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ALCMAN AND THE SPARTAN ROYALTY

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Once more: that section of the Alcman commentary in P.Oxy. 2390, fr. 2 lines 13-22, which refers to certain Spartans of royal lineage. F.D.Harvey's conclusions in JHS 87, 1967, 62-73, have been cited by most subsequent editors of Alcman with apparently unqualified approval.¹ They are, however, open to criticism both on historical and on philological grounds.

Here is the text of the passage with only the most obvious supplements.

νῦν δ' ἴομεν τῷ δαίμονος

15 ἔω(ς) τοῦ παι[δῶν] ἀρίστῶν· Λεωτυχίδα
 Λ]ακεδαι[μονί]ων βασιλεύς· ἄδηλον δὲ
 θ]υγάτηρ ἢ Τιμασιμβρότα
]αι τινοσ. φυὰν δ' ἔο[ι]κεν
 π]αιδὶ ξανθῶι Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[
]Λεωτυχίδα υἱός ἐστι τοῦ[
 20]βασιλέ[ω]ς· [το]ῦ δ' Εὐρυκ[ρ]α-
 Πολύδ]ωρος καὶ Τιμ[ασιμ]βρότα
 θυγά[τηρ].

Restoration depends to some extent on reconstruction of the Spartan royal genealogies. On p. 67 of his article Harvey sets out, as if it were factual and more or less uncontroversial, a version of the Agiad and Eurypontid lines from Alkamenes and Theopompos down to Kleomenes and Leotychidas II, with cross-arrows marking attested synchronisms. In the footnotes the ancient evidence (or most of it) is cited for each element in the construct, and the impression is given that everything rests on firm foundations. Herodotus' and Pausanias' rival versions of the Eurypontid succession are both accommodated at the cost of assuming that a series of Demaratos' ancestors whom Pausanias believed to be kings were not kings.²

But at one point Harvey's stemma contradicts ancient testimony, and he does not acknowledge the fact. He fails to mention that Hagesikles³ is stated, by the only source on

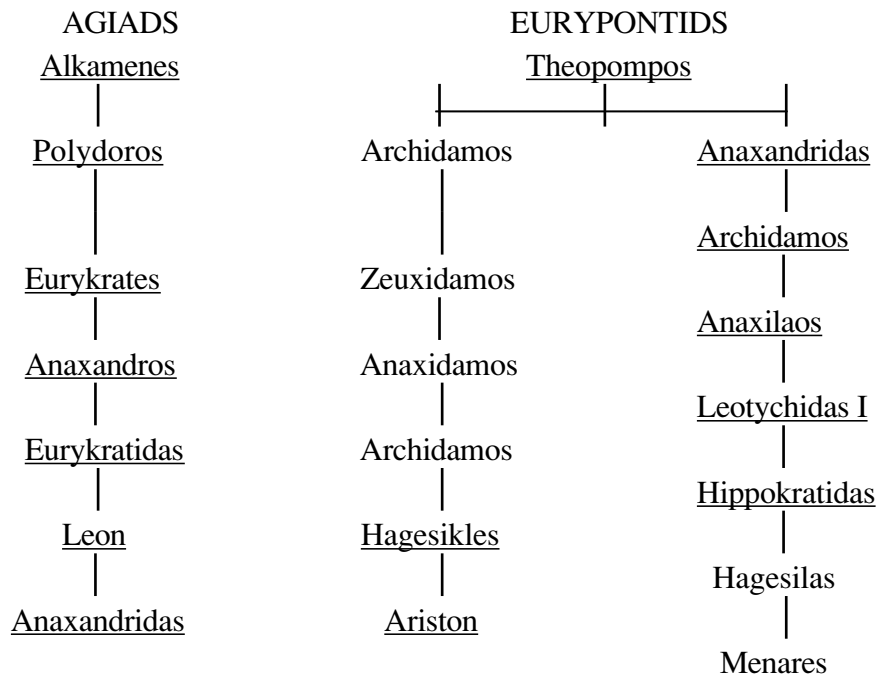
¹ Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, 1974, 156; D.A.Campbell, *Greek Lyric II*, 1988, 388 ff.; M.Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta I*, 1991, 11 f. C.Calame, *Alcman*, 1983, 436 f., does not commit himself. Other relevant literature: D.L.Page, *CR* 9, 1959, 20 f.; P.Janni, *Studi Urbinati* 33, 1959, 162-172; W.S.Barrett, *Gnomon* 33, 1961, 688 f.; M.L.West, *CQ* 15, 1965, 188-192, M.Treu, *RE Suppl. XI*, 1968, 22 f.; F.J.Cuartero, *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios helénicos (Barcelona)* 6, 1972, 13 ff.; J.Schneider, *RÉG* 98, 1985, 1-64.

² So Beloch, *Hermes* 35, 1900, 255, who convincingly refuted the old conjecture of Palmerius at *Hdt.* 8. 131. 3, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτά for πλὴν τῶν δυῶν.

³ So we ought to call the king who appears in Herodotus as Ἡγησικλήης and in the Pausanias manuscripts as Ἀγασικλήης or Ἀγησικλήης. Historians have tended to suppose that for a Spartan king the form with the largest number of alphas will be the most correct.

the matter, to be the son of Archidamos,⁴ and instead he makes him the son of Hippokratidas, for which there is no authority and no adequate reason.⁵ To Harvey's list of synchronisms we might add that of Anaxandros with Hagesikles' grandfather Anaxidamos.⁶

The effect of these corrections is to bring Archidamos, the father of Hagesikles, into the generation of Hippokratidas and the Agiad Eurykratidas. The two stemmata, from the mid eighth century to the time of Croesus, appear as follows (kings underlined):



Theopompos is mentioned as reigning both with Alkamenes and with Polydoros. As six generations of Theopompos' descendants, or seven in his elder son's line, correspond to five of Polydoros', it is reasonable to suppose that Theopompos was considerably older than Polydoros and more nearly the coeval of Alkamenes. At the lower end, Hagesikles may have been somewhat older than Hagesilas, whose throne he for some reason pre-empted, and Ariston may have been somewhat older than Menares; their sons Demaratos and Leotychidas II were near enough in age to want the same woman (Hdt. 6. 65. 2), but it was Ariston's son who got in first.

⁴ Paus. 3. 7. 6.

⁵ Harvey refers to G.L.Huxley, *Early Sparta*, 117 f. This alteration of the genealogy in fact goes back to G.Dum, *Spartanische Königslisten*, 1878, 20. Cf. W. den Boer, *Laconian Studies*, 1954, 67.

⁶ Paus. 3. 3. 4 + 3. 7. 6; 4. 15. 3. From the last passage it is clear that Pausanias has constructed this synchronism by counting down the king-lists from Polydoros and Theopompos.

Let us now reconsider the fragmentary Alcman commentary. From lines 14-15 we infer that Alcman had used a phrase something like Λατυχίδα (...) παιδῶν ἀρίστων, 'the finest of Leotyichidas' daughters'. Homeric lines such as

Λαιοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην

spring to mind.⁷ The commentator explains who Leotyichidas was, but couples this statement with an expression of uncertainty over the paternity of one Timasimbrotia. Clearly he is in doubt as to whether the phrase παιδῶν ἀρίστων referred to Timasimbrotia. So she can hardly have been named in that sentence, but she must have been named in the context, perhaps in the preceding or following sentence. We see from the Louvre Partheneion how Alcman could jump from praising one girl to praising another, speaking now of Agido, now of Hagesichora, now of an unnamed χοραγός or χοροστάτις. The commentator familiar with this style, might reasonably be uncertain whether 'the finest of Leotyichidas' daughters' in one sentence was the same person as Timasimbrotia in the next. The most suitable supplement is ἄδηλον δὲ [πότερον τούτου θ]υγάτηρ ἢ Τιμασιμβρότια [ἢ ἑτέρας μέμνηται] τινος.⁸

Harvey's supplement [τίνος ἐκτὶ θ]υγάτηρ is surely too short, and it ignores the relation between θυγάτηρ and παι[δῶν] ἀρίστων in the lemma. It is only because of that phrase that the question of Timasimbrotia's father is raised: if he was not Leotyichidas, it does not matter who he was. Harvey's supplement in 17, [καὶ τίς ὁ υἱὸς κ]αὶ τίνος, has even less basis in anything suggested by the lemma. His idea is that 15-17 state questions to which 19-22 give the answers. The apparent lemma in 17-18 is really, he thinks (following a suggestion by O.Murray), a quotation from another part of the poem, which the commentator presents in order to deduce the answers to his own questions. But firstly, if the commentator had been quoting from elsewhere in the poem, he would have said so, with δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν or some such expression; secondly, we do not see how he could have deduced from a mention of 'Polydoros son of Eurykrates' (as Harvey supplements 18) either that Hippokratidas was 'the son of the other king, Leotyichidas' or that Timasimbrotia was Eurykrates' daughter; and thirdly, if he had made such reckless inferences, he could not have announced his findings so abruptly, without so much as an ἄρα or οὖν. However we supplement 18-21, it is clear from the general style and structure that φῶν - Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[is the next lemma after the one in 13-14, and the following lines a commentary on it. Harvey's whole construction of the passage, ingenious though it is, creaks with artificiality.

Now the second lemma. Theoretically Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[could be genitive -ω not dative -ω[ι, and although in ξανθῶι the ι is preserved, this too might be an error for -ῶ. But on stylistic grounds ξανθῶι should certainly be joined with the following name (so not ξανθῶι

⁷ Il. 3. 124, cf. 2. 715, 6. 252, 13. 365, 378.

⁸ This modifies my proposal in CQ 15, 1965, 189. For the use of ἄδηλον in expressions of doubt about whether two persons are the same cf. Ath. 436d Ἀρκαδίων (ἄδηλον δ' εἰ ὁ Φιλίπποι διεχθρεύσας), 586c (Γλυκέραν τε τὴν Θαλακκίδος ...) ἄδηλον εἰ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἢ Ἀρπάλοι συνοῦσα.

dative + Πολυδώρω genitive), and it should adorn the son, who is the person emphasized, rather than the father. So the probability is that the structure was (genitive name) παιδί, ξανθῶι Πολυδώρωι, not (dative name), παιδί ξανθῶ Πολυδώρω. The pattern was like the common Homeric pattern

Ἄγκαίοιο πάις, κρείων Ἀγαπήνωρ.
Πειριθόου υἱά, κρατερὸν Πολυποίτην.⁹

So someone -perhaps the daughter of Leotychidas, perhaps Timasimbrotā, conceivably neither of these - is being praised by being compared to Polydoros son of X.

The commentator is concerned to explain who is related to whom. First he says that someone is the son of the king already mentioned, Leotychidas. This someone is presumably one of the two men named in the lemma, for otherwise the statement will have no discernible relevance. He will not be Polydoros, because in 20-21 it looks very much as if Polydoros and Timasimbrotā are coupled as the children of Eurykra[t-]. So it should be X, the father of Polydoros in 18, who is identified as the son of Leotychidas in 19, and in 20-21 it appears that X = Eurykrates or Eurykratidas. The structural logic therefore calls for

φυάν δ' ἔο[ι]κεν
Εὐρυκρατ ... παιδί, ξανθῶι Πολυδώ[ρ]ω[ι].
Εὐρυκρατ-] Λεωτυχίδα υἱός ἐστι τοῦ
20 προειρημένου] βασιλέ[ω]ς, [το]ῦ δ' Εὐρυκ[ρ]α-
τ ... υἱὸς Πολύδ]ωρος καὶ Τιμ[ασιμ]βρότα
θυγά[τηρ].¹⁰

The only son of Leotychidas previously known was his successor Hippokratidas. His name has generally been restored in 19. But as we have seen, the name missing in 19 ought to be the same as the one missing in 18, that of Polydoros' father, and Polydoros' father is apparently not Hippokratidas but Eurykrates or Eurykratidas. There is no reason why Leotychidas should not have had another son besides Hippokratidas.

The names Polydoros, Eurykrates, and Eurykratidas all occur in the Agiad dynastic line. Scholars have tended to assume that the Eurykra[t-] of our text, if not the Polydoros, must be one or other of these Agiad kings. But if he is the son of the king Leotychidas, this is ruled out. The commentator twice specifies that Leotychidas was a king, and he does not say this of Eurykra[t-] or Polydoros. That the same names might occur in both the Agiad and the Eurypontid family is shown by the examples of Agis and Anaxandridas. However, we cannot rule out Barrett's suggestion that Λεωτυχίδα in 19 was written in error as a result of his mention in the previous note, and that the statement intended was Εὐρυκρατίδα[ς]

Ἄναξάνδρου υἱός ἐστι τοῦ [Λακεδαιμονίων] βασιλέως. In this case we are after all among Agiads.

⁹ Il. 2. 609, 12. 129; cf. 1. 489, 5. 376, 881, 6. 130, 8. 377, 12. 182, 15. 576, 17. 1, 59, 23. 472.

¹⁰ Cf. Barrett, *Gnomon* 33, 1961, 688 f.

A difficulty that arises on any view is that Timasimbrotā is now firmly identified as the daughter of Eurykra[t-], whereas earlier the commentator was in aporia over whether she was Leotyehidas' daughter. Perhaps our text is giving us material from different authorities; we know that the commentator was drawing on more than one predecessor. Or perhaps it is somewhat abbreviated, and what was originally presented as a guess (ἵσως ὄν εἴη) has been reduced to a plain assertion (ἐκτί). If so, we should be left without any definite evidence on Timasimbrotā's identity, only with the fact that it made sense, so far as an ancient scholar with the whole of Alcman's poem before him could see, to suppose that she was a granddaughter of Leotyehidas and sister of Polydoros.

If he was right, it is not an unattractive hypothesis that Timasimbrotā was the subject of φῦάν δ' ἔοικεν ... Πολυδώρῳ. She would be being praised by being compared in nobility of appearance to her brother. This is also Harvey's opinion. Let us lend it a healthy colour by quoting Bacchylides 5. 165, where Heracles asks Meleager

ἦρά τις ἐν μεγάροισι Οἰνῆος ἀρηϊφίλου
ἔστιν ἀδμήτα θυγατρῶν σοὶ φῦάν ἀλιγκία;
τάν κεν λιπαρὰν ἐθέλων θείμαν ἄκοιτιν.

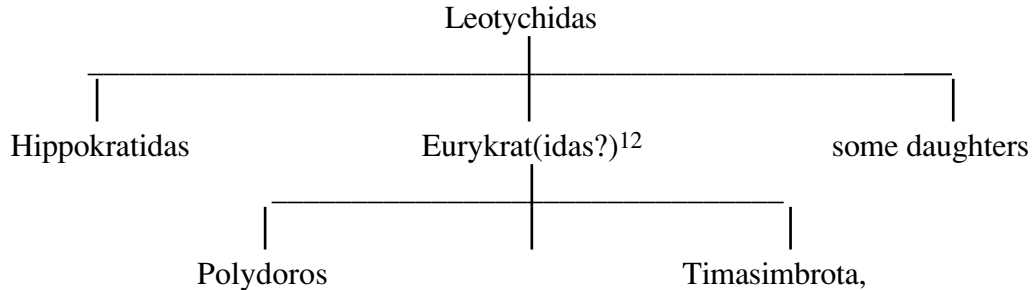
One may hesitate over the circumstance that Polydoros is entitled 'the son of Eurykra[t-]', as though his father were different from that of the subject of the comparison.¹¹ But perhaps Euripides, Bacchae 917, gives some reassurance on this point. Dionysos tells the disguised Pentheus

πρέπει δὲ Κάδμου θυγατέρων μορφὴν μιᾶι.

What can we extract from all this for the dating of Alcman's poem? I think it is prudent to keep open the two alternatives about 19, namely (A) that Λεωτυχίδα is correct, (B) that it has displaced the name of an Agiad king.

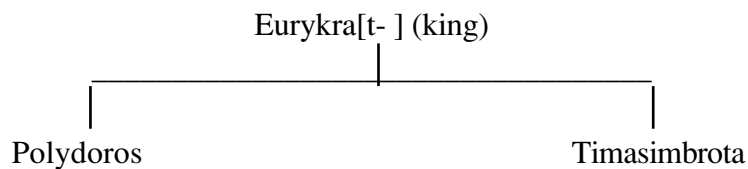
¹¹ Cf. Harvey, 66 n.13.

On hypothesis A we have the stemma



and Alcman referred, in the context of a women's ceremony, both to a daughter and to a granddaughter of Leotychidas, the first a mature lady, the second probably still a young girl. We have no dates for Leotychidas. Rhianus associated him with the Second Messenian War, which took place sometime in the second or third quarter of the seventh century. This must carry some weight.¹³ The generation-count down from Theopompos, the elderly victor of the First Messenian War (ca. 735-715), and up from Leotychidas II (reigned ca. 491-469) suggests that Leotychidas I should have been born between about 665 and 640. With the higher date he might well have taken part in the Second Messenian War as a young man. But even if he was born about 665, he is unlikely to have had a granddaughter taking part in a public ceremony before about 600. On hypothesis A, then, we are led to a dating of the poem in the early sixth century. I do not see how a date as late as 570 could be excluded, however shocking it may be to some people's prejudices.¹⁴

On hypothesis B Alcman referred to a daughter of Leotychidas and to an Agiad family



In proposing this hypothesis Barrett was surely right to opt for Eurykratidas, the son of Anaxandros, rather than his grandfather Eurykrates. Apart from the argument from spacing in 19, the younger man was much the closer in age to Leotychidas. In this case the ceremony involves princesses from both royal houses, daughters of Eurykratidas and Leotychidas. The

¹² The writing on the papyrus is variable in size, but the gap in 19, so far as I can judge, favours Εὐρυκρατίδαο as against Εὐρυκράτης. (In the genitive, of course, line 18, both names have the same number of letters.) On the other hand one might find it surprising that a son of Leotychidas should bear the same name as the contemporary Agiad king.

¹³ See the detailed discussion by J.Schneider, RÉG 98, 1985, 31-47.

¹⁴ Harvey, 69, writes that Alcman 'referred to king Leotychidas, but his son Hippokratidas is apparently not yet king. Alcman therefore lived during the reign of Leotychidas.' But there is nothing whatever to indicate that Hippokratidas is not yet king, and there is the possibility that τῷ δαίμονος in 13 refers to the dead and heroized Leotychidas (J.A.Davison, Proc. IX Intern. Congr. of Pap., 1961, 33; cf. Xen. Lac. Pol. 15.9).

upper date-limit of the poem will be somewhat higher than on hypothesis A, but probably not earlier than 625.

One further morsel of evidence has come to hand since P.Oxy. 2390. P.Oxy. 3210 brought further shreds of a commentary, probably from the same manuscript as 2389. Fragment 2 contains at line 6 the letters]αρχιδ[, and three lines higher a dubious ἀρχιδάμ[. The editor, M.W.Haslam, comments at 6 'A mention of Archidamus, apparently, but of no chronological importance, for in the Eurypontid succession given at Herod. 8. 131 Archidamus is two generations earlier than Leotychidas, who figures in the Alcman commentary XXIV 2390.'¹⁵ He has overlooked the fact that in the collateral line given by Pausanias there is a younger Archidamos in the same generation as Eurykratidas, perhaps somewhat younger than Leotychidas. There is a fair chance that an Archidamos mentioned by Alcman was this one.

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¹⁵ The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLV, 1977, 11, followed by Campbell, Greek Lyric II 399; no comment in Davies, PMGF I 65.