Introducing P. Oxy. 2289, Edgar Lobel wrote in 1951 of the then ‘new’ Sappho papyrus: ‘It cannot be said to add much to our knowledge and in two places it brings new darkness.’ Little could he have foreseen that it would overlap with and identify two previously unknown poems and related fragments of Sappho published last year.¹ I begin by summarizing a report about to appear in ZPE (Obbink 2015) documenting the source of the new fragments and their conservation. I then show how the content and authorship of the fragments were established, and how analyzing the make-up of the papyrus roll yields a strategy for reconstructing its more fragmentary portions.

All of the fragments are written in the same bookhand and formed part of the same papyrus roll. The fragments would have been part of a critical edition of Sappho book 1 produced at Alexandria. Its columns (in total about 45, containing 330 Sapphic stanzas,² at least 50-some poems indexed by first letter of incipit) would have been about the height of an octavo book and about the width of your hand. It is likely that the roll was at some point taken to the Fayum. Although papyrus rolls did not have particularly great longevity, this one lasted long enough to be damaged and repaired,³ before eventually being recycled as some type of cartonnage—a common practice.

As reported and documented by the London owner of the ‘Brothers’ and ‘Kypris Poems’ fragment, all of the fragments were recovered from a
fragment of papyrus cartonnage formerly in the collection of David M. Robinson and subsequently bequeathed to the Library of the University of Mississippi. The Library later de-accessed it in order to purchase Faulkner materials. It was one of two pieces flat inside a sub-folder (folder ‘E3’) inside a main folder (labelled ‘Papyri Fragments; Gk.’), one of 59 packets of papyri fragments sold at auction at Christie’s in London in November 2011. They contained texts ranging from the 2nd to the 4th century AD, probably originally from the Arsinoite nome where many of Robinson’s other papyri were purchased or originated. The collection was documented by William H. Willis in a 1961 article, in which the folder labeled ‘Papyri Fragments; Gk.’ (and folders numbered ‘E1’ to ‘E12’ within it) are part of the ‘third group’ of Robinson Papyri described by Willis. The ‘Egyptian dealer’ from whom Robinson, then a professor at the University of Mississippi, acquired the papyri 1954 is now known to have been Sultan Maguid Sameda of the Art Gallery Maguid Sameda, 55 Gambhouria Street in Cairo. Other papyri, both literary and documentary are now either in or have sister pieces in several US and European collections (due to de-accession by Mississippi or through original acquisition from the same dealer), among them Duke, Cologne, the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and the Bodmer Foundation, Geneva. Their dispersal has been documented in a fascinating study by James Robinson.

The layers of the cartonnage fragment, a thin flat compressed mass of papyrus fragments, were separated by the owner and his staff by dissolving in a warm-water solution. The owner originally believed that he had dissolved a piece of ‘mummy’ cartonnage, as I reported in TLS. But this turned out upon closer inspection of the original papyri not to be the case: none of the fragments showed any trace of gesso or paint prior to dissolving or after. This is also consistent with the date of the papyri: apart from the Sappho fragments (late second/early third centuries AD, on the basis of handwriting, comparable to that of a papyrus of Julius Africanus’ Kestoi, which was not composed before 227 AD), several other fragments were recovered: one with several letters of 3rd century Greek documentary script and another fragment with a seven-line text, probably part of 3rd century accounts in a different
hand. The piece of cartonnage into which the main fragment containing the ‘Brothers’ and ‘Kypris Poems’ was enfolded (bottom to top, along still visible horizontal fold-lines, with the written side facing outwards) was probably domestic or industrial cartonnage: it might have been employed e.g. for a book-cover or book-binding. A group of twenty-some smaller fragments extracted from this piece, being not easily identified or re-joined, were deemed insignificant and so traded independently on the London market by the owner, and made their way from the same source into the Green Collection in Oklahoma City.

Neither the larger piece containing the ‘Brothers’ and ‘Kypris Poems’, nor the group of smaller fragments in the Green Collection, had to be authenticated as such by the editors, since they were already authenticated as part of an existing collection once in the public domain. The content and text of the new fragments, however, did have to be authenticated, as well as their order reconstructed. The 20-some smaller fragments, many overlapping with a number already known poems of Sappho, were re-joined with one another by Simon Burris, Jeffrey Fish, and myself (with textual suggestions from Joel Lidov) into three main ensembles: Sappho fragments 9, frr. 16-17, and frr. 18 + 5 (plus one unplaced fragment). The three ensembles fell predictably their into position in the original roll, following the consecutive sequence of poems in P. Oxy. 1231 (and, for fragment 5, P. Oxy. 7). On the basis of the reconstructed length of the kollema (the original sheets in the papyrus roll), we hypothesised that the larger fragment containing the ‘Brothers’ and ‘Kypris Poems’ (which shows the right edge of a kollesis i.e. sheet-join), could have followed after the column containing fragment 5, with only one column intervening—at the nearest point.

Only the fragments overlapping with Sappho fragment 9 did not seem to fit physically or textually into this sequence. M. L. West (2014, 7) posited on grounds of economy that it should be placed in the missing column between fragment 5 and the ‘Brothers Poem’—certainly a possible placement according to surface quality and fiber continuities: after 9 lines there is a horizontal break at the same level on both pieces. Also, there is damage in
the top margin of the ‘Brothers Poem’ that looks to be the same height as the top margin of fragment 9 in P. GC inv. 105. If this is correct, the fragments taken together preserve (in part) a run of six consecutive columns, or a little more than one eighth of the whole of book 1 of Sappho.

For fragments 16A and 17, the new fragments supply line-ends to previously known line-beginnings, confirmed by sense and continuity of fibers. For fragment 18, attested by no other witness, a vertical join between the pieces containing fragment 18 and 18A + 5 is proved only by continuity of fibers. But here fragment 5, following 18A on the same piece, for the first time reveals its incipit: Πότνια Νηρῇδες, ‘Queen Nereïdes’, thus confirming its placement at this point in the expected alphabetic sequence of poems by first letter of incipit revealed by the new fragments.

The ‘Brothers’ and ‘Kypris Poems’ were more elusive. Identification as Sapphic was made on the basis of the meter, dialect, poetic language, and the names of Charaxos and Larichos. But early reactions from even some erudite scholars publicly condemned the texts as ‘a playful modern exercise’ or as ‘frigid juvenilia’. Mary Beard wrote to Martin West for confirmation before the TLS article appeared. Here is what he replied: ‘My initial impression was that it was very poor stuff, and linguistically problematic. But the more I look at it, the more OK it seems. It’s certainly not one of her best, but it has her DNA all over it.’

Further confirmation came from the overlap between two separate Oxyrhynchus papyri of Sappho (P. Oxy. 2289 and 1231) and the beginning and end of the ‘Brothers’ and ‘Kypris Poems’ (extending them by 8 more lines), and from an important intertext in Horace’s ‘Soracte ode’. Because of the overlap at the beginning of the ‘Brothers Poem’, we now need to increase the lines of the text of the ‘Brothers Poem’ by four. At least one stanza preceded, of which we have remnants in the first two lines of P. Oxy. 2289. Line-numbering of the ‘Brothers Poem’ should have begun with the first known fragmentary verse, so that verses of the opening stanza stand in continuing lineation with the rest. A concordance of the old and new numerations is given on the handout, and I cite the ‘Brothers Poem’ in what
follows by the new, ‘+ 4’, line-numbers. (Note that this does not affect the line-numbers of the ‘Kypris Poem’, since its opening line is preserved in the papyrus.)

The first lines of the first stanza of the ‘Brothers Poem’ are not entirely unknown to us—we at least know that its first word began with the letter Π. Thus we have a skeleton outline of the poem’s opening stanza, as follows:

1  \( \odot [\Pi]} \)
2  [--- ]
3  \[...\] λ\( \alpha \)
4  \[\vdash \vdash \] ε\( \epsilon \). μ\( \alpha \) [ - .
5  \[ - \] ἀλλ‘ ἄι θρύλης\( \theta \) Χάραξον ἔλθην κτλ.

In lines 5 and following, the speaker (presumably Sappho) addresses someone, and criticizes this person for ‘always chattering about Charaxos’ coming’, and not trusting in what Zeus and the other gods know. She states her duty to undertake to pray to queen Hera for a safe return for Charaxos, piloting his boat, to find ‘us’ safe and sound. ‘Everything else may be left to the gods: fair weather comes of a sudden out of a great storm’ (taken up by Horace at Odes 1.9.9-12). Those favored by Zeus get a special helping daimon to release them from their troubles and so become completely happy and blessed. The poem closes with well-wishing for brother Larichos to ‘raise up his head’ and become an ἀνήρ, and so ‘release us from heavy despondency’. The ‘Brothers Poem’ is then followed in the papyrus by another poem addressed to ‘Kypris’ on recurrent symptoms of suffering in love.²⁰

The new fragments show conclusively the alternation in book 1 of poems about family and cult, on the one hand, and personal concerns about love on the other. A cycle of poems concerning sea-faring is revealed, centering on the drama of a mercantile family of wine-traders on 7th century Lesbos. The presence of Dionysus in the trinity of gods in the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Mesa on the island is explained, and the whole complex of love, sea-faring, wine, and trade falls neatly into the context of Herodotus’ story
(2.135) of how Sappho’s brother Charaxos spent a great deal of money’
(χρημάτων μεγάλων) to free his lover the courtesan Rhodopis (aka Doricha),
then a slave at Naucratis in Egypt—for which Herodotus claims a pedigree in
a poem of Sappho’s. In fragments 5 and 17 and now the ‘Brothers Poem’ we
can see the existence of a song type, a prayer for the safe return of the
merchant-gone-to-sea (or going). The prayer may rehearse an occasion
leading to the performance of a song (as in the ‘Brothers Poem’), or its actual
performance in the past or present (as in fragment 5). The prayer for safe
return, introduced as a matter of concern, then expands to envisage what
such a return would mean for the family—wealth, and an enhanced social
position in the community. A further connection with the poems involving
Aphrodite (who dominates book 1 but is virtually missing elsewhere) is
suggested, since she is also typically invoked in seaside cult as a protectress
of sailors (as we can see at the end of fragment 5, perhaps associated with
prostitutes and hetairae frequented by Charaxos).

In the ‘Brothers Poem’, Aphrodite doesn’t appear. Instead we are told
that Zeus, if he wills it, sends a special divinity as ‘helper’, ἐπάρωγον, to turn
the distressed from their troubles. M. L. West proposed to emend ἐπάρωγον to
ἐπ’ ἀρην, ‘for the better’ (taking δαίμον(α) in the sense of ‘one’s fortune’).
Fortunately, this crux has now been resolved. Albert Henrichs pointed out
that βασιλεύς Ὀλύμπω in 17 is in fact an extremely rare locution: a βασιλεύς
‘of Olympus’ is mentioned nowhere earlier than Sappho in the present
passage; and it occurs nowhere afterwards until Theocritus in his hymn (17)
to Ptolemy II, in which in the closing climax, Zeus and Hera (in positive
comparison with Ptolemy II and his wife Berenike) are styled as βασιλῆς Ὀλύμπω
(17.132). In the same lines, Theocritus praises Ptolemy for having
founded shrines (17.123 ναοῦς) to his mother and father (Ptolemy Soter) that
are ‘succouring’: ἓρμητα πάντεσσιν ἐπίθεκον οἰκίσσιν ἀρωγοῦς (17.125). Given the
rarity of the phrasing, and the linking of Zeus and Hera with the same title
(βασιλῆς in both passages), Theocritus’ allusion would appear to vindicate
ἐπάρωγον as an attested ancient reading in the ‘Brothers Poem’.
The linkage of Zeus and Hera, together with Charaxos’ wine trading and Larichos’ wine pouring, points further in the direction of Dionysus, as the third of the Lesbian trinity of deities in the Pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Mesa.\textsuperscript{26} We can glimpse him, thinly veiled, as the unnamed protective daimon of line 18, in the context of blessed sympotic mysteries outside of which it would be sacrilege, or perhaps improper for a female poet, to name him. He confers the supreme status of the initiate: 19-20 μάκαρες πέλονταί / καὶ πολύστοι.

The implied presence of Dionysus leads us back to the question of the addressee in line 5. To whom is the first complete line of the ‘Brothers Poem’ addressed, and how did the poem begin? I think there are only two possibilities: Doricha/Rhodopis:\textsuperscript{27} Who ever stood a greater chance to benefit from Charaxos arriving with a full ship? But this would raise serious questions about her location at the time Sappho addresses her in the poem.\textsuperscript{28} Second is Sappho’s mother, as I argued in Obbink 2014. She would have had a natural inclination to be concerned about both her son and the family’s fortunes. She is at least addressed elsewhere in Sappho’s poetry.

On this basis of the preserved traces, West further plausibly conjectures that the final adonian of the first stanza (P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 line 2) ended with the words ςɛ, μἄ[τερ].\textsuperscript{29} It may be suggested (purely exempli gratia, but not without some support—see below) that the first line of the stanza similarly contained the word πάτηρ, as follows:

1  Θ [Πάτρος (e.g. ἀμμέιων . . .)
2  [...]  
3  [ε. ω.] Α[ρχ-
4  [...]  ε, μᾶ[τερ.
5  [αλλʼ ἐν θρύληθα Χάραξον ἐλθην κτλ.

That Sappho mentioned her father (by name) in her poetry is known from references to him in Herodotus and ancient biographers.\textsuperscript{30} The specificity of one distich in Ovid’s Heroides (15.61-2) has led editors to infer an origin in her own poetry.\textsuperscript{31}
sex mihi natales ierant, cum lecta parentis
ante diem lacrimas ossa bibere meas.

This distich introduces the section on Sappho’s family and especially Charaxos that runs from 61-70, after which she turns to Phaon at 71 and Charaxos is only vaguely alluded to (though named at 117-18). I suggest that the 'Brothers Poem' might have begun with a recollection of this sort. Such a chronology could account for how Sappho could have been young enough to have addressed her mother about her brothers, at a time when her younger brother was still young enough for his fortunes to be entirely uncertain.

Also missing from the opening, I think, must be something about Larichos (the name restorable in line 3). Otherwise, he comes out of the blue at the end. Mention of him here, as a matter of concern or honor, will have formed a thematic frame with the end. We do not know what she said about him. But we are not without a clue. Horace alludes to Larichos in the person of Thalaiarchos, the addressee of Odes 1.9, as Gregory Hutchinson has shown, as a puer who is also present at a symposium and exhorted to drink and not neglect love. Sappho will not have included the exhortation to drink, but the context of Alcaeus fragment 338 might well have been suggested to Horace (who had Sappho’s poem in front of him) by Sappho’s praise for Larichos as serving the city’s elite as οἶνοχοῦν in the prytaneion of Mytilene. She may have also introduced an erotic or sensual element, out of fondness for her brother, as something similarly associated with the presence of attractive young boys at the banquets in the prytaneion and the male symposia that followed, saying something like: ‘Now he will (have to) box with Eros’, or ‘Now they will find Eros a tough opponent’—a topos familiar from Anacreon. This would explain the odd exhortation to Larichos later in the poem at line 21, to κεφάλαν ἄρρητα, ‘raise his head up’. In fr. 346 Anacreon speaks of ἵνορέω τε κάνακκυπτω, ‘I look up and hold my head up’ after ‘boxing with a difficult partner’, Eros. At the same time it would provide a plausible precedent for Horace’s advice to his addressee,
Thaliarchos. The sequence of thought, as suggested above, would be as follows:

⊗

"[When I was six years old, our] father’s ashes drank my tears before their time;
[now we must honor fair] La[richos, οἰονοῦ ὦν at elite banquets:]
[with him, Eros wears boxing gloves (vel. sim.)—and] you [should celebrate him,]
[too,] Mo[ther];

but you whine on endlessly about Charaxos coming", etc. [’Brothers Poem’ line 5]

The boat and weather imagery that follows in the ‘Brothers Poem’ is easily read as part of repertoire for thinking about the symposium. Horace’s ‘Soracte ode’ will have been a creative rethinking of the ‘Brothers Poem’, answering a Sapphic intertext with one from Alcaeus (fr. 338), and envisaging what he (or a symposiast) might have addressed the young Larichos from Sappho’s poem at the prospective banquet. Wine = Dionysus (the ‘helping daimon’) may also be hinted at in the poem as the antidote for Charaxos’ love-troubles37—or so Horace might have read Sappho’s poem allegorically.

But how to integrate this into the rest of the poem? It makes the context of the two lines not totally sympotic (for Sappho will not have mentioned the symposium), but at any rate convivial. The boxing lover is embroiled with (not frugally avoiding) boys or courtesans, who are not, after all, potential spouses. One would have to infer from this image of the convivial life the social standing that would ‘free us from sorrows’ required for the last two lines despite the complete change of tone and substance. It also depends of course on an idea of eroticism (hardly absent in Sappho) from the start.

But this is in fact what the poem goes on to do: the speaker contrasts the addressee’s doldrums over the errant brother, with a correlative response: while young Larichos is teased about having it off with the aristocrats (into whose families he might marry, or from whom he could expect an introduction into elite society), Sappho bids her addressee engagement in a parallel celebration at a festival, including the performance
of a prayer or hymn and the enactment of a rite. The uncertainty of events is balanced off against trusting in the gods’ fore-knowledge of events, leading (Zeus willing) to blessed prosperity in this life or the next. βαρπθυμίαν in ‘Brothers Poem’ 23 may thus have an ironic or mocking tone, comparable to the reference to her βάρυς δὲ μ’ ὑμοιος in the ‘Tithonos Poem’ (P. Köln XI 429 poem 2 line 5). In this way, the ‘Brothers Poem’ would have a subtle but justifiably jubilant up-turn at the conclusion, after coping with dire circumstances, paralleled in a number of her other poems’ endings.38

Bibliography:


Notes:

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1 See handout no. 1; images 1-3. Obbink 2014; Burris-Fish-Obbink 2014.

2 Based on the line-count (1,320 stichoi) that appears at the end of the roll containing P. Oxy. 1231. (At least) ‘Fifty-some poems’ assumes an average of seven stanzas per poem (the maximum known for any poem of Sappho’s: fr. 1)—but many will have had fewer.


4 Handout no. 2. The collection contained other papyri derived from mummy cartonnage, and the fragments were simultaneously dissolved with a painted fragment of an earlier mummy cartonnage panel.

5 Willis 1961, 381-2. Other fragments described as part of Christie’s 28 November 2011, lot 1 were also among this group: P. Rob. inv. 22 (a receipt for a wheat transaction, ΚΟΙΝΩΤΟΣ[ΓΕΩΝ], from Bakchias: in folder ‘9’) and parts of the extensive 2nd century Sitologoi report from Theadelphia (shown in the plate in Christie’s 2011, 2—explicitly designated ‘P. Rob.’, but without inventory number; an additional piece of this was in folder ‘E12’), together with several fragments from cartonnage showing traces of painted gesso.

6 Handout no. 3. Robinson 2011, esp. p. 83 with n. 3 on Maguid Sameda, his son Sultan, and Willis’ ‘third group’ of Robinson papyri.

7 February 5, 2014 p. 15.
8 Image 5: P. Oxy. 412, with which the new papyrus shares the amount of thickening (‘shading’) of horizontal strokes in what is otherwise a fairly round hand. Unlike P. Oxy. 412, the new papyrus also exhibits an habitual hook over apex of delta, observable in Roman period hands starting only in the third century AD, and omega written in a contrastive manner, i.e. raised in the line, and thus squeezed vertically while maintaining normal width, but also written in two separate lobes with a doubling of the vertical stroke in the middle—the latter characteristic identified as a feature of development of the Biblical Majuscule in the third century AD by G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence 1967).


10 Image 7: Sapph. fr 5 with P. GC. inv. 105 fragment superimposed at point of overlap: arrow pointing to new reading of beginning of line 1, Πότνιαι.

11 Image 8: original position of the fragments in the roll, with the exception of the unplaced Sapph. fr. 9 (= P. GC. inv. 105 fr. 1) separated here at the far left; it is probably to be placed at column after the one at far right; and Brothers/Kypris poems to the right of that. Also unplaced: P. GC. inv. 105 fr. 4 at bottom.

12 Image 9: Sapph. fr. 9 (left) and Brothers/Kypris poems (right).

13 Image 10: matching horizontal fibers confirming vertical join between halves of P. CG Inv. 105 fr. 3 cols. i-ii, with piece of unremoved cartonnage (in black and white). Image 11: close-up showing continuities of dark horizontal fibers, marked by arrows, continuing across the vertical join.

14 Handout no. 5. Or, as West (2014, 5) has proposed to emend, Πότνιαι. Νηρήωσε. Jurenka had already proposed Πότνιαι (acknowledged by West) with reference to Pi. N. 5.36 (recorded in Voigt’s apparatus). West adds Pi. P. 11.2, but in neither case are these invocations/prayers, but mythological/genealogical narrations (perhaps playing off the similar sounding cult title). Cf. Sapph. fr. 17.2 πότνια Ἦρα; ‘Brothers Poem’ 10 βακίλην Ἦραν; ‘Kypris Poem’ 2 Κύπρι, δέκποιν. West (ibid.) writes that πότνιαι, ‘a common title of individual goddesses, suggests an august status that we do not associate with the Nereids as a collectivity’. But Ferrari (2014, 7-8) makes the case for Πότνιαι forcefully: ‘Elsewhere πότνιαι is said of the Eumenides (Soph.
OC 84), Demeter and Kore (*ibid.* 1050, Aristoph. *Th.* 1049), the Moirae (*ibid.* 700), but the Genetyllidae of Aristoph. *Th.* 1049, 1050, Aristoph. *Th.* 130 are also nymphs, and Thetis is indicated as πότνια μήτηρ in *Hom.* *Il.* 18.35.’

Alphabetic arrangement: Obbink 2014, 35 n.6; West 2014, 1-2 with nn.3-4; glimpsed already by A. S. Hunt, P. Oxy. X 1231 intro p. 21, and affirmed by E. Lobel, *Cασπροδότης μέλη* (Oxford 1925) xv, 4-6, with his supplement (of a letter-space left blank) at Sapph. fr. 18.1 (Π)ανί, though subsequently largely ignored; Lobel also argues (p. xv) that it was applied to the other books of Sappho, though (p. xvi) not to Alcaeus. The arrangement is paralleled by the alphabetic ordering of the hypotheses of Greek dramas in the papyri, insofar as this is by first letter of the title of the play, the first word in the hypothesis entry (perhaps following alphabetized catalogues of the plays?): M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers’ Digtats: Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden 1998) 2-4 with nn. 8, 13. It is uncertain whether an alphabetic arrangement of the poems in Sappho book 1 could have descended from an edition as early as the Alexandrian editors: J. Rusten, ‘Dichaearchus and the Tales from Euripides’, *GRBS* 23 (1982) 357-67 at 357-8, 363-4 disputed whether the alphabetic arrangement of the dramatic hypotheses could have gone as far back as the time the Alexandrian editors or even of Dichaearchus, but this is affirmed by van Rossum Steenbeek op. cit. p. 3. P. Lond. Lit. 132 + St John’s College, Cambridge inv. Aa 5.1 Ardenianus (T. Morgan, *ZPE* 123 (1998) 75-7) has speeches of Hyperides ordered alphabetically by incipit. In Sappho book 1, exception must be made for Sapph. fr. 1, introducing book 1, out of alphabetic sequence (beginning i.e. with π-, rather than with α-), for which comparison may be made with the initial placement of Pi. O. 1, a monumental ode for an important person, outside the arrangement (otherwise followed in the books of Pindar’s epinicians) by importance of competitive event. The only other apparent exception in Sappho book 1 is fr. 6 (P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1.7) where a poem starts with sigma, Cτεῖχι, and the coronis is clearly visible. E. Lobel (ap. P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1) read traces in the margin three lines above this incipit as a stichometric epsilon, i.e. line 500 of Book 1, which had in total 1320 lines (based on entry after P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 56 = Sapph. fr. 30). It would be hard to believe that poems beginning in c through ω occupied 820 of the 1320 verses. West offers two explanations: either ‘that the letter is not stichometric, or that the poem was placed out of order to associate it with another of similar content’. But Lobel’s stichometric epsilon cannot be correct: it would mean that the line so marked (Sapph. fr. 6.4 κταξί) was verse 500, and should therefore be the last line of the 125th stanza in book 1—whereas two more verses follow before the coronis that marks the beginning of the new poem (Sapph. fr. 6) beginning Cτεῖχι. Scribes or a diathortes might have
miscounted *stichoi*, or verses could have been omitted in copying. But Lobel (P. Oxy. XXI p. 4) allows, however, that the top and bottom pieces of P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 1 might not in fact join without an interval (if the epsilon is correctly read, the arithmetic could show that they did not), and there are other, contrary indications: the putative epsilon is too high relative to the line: it is actually placed evenly between Sapph. fr. 6.3 and 6.4. The marginal ink traces in question are possibly an intrusive epsilon from a long line extending over from the preceding column originally to the left, or (assuming the top and bottom pieces do actually physically touch) part of the spirals from the very top of the coronis two lines below. There is therefore no indication that in book 1 any poem was ‘placed out of order to associate it with another of similar content’.

16 E-mail from M. L. West to Mary Beard (3 February 2014).

17 A further stanza also could have preceded (Obbink 2014, 34; West 2014, 7-8), thus bringing the number of stanzas up to the maximum (7) attested for any poem in Sappho book 1 (Sapph. fr. 1)—but there is no evidence that it did, whereas the overlap of P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 is hard evidence for at least one stanza. As suggested above, Sapph. fr. 9 will have occupied at least the first 20 lines of the column (of c.30 lines) before the ‘Brothers Poem’ began. But we do not know where Sapph. fr. 9 ended.

18 Image 12. P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 with line 1 of main new fragment indicated, beginning α]λλαί[, i.e. ἀ]λλα[ ἄι [ (‘Brothers Poem’ line 5). Image 13: P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 superimposed at point of overlap on ‘Brothers Poem’.

19 Handout no. 7.

20 Image 14. A number of these symptoms are paralleled in other fragments of Sappho and later allusions (see Neri-Citti 2005): nausea, trembling (‘Kypris Poem’ 1, 5); cf. cutting (ibid. 5), perhaps also: biting (West 2014, 11-12).

21 West 2014, 9: ‘Those whose fortune the ruler of Olympus chooses to turn around from hardship for the better, they become . . .’: ἐπάρωγον post corr.: ἐπάρηγον ante corr.: ἐπ’ ἄρην West 2014, 9: ἐπ’ ἄρην’ sc. δαίμον(α)

Liberman 2014, 9. Eur. *Hec.* 163-4 (lyrics) ποῦ δὴ εὐθῶς: ποῦ τις θεῶν ἡ δαίμον ἐπαρωγός may give a parallel for the variant ἐπάρωγον recorded in the papyrus (Obbink 2014, 44) and, if not actually an intertextual allusion to this verse of the ‘Brothers Poem’, shows at least that the expression was a conceivable one in lyric poetry of the fifth century.


24 βασιλεὺς Ἡραν at ‘Brothers Poem’ 10 is obviously connected with 17 βασιλεῦς Ὀλύμπω, especially given the attested connections of this epithet
with Hera in the Lesbian sanctuary of the three gods at Mesa (as observed by Ferrari 2014, 3: mention of Hera in the marginal scholium ad v. 15 in P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. i to τὴν Ἡρας, referring to τείχος βασιλήιον in the text, placed between Alc. frr. 129 and 130b, two passages both set in the Pan-Leban sanctuary at Mesa), and the βασιλὴιον at Sapph. fr. 17.4, where Hera is styled πότνι(α) in line 2 (cf. Sapph. fr. 5.1 πότνιαι Νηρήιδες; ‘Kypris Poem’ 2 Κύπρι, δέετοι’). Theocritus 17.132 βασιλὴιας Ὀλυμπου seems to draw attention to the link. A related precursor may be Phoronis F 4.1 Bernabé Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης; cf. Pind. Pae. *21.11 ἵνα ἤ βασιλεῖαν Ὀλυμπ[ιόν] / νύμφαν ἀριστόποιο[ν].

25 Observed by Renate Schlesier (private communication). Theocritus has slightly altered the epithet to ἀρωγοῦς at 17.125, which is generally recognized (e.g. by Gow in his commentary ad loc.) to be a transferred epithet synonymous with Σωτήρας, i.e. the title conferred upon Ptolemy I already in his own lifetime, and which became part of the basis for his worship with divine honors. Positing ἐπὶ ἀρωγοῦν here—with ἐπὶ as a post-positive preposition, i.e. δαίμον᾽ . . . ἐπὶ ἀρωγοῦν (cf. 6 ναῦ κόν πλήσι) is tempting: taking it with ἐκ πόνων, cf. Il. 4.205 ἐπὶ γενέσει πάτηρ Ζεὺς ἔκειτ’ ἀρωγὸς; Pi. P. 1.70, exhorting Hieron in a prayer to δαίμον γεροίον τράποι κύμφοιον ἐς ἀκυύχιαν, ‘turn the citizens to harmonious peace through ruling them’ which offers a parallel with τρέπειν and a prepositional phrase. But this would leave ἐκ πόνων awkwardly marooned in between. ἀρωγῶς is familiar from Homer, but appears in lyric before tragedy only once (Pi. O. 2.45 Θέρεσανδρος . . . Αδρακτίδαν θάλος ἀρωγῶν δόμοις); ἐπαρωγῶς is not otherwise in early lyric or Pindar, and appears only once in Homer, at Od. 11.498 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπαρωγός ὑπ᾽ αὐγάτας ἥελιοιο; then Eur. Hec. 164 (quoted above); frequently in A.R. e.g. 4.196; Antip. AP 6.219.21; Q.S. 3.121.

26 Image 15: sanctuary of the three gods at Mesa.

27 Image 16.

28 Image 17: Naukratis (D. G. Hogarth’s plan).

29 West 2014, 14 (the pronoun cē guaranteed by the presence of the accent in the papyrus, as it is at Sapph. fr. 17.10 and ‘Kypris Poem’ = Sapph. fr. 26.9). He notes that the space before cē ‘seems impossibly narrow to accommodate two syllables, and if there was only one the alpha has to be short’. But a narrow word like ἵπα at the beginning of the adonian (originally restored by West, Maia 22 (1970) 327 = Hellenica II 49 in the same position in Sapph. fr. 17.20, cf. id. 2014, 5) e.g. 3-4 [ἐκ ἵπα] cē, μᾶ[τερ.], ‘for/to/in rites’ (of or celebrating Larichos?), or a similarly narrow word or words consisting of a long followed by a short syllable, including the possible run-over of a word beginning in verse 3 (frequent in the adonian: Sapph. fr. 1.12, 2.4, 5.16 & probably 20, 16.4 & 16, 16A.32, 30.5, 31.4, 8 & 12) and divided disyllabically
as at 39.2-3 Λύδιον—would suit to fill the space of two (or at most three narrow) letters allowed. This, of course, in no way proves that μα[τερ] is the correct restoration, only that it is a possible one.

30 (i) Σκομπανδρόνυμος or (ii) Σκόμπανδρος: (i) Herodotus 2.135 (Charaxos son of Scamandronymos); Suda σ 107 (iv 322f. Adler) (cf. Σ Plat. Phdr. 235c; Tz. Prol. De com. Gr. 2.8); Ael. V. H. 12.19 (p. 135 Dilts); (i) or (ii): P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1.1-35 = Sapph. T 252 Voigt = Chamael. 29 3T CPF (vol. I 1* pp. 406-9); H. Jacobson, Ovid’s Heroides (Princeton 1974) 279-80. Κάμων (one of the variants at Suda σ 107 = iv 322f. Adler) is a hypochoristic form of the name. Connections of the name to the geography of the Troad and poetry about the Trojan war, and/or to Lesbian engagement in the Battle of Sigeum (cf. Alc. fr. 401 B Voigt), may be relevant to Sapph. frs. 16-17 and 44 (among others).

31 Handout no. 10. ‘The information is so specific that it probably derives from some statement in her poetry’: P. E. Knox, Ovid Heroides: Select Epistles (Cambridge 1995) 291 on Her. 15.61 sex mihi natales ierant, noting that the expression is unusual for ‘my sixth birthday had passed’, and that Ovid normally forms it with ago or adesse (Met. 2.497 natalibus actis, 13.753 and Met. 9.285 cum iam natalis adesses, Trist. 3.13.2). The latter consideration may be as relevant for inferring an earlier intertext as for establishing the authorship of Her. 15.

32 Handout no. 11. G. O. Hutchinson in Phillips 2014, 288-9, noting inter alia that θωλία has been imported from Sapph. P. Köln XI 429 Poem 1.6-7.

33 Sapph. T 204 V.: Athen. 10.435a Σαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπαινε ὡς οἰνοχούντα ἐν τῷ πρωτανείῳ τοῦς Μυτιληναίους; Eust. 1205.17ff Σαπφώ δὲ ἡ καλὴ τὸν Ἐρμήν οἰνοχοεῖν φησὶ θεοῖς [= Sapph. fr. 141 test. V.] . . . ἡ δ’ αὐτή Σαπφώ καὶ τὸν Λάριχον ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἔπαινε ὡς οἰνοχούντα ἐν τῷ πρωτανειῷ τῆς Μυτιλήνης; Schol. T Y 234 ἔθος γὰρ ἤν, ὡς καὶ Σαπφῷ φησί, νέους εὐγενεῖς εὐπρεπεῖς οἰνοχοεῖν.

34 According to P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1.1-35 = Sapph. T 252 Voigt = Chamael. 29 3T CPF (vol. I 1* pp. 406-9) Saphho τὸν δὲ Λάριχον (νέον) ὄντα μᾶλλον ἡγάπησεν. ‘Brothers Poem’ 22 Λάριχος καὶ δὴ ποτ’ ἄνηρ γένηται now confirms the correctness of Hunt’s supplement (νέον) as the missing adjective before ὄντα (as noted by Liberman 2014, 3).

35 ‘The proposal to fight heightens the tension of eros’ (P. J. Parsons, private communication). It feigns resistance, as it acknowledges risk (Larichos could get hurt). For the image: Anacreon fr. 396 PMG φέρ’ ὑδαρ. φέρ’ οἶνον, ὡς παῖ. φέρε (δ’) ἀνθεμόντας ἴμιν / στεφάνους ἐνεικον, ὡς δὴ πρὸς “Ἐρωτα πυκταλίζω, 'Bring water, boy, bring wine, bring me garlands of flowers: fetch them, so that I may box against Love’ (ὡς δὴ 5th c. lexicographer Orion: ὡς ἠδη Et. Gen.: ὡς μῆ Athenaeus, Eustathius, and the 2nd century Anacreon portrait mosaic from Autun: M. and A. Blanchard, ‘La mosaïque d’Anacréon à Autun’,
'... and I was boxing with a tough opponent, (but now) I look up and raise my head again . . . I owe many thanks, (Dionysus?), for having escaped Love’s bonds completely, bonds made harsh by Aphrodite. Let wine be brought in a jar, let bubbling water be brought, let ... be summoned . . . grace, (perfect?) . . . ’ (tr. Campbell)

2. Provenance and Conservation: Obbink 2015; Willis 1961, 381-2; London sale: Christies 2011, in folder ‘Papyri Fragments; Gk.’, sub-folder ‘E3’; also present: P. Rob. inv. 22 (receipt for a wheat transaction, κοπαγη ραττικαν, from Bakchias in folder ‘9’); extensive 2nd century Sitologoi report from Theadelphia (Christies 2011, photo p. 2) designated ‘P. Rob.’, but without inventory number; an additional fragment in folder ‘Papyri Fragments; Gk.’, sub-folder ‘E12’.


6. First Stanza of ‘Brothers Poem’ with overlapping P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5 and incipit in Π:-

7. Thus four lines are to be added to previous line-numeration of ‘Brothers Poem’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old numeration</th>
<th>New Numeration</th>
<th>P. Oxy. Overlap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Brothers Poem’ Line</td>
<td>(= P. Sapph. Obbink)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2289 fr. 5 line 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2289 fr. 5 line 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2289 fr. 5 line 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2289 fr. 5 line 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2289 fr. 5 line 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>- etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1. [Πάτρος (e.g. ὀμιμέων . . .)
2. [--- ]
3. [- . . ] Λα[ρήζ.
5. ἀλλ’ ἂν θρύληζα Χάροζον ἠλθην κτλ.


12. ‘Brothers Poem’ 21 ταν κεφάλαιαν ἀνέφη; cf. Anacreon 346.1-2 PMG τα[λετοὶ δ’ ἐπικταλλίζον]ν / . . . ]ανορέω τε κάνακότω, ‘I was boxing with a difficult opponent (i.e. Eros) . . . I look up and raise my head again’; id. 396.2 ἔρωτο πυκταλιζο. 

13. Reconstruction (exempli gratia) of opening stanza of ‘Brothers Poem’:

"[When I was six years old, our] f[ather’s ashes drank my tears before their time;]
[now we must honor fair] La[richos, οἰνοχοῖαν at elite banquets:]
[with him, Eros wears boxing gloves (vel sim)—and] you [should celebrate him,]
[too,] Mo[ther];

[P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 5.2]

but you whine on endlessly about Charaxos coming’, etc. ['Brothers Poem’ line 5]

Works cited: (apart from bibliography on Lardinois SCS Panel ‘New Fragments of Sappho’ handout):
XII. ὧν ἀγαθὴν ἔχειν

I. ἔτη καὶ ἔτη