

approximately but, I think, truly—as yet another aspect of the general passage in Greek thought from oral, mythical and poetic to logical and rational. To emphasize this connection is not necessarily to downgrade the importance, during the period with which we have been concerned, of more direct forms of cognition: revelation, the non-verbal flash of awareness, the compelling “unhiddenness” of things. It is merely to insist that, however important such phenomena may have been for the archaic Greek, they were not what he had in mind when he spoke of *alēthēia*.<sup>50</sup>

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Alcaeus' Hymn to Hermes, *P. Oxy.* 2734 Fr. 1  
and Horace *Odes* 1,10 \*

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1. Alcaeus Fr. 308 LP

Of Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes (Fr. 308 LP) only the first stanza survives (52(b) LP). There are also a number of testimonia to the hymn — assembled most conveniently as Fr. 308 V. But their standing as witnesses to the hymn's contents has hitherto been questionable, as D. Page's thorough and properly sceptical treatment of them (*Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, p. 252ff.) amply demonstrates. The commentators on Horace *Odes* 1,10, both before and after Page, have, however, tended to accept the testimonia without too much questioning as an accurate reflection of Alcaeus' hymn. As it turns out, they have been right to do so. But the first actual proof of what before were only probabilities about the contents of Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes and about its contributions to *Odes* 1,10 appears up to now to have been overlooked<sup>1</sup>. The crucial text is ll. 11-19 of *P. Oxy.* 2734 Fr. 1, first published by E. Lobel in 1968 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXXV) and republished without comment by D. Page in *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, Oxford 1974, as S 264,11-19. It is, in Page's version, which incorporates Lobel's supplements:

ἀλκχὴ· χαίρει· Κυλλάννας ὁ μέδεις,

\* I am grateful for advice on this paper to J.G. Howie and C.W. Macleod.  
<sup>1</sup> The papyrus is simply referred to in passing by Voigt (Fr. 308 V) (1971) in connection with the *Iliad* scholia. It was published too late for use by Nisbet-Hubbard on *Odes* 1,10 (1970) (hereafter N.H.) (whose cut-off date was July 1968) and it is not mentioned in the valuable anthology of E. Degani and G. Burzaccini, *Lirici Greci*, Florence 1977. I myself was unaware of it when writing 'Five "Religious" Odes of Horace (1,10; 1,21 and IV,6; I,30; 1,15)' *Am. Journ. Philol.* 92, 1971, pp. 433-452.

<sup>50</sup> They loom large, for example, in D. Bremer's *Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung, Interpretationen zur Vorgeschichte der Lichtmetaphysik* (= *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* Suppl. 1, Bonn 1976); and the amount of evidence assembled there is impressive, whether or not one accepts, as Bremer does (p. 161, n. 144) the equation of *alēthēs* with "unhidden". Cf., also, R. A. Prier, 'Sema and the Symbolic Nature of Pre-Socratic Thought', *Quad. Urb.* 29, 1978, 91-101.

σέ γάρ μοι θυμῶς ἕμνην [ ] . νος κλοπή  
 γ' ἐνεθ' ἰαί  
 ]σ . ον 'Απόλλωφν  
 ]αὐτῷ ἀπειλόησας  
 ]περισσά  
 ]μυν τατ  
 κλ. ]σπὴν λαβή

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What gives these mutilated lines particular importance is that *P. Oxy.* 2734 Fr. 1, dated to the 2nd century AD by Lobel (*Loc. cit.*), is part of a set of diegesis of Alcaeus. The bulk of it (i.e. from l. 5 on) consists of diegesis of the first three hymns of the first book of Alcaeus in the Alexandrian edition — those to Apollo, Hermes and the Nymphs respectively. Each diegesis quotes the incipit of a hymn, and then summarises its content. Since these summaries relate directly to the actual text of Alcaeus, ll. 11-19 have a higher status as evidence about the hymn to Hermes than any of the previously known testimonia. The fact that they confirm many details provided by the other testimonia and offer no detail conflicting with them in turn elevates the status of the latter. In particular, *Schol.* ABD on Homer *Iliad* 15,256: 'Εριμῆς δ' Διδος καὶ Μαίας τῆς "Ατλαντος εὔρε λύραν, κλέψας δὲ καὶ τοὺς 'Απόλλωνος βόας εὐρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς. ἀπειλούντος δὲ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ἔκλεψεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄμνων τόξα. μειδιάσας δὲ δ' δεὸς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν μαντικὴν ῥάβδον, ἅφ' ἧς καὶ χρυσόραπις ὁ 'Εριμῆς προσηγορεύθη, ἔλαβε δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν λύραν' is so strongly confirmed (see below) as to make it likely that it too derives from a similar diegesis.

The detailed conclusions which can be drawn from *P. Oxy.* 2734 Fr. 1, 11-19 are:

13f. l. 13 refers, as Lobel notes, to Hermes' theft of Apollo's oxen (13), which is now confirmed as a central topic of the hymn, and l. 14 to the day of Hermes' birth. The order in which the two motifs are placed might suggest that Alcaeus first narrated the theft and then emphasised, or allowed Hermes to emphasise, that it was committed on the day of his birth. If so, Alcaeus would be repeating a stress found in the first Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (4):

ἠψὸς γεγονῶς μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιδάριζεν,  
 ἔσπεριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἔκρηβόλου 'Απόλλωνος (17f.)

Cf. also 261ff., where Hermes, protesting his innocence of the theft, says: χθὲς γενόμην (273). Given the brevity of the diegesis, this sort of conjecture would certainly seem preferable to regarding γ' ἐνεθ' ἰαί as simply reflecting γέννατο in l. 3 of the Alcaic hymn. However a third interpretation of *P. Oxy.* 2734 Fr. 1,14 seems preferable to either of these alternatives: at *Rhetores Graeci* p. 340 (Spengel), Menander Rhetor first notes that γονὰς ἕμνησαν . . . Ἀλκαῖος . . . Ἐριμῆς μαινεομένης, καὶ 'Ωρας ὑποδεχομένης καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα is a poet's task (ll. 19ff.). We can be confident that Menander is still thinking here of Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes since Philostratus, in a passage which again is clearly indebted to Alcaeus' hymn<sup>2</sup>, (*Imagines* 1,26,1), also speaks of the Horae caring for Hermes after his birth (cf. also *Vita Apollonii* 5,15). On the basis of these testimonia we might hypothesise that Alcaeus in his second stanza first made a brief announcement of Hermes' theft of the oxen, and then went back to expand on the circumstances of the god's birth. Further support for this hypothesis may come from the observation that Philostratus does something similar at the beginning of *Imagines* 1,26,1:

'Ο κομιδῆ παῖς ὁ ἔτι ἐν σπαργάνοις, ὁ τὰς βοῦς εἰς τὸ ῥῆγμα τῆς γῆς ἐλαύνων, ἔτι κἀκείνος ὁ συλῶν τὰ βέλη τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος, 'Εριμῆς οὗτος, μάλα ἠδέεται αἰ κλοπαῖ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . (*cf. iocoso/ . . . furto, Odes* 1,10,7f.)

In his first section he announces three themes — Hermes in his swaddling clothes, i.e. new-born; his theft of the cattle; and his theft of Apollo's arrows. Then he repeats the theme of Hermes' birth amid further general reflections on his thievishness before going on to a fuller account of the birth, which in turn is followed by a full description of Hermes' thefts, first of the cattle and then of the arrows.

15f. As Lobel again notes, these lines refer to Apollo's threats to Hermes. (*Cf. Odes* 1,10,10f.: *minaci/voce*.) It is particularly

<sup>2</sup> Cf. esp. τίκτεται μὲν ἐν κορυφαίς τοῦ 'Ολύμπου (*Imag.* 1,26,1) and ἠθυσίεται τὰς 'Ωρας, ὑφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν κορυφαίς τοῦ 'Ολύμπου ἐπάραθ' (*Vita Apoll.* 5,15) with l. 2 of the Alcaeus hymn: l. 2: θυμὸς ἕμνην, τὸν κορύφασιον γούνασι.

useful that we can now be absolutely certain that this detail appeared in Alcaeus' hymn, because its further presence in *Schol.* ABD on *Iliad* 15,256 in the company of another motif — Apollo's smile, which also resurfaces in *Odes* 1,10 (*visit Apollo*, 12) — makes it a near certainty that the latter motif — Apollo's smile — also occurred in Alcaeus' hymn.

17f. Neither Lobel nor Page offer what appears to me to be a certain supplement to line 18:

τῶν ὤμων τὰ τῆξα

These are virtually the words of *Schol.* ABD on *Iliad* 15,256: τὰ ἐπι τῶν ὤμων τῆξα. If this supplement is acceptable, we can first of all be quite sure that Apollo's quiver was described in Alcaeus' hymn, and second, since this is further confirmation of the *Iliad* scholion, the evidence that Apollo's smile was there too also amounts to certainty. In consequence of the first point it would seem that Lobel's doubts that 'the part of περιστᾶν' in ll. 17 'could be used of the filch- ing of the bow (*sic*)' were unfounded. It may be that Lobel's doubts derived from an examination of *LSJ* s.v. περιστᾶω III.4. But the word here means not 'rob' but 'strip off from around', a sense which is amply exemplified there *ad init.* There seems, incidentally, to be some confusion in the commentators about what Hermes actually stole — Apollo's bow, his quiver (arrows), or both — a confusion deriving from the ambiguity of the plural τῆξα, meaning either bow or arrows (quiver). In fact the only sign of a legend about Hermes stealing Apollo's bow appears in the first Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (4) — and it is an unfulfilled fear on Apollo's part in ll. 514f.: δεῖδ' α... / μή μοι ἀνακλήψης κίθαριν καὶ χαμπύλα τῆξα. Here the adjective χαμπύλος makes the meaning 'bow' unmistakable. But it is quite clear that in Alcaeus, as in Philostratus and Homer, it is only Apollo's quiver full of arrows which is stolen. What happened was that Hermes slipped behind Apollo (Philostratus *Imagines* 1,25,5) and so stripped off the quiver from around him.

19. The conjunction of the accusative of the word 'theft' and a part of λαμβάνειν in l. 19 suggests that Alcaeus was at this point describing the exchange between Apollo and Hermes of the lyre and the rod. This is mentioned prominently in *Schol.* ABD on *Iliad* 15,256, in which note in particular ελαβε; and it is recorded in lan-

guage even closer to that of the papyrus in the Hypothesis to Pindar's *Pythians* p. 1,12ff. (Drachmann):

Ἐρμῆς δὲ... καὶ ἀλοῦς τὰς Ἀπόλλωνος βούς κλέπτων, ἀντι τῆς  
 x λ ο π ῆς τήν χέλυον δίδωσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 τὸ κηρύκειον.

In conclusion: *P. Oxy.* 2734 Fr. 1,11-19 gives certainty or virtual certainty about much of the content of Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes. In addition, its lay-out confirms that of Alcaeus' hymn and assures us that the hymn contained little of major importance besides what we now know.

## 2. Horace *Odes* 1,10

Several patterns of imitation by Roman lyric poets of their archaic Greek models are recognised by modern scholars. One, exemplified by Catullus 51, involves close (although not slavish) rendering of a substantial part of the original. In Catullus 51 twelve lines of Sappho Fr. 31 (LP) are followed fairly closely. But Catullus' fourth stanza (*otium* etc., 51,13ff.) does not correspond either with Sappho's fourth stanza (Fr. 31,13ff.) or indeed with her fifth, as far as can be seen from its surviving first line (Fr. 31, 17). Another pattern of imitation involves the Roman poet beginning with a 'motto' — a brief reminiscence of a Greek model — but departing from it quickly<sup>3</sup>. A well-known and certain example of this technique is Horace *Odes* 1,12, where ll. 1-3 closely recall Pindar *Olympian* 2,1f. but the ode then turns away from the second *Olympian* and does not return to it<sup>4</sup>. In other cases generally regarded as motto imitation, since only the motto is preserved from the Greek original, it may be that Horace in fact continued his imitation and was really using the technique of

<sup>3</sup> Further on mottoes cf. N-H 1 and 2, *indexes* s.v. and N-H 1, p. xii J.A. Richmond 'Horace's "Mottoes" and Catullus 51', *Rb. Mus.* n.f. 113, 1970, pp. 197-204 offers a useful collection and discussion of mottoes although R.'s hypotheses about Horace's practice do not seem to me compelling. Most recently A. Thill, *Alter ab Illo: Recherches sur l'imitation dans la poésie personnelle à l'époque augustéenne*, Paris 1979, pp. 155-157 treats briefly Horace's use of mottoes and of contamination of known Greek sources. Cf. also C.W. Macleod, 'Horatian Imitatio and Odes 2.5', in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, ed. D. West and T. Woodman, Cambridge 1979, pp. 89-102.

<sup>4</sup> Although other minor Pindaric material does appear later in the ode — see N-H intro. to *Od.* 1,12 (p. 143) and on *Od.* 1, 12, 45.

Catullus 51. A third pattern — and this may overlap with the first two — involves 'contaminatio' by Horace of material from the same or different early Greek writers<sup>5</sup> — both practices being common in Hellenistic and Roman literature<sup>6</sup>.

When discussing Horace *Odes* 1,10 and Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes in connection with Porphyry's comment about the ode *Hymnus in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta*, M.C.J. Putnam<sup>7</sup> has noted that "Critics have long speculated on the extent of the Roman poet's indebtedness, the general sentiment usually favoring his originality" (p. 215). Putnam named Wilamowitz, Fraenkel, G. Williams and Nisbet-Hubbard as examples of this majority view (p. 215 n. 1), before going on to examine Horace's introduction of Atlas (l. 1) as yet another element of Horatian originality. In an earlier paper, I myself made various proposals about the ode's structure and meaning which again favoured the view that the ode is a highly original Horatian composition<sup>8</sup>. The precise facts, as we now know them, are:

stanza 1 (1-4). No Alcaic material.  
 stanza 2 (5-8). *te canam* = *σὲ γάρ μοι / δῦμος ὕμνην; iocoso / ... furto* = *ἠδέσθαι αἰ κλοναί* (Philostratus); since Hermes' invention of the lyre (*curvaeque lyrae parentem*) is recorded in *Schol.* ABD on *Iliad* 15,256, the authenticity of which has been much strengthened (on which see above), this incident could have formed part of Alcaeus' amplification on the birth of the god. At any rate we know that a later exchange of lyre and rod was part of Alcaeus' hymn (see below on stanza 5).

stanza 3 (9-12). Entirely Alcaic, Mercury's theft of the cattle, Apollo's threats, the further theft by Mercury of the *pharetra* and Apollo's smile all deriving from the Alcaic hymn.

stanza 4 (13-16). No Alcaic material. The theme originates in *Iliad* 24.

<sup>5</sup> An outstanding example is *Od.* 3,12; cf. my comments in *Quad. Urb.* 27, 1977, p. 140. See also above n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B. Gentili, *Lo spettacolo nel mondo antico*, Bari 1977, Ch. 1. Hellenistic contaminatio in a single work or different works by the same literary predecessor is of course omnipresent in Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Aeneid*. It is more difficult to attest in lyric but cf. e.g. N-H *loc. cit.* above (n. 4), and see above (nn. 3; 5).

<sup>7</sup> *Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis*, *Class. Philol.* 69, 1974, pp. 215-217.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* above (n. 1) pp. 433-440.

stanza 5 (17-20). Only Mercury's rod (*virgaque ... / aurea*) is an Alcaic feature. The evidence of *P. Oxy.* 2734,19 that the rod/lyre exchange was part of Alcaeus' hymn highlights this fact and it also confirms my earlier hypothesis<sup>9</sup> that the rod/lyre exchange plays an implicit but major structural role in *Odes* 1,10.

These facts reveal neither the close rendering technique nor the motto technique: although the ode as a whole is linked closely with the Alcaic hymn to Hermes, the first stanza deliberately, and perhaps deceptively, has nothing to do with it. Then comes a great concentration of Alcaic material in stanzas 2 and 3, with nothing in 4, and a teasing allusive return to Alcaeus in the golden rod of the final stanza. Contaminatio of a hitherto unknown type is clearly the underlying principle, although its details are not clear. The material not from the Alcaeus hymn may be Horatian free composition, drawing only indirectly on earlier material such as e.g. *Iliad* 24 for stanza 4, and Horace may then have fused this freely composed material with what he took from Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes. Or Horace may be drawing directly on other early Greek sources known to us as well as on Alcaeus' hymn, looking to *Iliad* 24 for stanza 4 and (less likely, but just possible) to the second Homeric Hymn to Hermes (18) for *nepos Atlantis* (l. 1): cf. ... *δὲν τέκε Μαῖα / Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ Διὸς ἐν φιλάητι μύρεσσι* — or just to commonplace descriptions of Hermes in such terms: cf. e.g. *Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἄτλαντις Μαῖη τέκε κούδιον Ἐπιήν* (*Hesiod Theogony* 938). Equally possibly, of course, Horace may have taken the material not derived from Alcaeus' hymn from another early Greek lyric hymn or hymns (or from early Greek poems of another type) now lost to us<sup>10</sup>; indeed he might have taken it from another hymn to Hermes by Alcaeus himself. Such uncertainties must remain. In compensation however we have now, through the discovery of a contaminatio based pattern of lyric imitation not attested elsewhere, a greater appreciation of Horace's virtuosity and poetic range.

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<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* above (n. 1) pp. 436-438.

<sup>10</sup> For the existence of both sorts of poem see *Hesiod Fr.* 170 (Merkelbach-West) and note that *Hesiod Fr.* 169-204 (= *Hoiai*) deal with the Atlantes.