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Alcaeus and the Sea

by

Sarah J. Parker

This thesis has been submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Classical Studies.

Supervisor: Professor Robert Develin
1994



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Abstract

The first usage of the ship of state allegory is commonly attributed to the seventh century B.C. poet Alcaeus. While it is true that in his corpus of poetry we see the first explicit usage of such imagery, the possibility that it was employed by earlier poets is strong. Alcaeus frequently employs images drawn from the maritime world, and these are developed in fragments 6, 326/208, 73, 249 and 34. Two of these fragments, 6 and 326/208, have been classified as allegorical by the first century A.D. allegorist Heraclitus, who interprets the fragments as metaphorical representations of the acts of Mytilene's second tyrant, Myrsilus.

This thesis is a detailed examination of the five fragmentary poems and commentaries which have been assigned to 326/208 and 73, its purpose being to determine Alcaeus' sources of inspiration for the ship of state allegory and to assess the degree of his originality and his effectiveness in using it. After surveying literary sources up to and including the first century A.D. for definitions of allegory, it can be established that the ancients viewed it as a lengthened metaphor or metaphorical sequence, employed to veil the meaning of a text. The expressions chosen by Alcaeus to describe the travails of the ship are then examined to determine whether he has directly imitated or adapted phrases from his literary predecessors and if this is so, to assess the effectiveness of the imitation in terms of an allegorical representation of political strife. In some instances, where the poem is poorly preserved on papyrus, an evaluation of the editorial reconstructions is undertaken first. The internal evidence for allegory, that is, any term that allows for a secondary level of interpretation through an unusual or seemingly inappropriate application, has been compiled using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* data bank and various concordances and indices to draw parallels between Alcaeus' poems containing nautical imagery and the works attributed to the following list of his predecessors and contemporaries: Homer, the Homeric Hymns, Tyrtaeus, Hesiod, Callinus, Sappho, Archilochus, Alcman, Theognis, Mimnermus, Semonides, Solon and Stesichorus.

The second source examined is the external evidence which survives in the form of commentaries on the poems and citations in other ancient authors. References to the

ship of state in later authors, both Greek and Latin, are not consulted due to the frequency of application and progression in the development of this particular image.

An overall inquiry of this nature, given that the majority of extant material in question has been ascribed to Homer, suggests the overwhelming influence which epic models had upon Alcaeus. Passages from both Homeric epics effectively develop maritime imagery and, on several occasions in the *Iliad*, similes are employed in which humans are likened to elements of a storm. The epics, however, show no reference to the image of the ship of state. Investigation beyond the epic genre suggests that the primary model upon which Alcaeus drew was the allegorical representation of civil strife employed by Archilochus in fragments 105 and 106. This image is again picked up by Theognis and delivered from an aristocratic viewpoint to a noble audience - circumstances parallel to those surrounding the recitation of Alcaeus' political poetry. Another contemporary parallel in which storm imagery assumes political overtones can be seen in Solon's poetry. In more general terms, it is evident that Alcaeus was familiar with the works of both Hesiod and Tyrtaeus, as his choice of expressions points to borrowings from both these authors.

Although it is evident that Alcaeus adopts images and expressions previously employed, this study reveals that he is creative in assigning new meaning to certain expressions and that he imitates passages for their power to evoke a particular image. The association with the model is subsequently elaborated upon through the employment of unusual choices in vocabulary, either to sustain dual imagery or predispose his audience to think in figurative terms. Thus the evocation of images from earlier authors coupled with key internal allegorical indicators allows Alcaeus to convey successfully to his closed audience their political plight in the guise of danger at sea.

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Introduction

The turbulent political situation on Lesbos during the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. is clearly reflected in the extant fragments of one of its contemporary poets. The work of Alcaeus not only represents the direct and personal nature of early archaic poetry but also exhibits the passion and convictions of a man devoted to his aristocratic coterie, his ἐταίρεια. Alcaeus' political ideology, his belief in power and prestige based upon noble birth, has caused his convictions and his fervent mode of expression to become the objects of many unfavourable assessments by modern scholars. These range from Page's mild assertion that Alcaeus' political ideals were "at least suspect" (1955, 176), to Andrewes's acerbic statement that the poet's politics were "violent and largely empty-headed" and that Alcaeus "could not adapt himself to the real world of 600" (96).

Alcaeus' poetry was composed for individuals who were bound together by their common beliefs, aristocratic standing and political ideals. The setting for performance was no doubt sympotic, as the numerous references to convivial themes attest. The club atmosphere was an ideal setting for poetry of all types - erotic, convivial, political and hymnic. Indeed, Alcaeus' poetry seems to have touched upon every aspect of life around him. The all-encompassing nature of his poetic interests is confirmed by the division of his work by Alexandrian scholars (Heph. 74.12ff.)¹ according to differences in metre and by the diversity of subject matter visible in the extant fragments.

Heraclitus, in *Quaestiones Homericae*, states that Alcaeus is fond of utilising maritime imagery in his poems. In fact, he claims that it is used almost to excess (5.9). This unfortunately is not true of the extant fragments, as only a few survivals contain maritime imagery and references to the perils of seafaring. Two such poems, 6 and 326/208, are cited by Heraclitus as examples of allegory, and the others, 73, 249 and 34,

¹ The abbreviations used within this thesis are from the list in *LSJ*, pages xvi-xxxviii. Abbreviated forms of the works of Latin authors can be found in *OLD*, pages ix-xxi.

have subsequently been examined by scholars for the possibility of allegorical interpretation. Heraclitus' pronouncement that poems 6 and 326/208 contain allegories has spawned a veritable host of scholarly conjectures regarding the validity of such an assessment from a first century A.D. allegorist.

Since the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, a substantial amount of research into Alcaeus' poetry has been undertaken in the past century. The poems which Heraclitus states are allegorical have also received much attention, and it is perhaps due to their puzzling nature that scholars are frequently drawn to these poems. There has not, however, been an abundance of detailed analyses of Alcaeus' nautical poetry, particularly in terms of his sources of inspiration. Also lacking from many of the discussions is an established relationship between ancient definitions of allegory and Heraclitus' assessment of poems 6 and 326/208.

According to Heraclitus, poems 6 and 326/208 are political in their secondary meaning. Heraclitus' verdicts are, one might assume, based upon information that is no longer accessible, ranging from the content of the poems in their entirety to full or partial commentaries written by ancient critics. There is also the possibility that Heraclitus' verdicts resulted from his desire to discover allegories as support for the premise of his writings that Homer was not a blasphemer. The inconclusive evidence which has been transmitted concerning the allegorical content in Alcaeus' poems gives rise to the questions as to whether Alcaeus was influenced by earlier authors in his choice and description of the imminent hazards at sea, and whether these influences could have predisposed his listeners to think in allegorical terms.

The prominent role that politics played in Alcaeus' life resulted in the expression of strong political ideals in his poetry.² To appreciate the force of his convictions, a brief sketch of Lesbian history is in order.³ According to tradition, the island of Lesbos was

² Alcaeus' political poems are called *στασιωτικά* by Strabo (13.2.3).

³ For a brief outline of the island's history, see J. M. Cook, *CAH* Vol. 3/3². It is

colonized by settlers from Boeotia and South Thessaly c.1100 B.C. The leader of the colony is reputed to have been Penthilus, the bastard son of Orestes. Mytilene fell under the oligarchic rule of the Penthilidae until their violent behaviour hastened their overthrow by Megacles and his companions in the seventh century (Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 26ff.). The noble families of Mytilene⁴ then vied for control of the city, but their failure to provide stable government resulted in the appointment of Mytilene's first tyrant, Melanchrus. His rule was short-lived (612-09) and he was overthrown, the victim of a plot designed by Alcaeus' brothers and Pittacus (Alc. 75; D.L. i.74). Though Pittacus was the leader of this plot, he did not become the second tyrant of Mytilene. Myrsilus, who is also likely to have been a member of one of the noble families,⁵ was raised to his position of power as an alternative ruler to Pittacus, who had defeated the Athenians at Sigeum.⁶ Myrsilus'

impossible to establish a decisive chronology for Alcaeus himself, though it is generally accepted that he was born ca. 620 B.C. and died sometime after the death of Pittacus (ca. 570 B.C.). In the absence of contemporary historical sources, we have to rely upon much later sources, in addition to employing Alcaeus' fragments themselves, to reconstruct the history for this time period. Furthermore, some of the references in the extant sources are to Pittacus, and not Alcaeus. This inability to establish anything more than a shadowy historical framework for Alcaeus' lifetime, makes it almost impossible to identify exactly who he is referring to in the allegories. For example, Strabo (13.2.3) tells us that Alcaeus inveighs against Pittacus καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, Myrsilus, Melanchrus, the Cleanactidae καὶ ἄλλοις τισίν. Because of these difficulties, I do not attempt to assign these poems to a specific time period.

⁴ Pippin Burnett (108) lists the Cleanactids, Archeanactids, Penthilidae and mentions the faint possibility of an Agesilid family. See fragment 130.19.

⁵ Pippin Burnett (112) feels that frg. 305 proves Myrsilus' alliance with Alcaeus' own faction.

⁶ At D.L. i.75, Pittacus is entrusted with supreme power as a reward for his defeating the Athenians at Sigeum. As Page notes (1955, 154) Aristotle's account of Pittacus' being assigned power to deal with the exiles (*Pol.* 1285a 30) contradicts Diogenes' account. The battle is said to have occurred during the 42nd Olympiad, 612-08 (Pippin Burnett, 111; Suda sv *Pittakos*). Page offers a more precise date of 607/606 for the death of the

rule continued to the time at which Alcaeus came of age, and distaste for his authority surfaces in several fragments (Alc. 332). Pittacus, who had been supporting the Alcaic faction in their scheme to overthrow Myrsilus, betrayed the sworn oath of the ἐταίρεια (Alc. 129) and governed jointly with the tyrant for some time (Alc. 70). An unsuccessful conspiracy against Myrsilus resulted in the first exile of Alcaeus to Pyrrha (Alc. 114). His second exile was a consequence of continued opposition towards Pittacus and during this exile, Alcaeus and his brothers, along with members of other noble families, attempted to force their way back into Mytilene. Any hope of a permanent return to the isle of Lesbos was, however, foiled as Pittacus, who had been established as the sole tyrant upon Myrsilus' death (ca. 597), met and defeated the exiles at "the bridge."⁷ According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1285a 33ff.; Alc. 348), Pittacus did not maintain his control via despotism, but was rather elected tyrant, ἀἰσθυμένητης, to deal with the exiles led by Alcaeus and his brother Antimenidas. Their failure to re-establish themselves in Mytilene resulted in a third exile, during which time Alcaeus travelled possibly as far as Egypt.⁸

Pittacus was well entrenched in his role as tyrant and is reported to have ruled for ten years, from 590-580 (D.L. i.75). Among his reforms was new legislation aimed at controlling lavish spending habits and stiffening the penalties for crimes committed while intoxicated (Arist. *Pol.* 1274b 18ff.; D.L. i.76). At some point during his rule Pittacus recalled certain individuals who had previously been exiled, including Alcaeus (D.L. i.76), whom he allowed to return to Mytilene, where he most probably lived until his death, the

Athenian leader Phrynon (1955, 158).

⁷ From Pippin Burnett, 115. Page, *SLG*, frg. S 282 (also Voigt 306Ae; P. Oxy. 2506 fr. 98a).

⁸ Strabo states that Alcaeus said that he had been to Egypt (1.2.30; Alc. 432). Pippin Burnett (115) believes that some of the exiles went to Egypt during the third exile, but we cannot be certain whether it was at this time that Alcaeus travelled there. She (115) believes that frg. 325 confirms that Alcaeus travelled at least as far as Boeotia because Athena "seems to have the titles that she had at Coronea." The poet's knowledge of Athena's titles (Κορωνήαζ) may, however, not be a result of his own travels.

date of which is unknown.⁹

Maritime imagery is abundant in Greek literary sources from these tumultuous years and from the centuries that followed. This is hardly surprising when one considers the lifestyle of the ancients and their dependency upon seafaring for commercial exploits, colonization and warfare. To an island inhabitant, such as Alcaeus, the nature of the sea and the details of shipping would have been known from his personal experiences or the expertise of those around him. Thus the changeable aspect of the sea with its alternating calmness and ferocity would have served as an ideal model upon which Alcaeus could develop his allegories.

The hazards of seafaring are elaborately documented in the oldest fragments of Greek poetry and it is not unlikely that Alcaeus was influenced by the use of maritime imagery in his predecessors' works. Examples of sea imagery in Homer are numerous, but some are more striking than others for the examination of Alcaeus' poems. A passage in the *Odyssey* (5.400-42) may have served as a model or source of inspiration for Alcaeus' descriptions of the cruelty of the sea. The physical dangers of the storm, such as the rocks and reefs, are all described in such a way to stress Odysseus' fear and dread of them. Within this passage, Odysseus also laments the hardships that he has endured at sea and from which he sees no means of respite. These same images are seen in Alcaeus' poems about the sea.

The examples of maritime imagery in the *Iliad* are likely to have had a greater impact on Alcaeus. In several books (2, 14 and 15), Homer introduces similes drawn from the maritime environment. At 2.144-6,¹⁰ the first extant example of a wave used in a simile, the men's enthusiasm is compared to the stirring of the waves in the sea. Later

⁹ Pippin Burnett (116) places the date of the exiles' return to "probably some time before 585 B.C." She also offers a date of 570/69 B.C. for Pittacus' death.

¹⁰ *Il.* 2.144-6: κινήθη δ' ἀγορῆ φῆ κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης,
πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μὲν τ' Εὐρὸς τε Νότος τε
ὤρορ' ἐπαίξας πατρὸς Διδὸς ἐκ νεφελῶν.

(394-7)¹¹ the men's shouting is likened to a wave swollen by the south wind. The elements of nature and the storm at sea thus depicted - cliff, wave, wind - can, as Fränkel states (44), "be given many new applications," and are employed to symbolize will, staying-power and force.

A third instance of human behaviour being likened to the tumultuous seas is found in *Iliad* 14.16-22.¹² Again, the description of the stormy sea serves to mark the actions of soldiers. The simile draws a comparison between the turmoil of the sea and the decisions that a man must make to take action against one foe or another. The waves and winds are critical elements of the simile, which assume the meanings of indecision and impulse, respectively (see Fränkel, 44). These two examples from the *Iliad* offer models from which Alcaeus may have extended the application of a metaphorical wave to allegorical circumstances, in which the physical elements of a storm assume greater significance.

Book 15 includes two additional similes which may have been equally influential. In the first (381-4),¹³ the Trojan soldiers are compared to waves, driven by the winds,

¹¹ *Il.* 2.394-7: ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἰαχόν, ὡς ὅτε κύμα
ἀκτῆ ἔφ' ὑψηλῆ ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθὼν,
προβλήτῃ σκοπέλω· τὸν δ' οὐ ποτε κύματα λείπει
παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ' ἂν ἐνθ' ἧ ἐνθα γένωνται.

¹² *Il.* 14.16-22: ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῶ,
ὀσσόμενον λίγεων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα
αὐτως, οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυλίνδεται οὐδετέρωσε,
πρίν τινα κεκριμένον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς οὐρόν,
ὡς ὁ γέρων ὤρμινε δαϊζόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν
διχθάδι', ἧ μεθ' ὄμιλον ἴοι Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων,
ἧε μετ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, ποιμένα λαῶν.

¹³ *Il.* 15.381-4: οἱ δ' ὡς τε μέγα κύμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο
νηὸς ὑπὲρ τοίχων καταβήσεται, ὅππότε' ἐπείγῃ
ἰς ἀνέμου· ἧ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε κύματ' ὀφέλλει·
ὡς Τρῶες μεγάλη ἰαχῆ κατὰ τεῖχος ἔβαινον,

sweeping over the sides of a ship, and in the second (618-22),¹⁴ the Danaans are likened to a crag which is strong enough to withstand the winds and waves that beat against it. Lacking from the Homeric similes, however, is the portrayal of a ship to designate something else. For example, at line 382, the great wave is said to sweep *νηὸς ὑπὲρ τοίχων*, but there is nothing in the simile to suggest that the ship is meant to assume a secondary meaning.

The use of the sea to represent political strife is not exclusive to Alcaeus. The Athenian statesman and poet Solon, a younger contemporary of Alcaeus, may also have been influenced by what may be a source common to both poets. In fragment 12,¹⁵ Solon draws a comparison between the calmness of the sea, not stirred by winds, to the justness of the Athenian people when they are not stirred by their political leaders (Fränkel, 228). A second fragment of Solon has been reconstructed by Edmonds¹⁶ from Plutarch (*Solon* 19.2), where a parallel is drawn between the city of Athens and a ship at anchor in a storm. There is little doubt that here Plutarch reproduces a paraphrase of Solon's poetry and the similarities between Alcaeus' nautical/political poems and the analogies drawn in Solon suggest that the image may be a stock one. The stirring of the seas is cited at

¹⁴ *Il.* 15.618-22: ἴσχον γὰρ πυργηδὸν ἀρηρότες ἤυτε πέτρῃ
 ἠλίβατος μεγάλη, πολιῆς ἀλδὸς ἐγγυὸς ἐοῦσα,
 ἧ τε μένει λίγεων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα
 κύματά τε τροφόμεντα, τὰ τε προσερεύγεται αὐτὴν·
 ὧς Δαναοὶ Τρῶας μένον ἔμπεδον οὐδὲ φέβοντο.

¹⁵ Solon 12: ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἦν δὲ τις αὐτὴν
 μὴ κινήι, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.

¹⁶ Edmonds, fragment 37A (154-5), after Wade-Gery *CQ*, 27 (1933) 24. The reconstruction is as follows:

ὥομην δ' ὅτι
 βουλαῖν ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις πόλις
 ὀρμοῦσ' ἂν ἤσσον ἐν σάλῳ γίγνοιτ' ἄρα
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτρεμοῦντα τὸν δῆμον σχέθοι.

Archilochus 105, which is also figurative, but its first application is at *Od.* 5.291 (ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον), directly preceding the aforementioned lament of Odysseus. Could this passage have exerted so great an influence that it impressed itself upon the minds of later poets or is it simply a case of this being the standard method of depicting the turmoil of the sea?¹⁷ This is a problem which presents itself repeatedly when one attempts to discern the degree of imitation to which subsequent poets have fallen prey and is one that can never be resolved decisively.

In order to determine the degree of originality and effectiveness in Alcaeus' poems containing nautical imagery, it is necessary to examine the expressions chosen by the poet to describe the perils of the storm-racked ship. The storm has only a limited number of elements that can be depicted. It is, however, the manner in which they are portrayed that can help to identify imitation, development of an earlier depiction or original treatment of the material. The first step required is a reconstruction of the very fragmentary papyri, upon which the poems are preserved. The reconstructions in this thesis will be based upon an assessment of the conjectures put forth by previous editors. The decision to accept one reading over another will be made on philological grounds, such as the appearance of the word in previous works or its inadmissibility on the grounds of the metrical scheme, Alcaic stanzas,¹⁸ a feature common to the poems under examination, save poem 34. I shall also question in many instances the readings accepted by various editors and the route by which they have arrived at these conjectures. While reconstructing the texts, I shall

¹⁷ Edmunds (238ff.) investigates the various applications of the verb *ταραττεῖν*, and lists several usages of the verb to denote the stirring of bodies of water and, metaphorically, to denote the disturbance of individuals through civil unrest.

¹⁸ The metrical scheme is as follows:

υ̣ — υ̣ — υ̣ — υ̣ —
 υ̣ — υ̣ υ̣ — υ̣ — υ̣ —
 υ̣ — υ̣ υ̣ — υ̣ υ̣
 — υ̣ — υ̣ — υ̣ υ̣

simultaneously endeavour to determine whether any internal evidence for an allegorical interpretation exists within a given poem. By the term "internal evidence" I mean any ambiguity in the interpretation of the poem based upon an unusual choice of vocabulary which would lead one to believe that another interpretation of the poem is not only possible but also probable. The texts found at the beginning of each chapter dealing with a specific poem or poems incorporate the readings that I have chosen to adopt in the subsequent discussion. The translations are my own, though indebted often to those of D. Campbell in the most recent edition of *Lyra Graeca* in the Loeb Classical Library and the numerous commentaries on the poems.

To assist further in the reconstruction of the text and assessment of originality, I employ the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* data bank to find parallel phrases in both Alcaeus' predecessors and his contemporaries. The authors examined alongside the remaining fragments of Alcaeus' own poetry are as follows: Homer, the Homeric Hymns, Tyrtaeus, Hesiod, Callinus, Sappho, Archilochus, Alcman, Theognis,¹⁹ Mimnermus, Semonides, Solon and Stesichorus.²⁰ Any parallels found will be examined for their possible influence upon Alcaeus' work, to determine whether Alcaeus has directly borrowed the phrase or has developed the image further to render it applicable to his audience and the circumstances. Later Greek and Latin authors will not be consulted for references to the ship of state motif, as the image became a commonplace feature in

¹⁹ The poetry of Theognis is being treated as an example of early elegy, even though his dating is controversial. For arguments in favour of dating Theognis to the seventh century B.C., see Chapter IV of West's *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, 65-71.

²⁰ The critical text and numbering for Alcaeus' poems are based upon the edition of Lobel-Page, 1955. The *apparatus criticus* is supplemented by Voigt's 1971 edition of *Sappho et Alcaeus*, which offers a wider range of scholarly opinions. For works attributed to Homer and Hesiod, the Oxford texts have been consulted as well as Merkelbach and West's *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. M. L. West's two volumes of *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* serve as the standard texts for the works of the other poets, except Anacreon, for whose works I have consulted Page's *Poetae Melici Graeci*.

literature after Alcaeus,²¹ and both the development and application of this image progressed too far to be of any benefit in reconstructing what is commonly recognised as the first instance of it.²²

The last source to be examined for the presence of nautical allegory in Alcaeus' poems is the ancient external evidence offered by Heraclitus and the commentaries on poems 326/208 and 73. Although the commentaries are at times more fragmentary than the poems themselves, they are an important source of information.

Many of the extant fragments of Alcaeus' poetry reveal an aphoristic quality; they are terse, direct and possess a sense of immediacy which is unparalleled in the other lyric poets.²³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus praises the poet's μεγαλοφυῆς καὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἡδὺ μετὰ δεινότητος (*Imit.* 421s.). Quintilian further praises his style as *brevis et magnificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis* (*Inst.* 10.1.65-6). Alcaeus' succinct and paratactic style, exemplified in poems 6 and 326, is ideal for poetry through which he, at times, inveighs against his political adversaries.

The overall unity of Alcaeus' poems is not impeded by the development of allegories. Kirkwood's claim (1974, 92) that Alcaeus tends "to sacrifice the overall design of his political poems to the scenes and emotions of the moment" seems an unfair assessment. This statement and others of similar sentiment are likely the result of

²¹ The scholiast on Ar. *Vesp.* (29) confirms the frequency with which the image of the ship of state was employed: ἀεὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς πόλεις πλοίοις παραβάλλουσι (Nisbet and Hubbard, 180). For a list of references to the ship of state metaphor, see both Nisbet and Hubbard (180) and Page (1955, 182 n.1).

²² This is particularly true of the practice of employing Horace's *Odes* to reconstruct fragments of Alcaeus. While it is true that Horace imitated Alcaeus' sentiment and perhaps structure in his *Odes*, one should not assume that he copied Alcaeus' poems verbatim.

²³ A possible exception to this statement is the corpus of Theognis' poetry, which at times, as will be shown later, is almost as biting.

comparison with Sappho's graceful and fluid style. It is unjust, however, to compare two poets of such radically different tones and modes of expression. The verdict "patchy and uneven" which has been handed down by Fränkel (199), is a further result of comparison with both Sappho and Archilochus. Alcaeus' ability to transmit his theme effectively in a pithy manner adds to the vitality of his poetry. The absence of any evidence to suggest that Alcaeus developed his poems with concern for the overall structure may be a result of fragmentary survival but is more likely to be a consequence of oral composition. The practice of oral composition enabled the poet to adapt his theme and content according to his audience and the circumstances surrounding the performance (Gentili 1988, 49). If need be, the poet could juxtapose images whose force has been lost on modern critics, who are too far removed from the original cultural context (Gentili 1988, 49). Although the images may vary within a poem and the poet may move about abruptly within them (Bowra, 147), all aspects of the poem are loosely connected by the theme, or in the case of allegory, by their application to the theme.

A cursory glance at Alcaeus' ship of state poems offers little conclusive evidence to indicate that the poet is describing anything more than a storm-ravaged ship in distress. There is certainly nothing that would immediately signal the use of allegory in these passages. Scholars have been led to believe that allegory is being employed in two of the ship of state poems (6 and 326/208) by the testimony of Heraclitus. Heraclitus, about whom virtually nothing is known, cites the two Alcaean poems as examples of grammatical allegories.²⁴ Before accepting Heraclitus' testimony as definitive, we should at least determine what he means by the term "allegory."

When approaching a problem such as this it is difficult for scholars to divorce themselves from modern literary terminology. The word allegory is composed of the two words, ἄλλος, meaning "other" and ἀγορεύειν, "to speak (in the assembly)." The composite definition offered by *LSJ* is I - allegory, veiled language, and II - figurative,

²⁴ For the manuscript tradition and the problems surrounding the name of the author and the title of this work, see Buffière's introduction (1962).

metaphorical language. Heraclitus offers a similar definition of allegory himself: 'Ὁ γὰρ ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύων τρόπος, ἕτερα δὲ ὧν λέγει σημαίνων, ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται (5.2). Further definitions of allegory in texts prior to the first century A.D. link allegory with metaphor. The first appearance of the noun ἀλληγορία occurs in Demetrius' *De Elocutione* (99) of the fourth or third century B.C. The adverb ἀλληγορικῶς probably makes its debut during the same period in the Stoic Cleanthes' writings²⁵ where it appears to be employed with regard to interpretation.

It is not until the first century B.C. that the use of the term ἀλληγορία becomes more prevalent. It is used in relation to grammatical and rhetorical composition by the first century B.C. author Philodemus in his *Volumina Rhetorica*, where it is considered a familiar trope, clearly linked with metaphor (Whitman, 264; Phld. II, 164.22, 174.24). The association with metaphor is also evident in Cicero *Orator* where he defines allegory as a continuous stream of metaphors: *Iam cum fluxerunt plures translationes, alia plane fit oratio; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant ἀλληγορίαν: nomine recte, genere melius ille qui ista omnia translationes vocat* (27.94). In *Ad Atticum*, Cicero stresses the power that allegory has to disguise the true meaning of a statement: *...si erunt mihi plura ad te scribenda, allegorais obscurabo* (II.20.3). The author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is evidently referring to allegory when he defines *permutatio* and emphasises the double meaning: *permutatio est oratio aliud verbis aliud sententia demonstrans* (34.46). A final definition of the Latin word *inversio* offered by Quintilian, offers a similar description of allegory: *Allegoria quam inversionem interpretantur, aut aliud verbis aliud sensu ostendit aut etiam interim contrarium. Prius fit genus plerumque continuatis translationibus...* (8.6.44).

Although the aforementioned examples all pertain to the compositional technique

²⁵ *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 118 SS 526. Whitman, 264, however, points out that the use of the adverb in Cleanthes may not be attributable to Cleanthes himself, but rather to a later writer of the passage.

of allegory, as opposed to the interpretative technique,²⁶ the definitions offered by the ancients clearly indicate that allegory was considered a 'lengthened metaphor or a metaphorical sequence, and that its prime function was to shroud the meaning of a passage, creating an oblique text. Consideration of the above definitions of allegory makes it clear that Heraclitus is correct to consider Alcaeus' poems 6 and 326/208 allegorical, in as much as they could mean something other than that which a literal interpretation of the language offers. Of course, the last statement can be true of any written work, if one wants to look for something beyond the obvious. It is thus necessary to use caution when relying upon Heraclitus as the sole source for the presence of allegory,²⁷ as his definition and application of the term may be a consequence of his conforming to contemporary standards.

A second point must be taken into consideration when one looks for allegory in a piece of literature. When dealing with imagery as common as that of the sea, there is always the possibility that the manner in which an author depicts the scene, in either plain or metaphorical language, remains constant or very similar due to the common occurrence of the expressions within the poet's language and not on account of imitation. This point is touched upon by both Quintilian and Cicero in their discussions on metaphor (*Inst.* 8.6.4-7; *Orat.* 81-2), and since allegory was considered a series of metaphors by the ancients, due note should be taken of their acknowledgement that some metaphors, though bold and effective, are employed for their clarifying effect (*Orat.* 82).²⁸ This must always

²⁶ For a concise explanation of the two techniques see Whitman, 264.

²⁷ Page (1955, 184) sums up the problem in one brief sentence: "Prejudice may beget error when a critic makes it his business to hunt for allegories."

²⁸ Both Quintilian and Cicero offer the following examples of metaphors in fashion with common people: *Necessitate rustici gemmam in vitibus (quid enim dicere aliud?), et sitire segetes et fructus laborare;... (Inst. 8.6.6)* and *...si quidem est eorum gemmare vitis, sitire agros, laetas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta (Orat. 81).*

be kept in mind when attempting to decide if a phrase found in both Homer and Alcaeus should be directly attributed in the latter to the influence of epic or simply to common usage of the expression.

The profusion of parallels between Alcaeus and predominantly Homeric antecedents has led some scholars to develop a theory that stresses the overwhelming influence of Homer's epics on the Lesbian's poetry (see Kazik-Zawadzka). Although the evidence seems to support such a hypothesis, there is clearly a danger of denying Alcaeus his due when discussing originality. The importance and widespread transmission of Homer and his works cannot be doubted and at times the poet, as a deliberate design or simply as a result of drawing upon his unconscious literary menu, employs Homeric expressions and stock phrases. But surely this cannot be the case for every parallel.

The difficulty in deciphering whether an expression is intentionally Homeric or merely a stock phrase is augmented by the lack of surviving pre-Alcaean Lesbian poetry or folk-songs.²⁹ This absence has fueled a debate about the language of the Lesbian poets and the significance that should be attached to the epic-like elements in lyric poetry. Modern scholarship has generally upheld the view that the language of Sappho and Alcaeus is the spoken vernacular of their day³⁰ and rejected the possibility of an Aeolic poetic tradition having had much, if any, influence upon the writers.³¹ The existence of an earlier tradition on Lesbos is documented from 700 B.C. onwards, and includes the

²⁹ It is believed that grinding corn was a folk or work song motif (see Dover, 108). D.L. (i.81) records that this is the exercise in which Pittacus engaged. Plutarch records a work song with the grinding motif, in which Pittacus is referred to as king (*Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, 14). The motif is first seen at *Od.* 7.104 (see also scholiast), but, as Burn (245) states, it is uncertain in Pittacus' case whether the grinding should be viewed as metaphorical. Since the motif is first seen in Homer, it is possible that it was a pre-Alcaean Lesbian folk/work song motif.

³⁰ Lobel (1923, xviiiiff.); Page (1955, 327); Kazik-Zawadzka (97ff.)

³¹ Bowie (3) is strongly in favour of viewing the "anomalous" features of lyric as a result of a general poetic language.

poets Lesches, Terpander, Arion, Periclitus, and Cepion.³² Since Aeolic poetry was being recited at the same time as Ionic poetry, it is logical to conclude that similarities existed between the two from which common features could be extrapolated without the direct influence of Homer. Aeolic forms in Homer further indicate that the native poetry, to which Sappho and Alcaeus were heir, was transfused into Homer's works in their final forms.³³

Consistency within the corpus of allegorical poems should not be demanded. The allegorical elements within a given poem may vary considerably, depending upon the time and circumstances of composition. Furthermore, ancient testimony concerning allegory does not stipulate that every element within it have a reference to a disguised situation. Such an approach to interpreting allegory would be demanding far too much from it. Although there may be common elements in the ship of state poems, it would be false to assume that in every situation the wave, for example, represents a tyrant. It is therefore necessary to control the desire to pin the interpretation solely on what little we know about Alcaeus' life and make the allegory work for us.

³² Bowie (8-9), for a list and sources.

³³ Hooker (72, 82). Infinitives in $-\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ are a securely attested Aeolic form in Homer.

24 π[.].[]συν.[

μ[η]δ' ἄμμ[ι] λω[

γ[ε][ν]ος μενέ[

μοναρχίαν δ.[

28 μ]ηδὲ δεκωμ[

]..ιδημφ.[

]οισί τ' ὑποπ[

]αίνων· ἐκ[

When the wave of the former wind
comes, it will cause us much toil
to bale out, whenever it enters ... of the ship 3

Let us fortify the ship as quickly as possible, 7
and run for a safe harbour;

and let soft fear not take hold of anyone of us;
for a great contest is clearly ahead of us.
Remember the hardships of the past;
now, let each man be steadfast. 12

And let us not put our noble fathers,
lying beneath the earth, to shame through cowardice
who this....

the city

16

being...from fathers

...our spirit/soul

is like...swift

18

and not to us.. 25

race(?) 26

monarchy 27

and let us not take(?) 28

Heraclitus cites Archilochus fragment 105 as his first example of allegory, stating that Archilochus compares the waves to the war in which he is involved against the Thracians (5.3-4) : Καθάπερ Ἀρχίλοχος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Θρακικοῖς ἀπειλημμένος δεινοῖς τὸν πόλεμον εἰκάζει θαλαττίῳ κλύδωνι λέγων ὦδέ πως·

Γλαῦχ', ὄρα· βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταρασσεται
 πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἴσταται νέφος,
 σῆμα χειμῶνος, κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπίτης φόβος.

It is unfortunate that nothing more than the above three lines of the poem has survived, since the allegory is not immediately evident to a modern reader. This may simply be another case of Heraclitus having a complete poem at his disposal, whereas we are left with only what he wished to convey. It is suspected by West (1974, 128), who, like Croenert, conjectures that fragment 106 is a continuation of this same allegorical poem.³⁴ The nautical imagery of fragment 106 is very similar to that found in Alcaeus' seafaring poetry, but again, the fragment does not shed any additional light to confirm allegorical interpretation. The presence or absence of allegory in these two fragments can be neither proven nor refuted conclusively on the basis of internal evidence due to their fragmentary condition. The two aforementioned poems of Solon (see page 7), however, provide evidence to suggest that Archilochus may be conveying a message in veiled terminology. The customary rendering of ταρασσεται as "disquiet" or "stir up" assumes political overtones in an analogy employed by Solon (12.1), where the poet draws a direct parallel between the agitation of the sea and political unrest of the citizens of Athens. Plutarch

³⁴ A link between fragments 105 and 106 may be established from Plutarch. Archilochus frg. 105 is cited by Plutarch (*de superst.* 8) and is followed by another quotation from a poem, in which the pilot furls the sail, as may be the situation in 106. As West notes, however (1974, 128), it is not certain that what Plutarch writes is a paraphrase of the poem.

confirms the political interpretation in a paraphrase of one of Solon's poems (37A),³⁵ in which he discusses Solon's ability and method of ruling by drawing an analogy between the establishment of two councils and a ship's anchors to demonstrate their stabilising effect. Could Archilochus have been the first to colour the verb with this hue? If so, then the implication of a secondary meaning, the stirring up of war, is clear. Homeric precedents (see Edmunds, 238ff.) do not have the dual application, literally, to the disturbance of the sea and, figuratively, to political discord, that Archilochus is conveying, and it seems that the verb has been carefully chosen for its ability to communicate both interpretations while remaining ambiguous. The same fragment contains a second piece of internal evidence in the noun $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$. "Cloud" is used on several occasions in Homer to signify a group of hostile individuals,³⁶ who in this poem may be the Thracians against whom Archilochus is said to be engaged in battle. Given these figurative usages, Heraclitus' words should be carefully considered, for if he is correct in designating the Archilochean poem as allegorical, which internal evidence makes possible, then Archilochus' influence upon Alcaeus' development of this image and metaphor and its potential to predispose Alcaeus' hearers to think in allegorical terms should be taken into account.

The images created in the Archilochean fragment are considered to be more effective "in suggesting political troubles" by Kirkwood (1974, 75). This may be so to a modern reader, but it is essential to bear in mind the audience at whom a given poem was aimed. Alcaeus' poems are vivid renditions of the perils of seafaring. An allegory, within a seemingly "straightforward" poem, could therefore quite conceivably remain obscure to twentieth century readers because the references were intended to be audience specific. An additional problem with the two Archilochean fragments is the absence of a clear

³⁵ This numbering is from Edmond's Loeb edition (Plutarch, *Sol.* 19.2).

³⁶ *Il.* 23.133; 4.274; 4.275; 16.66; 17.243. $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ is also employed metaphorically by Solon (9.1).

reference to the ship being employed to designate a ship of party or state. Fragment 106 contains the word "ships" but its designated referent cannot be deciphered due to the incomplete state of the papyrus. Thus it is impossible to ascertain whether Alcaeus is an innovator or an imitator in this respect, although the adaptation of nautical imagery on the whole seems to point to borrowing from his predecessors.

The first Alcaean poem to be examined, number 6, has been reconstructed from Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1789 and 2166 (e) 4 (first century). Reconstructive efforts have been aided by the presence of what are generally taken as the first three lines of this poem in Heraclitus' *Quaestiones Homericae* (5.8). The papyrus fragments are in a very poor state of repair, and this has encouraged a host of conjectures which attempt to provide intelligible reconstructions for the lacunae.

P. Oxy. 1789, I.15-17 match the three lines quoted by Heraclitus. The poem then continues in column II. Between the two columns there is an indeterminable number of lines, possibly as few as one or as many as five missing (Grenfell and Hunt 1922, 60). The exact loss remains unknown, as the original height of the columns cannot be determined from the papyrus.

The conjectures and problems with interpretation start immediately with the first line, as neither the beginning nor the end of this line has been preserved on papyrus and the manuscripts of Heraclitus vary. Manuscript O, which has been deemed to be of inferior reliability and value by Buffière,³⁷ offers τὸ δ' αὖτε, which, when modified to τὸ δ' αὖτε, is accepted by Gentili, Lobel-Page, Voigt and D. Campbell. Codices G and Aldina offer τὸ δ' εὖτε while A and B read τὸ δ' εὖτε. Both readings which are widely accepted have no manuscript authority to support them, and a second look is evidently needed at this first line. The reading of codices G and Aldina would translate "when the wave comes through the previous wind..." which is a perfectly acceptable nautical image. The α of δ'α has already been elided, but the line will not scan without

³⁷ He notes that most changes are the result of misconstruction, where an editor has tried to clarify a passage unsuccessfully (1962, XLVII).

further elision of the ι, which is not permissible. Therefore, the reading must be dismissed on metrical grounds. Curiously, the αὖτε, translated as "again," offered by manuscript O seems preferable to most scholars. Seidler conjectures that δηῦτε (δη + αὖτε, as in Archil. 88 and Sapph. 130) should be adopted here, and he is followed by Lobel (1927), Gallavotti (1948b) and Grenfell and Hunt (1922). This reading presents no metrical difficulties but there is no reason to create δηῦτε as the other readings can be explained adequately. The most puzzling aspect of these conjectures is the acceptance of Blomfield's conjecture that the definite article followed by δε should be read as the demonstrative τὸ δ' with the reading offered by the least credible manuscript, αὖτε. The acceptance of this reading has been influenced by other information concerning Alcaeus' struggle against a former tyranny, that of Melanchrus, and consequently editors seem to want this first line to say "again" due to the reference to "previous." This interpretation is one which clearly makes sense, considering the information that is known about Alcaeus, his life and the political situation. There is the danger, however, that editors are taking too much liberty with the text, opting for the reading with the least credibility textually because it can be moulded into the existing historical framework. Codices A and B offer the most plausible reading for this line, as τὸ δ' εὔτε presents no difficulties metrically or in interpretation, rendering the line as "when the wave of the former wind comes..." The immediacy of the crisis in the first three lines is lessened slightly by this reading, as opposed to the τὸ δ' αὖτε, and a transition from future time to the present, as indicated by the hortatory subjunctives commencing in line 7, must have occurred in the missing lines. Lines one through three set the scene for the impending danger, whereas at line seven the danger is clearly upon the sailors.

The manuscripts of Heraclitus offer two variant readings for the line ending. The most commonly attested is as follows: κύμα τὸ προτέρω νέμω (Codd. A, B, G, Ald.) and manuscript O offers the variation κύμα τὸ προτέρω νόμω. Both of these readings seem to have been deemed unsatisfactory by many scholars, who have in turn offered their own suggestions, which include: Lobel's τῶι προτέρω νόμωι "in the manner of the previous one(s)"; Seidler and Bergk's τῶν προτέρων ὄνω "above the

previous ones"; A. Y. Campbell's ἴνσχερω "following closely upon"; Taillardat's λαμπροτέρω ἴνέμω "of a stronger wind" and Blass and Theander's τὸ προτέρω ἴνέμω "of the previous wind."³⁸

Lobel's conjecture is favoured by Page, as a possible solution to the problem. Page, however, freely admits that he has been unable to find an example of νόμωι with the genitive case meaning "like" or "in the manner of" (1955, 184). Seidler and Bergk's conjecture must be dismissed on the grounds that ὄνω is rather difficult to explain palaeographically (D. Campbell 1982, 289), nor is it found governing the genitive case prior to Herodotus (1.130; Page 1955, 184). The latter does not preclude its presence in poetry but does make it less likely. Again, the reading offered by A. Y. Campbell is not likely to be correct, on the grounds that the manuscript tradition supports no reading remotely similar to that which he suggests and is not likely to be in keeping with the message that Alcaeus wished to convey. Furthermore, he bases his argument upon the use of ἴνσχερω in later authors, such as Pindar,³⁹ and is unable to cite any usage in epic or early lyric fragments.

The most elaborate conjecture is put forth by Taillardat who strongly supports the likelihood of α prodelision but feels that in this instance κῦμα τὸ προτέρω ἴνέμω does not make sense (81). Taillardat then maintains that a scribal error must have occurred at some point in the Alexandrian manuscripts written in an uncial script in which the Λ and Μ are virtually indistinguishable. The proposed scribal error resulted in the loss of ΛΑΜ, reducing the line to προτέρω ἴνέμω, at which point a metrical error was detected and the long syllable was supplied with τὸ (82-3). His proposal is certainly

³⁸ These conjectures can be found in Page (1955, 184), Voigt (181) and the individual articles by the respective authors. The most complete *apparatus criticus* can be found in Voigt.

³⁹ For a full discussion see A. Y. Campbell (4).

ingenious but it has no solid foundation methodologically.⁴⁰ The palaeographical error which Taillardat proposes is incompatible with the readings which the surviving manuscripts give, nor does it seem probable that Alcaeus would have used this adjective with the word "wind" to convey his message, as its earlier applications commonly express a meaning of bright or radiant (*LSJ*).

The final variation of this line ending is that conjectured by both Blass and Theander, κῦμα τὸ προτέρω 'νέμω,⁴¹ which comes closest to the most frequently attested manuscript reading and the *lectio difficilior* of κῦμα τὸ προτέρω νέμω. Contrary to Page's belief that α prodelision is not justifiable⁴² several examples of hiatus, synecphesis and prodelision are cited by Taillardat (81) to support the possibility of prodelision at 6.1. The following examples are listed to demonstrate that there is no strict tradition in Lesbian poetry: Alcaeus 365, ὦ Αἰσιμίδα, 130.19, ὦγεσιλαῖδα and Sappho 1.11-12, ὦράνωϊθερος (also cited in Hamm, 39). The prodelision of α in 130.19 admits the possibility of its occurrence at 6.1.

Line three is also not free from textual difficulties. They are, however, quite readily resolved. The presence of the particle κε(ν) supports the modifications which have been customarily made to create an aorist subjunctive of ἔμβαι. If the supplement of νᾶος is accepted as standing before the verb, the reading given by the codices,

⁴⁰ West summarises what may be the problem with Taillardat's conjecture: "...in order to make a conjecture palaeographically plausible it is only necessary to print it and the transmitted reading in capitals" (1973, 59 n.11).

⁴¹ Voigt, Gentili and Gallavotti also accept this reading.

⁴² Page (1955, 184) claims that this reading is "surely impossible even if the prodelision of α were justifiable (there is no other such example in the Lesbians)." It strikes me as very curious that Page is so quick to dismiss the possibility of prodelision due to its absence elsewhere in Lesbian poetry, yet is willing to attribute the meaning "[like?]" (183) to νέμω (sic) for which he has been able to find no precedent.

ἐμβαίνει, cannot be correct for metrical reasons. The manuscripts of Heraclitus uniformly attest καὶ ἐμβαίνει, with varying readings of ἄντλον, ἀντίον, ἄντλην preceding it. P. Oxy. 1789, however, reads]κε νᾶ[resulting in the current reconstruction of κε νᾶος ἐμβαι which rectifies the metrical incongruities of the manuscript readings. Another reason for reading an aorist subjunctive originates from the meaning of the line; one would expect the action of a single wave entering the ship to be depicted as a one time occurrence as opposed to a continuous action.

It has been noted by Gentili (1988, 205) that Alcaeus' choice of verbs in the first two stanzas suggests that the poet is creating a distinct military image, truly enriching the "linguistic presentation" (Gentili 1988, 205) by describing the actions of the ship in terms applicable to soldiers. An examination of earlier applications of the verbs suggests that Gentili's thesis is correct. The first verb encountered in the poem, στείχειν, is otherwise employed with animate subjects in archaic poetry. The verb, not frequently found in Homer,⁴³ denotes the motion of humans at *Il.* 2.833 and 9.86. The former passage presents the most striking possible parallel, upon which Gentili (1988, 205) also bases his argument, where the verb is employed to describe the motion of soldiers going off to war "οὐδὲ οὐς παῖδας ἔασκε στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα" (*Il.* 2.832-3). This is clearly not the customary manner in which the motion of a wave is described and the personification of the wave signals the distinct presence of a secondary meaning tightly interwoven with the literal force of the storm at sea. Personification became a common tool for allegorists and when coupled with a narrative element, as in poem 6, frequently indicated the very presence of allegory (Dawson, 6). The animation of the wave is thus a truly striking innovation serving to strengthen the metaphor, for the two levels of interpretation communicated to Alcaeus' audience are incapable of being severed

⁴³ At *Od.* 11.15-18, it is interesting to note that the verb στείχειν is employed to denote the motion of Helios, who has been personified.

without curtailing the tension of the imagery⁴⁴ and diminishing the force of the allegory.

ἐμβάινειν, of line 3, is employed numerous times in Homer (*Il.* 1.311, 2.720; *Od.* 4.656, 10.164, etc.) to denote the act of embarking on a ship. *LSJ* comments on its use with the genitive, stating that this is rare, and cites Alcaeus as the sole example. Indeed, this verb, prior to its use by Alcaeus, is also only utilised with animate subjects. It therefore serves to maintain the animation of the wave, while sustaining a very real maritime image of a wave washing over the side of the ship.

Φράττειν in line 7 is the third verb which brings a rich literary heritage to the poem. Both conjectures put forward for this line ending have been influenced by epic. Fortifying of ships appears at *Il.* 15.566, φράξαντο δὲ νῆας and *Od.* 5.256 φράξε δέ μιν (Odysseus' raft), and this clearly explains Diehl's conjecture of νᾶα (*apud* Voigt, 181). Lobel's conjecture, νᾶος, assumes that the object is not present in this line but appeared in one of those now lost (Grenfell and Hunt 1922, 71). The alternative conjecture, which is widely accepted, is τοίχοις.⁴⁵ The word is first attested at *Il.* 15.382, to signify the sides of a ship, and in this poem either supplement will suffice. Regardless of the object, the verb has been chosen to uphold the dual imagery of soldiers fortifying their battlements, as at *Il.* 12.263, or themselves,⁴⁶ and sailors securing their ship. The familiarity of these Homeric references to Alcaeus' audience would serve to conjure up an image of the storm-racked sailors being like heroic soldiers, thus adding continuity to the poem in that there is not a radical shift from maritime to military imagery.

Although the most commonly accepted reading for the end of line 7 is τοίχοις,

⁴⁴ A high level of tension is characteristic of ancient allegory according to Dawson, 7.

⁴⁵ Page (1955, 184). Murray suggested τοίχους (*apud* Grenfell and Hunt 1922, 71) but that is not in keeping with Aeolic spelling conventions.

⁴⁶ *Batr.* 166; *Tyrt.* 19.7; *Mimn.* 13a.2.

no precedent survives for this expression. The sides of a ship are described by Homer with this particular word but it is not employed with the verb in question. The two examples given at *Il.* 15.566 and *Od.* 5.256 with φράττειν support Diehl's conjecture of νᾶα and this is taken up by Taillardat (83-86), who offers forceful evidence to support it, and maintains that φράττεσθαι ναῶν was a consecrated technical maritime expression (85) to signify "the temporary elevation of the gunwale with matting to provide a barrier against high waves" (Gerber 1968, 322). The metrical scheme will permit either reading in this case, and consequently it is impossible to decide conclusively in favour of one over the other. The evidence from Homer, and later authors, would support a reading of "ship," rather than a specific reference to the sides of a ship. In either case, however, the sentiment is clear; the ship must be secured against the storm.

δρομωμεν (line 8), which has been reconstructed from the first three letters extant on the papyrus, is the fourth verb whose presence seems curious in this description of seafaring hazards. The validity of the reconstruction is supported by the presence of the same expression at Theognis 855-6, πολλάκις ἡ πόλις ἦδε δι' ἡγεμόνων κακότητα ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν. In a context directly parallel to the situation in Alcaeus 6, Theognis compares the city to a ship, lost as a result of poor leadership; however, owing to the controversial nature of the dating of Theognis,⁴⁷ the influence exerted by one poet on the other cannot be determined definitively. The similarity in choice of language to depict the image and in the aristocratic audience for which both poets performed strongly suggests that the portrayal of a ship "running for a secure harbour" is the product of imitation either on Alcaeus' or Theognis' part.⁴⁸ Examples of the verb in Homer (*Il.* 14.413; *Od.* 9.386), when describing the motion of

⁴⁷ See note 19.

⁴⁸ In both Alcaeus and Theognis, the ship does not run. In poem 6, the ship is to be perceived as running, for a literal interpretation of "let us (i.e. the crew) run" is not possible. The city is the "runner" in the Theognidean example; however, the image of running is extended to the ship through the comparison.

inanimate things, signify rapid revolving motion (Gentili 1988, 205). When it is used with people, however, the verb clearly means to run or go.⁴⁹ In the present situation the inanimate application of the verb is inappropriate to denote the understood forward motion of the ship. Thus Alcaeus has animated the lifeless ship in a fashion similar to that of the wave in line one, thereby substantiating an allegorical interpretation. The description of the ship's movements in terms applicable to humans would signal to Alcaeus' listeners that the allegory is continuing, inducing his ἑταῖροι to equate the ship and its voyage with their own political vicissitudes. The crew of the ship have become the men, who must fight as a united front against the elements of the storm.

This unusual feature of animation, through which the struggle of Alcaeus' ἑταῖροι is enlivened, maintains a high level of tension within the poem. The four verbs, which are unusual in their respective contexts, give credence to Heraclitus' statements and scholars' beliefs that the poem is allegorical. The tenses and moods of the verbs in the first two stanzas also lend support to this view. A tone of immediacy is set by the present active στείχει in line 2 and the subsequent future verb παρήξει adds to the feeling that the danger will soon be upon the sailors. The verbs from line 7 on are either imperatives or hortatory subjunctives, which emphasise that the dangerous predicament being recounted is actually in progress.⁵⁰ There can be no doubt that the vivid narrative of the peril in this poem is portrayed as taking place as the poet speaks.

The metaphor of a ship buffeted by the waves is augmented by the presence in this poem of several noun and adjective phrases employed by Alcaeus' predecessors and

⁴⁹ *Il.* 18.30, 18.599, 18.602; *Od.* 23.207 (of humans); *Il.* 23.520 (of a horse).

⁵⁰ Page (1955, 185). To support an allegorical interpretation of poem 6, Page also states that the practice of recounting past events as though they were still to be suffered is contrary to ancient poetic practice and should thus be dismissed. It is interesting to note that in Dover's examination of preliterate song (108) he finds evidence to the contrary. The second general characteristic that he describes is as follows: "The event to which the song is a reaction may be treated as past, so that the song is a narrative; more often, the event is treated as present at the time of singing."

contemporaries. The first of these, πόνον πόλυ (line 2), is attested in every manuscript of Heraclitus. The sole direct parallel is *Il.* 6.525 οἱ ἔχουσι πολὺν πόνον εἵνεκα σεῖο, but a single parallel is insufficient evidence for direct Homeric influence. Πόνος does, however, make an appearance in Theognis' work at 987, ἐς πόνον ἀνδρῶν, where the connotation of the toil of war is clear. According to *LSJ*, πόνος is employed primarily by Homer to denote the toil of war, and when employed independently, becomes the equivalent of μάχη. Thus πόνος augments the military imagery in the poem. The word's validity in the context of sailors is proven by its presence in the Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri (33.17), where sailors are relieved at deliverance from their trouble. Both the literal and extended meanings of toil are thus intricately interlaced by the poet.

A second phrase which fits both a maritime and a military context is ἔχυρον λιμένα (line 8). The notion of λιμήν as a safe haven or place of refuge for ships and figuratively for people can be found at *Od.* 5.418 and twice in Theognis, lines 114 and 460.⁵¹ The expression, which becomes popular in later literature to denote a place of refuge,⁵² can logically be extended in this poem to signify allegorically a political stronghold free from the despotism of the tyrant and his authority.

The final stanzas of the poem also contain several phrases which show the influence of Alcaeus' predecessors. The phrase ὀκνος μόλθακος of line 9 does indeed seem to be novel (Grenfell and Hunt 1922, 71), but the use of the adjective in this particular instance may have been influenced by a previous example in Homer's *Iliad*. Apollo applies the adjective to Hector on the battlefield, exhorting him to stand firm and fight bravely. At *Il.* 17.588 the adjective has the same negative connotation as in poem 6: ὄς τὸ πάρος γε μαλθακὸς ἀιχμητῆς; "who was formerly a weakly warrior."

⁵¹ At Theognis 460 a comparison is made between a young wife and a ship which frequently finds shelter in another harbour.

⁵² From Gentili 1988, 205 n.49. The expression is found in the following tragedies: *A. Supp.* 417; *E. Andr.* 891; *S. Aj.* 683.

μαλθακός is more frequently employed to denote softness or gentleness, as of a cushion at Sappho 46.1 or sleep at Theognis 470. The image of weakness presented in line 9 sharply contrasts with the act of enduring great toil πόνον πόνον (line 2), appropriate for the heroic soldier/sailor and Alcaeus' aristocratic friends. Furthermore, the contrast with line 2 creates a link between the first two stanzas, replete with maritime imagery, and the final stanzas, with their military imagery.

The end of line ten leaves no clue as to what the object described by μέγ' might be. The reconstructions which have been proposed for this line ending are based upon complementing Alcaeus' exhortation to bravery in the following lines. Hunt's συμφέρον (Grenfell and Hunt 1922, 71) is admittedly "highly conjectural." To tell his shipmates that a great profit or advantage is clear before them could plausibly work in this situation; Alcaeus tells his crew that they will soon be out of this trouble and that they must stand firm to ward off the danger. In the given situation, however, one would sooner expect mention of the difficulties that lie ahead, followed by a statement to rouse the crew to endurance and courage such as, "Remember past toils and fight against this as you did before." Hunt discloses Lobel's suggestion of μέγα χεῖμ' ὄρην which would make the exhortation directly applicable to sailors⁵³ and offer a reason for Alcaeus' issuing the warning. Wilamowitz's supplement ἀέθλιον is very attractive. Gomme incorrectly asserts that this diminutive form is not found elsewhere in Greek and that the literal or derisive meaning must have been felt by Alcaeus' hearers.⁵⁴ It seems more likely that if this supplement is correct, it would have been chosen by the poet to conform to the metrical dictates of the line, which ἄθλον does not fulfill. A final conjecture, made by

⁵³ This conjecture may resolve Page's problem with the exhortation, as he states that for sailors, who cannot desert the ship, the call not to hesitate is inept (1955, 185).

⁵⁴ Gomme, 256 n.5. ἀέθλιον is found in the plural form on numerous occasions in Homer, but the meaning seems to be the more common "prizes." An additional problem with Gomme's assessment is his belief that ἀέθλιον is a diminutive form. This is clearly not the case.

Snell, reads $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, which requires synizesis of ϵ and \omicron to scan. This, of course, is perfectly acceptable and the reading of the line is subject to personal taste, as the absence of an earlier parallel does not afford any suggestions to complete the lacuna.

Line eleven also suffers from a similar absence of an ending. Three supplements have been suggested for the lacuna, among which it is difficult to determine the best. Hunt favours $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \mu\acute{\omega}\mu\omega$ (Grenfell and Hunt 1922, 71) as he feels that it best suits the contrast between $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\theta\alpha$ and $\nu\upsilon\nu$ of line twelve. The manuscript has been corrected by the addition of a ν above the π of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\theta\alpha$, thus creating $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. The other two conjectures, $\mu\acute{\omicron}\chi\theta\omega\nu$ and $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omega\nu$, accept this reading of the definite article as correct. The latter conjecture, though it is a word found frequently in Alcaeus' predecessors and a worthy supplement, lacks the force of the sentiment and call to bravery. It seems unlikely that Alcaeus would have had to remind his crew of their oath of loyalty⁵⁵ while they were physically trapped on board a ship with no option but to unite their efforts or be overwhelmed by the wave. If Heraclitus' statement that this poem refers to the acts of the tyrant Myrsilus is true, then $\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\omega$ is a distinct possibility. The previous disgrace may refer to a period of exile or dealings with the former tyrant Melanchrus. Again, if the reference point is a tyrant, then $\mu\acute{\omicron}\chi\theta\omega\nu$ is equally admissible, signifying a previous toil or hardship. As with line ten, all three supplements are at best reasonable conjectures. Even though one would expect Alcaeus to mention previous hardships that are now overcome, the line is too fragmentary to draw any firm conclusions, as not even the first letter of the missing word can be read with any certainty.

In lines 13-14, Alcaeus employs the common heroic theme of bringing shame upon one's family and fellow soldiers, and has been influenced by both Homer and Tyrtaeus in his choice of phrase. Two instances of the expression in Homer are very similar: *Od.* 24.508, $\mu\grave{\eta}\ \tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and *Il.* 6.209, $\mu\eta\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}$

⁵⁵ Gallavotti suggests that line 12 may refer to a written or oral oath among the $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota$ (1948a, 92).

γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν (also Bonanno 1973-4, 135). A similar expression and sentiment, most likely also influenced by *Il.* 6.209, is found in Tyrtaeus (10.9): αἰσχύνει τε γένος. It is clear that Alcaeus has transposed this heroic sentiment to his own poetry to appeal to the noble and heroic mind set of his listeners. Further evidence which indicates that the sentiment expressed in lines 13-14 may be an imitation of *Il.* 6.208-210 lies in Alcaeus' use of the word ἔσλοιοι, "noble," modified slightly from its virtual synonym ἄριστοι, "best or noblest," employed by Homer to describe the γένος πατέρων (209). The modification serves to maintain effectively the association with the dauntless conduct of epic soldiers. For in the context of sailors, a statement such as this is entirely inappropriate. There is nothing shameful about the conduct of sailors in a time of distress, save inaction or mutiny.

Beyond line 14, the remainder of the poem is far too fragmentary to allow for a very accurate reconstruction. The metaphor of the ship of state seems to have been abandoned at the close of the first two stanzas and the extant remnants of the other stanzas manifest little to intimate that nautical imagery is continued throughout the poem. Line 27, however, reveals the word μοναρχίαν, upon which some scholars base the validity of Heraclitus' statement that the poem ought to be interpreted allegorically.⁵⁶ Supplementary support stems from the presence of the name Myrsilus in a marginal note. Page, however, asserts (1955, 184) that little is to be inferred from either monarchy or Myrsilus since "both might be appropriate, whether the storm was real or metaphorical." When dealing with such fragmentary verse caution must be exercised; the lines following 14 could quite conceivably have dealt with a continuation of the allegory, but "monarchy" taken out of its immediate context could refer to any ruling faction against which Alcaeus expresses resentment. Furthermore, we cannot be certain whether the name Myrsilus was added by a scribe who was taking Heraclitus' word as the truth and thus falling under his influence, decided to make the marginal note, which 700 years later may be completely

⁵⁶ Treu (163); Väisänen (127); Rösler (128).

out of context.⁵⁷

The treatment of the final stanzas of poem six has been varied. Grenfell and Hunt (1922, 60) conclude that Alcaeus "passes from allegory to precept, and urges his fellow-citizens to courage and endurance and to emulation of their ancestors." Fränkel also believes that the image of the ship is abandoned and "instead of the language of images we hear tones which recall Tyrtæus."⁵⁸ Martin (56) feels that there is a transition in the poem towards an explanation of the allegory and concludes that this is corroborated by the presence of ancestors and monarchy. Both Podlecki (67) and Page feel that lines 9-14 confirm rather than ruin the allegory. Page (1955, 185) offers a convincing argument for the presence of allegory based upon the obvious yet often overlooked fact that these words of exhortation are conventional for rousing soldiers to fight, as a sailor is not able to desert his ship for a more secure position. D. Campbell (1983, 102) also has difficulty viewing these stanzas outside a political context, particularly the reference to disgrace and forefathers. The mention of noble fathers in line 14 confirms that this poem is being addressed to a closed audience of aristocrats with a specific political agenda.

The internal evidence for allegory in poem 6 is sufficient to conclude that Alcaeus was attempting to convey two meanings to his listeners. It is thus necessary to define the terms that potentially have extended meanings. As discussed previously, the verbs in the first two stanzas are critical indicators of allegorical referents. The true referents, of course, will never be conclusively defined, though it is possible to speculate what some elements may represent. In this poem, the wave of the former wind, which will necessitate baling out, is the most prominent physical element of the storm imagery. Heraclitus asserts that the storm represents the tyrannical designs of Myrsilus, from which one can

⁵⁷ In spite of these difficulties, I am still inclined to view the name Myrsilus and the word "monarchy" as corroborating allegorical interpretation.

⁵⁸ Fränkel (190). He does not, however, cite a particular example and I have been unable to find a specific citation.

conjecture that the wave represents Myrsilus' actions (counter-attack ?). One would hope that Heraclitus, via ancient commentaries or critics, knew the reference points which remain obscure to modern readers.

The lack of defiance in the poem, noted by Theander (160), has caused many scholars to conclude that the poem is rather the signal for the first exile,⁵⁹ but when the former wind, presumably former trouble (conflict with a tyrant ?), is taken into account, this interpretation does not have much force. The animation of the wave hints at the presence of a literary figure and without a detailed historical framework, it may be useful to consider specific clarification of the allegory unnecessary. Representations of waves in ancient literature manifest their oppressive nature. A possible extension of this imagery, applied to the present allegory, is to view the wave as oppressive political behaviour, as winds, as reinforced by 326.1, are also closely linked with political discord.

The most perplexing element of the poem that requires clarification is the ship, an integral part of the allegory, yet one that has created much controversy. The most immediate interpretation that comes to mind is that Alcaeus is portraying his own ἐταίρεια as the crew of the ship. It has been suggested, however (Kirkwood 1974, 77), that Alcaeus has in mind the entire δᾶμος of Mytilene; yet the exclusive social setting of his poetry's recitation calls the latter conjecture into question. The power that Alcaeus wants to regain is probably for his own faction exclusively, and therefore the crew is most likely to include only those who may benefit directly from their accession.⁶⁰

The voyage of the ship has been another component that for many scholars has assumed the significance of the tumultuous political voyage of the ἐταῖροι. This interpretation, despite the scanty remains, is supported by the poet's address to his

⁵⁹ Pippin Burnett (152). There is nothing in the poem to fix its date conclusively or indicate a reference to exile.

⁶⁰ It is possible that Alcaeus feels that the citizen body of Mytilene will benefit from their accession, and therefore he may have included them among his "ship-mates," but it strikes me as unlikely.

companions which implies that the storm is to be defied. Allegorically, the voyage could be taken to signify the political instability and uncertainty felt by the aristocrats.

Ascribing allegorical weight to the "safe harbour" of line 8 remains challenging. The term's usage in earlier literature does not impute a specifically political meaning to it. Later uses of the expression, however, do possess political overtones.⁶¹ Pippin Burnett (153) feels that the "safe harbour" is a place of work and allegorically represents the gathered faction.⁶² This interpretation is vague, as the force of the harbour is likely to be greater than she suggests. The action which is called for is forceful enough to impart one of the following senses: that the "safe harbour" represents the designs of the faction to plot against Myrsilus once they are gathered in a secure location; the suppression of the tyranny (Flaccomio, 107); or the restoration of the oligarchy to power, after they have secured a favourable position from which they are able to defeat the tyrant.

The remainder of the poem does not contain any ambiguous images that hint at the presence of a metaphor or allegory. The reconstructed stanzas, in which Alcaeus addresses his men, are the pinnacle of the poem, but the fragmentary condition shatters the possibility of ever knowing if the exhortation expresses a sincere and profound sentiment.⁶³ The language employed by Alcaeus, however, does suggest that this is the case and the evocation of such distinct military imagery, influenced by his predecessors, further supports the legitimacy of this interpretation.

In conclusion, therefore, there is no reason to doubt Heraclitus' assessment of the nature of fragment 6. A scrutiny of Alcaeus' diction and his use of animation suggests that allegory is at play here. There can also be no hesitation in stating that Alcaeus' choice of imagery has been influenced by his predecessors, but has been developed by

⁶¹ Gentili (1988, 205 n.49). *S. Aj.* (683) demonstrates the term's use for a faction.

⁶² This, she states, is evident from the use of "we" (153).

⁶³ As Perrotta believes (232).

the poet to create an incisive representation of the turmoil which stands before his companions, without overtly conveying his feelings, because of either the potential repercussions or his desire to interact with his audience on an exclusive and literary level.

]θο[
]´...οσλ.[]ων[
]ἀλλᾶ θεῶν[]φρά[
] [] [

I fail to understand the position of the winds:
 one wave rolls from this side,
 and another from that, and we are borne
 along with the black ship through the middle,

sorely troubled in the great storm.
 Bilge water is rising above the masthead,
 and the entire sail is now full of holes,
 and there are great rents in it;

the anchors are loosening, and the rudders

...

...

both feet (remain ?)

in the ropes: this alone saves
 me. The cargo....
 ...from above...

...but of the gods..

Fragment 305 col. II: A Commentary on poem 326/208

]ρημε.[	τὰ δ' ὀή[ια
].ης ἀλλ[	ενοπ[
χ[...]ιμεν[	÷ ται.[
τ..πιτο[	ηες .[
γε [μ]ηδενα.[	τοις.[
ως ἀριστ.[	÷ ελκο[
θεν κυλιγ[δ-	σιβο.[
Μυρ[σί]λου κα[	νεις .[
<u>νο</u> α[	εν [
οπο[	πέν βιμ[βλίδεοσι
τ <u>αι</u> λ[	τωαυ[
÷ διε[	τασυγ[σχοι-]
<u>λη</u> μ[	νία κ[
χάλα[ισι	ρου σχο[ινία
συν[	καιτοτ[
÷ τ.ν.[	υδωρ[
δοκ[	]δα.[
τογ.[	<u>αντ</u> [
<u>σι</u> χ[

7 - rolls from this side (?)

8 - of Myrsilus

14 - are loosening

20 - and the rudders

29 - in the ropes

31-2 - ropes (?)

33 - ropes

35 - water

Fragment 326 of Alcaeus, which has been transmitted via several authors, including the allegorist Heraclitus and the two grammarians Cocondrius and Apollonius Dyscolus, remains the largest fragment which develops maritime imagery, with eight lines fully intact. The remainder of the poem, fragment 208, which is in exceedingly poor condition, comes from P. Oxy. 2297, fragments 5a, b, c, d and fragments 9 a and b, dated to the late second century.⁶⁴

Heraclitus, who has preserved this comprehensive and most complete fragment, classifies 326 as an allegory and proceeds to explain the secondary meaning behind the storm symbolism. The allegorist freely admits that the poem appears to depict the plight of sailors worn down by a storm, but is quick to offer his own interpretation of events, namely that Alcaeus has employed this image to convey the conspiratorial acts of the tyrant Myrsilus (5.6-7). Heraclitus' testimony is further validated by the existence of a fragmentary commentary, 305.II, which discloses partial line beginnings of fragments 326 and 208. The language chosen by Alcaeus to portray the storm lends itself to allegorical interpretation in much the same way as that of poem 6. Echoes of earlier writers can be detected on several occasions, particularly in the first segment, 326, where Homeric and Archilochean images and expressions are likely to have exerted an influence upon Alcaeus' description of the events taking place.

Cocondrius defines allegory⁶⁵ as "a mode of expression rightfully signifying one thing but representing another sense/intent": 'Αλληγορία ἐστὶ φράσις ἕτερον μὲν δηλοῦσα κυρίως, ἕτεράν δὲ ἔννοιαν παριστῶσα; he proceeds to cite the first five lines of fragment 326 as his model for allegory. The citation is at times dramatically different from that of Heraclitus and the standard reconstructions of modern editors:

⁶⁴ Although the poem is now customarily given the number 208, as in Voigt and Campbell, I retain the reference numbers of the individual parts. When referring to the poem as a unit, I give it the number 326/208.

⁶⁵ For a discussion about allegory, see pp. 11-13.

συνίημι τῶν ἀνέμων τῆν στάσιν.
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
 τὸ δὲ ἔνθεν, ἄμμε δὲ τὸ μέσον
 αἰεὶ φορήμεθα· σὺν μέλανι
 χειμῶνι μογέοντες μάλα.

Criticism of the citation stems from errors in Aeolic orthography and Cocondrius' lack of regard for the metrical structure, Alcaic stanzas, in lines 1, 3, 4 and 5 (the latter may be intentionally incomplete, following the punctuation rather than the line lengths). The alterations in spelling made by the grammarian are probably the result of his own attempt to resolve difficulties within the text, such as the use of ἄσυννέτημι, used elsewhere only at Hp. Fract. XXV (*LSJ*), and the Aeolic form μέσσον.

The second grammarian to cite a line of this poem is Apollonius Dyscolus who was writing during the second century A.D. in Alexandria. The excerpt 326.3, ἄμμε δ' ἄν τὸ μέσσον,⁶⁶ is introduced as an example of the nominative plural personal pronoun under the heading of Περὶ Ἀντωνυμίας. The Aeolic spellings of ὄν and μέσσον have not been preserved, and the latter has been emended by editors to its current form. This citation by Dyscolus is identical to the readings offered by Heraclitus' manuscripts and consequently is of no value as a supplementary source.

Perhaps the greatest testimonial to the success of this poem and its imagery is the imitation by Horace (*Odes* 1.14) who uses the ship to represent the Roman state.⁶⁷ When compared to the abundance of internal evidence in poem 6, however, in 326/208 the

⁶⁶ Marzullo cites several examples from the *Odyssey* (5.330; 14.299; 4.174) to support translating "through the middle" as "through the middle of the sea" as opposed to "through the middle of the waves"(1975, 32).

⁶⁷ See R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard (178ff.).

quantity is reduced substantially. The diction used by Alcaeus to illustrate the travails of the ship does not seem to deviate from the manner in which one would expect maritime scenes to be portrayed. Yet within a context of nautical imagery there are several expressions which are difficult to elucidate and have created much controversy as to their authenticity and defensibility as readings and exposition within an allegorical framework.

The plight of the ship unfolds by means of a series of short statements depicting the perilous situation and emphasising the imminent calamity. The details imparted by Alcaeus are sufficiently succinct to maintain a high level of tension and excitement within the narrative, but there is little to indicate that allegory is at play except Heraclitus' assertion to the contrary.

It has been proposed by Treu (161) that *Iliad* 15.624ff. is the model upon which Alcaeus has constructed this poem:

...ὡς ὅτε κῦμα θοῆ ἐν νηϊ πέσῃσι
 λάβρον ὑπαὶ νεφέων ἀνεμοτρεφές· ἡ δέ τε πᾶσα
 ἄχνη ὑπεκρύφθη, ἀνέμοιο δὲ δεινὸς ἀήτης
 ἰστίῳ ἐμβρέμεται, τρομέουσι δέ τε φρένα ναῦται
 δειδιότες· τυτθὸν γὰρ ὑπέκ θανάτοιο φέρονται·

The sentiment is clearly very similar, as is the description of the ship likened to active participants in a struggle, but in the absence of any direct parallels, one would be hard pressed to claim that 326/208 is a deliberate emulation of this passage. An unconscious association may be at work, but a difficulty with the degree of Homeric imitation presents itself again.

Line two offers a clear example of the problem of influence and imitation with the phrase κῦμα κυλίνδεται. Although the entire expression τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται, τὸ δ' ἔνθεν appears to be an imitation of a phrase which occurs on

numerous occasions in Homer,⁶⁸ it strikes me that one would customarily describe the motion of a wave as "rolling." This is further supported by the presence of ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα (*Od.* 5.327 and 330), which is unmistakably the way that waves seem to move, with no definite starting point or end.

The situation depicted in the eight and one half lines of fragment 326 is very similar in content and sentiment to that in poem 6. The immediacy of events and the bewilderment of the poet are effectively portrayed in the first line of the poem by the use of an unusual and rare verb, ἀσυννέτημι, which has been emended to its current form by Ahrens⁶⁹ from the manuscript readings of ἀσυνέτην νῆ (Codd. A, B, G and Ald.) and ἀσυνετηῆ ἐκὶ (Cod. O). The unusual verb and its prominent position at the start of the line serve to emphasise the poet's inability to comprehend the situation.

The dramatic opening of this poem recalls the imagery of poem 6, especially in the immediate evocation of the winds in line one. The στᾶσιν of the wind can be viewed as a key indicator for the presence of allegory based upon the noun's presence in a fragmentary line, 130.26, where its juxtaposition with πόλεμον indicates that strife may also assume a meaning of "revolution" (Page 1955, 206) in 326 as it does in 130. στᾶσιν is also extant on P. Oxy. 2734 frg. 6.7 (S 267), the reconstruction of which has been made by Page to read as the first three lines of 326 (1974, 84). Of particular interest in this situation is the resemblance of S 267.3 "Μυρσίλωι ἄκ.." to the partial commentary, 305.I, which makes mention of Mnemon providing a vessel for Myrsilus' return, Μνήμονα ὃς ἀκάτιον παρέστησεν εἰς τὴν Μυρσίλου κάθοδον,

⁶⁸ *Il.* 11.307; *Od.* 1.162; 5.296; 5.327; 5.330; 14.315. A similar problem arises with the phrase "black ship" (line 4). Although the epithet is first coined at *Il.* 2.524, the frequency with which it is employed in various authors and the fact that ships' hulls were painted black (Casson, 45) diminishes the claim that Alcaeus is being directly influenced by Homer in his use of the expression.

⁶⁹ *Apud* Lobel-Page (265). The emendation has been made to conform to Aeolic spelling conventions for contract verbs.

and line 8 of 305.II which appears to be a reference to the return of Myrsilus. The group of papyrus fragments from which S 267 has been extracted are line openings with little space between for elaboration. It therefore seems unlikely that S 267 is a full commentary on 326 but rather a summary of the poem's contents (Lobel 1968, 2).⁷⁰ The summary's close connection with 305, as both bear the name Myrsilus, corroborates Heraclitus' statement (5.7) that Alcaeus wrote specifically in reference to Myrsilus' tyrannical designs (also Gentili 1988, 296 n.10) and the subsequent reference to Pittacus in 305.I suggests that the column may refer to a time when the two men shared or were competing for power.

Both the palpable and figurative nature of the dilemma are encapsulated in the use of discord. Within this metaphorical context, $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ can assume its literal meaning of "position" or "lie" to comply with the physical description of the storm along with a secondary significance of "faction" or "seditious political alliance." The implication of "party formed for seditious purposes; faction" (*LSJ*) is not only in line with poem 6 and its clear designation of a united political group, but is also substantiated by the following stanza in which the poet's initial bewilderment has turned from a singular to a collective concern with the use of "we" in line 3.⁷¹ The transition from the singular speaker of line one to his inclusion within a group alludes to a scene in which the captain of the vessel, Alcaeus, addresses his crew, his $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\iota$, but in a fashion very different from the exhortation of 6.12-15. Here the situation is less hopeful; the enthusiastic appeal to withstand the toils of battle is gone, replaced with the grim details of a ship and its crew

⁷⁰ Although no definite link can be established between the first and second columns of 305, it is tempting to create a link by viewing S 267 as an explanation of the allegory in 326/208. Lines 2-6 of S 267 seem to refer to 305.I, and are followed by a citation of the opening lines of 326, which comprise part of the second column of 305. Without inspecting the papyrus fragments, however, it is impossible to pass judgement on the validity of the above speculation.

⁷¹ Smyth (215) asserts that $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ personifies this image, adding that "the 'black bark' is their companion in distress."

desperately clinging to the battered vessel in a bid for survival. The physical elements of the storm are the symbols through which the ἔταῖροι are to associate their plight with that of the ship, but again, it is not essential that every element convey detailed information to the audience.⁷² The tattered condition of the boat would be allegorically comprehensible to Alcaeus' listeners, signifying the gravity of their situation, and the toiling, μὸχθεντες (line 5), would signal to his audience their participation in their own struggle.

Textual difficulties have most frequently been emended away by the addition or substitution of a single letter, such as Cocondrius' logical replacement of κ with μ to create μᾶλα as the final word of line five. Textual quandaries do not present themselves until line 9, controversial due to its incomplete state and uncertainty regarding its interpretation. A second usage of the verb at Alc. 70.10 supports changing the ο to α in χόλασι. The change is further supported by the appearance of χαλα at 305.II.14. Two difficulties arise if this is altered for the emendation is not easy to explain palaeographically and Aeolic spelling conventions suggest that the ο should be retained, as it frequently denotes α of other dialects.⁷³ The verb, however, is the lesser of the two difficulties. The five manuscripts of Heraclitus are uniform in their reading of the noun ἄγκυραι, but the likelihood of double ρ is strengthened by its presence at 297.2. The interpretation of ἄγκυρραι "anchors," given that the storm is well under way and the ship has been described as being in mid-sea, has raised concerns about the meaning of the line.

Explaining the use of anchors in this situation has proved somewhat perplexing. An interesting theory has been proposed by Kirtland (321 and 323), who suggests that rather than standard anchors with weights on them being described here, Alcaeus may be depicting what she terms "sea-anchors," employed in Egypt and the Bosphorus, whence the

⁷² Against this view see Gentili (1988, 199).

⁷³ There is the possibility that the scribe who recorded the poem emended the verb to what he felt would be the correct Aeolic spelling.

Greeks probably adapted their use to stabilise a vessel. The reconstruction of Solon by Edmonds⁷⁴ admits the possibility of Solon's having imitated Alcaeus 326.9, where the word ἄγκυρα is attested for the first time (Torr, 70 n. 155). Plutarch (*Sol.* 19.2) makes specific reference to two anchors, which may explain a difficulty that some scholars have had with the use of this noun at 326.9, and adds that "anchoring" the city to two councils might assist in riding out the figurative storm. Therefore, insight may be gained into the conceptual perplexities of Alcaeus 326 through Solon's figurative use of anchors. Torr states (72), however, that it was commonplace for ships to have multiple anchors which could then be employed to assist in getting the ship safely through a storm (Torr, 74).⁷⁵ This practice then helps to explain what may be the literal translation of Alcaeus' statement that "the anchors are loosening." Although the type of anchor is still in question, the context indicates that the situation is dire and that the anchor that is loosening must be one that the crew members expect to offer them security.

Bonanno disputes the common translation of χαλαρᾶν, "slacken," and dismisses it for both logical and philological reasons (1976, 180). In the *Suda* χ 69, the verb is employed with the definite connotation of "let down, lower": χαλαρᾶσθε τὴν ἱερᾶν ἄγκυραν, and Bonanno states that the verb should be translated in the same way here. As the text stands, however, such a translation is incorrect. A translation of "let down" would resolve the problem with reading anchors instead of ropes, if it were in the passive voice, but since the anchors are the subject of the verb, a translation of "the anchors are slackening" is preferable. Why, indeed, would the crew be dropping anchor in the middle of a fierce storm? The vessel's anchors would already have been in position, unless the storm was so sudden that preparations to fortify the vessel were unable to be made.

⁷⁴ See note 16 for his reconstruction.

⁷⁵ Against this, see Smyth (215). It does seem curious that the ship, which is obviously labouring in the storm, would be at anchor (also Kiriland, 321). The fact that the literal interpretation of anchors is difficult to account for indicates that Alcaeus may have been aiming for the figurative significance as in Solon.

Furthermore, the anchors cannot be self-moving, and Bonanno (1976, 180) concludes that the piece may be an allegorical adage which was recited by paroemiographers, hence its presence in the *Suda*.

The problem with reading "anchors" has led some scholars to question whether a scribal error has occurred, whereby the correct reading of the line should be ἄγκυλαί (Unger) or its poetic form, ἄγκονναί (Edmonds after Bergk; both *apud* Voigt). ἄγκάλη or ἄγκύλη refers to something that is bent, such as the halyard (Casson, 262). It has also been proposed that the ἄγκονναί may be the shrouds, ropes to support the mast, or straps designed to hold together pieces of the sailyard (Morrison and Williams, 300 and 119).⁷⁶ Although neither conjecture is attested in Homer with a meaning of ropes,⁷⁷ some form of rope seems appropriate here. Following the description of the tattered state of the sail, one would expect the supporting or stabilising ropes to work loose in such a severe storm. Nevertheless, be they anchors or ropes, the figurative subject of χόλαισι must be a permanent component of his coterie that Alcaeus perceives as somehow coming undone.

The loss of lines 10 and 11 heightens the difficulty with interpreting the subsequent lines, 12 and 13. Homeric antecedents do not support interpreting the stanza as "both feet remain (?) in the sheets." πόδες or its singular πούς frequently denote "the two lower corners of the sail, or the ropes fastened thereto..., sheets" (*LSJ*, as at *Od.* 5.260) If πόδες is translated as "feet", whose "feet" can they be? One would assume, given the subjective nature of the poem, that these two feet belong to the poet himself

⁷⁶ A similar manuscript error is found in Lucilius, where *anchora* should be emended to *anquina*, "cables" (Casson, 262 n. 9). It is also possible that Horace's *antemnae* (*Odes* 1.14.6) may have been influenced by Alcaeus' use of ἄγκονναί, if this is the correct reading for 326.9 (Nisbet and Hubbard, 179).

⁷⁷ Ropes in Homer are ὑπεραι (*Od.* 5.260); ὀπλα (*Od.* 2.390); κάλοι (*Od.* 5.260); and possibly πόδες (*Od.* 10.32-3), (Torr, 80; Morrison and Williams, 56 and 300).

who is recounting the calamity. Why then, if he is representing the tempest as currently in progress, would Alcaeus say that both his feet are stuck in the "ropes"? Has he tied himself there to prevent being washed overboard, as the second half of line 13 suggests (τοῦτό με καὶ σ[άοι), or do the "feet" signify something other than a human attribute as is the case in Homer? Tying his feet in ropes, βιμβλίδεσσιν, does not make practical sense (also Cerri, 68). One would sooner expect Alcaeus to write that his hands remain in the ropes, or that he has tied a rope around his waist.

Alcaeus' emphasis on both feet has led Pippin Burnett (155) to doubt that the poet was attempting to convey a meaning of the actual feet of a person and that he must have meant the two lower corners of the sail, as Kamerbeek (1953, 90) also maintains. Contrary to these theories, however, Barner (130) rightly draws attention to the point that the word "both" makes one think of the primary meaning of feet and that the noun is coupled with ἀμφοτέρως when an author aims to stress that physical effort is being exerted, as at *Il.* 13.78. The difficulty with resolving this line is exemplified in Cerri's conclusion (69), that "la parola πόδες indica sì gli angoli inferiori della vela, ma anche e soprattutto i piedi dei combattenti nella guerra civile." While either meaning of the two lower corners of a sail or feet lend themselves to literal interpretation, only feet gain support for figurative significance through Alcaeus' echo of a Tyrtaean expression. The reconstruction of a form of μένω at the end of line 12 is also upheld by its presence at Tyrtaeus 10.31: ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβάς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, and by the identical phrase at 11.21, which is an exhortation to stand brave and fight, with a similar sentiment to Alcaeus' earlier exhortation in poem 6 (see also Marzullo 1975, 33). The likeness between 208 and the two Tyrtaean poems may end with the echo of the phrase. There may, however, be something more to the echo but it is difficult to assess the true similarity since 208.11-12 have been lost. It does seem, given the surviving fragments, that Alcaeus did not shift to military imagery in the latter stages of the poem as he does at 6.9, for the mention of cargo (line 14) sustains the nautical image. The Tyrtaean expression can be applied to a nautical context in that it typifies the fortitude required to combat this seemingly vicious storm and metaphorically

the violence of civil war.⁷⁸

Not only is fragment 326/208 intriguing for its allegory but it also exhibits many unusual features from a philological perspective. The poem contains words which are not found earlier, such as ἀσυννέτημι, ζάδηλον, βιβλίδεσσι, ἄχματα, and λαῖφος, indicating a sail rather than a rent rag. ἄγκυρα meaning anchor is also first attested here. The novelty of these words suggests that, both linguistically and figuratively, the portrayal of the image is a fresh and original approach to one found in earlier literature. The paucity of antecedents for a detailed yet allegorical model supports the belief that Alcaeus has developed a Homeric simile "forse con una maggiore consapevolezza del suo significato metaforico."⁷⁹

Is it possible to attribute figurative meanings to the parts of the ship or has Alcaeus given the details to display his knowledge of shipping terminology?⁸⁰ The depiction seems rather to be a purposeful delineation of the ship's tattered state to impart the severity of the storm and the desperation of the "sailors." Example upon example of the pitifully vanquished state of the vessel heightens the urgency in one man's attempt to grasp the dreadful situation. The approach works well from a literary perspective, building up the detail and drama to a crescendo, and serves to engage the listeners in a very real and emotional depiction of their plight.

⁷⁸ Gentili (1984, 75). At Archilochus 114.4, the poet describes his ideal general as one ἀσφαλέως βεβηκῶς ποσσί. Although the poem paints an unheroic picture of a general, it still emphasises the importance of a "steady-footed" soldier and brings to mind Alcaeus 6.12, where each soldier/sailor must be δόκιμος.

⁷⁹ Bonanno (1976, 183), citing Bowra (220).

⁸⁰ Pippin Burnett (154) notes that the style of this poem has been described as "Stoffhongrig" by Fränkel, *Stileigenheit*, 52.

The wave and winds are the prime elements of destruction,⁸¹ while the remaining lines focus upon the effects that these two forces produce. Is it then necessary to press the detail and attribute allegorical significance to every aspect? Inclusion of great detail is surely not an indication that every element need be figurative or metaphorical. Of particular note, however, is the point that three images of 326/208 resound with the direct influence of Archilochus 106. The latter, a fragment describing the dangers of sea-faring addressed to a second person, presumably the commander of the vessel or perhaps the same Glaucus of 105, depicts at line 6 (granted, in a conjectural format) the same image of waves being churned up: κύμα]ν ἴσταται κυκώμενον, but the specific wording used by Alcaeus does in this instance point to a Homeric precedent, mentioned earlier. The image of the ship tossed about in the waves may also be derived from 106.1, which, reconstructed by Gentili (1988, 203), reads as follows: φέρο]νται νῆες ἐν πόντῳ. This image of ships being borne on the sea is paralleled at 326.4: "we are carried along with the black ship." Slackening of sails and possibly loosening of ropes are echoed in 326. The sail in Archilochus is denoted by its more common term ἴστιον, which has likely been altered by Alcaeus to render the poem more dramatic and exciting by describing it as a rag-like cloth. If in 106.3 λύσαν]τες ὄπλα νηός is a parallel to 326.9, it fuels the debate over anchors or ropes slackening. This, unfortunately, is not one of the parallels between Archilochus and Theognis 671-82, and thus does not serve to clarify the Alcaean piece. The similarities that can be found between Archilochus and Alcaeus make it very tempting to emend 326.9 to ropes, based solely upon its appearance in Archilochus.

Certain components of the storm scenario and the physical description of the ship can be interpreted metaphorically. ἄντλος, "bilge-water," of line 6 can readily be construed as representing yet another facet of the tyrannical aspirations of Myrsilus. Bilge-water, which will quickly cause a ship to sink should it not be pumped out, can

⁸¹ See L. Edmunds (241) for later examples of civil disorder being portrayed by use of "winds and storms - and especially in terms of storm-driven water."

legitimately be applied to 326 as signifying something oppressive. Evidence at 6.2 verifies that baling out water should be classified as a component of the allegory, perhaps signifying impending disaster for the ἑταῖροι and the struggle that lies ahead in their attempt to thwart Myrsilus' success.

A metaphorical sail is also not outside the realm of possibility, though it is difficult to assign specific significance to the sail when its Homeric usage is to denote a tattered cloth. The fact that the sail now has great rents in it and is described as ζάδηλον, "with holes in it" (*LSJ*), indicates that the storm was not anticipated, otherwise the sail would not have been open. Gentili (1974, 74) equates both the rudders and sail with symbols of the city of Mytilene. Admittedly, this is quite possible; the basis for his interpretation is a passage from the *Seven Against Thebes*, and thus unfortunately falls outside the scope of the present inquiry. The sail may, however, figuratively represent a controlling element of the group, used to guide the ἑταιρεία to safety.

The rudders lend themselves to allegorical interpretation with greater ease than the sail. Stability and control, the functions of a rudder or steering paddle, can be directly applied to the leadership of the ἑταιρεία. The instances of a pilot guiding a ship and exercising ultimate control over the vessel's course in Homer (*Od.* 12.218; *Il.* 19.43) may serve as the basis upon which Alcaeus includes them in his allegory, as they convey the stability that a political leader is able to maintain among his party followers.

The sole verb in the poem that can have an ambiguous interpretative value is the reconstructed σ[ῶσι of line 14, supported by the use of "save" in an allegorical context at Theognis 675. The clearly political nature of the allegories in Theognis (see Nagy, 113) and Alcaeus supports interpreting "save" as salvation in a political context and not simply salvation from the storm.

The passage of Theognis (671-82), from which "save" has been reconstructed, serves as an illuminating parallel to this poem, for several structural elements within the passage are identical to those in Alcaeus (Gentili 1988, 201):

οὐνεκα νῦν φερόμεσθα καθ' ἱστία λευκὰ βαλόντες

Μηλίου ἐκ πόντου νύκτα διὰ δνοφερῆν,
 ἀντλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θάλασσα
 ἀμφοτέρων τοίχων. ἢ μάλα τις χαλεπῶς
 675 σῶζεται, οἳ' ἔρδουσι· κυβερνήτην μὲν ἔπαυσαν
 ἐσθλόν, ὅτις φυλακὴν εἶχεν ἐπισταμένως·
 χρήματα δ' ἀρπάζουσι βίηι, κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωλεν,
 δασμὸς δ' οὐκέτ' ἴσος γίνεται ἐς τὸ μέσον·
 φορτηγοὶ δ' ἄρχουσι, κακοὶ δ' ἀγαθῶν καθύπερθε.
 680 δειμαίνω, μή πως ναῦν κῦμα πίηι.
 ταῦτά μοι ἠνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν·
 γινώσκοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ κακός, ἄν σοφὸς ἦι.

The ship of state allegory is handled differently by Theognis, who at 679 makes an overt reference to the individuals, κακοί, against whom he directs his resentment. Those not "in the know," outside the group of ἀγαθοί, however, might not be able to identify the referents, as is Theognis' wish (681-2). The occurrences depicted in Theognis' allegory are identical in many respects to those in 326/208; the ship and its crew are borne over the sea; no one is baling out the ship; waves are washing over the gunwale and the cargo, only briefly alluded to in 326/208, is being thieved by the crew. Interestingly, two of these elements find their source in the aforementioned poems of Archilochus (105 and 106), which points to the likelihood that they were imitated by Alcaeus, who may have been Theognis' model, if indeed Theognis' poetry is post-Alcaean.

It has been concluded by Gentili (1988, 201) that the "ultimate referent" in 326/208 can be drawn from the above passage of Theognis, with the reference to the ship's cargo, χρήματα, which has been seized by the crew in Theognis and presumably destroyed by the storm in Alcaeus. Gentili asserts that the cargo, ἄχματα, is symbolic of the material wealth belonging to Alcaeus and the members of his ἐταῖροι. Though this interpretation of the symbolism holds true for the Theognidean allegory, it is difficult to press the Alcaean allegory to such lengths. The likelihood of the cargo having a

figurative significance is strengthened by its reappearance in what may be another ship of state allegory, 73. ἄχματα is also found at 167.7, an extremely fragmentary piece, and is followed several lines later by "ships," but it is too poorly preserved for one to extract any meaning from it, literal or allegorical.

The overall dramatic nature of 326/208 probably finds its immediate roots in Archilochus 106. The parallels that can be drawn between these two poems are sufficiently numerous to suggest that the model upon which Alcaeus builds his allegory is not an epic one but one drawn from the realm of personal poetry. The authenticity of 106 need not be doubted, as both metrically and thematically 105 and 106 prove themselves to be closely allied (Adrados, 209). The sentiment expressed in 106 to save the ships from destruction and the continuation of a second person address, perhaps to Glaucus (Gentili 1988, 214), is adequate proof of a connection between 105 and 106. The brief Homeric parallels, as previously mentioned, do not substantiate a theory entailing great epic influence. Furthermore, there is no one passage of Homer containing such a vivid narrative and extensive detail. The similes in which Homer likens waves to soldiers are most likely to have proven themselves an ultimate source of inspiration for the development of nautical allegories in Archilochus, Alcaeus and other poets, and it is at this point that I believe their influence on 326/208 stops.

The strong influence of Archilochus, nevertheless, does not preclude novel elements in Alcaeus' handling of the ship motif. The meagre evidence - a quotation of three complete lines with interpretation and a fragmentary segment of a poem from papyrus - does not allow one to assess decisively whether or not Archilochus represented a full-scale development of this allegorical theme or whether he employed it on more than this one occasion. Whatever the real reason, Alcaeus demonstrates a particular fondness for the theme, and his repeated treatment of the allegory allows him to become creative with its handling. By no means are the imitations or the images thus far exhibited stale or common applications. Therefore, Alcaeus must be credited with a certain degree of originality, not necessarily in his choice of subject matter but rather the manner in which he conveys his thoughts.

Chapter 3: Poem 73

πᾶν φόρτι[ο]ν δ..[
 2 δ' ὅττι μάλιστα σάλ[

καὶ κύματι πλάγεις[α
 ὄμβρωι μάχεσθαι ..[
 φαῖσ' οὐδὲν ἰμέρρη[ν,
 6 δ' ἔρματι τυπτομ[ένα

κήνα μὲν ἐν τούτ[
 τούτων λελᾶθων ὦ.[
 σὺν τ' ὕμμι τέρπ[εσθ]α[ι συν]ᾶβαις
 10 καὶ πεδᾶ Βύκχιδος ἀψ[.

τῷ δ' ἄμμες ἐς τὰν ἄψερον ἄ[
 αὶ καὶ τισαφ[...].αντ..[
 δείχνουντε[

. . .
all the cargo...
as much as possible...

And struck by a wave
she says that she does not wish to
fight against the rain, and striking
on a ... reef...

Let her in this (these?)
Having forgotten these things, o
to enjoy being young with both you
and with Bycchis

And in this manner, we, to the next...
even if...
showing...

Fragments 306.14 and 16: A Commentary on Poem 73 (?)

306.14 col. I
]α.[
]. ἐπιφέρει ὑπὸ
 ἔρμα]τος διερρηγυῖαν
].ως θάλασσαν
 5] ὑφαλοι τόποι
] οὐκ ὄντες μὲν
]μη φαι[ν]όμε-
 νοι δὲ]δια το[.].[]
]θάλασσαν []
 10 ὑ]πὲρ ἔρμάτω[ν]
 'Α]νακρέων
 ἀλ]ληγορῶν χαί-
 ρει]α.ι...τ..
]π..η...
 15].
]

306.16
 νό]στου λε]λάθων []
 σύ]μ τ' ὕμμι τέρπε]σθαι
]ἀβαις καὶ πεδᾶ [Βύκχιδος

306.14 col. II
 < >π' ἀλλ[
 ἐστάναι ψόμμος []
 ἔως ὁ{ν}στείχει· τὸ ὀ [με-
 ταλαμβάνουσιν ἐ[πὶ τὸ
 5 ᾗ οἱ Αἰόλεις· καὶ νῦν [τὴν
 ψάμμον ψόμμον εἶ[.]ρ[η-
 κε· σημ<αί>νει δὲ τὴν ἀκα-
 θαρσίαν. θλιβομένης αὐ-
 τῆς καὶ περαινομένης
 10 πολλῆ ἀκαθαρσία ἀνα-
 πορεύεται καὶ λεύκη· εἴρη-
 ται δὲ τὸ λευκός διὰ τὸ ἔ-
 παρμα. οἷα δὲ σκέλη ἤ-
 δη κεχώρηκε αὐται· καὶ
 15 τὰ σκέλη αὐτῆς πεπαλαί-
 ωτα[ι· πόλλ]α τε καὶ θαμα[]
 δρομ[οίσα]ι.. ἐ]πι τῆς ἀλ-
 ληγορί[α]ς[...]. πεπλευ-
 κύαι αὐτῆ<ι> διὰ τοὺς πολ-
 20 λοὺς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοὺς ἤ-
 δη π[α]λαιᾶ γέγονε[ν·] ἀλ-
 λ' οὐ σ[.]των ἔν<ν>εκ[α
 ται...[.] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-
 λαιῶσθ[α]ι...][] κα-
 25 θορμισθῆναι ἤ[τοι τῆς
 συνουσί[ας] πεπλ[]
 η ναῦς π[α]λαιᾶ του[.].[]

col. II cont.

306.14 col. II

πλεῖν κ[α]τίσχει τουτι[
 π[.....]γας πορευετα[ι
 30 τ[οὺς λεγ]ομένους πε[σ-
 σοὺς κί]νεις πάντα λί[θον
]τᾶγεται ω[
].[

(stands) sand
 as far as it ascends: The
 Aeolians substitute o
 for a. Thus, here he calls
 psammos, psommos; and it
 denotes impurity. Since
 she is crushed (tormented?) and
 penetrated (coming to an end?) much
 impurity rises up and white (leprosy?);
 it is called white because of the
 swelling. Just as her legs have already
 given way; i.e. her legs have become
 old. Having run both frequent and
 many courses. In respect to the
 allegory, ...having sailed (to her
 disadvantage); on account of many and
 frequent voyages, she has already
 become old. But not...
 because of
 ...not because she has grown old...to be
 brought into harbour...or of intercourse
 ...aged ship
 holds back from sailing
 ...travels
 "so-called" pessi
 moving every stone
 ...

306.14 col. I

...
 he adds (?)
 broken by a reef
 ...sea
 places underwater
 not being
 but (not?) appearing
 ...
 sea
 over reefs
 Anacreon
 likes to allegorise
 ...
 ...
 ...

306.16

1-having forgotten the journey home
 2-to enjoy being young with both you
 3-and with Bycchis

The situation being described in fragment 73 remains a mystery. The remnants of the first two stanzas indicate that Alcaeus is employing maritime imagery again, depicting stock elements contained in the two previous poems, such as cargo (326/208) and the ever-present wave. The tone of stanzas one and two is, however, markedly different from fragments 6 and 326/208. Here there seems to be a decided lack of fighting spirit, the "ship," or speakers, at line 5⁸² are vanquished, or are at least, on the verge of being so. There is no call to rally the crew, nor mention of a crew or salvation for that matter - just destruction and despair.

The concluding stanzas, as they have been preserved, contain an reference to the poet's companion, Bycchis, similar to that at fragment 335.3. Alcaeus' mention of Bycchis and a plural "you" (his aristocratic companions) at line 9 causes the poem's content to swing from the description of the ship to its contemporary sympotic setting and the pleasures enjoyed therein. In this respect, fragment 73 is unique among the poems containing nautical imagery, but its resemblance to 6 and 326/208 in other respects indicates that 73 may belong to Alcaeus' collection of political poems, Στρωσιωτικά.

Designating this particular poem as an allegorical representation of the ship of state is confounded by the existence of several columns of a fragmentary "commentary," P. Oxy. 2307 fragments 14 and 16, dated to the second century. These somewhat scanty comments serve as the sole external evidence for the possibility of allegory, as from this point forth, none of the poems are cited by Heraclitus or any other author as examples of allegory. In addition to this, there is confusion surrounding the "commentary" itself. It is clear that fr. 14 col. I and fr. 16 can be connected to 73 in some way but col. II of fr. 14 is only questionably related to 73, and it is on account of varying degrees of certainty in its relationship to 73 that the interpretation of the poem's contents ranges from dealing with civil strife and Alcaeus' ἑταῖροι, disguised in ship of state metaphors, to elaborate conjectures encompassing multi-faceted comparisons also involving a prostitute.

⁸² The word φάϊσ' at line 5 can be interpreted as either a third p. sg. or pl. or a nom. sg. fem. participle (Page 1955, 190). The line is most commonly rendered as "she (the ship) says."

Fragment 73 has been preserved solely on P. Oxy. 1234 fr. 3 (latter half of the second century), and perhaps, though very uncertainly, line 7 has also been partially transmitted with no variant readings on P. Oxy. 2299 fr. 3 (mid-first century). The poem had at one time been placed at the foot of fragment 326 (Colonna, 158; Gallavotti 1948a, 26) before the discovery of P. Oxy. 2297, poem 208 (Voigt, 211). Editors now consider fragment 73 to be an independent poem, resembling 326/208 in subject matter only; for when poem 73 is placed at the foot of 326, it is difficult to reconcile the gravity of the former situation with what we take to be the concluding stanzas of the poem in which Alcaeus calls for indulgence in the pleasures of the symposium (also Gallavotti 1948a, 54).⁸³ The "commentary" is of little benefit in reconstructing 73, and on the whole is in even worse condition than the poem itself. Interpretation is thus at the mercy of editorial conjectures and reconstructions.

Internal evidence for allegory is visible to a lesser degree in 73, as the fragmentary condition of the poem offers little opportunity for identifying potential parallels in other poets or a lack thereof. It is possible, however, to draw periodically upon similarities between the content of 73 and poems 6 and 326/208. Internal clues for allegory can be detected in the following elements: the ship is struck by a wave, which is perhaps symbolic in 6 and 326 of the oppressive behaviour of a tyrant and the group's struggle against it; there is a reference to cargo as in 208 and the previously cited Theognidean parallel (though this cannot be said to represent firmly the material wealth of the ἐταῖροι); the rain and the rock/reef in a political context may also be figurative representations of aspects of the group's struggle; and the most forceful evidence lies in the personification of the ship itself (line 5, as below).

Cargo, φόρτιον (line one), is also found at 208.14, designated by the less common term, ἄχματα, and in its common form, χρήματα, in the Theognidean

⁸³ *LSJ* defines συνηβᾶω as "pass youth together with; join in youthful sport." Page (1955, 190) notes that Weber has compiled evidence to suggest that the verb should be translated as "make merry." It therefore seems likely that Alcaeus is referring to sympotic pleasures from line 9 on.

parallel at 677.⁸⁴ If 73 is approached with the belief that it is political in its secondary meaning, it is possible to see a link between the use of cargo in 208 and 73, and attribute to it metaphorical significance. Defining its secondary meaning remains problematic, for it is not unexpected to find a poet describing maritime disasters making reference to the destruction of the ship's cargo.

A second point of departure from the previous poems is that Alcaeus does not represent himself or members of his group as being on board the ship. This has caused many scholars to date the poem to a period of exile (Gentili 1988, 206; Podlecki, 68; Koniaris, 396, etc.). The dating has been questioned by Barner (145), who finds the tone of the poems of exile to be very different from 73. Podlecki (69) concludes that, since the hope of a return to Mytilene has been dashed, the best solution for the group of exiles is to drown their sorrows. Page (1955, 194), who does not assign the fragment to a period of exile, feels that a literal interpretation of the poem is not possible due to the "buffoonery" that a summons to imbibe assumes following a grave situation in which the thoughts of sailors would have been turned towards salvation. The absence of a reference to Alcaeus and his companions as being on board the ship supports Page's belief (1955, 194) that poem 73 is not a ship of state poem. In agreeing with Page's view that it is difficult to read this poem exclusively on a literal level, I feel that, although the representation of Alcaeus and his ἑταῖροι as crew members of the ship imparts a dramatic air to any given poem, its inclusion in a poem should not be considered an essential indicator of allegory, as surely Alcaeus is capable of creating an allegorical poem comprehensible to his ἑταῖροι in its absence.

Few conjectures can be made with any certainty to fill the lacunae, which are mostly at line endings. Lines 3 and 5 require reconstruction, as the conjectures accepted can dramatically alter the interpretation of the poem. As mentioned previously, φαῖσ' of line 5 can be viewed as a third person singular or plural or a nominative singular feminine participle. The third person plural makes little sense here, for who can the "they"

⁸⁴ ἄχματα is also found at Alc. 167.7, but, as previously stated, nothing can be drawn from this as it is too fragmentary.

be who would be recounting the desires of the ship, unless "they" represent other members of Alcaeus' coterie? As spokesperson for the group, and their ostensible leader in the poems, it seems unlikely that Alcaeus would convey the thoughts of someone other than himself in this situation. Therefore, the most plausible translation is to read the verb as a third person singular, thus rendering the poem a prosopopoeia (Grenfell and Hunt 1914, 80; Theander, 162; Koniaris, 394), in which the ship symbolizes the ship of state. The reconstructions for the participles at the ends of lines 3 and 6 should therefore remain in the nominative case (as *ed. prin.*, Grenfell and Hunt 1914, 75), and not be altered to the accusative case, as Page, Colonna, Voigt and Lobel have restored the papyrus. Even if $\phi\alpha\iota\sigma'$ is taken by these editors as a third person singular, it seems highly improbable that its subject would be something other than a ship, $\nu\alpha\upsilon\zeta$. As Koniaris notes (394), the infinitive $\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\rho\eta\nu$ alludes to a prosopopoeia since objects do not normally desire. The animation of the vessel in 73, in that she herself speaks and desires, exceeds the more subtle animation, through the use of verbs more commonly applied to humans, in poem 6. On this evidence alone, it can be conjectured that 73 is open to a secondary level of interpretation.

The landscape of the storm in 73 differs from the previous portrayals through the introduction of two new elements, the rain and the reef. The threatening nature of rain⁸⁵ and the destructive and insidious nature of a reef, particularly one that is submerged, lend themselves to symbolic interpretation of political discord experienced by Alcaeus' $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\iota$ in their struggle to regain power. Poem 73 does not appear to have been modelled upon any one particular author, yet Alcaeus' application of the word rock/reef reveals that he is engaging in semantic innovations, assigning a new meaning to it (Gentili 1988, 208).

Homeric examples of the use of $\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ have both literal and metaphorical meaning: "prop to support ships hauled on shore" and, of a person, the "prop" or

⁸⁵ Rain is used metaphorically by Pindar (*P.* 5.10 and *I.* 5.49) to denote war or revolution (Gentili 1988, 207). It seems likely that Pindar has modelled this usage upon 73, as Gentili also believes. A figurative use of "rain" prior to Alcaeus does not exist.

"mainstay" of a city.⁸⁶ The meaning of "support" which earlier usages convey has been reversed by Alcaeus in 73 through what Gentili (1988, 208) calls the poet's creation of a "divergence of effect." The rock, which is probably identifiable with a tyrant (Pittacus?), should be a support for Mytilene, but instead it has become an element of destruction, as Alcaeus viewed the tyrants; Myrsilus(?)/Pittacus (?) is the destructive force in Mytilene against whom Alcaeus and his companions will clash in battle. Since the audience at whom the poem was directed was specific, the symbolic force of ἔρμα would serve as an ingenious method of identifying the referent, who, we must assume, was known to Alcaeus' hearers.

Other scholars conclude that 73 is not an allegorical representation of the ship of state, but belongs to Alcaeus' "love" poems. Pippin Burnett (139) identifies the reef with the "Reef of Love," which she claims was recognised by the author of 306.14.I, who cited the parallel from Anacreon. The erotic image of the reef of love is also employed by Theognis at 1361, though the diction chosen by Theognis and the brevity of the passage do not offer strong evidence to influence the assessment of Alcaeus 73. Her interpretation of the δέ of line 6 as an adversative "but," thus rendering the line a sentimental illustration of the ship's desire to be broken on the reef (Koniaris, 391-2). Pippin Burnett (140) feels that the ship's struggle gives way to repose and that the singer replaces the storm with rejoicing and sexual pleasure. The sentiment behind the closing stanza is self-evident; the tribulations of the day are to be forgotten with the aid of good company. Could this poem be depicting a time of misfortune, the solution to which is the company of Bycchis and heavy drinking, as Alcaeus suggests as a remedy in 335? Even if the poem's overall purpose is to offer a reason to drink, this does not preclude the possibility of metaphorical significance for the ship. A second sympotic poem, 338, with a call to imbibe to obliterate the hardships of the day, in this case a winter storm, has a note of defiance in line 5. κάβαλλε τὸν χεῖμων' "confound/defy the storm" (LSJ), has a military

⁸⁶ The first at *Il.* 1.486 and 2.154; the second at *Il.* 16.549 and *Od.* 23.121. Also Gentili (1988, 207).

flavour, for the verb is employed to denote the action of striking down one's enemy (as at *Il.* 2.692). Is it then possible that rather than the pitiful portrayal of this travel-weary vessel, a note of defiance should be detected in 73.5-6? Perhaps the fatigued condition of the vessel is representative of the state of affairs for Alcaeus' ἐταίρειά, but the call to forget these things signals to the group that it is time to indulge rather than concern themselves with their troubles.

Further objections to interpreting the reef as a "Reef of Love" arise from the poet's (?) desire to forget the ship and its troubles (line 8). If the reef is symbolic of love, why should Alcaeus want to forget "these things"⁸⁷ and then speak of sympotic pleasures? If the ship wishes to strike the metaphorical "Reef of Love," in a quest for repose, it does not follow that Alcaeus should also wish to dismiss it from his thoughts. One would rather expect Alcaeus to favour the ship's longing for peace, with his own being found with Bycchis. It is only with an emendation of the papyrus at line 9 to νόστω λελάθων (Lobel 1951, 120), the τούτων being a result of dittography, that the poem can assume erotic overtones, for then the poet would be forgetting the journey home and not the "Reef of Love." The presence of imagery common to the ship of state poems, however, biases me to view the poem in a political light.

External evidence from which allegorical indicators may be drawn is exceedingly problematic and its connection to the poem remains questionable. The "commentary" comprises fragments 306.14 columns I and II and fragment 16. It is not clear, however, that the fragments truly are a commentary in that they do not clarify difficulties in poem 73, and it is furthermore doubtful that the second column has any connection with 73 at all. The first difficulty that arises with the three fragments is the placement of 16, which Page, following Lobel (1951, 120) has positioned at the foot of 14 col. I, regardless of the difficulty that this placement presents, since 16 is incongruous with the opening lines of column II. Fragment 16 is nothing more than the sparse remains of 73.8-10, originating from an unknown context. As Koniaris states (386), if 16 were a true commentary on 73,

⁸⁷ This is, of course, assuming that it is the poet who is doing the forgetting at line 8.

it should be considered a lemma to be explained in the following column, which does not occur. The other option is to view 16 as a portion of text or excursus (Koniaris, 387) on some aspect or person represented in it.

That 306.14.I is a commentary of sorts on 73 has been almost uniformly accepted. The column commences with a statement confirming that the poet in question introduces a ship broken by a reef, the assumed predicament of the vessel in 73. What remains of fragment 14.I exhibits only one link with 73 in vocabulary and a resemblance to the overall description of the scene.⁸⁸ Page (1955, 192) believes that the commentary is an explanation of the words (ἄσάμωι) ἔρματι of lines 5-6. His statement is somewhat bold, considering that editors have employed Anacreon 403, preserved by Hesychius, to supply the adjective ἄσάμωι to the end of 73.5. As the papyrus offers no trace of the letters at all, the reconstruction could be one of a number of adjectives such as ἀφάπτωι (Voigt, 211; Koniaris, 391), found later in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1007). Most scholars who concede that 14.I is a commentary on 73 accept the reconstruction of line 5, thus providing greater similarity. Realistically, however, the presence of only one parallel word, ἔρμα, is hardly sufficient proof that this is a commentary on 73. It is curious, moreover, that if 306.14.I is a commentary on Alcaeus 73, there is no citation from the poem itself, perhaps due to the ravages of time, but there is a brief quotation from Anacreon, the source of which has unfortunately been lost. This column, though the eleventh line has not been preserved in its entirety and cannot be reconstructed, seems to indicate that it is Anacreon and not Alcaeus who is said to be fond of allegorising.⁸⁹ In light of the citation of Anacreon 417 in Heraclitus' *Quaestiones Homericae*, the statement made in the first column need not be called into question. The focus upon love and wine in Anacreontic poetry and the erotic secondary meaning of 417 would, however, suggest

⁸⁸ In arguing against the connection of the "commentary" with 73, I strongly agree with Koniaris' objections.

⁸⁹ Scholars who believe that column I is a commentary on 73 question whether it is Anacreon or Alcaeus who likes to allegorise (Page 1955, 192; Campbell 1990, 347). The column, however, quite clearly states that it is Anacreon. This must be accepted as correct unless we are dealing with a scribal error.

that the reef of 403 is erotic. How does this column then join itself in any fashion to Alcaeus 73? Based solely upon the evidence presented on papyrus, only a single connection can be made. It seems probable, therefore, that Koniaris (387) is correct to view the column as either an excursus on Anacreon or a lemma on this lost poem of Anacreon.⁹⁰

The argument that column I is a commentary on 73 requires undue emphasis upon the depiction of seemingly parallel situations. Due to the loss of the Anacreontic poem, however, we cannot be certain that Anacreon was not imitating the Alcaean poem, which would explain the likeness in the depiction. It is possible that Alcaeus was the first poet to attribute metaphorical significance to the word ἔρμα,⁹¹ and as can be shown with other elements extracted from his sea-faring poetry, the image was subsequently adopted and given new applications by other poets. It is also possible that the column truly does present a note on 73 and the subsequent reference to Anacreon 403 has been made to draw attention to a later imitation. Although this dilemma can never be resolved with certitude in light of the extant evidence, I would favour viewing 14.I as an explanation of the use of ἔρμα in Anacreon (also Koniaris, 391).⁹²

Any connection between 73 and column II of 306.14 is most uncertain. In this column there exist both comments on and explanations of words and lines which are not found in 73. The presence of nautical imagery alone does not justify classifying this second column as a commentary on 73 since Alcaeus was fond of employing this type of imagery, as Heraclitus (5.9) tells us, and the fragment may be commenting upon a poem outside the scope of this investigation. Any similarity that can be seen results from

⁹⁰ When the lacunae in the column are reconstructed, however, to read as Barner (141 and 143) suggests, -ρει καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, a link between the two can be created, whereby the quotation of Anacreon is an excursus explaining a parallel use of an allegorical reef which has been modelled upon Alcaeus 73.

⁹¹ As Gentili believes (1988, 207).

⁹² The lack of continuity between the two columns supports the theory that the two may not be dealing with Alcaeus' poetry, whereas column II with its reference to Aeolians, makes it fairly certain that the poem in question belongs to Alcaeus.

reading 73 as an admission of the ship's desire to be destroyed, hence the thematic parallel between a seemingly "aged and worn down" ship in 73 and the explicitly "old" ship of 14 col. II.⁹³ In terms of a physical description of the ship, it is difficult to see the connection between 306.14.II and 73. If the ship is the speaker at 73.5 or is at least the subject of the infinitive ἰμῆρρην, she describes her desire to fight no more against the rain nor to strike a reef. The ship of 306.14.II, however, is portrayed as an old ship, παλαιᾶ (21 and 27), [πεπα]λαιῶσθ[αί] at (23-4). There is, moreover, no mention made of a reef as being the source of her ruin; rather she is old as a result of many voyages. The image of a ship pierced with impurity or decayed with disease is not represented in 73. There is, of course, the possibility that the column is a commentary on a part of the poem, no longer extant, that should be located before what is now the opening line. Additional difficulties have been pointed out by Koniaris (390), who rightly concludes that any relationship between 73 and column II would have to be based upon the lines following 73.13 if column I, which has a tie to 73.6, is to be taken as a commentary on 73 and is then to be followed by fragment 16, which is a citation of 73.8-10. If the placement of 16 is correct at the foot of 14.I and column II is deemed a continuation of the first one, commenting on the same poem, the absence of any corresponding words between 14.II and 73 would indicate that it is referring to a part of the poem following line 13. This hypothesis presents a curious state of affairs, for it is unlikely that Alcaeus would speak of the pleasures of wine and boys and then proceed within the same poem to offer an elaborate and multi-comparative allegorical depiction of the ship of state (also Koniaris, 390). In conclusion, I can see little connection between the ship in 73 and the events described in 306.14.II and must therefore agree with Koniaris' and Gentili's (1988, 209) assessments that the second column is not a commentary on the poem in question.

Lines 17-8, ἐ]πὶ τῆς ἀλληγοροῦ[ς, indicate that the commentator is divulging information about what is likely to have been a fourth allegorical poem, no longer extant,

⁹³ As is discussed earlier, I do not agree with this interpretation of 73, viewing it as rather an expression of the ship's desire not to be smashed upon a reef.

involving nautical imagery.⁹⁴ Gentili (1988, 210) feels that the situation presupposes the events of 73, namely striking the reef, in order to justify the crushed condition of the ship. It is, however, not certain that the ship of 73 has actually made physical contact with this reef, nor should we assume that there is continuity between 73 and the poem represented in 306.14.II. Regardless of the source of damage to the ship, there are several elements that are hard to interpret and explain in terms of the ship of state. The frequent use of the third person singular feminine pronoun indicates that the subject of the commentary is feminine, though it is not explicitly disclosed until line 27, where ship is modified by $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}$. Prior to the commentator's clarification of the subject, however, several expressions are presented which are not readily reconciled with the image of the ship of state. Some scholars, most notably Page, have seen in this passage not only a metaphorical likening of the ship to the state, but a second level of comparison to a prostitute,⁹⁵ who is diseased and exhausted after plying her trade for many years. Page (1955, 195) concludes that it is difficult to discern whether the ship is symbolic of the prostitute or vice versa. In either case, the explanations offered by the commentator are sometimes difficult to apply simultaneously to both a ship and a prostitute, therefore raising the issue if the poem in question really did represent a multi-level allegory, something which is not exhibited elsewhere in Alcaeus' corpus of poetry.

First, the sand, $\psi\acute{o}\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$, explained as signifying impurity, can quite clearly have multiple levels of significance: to a human with the commentator's significance of impurity, literally to a beached ship, and in terms of impurity, it may also refer to the demise of the $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ at the hands of a morally impure leader (Gentili 1988, 210; see n. 97). The subsequent description of disease and legs suggests that Alcaeus is portraying the illness in terms applicable only to a human being. The rising sand is mixed with $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\eta$ (line 11), a disease commonly defined as leprosy or elephantiasis (*LSJ*). It has been suggested by Barner (152) that the feminine form of "white" should perhaps be seen

⁹⁴ On this point, I agree with Gentili (1988, 209).

⁹⁵ The suggestion that the expressions in the column are more applicable to a " $\pi\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\eta$ " than a ship was first put forth by Lobel (1951, 120).

as modifying "impurity" and the masculine form modifying "sand" to rectify the difficulties with λευκός, which is not attested elsewhere as signifying a disease. Line 13, which reads as οἶα on the papyrus, has been emended by Page and others to διὰ to explain the movement of the disease "through" her legs. Palaeographically, however, substituting Δ for Ο is not easily reconciled, and consequently the line should remain as it stands, with the οἶα signalling the introduction of a line quotation, then explained by the commentator in terms of her legs growing old.

From the start of the column up to line 17, two immediate problems arise. The notion that a prostitute is symbolic of the ship, or the reverse, is confused by lines 8-13. If the commentary is referring to the penetration of a woman during sexual intercourse, the subsequent image of impurity and disease rising upon the female during intercourse is inexplicable (Gentili 1988, 211) if both λευκός and λεύκη are cutaneous diseases.⁹⁶ In terms of sea imagery alone, "white" immediately conjures up the image of white foam on a turbulent sea. Attributing "legs" to the ship of state also seems curious, for there is no extant example of σκέλη to denote any part of a ship (Page 1955, 192-3). Merkelbach, however (*apud* Barner, 152; Gentili 1988, 210), suggests that legs should be interpreted as the axis pieces which join to form a V at the bow and stern to create the sides of the ship. The use of the word legs then becomes literally applicable to a ship.

In terms of the ship of state, expressions in the commentary which belong to medical terminology, λεύκη, ἀκαθαρσία and ἔπαρμα, are difficult to attribute to the physical reality of a ship, being much more closely related to a description of human ailments. It is, however, possible that the ship is being depicted as diseased in much the same way as Cicero (*Orat.* 81) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.6.6) explain that crops or fields can thirst and suffer. Is it then a result of animation that has led scholars to see in this commentary reference to both a ship and a prostitute? Or is Alcaeus animating the plight

⁹⁶ The only example of "white" being employed in a sexual context that I have been able to find is at line 35 of Archilochus 196A, where the adjective modifies μένος. λευκός used substantively in a sexual context is not attested, and although this would suit an application to a "pierced" prostitute, I must conclude that "white," in terms of a prostitute, presents a problem that remains to be resolved.

of the vessel to a greater degree than has ever been witnessed since or before, conveying to his audience through the use of disease that the unity within the group is dissolving, perhaps due to the negative influence of certain individuals, in much the same way as moderns describe an inanimate being as diseased to indicate a destructive force? Figurative meanings of both ἔπαρμα and ἀκαθαρσία, "depravity" and "vanity" (Gentili 1988, 212; *LSJ*), are also in keeping with the epithets⁹⁷ which Alcaeus affixes to Pittacus on numerous occasions, thus suggestive of a political and not a sexual referent.

Additional suggestions that the expressions used by the commentator are applicable to a prostitute stem from the commentator's use of θλιβομένης and περαινομένης, the latter of which Gentili (1988, 210) states has an exclusively sexual connotation. θλίβω is attested only once prior to Alcaeus, at *Od.* 17.221, meaning "to rub," and later examples of the verb are used metaphorically to represent torment (Barner, 151). Such an interpretation in this context would render the participle applicable to the symbolic plight of the ship. No other example of περαινω exists in pre-sixth century B.C. literature, and Gentili has drawn his conclusions from much later authors,⁹⁸ where the verb means "to penetrate." In Pindar, Pythian 10.28, the verb means "to bring to completion, finish," a meaning which would not be entirely out of place, if one assumes that the subject of the participle is the ship, rather than a prostitute,⁹⁹ who is completing her voyages.

Within the extant allegorical poems of Alcaeus multiple level referents are not observed, and in no other circumstance can it be said that Alcaeus creates a double comparison when the remaining corpus of poetry is direct and straightforward (Podlecki, 69). Contrary to this, however, Lobel (1951, 120) states that a similar mixture of ship-prostitute imagery is found in 117, and he is followed in his theory by Gentili (1988, 210). To claim that there truly is a mixture of allegories in 117 seems hazardous. The

⁹⁷ For a discussion of these epithets, see Davies, 31-9.

⁹⁸ Gentili (1988, 302): *Com. ad fr.* 14 Kock, *Anth. Pal.* 11.339.2; D.L. 2.127.

⁹⁹ Gentili (1988, 302 n. 101), suggested to Gentili by Angostino Masaracchia.

word ship, $\nu\hat{\alpha}\alpha$, occurs at 117.21, followed by $\pi\acute{o}\rho\nu\alpha\iota$ at 26 and $\pi[\acute{o}\rho\nu]\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ at 29. The first objection to drawing parallels between these two poems is the exceedingly lacunose condition of 117.1-26. Very little can be extrapolated from these lines, let alone the conclusion that the ship need have anything to do with a ship of state, as not every reference to a ship presupposes the use of allegory. As Barner notes (160 n. 1), it is more likely that there is a mixing of imagery rather than of allegory. 117 contains, moreover, fragments of various poems, as is indicated by changes in metre (Campbell 1990, 291), and it is possible that the image of the ship and that of prostitutes should be separated. The dual imagery of prostitutes and the sea in 117 represents the futility of engaging in relationships or gift-giving with these individuals; the loss is as certain as if one should give all to the sea. Hence the poem should be classified with those in which Alcaeus offers advice to his group about both the pleasures and hardships of love.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, there is nothing in 117 to indicate that allegory is at play; the sentiment expressed is clear and one would be hard pressed to make a case for a secondary level of interpretation. Therefore, it seems that the ship/prostitute imagery of 117 should have no bearing upon the interpretation of 306.14.II.

From line 17 of column II on, it becomes increasingly apparent that the commentator is referring to the ship of state. Only a single word at line 26, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}[\alpha\zeta]$, can impart both a sexual and political meaning, as demonstrated in later sources. Barner (155) believes that, next to line 8, this is the clearest reference within the entire fragment to a prostitute. In light of the surrounding context, however, and the word's application at Herodotus 2.78 and Plato *Symp.* 173a and *Leg.* 672a, to signify a party or society, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}[\alpha\zeta]$ becomes directly applicable to both the noble audience and the circumstances under which we believe Alcaeus' poetry to have been recited.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Also in Pippin Burnett (148) who feels that the poem "transforms a commonplace warning into a strangely moving evocation of wretchedness."

¹⁰¹ An effort to create an obvious reference to politics at line 22 has been made by Steffen (44) who conjectures $\sigma\tau[\acute{\alpha}\sigma]\epsilon\omega\nu$ for the lacuna, but it is dismissed by Barner (155 n.1) on both palaeographical and metrical grounds, and the lacuna is best left blank.

Although the expressions employed by the commentator are at times applicable to a human female, the allegory presented in the commentary may be that of the ship figuratively representing Alcaeus' *ἐταίρεια* and their protracted struggle to oust a tyrant. If this is a correct interpretation of the commentator's notes, the disease that has struck the ship is symbolic of the destructive behaviour of those in power. The aged condition of the ship¹⁰² suggests that the partisans have been fighting for an extended period of time, and through this image Alcaeus may be alluding to the last tyrant under whose reign he lived. The use of medical terminology indicating impurity adds further support to the theory that the poet is referring to Pittacus who is the object of scathing remarks in several poems. After considering the other Alcaean poems which may be allegorical, including the "smoking log" (74) and "vine" (119) poems, it seems highly unlikely that Alcaeus would have composed a piece with two allegorical levels. The degree of sophistication necessary to convey successfully such a meaning is not demonstrated by Alcaeus. In addition to this, the expressions chosen by the commentator may not necessarily reflect the choice of words in the actual poem and a secondary level within the allegory may result from the commentator's personal interpretation of events.

A questionable link between 73 and the first column of the commentary and the absence of any connection with the second do not preclude a possible allegory in 73. The effectiveness of poem 73 lies in Alcaeus' ability to combine the politics of his group with a second important element in the life of his *ἐταῖροι*, the comradeship and mutual pleasure of celebrating with members of the coterie. Although the poem contains only 7 lines (1 through 7) in which nautical imagery is employed, the echoes of imagery from poems 6 and 326/208 suggest that 73 may be dealing with a similar allegorical situation. Internal evidence, particularly the personification of the ship itself, allows for an allegorical interpretation, whereby the poet sings of the plight of the group. The rain and the reef should be viewed as new elements, introduced for their value as expressions of destructive forces, comprehensible in this light to his particular audience alone. Alcaeus'

¹⁰² Barner (160-1) also sees in this fragment a reference to the theme of old age, handled elsewhere by Alcaeus at 50.2, 39a.3 and possibly at 119.

fondness for praising the pleasures of the symposium,¹⁰³ as appears to be the case at the conclusion of 73, is insufficient evidence to conclude that the reef of line 6 represents an erotic figure. As stated previously, the portrayal of the ship desiring to be broken on a reef is not in keeping with the courageous defiance characteristic of Alcaeus' ship poems and it would be odd to assume that Alcaeus is portraying the ship as resigned to destruction, while paralleling this with his own desire for relaxation. Therefore, it is probable that the depiction of the storm should be viewed as parallel to those in the two poems previously examined.

¹⁰³ Burn (238) concludes that "In short, Alkaios is a true toper, and, as Athenaios observes, any reason will do."

Chapter 4: Poem 249

].[
]..ον χ[ώ]ρον αἰ..[
]. νᾶα φ[ερ]έσδυγον
]ην γὰρ ο[ύ]κ ἄρηον
 5 ἀνέμ]ω κατέχην ἀήταις.
 ἐ]ξ γᾶς χρῆ προῖδην πλό[ον
 αἶ <τις> δύναται] καὶ π[αλ]άμαν ἔ[χ]ηι,
 ἐπεὶ δέ κ' ἐν π]όγ[τ]ωι γ]ένηται ὦ[
 9 τῶι παρέοντι] τρέχειν] ἀνά]γκα.
 μ]αχάνα
 ἄν]εμος φέρ[
]εν
 13].ι[

...throughout the land...

...bench-bearing ship...

...for it is not better...

to check the blasts (of the wind).

...from land one should take thought for a good time for sailing

if one can and has the ability,

but when one is on the open seas

it is necessary to run in the present circumstance.

...way...

...the wind carries(?)

The very enigmatic nature of poem 249 immediately causes one to question whether this poem should also be included in the group of ship of state allegories.¹⁰⁴ For when it is juxtaposed with the other poems (6, 73, 326/208), striking differences emerge in content and mode of expression. The difficulties have not been resolved by scholarly conjecture, as critical analyses of the poem have not been abundant, with most scholars deciding not to make mention of the fragment in their discussions on Alcaeus' nautical poetry.

Fragment 249 has been preserved on P. Oxy. 2298, which dates to either the first century B.C. or A.D. (Lobel 1951, 60). The papyrus is supplemented by a citation of lines six through nine, transmitted in a vitiated state by Athenaeus (codd. A, C and E). The knowledge of these four lines, though they are corrupt in both spelling and prosody, has proven invaluable for reconstructing the poem, since the papyrus becomes increasingly fragmentary from line 7 on and would have remained unintelligible without the aid of this citation.

Athenaeus' debased version of part of this poem, included in his examples of σκόλια, presents the greatest number of textual difficulties. The passage suffers from many incorrect spellings in terms of Lesbian dialect and unjustified usage of verb tenses in line 7. Thematically, however, a textual quandary is present in the first line of text extant on papyrus. Lobel (1951, 60) reconstructs the line to read, as is almost uniformly accepted, ..]ον χ[ό]ροβ ἄι..[. A meaning, nevertheless, of either "chorus" or "dance" here is very difficult to reconcile with the remainder of the poem.

Two alternative conjectures have been proposed to render the first line compatible with the imagery that follows. The first is suggested by Barner (114 n. 7), who finds an interesting citation from *Il.* 15.223, χόλον ἀϊπὺν, "towering wrath" (*LSJ*), which he feels may be appropriate here. The suggestion is not, however, without its limitations, for it requires one to assume that an error has occurred in the copying of the papyrus text, and is thus somewhat precarious, as ρ is not signalled as a questionable reading (see

¹⁰⁴ This is especially true if one accepts ον χ[ό]ροβ ἄι as the correct reading for line 2.

Lobel 1951, 60). It would, nevertheless, serve to create a viable connection between the second and third lines, particularly if the wrath is that of the sea¹⁰⁵ and represents a destructive force on both a literal and figurative level. The second conjecture supplies ω to the lacuna instead of ο, thus creating ὄν χ[ῶ]ρον,¹⁰⁶ "throughout the land." Furthermore, if Barner's supplement of αἰπὺν is correct, the adjective modifies this particular noun effectively, rendering the phrase as "throughout the steep land." This conjecture creates greater thematic unity, as the image of "dry land" is picked up again in the poet's counsel and reflects the circular pattern of the poem's composition. Of the three supplements, the latter presents no difficulties from a palaeographical standpoint, as the second one does; moreover, it is compatible with the poem's apparent theme, and conforms to the metrical dictates of the line. For these reasons, I have chosen to adopt it.

Line 3 contains the adjective φ[ερ]έσδυγον which is unparalleled elsewhere with a value of "bench-bearing." The only other example of the word is at Ibycus 287.6, where it is employed with horses, to signify "yoke bearing." Although there is no direct parallel for this expression in Homeric antecedents, the adjective lends a Homeric flavour to the poem, as on numerous occasions a ship is given an epithet containing "benched" as at Alcaeus 34.9, εὐσδ[ύγ]ων. This variation upon stock Homeric epithets simultaneously demonstrates Alcaeus' originality in treating his subject matter and the undeniable influence that epic models have had upon his style. Homeric examples of the epithets employed with ships¹⁰⁷ convey that the ship is a well and truly fortified vessel, ready to withstand whatever it may encounter. The image of a well-built ship is similarly conveyed here (Barner, 115) and is not included merely for its decorative effect.

¹⁰⁵ The passage that Barner cites deals directly with Poseidon who οἴχεται εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν...

¹⁰⁶ Suggested to me by R. Develin.

¹⁰⁷ Some Homeric examples of epithets containing "benched" are as follows: *Il.* 2.293 νηϊ πολυζύγω; *Il.* 20.247 νηῦς ἑκατόζυγος; *Od.* 13.116 ἐκ νηὸς βάντες ἐϋζύγου; *Od.* 17.288 νῆες ἐϋζυγοί.

The meaning of line 5, given the verb "to check" and "blasts," supports a supplement of ἀνέμ]ω, as Page (1955, 197) suggests. The conjecture is strengthened by the numerous occasions on which this phrase is employed by Alcaeus' predecessors.¹⁰⁸ The use of the expression by Sappho, μεγάλαις ἀήταις (20.9), would likely translate as the customary rendering of "great gusts" (as Campbell 1990, 71). Commenting upon the use of ἀήται at Sappho 2.10, however, Page (1955, 38) concludes that (along with *Od.* 4.567, which portrays a "stiff but agreeable breeze, sent to refresh men...") "In Lesbian it (ἀήται) may simply mean a 'blowing', capable of various definitions...." In 249, the meaning is surely that of a strong wind capable of inflicting damage, as at Hesiod *Op.* 645 and 675, particularly since the poem appears to be a piece of advice on how to come successfully through a storm.

In terms of an allegory, it is difficult to explain the transitive use of the infinitive κατέχην with the direct object "blasts." "To check" or "hold back the blasts of the wind" can be explained as the group fighting against a tyrant, as they would struggle against the winds, perhaps in a bid to prevent themselves from being overwhelmed. An intransitive use of κατέχην, with "blasts" as its subject (as Barner translates the line, 116), is more readily reconciled with the remainder of the poem. A translation of "the blasts prevail" may be figuratively representative of a situation in which the group is unable to combat the power of the tyrant. This image may be picked up in line 9, if the present circumstances are to be equated with the winds. Such an interpretation also is not incongruous with Alcaeus' emphasis upon ability in the poem (see below), for now he has the wisdom to know not to take action if he might not be victorious.

The quotation of lines 6 through 9 stands as follows in Athenaeus' *Dipnosophistae* (15.695):

....ἐκ γης χρῆ κατίδην πλόον,
εἴ τις δύναίτο καὶ παλάμην ἔχοι.

¹⁰⁸ For example, *Il.* 15.626 ἀνέμοιο δὲ δεινὸς ἀήτης; *Il.* 14.254 ὄρσασ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἐπὶ πόντον ἀήτας; *Od.* 4.567 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνεῖοντος ἀήτας Ὠκεανὸς.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κ' ἐν πόντῳ γένηται,
τῷ παρεόντι τρέχειν ἀνάγκη.

The errors within the citation are glaring in light of the original Lesbian spelling and metrical conventions. Lobel (1951, 61) states that Bergk first conjectured that the authorship of the piece should be attributed to Alcaeus but that Bergk failed to employ the argument afforded by codex A's reading of what is clearly an Aeolic form of the infinitive, as above at line 6. γης, as has been recalled by Athenaeus, is not an Aeolic form, and the papyrus imparts the correct form of γᾶς. Following the statement of lines 4-5 "it is not better.... to check the blasts (of the wind)," one would expect to find an adversative particle, to express the alternative plan, provided in lines 6-7. Lobel (1951, 61) conjectures ἀλλ' εὖ μὲν; Page (1955, 197) κάλον μὲν; Bergk (*apud* Page) ἔκηλον; Wilamowitz (*apud* Barner) τὸν εὐθὺν. Barner (117) suggests that the necessary supplement may simply be μὲν, picked up in line 8 by δέ, and possibly strengthened by ἦ δὴ.¹⁰⁹

The most significant discrepancy between Athenaeus' version and the reading transmitted on the papyrus is the choice of verb in the infinitive at line 6: κατίδην (A), κατιδεῖν (C and E) and προῖδην. The prime objection to Athenaeus' transmission is that the meaning expressed by κατίδην (κατιδεῖν being an Attic corruption of the Lesbian infinitive form) does not capture the correct sentiment of the maxim in its translations of "look down upon" or "observe," "regard." προῖδην, meaning "to forsee," captures the sentiment of the counsel, whereby a sailor, while still on land, should forsee a fair time for undertaking his journey, πλόον.

The word πλόος is frequently attested in Pindar but is absent from earlier lyric and elegiac poets. In Homer, πλόος (*Od.* 3.169; *Epig.* 9.2) has the simple meaning of "journey." Within the context of a piece of advice, however, πλόος assumes a meaning of an appropriate time for sailing, when conditions are favorable, as can be seen at Hesiod

¹⁰⁹ Barner (117) adds that Solon 9, itself a piece of advice, may provide the necessary supplement for the beginning of line 6, as ἦ δὴ serves to strengthen the advice.

Op. 630 and 678 (also Barner, 118).

Athenaeus' transmission of line 7 further reveals the incorrect use of the optative. The papyrus, which reads as ε[.]ηι, suggests that it is rather the subjunctive that should be employed here. The presence of χρῆ in the apodosis, followed by the subjunctive in the protasis, indicates that the condition is present general. There remains, however, a difficulty with the reading of the beginning of the line. Athenaeus' εἰ τις does not justify the use of the subjunctive in the protasis. If this is altered to ἄι κεν as Lobel suggests (1951, 61), the emendation rectifies the difficulty. As Barner notes (118), however, this emendation then creates a problem with the subject of the sentence, and he conjectures that the subject may have stood at the beginning of line 6, in the accusative case, governed by χρῆ.¹¹⁰ This would then create an additional problem with the particles at the start of line 6. Perhaps, in the maritime context and fragmentary framework, the subject should be understood as the captain of the "bench bearing" vessel of line 2, who must ensure the vessel's safety.

Within poem 249, three words are employed to connote ability. Παλάμη and δύναται (line 7) are closely tied in the meaning that they convey (Barner, 119). Παλάμη is employed metaphorically at Theognis 624 and 1028 to denote cunning/ability, and the same translation should be adopted here rather than a literal translation of "hand." Μαχάνα, which, unfortunately, is not modified or transmitted in its context (line 10), is the third word which expresses ability. The poet's emphasis upon ability suggests that he is referring to the ability and intelligence that one must possess in order to be able to look ahead to a favourable time for sailing. This ability, coupled with the double meaning that both παλάμη and μαχάνα possess ("way" or "contrivances, wiles") within a maritime context, certainly reminds one of wily Odysseus, πολυμήχανος (Barner, 121 and 122 n.3). Furthermore, the allusion to a Homeric hero recalls the portrayal of heroic conduct expressed in 6 and 326/208. Poem 326 commences with an expression of the poet's inability to comprehend the situation. The stress upon

¹¹⁰ The subject in the protasis, however, need not be in the accusative case with χρῆ.

ability in 249, therefore, sharply contrasts with 326, and Barner (125) may be correct in interpreting the emphasis upon ability as a reflection of Alcaeus' wisdom gained through experience.

The codices of Athenaeus offer καὶ ἐν in line 8, which has been corrected to its current reading of κ' ἐν by Dindorf. Line 9 presents a problem which is more difficult to resolve. τρέχειν is the reading uniformly presented in the codices of Athenaeus. It is incorrect as an Aeolic form of the infinitive yet the criticism that it prevents the line from scanning, in that the ι of παρέοντι should be short, has spawned many conjectures. Lobel (1951, 61) records that τρέχειν was suspected by Bergk, who in turn suggested χρεέσθ', which is subject to the same metrical criticism. Lobel's conjecture of μένην resolves any metrical difficulties but is criticised by Page (1955, 197) for creating a sentence in which the dative is "too loosely attached." Kamerbeek's conjectures (1956, 57) of θέην or πίθην are, according to Barner (113 and 120), too brief for the lacuna. Barner then suggests two of his own supplements, both influenced by other fragments of Alcaeus. Drawing upon 73.4, he suggests μάχεσθ', with its two-fold meaning¹¹¹ or φέρεσθ', if the τωὶ παρέοντι represents the πλόον of line 6 (119). The latter supplement gains support from the use of the verb in another ship of state allegory, 326.4, and it may also be situated at 75.6, though in a reconstructed state.

Gentili (1988, 304 n. 135) alone argues in favour of retaining the verb transmitted by the codices of Athenaeus, stating that τρέχειν is in keeping with the style of Alcaean ship of state allegories, for it is employed at 6.8. He further adds that the verb does allow the line to scan correctly, as the final ι of παρέοντι is subject to "Attic correction," as is witnessed at Sappho 16.19 and Alcaeus 332.1. When the numerous errors within the four lines are taken into account, it seems unlikely that Athenaeus' version would be correct here. Along the lines of Gentili's statement that τρέχειν

¹¹¹ *LSJ* defines the verb as "struggle against a force," after Homer, in addition to its more common meaning "to fight."

conforms to the style of the former allegories, it has been suggested to me¹¹² that *δρομῆν* is a conjecture worth considering. This supplement serves to strengthen the future meaning of the passage and its absence from Athenaeus can be readily explained as an error resulting from oral recitation.

Contrary to Barner's conjecture that *τῶι παρεόντι* represents the *πλόον*, Gentili feels that "of the wind" should be understood with *τῶι παρόντι*. If the poem contains a ship of state allegory, suggesting political turmoil, understanding "of the wind" seems the more likely interpretation for reasons previously stated. The referent need not be so specific, however, as the "present circumstance" could pertain to the entire range of storm imagery as Alcaeus has developed it in the other poems. If this hypothesis is accepted, the combination of elements, such as being on the open seas, winds and so on, connotes that Alcaeus perceives the group as being in the eye of a storm, clearly from which it requires advice to disentangle itself.

Lines 10 and 11 are too fragmentary to allow for much reconstruction. The general sentiment behind these lines has commonly been taken to express the idea that the wind (11) is now the controlling element steering the ship and one must go with it, for there is no way of resisting (Page 1955, 197; Lobel 1951, 61; Barner, 120). It is impossible to dispute decisively this interpretation; furthermore, it is likely to be correct in the context of sound advice to sailors, or Alcaeus' companions who are in a politically vulnerable position.

Although the representation of physical elements of a storm is not as explicit as in the three earlier poems, it is evident that Alcaeus is advising about dangerous conditions at sea. The delineation of the storm is not a dramatic build-up of the danger as elsewhere, and Barner concludes (121) that the poem's internal order is circular and reflective. This is evident from the reference to the ship (line 3) and "blasts of the wind" at line 5, the transition to land in 6-7, and the return to a maritime setting in 8-9. The manner in which the poem is structured suggests that Alcaeus is initially portraying the

¹¹² Personal communication with R. Develin.

incorrect way to deal with the circumstances at sea, followed by the more appropriate method to ensure the safety of the vessel.

Internal evidence for allegory is completely absent from this poem as it has been transmitted on the papyrus. A similarity to the ship of state poems can be seen, however, when editorial conjectures and Athenaeus' quotation are considered. On the basis of the restored text, internal evidence can be extrapolated from both ἀνέμω and τρέχειν (δρομήν); the first for its significance of political discord and the second for its animating feature at 6.8.¹¹³ Thematically, Alcaeus' counsel is reminiscent not only of the exhortation in poem 6, where he addresses his men in the role of a fearless captain, but is also similar to Archilochus 106, where the poet advises his crew on nautical expertise (lines 2-5). Could this poem also be, as Barner queries (126), a parallel to the Archilochean ship of state poem? The number of poems extant does not permit one to decide if advice-giving should be considered an element common to the ship allegories, though the similarity to Archilochus 106 and Alcaeus 6 inclines me to believe that it may have constituted an important element within these poems. The same is true of what appears to be an indirect reference to Odysseus and his ingenuity. Delineation of heroic conduct in two ship of state allegories, hints at the presence of allegory in 249.

The parallels from Homer offer an epic flavour to the poem, as does the internal construction of 249, in that commencing with lines 2 and 3, every pair of lines creates a unit, reflecting the influence of epic style (Barner, 122). The direct parallel with Archilochus 106.2 in the phrase ἐν πόντῳ is hardly sufficient to claim that 249 is a direct imitation of the piece, nor does the phrase convey a secondary meaning beyond its literal interpretation of "on the open sea(s)."

Although fragment 249 of Alcaeus lacks decisive expressions clearly indicating the use of allegory, it is fair to say that it is possible that the poem should be included in this category. In a political context, the ideas that Alcaeus presents are easily

¹¹³ The conjectural state of the former, and the suspicions that the latter is a "correction or corruption" (Bowra, 375, cited by Barner, 119 n. 3), have resulted in these two words receiving little scholarly attention as clues for allegory.

reconciled. He advises his coterie to endure the "blasts of the wind," political strife, and to prepare carefully for an upcoming struggle, surely not on the sea but in the political arena. The maxim indicates that if the fragment does refer to politics, Alcaeus' fervour as exhibited in other poems has dissipated and he can now see the value of biding his time in the turmoil.

Chapter 5: Poem 34

δευτέ μοι νᾶ]σον Πέλοπος λίποντε[ς
 παῖδες ἴφθ]ιμοι Δ[ίος] ἠδὲ Λήδας
 εὐνόω]ι θύ[μ]ωι προ[φά]νητε, Κάστορ
 4 καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κες,

οἱ κατ εὔρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν
 παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ' ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων,
 ῥῆα δ' ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[ν]άτω ῥύεσθε
 8 ζακρυόεντος

εὐσδ[ύγ]ων θρώισκοντ[ες ἐπ'] ἄκρα νάων
 π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι πρό[τον' ὄν]τρ[έχο]ντες
 ἀργαλέαι δ' ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες
 12 νᾶῖ μ[ε]λαίναι·

]υε[

]οϝ[

fortasse desunt octo versus

]..ανδ[

16]ων [

Leaving the island of Pelops, come hither, I beg,
mighty sons of Zeus and Leda,
appear with well-disposed heart, Castor
and Polydeuces

who go over the broad earth and the entire sea
on swift-footed horses,
and easily deliver men from freezing
death,

leaping upon the highest points of the well-benched ships
radiant from afar while running up the forestay(s)
and bringing light to the black ship in the
troubled night.

The final poem to be examined in this thesis is fragment 34. A cursory reading of the poem immediately reveals distinct differences between this fragment and each of the four previous poems. The most striking variation is the presence of mythological characters, not a feature of the remainder of Alcaeus' poems including nautical imagery. A second telling difference which emerges is metrical. The poem deviates from the examined group in its use of Sapphic stanzas,¹¹⁴ rather than Alcaic ones.

The invocation of Castor and Polydeuces and the brief allusion to a ship in distress do not exhibit the intense emotion of a situation in which Alcaeus and his ἑταῖροι are in physical or political trouble (also Gerber 1970, 188). The style of this poem is much altered from, for example, poem 6. The dramatic portrayal of either an imminent or current disaster at sea is not paralleled here, and the depiction of the Dioscuri's function as protectors of sailors in distress does not signal that this poem is definitely a ship of state allegory.

The condition of the poem as preserved on P. Oxy. 1233 fragment 4 (second century) and 2166 (b) 3 and 9 allows for a reasonably accurate reconstruction of the first three stanzas of what appears to have originally been a complete poem of six stanzas. From an examination of the three extant stanzas, it is immediately evident that poem 34 and Homeric Hymn 33 are very similar in content. The similarities between the two poems point up the conventions of prayer formulae¹¹⁵ to which Alcaeus adheres, particularly in his opening petition. Both poems commence their invocations by calling upon the specific gods by name, specifying their parentage and place of origin (Page

¹¹⁴ The metrical scheme for Sapphic stanzas is as follows:

1. — — ♪ — — — — ♪
 2. — — ♪ — — — — ♪
 3+4. — — ♪ — — — — ♪ | — — — —

¹¹⁵ Cletic hymns had a tripartite structure. Prior to the direct appeal of the worshipper, there was first an invocation of the god, including his various names, haunts and powers, and secondly, a reminder of the god's own or the suppliant's past deeds (Pippin Burnett, 247f.).

1955, 267). As the poem continues, additional resemblances arise from the references to the Dioscuri's role as saviours, their method of transportation on swift horses and their all-encompassing territory over both land and sea. Despite these parallels, it is questionable which of the two poems was composed first (Page 1955, 268; Campbell 1982, 289), and Page concludes that no "adequate reason" can be given to substantiate a claim that either poet was familiar with the other's work.

The circumstances under which Alcaeus' poem was written are unknown, though the following are possibilities: the hymn may be purely a literary exercise (Gerber 1970, 188); it may have been composed as thanksgiving for the safe return of a comrade or the poet (Bowra, 167; Pippin Burnett, 129) or as an appeal for a safe voyage prior to a person's departure (Bowra, 167; Page 1955, 266).

Despite the formulaic style of this poem, it has been suggested by Luria (82-3) that 34 may contain an allegory. Luria, who has difficulties with the reading of ζακρυόεντος (line 8), prefers the emendation of δακρυόεντος, which lends a military flavour to the poem and is particularly applicable to the civil war in which he believes Alcaeus is embroiled. Luria's suspicion that the poem represents the plight of Alcaeus' coterie is fueled by the association of the Dioscuri with the nobility, and more importantly, as the patrons of aristocratic friendship (Pippin Burnett, 129). Following the allegorical lines of Luria, but strongly disagreeing with the proposed emendation at line 8, Pippin Burnett (129) adds a second reason for viewing the poem as containing a veiled message. Castor and Pollux were believed to have brought aid not only to sailors in distress, but also to soldiers in a similar predicament, and thus the poem may be representative of the ship of state.¹¹⁶

As with other Aeolic hymns, poem 34 contains many spellings and epithets drawn from the epic genre. A stylistic feature of the prayer which Page notes (1955, 266), is

¹¹⁶ For ancient references to the Dioscuri bringing aid in battle see Luria (83), who lists the following (see also Bethe, *RE*, 'Dioscuren' 1087): Justin. XX 2sq.; Diod. VIII fr. 32; Strab. VI 261; Cic. *de nat. deor.* II 6, III 13; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 25; Polyae. *Strateg.* VI 1, 3). For other references to the Dioscuri, see *Pausanias*, J. G. Frazer (13-14) and Grenfell and Hunt (1914, 69)

Alcaeus' admission of a greater freedom of dialect, exhibited in the use of words, drawn from epic, which are not employed elsewhere in Lesbian. Two such words are ἡδὲ (line 2) and ῥῆα (line 7), which Page (1955, 266) states are forms "foreign to the Lesbian dialect."

There are also many parallels that can be drawn between poem 34 and both Homeric epics. Most surprisingly, however, the turns of phrase used by Alcaeus are not found in the very hymn to which poem 34 is so similar. The expression νᾶ]σον Πέλοπος (line one), referring to the Peloponnese, is rare and is only found among Alcaeus' predecessors at Tyrtaeus 2.15 (Campbell 1982, 289). At first glance, it appears as though Alcaeus has been influenced by Tyrtaeus, however, upon closer inspection, metrical dictates will not permit the use of the more common Πελοπόννησος.¹¹⁷ Traditional epithets from epic in poem 34 are as follows:¹¹⁸ εὔρηαν χ[θόνα] (5), found on countless occasions in Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns; ὠ[κυπό]δων...ἔππων (6), again frequently observed in the latter three authors; εὐσδ[ύγ]ων νᾶων (9), paralleled at *Od.* 13.116 and 17.288; νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίναι (12), employed by many poets and notably at Alcaeus 326.4.

Two additional phrases are worth noting for the possibility of Homeric influence. The first phrase includes an adjective which is unparalleled in the compound form employed by Alcaeus. θα[ν]άτω...ζακρυόεντος (7-8), "freezing death," is a unique use of the adjective διακρυόεντος. Confusion regarding the adjective is displayed by Fatouros (88), who lists it as the Aeolic form of δακρυόεις. Although the translation "lamentable/tearful death" is appropriate in the context, his interpretation of the Lesbian spelling is incorrect since ζα serves as the equivalent to δια. The simple form of the adjective, κρυόεις, is utilised by Homer with φόβος (*Il.* 9.2) and ἰωκή, personified (*Il.* 5.740), by Hesiod (*Th.* 936) with πόλεμος, and at *Batr.* 73 we find φόβου

¹¹⁷ Πελοπόννησος is employed at Hesiod 189 and at lines 250, 290, 419, 430 and 432 of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. It has also been reconstructed at Alcman 7.1.9.

¹¹⁸ The number in parentheses, following the expression, indicates the line number.

κρυδέντος, with a metaphorical meaning of "chilling." The absence of a parallel with "death" implies that Alcaeus has applied the adjective in a metaphorical manner, previously unexampled but very appropriate for death. His use of the intensified compound form, as opposed to the simple form, serves to strengthen the finality of "freezing death."

The other expression that seems to be influenced by its use in epic stands in lines 11 and 12: ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίναι. The concept of bringing light, however, is not in reference to the Dioscuri in Homer, but to the "swift-footed horses" of Dawn (*Od.* 23.245), φάος ἀνθρώποισι φέροντας, and to Patroclus (*Il.* 16.95), ἐπὶν φάος ἐν νήεσσι θήης. Both the literal and figurative meanings of φάος, light and deliverance (also Campbell 1983, 171), are encapsulated in poem 34 as they are on several occasions in Homer, including the latter citation.

Homeric Hymn 33 makes only a brief allusion to the phenomenon of St. Elmo's Fire in lines 12-13, and focuses more upon the physical detail of a storm at sea and the pair's ability to deliver men from danger. Alcaeus, however, deftly develops the image of the electrical discharge, lighting the sailors' path to safety, by framing this imagery with words connoting darkness towards the start of lines 11 and 12 (also Gerber 1970, 189), thus creating a dramatic contrast. Page views the representation of St. Elmo's Fire as "the theme at the centre of Alcaeus' poem, and this it is which elevates his treatment of the subject above the conventional" (1955, 267). With the fragmentary condition of the poem, it is impossible to define the central theme in specific terms, as the remainder of the poem may have imparted detail concerning the plight of the ship. As the poem stands now, we have only the invocation.¹¹⁹ It is only in conjunction with this additional, but

¹¹⁹ The remainder of Alcaeus' hymns are too fragmentary for comparison. A seven stanza hymn of Sappho, however, serves as a useful model. The first three stanzas of Sappho's hymn to Aphrodite (fragment 1) are an invocation to the goddess, which conforms to conventional prayer formulae, as in Alcaeus poem 34. It is not until the fourth stanza that Sappho begins to explain the purpose of the prayer. It is probable that Alcaeus structured his prayer in the same way, in which case, we can only speculate as to the central theme or purpose of his prayer.

non-extant, information that any conclusions about the presence of a ship of state allegory would have to be drawn, for what is presented in the poem's present format provides little evidence to confirm the speculation.

Lack of key allegorical words and vivid description of either the ship, its voyage or an impending storm, leads me to conclude that the prayer, as it stands, does not contain a figurative representation of the same ship of state found in the four earlier poems. Alcaeus' reference to a "black ship" at 34.12, as at 326.4, does not indicate that the particular ship should be viewed as one and the same vessel. The frequency of this stock phrase in various poets is sufficient to dismiss that possibility. A prayer to the Dioscuri is intriguing for its dual application to both sailors and soldiers. The combination of this imagery is again displayed in poem 6, and it is possible that the prayer has been given by the poet for the gods to assist the coterie in their political struggles. The poem, however, deviates so radically from the other four, presenting a smooth and dignified style absent from the poems whose fervent political messages are so integral to Alcaeus' thoughts, that without additional indicators that Alcaeus is conveying a message to his *ἐταίρειά* in an obfuscated manner, it is impossible to find an allegory in poem 34 based upon an examination of the images and expressions that the poet has employed.

Conclusion

The examination of Alcaeus' poems containing nautical imagery reveals that the poet has been influenced on numerous occasions by his literary predecessors. Alcaeus draws upon earlier and contemporary authors, particularly Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, and Solon. Imitation and adaptation of phrases and themes in these authors serves to reinforce internal evidence for allegory in the poems encompassed by this thesis. Literal and figurative interpretations that can be given to many of the parallel phrases demonstrate Alcaeus' ingenuity, for it is through the recall of earlier models, familiar to his audience, that the poet is able to render the allegories applicable to both a maritime scenario and the current political vicissitudes in which he and his ἐταῖροι find themselves embroiled. Alcaeus also draws upon his predecessors' works to clarify or assign an interpretation to ambiguous elements within his own poems.

The frequency with which Alcaeus uses maritime imagery demonstrates his ability to adapt and further develop imagery and themes common to epic, lyric and elegiac poetry. The audience for whom Alcaeus composed and recited his poetry, an exclusively aristocratic coterie, would have been familiar with both the literary allusions and the physical hazards of seafaring described by the poet. In the earliest extant Greek literature the image of the stormy sea is employed in similes. Tumultuous political situations, such as those in which Alcaeus' group was ensnared, are portrayed in Alcaeus' poetry by this genuinely obstreperous natural force. To render the allegories comprehensible and specific to his audience, Alcaeus builds upon the image of the changeable nature of the sea and employs in particular the concept of the ship of state. The voyages undertaken and misfortunes which befall the ship and its crew thus become metaphorical representations of the contemporary political strife.

Alcaeus either deliberately or unconsciously imitates many turns of phrase and various components of speech employed by his predecessors and contemporaries to evoke an association with the original poem and reinforce allegorical interpretation. The speculative nature of assessing the degree of imitation, due to the lacunose condition of the majority of Alcaeus' fragments and uncertainty regarding the method by which storms

at sea were genuinely described in plain language, permits conclusions to be drawn only where the text offers a complete or virtually intact reading of a given line. Clarification of the allegories remains problematic, however, as very little information has survived about either Alcaeus or Lesbian history at this time.

As noted in the introduction, Homeric epics provide several passages which develop the theme of the ferocity and sheer power of the sea. These images serve as the ultimate inspiration for Alcaeus' ship of state allegory. Furthermore, it is in epic that the use of similes in which soldiers are likened to elements of a storm at sea, most notably a wave, is first attested. The influence upon Alcaeus which these passages exerted was not strictly direct, for Archilochus employs the imagery in fragments 105 and 106, both of which, I believe, exerted an influence equal to that of Homer upon Alcaeus' development of this imagery. Within the two Archilochean fragments there are several elements which can assume secondary significance in terms of allegory. This, however, is not true of the Homeric similes, which also lack any reference to a figurative ship, and the sheer number of Homeric parallels can be explained in terms of the quantity of material extant. It seems likely that the similes from epic were developed by Archilochus, whose precedent provided Alcaeus with the necessary model upon which he expanded with greater frequency. Theognis, too, may have provided Alcaeus with a model, for he also develops a detailed image of the ship of state, which reveals elements common to both Archilochus and Alcaeus. Two additional examples of nautical imagery being applied to political situations in Alcaeus' younger contemporary Solon (12; Plutarch *Sol.* 19.2) reveal that this imagery was becoming a standard method of depicting political turmoil, thus lending credence to Heraclitus' interpretations of fragments 6 and 326/208. The originator of a full-scale development of the ship of state image remains questionable, however, due to difficulties with the dating of Theognis and the uncertainty as to whether Archilochus truly displays the ship of state image in 105 or 106. The assessment is unfortunately clouded in the latter by its fragmentary state and the presence of the plural "ships." In spite of these problems, the overwhelming similarities between Archilochus and Alcaeus, inclines me to view the Alcaean poems as having been inspired

by this model. The image is, however, more fully and further developed by Alcaeus through his original and innovative treatment of both semantics and the use of apparent neologisms.

In no other author prior to Alcaeus do we see such clear animation of elements in a maritime context. It is through the animation of subjects not previously enlivened that Alcaeus effectively conveys his allegory and demonstrates his ability to adapt stock elements of maritime scenes and assign to them political significance. Alcaeus achieves this through his use of verbs in poem 6, and the personification of the ship herself in 73. His choice of verbs in poem 6 recalls passages from epic. Manipulation of these epic precedents permits him to animate the vessel and the elements of the storm, while simultaneously rendering the actions described applicable to soldiers. The force of the animation and personification, in terms of ancient definitions and theories of allegory, confirms the definite probability that the poems are open to more than one level of interpretation.

Noun and adjective phrases employed in the nautical poetry show the influence of Homeric, Tyrtaean and Theognidean poetry. The parallels that are evident further serve to conjure up an association with heroic conduct, thus strengthening allegorical interpretation through descriptions of sailors' behaviour in terms more apt for a soldier. Dual significance can also be extrapolated from several of these expressions to reinforce both a literal and figurative interpretation of the poems. The same is true on occasion of nouns employed independently, where Alcaeus deftly inverts the customary meaning of a word to communicate in an obfuscated manner with his listeners.

Poem 34, Alcaeus' prayer to the Dioscuri, contains numerous Homeric epithets and closely resembles Homeric Hymn 33 in both content and structure. Lack of key allegorical indicators within the poem and the conventional prayer formulae exhibited in the three extant stanzas suggest that it should not be classified as an allegory.

Alcaeus has frequently suffered from unjust comparison with his contemporary, Sappho and his predecessor, Archilochus. Still, the degree of originality with which Alcaeus handles stock motifs in the ship of state poems testifies to his ability as a poet, in light of thematic rather than stylistic concerns. We find in Alcaeus' poetry the

employment of nouns, verbs, and adjectives (especially in 326/208) which are not found in earlier authors, and some which are employed very infrequently or with an alternative significance in later writers. It is through his use of "new" and rare language that Alcaeus creates fresh and original poems, allegorically likening the plight of his aristocratic companions to the stormy situation in which the ship finds itself on four occasions.

The external evidence provided by Heraclitus concerning 6 and 326/208, combined with the numerous key allegorical indicators within these poems, supports viewing them as references to political and not seafaring turmoil. Poems 73 and 249 are more difficult to assess as allegories in the absence of external evidence to verify such a conclusion. Internal evidence, however, and the application of elements common to the former pair of poems strongly suggest that 73 and 249, along with the poem alluded to in the second column of 306.14, should be viewed as poems which depict the motif of the ship of state.

The fervent style of Alcaeus' poems and the ardent passion with which the poet recounts the trials of his ἐταίρειά reflect of the confused political situation during the seventh century B.C. An ideal medium through which this confusion could be expressed proved to be the ship motif. The images and metaphors conveyed by Alcaeus' ship of state poems are novel, striking and so effective in their originality that true comprehension of many of the referents must have remained within the confines of the ἐταίρειά. In spite of the obscurity of his poems, the creative and unique manner with which Alcaeus handles the ship motif was much emulated by later authors. Alcaeus has shown more skill and inventiveness in his compositions than to merit the disparagement of modern critics.

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