

LESBIANTIQUITY

ISSUE 2

c. 650-600 BC / January 2024 AD



ALKMAN

**I SEE HER LIKE
THE SUN**

&

**MORE MELTINGLY
SHE LOOKS AT ME**

LESBIANTIQUITY © Georgina Barker (Portknockie: Sapphizdat, 2024)

Alkman translation, introduction, and notes © Georgina Barker, Rioghnach Sachs, & Kathryn Stutz 2024

Partheneion 1 text from: David A. Campbell, ed., *Greek Lyric, Vol. 2: Anacreon, Anacreontea, Choral Lyric from Olympus to Alcman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Partheneion 3 text from: Claude Calame, ed., *Alcman: Introduction, texte critique, témoignages, traduction et commentaire* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1983) and G.O. Hutchinson, *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Back cover art: 'Kolaxian & Ibenian' © Emily Setzer 2024

THE TRANSLATORS

Dr Rioghnach Sachs: Partheneion 1.16-21, 36-63

I have recently completed my PhD at King's College London. My thesis sought to further illuminate the special contribution of Sappho's poetry to the history of sexuality. In particular, I focused on the (often under-estimated) role of gendered indeterminacy in Sappho's poetry, and its consequences for how readers interpret gender and sexuality while reading it. Outside of academia, I sing with the Fourth Choir, the Orlando Singers, and St Peter's Church Hammersmith.



Kathryn Stutz: Partheneion 1.64-101

I am a doctoral candidate at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. My dissertation examines the relationships between nineteenth-century polar exploration and the ancient Mediterranean world. My poem 'Mary Ann Hartnell Addresses Her Mother in Kent, 1847' (*Ancient Exchanges* 2021) adapts Sappho's 'Brothers Poem' to highlight parallels between ancient Greek women of Lesbos and Victorian women in similar social circumstances. I teach ancient Greek at ICCS, the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies in Rome.



Dr Georgina Barker: Partheneion 3

I am the inventor of the Root & Branch translation method, the author of *SPQR in the USSR: Elena Shvarts's Classical Antiquity*, and the compiler and director of the verbatim play *Princess Dashkova, the Woman Who Shook the World*. I am currently researching Russian receptions of Greek and Roman 'lesbianism'. I live in Scotland with my wife and parrot.



'AAKMAN

Alkman (or Alcman, active *circa* 650–600 BCE) represents the earliest entry in the ancient Alexandrian canon of the Nine Lyric Poets (the second being Sappho). He lived, and was probably born, in Sparta.¹ Alkman composed choral lyrics for public performance at Spartan religious festivals, possibly commissioned by the *polis* or elite families.² In particular, Alkman was known in antiquity for composing *partheneia*, 'maiden songs' or 'virgin songs': songs for *parthenoi* ('maidens' / 'virgins') to perform. Out of six volumes of Alkman's choral poetry known in antiquity, only fragmentary verses have survived, recovered over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from Egyptian papyrus scraps. The extant verses have a strong 'local flavour'³ of Spartan names, dialect, myths, and specific festivals, alongside sensual evocations of lush Near Eastern flora and fauna, which enrich Alkman's depictions of homoeroticism between choruses of girls and their choral leaders.

Alkman's most complete surviving poem has been named *Partheneion 1* or *Louvre-Partheneion*.⁴ In it, a chorus of *parthenoi* juxtapose mythic narrative with public praise of their female chorus leaders, Agido and Hagesichora. Due to its fragmentary nature, this text has invited extensive scholarly discussion of its meaning and

¹ Despite the assertion of his Laconian origins that appears in the Byzantine *Suda*, the numerous Lydian themes in his poems have led investigators since antiquity to assume that Alkman was Lydian himself. See, for example, Antipater of Thessalonica's pseudo-epitaph for Alkman in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.18), 'Here he lies, a quarrel for two lands: whether he was Lydian or Laconian', translated by Miller (2009 p. 1) who also discusses the evidence for each side (pp. 11–16).

² Budelmann (2018) pp. 57–8.

³ Budelmann (2018) p. 58.

⁴ Part of P. Louvre E. 3320/R56 (known as Papyrus Mariette, after the French archaeologist who directed the team that found the papyrus roll at Saqqara in 1855). See Tsantsanoglou (2012) p. ix n. 2.

its performance context. Landmark studies by Denys Page (1951) and Claude Calame (1977, 1983) have attempted to articulate the exact relationships between the many women named in the poem who spiral out from around the central figure of the *choragos* or 'chorus-leader' Hagesichora. Calame (1977 vol. 2 pp. 86–97) specifically compares Alkman's erotic language to the effusive lyrics of Sappho, as well as to masculine homoerotic verses depicting pederastic initiation rituals. After Calame's assertion of the romantic nature of the *Partheneion* 1, scholars such as Eva Stehle (1997) pushed back against this identification of personal desire within a publicly performed ritual chorus.⁵ More recent scholarly interventions continue to raise (and, sometimes, answer) questions about Alkman's puzzling text, proposing parallels with Laconic cosmology, Eastern religion, and Homeric mythology.⁶

For LESBIANTIQUITY, we (the three Alkman translators) have selected the homoerotic portions of the surviving text of *Partheneion* 1 – approximately three quarters of it – skipping most of the (much more fragmentary) opening mythological section.⁷ The lines we translate here demonstrate that a male poet in archaic Sparta directed the *parthenoi* in his chorus to express erotic desire for other *parthenoi*, as part of their publicly performed song. Moreover, this kind of desire does not seem to have been thought of as 'queer', in Halperin's (1995 p. 62) sense of being 'at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant'. Rather, this song shows that such desire was deemed compatible with the conventional, traditional wisdom offered by the chorus early in the song, namely their warnings against mortals marrying the gods (16–19), and their conviction that 'there is a certain justice of the gods' (36).

⁵ See Boehringer (2021 pp. 33–4) for a review of the literature following Stehle.

⁶ Respectively: Ferrari (2008); Miller (2009); and Bowie (2011).

⁷ In which the chorus tell a myth about the Dioscuri and Hippokoöntidai (Budelmann 2018 p. 65).

Nonetheless, it should be observed that Alkman's *parthenoi* voice homoeroticism under very particular conditions. Although they show self-awareness as elite, wealthy *parthenoi* – through their names (40, 53, 70–7),⁸ their explicit self-description as *parthenoi* (86), and their references to famous horse breeds (51, 59) – they do not sing straightforwardly 'as themselves'. Rather, they shift polyphonically, under Alkman's direction, from a mythological and cosmic perspective (16–21, 36–9), through a more personal perspective (39–59), to making a ritual offering to a goddess (61);⁹ they shift also between linguistic registers, including gnomic statements (36–9) and epic idioms (48, 62);¹⁰ and they imbue literal reality with symbolic significance (e.g. 40–1: 'I see her like the sun').¹¹ The chorus's language is ostentatiously artificial, all part of Alkman's scripted performance, delivered before, and for the benefit of, the community at large. Equally performative, then, is the desire they express.¹²

But this does not necessarily mean that the chorus's homoeroticism is wholly artificial. Their awareness of their authentic status as *parthenoi* plays an important part in their song, as does their attention to an internal hierarchy within the chorus.¹³ The voice and actions of the majority are controlled by their leader, Hagesichora, who

⁸ Agido and Hagesichora's names imply high status (Budelmann 2018 p. 74). However, it is possible that both these names and perhaps those mentioned later on (1.70–77) refer to fictional or mythological characters, played by the performers, rather than the performers themselves (Ferrari 2008 pp. 82–3). It is also possible that not all the named girls are part of the present chorus (Ferrari 2008 p. 81) – though Budelmann (2018 p. 77) thinks they 'almost certainly' are.

⁹ On the instability of the chorus's authority, owing to their shifting between registers, see Stehle (1997) pp. 74, 97.

¹⁰ Budelmann (2018) pp. 70, 75, 77.

¹¹ See Peponi (2004).

¹² See also Lardinois (2010 p. 20), who argues: 'It makes more sense [...] to interpret the homoerotic feelings that the chorus expresses for its choral leaders in Alkman's maiden songs not as indications of its own sexual involvement with these girls but as public praise of their beauty.'

¹³ Budelmann (2018) p. 59.

does not permit them to praise or blame Agido (43–5). These privileged two outshine the rest. They alone merit erotic praise from the others: Agido is like the sun (40–1), while Hagesichora’s face is silver (55); and they are like famous horses, any race between them close-run (58–9);¹⁴ Hagesichora ‘guards’ the speaker, or ‘wears her down’ [with desire] (77).¹⁵ Even as a genuine social hierarchy seems important here, and even as real desire could easily have been felt and expressed within all-female groups such as this, it must be noted that Alkman’s involvement limits these girls’ own agency, subjectivity and spontaneity as voiced in the song. He prescribes their expression of desire according to his standards for public performance. It is probably important, then, that he directs most of the chorus to admire their two social superiors, but not the other way around. This suggests that female homoeroticism could be openly represented and acted out in Sparta in public, apparently so long as it was one-sided, without implying a reciprocal erotic relationship between these girls.¹⁶

Partheneion 3¹⁷ completes, in a sense, *Partheneion* 1: its opening, almost certainly an invocation to the Muses, survives, where *Partheneion* 1’s is lost; it has lost the mythical section that survives (fragmentarily) from *Partheneion* 1; and while both *partheneia* preserve the girls’ admiring descriptions of each other,

¹⁴ See note on 1.58 below.

¹⁵ See note on 1.77 below.

¹⁶ See note on 1.46 below. Although the chorus praise their leaders, they do not receive the equivalent praise back: hence, the chorus’s homoerotic admiration of their leaders goes unreciprocated. For a contrasting reading of reciprocal homoeroticism – between Agido and Hagesichora – see Gentili (1988, pp. 76–7): he interprets them as participating in a ritual marriage to one another, although his cited evidence is not persuasive (he draws a loose parallel with Sappho’s very piecemeal fr. 213 (p. 76), while also drawing from much later sources than Alkman, namely a commentary on Theokritos (p. 75), a second-century CE commentary on Sappho’s fr. 213, Himerius from the fourth century CE, and Aristaeetus, from the fifth or sixth centuries CE (p. 76)). For a detailed survey of the interpretations of homoeroticism in Alkman’s *Partheneia* 1 and 3, see Boehringer (2021) pp. 32–4.

¹⁷ PMGF; also known as fragment 26 Calame.

Partheneion 3 continues from *Partheneion* 1's homoerotic hints¹⁸ into a markedly sexual expression of same-sex desire.¹⁹

Like *Partheneion* 1, the words we have on papyrus would have been sung and danced to music, in public, perhaps by the chorus as a whole taking on named roles, or by particular chorus members or sections in turn. The song is strongly divided into nine-line strophes, or stanzas, which follow a set metrical pattern. A new strophe often introduces a new topic, and would have been accompanied by a change in the pattern of dancing. In the papyrus the changes of strophes are marked by a coronis (∩) at the left of the column.²⁰

The text of *Partheneion* 3 comes from a late-first-century BC / early-first-century AD papyrus copy of Alkman's fifth book, where it had been misplaced from his first or second books of *partheneia*.²¹ The papyrus was unearthed at Oxyrhynchus and is very lacunose (holey): from a likely original 126 lines, only four are fully intact; a further 28 lines are intact enough that some sense can be made of them. Very luckily for us, in the section that has survived best, the singer, one of the girls in the chorus, sings of her intense attraction to another girl, Wastumeloisa, who is probably the *choragos*, or chorus-leader. She goes on to sing of her desire for Wastumeloisa to notice – and perhaps even touch – her.

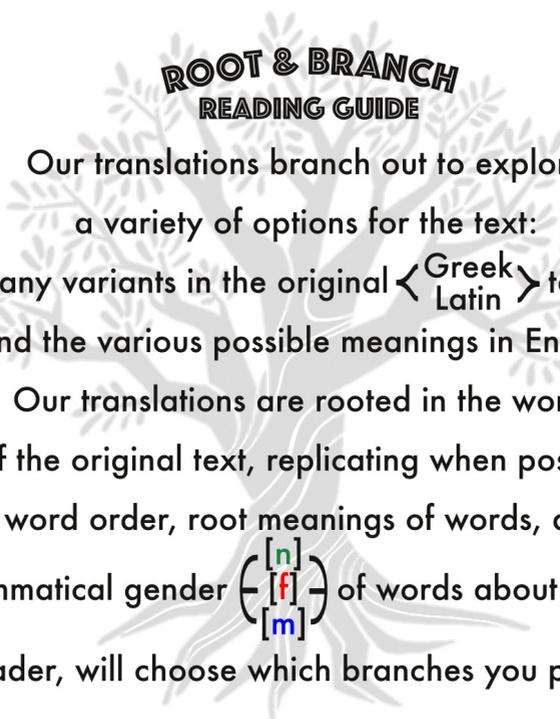
These two beautiful *partheneia* are the beginning of 'lesbiantiquity'. They show that – under particular social and performative conditions and directed by a male poet – openly voiced female homoeroticism was part of the performance culture in archaic Sparta.

¹⁸ Or more-than-hints, in the 'wears me down with desire' reading of 1.77.

¹⁹ Calame (1983) p. 395. Calame calls this 'une confirmation de l'expression dans les *Parthénées* d'Alcman de sentiments homoérotiques'.

²⁰ Only two coronides are preserved, but I [GB] reproduce all of them in the text, as they mark clear shifts in the song. Each strophe was also divided into three groups of three lines with a *paragraphos* (∩) between each group; I have not reproduced these, as they seem not to add anything to the poem's sense.

²¹ Calame (1983) pp. 393–5.



ROOT & BRANCH READING GUIDE

Our translations branch out to explore a variety of options for the text: any variants in the original <Greek Latin> texts and the various possible meanings in English.

Our translations are rooted in the words of the original text, replicating when possible word order, root meanings of words, and grammatical gender ($\begin{pmatrix} [n] \\ [f] \\ [m] \end{pmatrix}$) of words about people.

You, the reader, will choose which branches you prefer to follow.

THE ALKMAN TEXTS READING GUIDE

The two *partheneia* we present here are both lacunose (full of holes). The key below explains the various typographical measures used, mostly, to distinguish extant text from non-extant text.

Partheneion 1's surviving lines are remarkably intact; most missing words are supplied with reasonable certainty in Campbell's (1988) text.

Partheneion 3, however, is so fragmentary that, while reconstruction is extremely difficult – with one single reconstructed version of the text impossible to be agreed upon with any certainty – it is hard to make much sense of the fragments without filling the gaps. So I [GB] have assembled a new text of *Partheneion* 3, on the basis of Calame's (1983) text & commentary, and Hutchinson's (2001) text. In my text I include not only supplements (reconstructions that are accepted as probably correct) but also conjectures (reconstructions that have been proposed but not added to the official text). I have used my own judgement over which conjectures to include, and all additions to the text are noted and attributed to the scholar who originally proposed them.

KEY

[] = lacunae

[grey roman text] = supplement (accepted reconstruction)

[grey italic text] = conjecture (proposed reconstruction)

[black text] = words added to the translation for clarity

... = missing text

... = untranslatable text

underdot (e.g. π̣) = a doubtful letter in the Greek

ϝ = coronis

All names are given in the Spartan dialect, Laconian Doric. Laconian dialect, put simply, differs from Attic (Athenian) dialect ('standard' Greek) in having ϣ instead of θ, α instead of η, and initial ϕ before some vowels (see note on 3.64 below; Budelmann 2018 pp. 62–3).

PARTHENEION 1

- 16 let not one of hu]man-kind into ($\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{the sky} \\ \text{heaven} \\ \text{Ouranos} \end{array} \right)$ fly
nor att]empt to marry Aphrodita
the Kyprian]queen, or $\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{some} \\ \text{a certain} \end{array} \right\rangle$
] or a child of Porkos
of the sea: the Gr]aces indeed the house of Zeus
- 21 frequ]ent, $\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{lovely-} \\ \text{sexy-} \end{array} \right\rangle$ eyelidded:
[...]
- 36 there is a certain ($\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{penalty} \\ \text{justice} \\ \text{reward} \end{array} \right)$) of the gods:
he is blissful who, $\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{well-thinking} \\ \text{cheerful} \end{array} \right\rangle$
weaves [through] a day



- 16 μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω
μηδὲ πη]ρήτω γαμῆν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν
Κυπρίαν φ]άν[α]σσαν ἢ τιν'
] ἢ παῖδα Πόρκω
εἰναλίω· Χά]ριτες δὲ Διὸς δόμον
- 21 ἀμφιέπου]σιν ἐρογλεφάροι·
[...]
- 36 ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις·
ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων
ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει

NOTES: RS (1-63) & KS (64-105)

1.1-15, 22-35 These lines are not missing, but fall outside of the scope of this anthology. In them, the chorus sings a myth about Sparta's local heroes: the Dioscuri (twins Castor and Polydeuces) and the Hippokoöntidai (sons of Hippokoön), perhaps about their rivalry over the daughters of Leucippus (see Budelmann 2018 pp. 65-9).

1.16-18 Supplements - Blass (Campbell 1988 p. 362).

1.17-19 *nor att]empt to marry...*: taken together, the chorus's moralising stance on (heterosexual) marriage, alongside their homoerotic praise of superior members of the chorus, suggests that for an archaic Spartan girl to perform homoerotic desire is entirely compatible with a right-thinking stance on marriage - at least within the highly particularised setting of the sung performance, in which the chorus's desires for their superiors apparently goes unreciprocated.

1.19 *Porkos*: the identity of Porkos is uncertain. Hesychius (v. 516) reports that Alkman referred to the sea god Nereus as Porkos (Page 1951 p. 39; Budelmann 2018 p. 69), which has led Page to suggest that 'Porcus is a primitive Laconian sea-god' (1951 p. 39). Nereus was the father of Thetis, 'whose reluctant marriage with the mortal Peleus was short-lived and produced the ill-fated Achilles' (Budelmann 2018 p. 69); thus, the chorus' warning against marrying a child of Porkos/Nereus, as Peleus did, would make sense.

1.20 Supplements - Crusius, Blass (Campbell 1988 p. 362).

1.21 Conjecture - *exempli gratia* Page (Campbell 1988 p. 362).

⟨ unweeping
unwept ⟩: but I sing of

40 Agido's light: I see

her like ⟨ the sun, which
Alios, whom ⟩ for us

Agido calls as witness

to ⟨ shine
appear ⟩: but neither to praise

nor to blame her does the ⟨ famous
glorious ⟩ chorus-leader

45 by any means permit me: for she seems to be, herself,

outstanding in this way, as if someone

among cattle were to place a horse,

(white
-strong) , prize-bearing, thunder-footed,
black

of under-the-rock dreams.



ἄκλαυτος· ἐγὼν δ' αἰείδω

40 Ἄγιδῶς τὸ φῶς· ὀρώ

ἦ ὥτ' ἄλιον, ὄνπερ ἅμιν

Ἄγιδῶ μαρτύρεται

φαίνην· ἐμὲ δ' οὐτ' ἐπαινῆν

οὔτε μωμήσθαι νιν ἂ κλεννά χοραγὸς

45 οὐδ' ἀμῶς ἐῆι· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤμεν αὐτά

ἐκπρεπῆς τῶς ὥπερ αἴτις

ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον

παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα

τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὄνειρων.

1.40 *Agido*: this name ‘suggests pre-eminence (ἄγ- ~ ἤγ-)’ (Budermann 2018 p. 74), bearing, via its similarity to these stems, a relation to the noun ἄγός, ‘leader’, and the verb ἄγω, ‘I lead’.

1.43 *shine*: see Page (1951) pp. 84–5; Budermann (2018) pp. 71–2.

1.46 *outstanding*: the homoerotic praise of both *Agido* and *Hagesichora* is intertwined with the chorus’s subservience and relative inferiority to these characters. *Agido* is like the sun (41), and *Hagesichora*’s face is silver (56); each outshines the chorus. The inferiority of the majority symbolises the chorus’s internal hierarchy (see Budermann 2018 p. 59), whereby the chorus’s speech and actions are closely controlled by their leader (43–5). The chorus’s praise, then, does not suggest a mutual, egalitarian homoeroticism, akin to that of twentieth-century lesbian-feminism, as has sometimes been attributed to Sappho’s poetry (e.g. Grahn 1985 p. 7). Rather, we see here a unidirectional flow of desire, from inferiors towards their superiors, woven into the choral performance. This resonates, somewhat, with rather different twentieth-century depictions of homoerotic desire in all-female educational settings, where similar social and emotional asymmetries are present (e.g. Leontine Sagan’s 1931 film, *Mädchen in Uniform*).

1.190a τῶν ὑποπεριδίῳν ὀνειρίων; of *under-the-rock dreams*: this phrase contrasts with the light imagery that colours the praise of *Agido* (40–1) and *Hagesichora* (53–5), evoking instead darkness, the natural habitat of dreams (Budermann 2018 p. 73). That these horses are ‘of dreams’ may imply their superiority to the everyday, since, as Page (1951 p. 86, citing A. Pers. 183ff.) suggests, ‘[p]ersons or things seen in dreams are often supposed to be much superior to their real counterparts’.

An alternative rendering of the Greek adjective has been suggested: ὑποπεριδίῳν, meaning ‘winged’ (Page 1951 p. 86, following Herodian). However, as Budermann (2018 p. 73) rightly notes, ‘the evident derivation from πέτρος [, “rock”,] is difficult to sidestep’.

50 truly, don't you see? the steed

is Enetic: the < ^{hair}
mane >

of my cousin

Hagesichora blooms

like < ^{untampered}
undefiled > gold:

55 and silver is the face,

clearly, why do I tell you?

this is Hagesichora herself:

but < ^{she}
whoever [f] > is second after Agido in (^{form}
looks),
kind

the Kolaxian horse with the Ibenian will run:



50 ἦ οὐχ ὀρήϊς; ὁ μὲν κέλης

Ἐνητικός· ἀ δὲ χαίτα

τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιᾶς

Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ

χρυσὸς [ὦ]ς ἀκήρατος·

55 τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον,

διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;

Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὐτα·

ἀ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶ τὸ φειδός

ἵππος Ἰβηνῶι Κολαξαῖος δραμήται·

1.51 *Enetic*: a famous breed of horse (Budermann 2018 pp. 73–4; see also Campbell 1967 p. 203). As Hutchinson (2001 p. 88) suggests, ‘the place-name presumably gives a pithy suggestion of modern luxury, and connoisseurship’. This nods to the elite social status of the *parthenoi*. In addition to connotations of wealth, there are also erotic undertones to their comparison to horses, since girls are likened to horses in erotic lyric poetry (see, e.g., Anakreon 417; Campbell 1967 p. 203).

1.53 *Hagesichora*: this name translates as ‘leader of the chorus’, combining ἄγός, ‘leader’, and χορός, ‘chorus’; see also Budermann (2018) p. 74.

1.56 ἄ; *she / whoever [f]*: if ‘she’, this refers back to Hagesichora (see Budermann 2018 pp. 74–5). ‘She’ seems better than the alternative, the indefinite ‘whoever [f]’ (see, e.g., Hutchinson 2001 p. 90), given the specific, sustained focus on Agido and Hagesichora beforehand (Budermann 2018 p. 75), alongside the other examples of poets praising pairs of individuals (as noted by Budermann 2018 p. 74: Ibycus S151.41–5, *Iliad* 2.673–4).

1.58 *διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;*; *clearly, why do I tell you?*: this perhaps bears the meaning ‘why am I telling you what is clear/visible?’, i.e. the spectators can see Hagesichora for themselves.

1.58 *πεδ’*: *μετ’* (Budermann 2018 p. 75).

1.59 *Kolaxian ... Ibenian*: these ‘must be supposed to have been illustrious breeds, familiar to Alcman’s audience’ (Page 1951 p. 90). Therefore, even as Hagesichora (or maybe another girl, if you opt for reading ἄ as ‘whoever [f]’; see my note on 1.58 above) is second after Agido, it is implied that the ‘race’ between them is close; thus, both girls are praised via the comparison to well-bred horses (Budermann 2018 p. 74).

60 for the Peleades [f], against us,
 we who bear [f] the <plough
 cloak> to Orthria,
 through the ambrosial night, like the dog
 star, rising [f] they fight.
 for no, indeed, as much purple
 65 as there is, it's not sufficient as (aid
 defence protection),
 and nor is any <ornate
 fancy> serpent-bracelet
 all-golden, nor headband
 from Lydia, delight of girls
 with <violet
 delicate> eyelids,



60 ταὶ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἅμιν
 Ὀρθρίαί φᾶρος φεροίσαις
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον
 ἄστρον ἀηρομέναι μάχονται.
 οὔτε γὰρ τι πορφύρας
 65 τόσσοι κόροι ὥστ' ἀμύναι,
 οὔτε ποικίλος δράκων
 παγχρύσιος, οὐδὲ μίτρα
 Λυδία, νεανίδων
 ἰανογ[λ]εφάρων ἄγαλμα,

1.60 *Peleades*: there are three major interpretations of Alkman's reference to the Peleades: 1. a metaphor or title for Agido and Hagesichora; 2. a literal reference to the Pleiades star cluster; 3. a name for a rival choir (see Page 1951 pp. 52–7; Hutchinson 2001 pp. 90–1; Budelmann 2018 pp. 75–6). Interpretation 1 suggests that Agido and Hagesichora fight the chorus; but why would they fight those who praise them, especially when the chorus's inferiority and obeisance is already so clear? Interpretation 3 requires us to speculate about the existence of a rival choir (as do e.g. Page 1951 pp. 55–7; Campbell 1967 p. 205). My preferred interpretation is 2, since it best obeys the principle of Occam's razor (Hutchinson 2001 p. 91). In this interpretation, the Peleades 'fighting' the chorus (63) is a metaphor for the stars obstructing the chorus's performance. Given that Agido has called the sun as a witness to shine (41–3), the present action occurs shortly before dawn (Peponi 2004 p. 296). If the Peleades were out, this would delay the rising of the sun, and the festival: hence, the stars 'fight' the chorus (Hutchinson 2001 p. 91).

1.61 *Orthria*: a goddess, her identity unknown to us. She is often thought to be a dawn-goddess (Hutchinson 2001 p. 91; Budelmann 2018 p. 76); alternatively, she has been linked to the Orthia sanctuary at Sparta, although the spelling Ὀρθρίαί would be an unusual rendering of its name (see Budelmann 2018 p. 77, who would expect φορθείαι).

1.61 *φᾶρος*; *plough/cloak*: an object offered by the chorus to Orthria. The text is annotated as meaning 'plough' (Page 1951 p. 78). However, given the context of ritual offering, Budelmann's (2018 p. 77) preference for 'cloak' is convincing, as, he suggests, these were more typical offerings to goddesses.

1.63–4 *the dog star*: known for 'brightness, heat, destruction, and beauty' (Budelmann 2018 p. 77). Whether it is the chorus or the Peleades who are compared to the dog star, it is an empowering simile.

1.65 *ῶστ' ἀμύναι*; *as defence/aid/protection*: apocopic form of ὥστε followed by aorist active infinitive of ἀμύνω, whose semantic breadth in the active voice ranges from 'be kept off, ward off from' to 'aid, defend, succour' (LSJ), forming a clause of intended result (see Smyth 1956 §2258).

1.69 *ἰανογ[λ]εφάρων*: a *hapax legomenon* (a word that only appears once); its meaning is heavily contested. Translated by Swift (2016) as 'dark-eyed' and by Nagy (2021) as 'with tinted eyelids', it seems to combine γλεφάρων, the Aeolic form of the Attic βλεφάρων, 'eyelids', with a prefix ἰανο-, perhaps related to the word ἴον, 'violet', and thus anything dark in colour (LSJ), though LSJ (while also suggesting a rough breathing mark at the beginning of the word) proposes as a gloss μαλακοβλέφαρος, from μαλακός, 'soft': reading ἰανο- as stemming from ἕανός, 'fine, delicate' (Smyth 1906 p. 185).

70 and neither Nanno's locks of hair,
 no, indeed not even godlike Areta,
 nor Sulakis and Kleësisera put together,
 nor will you, going [f] to Ainesimbrotas, say:
 "I wish that Astaphis were mine,
 75 and Philylla would look at me,
 and both Damareta and <lovely
 sexy > Wianthemis:
 for indeed only Hagesichora <wears me down
 watches over me >."
 for isn't beautiful-ankled
 Hagesichora present right <here
 now > ,
 80 doesn't she (remain
 wait
 abide) close by Agido



70 οὐδὲ τὰ Ναννῶς κόμαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ[δ'] Ἀρέτα σιειδῆς,
 οὐδὲ Σύλακίς τε καὶ Κλεησισηρα,
 οὐδ' ἐς Αἰνησιμβρ[ό]τας ἐνθοῖσα φασεῖς·
 Ἄσταφίς [τ]έ μοι γένοιτο
 75 καὶ ποτιγλέποι Φίλυλλα
 Δαμαρ[έ]τα τ' ἐρατά τε Φιανθεμίς·
 ἀλλ' Ἀγησιχόρα με <τεῖρει
 τηρεῖ > .
 οὐ γὰρ ἄ κ[α]λλίσφυρος
 Ἄγησιχ[ό]ρ[α] πάρ' αὐτεῖ,
 80 Ἄγιδοῖ [δ'] ἴκτ]αρ μένει

1.72 *Sulakis*: maybe mentioned in 3.97.

1.76 *Wianthemis*: usually spelled *Ianthemis*, Attic-style – see note on 3.64 below.

1.77 *με τείρει / τηρεῖ*; *wears me down / watches over me*: the papyrus reads *τείρει*, ‘wears down’; some editors amend this to *τηρεῖ*, ‘watches over’. Budelmann (2018 p. 79), who favours *τείρει*, does defend *τηρεῖ*, as it ‘improves coherence with the opening of the stanza: “we do not have what it takes to fight the Pleiads, but Hagesichora looks after us”’; however this ‘loses the neat connection’ which *τείρει* makes ‘with the immediately preceding lines (“I am in love not with those four, but with Hagesichora”); and *τείρει* does still continue the battle imagery from earlier. In context, *με τείρει*’s ‘primary meaning is erotic, and amounts to “drives me mad (with desire)”’ (this verb is used elsewhere of *δεινός ἔρως*, ‘terrible love’ ([Hesiod] fr. 298 MW) and *ὄξύς ἔρως*, ‘sharp love’ (Telestes 805)) (Budelmann 2018 p. 79). So if we follow the papyrus reading, here ‘I’ makes a fairly unambiguous statement of sexual desire for Hagesichora.

1.78 *κ[α]λλίσφυρος*; *beautiful-ankled*: this epithet may retain the connotations of danger and death (as well as life after death) present in its Homeric applications to *Marpessa* and *Danae*, victims of sexual assault by the gods in the *Iliad*, and to *Ino-Leukothea* and *Hebe*, divine figures associated with the transformation of mortals into gods in the *Odyssey*, as explored in Winkler’s (1977) chapter ‘*καλλίσφυρος* in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*’.

and approve our food-festival?

but their [prayers], gods,

are yours to take: for the gods' is <accomplishment
fulfilment >

and <completion
ending >: chorus-leader,

85 I would speak, I myself,

a maiden, (~~screeching~~ ^{howling} shrieking) in vain from a roof-beam,

< an owl
owl-like > : indeed I most of all < love
desire >

to be pleasing to Aotis: for she has become our

healer of (~~exertions~~ ^{aches} sufferings):

90 but it's because of Hagesichora that girls

< arrived at ~~walked upon~~ ^{lovely} ~~sexy~~ ^{peace} lassitude > .



θωστήρ[ιά τ'] ἄμ' ἐπαινεῖ;

ἀλλὰ τῶν [εὐχάς], σοί,

δέξασθε· [σι]ῶν γὰρ ἄνα

καὶ τέλος· [χο]ροστάτις,

85 φείποιμί κ', [έ]γὼν μὲν αὐτὰ

παρσένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα

γλαύξ· ἐγὼ[ν] δὲ τῆι μὲν Ἀώτι μάλιστα

φανδάνην ἐρῶ· πόνων γὰρ

ἄμιν ἰάτωρ ἔγεντο·

90 ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρ[ας] δὲ νεάνιδες

ἰρ]ήνας ἐρατ[ᾶ]ς ἐπέβαν.

1.81 *θωστήρ[ια]*; *food-festival*: a technical term apparently derived from *θῶσθαι*, a synonym of the middle forms of the verbs *δαίνυσθαι*, ‘feast’, and *εὐωχεῖσθαι*, ‘fare sumptuously’ (LSJ). Tsantsanoglou (2012 p. 131) argues that this event should be identified most probably as ‘the girls’ party held after the successful end of the religious ceremony, providing entertainment and amusement through singing, dancing, and banqueting’, rather than the religious ceremony itself.

1.83–4 *accomplishment/fulfilment and completion/ending*: here, two terms for ‘end’ are connected by the conjunction *καὶ*. The first, *ἄνα*, is a dialect form of *ἄνη*. The second is the multivalent *τέλος*, the meaning of which can range from ‘coming to pass, performance, consummation’ to ‘something done or ordered to be done, task, service, duty’, as well as a ‘state of completion or maturity’ and, philosophically, the ‘full realization, highest point, ideal’ (LSJ).

1.84 *[χο]ροστάτις*; *chorus-leader*: not the usual word, *χοραγός*.

1.86 *λέλακα*; *screaming/howling/shrieking*: from the verb *λάσκω*, used to describe the screaming of prey-birds and the howling of dogs, as well as human ‘shrieking’ (LSJ), which, as Smyth (1906 p. 186) notes, is often a distinction of genre, ‘in Homer often of animals; in tragedy of rapid or confused speech’, both registers appearing somewhat blended here.

1.87 *γλαύξ*; *an owl / owl-like*: this enjambed word literally means just ‘owl’. It is apparent that the owl in question is the same as the narrating ‘maiden’ (*παρσένος*) of the line above. See also my note on 1.101 below.

1.88 *Aotis*: commonly identified as the Dawn Goddess, on account of the apparent etymology from *ἠώς*, ‘dawn’, often assumed to be a name for Artemis Orthia (Smyth 1906 p. 186).

1.91 *arrived at /walked upon lovely/sexy peace/lassitude*: because *ἐπέβαν* (*ἐπιβαίνω*) typically refers to arrival at a spatial or geographical location, I have translated *[ε]ἰρήνας*, ‘peace’, also as ‘lassitude’ in analogy with the idea of entering into a different latitude of divine pleasure. This condition of relaxing release has been compared to Aristotelian *κάθαρσις* (see Barbiero 2018 p. 44; Calame 2014 p. 239).

for like the <trace-horse
rope-bearer>

just so [

and like aboard ship one must

95 most of all (listen to
hear
heed) the helmsman:

so she is than the Sirens

[no] more <songful
tuneful> ,

for they're goddesses, but <as [eleven
[eleven]>

[these] ten (girls
children
babes) can <[sing]
out-[sing]> :

100 and [so] it <resounds
rings out> as [on] flowing <Xanthos
Yellow-river> ,

<a swan
swan-like> : and she, with desirable yellow hair

...



τῶι τε γὰρ σηραφόρωι

αὐ]τῶς εἰδ[

τ[ῶι] κυβερνάται δὲ χρῆ

95 κ[ῆ]ν νᾶϊ μάλιστ' ἀκούην·

ἀ δὲ τᾶν Σηρην[ί]δων

ἄοιδοτέρα μ[ὲν] οὐχί,

σiai γάρ, ἀντ[ὶ] δ' ἔνδεκα

παίδων δεκ[ὰς] ἄδ' αἰείδ]ει·

100 φθέγγεται δ' [ἄρ'] ὤ[τ' ἐπὶ] Ξάνθω ῥοαῖσι

κύκνος· ἀ δ' ἐπιμέρωι ξανθαῖ κομίσκai

...

1.92–3 *for like the trace-horse/rope-bearer just so...*: the lacunose first part of a double simile; this part would have had the same meaning as the second. On a four-horse chariot the trace-horses were roped on the outside and were responsible for guiding it, while the central pair provided most of the power. The similes say that the chorus (the central horses, the sailors) must follow/obey their chorus-leader (the trace-horse, the helmsman).

1.97 *ἀοιδότερα μὲν οὐχί; [no] more songful/tuneful*: according to Tsantsanoglou (2012 p. 101), the negation should be supplied here based on the logic that, because ‘Hagesichora does not sing more melodiously than the Sirens’, so ‘therefore her abstention does not affect the performance’, i.e. the remaining ten chorus-girls will be able to out-sing the other ‘eleven’ even without Hagesichora’s aid.

1.98–9 *as [eleven] [these] ten ... can [sing] / [eleven] [these] ten ... can out-[sing]*: these fragmentary lines can be understood in two ways, depending on the interpretation of ἀντι. 1. the ten can sing ‘in place of’, i.e. as well as, eleven; 2. the ten can sing ‘more than’, i.e. better than, eleven. It also seems possible that ἀντι[ι] ... ἀείδει could be the verb ἀντάδω, ‘sing in competition’, split across the lines.

1.99 *παίδων; children/girls/babes*: ‘children’ is the literal translation; ‘girls’ is the more natural English translation; and ‘babes’ attempts to get across the possible sexual connotations (but not the tone of the Greek).

1.101 *κύκνος; a swan / swan-like*: my translation of this word (literally ‘swan’) parallels my translation of γλαύξ (literally ‘owl’) in line 87. Here, it is not the maiden but their song that ‘is’ the bird.

1.102–5 Here the papyrus text breaks off. There were originally four more lines before the end of the song (there is a telltale *coronis* in the margin at line 105).

PARTHENEION 3

(^{girls}
Muses) , Olym^{pi}an ones, around my (^{chest}
come here) < core >

(^{with a lift-off of ne]w}
with desire for ne]w) (^{song}
throw gloriou]s) (~~song's~~)
songs)

(^{fill: keen]}
now very desirous]) am I to (^{hear}
< sounds > , keen]) < listen to >

maiden]s' voice

5 (^{towards <e]ther}
s]ky) (^{beside <[children]}
[babes]) hymning [f pl] a (^{beautiful}
fine) (~~tune~~) (^{melody}
melody)

<]my >
<]me >



(^{Κωραι}
Μώσαι) 'Ολυμ^{πι}άδες, περί με φρένας
(^{Δεῦρ' ἴτ'}

(^{ἀμβολαί νέα]ς}
ἰμέρωι νέα]ς) αἰοῖδας
(^{βάλλετε κλυτά]ς}

(^{πίμπλατ'· ἰθύ]ω}
νῦν μάλ' ἰμείρ]ω) δ' ἀκούσαι
(^{φθόγγος, ἰθύ]ω}

παρσενή]ας ὀπός

5 < ^{πρὸς αἰ]θέρα}
παῖδων]πᾶρα > καλὸν ὑμνιοῖσᾶν μέλος

]μοι

NOTES: GB

3.1–10 These lines, the beginning of the *partheneion*, are from fragment 1.

3.1 *Muses / Girls / Come here, Olympian ones ...*: the song's first lines are probably an invocation to the Muses, who are goddesses and therefore 'Olympian'; however, Alkman generally invokes the Muse in the singular, which casts some doubt on this reading. Instead, the lines may be an invocation to the choir of girls themselves, who are flatteringly called 'Olympian', implying that they are like goddesses.

3.1 Μώσαι / κωραι / δεῦρ' ἴτ': conjectures – Giannini; Davison; Page (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.2 ἡμέρωι νέα]ς / ἀμβολαί νέα]ς / βάλλετε κλυτά]ς: conjectures – Page; Page; Treu (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.2 *song's/song/songs*: this word may be either genitive singular or accusative plural; Calame (1983 p. 398) prefers the singular.

3.3 πίμπλατ'· ἰθύ]ω / νῦν μάλ' ἡμίρ]ω / φθόγγος, ἰθύ]ω: conjectures – Page; Giannini; Peek (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.3 ἰθύ]ω; *keen] am I*: literally, 'I go straight'.

3.5 πρὸς αἰ]θέρα / παίδων]πᾶρα: conjectures – Page; Peek (Calame 1983 p. 76). The second variant – whether it puts the girls beside other girls or potential sex objects or boys (the multivalent 'pais', literally 'child') – sets a different scene for the song.

3.5 *tune/melody*: the original meaning of μέλος is 'limb', and came to mean a *part* of music.

3.6]μοι: supplement – Peek, supported by Calame (1983 p. 399).

sleep fr]om eyelids will scatter sweet

(at once <lov]e
Ero]s
its whirlin]g
straightway the <choru]s
danc]e) carries me amid the <gathering
contest > to go

(where <so
there > quick]est
m]ost
far b]est) - yellow hair I'll shake:

┌]

10 <go
| go > int]o the <ch[orus
d[ance > yourselfes,
, the > so]ft feet

...



ὑπνον ἀ]πὸ γλεφάρων σκεδ[α]σεῖ γλυκύν

(αὐτίκ' έρο]ς
ός δῖνο]ς
αἶψα χορο]ς) δέ μ' άγει πεδ' άγων' ἴμεν

(ὄφρα
άχι <τά]χιστα
ένθα > μά]λιστα) κόμ[αν ξ]ανθάν τινάξω·
ένθ' ὀχ άρι]στα

┌]

10 <έλλετε δ' έ]σ χ[ορόν αὐτ', > ἀπ]αλοῖ πόδες
έρχομαι έ]σ χ[ορόν, οί δ' >

...

3.6 *sleep fr]om eyelids will scatter sweet*: this expression is found in slightly different forms in Homer (*Iliad* 20.341) and Sophocles (*Trachiniai* 989–91) (Hutchinson 2001 p. 107; Calame 1983 p. 399).

3.7 ὄς δῖνο]ς / αὐτίκ' ἐρο]ς / αἶψα χορὸ]ς: conjectures – Giannini; Peek; Cuartero (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.7 ἀγων; *gathering/contest*: from this we learn that the girls' song and dance is taking place in a public assembly-place. The word *agōn* often has competitive connotations, which may connect with the language evoking contest in *Partheneion* 1.39–63 & 96–9 (Calame 2001 pp. 5–6).

3.9 Conjectures (in no particular order) – Lobel; Page; Cuartero; Peek; Barrett; Snell; Giannini (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.9 *yellow hair I'll shake*: the girls are wearing their hair loose, which suggests that they are still young adolescents, who are shown in Greek representations of dance with loose hair; girls who are nearly adults are shown wearing *μίτραι*, 'headbands' (Calame 1983 p. 401).

3.9–10 ∟: the song's first *coronis* would have been here, indicating the next strophe. As well as marking a (literal) turning point in the dance, it seems to mark a (metaphorical) turning point in the song, from anticipating to beginning dancing.

3.10 Conjectures – Giannini; Peek (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.11–60 The gap between fragment 1 and the next translatable piece of text, fragment 3 column 2, has been calculated as 50 lines. Most of these lines are missing altogether, but fragment 2 preserves a few letters from 3 lines (no words legible), while fragment 3 column 1 preserves a few letters from 7 lines. On this fragment a single word has been restored from a marginal comment: κρυερά, 'icy' (line 35). 'Icy' was usually used metaphorically, often in association with death, and probably belonged to a long section retelling a mythical narrative, like the one in *Partheneion* 1.1–35 (Calame 1983 p. 402).

61 and with limb-loosening longing, meltinglier
than sleep and death [she] looks at [me]:

nor at all <recklessly
in vain> sweet is she:

┌

Wastumeloisa does not answer me,

65 <but
she who>] (wearing
having
carrying) [f] the wreath []

[as] some gleaming star []

<flying
shooting> through <heaven
sky>

or golden <sapling
shoot> or soft [down-feather]

]...



61 λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσῳ, τακερώτερα
δ' ὕπνῳ καὶ σανάτῳ ποτιδέρεται·
οὐδέ τι μασιδίῳς γλυκ[ῆ]α κ[ῆ]να·

┌

Fa[σ]τυμέλοισα δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται,

65 <ἀλλὰ
ἀ δέ> τὸν πυλεῶν' ἔχοισα []

[ᾶ] τις αἰγλά[ε]ντος ἀστήρ []

ὠρανώ διαιπετής

ἢ χρύσιον ἔρνος ἢ ἀπαλὸν ψίλλον

...]v

3.61–85 These lines are from fragment 3 column 2. I employ the standard line numbers, though from this point they are somewhat conjectural.

3.61 *λυσιμελεῖ*; *limb-loosening*: this adjective was often used in archaic poetry to convey the physical effect of sexual desire: see, e.g., Sappho fragment 130.

3.61–2 *meltinglier than sleep and death*: evocations of the softness of sleep and death and comparisons between love and death are commonplace in ancient literature (Calame 1983 pp. 403–4).

3.62 *πρὶ δέρεται*; *looks at*: the subject of this verb is almost certainly Wastumeloisa; the singer (whose name we don't know) is probably in the same position relative to Wastumeloisa as Agido is to Hagesichora.

3.63–4 *Ϝ*: in the papyrus this coronis is charmingly birdlike (the word *korōnis*, 'curved/beaked', is linked with *korōnē*, 'crow').



3.64 *Wastumeloisa*: probably this *partheneion*'s chorus-leader. Her name means 'city's darling', and is typically spelled 'Astymeloisa', following the old convention of Atticising non-Attic Greek and transliterating epsilon as 'y'. In the papyrus – which was copied at a much later date than the original composition, and likewise 'corrected' into more standard spelling – it is spelled Ἄστυμέλοισα, 'Astumeloisa'. But ancient Greek had another letter: F, digamma or 'waw', pronounced 'w'. This 'w' sound fell out of most Greek dialects before written records of Greece begin (Ionic Greek lost digamma between when Homer's epics were sung and when they were written down). However, Laconian Greek (the dialect spoken in Sparta) did not lose F / W at the beginning of words until between the fourth and second centuries BC, hundreds of years after Alkman (see Colvin 1999 pp. 173–6). The metre of Alkman's poems requires digammas at the beginnings of some words, but as the name appears either at the beginning of a line or after a lacuna, metre cannot be used to decide here; the clincher is that the Spartan word for 'city', *Φάστυ*, began with a digamma. (Thank you Gregory Hutchinson for explaining this to me.) So 'Wastumeloisa' best conveys the probable original pronunciation.

3.65 *ἀλλὰ τὸν/ἄ δέ τὸν*: conjectures – Page; Giannini (Calame 1983 p. 76).

3.65 *having/wearing/carrying [f] the wreath*: usually understood as a ritual offering to a goddess, probably Hera, because of Alkman fragment 60, which was cited in antiquity with that explanation. But Calame (1983 p. 407) believes it was an adornment worn by the most beautiful Spartan girls.

3.67 *διαιπετής*; *flying/shooting through*: this adjective describes the star Wastumeloisa's fast movement across the sky – I think, comparing her to a shooting star. Various etymologies have been posited: *δια* + *πέτομαι* = through + fly; *διερός* + *πέτομαι* = lively + fly; *Δί* + *πίπτω* = Zeus + fall (Calame 1983 pp. 408–9). I favour the sense 'through-flying', as the simplest formation, and the best grammatical fit (with *δια* governing the genitive ὠρανῶ).

3.67 *ψίλλον*; *down-feather*: Calame writes that there is no other known example of a girl being compared to a feather; and that Alkman used the adjective *φιλόψιλος*, 'down-loving', of the girl who liked to be at the head of the chorus

70] [she] <walked
strode> through with long slender feet[:
beautiful-hair]ed one, Kinuras's moist <grace
charm>
which on m]aidenly manes sits.

┌]

(comes
really
flees) Wa]stumeloisa into the host

(goes),] <darling
care> of the ([whole
[good-minded]) people

75] <having grasped
about to grasp> [f] [my heart]

] I tell:

] ah, would that, if only ... silver cup



70]. διέβα ταναοῖς πο[σί·
καλλίκ]ομος νοτία Κινύρα χ[άρ]ις
ἀ δ' ἐπὶ π]αρσενικὰν χαίταισιν ἴσδει.

┌]

(ἦκει
ἦ μὰν
φεύγει) Fa]στυμέλοισα κατὰ στρατόν

(παντὶ τῶι
ἔρχεται
εὖνοι)] μέλημα δάμωι

75 καρδίαν ἐ]μαν ἐλοῖσα

]λέγω·

]εναβαλ' α[ῖ] γὰρ ἄργυριν

(fragment 32), and therefore here may allude to Wastumeloisa's position as chorus-leader. The comparison may also have connotations of nudity: while the Attic word for 'feather' is **πίλον**, in the Spartan dialect this becomes **ψίλον**, which is a homonym of **ψιλός**, 'bare/naked'. (Calame 1983 p. 410; Calame 2001 p. 63.)

3.71 Conjecture – Page (Calame 1983 pp. 76–7); but if lines 71–2 refer to the entire chorus, and not just Wastumeloisa, then this conjecture would seem out of the question.

3.71 *Kinuras*: (also spelled *Cinyras*) a mythical king of Cyprus, which was famed for its perfumes; his daughter was *Myrrha*, so the hair-perfume is probably *myrrh* (Hutchinson 2001 p. 110).

3.72 **ἀδ'**: conjecture – Giannini (Calame 1983 p. 77).

3.72 **χαίταισιν**; *manes*: Alkman uses the same word for 'flowing hair' that is more commonly used of horses' manes (and animal hair in general). He also does this at *Partheneion* 1.51 during its comparison of beautiful girls with well-bred horses – did *Partheneion* 3 also contain a horse comparison?

3.73–4 **ἦ μὰν ... ἔρχεται / ἤκει ... παντὶ τῶι / φεύγει ... εὖνοοι**: conjectures – Page; Garzya; Giannini (Calame 1983 p. 77).

3.73 **στρατόν**; *host*: while here this means 'crowd', the word's military connotations are fundamental, referring to the 'soldier-citizens' of Sparta (Calame 1983 p. 415).

3.74 **μέλημα δάμωι**; *darling/care of the people*: a pun on Wastumeloisa's name ('city's darling'). *melēma* literally means 'something cared-for'.

3.75 Conjecture – Giannini (Calame 1983 p. 77).

3.75 **έλοῖσα**; *having grasped / about to grasp [f]*: this aorist or future feminine participle most likely refers to Wastumeloisa, who was the topic of the previous line, or it may refer to the chorus, who (probably) speak in the first-person singular in the next line.

3.76 *I tell*: the chorus is probably speaking here. Their/her expression of desire for Wastumeloisa's attention over the next few lines sounds like realistic direct speech, and is full of tentative, wishing, sighing language – ifs and ahs, optatives and exclamations.

3.77 **ἄργυριν**; *silver cup*: this word is in the accusative, which must depend on a verb in the following (missing) line.

]...

she'd see my [gifts], if somehow me, <affectionate
dear > [gods],

80] <coming
going > [f], by soft hands [she]'d take,

myself <attend]ant
suppli]ant > [f] of hers I'd become.

┌]

] <[deep]
[heavy] > -thinking <child
babe >

] <my
me > having [f]

] the (child [f]
girl
babe)

85] <grace
charm > :

...



] . [.]ία

δῶρ]α φίδοι μ' αἴ πως με [σι]ο[ί] φίλοι

80] [ο]ῖσ' ἀπαλᾶς χηρὸς λάβοι,

ἐγὼν <ἐπ]ΕΤΙΣ
ἰκ]ΕΤΙΣ > κήνας γενοίμαν.

┌]

]δα παῖδα <βα[σ]ύφρονα
βα[ρ]ύφρονα >

]μ' ἔχοισαν

] . ν ἂ παῖς

85] χάριν·

...

3.79 δῶρ]α; [gifts]: conjecture – Giannini (Calame 1983 p. 77). Perhaps the silver cup?

3.79 φίδοι μ'; she'd see my: I follow Calame's reading, rather than Campbell's ἴδοιμ', 'I'd see'.

3.79 [σι]ρ[ί] φίλοι; affectionate/dear [gods]: Page's supplement, supported by Calame (1983 p. 417) and Hutchinson (2001 p. 111), is the only possible filling for the gap in the manuscript. Without the restored letters, you could read '[] she'd be affectionate / kiss'.

3.80–4 A fragment of part of five lines was added to the beginning of these lines by Lobel, partially filling the gap in the papyrus:

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| ἀσ]σον[| nea]rer [|
| αἰψά κ[| straightway [|
| νῦν δ'[| now [|
| παιδι .[| child/babe [|
|] . ε[| [...] |

Through careful study of the fragment's colour and fibre directions, Hutchinson (2001 pp. 16, 111–12, supported by Coles and Nisbet) has proven that the fragment did not come from this position. It probably came from another poem on the same roll.

3.80 If this line follows on from the previous line, then its meaning is: 'she'd take me by [my] soft hands as I come/go'; 'me' is from the previous line. The feminine participle ἰοῖσ', 'coming/going', is nominative.

3.81 Conjectures – Calame; Lobel (Calame 1983 p. 418).

3.82–5 In these lines (after the *coronis*, signalling a change of strophe and topic), the chorus probably moves to singing the praises of the girl most loved by Wastumeloisa, since this *partheneion* is likely to have followed a similar pattern to *Partheneion* 1 (Calame 1983 p. 419).

3.82 βα[σ]ύφρονα; [deep]-thinking: the most likely of the two possibilities; Pindar gives the Moirai/Fates this epithet (*Nemean* 7.1; Calame 1983 p. 419).

3.86–118 Here the poem ceases to be translatable. Lines 86–90 are missing, and of lines 91–118 (fragment 3 column 3) only the first few letters, if any, are preserved, and only seven words are legible (see below).

Legible words from the final fragment of *Partheneion* 3

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---|-----|--------------------------------|
| 97 | συλ[ακι(-)] | | 97 | Sul[akis] |
| 98 | ὄλκ[άς/δ-] | | 98 | nightin[gale] |
| 99 | ὄσσα! [| | 99 | (voices cries rumours) |
| 100 | αλλα[|  | 100 | < but other[...]> |
| 102 | βᾶμ.ε[| | 102 | step[...] |
| 115 | ιστῆ[| | 115 | you [pl] know |
| 116 | οἶδε[| | 116 | [s/he] knows |

3.97 *Sul[akis*: probably a girl's name – perhaps the same girl as *Partheneion* 1.72; as a word, it means '[little] bag'.

3.98 *ὄλκ[άς / ὄλκ[άδ*:- this word was glossed in late antiquity as meaning 'nightingale' only in Alkman (fragment 142); in standard Greek it means 'towed-boat / cargo ship'.

3.99 *cries/voices/rumours*: a word applied to birds of omen, the Muses, Zeus, Apollo, the lyre, bulls, and battle.

3.98–9 Calame (1983 pp. 419–20) hypothesises that the topic here may be music, with the chorus comparing *Wastumeloisa's* voice to that of a nightingale, like in *Partheneion* 1.85–101, where a girl first compares herself to a screeching owl, and then the chorus's singing to a swan. I would suggest that it is *Sulakis's* voice being compared to a nightingale, rather than *Wastumeloisa's*, since *Sulakis* is apparently named in the previous line. Alkman knew of the nightingale as a songbird: he is quoted (probably) as listening to nightingales (fragment 10a / *testimonia* 9). Another fragment (fragment 224 Calame), from a commentary on Alkman's first book of *partheneia*, reads as follows:

| | | |
|----|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | ἴδεφα[|]...[|
| | ἄουξη . . [|]...[|
| | ἄαταμεντη[|]...[|
| | ἄκούειν Μουσῶν[|]listen to Muse[s |
| 5 | ἄμωτερα[|]...er [|
| | ἄ. ἀηδόνας . [|] of nightingale [|
| | ἄτης μελοποι- [|]... tune/melody-m[ak... |
| | ἄσαιως τότε . [|] ... then [|
| | ἄΣειρήνας . [|] Sirens [|
| 10 |] . [|]...[|

The adjective probably in line 7, *μελοποιός*, 'music-making, melodious', is commonly applied to both the nightingale and the lyric poet. There are clearly a group of ideas around music / lyric poetry: the Muses and songbirds – whether the harmless nightingale or the monstrous Sirens. Calame (1983 p. 615) believes that this fragment might be discussing the chorus comparing their chorus-leader to a nightingale, whose voice is that of the Muses. It could even be discussing the nightingale of *Partheneion* 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barbiero, Roberto, *Alcman and the Evolution of Early Sparta* (Medford, MA: Tufts University, 2018)
- Boehringer, Sandra, *Female Homosexuality in Ancient Greece and Rome*, trans. by Anna Preger (London: Routledge, 2021)
- Bowie, Ewen Lyall, 'Alcman's First Partheneion and the Song the Sirens Sang', in *Archaic and Classical Choral Song: Performance, Politics and Dissemination*, ed. by Lucia Athanassaki & Ewen Lyall Bowie, pp. 33–66 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011)
- Budelmann, Felix, ed., *Greek Lyric: A Selection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)
- Calame, Claude, *Les Chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1977)
- , ed., *Alcman: Introduction, texte critique, témoignages, traduction et commentaire* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1983)
- , *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001)
- , 'Sujets Passionnels Dans La Poésie Graecque: Voix Chorales et Discipline Des Émotions,' in *Diego Lanza, Lecteur Des Œuvres de l'Antiquité: Poésie, Philosophie, Histoire de La Philologie*, ed. by Rossella Saetta Cottone & Philippe Rousseau (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2014)
- Campbell, David A., ed., *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Selection of Early Greek Lyric, Iambos and Elegy* (London: Macmillan, 1967)
- , ed., *Greek Lyric, Vol. 2: Anacreon, Anacreontea, Choral Lyric from Olympus to Alcman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988)
- Colvin, Stephen, *Dialect in Aristophanes: And the Politics of Language in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999)
- Ferrari, Gloria, *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008)
- Gentili, Bruno, *Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece: From Homer to the Fifth Century*, trans. by A. T. Cole (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988)
- Grahn, Judy, *The Highest Apple: Sappho and the Lesbian Poetic Tradition* (San Francisco: Spinsters Ink, 1985)

Halperin, David M., *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Hutchinson, G. O., *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Lardinois, André, 'Lesbian Sappho Revisited', in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*, ed. by Jitse Dijkstra, Justin Kroesen, & Yme Kuiper (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

LSJ: Liddell, H. G. & R. Scott, eds, *An Intermediate Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)

Miller, Peter, 'Alcman's Partheneion and the Near East' (MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 2009)

Nagy, Gregory, trans., 'Alcman's Partheneion', *The Center for Hellenic Studies* (Harvard University, 2021) <<https://chs.harvard.edu/primary-source/alcman-partheneion-sb/>>

POxy: *Oxyrhynchus Online*, 'P. Oxy. 2387' <<http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH01d0/0ab53b7d.dir/POxy.v0024.n2387.a.01.hires.jpg>>

Page, Denys L., *Alcman: The Partheneion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951)

Peponi, Anastasia-Erasmia, 'Initiating the Viewer: Deixis and Visual Perception in Alcman's Lyric Drama', *Arethusa* 37.3 (2004)

Smyth, Herbert Weir, *Greek Melic Poets* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1906)

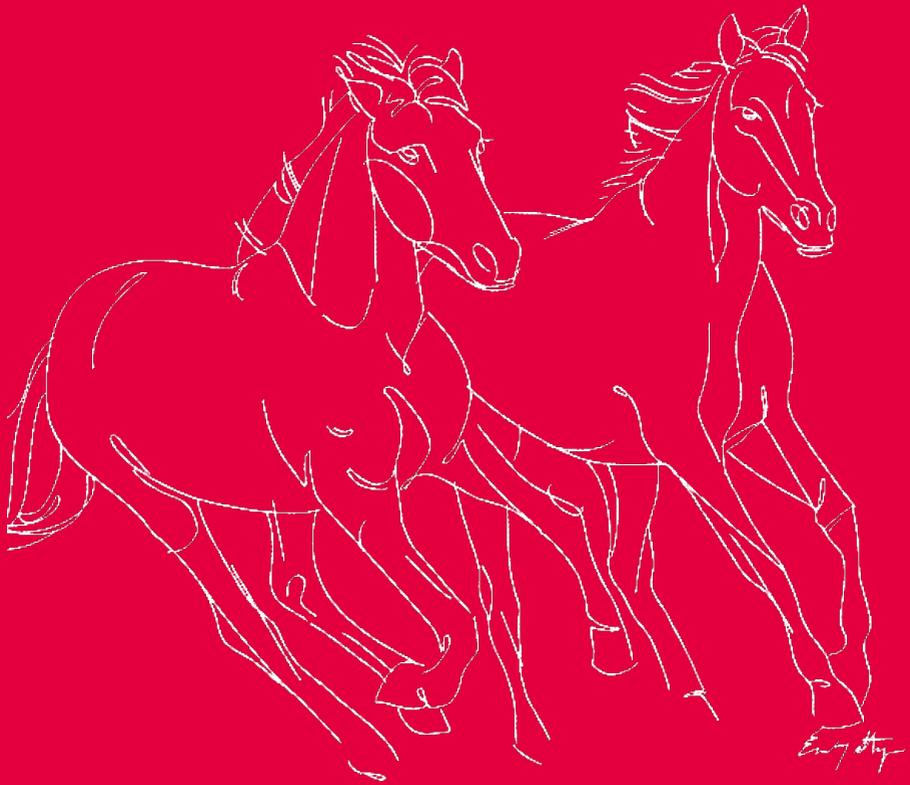
---, *Greek Grammar*, revised by Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956)

Stehle, Eva, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)

Swift, Laura, 'Visual Imagery in Parthenaic Song,' in *The Look of Lyric: Greek Song and the Visual*, ed. by Vanessa Cazzato & André Lardinois (Leiden: Brill, 2016)

Tsantsanoglou, Kyriakos, *Of Golden Manes and Silvery Faces: The Partheneion 1 of Alcman* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012)

Winkler, Daniela, *Ankle and Ankle Epithets in Archaic Greek Verse* (BA Thesis, Harvard University, 1977 [2017]) <<https://chs.harvard.edu/book/winkler-daniela-ankle-and-ankle-epithets-in-archaic-greek-verse/>>



LEVERHULME
TRUST _____

Sapphizdat
PORTKNOCKIE