

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.)¹ 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,² thus covering the entire poem.³ This is the text as printed by the editors:⁴

Ἦλλά¹κιον δὴ μ¹[.] . . . ο¹ια[.]ω,
 Ἦπότ¹ινι Ἦρα, σαχι[.]ς. ἐόρτ[] . [.]
 Ἦτάν ἀ¹ιράταν Ἀτρι[εἶδα]ι πόησαν
 Ἦτοι βα¹ισίληες,
 Ἦέκτε¹ιλέσσαντες μ¹[εγά]λοις ἀέθλοις [5
 Ἦπρῶτ¹ια μὲν πέρ Εἴ¹[λιον]· Ἦψερρον δέ [.]
 Ἦτύιδ' ἀπ¹ιορμάθεν¹[τες· ὅ]δον γὰρ εὔρη[ν
 Ἦοὺκ ἐδ¹ύναντο,
 Ἦπρὶν σ¹ιέ καὶ Δί' ἀντ¹[ίαιον] πεδέ[ε]λ' Ἦθην
 Ἦκαὶ Θυώ¹ινας Ἦμε¹[ρόεντα] παῖδα· 10
 Ἦνῦν δέ¹ ικ¹[αὶ c.10] . . . πόημεν
 Ἦκάτ τὸ π¹ιάλα¹[αίον

Ἦἄγνα κ¹ιὰ κα¹[c.12 ὅ]χλος

¹ 'New Fragments of Book 1 of Sappho', *ZPE* 189 (2014) 1-28 at 1, 5f., 19-22 [henceforth BFO]. The acronym GC. stands for 'Green Collection', Oklahoma City.

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') indicate letters preserved by P. GC. 'in agreement with one or more witnesses' (BFO 22). Minor typos and inconsistencies are here tacitly corrected.

π᾽αρθ'έ[νων	c.12	γ]υναίκων	
᾿άμφις' [15
μέτρ' ὀλ[
—			
πας[
ι [.] νιλι[
ιέμμενα[ι			
ι []ρ' ἀπίκει[20
ι>---]			

It was already clear—and is now confirmed⁵—that we are dealing with an invocation of Hera (l. 2),⁶ recipient of a well-attested Lesbian cult in a sanctuary shared with Zeus Ἄντίσος ('protector of suppliants': cf. l. 9) and Dionysus (l. 10: 'the charming son of Thyone'), evidently in the context of a festival (l. 2 ἑορτ[).

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?⁷) devoted to the Atreids or one Atreid (l. 3),⁸ 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.⁹ 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 (πρόημεν), a declaration of cultic continuity between present and past (l. 12),

⁵ On fr. 17 V. before the publication of P. GC. inv. 105 see in particular D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry* (Oxford 1955) [= Page 1955] 61f.; F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburg 1972) [= Cairns 1972] 226-228; F. Lasserre, *Sappho. Une autre lecture* (Padova 1989) 172 n. 6; W. D. Furley and J. M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns. Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, I (Tübingen 2001) [= Furley-Bremer 2001] 165f.; G. Tsomis, *Zusammenschau der frühgriechischen monodischen Melik* (Stuttgart 2001) 46f.; J.B. Lidov, 'Hera in Sappho, fr. 17 L-P, V and Aeneid I?', *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 57 (2004) [= Lidov 2004] 387-406 at 394f.; G. Burzacchini, 'Fenomenologia innocua nella poesia di Saffo', *Eikasmós* 16 (2005) [= Burzacchini 2005] 11-40 at 30-33; F. Ferrari, *Una mitra per Kleis. Saffo e il suo pubblico* (Pisa 2007; English translation *Sappho's Gift. The Poet and Her Community*, Ann Arbor 2010) [= Ferrari 2007], 34, 183 n. 1; F. Michelazzo, 'Alceo e Saffo: risorse (e insidie) esegetiche di un contesto comune', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri di Saffo e Alceo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Firenze, 8-9 giugno 2006 (Firenze 2007) [= Bastianini-Casanova 2007] 127-147; C. Calame, 'Referential Fiction and Poetic Ritual: Towards a Pragmatic of Myth (Sappho 17 and Bacchylides 13)', *TiC* 1 (2009) 1-17 ≅ 'Fiction référentielle et poétique rituelle: pour une pragmatique du mythe (Sappho 17 et Bacchylide 13)', in Danièle Auger and C. Delattre (eds.), *Mythe et fiction*, (Nanterre 2010) [= Calame 2009] 117-135; id., 'The Semiotics and Pragmatics of Myth', in K. Dowden and N. Livingstone (eds.), *A Companion to Greek Mythology* (Oxford 2011) 519-524 [= Calame 2011]; S. Caciagli, *Poeti e società. Comunicazione poetica e formazioni sociali nella Lesbo del VII/VI secolo a.C.* (Amsterdam 2011) [= Caciagli 2011] 153-157 (with updated bibliography); C. Salemmme, *Saffo e la bellezza agonale* (Bari 2013) 40f.

⁶ Plausibly, the goddess also occurs in Sappho's fr. 9.4 V. and in the new 'Brothers Poem' (l. 7) edited by D. Obbink, 'Two New Poems by Sappho', *ZPE* 189 (2014) [= Obbink 2014] 32-49.

⁷ So already U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, 'Neue lesbische Lyrik', *NJA* 33 (1914) 225-247 [= Wilamowitz 1914] at 228.

⁸ Their genealogical connection with the Lesbian Penthiilidae is—and was—well known: see most recently Caciagli 2011, 154f.

⁹ On this aspect see in particular A. Aloni, *Saffo. Frammenti* (Milano 1997) 28; Caciagli 2011, 154f.

and the following references to sacredness (l. 13 ἄγνα), to a group of girls and women¹⁰ ‘around’ (ll. 13-15 ὄχλος / παρθένων ᾤοντο – γυναικῶν / ἀμφι), to a ‘measure’ (l. 16 μέτρον ὄλιον), to ‘being’ (l. 19 ἔμμενα[ι]) and to ‘arriving’ (v. 20 ἀπίκε[σθαι]).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 implored 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 *propemptikon*, 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 χ[αρίε]ς 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 πότνι Ἥρα is a vocative, b) that ἐορτ[] at the end of the line should be interpreted as ἐόρτα (cf. BFO 19: cα χ[αρίε]ς ἐόρτα), c) that this ‘festival’ is the subject of the finite verb, probably one indicating desire/will, judging from the initial πλάσιον δή; therefore such a verb must be supplemented in l. 1.¹⁵ The incipit πλάσιον 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 πλάσιον 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. (τυίδ’ ἵκεσθα[ι]) and in the new ‘Brothers Poem’ (ll. 1 ἔλθην, 7 ἐξίκεσθα[ι] τυίδε), published by Obbink 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).

¹³ On the exile, I refer to my contribution ‘Non c’è mitra per Cleide (Sapph. fr. 98 V.)’, *Eikasmós* 23 (2012) [= Neri 2012] 31-43 (with bibliography).

¹⁴ U. von W.-Moellendorff, *ap. Papyri greci e latini*, II (nos. 113-156) (Florence 1913) 22 [= Wilamowitz 1913] suggested χ[αρίε]σσα μόρφα, supposing an expression similar to those in fr. 96.21, 132.2 V. In the context of the Lesbian *Kallisteia* (cf. below), χαρίεσσα could have a further connotation in referring to the female κάλλος and χάρις celebrated in that context.

¹⁵ This rules out supplements like ἀ[είδ]ω (Lidov *ap.* BFO 19) in l. 1 and ἐορτ[α]ν in l. 2, suggested by BFO.

with the verb. So either μ[οι (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[ῆ or μ[(ε) could be considered' (BFO 19): if this is true (and if πλάσιον with no other specification has deictic-local meaning: 'here'¹⁶), δὴ μ[ελομ]ένοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω¹⁷ / πόντιν' Ἥρα, καὶ χ[αρίε]ς' ἐόρτ[α (BFO 19) seems to deserve the greatest consideration. μελομένους' 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 ὅς οἱ πλησίον ἴξε, Archil. fr. 128 W.² ἐνδόκοις ἐχθρῶν πλησίον κατασταθείς (if the text of **M**^d can be defended), and Eur. *IA* 1551f. ἡ δὲ σταθείσα τῷ τεκόντι πλησίον / ἔλεξε τοιάδ' (where the *ordo verborum* makes it certainly preferable for the dative to be governed by πλησίον rather than ἔλεξε), and the fact that the adjective πλησίος and the verb πλησιάζω are regularly constructed with the dative.¹⁹ In this case, the solutions with μ[(οι) are still too many to attempt any supplement whatsoever,²⁰ although πλάσιον δὴ μ[ἀμφι βρ]έμοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω,²¹ for example, may prove attractive in the light of Alc. fr. 130a.18-20 V. || **[p.15]** περὶ δὲ βρέμει / ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναικῶν / ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας, which could be about the same festival, and in any case is set in the context of the same sanctuary.²²

The *epiclesis* 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:

- τὰν ἀράταν (verb, 3rd person dual) Ἀτρ[εῖδα]ι (nom. pl., already supplemented by Wilamowitz 1913: ρ is clearly legible), πόησαν / τ' οἱ βασίληες (other from the Atreids);
- τὰν ἀράταν (adj.) Ἀτρέϊδαι (nom. pl.) πόησαν / τοῖ βασίληες (apposition);
- τὰν ἀράταν (adj.) Ἀτρέϊδαι (nom. pl.) πόησαν- / τ' οἱ βασίληες (apposition);
- τὰν ἀράταν (adj.) Ἀτρέϊδα (sing. dative of agent), πόησαν / τοῖ βασίληες (subj.);
- τὰν ἀράταν (adj.) Ἀτρέϊδα (sing. dative of advantage), πόησαν- / τ' οἱ βασίληες (subj.).

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

¹⁶ But when πλησίον 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.

¹⁷ Before P. GC. inv. 105, Milne suggested μ[εὐχομένα φανείη; H.J. Milne, 'A Prayer for Charaxus', *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 176-178. Cf. also 'Sappho's Ode to Gongyla (fr. 36 D.)', *Hermes* 48 (1933) 475f. at 476.

¹⁸ For μολπή in Sappho cf. fr. 27.9, 96.5 V.; for ἄγειν ἐορτήν cf. e.g. Anacr. *PMG* 410.2, Hdt. 1.147.2, Thuc. 4.5.1, etc.

¹⁹ Cf. LSJ⁹ 1420 s.vv.

²⁰ Cf. e.g. πλάσιον δὴ μ[ἄδυ μ]έλοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω (for πλάσιον with ἄδυ see fr. 31.3 V.), or μ[ἀμφιμ]έλοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω, or μ[ἄδυλ]όχοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω, unless they are all *breviora spatio* (but one can also think of μοι in *scriptio plena*).

²¹ On the plausibility of a non-consonantal treatment of *muta cum liquida* in Sappho cf. M. Magnani, 'Note alla nuova Saffo', *Eikasmós* 16 (2005) 41-49 at 47 n. 26 and *ibid.* 58 n. 23 (with bibliography).

²² Cf. most recently S. Caciagli, 'Il temenos di Messon: uno stesso contesto per Saffo e Alceo', *Lexis* 28 (2010) 227-256 [= Caciagli 2010], and p. 17 below. To be sure, the *Kallisteia* were not the only festival celebrated in the *temenos*: Alcaeus' 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 Ἀτρείδα ... / τοί). 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, τοί is never attested: the accent added above ó by the corrector may indicate the *divisio* τ’ οἱ;

c) τ’ is out of place without a verb coordinated with πόησαν (before P. GC. inv. 105, scholars read πρῶ-/]τοί with Wilamowitz 1913, κλῆ-/]τοί with Edmonds, δίτ-/]τοί with Milne, or κλῦ-/]τοί with Theander²⁴).

Therefore the most probable structure is (cà χ[αρίε]ς ἐόρτ[α/] τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι πόησαν-/τ’ οἱ βασιλῆες.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 ... πόησαντο with the meaning || [p.16] of ἐορτὴν ἀράσαντο²⁸ see the formulaic line of the *Iliad* (17.37 = 24.741) ἀρητὸν²⁹ δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας in the meaning of τοὺς τοκέας ἄρασθαι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας,³⁰ and Sapph. fr. 32.1 V. με τιμῖαν ἐπόησαν in the sense of μ’ ἐτίμησαν, as well as fr. 5.9f. V. τὰν κασιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι / μέ]ιδονος τίμας in the sense of τὰν κασιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι μᾶλλον τιμᾶν (or τιμᾶσθαι).³¹ As to ποήσαν-/τ’ without augment,³² see fr. 98.1 V. με γέννα[τ’.³³ The reading Ἀτρείδα to indicate Menelaus only, as suggested by BFO 6 and 20 in line with *Od.* 3.169,³⁴ is less plausible because the simple patronymic would be undoubtedly ambiguous.³⁵ We should suppose,

²³ Moreover, it would be an active dual (from ἀράομαι!) without augment: three exceptions seem really too many.

²⁴ Respectively J. M. Edmonds, ‘The New Lyrical Fragments’, *CR* 28 (1914) 73-78 at 75, H. J. Milne, ‘New Restorations in Sappho’, *PCPhS* 151/153 (1932) 1f [= Milne 1932], and C. Theander, ‘Lesbiaca’, *Eranos* 41 (1943) [= Theander 1943] 139-168 at 147.

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 πολυάρητος (the meaning of which is ambiguous in *Od.* 19.404: cf. J. Peradotto, *Man in the Middle Voice. Name and Narration in the Odyssey* (Princeton 1990) 138; BFO 20). As to the semantic evolution of ἀράομαι, see S.J. Pulleyen, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford 1997) 70-76 and BFO 20f. Lidov’s identification of the paranomasia Ἡρη/Ἡρα, ἀρη-/ἄρα- here, which would link the Sapphic line to Call. *H. Del.* 205, is too subtle (Lidov 2004, 398f.).

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

²⁹ Codd. pll., M.L. West, *Homerus. Ilias*, II (Monachii-Stuttgartiae 2000) 139, 266: ἄρητον **hCRW**, W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, II, 1902² (1866¹), 221, Chantraine, *GHI* 160, all.

³⁰ Not by chance did H. Jurenka suggest Ἀτρ[εΐδα]ι θέσαν 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 Ἀτρείδα ἐπόησαν-/τ’, but in P. GC. inv. 105 there seems to be no space before π for more than the ι of Ἀτρείδα: 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 Ἀτρείδα 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.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 τεῖχος βασιλήϊον of Alc. fr. 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 ἐκτελέσαντες³⁷) ‘great enterprises’ (μ[εγά]λοις ἀέθλοις³⁸), ‘firstly around Ilium’ (l. 6 πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ || [p.17] Ἴλιον³⁹), and ‘then after setting out until they came here’ (l. 7 τυῖδ’ ἀπορμάθεν[τες⁴⁰]). 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 ἐδύναντο⁴¹) ‘find the way’ (l. 7 ὄ]δον γάρ εὔρη[ν⁴²]), before invoking ‘you’ (l. 9 πρὶν σε ... πεδέλθην⁴³), ‘Zeus protector of suppliants’ (καὶ Δί’ ἀντ[ί]σων) and the ‘charming son of Thyone’ (l. 10 καὶ Θυῶνασ ἱμε[ρόν]ετα] παῖδα⁴⁴), 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 fr. 129.1-12, 130b.13-22 and perhaps also 130a.15 V. A well known (and ver noisy) female beauty contest took place there during the festival of the *Kallisteia*.⁴⁵

The temporal deictic νῦν δέ (l. 11⁴⁶) and the appearance of ‘we’, presumably performative (l. 11 πόημεν) in the present ritual context, marks the return to the current occasion. If we must read]ρᾶ⁴⁷ before πόημεν the supplements κ[ᾶ]γω, πότνια, λίσσομαί σε and κ[ᾶ]μοι πραυμένησ ἄρηξον suggested by Edmonds⁴⁸ and Page (1955, 58) respectively before P. GC. inv. 105 must be

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

³⁷ The same participle, referring to the completion of a journey, is found in *Od.* 10.41.

³⁸ The text of P. GC. inv. 105 (for which cf. Alc. fr. 350.4 V. and also e.g. Pind. *O.* 3.21, *N.* 1.11, Eur. fr. 740.2f. K.) has now replaced Page’s μ[ά]λα πόλλ’ ἄεθλα (1955, 58).

³⁹ According to BFO (21), P. Oxy. 2289 fr. 9 reads Εἴ[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. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXI (London 1951) [= Lobel 1951], 4f. and Eva-Maria Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971) [= Voigt 1971 = V.] 45, who read ἱ. In the light of fr. 44.23 V. and Alc. fr. 42.4 V., it is perhaps better to reconstitute the form ἴλιον. For the expression cf. Hdt. 2.10.2, 118.1. The phrase πρῶτα μὲν occurs eight times in the Homeric poems, while the phrase with ἄφερον δέ does not seem to be attested elsewhere. However, for ἄφερον in Lesbian poets cf. Voigt 1971, 387 s.v.

⁴⁰ The deictic ‘here’ has actualising function: cf. fr. 1.5 V.

⁴¹ The syntagma already occurs four times in the *Iliad*.

⁴² With ὄδον, already suggested by Wilamowitz 1913, before P. GC. inv. 105 confirmed it: so the Greeks in *Od.* 3.169-175. For the syntagma cf. Pind. *O.* 1.110 (metaphorical), *N.* 6.54, Aesch. *Eu.* 988f.

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 LSJ⁹ 1120 s.v. IV.5.

⁴⁴ P. GC. inv. 105 confirms again a supplement by Wilamowitz 1913.

⁴⁵ Cf. Alc. fr. 130b.17-20 V., Theophr. fr. 564 Fortenbaugh *ap.* Ath. 13.610a, anon. *AP* 9.189 (= Sapph. test. 59 Campbell), *schol. DA II.* 9.129-30 and perhaps also Hesych. π 4342 H. (where the winners of a beauty contest are called ‘Pylaiides’, from the slopes of the mount Pylaion). The doubts of Luigia Achillea Stella (‘Gli dei di Lesbo in Alceo fr. 129 LP’, *PP* 9 (1956) 321-334 at 330f.) do not seem conclusive: see most recently Ferrari 2007, 183 and Caciagli 2010. BFO 5f. now think that this song too may be set during the *Kallisteia*, in the light of ll. 13-15: cf. below.

⁴⁶ Cf. fr. 67a.5, 82b.3, 96.6, and perhaps 103B.3 V.

⁴⁷ Cf. BFO 13 and 22 (‘perhaps’).

⁴⁸ J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, I (London and Cambridge, Mass. 1952³; cf. 1922¹, 1928²) 210.

replaced with something like (e.g.) κ[ἄμμεσ κοί γερ]ἄρα 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 ὄχλος / παρθέ[νων] ὡς ὡς ὡς ὡς γ]υναίκων, that can recall the ‘female’ context of the *Kallisteia* or the nuptial and festival one of fr. 44.14f. V. παῖς ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ’ ἄμα παρθενικά[ν]. Immediately before, the papyrus reads ἄγνα⁵² καὶ κά[, 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 κάλ’ 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 majestic⁵⁵, 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[λ]. εἶσι δὲ τυίδ’ ὄδ’ ὄχλος / παρθ[ένων] τ’ ἄμ’ εὐχομένην γ]υναίκων.⁵⁶ The subject, the female ὄχλος, arranged itself ‘around’ (l. 15 ἀμφι[ς] [ι: around the altar, as in inc. auct. fr. 16 V.?), presumably to perform the song (in l. 16 μέτρ’ ὀλ[ολύδην] 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 [.] νιλ[, to be segmented as -ν ιλ- or -νι λ-), we find again ‘to be’ (l. 19 ἔμμενα[ι] already suggested by A.S. Hunt⁵⁸) and ‘to come’, which probably followed the name of Hera, repeated in the vocative at the beginning of the last line (l. 20 Ἥ[ρ]’ ἀπικε[σθαι]⁵⁹), thus closing the inspired poem in *Ringkomposition*.

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

⊗ Πλάσιον δὴ μ[ὲ] ἀμφι βρ]έμοις ἀ[γέσθ]ω
 πότνι Ἥρα, καὶ χα[ρίε]ς ἐόρτα,
 τὰν ἀράταν Ἄτρ[είδα]ι ποήσαν-

⁴⁹ However, there are many alternatives for both the epithet in the dative (βρι]ἄρα, δολ]ἄρα, κρατ]ἄρα, μαλ]ἄρα, σθεν]ἄρα, φοβ]ἄρα, or θαλ]ἄρα λιπ]ἄρα, φαν]ἄρα etc.) and the syntactical articulation (e.g. κ[ἄμμεσ κοί τότε] βρῶ πόημεν, κ[ἄμμεσ εὐ σ’ ιλ]ἄρα(ν) πόημεν, and further—if] ῥα is not the only possible reading before πόημεν—κ[ἄμμεσ σ’ ἴλλασ]ν εὔ πόημεν, etc.). It goes without saying that the high number of possibilities precludes the reconstruction of the formal structure. BFO (22) confidently print νῦν δὲ κ[αί. 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 πάλ[αιον] (1914, 228), dubious because Aeolic Greek seems to have πάλαος (cf. Alc. fr. 169a.5 V.), with κατ τὸ πάλ[αι] δὴ, with the usual postposition of the particle after the temporal adverb (cf. Denniston, *GP* 206f., 240).

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

⁵² For the theme of sacredness in Sappho cf. frr. 2.2, 44.22 and 26, 53, 103.5 V.

⁵³ ‘I nuovi frammenti di Saffo’, *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., LSJ⁹ 345, *DGE* 801), γερ]ἄρα would once again express Sappho’s usual ‘intimacy’ with her goddesses.

⁵⁶ Modelled on the above mentioned fr. 44.15f. V. παῖς ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ’ ἄμα παρθενικά[ν].

⁵⁷ Again on the grounds of Alc. fr. 130a.18-20 V. περὶ δὲ βρέμει / ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναίκων / ἴρασ ὀλλούγασ ἐνιαυσίας.

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

⁵⁹ With the plausible supplements by Milne 1932, if the former is not *longior spatium*, but see for example Theander’s suggestion Ἥ-/ρ’ (Theander 1943, 147).

τ' οἱ βασίλῃες,	
<-->	[p.19]
ἐκτελέσσαντες μ[εγά]λοις ἀέθλοις	5
πρῶτα μὲν πὲρ ᾿[λιον]· ἄψερρον δὲ	
τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τες· ὄ]δον γὰρ εὖρη[ν	
οὐκ ἐδύναντο,	
<-->	
πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[ί]αιον] πεδέλθην	
καὶ Θυῶνας ἰμε[ρόεντα] παῖδα·	10
νῦν δὲ κ[ᾶ]μμες κοὶ γερ]άρρα πόημεν	
κάτ τὸ πάλ[αι] δῆ	
--	
ἄγνα καὶ κα[λ]· . εἶσι δὲ τυίδ' ὄδ' ὄ]χλος	
π[α]ρθέ[νων τ' ἄμ' εὐχομέναν γ]υναϊκῶν	
ἀμφις [15
μέτρ' ὀλ[ολύσδην	
--	
πας[
.	
.	
.	
[.] νιλ[
ἔμμενα[ι	
[᾿]Η]ρ' ἀπικε[σθαι. ⊗	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. ἄ τῶμον III, quod Burris-Fish⁶⁰ ad fr. 16.14 V. rettulerunt | δῆ μ['] ἀμφὶ βρ]έμοις' suppleverim e.g. : δῆ μ[ε]λομ]έμοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω BFO || η ex α corr. I, ηρα· III, ᾿Ἡρα an ᾿Ἡρα incertum' Lobel-Page⁶¹ | σὰ χ[αρίε]σς' ἔορτ[α post Wilamowitz 1913 (χ[αρίε]σσα μόρφα) BFO || 3 ἀράταν sscr. ε supra primum α III (contra metrum) | Ἄτρ[είδα] Wilamowitz 1913 : Ἄτρ[είδα]ι BFO || 3s. ποήσαν-/τ' οἱ post Lidov distinxerim : πόησαν / τοὶ BFO || 5 post Diehl⁶² (μ[έ]γ') et Page (μ[ά]λα πόλλ' ἄεθλα) suppl. BFO || 6 εἰ[(iuxta BFO) vel ι[(iuxta Lobel⁶³ et Voigt: 'litt. I parti inf. oppos. est h.h. pars extr. sin.') IV unde περ Εἴ[λιον 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') : πὲρ ᾿[λ]ιον Page; ad formam communiorem fort. reddendam, cf. autem Sapph. fr. 44.23 V., Alc. fr. 42.4 V. || 7 τυίδ' II et III (i) : τυίδ' I | μάθ III : μάθ IV unde ἀπορμάθεν[τες· (cum τυίδ' constr. esse neg. Castiglioni) ὄδον τέλεσσαι iam Wilamowitz 1913 | ὄ]δον γὰρ εὖρη[ν cum II ([.] νγα ευρ.] BFO || 9 λ ex c || [p.20] corr. II | ἀντ[ί]αιον Lobel⁶⁴ (cl. Alc. fr. 129.5 V., neg.

⁶⁰ S. Burris and J. Fish, 'Sappho 16.13-14 and a Marginal Annotation Attributed in PSI 123 to Nicanor', *ZPE* 189 (2014) 29-31.

⁶¹ E. Lobel-D. L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1955; cf. 1963², 1968³) 15.

⁶² E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica. Supplementum* (Lipsiae 1942) 59.

⁶³ 1951, 4f.

⁶⁴ E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XVIII (London 1941) 31 n. 1.

Deubner⁶⁵) || **10** suppl. Wilamowitz 1913 || **11s.** atr. vestigia in I || **11** κ[ἄμμεσ κοί γερ]ἄρα (vel sim.) temptaverim : κ[αί BFO : κ[ἄγω, πότνια, λίσσομαί σε Edmonds⁶⁶ (ante P. GC. inv. 105) : κ[ἄμοι πραυμένησ ἄρηξον Page (ante P. GC. inv. 105) || **12** κὰτ I : κατ II | κὰτ τὸ πάλ[αι δὴ post Wilamowitz 1914 (πάλ[αιον, sed cf. Alc. fr. 169a,5 V. παλάων et vid. Hamm⁶⁷ et Voigt 1971, 46) temptaverim : κὰτ τὸ πάλ[αον BFO || **13** κα[sive fort. κλ[I | in fine] . λ ο c II || **13s.** ἄγνα καὶ κά[λ'. εἴσι δὲ τυίδ' ὄδ' ὄ]χλος / παρθέ[νων τ' ἄμ' εὐχομέναν γ]υναίκων (cl. fr. 44.14s. V. παῖς ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ' ἄμα παρθενικά[ν]) post Castiglioni (v. 13 καὶ κά[λα) et Hunt (v. 14 [π]αρθ[εν] temptaverim || **15** μφι[I (ultimo loco c vel θ) : μφι[II (primo loco α vel λ, dein c[possis) || **16** μετρ' .. II (ολ[possis) | μέτρ' ὀλ[ολύσδην (cl. Alc. fr. 130a.18-20 V.) BFO, fort. recte || **17** II ('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** [.]νλ[I ('ante N, fort. ω vel Η', Voigt 1971, 46) || **19** suppl. Hunt || **20** in mg. sin. coronidem praebet I | suppl. Milne 1932 (nisi [H]ρ' longius spatio: sed [H-]/ρ' cum Theander fort. possis).

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

<-->

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

<-->

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 (?).

|| [p.21]

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

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 πόημεν (l. 11) 'suggests choral performance' (BFO 5), although some caution on this aspect is still justified.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ L. Deubner, 'Zu den neuen Bruchstücken des Alkaios', *APAW* 7 (1943) 6f.

⁶⁶ J. M. Edmonds, 'The New Lyrical Fragments II', *CR* 30 (1916) 97-107 at 98.

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

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 I. Lana-E.V. Maltese (edd.), *Storia della civiltà*

b) The relationship between νῦν δέ (l. 11) and κατ τὸ πάλ[- (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).⁶⁹ now enriched by the presence of an ὄχλος / παρθέ[νων ≃ - υ υ - γ]υναίκων (ll. 13f.), certainly suggests—under the general designation of ἐόρτα—the characters of the Lesbian *Kallisteia*, to which Alcaeus (fr. 130b V.) and *schol. DA II. IX 129-30* allude,⁷⁰ or at least a festival for Hera with a large female participation.⁷¹

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. || [p.22] 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.⁷²

b) The celebration of the *temenos* and its cult⁷³ as well as a ‘propemptic’ mode⁷⁴—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 festival⁷⁵—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. fr. 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.

⁷⁰ Cf. also Ath. 13.565f, *schol. Ap. Rh. 1.865-868*. On this topic see especially C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*, Engl. transl. (Boston 2001²; cf. ed. or. Roma 1977) 122f.

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* = Sapph. 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 Caciagli (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

Abstract: Sapph. fr. 17 V. in the light of the new P. GC. inv. 105: critical edition and exegetical notes, with some proposals of integration and an overall interpretation.

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* (fr. 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 fr. 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., Ὀλβίοις μὲν κτλ., Πλάσιον δὴ κτλ., Πᾶν κτλ., Πότιναι 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. fr. 27, 30 V.) was included at the end of the book, as P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 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, “‘Olisboi’ 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.