ἔβρε* (l.1) to *καί κε* (l.5) and from *o fons Bandusiae* (l. 1) to *te* (l.9):⁸⁵⁷ direct address followed by a comparison (*κ[άλ]λιςτος ποτάμων~splendidior vitro*, l.1,

⁸⁵² For magical unguents, cf. Medea’s *φάρμακον* for Jason (A.R. 3.845-847, 1042-1043).

⁸⁵³ Postponed *ὡς* ‘since’ (*ζὸν ὡς ἄλει[ππα | θή[ῖο]ν ὕδωρ*, ‘since your divine water is unguent’) is unlikely as it is not found until the Hellenistic period.

⁸⁵⁴ I am indebted to Prof. Gregory Hutchinson for this suggestion. The asyndeton is justified by the brevity and the explanation (see Hutchinson 1985: 99 and 174); in the Lesbians, cf. e.g. *fr.6.10-12*, 68.3, 130b.5 (with Hutchinson 2001: 208), 346.1, Sappho *fr.51*, 150. For short sentences in the Lesbians, cf. e.g. *fr.6.10*, 119.11, 119.13. For *τε* starting a new main clause, cf. e.g. *fr.140.10*. Possessive adjectives in Lesbian appear with and without the article (Lobel 1927: lxxxix-lxxxiii). For the emphatic separation of the possessive from the head noun and initial position, cf. *καὶ δὲ μάλιτ’ ἔχαιρε μόλπαι* (Sappho *fr.96.5*). The high point earlier in the line applies to the previous sentence and does not prevent another sentence break here. For *ὡς* ‘like’ with a noun without relating to a verb (e.g. ‘they attacked like wolves’): cf. *αἰεὶ τοὶ κραδίη πέλεκυς ὡς ἔστιν ἀτειρής* (*Il.3.60*), which is particularly close, especially but not only if *ἀτειρής* is an adorning epithet, as elsewhere (e.g. *Il.7.247* of metal, *Il.13.45* of voice); similarly, *Il.14.185*, 18.518, Alcman. 1.40-41, E. *fr.1059.4*, X. *Mem.4.2.17*.

⁸⁵⁵ E.g. by asking a divinity for a small favour with a sense of personal connection (cf. Sappho *fr.1* and 2).

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. *Fontes Argivi* in Callimachus’ *Aetia* (*fr.65-66* Harder), which appear to be about purification rituals (Harder 2012: II.529), and the provision of washing water for the new-born Zeus as a reason for the reward of the name Neda in Call. *H.1.32-38*.

⁸⁵⁷ Theander 1948-1949: 38, with reference to the hymnic form.

nobilium ... fontium, l.13), two stanzas of praise (Hor. *Carm.*3.13.9-16), καί σε ... (ἐ)πέπ[οις] ... ἀπάλαις χέρσι and *te ... nescit tangere* (ll.9-10), ending with ‘your water’ (ζῶν ... ὕδωρ~*lymphae ... tuae*, l.16), and also, though common in quasi-hymnic language, the emphatic position of the second person (ζῶν ὡς ἄλει[ππα] | θή[ιο]ν ὕδωρ~*tu frigus* [...] *praebes*, ll.10-12). The Alcaean connection of Horace’s poem is confirmed by another Alcaean allusion (to fr.347).⁸⁵⁸ Horace’s depiction of the *fons* appears to be self-consciously humble beside Alcaeus’ mighty Hebrus and the preceding poem’s (C.3.12) excellent man, Hebrus, who washes in the Tiber. This depiction is in keeping with the more Callimachean sensibilities espoused by Horace’s contemporaries; a metapoetic layer is added by adapting both the trope of the literary spring and the praise of a great river to a spring in a metaliterary poem.⁸⁵⁹

The fragment is characterised by an outward simplicity that masks Alcaeus’ characteristic composition techniques. This is most evident in the vivid description: it consists entirely of generic phrases,⁸⁶⁰ but the phrases are often not paralleled exactly in earlier or contemporary poetry (e.g. πορφύρεος with θάλασσα, θεῖος with ὕδωρ).⁸⁶¹ Alcaeus thus feigns simplicity by appearing to create a scene entirely from stock phrases but adds novelty and interest with his own combinations.

⁸⁵⁸ We appear to have a window-allusion to Hes. *Op.*582-596 through fr.347: cf. *tangere* (l.10)~τέγγε (l.1), *atrox hora* (l.9)~ὥρα χαλέπα (l.2), *flagrantis ... Camiculae* (l.9)~καύματος (l.2) and *Κεῖριος* | ἄσδει (ll.5-6), *lascivi* (l.8)~μιαρώταται (l.4), and the singing Horace (*me dicente*, l.14) and the loquacious spring under the holm-oak (*cavis impositam ilicem* | *saxis, unde loquaces* | *lymphae desiliunt tuae*, ll.14-16)~ἄχει δ’ ἐκ πετάλων ἄδεα τέττιξ (l.3); the cave, wine, and the kid might be from Hes. *Op.*589-592. The heat of fr.347 is used here as a foil to underline the special quality of the spring.

⁸⁵⁹ Horace here inverts the trope of the literary spring (e.g. Castalia, Arethusa, Hippocrene), which usually inspires poets and makes them famous, by having the poet make the spring famous. For the typological parallel of spring and river, cf. the list of springs building up to one of rivers, including the Hebrus, (and eventually the sea) at Ov. *Met.* 2.238-258. Particularly close is Call. *H.*2.108-112. Cf. also Call. fr.1.23-28 Harder and *Ep.*28 Pf. for the metapoetics of the small. The attraction of fr.45 to readers of Hellenistic poetry is obvious with a short poem about a large and powerful thing, an epigram-like concision and turn of phrase, the interaction between nature and humans, and erotic undertones.

⁸⁶⁰ See Table 1.

⁸⁶¹ See further Broger 1996: 158.

Furthermore, the description is multi-sensory, engaging the audience at every turn, especially in the first stanza with a new sense or movement (κ[άλλ]ιστος, πορφυρίαν, ἐρ]ευγόμενος ζᾷ γαῖας). There is also a play with distance as we begin with the panoptic view of the river's location that focuses on the sea and region as units before zooming in on the women.

The fragment's exploits its two-stanza length by playing with dualities. While we are presented with two contrasting scenes, each consisting of one stanza (the first focused on the Hebrus, the second on the maidens), there is continuity in the Hebrus as the second person in both and, if my suggestion above for l.4 is accepted, in subject matter: the wondrous quality of the Hebrus and its role as water for Aenus' inhabitants are mentioned in both stanzas in an AB || BA arrangement, where A is the Hebrus' natural wondrousness and B is the Hebrus as water for people. This is emphasised further on the metrical level as the two adoneans encapsulate the two aspects of the Hebrus in ν]ίππ[α] π[όλη]ϊ and θή[ϊο]ν ὕδωρ. Other dualities include play between rough and soft, overlapping with the large and the dainty and with the masculine and the feminine: roughness in πορφυρίαν and ἐρ]ευγόμενος contrasts with ἀπάλαισι, θέλγονται, and ἄλει[; the rivers, mountains, and geographical areas contrast in size to people and parts of the body; and the masculine river contrasts with the women.

These contrasts contribute to the sensuality of the poem, with the focus on young women in the second stanza and erotic descriptions of parts of the body, enchantment, and toilette. This is further deepened by the similarities with the unions of rivers and women in the Homeric poems. The river Axius is described in a very similar way to Hebrus as Axius κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἴησιν (*Il.*21.158).⁸⁶² Further, the riverside is the location of one of the most famous depictions of maidenly sexuality, the laundry and picnic of Nausicaa. This description, where the erotic aspects of her characterisation come to the surface, is recalled at *Od.*6.96: αἶ δὲ λοεσσάμεναι καὶ

⁸⁶² Similarly, ἦ (Tyro) ποταμοῦ ἠράσσαντ' Ἐνιπῆος θείοιο, | ὅς πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμῶν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἴησι, | καὶ ῥ' ἐπ' Ἐνιπῆος πωλέσκετο καλὰ ῥέεθρα (*Od.*11.238-240). Cf. also Spercheius and Polydora (*Il.*16.174-176).

χρισάμεναι λίπ' ἐλαίωι.⁸⁶³ It is possible that Alcaeus may have drawn from such a tradition of riverside descriptions as the settings of sexual encounters. Through similarities in phrasing and actions, the sensuality and contrast between the masculine and feminine are heightened, and an expectation of a narrative continuation is created and subverted, just as with the expectation of a hymn (below). Such a contrast of the masculine and feminine is not uncommon in the Lesbians, often with a contrived sense of separation and stereotyping. Thus, in Sappho fr.16, the masculine is represented by emblems of war (ll.1-4), and in Alcaeus fr.130b, the chief quality of women is beauty (κριννόμεναι φύαν, l.17) and the activity of the women is contrasted directly with the men's in the rest of the fragment. Alcaeus here presents a distanced, idealised, almost voyeuristic depiction of women, as in fr.130b, and the two sexes benefiting and heightening each other.

Fr.45 is also notable for Alcaeus' manipulation of hymnic discourse.⁸⁶⁴ As often in hymns, the fragment begins with an address,⁸⁶⁵ and the stanzas contain specifying elements such as the location and company. However, this is ironic here, as a river's location does not change and the maidens are not worshippers. Further, the fragment stops here, and the most important part of

⁸⁶³ However, there are not enough verbal similarities to justify seeing an allusion to the Odyssean episode with Theander 1948-1949: 38-39, who claims the entire poem is based on the scene.

⁸⁶⁴ For the rhetoric of hymns: Norden 1913: 143-177, Danilewicz 1976, Race 1982, Furley and Bremer 2001: 50-63, Burzacchini 2005.

Coins from cities on the Hebrus often depict a river god (van Bredow, *BNP* s.v. Hebrus; for a coin with the image of the river-god labelled EBPOC and other coins depicting the river-god (all Roman): Drexler in Roscher 1884-1937: I. 1871-1873; also *RPC* III. 746, 747, 753 and <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/quick/?search&format=abbr&q=Hebros>), and *I. Aeg. Thrace* E477 (κυρίωι Ἐβρωί) on a second- or third-century AD marble stele suggests a divine Hebrus. However, the stele (from Didymoteichon or Plotinopolis) and the coins (mostly from Philippopolis; some from Plotinopolis and Hadrianopolis) are from much farther inland, and Hebrus is not found on a coin from Aenus (none are found in May 1950 or Tekin 2007), which minted coins from the early 5th century BC. The great divinity of the Aeneans is Hermes: cf. Call. *Ia.7* (myth in *Diegesis* VII.32-VIII.20), and his persistent appearance on Aenus' coinage (Picard 1942: 4, Cahn 1944: 59-63, May 1950, Kraay 1976: 158-160; the recent Turkish excavations have not changed this picture: Tekin 2007).

⁸⁶⁵ Burnett 1983: 131-132, esp. n.26 places the greatest emphasis on the hymnic form; however, as Gallavotti 1948a: 100 and Page 1955: 287 warn, we should not see κ[άλ]λιςτος ποτάμων as an epithet (with Burnett and others do), but the vocative without apposition is further play with hymnic form and miniaturisation.

the hymn is missing: the prayer or request, which is the rhetorical purpose of hymns. We do not even get a sense that the speaker is seeking the divinities' χάρις.⁸⁶⁶ Thus, it is different from even the most playful of lyric 'hymns', such as Anacreon 357, which still has a request. It could more fruitfully be compared with the Attic scolion *PMG* 886, which lacks a request but may be an extract.⁸⁶⁷ In combination with common phraseology and un-Lesbian forms such as γαῖα, παρθενικά, and ὕδωρ,⁸⁶⁸ which perhaps help to create a more elevated tone,⁸⁶⁹ the hymnic elements may demonstrate a lighter, more playful sensibility in applying the hymnic form to a non-mythological place. For example, the Hebrus is miniaturised as the washing-water for the city (ν)ίππ[α] π[όλη]ι); that undercuts the grand description of the Hebrus earlier in the first stanza before the poem focuses on only this aspect in the second stanza. Even the final praise is not for the raw strength of the Hebrus, as the praise is its enchantment of women. Alcaeus thus subverts the expectation of a narrative or request that would follow such a scene-setting at the beginning of hymns.⁸⁷⁰

Many scholars assume fr.45 was composed from observation and experience during Alcaeus' exile or as a re-evocation of it,⁸⁷¹ or treat the fragment as a cultic hymn or relating to a

⁸⁶⁶ Race 1982: 10; cf. Furley and Bremer 2001: 60-63.

⁸⁶⁷ Bowra 1961: 387-388. On this scolion's hymnic elements: Fabbro 1995: 93-94.

⁸⁶⁸ Or rather, forms that are not standard contemporary Lesbian, but archaisms or forms influenced by other dialects (e.g. Ionic or epic language): see Bowie 1981: 47-137 (especially, 93 (on γαῖα) and 133 (on ὕδωρ)).

⁸⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. the un-Lesbian forms in fr.34.

⁸⁷⁰ E.g. in Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes (fr.308), which sets the scene (with the lines quoted by Hephaestion) before the story of Hermes stealing Apollo's cattle (according to Pausanias and Porphyry), fr.325 (hymn to Athena), and fr.129 (while fr.129 is not a traditional hymn, it incorporates hymnic elements and begins the hymnic section with a description of the sanctuary).

⁸⁷¹ E.g. Mazzarino 1943: 66, Gallavotti 1948a: 99-100, Eisenberger 1956: 45, Bowra 1961: 172, Tsomis 2001: 21 n.22. The most attractive argument against this hypothesis (that the Lesbians, being already linked to the Hebrus through the myth of Orpheus' head flowing from the Hebrus to Antissa (Phanocles fr.1.21 Powell), did not need a motive to celebrate the Hebrus (Page 1955: 288)) is no longer persuasive, as nothing in the now-complete poem suggests Orphic connections.

cult. Since Aenus was founded by the Mytileneans and Cumeans (Strabo VII fr.52),⁸⁷² a visit by Alcaeus is not far-fetched.⁸⁷³ Fränkel suggests that the Lesbian women washing and bathing in the river are a symbolic celebration of the colonisation of Aenus.⁸⁷⁴ However, fr.45 seems unlikely to relate straightforwardly to a specific cult event, or to be an *extempore* composition upon seeing the river, but appears more suited to the playful symposium. Nevertheless, the specific address to Hebrus is difficult, unless it was somehow relevant to the initial performance context, through the location of the symposium or some personal link with or experience of the area. However, as there are no other indications in the fragment, nothing further about the original performance can be deduced; the fragment could, of course, have been reperformed anywhere.

⁸⁷² For the history of Aenus, one of the few Thracian settlements mentioned in Homer (*Il.*4.520, with Danov 1976: 117, 226), see May 1950. For geographical survey of Aenus: Başaran 2007: 72.

⁸⁷³ As many emphasise, including Bowie 2009: 122, who suggests that Alcaeus may have sung as he travelled, drawing on the local colour to compliment his hosts. In a similar vein, Tsomis 2001: 76 suggests a *Preisgesang*.

⁸⁷⁴ Fränkel 1944: 293-294, quoting *Pi. O.*12 (Ergoteles bathes in hot springs near Acragas as symbol of his immigration) and *Ov. Her.* 2.90 for the practice. Hošek 1980 considers maidens of marriageable age bathing in the Scamander at Troy ([Aesch.], *Epist.*10; while saying *λαβέ μου, Κκάμανδρε, τήν παρθενίαν*) and in Magnesia, and suggests Alcaeus celebrates bringing of the ritual to the Thracian river.

post εγερρην est punctulum medium quod manu prima deletum esse videtur 13 κατακρας·
 14 κάλον] Diehl : κάκον ? κάκλον 15 εἶς Hunt αἶδαο 16 πότμω
 κτυφέ]λω, ἀστραγά]λω, κροτά]λω, στό]λω, αἰγιά]λω ? νόη 17 supplevit Hunt
 νόματ'άμ 18 ταυτλα, cuius λ deletum est 19]..[:]ο.[vel]ω.[legit Lobel,
 sed]π.[vel]ι.[vel]γ.[vel]τ.[mihi videtur αὔτ, accentum fortasse posuit manus altera
 20 ο]υδεν[possis

This fragment offers, in the mention of Babylon and Ascalon/Ashkelon, a gem, a datable event: the ‘Nebuchadrezzar Chronicle’ provides a secure date for Nebuchadrezzar’s destruction of Ashkelon in Kislev (November/December) 604 BC (first regnal year of Nebuchadrezzar II).⁸⁷⁵ Since the fragment’s discovery, many have assumed that Alcaeus’ brother, Antimenidas, who fought alongside the Babylonians (fr.350), was present at the destruction. Consequently, many scholars have suggested occasions for the poem (Antimenidas’ departure in 604 BC, or return),⁸⁷⁶ and surmised that Antimenidas was a mercenary with the Babylonians. However, beyond the date, these suggestions have no textual basis, but are inferences from fr.350.3-7 (from Strabo).⁸⁷⁷ They require re-examination before I attempt my own interpretation.

As Strabo 13.2.3 (φησιν Ἀλκαῖος Βαβυλωνίοις [sc. ἀδελφὸν] συμμαχοῦντα τελέσαι μέγαν ἄθλον) is the only known reference to Greeks in the Neo-Babylonian army, Fantalkin and Lytle deny that Greek mercenaries were employed by the Neo-Babylonians and thus claim that Antimenidas cannot have fought beside the Babylonians at Ashkelon.⁸⁷⁸ Assuming σύμμαχος

⁸⁷⁵ BM 21946 l.18; Wiseman 1956: 28. Wiseman’s reading of the town-name, once considered ‘very uncertain’ (Grayson 1975: 100; 1980: 161; acknowledged by Wiseman 1985: 23 n.158), has often been reconfirmed, including recently by Irving Finkel as *is* [clear]-*qi*-[almost certainly an erasure]-*il-lu-nu* [last three syllables were never in doubt] (Stager 2011: 3 n.2).

⁸⁷⁶ Treu 1949/1950: 221 (departure); Quinn 1961a: 20 (return).

⁸⁷⁷ This usually joined to a distich preserved in Heph. *Ench.*10.3, following Müller 1827.

⁸⁷⁸ Fantalkin 2011; Fantalkin and Lytle 2016.

means ‘mercenary’, they argue against Strabo’s *συμμαχοῦντα* by noting that this may be due to Strabo’s or some commentator’s deduction rather than paraphrase, and that *συμμαχέω* is ‘not typically used in our Archaic sources to define mercenaries’.⁸⁷⁹ However, the former cannot be proved either way, and the latter, which is true, only refutes their own baseless assumption. Perhaps *σύμμαχος* could be used euphemistically, just as the Homeric *ἐπίκουρος* ‘took on an undertone of subordination’ in Hesiod,⁸⁸⁰ and means ‘mercenary’ in Archil. fr.15 and 216, but our earliest attestations (Archil. fr.108.1, Sappho fr.1.28, Meiggs-Lewis 10.2) and its continued usage throughout as ‘ally’ suggest it would be *ad hoc*.

The term ‘mercenary’ has brought little but misconceptions. The scholarship on mercenaries confusingly considers Antimenidas both an aristocrat emulating the values of Homeric heroes,⁸⁸¹ and a loser selling his services to endure ‘the extremely unpleasant condition of exile’.⁸⁸² However, fr.69 portrays the Lydians less like employers than neighbours who gave them 2000 staters without clear expectations (fr.69.5-6).⁸⁸³ This, which was the ransom-price for Rhoeteum and twice the amount needed for Croesus to raise an army,⁸⁸⁴ seems greater than any mercenary’s expectations, while the serial negatives suggest the Lydians considered it a pittance, excluding expectations of return.⁸⁸⁵ In any case, Antimenidas need not have sought employment

⁸⁷⁹ Fantalkin and Lytle 2016: 97-98. There is also no reason (*pace* Fantalkin and Lytle 2016: 100) to be suspicious because *αὐτούς* must be emended to fit the metre: *αὐτούς* is the sort of word one inserts in a paraphrase, and, since Strabo’s citation may not belong with Hephaestion’s quote, the metre is no argument.

⁸⁸⁰ Kaplan 2002: 233.

⁸⁸¹ E.g. Bettalli 1995: 108-109; Raaflaub 2004: 209; Hale 2013.

⁸⁸² E.g. Kaplan 2002: 235; Tandy 2004: 189-193.

⁸⁸³ See p.294.

⁸⁸⁴ Page 1955: 232, with n.3.

⁸⁸⁵ Even if fr.69 is reframing the mercenary-employer relationship through gift-giving, with that much money, further mercenary service seems unnecessary.

with the Babylonians out of difficulty,⁸⁸⁶ but perhaps fought out of *ξενία*,⁸⁸⁷ became involved while trading,⁸⁸⁸ or was raising funds or support for their cause by helping the Babylonians, who were emerging as the world power.⁸⁸⁹ Whether this makes him a ‘mercenary’ seems irrelevant. All we know, then, is that Antimenidas fought alongside them at some point (fr.350).⁸⁹⁰ Nevertheless, although archaeological Aeolic evidence makes Antimenidas’ presence in Ashkelon possible,⁸⁹¹ there is nothing for or against his presence during the siege in any capacity. Therefore, I do not base my interpretations on this.

⁸⁸⁶ Who employed Greek mercenaries after the Neo-Assyrian empire is disputed: all agree on Egypt; many on Philistia and Tyre (Helm 1980: 136-137; Stern 2001: 223-227; Niemeier 2001: 18; 2002; Boardman 2006: 523); all except Fantalkin cite Alcaeus for the Neo-Babylonians. There is seventh-century evidence outside Egypt, but not for the Neo-Babylonians: e.g. Phoenician and Palestinian towns probably staffed with Greeks (Haider 1996: 96-76); Gyges sending Ionian and Carian mercenaries to Egypt (Bettalli 1995: 75-76); Esarhaddon’s mercenary army from Cilicia likely including Greeks (Haider 1996: 91); the Amathus bowl (710-675 BC) with Greek hoplites fighting beside Assyrians on both sides (Niemeier 2001: 21).

⁸⁸⁷ If one of Alcaeus’ exiles were in Egypt or Thrace (e.g. Mazzarino 1943: 66, with fr.432, 45) or Sardis (Baurain 1997: 195, with fr.306Ag.7), perhaps Antimenidas took exile in Babylon (Mazzarino 1943: 67, but Page 1955: 224 n.3), which was considered a city of refuge (Wiseman 1985: 107-108; *Tintir=Babylon* I.48 (George 1992: 41)) and participates out of *ξενία*. Although Treu 1966: 32-34 and Tarditi 1984: 88 consider participation in the Lydo-Median war in fr.306Ae.12-16 as mercenary service in hope of political support, this may be due to *ξενία*, given close relationships between Mytilenean aristocrats and Lydians (see pp.138-139, 158-162).

⁸⁸⁸ Cf. Sappho’s brother who trades wine at Naucratis (Hdt. 2.135; Strabo 17.1.33; Athenaeus 13.596c-d). More generally, pottery-finds indicate post-Mycenaean Greek trade from the mouth of the Orontes to Ashkelon and Nineveh (Braun 1982: 7-9; Waldbaum 1997). The excavators claim Ashkelon was ‘the preeminent point of contact for trade with Greece in the late seventh century BC in the southern coastal region between the Nile Delta and the more prominent sites to the north’ (Waldbaum 2011: 142), though Fantalkin 2011 argues vehemently for a garrison-town.

⁸⁸⁹ This was obvious to many, cf. e.g. Jer. 25:9.

⁸⁹⁰ *Βαβύλων*, first attested here, may indicate significant contact since it is directly from the Akkadian folk etymology of *Bābili* as *Bāb-ilāni* ‘Gate of the Gods’, not found in languages closer to the Greeks (e.g. Hebrew and Aramaic).

⁸⁹¹ Aeolic pottery (some clearly for trade) has been found in the remains, some at the 604 BC destruction level (Waldbaum 2011: 242, 280, 281, 316), though they cannot be shown petrographically to originate conclusively only from Lesbos. The excavators persuasively interpret the distribution and types of pottery-finds (in commercial areas) as supporting trade-links better than a mercenary presence (Waldbaum 2011: 133-135).

The general outline (the sea (θάλασσαν), Babylon and Ashkelon, death (Αἶδαο δῶμα), a celebration (στ]εφανώματ' ἄμμι), 'everything' (πάντα)) fits the 'standard' view that someone (Antimenidas) went on a sea-journey and destroyed Ashkelon with the Babylonians, bringing death, which is then celebrated in the present.⁸⁹² In contrast, Treu argues for a drinking poem, seeing in στ]εφανώματ' ἄμμι a present setting, to which the poem returns (after the possibly first-person plural verb]ωμαν), a sympotic theme in considering death (cf. fr.38a).⁸⁹³ He also claims that Horace C.1.26 draws on this poem, suggesting a call to disperse one's cares to the wind and supplementing Νό]τω(ι).⁸⁹⁴ Consequently, he considers the expedition a short allusion to the future or present events from afar, and that the 'rousing' (ἐγέρρην) refers to something that is κάλον] τε κᾶκλον.⁸⁹⁵

However, although a present situation both at the beginning and at the end is persuasive, the rest of Treu's interpretation is not. The correspondences with Horace are too few to consider fr.48 the model,⁸⁹⁶ and insufficient for such extrapolation. Further, Treu's reading appears to continue the thought of ll.12-13 in l.14 (] τε κᾶκλον) despite the high point in the papyrus, continuing 'wenn wir beisammen sein werden, wollen wir nicht an den Hades denken' (ll.15-16),⁸⁹⁷ but this leaves] τε κᾶκλον stranded. This could be salvaged by an impersonal construction in οὐ κάλον] τε κᾶκλον with νόησθαι as complement, or by having both κάλον] τε κᾶκλον and (going) εἰ]c Αἶδαο δῶμα as its object, but such lengthy postponements of the verb is unattractive. Thus νόησθαι is probably part of a different clause from what precedes. Consequently, the object of ἐγέρρην, severed from κᾶκλον, is probably not positive (cf. κατ' ἄκρας). Therefore, nothing suggests a future or present event in the Babylonian section; I doubt that Mytileneans knew

⁸⁹² Quinn 1961a: 20.

⁸⁹³ Treu 1949/1950: 221.

⁸⁹⁴ Treu 1949/1950: 222.

⁸⁹⁵ Treu 1949/1950: 222-223.

⁸⁹⁶ Thus also e.g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 301-302; Syndikus 2001: I.248 n.9.

⁸⁹⁷ Treu 1949/1950: 223.

Nebuchadrezzar would destroy Ashkelon beforehand, as no one knew it would refuse to pay tribute,⁸⁹⁸ and the seige appears short.⁸⁹⁹ Instead, I suggest ‘[he? mixed] the good and [the bad and sent men into] the house of Hades’ or ‘[it is necessary/fated/inevitable for] both the good [and bad man to enter into] the house of Hades’, then ‘[and/but while we are alive, we should not think of cruel death] (πότῳ τυφέ]λω?, 1.16)’ or ‘[but now, we should think of games/music] (ἀστραγά]λω?, κροτά]λω?)’. Alternatively, the subject of κατάγει might still be the subject: ‘[he? sends] both the good and [the bad man into] the house of Hades’ followed by a turn away from death as above. This would then lead into the sympotic scene.

Turning to the beginning,]κ’ ὦν is troublesome, as it is unclear if κ’ is κε with the optative, and ὦν could represent οὔν, ὦν or ὦν. The repetition of φέρω (φέρεσθαι, φέροιτο) seems important, but much is unknown: voice (middle or passive?), meaning (‘be borne’, ‘rush’, ‘turn out’, ‘carry off/win?’), the significance of the mood (infinitive and optative), its subject. Only that they are in two separate sentences is clear, due to the high point. The sea makes φέρεσθαι as ‘be borne’ very attractive; then, Treu’s Νό]τω(ι) seems apt, but if, as he thinks, this is Antimenidas’ journey to Ashkelon, this is the wrong wind. Meanwhile, φέροιτο is followed by a present indicative κατάγει,⁹⁰⁰ suggesting that φέροιτο is in a separate sentence, or that κατάγει is in a relative clause. κατ ἄκρας suggests a verb of destruction with Ἀσκάλωνα as object, but then we need another verb (‘dare?’) with the same subject to govern ἐγέρρην. However, the natural subject is the prince/army Βαβύλωνος Ἴρας (or going ἐκ] Βαβύλωνος Ἴρας), which would also be the obvious subject of κατάγει, but this is too far for it to be the verb of destruction whose object is Ἀσκάλωνα and whose complement is κατ ἄκρας. The obvious solution is a new sentence in

⁸⁹⁸ This is a reasonable assumption (*pace* Fantalkin 2011), as the Chronicle switches straight from ‘All the kings of Hattu came into his presence and he [Nebuchadrezzar] received their vast tribute’ to ‘He [Nebuchadrezzar] marched to Ashkelon’ (translation of Grayson 1975: 100).

⁸⁹⁹ Wiseman 1956: 28. The decreed fast in Jerusalem (Jer. 36:9) during the conquest of Ascalon, which was possibly precautionary (Malamat 1956: 252), is different as Jerusalem is much closer.

⁹⁰⁰ κατάγει must be 3rd singular indicative, not 2nd singular imperative (*κατάγη (cf. Hamm 1957: 169).

l.12 (e.g. ἡ δέ) and a passive form of ‘destroy’ in l.13: ‘[She (Ascalon) dared?] to rouse [a bloody war and is/was thus destroyed] utterly’. This would leave ll.9-11 as ‘[the prince/army, going from] holy Babylon, destroys Ascalon’. If the present tense indicates a generalising sense (Babylon punishes rebels?), perhaps the sentence break should be brought forward to l.11, and continue ‘[so he went to] Ascalon, [which dared to rouse...]

Therefore, if Antimenidas is involved, a likely interpretation of φέροίτο is a wish: may it turn out well, when the prince/army of Babylon attacks [...] for war/fate kills the good and bad alike. Νό]τω(ι) (l.7) too could be salvaged as the wind for Antimenidas’ return, and the beginning would be a call to drink or feast since he is back safely, and the end would be a call not to think about war but to enjoy the symposium. Some problems still remain, but fewer than before. Finally, the possibility of two consecutive poems in the same metre exists;⁹⁰¹ the natural place for a poem division would be after l.13, which the papyrus marks as the end of a sentence. If so, there is no reason to see the Babylonian poem as being a ‘drinking poem’, while the second poem is similar to other drinking poems (e.g. fr.38a). The problems with the Babylonian section would nevertheless remain.

We find something both banal and astonishing in Βαβύλωνος ἶρακ (l.10). Banal,⁹⁰² as Alcaeus uses ἶρος of cities elsewhere,⁹⁰³ but astonishing as Babylon is the holy city for the Neo-Babylonians.⁹⁰⁴ This is established in the Babylonian Creation Epic (*Enûma Eliš*),⁹⁰⁵ which canonises Babylon and Marduk as the supreme city and god.⁹⁰⁶ *Enûma Eliš* is widely distributed and early, as evident from numerous Middle Assyrian manuscripts (1300-1100 BC), and popular

⁹⁰¹ The metre appears to be the hipponactean (...-]υυ-υ-x, with internal expansion?).

⁹⁰² Gallavotti 1948a: 102.

⁹⁰³ Fr.42.4, 33a.8, 69.3.

⁹⁰⁴ Van de Mieroop 2003: 262-264; Arnaud 2004: 217-245; Joannès 2011: 113-114.

⁹⁰⁵ Lambert 2007: 17-18.

⁹⁰⁶ For an account of Marduk’s (and Babylon’s) rise to the top: Lambert 2013: 248-277; on replacing Nippur: Katz 2011.

in Alcaeus' time, as attested by our Neo-Babylonian manuscripts.⁹⁰⁷ The city's holiness is also evident in the early etymology as 'Gate of God',⁹⁰⁸ and it was also called the 'Holy City',⁹⁰⁹ which is attested amongst non-Babylonians (Jer. 25:26). Given Antimenidas' relationship with the Babylonians, he could be the source of Alcaeus' Babylonian knowledge.

The epithet perhaps also indicates knowledge of Near Eastern conceptions of divine justice. The Neo-Babylonian king was 'morally bound to be pitiless, to warn the eventual rebel', and treated rebels according to their degree of guilt and intention.⁹¹⁰ The treatment of the kings of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar II has been analysed accordingly.⁹¹¹ Similarly, the Jewish prophets warn that the destruction of these cities is due to their ungodliness,⁹¹² and Ezekiel 17 claims the destruction of Jerusalem is due to breaking an oath. Does Alcaeus know Ashkelon's destruction in this context? If so, such a narrative would be attractive to Alcaeus: Pittacus broke an oath and 'devours' Mytilene (fr.129.23-24) with the gods (fr.70.11-12), but divine help will come for the righteous defenders of the city (fr.70.8-9). In a longer poem, the Babylonian episode may have been used as a parallel.

⁹⁰⁷ Lambert 2013: 3-4.

⁹⁰⁸ Wiseman 1985: 44. For folk etymology: Lambert 2011: 72-73.

⁹⁰⁹ Thureau-Dangin 1927: 184-185; in *Tintir=Babylon*, 'the most widely copied and best-known example' of Babylonian scholarly urban topographical text (George 1992: 1) ('Uru-kaga – Babylon, the sacred city', I.49 (translation of George 1992: 41) with 266), and *CT* 13: Pl.36 ll.2-4.

⁹¹⁰ Bickerman 1979/1980: 76-79. However, the Babylonians were at least theoretically less vindictive than the Assyrians (Vanderhoof 1999: 49-50); but in practice, Nebuchadrezzar's main policy in Philistia was to quash Egyptian influence by destroying client cities (81-89), and rebellious cities suffered the same.

⁹¹¹ Bickerman 1979/1980: 80-81. Cf. Fried 2003: 23-30.

⁹¹² Vanderhoof 1999: 115-180.

⊕]

κὰτ τὰς πόλλα παθοίεας κεφάλας < >χεε μοι μύρον

καὶ κὰτ τῷ πολίῳ στήθεο

πωνόντων· κάκα[

ἔδοσαν, πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν

5 ἀ]νθ[ρ]ώπων, ὁ δὲ μὴ φ[

ῥ]ην[] φαῖεθ' ἀπολ[

] [

. . .

P.Oxy.1233 fr.32.2-7 et Plu. *Quaest. conv.* 647e (διὸ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθίνους ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων καθάπτοντες ὑποθυμίδας ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων μύροις ἔχριον τὰ στήθη· μαρτυρεῖ δ' Ἀλκαῖος κελεύων καταχέαι τὸ μύρον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς πολλὰ παθοίεας κεφαλᾶς καὶ τῷ {ι} πολίῳ {ι} στήθεο)

1 παθοίεας κεφάλας χεῦον ἔμοι μύρον Hunt (prius Bergk, qui χεῦσον vult, ante papyrus repertam, e Plu. *quaest. conv.* 647 e : ... κάκχεέ μοι ... Edmonds : ... παῖ χέε μοι ... Lobel 2

supplevit Hunt e Bergk [ἀλλ' οἱ κακοπάτριδαι (vel οἱ ζοφοδόρπιδαι vel οἱ πόλιν ὤλεσαν) ? : [ἐν συμποσίῳ φίλων ? : [ὦ παῖ, πεδὰ τῶν φίλων ? : αἰ γάρ τίς κ' ἄλγος ἦ

Edmonds 3 νόντων· (accentum addidit manus altera) [μὰν ἀντ' ἀγάθων (vel δὴ

σὺν μακάροισ') ἄμμι παρ ὄρκιον ? : [γὰρ μησαμένοισιν κάκα δαίμονες vel [γὰρ δαίμονες ἔσλοισι μεμείχμενα ? 4 σαν' ἄλ (v et ' addidit manus altera) ἄλλω[ν (Hunt)

ἀνάγονται παρὰ τῶν κάκων ? 5 supplevit Hunt 6 κ]ῆν[ον] Wilamowitz : κ]ῆν[α]

Diehl φαῖεθ' (v et ~ addidit manus altera) ἀπόλ[εσαι Diehl : ἀπόλ[εσθαι Liberman

This fragment in greater asclepiads has a complex textual history. The Plutarchan quotation, easily reconstructed due to metrical units and dialectal forms, was recognised early,⁹¹³ though the current form is due to Bergk's separation from Athenaeus XV 687d (fr.362).⁹¹⁴ P.Oxy.1233 allowed Hunt to observe that 'the tail of a coronis opposite l.3 indicates that these verses were the beginning of a new poem'.⁹¹⁵ However, this natural conclusion requires hesitation: the J-shaped mark in the left-hand margin is about two letters' space away from the left lineation, while the coronis is found immediately beside the lineation elsewhere in P.Oxy.1233, and this 'coronis' appears fainter than the letters. Perhaps P.Oxy.1233 fr.32-34, 'which are rather darker in colour than the other pieces' and found separately from the rest,⁹¹⁶ are from a different papyrus, but the hand is very close. Nevertheless, orders are common at the beginning of drinking poems,⁹¹⁷ the lack of a connective makes the beginning of a poem likely, and the coronis' placement may be due to a fault in the papyrus.

All commentators consider fr.50 a 'drinking poem', where Alcaeus talks about his old age and god-given ills (ll.4-5). The first seems inevitable given $\pi\omega\nu\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ and the familiar commands for the accoutrements of the symposium.⁹¹⁸ On the other hand, Alcaeus might not be speaking *in propria persona*,⁹¹⁹ and/or the speaker might be exaggerating his situation for sympathy, which suits the very generic $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ and $\pi\omicron\lambda[\acute{\iota}\omega$. Certainly, grey chest-hair need not influence the debate on Alcaeus' dates, the fragment's current primary scholarly use.⁹²⁰ Gods giving ills to men in ll.4-5 seems appropriate, considering the sentiment in fr.38a.12 and elsewhere,⁹²¹ but remains uncertain.

⁹¹³ Stephanus 1560.

⁹¹⁴ Bergk 1835: 221-223. For various combinations of the two: Nicosia 1976: 179-181.

⁹¹⁵ Hunt 1914: 70.

⁹¹⁶ Hunt 1914: 70.

⁹¹⁷ E.g. fr.347, 362, Anacreon 356, 396.

⁹¹⁸ E.g. fr.338.5-8, 346, 362, Anacreon 356, 396.

⁹¹⁹ Cf. pp.110-113. Here, old age could differentiate the speaker and poet.

⁹²⁰ E.g. Page 1955: 242, Trumpf 1958: 74.

⁹²¹ E.g. *Il.*15.109, *Od.*18.134, *Archil.* fr.13.5, *Mimn.* fr.2.15-16, *Theogn.* 170-171.

Despite its simplicity, a plausible argument in ll.2-6 that aligns with the papyrological evidence has eluded scholars. Due to the high point after *πωνόντων*, which may be third-person plural imperative or a genitive plural participle, we have a new clause beginning with *κάκα*; other clauses begin with *πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν* and with *ὁ δὲ μή*. The sentence beginning *ὁ δὲ μή* is likely to contrast with either or both of the preceding two clauses, as there is a change in subject (third-person plural (*ἔδοσαν*) for at least the first) and *μή* may indicate a positive-negative contrast. Unless a subject change in every clause is tolerated, it seems best to assume that the clauses beginning *κάκα* and *πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν* have the same third-person plural subject. Presumably there is another clause in l.6 as the subject changes to a second person (*φαῖσθ'*). The second person makes a direct address likely: Lobel's *παῖ χέε μοι* in l.1 is attractive,⁹²² but the vocative could have been anywhere in the first few lines.

Some have suggested a solution by seeing the speaker contrasting the attitudes of those who soothe ills sent by the gods with wine/perfume and those who do not.⁹²³ Thus Edmonds restores the poem (as printed):

κατ τὰς πόλλα π[αθοίσας κεφάλας κάκχεέ μοι μύρον
καὶ κατ τῷ πολ[ίω στήθεος· αἱ γὰρ τίς κ' ἄλγος ἦ,
πωνόντων. κάκα [δὴ παῖσι βροτοῖς ἐστ' ὅτ' Ὀλύμπιοι
ἔδοσαν, πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν τόδε μοι κωυκὶ μόνωι πάθος
ἀνθρώπων. ὁ δὲ μή φ[αῖς ἄγαθον πώνεμεν ἔμμεναι
κ]ήν[ωι] φαῖσθ' Ἀπόλ[οι]· οὐ γὰρ ἴσαισθ' ὦγαθον οὐδ' ὁ μη.⁹²⁴

However, even ignoring dialectal features (e.g. *πώνεμεν* for *πώνην*), much appears un-Alcaean. *αἱ γὰρ τίς κ' ἄλγος ἦ* as a protasis in l.2 is awkward (e.g. *εἰ τινέες* (plural, in any case) is unattested in Greek poetry until the fourth century). Further, the switch from the speaker to *τινέες*

⁹²² Plutarch's *καταχέαι* may have been influenced by the preposition.

⁹²³ E.g. Edmonds 1914: 77; Liberman 1999: 41.

⁹²⁴ Edmonds 1914: 77.

and back is unattractive. Crucially, it makes little of the expected contrast with πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν] (l.4), and relies on ἀ]νθ[ρ]ώπων (l.5) agreeing with it (as e.g. Liberman), which is unattractive due to a wide separation between the adjective and noun.⁹²⁵

However, if we dispense with the gods in ll.3-4, the subject of πωνόντων is naturally the subject of ἔδοσαν. We would then have a second-person (singular?) imperative construction in ll.1-2,⁹²⁶ then a third-person plural imperative followed by a comment on its subject, then a singled-out third party, followed by a return to the second-person singular. This advantageously introduces as few subjects as necessary. Therefore, the poem would not be generic,⁹²⁷ but rather would have a specific, distant target, as often with third-person imperatives in Alcaeus (cf. fr.70.7). Strictly *exempli gratia*, we may supply:

καὶ κατ τῷ πολιίῳ στήθεος. [ἀλλ' οἱ κακοπάτριδαι,⁹²⁸ or
 [ἀλλ' οἱ πόλιν ὤλεσαν,⁹²⁹
 πωνόντων· κάκα [μὰν⁹³⁰ ἀντ' ἀγάθων ἄμμι πὰρ ὄρκιον or
 [δὴ σὺν μακάροισ' ἄμμι πὰρ ὄρκιον
 ἔδοσαν· πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν ἀνάγονται⁹³¹ παρὰ τῶν κάκων
 ἀ]νθ[ρ]ώπων.

Under such a political reading, the poem would not call for resignation to the fates, but make a complaint in response to what is presented as a temporary set-back.

⁹²⁵ Separation is possible (cf. fr.34.9), but a distance of more than two words is rare.

⁹²⁶ I assume second-person imperative for Plutarch's καταχέαι, as third-person plural imperative ((κακ)χεόντων) is impossible metrically in ll.1-2.

⁹²⁷ As Tsomis 2001: 253 claims.

⁹²⁸ Perhaps also ζοφοδόρπιδαι (fr.429) in a banquet scene; the darkness may refer to his undeserved and uncontrolled banqueting.

⁹²⁹ Cf. fr.42.15-16 (of Helen).

⁹³⁰ Cf. inc. auct. lesb. 35.5 (without ἦ or οὐ).

⁹³¹ For the sentiment: fr.70.13.

Otherwise, if πωνόντων is a participle, it would most naturally refer to the speaker's fellow-banqueters. In this case, there is no advantage in introducing Pittacus' fellow-drinkers, though we may well have him specified in ὁ δὲ (and κ]ῆν[ον?]), as often. We might consider, *exempli gratia*:

καὶ κατ τῷ πολιίῳ στήθεος [ἐν συμποσίῳ φίλων or
 [, ὦ παῖ, πεδὰ τῶν φίλων
 πωνόντων· κάκα [γὰρ μησαμένοισιν κάκα δαίμονες⁹³² or
 [γὰρ δαίμονες ἔσλοισι μεμείχμενα⁹³³
 ἔδοσαν·

Unfortunately, the contrast set up with ἄλλων is then unfathomable, unless it is with the speaker's fellow-banqueters, in which case it is unclear what that would add to the statement about the gods. Indeed, it is difficult imagining gods doing anything *with* men, making it suspect that gods are the subject of the clause beginning πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν (l.4). Perhaps, it could continue 'it is the lot of men to drink with others' or πεδὰ δ' ἄλλω[ν πεδέχην ἄλγεα καὶ πάθος (or πεδέχην ἄλγεα καὶ κάλα) | ἀ]νθ[ρ]ώπων,⁹³⁴ but this introduces another (albeit impersonal) subject. Therefore, the most economical analysis would be the political reading.

All scholars assume that μύρον (l.1), just like wine (e.g. in fr.335, 346), is a means of lessening ills.⁹³⁵ However, μύρον is not found elsewhere used of soothing ills until the fifth century,⁹³⁶ but almost always in connection with eros (and youth) and/or riches.⁹³⁷ Since Alcaeus uses ἄδω of μύρον at fr.362.3 in a jovial scene, it is perhaps unsurprising that we find a usurpation

⁹³² Cf. ἄλαστα δὲ | φέργα πάσον κακὰ μησαμένοι· (Alcman 1.34-35); *Il.*7.478.

⁹³³ Cf. τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν (Hes. *Op.*179).

⁹³⁴ For the sentiment: E. *Hel.*464, Pi. *Paeon* 9.21.

⁹³⁵ Already, Athenaeus 15.687e.

⁹³⁶ Sophocles fr.785: μύρωι λευγαλέωι.

⁹³⁷ Erotic/age-related: Archil. fr.205, Semon. fr.16.1(?), Anacreon 363.3. Riches-/high-value-related: Semon. fr.7.64. Clearly both: Sappho fr.94.18. Pure symposiastic: Alc. fr.362, Xenophanes fr.1.4; *Anacreontea* 8.5 (also erotic?).

of wine's other qualities. Nevertheless, we could imagine a sense closer to the erotic in demanding to be a lover despite one's age, which would approximate the old gung-ho lover found in Anacreon (e.g. 358) and explain the reference to the possibly feigned old age. Alternatively, the speaker could encourage excess and luxury that is well-deserved (cf. 332). More probably, the drinking, not *μύρον* itself, soothes ills, and *μύρον* is a sign of the symposium.

Alcaeus' techniques here are surprising. The article of l.2 (article with attributive adjective) is unexpected according to Lobel, who notes that no good reason exists other than parallelism with the first (l.1),⁹³⁸ which follows the rule on the generic use of the article with participle.⁹³⁹ This use of the article may preserve a remnant of the original demonstrative sense,⁹⁴⁰ as in Homer usually and originally.⁹⁴¹ If so,⁹⁴² the article here becomes regular. Sappho fr.57.3 preserves the only other instance of the article with body parts, which may also be explained as a demonstrative (i.e. 'those rags' that the country girl doesn't know how to pull over 'those ankles').⁹⁴³ The demonstrative use firmly establishes the scene with visual anchors. Similarly, this striking anaphora of the prepositional phrase makes this an important part of the poem. It adds an extra sense of drama and heightens the emotions, referring once to the source (*παθοίσα*) and once to its effect (*πολιίω*), in a pathetic way, as in *ἔμε δείλαν, ἔμε παίσιαν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισαν* (fr.10.1). Further, by extending attribution, the sympotic trope is pushed to the limit. Finally, Alcaeus persistently uses enjambement here, contributing to the jerky, stop-and-start movement of the fragment as a whole that creates a sense of unease, passion, and immediacy.

⁹³⁸ Lobel 1927: lxxvii.

⁹³⁹ Lobel 1927: lxxxvi.

⁹⁴⁰ For the demonstrative uses, cf. Schwyzer 1950: 19-22 and 207-208.

⁹⁴¹ Probert 2015: 120-121, with bibliography in n. 2. The Greek article is built on the suppletive stem **so-/to-*, whose cognates are often demonstrative, e.g. Sanskrit *sá(h)*, *sā*, *tād*; Avestan *hō*, *hā*, *taṭ*; Gothic *sa*, *sō*, *þata*; Tocharian B *se*, *sā*, *te*. See also Fortson 2010: 144.

⁹⁴² Thus Tzamali 1996: 339.

⁹⁴³ In contrast, Tzamali 1996: 296 simply accepts a possessive article, though this is the only instance.

Chapter 7: P.Oxy.1234

60

a	b
].[	]ζω[
]ειν[	]ήκε[
]λκιονε[	]ατο[
]..[...]δι[	.
5]ων εις Αίδα[

a P.Oxy.1360 fr.3, cuius scholio P.Oxy.2166 (c) 1a coniunxit Lobel.

3 vel]α (sic legit Hunt) ευ[, εχ[, εν[, εμ[? **4**]ε vel]c α[vel λ[**5** αἴδα (“
 fecit manus altera) scholion in margine inferiore: ¹ἔοικ[.] [.]ίλη μεταξὺ Πύρραc κα[ι]
 Μυ[τιλήνηc (ὁδὸc εἶναι] ἔοικ[ε] κ[ο]ίλη Liberman (e.g.) : Π[ε]ν[θ]ίλη Lobel 1927 ante
 collocationem cum fragmento P. Oxy. 2166 (c) 1a, sed retractat Lobel 1941) |² τ]ῶν
 δορυφ[ό]ρων (Lobel) τινασπ[(cπ[αράξασ Liberman) |³].ρ[.]. (Μ]ύρ[ci]λ(oc)?) φηcὶ τῶ<i>
 Βύκχιδι [|⁴].,ρεν γὰρ ὁ Μύρσιλ[ο(c) (supplevit Lobel : γὰρ ὑμῖν legit Hunt)

b P.Oxy.1360 fr.8, quod iuxta P.Oxy.1360 fr.3 collocavit Lobel.

Lobel identified these fragments as from the same part of the papyrus, but their relative positions are unknown. Only fr.a will be treated, as no words are recognisable in fr.b. The final line of fr.a, with the sequence]---υ---[, suggests glyconics or hipponacteans (perhaps expanded with cretics (gl^{xc} or hipp^{xc})) for the metre. Hunt’s original reading in l.3 (]ακιονε[]) remains possible; the metre (if these lines are from a single poem) requires α to be long and to be preceded by a heavy syllable. This leaves very few options that are not technical (e.g. plant names) or only attested very late: e.g. θωράκιον (first in Ctesias), perhaps connected to the δορυφόροι mentioned in the scholia. For

λ-readings, possibilities include μάλκιον ἐ[‘cold’,⁹⁴⁴ which may well suit the context of death implied in εἰς Ἄϊδα[,⁹⁴⁵ or χάλκιον ἐ[, either as a bronze coin (perhaps in relation to money-talk elsewhere in this papyrus: fr.63, 69) or as a bronze vessel in the symposium, perhaps a cup for the cottabus game (Aristophanes fr.231), which we find in fr.72. However, all this is uncertain.

Of greater interest is the scholion in the lower margin. It does not necessarily appertain to our fragment, as a sign elsewhere in the column could have led to the note. The scholion itself is difficult, and it is unclear how the four lines relate to each other. Liberman’s σπ[αράξας in l.2 is reasonable, but his suggestion that the scholiast comments about a road appearing to exist between Pyrrha and Mytilene (l.1) seems banal and unlikely. The present tense φησί alerts us to the possibility of a report, the subject of which may be Myrsilus, who is mentioned in the line below, possibly in relation to this (γάρ).

The scholion seems to point to a link between Bycchis and Alcaeus’ exile that was known by Hellenistic commentators (cf. fr.306c: τῆς φυ[γ]ῆς (l.5) and τῶι Β[ύ]κχι-| [δι (ll.7-8). Since Pyrrha is known as the location of Alcaeus’ first exile amongst the Hellenistic commentators (Σ fr.114), we might tentatively link Bycchis to this exile in Pyrrha. Other fragments with Bycchis usually refer to some (shared) hardship and the wish to forget it (fr.73, 335), which may lend weight. If Σ fr.114 can illuminate the context, although the subject of σπ[αράξας and the identity of the spear-bearers are unclear, one might understand that Alcaeus’ faction attacked one of Myrsilus’ spear-bearers, who are reminiscent of later stereotypes of tyrants’ bodyguards,⁹⁴⁶ in an

⁹⁴⁴ Given that the adjective μάλκιος is not attested until Callimachus (fr.139 Hollis=348 Pfeiffer) and the verb μαλκίω is attested in Aeschylus (fr.332 R.), it seems sensible that this would be the participle rather than the adjective, which has the hallmarks of Hellenistic popularity (for details: Hollis 2009: 313). The meaning of Callimachus’ μαλκίστατος is debated, with Naeke suggesting ‘crudelissima, mortifera dies’, which would suit εἰς Ἄϊδα[of our fragment, but the sense is unattested and all cognates are related to ‘cold’.

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. (ζα)κρυόεις as a common epithet of death in Alcaeus (fr.34.7-8, 61.14), and archaic Greek poetry (e.g. Hes. *Scut.*255, of Τάρταρος; Stes. S11.5).

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. e.g. Plato, R.8.566b. The classic case is Hdt. 1.59.5 (with Pisistratus). Cf. Cawkwell 1995: 77-78.

action against Myrsilus and Myrsilus speaks to Bycchis, who may have helped Alcaeus when the action failed.

a

1]ω[
]να[.],ων[
]ιτόεργον

b

5]μα·
]ντοκηων[
]αα[]
]νοπτ[]λαβ[]τα[
]τω[]ν[ο]ρ`ο´[
]ναβαν []
10]ρ[.]μεριμνα[
]οντον ημ αφυσαι·
]αμοχθητρον ηνδαιταν[
]ον· ούτωδεν[]ημ[.]ητο
]νατ[.]ακρυοε[.]α ψαι[
15][]οc[]η[]
]μ[

versus incerti numeri desunt

]]
]]
]χην·
20]]
]·

a P.Oxy.2166 (c) 42 = P.Oxy.1360 fr.17 + P.Oxy.2166 (c) 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 32 (= P.Oxy.1360 fr.6 + novum), 35 a Lobel coniuncta. **b** P.Oxy.1360 fr.15. positio verticalis fragmenti **a** versus 17-21 videtur certa, sed quantum spatium inter versus 16 et 17 intercesserit est incertum. positio verticalis fragmenti **b** videtur certa, sed incerta est positio lateralis

a 2 .[: hasta verticalis]: pedes duarum hastarum a sinistra descendentium, quae fortasse duarum litterarum condensarum sunt **3**]: vestigium atramenti summis litteris adaequatum (]τ Lobel) τό (accentum addidit manus altera) λα]ιτό- ? : ἀλε]ιτό- vel ἀλο]ιτό- vel ἀλ]ιτό- (ἠλ]ιτό- iam Hunt) : ἀτ]ιτό- Voigt, vix recte **4** νόημ]μα· Liberman **5**]: linea verticalis paulum curvata,]ω legit Lobel (et alii) φί]λων Hunt, conferens Sa. fr.16.10 **6**]: hasta verticalis **7**]ωλαβ[]ντα[legit Lobel (et alii, unde]ωλαβ[ο]ντα[Liberman) **8** post ρ supra scriptum est ο **9** συ]νάβαν ? **10**]ρϋ vel]ρφ κ]ρυ[ερα Lobel **11**]ρ vel]τ]οντονοημμαφυσαι· legit Lobel, sed non in μ optime quadrant vestigia atramenti inter μ et α (id est vestigia imis litteris adaequata, tum linea imis litteris adaequata, tum pes hastae ad dextram orientis vel cauda ad sinistram curva) φῦσαι vel φύσαι incertum (ἀπ)ε]λλοντο (vel (ἀπ)ελ]ύοντο) νοήμμα φῦσαι ? : τλᾱ]τον τὸ νόημα φῦσαι Treu, conferens *Il.*12.49 (τλητὸν γὰρ Μοῖραι θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν) in margine dextro est littera prima scholii **12** ante αμ stat spatium vacuum, si non erat linea longior summis litteris adaequata (e.g. τ) εχ vel ελ ἔχην Lobel **13**]: linea curvata ima a sinistra adversus litterae ο partem inferiorem ascendens οὔτω δὲ Treu]ητ: κ vel γ vel τ ν[όημ[μ' ἔ]κητο Lobel **14**]: hasta verticalis]α: vestigium summis litteris adaequatum α.ψ: pars media hastae verticalis θά]νατ[ον ζ]ακρυόεν[τα] μάρψαι Lobel **15**]: vestigium summis litteris adaequatum]ο: linea a sinistra descendens (δ legit Lobel)]: hasta verticalis **20** apex anguli (α legit Lobel) **20-21** in margine dextro sunt primae litterae scholii (τᾱ[| π.[| υ.[| .])

b 8]: duo vestigia summis litteris adaequata (υ legit Lobel)

This substantial fragment has largely been ignored due to its very fragmentary state. Although the left-hand margin is lost, the surviving line-ends (at least of ll.1-14) agree metrically (]υ--υυ-υ-x ((\wedge)hipp^x)),⁹⁴⁷ making it likely, though not certain, that a single stichic poem is preserved. The appearance of unity is further supported by a seemingly consistent subject about labour and cares (]ιτόεργον, μεριμνά[,]αμοχθητον). However, what is said about them is uncertain, as is the point of mentioning death (l.14), providing two opposing interpretations: (1) these labours are unbearable and thus either that suicide is performed or contemplated,⁹⁴⁸ or (2) one should train an enduring mind.⁹⁴⁹

Both readings depend on νόημα, which has been the focus of attention since Lobel read]οντονσημμαφουσαι in l.11.⁹⁵⁰ This reading, however, is not secure, as the traces on the notional bottom line of the ‘second μ’ is clearly at the wrong angle, making the reading ν[ό]ημ[μ’ ἔ]κητο (l.13) less attractive; nevertheless, no other word can be found to fit the space. It is not difficult to imagine why νόημα would be mentioned in the context of cares. It seems that there are two possible meanings of νόημα by this period: firstly, as the act or faculty of thinking (*Il.*1.19, *Od.*7.292, 20.82, *Hes. Op.*129 (= *Scut.*88), *Iliou Persis* 4.8 Bernabé, *Pittacus* fr.1.4 Bergk), and, secondly, as the object of thinking (all other instances in EGHP).⁹⁵¹ Treu seems to assume νόημα here in the first sense by comparing it to θυμός, νόος, and ἦτορ,⁹⁵² while Liberman prefers the

⁹⁴⁷ As already noted by Hunt 1915: 64, ‘line 4, as compared with ll. 3 and 5, is too long for the last verse of a Sapphic stanza’. However, it should be noted that there is a greater than usual degree of fluctuation in line lengths.

⁹⁴⁸ Liberman 1999: 45.

⁹⁴⁹ Treu 1955: 226-228.

⁹⁵⁰ Lobel 1951: 131.

⁹⁵¹ This frequency fits well with broader understandings of -μα nouns: e.g. Risch 1974: 50: ‘Soweit es klar erkannt werden kann, bezeichnen Nomina auf -μα vor allem den Gegenstand, an dem sich die Handlung vollzieht oder vollzogen hat (z. B. δέρμα ‘Haut, ursprünglich nur die abgezogene Haut’ zu δέρω), somit auch das Mittel (z. B. ἔρυμα ‘Schutz’ zu ἔρυμαι), seltener Abstrakta (z. B. ἄλμα ‘Sprung’ zu ἄλλομαι)’. Cf. Chantraine 1979: 175-190 (especially 180-181).

⁹⁵² Treu 1955: 227. Note, however, differences between these words (for νόος and νόημα, cf. Krischer 1984: 146-147; for other words for mind and heart in archaic poetry, cf. e.g. Sullivan 1996).

second sense.⁹⁵³ In Sappho and Alcaeus elsewhere, νόημα is used securely as the object of the act of thinking (fr.361, 392; Sappho fr.51.1, 60.3), except in the unclear cases of fr.256a and Sappho fr.41.

It is unclear if we have φῦσαι or φύσαι (optative); as a noun, ‘winds’ (<φῦσα, as the earliest attestation of this meaning) might carry off νόημα or cares, and as a verb (aorist infinitive or optative of φύω) something might ‘develop/train’ (Treu) νόημα, or ‘make/implant’ (Lieberman) νόημα. In the Lesbians, where there is enough context to tell, φύω (active and middle) appear to mean ‘grow’ (intransitively) (fr.10.5, Sappho fr.143) or ‘be’ (in the perfect: fr.298.19),⁹⁵⁴ though the transitives ‘to make to grow’ and ‘to engender’ are found in Homer (e.g. *Il*.14.347). The lack of attestation for the sense of training one’s mind makes Treu’s suggestion less likely, though νόημα and φύω are never found in the same clause or in grammatical relations in any sense. Sophocles thrice couples transitive φύω with φρένες.⁹⁵⁵ It is twice used of a mortal gaining mental faculties for himself, both times in the sigmatic aorist (as here): οὐδὲ τῶι χρόνῳι φύσας φανῆι | φρένας ποτ’, ἀλλὰ λῦμα τῶι γήραι τρέφει; (*OC*.804-805) and μηδὲ πρὸς βίαν | ἐμοῦ κολαστοῦ προκτυχῶν φύσει φρένας (*EL*.1462-1463). These cases are parallels for implanting/acquiring (not training/growing) one’s φρένες, lending more weight to φύω as implanting/acquiring. Finally, as τλᾶ]τον τὸ νόημα is unlikely since we do not expect the article to be used this way,⁹⁵⁶ we expect a verb form in]ντο. Since there is no space for a connective or subordinator here after]ντο (and a high point marks a sentence-end after φουσαι), the optative can be excluded. We might have a verb on which φῦσαι depends, though no appropriate verb suggests itself, or something like (ἀπ)ελ]ύοντο/(ἀπ)ε]ί]λοντο νοήματα φῦσαι ‘winds

⁹⁵³ Lieberman 1999: 45 n.93.

⁹⁵⁴ The other attestations, πέφυκεδ.] (inc. auct. Lesb. fr.37.8) and πέφυκ[(Sappho fr.213Ag.9) presumably mean ‘be’, as they are in the perfect.

⁹⁵⁵ S. *EL*.1463, *Ant*.683, *OC*.804.

⁹⁵⁶ The position would exclude an attributive adjective, but the article here also breaks several rules in Lesbian: Lobel 1927: lxxvii-lxxviii, lxxxi-lxxxiv.

released/carried off the thought'. The latter seems appropriate as l.11 is the end of a section and a turning point: in l.12 we have a mention of a toiless life (αμοχθητον..ηνδιαιταν). If Lobel's ν[ό]ημ[μ' ἔ]κητο, which seems inevitable with νόημα in l.11, is right in l.13, ll.12-13 appear to explain the effect of this, which possibly lasts until one seizes chilling death.

In l.10, κ]ρυε[ρα(.)] μεριμνα[.] (for]ρ..[.]μεριμνα[.] fits well, though κρυερός is not found of μέριμνα elsewhere. For]ναβαν (l.9), I suggest κυ]νάβαν, which seems appropriate in contrast to the cares. For]ιτόεργον (l.3),⁹⁵⁷ only variants of ἡλιτοεργός have been suggested; beside Lobel's palaeographical objections, the word is attested first in Antipater (*A.P.* 7.210.7) in a form (ἡλιτοεργός) that would be unmetrical here, though unattested forms could have existed.⁹⁵⁸ The only suggested alternative, Voigt's ἀτ]ιτόεργος, is neither attested nor metrical (cf. ἀτίτης 'unpunished'). I suggest λα]ιτόεργον, which fits palaeographically and metrically. Mytilene is a city for which the liturgy is attested (Antiphon 5.77), and the mention of parents (τοκήων[.] may be appropriate in this case with reference to familial riches and customs or past public benefaction. Such acts may be mentioned in the context of lost rights or of descriptions of ancestral glory (cf. fr.130b). Unfortunately, a dearth of information on Mytilenean liturgy in the archaic period diminishes its attractiveness. If liturgy is mentioned, λάβοντα (which seems inevitable) could refer to seizing of property. A closer consideration of the poem's argument seems impossible.

If all these conjectures are right, then a neat symmetrical structure might be seen in this fragment. Youth (]ναβαν) contrasts with death (θά]νατ[ον]), as are cares (μεριμνα) with the lack of them (ἀμόχθητον), and chilling (κ]ρυε[ρα] cares is recalled in very chilling (ζ]ακρυόεν[τα)

⁹⁵⁷ On word-internal hiatus from loss of digamma in the Lesbians: Hamm 1957: 29-31.

⁹⁵⁸ The compounds are built on the IE root **h₂leit-* 'offense' (>Gk. ἀλείτης, ἀλιταίνω etc.: see Beekes 2010, s.v. ἀλείτης). On the lengthening, Tichy 1977 and Coray 2016: 69. It should be noted that, although non-compound words built on this root can have the shape *~* (i.e. ἀλειτ-), as required by the metre here (i.e. ἄλε]ιτόεργον), no attested compound form preserves this shape: cf. beside Antipater's ἡλιτοεργός, ἄλιτόξενος (Pi. *O.*10.6), ἄλιτοφροσύνη (Leonidas, *A.P.* 7.648.10), ἡλιτόμηνος (*Il.*19.118), κάλιτήμερα (Archil. fr.196a.39).

death, as is the taking earlier (λαβ[]τα) with taking later (μάρψαι). If both κ]ρυξ[ρα()] and ζ]ακρυόεγ[τα are right, then Liberman's idea of suicide seems particularly unsatisfactory; if cares were chilling before, death is even more so.⁹⁵⁹ Further, from l.9 on, one might see a sympotic call to enjoy the party (]ναβαν) and forget one's cares (μεριμνα), as often elsewhere (e.g. fr.38a, 335), and look forward to a way of life without toil (]αμοχθητον.. ηνδαιταν]). Fr.61 was clearly tightly structured.

⁹⁵⁹ Even if ζ]ακρυόεγ[τα means 'tearful', the adjectives draws attention by their sounds to the woefulness of both cares and death.

64-65

64

	.	.	.
		.]
		.]
	]α	..	]
	]οι	ὄνν]
5		καιτ]
	]οc /]..	άνδ]
		δαμ]
	]ιc	αύτω]
		☩ωστο]
65		καλ]
]..]
	.	.	.

P.Oxy.1360 fr.4

64 vestigia scholiorum in margine sinistro ad praecedentem columnam pertinere videntur. 3

1: apex litterae triangulae 4 ο[vel ω[ὄννο[ριυ- Diehl, conferens (cum Hunt) fr.72.9

5 α[(Lobel) ideo impossibile est quod clare dispicitur hasta horizontalis imis litteris adaequata

65 1 λ[vel α[legendum est, quamquam 'ι[, κ[, alia possis' scripsit Lobel; linea enim ad dextram

adscendens incertae litterae per pedem dextrum litterae λ transit 2]κ[legit Hunt (et alii), sed

valde dubium est; duae enim litterae sunt, id est apex litterae triangulae tum vestigia atramenti

incerta summis litteris adaequata

Very little can be extracted from frr.64-65, which are partly or wholly omitted in recent editions, but offer something important. First, fr.64.9 provides the clearest example of the coronis in this

papyrus; this scribe forms his coronides with a forked paragraphos, which should be kept in mind in the less clear examples elsewhere.

Given δαιμ[in fr.64.7, it is attractive to see in ἀνδ[in l.6 a form of ἀνήρ and a contrast between gods and men. It also becomes tempting, in the context of the largely political contents of this papyrus, to bring in, as Hunt suggested, a form of ἀνορίνω (cf. fr.72.9) in l.4, and see this man or men stirring up matters to which a divinity is called to witness or react, as in frr.70 or 129. Further, unless we have bone-collecting (ὀστολογέω), or something chased out in ὠστός, only attested in Herodian, the only possibilities for l.9 are ὠς το[and ὠστορ[γος (= ὁ ἄστοργος). However, although ἄστοργος is attested in Archilochus and is used in appropriate contexts,⁹⁶⁰ the traces do not fit ρ well. Consequently, we are likely to have a comparison, one that possibly ends the poem, or a purpose or result clause.

⁹⁶⁰ Archilochus fr.327.8-9 beseeches Zeus to destroy the γένος | ἄπιστον ἄστοργόν τε τῶν κινουμένων; cf. also Achaeus fr.2 Snell, Theoc. *Id.*2.112.

. . . .
 ...[
 ὡς πάρα[
 ἀλλαπ[.] [
]τῶπος[.] [
 5 πόλλα[.] [
 ὡς ἐθέλ[
 ὄ]ττι των[
 ¶ ἄ πόλις ἄμμα

P.Oxy.1360 fr.1.1-8

1 υῖ[vel ψ[vel φ[vel ρ[2 πάρα[ρος vel πάρα[ρον ? 3 λαπ 4 paragraphum
 supplevit Lobel 7 supplevit Hunt μ[et alia possis 8 ἄ'μμᾶ (i.e. ἄ 'μμα), vel ἄμμᾶ

This small fragment in Sapphic stanzas has been neglected since its discovery. ὡσπάρα[, despite appearances, leaves few possible supplements. It is not the preposition παρᾶ since the dissyllabic form retains final accentuation in Lesbian,⁹⁶¹ while the monosyllabic form (πάρ) would carry a grave accent since there is no appropriate enclitic beginning with α to follow.⁹⁶² The verb πάρεστι is also ruled out as we expect monosyllabic πάρ (cf. πᾶρ δέ ... πᾶρ δέ, fr.140.12-13), which would also have a grave accent with a word following, or dissyllabic πάρο (fr.130a.12).⁹⁶³ We can

⁹⁶¹ It is treated thus by all. The only places where we find the long form παρᾶ for sure is fr.39a.10 where editors all print παρὰ μοῖραν, but the papyrus reads πᾶρα, and Sappho fr.168b.3 (παρὰ δ') is found in later manuscripts, which may well have normalised accentuation. The same is true of all dissyllabic prepositions in Lesbian, with the accentuation in the papyri (when it is written) often a grave on the first syllable.

⁹⁶² From the surviving evidence, πᾶρ appears to be the base form in Lesbian, being used before both vowels and consonants, and παρᾶ possibly a newer form in the dialect, used only before consonants (though there are only two examples); Lobel 1927: xxvi-xxvii, Hamm 1957: 111.

⁹⁶³ On πάρο: Page 1955: 200. However, πᾶρα for πάρεστι may have existed.

thus rule out disyllabic **πάρα**, while the Lesbian recessive accent demands a trisyllabic word and a light third syllable (agreeing with the metre). The metre further limits the possibilities to a heavy second syllable. This only leaves (among words attested before the fourth century BC): **πάραιτα** ‘immediately’, ‘straightaway’ (A. *A.*738), **πάρᾱρος** (Doric form in Theoc. *Id.*15.8 = **παρήρορος** ‘joined beside’, ‘lying along’, ‘outstretched’, ‘reckless’, cf. *Il.*23.603), **πάρᾱβος** (= **παρήβος**) ‘wood’ (Ctesias), ‘past one’s prime’ (Philo Judaeus). Of these, **πάρᾱβος** is unlikely since a type of wood might be referred to, but the word in this sense is only found in Ctesias and in later glossographers referring to him, while Philo is much later. **πάραιτα** is better but only used in poetry once. **πάρᾱρος** (the metre demands **πάραιρος** or **πάραιρον**) is easier as the lexeme is well-attested from Homer onwards with its meanings easily imaginable in Alcaeus. While this is not particularly attractive, it seems the only possible supplement from our current knowledge, with **ὥς** perhaps comparing something with a reckless person or thing.

Looking at the fragment as a whole, **τῶπος** might point to reported speech, or reference to a story, speech, promise, oracle, or proverb, or an opposition between word and deed. **ἂ πόλις ἄμμα** suggests (if Alcaeus is speaking *in propria persona*) that Mytilene is the subject of the poem’s final sentence and that this poem finishes on a political note. **ὥς ἐθέλ[** should be ‘since/when [he?] charmed’, since **ἐθέλω** is ruled out by metre. These inferences make attractive a reading where **πάραι[ρο-** refers to Pittacus, and **τῶπος** to his oath to the *betairia* or promises to the *demos* that enchanted them. In addition, Alcaeus creates a dramatic and pointed effect by ending the poem with the subject of his final sentence, separated from the rest of the sentence in the adonean. Alcaeus may have further exploited the stanzaic form here if we notice how **ὥς** begins the second line of both preserved Sapphic stanzas: the two stanzas may have complemented each other, one mirroring the other’s structure, either by having two comparisons or through **ὥς ... ὥς**.



οὐ πάντ' ἦς ἀ [
 οὐδ' ἀσύννετ[ο]ς ἀπιοι[ι] [
 βώμω Λατο[ῖδ]α τοῦτ' ἐφυλαξα [
 μή τις τῶν κ[α]κοπατρίδαν
 5 ἔσσειται φάνερ[.] τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχ[.]

P.Oxy.1360 fr.1.9-13

1 ἀντ' ἦς β[] veri simile est sed π[] vel γ[] legunt alii ἀβ[]άκας ὅδε Φίττακος ? :
 ἀπ[]ορος Hunt, unde ἀπ[]ορος νόον Wilamowitz : ἀπ[]άλαμνος Diehl : ἀπ[]άτηλος Edmonds
 2 δ' [ο] supplevit Hunt ἀπιοι[ι] legit Lobel : ἄ(μ)μοι[ι] Hunt, unde ἄ(μ)μοι[ι] γὰρ
 ἔγχεσι (vel ὄππασι) ? : ἄμμεσσι δ' ἀ[]πομμόσασι Edmonds : ἄλλοι[ι] Schmidt 3 βώ
 βώμω(ι) Edmonds [.] : Λατο[ῖδ]α supplevit Hunt οὔτ' (accentum addidit manus
 altera) ἐφυλάξα[]το Schmidt : ἐφυλάξα[ο] Hunt : ἐφυλάξα[μεν] Liberman 4 supplevit
 Hunt ρίδ in margine dextro sunt vestigia scholii: ὅπως[] | σεμφ[] inter versus 4
 et 5 inseruit Lobel paragraphum 5 ἔς (accentum fecit manus altera) φάν ρ[ο]ς
 vel ρ[οι] Lobel : ρ[ο]ν ? τ[]c : supplevit Hunt ἀπαρχ[.] video, i.e. post χ stat pes
 sinister ad dextram oriens, tum vestigia litterae imis litteris adaequata; sub pedem est linea verticalis :
 ἀπ' ἀρχάω[] legit Lobel (vel ἀπ' Ἀρχάω[], conferens Favor. *de exilio* ix.5 s.), unde ἀπ' ἀρχάω[]ν
 Gallavotti

This fragment poses more questions with far-reaching consequences than its size might suggest.

Of these, perhaps the clearest is the metre; the options are:

- (1) a glyconic (xx—uu—ux) + two minor asclepiads (xx—uu—uu—ux): gl||gl^c||gl^c|||,
 unattested for the Lesbians;

(2) three minor asclepiads (xx-υυ--υυ-υx) + a glyconic (xx-υυ-υx): gl^c | | gl^c | | gl^c | | gl | | | ,
of fr.5 (and possibly fr.3);⁹⁶⁴

(3) a glyconic (xx-υυ-υx) + a major asclepiad (xx-υυ--υυ--υυ-υx) + a minor asclepiad
(xx-υυ--υυ-υx), unattested for the Lesbians: gl | | gl^{2c} | | gl^c | | | .⁹⁶⁵

The third option seems the least likely, as known Aeolic three- and four-period stanzas seem not to have more than two different types of cola,⁹⁶⁶ and a structure short line | | long line | | medium line | | is unattested.⁹⁶⁷ Similarly, gl | | gl^c | | gl^c | | | seems unlikely, as not only is the scheme short line | | long line | | long line | | | (unlike e.g. short line | | short line | | long line | | |) unattested, but an ABB (unlike AAB, or ABA) structure is unattested for three-line Aeolic stanzas. If this holds, only gl^c | | gl^c | | gl^c | | gl | | | remains, which is attested in Alcaeus and Horace. The lack of a paragraphos (at l.4) may make us hesitate, but we have similar issues elsewhere.

We can now attempt to supply the line-end of l.5 as a minor asclepiad (υx). The reading α as the first letter after αρχ (all editors) is not obvious. The only trace is the left foot of a triangular letter, but things are complicated by what appears to be a large downwards slanting line descending from next to the top right tip of χ and the strange lone vertical line (in a different ink) below this dubious letter. Such concentrated strangeness demands caution. The line by χ could be an extravagant finial (similar, though less enthusiastic finials by this scribe are found with other χ). The triangular letter may have been deleted and corrected as ι, which would only allow ἀρχιῖ[ων, but writing a correction below the line is unusual and κ does not fit the traces. Metrically, this only

⁹⁶⁴ Thus Voigt 1971: 205. Also used by Horace in *Carm.* 1.6, 1.15, 1.24, 1.33, 2.12, 3.10, 3.16, 4.5, 4.12.

⁹⁶⁵ Wilamowitz 1921: 105 n.2 and Liberman 1999: 47.

⁹⁶⁶ According to Voigt 1971's *consectus metrorum*. Possible exceptions are fr.130b, which could be analysed as gl^c | | gl^c | | gl^c | | hipp | | ^gl^c | | | or as gl^c | | gl^c | | gl gl^c | | | , and Sappho fr.111 (pher | | ia | | ^pher^d | | ia | | |), the scheme of which is uncertain due to textual issues and which is different in kind in having a refrain.

⁹⁶⁷ For shapes of Aeolic stanzas: West 1982: 33. Further, the major asclepiad is not found elsewhere in Sappho and Alcaeus with other metres to form a stanza.

leaves possible τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶν (followed by a noun,⁹⁶⁸ or as Ἀρχαῶν) or τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶν[ν].⁹⁶⁹ There is little to choose between them, but Ἀρχαῶν seems unnecessary. Archaeus is due to Gallavotti's suggestion that it is the name of city in Thrace and Mazzarino's unnecessary emendation of ἐς [τ]οὺς ἀρχα[ίους τὸ] αὐτοῦ γένος to ἐς [τ]οὺς <ἀπ'> Ἀρχ[αίου θ]αυτοῦ in Favorinus' *de exilio* ix.5.⁹⁷⁰ There is little benefit in introducing this unknown figure or place in either passage, as referring to the ancients in general is more satisfactory when referring to the γένος of the whole fatherland (in Favorinus),⁹⁷¹ since Archaeus seems an unlikely ancestor figure for all Mytileneans and Pittacus' Thracian ancestry is questionable.

Liberman claims that ἀπ' ἀρχαῶν or ἀπ' ἀρχαῶν[ν] cannot depend on τ[οῖ]σιν, as τ[οῖ]σιν is a demonstrative or relative (not the article), making the meaning of the entire line uncertain.⁹⁷² However, the widely accepted statements of Lobel that for the Lesbians 'the dative plural of the article is τοῖς, ταῖς' and 'the dative plural of the article when used as either a relative or a demonstrative pronoun is τοῖσι(ν), ταῖσι(ν)',⁹⁷³ are dubious. There are only two instances of τοῖς that are definitely dative (fr.39a.8, 353.1) with one instance of τοῖσιν (here),⁹⁷⁴ and two uses of ταῖς certainly in the dative (fr.362.1, Sappho fr.41.1) with two instances of ταῖσι(ν) (Sappho fr.42.1, 62.5). Further, there is so little context for most of these that their uses cannot be

⁹⁶⁸ This seems more justified than the irregular omission of an article with a neuter adjective used as a noun (already criticised by Gallavotti 1948a: 103).

⁹⁶⁹ For the short α (unlike the well-attested η (εἰ> η / _V)) as a result of intervocalic ι falling out in Lesbian (as with οἱ > ο / _V), see Haug 2002: 87-89 against Blümel 1982: 72.

⁹⁷⁰ Gallavotti 1948a: 102; Mazzarino 1943: 53-54.

⁹⁷¹ The problem for our text disappears if we (with Barigazzi 1966: 385 and Tepedino Guerra 2007: 78) accept the attractive suggestion of Wifstrand 1964: 8-9.

⁹⁷² Liberman 1999: 208 n.96.

⁹⁷³ Lobel 1925: xxvii, followed by Page 1955: 328, Hamm 1957: 108.

⁹⁷⁴ Lobel 1925: xxxvii counts another in]ο τοῖσι (Sappho fr.5.11), but this is now (especially with the addition of the 'New Sappho') usually considered to be ὄ<τ>τοῖσι (cf. e.g. West 2014: 5).

separated with any certainty.⁹⁷⁵ If these are not simply metrical variants, their distribution may rather depend on the morphological iconicity and markedness of the τοῖσι(ν), ταῖσι(ν) ending, which (unlike the short forms) can differentiate them from accusative plurals.⁹⁷⁶ Thus the noun δέραισι in ἀλλ' ἀνήτω μὲν περὶ ταῖς δέραισι | περθέτω πλέκταις ὑπαθύμιδάς τις (fr.362.1) makes clear ταῖς is dative, and in ἄνδρεσι τοῖς γεινο[μεν] (fr.39a.8), the noun ἄνδρεσι (and presumably the participle's ending) makes clear τοῖς is dative. Similarly, in ταῖς of ταῖς κάλαις ἕμιν <τὸ> νόημα τῶμον | οὐ διάμειπτον (Sappho fr.41), the dative is made clear by the indubitably dative ἕμιν.⁹⁷⁷ The case of μηδ' ὀνίαισι τοῖς πέλας ἀμμέων | παρέχην (fr.353) may appear to be an exception, but the difference in gender between ὀνίαισι and τοῖς shows that they do not agree, avoiding confusion. Here, since there is no noun or adjective in agreement, and the article substantivises, the use of a more marked form is natural. Therefore, nothing hinders translating τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶν or τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶν as 'those from ancient (stock/men)'.

The other gap in l.5 is φάνερ[.]. With the subject in τις only a line earlier and a third-person singular verb (ἔσσεται), it is unclear how this could be φάνερ[οι] or φάνερ[αι]; indeed we expect a complement as φάνερ[ος], or less probably as φάνερ[ον] ('a clear thing' or as an adjective

⁹⁷⁵ In order to differentiate the uses by distribution, we need to be clear about the uses of both; for τοῖσι(ν), ταῖσι(ν), only Sappho fr.42.1 (demonstrative), 62.5 (demonstrative: thus Lobel 1925: xxxvii and Tzamali 1996: 215) are clear, while for fr.39a.8 (τοῖς) a demonstrative or relative sense cannot be ruled out. For τοῖς which could be either case: fr.143.4, 302b.7.

⁹⁷⁶ The situation is similar to the 'weak', 'mixed', and 'strong' adjectival declensions of Modern German, which can be viewed as paradigms differentiated by markedness (an adjective's inflection depends in part on whether a definite, indefinite, or no article (or some other determiners) is used with it): e.g. *guter Mann* ('strong' declension), *ein guter Mann* ('mixed' declension), *der gute Mann* ('weak' declension). The 'weak' declension, used with the definite article, only has two possible inflections, while the 'strong' declension, used when the adjective is without an article, has five possible inflections; the iconicity of the definite article's inflections allows adjectival inflections to be less differentiated in the 'weak' declension. Similar is the comparatively more frequent omission of pronominal accusative subjects in Latin indirect statements when a participle is involved as the participle provides the gender and number of the subject.

⁹⁷⁷ If we read Lobel's ταῖς κάλαισιν ἕμιν νόημα that emends (more than others) the manuscript's κάλαις ἕμιν due to the discomfort of movable ν making position, there is even less ambiguity.

with noun following in l.6). If so, τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶ or τ[οῖ]σιν ἀπ' ἀρχαῶ[ν] is likely to be limiting φάνερ[ος] as 'for/amongst those of ancient stock'. 'X took care lest one of the *kakopatrids* be visible/conspicuous/illustrious for/amongst those of ancient stock' then seems inevitable. This may be confirmed by the scholion on l.4, which appears to paraphrase the clause-of-fearing construction here (μή+future indicative, for a vivid fear) with a clause of precaution (ὅπως+indicative). We should, then, consider who τις τῶν κ[α]κοπατρίδαν is and who is guarding against this.

Since the simple statement in ll.1-2 appears litotic, especially with the repetition and the addition of πάντ' as qualifier, and the characteristic emphasised is intelligence (ἀκύννετ[ο]ς), the referent is probably Pittacus, who is elsewhere portrayed as wily (fr.69.6-8). This event then appears to refer to the same oath as at fr.129.14-20.⁹⁷⁸ As ἦς is 3rd person singular,⁹⁷⁹ ll.1-2 appear to have Pittacus as subject, who could remain as subject (ἐφυλάξα[το]) or could be replaced by the group (ἐφυλάξα[μεν; cf. ἀπώμνυμεν, fr.129.14). Presumably, the turn set up in the imperfect tense of l.1 will follow in the lost lines, probably unveiling Pittacus as an oath-breaker.

The construal of ll.1-2 belies its simple appearance. The chief problem lies in Lobel's reading ἀποικι...[: the metre demands a long alpha, but there is no known appropriate word. The traces here are: a triangular letter, then two generously spaced uprights, then a join from the upper half of the line to a clear upright. As ε in this papyrus is taller and does not join onto the following letter, we must have α, λ, or δ followed by π, η, or μ followed by οι, which, since -ηοι- is excluded metrically (final syllable of ἀκύννετ[ο]ς must be light), leave αμοι-. Lesbian demands ἄμμοις, but this would be an easy palaeographical mistake. Considering the lack of connective in the following lines, a new sentence probably began here with ἄ(μ)μοις (with Hunt); with a finite verb (ἐφυλάξα[το]) in the following line and no connective or subordinator, the line-end must have

⁹⁷⁸ See p.134.

⁹⁷⁹ Schmidt 1918: 91, comparing Theoc. *Id.*30.16. For ἦς (3rd singular), cf. Skt. *ás* < IE **h₁e-h₁es-t*.

included a dative plural: we might imagine e.g. ἄ(μ)μοισι γὰρ ἔγχεσι/ὄππασι.⁹⁸⁰ Since the object of ἐφυλάξα[is τοῦτ', βώμω Λατοῖ[ιδ]α makes little sense in the genitive, and is probably to be explained as locative βώμω(ι), appropriate for both supplements. This only leaves the end of the first line. While this scribe's π can appear to have a curvy top left corner, this curve of the horizontal line is high and probably suggests ἀβ[than ἀπ[(ἀγ[should be ruled out). One might then supply e.g. οὐ πάντ' ἦς ἀβ[άκας ὄδε Φίττακος.

Some literary techniques may be noticed. The effect of the shorter glyconic line in l.4 is evident: it contains only the subject of the fear clause, marking 'one of the *kakopatrids*' out as the concern not only of the line, but of the stanza, if not the poem. Further, there is a sense of suspense in the delayed ἔσσειται φάνερ[.], which is mimetic of the wait for an emerging sole-ruler. Alcaeus also explores a long period in a short space, beginning with a general statement, then a specific past event, with an imagined future from the past, probably followed by that becoming a reality in the present. The order in which Alcaeus narrates is also persuasive in passing judgement on Pittacus first (ll.1-2) before telling the story, predisposing the audience to interpret the story that way from the beginning.

⁹⁸⁰ For the dative plural of neuter nouns in *-es/os-*: Hamm 1957: 156-157. The dative plural of stems in *-mat-* is *-εσσι*, but *-σι* appears to have been concurrent in archaic Lesbian poets: Hodot 1982: 175, Hodot 1990: 101-102.

Despite a semblance of agreement,⁹⁸¹ few things in these Sapphic stanzas are settled.⁹⁸² Since all interpretations stand or fall on the identification of the father(s) in ll.3 and 4, they require careful analysis. As Pittacus is the only one explicitly called *kakopatrid* (fr.348.1) and is strongly suspected of being the referent elsewhere (cf. fr.75.12, 106.3?), it seems reasonable that he is involved here. First, we should consider if either *πάτερρα* [(l.3) or *πάτερα* [(l.4), or both, are vocatives or accusatives. It is impossible to exclude the vocative in l.3, but it is difficult to work out the referent, unless it was made clear in the preceding stanza(s); Zeus is improbable, as no clear instance of *πάτερ* alone refers to Zeus in Greek up to the fifth century.⁹⁸³ Since there is no reason for Alcaeus to call on his own father, it seems most likely that we have accusatives. Two opinions dominate: (1) the fathers are Pittacus' father and grandfather (i.e. *κῆνος*=the father of l.3),⁹⁸⁴ and (2) the father of l.4 is Pittacus' father (i.e. *κῆνος*=Pittacus) and the father of l.3 is specified in the missing line-end.⁹⁸⁵

For the latter, Mazzarino suggests that the father of l.3 is Dracon, the son of Penthilus, whose sister married Pittacus (fr.469=D.L. 1.81), supplementing *πατέρα Δ[ράκοντα*, comparing *πάτερ Λυκάμβα* (Archilochus fr.172.1).⁹⁸⁶ However, if the poem targets Dracon and the marriage of Pittacus into the Penthilids (cf. fr.70.6), the emphasis on the father through the repetition in ll.3 and 4 is unfortunate as Dracon is the brother, not the father, of Pittacus' wife, even if Dracon was *κύριος*. This, however, easily remedied with *πάτερα Δ[ράκοντος*, but the traces after *α* rule out

⁹⁸¹ E.g. the note in Liberman 1999: 47; most scholars since Gallavotti 1948a only consider the fragment in footnotes (e.g. Burnett 1983), if at all.

⁹⁸² A poem about Apollo or Zeus (from *ἐκ]άβολον* (l.2), e.g. Theander 1922, Coppola 1923, Reinach and Puech 1960: 80 n.1) is no longer possible since the integration of P.Oxy.2166; I have thus left out such supplements.

⁹⁸³ In texts with context. Apparent exceptions are *A. Supp.*811, where it is clarified in the next sentence; *E. Her.*936, where the speaker of the words (reported by the messenger) is Heracles and hence his father is always Zeus; and *S. Trach.*1088, where the previous sentence makes it clear. Cf. the ambiguity of *πατήρ* at *A. Ch.*984.

⁹⁸⁴ Gallavotti 1948a: 103-104, followed by Burnett 1983: 200 n.51, Liberman 1999: 47.

⁹⁸⁵ Mazzarino 1943: 68-69, Diehl 1944: 24.

⁹⁸⁶ Mazzarino 1943: 68-69.

δ (a straight top horizontal line and no bottom horizontal). The other obvious candidate for Alcaeus' invective is Myrsilus, so perhaps his father could be targeted;⁹⁸⁷ Myrsilus' father is often (unconvincingly) thought to be Cleanor (or a Cleanactid),⁹⁸⁸ but this fits neither metre nor traces. While we may have a father unrelated to Pittacus, the first option appears easier and more attractive, with a reference to the familial line expressed in similar terms at fr.130b.5 (πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ), which allows a pleasing parallel between Alcaeus' portrayal of his and Pittacus' families that highlights the points of contrast between them. This similarity may also suggest a set-phrase.⁹⁸⁹ Further, being worthy of stoning is paralleled by fr.298, where it seems to refer to Pittacus; this makes Pittacus' father in l.3 more attractive, keeping the punishment of stoning related to Pittacus throughout his oeuvre.⁹⁹⁰

Another issue is κᾶτιτον. Given λάβολον for the father of l.3, it would be fitting to have another adjective (ᾶτιτον) for the father of l.4, but κᾶτι τ[ὸ]ν κήνω πάτερα[is also appropriate. The article, however, may be difficult.⁹⁹¹ Since we do not usually get possessives (and articles) anyway,⁹⁹² especially with familial relations, the phrasing here is clearly more emphatic than fr.130b's πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ, and we might justify the article as contrastive/oppositive.⁹⁹³ With κᾶτιτον, there are two possible meanings: (1) 'unpunished' (cf. A. *Eu.*257), and (2) 'unhonoured' (cf. A. *A.*72), preferred by Diehl.⁹⁹⁴ While both meanings seem possible, it seems easier to understand 'unpunished' as a parallel to the father 'worthy of stoning' (i.e. not yet stoned) of l.3 than to understand 'unhonoured', except perhaps to explain Pittacus as

⁹⁸⁷ Thus Trumf 1958: 55, Tarditi 1969: 91.

⁹⁸⁸ Liberman 1999: 58 nn.122, 123, with fr.112.23 and 306B.11-12; Porro 2004: 186. Instead of Cleanor, one might consider πάτερα Κῶ[έωνα, but this too is palaeographically difficult.

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. Treu 1963: 166-167.

⁹⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter 4.

⁹⁹¹ Gallavotti 1948a: 103.

⁹⁹² Lobel 1927: lxxxi-lxxxvi.

⁹⁹³ Lobel 1927: lxxix.

⁹⁹⁴ Diehl 1944: 24.

a *kekopatrid*, but ἀτίτης in A. 472 concerns a lack of honour rather than being positively shameful as the chorus attribute being ἀτίται *καρὶ παλαιῶι* as their reason for not being able to go to Troy with the Achaean army. Both divisions of κᾶτιτον remain possible.

We can now turn to construal. In l.2, there is too little context to choose between οὐκ ἀ[πα]ταίσει and οὐκ ἀ[ρε]ταίσει. With the latter, the speaker predicts or vows that someone (or his machinations) will not flourish. With the former, the speaker claims that someone (probably Pittacus, given Alcaeus' characterisation of him as wily and deceitful) will not deceive him/the group/the city again, as he did previously (cf. e.g. fr.129.21-23), like fr.69.5-8. If fr.306a, a commentary on fr.68 and 69,⁹⁹⁵ can provide clues, the last identifiable word on fr.68, ψευσαι[(l.17) in the gloss for ἀναίχυντος, suggests that our last stanza is about liars, making a resolve not to be deceived an apt sentiment in the preceding stanza. Another possibility is that the accusatives in ll.3-4 are the objects of ἀ[πα]ταίσει, but it is difficult to see who could be deceiving these bad fathers and for what purpose.⁹⁹⁶

And yet we must find a verb somewhere, which must be in the line-ends of ll.3-4 (ν-χ) or l.5 (ν-χ). In l.5, we have a masculine-singular nominative noun (ὦναίχυντος), which, unless is a nominative used for the vocative, must be the subject of a sentence, of which there appears to be an obvious object (τωῦτ[ο ... μ[ῖ]νος ἄλιτρον); this would suggest that ll.3-4 form a sentence on their own or contain a participial phrase. In the former case, κτάνωμεν seems an appropriate verb for ll.3-4, which goes well with Gallavotti's ἀγκ[ύλαισι in l.3: πρᾶῦ λάβολον πάτερ' ἀγκ[ύλαισι | κᾶτιτ[ο]ν κήνω πάτερα [κτάνωμεν. This is quite direct, but Alcaeus rarely minces his words. This can only work if Pittacus' father and grandfather are still alive. Perhaps better is 'I consider' (e.g. πρᾶῦ λάβολον πάτερ' ἀγκ[ύλαισι | κᾶτιτ[ο]ν κήνω πάτερ' ἀ[ξι]ωμι), or 'I make clear' (e.g. supplementing προφαίνω). However, the sentence in ll.3-4 would

⁹⁹⁵ Fr.306a.18-19 appear to have fr.69.1 as the lemma and fr.306a.16-17's αίχυν[τος | μα ἀναί[χυντος suggests that the commentary until then concerns fr.68.

⁹⁹⁶ Further, Alcaeus's stanzas are almost always self-contained syntactically.

lack connection, which is usually accompanied by a sudden change in tone or subject; such a turn seems unlikely here as we do not start with the new subject, the verb (e.g. κάββαλλε, fr.338.5), or some other emotive element (cf. e.g. οὐ κὰν νόμον, fr.129.25). A participial phrase, then, seems more attractive, supplying e.g. στεγάζδων (he will not deceive (us) by hiding his evil father and grandfather).

No suitable suggestions have surfaced for the line-end of l.5, with most assuming Theander's ἐπ[ει (ἐ)᾽ξέφυσε. However, this makes no sense unless one assumes that ὠναίχυντος is Pittacus' father, to which nothing points. It may be better to seriously consider ὠναίχυντος as Pittacus, where ll.5-6 provide the reasoning for the exhortation of ll.3-4, with μ[ι]τος ἄλιτρον in apposition. Perhaps we should expect something like 'but the shameless man (=Pittacus), the sinful object of hate, is worthy of/pursues the same (i.e. fate)', supplementing e.g. ἐπ[αξιώτω 'let him expect'.⁹⁹⁷

Aspects of Alcaeus' artistry can be observed here. The repetition of πάτερα in the same part of the line clearly sets up or reinforces the parallel either between the generations or between the two families. This is then contrasted with the unique figure (ὠναίχυντος), who is brought out as the rhetorical point of the poem, while sustaining a continuity between the three figures with τωῦτ[ο and the same metrical pattern. The parallelism is also helped by each (long) line (ll.3-5) containing one figure, probably each described by an adjective (possibly each by a compound adjective): πραῦλάβολον,⁹⁹⁸ κᾶπιτον, ὠναίχυντος. These adjectives create a bitter tone (especially with the ironic and sarcastic πραῦ and the alpha-privatives) which may be complemented by calls to punish the figures. The metre contributes further to the rhetorical climax

⁹⁹⁷ For the ending, see Blümel 1982: 175, with the 4th century BC *IG* XII, 2, 645.a36 (*SEG* 27-497) (for στε]φανώτω). Diehl 1944: 24 suggests ἐπ[εύξατ' ἄμμι, but there is no mention of swearing/vowing in the fragment and would require a leap of at least a stanza to refer to a possible mention.

⁹⁹⁸ Gallavotti 1948a: 103 suggests it is a new compound, meaning 'da lapidare benevolmente'; Tarditi 1969: 91 compares the word with πραῦτένων 'with tamed neck' (*A.P.* 9.299). Cf. Somolinos 1998: 163 with n.380.

as the final adonean (μ[ι]σοσ ἄλιτρον) identifiably and memorably encapsulates the point of the poem, that Pittacus is sinful and hateful.



Ζεῦ πάτερ, Λύδοι μὲν ἐπα[ρχάλαντες
 συμφοραῖσι διςχελίοις στὰ[τηρας
 ἄμμ' ἔδωκαν, αἴ κε δυναίμεθ' ἴρ[
 ἐς πόλιν ἔλθην,

5 οὐ πάθοντες οὐδάμα πῶσλον οὐ[δ' ἔ]ν
 οὐδὲ γινώσκοντες· ὁ δ' ὡς ἀλώπα[
 ποικ[ι]λόφρων εὐμάρεα προλέξα[ις
 ἤλπ[ε]το λάσην.

P.Oxy.1234 fr.1.7-14 (integrius *P.Oxy.* XI, p.56 (Hunt) = P.Oxy.1360 Introduction) et fr.2 (scholia) cui accedunt P.Oxy.2166 (c) 1. ad quos versus pertinent etiam P.Oxy.2307 fr.1.18-21 (=fr.306a Voigt = Alcaeus 12 fr.1 *CLGP*).

1 τερ·λύ supplevit Hunt e scholio 1-2 in margine dextro scholion:]ν ὑπὸ |²]αι |³
 ..δο..c ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς |⁴ ἀρχάλαντες κ(αὶ) λυπούμ(εν)οι 2 φόρ λίο supplevit
 Hunt 3 ἀμμέδ ἀί νάιμεθ' δυνάμεθ' Lobel ἴρ ἴρ[αν Hunt : ἴρ[αc
 Diehl 4 θην· 5 πάθ δάμ πῶc supplevit Hunt in margine dextro
 vestigia scholii minima 6 γεινώc τεc· δ'ωcαλώπα[ἀλώπα[ξ Hunt, sed
 cf. Hesychius ἀλώπα· ἢ ἀλώπηξ 7 supplevit Hunt λόφ μάρ λέξ in
 margine dextro vestigia scholii minima 8 ἤλπ supplevit Hunt λάc

So much has been written about these two Sapphic stanzas but with such disagreement that one hardly knows where to start. At least, the gist is obvious: the Lydians gave Alcaeus and his group 2000 staters to enter a city, and the Lydians are contrasted with someone who is compared to a fox.

Everything hangs on the city and the fox. That the Lydians are portrayed as behaving generously despite not being acquainted with Alcaeus' group (οὐ πάθοντες οὐδ' ἄμα πῶλλον οὐ[δ' ἔ]ν | οὐδὲ γινώσκοντες) so the fox (Λύδοι μὲν ... ὁ δ') must be acquainted with Alcaeus' group and be behaving ignobly seems unobjectionable.⁹⁹⁹ The obvious fox is Pittacus: not only is he most suited to the theme of betrayal (cf. fr.129, 141 (with scholion)), but he is also portrayed animalistically elsewhere (δαπτέτω, fr.70.7; δάπτει, fr.129.23; possibly compared to a lion in fr.296a) among other invective names (fr.429). Most nevertheless remain open to other possibilities:¹⁰⁰⁰ 'The Fox is [...] no less suitable for anyone else whom Alcaeus thought to be double-faced.'¹⁰⁰¹ This does not ring true; other addressees of his invectives, Melanchrus and Myrsilus, are not accused of betrayal in our sources and only Pittacus seems to have been part of the *synomosia*.

Similarly, the 'holy city' seems likely to be Mytilene,¹⁰⁰² though others are possible. Although there was a *Hiera/Ira* on Lesbos (Pliny *N.H.* 5.139, Steph. Byz. 337.2, Eust. ad *Il.*743.18) and ἱερόν is a common epithet for city both in Lesbian poetry (fr.42.4, 48.10, Sappho fr.44.6) and beyond, πόλις on its own in Alcaeus is usually Mytilene,¹⁰⁰³ and Alcaeus does not seem to add πόλις to names of places.¹⁰⁰⁴ Liberman claims that, even if ἴρ[αν is right, Mytilene may not be the city in question as his audience would know and possibly because the name was difficult metrically.¹⁰⁰⁵ However, even ignoring that Alcaeus is a skillful poet with many metres at his disposal, the only circumstance where ἴρ[αν | ἐς πόλιν is not Mytilene would be when the city is

⁹⁹⁹ Page 1955: 231-232, Tsomis 2001: 51.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Though often only a little: e.g. Page 1955: 232, Trumpf 1958: 54, Degani and Burzacchini 1977: 198, Liberman 1999: 48, 209 n.98.

¹⁰⁰¹ Bowra 1961: 141; similarly, Burnett 1983: 165 n.18.

¹⁰⁰² Other suggestions include *Hiera/Ira* (Lobel and Page's supplement), Sardis (Pugliese-Carratelli 1943: 20-21; Gallavotti 1948a: 24-25), Sigeum (Gomme 1957: 256 n.56).

¹⁰⁰³ Page 1955: 227.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Bowra 1961: 141.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Liberman 1999: 209 n.99.

named elsewhere (in another stanza). This is possible, but it seems unkind to the audience (especially a wider audience) to not offer this at the beginning of the poem. On balance, it seems that, even if a different city was named later, the audience would have assumed Mytilene until then.

There are broadly two views of the fox's actions: (1) if the city is not Mytilene, the fox falsely suggested that the taking of the city would be easy to divert Alcaeus and his group from *stasis*,¹⁰⁰⁶ which can be ruled out because the city is likely to be Mytilene, and (2) if the city is Mytilene, the fox persuaded Alcaeus and his group (in exile) to attack Mytilene, saying it would be easy. The standard view of the latter type is that the fox then betrayed and frustrated them,¹⁰⁰⁷ with some arguing that the tyrant in Mytilene at the time is Melanchrus and others Myrsilus.¹⁰⁰⁸ However, it seems incredible that such a huge force as could be mustered with 2000 staters (more below) was foiled by the changing alliance of one man, even if Pittacus took with him other members of the *synomosia*. Bowra suggests that Alcaeus lacked political sense and that he could not see the Lydian money for what it was (buying Mytilene) even though the fox pointed this out and discouraged Alcaeus;¹⁰⁰⁹ it is unclear how that constitutes vulpine behaviour, unless Alcaeus accuses the fox of doing it to establish himself in Mytilene.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Page 1955: 233. Gallavotti 1948a: 24-25 suggests that Myrsilus is the fox and used his Lydian connections to entice Alcaeus into going to Sardis, but what do the Lydians get out of this? A similar idea is sending Alcaeus to Sigeum (Gomme 1957: 256 n.56), but this cannot portray Alcaeus in a favourable or honourable light. Somewhat different is Alcaeus as a mercenary of Pactyes to attack Sardis (Pugliese-Carratelli 1943), refuted by Page 1955: 233 n.1 on chronological (amongst other) grounds. The best interpretation along these lines is that Alcaeus is making fun of Pittacus (already on the side of Myrsilus but not yet able to establish *monarchia*) who tried to tempt Alcaeus from Mytilene with the exaggerated offer of two thousand staters for an expedition abroad (Burnett 1983: 165-166); however, it seems unlikely that Pittacus would reveal his new allegiance to Myrsilus without having secure means to exile their political opponents, and the benefits for the Lydians are unclear.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Page 1955: 233, Trumpf 1958: 54-55.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Schmidt 1918: 90 suggests that Pittacus and Alcaeus are allied against Melanchrus when they received Lydian help, but the help comes to nothing as Pittacus (as the fox) abandons Alcaeus out of convenience (however, εὐμάρεια as 'convenient' is impossible: Page 1955: 227). Treu 1963: 171 notes that fr.63 is likely to refer to the same event and, finding a reference to Myrsilus (through a daring supplement introducing the Cleanactids) in fr.63, suggests that Pittacus (as the fox) betrays Alcaeus for Myrsilus.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bowra 1961: 141-142.

It seems that we have misunderstood the temporal relation between the actions of the fox and the Lydian gift. Alcaeus and his group are in exile because Pittacus has taken power in Mytilene (it cannot be earlier, as Pittacus could not yet be attacked for betraying them) and Pittacus hoping to pass unnoticed is the background information (hence imperfect ἤλπ[ε]το; contrast aorist ἔδωκε) characterising Pittacus' longtime thoughts as imagined by Alcaeus. λάσην is the easy outcome Pittacus cleverly predicted (ποικ[ι]λόφρων εὐμάρεα προλέξα[ις]).¹⁰¹⁰ During this time, the Lydians offered money to help Alcaeus and his group enter Mytilene, thereby upsetting Pittacus' calculations and hopes with an unexpected event. Therefore, the sense is 'Pittacus thought he was so clever, thinking that he could betray us and get off scot-free, but look: we have just received overwhelming support from the Lydians (that he never thought could happen)'. It is to be assumed that the following stanzas would elaborate how Pittacus betrayed Alcaeus and his group.¹⁰¹¹ This interpretation makes fewer assumptions about political events and provides a more effective (and triumphant) rhetorical point.

The Lydian intervention is extraordinary. 2000 staters (over 28kg of electrum) is no small sum: Page notes that Croesus raised an army with half the sum, and that 2000 staters would have kept at least 500 men for several months.¹⁰¹² But why did the Lydians give such a sum to Alcaeus

¹⁰¹⁰ This interpretation works whether one assumes that προλέξα[ις] is dependent on λάσην or not. If dependent, Pittacus hoped the prediction would go unnoticed; if not, Pittacus hoped his actions would go unnoticed after predicting easy things.

¹⁰¹¹ The fragment is likely incomplete (*pace* Kirkwood 1974: 61), as we would expect a coronis otherwise, even at the bottom of a column.

¹⁰¹² Page 1955: 232 with n.3, (apparently overestimating: Breglia 1974). Although the value of the (electrum) stater differed from state to state, not only did most states in Asia Minor have a similar standard (usually called the Milesian/Lydo-Milesian, at just over 14g) that a kind of monetary union has been postulated (Le Rider 2001: 91-92, Bresson 2009) and only Phocaea and Samos had different standards (at 16.50g and 17.40g respectively (Nicolet-Pierre 2002: 114-123)), but one assumes that the Lydians' gift of staters are in Lydian staters (Lydo-Milesian standard). As far we know, the Mytileneans did not strike coins until later in the 6th century (c. 530 BC, on the Phocaic standard; for details and catalogue, see Bodenstedt 1981: 182-183, Hoover 2010: 225-241), though the Lesbians (or Mytilene and Methymna) together appear to have struck coins in billon a few decades earlier (mid. 6th

and his group? For many scholars, such a sum could only be for mercenary service,¹⁰¹³ and note that it shows that hiring of mercenaries was normal for *staseis* in even small *poleis*.¹⁰¹⁴ Günther nuances the picture, wondering ‘Was nämlich konnte der Besitzer einiger (oder auch: einiger hundert) Statere mit diesen anfangen in einer Umwelt in der Münzgeld weitestgehend noch ganz ungewöhnlich war?’,¹⁰¹⁵ and suggests that coinage was probably not used to pay mercenaries but rather to buy weapons for an army in this period. But if a little later, Croesus could raise an army with half the money, this sum still appears to be excessive. Such a sum clearly points away from Alcaeus and his group as receiving the sum for mercenary service themselves, but more as a generous gift. The rhetoric of the fragment too supports this, as the great emphasis (triple negatives, πῶ and ἔν) on there being no previous relationship implies that the money had no visible strings attached. It further suggests that there was no formal alliance before. Of course, this does not preclude expectation of a favourable relationship with Alcaeus’ group, if victorious.¹⁰¹⁶ Further, Alcaeus may not be entirely honest here as there were intense Lesbian-Lyidian interactions at the time, including intermarriages that would have aligned powerful interests in some way, but Alcaeus portrays them as neutral bystanders for his rhetorical ends.

Far from being an artless ditty, with ‘nothing of poetry in it’,¹⁰¹⁷ the fragment is effective. The address to Zeus immediately catches the audience’s attention with a sense of solemnity and emphasises the extraordinariness of the Lydian gift, as well as suggesting that his presentation here

century BC, according to some, in the ‘age of tyrants’ or even Pittacus himself (Babelon 1907: 339-358), on their own standards and Persic standard: for details and catalogue, see Hoover 2010: 244-248, Lazzarini 2010).

¹⁰¹³ Bettalli 1995: 80-81, Melville-Jones 2006: 24.

¹⁰¹⁴ Bettalli 1995: 81.

¹⁰¹⁵ Günther 2006: 46.

¹⁰¹⁶ Günther 2006: 50 suggests, ‘Nachdem der Lyderkönig die meisten griechischen Poleis unterworfen hatte, mochte er hoffen, nicht nur in Mytilene ein ihn befreundetes Regime zu installieren, sondern auch dadurch den Milesiern wirkungsvolle Konkurrenz etwa am strategisch so bedeutsamen Hellespont, zu machen.’ It is not difficult to imagine buying influence in general by being perceived as being rich, like Croesus through benefactions to Delphi (Hdt. 1.50-54).

¹⁰¹⁷ Fränkel 1973: 193.

is objectively true, as it is being related to a divinity. This initial address is perhaps not abandoned, but these stanzas may be part of a poetic prayer, with this section explaining what has happened, as in fr.129.14-28. If so, by going straight into the events, instead of expressing the request first, Alcaeus also creates a sense of fastened pace and immediacy. The contrast established between the kind strangers and the tricky friend not only characterises Pittacus negatively as he has ill treated Alcaeus, but it also suggests in the poem's logic that Alcaeus and his group are manifestly good as even complete strangers show such generosity towards them. Metrical structure also contrasts the hopes of the two, with the first adonean encapsulating the wish of Alcaeus and his group (ἐς πόλιν ἔλθην) and the second the thoughts of Pittacus (ἤλπ[ε]το λάσην). Further contrast is made with the animal comparison, which lowers the register a little from the religious beginning, especially as the fox is found in folk poetry and fables, by also using the compound epithet ποικ[ι]λόφρων, only otherwise found in E. *Hec.*1312 (for Odysseus), underlining the incongruity between the heroic arena of war and politics and the fox's base conduct.

—]], [], χ... []
 π. [] τωι τάδ' εἶπην ὁδ. υ. []
 ἀθύρει πεδέχων συμποσίω []
 βάρμος, φιλώνων πεδ' ἄλεμ[άτων
 5 εὐωχήμενος αὐτοῖσιν ἐπα[]
 κῆνος δὲ παώθεις Ἀτρεΐδα[], []
 δαπτέτω πόλιν ὡς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω[]
 θᾶς κ' ἄμμε βόλλητ' Ἄρευς ἐπιτ. ὕχε. []
 τρώπην· ἐκ δὲ χόλω τῶδε λαθοίμεθ. []
 10 χαλάσσομεν δὲ τὰς θυμοβόρω λύας
 ἐμφύλω τε μάχας, τάν τις Ὀλυμπίων
 ἔνωρσε, δᾶμον μὲν εἰς ἀνάταν ἄγων
 ☞ Φιττάκωι δὲ δίδοις κῦδος ἐπήρ[ατ]ον.

P.Oxy.1234 fr.2 col. I.1-13.

2 πρ[ώ]τωι Lobel et Page :] τωσ putat Diehl quia ι adscriptum in versu 13 omittitur, sed vestigia non in c quadrant τ·ο·δ', α superscriptum εἰ δαυ, δοῦ inter alia possis ὁ δ' εὐλο[γος ὡς μέλη ? : ὁ δ' ἐκῆ[λαδος (vel εὐθρ[οος vel εὐκρ[οτος vel εὐρύ[οπα) μέλος/μέλη ? : ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀ[ίωv ποτ' ὡς Kamerbeek in margine dextro vestigia parvissima scholii 3 συμποσίων [βρέμων Kamerbeek : συμποσίω λ[ίγυς ? 4 μοσ· λών (accentum scripsit manus altera) δᾶλ ἄλεμ[άτων (Hunt) κάκων Kamerbeek 5 χήμ αὐ (accentum scripsit manus altera) αὐ τοῖσιν Kamerbeek ἐπά[δεται Diehl : ἐπα[νδάνει Liberman : ἐπα[ρκέτω Schmidt 6 κῆ δεπαῶ ἴδ Ἀτρεΐδα[v] γ[ένει Bowra : Ἀτρεΐδα[v] γ[όνωι Edmonds : Ἀτρεΐδα[ι]c' [ᾶλαν Page in margine dextro vestigia scholii: ¹] ἐπιγαμίαν cχών· οἱ γ(ᾶρ) π(ερί) | ²] Ἀ<τ>ρέως ἀπόγονοι δι[...]παί | ³] ὡς κ(αὶ) πρώην μ(ετὰ) τῶ[υ Μυρ]σί[λ]ου) 7 τέτ πόλ Μυρσί[λ]ω[Hunt

8 κα̃'μμε (quae manus scripserit certo distingui non potest; explicat Voigt: 'κ' ἄμμε in κα̃μμε = καὶ ἄμμε corr. prima correctura expuncta') βόλλητ'άρ (' scripsit manus altera, ut videtur) τ'υχε̃ [, τευ̃ veri simillimum mihi videtur ἐπὶ τεύχερι Kamerbeek : ἐπὶ τεύχε' εὔ Liberman : ἐπὶ τεύχεα Schmidt (sed vestigium litterae superest post α) : ἐπιτευχέας (= *ἐπιτευχεῖς = ὁ ἐπιτυγχάνει) Wilamowitz vix recte 9 τρόπην· χόλ τῶ θοί λαθοίμεθ' αὔ Lobel : λαθώμεθ' ἄν Hunt, sed ἄν non Aeolicum fuisse videtur : λαθώμεθα vult Wilamowitz contra papyrus 10 λάα χαλάσσωμεν vult Wilamowitz contra papyrus τὰς θῦμ βόρ 11 ενφ, ν lineā transfixit et μ superscripsit manus altera φύλ μάχας·τάν 12 ένω υάτ 13 τάκω, correxit Hunt κῦδ πήρ ἐπήρ[ατ]οῦν supplevit Hunt

Despite being one of the most quoted fragments of Alcaeus, fr.70 has received little literary attention. Such neglect is partially because of the historical details: it can be dated to Pittacus' (named in l.13) sole-rule, after the power-sharing with Myrsilus (ὥς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω[and by the scholion to l.6 (ὥς κ(αὶ) πρώην μ(ετὰ) τῶ[ῦ Μυρ]σίλ(ου)). Pittacus's marriage into the Penthilids may be recent as κῆνος δὲ παώθεις Ἀτρείδ[.] [| δαπτέτω πόλιν perhaps suggests a link between the marriage and the devouring of the city. We cannot, however, establish whether it is from Alcaeus' exile, as some suggest,¹⁰¹⁸ since there are no references to the location.¹⁰¹⁹

That κῆνος refers to Pittacus is agreed by all.¹⁰²⁰ Assuming that κῆνος δέ (as probably at fr.72.7) implies a change of subject, many think that the symposium in ll.2-5 cannot be Pittacus', suggesting instead from κακοπατρίδαις (fr.67.4, 75.12, 106.3, 348.1) a symposium of Pittacus' father.¹⁰²¹ However, not only are the humble birth and Thracian ancestry of Pittacus' father

¹⁰¹⁸ E.g. Rösler 1980: 160.

¹⁰¹⁹ Similarly, Trumpf 1958: 65.

¹⁰²⁰ Already Hunt 1914: 78, with Diog. Laert. I.81.

¹⁰²¹ Wilamowitz 1914: 237, followed by Jurenka 1914: 235, and Theander 1922: 63.

questionable,¹⁰²² no mention of Pittacus' father is preserved here. Further, κῆνος δέ need not imply a change in subject, but may denote a continuation or a summarising resumptive of the same topic or focus (cf. e.g. κῆνα μέν, fr.73.7),¹⁰²³ while there is a greater contrast between κῆνος and ἄμμε. Finally, we have a present-tense verb (ἄθύρει), which should rule out intergenerational comparisons in most construals of the first stanza.¹⁰²⁴ If so, whose symposium is it? Plutarch's explanation of ζοφοδοπίδης, which can easily fit into this metre, seems similar to fr.70: ὥς (sc. Πιπτακόν) ἀδόξοις τὰ πολλὰ καὶ φαύλοισι ἠδόμενον συμπόταις' (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 726 B). Behind this anecdote, clearly based on some Alcaean fragment, may be fr.70's φιλώνων πεδ' ἀλεμ[άτων | εὐωχήμενος, if not the symposium of the first stanza, understood as Pittacus', though Plutarch (or the original author of the anecdote) may have misunderstood or misremembered details. If Plutarch's possible summary is reliable, Diehl's ἐπά[δετα becomes very attractive (~ἠδόμενον).¹⁰²⁵

Construing the first stanza has proved tricky and is conveniently omitted in discussions by most. The problem lies in εἴπην, which cannot depend on ἄθύρει, the only visible finite verb.

¹⁰²² See pp.153-156.

¹⁰²³ Rösler 1980: 164 n.131, but see below.

¹⁰²⁴ Present-tense ἄθύρει would not exclude intergenerational comparisons if there is indirect speech after εἴπην. However, this is unattractive because it requires ὁδ.υ. [to have ὅδε, which would be clumsy (having both τᾶδε and the reported speech); it would produce an improbably long sentence beginning before the surviving fragment and ending at the end of l.5; and it is difficult to see who would report on the symposium of Pittacus' father. The argument is also unclear: κῆνος δέ would not be adversative since there is little contrast between the sympotic image and the devouring of the city, while δέ as 'and' seems flat as there is no logical connection between the father's symposium and Pittacus' city-devouring (unlike with e.g. 'thus', 'in the same way').

The present tense is awkward for those seeing a contrast between pre- and post-Myrsilus symposia too, e.g. Lentini 2002: 5. It seems more natural to describe a past symposium than say 'let him feast like this now too', rather than describe a present symposium than say 'let him feast, as he did before' (since he is already feasting). Further, in Lentini's interpretation, Pittacus' marriage intrudes without adding anything to why or how he should be feasting. The fact that the marriage intrudes on the argument makes it important to understand.

¹⁰²⁵ Similarly, Lentini 2002: 4, who nevertheless quotes Voigt's apparatus ('sed *Ā*' in pap. *exspectaveris*') as possible evidence against it. This is not insurmountable, as the scribe, while providing accents for most words that are not prepositions or particles, does not write accents for all (e.g. on λύας, l.10).

Another main verb and connective at the end of l.2 is then required, but none suggest themselves. However, the problem is solved if εἶπην depends on a verb in the previous stanza, with a new sentence beginning with ὁ δ(έ).¹⁰²⁶ Kamerbeek provides the most convincing suggestion along these lines so far:

ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀ[ί]ων ποτ' ὦς
 ἀθύρει πεδέχων συμποσίω [βρέμων
 βάρμος, φιλώνων πεδ' ἄλεμ[άτων κάκων
 εὐωχήμενος αὖ τοῖσιν ἐπά[δε]ται.

He summarises, 'Pittacus non curat quod adversarii eum scire velint, immo nihil audire potest prae strepitu barbiti in conviviis quibus totus occupatus est cum illis suis nefariis sodalibus'.¹⁰²⁷ This makes the δαπτέτω very appropriate, letting Pittacus do as he wishes since he will not listen. However, Pittacus would presumably not have been listening for a while (ὦς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω) and thus saying δαπτέτω πόλιν now, when Pittacus has not done anything new, seems awkward; it also exculpates him somewhat, as it suggests that Pittacus cannot hear his enemies for the noise of his company. It is further unclear why not listening, if it is crucial, is not thematised in the rest of the poem. More problematic is the awkwardness of having Pittacus as the subject in ll.2-5 (ὁ δ'), to be resumed without a break by κῆνος δέ. κῆνος δέ denoting a continuation or as summarising resumptive seems too emphatic here if we switched subject with contrastive ὁ δ' only in the previous sentence. A solution would be to keep the lyre as subject throughout the first stanza, for example:

ὁ δ' εὐκέ[λαδος μέλος/μέλη
 ἀθύρει πεδέχων συμποσίω [βρέμων (Kamerbeek)
 βάρμος, φιλώνων πεδ' ἄλεμ[άτων κάκων (Kamerbeek)

¹⁰²⁶ Theander 1922: 63, Kamerbeek 1973: 390-391, Lentini 2002: 4. A new sentence is unlikely at the beginning of l.2 as there is no connective.

¹⁰²⁷ Kamerbeek 1973: 391.

εὐωχήμενος αὐτοῖσιν ἐπα[νδάνει (Lieberman).

The personification of the lyre may be a ‘figura audax’,¹⁰²⁸ but it seems unjustified to deny it for εὐωχήμενος when we are forced to accept it for ἀθύρει,¹⁰²⁹ and for πεδέχων συμποσίω, especially as the idea is closely paralleled in ἤδη μὲν δαιτὸς κεκορήμεθα θυμὸν εἵσης | φόρμιγγός θ’, ἢ δαιτὶ συνήορός ἐστι θαλείηι (*Od.*8.98-99).¹⁰³⁰ However, this creates an unattractive asyndeton.

Better than either would be a non-resumptive ὁ δ’, such as:

ὁ δ’ εὐλο[γος ὡς μέλη

ἀθύρει πεδέχων συμποσίω [λίγυς

βάρμος, φιλώνων πεδ’ ἀλεμ[άτων κάκων (Kamerbeek)

εὐωχήμενος αὐτοῖσιν ἐπα[νδάνει (Lieberman).

This would make κῆνος δέ more natural as it is just picking up ὁ δ’ εὐλο[γος emphatically, and the comparative clause is apt as both Pittacus and the lyre are in the symposium, which, as the locus of persuasion and song (and feasting), is a natural thing to bring up if the persuasive and pleasing aspects of the lyre’s tune and of Pittacus’ talk are the topic. The parallel drawn is thus between Pittacus and the lyre, highlighted by πεδέχων and φιλώνων πεδ’ ἀλεμ[άτων. Pittacus’ sweet-talking then results in the marriage and power. It also provides a way of explaining the positive elements of the banquet. Only φιλώνων πεδ’ ἀλεμ[άτων is really negative, while the lyre-playing and feasting in other circumstances would be positive, which is strange if we are supposed to think of this as the prototypically bad banquet, but a contrast with the positive effects

¹⁰²⁸ Kamerbeek 1973: 391 n.3.

¹⁰²⁹ E.g. Lentini 2002: 4; contrast the enthusiastic Tsomis 2001: 169.

¹⁰³⁰ Porro 1996a: 141 translates ‘al primo (?) questo dir (si deve?) ...: “Canta prendendo parte al simposio ... la lira, in compagnia di stolti gradassi gozzovigliando tra loro”’, making the description of the symposium a quotation. This has few advantages (we can link εἴπην to the rest of the stanza) and many disadvantages (where is the link between the symposium and Pittacus? Why is saying this relevant? Why would we turn from this to Pittacus? Who are φιλώνων πεδ’ ἀλεμ[άτων?).

of the clear-sounding lyre is used here to emphasise the negative effects of talking, another usually positive aspect of the symposium. Further, Pittacus' deceptive talking is a well-attested topic, and ὁ δ' εὐλόγῳ is similar to fr.67.2 and 69.6-8; similarly, excessive cleverness being bad is thematised elsewhere (e.g. fr.38). Finally, if fr.129.21-24 is involved in a case of self-citation with fr.70 (probably quoting it from exile, as Pittacus is now devouring the city, as Alcaeus gives leave to here), deceptive talking may be present in both fragments. Consequently, fr.70 may be another poem on Pittacus' deception.

Further, φιλώνων πεδ' ἀλεμ[άτων also fits this interpretation well, as ἠλεός (whence ἠλέματος) is found in situations comparable to here. At *Od.*2.243, it is used by Leiocritus to rebuke Mentor (addressed as φρένας ἠλεέ) who defends Odysseus in the assembly, and at *Od.*14.463-464 it is used of the wine loosening Odysseus' tongue; both cases spur bold thought. Thus ἠλεός is linked to interfering with good-thinking and to drinking, on which associations Alcaeus perhaps draws with ἀλέματος to contrast clever Pittacus and his senseless companions, depicted like mad Ares according to Athena: μαινόμενε, φρένας ἠλέ, διέφθορα· ἦ νύ τοι αὐτῶς | οὔατ' ἀκουέμεν ἐκτί, νόος δ' ἀπόλωλε καὶ αἰδῶς (*Il.*15.128-129). These resonances may well be intended in a fragment full of near-epic formulations.¹⁰³¹ In this connection, one wonders if the *hapax* φιλώνων is a corruption of φιλοίνων.¹⁰³²

Pittacus' marriage too is rarely discussed in detail. Scholars, even those who do not suppose ll.2-5 to be a symposium of Pittacus' father,¹⁰³³ only mention παῶθεις Ἀτρεΐδα[, except to explain the reference, to suggest that Pittacus' marriage into the Penthilids is mentioned to make the *betairia*

¹⁰³¹ From a different angle, cf. Lentini 2000; see also pp.40-42.

¹⁰³² φιλώνων is interpreted variously as φιλήτης 'thief' (Wilamowitz 1914: 236, and in Hunt 1914: 78); as φέλων (φέλων ὁ ἀλαζών, Theognost. *Can.* 41: Lobel 1927: 27, followed by Mastrelli 1954: 75, Campbell 1982: 275, Porro 1996a: 141); as *φίλ-ωνος 'den Kaufpreis liebend' (Schmidt 1916: 394); and as an *n*-stem derivative of φίλος meaning 'Kumpan' with a pejorative sense (cf. γάστρων, φύσκων) (Maas 1915: 598, followed by Diehl 1936: I.4 p.106, Theander 1922: 64, Hamm 1957: 84, Chantraine 1990, s.v. φίλος, Broger 1996: 167-168, Somolinos 1998: 132, Liberman 1999: 210 n.101, Caciagli 2011: 50-51).

¹⁰³³ E.g. Burnett 1983: 175, Tsomis 2001: 169.

indignant that a lowly man is thus honoured. Just as earlier interpretations do not explain why the symposium is brought into the poem beyond a symbolic comparison between Pittacus' negative symposium and Alcaeus' positive symposium, scholars do not contemplate why Pittacus' Penthilid marriage is mentioned here. I see two mutually non-exclusive options: (1) *παώθειε Ἀτρεΐδα*[parallels *ὥς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρσί[λ]ω*], so that Pittacus is envisioned devouring the city having sweet-talked both the Penthilids and Myrsilus and the two are paralleled, or (2) *παώθειε Ἀτρεΐδα*[has been a key part of the poem so far or is presented as the logical continuation of his sweet-talking and explains with a causal participial how Alcaeus has to allow him to devour the city.

The rest seems relatively straight-forward. The third-person imperative *δαπτέτω* is limited temporally by the *θᾶς* clause. The debate about the line-end of l.8 (*ἐπὶ τεύχεσι, ἐπὶ τεύχε' εὔ, ἐπὶ τεύχεα, ἐπιτευχέας* (= **ἐπιτευχεῖς* = *ὁ ἐπιτύγγανει*)) makes little difference to the interpretation of the whole fragment, though *ἐπὶ τεύχεα* is palaeographically unlikely and *ἐπιτευχέας* is unattested.¹⁰³⁴ More important are the moods of *λαθοίμεθ*... [and *χαλάσσωμεν*. Wilamowitz claimed that these should be subjunctives depending on *θᾶς κ'*, changing to *λαθώμεθ ἄν* and *χαλάσσωμεν*.¹⁰³⁵ However, the argument is stronger with the *paradosis*. It makes sense to say 'let Pittacus devour the city until Ares wishes to turn us to arms', but not 'let Pittacus devour the city until we forget this anger' or 'until we relax from the strife'. Thus *θᾶς κ'* only goes with *ἄμμε βόλλητ' Ἄρευσ ἐπιτεύχε.. [| τρόπην*, followed by a wish to forget the anger,¹⁰³⁶ and a prediction that the audience will be released from strife: 'let him, married into the family of the Atreidae, devour the city as he used to with Myrsilus, until Ares wills to turn us to arms; then may we be able to forget this anger, and we will then be released from the heart-devouring strife...'

¹⁰³⁴ See Tsomis 2001: 170 n.12.

¹⁰³⁵ Wilamowitz 1914: 236. However, *χαλάσσωμεν* can be subjunctive or future in Lesbian (Lobel 1927: xxix, lxvi, lxx and Page 1955: 236).

¹⁰³⁶ A standard cupitative optative without *ἄν/κε* for realisable wishes.

Rösler accepts Wilamowitz's λαθώμεθ' ἄν and ἐπιτευχέας because he thinks the group must succeed (not just be turned to arms) and forget the anger to be released from strife,¹⁰³⁷ but there is no problem with just turning to arms. Indeed, Alcaeus seems less certain than most scholars assume; Alcaeus is only confident that Ares will turn them to arms, but with a wish to forget the anger, he leaves open the outcome of the fight: 'until Ares would turn us to arms; then may we forget this anger (sc. if we win)'.

Indeed, Alcaeus juggles outward optimism or confidence (cf. sarcastic δαπτέτω)¹⁰³⁸ with a much more pessimistic attitude.¹⁰³⁹ The surviving fragment is largely concerned with the present woes, and thoughts of success are for what appears to be the distant future (Ares has not yet turned them to arms) and do not stay in the foreground for long. The strong pessimistic air is notable in the way the poem ends: in the final stanza, when the speaker has been more optimistic and appears to be heading towards the future, the speaker brings the focus back onto the present woe with a relative clause (τάν τις Ὀλυμπίων) that at first appears to be a short aside but turns into a long elaboration. With this clause, then, the ending comes rather unexpectedly in time and spirits. Because of these emotional turns, it seems unlikely that the fragment's main rhetorical and argumentative point is group management or an exhortation for his group to close ranks,¹⁰⁴⁰ but it seems more concerned with empathy and difficulties of the situation created by the tricks of Pittacus. Fr.70 is therefore much more interesting than is supposed, being neither a straightforward call to forget the war for the moment (cf. e.g. fr.73), nor a confident call to arms, nor a triumphant view of inevitable success, but rather more like the inability to forget the war expressed in fr.140.14-15.

¹⁰³⁷ Rösler 1980: 167-169, but already Hunt 1914: 79.

¹⁰³⁸ Burnett 1983: 173-176 presents a persuasive but one-dimensional account of a sarcastic Alcaeus trying to make his *hetaira* angry.

¹⁰³⁹ See p.105.

¹⁰⁴⁰ e.g. Kirkwood 1974: 74-75, Burnett 1983: 175.



φίλος μὲν ἦρθα κάπ' ἔριφον κάλην
καὶ χοῖρον· οὕτω τοῦτο νομίδεται

P.Oxy.1234 fr.2 i.14-15^a, cui accedit P.Oxy.2166 (c) 41

ita manus altera. καὶ ... νομίδεται tantum versu priore omissio scripsit manus prima post Alcaei fragmentum 70.13. hunc ultimum versum columnae uncis (uncus sinister tantum superest) inclusit manus altera et φίλος ... νομίδεται in margine inferiore addidit. manum alteram credidit Lobel eandem esse quae P.Oxy.1788 scripserit.

1 κᾶπ 2 ρον· in margine dextro reliquiae scholii: ¹ [..].ψ. [.....]τα τον τοῦ
Ἀλκαίου ἐρώμ(εν)ον |² ... [..]ς δέ φη(σιν) [.....]ον ὥστε σε καὶ ἐπὶ χοῖ|³ρον καὶ ἔριφον
[καλεῖν τοῦτ'] (ἐστίν) εἰς τὰ παρασκευάσ|⁴ματα τυχ[..... τ]οῖς γ(ὰρ) ξένοις μετὰ |⁵
σπουδῆς πο[ιοῦσιν τὴν εὐ]ωχίαν, παροιμία δ' (ἐστίν) |⁶ ἐπ' ἔριφ[ο]ν καὶ χο[ῖ]ρον καλεῖν,
ἄθε]ν λέγει· οὕτω τοῦτο νομ(ίδεται)

....]. [

ἐν[.] λα[.].... [

λάβρωσ δὲ συνστε [.] [.] εἰαπ. ν

πίμπλεισιν ἀκράτω [....]π' ἀμέρα [

5 καὶ νύκτι παφλάσδει... αχθεν,

ἔνθα νόμος θάμ' ἐν [.] [.] νην.

κῆνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἐπελάθετο

ῶνηρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτον ὀνέτροπε,

παίσαϊς γὰρ ὀννώρινε νύκτας,

10 ἤω δὲ πίθω πατάγεσκ' ὁ πύθμην.

cύ δὴ τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων ἔχησι
 τὰν δόξαν οἶαν ἄνδρες ἐλεύθεροι
 ἔκλων ἔοντες ἐκ τοκῶν ...;

P.Oxy.1324 fr.2 ii, cui accedunt duo frustula (Lobel), et tertium (P.Oxy.2166 (c) 30).

3 λά cτέ cύνcτει[ψεν Diel 4 πίμ κράτ]π'ἄμέρᾱ τὸ δ' ἐ]π'

Page : θάμ' ἐ]π' Diels : μάλ' ἐ]π' Jurenka ρᾱι[vel ρᾱν[4-6 in margine reliquia scholii:

¹]τηνεφη |²]κρος cυν |³]υ ἔθουc |⁴]ταcτο |⁵]ηγοροῖ δ(ἐ) 5 νύκ πλαφλάζει, cδ

superscripsit super ζ manus altera ...αχθεν: primum vestigium incertum est, tum vestigium

litterae triangulae, tum γ vel τ, unde λατᾱχθεν Lobel 6 ἐν νόμ νε[vel νο[vel

νω[possis ἔνε]cτ' Diel]ννην· vel]ινην· vel]ιμην· ὀρ]ίννην Wilamowitz (apud

Hunt) 7 λάθ 8 πρῶ νέτ πε· 9 νῶρῖν νύκταc· 10 τῶ

πίθ τάγ κ'οπύθμην· 11 αὐτᾱc γόν ἐχ 12 δόξ οἶανάνδ

13 ἔον γονηων in τοκῶν mutavit manus altera, capite γ refecto, ν deleto et κ superscripto

11-13 hanc strophē interrogationem esse putat Lobel

The potential to answer many questions about Mytilenean history has triggered many discussions of fr.72, but few conclusions have found acceptance. Due to the multitude of overlapping opinions that differ at important points with each other, making a short synthesis unattractive, I will, for clarity, reference previous scholarship only at relevant points.

Fr.72 is incomplete, with two complete Alcaic stanzas (ll.3-6, 7-10) and two incomplete stanzas (ll.1-2, 11-13). Neither the poem-beginning nor the poem-end is preserved. Lentini has recently brought our attention to the fact that fr.71, at the bottom of the previous column, is also probably in Alcaic stanzas and may be the beginning of this poem.¹⁰⁴¹ Initially, this is attractive, especially with an echo of νομίδεται (fr.71.2) in νόμοc (fr.72.6). However, Lentini's proposal

¹⁰⁴¹ Lentini 2002: 10.

can neither be proved,¹⁰⁴² nor solve the problems of fr.72, while creating another: the scholion. Even if one thinks the scholiast misinterprets φίλος in calling the addressee Alcaeus' ἐρώμενος,¹⁰⁴³ the addressee clearly used to be welcome at Alcaeus' banquets. However, this is difficult if the ἐρώμενος/φίλος (or ex-ἐρώμενος/ex-φίλος) is the referent of κύ (fr.72.11), as it suggests that he is somehow ignoble (fr.72.11-13) and scholars agree that Alcaeus' banquets were not usually open to those of humbler birth. Consequently, these fragments should be treated separately.

The chief issue in fr.72 is the identification of the subjects, which remains opaque. The first surviving stanza (ll.3-6) is riddled with textual problems. Since παφλάσδει is intransitive, ...αχθεν is likely to be a neuter participle nominative agreeing with the subject of παφλάσδει (instead of e.g. παφλάσδεισι τάχθεν), and, since the subject of πίμπλεισιν cannot be neuter singular, we are likely to have τὸ δ' ἐ]π' ἀμέραι | καὶ νύκτι παφλάσδει. We should note the difference in number between πίμπλεισιν (3rd plural)¹⁰⁴⁴ and παφλάσδει (3rd singular), and that other supplements lack a connective, unless we introduce a subordinate clause (e.g. with πᾶι at the end of l.3)¹⁰⁴⁵, or are willing to split up ἀμέραι [| καὶ νύκτι, which does not help supplementing l.3. In l.6, Diehl's ἔνε[σ]τ' [ὄρ]ινην works well, but if an object for ὄρ]ινην seems necessary,¹⁰⁴⁶ ἔνα[θ]λ' 'contests', ἔνα[υ]λ' 'memorable things'/'things accompanied by the aulos', ἔνε[ρ]γ' 'active things', ἔνο[π]λ' 'armed things', or ἔνο[ρ]χ' 'masculine things' seem appropriate.

¹⁰⁴² Change of poem need not coincide with change of metre (cf. fr.68 and 69).

¹⁰⁴³ Suspicions about this scholion are common: Wilamowitz 1914: 235, Rösler 1980: 245 n.321, Vetta 1982: 8-9 n.2, Pardini 1991: 269-270, Liberman 1999: 50. Contrast Lelli 2006: 31-32, who parallels the proverb in modern Calabria ("quannu ti dunanu 'u porciellu curri ccù lu rumaniellu' (quando ti regalano un porcello corri subito con una corda)") and mentions small animals as typical gifts to lovers. For the sentiment, cf. τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρόν ἔδαι (Hes. *Op.*342).

¹⁰⁴⁴ If 3rd singular, we expect -ησι or -αισι: Hamm 1957: 161-162.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Thus Theander 1952: 180.

¹⁰⁴⁶ However, in l.9, ὀνώρινε lacks an object.

‘Nothing worth recording has yet been suggested’ for l.3:¹⁰⁴⁷ the letter after π of]εἰαπ.. is unclear but the final letter appears to be ν. This would then leave -α πάν, ἄπαν, or -απα/ον. Since we expect here an object of πίμπλεισιν, the first two fit well, while there are no adjectives in -απος that fit the metre and sense. More problematic is συντε[], which seems unsolvable. One might take inspiration from Diehl’s σύντε[ψεν, which lacks the augment, and imagine λάβρωσ δὲ συντε[ψ]αν[τες ‘and violently having trodden (sc. underfoot the oath?), they fill the entire ... with unmixed wine’, or συντε[χ]ον[τες, but there is too little space. The only other possibilities are στείνοσ (Ionic) and στείροσ (inappropriate meaning). However, the ι is uncertain; with στέν[, there after further possibilities (e.g. σύν στέν[ωι/στέν[αι/στέν[ει: e.g. σύν στέν[ει] κ[ελέβ]εια πάν), but space scuppers all efforts. We can only deduce that a group is drinking heavily. This is likely to be in the present (παφλάσδει), even if πίμπλεισιν is in a subordinate clause. Further, they appear, with the likely λάτταχθεν, to be engaged in the game of cottabus ἐν λεκάνηι, where one tries to sink a figure or a flat vessel in a bowl by throwing wine-dregs at it.¹⁰⁴⁸

Why should the referent of κῆνοσ not be one of those who πίμπλεισιν? The apparent reason is that the first stanza is in the present, while the second is in the aorist or imperfect.¹⁰⁴⁹ However, the tenses make sense as ‘that man’ is presumably still doing these things, since he did not forget them; the past tense shows that the symposium of the previous stanza had been going on for some time. Indeed, someone who did not partake in the previous stanza’s symposium cannot not forget it. Nor is it likely that τούτων would refer to something earlier. Indeed, the continuation of the terminology of the cottabus game (ὀνέτροπε, ὀννώρινε, τῶ δὲ πίθωσ πατάγεσκ’ ὀ πύθμην), alongside the parallels between these stanzas,¹⁰⁵⁰ suggests that κῆνοσ is part of the first stanza’s group. Therefore, κῆνοσ probably did not stop participating in such

¹⁰⁴⁷ Page 1955: 171.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Friis Johansen 1986. For the cottabus game generally, see Sparkes 1960.

¹⁰⁴⁹ E.g. more recently Tsomis 2001: 171.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The first two lines of both have human subjects and the second two have inanimate subjects, the last two lines of both deal with the night and effects of the cottabus game.

symposia,¹⁰⁵¹ and the supposed awkwardness of tenses is only an issue with ὀννώρινε and πατάγεεκ', which can be explained as a continued description of the time when he first overturned (the city?).

The stanza makes the most sense as a political metaphor with the vocabulary and imagery of the cottabus fused with those of politics:¹⁰⁵² ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτον ὀνέτροπε makes no sense if it only refers to the first time κῆνος was successful in the cottabus, nor is there any rhetorical point to remembering this moment in the game, but it makes sense if it is 'first overturned (the city)' (cf. fr.141), where a verb from both the political and symposiastic spheres is used, but only the political sense is activated at this point. Similarly, in l.9 ὀννώρινε refers to the period of fear and angst during the political upheaval, but with πατάγεεκ' ὁ πύθμην the latent symposiastic meanings of ll.8-9 are activated as a purely symposiastic image is used as a metaphor for the uproar and crisis created. Meanwhile, the metaphor of a bubbling crisis is activated for παφλάσδει. Further, for οὐκ ἐπελάθετο to make sense, there may have been a change in the circumstances of κῆνος, where there might be an expectation of a change in behaviour, such as a change in political power. If so, κῆνος as Pittacus, when he takes on sole-rule, becomes attractive.¹⁰⁵³ However, how he acted did not change (hence imperfect ὀννώρινε and πατάγεεκ'). Since there is no indication about any other time, other than the present tense of the first stanza, there is no reason to assume that κῆνος is no longer around.

Most scholars assume that εὐ δὴ refers to Pittacus.¹⁰⁵⁴ However, most are also concerned about the change from third-person to the second person where both refer to the same person,

¹⁰⁵¹ E.g. Friis Johansen 1986: 93.

¹⁰⁵² For these verbs in political contexts: cf. fr.141.3-4, Archilochus fr.130. Cf. Lentini 2002: 12-18.

¹⁰⁵³ e.g. Mazzarino 1943: 43 n.3, Kamerbeek 1947: 175, and Bowra 1961: 149. One might wonder if ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτον ὀνέτροπε presuppose that there was a second time, i.e. this is referring to Pittacus' first rise.

¹⁰⁵⁴ The only real doubters are Bowra 1961: 148 and Friis Johansen 1986: 94. Lentini 2002: 10-11 suggests the φίλος of fr.71. Due to τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων, Gomme 1957: 255 suggests Pittacus' maternal grandfather.

which is why most have accepted that κῆνος must be someone other than Pittacus.¹⁰⁵⁵ Is this as unexpected as many suggest? Despite assertions to the contrary,¹⁰⁵⁶ Alcaeus does this elsewhere: in fr.298, as far as we know, Pittacus is not mentioned during the lengthy narration until l.47, where he is addressed as the son of Hyrrhas.¹⁰⁵⁷ Indeed, *cū* δῆ is often used in witheringly sharp statements:¹⁰⁵⁸ the change in person but not referent coincides with a change in tone to one of bitter sarcasm.

Perhaps the most debated phrase is *τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων*, variously translated as ‘born of such a mother’,¹⁰⁵⁹ ‘born of such a country/land/race’,¹⁰⁶⁰ and ‘partaking of such a society/company’.¹⁰⁶¹ While other translations would be acceptable if the antecedent word had appeared in ll.7-10 (or even ll.3-6), I cannot see how *τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων* can be anything other than ‘born of such a mother’, given that there is no natural antecedent anywhere near.¹⁰⁶² The only way to avoid a continuity issue is if *τεαύτας ἐκγεγόνων* is explained from earlier in the poem and the preserved stanzas explain the rest of this sentence. In this case, then, the addressee’s having the reputation of free men of noble parents must be the point of preserved stanzas. This is precisely what they do: ll.7-10, I have suggested, depict the moment surrounding Pittacus’ power-grab while ll.3-6 build up to it. If we have a question here (ll.11-12), the answer is ‘yes’:¹⁰⁶³ Pittacus has taken on the ultimate role (of sole-ruler) because (and because of which) he has the reputation

¹⁰⁵⁵ Following Wilamowitz 1914; recently, Liberman 1999: 51.

¹⁰⁵⁶ E.g. Bowra 1961: 148 wrongly says that addresses in Alcaeus are for friends and deities (fr.119.1 is another hostile address); Lentini 2002: 9 suggests these are rare, but such is the nature of our evidence. There are also parallels in drama: Friis Johansen 1986: 94, and cf. [E.] *Rh.* 812-813.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Something similar may be happening at fr.167.3 (ὦ κῆνον).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Denniston 1950: 207.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Page 1955: 172-173, followed now by most.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Hunt 1914 (γόνος), Wilamowitz 1914 (γενέας), Gallavotti 1948a: 109 (χώρας).

¹⁰⁶¹ Rösler 1980: 180.

¹⁰⁶² Being born of somebody/something is by far the most common use of ἐκγίγνομαι and γίγνομαι ἐκ. The verb is rare but found with place names (e.g. Hdt. 1.173.1).

¹⁰⁶³ Lentini 2002: 9 misunderstands Page’s translation as expecting an answer ‘no’.

equal to that of noble men. In this interpretation, we cannot tell what Alcaeus attacked Pittacus' mother as being, but we can probably assume it is not of much consequence factually, much along the lines of Aristophanes calling Euripides' mother a vegetable-seller (Ar. *Ach.* 457, 478; *Thesm.* 387, 456; *Frogs* 840). Much more potent is ἐλεύθεροι; if Alcaeus were serious, he might have suggested that Pittacus was the son of a non-free woman (whatever that may mean).¹⁰⁶⁴ However, the force of ἐλεύθεροι cannot be ascertained, and remains a mystery.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Thus Tsomis 2001: 173 suggests that Alcaeus depicted Pittacus' mother as an ἀύλητρίς or πόρνη.

.
 πὰν φόρτι[ο]ν δ[.] [

5 δ' ὅττι μάλις τασά[λ]

καὶ κύματι πλάγεις[

ὄμβρω<ι> μάχεσθαι .. [

5 φαῖς' οὐδὲν ἰμέρρη[ν

δ' ἔρματι τυπτομ[

κήνα μὲν ἐν τούτ[

τούτων λελάθων ὦ[

σύν τ' ὕμι τέρπ[.]α[

10 καὶ πεδὰ Βύκχιδος α... [

τὼ δ' ἄμμεσ ἐς τὰν ἄψερον ἄ[

αὶ καὶ τισαφ[...]. αντ.. [

δείχνυντε[

P.Oxy.1234 fr.3, cui accedit fortasse incerti auctoris 29 Voigt (= initia versuum 6-7)

1 φόρτι[ο]ν Hunt δ[ἐ πέμπε e.g. Diehl **2** δ'όττ ασά[λ] (incertum an non ἀς'άλ)

3 κύ πλά πλάγεις[α βαρυκτύπῳ Wilamowitz (βορ- correxit Diehl) : πλάγεις[αν

Lobel **4** ὄμβρω<ι> correxit Hunt μά χο[, χε[, alia possis **5** φαῖς' ἰμέ

ἰμέρρη[ν ἀφάντῳ vel ἀκάμῳ (quod multi ducunt commentario P.Oxy.2307 fr.14.7-10 =

fr.306i.7-10 confirmatum esse) Wilamowitz **6** δ'έρ supra alterum μ[vestigium atramenti

τυπτομ[ένα Wilamowitz: τυπτομ[έναν Lobel **7** κήνᾱ τού τούτ[οι. θέλω δ'

ἔγω? : τούτ[οι. ἔγω δὲ νῦν Theander : τούτ[οι. ἔοις' ἴτω Page **8** κήνᾱ τού

νο]ςτου λελαθων ut videtur commentarius P.Oxy.2307.16.1 (=fr.306i.24), unde fortasse νόστῳ

pro τούτων (quasi ex praecedente τούτ[ortum) in textu reponendum esse duxit Lobel λάθ

.[: hasta verticalis ὦ μ[έτοχοι, φρένας? : ὦ φ[ίλε Wilamowitz : ὦφ[ελον Diehl (contra

dialectum) **9** σύντ' ὕμ τέρπ τέρπ[εθ]α[ι (iam Hunt) συν]άβαις PLF propter

P.Oxy.2307 fr.16.3 (=fr.306i.26) 10 βύκ αὔ.. [vel αφ.. [legit Lobel sed αυθ̣ [legit Hunt
(vix recte) αὔ̣ με[θύσθην ? 11 τῶδ' άμ ά[φ]Ψ'ερ (et ψ fortasse manus
altera) ά[μέραν Diel 12 αἰκάι]παντατ[vel simile Lobel

This fragment in Alcaic stanzas owes much of its fame to being a ‘ship-of-state poem’ (alongside fr.6, 208) and has chiefly been interpreted allegorically without an agreement on the precise correspondences between allegory and referents. The interpretation is further complicated by Lobel’s linking of P.Oxy.2307 fr.14 and 16 (fr.306i), which added further elements to the image.

Since the fragment’s discovery, scholars have adduced Heraclitus to support an allegorical reading (Heraclitus, *All.*5.59).¹⁰⁶⁵ Of course, Heraclitus’ claims can only show that allegorical interpretations were possible in the first or second century AD,¹⁰⁶⁶ and Heraclitus is not always trustworthy, sometimes craftily omitting crucial context, as he does just a few sentences later (*All.*5.13-16 on *Il.*9.222-224).¹⁰⁶⁷ Further, despite a long tradition of ancient allegorical readings,¹⁰⁶⁸ Heraclitus attacking others’ non-allegorical readings demonstrate that allegory was not universally recognised.¹⁰⁶⁹ Moreover, fr.306i, where the the allegorical ‘meaning’ appears sexual rather than political, shows at least one other allegorical reading differing from Heraclitus.¹⁰⁷⁰ Horace’s *C.*1.14 too, interpreted as a ship-of-state allegory since at least Quintilian (*Inst.*8.6.44), is adduced, but is itself controversial.¹⁰⁷¹ Indeed, multiplicity of interpretations is natural, since detecting allegory is subjective and ideological.¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶⁵ Already Hunt 1914: 80.

¹⁰⁶⁶ On Heraclitus’ dates, see Russell and Konstan 2005: xi-xiii.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Russell 2003: 229.

¹⁰⁶⁸ According to Porphyry (on *Il.*20.67: *Quaestiones Homericae* 1.240.14=8 fr.2 Diels-Kranz), Theagenes of Rhegium (6th century BC) already suggests allegorical readings of Homeric gods. See further Richardson 1975, Ford 2002: 67-89.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cf. Struck 2004: 152-153.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Uhlig 2018: 71-72.

¹⁰⁷¹ Anderson 1966.

¹⁰⁷² Uhlig 2018: 75 on Alcaeus, following Laird 2003.

Allegorical interpretations are attractive because it seems inconceivable that Alcaeus sings ‘the ship is in danger; let’s drink and be merry’ in a storm.¹⁰⁷³ Although this ignores the ‘dramatic element in non-dramatic poetry’,¹⁰⁷⁴ an acceptable literal reading is not apparent. For example, Wilamowitz’s suggestion ‘das Schiff, das seine Fracht gern heil in den Hafen bringen will, hat keine Lust, sich bei dem Sturme der Gefahr auszusetzen, auf ein Riff aufzulaufen’ has often met with wonder as it seems extraordinary that a ship shows will.¹⁰⁷⁵ Similarly, Bowie suggests that the female subject (κῆρυα) is a real woman, in whom Alcaeus once had an interest but is now too old (following fr.306i), being compared to a ship, but φόρτι[ο]ν cannot be explained.¹⁰⁷⁶

Most thus think the ship imagery is political, comparing, for example, Thgn. 667-682 and 855-856, which show that ships could be used metaphorically to represent the state in archaic poetry. Thus, following Horace’s C.1.14, some think that the ship represents the state.¹⁰⁷⁷ Klinger even argues that, since one poem appears overtly political (fr.6, with paraenesis (l.7), mention of μοναρχίαν (l.27), and the gloss Μυρσίλου (l.30)), other ship-poems must be too, suggesting that the three poems ‘sont en rapport avec les débuts de la révolution, avec son triomphe, enfin avec l’établissement du nouveau régime et le bannissement du poète’.¹⁰⁷⁸

Since Lobel’s placement of P.Oxy.2307 fr.16, which appear to overlap with fr.73.9-10, at the bottom of fr.14 col.i, interpretations have had to consider the details of an ill woman in col.ii. Page suggests that an aged, ailing prostitute is symbolic of the ship (or *vice versa*).¹⁰⁷⁹ Merkelbach meanwhile places P.Oxy.2307 fr.16 at the bottom of col.ii and concludes that Mytilene is compared

¹⁰⁷³ Körte 1924: 133 and Page 1955: 193.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Bowie 1986: 17.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Wilamowitz 1914: 234; Nicosia 1976: 154.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Bowie 2007: 41, finding a parallel for winds withering the body in Archil. fr.188.4-5.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Theander 1922: 67 and Coppola 1923: 287.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Klinger 1929: 147-148.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Page 1955: 193-196.

with an aged ship-prostitute.¹⁰⁸⁰ However, it is difficult to see how fr.73 could be part of the same poem as that commented on in P.Oxy.2307 fr.14. If P.Oxy.2307 fr.16 stood in col.i, the remains of the top of col.ii do not appear to comment on the lines just mentioned, assumed to be a lemma, and fr.73.7-8 appears more like a parallel for something in col.i.¹⁰⁸¹ Thus Rösler, followed by most, instead suggests that the ship presents the tired and now gall-less population of Mytilene, which has allowed the current situation (Pittacus' rise) to happen, and Alcaeus is calling on his fellow exiles to forget returning home but find solace in the symposium.¹⁰⁸²

In contrast, Tsomis suggests that the imagery is an exaggeration of the *hetairia's* resignation, since it no longer wishes to fight, and that the speaker calls for the *hetairia*, who are portrayed as being on the point of death by self-surrender, to take solace with drink.¹⁰⁸³ I agree that, in an allegorical reading, the ship best represents the *hetairia*. For not only is there no contemporary evidence for the city being resigned to Pittacus' rule, but Alcaeus even portrays the inhabitants μέγ' ἐπαίνεντες ἀόλλεες (fr.348.3), while there are no surviving pointers to other kinds of allegory (e.g. erotic). Meanwhile, the fighting and exile of Alcaeus' *hetairia* is described as heart-devouring (θυμοβόρω λύας, fr.70.10), hardships (μόχθων, fr.129.11), grievous (ἀργαλέας, fr.129.12), and himself as wretched (ἀχνιάδημι κάκως, fr.130a.1; ὁ τάλαις ἔγω, fr.130b.1), which makes the *hetairia* a good referent for the despondent ship that no longer wishes to fight (μάχεσθαι .. [| φαῖς' οὐδὲν ἡμέρη[ν]). Further, it would parallel the ships of fr.6 and 208, which represent the *hetairia* (according to Rösler).¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁸⁰ Merkelbach 1956: 95-96. Similarly, Trumpf 1958: 68-69. However, their merging of two 'manifest subjects' into one 'hybrid subject' to represent the 'implied subject' of the state produces 'ein diffiziles Kunstprodukt ohne Parallele in der frühen griechischen Lyrik' (Rösler 1980: 121).

¹⁰⁸¹ Koniaris 1966, Barner 1967: 138-139.

¹⁰⁸² Rösler 1980: 124-126, Gentili 1988: 207-212 (still including fr.306i), Cucchiarelli 1997, Gaertner 2007b: 158.

¹⁰⁸³ Tsomis 2001: 192.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Rösler 1980: 126-148.

However, the tone of Tsomis' (and others') interpretations seems unlikely. Scholars have emphasised the gloom and despondency, but not only does τῷ δ' suggest a stage after the symposium, but ἐς τὰν ἄψερρον ἄ[μέραν (even if the supplement is wrong) looks forward to another time when something different (and possibly better) will happen. The rhetoric thus seems a parallel to δαπτέτω πόλιν [...] θᾶς κ' ἄμμε βόλλητ' Ἄρευσ ἐπιτ' ὑχε.. [| τρόπην (fr.70.7-9): the *hetairia* can be despondent and lighten their sadness for the moment with sympotic pleasures, until things take a better turn and they can return home. Thus, λελάθων, in contrast to other scholars' interpretations, appears temporary, unlike the forgetting of their anger against Pittacus (fr.70.9) envisioned after their victory. In view of Alcaeus using weather to justify drinking (e.g. fr.338, 347), this poem may also be assimilating political associations of the imagery with a weather drinking-poem, making political hardship the rhetorical equivalent of harsh weather.

We can now examine the fragment in greater detail. Only the last two lines of the first stanza survive, where something has happened to the cargo (φόρτι[ο]ν) and something is being done as much as possible (ὅττι μάλιτ(α)). The referent of φόρτι[ο]ν in allegorical readings is unclear, but it may be the *hetairia*'s (or Mytilene's, for others) wealth or morale.¹⁰⁸⁵ The beginning of the following stanza has a probable female subject beaten by the wave (κύματι πλάγεις[] and a reported speech in which the speaker(s) express no desire to fight against a storm (ὄμβρω(ι) μάχεσθαι.. [| φαῖς' οὐδὲν ἰμέρρη[ν]). Uncertainty here lies in φαῖς', which could be third-person singular or third-person plural. Due to κήνα (feminine singular is confirmed by the macron and metre), a female subject is universally adopted as the subject of the reported speech and is usually considered the ship because of the cargo and maritime elements. However, the extraordinariness of a talking ship has surprised scholars; nevertheless, the metre limits the possibilities to a ship as the accusative subject of the indirect statement (πλάγεις[αν] and still express a wish (ἰμέρρη[ν]),

¹⁰⁸⁵ There are no obvious referents for erotic metaphors (Väisänen 1983) or for a ship of the symposium (Slater 1976).

which would be equally extraordinary, and a ship in the nominative singular (πλάγεις[α] that would also be the subject of φαῖς'. The third-person plural therefore is awkward as others report the statement, but no advantages. Serrao offers parallels for talking inanimate objects,¹⁰⁸⁶ none of which is satisfactory: in Xenophanes fr.1.5, wine 'speaks', but does not express emotions; Callimachus *Ia*.6.44 and Theoc. *Id*.1.51 are irrelevant as the subjects (*Horae* and fox) are representations of animate beings; Catullus 4 draws on Hellenistic dedicatory and sepulchral epigrams,¹⁰⁸⁷ where objects and the dead speak freely. I suggest 'speaking' objects in archaic inscriptions are better: *CEG* 454 (8th century, Νέκτορος ε[ι]μι εὐποτ[ον] ποτέριον) shows an inanimate object 'speaking' and *IG* I³ 1248 (c.500 BC, [οἴ]μοι θανόεες εἰμι | [εἰ]μα Μυρίνες) shows some emotion. Nevertheless, expressing desire at length is unparalleled.

However, this awkwardness may be irrelevant as the ship is supplied by scholars, not the text. In Gentili's comparative table of 'ship-of-state' poems in archaic poetry, the cargo, wave, and storm are the only parallels with the others;¹⁰⁸⁸ however, these are likely to feature in any nautical poem with bad weather and need not indicate a 'ship-of-state' poem. Further, the helmsman is essential to the 'ship-of-state' *topos* from Theognis on, and the absence in Alcaeus is explained as being early in the imagery's development.¹⁰⁸⁹ However, if the helmsman is central, he cannot be absent even early on; for fr.6 and 208, the speaker could be in the position of the helmsman,¹⁰⁹⁰ but in fr.73, there is no helmsman, the ship herself speaks, and the speaker changes the focus to a symposium.¹⁰⁹¹ It therefore seems unclear that fr.73 uses the 'ship-of-state' *topos*. Indeed, there may not be an allegory at all.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Serrao 1993, approved by many.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Mette 1962: 153-57.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Gentili 1988: 202-203.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Brock 2013: 54-57. Similarly, Cuartero 1968.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Thus Lentini 2001: 163-164.

¹⁰⁹¹ Tellingly, Brock 2013 and Cuartero 1968 are silent on fr.73, while Schäfer 1972: 263 n.11 excludes it.

Archilochus fr.24.8-11 provides an apt example of how all these elements may be incorporated in such a reading:¹⁰⁹²

φ[ο]ρτίων δέ μοι μέ[λ]ει
ἦκιστα κέο κωθέν]τος (supp. West) εἴτ' ἀπώλετο
]ν ἔστι μηχανή
δ' ἄν ἄλ]λον οὔτιν' εὐροίμην ἐγώ.

In fr.73 too, in the first surviving stanza, we perhaps have a report that the cargo was lost and that much was done, while in the second stanza the speaker might have a woman reporting her wish not to battle with the storm.¹⁰⁹³ Perhaps scholars have been overly literal with κύματι πλάγεις[α and ὄμβρω(ι) μάχεσθαι, which could be circumlocution for sailing. Further, all assume that the sentiment in the second stanza is due to the loss of cargo and the storm, but the loss of cargo might not be the woman's loss, but someone else's, to which she is reacting by saying that she has no wish to sail. There is room for a specific woman to have been mentioned in the lacunae. We might detect here again Alcaeus' stereotypical portrayal of women as emotional and his technique of exaggeration through circumlocution is reminiscent of the embellishments in fr.10. In this reading, the speaker would contrast his and his companions' attitude with the woman's rejection of sailing by suggesting they take a break (again temporarily *λελάθων*), before setting off again another day (*ἐκ τὰν ἄψερων ἀ[μέραν]*), presumably with better weather.¹⁰⁹⁴ Nothing hinders considering a political layer here too, with loss of cargo symbolising political loss, in a looser metaphor of sailing as politics. There is little to choose between my allegorical and non-allegorical interpretations.

¹⁰⁹² On this fragment: Swift 2019: 252-253.

¹⁰⁹³ Bowie 2007: 41 also suggests a woman, but through an allegory of a ship.

¹⁰⁹⁴ For the argument, cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.*1.7.30-32. Hor. *Carm.*1.32.6-10 also mentions Alcaeus' singing erotic poetry on breaks from sailing.

The third stanza marks a turn in either reading. With κήνα μέν,¹⁰⁹⁵ the female subject is finished, and we switch to the masculine singular (λελάθων), probably the speaker. From P.Oxy.2307 fr.16.1, which preserves]ετου λελάθων, Lobel suggested νόστω λελάθων at l.8, explaining τούτων through dittography (from τούτ[in l.7). Since the coincidence between P.Oxy.2307 fr.6 with fr.73 is striking, νόστω is often used to argue for Alcaeus' 'resignation'.¹⁰⁹⁶ However, as Lobel notes, 'the text of Alcaeus preserved in this commentary is not such that one would choose to use it in evidence against a book text',¹⁰⁹⁷ and if it is right that P.Oxy.2307 fr.16 is a quotation from a commentary on another poem, the commentator may have misquoted or the genitive may be part of an explanatory phrase, explaining the non-Aeolic genitive.¹⁰⁹⁸ Both readings make sense: τούτων would refer to the entire ship-wreck situation in the allegorical interpretation or the words reported by the woman in the literal interpretation, while νόστω would refer to the *hetairia's* return to Mytilene in both. If the poem was set during an exile, νόστω λελάθων could have an additional layer by adapting themes of myths like those in the *Odyssey*: at first Alcaeus appears to be calling on his companions to forget their homecoming in the feast, as for example Odysseus and his companions do with Circe and the Lotus-Eaters, but, as often, with the change of the stanza, there is a turn and forgetting is only for the moment.

While too little remains of the fourth stanza to supplement, the third stanza requires only a few supplements. After μέν, few have supplemented δέ (*vel sim.*) in the lacuna, especially when the subject changes; Theander's τούτ[οικιν· ἔγω δέ νῦν is attractive, with νῦν also contrasting

¹⁰⁹⁵ Gentili 1988: 207 claims that κήνα shows that the poet is not on the ship (in his reading, the city) and Nünlist 1998: 324 suggests that the poet makes a contrast between the ship of tired Mytileneans and the ship of the symposium, but the metaphor must be closed within l.7, as λελάθων shows a change of subject to the masculine singular and there is no ship afterwards, but the demonstrative need not be understood in this way. Alcaeus securely uses κήνος to pick up something just mentioned at least once (fr.129: κήνων, l.21, picks up δᾶμον, l.20), and it is likely elsewhere (fr.68.4, 70.6, 72.7).

¹⁰⁹⁶ E.g. by Merkelbach 1956: 95.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Lobel 1951: 120.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Cf. Bowie 2007: 42 n.73. Porro 2004: 195 sees it as a variant.

with ἄπερον, and works well with both my interpretations.¹⁰⁹⁹ More important is how to construe λελάθων, a reduplicating aorist active participle. Curiously, this has been translated universally as ‘forgetting (these things/one’s return)’, but λανθάνω in the active does not mean ‘I forget’ with the genitive;¹¹⁰⁰ rather it must be causative ‘I make somebody forget’. Consequently, an accusative object is required in the lacunae. Further, Wilamowitz’s ὦ φίλιε in l.8 is embraced by many, but the singular is awkward with ὕμμι. I offer *exempli gratia*:

κήνα μὲν ἐν τούτ[οις]. θέλω δ’ ἔγω
τούτων (or: νόστω) λελάθων, ὦ μ[έτοχοι, φρένας
cύν τ’ ὕμμι τέρπ[εσθ]α[ι cυν]άβαις
καὶ πεδὰ Βύκχιδος αὔ με[θύσθη].

This would translate: ‘She (was/said these things) in this situation. But I wish, my partners, having made our minds forget these things (or: our return), to both enjoy joining in youthful sport with you and to get drunk again with Bycchis’. Getting drunk is particularly attractive as it suits forgetting, and the sense is close to fr.335.3-4: ὦ Βύκχι, φαρμάκων δ’ ἄριστον | οἶνον ἐνεικαμένοις μεθύσθη.

Bycchis also appears at fr.306c.7-8 and 335.3, and in Σ fr.60. Both fr.306c and Σ fr.60 link Bycchis to politics, and possibly to exile,¹¹⁰¹ as the scholion mentions him in the context of Pyrrha along with Myrsilus, and fr.306c mentions Bycchis in Alcaeus’ exile. Since Bycchis is at least one other symposium with Alcaeus, he may be a close friend, but cannot help with dating. Further, nothing in the fragment proves Bycchis is an *eromenos*, as sometimes thought. His singling out is similar to Horace’s calls to fetch his female companions (e.g. Hor. *Carm.*2.11.21-22, 3.14.21),

¹⁰⁹⁹ δ’ of l.11 is unlikely to be the corresponding δέ as the contrast between the woman and the male speaker precedes. The ellipse of εἶναι or a repeated verb is very common.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. *LSJ* and *LfgreE* s.v. λανθάνω. Montanari 2015 s.v. λανθάνω lists ‘to omit, forget’ under 1B (for the active), but the examples show these instances are idiomatic translations of ‘to escape the notice’: Pi. *P.*5.23-25, Plu. *Arist.*17.5.

¹¹⁰¹ Porro 1994: 98.

but direct naming need not exclude Bycchis from the *hetaira*, and the invitation of a female companion seems Hellenistic.¹¹⁰² Nunns wonders if Bycchis is male or female,¹¹⁰³ and if Bycchis is a *hetaira* who is preferred to an aged *porne* represented by the ship.¹¹⁰⁴ However, there is no reason to doubt Σ fr.60, which considers Bycchis male (τῶι), and the verbal objects of desire are μάχεσθαι (1.4) and τυπτομ[ένα (1.6), not Alcaeus.

¹¹⁰² cf. e.g. Asclepiades 26.6 G-P, with Gow and Page 1965: II.135, but contrast Cameron 1981: 288-89.

¹¹⁰³ Nunns 2010: 38-39 (with *LGPN* I.105).

¹¹⁰⁴ Developing Bowie 2007: 41.

	·	·	·
—		]	έντην
		]	ν ὁδε πλάτυ
		]	κ κεφάλας, μάτει
4		]	α
—		]	ντες·
		]	ο ξύλον
		]	προίει μόνον
]	
]	
	·	·	·

P.Oxy.1360 fr.2, cui accedit 2166(c) 31 ad versus 1-5 initia.

1 (προ)κ]έντην (cf. Meister 1882: 174 n.3) vel συν]έντην (cf. Hesych. συνέντης· συνεργός)

Lieberman 2 πλά 3 ἐ]κ Lobel et Page vel κᾶ]κ Lobel φάλ inter c et μ est

signum , quod fortasse interpunctio est μάτ 4 in margine dextro scholion: ὕμεῖς δὲ

σιγαῖτε ὥσπερ νεύρων ,ροι νεταῖ (Lobel : νεκρῶν ἱεροῖ μύσταῖ (vel ρωσταῖ vel ρνεσταῖ vel

ενεσταῖ) Hunt) ο[ύ-] |²δὲν δυνάμενοι ἀντιστηναί τῶι τυράν[νωι 5 τες· ἀντίβ]αντες

vel ἀντέχ]οντες Diehl 6 ἀλλ', ὧ πολῖται, νῦν (vel ἄς vel θᾶς Diehl) ἔτι τ]ὸ Hunt e

scholio in margine dextro scholion: ἄλλα, ὧ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἕως ἔτι καπνὸν μόνο[ν |²

ἀφίησι τὸ ξύλον, τουτ' (ἔστιν) ἕως οὐδέπω τυρανν[εῦει,] |³ κατασβέ<σα>τε (Schmidt :

κατάσβ<η>τε Hunt) καὶ καταπαύσατε ταχέως, μὴ λα[μπρό-] (λα[βρό-] Maehler in Porro

2004) |⁴τερον τὸ φῶς γένηται. 7 incertum utrum versus 8 an 9 ultimus versus columnae

sit

Interpreting this fragment, which preserves line-ends of three Alcaic stanzas, is helped by the scholia in the right-hand margin. Of the first stanza, only a part of a word survives, and any supplements are guesses. In the second stanza, there is something flat, a head, a third-person singular finite verb ('seek', or 'tread'), and a nominative plural third-declension substantive or participle or a neuter singular nominative or accusative of an adjective in *-ντης*.¹¹⁰⁵ The scholion to l.4 is read variously, but plural addressees are silent and unable to resist a *τύραννος*. The final stanza mentions a log and it(?) only sending forth something. The scholion to l.6 suggests an address to the Mytileneans to extinguish the log as long as it is giving off only smoke before it becomes a bright flame, indicating a metaphor for the rising of a *τύραννος*. The plural addressees mentioned in the scholion to l.4 may also be the Mytileneans.

If the scholia are correct (the closeness of the scholion to l.6 to ll.6-7 makes this likely), fr.74 is the only surviving poem where Alcaeus addresses Mytileneans as a group. Although (ᾠ) *Μυτιληναῖοι* is excluded by the metre, *πόλιται* or *πολίαιται* are possible. However, scholars who deny an audience beyond the *betairia* wonder whether such an address existed, claiming that no other part of the surviving fragment or the scholia support it and that Alcaeus is likelier to have used first-person plural exhortation than a second-person plural imperative.¹¹⁰⁶ An ancient commentator could have introduced the Mytileneans as expected addressees, and, if so, the addressees might be potential recruits to Alcaeus' faction.¹¹⁰⁷ However, it seems unlikely either that the commentator would change from the first-person plural constructions to the second-person plural (unlike, say, to the third-person) in paraphrasing, or that he would fabricate an address to the Mytileneans if, as often, there are named addressees. Therefore, there is little reason to doubt

¹¹⁰⁵ It has only been considered as a participle, but others are possible, e.g. *κύνηντες*, *κίληντες*, *ἀνδρόφροντες*, and *αὐτόφροντες*

¹¹⁰⁶ Rösler 1980: 40 n.39, Vetta 1981: 487-488.

¹¹⁰⁷ Rösler 1980: 40 n.39, comparing fr.391.

the scholiast. However, this need not mean that it was originally performed to a gathering of all Mytileneans.¹¹⁰⁸

The *τύραννος* in the scholia has been variously interpreted as Myrsilus and as Pittacus, but a firm identification eludes us.¹¹⁰⁹ However, if it is Pittacus, *πλάτυ* might be a reference to his alleged flat-footedness (fr.429=D. L. i.81), especially since there are other references to body parts here (*κεφάλαια*, *νευρῶν*). Whoever it is, the fragment suggests, through the proverbial logic ('no smoke without fire'),¹¹¹⁰ that he has not yet achieved sole-rule but that it is predictable. The logic is clear (extinguish the fire before it becomes unmanageable), but what the fire represents is debatable. Schubart suggests that *φῶς* refers not to Pittacus' destructive power but to the brilliance (*Leuchtkraft*) of the glory he is winning from the 'people'.¹¹¹¹ This interpretation chimes with Alcaeus' references to Pittacus' underserving glory (fr.70.12-13, 72.11-13, 298.1-3, 348). Fränkel suggests that *φῶς* is the flame of the popular uprising, adducing Pi. N.1.24-25 and *Il.*18.110 (beside Sa. fr.158 for anger spreading in one's breast) to demonstrate the preexistence of a smoke metaphor for anger.¹¹¹² However, there is at least one other kind of fire metaphor, where the fire represents love, which at Call. *Ia.*5.23-26 is extremely close in logic.¹¹¹³ Further, the associations of light and dark with glory and *φθόνος* in relation to Pi. N.1.24, as shown by Waring,¹¹¹⁴ also makes the associations *φῶς*-undeserved glory and *φῶς*-uprising unlikely. Given the associations of smoke with pollution (and water, the extinguisher, with cleansing) in these

¹¹⁰⁸ Vetta 1981: 489 suggests an apostrophe *in absentia*.

¹¹⁰⁹ Myrsilus: Rösler 1980: 40 n.39, Vetta 1981: 487; Pittacus: Perotta 1936: 231, Schubart 1948: 316, Liberman 1999: 52; uncertain: Kamerbeek 1947: 175 n.3, Page 1955: 238, Trumppf 1958: 63 n.1 (linking it with fr.141), Tsomis 2001: 193.

¹¹¹⁰ See Lelli 2006: 58 with n.160 for proverbs.

¹¹¹¹ Schubart 1948: 316.

¹¹¹² Fränkel 1928: 273-274. From these parallels, Treu 1963: 159 rejects Schubart's explanation.

¹¹¹³ For other parallels and interpretations, see the apparatus of Pfeiffer 1949 *ad loc.*, with Kerkhecker 1999: 136. Cf. also Pl. *Grg.*484a, Aristophanes *Pax* 606-614, Call. *Ep.*44 Pf., Theoc. *Id.*11.51-52.

¹¹¹⁴ Waring 1982.

metaphors,¹¹¹⁵ the log would be Mytilene, with Alcaeus arguing for the fire to be extinguished before the it becomes engulfed in a greater flame of destruction after the smoke of pollution. The image works hard, following through from smoke to fire and light, bringing out the associations of soot and pollution, which fits Alcaeus' presentation of at least Pittacus (fr. 70.7, 71.11-13, 76.11, 129.22-23, 298) alongside the destructiveness of fire, often a method of destruction for cities.

The argument, then, is that people are not acting (ὑμεῖς δὲ *κυῖατε*) despite the signs of *τυραννίς* (smoke-log metaphor). The inaction appears to have been emphasised by Alcaeus with a simile (ὥσπερ) in the second stanza. The crucial words are obscured, but appear to mention sinews. Further, it remains entirely unclear how the scholion could fit into the second stanza. It is at least necessary that there must be a change of subject at the end of l.3 or the beginning of l.4 due to *μάτει*, up to which there must have been a third-person singular subject, which is likely to have been the future *τύραννος* however we should translate the verb.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁵ Waring 1982: 271-276.

¹¹¹⁶ Cf. Gow 1952: ii.507. For *μάτημι*=*ματεύω* 'I seek': Hesychius: *ματεῖ· ζητεῖ, ματίαι· ματεῦσαι, ζητῆσαι*; Erotian: *ματεῖσαι· ζητεῖσθαι*; Theoc. *Id.*29.15. For *μάτημι*=*πατέω* 'I tread': Hesychius: *ματεῖ· πατεῖ*; inc. auct. Lesb. fr.16.3. The sense is unclear at Alcaeus fr.200.3.

τίμα[ι]ς ? : τίμα[ν] Theander 10 θίλ ὥς (vel ταίς ?) ποτ' ἀπώλες' ὁ Πενθίληος
Theander : ὥς γένος ὦλετο] vel ταίς γένος ἤχε τὸ Πενθίληον ? 11 δ' πῆδέ
πεδέτρ[οπε Wilamowitz 12 ἴραν πόλιν, τίω]ν vel αἴνεισι δὴ κῆνο]ν ? πάτ
κακοπάτριδ[αι Lobel : κακοπάτριδ[ας ? : (τὸ]ν) κακοπάτριδ[α Hunt vix recte : (τὸ]ν)
κακοπατριδ[αν Diehl, accentu neglecto 13 (καὶ δυσμόρω δάμω vel πόληος ἀμμόρω ?)
τ]υραννεύ- Hunt νέυ 13-14 -οντα Hunt : -οντες Treu : -οντα Jurenka : -ει ?

This fragment, in Alcaic stanzas, is famous for the reference to some shame from the speaker's childhood (ll.5-8), which has sometimes been used to explain why D.L. 1.74 does not mention Alcaeus when he notes that Pittacus, with Alcaeus' brothers, overthrew Melanchrus: because Alcaeus was too young.¹¹¹⁷ Objections include chronology and the notion that members of a *betairia* should be of a similar age. The latter position,¹¹¹⁸ supported by the theoretical basis of modern symposium scholarship (the *Männerbund*), is perhaps too literal. The former, that it makes little sense for Alcaeus to be too young to overthrow Melanchrus in 612-609 but old enough to fight at Sigeum in 607/606,¹¹¹⁹ is more difficult, but chronological dates are not exact. Meanwhile, the issue of Alcaeus missing from Diogenes could be due to haplography. Therefore, while it remains theoretically possible for this fragment to attest to Alcaeus' absence from Melanchrus' fall due to his youth, nothing in the surviving text links it to Melanchrus.

The first surviving stanza preserves too little for comment, but the rest appears promising. The second stanza mentions something of noble children (παῖδων εὐγεν[έ]ω[ν]), something that has been foreshown (προδεδ[ε]ίχμενον), wrong doers (ἀμβρ]ότοντας), shame (αἴσχος), and necessity (ἀνάγκη). It seems likely that ll.5-6 has an impersonal construction (ἀνάγκη +

¹¹¹⁷ Page 1955: 151-152, Bowra 1961: 135. See also Chapter 5.

¹¹¹⁸ E.g. Mazzarino 1943: 63 n.1.

¹¹¹⁹ E.g. Liberman 1999: 53.

infinitive (]ρεσθ'); given the space, ἀμβρ]ότοντας is likely to be the subject of the subordinate clause and α]ἶχος the object. I suggest, *exempli gratia*:

τοῖς γὰρ μάλ' ἀμβρ]ότοντας [α]ἶχος
πικρότατον ζαφέ]ρεσθ' ἀνάγκα.

However, it is possible that προδεδ[ε]ίχμενον agrees with α]ἶχος, with a sense akin to:

... προδεδ[ε]ίχμενον
τοῖς ταῦτα¹¹²⁰ γ' ἀμβρ]ότοντας [α]ἶχος
ἄξιον ἦς ζαφέ]ρεσθ' ἀνάγκα.

Further, it is possible that there was a short phrase in l.5 (e.g. πίκρα δὲ καὶ ζαφέ]ρεσθ' ἀνάγκα), or that we have μνᾶμ'(α), as the object of the infinitive, for]μναμ', though the latter is unlikely to be explained with something from the speaker's childhood (ἔτι γὰρ ... ἐπίσδανον).

The statement at the beginning of the third stanza that the speaker remembers (or does not remember) something likely refers to what has preceded since this sentence is short: there is probably a subject change from ἀνάγκα of l.6 to the first-person and the papyrus preserves a high point. The following sentence appears to be an explanation (γάρ) for this. What is remembered (or not) would be contained in ll.3-4 if the ἀνάγκα-sentence has a generalising force and is thus unlikely to be what is remembered (or not), but also in ll.5-6 if ἀνάγκα is in the past (e.g. πίκρα γὰρ ἦς ζαφέ]ρεσθ' ἀνάγκα). On balance, the explanatory tone of γάρ makes it more likely that the speaker does not remember the events of the second stanza. For why mention his childhood as an excuse (emphasised with *μιῖκρ[ο]ς*) if he remembers something, unless there is a concessive clause, for which there is not enough space? The sentence must end at the end of l.8 due to the high point after ἐπίσδανον, and there is no apparent reason for mentioning sitting in a main clause. Consequently, Hunt's ἀλλ' οὐ τι τῶν μέ]μναιμ' and Theander's ἔγω μὲν οὐ μέ]μναιμ' seem appropriate.

¹¹²⁰ For ἀμαρτάνω with neuter adjectives: *Od.*22.154, *A. Supp.*915.

It has been assumed that Alcaeus sat on someone's lap, with most following Hunt's τρόφω ἔπι κόλπ]ω. However, this is unlikely as verbs of sitting are not used with κόλπος;¹¹²¹ verbs of sitting are most often found with the dative of γόνυ, mostly of father-figures.¹¹²² A more appropriate supplement (*exempli gratia*) along these lines would be πάτρος γόνεσσ]ι¹¹²³ κυῖκρ[ο]ς ἐπίσδανον. However, other contexts may be possible. For example, ἐπίσδανον could refer to Alcaeus sitting at a symposium or feast in his childhood before full participation;¹¹²⁴ πάτρος γόνεσσ]ι works, but more explicit would be e.g. φίλων ἐόρτα]ι κυῖκρ[ο]ς ἐπίσδανον. Yet another possibility at the beginning of l.8 is information about how or why Alcaeus sat by; if so, one might expect e.g. ἀκύννετος κα]ῖ κυῖκρ[ο]ς ἐπίσδανον or (κάκων/φαῦλων) ἄιδρι]ς κυῖκρ[ο]ς ἐπίσδανον, drawing on the ignorance of children.¹¹²⁵

These latter two ideas are attractive especially due to οἶδα τιμ [], where it is tempting to supply a form of τίμη. The point then would be to contrast Alcaeus, who knows right from wrong, with the referent of ὁ (l.11), who is up to no good (πεδέτρ]). Thus Theander reconstructs ἀλλ' ἐκ τοκήω]ν οἶδα τίμα[ν],¹¹²⁶ though τίμα[ι]ς fits the traces better. Especially ἐκ τοκήω]ν is attractive in emphasising the source of Alcaeus' sound-thinking, and would contrast with the κακοπάτριδ]. This would be a strange enough statement ('but I know honour/the honours') to require an explanation. The mention of Pentilids probably points to Megacles killing Pentilids

¹¹²¹ In EGHP and lyric, κόλπος is largely used with verbs of receiving, holding, and placing, and as 'bosom': cf. *Il.*6.136, 6.400, 6.467, *Od.*18.398, *bH.*2.187, 2.231, 2.286, *Ilias Parva* fr.21.3, Alc. fr.386.

¹¹²² Cf. *Il.*9.455, 9.488, 21.506, (22.500, without a verb of sitting), *Od.*16.443; the only exception to the father-figure in EGHP and lyric is *Od.*19.401 (Euryclea, with τίθημι).

¹¹²³ See Hamm 1957: 149 for third-declension dative plurals. For interchangeable endings, cf. νάεσσιν (fr.385), ναῦσιν (S. fr.44.7); πόδεσσιν (inc. auct. fr.16.1), πόσσι (S. fr.105b.2), πόσιν (Alc. fr.34a.7); πάντεσσι (S. fr.70.13), παῖσι (S. fr.95.6?); with Blümel 1982: 262-263.

¹¹²⁴ Cf. e.g. *Od.*18.394-396.

¹¹²⁵ Most pertinent is Thgn. 253-4. κυῖκρ[ο]ς would also emphasise this negative aspect; cf. the combination of κυῖκρος with lack of education in Sa. fr.49.2. Sitting may be associated with youths' education and is common on Athenian red-figure vases: cf. e.g. *BAPD* nos. 200906, 203657, 205092, 9038147.

¹¹²⁶ Theander 1952: 187.

or Smerdes killing Penthilus (Arist. *Pol.* V.1311^b) from at least the previous generation or Pittacus' marriage to a Penthilid (fr.70.6), unless he ponders the honour of the Penthilids in general. Whatever the case, we expect a new clause or a sentence. Since the last surviving stanza is concerned with someone who has overturned the city and is probably acting as a *τύραννος*, it makes sense for the reference to the Penthilids here to concern how they were overthrown. If so, Alcaeus may have mentioned that he knows how the Penthilids lost their honour or the honour they had, for which we might supply (*exempli gratia*):

ἀλλ' ἐκ τοκήων οἶδα τίμα[ι]ς
 ταίς ποτ' ἀπώλες' ὃ] Πενθίληος¹¹²⁷ or
 ὡς γένος ὤλετο] Πενθίληον or
 ταίς γένος ἤχε τὸ] Πενθίληον.

This might be followed by nouns or adjectives in apposition.

In the final surviving stanza, there appears to be a change of subject (νῦν δ' ὁ πεδέτρ[ι]). There are three possibilities for the referent of ὁ: (1) it refers to somebody mentioned in the previous sentence;¹¹²⁸ (2) it refers to someone mentioned in a previous stanza (more likely without a new subject in the previous sentence); (3) it is a new person (ὁ πεδέτρ[ι], 'the one who overturned (the city?)'). There is little to choose between them. If *κακοπάτριδ[ι]* (l.12) were accusative singular (as *κακοπάτριδ[α]* or *κακοπατρίδ[αν]*), assuming that it is part of the same clause, the referent of ὁ would likely be Pittacus, as he is the only one who is called *κακοπατρίδαις* in the singular (fr.348). However, *κακοπάτριδ[α]* is an unlikely form,¹¹²⁹ and *κακοπατρίδ[αν]* goes against the preserved accent. Further, since Pittacus is associated elsewhere in Alcaeus with overturning

¹¹²⁷ ὡς ποτ' ἀπώλες' ὃ] (Theander).

¹¹²⁸ Thus Theander 1952: 186-188, boldly suggesting that Alcaeus knows of a Penthilid murdered by Smerdis and that this Penthilid was Dracon's father (and hence the father of Pittacus' Penthilid wife). Similarly, Jurenka 1914: 235-236. Taking Theander's lead is Burnett 1983: 172.

¹¹²⁹ Wackernagel 1925: 50-51 = *Kl. Sch.* 2.858-859: the expected accusative of an Aeolic noun in -ό-πατρις is -ό-πατριν.

(fr.72.8, 141.3-4), and with being a τύραννος (fr. 6.27, 348.3), as well as with being the only one with known links to the Pentilids, ὁ probably refers to Pittacus.

We are left with plural κακοπάτριδ[αι or κακοπάτριδ[ας. The plural, inevitable at fr.67.4, should raise no eyebrows.¹¹³⁰ The rest of the stanza is unclear. One expects πεδέτρ[οπε to be transitive, but ἀνατρέπω in fr.72.8 suggests it could be used intransitively,¹¹³¹ making supplementing the following line more difficult. Either way, the overturner is likely to be the same as the one who is being a τύραννος (τ]υραννεύ-). Scholars have assumed τ]υραννεύ-, the sole Lesbian attestation of synapheia between the third and fourth lines of Alcaics, must be a participle (τ]υραννεύ-|[οντα], τ]υραννεύ-|[οντα]),¹¹³² but this is because most assumed an accusative singular κακοπάτριδ[; a finite verb (e.g. τ]υραννεύ-|[ει]) is equally apt, perhaps more so with κακοπάτριδ[ας, as it would keep the subject the same. Increasing the honour of the κακοπάτριδαι seems most apt thing for the overturner to do as we probably have honour in l.9, and Alcaeus is concerned with the honour of his opponents and the κακοπάτριδαι (e.g. fr.68, 70, 72, 130b, 348). One might then expect something like

νῦν δ' ὁ πεδέτρ[οπε
ἴραν πόλιν, τίω]ν κακοπάτριδ[ας,
καὶ δυσμόρω δάμω τ]υραννεύ-
[ει ...]

if one prefers a transitive πεδέτρ[οπε; or, if one prefers an intransitive πεδέτρ[οπε:

νῦν δ' ὁ πεδέτρ[οπε.
αἴνεισι δὴ κῆνο]ν κακοπάτριδ[αι
πόληος ἀμμόρω τ]υραννεύ-

¹¹³⁰ *Pave* e.g. Kamerbeek 1947: 175 n.4.

¹¹³¹ Thus Wilamowitz 1914: 236 n.2 understands τὴν ἀρχὴν here.

¹¹³² Treu's τυραννεύ-|[οντες] seems unlikely, as being a τύραννος appears intrinsically linked to sole-rule. Forms like (ἐ)τυράννευ'(ε) or (ἐ)τυράννευς'(ε) with prodelision and elision of final ε (cf. Sa. fr.31.9-10) are ruled out by the preserved accent.

[οντα ...].

The argument thus becomes clearer. In the second surviving stanza, Alcaeus recounts something relating to the honour of noble men being foreshown and asserts that those who do ill must bear the bad shame associated with it. In the following stanza, Alcaeus says he does not remember the events above, because he was a small child; but he still knows from his parents how that came true for even a Penthilid. He then turns to the present in the final surviving stanza, where someone is doing wrong. It seems likely that he will call for this overturner too to be punished according to this scheme, or wonder at how he has not yet borne the consequences. This interpretation thus differs from the current interpretations, which argue for a contrast between a time when Pittacus was hated by the Penthilids during Alcaeus' childhood and the present when Pittacus is married into the Penthilids and thus became a *τύραννος*,¹¹³³ or for a parallel between the bad behaviour of the Penthilids and the Penthilids' current *mésalliance*.¹¹³⁴ Instead, the marriage of Pittacus is unlikely to have been mentioned explicitly (as it would be awkward in both the οἶδα τίμα[ι]ς sentence and the ὁ πεδέτρ[ο]πε sentence). Rather, in the surviving fragment, it appears to focus on drawing parallels between the ὕβρις of past Penthilids and its consequences and the ὕβρις of Pittacus in anticipation of similar consequences.

The child-figure is central, where the theme of memory and knowledge is concentrated, to the preserved part of the poem, which is about knowing what is right and wrong. The visual elaboration of his childhood as a seated, learning figure underlines how this knowledge should be obvious to all (or to those of noble stock) and contrasts the misdeeds of the high- and low-born men in the surrounding stanzas. The image's separation of the past and present also depicts Alcaeus as an isolated, innocent, and powerless figure in this section surrounded by shameful deeds, against which, one expects, he rises.

¹¹³³ Trumpf 1958: 66 n.3.

¹¹³⁴ Theander 1952: 187, Burnett 1983: 171-172, Liberman 1999: 54 n.113.

		]. πολ..[
—		]νευνε[
]..[...].[
		]περ[
5	—	]ν...ται...ν[
		]γαικαιπά...κ...[
		]ηωνεσφ...κυδ[
		]κ[.]λ[.]πτε γέννας
—		]κεος ἦς κ' ὄνεκτον
10		]πτοτ' ὕβριν και μεγαθειπ[.]...[
		]τά τ' ἄνδρες δραϊσιν ἀτάσθαλ[
		]ν..ν ἦς ὄνεκτον [.]δη[
—		]τα πόλλακικ ἐσφαλη[.]ν
		]ν[ο]ρθώθημε[
15		]μέμ[ε]ικται το[
		]λλάπαι τι δαι[

P.Oxy.1234 fr.4 et 5 a Lobel coniuncta

6 ἔχθικτε] γᾶι cāi Theander πᾶ (accentum non viderunt editores priores) : fortasse μα
 Lobel, post quod legit ι, ν, τ, vel similia, sed hae reliquiae mihi videntur incertissimae 7
 fortasse collocandum est P.Oxy.1234 fr.5]δα[minimo ante]ηων intervallo interiecto (Lobel)
 ἐς φιλοκυδ[εας vel]ηωνεσ φ Voigt 8]κ[.]λ[vel]κλ[9 νεί]κεος Theander ὄνε
 10 ἦ μάν] Theander π[vel τι[vel ιτ[vel γι[π[ίν]εις Theander 11]τά
 (accentus incertus) ἄρρη]τά Wilamowitz τ' (? manus altera) ᾶις τᾶς vel
 τᾶς ἀτάσθαλ[οι Edmonds : ἀτάσθαλ[α Hunt 12 τούτω]ν Wilamowitz]ν κεν

legit Hunt et Lobel οὐδέ]ν ? ηςκ' manus prima, tum perispomenon addidit et κ' delevit
manus altera fortasse [ι]δη[vel ηδη [ι]δη]ν ? 13]τε vel]γε, α super ε scripsit
manus altera, unde καί πο]τα Hunt ἐ[ς]φάλη[με]ν Hunt 14 (αὖτις δ' Hunt)
ὀ]ν[ω]ρθώθημε[ν] Wilamowitz, quod in ὀ]ν[ο]ρ recte mutavit Edmonds, spatium enim litterae
ω non sufficit; tum ἄϊ χρόνωι ? θώ (' manus altera) 15 ἦ γὰρ] ? έμ (' manus
altera, quae etiam μ refecit) μέμ[ε]ικται Lobel τὸ [ς]φάλερον τύχαι ? 16 λάπαϊ
(' manus altera), unde ἀ]λλά Edmonds δαί[μ]ων Edmonds : δαί[μ]ονες Theander

This long fragment in Alcaic stanzas offers little certainty. Fuller reconstructions have been based on incorrect readings,¹¹³⁵ but some supplements have been included in the apparatus and discussion. The mention of a fall and rise (ἐςφάλη[μ]εν, ὀ]ν[ο]ρθώθημε[ν]) is used to date the fragment to the return from Alcaeus' first exile,¹¹³⁶ however, πόλλακις suggests that the fragment concerned a later return, or, more probably, general ups and downs of Alcaeus' campaign. Perhaps the most interesting element here is Alcaeus' use of near-repetition (ἦς κ' ὄνεκτον~κεν ἦς ὄνεκτον); close repetition is found elsewhere in Alcaeus, most notably at fr.38a.2, 8, where too scribes have stumbled. We expect a similar emphasis on parallel entities here. The nature of the comparison is unclear, but one suspects a contrast either between those for whom something is (un)bearable, or (un)bearable things.

Little remains up to l.6, but more survives from the third preserved stanza. There may be mention of 'your land' (γαῖα cāi?), something to do with glory (κυδῖ), and family or race (γέννας), while something is (un)bearable. Things wicked men do appear in ll.10-11, which seem likely to be considered intolerable (l.12). Perhaps in response, 'we' have acted and often failed (l.13), but 'we' got back up (l.14). This appears to lead into a comment on life being a mix of good and bad things,

¹¹³⁵ Edmonds 1916: 106-107; Theander 1922: 69-73.

¹¹³⁶ E.g. Mazzarino 1943: 66.

and perhaps some comment on a god (ll.15-16). One might wonder in ll.13-14 who ‘we’ refers to; one naturally expects it to be Alcaeus and his faction, but it may be ‘we humans’.

If *μεγαθειπ[.]...* (l.10) is right, since no Greek word begins *θειπ-* (or *θειγι-*, *θειπι-*, *θειτι-*) or *γαθ-*, *μεγάθει π[* is inevitable. This would require accepting *μέγαθος* for *μέγεθος*, which, though common in Ionic, is unattested in Lesbian.¹¹³⁷ No suitable noun suggests itself as the object of *δραΐειν*, while no third-person plural verb fits in the lacunae; instead, Theander suggests *ἦ μάν] ποτ’ ὕβριν καὶ μεγάθει π[ίν]εις (=τίνεις)* ‘you will punish *hybris* in your greatness’, but how it fits into the rest is unclear. Understanding ll.10-11 seems to depend on l.12. If *ἦς ὄνεκτον* is past time ‘it was (un)bearable’, the present-tense *δραΐειν* is strange unless it is in a subordinate clause,¹¹³⁸ but there is not enough space for a main clause; if *ἦς ὄνεκτον* is generalising (modal imperfect with *κειν*), the previous sentence could also be generalising. Thus in l.11, Wilamowitz’s *ἄρρη]τά τ’ ἄνδρες δραΐειν ἀτάεθαλ[οι* seems very apt; an appropriate continuation would be *οὐδέ]ν κέν ἦς ὄνεκτον [ί]δη[ν* ‘wicked men do unspeakable things; it would be completely unbearable to look upon’. The sense in ll.13-15 seems to be that ‘we’ often stumbled, but got back up; if so, *]μέμ[ε]ικται* is likely to refer to good and bad fortune. I suggest *exempli gratia*:

καί πο]τα πόλλακις ἐεφάλη[μ]εν (Hunt)

αὔθις δ’ ὄ]ν[ο]ρθώθημε[ν]¹¹³⁹ ἄϊ χρόνωι. (αὔθις δ’ ὄ] Hunt)

ἦ γάρ] μέμ[ε]ικται τὸ [εφάλερον τύχαι.

¹¹³⁷ It is, however, the expected form (<**meg-b₂-db-*, cf. *πλήθος* < **pleh₁-db-*); Schwyzer 1950: 255 suggests *μέγεθος* is due to vowel assimilation (though see Beekes 2010, s.v. *μέγας*). On the *-th-* suffix, cf. Chantraine 1979: 365-366.

¹¹³⁸ *Τά τ’* could perhaps be a relative clause with ‘epic τε’ (see Tzamali 1996: 401-402 on a possible ‘epic τε’ in the Lesbians).

¹¹³⁹ =ὄνωρθώθημεν, scribal error.

	col.i	col.ii
	a	b

] . . .] . . .
] . . .] . . .
	]ν	]πᾱο[
	]αϰπῶ[.ν[	]κα[
5	]αιϰ	]ᾗϰο[
	] . . .	]μύδ[
	ὑπεδηκά]μαν	]δεξ[
	] . . .	]ιδοιϰ
	] . . .	]ων
10]·	. . .
	d]πατηρ	
	]νϰ...[]	
	]...[ ]ωι	
	]μω[]κεν	
15	]κ[]όμα[]	
	]κύθ[]	
] . . .	

Col.i **a** = P.Oxy. XVIII 2166 (c) 2 col.i + XXI 2166 (c) 44, 4, 36, et 2^a; col.i **d** = P.Oxy. XVIII 2166 (c) 4, quod in transversum movere, sed non sursum deorsum, licet. Col.ii **b** = P.Oxy. XVIII 2166 (c) 3 + XXI 2166 (c) 44; col.ii **c** = XVIII 2166 (c) 2 col.ii. ignoratur quantum fragmentum b a fragmento c distet. fragmenta coniunxit Lobel.

Col.i: 3]ο vel]ω 3 in margine dextro scholion: c[4 πό[λι]ν Diehl in margine dextro scholion: ¹ .[|² ροc[|³ δ(ἐ) προς[|⁴ δη() (δη(λον) Diehl) πρω[|⁵ χόρτου [|⁶ τοῦ ἐρίου [5], punctulum apici litterae α adaequatum 7 ὑπεδηcά]μαν e scholio Diehl, conferens fr.318 in margine dextro scholion: ¹ τοῦτο πε[...] κ(αὶ) τη() (in papyro 'κτⁿ) .[|² οὶ σατράπαι φ[ορο]ῦcιν (Lobel) τη[|³ ὑποδήματα ὑπηδηc[ά]μην (Lobel et Page) [(|ἐκ δέρματος Diehl) |⁴ βροείου ἔντοcθεν πίλ]ινα (Lobel et Page : πίλ]οιc πυκαcθέντα Diehl : πίλ]οιc ἔχοντα Liberman) 9 in margine dextro scholion: ¹ τράγω δ'ἔδηcα νώτω(ι) ἀμφι[|² τιαπονωτουδρακουπερ[(ὄ) | τι ἀπὸ νώτου δράκου (=τράγου) περ[ι Lobel et Page : τοῖc ποcὶν βλαυ] | τία πόνωι τοῦ δράκου περ[ι Diehl) |³ ἐπειδὴ cτερροτέρα Ζ(ηνόδοτοc) (Diehl : ζ̄ in papyro) ω[|⁴ ἢ ἀ(ντὶ τοῦ) τράγου δὲ δέρμα πε[(δέρματι ἔ]δηcα Diehl) 10 fortasse]αι· 11 τῶν ἀνέμων] πάτηρ Diehl e sua coniectura in scholio temptata 12 ..[: pedes hastarum verticalium duarum, tum punctulum imum; fortasse π[α] vel π[λ] in margine dextro scholio: ¹ οὐ τὸν πατέρ[α (τῶν) ἀνέμων λέγει Diehl) |² [ο]ὐ γ(ὰρ) ἄνεμοc [|³ []το ὡc ἀνέντο[ρ]c (τοῦ ἡλίου τοῦc ἀήταc Diehl) |⁴ []' (τῶν) Diehl) ἀνέμων ου[(γιγνομένων Diehl) 13]..: linea a sinistra parte descendens, tum hasta verticalis 14]..[: hasta verticalis 15]όμα]ν Diehl in margine dextro duo scholia, quorum primum scripsit manus secunda:]γμῶ]ι]N (N verticale linea transfixum) legit Lobel sed]γαμου φ[legi posse putat Porro; secundum manu tertia scriptum: ¹ οὶ Αἰολεῖc cι[]ντ()... [(cι[]ν'τ in papyro : cι[]ντ(ην) cι[]ντ(αν) Porro : ἀ]ντ(ι) Voigt : cί]κυ]ν τ(ὸν) cί]κυ]ον Maehler apud Porro) |² πολλ[]ν λέγοι ἄν τη[|³ [C]απφῶ (Lobel) κατ[...]γλ[(κατ[ὰ τ(ὴν?)) γλ[ῶccαν Haslam apud Porro) 16 ἔνδυ(ι)c cίcυρναν (= fr.379) χρῆμά τι τῶν C]κύθ]αν Diehl (vel τὰν φέρον οὶ C]κύθ]αι Treu) 17 in margine dextro scholion: ¹ πάντα δὲ ὅcα μοι δη[|² χω]ρῖc (Lobel) ἐνὸc [..]ναγ.... [|³]ουουcιοcδε... [|⁴].... [|⁵]... [

Col.ii: 2 α[vel λ[3 supra ο vestigia duarum litterarum inter lineas videri possunt T]άρταροc Lobel 4]..: punctulum apici litterae κ adaequatum]..[: hastae verticalis apex

et pes in margine dextro scholion: ¹ [| ² κοσι (βεβλη) | κόσι Diehl) κατα[(τὸν πόντον Diehl) | ³ τὸν μύ[δ]ρο[ν (Diehl) | ⁴ ἐπεὶ .ιε. [5 ν]ᾱσο[ν Diehl 6 μύδ[ρο- e scholio Trumpf in margine dextro scholion: ¹ ὁ δὲ μύδροσ [(εἰς τὸν πόντον κατερρίφη Diehl) | ² ἵνα μὴ ἀνέλ[(ἀνέλ[οιντο vel ἀνέλ[θοι vel ἀνέλ[θοιεν Diehl : ἀνέλ[θηι Trumpf) | ³ τοῦς π(ερι) τὸν Μ[ύρσιλον (Diehl) 7 in margine dextro scholion: ¹ της εχ[.]ας [(ἔχ[θρ]ας Diehl) | ² καν τριχὸς ημι [(ο) | ὑκ ἄν τριχὸς ἥμις[υ Diehl) | ³ κατα[8]ι: apex tantum litterae

While hardly a complete word survives, this fragment preserves clues in the intercolumnial scholia. Being by far the most heavily annotated of the P.Oxy.1234 and adjoining fragments and referencing Zenodotus (Σ i.9) and Nicander (Σ i.15) suggest a heavily discussed passage in Antiquity. Further, many of the scholia are divided (into units of four lines) by paragraphoi, marking the end of individual notes, and include suspected lemmata, just as we sometimes find in full commentaries,¹¹⁴⁰ suggesting they were extracted wholesale from them.

From the scholia, it seems that at least i.4-10 mentions clothing (τοῦ ἐρίου ... ὑποδήματα ὑπηδησ[ά]μην | βοείου ἔντοσθεν πίλ[ινα ... τράγω δ'ἔδησα νώτω(ι)), while from i.11, the subject is a father and the wind (τὸν πατέρ[α ... [ο]ύ γ(ἄρ) ἄνεμος). Liberman suggests that the surviving column might contain a continuous section of a poem,¹¹⁴¹ but given the fragment's state of preservation, it must remain a guess. If scholars are right to supply ὑπεδησά[μ]αν (i.7) and τράγω δ'ἔδησα νώτω(ι) (i.9) from the scholia, the metre appears to be the Alcaic stanza, with i.7-10 and i.11-14 forming stanzas. The scholion appears concerned with the material of clothing (βοείου ἔντοσθεν πίλ[ινα, τράγω δ'ἔδησα νώτω(ι); τοῦ ἐρίου if the mention of clothing started before this stanza),¹¹⁴² but it is unclear if that is original. Further, since the etymological

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. fr.306i col.ii, where the paragraphoi mark the ends of notes on individual lemmata in conjunction with ecthesis.

¹¹⁴¹ Liberman 1999: 55.

¹¹⁴² Diehl 1943: 20 adduces Hes. *Op.*541-542, Sa. fr.100, *Od.*14.23 for his supplement, which also shows the interest in mentioning materials; cf. also especially Sa. fr.110.2.

tradition preserves other notes on shoes and clothing (e.g. fr.318 and 379), it is questionable whether this was the logical or thematic focus of this part of the poem. However, if πῖλ[points to the felt interior of the boot, the combination with a goatskin may well point to colder weather, especially if the winds of the following stanza are sinister. With χόρτου, if it too is responding to something in the poem, these items of clothing may perhaps also suggest a rural environment. If so, the clothing then may in part be creating an image of difficult times,¹¹⁴³ but so much is uncertain here.

Similarly, little can be ascertained about the wind stanza. Diehl's suggestion that πατηρ (i.11) refers to the 'father of winds' is interesting, but even with his supplements, the sense eludes scholars. In the context of the winds and the weather, it is tempting to think that πατηρ may refer to Zeus (cf. fr.69.1), but the confusion implied by an explanation by the scholion makes this unattractive. Ultimately, the identity of πατηρ and the activity of the winds remains unclear. The following stanza too remains a mystery, as the scholion appears to be picking up a single word or phrase and commenting on it as an Aeolicism, with possibly a Sapphic example.

In contrast, the focus of the poem in col.ii is clearer. With the scholia mentioning μύδρος twice, a form of it probably stood at ii.6. With the possible mention in the scholion of Myrsilus (τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μ[ύρσιλον]), for whom Pittacus broke his oath with Alcaeus' *betairia*, μύδρος is probably mentioned in connection with the sinking of an iron lump alongside an oath.¹¹⁴⁴ This practice is well-attested in Herodotus, who notes that the Phocaeans μύδρον κιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φώκαιαν ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι (Herodotus 1.165.3; similarly [Aristotle], *AP* 23.5; Pl. *Arist.* 25.1).¹¹⁴⁵ This act

¹¹⁴³ The comment ἐπειδὴ στερροτέρα on the goatskin is interesting, as it may refer to the goatskin being more stiff and stubborn than another material and thus be more apposite to the situation, but scholiasts' reasoning is not always reliable. Cf. Porro 2004: 104-105.

¹¹⁴⁴ Thus already Diehl 1944: 23, Trumpf 1958: 51-52.

¹¹⁴⁵ Further attestations in Call. fr.388.9, Diodorus 9.10.3, Horace, *Epodes* 16.17-26, Favorinus *De Exilio* 10.32, Σ S. *Ant.*264. The Φωκαέων ἀρά becomes proverbial (Zen. *Ath.* 3.102, [Plu.] *Prov.* 1.71, Zen. *Vulg.* 6.35, Suda φ 635).

signifies the permanence and irrevocability of the oath,¹¹⁴⁶ as well as symbolising the consequences of breaking it,¹¹⁴⁷ particularly potently in these maritime societies.¹¹⁴⁸ These elements suit Alcaeus' depiction of Pittacus' breaking of the oath: the former matches the emphasis on the sacred locations and the power of the gods invoked (fr.67, 129) as a reason for Alcaeus' outrage at the irreverence of the act, while the latter (present perhaps also in Τ]άρταρος) is paralleled in the desire for stoning (fr.68.3, 298.3) and the call to the Erinyes (fr.129.13-14). If]πᾶο[(ii.3) is from πάω/πάωμι (cf. πάωθείς, fr.70.6) or πηός, Alcaeus perhaps brings up Pittacus' marriage around the time of his betrayal again. The repetition of themes and subject too aligns with Alcaeus' tendency to retell his story across poems. Finally, Diehl's reading ο] |ύκ ἄν τριχός ἤμις[υ in the scholion might suggest that Alcaeus is playing on the proverb ἄξιός τριχός 'worth a hair',¹¹⁴⁹ with an element of bitterness and condescension if ἤμις[υ is right, possibly referring to the loyalty of Myrsilus' group,¹¹⁵⁰ Pittacus' life, and morals.

¹¹⁴⁶ Steiner 1994:68, Burkert 1996: 175, Rhodes 1993: 296, Asheri et al. 2007: 186.

¹¹⁴⁷ Jacobson 1975, Bayliss in Sommerstein and Bayliss 2013: 155-157.

¹¹⁴⁸ Torrance 2014: 148-149.

¹¹⁴⁹ Zen. 204, Diog. 1.93, Apost. 3.68, Arsen. 63, *Suda*; Ar. *Frogs* 613, Eup. 99.20 KA.

¹¹⁵⁰ Lelli 2006: 49.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to present a more nuanced view of Alcaeus by offering new approaches to the study of his poetry that emphasise literary interpretation to complement the performance-oriented and anthropological approaches of the past fifty years, as well as providing a new text and interpretation of a significant portion of his poetic corpus.

Part I showed how a different focus on previously discussed aspects of Alcaeus' poetry can pose new questions and have an impact on interpretation. Chapter 1 saw that epithets in Alcaeus are neither simple adornments nor an automatic use of poetic language borrowed from EGHP, but that their relationship as a group to EGHP is complex and that the distribution pattern could be exploited by the poet for effects in individual poems. Similarly, the findings of Chapter 2 suggest, contrary to Maas' assertion, that there were differences in content and style determined by metre in Lesbian poetry and that these differences could be used to analyse poetic effects and for interpretation. Chapter 3 focused on an aspect of poetry that was considered anachronistic and too vague to study by introducing new methodologies from other fields and showed that immersion is an important aspect of Alcaeus' poetry, how it can be used to create a sense of 'directness' regardless of the original context, and how it can improve interpretations. In Chapter 4, the findings of Chapter 3 and historical and rhetorical arguments were used to suggest not only that reperformances were assumed by the poet but that they were central to his poetry, opening up new interpretative possibilities for many fragments that were limited by Rösler as well as offering a more complex view of Alcaeus' use of pronouns. Finally, Chapter 5's summary of contemporary elements and events in Sappho and Alcaeus and the broader historical survey clarified the historical events in Alcaeus' poetry as presented by him and offered a fresh perspective on aspects of the politics, particularly the implications of political self-positioning and labels for Pittacus for taking the interpretation of Alcaeus beyond historical investigation. These chapters have thus presented a much more complex view of Alcaeus' poetic craft and style.

In Part II, the difficulties of Alcaeus' text dominated the spotlight, but where enough clarity could be found, the poetic skill of Alcaeus, as suggested by Part I, could be appreciated, especially metrical effects, persuasive strategies, and narrative presentation. Autopsy of papyri yielded important new findings, including signs of a coronis marking fr.45 as a complete poem and the shortest Lesbian poem of known length, and identification of questionable papyrus joins, as well as many individual readings. This has shown that there is still much to do with the text of Alcaeus and that the papyri are an appropriate starting point. Attempts to gather as much information from the textual remains and a focus on construal of the text has further suggested fresh interpretations for many fragments. Moreover, it has shown that many smaller and less-commented fragments also have much to contribute, further complicating the picture gathered from the larger fragments. The emerging perception of Alcaeus is thus one of a more complex, literary poet with a wider range of aims, tones, subjects, and techniques than previously recognised.

The findings of this thesis show that Alcaeus deserves more sensitive attention; there are many new questions to be asked, and his poetry and text have much yet to offer. Part I has explored but a handful of approaches in preliminary investigations, and each chapter can only hint at the interpretative possibilities available, while Part II only covers just over half of Alcaeus' poetic corpus preserved on papyri. Nevertheless, I have shown that Alcaeus needs a thorough treatment both for close scrutiny and for wide coverage of approaches and fragments. It is hoped that this study contributes to Alcaeus receiving the attention and recognition worthy of a lyric poet who was influential and widely appreciated from the archaic Greek to the Roman periods.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

- Agócs, P., C. Carey, and R. Rawles (edd.) 2012. *Reading the Victory Ode*. Cambridge.
- Aloni, A. 1997. *Saffo. Frammenti*. Florence.
- Altman, J. G. 1982. *Epistolarity. Approaches to a Form*. Columbus, OH.
- Amodio, M. (ed.) 2005. *New Directions in Dral Theory. Essays on Ancient and Medieval Literatures*. Tempe, AZ.
- Anderson, W. S. 1966. 'Horace *Carm.* 1. 14: What Kind of Ship?'. *CPb* 61: 84-98.
- Anderson, G. 2005. 'Before *turannoi* were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History'. *CA* 24: 173-222.
- Andrewes, A. 1956. *The Greek Tyrants*. London.
- Arena, A. 1970. 'Archiloco-Alceo. Frammenti. Versione metrica'. *RSC* 18: 80-136.
- Arnason, J. P., K. Raaflaub, and P. Wagner (edd.) 2013. *The Greek Polis and the Invention of Democracy*. Chichester.
- Arnaud, D. 2004. *Nabuchodonosor II, roi de Babylone*. Paris.
- Asheri, D., A. Lloyd, and A. Corcella 2007. *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*. Edited by O. Murray and A. Moreno, with a contribution by M. Brosius. Translated by B. Graziosi, M. Rossetti, C. Dus, and V. Cazzato. Oxford.
- Aslan, C. C and E. Pernicka 2013. 'Wild Goat style ceramics at Troy and the impact of Archaic period colonisation on the Troad'. *Anatolian Studies* 63: 35-53.
- Assmann, A. (ed.) 1991. *Weisheit. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation III*. Munich.
- Assmann, J. 1992. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich.
- Athanassaki, L. 2012. 'Performance and Re-Performance. The Siphnian Treasury Evoked (Pindar's *Pythian* 6, *Olympian* 2 and *Isthmian* 2)', in Agócs et al. 2012: 134-157.
- Athanassaki, L. and E. Bowie (edd.) 2011. *Archaic and Classical Choral Song. Performance, Politics and Dissemination*. Berlin and Boston, MA.
- Babelon, E. 1907. *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines II, vol.I*. Paris.

- Bakker, E. J. 1997. *Poetry in Speech. Orality and Homeric Discourse*. Ithaca, NY.
- BAPD = *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*. <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm>
- Barigazzi, A. 1966. *Favorino di Arelate. Opere. Introduzione, testo critico e commento*. Florence.
- Barkhuizen, J. H. 1977. 'Helena in Alkaios en Sappho – Aspekte van die mite in die vroeë griekse digkuns'. *AClass* 20: 1-21.
- Barner, W. 1967. *Neuere Alkaios-Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos*. Hildesheim.
- Başaran, S. 2007. 'Die Ausgrabungen in Ainos (Ein Überblick)', in Iakovidou 2007: 72-79.
- Bastianini, G., M. Haslam, H. Maehler, F. Montanari, and C. Römer (edd.) 2004. *Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta. Pars I. Commentaria et Lexica in Auctores. Vol. 1. Aeschines-Bacchylides. Fasc. 1. Aeschines-Alcaeus*. Munich and Leipzig.
- Bastianini, G. and A. Casanova (ed.) 2007. *I Papiri di Saffo e di Alceo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Firenze, 8-9 giugno 2006*. Florence.
- Battezzato, L. 2018. 'The Structure of Sappho's Books. Metre, Page Layout, and the Hellenistic and Roman Poetry Book'. *ZPE* 208: 1-24.
- Baurain, C. 1997. *Les Grecs et la méditerranée orientale*. Paris.
- Beaulieu, M. - C. 2016. *The Sea in the Greek Imagination*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Beekes, R. S. P. 2003. 'The Origin of Apollo'. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 3: 1-21.
- Beekes, R. S. P. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. With assistance of Lucien van Beek. Leiden. 2 vols.
- Beekes, R. S. P. 2014. *Pre-Greek: Phonology, Morphology, Lexicon*. Leiden.
- Beloch, J. 1912-1927. *Griechische Geschichte*. Strassburg. 2nd edition. 4 volumes of 2 parts each.
- Benelli, L. 2017. *Sapphostudien zu ausgewählten Fragmenten*. Paderborn. 2 vols.
- Bentein, K. 2012. 'Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek. A State of the Art'. *RBPb* 90: 5-56.
- Benveniste, E. 1966. *Problèmes de linguistique générale, I*. Paris.
- Berg, N. 1978. 'Parergon Metricum. Der Ursprung des griechischen Hexameters'. *MSS* 37: 11-36.
- Bergk, T. 1835. 'De aliquot fragmentis Sapphonis et Alcaei'. *RhM* 3. 209-231.

- Bergquist, B. 1990. 'Symptotic Space. A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-Rooms', in Murray 1990a: 37-65.
- Bernhardt, R. 2003. *Luxuskritik und Aufwandsbeschränkungen in der griechischen Welt*. Stuttgart.
- Bernsdorff, H. 2005. 'Offene Gedichtschlüsse'. *ZPE* 153: 1-6.
- Bernsdorff, H. 2014. 'Notes on P.Mich. inv. 3498 + 3250b recto, 3250a and 3250c recto: (list of lyric and tragic incipits)'. *APF* 60: 3-11.
- Bertelli, L. 2013. 'Democracy and Dissent. The Case of Comedy', in Arnason et al. 2013: 99-124.
- Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*. Munich. 2 vols.
- Bettalli, M. 1995. *I mercenari nel mondo greco. Dalle origini alla fine del v sec. a.C.* Pisa.
- Betts, J. H., J.T. Hooker and J. R. Green (edd.) 1986. *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster. Vol. I*. Bristol.
- Bhat, D. N. S. 2007. *Pronouns*. Oxford.
- Bickerman, E. J. 1979/1980. 'Nebuchadnezzar and Jerusalem'. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 46/47: 69-85.
- Bierl, A., R. Lämmle, and K. Wesselmann (edd.) 2007. *Literatur und Religion. Wege zu einer mythisch-rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen*. Munich and Leipzig.
- Bierl, A. and A. P. M. H. Lardinois (edd.) 2016. *The Newest Sappho. P.Sapph.Obbink and P.GC inv. 105 frs.1-4*. Leiden and Boston, MA.
- Blair, R. 2009. 'Cognitive Neuroscience and Acting. Imagination, Conceptual Blending, and Empathy'. *The Drama Review* 53: 92-103.
- Bleicken, J. (ed.) 1993. *Colloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Alfred Heuss*. Kallmünz.
- Blondell, R. 2010. 'Refractions of Homer's Helen in Archaic Lyric'. *AJP* 131: 349-391.
- Blümel, W. 1982. *Die aiolischen Dialekte. Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht*. Göttingen.
- Boardman, J. 2006. 'Greeks in the East Mediterranean (South Anatolia, Syria, Egypt)', in Tsetschladze 2006: 507-534.

- Boardman, J. and N. G. L. Hammond (edd.) 1982. *Cambridge Ancient History Volume 3 Part 3: The Expansion of the Greek World. Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC.* (2nd edition). Cambridge.
- Bodenstedt, F. 1981. *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene.* Tübingen.
- Bolling, G. M. 1961. 'Textual Notes on the Lesbian Poets'. *AJPb* 82: 151-163.
- Bonanno, M. G. 1976. 'Alcaeus fr.140 V.'. *Philologus* 120: 1-11.
- Börm, H. (ed.) 2015. *Antimonarchic Discourse in Antiquity.* Stuttgart.
- Boruhovič, V. 1981. 'Zur Geschichte des sozialpolitischen Kampfes auf Lesbos (Ende des 7.-Anfang des 6. Jh. V. u. Z.)'. *Klio* 63: 247-259.
- Bowie, A. M. 1981. *The Poetic Dialect of Sappho and Alcaeus.* Salem, NH.
- Bowie, A. M. 2019. *Homer. Iliad. Book III.* Cambridge.
- Bowie, E. L. 1986. 'Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival'. *JHS* 106: 13-35.
- Bowie, E. L. 2001. 'Early Greek Iambic Poetry. The Importance of Narrative', in Cavarzere et al. 2001: 1-27.
- Bowie, E. L. 2007. 'Early Expatriates: Displacement and Exile in Archaic Poetry', in Gaertner 2007a: 21-49.
- Bowie, E. L. 2009. 'Wandering Poets, Archaic Style', in Hunter and Rutherford 2009: 105-136.
- Bowie, E. L. 2018. *Herodotus. Narrator, Scientist, Historian.* Berlin and Boston, MA.
- Bowra, M. 1961². *Greek Lyric Poetry. From Alcman to Simonides.* Oxford.
- Boys-Stones, G. R. (ed.) 2003. *Metaphor, Allegory, and the Classical Tradition: Ancient Thought and Modern Revisions.* Oxford.
- BNJ = Worthington, I. (ed.) 2009-2019. *Brill's New Jacoby Online.* www.brillonline.nl
- BNP = Cancik, H., H. Schneider, M. Landfester, C. F. Salazar, and D. E. Orton (edd.) 2002-2012. *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World.* Leiden. 22 vols.
- Bradley, M. (ed.) 2015. *Smell and the Ancient Senses.* London and New York.
- Brandt, H. 2002. *Wird auch silbern mein Haar. Eine Geschichte des Alters in der Antike.* Munich.
- Braswell, B. K. 1998. *A Commentary on Pindar Nemean Nine.* Berlin and New York.

- Braun, T. F. R. G. 1982. 'The Greeks in the Near East', in Boardman and Hammond 1982: 1-31.
- Breglia, L. 1974. 'Gli stateri di Alceo'. *Numismatische antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* 1974: 7-12.
- Brélaz, C. and P. Ducrey (edd.) 2008. *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes*. Geneva.
- Bremer, J. M. 1981. 'Greek Hymns', in Versnel 1981: 193-215.
- Brenne, S. 2002. 'Die Ostraka (487-ca. 416 v. Chr.) als Testimonien (T1)', in Siewert 2002: 36-166.
- Bresson, A. 1983. 'La dynamique des cités de Lesbos', in Bresson 2000: 101-108.
- Bresson, A. 2000. *La Cité marchande*. Bordeaux.
- Bresson, A. 2009. 'Electrum Coins, Currency Exchange and Transaction Costs in Archaic and Classical Greece'. *RBN* 155. 71-80.
- Brock, R. 2013. *Greek Political Imagery from Homer to Aristotle*. London and New York.
- Brock, R. and S. Hodkinson (edd.) 2000. *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*. Oxford.
- Broger, A. 1996. *Das Epitheton bei Sappho und Alkaios. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*. Innsbruck.
- Brône, G and J. Vandaele (edd.) 2009. *Cognitive Poetics. Goals, Gains, and Gaps*. Berlin and New York.
- Budelmann, F. (ed.) 2009a. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*. Cambridge.
- Budelmann, F. 2009b. 'Introducing Greek Lyric', in Budelmann 2009a: 1-18.
- Budelmann, F. 2017. 'Performance, Reperformance, Preperformance. The Paradox of Repeating the Unique in Pindaric Epinician and Beyond', in Hunter and Uhlig 2017: 42-62.
- Budelmann, F. 2018a. *Greek Lyric. A Selection*. Cambridge.
- Budelmann, F. 2018b. 'Lyric Minds', in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a: 235-256.
- Budelmann, F. and T. Phillips (edd.) 2018a. *Textual Events. Performance & the Lyric in Early Greece*. Oxford.
- Budelmann, F. and T. Phillips 2018b. 'Introduction', in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a: 1-27.
- Burke, M. (ed.) 2014. *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics*. Abingdon and New York.

- Burkert, W. 1975. 'Apellai und Apollon'. *RhM* 118: 1-21.
- Burkert, W. 1993. 'Concordia discors. The Literary and Archaeological Evidence on the Sanctuary of Samothrace', in Marinatos and Hägg 1993: 178-191.
- Burkert, W. 1996. *Creation of the Sacred. Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*. Cambridge, MA.
- Burnett, A. P. 1983. *Three Archaic Poets. Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho*. London.
- Burzacchini, G. 1986. 'Some Further Observations on Alcaeus Fr.130b Voigt', in Cairns 1986: 373-381.
- Burzacchini, G. 1994. 'Alc. fr.130b V. rivisitato'. *Eikasmos* 5: 29-38.
- Burzacchini, G. 2005. 'Fenomenologia innodica nella poesia di Saffo'. *Eikasmos* 16: 11-40.
- Busine, A. 2002. *Les sept sages de la Grèce antique. Transmission et utilisation d'un patrimoine légendaire d'Hérodote à Plutarque*. Paris.
- Butler, S. and A. Purves (edd.) 2013. *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses*. Durham.
- Butler, S. and S. Nooter (edd.) 2018. *Sound and the Ancient Senses*. London and New York.
- Caciagli, S. 2009a. 'Un Serment violé chez Alcée'. *REG* 122: 185-200.
- Caciagli, S. 2009b. 'Sapph. Fr. 27 V. L'unità del pubblico saffico'. *QUCC* 91: 63-80.
- Caciagli, S. 2010. 'Il temenos di Messon. Uno stesso contesto per Saffo e Alceo'. *Lexis* 28: 227-256.
- Caciagli, S. 2011. *Poeti e società. Comunicazione poetica e formazioni sociali nella Lesbo del VII/VI secolo a.C. Con prefazione di Claude Calame*. Amsterdam.
- Caciagli, S. 2014. 'Case di uomini, case di dèi. Per un contesto di Alc. fr.140 V.'. *QUCC* 108:57-92.
- Caciagli, S. 2019. 'Sacra and Sacral Places in Sappho and Alcaeus'. *ZPE* 211: 32-43.
- Cahen, E. 1929. *Callimaque et son œuvre poétique (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 134)*. Paris.
- Cahill, N. D. (ed.) 2010. *The Lydians and Their World*. Istanbul.
- Cahn, H. A. 1944. 'Miscellen zur antiken Numismatik'. *JNR* 31: 43-63.
- Caire, E. 2016. *Penser l'oligarchie à Athènes aux V^e et IV^e siècles. Aspects d'une idéologie*. Paris.

- Cairns, F. (ed.) 1986. *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar, V*. Liverpool.
- Cairns, D. and R. Scodel (edd.) 2014. *Defining Greek Narrative*. Cambridge.
- Calhoun, G. M. 1918. *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*. Austin, TX.
- Cameron, A. 1981. 'Asclepiades' girl friends', in Foley 1981: 275-302.
- Campbell, D. A. 1982. *Greek Lyric. Sappho. Alcaeus*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, E., M. van Ess and J. Marzahn (edd.) 2011. *Babylon. Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*. Berlin and Boston.
- Cannatà Fera, M. 2012. 'Sisifo in Alceo', in Riu and Portulas 2012: 29-43.
- Caprioli, M. 2012. 'On Alcaeus 42, Voigt'. *CQ* 62: 22-38.
- Carey, C. 1986. 'Archilochus and Lycambes'. *CQ* 36: 60-67.
- Carey, C. 1994. 'Comic Ridicule and Democracy', in Osborne and Hornblower 1994: 69-83.
- Carey, C. 2011. 'Alcman. From Laconia to Alexandria', in Athanassaki and Bowie 2011: 437-460.
- Carey, C. 2015. 'Stesichorus and the Epic Cycle', in Finglass and Kelly 2015: 45-62.
- Carlier, P. 1984. *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*. Strasbourg.
- Casanova, A., G. Messeri, and R. Pintaudi (edd.) 2016. *E sì d'amici pieno. Omaggio di studiosi italiani a Guido Bastianini per il suo settantesimo compleanno*. Florence. 2 vols.
- Castiglioni, L. 1914. 'I nuovi frammenti di Saffo'. *A&R* 17: 223-251.
- Cataudella, Q. 1928. 'L'ode di Alceo: ὨC ΛΟΓΟC· ΚΑΚΩΝ ... (Diehl 74, Lobel 26)'. *A&R* 9: 81-85.
- Cataudella, M. R. 1964. 'Erodoto e la cronologia dei Cipselidi'. *Maia* 5: 204-225.
- Catenacci, C. 1996. *Il tiranno e l'eroe. Per un'archeologia del potere nella Grecia antica*. Milan.
- Cavarzere, A., A. Aloni, and A. Barchiesi (edd.) 2001. *Iambic Ideas. Essays on a Poetic Tradition from Archaic Greece to the Late Roman Empire*. Lanham, MD.
- Cave, T. 2016. *Thinking with Literature. Towards a Cognitive Criticism*. Oxford.
- Cawkwell, G. L. 1995. 'Early Greek Tyranny and the People'. *CQ* 45: 73-86.

- Cazzato, V. 2016. 'Symposia *en plein air* in Alcaeus and Others', in Cazzato and Lardinois 2016: 184-206.
- Cazzato, V. and A. Lardinois (edd.) 2016. *The Look of Lyric. Greek Song and the Visual*. Leiden and Boston.
- Chadwick, J. 1996. *Lexicographica Graeca. Contributions to the Lexicography of Ancient Greek*. Oxford.
- Chantraine, P. 1979. *La Formation des noms en grec ancien*. Paris.
- Chantraine, P. 1990². *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*. Paris. 2 vols.
- Chantraine, P. 2013². *Grammaire homérique. Tome I. Phonétique et morphologie. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée par Michel Casevitz*. Paris.
- Childs, W. A. P. (ed.) 1978. *Athens Comes of Age. From Solon to Salamis*. Princeton, NJ.
- Cirio, A. M. 1995. 'Alceo, fr.140 V.'. *RCCM* 37: 179-186.
- Cirio, A. M. 2001. 'Nuovi dati sul culto degli eroi. Una interpretazione di Alceo, 140 V.', in Ribichini et al. 2001: 299-305.
- Clark, M. 1997. *Out of Line. Homeric Composition beyond the Hexameter*. Lanham, MD and Oxford.
- Clay, D. 2013. 'Lesbian Armour. Alcaeus fr.140 Voigt'. *Prometheus* 39: 18-24.
- Clayman, D. L. and T. van Nortwick 1977. 'Enjambement and Oral Composition'. *TAPhA* 109: 1-10.
- Cobb-Stevens, V., T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy 1985. 'Introduction', in Figueira and Nagy 1985: 1-8.
- Cohen, E. E. 2006. 'Free and Unfree Sexual Work: An Economic Analysis of Athenian Prostitution', in Faraone and McClure 2006: 95-124.
- Cohen, Y., A. Gilan, and J. L. Miller (edd.) 2010. *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*. Wiesbaden.
- Colesanti, G. 1995. 'La disposizione delle armi in Alc. 140 V.'. *RFIC* 123: 385-408.
- Colesanti, G. 2014. 'Two Cases of Submerged Monodic Lyric. Symptotic Poetry and Lullabies', in Colesanti and Giordano 2014: 90-106.
- Colesanti, G. and M. Giordano (edd.) 2014. *Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture*, Berlin and Boston, MA.

- Collins, B. J. 2010. 'Hittite Religion and the West', in Cohen et al. 2010: 54-66.
- Colonna, A. 1955. 'Note al testo dei poeti lesbici'. *Paideia* 10: 307-312.
- Connor, W. R. 1971. *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens*. Princeton, NJ.
- Contiades-Tsitsoni, E. 1990. *Hymenaios und Epithalamion. Das Hochzeitslied in der frühgriechischen Lyrik*. Stuttgart.
- Cooper, C. (ed.) 2007. *Politics of Orality. Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece*. Leiden.
- Coppola, G. 1923. 'Su Alceo di Mitilene'. *Aegyptus* 4: 283-295.
- Coppola, G. 1927. 'Alceo di Mitilene'. *AcR* 8: 193-217.
- Coray, M. 2016. *Homer's Iliad. The Basel Commentary, edited by A. Bierl and J. Latacz, Book XIX*. Translated by B. W. Millis and S. Strick, and edited by S. D. Olson. Boston, MA and Berlin.
- Corner, S. 2010. 'Transcendent Drinking. The Symposium at Sea Reconsidered'. *CQ* 60: 352-380.
- Corner, S. 2012. 'Did "Respectable" Women attend Symposia?'. *G&R* 59: 34-45.
- Crielaard, J. P. (ed.) 1995. *Homeric Questions. Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology, including the Papers of a Conference Organized by the Netherlands Institute at Athens (15 May 1993)*. Amsterdam.
- Csapo, E., H. R. Goette, J. R. Green, and P. Wilson (edd.) 2014. *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC*. Berlin and Boston.
- CT* = *Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*. London.
- Cuartero, F. J. 1968. 'La metáfora de la nave, de Arquíloco a Esquilo'. *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Helénicos* 2: 41-45.
- Cucchiarelli, A. 1997. 'La nave e l'esilio (allegorie dell'ultimo Ovidio)'. *MD* 38: 215-224.
- Culler, J. 2015. *Theory of Lyric*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Currie, B. 2004. 'Reperformance Scenarios for Pindar's Odes', in Mackie 2004: 49-69.
- Currie, B. 2016. *Homer's Allusive Art*. Oxford.
- Currie, B. 2017. 'Festival, Symposium, and Epinician (Re)performance. The Case of *Nemean* 4 and Others', in Hunter and Uhlig 2017: 187-208.

- Dale, A. 2011. 'Alcaeus on the Career of Myrsilus: Greeks, Lydians and Luwians at the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface'. *JHS* 131 (2011): 15-24.
- D'Alessio, G. B. 2009. 'Language and Pragmatics', in Budelmann 2009a: 114-129.
- D'Alessio, G. B. 2018. 'Fiction and Pragmatics in Ancient Greek Lyric. The Case of Sappho', in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a: 31-62.
- Danielewicz, G. 1974. 'De elementis hymnicis in Sapphus Alcaei Anacreontis carminibus'. *Eos* 82: 23-33.
- Danielewicz, J. 1976. *Morfologia hymnu antycznego. Na materiale greckich zbiorów hymnicznych*. Poznan.
- Danielewicz, J. 1990. 'Deixis in Greek Choral Lyric'. *QUCC* 34: 7-17.
- Danov, C. M. 1976. *Altthrakien*. Berlin and New York, NY.
- Davidson, J. 1997. *Courtesans and Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of the Classical Athens*. London.
- Davies, M. 1978. 'Sailing, Rowing, and Sporting in One's Cup on the Wine-Dark Sea', in Childs 1978: 72-95.
- Davies, M. 1986. 'Alcaeus, Thetis and Helen'. *Hermes* 114: 257-262.
- Davies, M. 1988. 'The "Cologne Alcaeus" and Paradigmatic Allusiveness'. *ZPE* 72: 39-42.
- Davies, M. 1991. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Volumen I. Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus post D.L. Page*. Oxford.
- De Falco, V. 1946. 'Note ai lirici greci'. *PP* 1946: 347-359.
- Degani, E and G. Burzacchini 1977. *Lirici Greci*. Florence.
- Del Freo, M. 1993. 'Alc. Fr. 140 Voigt. Il problema delle armi'. *RAL* 4: 377-92.
- De Libero, L. 1996. *Die archaische Tyrannis*. Stuttgart.
- Denniston, J. D. 1950². *The Greek Particles*. (Second edition edited by K. J. Dover). Oxford.
- Derow, P. and R. Parker (edd.) 2003. *Herodotus and His World*. Oxford.
- Detschew, D. 1957. *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*. Vienna.
- Dewald, C. 2003. 'Form and Content: The Question of Tyranny in Herodotus', in Morgan 2003: 25-58.

- Di Benedetto, V. 1955. 'Pittaco e Alceo'. *PP* 10: 97-118.
- Diehl, E. 1936². *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca. Vol. I.* Leipzig.
- Diehl, E. 1944. 'Lyrici Graeci Redivivi?'. *RbM* 92: 1-26.
- Dietrich, W. 1973a. 'Der periphrastische Verbalaspekt im Griechischen und Lateinischen'. *Glotta* 51: 188-228.
- Dietrich, W. 1973b. *Der periphrastische Verbalaspekt in den romanischen Sprachen.* Tübingen.
- Dougherty, C. and L. Kurke (edd.) 1993. *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics.* Cambridge.
- Dover, K. J. 1964. 'The Poetry of Archilochus', in Pouilloux et al. 1964: 181-222.
- Dreher, M. 2017. 'Die griechische Tyrannis als monarchische Herrschaftsform', in Rebenich and Wienand 2017: 167-187.
- Dunbar, N. 1995. *Aristophanes, Birds.* Oxford.
- Duploux, A. 2003. 'Les Eupatrides d'Athènes, "nobles défenseurs de leur patrie"'. *Cahiers du Centre Gustav Glotz* 14: 7-22.
- Duploux, A. 2006. *Le Prestige des élites. Recherches sur les modes de reconnaissance sociale en Grèce entre les Xe et Ve siècles avant J.-C.* Paris.
- Easterling, P. and E. Hall (edd.) 2002. *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession.* Cambridge.
- Edmonds, J. M. 1914. 'The New Lyric Fragments. I.'. *CR* 28: 73-78.
- Edmonds, J. M. 1916. 'The New Lyric Fragments. II.'. *CR* 30: 97-107.
- Edmunds, L. 2009. 'Tithonus in the "New Sappho" and the Narrated Mythical Exemplum in Archaic Greek Poetry', in Greene and Skinner 2009: 58-70.
- Edwards, M. W. 1966. 'Some Features of Homeric Craftmanship?'. *TAPhA* 97: 115-179.
- Ehrenberg, V. 1969². *The Greek State.* London.
- Ellis-Evans, A. 2019. *The Kingdom of Priam. Lesbos and the Troad between Anatolia and the Aegean.* Oxford.
- Eisenberger, H. 1956. *Der Mythos in der äolischen Lyrik.* PhD Dissertation. Frankfurt am Main.

- Eisenberger, H. 1981. Review of Rösler's *Dichter und Gruppe*. *GGA* 1981: 24-38.
- Eisenhut, W. (ed.) 1970. *Antike Lyrik*. Darmstadt.
- Fabbro, H. 1995. *Carmina Convivalia Attica*. Rome.
- Falkner, T. M. 1995. *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy*. Norman.
- Fantalkin, A. 2011. 'Why did Nebuchadnezzar II destroy Ashkelon in Kislev 604?', in Finkelstein and Na'aman 2011: 87-111.
- Fantalkin, A. 2016. 'Was there a "Greek Renaissance" in 7th century BCE Philistia?', in Finkelstein et al. 2016: 83-99.
- Fantalkin, A and E. Lytle 2016. 'Alcaeus and Antimenidas: Reassessing the Evidence for Greek Mercenaries in the Neo-Babylonian Army'. *Klio* 98: 90-117.
- Faraguna, M. 2005. 'La figura dell'aisymnetes tra realtà storica e teoria politica', in Wallace and Gagarin 2005: 321-338.
- Faraone, C. A. and L. K. McClure (edd.) 2006. *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. London.
- Fearn, D. 2018. 'Materialities of Political Commitment? Textual Events, Material Culture, and Metaliterarity in Alcaeus', in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a: 93-113.
- Fehling, D. 1985. *Die sieben Weisen und die frühgriechische Chronologie. Eine tradition-geschichtliche Studie*. Bern, Frankfurt am Main, and New York.
- Felson, N. 2004. 'Introduction'. *Arethusa* 37: 253-266.
- Ferrari, F. 2003. 'Il pubblico di Saffo'. *SIFC* 4: 42-89.
- Ferrari, F. 2010. *Sappho's Gift. The Poet and Her Community*. (Translated by B. Acosta-Hughes and L. Prauscello). Ann Arbor, MI.
- Ferrari, F. 2016. 'La via del rifugio. Alceo, fr.130b V.', in Casanova et al. 2016: II.473-487.
- FGrH = Jacoby, F. 1923-1955. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden; and 1998- by others.
- FGH = Müller, K. O. 1878-85. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Paris. 4 vols.
- Figueira, T. J. 1984. 'The Ten Archontes of 579/8 at Athens'. *Hesperia* 83: 447-473.

- Figueira, T. J. and G. Nagy (edd.) 1985. *Theognis of Megara. Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore, MD.
- Finglass, P. and A. Kelly (edd.) 2015. *Stesichorus in Context*. Cambridge.
- Finkelstein, I and N. Na'aman (edd.). 2011. *The Fire Signals of Lachish. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Finkelstein, I., C. Robin, and T. Römer (edd.) 2016. *Alphabets, Texts and Artifacts in the Ancient Near East. Studies Presented to Benjamin Sass*. Paris.
- Fisher, N. R. E. 1988. 'Greek Associations, Symposia, and Clubs', in Grant and Kitzinger 1988: II.1167-1197.
- Fisher, N. R. E. 1992. *Hybris. A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*. Warminster.
- Fisher, N. R. E. and H. van Wees (edd.) 1998. *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*. London.
- Fisher, N. R. E. and H. van Wees (edd.) 2015. *'Aristocracy' in Antiquity. Redefining Greek and Roman Elites*. Swansea.
- Fol, A. 1991. 'La Colonisation grecque en Thrace. Croisement de deux cultures.', in Lazarov 1991: 3-14.
- Foley, H. P. (ed.) 1981. *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*. New York, NY.
- Ford, A. 2002. *The Origins of Criticism. Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford.
- Fortson, B. W. IV 2010. *Indo-European Language and Culture*. Malden, MA and Oxford.
- Fowler, A. 1982. *Kinds of Literature. An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*. Oxford.
- Fränkel, H. 1924. 'Eine Stileigenheit der frühgriechischen Literatur'. *GGN* 1924: 63-127
- Fränkel, H. 1928. Review of Lobel 1925 and Lobel 1927. *GGA* 6: 258-278.
- Fränkel, H. 1944. 'The Immigrant's Bath'. *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12: 293-294.
- Fränkel, H. 1973. *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*. (Translated by M. Hadas and J. Willis). New York and London.

- Freeman, M. H. 2014. 'Cognitive poetics', in Burke 2014: 313-328.
- Fried, L. S. 2003. 'The Land Lay Desolate: Conquest and Restoration in the Ancient Near East', in Lipschits and Blenkinsopp 2003: 21-54.
- Friedrich, R. 2019. *Postoral Homer. Orality and Literacy in the Homeric Epic*. Stuttgart.
- Friis Johansen, H. 1986. 'Alcaeus and the Kottabos Game', in Betts et al. 1986: 93-101.
- Frijda, N. H. 2008. 'The Psychologists' Point of View', in Lewis et al. 2008. 68-87.
- Frisk, H. 1973. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg. 2 vols.
- Funke, P. 1993. 'Stamm und Polis', in Bleicken 1993: 29-48.
- Furley, W. D. and J. M. Bremer 2001. *Greek Hymns. Vol. I. The Texts in Translation*. Tübingen.
- Gaertner, J. F. (ed.) 2007a. *Writing exile : the discourse of displacement in Greco-Roman antiquity and beyond*. (Mnemosyne Supplementum 283). Leiden.
- Gaertner, J. F 2007b. 'Ovid and the "Poetics of Exile": How Exilic is Ovid's Exile Poetry?', in Gaertner 2007a: 155-172.
- Gagné, R. 2009. 'Atreid Ancestors in Alkaios'. *JHS* 129: 39-43.
- Gainsford, P. 2016. *Early Greek Hexameter Poetry*. Cambridge.
- Galhac, S. 2006. 'La représentation de la vieillesse dans les fragments 1, 2 et 5 (éd. West) de Mimnerme et dans les poèmes homériques'. *REG* 119: 62-82.
- Gallavotti, C. 1948a. *Storia e poesia di Lesbo*. Bari.
- Gallavotti, C. 1948b. *La lingua dei poeti eolici*. Bari and Naples.
- Gallavotti, C. 1953. 'Auctarium Oxyrhynchium'. *Aegyptus* 33: 159-171.
- Garner, R. S. 2003. *Studies in Early Greek Colometry. Traditional Techniques of Composition and Word Placement in Archaic Epic and Other Verse Forms*. PhD Dissertation, Princeton University.
- Garner, R. S. 2011. 'Oral Tradition and Sappho'. *Oral Tradition* 26: 413-444.
- Gavins, J. 2005. '(Re)thinking Modality. A Text-World Perspective'. *Journal of Literary Semantics* 34: 79-93.
- Gavins, J. 2007. *Text World Theory. An Introduction*. Edinburgh.

- Gavins, J. and E. Lahey (edd.) 2016. *World Building. Discourse in the Mind*. London and New York, NY.
- Geller, M. J. and M. Schipper (edd.) 2007. *Imagining Creation*. Leiden.
- Gentili, B. 1969. 'L'interpretazione dei lirici greci arcaici nella dimensione del nostro tempo'. *QUCC* 8: 7-21.
- Gentili, B. 1988. [1984] *Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece. From Homer to the Fifth Century*. Translated by A. T. Cole. Baltimore, MD.
- George, A. R. 1992. *Babylonian Topographical Texts*. Leuven.
- Gerhard, G. A. 1938. *Griechische Papyri. Urkunden und Literarische Texte aus der Papyrus-Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*. Heidelberg.
- Gerstenhauer, A. 1892. *De Alcaei et Sapphonis copia vocabulorum*. PhD Dissertation. Halle.
- Ghinatti, F. 1970. *I gruppi politici ateniesi fino alle guerre persiane*. Rome.
- Gignac, F. T. 1976. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Milan. 2 vols.
- Giovanelli, M. 2013. *Text World Theory and Keats' Poetry. The Cognitive Poetics of Desire, Dreams, and Nightmares*. London and New York.
- Giusfredi, F. 2009. 'The Problem of the Luwian Title tarwanis'. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 36: 140-145
- Gladigow, B. 1981. 'Gottesnamen (Gottesepitheta) I (allgemein)', in *RAC* 11: 1202-1238.
- Gomme, A. W. 1957. 'Interpretations of Some Poems of Alkaios and Sappho'. *JHS* 77: 255-266.
- Gorman, V. B. and E. W. Robinson (edd.) 2002. *Oikistes. Studies in Constitutions, Colonies, and Military Power in the Ancient World. Offered in Honor of A. J. Graham*. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne.
- Gottesman, A. 2014. *Politics and the Street in Democratic Athens*. Cambridge.
- Gottschalk, H. B. 1980. *Heraclides of Pontus*. Oxford.
- Gow, A. S. 1952². *Theocritus*. Cambridge. 2 vols.
- Gow, A. S. and D. L. Page 1965. *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*. Cambridge. 2 vols.
- Graf, F. 2009. *Apollo*. London.

- Grant, M. and R. Kitzinger (edd.) 1988. *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean. Greece and Rome*. New York. 3 vols.
- Grayson, A. K. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley, N. Y.
- Greene, E. (ed.) 1996. *Re-Reading Sappho. Reception and Transmission*. Berkeley, CA.
- Greene, E. and M. B. Skinner (edd.) 2009. *The New Sappho on Old Age. Textual and Philosophical Issues*. Cambridge, MA.
- Günther, L.-M. 2006. 'Alkaios und die Statere des Lyderkönigs', in Rollinger and Truschneegg 2006: 43-52.
- Hackstein, O. and D. Gunkel (edd.) 2018. *Language and Meter*. Leiden and Boston, MA.
- Hägg, R. (ed.) 1983. *The Greek Renaissance of the Eight Century B.C. Tradition and Innovation. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1-5 June, 1981*. Stockholm.
- Haider, P. W. 1996. 'Griechen im Vorderen Orient und Ägypten bis ca. 590 v. Chr.', in Ulf 1996: 59-115.
- Hale, J. R. 2013. 'Not Patriots. Not Farmers. Not Amateurs. Greek Soldiers of Fortune and the Origins of Hoplite Warfare', in Kagan and Viggiano 2013: 176-193.
- Hall, E. 1988. 'When did the Trojans turn into Phrygians? Alcaeus 42.15'. *ZPE* 73: 15-18.
- Hall, J. M. 2014². *A History of the Archaic Greek World ca. 1200-479 BCE*. Malden, MA.
- Hamm, E. - M. 1957. *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios*. Berlin.
- Hammer, D. 2004. 'Ideology, the Symposium, and Archaic Politics'. *AJPb* 125: 479-512.
- Hansen, M. H. 1987. *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes*. Oxford and New York, NY.
- Hansen, M. H. 2006. *Polis. An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*. New York, NY.
- Hansen, M. H. and T. H. Nielsen (edd.) 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*. Oxford.
- Harbus, A. 2016. 'Autofocus and Remote Text-World Building in the Earliest English Narrative Poetry', in Gavins and Lahey 2016: 241-258.
- Harder, A. 2012. *Callimachus. Aetia*. Oxford. 2 vols.

- Harrison, T. P., E. B. Banning and S. Klassen (edd.) 2015. *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity. Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay, Jr.* Leiden.
- Harvey, A. E. 1957. 'Homeric Epithets in Greek Lyric Poetry'. *CQ* 7: 206-223.
- Haslam, M. 1990. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Volume LVII.* London.
- Haug, D. 2002. *Les phases de l'évolution de la langue épique. Trois études de linguistique homérique.* Göttingen.
- Haug, W. and R. Warning (edd.) 1989. *Das Fest.* Munich.
- Hawkins, J. D. 1998. "Takasnawa King of Mira. "Tarkondemos", Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel', *Anatolian Studies* 48: 16-24.
- Helm, P. 1980. 'Greeks' in the Neo-Assyrian Levant and 'Assyria' in Early Greek Writers. PhD Dissertation. University of Pennsylvania.
- Herington, J. 1985. *Poetry into Drama. Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition.* Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA, and London.
- Heuß, A. 1946. 'Die archaische Zeit Griechenlands als geschichtliche Epoche'. *A&A* 2: 26-62.
HGCS = The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series.
- Higbie, C. 1990. *Measure and Music. Enjambement and Sentence Structure in the Iliad.* Oxford.
- Hodot, R. 1982. 'Décret de Kymè en l'honneur du prytane Kléanax'. *GMusJ* 10: 165-180.
- Hodot, R. 1990. *Le Dialecte éolien d'Asie. La Langue des inscriptions, VIIe s. a.C.-Ive s. p.C.* Paris.
- Hollis, A. S. 2009². *Callimachus, Hecale.* Oxford.
- Hooker, J. T. 1977. *The Language and Text of the Lesbian Poets.* Innsbruck.
- Hoover, O. D. 2010. *Handbook of Coins of the Islands. Adriatic, Ionian, Thracian, Aegean, and Carpathian Seas (excluding Crete and Cyprus). Sixth to First Centuries BC.* Lancaster and London. (*The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series, Volume 6*).
- Hornblower, S. 1991. *A Commentary on Thucydides. Volume I: Books I-III.* Oxford.
- Hornblower, S. 2013. *Herodotus. Histories Book V.* Cambridge.
- Hornblower, S. and C. Pelling 2017. *Herodotus. Histories, Book VI.* Cambridge.

- Hošek, R. 1980. 'Das Jungfernbad bei Alkaios'. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica (Graecolatina Pragensia)* 3: 7-9.
- Hubbard, T. K. 2004. 'The Dissemination of Epinician Lyric. Pan-Hellenism, Reperformance, Written Texts', in Mackie 2004: 71-93.
- Hubbard, T. K. 2007. 'Theognis' *Sphrêgis*. Aristocratic Speech and the Paradoxes of Writing', in Cooper 2007: 193-215.
- Hüllen, W. and R. Schulze (edd.) 1988. *Understanding the Lexicon. Meaning, Sense and World Knowledge in Lexical Semantics*. Tübingen.
- Hummel, P. 1999. *L'Épithète pindarique. Étude historique et philologique*. Bern.
- Hunt 1914 = Grenfell, B. P. and A. S. Hunt 1914. *The Oxyrynchus Papyri Part X*. London.
- Hunt 1915 = Grenfell, B. P. and A. S. Hunt 1915. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part XI*. London.
- Hunter, R. and I. Rutherford (edd.) 2009. *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture: Travel, Locality, and Panhellenism*. Cambridge.
- Hunter, R. and A. Uhlig (edd.) 2017. *Imagining Reperformance in Ancient Culture. Studies in the Traditions of Drama and Lyric*. Cambridge.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 1985. *Aeschylus. Septem Contra Thebas*. Oxford.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 2001. *Greek Lyric Poetry. A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces*. Oxford.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 2013. 'Genre and Super-Genre', in Papanghelis et al. 2013: 19-34.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 2017. 'Repetition, Range, and Attention: The *Iliad*', in Tsagalis and Markantonatos 2017: 145-170.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 2018. 'What is a Setting?', in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a: 115-132.
- Hutchinson, G. O. forthcoming. 'Space and Text Worlds', in Murray and Schroeder forthcoming.
- Huxley, G. 1965. 'A War between Astyages and Alyattes'. *GRBS* 6: 201-206.
- Iakovidou, A. (ed.) 2007. *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology. Komotini-Alexandroupolis 18-23 October 2005*. Athens.
- Iannucci, A. 1998. 'Callimaco e la "discordia degli ecisti di Zancle (Call. *Aet.* 2.43.73 Pf. = P.Oxy.2080 col. 2.73)'. *Sileno* 24: 173-179.

- Ilieva, P. 2007. 'Thracian-Greek $\kappa\upsilon\mu\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ on the shore of the Aegean', in Iakovidou 2007: 212-226.
- Ismard, P. 2010. *La Cité des réseaux. Athènes et ses associations, V^{ie}-I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Paris.
- Irigoin, J. 1957. 'Colon, vers et strophe dans la lyrique monodique grecque'. *RPhil* 31: 234-238.
- Irigoin, J. 1993. 'Les éditions de textes', in Reverdin and Grange 1993: 39-93.
- Irwin, E. 2005. *Solon and Early Greek Poetry. The Politics of Exhortation.* Cambridge and New York, NY.
- Jacobson, H. 1975. 'The Oath of the Delian League'. *Philologus* 119: 256-258.
- Jacoby, F. 1902. *Apollodors Chronik. Eine Sammlung der Fragmente.* Berlin.
- Jakobson, R. 1971. *Selected Writings. Vol. II.* The Hague.
- Jehn, P. (ed.) 1972. *Toposforschung. Eine Dokumentation.* Frankfurt am Main.
- Joannès, F. 2011. 'L'écriture publique du pouvoir à Babylone sous Nabuchodonosor II', in Cancik-Kirschbaum et al. 2011: 113-120.
- Johnsgard, P. A. 1983. *Cranes of the World.* Bloomington, IN.
- Johnson, W. A. 2004. *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus.* Toronto, Buffalo NY, and London.
- Jong, I. J. F. de 2012. *Homer. Iliad XXII.* Cambridge.
- Jong, I. J. F. de and R. Nünlist (edd.) 2007. *Time in Ancient Greek Literature.* Leiden.
- Jurenka, H. 1914. 'Neue Lieder der Sappho und des Alkaios (Oxyrh. Pap. X. S. 20ff.)'. *WS* 36: 201-243.
- Kagan, D. and G. F. Viggiano (edd.) 2013. *Men of Bronze. Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece.* Princeton, NJ.
- Kamerbeek, J. C. 1947. 'De novis carminibus Alcaei (P. Ox. XVIII 2165). II. Alcée et son temps'. *Mnemosyne* 13: 161-182.
- Kamerbeek, J. C. 1973. 'Alcaica'. *Mnemosyne* 26: 390-392.
- Kannicht, R. 1989. 'Thalia: Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Fest und Poesie bei den Griechen', in Haug and Warning 1989: 29-52.

- Kaplan, P. 2002. 'The social status of the mercenary in archaic Greece', in Gorman and Robinson 2002: 229-243.
- Kastovsky, D. 1988. 'Structural Semantics or Prototype Semantics? The Evidence of Word-Formation', in Hüllen and Schulze 1988: 190-203.
- Katz, D. 2011. 'Reconstructing Babylon: Recycling Mythological Traditions Toward a New Theology', in Cancik-Kirschbaum et al. 2011: 123-134.
- Kazik-Zawadzka, I. 1958. *De Sapphicae Alcaicaeque elocutionis colore epico*. Wrocław.
- Kelly, A. 2015. 'Stesichorus' Homer', in Finglass and Kelly 2015: 21-44.
- Kelly, T. 1976. *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.* Minneapolis, MN.
- Kemp, R. 2012. *Embodied Acting. What Neuroscience Tells Us about Performance*. London.
- Kerkhecker, A. 1999. *Callimachus' Book of Iambi*. Oxford.
- Kerschner, M. 2010. 'The Lydians and their Ionian and Aiolian Neighbours', in Cahill 2010: 247-265.
- Kirk, G. S. 1966. 'Verse-Structure and Sentence-Structure in Homer'. *YCS* 20: 105-152.
- Kirk, G. S. 1985. *The Iliad. A Commentary. Volume I. Books 1-4*. Cambridge.
- Kirkwood, G. M. 1974. *Early Greek Monody. The History of a Poetic Type*. Ithaca, NY and London.
- Klinger, W. 1929. 'Obrazy burzy morskiej u Alkajiosa (*La description des tempêtes en mer chez Alcée*)'. *Bulletin international de l'Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres. Classe de philologie, Classe d'histoire et de philosophie 1929*: 146-148.
- Köiv, M. 2016. 'Basileus, tyrannos and polis. The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece'. *Klio* 98: 1-89.
- Kondis (Κοντῆς), I. D. 1978. *Λέσβος καί ἡ Μικρασιαρική της περιοχή*. Athens.
- Koniaris, G. L. 1966. 'Some Thoughts on Alcaeus' Frs. D 15, X 14, X 16'. *Hermes* 94: 385-397.
- Körte, A. 1924. 'Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der Christlichen'. *APF* 7: 124-167.
- Krahe, H. (ed.), *Corolla Linguistica. Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer*. Wiesbaden.
- Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. London.
- Krischer, T. 1984. 'Νόος, νοεῖν, νόημα'. *Glotta* 62: 141-149.

- Kuiken, D., D. S. Miall, and S. Sikora 2004. 'Forms of self-implication in literary reading'. *Poetics Today* 25: 171-203.
- Kullmann, W. and M. Reichel (edd.) 1990. *Der Übergang vom der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen*. Tübingen.
- Kurke, L. 1992. 'The Politics of Habrosyne in Archaic Greece'. *CA* 11: 91-120.
- Kurke, L. 1994. 'Crisis and Decorum in Sixth-Century Lesbos. Reading Alkaios Otherwise'. *QUCC* 47: 67-92.
- Kurke, L. 1997. 'Inventing the *hetaira*. Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece'. *CA* 16: 106-150.
- Kurke, L. 1999. *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold. The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton, NJ.
- Labarbe, J. 1971. 'L'Apparition de la notion de tyrannie dans la Grèce archaïque'. *AC* 40: 471-504.
- Labarre, G. 1996. *Les Cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*. Paris.
- Lada-Richards, I. 2002. 'The Subjectivity of Greek Performance', in Easterling and Hall 2002: 395-401.
- Lahey, E. 2014. 'Stylistics and text world theory', in Burke 2014: 284-296.
- Laird, A. 2003. 'Figures of Allegory from Homer to Latin Epic', in Boys-Stones 2003: 151-176.
- Lambert, A. 1957. 'A Specific Check List of the Birds of Greece'. *Ibis* 99: 43-66.
- Lambert, W. G. 2007. 'Two Mesopotamian Creation Stories', in Geller and Schipper 2007: 15-59.
- Lambert, W. G. 2011. 'Babylon: Origins', in Cancik-Kirschbaum et al. 2011: 71-76.
- Lambert, W. G. 2013. *Babylonian Creation Myths*. Winona Lake, IN.
- Lambin, G. 1992. *La Chanson grecque dans l'antiquité*. Paris.
- Lane Fox, R. J. 2000. 'Theognis. An Alternative to Democracy', in Brock and Hodkinson 2000: 35-51.
- Lapini, W. 1996. *Il P.Oxy. 664 di Eraclide Pontico e la cronologia dei Cipselidi*. Florence.

- Lapini, W. 2007. 'Elementi biografici di Pittaco nei frammenti alcaici', in Bastianini and Casanova 2007: 167-175.
- Lardinois, A. P. M. H. 1994. 'Subject and Circumstance in Sappho's Poetry'. *TAPhA* 124: 57-84.
- Latacz, J. 1990. 'Die Funktion des Symposions für die entstehende griechische Literatur', in Kullmann and Reichel 1990: 227-264.
- Latacz, J. 2004. *Troy and Homer. Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Oxford.
- Lavelle, B. M. 2005. *Fame, Money and Power. The Rise of Peisistratos and 'Democratic' Tyranny at Athens*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Lazzarini, L. 2010. 'A Contribution to the Study of the Archaic Billon Coinage of Lesbos', in Tselekas 2010: 83-109.
- Lee, B. and G. Urban (edd.) 1989. *Semotics, Self, and Society*. Berlin and New York, NY.
- Lelli, E. 2006. *Volpe e leone. Il proverbio nella poesia greca*. Rome.
- Lentini, G. 2000. 'Pittaco erede degli Atridi. Il fr. 70 V. di Alceo'. *SIFC* 18. 3-14.
- Lentini, G. 2001. 'La nave e gli ἑταῖροι: in margine ad Alceo fr.6, 73, 208a V.'. *MD* 46: 159-170.
- Lentini, G. 2002. 'I simposi del tiranno. Sui fr.70-72 V. di Alceo'. *ZPE* 139. 3-18.
- Le Rider, G. 2001. *La Naissance de la monnaie. Pratiques monétaires de l'Orient ancien*. Paris.
- Leumann, M. von 1950. *Homerische Wörter*. Basel.
- Lewis, S. 2009. *Greek Tyranny*. Edinburgh.
- Lewis, M., J. M. Haviland-Jones, and L. F. Barrett (edd.) 2008³. *Handbook of Emotions*. New York, NY and London.
- LGPNI= Fraser, P. and M. Matthews (edd.) 1987. *A Lexicon of Greek personal names, I: The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*. Oxford.
- Liberman, G. 1993. 'Autour de l'édition alexandrine d'Alcée'. *MEFR* 105: 1003-1013.
- Liberman, G. 1999. *Alcée. Fragments*. Paris. 2 vols.
- Lidov, J. 2002. 'Sappho, Herodotus and the Hetaira'. *CPb* 97: 203-237.
- Lidov, J. 2009. 'The Metre and Metrical Style of the New Poem', in Greene and Skinner 2009: 103-117.

- Lim, D. 2018. 'Pragmatic Effects of Number and Person in Korean Pronominal System. Three Uses of First Person Plural *wul'*. *Lingua* 204: 1-15.
- Lindenlauf, A. 2004. 'The Sea as a Place of No Return in Ancient Greece'. *World Archaeology* 35: 416-433.
- Lipschits, O and J. Blenkinsopp (edd.) 2003. *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Winona Lake, IN.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990. *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*. Translated by A. Szegedy-Maszack. Princeton, NJ.
- Livrea, E. 2008. 'Sapphica'. *ZPE* 164: 1-7.
- Lobel, E. 1923. 'Nine Fragments of Alcaeus (P.Oxy.1233)'. *BQR* 1923/1925: 20-21.
- Lobel, E. 1925. *Σαπφούς Μέλῃ*. *The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho*. Oxford.
- Lobel, E. 1927. *Ἀλκαίου Μέλῃ*. *The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Alcaeus*. Oxford.
- Lobel, E. 1951. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXI*. London.
- Lobel, E. and D. L. Page 1955. *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford.
- Lombardo, M. 1983. 'Habrosyne e habra nel mondo greco arcaico', in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche. Atti del convegno di Cortona (24-30 maggio 1981)*. Pisa and Rome: 1077-1103.
- LSJ = Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott 1996⁹. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones, with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, and with the co-operation of many scholars. With a revised supplement. Oxford.
- Lugea, A. 2016. 'Spanglish Dialogue in *You and Me*. An Absurd World and Senile Mind Style', in Gavins and Lahey 2016: 221-240.
- Luraghi, N. 2015. 'Anatomy of the Monster: The Discourse of Tyranny in Ancient Greece', in Börm 2015: 67-84.
- Luria, S. 1947. 'Annotationes Alcaicae'. *PP* 2: 79-87.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M. 2005. 'Horace *Odes* Book 1 and the Alexandrian Edition of Alcaeus'. *CQ* 55: 542-558.
- Ma, J. 2016. 'Élites, élitisme et communauté dans la *polis* archaïque'. *Annales HSS* 71: 633-658.

- Maas, P. 1915. 'Ein neuer alkäischer Zweizeiler'. *WKPh* 32 (1915): 598.
- Maas, P. 1923³. *Griechische Metrik*. Leipzig.
- Mace, S. 1993. 'Amour, encore! The development of δηῦτε in Archaic lyric'. *GRBS* 34: 335-364.
- Mackie, C. J. (ed.) 2004. *Oral Performance and Its Context*. Leiden and Boston.
- Maehler, H. 1963. *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars*. Göttingen.
- Malamat, A. 1956. 'A New Record of Nebuchadrezzar's Palestinian Campaigns'. *IEJ* 6: 246-256.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou, and K. Panagopoulou (edd.) 2009. *Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford.
- Manfredini, M. 1981. 'La guerra del Sigeo nella tradizione storiografica antica', in *Scritti in ricordo di Giorgio Buratti*. Pisa: 249-269.
- Marinatos, N. and R. Hägg (edd.) 1993. *Greek Sanctuaries*. London.
- Maronitis, D. N. 2004a. *Homeric Megathemes. War, Homilia, Homecoming*. Lanham, MD.
- Maronitis, D. N. 2004b. [1984] 'The Heroic Myth and its Lyrical Reconstruction', translated by D. Connolly, in Maronitis 2004a: 77-88.
- Martin, H. Jr. 1972. *Alcaeus*. New York, NY.
- Martin, R. P. 1993. 'The Seven Sages as Performers of Wisdom', in Dougherty and Kurke 1993: 108-128.
- Marzullo, B. 1958. *Studi di poesia eolica*. Florence.
- Marzullo, B. 2009. *Il 'miraggio' di Alceo*. Berlin.
- Mason, H. J. 1993. 'Mytilene and Methymna: Quarrels, Borders and Topography'. *EMC* 37: 225-250.
- Mastrelli, C. A. 1954. *La lingua di Alceo*. Florence.
- Matthews, P. H. 2007². *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford.
- Maurach, G. 1968. 'Schilderungen in der archaischen Lyrik. Zu Alkaios fr. Z 34'. *Hermes* 96: 15-20.
- May, J. M. F. 1950. *Ainos. Its History and Coinage 473-341 BC*. London.

- Mazzarino, S. 1943. 'Per la storia di Lesbo nel VI° secolo a.C.'. *Athenaeum* 21: 38-78.
- Mazzarino, S. 1989². *Fra Oriente e Occidente. Ricerche di storia greca arcaica*. Milan.
- McCartney, E. S. 1934. 'The Couch as Unit of Measurement'. *CPh* 29: 30-35.
- McGlew, J. F. 1993. *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca, NY and London.
- Meiggs-Lewis = Meiggs, R. and D. Lewis 1969 [revised 1988]. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*. Oxford.
- Meillet, A. 1923. *Les Origines indo-européennes des mètres grecques*. Paris.
- Meine, C. D. and G. W. Archibald (edd.) 1996. *The Cranes. Status Survey and Conservation Action Plan*. Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge.
- Melville-Jones, J. 2006. 'Why did the Ancient Greeks strike coins?'. *JNAA* 17. 21-30.
- Merkelbach, R. 1956. 'Literarische Texte unter Ausschluss der Christlichen'. *APF* 16: 82-129.
- Mette, H. J. 1963. 'Catull Carm. 4'. *RbM* 105: 153-157.
- Meyerhoff, D. 1984. *Traditioneller Stoff und individuelle Gestaltung. Untersuchungen zu Alkaios und Sappho*. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, NY.
- Miller, M. 1969. 'The accepted date for Solon: precise, but wrong?'. *Arethusa* 2: 62-86.
- Miralles, C. and J. Pòrtulas (edd.) 1988. *The Poetry of Hipponax*. Rome.
- Mitchell, L. 2013. *The Heroic Rulers of Archaic and Classical Greece*. London and New York, NY.
- Möller, M. 2013. *Ciceros Rhetorik als Theorie der Aufmerksamkeit*. Heidelberg.
- Montanari, F. 2015. *The Brill dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Edited by M. Goh and C. Schroeder. Leiden and Boston, MA.
- Morgan, K. A. 1993. 'Pindar the Professional and the Rhetoric of the κῶμος'. *CPh* 88: 1-15.
- Morgan, K. A. (ed.) 2003. *Popular Tyranny*. Austin, TX.
- Morris, I. 1996. 'The Strong Principle of Equality and the Archaic Origins of Greek Democracy', in Ober and Hedrick 1996: 19-48.
- Morrison, A. D. 2007. *Performances and Audiences in Pindar's Sicilian Victory Odes*. London.
- Mossé, C. 1969. *La Tyrannie dans la Grèce ancienne*. Paris.

- Mosshammer, A. A. 1979. *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*. Lewisburg, PA.
- Müller, O. 1827. 'Ein Bruder des Dichters Alkäos ficht unter Nebukadnezar'. *RbM* 1: 287-296.
- Murray, J. and C. Schroeder (edd.) forthcoming. *The Cambridge Companion to Apollonius*. Cambridge.
- Murray, O. 1983a. 'Symposion and Männerbund'. *Concilium Eirene XVI* vol.1: 47-52.
- Murray, O. 1983b. 'The Symposion as Social Organisation', in Hägg 1983: 195-199.
- Murray, O. (ed.) 1990a. *Symptotica. A Symposium on the Symposion*. Oxford.
- Murray, O. 1990b. 'Symptotic History', in Murray 1990a: 3-13.
- Murray, O. 1993². *Early Greece*. London.
- Murray, O. 2003. 'Symptotica – Twenty Years On'. *Pallas* 61: 13-21.
- Murray, O. 2009. 'The Culture of the *Symposion*', in Raaflaub and van Wees 2009: 508-523.
- Murray, O. 2018a. *The Symposion. Drinking Greek Style. Essays on Greek Pleasure 1983-2017*. Edited by V. Cazzato, with illustrations by M. Gabriel. Oxford.
- Murray, O. 2018b. 'The *Symposion* and Social Status (2017)', in Murray 2018a: 139-153.
- Murray, O. and S. Price (edd.) 1990. *The Greek City. From Homer to Alexander*. Oxford.
- Nagy, G. 1974. *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*. Cambridge, MA.
- Nagy, G. 1976. 'Iambos. Typologies of Invective and Praise'. *Arethusa* 9: 191-205.
- Nagy, G. 1985. 'Theognis of Megara: A Poet's City Vision', in Nagy and Figueira 1985: 22-81.
- Nagy, G. 2007. 'Did Sappho and Alcaeus Ever Meet?', in Bierl et al. 2007: 211-269.
- Nagy, G. 2018. 'Herodotus on Queens and Courtesans of Egypt', in Bowie 2018: 109-122.
- Neer, R. 2002. *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting. The Craft of Democracy ca. 530-460 BCE*. Cambridge.
- Neer, R. 2012. *Art and Archaeology in the Greek World*. London.
- Nenci, G. 1994. *Erodoto. Le storie. Libro V. La rivolta della Ionia*. Milan.
- Neri, C. 2011. *Lirici greci. Età arcaica e classica. Introduzione, edizione, traduzione e commento*. Rome.

- Neri, C. 2015. 'Il *Brothers Poem* e l'edizione alessandrina (in margine a *P.Sapph.Obbink*)'. *Eikasmos* 26: 53-76.
- Neri, C. and F. Cinti 2017. *Saffo. Poesie, frammenti e testimonianze*. Ariccia.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. 2002. *Numismatique grecque*. Paris.
- Nicosia, S. 1976. *Tradizione testuale diretta e indiretta dei poeti di Lesbo*. Rome.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2001. 'Archaic Greeks in the Orient: Textual and Archaeological Evidence'. *BAASOR* 322: 11-32.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2002. 'Greek mercenaries at Tel Kabri and other sites in the Levant'. *Tel Aviv* 29: 328-331.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. and M. Hubbard 1970. *A Commentary on Horace Odes, Book I*. Oxford.
- Norden, E. 1913. *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*. Leipzig and Berlin.
- Noussia-Fantuzzi, M. 2010. *Solon the Athenian. The Poetic Fragments*. Leiden and Boston.
- Nünlist, R. 1998. *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*. Stuttgart and Leipzig.
- Nunns, L. 2010. *Nature, Imagery, and Alcaeus*. DPhil Dissertation. Oxford.
- Ober, J. and C. Hedrick (edd.) 1996. *Demokratia. A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*. Princeton, NJ.
- Obbink, D. 2009. 'Sappho Fragments 58-59. Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Translation', in Greene and Skinner 2009: 7-16.
- Obbink, D. 2016. 'The Newest Sappho. Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Translation', in Bierl and Lardinois 2016: 13-33.
- Oehler, R. 1925. *Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung*. PhD Dissertation. Basel.
- Onians, R. B. 1951. *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate*. Cambridge.
- Ophuijsen, J. M. van 1993. 'On Poems. Two Hephaestionic Texts and One Chapter from Aristides Quintilianus on the Composition of Verse'. *ANRW* II.34.1: 796-869.
- Osborne, R. 1990. 'The Demos and its Divisions in Classical Athens', in Murray and Price 1990: 265-293.

- Osborne, R. and S. Hornblower (edd.) 1994. *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*. Oxford.
- Osborne, R. and P. J. Rhodes 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions. 404-323 BC*. Oxford.
- Page, D. L. 1955. *Sappho and Alcaeus. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry*. Oxford.
- Page, D. L. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford.
- Page, D. L. 1974. *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis. Poetarum Lyricorum Graecorum Fragmenta Quae Recens Innotuerunt*. Oxford.
- Pallantza, E. 2005. *Der Troische Krieg in der nachhomerischen Literatur bis zum 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Stuttgart.
- Papanghelis, T., S. J. Harrison, and S. Frangoulidis (edd.) 2013. *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature. Encounters, Interactions, and Transformations*. Berlin.
- Pardini, A. 1991. 'La ripartizione in libri dell'opera di Alceo. Per un riesame della questione'. *RFIC* 119: 257-284.
- Parker, H. N. 1996. 'Sappho Schoolmistress', in Greene 1996: 146-183.
- Parker, R. 2003. 'The Problem of the Greek Cult Epithet'. *OAth* 28: 173-183.
- Parker, V. 1998. 'Τύραννος. The semantics of a political concept from Archilochus to Aristotle'. *Hermes* 126: 145-172.
- Parret, H. 1980. 'Demonstratives and the I-sayer', in van der Auwera 1980: 96-111.
- Parrott, W.G. 1991. 'Experiences of envy and jealousy', in Salovey 1991: 3-30.
- Parry, M. 1971a. *The Making of Homeric Verse. The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*. Edited by Adam Parry. New York and Oxford.
- Parry, M. 1971b. 'The Traditional Epithet in Homer', in Parry 1971a: 1-190.
- Parry, M. 1971c. 'The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse', in Parry 1971a: 251-265.
- Peabody, H. B. 1975. *The Winged Word*. Albany, NY.
- Peponi, A.-E. 2012. *Frontiers of Pleasure. Models of Aesthetic Response in Archaic and Classical Greek Thought*. Oxford.

- Perotta, G. 1936. 'Alceo'. *AC&R* 38: 221-241.
- Persson, P. (hon.) 1922. *Strena Philologica Upsaliensis. Festskrift tillägnad Professor Per Persson på hans 65-Årsdag. Nyårsafton 1922*. Upsala.
- Picard, C. 1942. 'Le sculpteur Epeios. Du cheval de Troie au taureau de Phalaris'. *RN* 6: 1-22.
- Picard, C. 1962. 'Où fut à Lesbos, au VIIe siècle, l'asyle temporaire du poète Alcée?'. *RA* 2: 43-69.
- Piérart, M. 2003. 'The Common Oracle of the Milesians and the Argives (Hdt. 6.19 and 77)', in Derow and Parker 2003: 275-296.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. and G. Pironti 2014. 'Héra et Zeus à Lesbos. Entre poésie lyrique et décret civique'. *ZPE* 191: 27-31.
- Pfeiffer, R. 1930. Review of Lobel 1927. *Gnomon* 6: 361-321.
- Pfeiffer, R. 1949. *Callimachus*. Oxford. 2 vols.
- Pleket, H. W. 1969. 'The Archaic Tyrannis'. *Talanta* 1: 19-61.
- Pöhlmann, E. 1990. 'Zur Überlieferung griechischer Literatur vom 8.-4. Jh.', in Kullmann and Reicherl 1990: 11-30.
- Pontani, F. M. (ed.) 1984. *Lirica greca da Archiloco a Elitis. Studi in onore di Filippo Maria Pontani*. Padua.
- Porro, A. 1994. *Vetera Alcaica. L'esegesi di Alceo dagli Alessandrini all'età imperiale*. Milano.
- Porro, A. 1996a. *Alceo. Frammenti. (Prefazione di Giovanni Tarditi)*. Florence.
- Porro, A. 1996b. 'Carmi "di Mirsilo" e carmi "di Pittaco". Ancora sull'edizione aristarchea di Alceo'. *Aevum (ant)* 9: 177-192.
- Porro, A. 2004. 'Alcaeus', in Bastianini et al. 2004: 75-246.
- Porter, J. I. 2010. *The Origins of Aesthetic Thought in Ancient Greece. Matter, Sensation, and Experience*. Cambridge.
- Pouilloux, J., N. M. Kontoleon, A. Scherer, K. J. Dover, D. Page, W. Bühler, E. Wistrand, B. Snell, O. Reverdin, M. Treu 1964. *Archiloque*. Geneva.
- Powell, B. B. 1991. *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*. Cambridge.

- Pugliese-Carratelli, G. 1943. 'Su la storia di Lesbo nell'età di Alceo'. *RFIC* 71:13-21.
- Preisshoffen, F. 1977. *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Greisenalters in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*. Wiesbaden.
- Pretagostini, R. (ed.) 1993. *Tradizione e Innovazione nella Cultura greca da Omero all'età ellenistica: Scritti in onore di Bruno Gentili*. Roma. 3 vol.
- Probert, P. 2015. *Early Greek Relative Clauses*. Oxford.
- Purves, A. C. (ed.) 2017. *Touch and the Ancient Senses*. London and New York.
- Quinn, J. D. 1961a. 'Alcaeus 48 (B 16) and the Fall of Ascalon (604 B.C.)'. *BAJO* 164: 19-20.
- Quinn, J. D. 1961b. 'Cape Phokas, Lesbos – Site of an Archaic Sanctuary for Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus?', *AJA* 65: 391-393.
- Raaflaub, K. A. 2004. 'Archaic Greek aristocrats as carriers of cultural interaction', in Rollinger and Ulf 2004: 197-217.
- Raaflaub, K. A. and H. van Wees (edd.) 2009. *A Companion to Archaic Greece*. Chichester and Malden, MA.
- RAC = Klauser, T., E. Dassmann, G. Schöllgen (edd.) 1950-, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Stuttgart.
- Race, W. H. 1982. 'Aspects of Rhetoric and Form in Greek Hymns'. *GRBS* 23: 5-14.
- Race, W. H. 1989. 'Sappho, fr. 16 L-P and Alkaios, fr. 42 L-P. Romantic and Classical Strains in Lesbian Lyric'. *CJ* 85: 16-33.
- Rebenich, S. and J. Wienand (edd.) 2017. *Monarchische Herrschaft im Altertum*. Berlin and Boston, MA.
- Reece, S. 2005. 'Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. From Oral Performance to Written Text', in Amodio 2005: 43-89.
- Reichel, M. and A. Rengakos (edd.) 2002. *EPEA PTEROENTA. Beiträge zur Homerforschung*. Stuttgart.
- Reinach, T. and A. Puech 1960. *Alcée. Sappho*. Paris.
- Reverdin, O. and B. Grange (edd.) 1993. *La Philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine. Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt XL*. Geneva.

- Rhodes, P. J. 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*. Oxford.
- Rhodes, P. J. 1985². *The Athenian Boule*. Oxford.
- Ribichini, S., M. Rocchi, and P. Xella (edd.) 2001. *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca. Stato degli studi e prospettive della ricerca. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 20-22 maggio 1999*. Rome.
- Richardson, N. J. 1975. 'Homeric Professors in the Age of the Sophists'. *PCPhS* 21: 65-81.
- Risch, E. 1974². *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*. Berlin and New York, NY.
- Rissman, L. 1983. *Love as War. Homeric Allusions in the Poetry of Sappho*. Königstein.
- Riu, X. and J. Portulas (edd.) 2012. *Approaches to Archaic Greek Poetry*. Messina.
- Robert, L. 1960. 'Recherches épigraphiques: v. Inscriptions de Lesbos'. *REA* 62: 285-315.
- Rohde, E. 1878. 'γέγονε in den Biographica des Suidas'. *RhM* 33: 161-220 + 638-639.
- Rollinger, R and C. Ulf (edd.) 2004. *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World. Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Innsbruck, Austria, October 3rd-8th 2002*. Stuttgart.
- Rollinger, R. and B. Truschnegg (edd.) 2006. *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum. Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haide zum 60. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart.
- Romè, A. 1965. 'L'uso degli epiteti in Saffo e Alceo con riferimento alla tradizione epico-rapsodica'. *SCO* 14: 210-246.
- Romer, F. E. 1982. 'The *aisymneteia*: A Problem in Aristotle's Historic Method'. *AJPh* 103: 25-46.
- Roscher, W. H. (ed.) 1884-1937. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig. 6 vols.
- Rosen, R. M. 1988. 'Hipponax, Boupalos, and the Conventions of the *Psogos*'. *TAPhA* 118: 29-41.
- Rösler, W. 1980. *Dichter und Gruppe. Eine Untersuchung zu den Bedingungen und zur historischen Funktion früher griechischer Lyrik am Beispiel Alkaios*. Munich.
- Rösler, W. 1991. 'Die sieben Weisen', in Assmann 1991: 357-365.

- Rossi, L. E. 1983. 'Il simposio greco arcaico come spettacolo a se stesso', in *Spettacoli conviviali dall' antichità classica alle corti italiane dell' 400. Atti del VII Convegno di studi, Viterbo, 27-30 maggio 1982*. Viterbo: 41-50.
- Rossi, L. E. 2000. 'L'autore e il controllo del testo nel mondo antico'. *SemRom* 3: 165-181.
- Rotstein, A. 2016. *Literary History in the Parian Marble*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- RPC III = Amandry, M., A. Burnett, J. Mairat, W. Metcalf, L. Bricault, M. Blet-Lemarquand (edd.) 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Volume III. Nerva – Hadrian (AD 98-138)*. London and Paris.
- Rudolph, K. C. (ed.) 2017. *Taste and the Ancient Senses*. London.
- Rupprecht, K. 1925. 'Bücherschau. A. Einzelbesprechungen'. *Blätter für das Bayerisches Gymnasium* 61: 49-52.
- Russell, D. A. 2003. 'The Rhetoric of the *Homeric Problems*', in *Boys-Stones* 2003: 217-234.
- Russell, D. A and D. Konstan 2005. *Heraclitus: Homeric Problems*. Atlanta.
- Rutherford, I. 2001. *Pindar's Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*. Oxford.
- Ruzé, F. 1997. *Délibération et pouvoir dans la cité grecque de Nestor à Socrate*. Paris.
- Salmon, J. B. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 BC*. Oxford.
- Salovey, P. (ed.) 1991. *The Psychology of Jealousy and Envy*. New York and London.
- Sanders, E. 2014. *Envy and Jealousy in Classical Athens: A Socio-Psychological Approach*. Oxford.
- Sartori, F. 1957. *Le eterie nella vita politica ateniese del VI e V secolo a.C.* Rome.
- Schadewaldt, W. 1950. *Sappho, Welt und Dichtung. Dasein in der Liebe*. Potsdam.
- Schäfer, A. 1997. *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion. Darbietungen, Spiele und Wertkämpfe von homerischer bis in spätclassische Zeit*. Mainz.
- Schäfer, E. 1972. 'Das Staatsschiff. Zur Präzision eines Topos', in *Jehn* 1972: 259-292.
- Schlotzhauer, U. and A. Villing 2006. 'East Greek Pottery from Naucratis: The Current State of Research', in *Villing and Schlotzhauer* 2006: 53-68.
- Schmidt, K. F. W. 1916. Review of Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part X*. *GGA* 7: 390-411.

- Schmidt, K. F. W. 1918. Review of Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part XI*. *GGA*: 81-126.
- Schmidt, R. 1970. *Die Nominalbildung in den Dichtungen des Kallimachos von Kyrene. Ein Beitrag zur Stellung seines Wortschatzes innerhalb des Griechischen*. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1990. 'Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*. Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?', in Murray 1990a: 14-33.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1992. *La Cité au banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*. Paris.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. 2003. 'Le banquet et le "genre" sur les images grecques, propos sur les compagnes et les compagnons'. *Pallas* 61: 83-97.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. and A. Schnapp 1982. 'Image et société en Grèce ancienne. Les Représentations de la chasse et du banquet'. *RA*: 57-74.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P., F. Lissarrague, L. Bruit, A. Zografou 2004. 'Le banquet en Grèce', in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)*, II.218-250.
- Schrenk, L. 1994. 'Sappho fr.44 and the *Iliad*'. *Hermes* 122: 144-150.
- Schubart, W. 1948. 'Bemerkungen zu Sappho, Alkaios und Melinno'. *Philologus* 97: 311-320.
- Schulze, W. 1892. *Quaestiones epicae*. Gütersloh.
- Schwyzler, E. 1950. *Griechische Grammatik. Band II. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*. Vervollständigt und hrsg. von A. Debrunner. Munich.
- Scodel, R. 2014. 'Narrative Focus and Elusive Thought in Homer', in Cairns and Scodel 2014: 55-74.
- Selter, B. 2010. 'Through the Looking Glass of Memory. Reading Avienus'. *QUCC* 95: 113-130.
- Serrao, G. 1993. 'Il linguaggio delle cose: l'uso e il significato di $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$ in Alceo fr.73, 5 V', in Pretagostini 1993: 247-252.
- Servais, J. 1969. 'Hérodote et la chronologie des Cypsélides'. *AC* 38: 28-81.
- Shaver, P. J., D. Schwarz, D. Kirson, and C. O'Connor 1987. 'Emotion knowledge. Further Exploration of a Prototype Approach'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52: 1061-1086.
- Shaw, P.-J. 2003. *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating and Chronological Problems of Archaic Peloponnesian History*. Stuttgart.

- Shields, E. L. 1917. *The Cults of Lesbos*. Menasha, WI.
- Siewert, P. (ed.) 2002. *Ostrakismos – Testimonien 1. Die Zeugnisse antiker Autoren, der Inschriften und Ostraka über das athenische Scherbengericht aus vorhellenistischer Zeit (487-322 v. Chr.)*. Stuttgart.
- Simonton, M. 2017. *Classical Greek Oligarchy. A Political History*. Princeton, NJ.
- Slater, W. J. 1976. 'Symposium at Sea'. *HSCP* 80: 161-170.
- Slings, S. R. (ed.) 1990a. *The Poet's I in Archaic Greek Lyric*. Amsterdam.
- Slings, S. R. 1990b. 'The I in Personal Archaic Lyric. An Introduction', in Slings 1990a: 1-30.
- Sluiter, I. and R. M. Rosen (edd.) 2012. *Aesthetic Value in Classical Antiquity*. Leiden.
- Snell, B. 1944. 'Zu den Fragmenten der griechischen Lyriker'. *Philologus* 96: 282-292.
- Snodgrass, A. M. 1964. *Early Greek Armour and Weapons. From the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* Edinburgh.
- Somolinos, H. R. 1998. *El léxico de los poetas lesbios*. Madrid.
- Sommerstein, A. H. and A. J. Bayliss 2013. *Oath and State in Ancient Greece*. With contributions by L. A. Kozak and I. C. Torrance. Berlin and Boston, MA.
- Sommerstein, A. H. and I. C. Torrance 2014. *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*. With contributions by A. J. Bayliss, J. Fletcher, K. Konstantinidou, and L. A. Kozak. Berlin and Boston, MA.
- Sotirova, V. (ed.) 2016. *The Bloomsbury Companion to Stylistics*. London and New York.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1986. 'Crime and Punishment: Tityos, Tantalus and Sisyphos in *Odyssey* 11'. *BICS* 33: 37-58.
- Sparkes, B. A. 1960 'Kottabos. An Athenian After-Dinner Game'. *Archaeology* 13. 202-207.
- Spelman, H. 2015. 'Alcaeus 140'. *CPb* 110: 353-360.
- Spelman, H. 2017. 'Sappho 44, Trojan Myth and Literary History'. *Mnemosyne* 70: 1-18.
- Spelman, H. 2018. *Pindar and the Poetics of Permanence*. Oxford.
- Spencer, N. (ed.) 1995a. *Time, tradition, and society in Greek archaeology. Bridging the 'Great Divide'*. London.

- Spencer, N. 1995b. 'Multi-dimensional group definition in the landscape of rural Greece', in Spencer 1995a: 28-42.
- Spencer, N. 1995c. 'Early Lesbos between East and West. A "Grey Area" of Aegean Archaeology'. *ABSA* 90: 269-306.
- Spencer, N. 1995d. *A Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites in Lesbos*. Oxford.
- Spencer, N. 2000. 'Exchange and Stasis in Archaic Mytilene', in Brock and Hodkinson 2000: 68-81.
- Squire, M. (ed.) 2016. *Sight and the Ancient Senses*. Abingdon.
- Stager, L. E. 2011. 'Askelon on the Eve of Destruction in 604 B.C.', in Stager et al. 2011: 3-11.
- Stager, L. E., D. M. Master and J. D. Schloen (edd.) 2011. *Ashkelon 3. The Seventh Century B.C.* Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Stahl, M. 1987. *Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen. Untersuchung zur Überlieferung, zur Sozialstruktur und zur Entstehung des Staates*. Stuttgart.
- Starke, F. 1997. 'Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend'. *Studia Troica* 7: 448-55.
- de Ste Croix, G. E. M. 1981. *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests*. London.
- Stehle, E. 1997. *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece. Nondramatic Poetry in its Setting*. Princeton, NJ.
- Steiner, D. T. 1994. *The Tyrant's Writ. Myths and Images of Writing in Ancient Greece*. Princeton, NJ.
- Steinrück, M. 1999. 'Homer bei Sappho?'. *Mnemosyne* 52: 139-149.
- Stephanus (Estienne), H. 1560. *Carminum poetarum novem, lyricae poeseos principum, fragmenta. Alcaei, Sapphus, Stesichori, Ibyci, Anacreontis, Bacchylidis, Simonidis, Alcmanis, Pindari. Nonnulla etiam aliorum. Cum Latina interpretatione, partim soluta oratione, partim carmine*. Geneva.
- Stern, E. 2001. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Vol. II. The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods 732-332 BCE*. New York, NY.
- Stockwell, P. 2009a. *Texture. A Cognitive Aesthetics of Reading*. Edinburgh.

- Stockwell, P. 2009b. 'The Cognitive Poetics of Literary Resonance'. *Language and Cognition* 1: 25-44.
- Stockwell, P. 2016. 'Texture', in Sotirova 2016: 458-473.
- Strauss Clay, J. 2016. 'How to Construct a Symptotic Space with Words', in Cazzato and Lardinois 2016: 204-216.
- Struck, P. 2004. *Birth of the Symbol. Ancient Readers at the Limits of their Texts*. Princeton, NJ.
- Sullivan, S. D. 1996. 'Disturbances of the Mind and Heart in Early Greek Poetry'. *AC* 65: 31-51.
- Süss, W. 1910. *Ethos. Studien zur älteren griechischen Rhetorik*. Leipzig and Berlin.
- Swift, L. 2019. *Archilochus. The Poems*. Oxford.
- Syndikus, H. P. 2001. *Die Lyrik des Horaz. Eine Interpretation der Oden*. Darmstadt. 2 vols.
- Tammaro, V. 1955-1977. 'Alcae. Fr.140 V.'. *MCr* 10-12: 55.
- Tandy, D. 2004. 'Trade and commerce in Archilochus, Sappho, and Alkaios', in Rollinger and Ulf 2004: 183-194.
- Tarditi, G. 1969. 'L'ἀκέβεια di Aiace e quella di Pittaco'. *QUCC* 8. 86-96.
- Tarditi, A. 1984. 'Alceo e la volpe astuta', in Pontani 1984: 81-82.
- Tausend, K. and S. Tausend 2006. 'Lesbos – zwischen Griechenland und Kleinasien', in Rollinger and Truschnegg 2006: 89-110.
- Tedeschi, G. 2015. 'Scrittura e μουσική nell' antica Grecia'. *AOFL* 10: 4-26.
- Tekin, O. 2007. 'Excavation Coins from Ainos – A Preliminary Report', in Iakovidou 2007: 596-601.
- Tepedino Guerra, A. 2007. *L'esilio (Pap.Vat.Gr. 11 verso). Favorino di Arelate*. Rome.
- Theander, C. 1922. 'Zu den στασιωτικά des Alkaios', in Persson 1922: 57-73.
- Theander, C. 1943. 'Lesbiaca'. *Eranos* 41: 139-168.
- Theander, C. 1948-1949. 'Ad poemata aliquot Sapphus et Alcaei adnotatiunculas', *Humanitas* 2: 33-39.
- Theander, C. 1952. 'De Alcaei poematis in Hyrrham, Pittacum, Penthilidas invecis'. *Aegyptus* 32: 179-190.

- Thomas, R. 2019. *Polis Histories, Collective Memories, and the Greek World*. Cambridge.
- Threatte, L. 1992. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. Berlin and New York. 2 vols.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. 1927. 'La Chronologie des trois premières dynasties babyloniennes'. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 24: 181-198.
- Tichy, E. 1977. 'Griech. ἀλειτηρός, νηλειτής und die Entwicklung der Wortsippe ἀλείτης'. *Glotta* 55: 160-177.
- Tichy, E. 2018. 'Vom lyrischen zum epischen Vers. Der Hexameter und seine orale Vorgeschichte', in Hackstein and Gunkel 2018: 346-361.
- Tiverios, M. 2008. 'Greek Colonisation of the Northern Aegean', in Tsetskhladze 2008: 1-154.
- Tognazzi, G. 2009. 'Il fr. 27 V. di Saffo'. *QUCC* 91: 51-62.
- Torrance, I. C. 2014. 'Ways to Give Oaths Extra Security', in Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 132-155.
- Treu, M. 1949/1950. 'Zu Alkaios 82 D. (32 L.) und Horaz c.I 26'. *WJA* 4: 219-225.
- Treu, M. 1955. 'Nachlese zu Alkaios', in Krahe 1955: 221-228.
- Treu, M. 1958. *Sappho*. Munich.
- Treu, M. 1963². *Alkaios*. Munich.
- Treu, M. 1966. 'Neues über Sappho und Alkaios (P.Oxy.2506)'. *QUCC* 2: 9-36.
- Treu, M. 1968². *Von Homer zur Lyrik. Wandlungen des griechischen Weltbildes im Spiegel der Sprache*. Munich.
- Treu, M. 1970. 'Die mythischen Balladen des Alkaios', in Eisenhut 1970: 51-72.
- Trumpf, J. 1958. *Studien zur griechischen Lyrik*. PhD Dissertation. Köln.
- Tsagalis, C. and A. Markantonatos (edd.) 2017. *The Winnowing Oar. New Perspectives in Homeric Studies. Studies in Honor of Antonios Rengakos*. Berlin and Boston, MA.
- Tselekas (Τσέλεκας), P. (ed.) 2010. *Το νόμισμα στα νησιά του Αιγαίου. Νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου της Ε' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Μυτιλήνη, 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2006. I. (Coins in the Aegean Islands. Mints, Circulation, Iconography, History. Proceedings of the Fifth Scientific Meeting, Mytilene, 16-19 September 2006. I.)* Athens.

- Tsetschladze, G. R. (ed.) 2006. *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements of Overseas. Vol. 1.* Leiden and Boston, MA.
- Tsetschladze, G. R. (ed.) 2008. *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas. Vol. 2.* Leiden and Boston, MA.
- Tsomis, G. 2001. *Zusammenschau der frühgriechischen monodischen Melik (Alkaios, Sappho, Anakreon).* Stuttgart.
- Tzamali, E. 1996. *Syntax und Stil bei Sappho.* Dettelbach.
- Uhlig, A. 2017. 'Models of Reperformance in Bacchylides', in Hunter and Uhlig 2017: 111-137.
- Uhlig, A. 2018. 'Sailing and Singing. Alcaeus at Sea', in Budelmann and Phillips 2018a: 63-91.
- Ulf, C. (ed.) 1996. *Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität. Die Bedeutung der früharchaischen Zeit.* Berlin.
- Urban, G. 1989. 'The "I" of Discourse', in Lee and Urban 1989: 27-51.
- Väisänen, M. 1983. 'Una Nave d'Alceo in Tempesta: Che Tipo di Allegoria?'. *Arctos* 17: 123-133.
- Vandaele, J. and G. Brône 2009. 'Cognitive Poetics. A Critical Introduction', in Brône and Vandaele 2009: 1-29.
- Van de Mierop, M. 2003. 'Reading Babylon'. *AJA* 107: 257-275.
- Van der Auwera, J. (ed.) 1980. *Semantics of Determiners.* London.
- Van der Bom, I. 2016. 'Speaker Enactors in Oral Narrative', in Gavins and Lahey 2016: 91-108.
- Vanderhooft, D. S. 1999. *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets.* Atlanta, GA.
- Verdenius, W. J. 1962. 'ΑΒΡΟC'. *Mnemosyne* 15: 392-393.
- J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet 1988a. *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece.* (Translated by J. Lloyd). New York, NY.
- Vernant, J.-P. and P. Vidal-Naquet 1988b. 'The Lame Tyrant: From Oedipus to Periander', in Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988: 207-236.
- Versnel, H. S. (ed.) 1981. *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World.* Leiden.
- Vetta, M. 1981. 'Poesia e simposio (a proposito di un libro recente sui carmi di Alceo)'. *RFIC* 109: 483-495.

- Vetta, M. 1982. 'Il P.Oxy.2506 fr.77 e la poesia pederotica di Alceo'. *QUCC* 39: 7-20.
- Vetta, M. (ed.) 1983a. *Poesia e simposio nella Grecia antica. Guida storica e critica*. Rome and Bari.
- Vetta, M. 1983b. 'Introduzione. Poesia simposiale nella Grecia arcaica e classica', in Vetta 1983a: xi-lx.
- Villing, A. and U. Schlotzhauer (edd.) 2006. *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt. Studies in East Greek Pottery and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean*. London.
- Vlassopoulos, K. 2007. 'Free Spaces. Identity, Experience and Democracy in Classical Athens'. *CQ* 57: 33-52.
- Vlassopoulos, K. 2009. 'Beyond and Below the Polis. Networks, Associations, and the Writing of Greek History', in Malkin et al. 2009: 12-23.
- Voigt, E.-M. 1971. *Sappho et Alcaeus*. Amsterdam.
- Wackernagel, J. 1925. 'Griechische Miscellen'. *Glotta* 14: 36-67 (= Wackernagel, J. 1955-1979. *Kleine Schriften*. Göttingen: 2.844-875).
- Waldbaum, J. C. 1997. 'Greeks *in* the East or Greeks *and* the East? Problems in the definition and recognition of presence'. *BASOR* 305: 23-40.
- Waldbaum, J. C. 2011. 'Greek Pottery', in Stager et al. 2011: 127-772.
- Waldbaum, J. and J. Magness 1997. 'The Chronology of Early Greek Pottery: New Evidence from Seventh-Century B.C. Destruction Levels in Israel'. *AJA* 101: 23-40.
- Wallace, R. W. 2009. 'Charismatic Leaders', in Raaflaub and van Wees 2009: 411-426.
- Wallace, R. W. and M. Gagarin (edd.) 2005. *Symposion 2001. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Evanston, Illinois, 5.-8. September 2001)*. Vienna.
- Waring, P. 1982. 'Pindar, *Nemean* 1.24 – Smoke without Fire'. *CQ* 32: 270-277.
- Weber, O. von 1955. *Die Beziehungen zwischen Homer und den älteren griechischen Lyrikern*. PhD Dissertation. Universität Bonn.
- Węcowski, M. 2014. *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*. Oxford.
- Wees, H. van 1995. 'Princes at Dinner. Social Event and Social Structure in Homer', in Crielaard 1995: 147-179.
- Wees, H. van (ed.) 2000a. *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*. London.

- Wees, H. van 2000b. 'Megara's Mafiosi: Timocracy and Violence in Theognis' in Brock and Hodkinson 2000: 52-67.
- Wees, H. van 2000c. 'The Development of the Hoplite Phalanx. Iconography and reality in the seventh century', in van Wees 2000a: 125-166.
- Wees, H. van 2008. "'Stasis, Destroyer of Men". Mass, Elite, Political Violence and Security in Archaic Greece', in Brélaz and Ducrey 2008: 1-48.
- Werth, P. 1999. *Text Worlds. Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse*. London.
- West, D. 2016. 'Cognitive Stylistics', in Sotirova 2016: 109-121.
- West, M. L. 1967. 'Alcman and Pythagoras'. *CQ* 17: 1-15.
- West, M. L. 1970. 'Burning Sappho'. *Maia* 22: 307-330.
- West, M. L. 1973a. 'Greek Poetry 2000-700 B.C.'. *CQ* 23: 179-192.
- West, M. L. 1973b. 'Indo-European Metre'. *Glotta* 51: 163-187.
- West, M. L. 1974. *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*. Berlin.
- West, M. L. 1978. *Hesiod. Works and Days*. Oxford.
- West, M. L. 1982. *Greek Metre*. Oxford.
- West, M. L. 1989-1992². *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati*. Oxford. 2 vols.
- West, M. L. 1997. *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- West, M. L. 2002. 'The View from Lesbos', in Reichel and Rengakos 2002: 207-219.
- West, M. L. 2005. 'The New Sappho'. *ZPE* 151: 1-9.
- West, M. L. 2007. *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- West, M. L. 2011. *The Making of the Iliad. Disquisition & Analytical Commentary*. Oxford
- West, M. L. 2014. 'Nine Poems of Sappho'. *ZPE* 191: 1-12.
- West, M. L. 2015. 'Epic, Lyric, and Lyric Epic', in Finglass and Kelly 2015: 63-80.
- Wifstrand, A. 1964. *Eikota. Emendationen und Interpretationen zu griechischen Prosaikern der Kaiserzeit. II: Zu Favorinus und Plutarch*. Lund.

- Whiteley, S. 2011. 'Text World Theory, Real Readers and Emotional Responses to *The Remains of the Day*'. *Language and Literature* 20: 23-42.
- Whiteley, S. 2016a. 'Emotion', in Sotirova 2016: 507-522.
- Whiteley, S. 2016b. 'Building Resonant Worlds: Experiencing the Text Worlds of *The Unconsoled*', in Gavins and Lahey 2016: 165-181.
- Whitmarsh, T. 2013. 'Radical Cognition. Metalepsis in Classical Greek Drama'. *G&R* 60: 4-16.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von. 1914. 'Neue lesbische Lyrik'. *NJA* 33: 225-247.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 1921. *Griechische Verskunst*. Berlin.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 1935-1972. *Kleine Schriften*. Berlin. 6 vols.
- Wiseman, D. J. 1956. *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum*. London.
- Wiseman, D. J. 1985. *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy*. Oxford.
- Yatromanolakis, D. 2004. 'Ritual Poetics in Archaic Lesbos. Contextualizing Genre in Sappho', in Yatromanolakis and Roilos 2004: 56-70.
- Yatromanolakis, D. 2008. 'Genre Categories and Interdiscursivity in Alkaios and Archaic Greece'. *Σύγκριση/Comparison* 19: 169-187.
- Yatromanolakis, D. (ed.) 2009a. *An Archaeology of Representations. Ancient Greek Vase-Painting and Contemporary Methodologies*. Athens.
- Yatromanolakis, D. 2009b. 'Symposia, Noses, *Πρόσωπα*. A *Kylix* in the Company of Banqueters on the Ground', in Yatromanolakis 2009a: 414-464.
- Yatromanolakis, D. and P. Roilos (edd.) 2004. *Greek Ritual Poetics*. Cambridge, MA.