The Cologne Fragment of Alcaeus

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REINHOLD MERKELBACH has lately published a new fragment of Alcaeus which is of great interest.[1] Following the civilised practice of Girolamo Vitelli and his Florentine successors, Merkelbach has shown the piece to many scholars before its publication, and the first edition contains suggestions by many experts, including the two leading authorities on Lesbian poetry, Edgar Lobel and Denys Page. The first publication is admirably done and is accompanied by a good photograph of the manuscript, which probably dates from the first century of our era; Merkelbach compares the writing of *POxy.* 2295. I have little to contribute in the way of new readings, and owe much of the material here presented to Merkelbach's publication and to the commentary on a fragment of the same poem given by Page in *Sappho and Alcaeus*;[2] readers will find it useful to have Merkelbach's publication in hand while studying this article. Still, I hope a rather fuller commentary on this important piece may be found useful.

TEXT

πολεμος
     ]υτι
          μηνδικ^α τα μη ϵ[νδικα τ]α μη ϵν δικ^η κϵ[ι]μϵν^α
[   ]σαντας αἰσχυν[. . .]τατα μῆνδικα
[   ]ην δὲ πϵρβάλον[τ' ἀν]άγκα   την αγχονην
                                           ουτως ϵιρη
          λϵ[υ]σμω   κϵ δϵσμον
[   ]χϵνι λαβολίωι π.[. .]αν·   την αναγκ
                                                 ην

1 δρά]σαντας Merkelbach: αἰσχύν[νον]τα τὰ Lobel: αἰσχύν[θϵν]τα τὰ Page
2 utrum ἀν]άγκαι (Merkelbach) an ἀν]άγκα (Page) incertum   3 αὖ]χϵνι
Merkelbach

[1] *PColon.* inv. no. 2021, in *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie u. Epigraphik* 1 (1967) 81f [cited hereafter as MERKELBACH].

[2] *POxy.* 2303 fr.1(a) and (b)= fr.298 L.-P.; for commentary, see D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 283ff [cited hereafter as PAGE, *S&A*]. The poem is mentioned in the ancient book on the early lyric poets published in Part 29 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*; see p.138 below. The piece appears as Alcaeus fr.138 in D. L. Page's *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (Oxford 1968) p.75.

[   ] Ἀχαίοισ’ ἦς πόλυ βέλτερον

5 [   ] . . ηντα κατέκτανον   θεοσυλη⁽ⁿ⁾οντα

[π]αρπλέοντες Αἴγαις

[   ]ς ἔτυχον θαλάσσας

[   ]εν ναύωι Πριάμω πάϊς

[Ἀ]θανάας πολυλάϊδος

10 [   ] ἐπαππένα γενήω   αφημμενη

[   ]νεες δὲ πόλιν ἔπηπον

[   ] . . . . . . ας Δαίφοβόν τ’ ἄμα

[   ] . ν οἰμώγα δ’ [ἀπ]ὺ τείχεος

[κα]ὶ παίδων αὖτα

15 [   ]ον πέδιον κάτη]χε.

[λ]ύ]σσαν ἦλθ’ ὀλόαν ἔχων

[   ] ἄγνας] Πάλλαδος ἀ θέων

[   ]σι θε]οσύλαισι πάντων

[   ]τα [μακάρων] πέφυκε.

20 [   ]σι δ’ ἀμφο]ῖν παρθενίκαν ἔλων

[   ] παρεστάκο]ισαν ἀγάλματι

[   ] ὀ Λόκρος οὐδ’ ἔδε]ισε

[   ] . ος πολέμω δότερ[ρ]]αν

[   ]ν· ἀ δὲ δεῖνον ὐπ’ [ὄ]φρ]υσι

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4 καὶ μάν κ’] Merkelbach: ἦ μάν κ’] Kassel: καί κ’ ὦς] Page   5 αἰ τὸν θεοβλ]αβέντα Page   6 ἴσως κε] Page: οὔτω κε]?   7 πραϋτέρα]ς Page: ληοτέρα]ς Merkelbach   8 ἴρηα δ’] vel γέραιρα δ’] Merkelbach 9 ἄγαλμ’] Merkelbach: ἴκτωρ] Page   10 κάτηχ’] Merkelbach: κάτισδ’] Page; ἐπαππένα Lobel: ἀπαππένα PColon.; γενήω Merkelbach: γενείω PColon.   11 δυσμέ]νεες Merkelbach; πόλη’?   12]υπ Merkelbach 13 ἔπεφν]ον (e.g.) Merkelbach   14 fort. ἔλαμψε κα]ὶ   15 Δαρδάνι]ον Page, Treu; incipit POxy. 2303 fr. 1 (a) et (b)   16 init. Merkelbach;]ν[.]ανηαθοα.[.] ἔχων POxy.   17 ἐς ναῦον (e.g.) Page, Kassel 18 φώτεσ]σι vel ἄνδρεσ]σι Merkelbach: θνάτοι]σι vel βρότοι]σι Page 19 δεινότά]τα Merkelbach: πικροτά]τα vel αἰνοτά]τα Page, S&A pp.283–84; μακάρων om. PColon.   20 χέρρεσ]σι Page, S&A p.283: ἐν χέρ]σι West 21 σέμνωι] Page: θέας] Kassel: ἄλλως] Merkelbach   22 ὔβρισσ’] Page S&A p.283: ἔρυσσ’] Merkelbach, Kassel: ἔξηλκ’] West: fort. ἤισχυν’ 23 παῖδα Δ]ίος Page, S&A p.283: τὰν βάρ]εος West   24 γόργωπι]ν Page, S&A p.283

25 σμ[[πε]λ̣[ι]δνώθεισα κ̣ὰ̣τ οἴνοπα

α . .[πόν]τ̣ο[ν] ἐκ δ' ἀφάντοι[ς

ἐξαπ[ίνας] ἐκύκα θυέλλαις·

αἰδη .[[]φ[

ἰραισ .[

30 Αἴας ἀχ̣ .[

ἄνδρος[

. .μο[

. .ερ .[

ἔβασκε[

35 παννυχια[

πρωτοισ̣[

δεινα . .[

ἄϊξε πόν[τον

ὦρσε βία[ν

40 . . .σ̣ισ̣ε[

πάντᾱ πε̣[

. . .]τ̣ο̣ν̣ο̣σ̣[

δ[. .].ροσενοσ[

ουδ̣ω̣δεκαμ[

45 ζώει μὲν ω .[

ἀτανβροτ .[

ὠυρραδον .[

ἔπει κελητ̣ο[

. . . . .σωπ[

]μέλοντο δὲ ἕνεκεν̣[. .]

]α̣ι τὴν πόλιν καὶ [

]τ̣οῦ Αἴ(αντος) ὅρο(ς) ἐπιλεγόμεν[ον

]χάριν ἀνδρὸς ο̣σ̣[

25–31 obelis notantur   25 σμ[ύχει Treu: σμ[έρδον Merkelbach
26 ἄϊξ[ε πόν]το[ν Page, S&A p.283   28 desinit POxy.   30 "α
vel η" Merkelbach   32 "Statt μ kann vielleicht auch αρ gelesen
werden. Vor der Lücke ein runder Buchstabe, ε oder σ oder ο" Merkelbach
33 ad init. fort. π Merkelbach; in tertio loco σ vel ε   37 fort. κ[Merkel-
bach   44 "ον vel δυ" Page   46 "α vel η" Merkelbach

In scholio sub v.24 posito, v.3] τοῦ Αἴ(αντος) ὅρο(ς) ἐπιλεγόμεν[ον Lloyd-Jones
et Rea:]χουα.ορ° ἐπιλεγομεν[Merkelbach

TRANSLATION

". . . (putting to shame?) those who (had acted?) unjustly. We must
put a (noose?) about his neck and destroy him by stoning . . . it
would have been far better for the Achaeans if they had killed (the
man who offended against the gods); then as they sailed past Aegae

they would have found the sea (more gentle) . . . the daughter of Priam in the temple (clasped) the image of Athene, giver of much booty, holding its chin, while the enemy were besetting the city. (They killed) . . . and Deiphobus, and a wail of grief (went up) from the wall, and the cry of children filled the whole (Dardanian) plain. (Ajax) came in deadly madness to the temple of holy Pallas, her who of all the immortal gods is (most terrible) to sacrilegious (mortals). And with both hands the Locrian seized the girl as she . . . stood by the image and (ravished?) her, not fearing (the daughter of Zeus) who gives strength in war, (her of the fearful eyes?). But she went and (her eyes burned?) terribly beneath her brows, and she (darted) over the wine-dark sea and suddenly stirred up the hidden blasts of the storm . . ."

I

When he discussed the Oxyrhynchus fragment at S&A p.283, Page classed the piece among the "Non-Political Poems." We now see that although it narrates a story from ancient myth, it does so in order to furnish an example that is meant to illustrate a modern happening. The citation of examples from past history to throw light on actual events[3] is common already in the *Iliad*; among many instances, it is enough to recall how Achilles in urging Priam to eat with him reminds him that even Niobe in the hour of her deepest sorrow was persuaded to eat (24.602). Choral lyric took over the practice from the epic; in Alcman's Louvre *Partheneion* (fr.1) the story of the defeat of the sons of Hippocoön is used to point a moral (36f),[4] and in later poets of this genre there are innumerable instances. In monodic lyric there are naturally fewer cases, but even here the practice is attested. Sappho in a famous poem (fr.16) illustrates her declaration that the most beautiful thing on earth is what one loves by pointing to the case of Helen, who sacrificed everything for the sake of Paris.[5] Alcaeus (fr.38) supports his advice to Melanippus to

[3] Many instances are listed and discussed in the invaluable Basle dissertation of Robert Oehler, a pupil of Von der Mühll, *Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (Aarau 1925). See also Ed. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* II (Oxford 1950) 461, 470.

[4] H. Patzer, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Tragödie* (Wiesbaden 1962) 104f, makes some good observations about Alcman in this connection, and about the history of this *topos* in choral lyric and in tragedy. On Pindar see C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 290f, 304f.

[5] See Page, S&A p.129, for other possible instances in Sappho.

drink and enjoy life while it lasts by recalling the example of Sisyphus, whose cleverness earned him a respite from death, but not for long.[6] If we had more long fragments of Alcaeus, I suspect that other mythological narrations in his poetry would turn out to be there in order to furnish examples; for instance, the story of how Helen left her husband and caused the Trojan War in fr.283 and the comparison between Helen and Thetis in fr.42 both look as if they were meant to point a moral. Had we more long fragments, the gap between "political" and "non-political" poems might be bridged in other instances also, as it has been in this. As in Sappho fr.16, this poem seems to have returned towards its end to the modern instances which the example was meant to illustrate, for at v.47 there seems to be an undoubted reference to Pittacus. That seems not to have been Alcaeus' invariable practice in such cases; the poem partly preserved in fr.42 ends with the end of the myth, as the coronis shows.

COMMENTARY

1 The poem begins in the middle of a sentence, and the first line cannot be restored with safety while we remain ignorant of what went before it. I see no need to assume the existence of a superlative form αἰσχυν[νέσ]τατα (Merkelbach, p.85); what stood in the text was most probably a participle, either active or, less likely, passive.

2 Merkelbach thinks that the first word of the second line meant something like 'a muzzle' or 'a halter'.[7] Unfortunately neither φιμόν, πάσσαλον nor κλοιόν nor any of the commoner words meaning 'yoke' fits, and he can only offer φορβῆν, supposed to be a form of φορβειάν, which means a horse's feeding muzzle which is attached to a manger. Merkelbach takes αναγκα to stand for the dative, and supplies the main verb of the sentence from what precedes. This may be right, but ἀνάγκα as nominative would make sense; at fr. 249 it is taken in this way by Page, S&A pp.196–7, and this is how Page prints it here. Merkelbach seems to think that the puzzling scholion indicates that αναγκα here means 'noose' or 'fetters'; but even if he is right in taking the word to be a dative, this sense is not necessarily relevant here, even if the author of the scholion thought so. It is quite possible that the scholion referred not to this word at all but to whatever word is missing at the beginning of v.2. Note that in the scholion δεσμον (Page) and not δεσμα (Merkelbach) seems to

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[6] See Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*[2] (Oxford 1961) 162 and Ed. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 185.

[7] Hirzel, *op.cit.* (*infra* n.12) 243–44, points out that victims of stoning were sometimes tied up so that they could not escape; thus in Philostr. *Heroicus* 7, Palamedes has his hands bound.

have been written. At the beginning of the scholion Page prints τὴν
αισχυνην: he tells me he would now accept τὴν αγχονην.

2-3 If Merkelbach is right in taking the sense to be "We should place a halter
about his neck and stone him," the verb at the end of v.3 must have meant
'to crush', 'to punish', 'to kill', or else have been a verb that together with
λαβολίωι would yield the sense 'to stone'. The only verb that occurs to me
that might do is 'παλοίαν. ἀπαλοῖαν occurs at *Iliad* 4.522 of the severing of
tendons and at Callim. fr.260.1 of breaking off a horn (see *HSCP* 72 [1968] 125f),
but is used by Nonnus, *Dionys.* 9.320 in the sense of 'destroy'. But I do not feel
confident that Alcaeus would have used the epic form of this verb, and offer
it only with many reservations. λαβολίωι (glossed by λευσμῶι) is new, but in
view of λάβολος in fr.68.3 (where it is used with gerundival sense, like λιθό-
λευστος at Callimachus, *Epigr.* 41.5 Pf. and Alexander Aetolus fr.3.12 Powell)
it is not surprising.

4 Kassel's ἦ μάν κ']] suits the space, and also, I think, the style, better than
Merkelbach's καὶ μάν κ']: the latter combination of particles is not so far
attested in the Lesbian poets. Clearly the sense is that the Greeks would have
been better off if they had stoned Ajax the son of Oileus for having violated
Cassandra in the temple of Athene, for they would not then have encountered
the famous storm which scattered their returning fleet, leading to the death of
Ajax and delaying the return of many others. See below, pp.136–8.

5 Page's αἰ τὸν θεοβλ]αβέντα suits the sense; for this verb, compare Aesch.
Pers. 831 λῆξαι θεοβλαβοῦνθ᾽ ὑπερκόμπωι θράσει, where Broadhead is right
against Groeneboom in taking the sense as active, 'damaging the gods', rather
than passive.

6 Page suggests ἴσως κε but I slightly prefer οὔτω κε: the simplicity of the
latter seems to me more like Alcaeus than the irony of the former. On Aegae,
see below, p.138; Merkelbach must be right in thinking that a place of that
name in Euboea is in question.

7 Whether we adopt Page's πραϋτέρα]ς or Merkelbach's (somewhat less
attractive) ληοτέρα]ς, a usage is in question which is not uncommon in prayers
as when the Chorus of the *Oedipus Coloneus* (1482) say to the unknown *daimon*
whose wrath they fear, ἐναισίου δὲ σοῦ τύχοιμι. One implores a divinity that
one may find him ἐναίσιος, ἴλεως, πρᾶιος: which inclines me to prefer Page's
guess.

8 Cassandra was not a priestess, so I do not like the suggestion ἴρηα. Sappho
fr.44.16 has the form Περάμοιο and Alcaeus fr.42.2 has Περράμωι, but it
would not be safe to conclude that Alcaeus really wrote Περάμω in this place.
Alcaeus might well use the epic as well as the vernacular form of such a name;
at fr.42.11 he has Νηρεΐδων, though Sappho (fr.5.1) has Νηρήιδες.[8]

[8] See I. Kazik-Zawadzka, *De Sapphicae Alcaicaeque elocutionis colore epico* (Wrocław 1958)
43–44.

9 πολυλάϊδος looks back to Athene's Homeric epithet of ἀγελείη; cf. ληῖτις in the Doloneia (Il. 10.460).

10 ἀπαππένα glossed by ἀφημμένη is surprising. First, Lobel (ap. Merkelbach, p.87) must surely be right in suggesting that ἐπαππένα instead of ἐφημμένη was intended; in similar contexts one often finds such verbs as ἀπαρτωμένη 'hanging from', but a compound of ἅπτομαι 'I touch', would have ἐπι- and not ἀπο-. Next, Merkelbach explains the form by comparing ὄππατα the Lesbian equivalent of ὄμματα. But that is a noun, and here we are dealing with a verbal ending, which we should not expect to suffer this mutation; none of the forms set out by E.-M. Hamm, *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios* (AbhBerl 1951) p.21 §30, which Merkelbach refers to, is parallel to this, nor do fr.130.10 and Sappho fr.24(b).5 serve to confirm it. Lobel and Page both think the word must be corrupt for the form with double μ, and it is hard not to agree with them. Or was this form an analogical absurdity forced into the text by the grammarians?

The Lesbian form is γένηον as Merkelbach remarks (cf. Alcaeus fr.120.9); γενείω is probably an error. "The word must, on this evidence, mean 'chin' in Lesbian, not 'beard'," says Page (ap. Merkelbach, p.7). In other dialects also it can mean either 'chin' or 'beard', as LSJ rightly say; but I know no other place where it is used of the chin of a *female* person.

11 The lengthening of the *iota* of πόλιν is surprising. Lobel suggests πόλιν⟨δ'⟩, thinking, presumably, of the two places in the *Iliad* where the expression ἔφεπον κρατερώνυχας ἵππους has the indirect object Πατρόκλωι. But these do not prove that ἐφέπω can be treated as if it were a verb of motion; in this place the sense must be 'the enemy were besetting the city', and πόλινδ' will not do. Page suggests inserting after πόλιν a τ' which would couple it with Δαίφοβον in v.12; but even if we leave out of account the gap which precedes that name, the sense favours a strong stop after ἔπηπον. Merkelbach quotes K. Strunk for two attempts to explain the lengthening by linguistic arguments; but supposing either could be accepted (and I find neither compelling), why do we find this isolated instance? I am baffled by this phenomenon, but observe that a poet who uses the genitive form πόληος (fr.41.18) might be capable of using the accusative form πόληα which occurs at [Hes.] *Scut.* 105. Callim. 43.60 must have taken it from early epic.

In view of the occurrence of ἔφηπον here, the supplement 'πέπ[οισαι at fr.45.5 becomes more plausible.

12 What stood at the beginning of this line? Merkelbach interprets the traces at the beginning as υπ but says that the apparent υ may be a grave accent and the apparent π perhaps σι; in the gap, there may be room for only one rather than two letters. Before ας there is a small circle in the middle of the line, "rather small for β or ρ." I should expect to find here the names of Trojans killed together with Deiphobus; perhaps ας was the end of

the accusative plural of a patronymic, or else παῖδας followed a genitive in -οιο.

13–4 Merkelbach suggests δέδαε, Page ὄρωρε; neither will do, since a perfect of this kind is equivalent to a present, and the historic present is not used in early lyric: see J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* I² (Basel 1926) 163, and other literature recently listed by R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (*Zetemata* 44 [Munich 1967] 93–4). I find it hard to think of an adequate supplement; one might consider ἔλαμψε, if only the word were used in this way in lyric as it is in tragedy.

Lobel and Page quote *Il.* 22.447 κωκυτοῦ δ’ ἤκουσε καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπὸ πύργου. One is also reminded of Xenophon's memorable account of how the news of Aegospotami reached Athens: ἐν δὲ ταῖς ’Αθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῶι ἑτέρωι παραγγέλλων. Did the thing really happen, or did Xenophon remember what he knew from the poets ought to happen?

14–5 Kassel well compares *Il.* 16.78f οἱ δ’ ἀλαλητῶι | πᾶν πεδίον κατέχουσι and Aesch. *Pers.* 426f οἰμωγὴ δ’ ὁμοῦ | κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα: note also Eur. *Tro.* 556f βοὰ κατεῖχε περγάμων ἕδρας and Hdt. 1.111 κλαυθμῶι κατείχετο οἶκος. ἀϋτή in the *Iliad* regularly refers to the cry of fighting warriors. Behind the present passage seems to lie *Od.* 14.264–8= 17.433–7:

> αἶψα μάλ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέας ἀγροὺς
> πόρθεον, ἐκ δὲ γυναῖκας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα
> αὐτούς τ’ ἔκτεινον. τάχα δ’ ἐς πόλιν ἵκετ’ ἀϋτή.
> οἱ δὲ βοῆς ἀΐοντες ἅμ’ ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι
> ἦλθον· πλῆτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων
> χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς.

Δαρδάνι]ον πέδιον will do well to signify what in the *Iliad* is called πεδίον Σκαμάνδριον (2.465), or πεδίον ’Ιλήϊον (21.558), or Τρωϊκὸν πεδίον (23.464; cf. 10.11). In the *Iliad* the Dardanians are a special people, the subjects of Aeneas and Anchises, but later the word is a mere synonym for 'Trojan'.

16 Compare *Il.* 9.304–5:

> νῦν γάρ χ’ ῞Εκτορ’ ἕλοις, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι
> λύσσαν ἔχων ὀλοήν.

In the case of Ajax, as in that of Hector, the 'madness' in question was to prove even more 'deadly' to its possessor than to others.

17 It is odd that elsewhere the epithet ἀγνά does not seem to be applied to Athene before the paean of Lamprocles (*PMG* 735). It is not a prerogative of virgin goddesses, for in the *Odyssey* it is applied to Persephone (11.386) as well as Artemis, and in the Demeter hymn it is applied both to Persephone (337)

and to Demeter (203, 429). Both Lesbian poets use it of the Charites (Alcaeus fr.386, Sappho frgg. 53, 108.8). It is often applied to temples, as in the Elean hymn to Dionysus (*PMG* 871.1–3) and at Alcman fr.14(*b*); here it is obviously appropriate.

18 Lobel, *POxy.* XXI p.87, points out that θεοσύλης is shown to be an old Ionic word by Hipponax fr.118.1 Masson (=*POxy.* 2176.1), where line 14 of the commentary supports his supplement θεό[συλιν against θεο[σεχθρὴν (Ed. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* I [Rome 1964] 242–3); *cf.* Alcaeus fr.59(b), where ἱερόσυλος probably glossed the same word. The synizesis, rare as it is in Alcaeus, is not abnormal; *cf.* Lobel, Σαπφοῦς Μέλη (Oxford 1925) pp. lxiii f.[9] συλάω is the *vox propria* for the spoliation of the gods; see K. Latte, *Kl. Schr.* (Munich 1968) 416f. Apart from the regular use for the robbing or seizing of property, it is also used of the seizure of persons (as in the Delphian manumission inscriptions quoted by W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* [Göttingen 1934] 163), so that the seizure of Cassandra, just as much as a robbery from the temple, could be accounted an act of θεοσυλία. Still, this word, like ἱεροσυλία doubtless served as a general term for sacrilege.

Among the various possible supplements φώτεσ]σι is specially attractive because of its contemptuous note, but it is far from certain.

19 Alcaeus fr.327.1 calls Eros δεινότατος θέων. In Homer the verb φύω, even in the perfect, always conveys the suggestion of growth; this seems to be the earliest place in which πέφυκε means little more than 'is'.

20 Lobel, *POxy.* XXI p.87, shows that the dual is not abnormal. To the Lesbian instances of παρθενίκα given by Page (Alcaeus fr.45.5, Sappho fr.44.15) add now Sappho, *POxy.* 2357 fr.4.4.

21 παρεστάκοισαν is the normal Lesbian equivalent of παρεστηκυῖαν: see Page, *S&A* p.284.

22 Verbs meaning 'drag' are regular in this kind of context; note *Il.* 6.465 ἑλκηθμός and 21.62 ἑλκηθείσας . . . θύγατρας. Eur. *Tro.* 70 uses ἕλκειν of this very incident, and Lycophron's Cassandra says of herself ἑλκυσθήσομαι (358). Still, I favour ἤισχυν' or ὕβρισσ'. With οὐδ' ἔδεισεν compare *Il.* 13.623–4 and *Od.* 22.39. In Quintus, Ajax 'shames' Cassandra (ἤισχυνέν 13.422)[10] and Athene says of Ajax οὐδ' ἔδδεισεν ἐμὸν μένος (14.438).

23 Page quotes Hes. *Op.* 356 ἅρπαξ . . . θανάτοιο δότειρα: there is also Pind. fr.109.3, where στάσις is called πενίας δότειρα and Nic. *Alex.* 612. πολέμω δότερραν probably means 'giver of strength in war', as in Pind. *Paean* 4.40 πόλεμον Διὸς means 'Zeus' might in war'.

24 Perhaps it is fortuitous, but γοργωπός and γοργῶπις are so far attested in no author earlier than Aeschylus. With ὑπ' ὄφρυσι compare *Il.* 15.607f τὼ δέ

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[9] *Cf.* Kazik-Zawadzka, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.8) 21.
[10] *Cf.* Triphiodorus 647–8:
    Κασσάνδρην δ᾽ ᾔσχυνεν ᾽Οϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας
    Παλλάδος ἀχράντοιο θεῆς ὑπὸ γοῦνα πεσοῦσαν.

οἱ ὄσσε | λαμπέσθην βλοσυρῆισιν ὑπ᾽ ὀφρύσιν. The context seems to demand that the word following ὄφρυσι should be a verb, and the only verb beginning with σμ- that seems at all likely to be suitable is σμ[ῦχεν which Treu has suggested; note κενεαὶ γὰρ ὑποσμύχονται ὀπωπαί at Ap. Rhod. 2.445. But see pp.134–5 below.

25 The Suda *s.v.* ὑποδράξ quotes

> ἡ δὲ πελιδνωθεῖσα καὶ ὄμμασι λοξὸν ὑποδράξ
> ὀσσομένη

τουτέστιν ὠχριάσασα καὶ ὑποβλεψαμένη διὰ τὴν ὀργήν. Pfeiffer rightly prints the quotation as Callim. fr.374; Hecker's conjecture that all hexameter fragments quoted in the Suda without an author's name belong to the *Hecale* has not been controverted in a single instance, despite the large amount of new material discovered since his time (see R. Pfeiffer, ed. *Callimachus* II [Oxford 1953] Prolegg. ad Fragm. pp. xxxiii–xxxiv and on fr.238.21). Reitzenstein and Wilamowitz thought the person referred to was the angry Medea (see Pfeiffer *ad loc.*). But the great rarity of the word πελιδνωθεῖσα, together with the fact that Alcaeus applied it to the angry Athene, supports Pfeiffer's suggestion that the passage comes from the crow's description of Athene's anger with her; see *HSCP* 72 (1968) 141–2.

26 ἄιξε is conjectured here by Page. ἀΐσσω is, as he observes, often applied to the movements of the gods in Homer. He cites *Il.* 4.78, where it is said of Athene that ἤϊξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα: four times (2.167, 4.74, 7.19, 22.187) her action is described in the formulaic line βῆ δὲ κατ᾽ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἀΐξασα. οἴνοπα πόντον—in Homer usually preceded by ἐπὶ, once by εἰς—is yet another Homeric expression.

26–7 Compare *Od.* 5.292.3 πάσας δ᾽ ὀρόθυνεν ἀέλλας | παντοίων ἀνέμων; 11.400 ὄρσας ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἀμέγαρτον ἀϋτμήν; 14.254 ὄρσας ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἐπὶ πόντον ἀήτας; 24.110 ὄρσας ἀργαλέους ἀνέμους καὶ κύματα μακρά. For ἐξαπίνας compare *Od.* 12.288 ἤν πως ἐξαπίνης ἔλθηι ἀνέμοιο θύελλα; *Il.* 9.6 Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος . . . ἐλθόντ᾽ ἐξαπίνης; 17.57 ἐλθὼν ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῆι.

ἀφάντοι[ς is taken by Page to mean 'dark'; he compares Parmenides 9.3 φάεος καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφάντου. This may be right, but I think it likelier to mean 'invisible', 'lurking', like the Latin *latentes*; compare Soph. *Phil.* 296–7, where Philoctetes, describing how he rubbed two stones together to make fire, says ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων μόλις | ἔφην᾽ ἄφαντον φῶς.

κυκάω is not used of winds in Homer, but it is applied to the action of Achilles upon the Scamander at *Il.* 21.235, 240, 324 and to the sea inside Charybdis at *Od.* 12.238, 241; Sappho has it in a different sense at fr.137.4.

25–31 Vv.25–31 have the obelus against them, and Merkelbach points out that it probably stood against v.24 also. Page infers that the lines obelised were wrongly placed and guesses that vv.32–7 represent the stanza that should have

followed vv.20–3. "We may have to suppose," he writes, "that 32 was one of the obelised lines, or that 32 represents a second writing of 24, after the error involved in 25–31 had been detected" (*ap.* Merkelbach, p.91). "This is supported," he argues, "by the fact that there is no Greek word beginning σμ which could have made sense between ἁ δὲ δεῖνον ὑπ᾽ ὄφρυσι and πελιδνώθεισα: σμέρδνον could not stand together with δεῖνον and σμέδναις (for -αισι) would be contrary to the dialect."

30 The word following Αἴας must, as Merkelbach remarks, have been some case of the word Ἀχαιοί. Perhaps the sense was that Athene brought ruin upon the Achaeans for the sake of one man's crime. Note the scholion that stands below v.24, and compare Lycoph. *Alex.* 365–6:

> ἑνὸς δὲ λώβης ἀντί, μυρίων τέκνων
> Ἑλλὰς στενάξει πᾶσα τοὺς κενοὺς τάφους.

and Triphiodorus 650

> ἀνθ᾽ ἑνὸς Ἀργείοισιν ἐχώσατο πᾶσιν Ἀθήνη.

34–5 Page observes that vv.34–5 might well follow v.25, thus:

>] ἁ δὲ δεῖνον ὑπ᾽ ὄφρυσι
>] πελιδνώθεισα, κὰτ οἴνοπα
> ἔβασκε πόντον, ἐκ δ᾽ ἀφάντοις
> παννυχίαις ἐκύκα θυέλλαις.

Although the simple verb βάσκειν occurs elsewhere only in the imperative, Sappho fr.21.7 has ἀμφιβάσκει, so that the articulation appears probable. But the conjecture is not recommended by the fact that, if it is accepted, θυέλλαις has to carry two epithets. According to most authorities, Athene was helped by Poseidon, who raised the storm which scattered the Achaean fleet. Did vv.34–5 refer to his action?

37–9 Merkelbach (p.93) suggests "e.g. [κὰτ οἴνοπα] ἄϊξε πόν[τον, ἐκ δ᾽ ἀφάντων] ὦρσε βία[ν ἀνέμων. . . ." Perhaps; but the repetitions in the text are not so startling as to compel us to believe that something like this has happened. Still, ὦρσε is just the verb in which we should expect the action of raising the winds to be described. See above, on 26–7, and compare *Il.* 12.253 ὦρσεν . . . ἀνέμοιο θυέλλας and *Od.* 5.109; for the winds, *cf. Od.* 5.478 and 19.440 ἀνέμων . . . μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντων; note also Hes. *Op.* 625, *Theog.* 869.

41 πάνται occurs at Sappho fr.44.28 and fr.65.9.

47 ὤϋρραδον is puzzling. Pittacus is called τὸν Ὕρραον . . . παῖδα at fr.129.13. Callim. *Epigr.* 1.2 Pf. calls him παῖδα τὸν Ὑρράδιον and this form occurs so often in the grammarians (see Pfeiffer *ad loc.*) that it must have been found in Alcaeus (so A.S.F. Gow, in *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams,* ed. Gow/Page [Cambridge 1965] 205, on his *Epigr.* 54.2). Perhaps ωυρραδον is a mistake for ὠυρράδιον. But in that case what is the initial *omega* doing?

ὠϋρράδ⟨ι⟩ον might be part of some such phrase as ὠϋρράδιον γένεθλον, 'O offspring of Hyrras'.

48 Merkelbach recalls that the boat (ἀκάτιον) supplied by Mnemon for the return of Myrsilus occurs in a commentary on Alcaeus (fr.305 col. i 17–8). But that can have nothing to do with this passage, and we cannot know whether κέλητο[here means 'boat' or 'horse'. For all we know, Ajax as he swam to the rock on which he eventually perished may have bestridden a plank as Odysseus did: ἀμφ' ἐνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων (*Od.* 5.371).

II

The commentary shows the pervasive influence of the epic on the poem's style and diction; "the Epic theme, here as elsewhere, brings features of Epic style with it," as Page wrote with only the Oxyrhynchus fragment before him (*S&A* p.285). The rape of Cassandra had been described in the *Iliou Persis* and the storm in the *Nostoi*, as well as in the *Odyssey* (4.495f).[11] The crime of Ajax led to the greatest catastrophe that befell the Achaeans during the whole Trojan episode; by transforming their chief helper among the gods into a deadly enemy, it plunged them in the very moment of their triumph into disaster. Alcaeus could have chosen no more signal example of the general truth that it is often better for a community to destroy a member of it who has incurred the anger of the gods, in order that its other members may not share his fate.

The punishment of stoning, which according to Alcaeus the Achaeans would have been wise to apply to Ajax, was particularly appropriate to the perpetrators of crimes likely if unpunished to bring disaster upon the whole community. Rudolf Hirzel in a masterly paper[12] showed that its origins go back to an early period of society, and that its special aptness for punishing such crimes lay in the fact that every member of the community could take a part in it, so that the collective guilt could easily be purged by its infliction. Originally, indeed, it was not so much a means of inflicting death as a means of extruding a member from his share in the community, as in the Ionian ceremony the φαρμακοί were extruded. In the *Iliad* Hector tells Paris that he deserves stoning (3.56–7), and epic and tragic poetry abound with references to that punishment.

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[11] For the rape of Cassandra in literature, see Juliette Davreux, *La Légende de la prophétesse Cassandre* (Bibl. Liège 94, 1942) 42f; for a short bibliography, see Page, *S&A* 285 n.1.

[12] "Die Strafe der Steinigung," in *AbhLeipzig* 27 (1909) 225f.

There can be little doubt that in the *Iliou Persis* the Achaeans came near to stoning Ajax for his offence against Cassandra. The famous painting of the scene soon after the sack of Troy with which Polygnotus decorated the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi showed Ajax standing by an altar with a shield, ὀμνύμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματος. Cassandra was sitting on the ground and holding the image of Athene, and Agamemnon and Menelaus, wearing helmets, were administering the oath to Ajax (Pausanias 10.26.3). A few chapters later, Pausanias mentions that Ajax and Odysseus were enemies because Odysseus advised the Greeks to stone Ajax for his crime against Cassandra (10.31.2).

What oath was Ajax swearing? Carl Robert was certainly wrong in thinking[13] that he was swearing to redeem his offence by instituting the famous tribute of the maidens whom his native country of Opuntian Locri later used to send to Troy. In a trial according to Homeric justice the defendant would deny his guilt on oath; thus during the quarrel that arose out of the chariot-race during the funeral games of Patroclus, Menelaus challenges Antilochus to deny on oath that he has cheated (*Il.* 23.581f). Ajax presumably took an oath of this nature; such an oath might be seconded by friends of the swearer, who would take a similar oath on his behalf.

It seems that some standard account described a trial of Ajax for his crime against Cassandra; perhaps Odysseus was the prosecutor. Carl Robert long ago made it probable[14] that the main authority followed by Polygnotus in his Iliou Persis was the cyclic epic of the same name. On the Cypselus chest Pausanias (1.15.3) saw "the kings assembled on account of the crime of Ajax against Cassandra." That too indicates that an early standard authority described a trial scene, and this was in all probability the *Iliou Persis.* The most detailed account of the episode which we possess occurs in a work more than a thousand years later than the *Iliou Persis,* in the second of the *Refutationes* ascribed to Libanius and in the reply to it contained in the third of the *Confirmationes* attributed to that author.[15] Calchas

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[13] *Die griechische Heldensage* III (Berlin 1923) 1268. The right view is taken by A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* I (Cambridge 1917) 11. For the oath in Homeric legal procedure, see K. Latte, "Der Rechtsgedanke im archaischen Griechentum," *Kl. Schr.* 237.

[14] Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm 17 (1893); see pp.74ff, esp. p.79.

[15] Libanius, ed. Forster, VIII (BT, Leipzig 1915) pp.128f and 150f. The author was probably the fifth century sophist Nicolaus of Myra; see *RE* 12 (1925) 2520 *s.v.* LIBANIOS and 17 (1936) 448 *s.v.* NIKOLAOS 21.

tells the Achaeans that Athene is angry with them, and Ajax is put on trial; Odysseus prosecutes (*Ref.* 2.9), but Ajax escapes by taking refuge at an altar. An assembly is held, and Menelaus insists on sailing for home at once, while Agamemnon stays behind to attempt to placate Athene. That last detail is given also in Proclus' summary of the *Nostoi* attributed to Agias,[16] and it seems probable that the account given in the *Iliou Persis* and the *Nostoi* is being followed.

Further there is an indication that the story of Ajax's trial was told by a commentator on the particular poem of Alcaeus which we are now discussing. In *Classical Review* N.S. 15 (1965) 72 I combined frgg. 108 and 84 of the work on early lyric published as *POxy.* 2506 (in Part XXIX of the series) to give the following result:

> ἀ]λλὰ καὶ τὸ[ν] ὑπὸ τῶν [
> Αἴ]αντα κατη⟨ι⟩τιαμένο[ν
>]α [ἐπὶ] τῆι Κασσάνδρα[ι
> κ]αὶ γὰ[ρ] αὔτ[ὴν τῶι ἀ]γάλμ[ατι

It seems likely that Ajax was said to have been 'accused' by the Achaeans for having committed a crime (*e.g.* παρανομήσαντα) against Cassandra, and that the writer went on to describe how he seized her as she clasped the image of Athene. The word 'accused' indicates that this author knew the story of the trial of Ajax, which as we have seen probably occurred in the *Iliou Persis*.

The storm struck the fleet as it was passing Aegae (v.6). Merkelbach must be right in taking this to be the place in Euboea variously called Aige, Aigai and Aigaia and identified by Stephanus of Byzantium with Carystus.[17] In the Towneleian Scholia to the *Iliad* (13.21), this is said to be the Aegae to which Poseidon repairs from Samothrace to harness his chariot before travelling to Troy; the same view is taken by Strabo 386 (*cf.* 405). The unidentified author of a work called *Nesias*, 'the book of islands', cited in the scholia to Apollonius 1.1165 (p.105 Wendel) takes this to be the place from which the name of the Aegean Sea derives.

In the *Odyssey* Ajax meets his end at the 'Gyraean rocks', which are

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[16] *Homeri Opera*, ed. T. W. Allen, V (OCT, Oxford 1946) p.108; E. Bethe, *Der Troische Epenkreis* (Darmstadt 1966) p.36 (= *Homer, Dichtung und Sage* II [Leipzig 1922] p.182); A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chréstomathie de Proclos* III: *La* Vita Homeri *et les sommaires du Cycle* I (Bibl. Liège 132, 1953) Procli Fragmenta p. xi.

[17] See W. Spoerri in *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1955–) 241f *s.v. Αἰγαί.*

regularly located in the neighborhood of Mykonos, Delos and Tenos.[18] But Proclus in his summary of the *Nostoi* puts the storm and the death of Ajax near Caphereus, the southern promontory of Euboea; and most later authorities either give this version only or contaminate this version with the other in which the neighborhood of Delos is involved. Bethe in his book on the Trojan epics[19] assumes that Euboea came into the story only with the legend of Nauplius, who avenges the death of his son Palamedes at the hands of the Achaeans by lighting the beacon which lured them onto the jagged cliffs of the coast near Caphereus; he supposes that Proclus wrongly stated that the *Nostoi* mentioned Euboea through an accidental memory of the other version. But now that we know that Alcaeus mentioned Aegae, it becomes virtually certain that Proclus is correct. In the *Odyssey* the storm overtakes the Greek near Mykonos; but what is true of the *Odyssey* is not necessarily true of the *Nostoi*. If in later writers the location in Euboea is found together with the Nauplius story, that does not prove that the two went together from the start; the *Nostoi* might have made the storm strike near the Euboean coast without bringing in Nauplius. In fact Bethe himself (p.132) observes that Nauplius was mentioned in the *Nostoi*; Pausanias (1.22.6) mentions that his sons helped Aegisthus against Orestes, which Bethe (p.132) thinks he may have found in that epic. Although Athene and Poseidon caused the storm, so that Nauplius' wrecking activity is superfluous, the two stories are by no means inconsistent. For all we know, the story that the Achaeans, buffeted by the storm, saw what seemed to be a welcoming light and were lured straight onto the most dangerous rocks of the Mediterranean may be as old as the *Iliou Persis*.

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March, 1968

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[18] See F. H. Sandbach, *CR* 56 (1942) 63f.

[19] *op.cit.* (*supra* n.16) II.131 (= *Homer, Dichtung und Sage* II.279). The reprinting of this work, invaluable for its edition of the fragments of the epics in question, makes it necessary to remind the reader that Bethe's thesis that 'The Little Iliad' was simply a name for the *Aethiopis, Iliou Persis* and *Nostoi* together was refuted by Severyns, *RevPhil* 49 (1925) 162f.