A Hoped-for Festival?

(Sapph. fr. 17 V. and P. GC. inv. 105 fr. 2 col. ii ll. 9-28)

Camillo Neri

Translated from the Italian by Chiara Mecariello

A new papyrus published by Simon Burris, Jeffrey Fish and Dirk Obbink earlier this year (P. GC. inv. 105, end of second-beginning of third century A.D.) has further contributed to the reconstruction of Sappho’s fr. 17, ll. 1-17, particularly the ends of ll. 1-14. The fragment was already known from three papyri preserving fragmentary beginnings of ll. 1-20 (P. Oxy. X 1231 fr. 1 col. ii 2-21 + XVIII 2166 (a) 3), 1-10 (PSI II 123,3-12), and 4-8 (P. Oxy. XXI 2289 fr. 9) respectively, thus covering the entire poem. This is the text as printed by the editors:

Γιανάκιον δῆμος[. . .] οἰς[. . .]ω,
πότειν Ηρα, σακαί[. . .]ς, ἐόρτα[. . .]
τάν ἀνώραταν Ατραί[ eius] πόησαν
τοι βασιλεί, ἔκτεν[. . .]έρασαν τε μεν ἀγάλα [εἰς] [λοιον] ἀφερόν δὲ [τυίδ′ ἀπ᾽[αρμάθευ] [τε] ὁ[δ]ον γὰρ εὐρή[ν ύθος ὑπάναυτοι,
πρίν c′[η καὶ Δί᾽ ἀντι[ιαού] πεδε[ε]ς] λ’θην
καὶ Θυώ[νινακ] ιμε '[ρόεντα] παῖδα·
νῦν δὲ[κιναι] c.10 πόημεν
κατ’ τὸ π’[δα]ί[αιο]υν

"Αγνα κ’[αι κα]ϊ[ c.12 ὥ] χόλος

2 The papyri can be dated to 50-150 AD (PSI 123), II century AD (P. Oxy. 1231 + 2166 (a)), and the late II century AD (P. Oxy. 2289).
3 The previous lines of PSI 123 preserve the end of fr. 16, and the last line of P. Oxy. 1231 col. ii contains a coronis indicating end of poem.
4 In addition to the symbols and convention used in papyrus editions, the upper brackets (‘αβγ’y’) indicate letters preserved by P. GC. ‘in agreement with one or more witnesses’ (BFO 22). Minor typos and inconsistencies are here tacitly corrected.
It was already clear—and is now confirmed—that we are dealing with an invocation of Hera (l. 2), recipient of a well-attested Lesbian cult in a sanctuary shared with Zeus Άντιας ('protector of suppliants': cf. l. 9) and Dionysus (l. 10: ‘the charming son of Thyone’), evidently in the context of a festival (l. 2 ἔορτα).[4]

The epiclesis, perhaps already structured in prayer form—assuming that the opening πλάσιον, ‘nearby’, was the deictic element indicating the person praying—is followed by a brief narrative omphalos (perhaps with an aetiological function?) devoted to the Atreids or one Atreid (l. 3),[5] who sailed to Greece after a stop-over in Lesbos thanks to an invocation of the local divine triad (ll. 3-10). The stop-over in Lesbos is attested in Od. 3.169 only for Menelaus, who departs from Agamemnon after a quarrel. According to Aesch. Ag. 617-680, on the contrary, the two Atreids left together to be | | [p.13] later separated by a storm.[6] The prayer starts again after the narrative and is conveyed by the temporal deictic νῦν δέ (l. 11), a verb indicating performance in the first person plural (πότημαν), a declaration of cultic continuity between present and past (l. 12),

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8 Their genealogical connection with the Lesbian Penthildiades is—and was—well known: see most recently Caciaglì 2011, 154ff.

9 On this aspect see in particular A. Aloni, Saffo. Frammenti (Milano 1997) 28; Caciaglì 2011, 154ff.
and the following references to sacredness (l. 13 ἡγυα), to a group of girls and women10 ‘around’ (ll. 13-15 δ]χιατο / παρθέ[ων γ]υνα]κο / ἄμφις), to a ‘measure’ (l. 16 μέτρον ὁλϊ), to ‘being’ (l. 19 ξιμενα) and to ‘arriving’ (v. 20 ἀπίκεθαι)11. This is the typical structure of a prayer (one only needs to think of the hymn to Aphrodite), in which the deity is firstly invoked (ll. 1f.), then invited to remember a beneficial intervention in the past (ll. 3-10, and finally imploring to do something similar in the present (ll. 11-20).

Before the publication of P. GC. inv. 105, scholars were in disagreement as to the overall interpretation of this invocation: ‘some personal matter, to which the allusion of the Atreidae was subsidiary’, according to Page (1955, 61) and Michelazzo; a propemiptikon, where ‘a god functions as substitute addressee for a human protagonist’ for Cairns (1972, 226), Lasserre, Aloni, and Burzacchini;12 an ‘erotic situation’, probably ‘delineated in the mutilated fourth stanza’, according to Furley-Bremer (2001, 165f.); a prayer prior to the departure for the Sicilian exile,13 according to Tsomis; an apotropaic invocation to avert a storm from the praying person, like the tempest that hit the Atreids, in Lidov’s opinion; a song (choral, according to Calame 2009 and 2011) containing an invocation for Charaxus’ return, in Caciagli’s interpretation (2011, 155-157).

Obviously, in the light of the new papyrus ‘some previously suggested interpretations are confirmed, while others are clearly ruled out’ (BFO 5), although much still depends on how we interpret what is readable and how we supplement the lacunae, and the conjectural element is still considerable. In these notes I propose a reconsideration of the textual structure of the fragment, a few new supplements (clearly exempli gratia), and a hypothesis concerning the occasion on which the song was performed.

In the epiclesis in ll. 1f., the presence of cα (also guaranteed by the metre) and the highly plausible supplement cα ξ[αφία]ε[ες] in l. 2 (already suggested by Wilamowitz14 and compatible with the remains || [p.14] of P. GC. inv. 105, cf. BFO 13) make it very likely a) that πότνιν Ἥρα is a vocative, b) that ἐφότα] [ at the end of the line should be interpreted as ἐφότα (cf. BFO 19: cα ξ[αφία]ε[ες] ἐφότα), c) that this ‘festival’ is the subject of the finite verb, probably one indicating desire/will, judging from the initial πλάζων δή; therefore such a verb must be supplemented in l. 1.15 The incipit πλάζων may indicate the ecstatic proximity of those who enjoy a divine or comparable presence (cf. fr. 31.3 V.). ‘Any reconstruction should avoid the mistake, made by early editors, of taking πλάζων in line 1 as describing motion, as observed by Lidov 2004, 390-3, as well as taking it with the dative: it is used absolutely or takes the genitive (and μ[ου] is not Lesbian). In the few apparent instances with the dative, the latter turns out to go

10 As in Sappho fr. 44 V. Cf. Alc. fr. 130b.
11 It is the action desired for Charaxus in fr. 5.2 V. (τυίδς ἱκεσθαί) and in the new ‘Brothers Poem’ (ll. 1 ἑλθην, 7 ἡκεσθα τυίδξ), published by Ohbink 2014.
12 ‘As to the performance and audience’, concluded the last-named scholar, in the most measured of the analyses prior to the publication of the new witness, ‘we can reasonably suppose a monodic performance in front of an audience gathered for a specific occasion [...] plausibly including the girl’s relatives and friends’ (33).
14 U. von W.-Moellendorff, ap. Papiri greci e latini, II (nos. 113-156) (Florence 1913) 22 [= Wilamowitz 1913] suggested ξ[αφίεσσα] μόρφα, supposing an expression similar to those in frs. 96.21, 132.2 V. In the context of the Lesbian Καλλίστεια (cf. below), ξ[αφίεσσα] could have a further connotation in referring to the female κάλλος and χόριο celebrated in that context.
15 This rules out supplements like ἄ[είδ]ω (Lidov ap. BFO 19) in l. 1 and ἐφότα in l. 2, suggested by BFO.
with the verb. So either μ[оί] (or μ [ dat.; Page 1955, 21), or a dative participle [...], but not both and only if the dative is governed by a verb. Otherwise μ[ή] or μ[ε] could be considered’ (BFO 19): if this is true (and if πλάσιον with no other specification has deictic-local meaning: ‘here’), δή μ[ελπ]μένοις’ áγ[γέθ]ω17 / πότιν τ’ Ἴρα, κα’ χ[αρ]ις’ ἐόρτ’[a] (BFO 19) seems to deserve the greatest consideration. μελπμένοις’ would be dative plural (so BFO) or nominative fem. sing. and have middle meaning, ‘resonant and dancing’, or passive, ‘celebrated with songs and dances’.18 However, that πλάσιον alone may have the simple meaning of ‘here’ required in the incipit does not seem supported by convincing examples (‘nearby’ would also sound strange in a similar context). On the contrary, the ‘few apparent instances’ of the adverb with the dative are not so few after all, if one considers, for example, such passages as Od. 7.171 ὡς οἱ πλάσιον ζῆς, Archil. fr. 128 W.2 ἐνδόκοις ἔχθρῶν πλάσιον κατασταθείς (if the text of M4 can be defended), and Eur. IA 1515. ἡ δὲ σταθεῖσα τῷ τεκόντι πλάσιον / ἔλεεξ τοιάδ’ (where the ordo verborum makes it certainly preferable for the dative to be governed by πλάσιον rather than ἔλεεξ), and the fact that the adjective πλάσιος and the verb πλασίαζω are regularly constructed with the dative.19 In this case, the solutions with μ[οί] are still too many to attempt any supplement whatsoever,20 although πλάσιον δή μ[ε] ἁμφὶ βρ[έ]μοις’ áγ[γέθ]ω,21 for example, may prove attractive in the light of Alc. fr. 130a.18-20 V. || [p.15] περὶ δὲ βρέμει / ἀχῳ θεσπεσία γυναῖκων / ἵππο[ς οἱ]λολύγας ἐνιαυξίας, which could be about the same festival, and in any case is set in the context of the same sanctuary.22

The epiclistis is quickly followed by the narrative section, with a reference to the Lesbian stop-over of one or more Atreids. BFO 19f. mention five syntactical possibilities for ll. 3f., namely:

a) τὰν ἄραταν (verb, 3rd person dual Ἀτρ[είδαι] (nom. pl., already supplemented by Wilamowitz 1913: ἐρίδαι is clearly legible), πόησαν / τ’ οἱ βασιλῆς (other from the Atreids);

b) τὰν ἄραταν (adj.) Ἀτρείδαι (nom. pl.) πόησαν / τοι βασιλῆς (apposition);

c) τὰν ἄραταν (adj.) Ἀτρείδαι (nom. pl.) πόησαν / τοι βασιλῆς (apposition);

d) τὰν ἄραταν (adj.) Ἀτρείδα (sing., dative of agent), πόησαν / τοι βασιλῆς (subj.);

e) τὰν ἄραταν (adj.) Ἀτρείδα (sing., dative of advantage), πόησαν / τοι βασιλῆς (subj.).

Only the third and fifth possibilities (c and e) are compatible with the dialect for the following reasons:

16 But when πλάσιον is used absolutely, as Il. 4.329, 18.421f., Od. 8.6f., 20.105f., the referent of the proximity is always clear from the context.
18 For μολπη in Sappho cf. fr. 27.9, 96.5 V.; for ἄγεν ἐντρηθή cf. e.g. Anacr. PMG 410.2, Hdt. 1.147.2, Thuc. 4.5.1, etc.
19 Cf. LSJ1 1420 s.v.λυ.
20 Cf. e.g. πλάσιον δη μ[ί] ᾖδω μ[ε]λεοίσ’ ἄγ[γέθ]ω (for πλάσιον with ᾖδω see fr. 31.3 V.), or μ[ί] ἁμφ]μ[ε]λεοίσ’ ἄγ[γέθ]ω, or μ[ί] ᾖδω]λεού[γε]οισ’ ἄγ[γέθ]ω, unless they are all breviora spatio (but one can also think of μοι in scripto pleno).
22 Cf. most recently S. Cacciagl, ‘Il temenos di Messon: uno stesso contesto per Saffo e Alceo’, Lexis 28 (2010) 227-256 (= Cacciagl 2010), and p. 17 below. To be sure, the Kallistèia were not the only festival celebrated in the temenos: Alcaecus’ fr. 129 and 130b V. could indeed refer to various festival circumstances with diverse participation, and a female cult for Hera (not necessarily connected with beauty contexts) is mentioned in the anonymous AP 9.189 (= Sapph. test. 59 Campbell).
a) there is no trace of dual in Lesbian. This explains why ‘no scholar has directly disputed’ the adjectival interpretation of ἀράταν, which seems to surprise BFO 19f., who prefer to read Ἀτρέιδα ... / τοι). The fact that ἀράταν is corrected to ἐράταν, against metre, by the scribe of PSI 123 (not to ἐράτον, as BFO 20 state) proves that he considered it an epithet (with a positive meaning);\(^{23}\)

b) the nom. pl. of the article (also as a demonstrative) is always οἱ. On the contrary, τοι is never attested: the accent added above ὁ by the corrector may indicate the divísiō τ’ οἱ;

c) τ’ is out of place without a verb coordinated with πόνσαν (before P. GC. inv. 105, scholars read πρόο- / τοι with Wilamowitz 1913, κλή- / τοι with Edmonds, διτ- / τοι with Milne, or κλῳ- / τοι with Theander\(^{24}\)).

Therefore the most probable structure is (cā χ[αρίε]ς’ ἐόρτ[α/] τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[έιδα|] πόνσαν- / τ’ οἱ βασιλεῖς.\(^{25}\) The translation should not be ‘which, prayed for, the Atreids, the kings, caused to be performed’ (BFO 20), but ‘(your joyful festival) which the Atreids, the kings, hoped (i.e. desired) for themselves’, with the only meaning that ἄραμαι has in Sappho,\(^{26}\) but with a reversal of connotation in a word that seems always negative in the Homeric poems.\(^{27}\)

For the construction ἐόρταν ... ἀράταν ... πόνσαντο with the meaning || [p.16] of ἐόρτην ἀράςαντο\(^{28}\) see the formulaic line of the Iliad (17.37 = 24.741) ἄρητον\(^{29}\) δὲ τοκεύσ γόνι καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας in the meaning of τοὺς τοκεάς ἄραμαι γόνι καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας,\(^{30}\) and Sapph. fr. 32.1 V. με τιμίαν ἐπόνσαν in the sense of μ’ ἐτίμοικαν, as well as fr. 5.9f. V. τὰν κασιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόνσασαι / μὲ] óδον τίμασα in the sense of τὰν κασιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι μᾶλλον τιμάν (or τιμάθαι).\(^{31}\) As to πόνσαν- / τ’ without augment, see fr. 98.1 V. μὲ γέννας[τ’].\(^{32}\) The reading Ἀτρέια to indicate Menelaus only, as suggested by BFO 6 and 20 in line with Od. 3.169,\(^{33}\) is less plausible because the simple patronymic would be undoubtedly ambiguous.\(^{35}\) We should suppose,

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\(^{23}\) Moreover, it would be an active dual (from ἄραμαι!) without augment: three exceptions seem really too many.


\(^{25}\) So already Lidov 2004, 397, for the adonian.

\(^{26}\) Cf. fr. 16A.22, 22.17, 112.1f., 141.6f. V.

\(^{27}\) A reversal perhaps modelled on the equally epic πολύζητος (the meaning of which is ambiguous in Od. 19.404: cf. J. Peradott, Man in the Middle Voice, Name and Narration in the Odyssey (Princeton 1990) 138; BFO 20). As to the semantic evolution of ἄραμαι, see S.J. Pulleyen, Prayer in Greek Religion (Oxford 1997) 70-76 and BFO 20f. Lidov’s identification of the paranomasia Ἡρη/Ηρα, ἄρη/-άρα- here, which would link the Sapphic line to Call. H. Del. 205, is too subtle (Lidov 2004, 398ff.).

\(^{28}\) Cf. fr. 141.6 V., as well as fr. 112.2 V. (but with the accusative of the person).


\(^{30}\) Not by chance did H. Jurenka suggest Ἀτρέιδαι τέκαν before the publication of P. GC. inv. 105 (‘Neue Lieder der Sappho und des Alkaios’, WS 36 (1914) 201-243 at 209).

\(^{31}\) For the middle form of the verb see also Hdt. 1.150.1.

\(^{32}\) One could also suppose a synecphonesis Ἀτρέιδαι ἐπόνσαν- / τ’, but in P. GC. inv. 105 there seems to be no space before π for more than the ἔ of Ἀτρέιδαι: cf. BFO 13.

\(^{33}\) Cf. Neri 2012, 33f.

\(^{34}\) ‘The new text shows the mythical section of the poem (lines 2-10) to be both closer to and farther removed from the nostos-narrative that Nestor relates in Odyssey 3 than has been thought’, observe BFO (6), and add: ‘where the poem differs is where we should expect: namely, in its adaptation of local figures to the larger Trojan story. If the reading of the dative singular Ἀτρέιδαι is correct, the poem may reflect a localized account of which βασιλεῖς from Lesbos were understood to have participated in the ‘great deeds’ of the Trojan war’. But all, as it appears, depends on that ‘if’.

\(^{35}\) Unlike what happens in Od. 3.277, 4.190, 304, etc., where the hero has been previously introduced by name and the context leaves no doubt.
instead, that, as later in Aesch. Ag. 617-680, the two Atreids left Troy together and then landed in Lesbos.\textsuperscript{36} The plurals of ll. 5 and 7f. must refer to the Atreids rather than ‘archaic or prehistorical kings of Lesbos’, who would have founded the τέμενος μέγα and the τείχος βασιλήιον of Alc. frs. 129.1f., 130a.15, 130b.17-20 V., or powerful persons like those mentioned in Sapph. fr. 161 V., as BFO 6 and 21 think.

The Atreids arrived at the sanctuary ‘after accomplishing’ (l. 5 ἐκτελέσσαντες\textsuperscript{37}) ‘great enterprises’ (με[γά]λοις ἀθίκοις\textsuperscript{38}), ‘firstly around Ilium’ (l. 6 πρώτα μὲν πέρ [ | [p.17] ‘]|λιον\textsuperscript{39}), and ‘then after setting out until they came here’ (l. 7 τυιδ’ ἀπορμάθεν[τες]\textsuperscript{40}). In the middle of l. 7, a sentence introduced by γάρ (now revealed by P. GC. inv. 105) explains the causes of this landing: ‘because they could not’ (l. 8 οὐκ ἔδυναντο\textsuperscript{41}) ‘find the way’ (l. 7 ὅ]δοιν γάρ εὑρη[ν\textsuperscript{42}), before invoking ‘you’ (l. 9 πρὶν εἰ ... πεδέλθην\textsuperscript{43}), ‘Zeus protector of suppliants’ (καὶ Δί’ ἀντ[ι[σον] and the ‘charming son of Τυθόν’ (l. 10 καὶ Θυώνια ἰμ[ερ[δέντα] παίδε\textsuperscript{44}), i.e. Dionysus. The presence of the divine triad makes it plausible that the temenos is the same as the one to which Alcaeus refers in frs. 129.1-12, 130b.13-22 and perhaps also 130a.15 V. A well known (and very noisy) female beauty contest took place there during the festival of the \textit{Kallisteia}.\textsuperscript{45}

The temporal deictic νῦν δέ (l. 11\textsuperscript{46}) and the appearance of ‘we’, presumptively performative (l. 11 πόθεν\textsuperscript{47} in the present ritual context, marks the return to the current occasion. If we must read ἢ]ρ\textsuperscript{48} before πόθεν the supplements κ[ἀγω, πόντια, λίσσομαι ει and κ[άμιοι πραυμένης ἁρηδίου suggested by Edmonds\textsuperscript{49} and Page (1955, 58) respectively before P. GC. inv. 105 must be

\textsuperscript{36} So Page 1955, 60. On the variants regarding the Trojan war in posthomerice literature, cf. Elena Pallantza, \textit{Der Troische Krieg in der nachhomerischen Literatur bis zum 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.} (Stuttgart 2005). Plutarch (Sept. sap. conv. 163a-d and \textit{Soll. an.} 984e) alludes to the colonisation of Lesbos (but not necessarily linked to the Atreids’ arrival) and the sacrifice of a bull to Amphirite and a παρθένος to the Nereids. Plutarch also mentions the Penthildae in the second passage, but not the Atreids.

\textsuperscript{37} The same participle, referring to the completion of a journey, is found in \textit{Od}. 10.41.

\textsuperscript{38} The text of P. GC. inv. 105 (for which cf. Alc. fr. 350.4 V. and also e.g. Pind. \textit{O.} 3.21, N. 1.11, Eur. fr. 740.2f. K.) has now replaced Page’s μ[ἀλα παλα δέθα (1955, 58).

\textsuperscript{39} According to BFO (21), \textit{P. Oxy.} 2289 fr. 9 reads Ε[ι][λιον (a spelling found in P.Ryl. Gr. 22 (FGrHist 18 F 1; LDAB 4329), from a prose text on a papyrus of the 1st cent. AD?), unlike E. Label, \textit{The Oxyrhynchus Papyri}, XXI (London 1951) [= Labol 1951], 4f. and Eva-Maria Voigt, \textit{Sappho et Alcaeus} (Amsterdam 1971) [= Voigt 1971 = V.] 45, who read ὅ. In the light of fr. 44.23 V. and Alc. fr. 42.4 V., it is perhaps better to restitute the form ἢ]ρ. For the expression cf. Hdt. 2.10.2, 118.1. The phrase πρώτα μὲν occurs eight times in the Homeric poems, while the phrase with ἁφερον δέ does not seem to be attested elsewhere. However, for ἁφερον in Lesbian poets cf. Voigt 1971, 387 s.v.

\textsuperscript{40} The deictic ‘here’ has actualising function: cf. fr. 1.5 V.

\textsuperscript{41} The syntagma already occurs four times in the \textit{Iliad}.


\textsuperscript{43} ‘You’, again, as in the initial invocation. The verb is employed by Alc. fr. 129.19 V., perhaps in the context of the same sanctuary, and is also widely attested in epigraphs; cf. BFO 21f., and see LSJ\textsuperscript{9} 1120 s.v. IV.5.

\textsuperscript{44} P. GC. inv. 105 confirms again a supplement by Wilamowitz 1913.


\textsuperscript{46} Cf. frs. 67a.5, 82b.3, 96.6, and perhaps 103b.3 V.

\textsuperscript{47} Cf. BFO 13 and 22 (‘perhaps’).

replaced with something like (e.g.) κ[άμμες] κοι γερ[άρα] πόημεν. 49 || [p.18] The verb would refer either to ‘as already in the past’ of l. 12, 50 or to an accusative at the beginning of l. 13 (cf. below), with syntactical continuity between the stanzas. 51

Little can be learned from the following lines, but P. GC. inv. 105 preserves the precious mention of an ὄ|χλος / παρθέ[νων] ὧν = ὄ - ὄ - γ]|ναίκων, that can recall the ‘female’ context of the Kallisteia or the nuptial and festival one of fr. 44.14f. V. παίς ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ’ ἁμα παρθενικά[v]. Immediately before, the papyrus reads ἄγνα 52 καὶ κα[λα], which Castiglioni53 already supplemented as ἄγνα καὶ κά[λα]: since the metre requires ἄγνα and κάλα respectively (that is, κάλα followed by a consonantal group or καλ’ followed by long syllable), we can think of a vocative (but the designation would sound unusual for Hera, certainly κάλα but hardly ἄγνα) or better to a neuter plural, object of the preceding πόημεν; 54 ‘now we too perform pure and beautiful rites for you majestic’ 55, as in the past. There are many (indeed, too many) ways to supplement this and the following line (l. 14), in which the action of the female ὄχλος was introduced. This action too was presumably performative in the present, e.g. ἄγνα καὶ κά[λα]. εἶει δὲ τυίδ’ ὀδ’ ὄχλος / παρθ[ένων] τ’ ἁμ’ εὐχομένων γ]|ναίκων. 56 The subject, the female ὄχλος, arranged itself ‘around’ (l. 15 ἁμφὶς [: around the altar, as in inc. auct. fr. 16 V.?), presumably to perform the song (in l. 16 μέτρῳ ὄ|λούς|δὴν is a brilliant supplement by BFO 2257). After two lines of which only few and very uncertain letters remain (l. 17 πα[ς], l. 18 [, ] νι[λα], to be segmented as -υ -λα- or -υ-λ-), we find again ‘to be’ (l. 19 ἐμεν[α]l already suggested by A.S. Hunt 58) and ‘to come’, which probably followed the name of Hera, repeated in the vocative at the beginning of the last line (l. 20 Ὕ[Η]ρ’ ἀπίκε[θαι]59, thus closing the inspired poem in Ringkomposition.

To conclude, and with a many amount of conjectural approximation:

⊗ Πλάσιον δὴ μ[‘ ἁμφὶ βρ]έιμοι’ ἀ[γέθ]ο
πότιν’ Ἡ[ρα, σα χ[αρι]ς] εὗρτα,
tὰν ἄραται Ἀτρ[ηδα]ί ποῆσαν-

49 However, there are many alternatives for both the epithet in the dative (βρ[ά]ρα, δολ[έ]ρα, κρατ[έ]ρα, μαλ[έ]ρα, οθ[εν]άρα, φοβ[ό]ρα, ήθ[έ]ρα, or θολ[έ]ρα λπ[ά]ρα, φαν[ί]ρα etc.) and the syntactical articulation (e.g. κ[άμμες] κοι το[δέ] βρ[α]πόημεν, κ[άμμες] ὦτυ ι[λ]άρα(ν) πόημεν, and further—[β], βα is not the only possible reading before πόημεν—κ[άμμες] ε’ [τάλα]ον εὗ τόποιεν, etc.). It goes without saying that the high number of possibilities precludes the reconstruction of the formal structure. BFO (22) confidently print νῶν δὲ κατα. For the omission of iota mutum by the same scribe see most recently Obbink 2014, 33.

50 We may perhaps replace Wilamowitz’s κατ τὸ πάλαιον (1914, 228), dubious because Aeolic Greek seems to have πάλαιο (cf. Alc. fr. 169a.5 V.), with κατ τὸ πάλαι δῆ, with the usual postposition of the particle after the temporal adverb (cf. Denniston, GPE 206f., 240).

51 In Sappho the phenomenon is certain here, at ll. 4f. and 8f., and plausible for example in frs. 15.8f., 16.12f. V.

52 For the theme of sacressness in Sappho cf. frs. 2.2, 24.22 and 26, 53, 103.5 V.

53 ‘I nuovi frammenti di Safo’, A&R 17 (1914) 224-252 at 239.

54 Which would rule out the solutions with an object in l. 11.

55 As an epithet mostly used for men and objects (cf. ThGL III 582f., LSJ p 345, DGE 801), γερ[ά]ρα would once again express Sappho’s usual ‘intimacy’ with her goddess.

56 Modelled on the above mentioned fr. 44.15f. V. παίς ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ’ ἁμα παρθενικά[v],

57 Again on the grounds of Alc. fr. 130a.18-20 V. περὶ δὲ βρέμει / ἅξω θετεσσεία γυναίκων / ἵππο ὁλούς τὰς ἑναύσιας.

58 The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, X (London 1914) 25.

59 With the plausible supplements by Milne 1932, if the former is not longior spatio, but see for example Theander’s suggestion Ἡ/ρ’ (Theander 1943, 147).
t' oí basílhes,

(-->)

ἐκτελεσσαντες μ[εγά]λοις ἀεθλοις 5
πρώτα μὲν πέρ "[λιον]: ἀφετεν δὲ
τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τες] ὦ[δ]ον γὰρ εὐρη[ν
οὐκ εἰδύνατο,

(-->)

πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δ' ἀντ[ιαο]ν πεδελθὴν
καὶ Θυώνας ιμε[ρόντα] παίδα.

υῦν δὲ [ἀ]μμες κοι γερ]άρα πόμεν
κατ' τὸ πάλ[αι δὴ]

--

ἀγνα καὶ κα[λ']. εἰς δὲ τυίδ' οδ' ὦ]χλος
πι[αρθ[ν]ν τ' ἀμ' εὐχομέναν γ]ναίκων
ἀμφίς[,]

μέτρ' ὦ[λ][ο]λ[υσθῆν
--

πας[

[.] κὶ[.]

ἐμμεναι["

"] ὶ[^] Hρ' ἀπίκε[εθαι.]

Ο 20

--/

1-20 P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 1 col. ii 2-21 + P. Oxy. 2166 (a) 3 (7 and 20) (I); 1-17 P. GC. inv. 105 fr. 2 col. ii (II); 1-10 PSI 123,3-12 (III); 4-8 P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 9 (IV) || 1 in mg. sin. Ν τῶμον ΙΙΙ, quod Burris-Fish60 ad fr. 16.14 V. retulerunt | δὴ μ[ε] ἀμφί βρ[έ]μοις su|pleverim e.g. : δὴ μ[ε]λποῦ]έγοις' α[ύρεθ]ω BFO || 1 ex a corr. I, ηρα ΙΙΙ, Ὕρα an Ὕρα incertum' Lobel-Page61 | σὰ χ[αρί]ες' ἐόρτ[α] post Wilamowitz 1913 (χ[αρίεςσα μόρφα) BFO || 3 αράταν

socr. ε supra primum α ΙΙΙ (contra metrum) | Ἀτρ[είδα]i Post Wilamowitz 1913 : Ἀτρ[είδα]i BFO ||

3s. ποιήσαν- τ' οι post Lidov distincterim : πόησαν / τοι BFO || 5 post Diehl62 (μ[ε]γ') et Page (μ[α]λα πόλλα ἀεθλα) suppl. BFO || 6 ει[(ixtia BFO) vel ı[(ixtia Lobel63 et Voigt: 'litt. Ι part] inf. oppos. est h.h. pars extr. sin.') IV unde πέρ Ε[ίλιον BFO (21: 'a spelling found in P. Ryl. Gr. 22 (FGrHist 18 F 1; LDAB 4329), from a prose text on a papyrus of the 1st cent. AD') : πέρ


63 1951, 4f.
64 E. Lobel, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, XVIII (London 1941) 31 n. 1.
Deubner\textsuperscript{65} || 10 suppl. Wilamowitz 1913 || 11\textsuperscript{s}. atr. vestigia in I || 11 κ[άμμες οι γερ]άρα \textsuperscript{(vel sim.) }temptaverim : κ[αί BFO : κ[άγω, πότισα, λέειναι \textsuperscript{c} Edmonds\textsuperscript{66} (ante P. GC. inv. 105) : κ[άμοι πρασμένη άρηζουν Page (ante P. GC. inv. 105) || 12 κατ ί : κατ ί | κατ τό πάλαι δή post Wilamowitz 1914 (πάλαι σου, sed cf. Alc. fr. 169a,5 V. παλάων et vid. Hamm\textsuperscript{67} et Voigt 1971, 46) temptaverim : κατ τό πάλαι σου BFO || 13 κα[ sive fort. κά[ I | in fine ] λος ι | 13\textsuperscript{s}. άγνα καί κά[λι. εἰς δὲ τυίδ' ὄδ' ὄδι χλος / παρθένους τ' ἄμι εὐχομέναν γ]υναῖκων (cl. fr. 44.14s. V. παίς όδι λος / γυναῖκων τ' ἄμι παρθενίκας[ν]) post Castiglioni (v. 13 καί κά[λα) et Hunt (v. 14 [π]αρθ[ενίκας temptaverim || 15 μφι[ I (ultimo loco κ vel θ) : μφι.. [ Ά η τ' (primo loco κ vel λ, dein ἐγ[ possis)] || 16 μετρ'. ά δ (ο]λούςδην (cl. Alc. fr. 130a.18-20 V.) BFO, fort. recte || 17 ..... Ά η (\textsuperscript{"e}crossbar and two verticals (π or perhaps γι) then triangular letter followed by top left of curved letter, then vertical and indistinguishable traces of one or two letters', BFO 13) || 18 [ ] πά [I (ante N, fort. Ω vel Η', Voigt 1971, 46) || 19 suppl. Hunt || 20 in mg. sin. coronidem praebet I | suppl. Milne 1932 ( nisi [Η]ρ' longius spatio: sed Ἡ-/ρ' cum Theander fort. possis).

Near me (?) let your lovely (?) festival be celebrated (?), resonant (?), lady Hera, which the Atreids, the leaders, hoped for themselves

\textless--

after accomplishing excellent deeds firstly around Ilium, and after setting out from there to here. For they could not find the way,

\textless--

before coming to invoke you and Zeus and the lovely son of Thyone; now we too (?) offer you (?), o majestic (?), holy and beautiful rites

--

as in the past. Here comes this (?) crowd of girls and women who invoke (?) you around (?) ... howl properly (?)

[\--]

...

... to be (?) ... to come, o Hera (?).

The new papyrus has undoubtedly changed the exegetical framework of the poem in several points:

\begin{itemize}
  \item a) The mention of a ‘festival’ (l. 2) now shows that the poem cannot be considered ‘personal’ (as suspected by Page 1955, 61), 'but is (or at least is presented as) a choral song intended for cultic performance’, to be set in a ritual-cultic frame and circumstance. Likewise the performative plural πόμεν (l. 11) ‘suggests choral performance’ (BFO 5), although some caution on this aspect is still justified.\textsuperscript{68}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{65} L. Deubner, ‘Zu den neuen Bruchstücken des Alkaios’, APA 10W 7 (1943) 6f.


\textsuperscript{67} Eva-Maria Hamm, Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios (Berlin 1957) 28 § 55c.

\textsuperscript{68} A choral performance was already presupposed by Calame 2009, 3-8 and 2011, 519. However, experience suggests to avoid any automatism in deducing the chorality of a lyric fragment from the presence of ‘performative’ plurals, which may include the audience of a single performer as perhaps in fr. 94 V. or Alc. fr. 129 V. On this topic see in particular the cautious remarks of E. Cingano, ‘La lirica corale’, in L. Lana-E.V. Maltese (edd.), Storia della civiltà
b) The relationship between νὖν Ἕδι (l. 11) and κατ τό πᾶλιν (l. 12) ‘announces a communal, cultic continuation of the preceding mythical material’ (BFO 5).

c) The already ascertained setting of the temenos of the so-called ‘Lesbian triad’ (Zeus, Hera, Dionysus), now enriched by the presence of an ὄνομα παρθένον ὕπατος (ll. 12f.), certainly suggests—under the general designation of ἔδρα τῶν ἄνδρων—an identification of Sappho with the character of the Lesbian Καλλίστεια, to which Alcaeus (fr. 130b V.) and schol. D A II IX 129-30 allude, or at least a festival for Hera with a large female participation.

On the other hand, not all the results of the exegesis prior to the publication of P. GC. inv. 105 are equally ruled out:

a) As appropriately pointed out by Cairns (1972, 227f.) and Burzacchini (2005, 32), the fact that Sappho’s prayer (unlike that of the Atreids) is addressed to Hera alone and not to the entire triad, will hardly be insignificant. On the contrary, it may contribute to a ‘female’ connotation of the invocation (which would be confirmed by ll. 13-16), perhaps in the context of relationships (matrimonial or not, conflicting or not) between man and woman.

b) The celebration of the temenos and its cult as well as a ‘propemptic’ mode—or at least a good wish for a return home—seem to pervade the entire poem. The latter seems to be conveyed by the mention of the Atreids and their ‘not finding the way’ (ll. 7f.), by the present ‘doing like in the past’ (ll. 11f.), as well as the probable ‘returning’ in the close (l. 20).

c) The idea of a desired return home (ll. 7f. ~ l. 20) and a desired collective celebration (ll. 3f. ~ ll. 11-16) suggested by the peculiar construction of ll. 3f.—where the ‘desire’ of the Atreid kings probably provides the mythical, narrative aetiology of the festival—seems common to the mythical récit and the present occasion. It could also reflect the Stimmung of the performative occasion of the song, in this case implicitly not far (despite the absence of explicit reference) from

letteraria greca e latina, I. Dalle origini al IV secolo a.C. (Torino 1998) 101-156 at 128f. Here the extent (20 lines) and the metre leave at least some doubts. For a strongly ‘choralist’ reading of Sappho’s poems see especially A. Lardinois, ‘Who sang Sappho’s Songs?’, in Ellen Greene (ed.), Reading Sappho (Berkeley 1996) 150-172.

69 The same as in Alc. frr. 129-130b V. On the sanctuary complex, probably to be located in Messon, see in particular C. Picard, ‘La triade Zeus-Héra-Dionysos dans l’Orient hellénique d’après les nouveaux fragments d’Alcée’, BCH 70 (1946) 455-473, Caciagli 2010 (with bibliography), and BFO 5 n. 6.


71 From this point of view, the hypothesis of a ‘high-class’ wedding—comparable to the one sung in fr. 44 V.—may still be valid.

72 In this case, the récit on the Atreids would have a merely aetiological function, even though its characterisation in the sense of a ‘return home’ could allude to other returns (and to the return from an irregular, ‘pandemic’ eros and beauty to a regular eros and beauty, like those under the protection of Hera). But we must remember that even the very male Alc. fr. 129 V. invokes Hera alone, and that it is not unlikely that the sanctuary was mainly a Heraion, cf. schol. in P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. i 33-39, Alc. fr. 130.15 V. and the above mentioned anon. AP 9.189.1 = Saph. test. 59 Campbell.

73 Conversely BFO 6: ‘such a myth seems appropriate to a site reputed to be the landing-place of the original Aeolic settlers and to have served as a central meeting for representatives of various πόλεις of Lesbos to take council with and to resolve differences between each other’. This is certainly true, but there seems to be more in the poem.

74 See Theander 1943, 146f., and also Cairns 1972, 276-278 and Burzacchini 2005, 30-33.

75 Cf. especially Wilamowitz 1914, 228.
the atmospheres and tones of the wishes and prayers for Charaxus, as supposed most recently by Caciaglì (2011, 155-157).76

|| [p.23]

Thus, we cannot exclude that Sappho intended to give her entire hymn a ‘nostic’ colour, through the tones of her prayer to Hera alone and the particular angle of the foundation myth contained there. All this may also have had a particular meaning for her group and hetairia. However, in this case, as well, the strong presence of a conjectural element in this as in other interpretations cannot but induce the scholar of fr. 17 to embrace the motto of ‘Sportin’ Life’, in George and Ira Gershwin’s Porgy and Bess (1935): it ain’t necessarily so.

Camillo Neri


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76 The sequences of the poems belonging to the first book of Sappho’s Alexandrian edition as they appear in P. Oxy. 1231 and in P. GC. inv. 105 suggest, despite their difference and perhaps even because of it, that a section of carmina de Charaxo precipue (frs. 3-20 V.) could have been included in that book, here and there interspersed with poems of other nature (such as fr. 16 V.). This seems confirmed in particular by the position of fr. 5 V. after 17, 18 and now 18A in P. GC. inv. 105. The overall arrangement was generally alphabetical, as emerges from both papyri at least for frs. 16-18 V.; cf. E. Lobel, Σαπφοῦς μέλη, The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho (Oxford 1925) xv; G. Liberman, ‘L’édition alexandrine de Sappho’, in Bastianini-Casanova 2007, 41-65 at 46 for P. Oxy. 1231, and the incipits Οἱ μὲν κτλ., Ολβίος μὲν κτλ., Πλάκσιον δὲ κτλ., Παῦ κτλ., Πότνιαι κτλ. in P. GC. inv. 105, belonging to the same roll. P. Sapph. Obbink, in which a poem starts with Πῶς, could perhaps be the continuation of P. GC. inv. 105 within the same roll; cf. Obbink 2014, 33f. The first poem of the book, the famous ‘ode to Aphrodite’, starts with Π- and may be an intentional exception. Moreover, a selection of epithalamia (cf. frs. 27, 30 V.) was included at the end of the book, as P. Oxy. 1231 frs. 50-54, 56 attests incontrovertibly. For thematical (sub-)arrangements in a book not identifiable with the fifth, sixth, or seventh, see most recently C. Neri, “‘Olishoi’ e Polianattidi (Sapph. fr. 99 L.-P. = Alc. Fr. 303A V.”, Eikasmós 24 (2013) 11-28 at 26. In the pre-Alexandrian period, P. Köln 439 and 430 (III century BCE) contain Sapphic poems ordered (perhaps anthologised) on the grounds of a metrical and thematical criterion. In this case, the invocation of Hera could be precisely the one mentioned in the new ‘Brothers Poem’ recently published by Obbink 2014, in ll. 5-9.