

ALCMAN 10 (b) (P. Oxy. 2506 fr. 5 col. ii.8-12, 15-18)
AND RELEVANT FRAGMENTS

a. (col. ii.8-12)

τὸ δ[ἐ φί]λαις ἄρχε ταῖς Δυ μαί[ναις]	[^] ia ith
Τυνδαρίδαι(ν) ἐνα[λί(γκι)]ε σά[λλων τ'] ἐν αἰχμᾶι	4da ia [^]
σι οφιλῆς χο[ρα]γῆ	ith
Ἄγησίδαμε κλε{ε}[ν]ῆ Δαμοτιμίδα.	3ia

b. (col. ii.15-18)

	ὦ ἕρωχος	- ia [^]
κῆρατῶς χο [ρα]γῶς·		ith
αὐτὰ γὰρ ἀμ(έ)ων ἄλι [κ]ῆς νεανίαι		3ia
φίλοι τ', ἀγ[έ]νε [οι		r
κ]ἀνύπανοι		tr

a.

⊖ ⊖ - - ⊖ ⊖ - - ||
- ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ - - ⊖ - - ||
⊖ ⊖ ⊖ - - ||
- - ⊖ - - | - ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ - - ||

b.

- ⊖ - - ||
- ⊖ ⊖ - - ||
- - ⊖ - - | - ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ - - ||
⊖ ⊖ ⊖ - - ||
- ⊖ - -

a. 1 δ[ἐ φί]λαις Ts., δ' [ἐσθ]λαῖς dub. Treu || 2 -ίδαι(ν) Ts.; ἐνα[λί(γκι)]ε Ts., quo spatium excedente, λι vel γκι omisisse scribam conii.; Τυνδαρίδ' αἰὲν α[] vel Τυνδαρίδ' αἰενα[έ]ς vel Τυνδαρίδαι ἐνα[] tent. Page, Τυνδαρίδαι ἐνα[ί]εσα[ν] dub. Calame | σά[λλων τ'] Ts. || 3 σι|οφιλες pap.; χο[ρα]γῆ suppl. Lobel || 4 Ἄγ- Calame | κλε{ε}[ν]ῆ suppl. Lobel, corr. Page || b. 1 'initium non erat α, vix ω' Page, ω certum Ts., ὦ ἕρωχος Ts., ἄγερωχος Calame || 2 suppl. Lobel || 3 αὐτοί vel αὐτεῖ Page, etiam αὐτῶ Calame; αὐτὰ tenendum esse cens. Ts. | αμων pap., corr. Page | ηλι|[κ]ῆς pap., corr. Page

Page, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 29, 1963: “I cannot make sense or metre of the quotations in this column”. R. Führer, *ZPE* 11 (1973), 130, points out the metrical resposion of the underlined portions of the verses. Cf. also Calame, *Alcman*, 1983, 82 a, b with the commentary, and p. 221.

a 1. τὸ δ[έ], addressed to Hagesidamus, seems to presuppose a τὸ μὲν. Then, Hagesidamus must have been one of two choragoi; at least b.2 χοραγῶς shows that they were more than one. I shall soon claim that in the song there is a correlation with a pair of girls singing. What has survived of the commentary suggests also the same thing: 18 αὐτόν τε γὰρ | [τὸ]ν Ἀγησ[ι]δαμον ἀγένει|[ον] ἀποφα[ίνει καὶ τὸ]ν συν|[απ]ροδεδει[γμένον] (supplevi) αὐτῶι | κτλ.; i.e., “the one appointed with him”. I prefer δ[έ] φί]λαις το δ’ [ἔσθ]λαῖς (dub. Treu); cf. b.4 φίλοι. Are the two boys being urged to lead two different choruses, with Hagesidamus at the head of the chorus of Dymainai? Or are we dealing with a composite chorus, the two choragoi being urged to lead two semichoruses? Cf. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, 1977, i.115 ff., 128 ff. (tr. *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*, 2001, 58-73), has a good discussion of the question of boys leading girls’ choruses. Yet, I am not very sure about what leading a chorus or semichorus may mean in the present situation. In fr. 14 (a) the Muse is urged to start a new song for the maidens: Μῶσα ... μέλος νεοχμὸν ἄρχε παρσένοις ἀείδην. Similarly, the unknown choragos, companion to Hagesidamus, might have been urged, in the first half of the period, to start the song for another maiden group (e.g., τὸ μὲν ἄρχε ἀείδην μέλος ταῖς x). In the second half of the period (τὸ δέ), the infinitive and its object (ἀείδην μέλος) need not be repeated. But what starting a song denotes is also uncertain. If that starting involved vocal enunciation, we may think of a sung proem, ἀείδην μέλος being a legitimate supplement. If, however, the dyad of boys must be associated, as it is natural, with the dyad of girls, then, since the girls obviously belong to one chorus, the same must have happened with the boys. We know that the girls are singing, apparently as coryphaiai of the two semichoruses. On the other hand, if a chorus has two coryphaiai, this means that they are not singing in unison but separately, possibly alternating by stanzas, as has been extensively discussed on the occasion of Alcman’s Partheneion (fr. 1). What is then the role of the boys? The symbolic role of the Muse, who is urged to start a new song for the maidens, to inspire, that is, the poet or the performers to sing a new song, cannot be related with the actual urging to two real boys to lead a certain choral group each. Leading a choral group or starting a choral performance may be limited to an instrumental introduction, which will naturally be continued in the form of an instrumental accompaniment. Actually, the boys may very well act as such

preluders and accompanists to a girls' choir. See Calame, *Alcman*, 352, 471, with the literature adduced there. And, if my conjecture concerning fragments 41 and 38 (see below) seems likely, then we also know that the boys' prelude and accompanying consisted of lyre-playing.

It is not likely that *φίλαις* is used here in the usual sense 'our own', the speaker then referring to her own group. It seems that the unknown choragos is supposed to lead, in other words to prelude and accompany, the speaker's group, and Hagesidamus to lead the group of Dymainai. The chorus of the latter is mentioned several more times by Alcman: 4 fr. 5.4 f. *Δυμαί[ναίς ... φιλοπλ]οκάμοις*; 5 fr. 2 col. i.24 f.; 11 fr. 35 col. i.5, 7. There can be no doubt that they constituted the choral group, in the present occasion apparently a semichorus, of the Laconian tribe Dymanis. No references, in this poem or elsewhere in Alcman, are found to groups of the other two Doric tribes, Hyllis and Pamphylis. It is, however, natural that, if Hagesidamus was supposed to lead the semichorus of Dymainai, the unnamed choragos must have led the semichorus of another tribe. The religious affiliation of the Dymainai must be loose, since, in two non-Alcmanic references to them, they seem to be attached to different deities: Ath. 9.392f *Πρατίνας δ' ἐν Δυμαί[ναίς] ἢ Καρυάτισιν* (*TrGF* 4 F 1) κτλ. combined with Paus. 3.10.7, Hsch. κ 908, Schol. in Theocr. (Proleg.), Poll. 4.104, all connecting the Caryatides and their dances with Artemis, unless Pratinas' title refers to two different choruses. Also, Hsch. δ 2600 *Δύ[σ]μαιναι· αἱ ἐν Σπάρτηι χορίτιδες Βάκχαι*, unless the link with the followers of Bacchus and the Maenads was made after the alteration to *Δύσμαιναι*, whether textual or folk etymological. At any rate, a choral group representing a tribe need not have a standard affiliation with a god or goddess.

2. The scribe may have intended to write *Τυνδαρίδαι ἐναλίγκιε*, in the dative singular, because the comparison was made with one person, but the hiatus is irregular. However, *ἐνα[λίγκι]ε*, though giving perfect sense and metre (especially the *4da*, Alcman's most favourite metre), could not have been written in the papyrus. The right-hand edge of the column must be very close to *ἐνα[*, possibly allowing for a short syllable ending in a vowel to account for the division before *ε*. I venture to guess that some letters were omitted, whether *λι* or *γκι*, perhaps the second, since *ἐνάλιε* is a legitimate Greek word. I would also propose for line 4 of the commentary *ὄμοιο]ς Δ[ι]οσκού[ρ]ων*. The next supplement, *σά[λλων τ'] ἐν αἰχμᾶι*, presents no problem. The boy is praised for excelling, not in war, of course, but in warlike spirit as shown in military training or, what is more likely for the girls to know, in armed dances. The latter had a straight connexion with the Dioscuri, who were considered, at least in the Doric world, the founders of

the armed dance: Pind. *Pyth.* 69 with the Scholia, Epicharm. fr. 75 Kaibel, Pl. *Leg.* 796b.

b 1. In the antistrophe, the letter before γερ-, according to Page in *PMG*, “non erat α, vix ω; circuli arcus superior ut vid.” In the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* edition, he notes “ωγερ- is just possible in itself but incompatible with the following case-endings”. I suppose he was thinking of ὦ γερ. I write ὦ γερώχως confidently, first because a long vowel is needed there, and second because the surviving trace of a high arc is compatible only with omega. ὦ (= ὡς), apart from its frequent occurrences in Alcman in the forms ὦπερ, ὦτε, is also plausibly supplemented in 3 fr. 3 col. ii.66 [ὦ] τις ... ἀστήρ ... διαιπετής ἢ χρούσιον ἔρονος κτλ.

3. For αὐτα Page conjectured αὐτοί or αὐτεῖ; Calame added αὐτῶ. I believe that αὐτᾶ ... ἀμ(έ)ων must be retained as a reflexive pronoun in the feminine dual genitive, “of ourselves” (= νῶιν αὐταῖν). The girl singing must refer to herself and the coryphaea of the other semichorus, and speak about the two boy choragoi, preluders and accompanists of the same semichoruses. This form of the reflexive pronoun is unattested (actually, no dual form seems to have survived), but given the wide diversity of the reflexive pronouns in the dialects, both in form and declension (Buck 99 §121), it is not at all unwelcome.

3-5. The two female semichorus-leaders are same-aged with the boy choragoi. Their age is explicitly stated in the Scholia A on the Partheneion *ad* 70-76: Ἰππάρδαις ἰβ' (εἰσὶν) αἱ παῖδ[ες, ὧν ἰ ἔλαττ(ον) ἦ] ἰε' ἔτη, ... κ(αὶ) δ(ιὰ) τ(ὰς) β' ὑπ(έρ) ἰε' κτλ. See the previous paper in the present issue. The two semichorus-leaders are older than fifteen, but not much older, since their coeval boys do not yet exhibit the symptoms of puberty.

The connective particles that perplexed Page at the end of the antistrophe are absolutely regular. A comma following φίλοι τ' would smooth things away. The νεανίαι are ἄλικες φίλοι τε with ourselves, ἀγένειοι κἀνούπανοι.

Though the part of the text corresponding between strophe and antistrophe does not exceed two verses, the word and sound responsions pointed out by Führer in that short space are striking. I add one or two to them: -ων τ' ἐν ~ ὦ γε-, -ς χορᾶγ- ~ -ς χορᾶγ-, Ἄγ- ~ αὐτ-, -δᾶμε ~ ἄμέ-, -μίδᾶ ~ -νίαι. Nine vowel responsions in twenty-one metrical positions cannot be coincidental.

The metre of the last words (*r|| tr*) is possibly employed by Alcman elsewhere too. Fr. 41 ἔρπει γὰρ ἄντα τῶ σιδάρω | τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδην, as is usually published, poses several questions. ἔρπει, ‘moves’, is awkward, since no moving, literal or metaphorical, is implied (ῥέπει Scaliger). ἄντα is used

in a unique sense, not involving opposition but concord. See Calame *ad loc.*, who is forced, because of ἄντα, to translate “le beau jeu de la cithare s’oppose à celui de l’épée”, in contrast to Plutarch who is quoting the fragment in order to show that the Spartans were at the same time μουσικώτατοι and πολεμικώτατοι. Finally, the articular infinitive (τὸ ... κιθαρίσδην), unique in Alcman, and possibly in the whole of archaic poetry (J. W. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* I, Basel ²1926, 271), has led some scholars to reject the authenticity of the fragment (P. Janni, *La cultura di Sparta arcaica. Ricerche* I, Rome 1965, 92). However it be, ἄντα is transmitted in a number of mss as ἀέντα (Plut. *Mor.* 335a, codd. ΨSZF), while the other two obstacles can be easily surpassed. I would then propose to read:

πρέπει γὰρ ἀέντα	r
τῶι σιδάρωι {τὸ} καλῶς κιθαρίσδην.	tr r

“For it is fitting while taking pride in the arms to play well the lyre”. The construction with accusative and infinitive is regular: Pind. *Ol.* 2.46 πρέπει τὸν Αἰνησιδάμου ἐγκωμίων τε μελέων λυρᾶν τε τυγχανέμεν. To the occurrences of the participle of ἄημι in Homer, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Empedocles, add Hsch. α 1315 ἀεῖς τὴν γνάθον (ἄεις cod., ἀλγεῖς Latte), coll. Dem. 19.314 τὰς γνάθους φουσῶν. The use here is clearly metaphorical, as is the case with the synonymous φουσῶ. For ἀέντα τῶι σιδάρωι cf. σάλλων τ’ ἐν αἰχμᾶι. The fragment, in this form, would fully agree with the context in the two passages of Plutarch that transmit it (*Lyc.* 21.6; *Mor.* 335a). Actually, given the identical metre (r tr) and the relevant sense, I would not exclude the possibility that fr. 41 comes from the same poem as fr. 10. The choragoi are praised as such, in other words for their part in a musical performance, possibly as instrumental prelude and accompanists, while at least one of them, Hagesidamus, is also praised for his warlike spirit.

A lyre-player praised by a girls’ chorus appears also in fr. 38: ὄσσαι δὲ παῖδες ἀμέων | ἐντί, τὸν κιθαριστᾶν | αἰνέοντι. The fragment is quoted by Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pron.* 121b (i 95 Schn.), in a discussion about the difference between the Doric ἀμῶν (possessive pronoun in the genitive plural) and ἀμέων (personal pronoun in the genitive). The fragment is usually scanned as *2ia* || *pher* || *tr* (cf. Calame, p. 222). If ἀμέων in the fragment is a partitive genitive, as is the usual interpretation (“those of us who are young girls ...”), one wonders why it is only the younger girls of the chorus that praise the lyre-player and not the older ones as well, and why this curious fact should be noted by the singer. To attach ἀμέων to ἐντί as a possessive genitive would produce unidiomatic Greek. I would then propose:

ὄσσαι δὲ παῖδες ἀμέων ἐντὶ <προτί,	3ia
τί > τὸν κιθαριστὰν	r
αἰνέοντι;	tr

προτί adds one more to the numerous cases of epic influence observed in Alcman: Page 1951, 157-163. Elsewhere, he is using once πρὸς (fr. 70 (a)), once ποτί (fr. 85 (b)), emended to προτί by Welcker, and in compounds ποτιγλέποι (1.75) and ποτιδέρεται (3.62). πρὸς with genitive may mean ‘dependent on one, under one’s protection, on one’s side’ (LSJ s. πρὸς A III). “The girls that are on our side, why do they praise the lyre-player?” The singer is no doubt one of the two semichorus-leaders. She is referring to the girls in her group, who are praising a certain lyre-player, apparently contrary to her wish. The incident must be related with the assignment of particular lyre-players to the semichoruses and the preferences of the leaders, as is evident from fr. 10 (b), above a, where Hagesidamos is assigned to the semichorus of the Dymainai. ἀμέων ἐντὶ προτί is equivalent to παραστατοῦσιν ἡμῖν. Cf. Scholia on Alcman’s *Partheneion* (fr. 1) ad 43 τῇ Ἀγησιχόρῳ παραστατοῦσι; also ad 14 and 49 αἱ παρὰ τῇ Ἀγιδῶ. On the other hand, being equivalent to a single verbal notion, ἐντὶ προτί does not violate the Wilamowitz-Knox Law. The omission is convincingly attributed to haplology: ἀμέων ἐντὶπροτί τὸν κιθ. By combining the several fragments, we can also reconstruct a great part of the stanza’s metrical pattern:

^ia ith|| 4da ia^|| ith|| 3ia|| r|| tr r||

Finally, here is a tentative translation of the texts restored:

10 (b) “As for you, lead the semichorus of our friends the Dymainai, you who resemble the two Tyndaridae and thrive in warlike spirit, you choragos beloved by gods, Hagesidamus, renowned son of Damotimus. – (? have them) as noble and lovely choragoi. For the young boys are same-aged and friends with the two of us (fem.), beardless and without moustache.”

41 “For it is fitting while taking pride in the arms to play well the lyre.”

38 “The girls that are on our side, why do they praise the lyre-player?”