# A New Poem of Archilochus: *P.Colon.* inv. 7511

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RECENTLY DISCOVERED second-century papyrus of Archilochus in the collection at Cologne (inv. 7511) has received its first publication by R. Merkelbach and M. L. West in ZPE 14 (1974) 97–113 with plate v (= M-W).¹ It is of great importance since it comprises the first known almost complete poem by Archilochus (35 lines), in addition to the beginning of another (5 lines). The text presents some difficulties, but clearly the content and the literary value of the poem deserve the closest attention.

The meter of this epode is a hemiepes sandwiched between an iambic trimeter and an iambic dimeter, and was imitated by Horace in his eleventh epode. The poem contains a dialogue between the younger sister of Neobule, daughter of Lycambes and Amphimedo (lines 1–5; the beginning of the girl's speech is missing), and the young Archilochus (lines 6–27), and ends with a selective description of a love-affair between them (lines 28–35).

Merkelbach saw in the poem a story of hate, of vengeance by Archilochus on Lycambes and Neobule. I am in strong disagreement with his interpretation. I think we have to do with a fresh and naïve love story.

The main purpose of this paper, however, is to improve our text of the poem by offering a somewhat different edition of the papyrus and to provide it a literary-philological commentary. The time for a definitive literary assessment of the poem has not yet come.

### Text

"... πάμπαν ἀποςχόμενος του δε τόλμ[ηςον ποθείν.] εἰ δ' ὧν ἐπείγεαι καί ςε θυμὸς ἰθύει, ἔςτιν ἐν ἡμετέρου, ἣ νῦν μέγ' ἱμείρ[ει ςέθεν,]

<sup>1</sup> This is a revised and enlarged version of a paper read at the 106th annual meeting of the American Philological Association. I am indebted to Professors Ludwig Koenen, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, David F. Bright, as well as to three anonymous readers appointed by this journal, for healthy criticism and for several suggestions. For any possible mistake, however, the responsibility is mine alone.

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καλή τέρεινα παρθένος δοκέω δέ μι[ν]
        είδος ἄμωμον ἔχειν· τὴν δὴ ςὰ ποίη[ςαι φίλην."]
    τος αῦτ' ἐφώνει· τὴν δ' ἐγώνταμει [βόμην·]
        '''Αμφιμεδοῦς θύγατερ, ἐςθλῆς τε καὶ [ςαόφρονος]
    γυναικός, ην νυν γη κατ' εὐρώεςς' έ[χει,]
        [τ] έρψι ές είςι θε ης πολλαί ν έοις ιν ἀνδ[ράς ιν]
10 παρέξ [ε] τὸ θεῖον χρημα τῶν τις ἀρκέςε[ι]
        [τ]αῦτα δ' ἐφ' ἡςυχίης, εὖτ' ἂν μελανθῆ[ι μοι γένυς,]
    [έ]γώ τε καὶ τὸ τὸν θεῶι βουλεύτομε[ν.]
        [π]είςομαι ως με κέλεαι; πολλόν μ' έ[ποτρύνει δ' έρως]
    [θρ]ιγκοῦ τ' ἔνερθε καὶ πυλέων ὑποφ[θάνειν.]
15
        [μ]ή τι μέγαιρε, φίλη· εχήςω γὰρ ἐς ποη[φόρους]
    [κ]ήπους. τὸ δὴ νῦν γνῶθι Νεοβούλη[ν μὲν ὧν]
        [α]λλος ανήρ εχέτω. αἰαι πέπειρα δ[ή πέλεν,]
    [αν]θος δ' απερρύηκε παρθενήϊον
        [κ] \dot{\alpha}ὶ χάρις, \dot{\eta} πρὶν \dot{\epsilon}π\dot{\eta}ν· κόρον γὰρ οὐκ [ἠρύκακ\dot{\epsilon}ν,]
20 [ἄτ]ης δὲ μέτρ' ἔφηνε μαινόλις γυνή.
        [ἐc] κόρακάς (ἑ) ἄπεχε· μη τοῦτ' ἐφεῖτ' ἄν[αξ θεων,]
    [ό]πως έγω γυναῖκα τ[ο]ιαύτην έχων
        [γεί]τοςι χάρμ' ἔςομαι. πολλὸν ςὲ βούλο[μαι, φίλη·]
    [τὺ] μεν γὰρ οὔτ' ἄπιστος οὖτε διπλόη,
25
        [ή δ] ε μάλ' οξυτέρη, πολλούς τε ποιειτα[ι φίλους.]
    [δέ]δοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τυφλὰ κάλιτήμερα
        [cπ]ουδηι ἐπειγόμενος τως ωςπερ ή κ[ύων τέκω."]
    [τος]αῦτ' ἐφώνευν παρθένον δ' ἐν ἄνθε[ςιν]
        [τηλ]εθάεςςι λαβών ἔκλινα, μαλθακῆι δ[έμας]
30 [χλαί]νηι καλύψας, αὐχέν' ἀγκάληις' ἔχω[ν]
        [δεί]ματι παυ[c]αμένης τὼς ὧςτε νεβρ[ὸς <math>- \cup -.]
    [μαζ]ων τε χερείν ήπίως έφηψάμην,
        [ή δ' ὑπ]έφηνε [ ] νέον, ήβης ἐπήλυςιν, χρόα·
    [ἄπαν τ]ε ςῶμα καλὸν ἀμφαφώμενος,
35
        [λευκ] ον άφηκα μένος ξανθης επιψαύ[ων τριχός.]
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#### TRANSLATION

"... while you abstain completely; but engage in a requited [love]. If, however, you are so eager and your heart's desire drives you on, there is a girl in our house, beautiful and delicate, who now very much yearns for [you]. I would say she has shape without blemish: [make] her [your beloved wife]."

- (6) So much she said, but I replied to her: "Daughter of Amphimedo, that noble and [chaste] lady whom now the dank earth covers: there are many forms of pleasure which Aphrodite gives to young men apart from the marriage rite; one such will do now. As for marriage, with god's help you and I will consider it at our ease some day, when [my cheeks are bronzed].
- (13) Shall I obey your request? [Yet] an immense [desire urges] me on to come as first beneath your lintel and through your portal. Do not begrudge me this, my darling, for I shall light upon your garden abounding in grass.
- (16) But know this: another man may have Neobule. Alas, she has become overripe. Gone is her maidenly bloom, gone her former charm. For she could not [curb] her desires, and in her madness the woman revealed the scope of her [folly].
- (21) Let her begone to destruction! May not [the Lord of heaven] lay a behest on me to take such a wife and become the laughingstock of my neighbors. By far, [my darling,] I prefer you. For you are not faithless or double-dealing, while she is much too sharp and she makes too many [friends]. I am afraid, if I pursue her in reckless haste, [I may beget] children blind or untimely born, like the proverbial bitch."
- (28) I said no more, but took the girl and laid her down amidst the blooming flowers, covering her [body] with a soft [cloak] and encircling her neck with my arms, while she [fell silent in fear] like a fawn [before a wolf?]. Then gently I touched her [breasts] with my hands, and she revealed a part of her young flesh, the harbinger of her prime. And caressing her beautiful body [all] round I released the [white] life-force, lightly touching her fair [hair].

# **COMMENTARY**

LINE 1.  $\dot{\alpha}\pi o$ -  $P^{pc}$ :  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ -  $P^{ac}$ .  $\tau \dot{\alpha}\lambda\mu[\eta co\nu \pi o\theta \epsilon \hat{\imath}\nu]$  e.g. M-W. For the phrase  $\dot{\imath}co\nu \dots \pi o\theta \epsilon \hat{\imath}\nu$  or  $\pi \dot{\alpha}\theta o\nu$ , 'to engage in a requited love', cf. par amor in Ov. Met. 4.192, 12.416; Pont. 3.2.69.

LINE 2.  $\theta\nu\mu\delta c$ : there is no need to see in the word a pun ("Wortspiel") with  $\theta\hat{\nu}\mu oc = \tau\delta$   $\pi\epsilon oc$ , as M-W do, referring to Hipponax fr.10 West. It does not seem likely to me that Archilochus would put such a pun in the mouth of an innocent young girl whom he opposes at length to the licentious Neobule in lines 16–27.

LINE 3. [céθεν] scripsi. Cf. Ariphron fr.813.10 Page (PMG) céθεν δè

χωρίς οὔτις εὐδαίμων ἔφυ. Sappho fr.49 L-P ἢράμαν μὲν ἔγω ςέθεν: [γάμου] M-W.

LINE 4. Cf. Hipponax fr.119 W. εί μοι γένοιτο παρθένος καλή τε καὶ τέρεινα (M–W).

LINE 5. εἶδος ἄμωμον: cf. Hes. Theog. 259 Εὐάρνη τε φυὴν ἐρατὴ καὶ εἶδος ἄμωμος. πο̞ίῃ[caι φίλην] J. Ebert and W. Luppe: πένθ[ωρον φιλεῖς] ("seit 4 Jahren") and πένθ[εςιν διδοῖς] M–W.

LINE 6. ἐφωνει  $P^{pc}$ : ἐφωνεε  $P^{ac}$ . 'εγ'ωντ'αμει[βόμην]= ἐγὼ ἀνταμει-[βόμην] P, Snell.

LINE 7. ' $A\mu\phi\iota\mu\epsilon\delta\circ\hat{v}c$ : The name ' $A\mu\phi\iota\mu\epsilon\delta\omega$ ' is not elsewhere known to me, but cf. ' $A\mu\phi\iota\mu\epsilon\delta\circ vc\alpha$ ,  $\dot{\eta}$   $\Delta\alpha v\alpha\circ\hat{v}$  in Scholia minora (D) ad Il. 2.499 Bekker. (Incidentally, the name ' $A\mu\phi\iota\mu\epsilon\delta\omega v$  occurs twice on inscriptions from Thasos, a colony of Paros: IG XII.8 279.12 and 376.7).

ἐcθλῆς τε καὶ [cαόφρονος] | γυναικός scripsi: cf. Eur. Alc. 615f ἐcθλῆς . . . καὶ cώφρονος | γυναικός: [πεπνυμένης] Merkelbach: [μακαρτάτης] West: [cοφωτάτης] Snell: [περίφρονος] Page, all e.g. The fact that the poet addresses the desired girl by her mother's (instead of her father's) name, followed by complimentary epithets ("that noble and [chaste] lady"), may be due to the conventional motif: "such mother, such daughter." Cf. Eur. Andr. 623 ἐcθλῆς θυγατέρ' ἐκ μητρὸς λαβεῖν. Pl. Menex. 237 A6 ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν. Soph. Phil. 874 ἀλλ' εὐγενὴς γὰρ ἡ φύςις κάξ εὐγενῶν. Eur. fr.75.2 N.² ἐcθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐcθλὰ γίγνεςθαι τέκνα. Rhes. 388 χαῖρ', ἐcθλὸς ἐcθλοῦ παῖς. Heracl. 324f. Hor. Carm. 1.16.1 O matre pulchra filia pulchrior (and Nisbet-Hubbard ad loc.); 4.4.29 fortes creantur fortibus et bonis (and Keller-Holder ad loc.).

LINE 11.  $\mu$ ελανθ $\hat{\eta}$ [ι μοι γένυς] M–W. I think this is the most likely restoration in view of Od. 16.175 αψ δὲ  $\mu$ ελαγχροι $\hat{\eta}$ ς γένετο (sc. 'Οδυς-  $\epsilon$ εύς); Pl. Resp. 474Ε1  $\mu$ έλανας δὲ (sc.  $\phi$ ατὲ) ἀνδρικούς  $\hat{\iota}$ δε $\hat{\iota}$ ν. Cf. also

μελάμπυγος at, e.g., Archil. fr.178 West. I think the phrase means 'when my cheeks are sunburned, bronzed or tanned', which is a sign of full manliness, rather than 'when my chin grows dark with beard'. Both interpretations, however, are possible.

LINE 12.  $\dot{cv}$   $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} i$ : the fact that this phrase, implying 'with divine aid', along with the phrase in line 21,  $\dot{\epsilon}c$   $\kappa \delta \rho \alpha \kappa \alpha c$ , 'begone to destruction', are common only after the fifth century B.C. does not, I think, speak against Archilochus' authorship of the poem nor for attributing it, e.g., to the Anacreontea. As for the former phrase, cf. Il. 9.49  $\dot{cv}$   $\dot{v}$   $\dot{\alpha}$   $\dot{\rho}$   $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\dot{\omega}$   $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\dot{\epsilon}$ 

LINE 13.  $[\pi]$  είσομαι et  $[\phi]$  είσομαι J. R. Rea:  $[c\pi]$  είσομαι Merkelbach. κέλεαι; scripsi: κέλεαι· P, M–W.  $\epsilon$   $[\pi ο τρύνει δ' ϵρως] scripsi: <math>\epsilon$   $[\pi ο τρύνει πόθος] servato v.14 δ' L. Koenen: <math>\epsilon$   $[\chi ει M–W: \epsilon$   $[\rho ως W. D. Lebek.$ 

The way we restore this line seems to be the key to the understanding of the whole poem. There seem to be at least three possibilities:

- 1.  $[c\pi]$ είτομαι ὧς με κέλεαι· πολλόν  $\mu$ ' ἔ[ρως... [νπ' οφ[ρνας]
- 2.  $[\phi]$ είτομαι, ὧτ με κέλεαι, πολλόν μ' ἔ[χοντος ἱμέρου]]...ἱποφ[θάνειν]
- 3.  $[\pi]$ είτομαι ὧς με κέλεαι; πολλόν μ' έ $[\pi$ οτρύνει δ' ἔρως $]|\dots$ ύποφ $[\theta$ άνειν]
- 1. The first possibility was suggested by Merkelbach. By restoring [cπ]είcομαι he sees in the line a case for the rape (and, at the same time, for a pun as well). According to him, in the lost part of the poem the girl had suggested to Archilochus: "Let us make peace!" (cπειcώμεθα). To which he replies in line 13: "Yes, let us make peace, but in my own way: by pouring libation into your womb!" (cπείcομαι ὧc με κέλεαι): "Ich werde Frieden schliessen und die Opferflüssigkeit vergiessen—aber in deinen Schoss"; "Dem Mädchen, das (etwa) gesagt hatte 'cπειcώμεθα, wir wollen uns wieder vertragen', hat er geantwortet 'cπείcομαι, ja, aber nur sexuell'; die Versöhnung hat er weit von sich gewiesen" (pp.105, 113).

Accordingly, Merkelbach sees in Archilochus "an extreme psychopath" ("ein schwerer Psychopath"), interpreting the poem as describing Archilochus' own act of violence against the younger daughter of Lycambes. Archilochus did 'have' the girl, and he did so only to take vengeance on Lycambes and his older daughter Neobule: "Das erste der neuen Gedichte zeigt nun, dass Archilochos die Schwester der Neobule, die sichtlich noch ein Kind war, überwältigt hat, offenbar

nur um sich an Lykambes und Neobule zu rächen... Er hat rücksichtlos bekannt gemacht, dass er das Mädchen 'gehabt' hatte, um auf diese Weise die ganze Familie des Lykambes zu blamieren... So hat Archilochos den Lykambes und seine Töchter—die beide seine Geliebten gewesen waren und deren Jüngere ihm gar nichts getan hatte—in den Tod getrieben" (p.113). Merkelbach concludes his commentary on the poem by referring to Maximus of Tyre 18.9: τὸν δὲ ᾿Αρχιλόχου ἔρωτα, ὑβριστὴς γάρ, χαίρειν ἐῶ (p.111).

Fortunately enough, this interpretation of the poem (by itself unlikely to me) falls on palaeographical grounds: there is insufficient space on the papyrus to accommodate two letters at the beginning of line 13 (sigma and pi of  $[c\pi]\epsilon i co\mu\alpha i$ )—there is room for only one.

- 2. The second possibility (which was my first attempt to solve the problem) would yield this meaning: "I will spare you (i.e., your virginity), though an immense desire lays hold on me to come as first . . . through your portal." Archilochus honors the girl's virginity and eventually comes to his sexual satisfaction while 'lighting' upon her mons Veneris (cf.  $vv.15fc\chi\eta c\omega \gamma d\rho ec \pi o\eta [\phi o\rho ovc] | [\kappa] \eta \pi ovc)$  without deflowering her. The advantage of this interpretation seems to be that it goes well with the fact that the  $\delta\iota a\kappa \delta\rho\eta c\iota c$  is not mentioned in the description of the action itself (lines 28–35), the verb  $d\mu \phi a\phi do\mu a\iota$  in line 34 implying no more than 'to touch, feel or caress the body with hands'. But the disadvantages prevail. For one thing, the phrase of line 15:  $[\mu]\dot{\eta}\tau\iota \mu\dot{e}\gamma\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\phi\dot{\iota}\lambda\eta$ , remains unclear. "Do not begrudge me this, my darling!" What? Obviously, the penis immissio implied in the previous line.

The answer to this deliberative question is a 'No', implied by a lost δè ('but, however') at the end of the same line. And this 'No' depends on "the many forms of (sexual) pleasure which Aphrodite gives to young men apart from the marriage rite," mentioned in lines 9f. One such form, which "will do now," is the coitus interruptus, saving the girl from premarital pregnancy.

We can now better understand the words of line 15: "Do not begrudge me this, my darling," 'this' implying sexual intercourse. The poet-lover knows a special form of sexual pleasure. The  $\gamma \alpha \rho$  in line 15 is of importance: "For I shall end my journey by lighting upon your mons Veneris." That is why the girl should not object to the love-affair.

However, if we accept this restoration and interpretation, how can we explain the fact that the *coitus* is not explicitly mentioned in the description of the act itself in lines 28–35? I think by an old conventional device of the lyric poets: their description of the sexual act is discreet, selective and intentionally elliptic. Here are some examples. Theoc. *Id.* 2.140–43:

καὶ ταχὺ χρως ἐπὶ χρωτὶ πεπαίνετο, καὶ τὰ πρόςωπα θερμότερ' ἦς ἢ πρόςθε, καὶ ἐψιθυρίςδομες άδύ. ώς καί τοι μὴ μακρὰ φίλα θρυλέοιμι Σελάνα, ἐπράχθη τὰ μέγιςτα, καὶ ἐς πόθον ἤνθομες ἄμφω.

The same euphemistic device ("And to tell thee no long tale, dear Moon...") recurs in the Greek Anthology, 5.128 (Marcus Argentarius):

Στέρνα περὶ ττέρνοις, ματτῶι δ' ἐπὶ ματτὸν ἐρείτας χείλεά τε γλυκεροῖς χείλεςι τυμπιέτας 'Αντιγόνης καὶ χρῶτα λαβὼν πρὸς χρῶτα, τὰ λοιπὰ τιγῶ, μάρτυς ἐφ' οῖς λύχνος ἐπεγράφετο.

5.252.5f (Paulus Silentiarius):

cτήθεα δ' εζεύχθω τά τε χείλεα· τάλλα δε cιγηι κρυπτέον· εχθαίρω την άθυροςτομίην.

5.4.6 (Philodemus) ἦδη τῆς Παφίης ἵςθι τὰ λειπόμενα. 12.94.4 (Meleager) τὸν δὲ— τὸ λειπόμενον. Cf. Ov. Am. 1.5.23–25 singula quid referam?... cetera quis nescit? The same holds good for Ovid's description of loveaffairs in the Metamorphoses. Consequently, I would take the verb ἀμφαφάομαι in line 34 for a euphemism implying the sexual act. Πολλὸν is an adverb, as in line 23.

LINE 14.  $\tau$ ' scripsi:  $\delta$  P.  $\delta \pi o \phi [\theta \acute{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \iota \nu]$  as depending on the verb at the end of line 13, Marcovich:  $\delta \pi o \phi [\theta \acute{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \iota \nu]$  but as depending on  $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \alpha \iota \rho \epsilon$  in line 15, West:  $\delta \pi$ '  $\delta \phi [\rho \acute{\nu} \alpha c]$  et  $\delta \pi$ '  $\delta \phi [\rho \acute{\nu} c \iota \nu]$  Merkelbach.

Line 15. cχήcω . . . ec must mean 'I shall land on' (cf., e.g., Hdt. 6.92.1). Right are M-W: "landen bei; nautische Metapher." As a

matter of fact, if the man's sexual action is metaphorically envisaged as a 'rowing process' (cf. the expression  $K \dot{\nu} \pi \rho \iota \delta \delta c \epsilon i \rho \epsilon c i \eta$  at Meleager, Anth.Gr. 5.204.2;  $\pi \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \alpha$ , West, and  $\nu \alpha \nu c i \eta \iota$  at Semon. fr.7.54 West), then 'the final landing or lighting' must imply 'ejaculation', and this will take place upon the girl's mons Veneris. It seems clear to me that coitus interruptus is meant.  $\pi o \eta [\phi \dot{\rho} \rho o \nu c] M-W$ :  $\pi o \eta [\tau \rho \dot{\rho} \phi o \nu c]$  Snell.

LINE 17.  $\pi \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \rho \alpha$  'overripe' =  $\gamma \rho \alpha \hat{\iota} \alpha$  Hesych.; schol. in Ar. Eccl. 896. Cf. Anac. fr.432 Page; Theoc. Id. 7.120f:

καὶ δὴ μὰν ἀπίοιο πεπαίτερος, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες "αἰαῖ" φαντί "Φιλῖνε, τό τοι καλὸν ἔνθος ἀπορρεῖ"

a close parallel, adduced by J. Griffith.  $\delta[\dot{\eta} \pi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu] scripsi: \delta \dot{\eta} [\dot{\epsilon} c \tau' \ddot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \nu]$  Ebert and Luppe.

LINE 19. οὐκ [ἠρύκακεν] scripsi(cf. Od. 11.105 còν θυμὸν ἐρυκακέειν, 'to curb your desire'): οὐ κ[ατέςχε πω] M–W with reference to Solon fr.4.9 W. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίςτανται κατέχειν κόρον.

LINE 20.  $[\tilde{\alpha}\tau]\eta c$  Snell:  $[\tilde{\eta}\beta]\eta c$  Lebek:  $[\tilde{\alpha}c]\eta c$  Page:  $[\phi v]\hat{\eta}c$  Lloyd-Jones. As for the image of  $\tilde{\alpha}\tau\eta c$   $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho \alpha$ , 'the huge size or scope of her folly', cf.  $\mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda \eta$   $\tilde{\alpha}\tau \eta$  at Solon fr.13.68 W.; Soph. Trach. 851.

Line 22. [ $\delta$ ] $\pi\omega c$  Koenen.

LINE 23. [γεί]τοςι χάρμ' ἔςομαι: cf. Hes. Op. 701 μὴ γείτοςι χάρματα γήμηις (M–W). As for the expressional force of this hemiepes, cf. Hor. Epod. 11.8 fabula quanta fui. [φίλη] et [πάρος] M–W: "a proper name" Snell: [ἔχειν] Ebert and Luppe. Πολλὸν cè βούλομαι ('I prefer you'), cf. Il. 1.112f πολὺ βούλομαι αὐτὴν | οἴκοι ἔχειν.

LINE 24. [cù] μèν Lebek and West.

LINE 25. [ $\dot{\eta}$   $\delta$ ] $\dot{\epsilon}$  M-W.  $\mu\dot{\alpha}\lambda$ '  $\delta\xi\nu\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ : in view of the presence of such derogatory words as 'faithless' and 'double-dealing' or 'treacherous'

in the previous line, it seems preferable to take  $\partial \xi \nu \tau \epsilon \rho \eta$  to mean 'sharp'= 'cunning, shifty' than 'quick to anger' (=  $\partial \xi \nu \chi o \lambda o c$ , Solon fr.13.26), "allzu leidenschaftlich, allzu rasch" M–W. As for the use of the comparative  $\partial \xi \nu \tau \epsilon \rho \eta$  for  $\partial \xi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \alpha$ , cf. Theog. 366 (almost identical with 1030) West  $\kappa \alpha \rho \delta i \eta$   $\partial \xi \nu \tau \epsilon \rho \eta$ , in addition to the instances adduced by M–W.  $\tau \epsilon$  scripsi:  $\delta \epsilon$  P. [ $\phi i \lambda o \nu c$ ] M–W.

LINE 27. ἐπειγόμενος P, M–W: ἐπειγομένη M. Gronewald: ἐπειγομένο (ι)ς Koenen and M. Treu. κ[ύων τέκω] M–W: κ[ύων τέκηι] Gronewald, Koenen and Treu. τὼς ικαν ικαν: cf. line 31: τὼς ικαν εβρ[ὸς], and Archil. frs.224 (πτώς τους αν ικαν: cf. line 31: τὼς ικαν εκβρ[ὸς], and Archil. frs.224 (πτώς τους αν ικαν: cf. line 31: τὼς ικαν εκβρ[ὸς], and Archilochus with the meaning of 'beget, engender'. M. Gronewald, L. Koenen and M. Treu, however, restore [τέκηι] and refer it to Neobule with the meaning of 'bring forth, give birth to', trying to bring the text closer to the proverb hinted at by Archilochus: κύων τπεύδους α τυφλὰ τίκτει (ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ τπουδὴν ἀμαρτανόντων) Macarius 5.32 (CPG II, p.181); Aesopus 223 Perry= 251 Hausrath. I find the plural ἐπειγομένοις weak in sense (I would expect then ἐπειγομένωι), and the witness which Dioscorides put into the mouth of Lycambes' daughters (Anth.Gr. 7.351.7–10, adduced by M–W) most welcome:

'Αρχίλοχον, μὰ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας, οὖτ' ἐν ἀγυιαῖς εἴδομεν οὖθ' "Ηρης ἐν μεγάλωι τεμένει. εἰ δ' ἢμεν μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάςθαλοι, οὖκ αν ἐκεῖνος ἤθελεν ἐξ ἡμέων γνήςια τέκνα τεκεῖν.

LINE 28. ἐφώνευν P: ἐφώνεον M-W.

LINE 29.  $[\tau\eta\lambda]\epsilon\theta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\dot{\epsilon}c\iota$  M–W.  $\delta[\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\epsilon]$  scripsi:  $\delta[\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\nu]$  M–W.

LINE 30. [χλαί]νηι M-W with reference to Athen. 13, 604DE. ἀγκά-ληις 'M-W: αγκάλης P.

LINE 31. [δεί]ματι West: [τραύ]ματι, [cφάλ]ματι, [πτώ]ματι, [βλή]ματι all e.g. Merkelbach.  $\pi\alpha\nu$ [c]αμένης (to be taken with v.30 αὐχέν') scripsi:  $\pi\alpha\nu$ [c]αμένην P, M–W. τὼς ὧςτε νεβρ[ὸς πρὸς λύκον] coniecerim: τὼς ὧςτε νεβρ[ὸν ἐκ φυγῆς] West: νεβρ[ὸν εἰλόμην] Page: νέβρ[ιον τρέμειν] Koenen. As for the image of a fawn silent in fear, cf. Il. 4.243 τίφθ' οὕτως ἔςτητε τεθηπότες ἢΰτε νεβροί; Anac. fr.408 Page νεβρὸν . . . ὅς τ' ἐν ὕληι . . . ἐπτοήθη. Hor. Carm. 1.23 Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe . . . non sine vano . . . metu.

LINE 32.  $[\mu\alpha\zeta]\hat{\omega}\nu$  West:  $[\mu\eta\rho]\hat{\omega}\nu$  Merkelbach.

LINE 33.  $[\dot{\eta} \ \delta' \ \dot{\upsilon}\pi] \dot{\epsilon} \phi \eta \dot{\nu} \dot{\epsilon} \ scripsi$ :  $[\dot{\eta} \iota \ \pi \alpha] \rho \dot{\epsilon} \phi \eta \nu \epsilon \ \text{West:} ]. \dot{\epsilon} \phi \alpha \dot{\nu}$ . ( $\alpha \ \text{corr.} \ \text{in} \ \eta$ ) P.

LINE 34.  $[\mathring{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu \ \tau]\epsilon$  West:  $[\mathring{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\omega}\ \delta]\hat{\epsilon}$  Snell:  $[\mathring{\eta}\delta\eta\ \tau]\epsilon$  Koenen.  $\mathring{\alpha}\mu\phi\alpha\phi\dot{\omega}$ - $\mu\epsilon\nuo\epsilon$ : cf. ad line 13 supra.

LINE 35. [λευκ]ον Merkelbach, with reference to Anth.Gr. 5.55.7f:

μέχρις ἀπεςπείςθη λευκὸν μένος ἀμφοτέροιςιν, καὶ Δωρὶς παρέτοις έξεχύθη μέλεςι

and to Hes. Theog. 190f  $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \delta c \mid \dot{\alpha} \phi \rho \delta c : [\theta \epsilon \rho \mu] \delta \nu$  West. [ $\tau \rho \iota \chi \delta c \mid M-W$ . Most probably this 'fair hair' refers to the hair of the girl's head, not to her pubic hair, as M-W seem to take it in referring to line 16 [κ]ήπους.

## Conclusions

- 1. Since there is not sufficient space on the papyrus for Merkelbach's restoration of  $[c\pi]\epsilon ico\mu\alpha i$  in line 13, I think his interpretation of the whole poem as a hate story, as a vengeance of Archilochus against Lycambes and Neobule ("... offenbar nur um sich an Lykambes und Neobule zu rächen") must be discarded.
- 2. But if we read in line 13 [π]είcομαι ὧς με κέλεαι; ("Shall I hearken even as you bid me?"), while bearing in mind the phrase πείcομαι ὧς cờ (or ὧς με) κελεύεις (Iliad 23.96), then the way may be open for the interpretation of the poem as a love story instead. Archilochus falls in love with the younger daughter of Lycambes and Amphimedo (cf. perhaps Archilochus fr.38 West: οἴην Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέρην [sc., e.g., φιλέω], "I love only the younger daughter of Lycambes"), and he asks her to satisfy his sexual desire. He treats the girl as an 'honest woman' (ἐςθλὴ γυνή: cf. the commentary on line 7), and he claims to know a special form of sexual pleasure given to young men by Aphrodite. This form seems to be coitus interruptus, which will save the girl from premarital pregnancy. The lover will 'light' upon the girl's mons Veneris (v.15f. cχήςω γὰρ ἐς . . . κήπους). Consequently, Archilochus does show certain consideration for the beloved girl.
- 3. The description of the sexual act itself in lines 28–35 is selective and euphemistic, due to a conventional device of Greek lyric poets (cf. point 3 of the commentary on line 13).