

**The Study of Historical and Philological Papyrology:
Case Studies “New Sappho” and “Newest Sappho”**

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how a recently discovered papyrus fragment is analyzed by examining closely two new Sappho papyri found within the last decade, known as the “Newest Sappho” and “New Sappho” respectively. The former consists of a set of fragments discovered in 2014 by Dirk Obbink which contains both the Brothers Song and Kypris Song; the latter denotes another set of fragments including the Tithonus Song, published by Martin Gronewald and Robert Daniel in 2004. The investigation of the new discoveries will be divided into two case studies: the first will be focused on the P. Sapph. Obbink fragment and its Brothers Song, exploring the possibility that the Brothers Song is not necessarily Sappho’s work, but rather an example of an ancient imitation. The second case study will be focused on Sappho’s Tithonus Song, as preserved in P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376. My investigation for this section will proceed first by identifying the actual length of the Tithonus Song – examining where the poem begins and where it ends, and continue by addressing how Sappho interprets old age in her poem. Each of the two case studies will be divided further into two methodologies – a papyrological and philological approach – which will govern my analysis, addressing certain problems and issues that are unique to each find. Evaluation of the two new Sappho fragments will also demonstrate that issues concerning the texts are not isolated to the paleography, history, and content of the documents. My investigation will show that our handling of new papyrological discoveries affects the continued study of Sappho and her lyric works.

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Introduction

Sappho, a lyric poet from archaic Lesbos, was known for weaving together themes of love and sexuality instead of war and heroism in her lyrics. The Lesbian poet's renown as a great female lyricist is evident in both ancient and modern responses to her poetry: Plato praises Sappho's poetic excellence by proposing that she is the "tenth Muse" and Hellenistic poets similarly call her "the Mortal Muse".¹ Numerous ancient authors – Greek and Roman alike – were inspired and influenced by the poetry of Sappho, as is evident in Anacreon's Poem 358, Catullus' Poem 51, and Horace's *Ode* 4.1. Their works are either near translation of one of Sappho's poems or an imitation of her work. Scholarly interest in Sappho and her poetry has increased substantially in the past century. Sappho's compositions challenged the norm of a period in which literary works were authored mainly by men; it is said that she composed up to nine books of lyric poetry in her native Aeolic dialect. But despite Sappho's prominence, very little of her work survives: only a couple of poems are completely preserved (i.e. fr.1 and 31), a few are relatively complete, and the rest are fragmentary and lacunose pieces.

When Edgar Lobel published his edition of *P.Oxy.* 2289, he remarked how the *then* recently found Sapphic fragment "cannot be said to add much to our knowledge ... [and] brings new darkness".² Lobel undoubtedly did not anticipate that another pair of fragments by Sappho would resurface half a century later, one of which incidentally overlaps with the pieces of papyri he once regarded as not having made a substantial difference in the study of Sappho's poetry. The reason for his reservation is the infrequency of finding comprehensible and authentic ancient literary texts, even more so in the case of discovering new Sapphic fragments.

¹ Carson 2002.

² Lobel (ed.) 1951:2. Lobel's remarks were directed to fragments 2, 5, and 4 of *P.Oxy.* 2289 assemblage, which he identifies as texts of Sappho from her Book 1.

Philologists specializing in the study of Sappho are always excited by the discovery of unknown Sappho papyri because every new piece of evidence brings them one step closer towards recreating the biographical and poetic history of the poet. Even so, there are still issues that coincide with every new discovery of a Sappho fragment or any other major literary text from antiquity.

History of the Scholarship

In January 1897, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt uncovered a treasure trove (of sorts) of papyrological artifacts when they began to excavate at the ancient rubbish pile at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. For six seasons, which extended between the years 1897-1907, Grenfell and Hunt collectively discovered hundreds of thousands of papyrus scraps, of which over 5,000 pieces have been published within the volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (the rest are yet to be studied). The discovery included a great assortment of religious, literary, and documentary papyri that were accompanied by a comparable amount of other material artefacts. The discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri was the most important find in the recent century: one of the more significant discoveries from the Oxyrhynchus acquisitions were pieces of fragmentary papyri bearing some of the once lost lyric verses of Sappho.

The study of Sappho and her lyrics can be traced back to antiquity and to the ancient reception of her works, which testify to her poetic proficiency and eloquence. Sappho's influence is evident in ancient testimonia: Athenaeus (13.599c), for instance, makes the claim that the girl described in Anacreon's Poem 358 as the "girl with embroidered sandals" (νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλω, 3) is Sappho herself. Likewise, the admiration of the Roman poet Catullus for Sappho's lyrics is reflected in his Poem 51, where he echoes and nearly imitates the stylistic structure, format, and technique the poet employed in her fragment 31. Dimitrios

Yatromanolakis' 2007 monograph maps out the anthropology of Sappho's early reception; he demonstrates how the ancient study of her poetry has been "filtered through culturally intricate politics of context, gender, and *écriture*" relevant to the period.³ Sappho's influence transcended generations of poets and scholars: from the plays of Shakespeare, to the poetry of A.E. Houseman, certain aspects of Sappho's lyrical technique and content resonate in modern poetry despite the small number of Sapphic texts that have survived.

The chances of finding any new Sappho manuscript on papyrus are truly slim – as rare as the ancient document itself – and the discovery of one is rightfully considered as a windfall of sorts by modern scholars. The study of Sappho's lyric works, for some time, relied heavily on citations, commentaries, and testimonia in the absence of the poems themselves. The fortuitous papyrological discoveries of Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus were groundbreaking because they uncovered new Sapphic verses which were otherwise lost. The first Sapphic fragment, *P.Oxy.* 7, was published by Grenfell and Hunt as part of the first volume of their Oxyrhynchus papyri collection in 1898.⁴ Further findings were published in later volumes within the next few years: *P.Oxy.* 1231 and 1232 were published in the tenth volume in 1914, *P.Oxy.* 1787 in the fifteenth volume in 1922, and *P.Oxy.* 2076 in the seventeenth volume in 1927. In the 1950s, Edgar Lobel, another editor of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, discovered further fragments of Sapphic poetry. Apart from the Oxyrhynchus acquisitions, other Sappho papyri were discovered in the Cologne, Berlin, Halle, and Milan collections. Such papyrological discoveries not only increased the amount of extant Sappho; some have also certified the Sapphic authorship of previously known Sapphic lyrics, if not overlapped with another copy of the same Sapphic poem.

³ Yatromanolakis 2007: 167.

⁴ Bagnall 2009.

The papyri have also ushered in another means of studying Sappho's poetry: modern scholars can now assess the lyric verses of the Lesbian poet themselves. Every new discovery of Sapphic poetry allows us to understand her, her poetic interest, and her agenda better. But discoveries of complete (or more or less complete) lyrics of Sappho (e.g., frs. 1V, 16V, 31V, 44V, and the new Brothers Song) are few and far in between; most fragments that have been discovered in the past are small, preserving only some sections of a Sapphic stanza, a couplet of text, or a few letters here and there. The difficulty is that a smaller manuscript does not provide enough material to permit a thorough examination, beyond a brief papyrological analysis. Such is the case with the discovery of *P.Oxy. 2289 fr.5*: it is a miniscule piece of papyrus that preserves only a few letters of an unknown text.⁵ It was presumed to be authored by Sappho because of its association with other fragments in the *P.Oxy. 2289* assemblage. But the Sapphic authorship of the fragment was only confirmed (and with much certainty) after the 2014 discovery of *P. Sapph. Obbink*.⁶

The newly discovered papyrological material has also resulted in an explosion of modern scholarship dedicated to Sappho. Numerous critical editions of Sappho's poetry emerged in the years following the Oxyrhynchus papyri discoveries and acquisitions. The first contemporary critical edition of Sappho was produced by Edgar Lobel in 1925, namely *Σαπφοῦς μέλη: The Fragment of Lyrical Poems of Sappho*. Lobel's monograph, which was accompanied by a volume of Alcaeus's poetry comparably entitled *Ἀλκαίου μέλη*, set new standards in the collation and translation of extant poems by presenting a detailed study of Sappho's poetry (and

⁵ See Lobel (ed.) 1951: 2-6. The entire 11-piece assemblage of Oxyrhynchus papyrus #2289 was presumed by Lobel as part of an unknown Sappho text because its fragments 9 and 6 were composed in the Lesbian dialect typical of her Aeolic lyrics.

⁶ The title "Brothers Song" was coined by Dirk Obbink after his study of the *P. Sapph. Obbink* fragment. It is not Sappho's title for the poem. For further discussion of *P. Sapph. Obbink* and its Brothers Song, see Chapter One of this thesis.

of Alcaeus' fragments). His work addressed the difference between the language, poetic forms, grammar, and metre used by the Lesbian poets. Then, in 1955, collaboration between Edgar Lobel and Denys Page (*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*) superseded the thirty-year-old Sappho and Alcaeus editions. It added new discoveries, including a fragment published in the Oxyrhynchus collection by Lobel in 1927.

Though Lobel and Page's edition presents an organized and conservative version of the texts, a review by A. J. Beatie (1957) notes how certain emendations should not have been made. Eva-Maria Voigt's 1971 critical edition, *Sappho et Alcaeus*, updated the Lesbian poets' extant works anew: it follows the numeration set by Lobel and Page, and included smaller fragments that were once omitted in previous critical editions and sections which discuss the lives and works of the Lesbian poets. Despite the decades that have passed since Voigt's publication of her critical edition on the Lesbian poets' works and the emergence of other newer critical editions, Voigt's is still the standard edition.⁷

The Two Case Studies on New Sappho Fragments

The objective of this thesis is to investigate how a recently discovered papyrus fragment is analyzed by examining closely two new Sappho papyri found within the last decade, known as the "Newest Sappho" and "New Sappho" respectively. The former consists of a set of fragments discovered in 2014 by Dirk Obbink which contains both the Brothers Song and Kypris Song; the latter denotes another set of fragments including the Tithonus Song, published by Martin Gronewald and Robert Daniel in 2004. The investigation of the new discoveries will be divided

⁷ Newer translations of Sappho's poetry include the following: David Campbell's *Greek Lyric* in the Loeb Collection (1982); Anne Carson's (2002) *If Not Winter: Fragments of Sappho*; Willis Barnstones' (2009) *The Complete Collection of Sappho*; and, Diane Rayor & André Lardinois' (2014) *Sappho: A New Translation of Complete Works*.

into two case studies: the first will be focused on the P. Sapph. Obbink fragment and its Brothers Song. The second case study will be focused on Sappho's Tithonus Song, as preserved in P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376. Each of the two case studies will be divided further into two methodologies – a papyrological and philological approach – which will govern my analysis, addressing certain problems and issues that are unique to each find.

The distinction between the two discipline-specific approaches is a heuristic (these certainly overlap with one another) but it is nonetheless helpful because studying how new texts are analyzed involves reception, papyrology, and literary criticism. My contribution to the study of Sappho and her newly discovered fragments will therefore be to take on the role of a third-party observer: I aim to look beyond the text of the scholarship, and to consider how individual approaches, techniques, and methods by which the new poems are handled affect the outcome of every analysis.

The first case study concerns the most recent discovery (the “Brothers Song”) preserved on P. Sapph. Obbink. The story of its discovery dates back to January 2012, when a private collector from London contacted the Oxford classicist Dirk Obbink regarding some compressed pieces of papyri which he had recently acquired at a Christies auction.⁸ After an extensive analysis of the ancient texts, Obbink announced in 2014 through a preliminary article that the papyrus fragments contain poems of Sappho.⁹ The latest discovery is the second group of

⁸ Information regarding the interaction between the anonymous London owner (whose identity presently remains undisclosed apart from being a ‘businessman’ of sorts) and Obbink, as well as the discovery of the newest Sappho manuscripts were mostly discussed online via websites headed by academics/classicists. See Gannon 2015 (*Live Science*); id., Barford 2015 (*PACHI Blog post*), and Mendelsohn 2015 (*The New Yorker*).

⁹ The timeline of the announcement for the ‘Newest Sappho’ discovery is complicated. When Obbink first announced his discovery about the newest Sappho fragments in 2014, he posted a draft version of his *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* article through the Oxyrhynchus Papyri website in early January. However, news about the newest Sappho papyri was already being discussed in academic circles for some time and before Obbink’s formal announcement. Word regarding the discovery of the ‘Newest Sappho’ also quickly spread online, with websites including *The Daily Beast* and *The Guardian* publishing details about the discovery of the new fragments shortly within the same month. A few of these online articles also raise questions regarding some of the

Sapphic fragments found within the span of a decade and is one of the largest collection of the Lesbian poet's manuscripts unearthed since the Oxyrhynchus acquisitions.

The "Newest Sappho" consists of five fragments that preserve sections of nine poems, many of which overlap with other Sappho papyri. Four of the five fragments are poorly preserved, vary in size, and are now held by the Green Collection: these fragments, dubbed P. GC inv. 105, fragments 1-4, overlap with fragments 5, 9, 16, 17, and 18 (as enumerated in Eva-Marie Voigt's edition) of the Sapphic corpus, which were originally published as *P.Oxy.* 1231 by Grenfell and Hunt. The overlap not only confirms that the new fragments are part of a copy of book one of the Alexandrian collection;¹⁰ it also affects earlier translations and interpretations of the given texts. The fifth and the most noteworthy fragment from the group is P. Sapph. Obbink, which remains the property of the London owner. It is a fairly well-preserved papyrus containing twenty-eight lines of two previously unknown Sappho poems. Dirk Obbink labeled the two new poems as the Brothers Poem (or Brothers Song) and the Kypris Song in accordance with the content of the two texts. The former, which occupies the top section of the fragment, is a rare depiction of Sappho as a sister concerned with the safety and wellbeing of her two brothers. The bottom section preserves the first few lines of the latter poem. It is mostly fragmentary, but the preserved text, otherwise, reveals how the female speaker (which is presumed to be Sappho) invokes the aid of goddess Aphrodite (whom she refers to as '*Queen Kypris*') in order to relieve her from the pain of unrequited love.

controversial aspects in Obbink's articles. Paul Barford's article "No-Questions-Asking UK Academic Read a Freshly-Uncovered Ripped-up Papyrus from Unknown Source", in particular, address the contestable information regarding the acquisition, authenticity, and provenance, which he implies were more-or-less overlooked by Obbink. The Oxford classicist, consequently, took down his preliminary version of "Two New Poems by Sappho" (now published in *ZPE* 189) and replaced the initial article with a revised version in *TLS* on February 5, 2016.

¹⁰ Bierl and Lardinois 2016: 1.

As the original editor of the new texts, Dirk Obbink currently dominates the scholarship on the “Newest Sappho”. Obbink (2014a and b; 2015; 2016a, b, and c) endeavors to explain the historical, papyrological, and philological aspects of the “Newest Sappho” fragments, including the discovery of the five new fragments (comprising P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, frs. 1-4), the authenticity of the fragments as belonging to the Alexandrian Sapphic corpus, and their textual connections with other known Sappho fragments from the Oxyrhynchus papyri collection. He has also provided new translation and interpretation of the texts. Obbink’s explanations of the new fragments, however, are not definitive; numerous other scholars have attempted to resolve certain contentious elements of Obbink’s translations and arguments.¹¹ André Lardinois (2016), for example, looks into the authenticity of the Brothers Song and the possibility that the poem was an imitation of a Sapphic original that was available to scholars in the 5th century BC. Lardinois’ examination of the Brothers Song also leads him to believe that the brothers Charaxos and Larichos are stock characters used by Sappho to address domestic related themes that are common in other archaic Greek poetry. Joel Lidov (2016) warns future translators about hastily made postulations and conclusions regarding the “Newest Sappho” texts, including translations that ensue in their study. Lidov points out, through his assessment of textual patterns in the so-called melic version of ‘prayer for safety’, several editorial issues in the texts and problems with the translation of the Brothers Song.

The chapter, in general, will investigate the methods, emerging patterns, and questions that ensue from the present-day analysis of an ancient document. However, the specific focus of the first chapter is on the Brothers Song, and I will proceed first, by investigating why the Brothers Song is predominantly accepted as an original work by Sappho. Its fundamental

¹¹ For a collection of essays about the “Newest Sappho” and, in particular, chapters dedicated to the study of the Brothers Song and the Kypris Song, see A. Bierl and A. Lardinois eds. (Brill: 2016).

question is: *why is it Sappho?* Information derived from the study of the extant collection of Sappho's poems and ancient attestations of her work inform our current understanding of the poetic style of the Lesbian poet – evidence which modern editors use to identify or even help authenticate a fragment suspected of bearing the Aeolic lyrics of Sappho. Obbink explains that the Brothers Song is a convincing example of Sappho's poetry based on the following criteria: the language, metre, dialect, and style used; the poetic structure and breaks which are distinctive to Sapphic stanzas; and, the explicit reference to Larichos and Charaxos, who are identified in Herodotus' *Histories* (2.135) as two of the three brothers of Sappho.¹² Additionally, the new poem overlaps with a known Sappho fragment (*P. Oxy.* 2289 fr.5) and the hand of P. Sapph. Obbink is the same as that of the P. GC inv. 104 fragments, which certainly derive from a copy of Book 1.¹³ Meanwhile, other editors, such as Bierl and Lardinois, praise the Brothers Song as an exemplum of Sappho's poetry because it fundamentally "forces [her audience] to think differently about her work".¹⁴

The main argument of this chapter, however, focuses on how the Brothers Song is possibly an ancient imitation of Sappho's poetry. Despite a consensus among scholars on the Sapphic authorship of the Brothers Song, inconsistencies and certain linguistic irregularities are apparent in the lyric text, making the poem appear rather a poor example of a Sappho poem (if it is truly authored by Sappho).¹⁵ My investigation will continue by examining how the Brothers Song may have been authored by someone else in antiquity, who has imitated the poetic interest and agenda of Sappho in his or her emulation and recreation of a Sapphic poem. The hypothesis

¹² Obbink 2014b: 33. Sappho's brother Larichos is also mentioned in a passage by Athenaeus (XIII 596c = Sappho test. 254c Voigt). Details about Sappho's brothers are further mentioned in the following ancient biographies: a passage in *Suda* (S 107 = test. 254 Voigt), Chamaeleon's treatise on Sappho (fr.27 Wehrli, *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr.1), and a commentary from an anonymous author (*P.Oxy.* 2506 fr.48. Col. iii 1 36-48 = Sappho test. 213A h Voigt).

¹³ Obbink 2014b: 40-45.

¹⁴ Bierl and Lardinois 2016: 3.

¹⁵ For further discussion of linguistic issues in the Brothers Song, see Lardinois (2016) and Kurke (2016).

that the Brothers Song is an ancient imitation of Sappho's poetry shines light on the imitation of literary works of renowned authors in antiquity, especially after study of the *Carmina Anacreontea* identified the assemblage as imitations of Anacreon's poetry. A brief comparative study between the Brothers Song and the *Carmina Anacreontea* will further reveal certain elements and techniques that ancient authors have used to imitate the poetic voice of the lyric poets.

The second case study will focus on the new version of the Tithonus Song preserved on P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376. In 2002, a modest collection of 25 papyrus fragments was purchased by the University of Cologne from a private collector based outside of Egypt. After a thorough examination of the newly acquired papyrus assemblage, two fragments (P.Köln. inv. 21351) were identified as preserving sections of a Sappho poem: the first fragment, comprising the top of a column is fairly well preserved, while the second fragment, making up the bottom of the previous column, is riddled with holes and other lacunae. Parts of both fragments correspond to a poem of Sappho discovered among the Oxyrhynchus papyri (i.e., *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1), currently enumerated as fragment 58 Voigt in the extant Sapphic corpus.

The *editio princeps* of the Cologne discovery was published in 2004 by Michael Gronewald and Robert Daniel in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. The editors argued that the fragments derived from mummy cartonnage and they dated the hand to sometime in the third century BC, based on the partially epigraphic letterforms.¹⁶ Further study of the fragments determined that they were part of an anthology of literary texts produced sometime in the Ptolemaic period.¹⁷ Later in the same year, Gronewald and Daniel identified a third fragment bearing a Sappho poem (i.e. P.Köln. inv. 21376). Close examination of the Cologne fragments

¹⁶ Gronewald and Daniel 2004a: 1.

¹⁷ Skinner 2009: 1.

reveal that P.Köln. inv. 21376 physically joins with the two fragments of P.Köln. inv. 21351, like puzzle pieces.¹⁸

Prior to the discovery of the Cologne papyri, however, another Sapphic manuscript was found in the Oxyrhynchus collection; its discovery proved to be integral to the study of the “New Sappho” fragments. In 1922, Grenfell and Hunt published a critical edition of a 45-piece assemblage of Oxyrhynchus papyri (*P.Oxy.* XV 1787). Their papyrological analysis of the preserved text established – right from the beginning of their study – that Sappho was the author of the poems on the third century AD manuscript.¹⁹ At the time of its publication, it was only the sixth extant copy of Sappho’s work that had been recovered from the Oxyrhynchus excavations.²⁰ The assemblage’s first fragment preserves 25 lines, twelve of which correspond to the text on the Cologne papyri. In the poem, which is sometimes referred to as either the “Song on Old Age” or the “Tithonus Poem”, the speaker describes the physical deterioration of the human body (or that of the female speaker’s body) as a result of old age and concludes with a Tithonus exemplum.²¹ The two titles are interchangeable; for chapter two, I will refer it as Tithonus Song. The mythological exemplum is an important aspect of the poem, revealing how Sappho’s concerns go beyond the corporeal changes humans face at the onset of old age and are tied to her future as a poet. The discovery of the *P.Oxy.* 1787 and its version of Sappho’s Tithonus Song is significant for the study and analysis of the current “New Sappho” papyri

¹⁸ Only the first 4 lines of P.Köln inv. 21376 correspond with the poetic structure of the Sapphic text in P.Köln. inv. 21351. The text that follows, of which comprise parts of 13 other lines, was explained by Gronewald and Daniel as a non-Aeolic, non-Sapphic lyric text. See Gronewald and Daniel 2004b; and Gronewald and Daniel 2005.

¹⁹ Grenfell and Hunt 1922: 26-27.

²⁰ Grenfell and Hunt 1922: 26-27.

²¹ The mythological background of Tithonus is explained in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (218-238), in which Eos (Dawn) was so enamored with the beauty of Tithonus that she abducted the Trojan prince. Eos pleaded with Zeus to make the mortal man an immortal, allowing her to live with him forever. The dawn goddess, however, neglected to ask for eternal youth; old age eventually claimed the once godlike and youthful features of Tithonus until he was unable to move or do anything but speak. Eos decided to lock him in his room and closed any portal into his chambers, where he withered away but droned endlessly. The myth of Tithonus was often referred to by ancient authors whenever the topic of old age was addressed. Ovid, for example, refers to Tithonus as the bridegroom of Dawn in his *Amores* (1.13) and in Book 9 of his *Metamorphoses*.

because of how its text corresponds with the Sappho manuscript preserved in the new Cologne fragments: the same twelve lines of Sapphic text that form the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song are found on the Cologne version of Sappho's poem. The boundaries of the Tithonus Song, however, are left unclear because the two versions of the poem are preceded and followed by different lyric texts.

The discovery of the "New Sappho" papyri reignited interest in the study of Sappho and her lyric poetry in the 21st century, with papyrologists and specialists in archaic lyric poetry considering the find as "the *trouvaille* of a lifetime".²² News of the new Sappho discovery also made its way into international headlines: web-based media and numerous newspaper outlets from both Europe and North America reported on the rarity and happenstance of finding such a literary text, especially one from Sappho.²³ The media noted the prominence and role of the Lesbian poet within the ancient literary tradition, punctuating the very fact that she is a female author in a male dominated field. The news also encouraged a burgeoning curiosity, in both academic and non-academic circles, about newly discovered ancient documents preserved on papyri.

Fourteen years after Gronewald and Daniel first published their findings on the "New Sappho" papyri (not to mention the recent discovery of the "Newest Sappho" assemblage), study of the new Cologne fragments and its Tithonus Song continues to this day. The studies of Gronewald and Daniel (2004a, 2004b, 2005) were quickly supplemented by other editors who concentrated on matters that were not addressed by the two German classicists. Vincenzo di

²² Skinner 2009: 1.

²³ Mary Skinner provides a brief list of newspaper articles and web-based media that report on the 'New Sappho' discovery: in London, *The Times* (June 24, 2005), *The Guardian* (June 24, 2005), and *The Daily Telegraph* (June 25, 2005); and *The Washington Post* (June 26, 2005) in the U.S. Various other personal blogs and websites have also published their opinions and discussions on the "New Sappho" fragments: <http://www.atrium-media.com/rogueclassicisim/Posts/00000826.html> and <https://thepathsofsurvival.wordpress.com/2013/11/26/a-new-fragment-and-a-new-translation-sappho-the-cologne-fragment/>. See Skinner 2009: n.1 for a list of other personal websites.

Benedetto's (2004) 'observations' on the new Sappho papyri were brief:²⁴ taking up the questions he raised in his 1985 article on Sappho fr.58V, he concentrates on the Cologne fragments' textual overlap as part of his examination of the Lesbian poet's interpretation of mortality and old age. Martin West's (2005) article in the *TLS*, on the other hand, promoted a proliferation of studies dedicated to the analysis and examination of the 'New Sappho' papyri in North America. West's approach to the study of P.Köln. inv. 21351 follows Gronewald and Daniel's methodology by looking at the preserved text as two separate entities: he considers the first eight lines as a "*Posthumous Honour for Sappho*" and the next twenty lines as the "*Tithonus Song*". Due to the Cologne fragment's partial overlap with *P.Oxy.* 1787, West also includes in his textual study the seven lines that follow the Oxyrhynchus version of the Tithonus Song, which he names the "'*Ἀβροσύνα Poem*". An edited collection of essays published in 2009 by Ellen Green and Marilyn B. Skinner rounds out the modern approach and study of the newly discovered papyri, showcasing a variety of ways in which the 'New Sappho' fragments were analyzed, and addressing the topics and meanings behind Sappho's unique poetics.²⁵

This case study will contribute to the scholarship dedicated to the examination of the two lyrics preserved in the New Sappho assemblage, as well as the investigation of the connection between the fragments' version of Sappho's Tithonus Song and the version preserved on *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1. My investigation will proceed first by identifying the actual length of the Tithonus Song: its length was initially based on the 26 lines of text preserved on *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1, but the 2002 discovery of the Cologne Tithonus Song shows that only twelve lines correspond with the

²⁴ Di Benedetto 2004

²⁵ Published study of the new Sappho fragments were not limited only to specialists of the ancient lyric genre: Mary Skinner (2009) explains that West's article, "A New Sappho Poem" has served as a catalyst in gaining the attention of the media and major newspaper outlets around Europe and North America (refer to fn. 23 of Introduction section). For examples of more formalized editions/articles regarding the 'New Sappho' papyri, see Lowell Edmunds (2006), Richard Rawles (2006), Harold Zellner (2009), Anton Bierl (2010), and Pitotto and Raschieri (2017).

Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song. As previously explained, the two versions of the Sappho poem vary because each is preceded and followed by different texts. In order to assess the full length of Sappho's Tithonus Song, the study will therefore examine and identify where the poem begins and where it ends, looking closely at the lyric texts at the boundary of the Sapphic poem. Another common point of discussion commonly associated in the study of the Tithonus Song is Sappho's apparent interpretation of old age. This chapter will, more specifically, address how the poet perceives the differences between the mortality of humans and the immortality of the gods through her articulation the female experience of aging. The inclusion of the Tithonus exemplum at the end of the Cologne Tithonus Song substantiates further Sappho's discussion of old age, which will be discussed as a reflection of her fears and trepidations in the 'death' of her poetic voice, as well as her understanding of what ultimately makes humans different from the gods.

My thesis research ultimately investigates how a new Sappho papyrus is assessed in the modern period by considering the procedures for analyzing a new papyrus document, the issues or disputable aspects of the fragment, and any other queries that may be posed regarding the texts in-question. As evident in the structure of the case studies, my investigation will start from the most recently uncovered Sappho papyri, the "Newest Sappho" assemblage, and will be followed by the earlier discovery, the "New Sappho" from the Cologne collection. The study will show how there is a significant difference between the manner in which Grenfell and Hunt published their new papyrus discoveries in the early 20th century, and the methods in analyzing newly found papyrus fragments in the current century. Evaluation of the two new Sappho fragments will also demonstrate that issues concerning the texts are not isolated to the paleography, history, and content of the documents. My investigation will show that our

handling of new papyrological discoveries affects the continued study of Sappho and her lyric works.

Chapter One

Case Study A: Brothers Song of the “Newest Sappho”

Since Obbink’s *editio princeps* first appeared in 2014, some of the most knowledgeable scholars in the study of archaic poetry have called the Brothers Song a poor example of Sappho’s works. Martin West, for instance, initially described the Brothers Song as “not one of Sappho’s best compositions”, even going so far as identifying the poem as “frigid juvenilia”.¹ West then retracted his initial opinion of the piece, explaining in email correspondence with Mary Beard that “the [Brothers Song] has [Sappho’s] DNA all over it” despite pointing out its lack of sophistication and some linguistic issues.² Gauthier Liberman also noted how the Brothers Song is considerably less poignant than the rest of Sappho’s poems based on its apparent “clumsiness and possible hasty composition”.³ Such criticism of the Brothers Song is not groundless: certain issues with the text (grammatical or otherwise linguistic), coupled with the poem’s somewhat inelegant composition makes one wonder why it falls short of what is customarily assumed about the quality of Sappho’s work, lyrics which are composed with eloquence and sublimity. However, some editors may argue that criticism of the linguistic issues of the new poem could also be influenced by our perception of the high standard that is typical of Sappho’s poetic compositions. Despite the differences of opinion regarding the quality of the Brothers Song, they all appear to agree that the new text is an example of the Lesbian poet’s work.

¹ Obbink 2014a; id., Mueller 2016: 26, fn. 5.

² Bierl and Lardinois 2016: 52-53.

³ Liberman 2014: 7-8.

My aim for this chapter, instead, is to explore the possibility that the Brothers Song is not necessarily Sappho's work, but rather an example of an ancient imitation. The case of the Brothers Song is interesting. Although there is good reason to view the Brothers Song as an original work of Sappho, such a statement is debatable. It is important to remember that ancient literary texts are not immune to the errors, alterations, emulations, and misinterpretations common in a manuscript tradition; it should not be taken for granted that the poems are authentic, original works by Sappho. The hypothesis that the new Sappho composition is possibly an ancient imitation is therefore not far-fetched: Lardinois admits that the Brothers Song (or *any* poem in the current Sapphic corpus) might be an example of an imitation of an original Sappho poem, one which was produced sometime in the 4th and 5th century BC:

These fragments are derived from poems which the Hellenistic scholars *thought* Sappho had composed. It is not impossible that there were among these poems songs that were composed by other, anonymous Lesbian poets, fifth- or fourth-century imitations, and distorted versions of Sappho's original poems.⁴

The practice of imitating literary works by renowned authors (or by authors who 'achieved greatness' in their specific poetic genre) was prevalent in antiquity.⁵ Sappho's reputation as a female lyricist in the archaic period precedes her; her ability to create eloquent and sublime poetry captivated numerous ancient authors, to such an extent that Plato declared her the tenth

⁴ Lardinois, however, quickly retracts this claim, citing the fifth-century attestation by Herodotus, one which discloses that Sappho had composed a poem about her brother Charaxos. Lardinois then proposes that any lyric text about Charaxos, or any of Sappho's brothers for that matter, circulating in the fifth century are no doubt a work Sappho. See further Lardinois 2016: 168-169.

⁵ Dupertuis 2007: 3. Quintilian, a Roman rhetorician in the 1st century AD, elaborates on such a phenomenon in his *Institutio Oratoria* (10.2.1-2): "For there can be no doubt that in art no small portion of our task lies in imitation since although invention came first and is all-important, it is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success. And it is a universal rule of life that we should wish to copy what we approve in others. It is for this reason that boys copy the shapes of letters that they may learn to write, and that musicians take the voices of their teachers, painters the works of their predecessors, and peasants the principles of agriculture which have been proved in practice, as models for their imitation".

muse.⁶ For this reason, the lyric works of Sappho have become a host for imitation, or in some cases, emulation. Catullus and Horace, for instance, were both evidently inspired by the Lesbian poet in their respective works: Catullus' *Poem 51* translates and adapts to the physical effects of love in Sappho's fr.31; *Ode 4.1* of Horace, likewise, echoes the prayer to the goddess Aphrodite and themes of love and warfare evident in the first poem of Sappho. By emulating the poetic compositions of Sappho, Catullus and Horace (among others) pay tribute to the voice of their literary predecessor.⁷ Imitating the poems of Sappho does not equate to challenging the poetic caliber of the poet, but rather in a way best described by Michael Fronda as, "an author's conscious use of features and characteristics of earlier works to acknowledge indebtedness to past [authors]".⁸

For this reason, my investigation of the possibility of an ancient imitation is by no means intended to denounce the Brothers Song as a literary document. I agree with Bierl and Lardinois' statement that the poem makes us contemplate the text further, especially in the context of a private-made-public attitude of love for a male family member (or what Gregory Nagy identifies as 'sisterly affect').⁹ But I also want to address the fact that erudite scholars of our period have probed at the subpar composition of the Brothers Song, if not questioned its Sapphic pedigree. Such opposing attitudes towards the new Brothers Song will be addressed in my examination of P. Sapph. Obbink, which will be governed by the question: *Can our copy of the Brothers Song be authored by anyone else but Sappho?*

⁶ *Anthologia Palatina* 9.506 (attributed to Plato, as directed to the Muses) and *Anthologia Palatina* 7.14, 1-5 (Antipater of Sidon); for further discussion of Sappho's association with the Muses, see Bierl 2010: 17, Rosenmeyer 1997: 13, and Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006.

⁷ cf. KK. Ruthven 1979: 104. Quintilian, in his *Institutio Oratoria* 10.2, elaborates on his perception of new authors emulating earlier works with a warning: "It is shameful to be content merely to reach the level of your model".

⁸ See Fronda 2012.

⁹ See Nagy 2016. Gregory Nagy explains in his article how discussion of the often private affections of a sister for her brothers or 'sisterly affects' in the new Brothers Song was rather created in a way to be heard by the public.

In making the case for the Brothers Song as an ancient imitation, the study of this poem will proceed along two discipline-specific approaches: the first, the papyrological section, will provide an in-depth analysis of the Greek text, the handwriting of the scribe, and the physical state of the papyrus on which the poem was inscribed. My investigation of P. Sapph. Obbink will, in particular, consider its acquisition, discovery, and history, including how it has been preserved as a piece of industrial cartonnage up until its modern discovery and how it was repaired. This section will also identify the text's meter, language, and dialect (all of which support the Sapphic authenticity of the Brothers Song); and it will address the fragment's textual overlap with another Sappho papyrus from the Oxyrhynchus collection (*P. Oxy. 2289 fr.5*) to further substantiate their proposition that the new poem is Sappho.

In my analysis of the material evidence and its paleographical features, I initially expected to find concrete evidence regarding the possibility of an ancient imitation. However, in the course of the investigation, I have learned that the papyrological approach in studying P. Sapph. Obbink does not substantiate my hypothesis. This section of Chapter One will therefore reiterate how the Sapphic pedigree of the Brothers Song was identified from a papyrological perspective, and why the authorship of the lyric text is still accepted as Sappho.

The second subsection of this chapter will pursue the argument about ancient imitation by means of a philological examination of the manuscript. The section will begin by briefly reconsidering why the Brothers Song is accepted as an original work of Sappho from a philological standpoint: I will address Obbink's interpretation and explanation of the lyric text; return to the manuscript's textual overlap with *P. Oxy. 2289 fr.5*; and consider the poem's intertextual connection with Horace's *Soracte Ode*. Unlike the papyrological section, where the evidence in favour of the Brothers Song's Sapphic authorship is strong, the philological approach

to the poem alternatively offers the likelihood that the Brothers Song can be an ancient imitation. Dionysius of Halicarnassus defines ancient imitation,¹⁰ in what remains of his treatise *On Imitation*, as an aspect of literary tradition that departs from the Aristotelian explanation of *mimesis* – that imitating literary works was a rhetorical technique akin to emulating, adapting, adjusting, or even improving an original manuscript by an earlier, more prominent poet/ess, in order to suit the aesthetic taste of the imitating author. In my investigation into the possibility of the Brothers Song as an imitated copy, I will be using Dionysius’ definition of imitation (i.e. Dionysian *imitatio*), looking out for certain traits or aspects that may be identified as an attempt to emulate, to adapt, or even to enhance the original Sapphic text. It could be as simple as a misuse of an epithet or as elaborate as a near translation of the original work.

The philological approach will also identify areas in the Brothers Song which have raised doubts about its authorship: these include inconsistencies and certain linguistic irregularities in the lyric text, as well as some controversy about provenance. Studies regarding the Newest Sappho assemblage by André Lardinois and Leslie Kurke target some of the issues that leave the authorship of the Brothers Song open to question. In the course of providing his own

¹⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius; LCL 466: pp. 394-397): “To set aside all other considerations, who will not admit that it is necessary for students of philosophic rhetoric to acquire a thorough knowledge of many customs of the barbarians and the Greeks, to hear about various laws and forms of government, the lives of their men and their exploits, their deaths abundance of material, not divorced from the events narrated, but side-by-side with them. All these qualities of the historian are worthy of imitation; and the same may also be said of the philosophical comments scattered throughout the whole of his history, in which he reflects at length on justice, piety and the other virtues, and utters some fine sentiments. His final and most characteristic accomplishment is something which no longer historian, either before or since, has achieved with comparable exactness or effect. And what is this quality? It is the ability, in the case of every action, not only to see and to state what is obvious to most people, but to examine even the hidden reasons for actions and the motives of their agents, and the feelings in their hearts (which most people do not find it easy to discern), and to reveal all the mysteries of apparent virtue and undetected vice. Indeed, I feel in some way that the fabled examination before the judges of the other world, which is conducted in Hades upon the souls that have been released from the body, is of the same searching kind as that which is carried out through the writings of Theopompus. This gave him a reputation of malice, because he added unnecessary details to the criticisms of famous persons that he was compelled to make; but in fact he was acting like surgeons who cut and cauterise the morbid parts of the body, operating to a certain depth, but not encroaching upon the healthy and normal parts. Such then, is the character of Theopompus’ treatment of subject matter”.

interpretation of the poem, Lardinois (2016) discusses how doubts were raised about P. Sapph. Obbink's authenticity, based on the unusual syntax and the grammatical anomalies that appear in the Greek text. Leslie Kurke (2016) approaches the issue similarly, providing her own reconstruction and interpretation of the new manuscript. In Kurke's study of gendered spheres in the Brothers Song, which elaborates on how women like Sappho fit within the written public sphere of men, she also exposes certain colloquialisms that are uncommon in a formal literary text.

My investigation will also look into the *Carmina Anacreontea* as an example of the types of imitation that I see in the Brothers Song. The *Carmina Anacreontea* were once attributed to the Greek lyricist Anacreon, but the authenticity of the assemblage was later discredited, and they are now recognized instead as ancient imitations of Anacreontic originals. The comparative study of the new Brothers Song and the *Carmina Anacreontea* will help reveal a certain style or technique used to create an imitation of Sappho's poetry. It will likewise demonstrate how much original works have been transmuted into their imitated versions. In the least, I expect that my comparative study will provide some evidence for how the new Brothers Song, if it is not the original version of the Lesbian poet's work, could have been imitated in antiquity.

Studying P. Sapph. Obbink and its Brothers Song through papyrological and philological methodologies is not new; it follows a traditional method of analyzing newly discovered ancient documents. As this chapter will demonstrate, an integration of the two disciplinary approaches permits an in-depth study of Sappho's poem: one which examines the physical state of the papyrus on which the poem was inscribed and one which studies the history of the fragment up until its modern discovery. This investigation will also attempt to interpret why 'Sappho' had composed the Brothers Song and explore the possibility that the extant poem is an ancient

imitation of a Sapphic original. Although the authenticity of the Brothers Song is incontestable to some, certain linguistic issues evident in the poem otherwise present the text as lacking a certain refinement modern scholars would expect from a work of Sappho. The hypothesis that the poem is instead an example of an ancient literary imitation will help provide some clarity on areas of contention which have led erudite editors of our period to consider the possibility of the poem's inauthenticity. The inquiry into the Brothers Song as an imitated version of Sappho's original will challenge our perception in the prevalence and pervasiveness of imitations in literary tradition, even going so far as putting into question the authenticity of other ancient works.

Papyrological and Paleographic Study of P. Sapph. Obbink:

The Papyrus

P. Sapph. Obbink measures approximately 175 mm in length and 110 mm in width, and contains a single column of text. The top, left, and right margins are fairly well-preserved. The top margin preserves approximately 30 mm of space. The surviving left and right margins measure approximately 15-20 mm each. The bottom part of the fragment, however, is less well preserved, with sections of the papyrus cut out and the bottom margin missing.¹¹ As a result, P. Sapph. Obbink preserves the whole width of the Brothers Song but only some sections of the Kypris Song's first eight lines. More specifically, only the first two lines of the latter poem remain comprehensible, and even there, the ink is faded near the right margin. The other six lines of the Kypris Song have lost approximately three to four letters at the start and five to six letters at the end of the line. The column of text inclines in accordance with "Maas' Law", tilting

¹¹ The total height of the papyrus is, therefore, difficult to deduce with the bottom margin missing. For examples of typical bookroll dimensions from the third century, see Johnson 2009: 257-259.

slightly toward the right at the top and drifting to the left near the bottom.¹² A forked *paragraphos* inserted in the left margin separates the last line of the Brothers Song from the first of the Kypris Song (*see line 21*). The manuscript was further divided into separate Sapphic stanzas. The Brothers Song, for instance, is divided into five discernible stanzas with a *paragraphos* inserted in the left margin after every fourth line and a medial stop (or raised dot) at the end of each *adonaeon* line. The same division (except for the presence of medial marks) is evident in the Kypris Song's two surviving stanzas. Such features – the organization into stanzas and the *paragraphoi* dividing them – are what we have come to expect from Sappho fragment produced in the Roman era.

There are three discernible tears in P. Sapph. Obbink believed to have occurred sometime in antiquity: the first, which I designate as *Fissure α*, is a large horizontal rip running across the entire width of the fragment. The damage results in the splitting of the manuscript into two pieces between lines 9 and 10. The other two rips are comparatively minor: *Fissure β* is a vertical tear left of center, which visibly affects lines 3 to 12 on the recto side. The verso side shows how the minor damage was repaired in antiquity via “ancient repair strips” that extend to the bottom piece of the main fragment.¹³ The other minor damage – *Fissure γ* – is a horizontal tear just underneath the lower end of *Fissure β* and extends to the leftmost margin of the fragment. On the verso side, it appears to have been mended with a repair strip similar to the type of material and technique used to mend *Fissure β*.

¹² Johnson 2009: 261.

¹³ Obbink 2014a and 2014b:32-33. The ‘ancient repair strips’ appears to be a patch of papyrus adhered to the main fragment using some type of adhesive to mend the tears.

Obbink suspects that *Fissure α* was a result of an ancient damage, just like the two minor rips, but suggests that the separated pieces were “reattached in modern times”.¹⁴ Unlike the two minor repairs, any indication of an attempt to reattach *Fissure α* (ancient or otherwise) is difficult to detect because there appear to be no repair strips or any sort of modern form of restoration applied along the seam of the two fragments. The lack of evidence for repair along *Fissure α* is a conundrum, which prompts the following questions: *when did Fissure α occur, if not in antiquity? Is there evidence to support Obbink’s claim of a modern repair?* In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to consider the chronology in which P. Sapph. Obbink was created and recycled into ‘industrial cartonnage’, from which state it was recently extracted. Examination of P. Sapph. Obbink’s verso, for example, indicates that *Fissure α* happened sometime after the other two minor tears occurred and were repaired. For, if *Fissure α* happened prior to or contemporaneous with *Fissures β* and *γ*, it would presumably have been repaired like the two minor tears. But as we will see, even pinning down the exact period when damage and repair of *Fissures β* and *γ* transpired is difficult.

The issue of the relationship between the three fissures is best explored by considering how the manuscript was used until its modern discovery and by outlining the chronology of P. Sapph. Obbink:

- The P. Sapph. Obbink fragment was originally part of a bookroll, on which book 1 of the Alexandrian collection of Sappho’s poems were inscribed by a professional scribe. The date of its inscription is currently accepted as ca. late 2nd century to early 3rd century AD.

¹⁴ Obbink 2014b: 33. First-hand analysis of *Fissure α* in P. Sapph. Obbink (i.e. the fibers around the seam of the breakage) may yield better results. However, attempts to gain access to a higher resolution and colour image of P. Sapph. Obbink remain unsuccessful. For modern conservation and restoration of ancient papyri see Frôsen 2009: 88-99, Lehtinen 2002: 11-16, and Lau-Lamb’s (2005) *Guideline for Conservation of Papyrus* (also available online: <http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/conservation/guidelines.html>).

- There are two possible sequences that followed the production of the bookroll and the copying of the text:
 - **Option One.** *Fissure β* and *Fissure γ* occurred during the period in which the roll was in use (i.e., from the late 2nd and the 3rd century AD). These minor tears were subsequently mended on the verso side with “ancient repair strips” (i.e. strips of papyrus mixed with some adhesive) to reattach the torn fibers.
 - The bookroll was then reused as an ‘industrial cartonnage’ at some point before the late 7th century.
 - **Option Two.** Alternatively, *Fissure β* and *Fissure γ* may have occurred when P. Sapph. Obbink was converted into ‘industrial cartonnage’ (ca. 3rd century to 8th century AD).
- *Fissure α* occurs sometime after the repairs to *Fissure β* and *Fissure γ* (i.e. either in the course of making the bookbinding or in the papyrus’ extraction from the bookbinding). The verso side shows how the repair strip used for *Fissure β* extends beyond the horizontal rip and into the top part of the main fragment’s second half.
- 2012: “Newest Sappho” fragments discovered, after being extracted from the bookbinding.
- *Fissure α*, as Obbink explains, was “reattached in modern times”.
- 2014: Obbink’s formal announcement of the “Newest Sappho” discovery.

Even when one breaks down the history of P. Sapph. Obbink, it remains challenging to ascertain exactly when *Fissure α* occurred in relation to the damage and repair of the other two minor tears. The timeline shows two possible circumstances when *Fissure β* and *Fissure γ* were repaired. The first option is relatively probable because damage on the fragment can be due to

normal wear and tear, especially when the papyrus was still part of a larger bookroll used continually as a source material or for reading.¹⁵ Additionally, the repair strips to the blank verso side consciously prevent any obstruction of the text on the recto side. Nevertheless, when the image of P. Sapph. Obbink was published in 2014, the papyrus' fibers surrounding the two minor fissures appears misaligned, either as a result of the ancient repair or the aging of the organic material. The misalignment of the fibers surrounding *fissures* β and γ , in particular, results in a significant distortion to the letters in lines 4 to 12; the affected lines are shifted upwards approximately 1-2 mm after the first four letters. In line 12, the repair had mangled the papyrus in such a way that the majority of the text is incomprehensible.

The timeline is further complicated by the suggestion that the fragment was reused as a sort of 'industrial cartonnage'. There are many possible ways in which a papyrus fragment like P. Sapph. Obbink could have been recycled in antiquity. One of the most common ways of reprocessing rolls or sheets of discarded papyrus was to turn them into a mummy cartonnage. For this type of cartonnage, the papyrus rolls were either cut into sheets or torn and made into a type of papier-mâché used in the mummification process, encasing and protecting mummified human bodies and animals.¹⁶ But P. Sapph. Obbink could not have been recycled as a mummy cartonnage because of the date associated with the hand. Because the practice of reprocessing waste papyri into mummy cartonnage dwindled by the early Augustan period (or early 1st century AD), it is impossible that P. Sapph. Obbink was repurposed as a mummy cartonnage.¹⁷

¹⁵ Nicholson and Shaw 2000: 232, 240. There are many possible ways that the section representing P. Sapph. Obbink, while part of the Alexandrian bookroll, could have incurred some damage. One of these is continual use of the bookroll. The Kahun Gynaecological Papyrus, for example, was constantly consulted as a medical reference material in antiquity. As a result, the papyrus roll suffered wear and tear, and the owner mended the fissure on the verso side with a patch of papyrus. For details about the Kahun medical papyrus, see Smith 2011: 54-55.

¹⁶ In some cases, linen strips are used alongside papyrus sheets in the mummification process. For further details regarding how papyrus cartonnage is produced see Frösén 2009: 87.

¹⁷ The standard chronology of papyri recycled into mummy cartonnage states that the practice was most popular during the Ptolemaic period in the form of mummy fillings, masks, panels, and wrappings. Then the practice

Instead, Obbink explains that the new Sappho fragment was reprocessed into an “industrial or domestic cartonnage”.¹⁸ The terms ‘industrial cartonnage’ and ‘domestic cartonnage’ are a bit vague: industrial cartonnage was made from discarded papyrus rolls, which were cut into sheets and reprocessed to cover or to bind books (i.e., when papyrus pieces were made into pasteboards to add stiffness to a limp leather-bound codex).¹⁹ P. Sapph. Obbink was reportedly discovered by the owner as a piece of papyrus enfolded within another fragment,²⁰ presumably within the thin and well compressed layers of papyri Obbink describes as cartonnage, which had been repurposed as a binding or as a cover of a certain codex. If such was the case, the existing left and right margins of P. Sapph. Obbink are possibly where the fragment was cut from the bookroll and made into sheets as cartonnage.

The second, less likely option, is that *Fissures* β and γ happened in the process of the fragment being recycled into some (unspecified) type of industrial cartonnage. If, for example, the P. Sapph. Obbink fragment was used as binding or cover for a codex, the subsequent repair of *fissures* β and γ may have been an attempt to keep the structural integrity of the material used. However, such a theory does not hold up, for the simple reason that the two minor fissures would not have needed repairing if the fragment in question was only meant to be recycled as binding or cover of a codex. If *Fissures* β and γ took place during the conversion into cartonnage, they more likely would have been not mended when the fragment was extracted.

Fissure α , on the contrary, occurred long after *Fissure* β and *Fissure* γ were mended because the repair strip used on *Fissure* β straddles *Fissure* α , predating the horizontal tear. If all

dwindled and ended by the early Roman period because of changes to the style decorating mummies, preferring linen sheets and plaster over papyrus fragments. See Bagnall 1995 and Frösén 2009.

¹⁸ Obbink 2015: 3.

¹⁹ For examples of book covers reinforced with used papyri see Barns et al. (1981); id., Frösén 2009: 91 (Chapter 4: Conservation of Book Bindings).

²⁰ Obbink 2016b: 36

three fissures occurred simultaneously or near in time to each other, we would expect to see identical modes of repair. Yet, the manner in which *Fissure* α was left unrepaired suggests that the damage occurred sometime after P. Sapph. Obbink had been recycled into cartonnage; since the fragment was no longer in use, there was no attempt to repair the large horizontal tear that severed it into two pieces. Thus, what we have are remnants of ancient repair strips along the seams of *Fissures* β and γ , with *Fissure* α running horizontally across the width of P. Sapph. Obbink without any indication of repair.

One question remains regarding the three fissures: how were the severed pieces that comprise the P. Sapph. Obbink fragment, as Obbink describes it, “reattached in modern times”.²¹ Again, Obbink’s statement is vague; a modern repair, in such a context, would mean that the repairs were made sometime after P. Sapph. Obbink’s discovery in 2012. Any modern repair would be unmistakable given the new materials and contemporary methods in which papyrus fragments are mended and restored.²² Hence, the lack of a visible ‘modern repair’ on any of the fissures makes it even more difficult to surmise that any fissures on P. Sapph. Obbink were mended after being discovered.²³

Palaeography

The hand writes with the fibers in a formal literary script.²⁴ It is consistent throughout the manuscript, and Obbink identifies it as a match with the hand of fragments 1-4 of P. GC Inv. 105

²¹ Obbink 2014b: 33.

²² For more information on modern methods regarding repair and restoration of papyrus fragments, see Lau-Lamb 2005 and Frösén 2009.

²³ The materials composed of the so called ‘ancient repair strips’ have also been used in modern times.

²⁴ Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 6-7. They elaborate on a distinction between ‘script’ and ‘hand’ in terms of explaining the character of the script Hellenistic scribes used in replicating literary manuscripts. They define the former as “a particular type of stylized handwriting” and the latter as “the personal handwriting of a particular scribe” (6). For the entirety of the thesis, the same definition for ‘script’ and for ‘hand’ will be applied.

since the fragments are from the same roll of Book 1 as P. Sapph. Obbink.²⁵ As parallels to the script, Obbink identifies *P.Oxy.* III 412, no. 23a and the Dura Parchment 24 that preserves Titian's *Diatessaron*, suggesting that the new Sappho manuscript was produced ca. third century AD (i.e., mid-Roman period).²⁶ The latter example, in particular, supports the 3rd century paleographical dating of the Sappho fragment because the Dura Parchment 24 has a secure *terminus ante quem* (256 AD) and *terminus post quem* (172 AD), dates that are based on the parchment's association with a Christian chapel near which it was discovered.²⁷ Evidence of the Roman period's style of script on P. Sapph. Obbink is distinctive: the letters are small in size, uniformly separated from each other, bilinear (except for the letters *phi* and *psi*), and inscribed with rounded strokes that are characteristic of a professional scribe's elegant bookhand.

A paleographical approach in determining a fragment's date of inscription, in general, is difficult because it is often imprecise. In other cases, the result of a paleographic analysis on a literary fragment is a broad date, one which may extend the date of inscription between three or more centuries. Despite Obbink's assumed date for the P. Sapph. Obbink fragment, I argue that its date could be extended further, from as early as the early 1st century AD to the early 4th century AD, based on paleographical similarities with other papyri. The first example, *P.Oxy.* 209, which preserves St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, shows some parallels to hand of P. Sapph. Obbink. Although *P.Oxy.* 209's first hand is not as elegant as that of the new Sappho fragment, and although it writes its letters in a crude manner, certain letters are near identical between the

²⁵ Obbink 2014b, p.33. With the handwriting appearing to be of a similar hand as evident in fragments 1-4 of P. GC inv. 105, Obbink asserts that the entire set of fragments from the "Newest Sappho" would undoubtedly be from one bookroll inscribed by one professional scribe. However, not all of the individual papyrus fragments are connected with one another in the bookroll.

²⁶ Obbink's examples of parallels were derived from C. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford 1956). See *P.Oxy.* 3.412, no.23a in Roberts 1956: 23; id. Obbink 2014b: 33.

²⁷ Explanation of the Dura Parchment 24's *terminus ante* and *terminus post* dates are further explained in Roberts 1956: 21, no.21b.

two texts in-question.²⁸ The *alphas* in line 4's *σπ[έ]ματος Δαυδ' κατὰ σάρχα*, for instance, are triangular with a small serif-like mark at top (cf. the curved *alpha* of *P.Oxy.* III 412). *Epsilons* are generally curved and in three pen strokes, as demonstrated in line 4's *γενομένου ἐκ*. But some *epsilons* are more angular and are written in 3-4 strokes. *Eta* is written with a higher horizontal bar, as evident on the first line of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (cf. the middle bar of *eta* of the Dura Parchment 24).

Cavallo and Maehler explain that the Oxyrhynchus papyrus was discovered attached to another document, a certain contract, with a definite date of 316 AD:²⁹ since *P.Oxy.* 209 and this papyrus document were found together, the inference is that they are roughly contemporaneous, which would date the Oxyrhynchus papyrus to the early 4th century AD. The features of *P. Sapph. Obbink's* script are also found in the fourth century, which widens the plausible dating range somewhat – to the fourth century AD (c.f. Obbink's proposed date of early 2nd to late 3rd century AD).

On the other end of the chronological range, *P.Herc.* 1012 col. 34 (no. 92 in G. Cavallo and H. Maehler's, *Hellenistic Bookhands*), also bears a strong resemblance to the script of *P. Sapph. Obbink*. The Herculaneum papyrus preserves corrections made by Demetrios Lakon on some Epicurean texts. Akin to the elegant script of *P. Sapph. Obbink*, the text of the Herculaneum papyrus has small to medium sized letters, bilinear aside for the letters *phi*, *rho*, and *psi*, a slight curvature on the slanted strokes of *mu* (contra. more pronounced curvature of *mu*

²⁸ As evident on the *P.Oxy.* 209 fragment, there are two hands: the first, which has written the first ten lines of the text and the section that is used as a parallel to *P. Sapph. Obbink's* text appears to have been written rather crudely. Cavallo and Maehler suggest that the text may have been written by a student as a sort of 'school exercise'. However, they do not explain further the circumstances that may explain the crude manner of the Oxyrhynchus text. The second hand, which inscribed the last two lines, wrote in cursive and a more practised hand. See Cavallo and Maehler 1987: 8 no. 1a.

²⁹ See Cavallo and Maehler 1987:138.

in P. Sapph. Obbink) and *nu*, and small stylized serifs on *alpha* and *tau*.³⁰ The *alphas*, more specifically, have larger bubbles and are more triangular. The script is regular and bilinear, which suggests that it was the work of a professional.³¹

Cavallo and Maehler date *P.Herc.* 1012 col. 34 to somewhere between the mid-2nd century to early 1st century BC, but argue that the handwriting extends its date of inscription closer to the latter end of the first century.³² The hand of the Herculaneum papyrus has shifted away from the stylized and calligraphic style of script we expect from the Ptolemaic period, instead demonstrating a fluid elegant hand that is more rounded and graphic, reminiscent of the early Roman style of writing.³³ Even though ancient scribes were typically taught to follow strict conventions, styles, and techniques appropriate for writing literary manuscripts, they also adopt a specific style of script that reveals the time period in which the transcription was performed. In some situations, the handwriting of the scribe (or its ‘hand’) would appear to meld two styles of script that are characteristic of one period and of another.³⁴ The case of P. Sapph. Obbink and *P.Herc.* 1012 col. 34 is no exception: parallels in the style of script between the two fragments demonstrate how there was no radical shift of writing styles in the Hellenistic and Augustan eras. These fragments instead exhibit the progression of the stylistic development of literary scripts through the hands of scribes who appear to borrow from one time-period and adapt it to another. Cavallo and Maehler explain that they prefer to refer to the script of the papyri from Herculaneum (especially the ‘epicurean’) as “Hellenistic” because such texts feature writing

³⁰ Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 138, no. 92.

³¹ Mugridge 2010: 574.

³² Cavallo 1983: 52. Cavallo argues that the similarity between the hand *P.Herc.* 1012 col. 34 and that of *P.Louvre* E7733 (recto) is “certainly coeval”.

³³ Cavallo 2009: 107-114. Cavallo explains the transition of handwriting styles between the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods, elucidating that certain flourishes on the script (or lack thereof) can be used to identify one period from another.

³⁴ See Cavallo and Maehler 2008 for examples: compare *P.Dublin.* TC 47, *P.Oxy.* XV 1790, and *P.Lond.* inv. 134, with *P.Ryl.* I 22v and *P.Oxy.* II 246.

styles that are distinct to the time period of mid-4th century BC to mid-1st century AD, when scribes were educated in the Greek East before returning to Italy.³⁵ Since the paleographical approach in determining a fragment's date of inscription is imprecise, the similarities between the hands of P. Sapph. Obbink and *P.Herc.* 1012 col. 34 broaden the range of dates for the Sappho papyrus from what Obbink has provided. Carbon 14 testing on the black ink used on P. Sapph. Obbink further validates my proposition that the new Sappho fragment's date of inscription extends as early as the first century to the third century AD.³⁶

Layout, Corrections, and Ancient Use

The texts are arranged in Sapphic stanzas, which are divided by raised dots at the end of every fourth line and by *paragraphoi* in the left hand margin. Two organic diaireseis appear in lines 1 (ἀλλ' ᾗ) and 2 (ἄῃ) of the Brothers Song: these were inserted by the principal hand in order to indicate a “disyllabic division necessary for the meter” of the text.³⁷ The presence of marks that are otherwise incongruous to the process of copying literary texts suggests the work of a second hand.³⁸ Theoretically, marks of punctuation and accents (i.e., lectional aids) were used to remind a reader of specific pauses and breathings on the text. William Johnson, for instance, explains that marks such as the raised dot at the end of the *adonaeon* lines and the *paragraphoi* after every Sapphic stanza are examples of additions made by the reader of the text.³⁹ But as Obbink notes, the accents and corrections were entered with a different ink, which

³⁵ Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 6. As opposed to the use of the traditional term ‘Ptolemaic’ to describe the stylized script specific to the period, Cavallo and Maehler argue that simply referring to the hand in the time period explained above as ‘Ptolemaic’ does not encompass the decades after which the Ptolemaic style continued after the end of the kingdom.

³⁶ See Lardinois 2016: 168.

³⁷ Obbink 2014b, p.33. For the usage of a diaeresis and an organic diaeresis as a form of poetic division during the third century see Johnson 2009: 262.

³⁸ Johnson 2009: 261; Obbink 2014b: 33.

³⁹ See Johnson 2009, p. 261.

suggests that they were made by the ‘second hand’.⁴⁰ An example of the second hand’s addition to the text is evident in line 14 of the Brothers Song, where an omega is added above the eta, producing a variant of the misspelled word ἐπαρήγον.⁴¹ Unlike the curved strokes of the two omegas in line 13 (τῶν κε βόλληται βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω), the supralinear omega in line 14 is more angular and the ink used appears thinner, indicating a different hand. Yet other marks on the text, which we have presumed was added by the ‘second hand’, are also difficult to determine because some of the marks appear as mere strokes on the papyrus fragment.

The presence of a second hand raises the question: *Are the lectional signs on P. Sapph. Obbink the product of manuscript tradition – where markings are perceived as edits made by an ancient scholar studying the Sappho text?* Cavallo and Maehler (2008) address the difficulty in determining whether the lectional signs were truly added by a second hand, and posit rather that the presence of such marks provide hints on how a text was used:

Where accents, breathings, punctuation, paragraphos, coronis, or quantity marks in text (almost exclusively of poetry), they are likely to reflect some degree of scholarly attention. Where these ‘aids to the reader’ are used to clarify word division, or to avoid misunderstandings, they may ultimately go back to some early commentary (*hypomnema*).⁴²

Since the main function of lectional marks is to help the reader identify the proper pauses and accentuation of the text, it is safe to assume that the sort of markings on P. Sapph. Obbink were added by readers educated in the art of lyric composition and oral presentation. As E.G. Turner explains, these are the “best indication that the texts in question were scholar’s copies”. The presence of the lectional marks on P. Sapph. Obbink therefore substantiates one of my earlier claims, that the ancient damage and repair were due to the natural wear and tear of a text

⁴⁰ Obbink 2014b: 33.

⁴¹ Obbink 2014b: 33.

⁴² Cavallo and Maehler 2008, p.21.

continually used by scholars studying Sappho's poetry, and did not occur after the fragment was repurposed into cartonnage. Ancient scholars studying Sappho's poetry were not much different from their modern counterparts; they inserted certain 'aids', corrections, and marginalia to the texts to assist in understanding the meter, dialect, and content of the Lesbian poet's works.

Other punctuation marks appear in the Brothers Song: Obbink treats the supralinear dots between the iota in πλήαι and tau of τὰ μέν in line 2 and in line 9 (between ἀρτέμεας and τὰ δ' ἄλλα) as periods in his reconstruction. He interprets the sublinear mark in line 15 between περτρόπην and κῆνοι as a comma. Additionally, marks indicating accents include a circumflex above the epsilon and upsilon of Ζεῦς (line 2), and two correctly placed acutes on the words δαίμον (line 14) and on λύθειμεν (line 20). In the Kypris Song section, a supralinear mark between δέσποιον and ὅττινα in line 22 is somewhat more ambiguous in meaning. According to Obbink's reconstruction of the text, the said supralinear line may mean one of two things: first, the mark could represent a comma, separating the poet's invocation of Queen Kypris' name from the rest of the speech. The separation allows Sappho to emphasize her entreaty to the goddess Aphrodite, singling out the goddess' name for aid in her suffering. Yet, if the mark represent a comma, it would have to be a sublinear mark similar to the mark in line 15. Another way to interpret the mark is that it is an apostrophe, marking the elision of δέσποιον' (for δέσποινα, or 'queen') before ὅττινα. The latter is more appropriate. Lastly, a faint grave mark in between the letters μ and α of the word μάλιστα (line 23) is arguably an error made by the ancient editor (as per Attic accentuation) because the proper accent is an acute.⁴³ A possible explanation for the grave is that it indicates an "acute [accent] before a stop", adding that "the grave is similarly employed where the high pitch occurs on a syllable other than the ultima, whether or not the

⁴³ Papyri can also bear such erroneous marks, according to various other systems. For different possible constructions for the grave and the acute accents, see Moore-Blunt 1978: 139-149.

acute is written”.⁴⁴ The latter explanation fits with the variant of a grave indicating an acute accent, which I have previously argued is an erroneous mark on the new fragment.

There are a few other errors and corrections made on the Brothers Song. In line 5, the eta in κέλησθαι was crossed out and above its place a supralinear correction was made – an epsilon with an elongated middle stroke. Changing the eta into an epsilon corrects the spelling into κέλεσθαι, which is the present middle/passive infinitive of κελεύω (e.g., *Od.* 10.299). The eta of πολλη in line 19 was also crossed out and a supralinear correction ‘αν’ was added, changing the word from a nominative into an Aeolic accusative. Two other errors in the Brothers Song, however, are not emended: line 2 spells πλήαι incorrectly by writing a diphthong (epsilon + iota) instead of the correct eta. Such an error is common; since the pronunciation for the epsilon-iota diphthong is similar to an eta, misspelling of such a kind oftentimes occurs when texts are either dictated or if the scribe was reading aloud to himself as he copied. In this case, the latter situation makes sense if the fragment was a professional copy. In line 14, a supralinear correction for the word ἐπαρήγον suggests changing eta to omega. The difference, in this case, is that the eta was not crossed out, as though the variant is an alternative reading. In this case, the sentence can either use ἐπαρήγον as an adjective agreeing with the word δαίμον’ at the start of the same line, or as the noun ἐπάρωγον which has the same meaning.⁴⁵

Identifying errors or corrections in the Kypris Song section is more challenging. Apart from the one mentioned in the previous paragraph, detecting any alterations made on the text of the latter poem is difficult because of the fragmentary and incomplete state of the surviving two stanzas.

⁴⁴ Moore-Blunt 1978: 140, 146. According to Moore-Blunt, “As with oxytones, this use of the grave is most frequent where rare words are concerned, or in a dialect texts and a large proportion of the examples comes from lyric. Cf. the use of the grave alongside the acute to convey Doric accentuation at *Ox. Pap.* 2735 (Choral lyric, 2nd cent.)”.

⁴⁵ For further discussion on variants in the text, see Moore-Blunt 1978.

To sum up, the papyrological and paleographic analyses of the Brothers Song support the theory that the new poem is a work of Sappho. From the poem's poetic structure and style, which consists of Sapphic stanzas and Aeolic dialect; to its strong domestic content, which makes direct reference to Charaxos and Larichos, the Brothers Song is a convincing example of Sappho's poetry. A textual overlap between *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 and *P. Sapph. Obbink* corroborates the claim, and further reveals that at least one stanza is missing from the newly discovered copy. But there are also aspects of the Brothers Song that remain problematic, which leads one to postulate the possibility that the new Brothers Song is, instead, an ancient imitation of Sappho's Aeolic lyrics.

In the Philological section, questions regarding the Sapphic authorship of the Brothers Song will continue by looking further at the textual reconstructions of Obbink and how modern scholars such as André Lardinois, Leslie Kurke, and Anton Bierl address the ambiguous meaning and irregularity of the new Sapphic text. The next section, in particular, will focus more on the possibility that the new Brothers Song of *P. Sapph. Obbink* is an example of the ancient practice that imitated literary works of well-known poets, or in this case, poet.

Philological Study of the Brothers Song in *P. Sapph. Obbink*:

Brothers Song

	[⊗]
1	[π- (?)
2	[1 or 5 lines missing]
3	[3-4] λα [
4	[2-3] céμα [
5 (1)	<p> ἀλλ' ἄϊ θρύληθα Χάραξον ἔλθην ναῖ κύν πλήαι. τὰ μέγ οἴομαι Ζεῦς οἶδε κύμπαντές τε θεοί· ἐδ' οὐ χρῆ ταῦτα νόηθαι, </p>

- 10 (6) ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλευθαι
πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασιλῆαν Ἥραν
ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα
νᾶα Χάραξον
- 15 (11) κᾶμ' ἐπεύρην ἀρτέμεας. τὰ δ' ἄλλα
πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπωμεν·
εὔδαι γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταγ
αἶψα πέλονται.
- 20 (16) τῶν κε βόλληται βασίλευσ Ὀλύμπω
δαίμον' ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μάκαρες πέλονται
καὶ πολύολβοι·
- 24 (20) κᾶμμες, αἶ κε φᾶν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη
Λάριχος καὶ δὴ ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται,
καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαγ κεν
αἶψα λύθειμεν. ⊗⁴⁶

English Translation:

P- ...

... (1 or 5 lines missing)

... la- ...

... you, ma- ...

But you are always chattering for Charaxos to come with a full ship. Zeus and all the other gods know these things, I think. But it is not necessary for you to think these thoughts

Summon me instead and commission me to beseech Queen Hera over and over again that Charaxos may arrive, piloting back here a ship that is safe,

And find us safe and sound. Let us entrust all other things to the gods: for out of huge gales fair weather swiftly ensues.

All of those, whom the King of Olympus wishes a divinity as helper to now turn them from troubles, become happy and richly blessed.

And if only Larichos might lift up his head one day be(come?) an established man, we'd also be delivered/free out of deep and dreary draggings of our soul.

⁴⁶ The following are an articulated version of the Brothers Song's Greek transcription (Obbink's version) and its English translation. For Obbink's reconstruction ('diplomatic' and personally corrected versions) of the Brothers Song's Greek text and revised English translation, see Obbink 2014b: 37; 2015: 25, 32.

The Brothers Song begins with a first-person speaker addressing an unknown figure who has always chattered about Charaxos returning home with a full ship (Χάραξον ἔλθην νᾶϊ κύν πλῆαι, 5-6). The speaker then reminds the addressee that the omnipresence of Zeus and the other gods means that they (i.e., the gods) are aware of their wish (τὰ μὲν οἴομαι Ζεῦς οἶδε κύμπαντες τε θεοί, 6-7), making it unnecessary to even ponder about such matters (εὐχὴ δ' οὐ χρὴ ταῦτα νόησθαι, 7-8). The speaker then reinforces her previous advice by asking the addressee to command her to continually invoke the aid of Queen Hera (κέλευσθαι πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασιλῆαν Ἥραν, 9-10) in order to bring Charaxos and his ship back home safely (ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε κάαν ἄγοντα νᾶα Χάραξον, 11-12), where he would find them safe at home (κᾶμμ' ἐπεύρην ἀρτέμεας, 13). The speaker then shifts her advice, telling the addressee to turn everything else over to the gods (τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπωμεν, 13-14). She also reminds the addressee of the cyclic nature of misfortune and fortune by comparing their situation with changing weather: a storm that creates great gales of wind will routinely be followed by clear skies (εὐδία γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν αἶψα πέλονται, 15-16). Once again, the speaker explains how Zeus helps people by turning their troubles into bliss, making them both happy and blessed (17-20). Finally, in the last stanza, the speaker reveals that the happiness of both the speaker and the addressee (23-24) is contingent on Larichos' capacity to finally 'raise his head and become an established man' (κᾶμμεσ, αἴ κε φᾶν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη Λάριχος καὶ δὴ ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται, 21-22).

The speaker in the Brothers Song delivers a series of commands, advice, and wishes in order to assuage the anxieties she shares with the addressee regarding the brothers Charaxos and Larichos. Although the speaker's identity is unclear, the domestic narrative reveals the character and role of the speaker as one who is committed to ensuring the welfare of Charaxos at sea and

the growth of Larichos as a contributing member of the family.⁴⁷ The identity of the addressee is undisclosed (a topic I will discuss later in this chapter).

Programmatic ‘Sappho’

Since the poem is attributed to Sappho, we immediately assume that Sappho is the speaker (the ἐγώ). Usage of the unidentified ἐγώ, as evident in the new Sappho poem, is typical of the Sappho’s poetry: in fr.1, for example, the speaker maintains her anonymous identity in the first half of the narrative by using only ‘I’ or the first-person singular form of words. The identity of the ἐγώ as Sappho is not revealed until the fifth stanza (or line 20), where the speaker reports past responses of the goddess Aphrodite, who was addressed in the first line of the poem:

- ... σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
 μειδιαίσαις' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
 ἦρε' ὅτι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι
 (16) δηῦτε κάλημι
 κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
 μαινόλαι θύμῳ· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
 βαῖς' ἄγνη ἐς σάν φιλότατα; τίς σ', ὦ
 (20) Ψάπῳ, ἀδίκησι; (Sappho, fr.1 Voigt)

... But you, O blessed one,
 smiled in your deathless face
 and asked what (now again) I have suffered and why
 (now again) I am calling out
 and what I want to happen most of all
 in my crazy heart. Whom should I persuade (now again)
to lead you back into her love? Who, O
Sappho, is wronging you?⁴⁸

The goddess’ ‘direct speech’ (l.15-20) permits the poet/speaker to briefly introduce herself to her readers without having to add her name awkwardly in the text (cf. Nossis G-P 1.3, τοῦτο λέγει

⁴⁷ The meaning of lines 21-22, referring to the hope that Larichos would ‘raise his head and become an established man’, is unclear. Eva Stehle makes the argument that the speaker refers to Larichos’ turn to help in acquiring wealth for the family in the same manner as Charaxos, who was presumably at sea for a business venture. She also makes a parallel between Larichos and Paris’ character in the *Iliad*. See Stehle 2016: 288-291.

⁴⁸ Translation from Anne Carson’s monograph, *If not, winter. Fragments of Sappho* (2002: New York).

Νοσσίς).⁴⁹ Composing in the first-person enables Sappho – as both the poet and the speaker – to emphasize further the visceral nature of love and the effects it has on human emotion through the performance of her own amorous experiences. Sappho elaborates on her own amorous past to serve as an example of the ‘female experience’ that has been lacking in literary tradition due to the dominance of male-authored works.

The placement of fr.1 at the head of the Alexandrian copy of Sappho’s Book 1 is noteworthy: the rest of the book is arranged alphabetically, but her Hellenistic editors made an exception for the first fragment, which starts with the word ποικίλοφρον (or according to Voigt, ποικλόθρον’),⁵⁰ likely because they considered the piece as programmatic for the entire Sapphic corpus. Sappho’s fr.1 is important to the study of the new Brothers Song because, as a programmatic work, it sets the bar for the poetic style and arrangement one should expect elsewhere in her poetry.⁵¹ The testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* i73-79) and Hephaestion further confirms that Sappho’s fr.1 is an archetype of her lyric compositions; the latter source uses the first fragment to illustrate the typical style of Sapphic stanzas.⁵² The poetic composition of the Brothers Song is similar to fr.1. First, the former was composed with a nameless main speaker whose identity is presumed to be Sappho. Second, the poet/speaker elucidates some aspect of love in the poem (in the Brothers Song’s case, storgic love) by revealing her concerns regarding her two brothers. Sappho’s worries and anxieties about Charaxos and Larichos further demonstrate how Sappho is typically focused on the suffering and woes that accompany love, rather than the tenderness stereotypical of such an emotion. For this

⁴⁹ The epigrams of Nossis are believed to be a near imitation of Sappho’s works, which will be discussed further in this chapter.

⁵⁰ For further discussion on what is programmatic about Sappho’s fr.1V, see Prodi 2017: 578-582.

⁵¹ Obbink 2016c: 41-45. Obbink compares Sappho fragment 1 with Pindar’s *Olympian Ode 1*, explaining that the first ode is considered as a ‘programmatic ode’ which outlines the importance of competitions in the rest of his works.

⁵² Campbell 1982: 264.

reason, we observe Sappho asking for divine help in the Brothers Song, directing her pleas to ‘Queen Hera’ (in line 6) in order to aid in Charaxos’ safe return home with his ship. Sappho’s pleas are likewise directed to other gods, more notably the mention of Zeus or the ‘King of Olympus’ (βασιλεύς Ὀλύμπω, 13). Sappho especially believes that the omniscient Zeus will understand their situation and help them in their time of need (2-3, 13-15).

The Brothers Song’s parallels with a programmatic Sapphic composition lead us to believe that Sappho is the poet and the main speaker of the new poem, but it is also important to address certain aspects of the new poem that deviate from what is typical of Sappho. One such feature is in Sappho’s entreaty to Hera, as opposed to her prayers which have generally been addressed to Aphrodite.⁵³ Since the majority of Sappho’s poems are about some sexual type of love and the emotional complications that it brings, entreaty is appropriately directed to the goddess of love and sexual desire. The case of the Brothers Song is therefore interesting: in lines 6-7, we see that the speaker Sappho is asking an unnamed addressee “to send and to commission [her] to beseech the goddess Hera” (πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεσθαι πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασίλην Ἥραν), in order to help bring Charaxos home safe. Sappho’s prayer is uniquely directed to Hera, which raises the question: *why is Sappho asking for divine help from Hera, as opposed to the goddess of love?* Until recently, the goddess Hera was rarely depicted or mentioned by the poet.⁵⁴ One answer is evident in the type of love evoked in the new poem, which is unique to the corpus. Since Sappho is depicting storge, or a type of familial love, an entreaty to Aphrodite would not have been at all appropriate; Aphrodite governs matters regarding love and one’s own

⁵³ Yet, after the discovery of the *Newest Sappho* assemblage, we now have two new fragments in which Sappho directs her prayer to Hera: in addition to the Brothers Song, there is also fr.17, whose text is much improved by the new discovery. See Obbink 2016b.

⁵⁴ Sappho only explicitly mentions the goddess Hera twice: first is fragment 9, on which the severely fragmented papyrus, *P.Oxy* .2289 fr.4, preserves the goddess’ name (see Carson 2002). Since *P.Oxy*. 2289 fr.4 is quite fragmented, a lacuna comes right before what is presumed to be Hera’s name (i.e. [Ἥ]ρα, l.4). The second is Sappho’s fragment 17, of which a new fragment from the *Newest Sappho* assemblage confirms the older copy.

sexual desires. In contrast, storge is by nature neither sexual nor seductive, but rather the compassionate care and instinctual affection between family members. The majority of Sappho's extant works are composed with a type of love saturated with sexual undertones, usually addressed to either one of the girls in her 'choral group' or to one of her male lovers (i.e., Phaon). The poetess is seldom depicted as a sister, a daughter, or even as a mother (cf. Sappho fr.98), because family does not dominate her poetic discussions in the same way as her other affairs, making the composition of the Brothers Song interesting to study.

Sappho's exclusive appeal to Hera in the Brothers Song is also noteworthy because it hints at how the poem is distinct from other Sapphic compositions. Apart from the Brothers Song, Sappho's fr.17V is also addressed to Hera. Joel Lidov's study of fragment 17 instead draws our attention to the presence of Hera and of Zeus in the Sappho poems, which is in reference to a cult that worships the divinities in archaic Lesbos (probably at the Lesbian cult site known as the Messon).⁵⁵ The Pan-Lesbian cult, as attested in Alcaeus fr. 129 LP, worshipped a trinity of gods, namely Zeus, Hera, and Dionysius:

... τότε Λέσβιοι ... εὐδειλον τέμενος μέγα ξῦνον κά[τε]σσαν, ἐν δὲ βώμοις
ἀθανάτων μακάρων ἔθηκαν κάπωννύμασσαν ἀντίαον Δία σὲ δ' Αἰολήσαν
[κ]υδαλίμαν θεόν πάντων γενέθλαν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον τόνδε κεμήλιον ὠνύμασσ[α]ν

... the Lesbians established this great conspicuous precinct to be held in common, and put in altars of the blessed immortals, and they entitled Zeus God of Suppliants, and you, the Aeolian Glorious Goddess, Mother of all, and this third they named Kemelios, Dionysus, eater of raw flesh.

The "Aeolian Glorious Goddess" is believed to be the cult's version of the goddess Hera, which was interpreted from the relationship between the Aeolian goddess and the King of Olympus. In the context of Alcaeus' fr.129, Zeus and Hera are not depicted as divinities who protect marriage, but rather as separate divinities with a symbiotic relationship: Zeus is ἀντίαον Δία

⁵⁵ Lidov 2016: 65-66.

(“god of suppliants”) and Hera as the Aeolian goddess who is πάντων γενέθλιν (“giver of birth to all things”). Because of their cult association in archaic Lesbos, the presence of the two divinities in Sappho’s Brothers Song makes more sense. In lines 2-4, Sappho reminds the unnamed addressee to entrust all things to Zeus and all of the other gods. The poet believes that as the ‘god of suppliants’, Zeus will hear their prayers. The same can be said of Hera; in lines 5-8, Sappho asks the unnamed addressee to make her pray to the goddess Hera under the pretext of Charaxos’ safe return. As the goddess who “gives birth to all things”, Sappho is referring to Hera’s ability to ‘give birth’ or create a better outcome for Charaxos being out at sea and bring him back home safely. Lidov also notes that out of the trinity, a prayer to Hera is most common in both of Sappho’s and Alcaeus’ lyric compositions, especially in the context of a safe return from being in perilous seas.⁵⁶ The aetiology for the Lesbian cult at Messon, as was further revealed in fragment 17V, was the Atreidae at Troy needing help getting home; and Stefano Caciagli postulates that this is probably an appropriate shrine to address concerns and issues with regards to sea voyages.⁵⁷ Sappho’s appeal to Hera in the Brothers Song, in other words, is entirely appropriate as she is predominately concerned with Charaxos’ voyage at sea and homecoming.

That the identity of the speaker (and that of the poet) in the Brothers Song is likely Sappho is not the sole evidence used to attribute the new poem to the Lesbian poet. The same conclusion is supported by the explicit mention of her brothers’ names, as well as the poem’s Aeolic dialect. In an interview with Megan Gannon, Obbink describes how – out of instinct – he knew that the newly discovered piece of papyrus preserves the work of Sappho: “As soon as I read the first line, with the meter and the name of Sappho’s brother, I immediately knew who it

⁵⁶ Lidov 2016: 65-66.

⁵⁷ Caciagli 2016: 427.

was”.⁵⁸ Although not much is known for certain about the biography of Sappho, ancient testimony and encomia describe her family. Biographical accounts of Sappho preserved in the *Suda* (σ107A) and in *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr.1, for instance, disclose the identity of her three brothers, whose names are Haraxos (‘Charaxos’), Larihos (‘Larichos’), and Eurygios (‘Eurygius’).⁵⁹ The latter source provides further details regarding Sappho’s family: it explicitly identifies Charaxos as the oldest brother and notes his affairs with the Egyptian Doricha, and it claims that Larichos was the youngest and most loved by Sappho. The *Suda* also discloses that the name of the poet’s daughter, Kleïs, was inherited from Sappho’s late mother.

Sappho and her Brothers

Sappho’s brothers appear rarely in her extant works. Out of the surviving 192 fragments (and counting) of Sappho’s works, only fragments 5V, 15V and the new Brothers Song mention any of the three brothers. The first poem is better preserved: it starts with an invocation to the “revered daughters of the sea god” (tr. Obbink) – the Nereids – in order to help the speaker’s (sc. Sappho’s) brother return home on his own volition and grant his innermost desires (1-4).⁶⁰ The fragment continues by asking the divine beings to help him become “a pleasure” to his family and friends, as well as become a pain to those he (and his own family) considers as enemies, after having atoned for his past mistakes (5-8). The last fully preserved lines reveal how Sappho hopes her brother would finally regard her with more honor (9-10).⁶¹ Unlike the Brothers Song, Sappho does not mention any of her brothers by name in the preserved parts of fr. 5, referring

⁵⁸ See Gannon 2015. Retrieved December 26, 2016.

⁵⁹ Specific names of Sappho’s Brothers are also mentioned in Barnstone 2009: 123-124.

⁶⁰ Prior to the “Newest Sappho” discovery, we presumed fr.5V began with the line Κύπρι και] Νηρηίδες; Obbink’s study of P.GC. fr.105, however, indicates that the line started as Πότνται Νηρηίδες. For further discussion on the new translation of Sappho fragment 5, see Obbink 2016b: 22-23, 31.

⁶¹ The last lines (11-20) of Sappho 5V are fragmentary and retain only 19-20 letters near the right margin. For the Greek text and English translation, see Carson 2002: 12-13; id., Rayor and Lardinois 2014: 30 (English translation only).

only to “my brother” (μοι τὸν κασίγνητον, 1-2). But the statement about the brother’s past wrongdoings and the request to the divinities that he “atone for it” (ὄσσα δὲ πρόσθ’ ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦσαι, 5), hints that the brother is someone who is out at sea and has wronged Sappho’s family in some way. The brother is also unnamed in fr. 15, where the only clear identifying clue lies in Sappho’s mention of Doricha: in line 5 of the fragment, the poet describes how a male figure who, like the brother mentioned in fr. 5, appears to have made mistakes in the past ([ὄσσα δὲ πρόσθ’ [ἄμ]βροτε κῆ[να λῦσαι, 5). Sappho continues that the unspecified male figure had returned to Doricha a second time because of “a longed-for desire” ([Δ]ωρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὡς ποθε[/ ...] ερον ἦλθε, 11-12). As evident in Obbink’s articulation of the Greek text, there is a lacuna in lines 11-12 of fr.15; the resulting English restoration “a longed-for desire” is a supplement.⁶² If the case was that the translation truly depicts some type of love or a relationship between Doricha (as named in line 11 of the manuscript) and the unnamed brother, the identity of the sea-farer who is out to seek atonement for his wrongdoings is likely Charaxos.

The identification of the brother in fr.5 as Charaxos is supported by other ancient testimony about Sappho and her family. According to Strabo’s *Geographica* (17.1.33), Charaxos is the brother of Sappho who had an illicit affair with the prostitute Doricha (also referred to by other poets as Rhodopis) and paid out her freedom with a huge sum of money. Herodotus (*Histories* 2.135) also describes Charaxos’ affair with Doricha, adding that Sappho castigated Charaxos in her poetry for his continued affair with the Egyptian courtesan.⁶³ The Brothers Song further substantiates the identity of Charaxos in the other Sappho fragments, as it decisively describes Charaxos as the brother who is out at sea.

⁶² For the Greek text and English translation of fr.15, see Obbink 2016b: 17.

⁶³ For more details on the connection between Sappho’s fragments 5V and 15V with regards to Charaxos and Doricha, see Burris-Fish-Obbink (2014); id., Rayor and Lardinois 2014: 100, 102.

But the Brothers Song may also be perceived as a biographical construct, within which, I argue, are two characters fabricated to resemble Sappho's brothers Charaxos and Larichos. Though we have no way of knowing whether Charaxos and Larichos, as named in the Brothers Song, are Sappho's actual brothers or whether they are fictional characters in her works who bear the same name, my study of the poem hints at the latter. In other words, Charaxos and Larichos in the Brothers Song are 'stock' characters who appear to have limited attributes. Lardinois (2016) substantiates such claim, explaining that Charaxos and Larichos are fictional characters within the narratives of Sappho's poetry because of the way the Lesbian poet writes about them. 'Charaxos', for instance, is usually absent from home, due either to some business venture which takes him out to sea or a rendezvous with his paramour Doricha.⁶⁴ The male seafarer in fragment 15V, therefore, is suspected to be Charaxos because of Sappho's role as the speaker and her blatant disapproval of the man's deeds and his ongoing affair with Doricha (l. 9-12).⁶⁵ The Charaxos of the Brothers Song is depicted in the same manner, even if mention of his affair with Doricha is lacking: Sappho elaborates on the addressee's hope that the homecoming of Charaxos from his voyage at sea is safe (5-6, 11-12).

Larichos, on the other hand, is only mentioned in the Brothers Song, which makes the analysis of his 'stock' features somewhat more difficult: the peculiar phrase in lines 21-22 of the poem, "if Larichos lifts up his head ..." (which will be discussed later on this chapter apropos of its ambiguous meaning) is the only extant statement about Larichos within the Sapphic corpus. The Larichos of the Brothers Song appears to be a contrasting figure to Charaxos: he is too indolent to 'lift up his own head' in comparison to the presumed diligence of the tradesman

⁶⁴ Lardinois 2016: 185.

⁶⁵ Sappho fragment 5V, see Rayor and Lardinois 2014: 30, Carson 2002: 12-13.

Charaxos, whose business often led him out to perilous seas. Yet, a biographical anecdote in Athenaeus reveals that he is not as indolent or lackadaisical as was implied in the poem:

Σαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαινεῖ ὡς οἰνοχοῦντα ἐν τῷ
πρυτανείῳ τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις. (Athenaeus X, 425a = Sappho test. 203aV)

The beautiful Sappho often praises her brother Larichos as a wine-pourer in the town hall at Mytilene.⁶⁶

This brief statement discloses how Sappho lauded Larichos for being a ‘wine-pourer’ (or *oinochoos*) in Mytilene. The task of pouring wine during the symposium at a *prytanaeion* was dignified and reserved for sons of noble families in the archaic period.⁶⁷ Katherine Topper differentiates Larichos’ service as a wine-pourer in the *prytanaeia* from the various services offered by the cup-bearers in a typical symposium; his service is instead tied to his noble status that connects the traditions of the *prytanaeia* and the history of the Greek polis as a whole.⁶⁸ Serving as a wine-pourer in the *prytanaeion* was considered as a ceremonial act for the gods or a mortal who had attained a god-like position (i.e., as a hero).⁶⁹ Therefore, the noble and dignified status of aristocrats was perceived by society as the class of citizens who best fits the role of service for the gods. In Book 10 of the *Deipnosophistae*, Larichos is included in a list of nobles who held the position of *oinochoos*, such as Menelaus’ son (“And the Son of glorious Menelaus poured the wine”; Homer *Od.* 15.141); and, Euripides in his youth (“I, at least, have heard that the poet Euripides acted as a wine-pourer at Athens for the so-called Dancers”; Theophrastus, *On Drunkenness* fr.119). Larichos’ position as one of the *oinochooi* in the Mytilenean *prytanaeion*

⁶⁶ English translations of the Greek texts for the rest of the chapter are my own work, unless indicated otherwise.

⁶⁷ For more information of the significance of wine-pourers at the *prytanaeion*, see Węcowski 2013: 37-43; Topper 2012: 80-85; Davidson 2007: 239.

⁶⁸ Topper 2012: 84-85. But Topper takes the explanation of Larichos’ position one step further: she elaborates on how the ‘noble wine-pourers’ are actually stock characters that emphasize the austerity of life in archaic Greece.⁶⁸ As attested by the Homeric scholiasts (schol. *Il.* 1.470a, 4.2b, 20.234d) and in Book 10 of *Deipnosophistae*, the young nobles who serve as wine-pourers show the degeneration of the ancient Greek society from self-sufficiency to utter reliance as they “recline when [they] feast” (Ath. 1.18a-b). See Topper 2012: 69.

⁶⁹ Węcowski 2013: 41-42.

was perceived by both Sappho and Athenaeus as important in the social sphere of the Greeks, one which is different from the slavish duties of the cup-bearers in any other symposiastic revelry.⁷⁰

Larichos in the Brothers Song, however, has yet to establish himself in the Mytilenean society: Sappho's reference to the youngest brother is isolated in the last preserved stanza of the Brothers Song, where she reveals her hopes that Larichos will eventually "lift up his head" and someday prove himself to "be an established man" (αἴ κε φᾶν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη Λάριχος καὶ δὴ ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται, 17-18). Although the phrase ἄνηρ γένηται is somewhat vague in terms of what Sappho exactly wants Larichos to become in the future, the easiest interpretation is that Sappho hopes her brother will someday become an important political figure in Mytilenean society, if not a successful businessman for the sake of the family. The Larichos of the Brothers Song is not a prominent noble, serving as a wine-pourer in the *prytanaeion*; but is, rather, too indolent to even raise his own head. The youth of Larichos, read autobiographically, suggests that the poem is an early work. So too does Larichos' youth suggest that he has yet to attain the *oinochoos* position at the local *prytanaeion* at the time of the Brothers Song's composition.

The difference between Athenaeus' Larichos and the Larichos of the Brothers Song raises the question: *who is the real Larichos, brother of Sappho?* Lardinois interprets Athenaeus' Larichos as a sort of "Ganymede" to elaborate on his premise that the brothers are instead used by Sappho as stock characters in her narratives.⁷¹ Charaxos, as was previously explained, is often associated with both the sea and his affair with Doricha, and the associations function in the same manner as epithets in Homer's works. Yet, Lardinois argues that these aspects of Charaxos

⁷⁰ Topper 2012: 84. Topper notes that the arrangement of Athenaeus' account on Sappho and Larichos indicates how the author likens the importance and relevance of the wine-pourer position at the festivals because the couplet was sandwiched in between Euripides' service and the noble youths who served as wine-pourers.

⁷¹ Lardinois 2016: 185.

are all that we see of the man: in no other ancient testimonia or biographical reference was Charaxos identified as having ‘settled down’ and the outcome of his affair with the Egyptian prostitute described.⁷² Charaxos remains the same figure throughout Sappho’s narratives. Ancient biographical sources identified Larichos as having held the *oichonoos* position in archaic Mytilene and as praised by his sister, but evidence for this is lacking in the extant corpus of Sappho. The limitations of our evidence cannot be overcome.

Analysis of the Brothers Song and fragment 5V demonstrates further the domestic concerns of the poet, which not only involve the safety and well-being of Charaxos and Larichos, but also the best interest of the family (l. 21-24). Yet Sappho’s public condemnation of Charaxos’ affair with Doricha and her reference to the lackadaisical character of Larichos are equivalent to, as expressed by Lardinois, “airing the family’s dirty laundry”.⁷³ If in fact the Charaxos and Larichos of the Brothers Song were truly Sappho’s brothers, the poet would not be as open to exposing her brothers’ ill reputation and poor character because the implications of such statements would be adverse for her family. Sappho’s outspokenness with respect to the inadequacies of her brother Larichos, for instance, are counterproductive if she wishes that someday he would become an ‘established man’ (perhaps as a politician) in archaic Mytilene. Sappho’s statement regarding Larichos’ growth into an ‘established man’ is also reminiscent of Telemachus in Homer’s *Odyssey*. In Book 1 (l. 294-302), Telemachus was inspired by Athena to grow up and become a man (οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ / νηπιάας ὀχεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλικός ἐσσι, 296-297) in order to find news about his father Odysseus, who had yet to return home from the Trojan War, and, to find a way to drive away his mother’s suitors. Telemachus’ maturation (though put on hold in the end by the return of Odysseus and his reclamation of the household) greatly

⁷² Ibid. Lardinois 2016: 185.

⁷³ Ibid. Lardinois 2016: 185.

benefited his family as he assisted in bringing his father home sooner and eliminating his mother's brazen suitors. Telemachus' growth in the *Odyssey* foreshadows the outcome of Larichos' maturation, which Sappho hopes, will be induced by some divine inspiration (13-16) and result in delivering their family out of their sullenness (19-20). The concept of a young man growing into an 'established man' is an element of literary tradition not exclusive to Sappho's narratives.

My hypothesis that the two brothers in the Brothers Song are characters and not actual brothers of Sappho, therefore, is plausible; it consequently leads one to postulate the possibility that other aspects of the Brothers Song are not what they seem. Even with a view to a biographical fallacy, the presence of Charaxos and Larichos' names in the new Brothers Song's narrative is still recognized as evidence that the speaker is Sappho herself.

Authorship, Influence, and Overlap

The presence of Charaxos and Larichos' names in the Brothers Song is not the only evidence in favour of the poem's Sapphic authorship. The new poem's dialect, as well as its metrical form (the Sapphic stanza), also point to Sappho. As I have explained earlier in the chapter, the Brothers Song is divided into five Sapphic stanzas, each separated by a *paragaphos* in the left margin. The stanzas consist of three full lines of Sapphic hendecasyllables and an adoniaean in every fourth line. The arrangement of the Brothers Song into Sapphic stanzas also supports the theory that it derived from a bookroll containing the first book of the Alexandrian collection of the Sapphic corpus, which included poems in this metre, arranged alphabetically. Sappho's poetry was categorized by its Alexandrian editors into eight (or nine) books according

to either the metre and/or the unique poetic structure of each of the poems.⁷⁴ Yet nearly a hundred or so other Sapphic fragments are either unassigned or are elegiac poems that were wrongly attributed to her (i.e. 158 Diehl and 159 Diehl).⁷⁵ Sappho's Book 1, in particular, consists of fragments 1-42 and includes topics that range from domestic issues that concern Sappho's family to the emotional suffering and anguish that Sappho experiences as a consequence of amorous affairs. The key feature of Sappho's lyric compositions is that she reveals her own experiences and treats issues that concerned her, as a woman in archaic Lesbos. The domestic topic of the Brothers Song is therefore not so unusual to the type of poetry Sappho composed; its rarity is simply due to how our current collection of her work is fragmentary and incomplete.

The new Brothers Song also shows an element of intertextuality with Horace's *Soracte Ode* 1.9: here, I follow Llewellyn Morgan (2016) and Tom Phillips' (2014) explanations and interpretations of the Latin text as an allusion to Sappho's work and her employment of the weather analogy. In the fourth stanza of the Brothers Song (l. 13-16), Sappho reassures the addressee's anxieties about Charaxos by trying to explain the possible fate of their situation:

... τὰ δ' ἄλλα
 πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπωμεν·
 εὔδαι γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν 15 (11)
 αἶψα πέλονται.

For the rest,
 let us entrust all other things to the gods:
 for out of great blasts of wind fair weather
 swiftly follows.

⁷⁴ The number of books in the Alexandrian Sapphic corpus has been continually debated, where our earliest source, a first century BCE epigram by a certain Tullius Laurea (*AP.* 7.17), disclose that there are nine books of Sappho. However, Dimitrios Yatromanolakis argue the authenticity of Laurea's epigram, stating that the nine-book edition of Sappho's works that he refers to is not from the Alexandrian collection. See Yatromanolakis 2001a.

⁷⁵ Barnstone 2009: 121, 179 (explained as a mistake in the Greek Anthology).

The weather analogy permits Sappho to explain, in a broader perspective, the natural fluctuations of life – as she would typically explain in conjunction with her amorous experiences in her other lyric works. Sappho trusts that the confusion and restlessness brought on by concern for her two brothers will eventually be resolved with the aid of the gods, allowing her and the addressee to (hopefully) lead a more relaxed life. The same analogy is reflected in the third strophe of Horace’s *Soracte Ode* 1.9, where the speaker explains the natural progression of life to a boy named Thaliarche by invoking the changing seasons:

Permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
deproeliantis, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni. (9-12)⁷⁶

Leave other things to the gods, who as soon as
they calm the winds on the stormy seas from fighting violently,
they agitate neither the cypress trees nor the old ash trees.

Lines 9-10 are particularly striking in their similarity to lines 13-16 of the Brothers Song; both works describe the influence of the gods in matters that are beyond human control, as illustrated by the metaphor of changing weather. The Horatian ode specifically explains the influence of the Olympian gods over the fate of mortals, as they have influence over nature and fluctuations in weather. The two poems’ similarity reveals Sappho’s influence on Horace, if not her influence on the literary tradition in a broader sense.⁷⁷ Sappho’s analogical reasoning, as evident in line 13-15 of the Brothers Song, is typical (but not exclusive) to her: the poet uses metaphors and allusions that are familiar to her addressee, and by extension her readers, to emphasize the severity of human emotion or experience brought on by either life or love. In Sappho 16, for instance, the poet creates an analogy that love is similar to warfare through varied perceptions of

⁷⁶ Latin text taken from Loeb Classical Library (online): Horace’s *Odes* 1.9, translated and edited by Niall Rudd, LCL 33, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁷ Morgan 2016: 296-301.

the question, *what is most beautiful?* The poet's comparison of love and the types of armies in the poem's opening priamel allows the poet to express her strong view that love is what is most beautiful.⁷⁸ The analogy of changing weather in the Brothers Song, on the other hand, accentuates Sappho's hope for suitable outcome to their plight. Such employment of analogies and metaphors is therefore a poetic technique that is inherent to Sappho's lyric texts.

The Brothers Song's first stanza overlaps with the text from a previously discovered assemblage of papyrus fragments from the Oxyrhynchus collection, *P.Oxy.* 2289 fragment 5, which measures at a mere 2.5"x1".⁷⁹ The fragment contains only a handful of decipherable letters, but the text of lines 3-4 matches with the letters nearest the left margin of the Brothers Song's lines 1-2:

	* * *
Line 1 (3): ⁸⁰	. . .]λα[
2 (4):	. .]céμ .[
3 (5):	.]λλα[
4 (6):	.]αιυ[
	* * *

The correspondence of the Oxyrhynchus fragment and the Brothers Song indicates that at least one stanza precedes the first line of Brothers Song as preserved in P. Sapph. Obbink. The first

⁷⁸ See Rissman 1983.

⁷⁹ Likewise, Obbink distinguishes a discernible textual overlap between *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 fr.16 and Kypris Song in P. Sapph. Obbink. Although the first two lines of the Kypris Song (e.g. lines 21 and 22 of P. Sapph. Obbink) are reasonably comprehensible, the remainder of the poem is poorly preserved and challenging to read. Obbink suggests that a certain level of guesswork needs to be applied in studying the 'uncertain sections' of the Kypris Song. Notwithstanding, text from *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 fr.16 proves to be a complement of the text in the Kypris section of P. Sapph. Obbink and vice versa. Both manuscripts correspond with the format of the text and in the arrangement of the lines in the poem (as the Kypris Song is currently documented). The beginning sections of lines 21-28 of P. Sapph. Obbink, in particular, supplements the missing parts of lines 1-8 of *P.Oxy.* 10.1231 fr.16. So too does the indecipherable endings of lines 23-28 in the new Kypris Song which is now easily estimated with the aid of words persevered in the same Oxyrhynchus fragment.

⁸⁰ Numeration within the parenthesis shows how Obbink integrated the text from *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 with the lines of the Brothers Song.

line of *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 is the preceding stanza's third line, and its second preserved line is the beginning of the stanza's fourth line – its *adonean* line.⁸¹ In order to accommodate a preceding Sapphic stanza, the numerical designation of the Brothers Song in *P. Sapph.* Obbink will have to shift further, making its first line the fifth line of the poem.

Though only a few letters remain on the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, the sequence *céμ-* has been interpreted as evidence for the identity of the unnamed addressee. In the broadest sense, there are two possibilities: **a.** a divine being; or **b.** a family member of Sappho. The possibility of a divine being is suggested by other poems that begin with a vocative address, as evident in the first line of Sappho's fragment 1V (*ἀθανάτ' Ἀφροδίτα*) and in the new *Kypris Song* (*Κύπρι, δέσποιν'*, 22 [2]). In the case of the Brothers Song, the statement in the *now* second stanza of the poem disclose that the unnamed addressee is neither a god or a goddess; it contains Sappho's belief that the gods are aware of their concerns (*τὰ μὲν οἴομαι Ζεῦς οἶδε κύπαντές τε θεοί*, 6-7). Other editors, instead, claim that the unnamed addressee is a close family member of Sappho, perhaps even her mother *Kleïs*.⁸² In lines 9-10, the speaker asks this addressee to “summon and commission” her to beseech “Queen Hera” in order to bring Charaxos home safe with his ship. The structure of the sentence suggests that the unnamed addressee both feels as helpless as Sappho and has the authority over the speaker to act on his or her behalf. Later, in lines 23-24, Sappho reveals further that the addressee shares the same concerns as her about Larichos' indolence (*καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαγ κεν αἶψα λύθεμεν*). Such anxieties and concern for the two brothers show that the addressee is interested in the overall welfare of the family and its

⁸¹ Obbink 2014b: 40. There are approximately 2-4 letters missing that precedes the preserved text on lines 1(3) and 2(4). Further discussion about the two anteceding stanzas of Brothers Song before the first stanza in *P. Sapph.* Obbink, see Obbink 2014b: 40-41, and Obbink 2016c: 53-54.

⁸² West's claim that Sappho produced the Brothers Song during her youth (see fn.113 of this thesis) substantiates the presumption that the unnamed addressee is *Kleïs*, assuming that she was still alive at the time.

members, making the addressee's identity likely to be Sappho's mother, if not a relative that is senior in rank to the poet and close to the siblings.

Paleographic analysis of *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr. 5 initially appeared to support the premise that the addressee is Sappho's mother, but the fragmentary state of the papyrus shows that remaining text neither confirms nor denies the idea. Obbink suggests that line 2 of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus fragment can be expressed in one of three ways: **A.** . .]cé μ. [or, as **B.** . .]c ěμ. [or, as **C.** . .]c' ěμ. [. ⁸³ Martin West adds a fourth possibility, by explaining that the remaining trace of ink following *mu* is most likely a vowel – an *alpha* – due to the metrical arrangement of the line (or –céμα) . ⁸⁴ While there are many possible combinations and arrangement of the letters that could precede and follow the preserved text on *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr. 5, several editors have been tempted to reconstruct line two of the Oxyrhynchus fragment to read as: “. . σε, μᾶ[τερ ...” (translating into “... you, mother ...”). ⁸⁵ The ideal situation is to have μᾶτερ as the word that corresponds with the preserved μᾶ-, confirming the identity of the addressee as Sappho's mother. However, West cautions that neither space nor the metrical sequence of the line allows for the word μᾶτερ. ⁸⁶ The fragmentary state of the Oxyrhynchus fragment makes reconstruction of its lines difficult and attempts to guess which word(s) might correspond to the letters -εμα “futile”, as echoed by West. ⁸⁷ The only information that can be deduced from studying the textual evidence available is that there is one (or two) stanzas missing from the Brothers Song on *P. Sapph.* Obbink, possibly including a reference to Sappho's mother as the addressee. Line 2 of *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5, regrettably, does not confirm the popular premise that the addressee is truly Sappho's μᾶτερ.

⁸³ Obbink 2014b: 41; id., West 2014: 9.

⁸⁴ West 2014: 9.

⁸⁵ Obbink 2016c: 53-54; West 2014: 9; Bierl 2016: 308-39.

⁸⁶ West 2014: 9.

⁸⁷ West 2014: 9.

The additional stanza(s) permit a more suitable start to the Brothers Song. Although the new poem initially appeared well-preserved, the elided form of ὄλλά in the first line of P. Sapph. Obbink suggests that Sappho was mid-thought in a colloquy with the unknown addressee. Sappho continues on to reveal that the conversation is directed to the unnamed family member; her tête-à-tête mentions the addressee's 'endless chatter' about Charaxos' safe return (5-6),⁸⁸ which is presumably in contrast to what she had mentioned about the addressee in the aforementioned unpreserved stanza. In a preceding stanza, we presume, Sappho identified her addressee.

Since the text on *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 overlaps with the first and second lines on P. Sapph. Obbink, the Oxyrhynchus fragment demonstrates that the missing stanzas of the Brothers Song would have been situated at the bottom of a preceding column. The overlap between *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 and P. Sapph. Obbink further authenticates the Brothers Song as an original work of Sappho, preserved via an ancient textual tradition. However, it is important to stress the possibility that the two fragments in question may have also preserved two different versions of Sappho's Brothers Song. Such a study would be impossible to undertake given that the Oxyrhynchus papyrus is extremely fragmentary, preserving only a few letters of its Brothers Song. In chapter two of this thesis, however, we have two fragments bearing varied versions of Sappho's Tithonus Song. Initial study of the fragments (i.e., P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376 and *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1) reveal their textual overlap, but the two copies also vary from each other: the new Cologne fragments demonstrate that its Tithonus Song ends after a mythological exemplum; the Oxyrhynchus papyrus version, conversely, continues with an additional four lines of text.

⁸⁸ Reference of lines in the Brothers Song for the rest of the chapter will use the newer numeration (i.e. including the preceding 4 lines from *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5)

As for the Brothers Song, there is also no way to determine whether the copy of the newest poem, as represented by *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5, was the very version of Sappho's poem that the Alexandrian scribes had copied for the Royal Library of Alexandria's collection of the Sapphic corpus. Since Sappho was a well-known figure, as is evident from the amount of ancient testimony regarding her biographical and poetic history, copies of Sappho's poetry would have also been widely available in antiquity. Yet, as was noted at the beginning of this chapter, there is no guarantee that the Alexandrian edition of the Brothers Song preserved a genuine work of Sappho instead of an ancient imitation of her poetry. The two copies of Sappho's Brothers Song, nonetheless, demonstrate how the transition from oral to written culture has helped preserve the voice of the poet, keeping her works accessible for centuries thereafter.

The fundamental question of this chapter (i.e. *why is it Sappho?*) prompts one to explore why modern scholars and editors currently accept the Brothers Song's authenticity. In the papyrological section, a strong set of evidence in favor of Sappho's authorship emerged. But the evidence is questionable in other respects. The aim of this section is to explore the possibility that the copy we have today is an ancient imitation of the Lesbian poet's work. The investigation will also pursue the possibility that the Brothers Song is an imitated transcription of an older version of the poem, as it was copied into the Alexandrian collection of Sappho's works.

Despite Obbink's attempts to explain and clarify issues regarding the authenticity of the new Brothers Song (and by extension, the *P. Sapph.* Obbink fragment and its other preserved lyric text – *Kypris Song*), a certain level of doubt about the new poem persists. Initial scholarly reactions expressed disappointment: the expectation was that, as a work of Sappho, the Brothers Song should reflect the same complexities and sublime quality we have come to know as typical of Sapphic compositions. Instead, scholars noted its seemingly subpar composition and

questioned the Sapphic pedigree of the newly found lyric manuscript. Martin West, for instance, associates the linguistic problems and the juvenile-like composition of the Brothers Song with Sappho's youth: "The poem is not one of her most poignant; as I see it, we have a young Sappho, perhaps still a teenager, addressing her mother and worried about their domestic circumstances".⁸⁹ Then in his article, "Nine New Poems of Sappho", West explains in detail his assumptions about the situation of Sappho's family when she first composed the poem:

The situation is evidently that the family's fortunes are at a low ebb. The eldest son, Charaxos, is away on an ambitious trading venture. The mother, Kleïs, babbles cheerfully about his returning with a ship full of merchandise and setting them all up in comfort. Sappho, still a young woman – possibly still in her late teens – is not so sanguine. She is anxious, but maintains a pious hope that things may take a turn for the better. Her younger brother Larichos, who might be expected to take some initiative, remains inert and submissive, rather like Telemachos at the start of the *Odyssey* before Athena activates him. He has yet to assert himself and 'become a man'.

The idea that Sappho was young at the time of the Brothers Song's composition is appealing for excusing the odd, juvenile quality of the poem. The idea is that Sappho had to start her poetic career somewhere, and that the Brothers Song that we have is evidence of these amateur years in composing lyric poems. The Brothers Song, as described by West and other modern editors sharing his views, was not Sappho's best work, which then leaves us wondering whether or not the unconventionally subpar quality of the new Brothers Song ought to be accepted solely as a result of her youth at the time or the result of a different matter altogether. The danger of defaulting to the biographical fallacy is that we neglect to study the evidence available, forgoing the possibility that the poem was not authored by Sappho, and assuming instead that the subpar quality of the Brothers Song is merely a reflection of Sappho's then juvenility and inexperience in poetry.

⁸⁹ Obbink 2014a

André Lardinois also acknowledges the juvenile quality of the Brothers Song by cautiously questioning its authenticity, expressing the possibility that the new poem is an example of an “ancient forgery”.⁹⁰ He explains that the Brothers Song’s small textual overlap with the letters preserved on *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 and the new poem’s inclusion in the Alexandrian collection of Sappho’s works, details which would authenticate the Sapphic authorship of the Brothers Song, are also questionable. Due to the miniscule size and the small number of letters preserved on *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5, the Oxyrhynchus fragment does not provide strong enough evidence to confirm that the Brothers Song was a composition by Sappho. Lardinois adds that questions regarding the Sapphic authorship of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus led Eva-Maria Voigt to dismiss the Sapphic pedigree of the piece, excluding it from her critical edition of Sappho’s fragments.⁹¹ As a consequence, the Sapphic authorship of the Brothers Song based on its overlap with the *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 alone is not particularly strong.

Yet other scholars remain adamant that the Brothers Song has a strong Sapphic pedigree: Obbink, for example, insists that the Brothers Song is “far from frigid juvenilia” and the verses, he argues, “show an ear for balancing and texture, the pulse of rhythm, and an atmospheric ending to a poem”.⁹² Meanwhile, other scholars refer to the simplicity of the Brothers Song as its point of strength, one which is evident in “its content and the subtlety of its rhythmic and aural effects”.⁹³

Opposing opinions about the Brothers Song will be addressed in this subsection, as my examination of P. Sapph. Obbink and its lyric text continues. This subsection will be governed

⁹⁰ Lardinois 2016: 168-169.

⁹¹ Lardinois 2016: 168.

⁹² Obbink’s article, “New poems by Sappho” is available in the *Time Literary Supplement* (published on February 5, 2014). The article is accessible online: <https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/new-poems-by-sappho/>

⁹³ William Heath’s article, “Sappho: The Brothers Song” is available in the *MTP Magazine* (published on February 6, 2015). The article is accessible online: <http://www.mptmagazine.com/article/sappho-the-brothers-poem-62/>

by the question: *Can our copy of the Brothers Song be authored by anyone else but Sappho?* Ancient imitations of literary works were prevalent in antiquity, but such a practice has only come to our attention with the recent study of the *Anacreontea* – an assemblage of texts once thought to be Anacreon’s authentic works. Due to the nature of manuscript tradition, where original works of ancient authors have continually been transcribed and then copied for centuries, their works will eventually become changed and altered from the respective originals. In some circumstances, ancient works have become near imitations of the original work due to manuscript tradition. Sappho’s works are not an exception to such a practice: if *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5 is truly a Roman copy of the Brothers Song, its existence – combined with the Brothers Song of P. Sapph. Obbink – demonstrate how copies of Sappho’s original have been in circulation for centuries. As will be discussed in the second chapter, such a theory is true and substantiated from the papyrological record: the Cologne fragment (*P.Köln.* inv. 21351+21376) preserving the Tithonus Song is Hellenistic and the Oxyrhynchus fragment (*P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1) is the poem’s version from the Roman period.⁹⁴

The question remains: *how much do our extant copies differ from Sappho’s original work?* Although such a question is nearly impossible to answer at the moment, given that there is only a single copy (and a small overlap in *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5) of the Brothers Song, this subsection will nevertheless endeavor to explore the possibility that the P. Sapph. Obbink’s version of the Brothers Song is an ancient imitation of a Sapphic original. The newest poem, in particular, will be studied in comparison to the *Carmina Anacreontea*, from which I will look for specific parallels and features that helped modern scholars identify how such works are imitations of Anacreon’s poetry. In my investigation of the possibility of an ancient imitation, I will further argue that the Brothers Song appears excessively Sapphic: the authors of ancient imitations such

⁹⁴ cf. a 6th or 7th century codex in the Belin collection of Sappho’s fragments 92-97.

as the *Anacreontea* were successful because they conformed to the traditions established by testimonia, iconographic representations, and encomia regarding Anacreon's life and poetry – all with respect to how the Greek lyricist formulated his poetic compositions.

Before continuing on with the study, it is important to explain the distinction between the terms 'copies' and 'imitations' with regard to describing ancient literary works. In the broadest sense, the two terms are interchangeable: where an extant poem can be perceived as both a copy and an imitation of an original work. However, I want to stress the distinction between the two terms in my investigation of the Brothers Song as an ancient imitation. Whenever the term 'copy' is used in this chapter, it is implied that the manuscript is a reproduction of an original work, preserving the poetic style, narrative techniques, and language of the primary composition. The end result is an identical version of the original, as the scribe duplicates the original work – strictly word per word. The term 'imitation' loosely refers to how a literary work was created in mimicry of the style of a particular ancient author. As I have explained in the previous section, my usage of the term 'imitation' will follow Dionysius of Halicarnassus' definition of ancient imitation, which he interprets as a rhetorical technique akin to an emulation, an adaptation, and a reworking of an original manuscript in an attempt to enhance the piece that follows the poetic taste of the new author. I refrain from defining imitation in the same manner as the term 'forgery' here (cf. Lardinois 2016); ancient imitations mimic the poetic technique and language of a certain author as part of its 'study'. The *Anacreontea* is an example of such a study, in which ancient authors reproduced lyric poems in a style of Anacreon, in an attempt to learn from a poetic predecessor. The reproductions so resemble the authentic works of Anacreon that they managed to fool modern scholars into believing they were true poems of Anacreon.⁹⁵ Another example is Catullus' imitation of Sappho's fr. 31. The Catullan text follows the poetic structure,

⁹⁵ For further discussion on the *Anacreontea* and Anacreon, see Müller 2010.

the topic addressed, and the morals eloquently conveyed in the Sapphic work; but Catullus altered the text slightly by directing the poem to Lesbia – his beloved. Catullus’ ‘imitation’ of Sappho fr.31 does not attempt to forge the Lesbian poet’s voice; it rather pays homage to her poetic prowess. Sappho’s fragment 31 was evidently still well-known at the time Catullus in the 1st century BC. Catullus’ translation and reproduction of the Sapphic work is instead a demonstration of the influence the Lesbian poet had on the Latin poet. The problem with ancient imitations, as in the case of the *Anacreontea*, is that information regarding the imitators is lost in time: we are not always aware whether a newly discovered ancient work is a ‘copy’ or a near perfect ‘imitation’ of a certain author’s work. Imitations of original works only appear to us as an ‘imitation’ whenever the author has slightly deviated from the style and technique of the original composer (which does not apply to Catullus because of his translation into Latin).

The arguments in favour of the Brother Song’s authenticity as a Sappho work on the basis of its inclusion in the Alexandrian edition of Sappho’s Book 1 are not as strong as one might think. Lardinois explains that the presence of another contemporary copy of the Brothers Song demonstrates the possibility that the poem is an ancient imitation and that there could be “distorted versions” of Sappho:

Hellenistic scholars therefore already recognized the Brothers Song as being by Sappho and included it in at least some of their editions. That still allows for the possibility that it was an imitation of a Sapphic poem made in the fifth and fourth century BCE, but this is true of almost any fragment we have of Sappho. These fragments are derived from poems which the Hellenistic scholars *thought* Sappho had composed. It is not impossible that there were among these poems songs that were composed by other, anonymous Lesbian poets, fifth- or fourth-century imitations, and distorted versions of Sappho’s original poems.⁹⁶

The last sentence, in particular, highlights my argument with regards to the possibility that among the extant copies of Sappho’s lyric texts are an imitations of her originals, and that the

⁹⁶ Lardinois 2016: 168.

new Brothers Song is an example of such. Imitations of ancient poetry were not as unusual as one might think, as the case of the *Anacreontea* indicates. Imitations and ancient forgeries of literary works made their way into the Royal Library of Alexandria's collection and were incidentally copied by the professional Alexandrian scribes. An account by Galen, a Greek physician in the second century AD, explains a royal mandate that obliged visiting merchants of the city to surrender all of their literary texts to the library, due to the Pharaoh's great desire to acquire knowledge from all over the world. In another account, the Greek doctor describes a competition between the kings of Alexandria and of Pergamon, where the objective was to obtain 'books' that were authored by renowned authors. One of the competition's results was the creation of forgeries.⁹⁷ The ancient practice of collecting 'books' for the Alexandrian library also fostered the creation of copies of the original work: Galen disclose that the Pharaohs had insisted on keeping the originals, giving back instead a copy of the original to the owners. There is, however, no record of an established system that filtered originals, copies, and possible imitations, which prompts one to question the authenticity of the 'books' or literary manuscripts surrendered for the Library of Alexandria. We are currently inclined to think that all extant copies of literary works from ancient literary collections are copies of the originals. But as Mark Joyal reminds us, in his study of imitations in the Platonic corpus, the Alexandrian scholars were not concerned with questions of authenticity whenever they integrated acquired works into the library's literary collection:

These [Alexandrian] scholars did not inherit a tradition which was preoccupied with matters of authenticity; nor would authenticity become their primary concern. Collection, organization, and preservation were of first importance, and

⁹⁷ See Macleod 2005 and Erskine 1995.

the subordinate questions of authenticity and inauthenticity had to be incorporated into these central activities.⁹⁸

The Platonic corpus contains a number of works that are suspected of being ancient imitations of Plato.⁹⁹ Literary works, whether they were original or imitations, made their way into the Alexandrian Library, where the Alexandrian scholars collated and organized the acquired texts into bookrolls of what they believed was part of a certain author's corpus. Matters that relate to the authenticity of an extant work are therefore a modern concern; we have come to realize that not all of the literary works we have are genuine. As Joyal explains, the Alexandrian scholars' concerns were to conserve all individual literary works that made their way into Alexandria, which is to say that questions of authenticity were not "their primary concern". If the Alexandrian scholars were not concerned with the authenticity of every individual work that they included in the library's literary collection, we cannot truly use the inclusion of the Brothers Song in the Alexandrian edition of Sappho's works as evidence for its authenticity. There is still the possibility that the Brothers Song is an ancient imitation of Sappho's original version of the Brothers Song. The evidence reveals that the Brothers Song – if it is not an original Sappho work – had enough of the style, technique, meter, and unique Aeolic language to convince the Alexandrian scholars of its Sapphic pedigree. But that does not mean that the work is indubitably a Sappho composition.

The same case is plausible for other poems of Sappho. Since the Lesbian poet was renowned for her poetic eloquence, her influence in literary tradition is reflected in the ancient reception of her lyric poems. Nossis, for example, was highly influenced by the works of

⁹⁸ Joyal 2014: 90.

⁹⁹ For further discussions regarding distinguishing 'genuine' and 'spurious' Platonic works see Joyal 2014: 73-93.

Sappho, even going so far as challenging the Lesbian poet as her rival.¹⁰⁰ This Hellenistic epigrammatist flourished during the 3rd century BC, in the southern Italian city of Locris; writing about life, love, and beauty from a ‘female tongue’ for a predominantly female audience.¹⁰¹ Three of Nossis’ epigrams (e.g. Poems 1, 5, and 11), preserved in the *Anthologia Palatina*, have been identified as ancient imitations of the Lesbian poet’s Aeolic lyrics. In the first line of Poem 1, Nossis explains that ‘nothing else is as delightful as love, and all things that are blissful are only second in rank’:

ἄδιον οὐδὲν ἔρωτος· ἂ δ’ ὄλβια, δεύτερα πάντα
 ἐστίν· ἀπὸ στόματος δ’ ἔπτυσσα καὶ τὸ μέλι.
 τοῦτο λέγει Νοσσίς· τίνα δ’ ἂ Κύπρις οὐκ ἐφίλασεν,
 οὐκ οἶδεν κήνας τάνθεα, ποῖα ῥόδα.¹⁰²

Nothing is sweeter than desire. But all other desires are second;
 And from my mouth, I also spit out honey.
 Nossis says this; whom Kypris does not love,
 That person knows nothing of the flowers, what roses they are.

The poet reminds her readers of an argument Sappho made about the differences in opinion of beauty and love in the first stanza of her fragment 16V (οἱ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων / οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖς ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν / ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν ὅτ / τω τις ἔφαται, 1-4). The allusion to Sappho 16 in the first line of the epigram also indicates how the epigrammatist will be emulating the language and poetic style of the Lesbian poet. Another proof of Sappho’s influence is evident in lines 3-4 of the epigram, where Nossis implies that she is one of the exceptions to those ‘whom Kypris does not love’ (1.3). Just like Sappho, Nossis too enjoys the

¹⁰⁰ *Anthologia Graeca* 7.718. Nossis is not the only one that have challenged Sappho’s poetic renown: in *AP* 9.190.7-8, Erinna appears as superior to Sappho as Sappho is superior to the epigrammatist (“this Lesbian honeycomb is Erinna’s ... / As much as Sappho is superior to Erinna in lyric poetry, / so much is Erinna superior to Sappho in hexameter poetry,” tr. Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani). For further discussion on Erinna, see Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007: 438-439.

¹⁰¹ Antipater of Thessalonica specifically calls Nossis as a θηλύγλωσσον or “female tongued” (*AP* 9.26.7). See Klinck 2008: 234.

¹⁰² *Anthologia Palatina* 5.170. The poem is discussed in Skinner 1991: 33-34; and, Klinck 2008: 234-235.

skill of composing eloquent poetry – a gift which is exclusive to those that are ‘loved’ by the Muses and that are aware of their blossoms. The two poetic works are further connected intertextually through the concept of the ‘flowers’ or blossoms from the Muses, of which Sappho identifies as the “roses of Pieria” in her fragment 55V.¹⁰³ Pieria is a sacred place for the Muses and the roses (or blossoms) of Pieria symbolize the artistic output of the nine muses. Since Sappho is regarded as the ‘tenth muse’ by Plato and other Hellenistic authors (*Anth. Pal.*, 9.506-7.14), her melic lyrics were considered as one of the rose blossoms of Pieria.¹⁰⁴ Nossis rather implies that she enjoys a similar position as Sappho with the Muses: her epigrams (or in this case, her poetic ‘roses’) are recognized and loved by Aphrodite, in the same manner as the goddess loves and graces the lyric poems of Sappho.¹⁰⁵ Nossis’ reference to Sappho and her lyric poems allows the epigrammatist to pay homage to her mistress’ poetic voice, if not adjoining herself to the fame and reputation of the celebrated Lesbian poet.

Nossis’ poem 11 further substantiates the influential effect Sappho had on the Hellenistic epigrammatist. Nossis explicitly mentions the role of Sappho in literary tradition, one which forces ancient authors to be continually inspired by the eloquence of Sappho,

ὦ ξεῖν’, εἰ τὴν πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μιτυλάναν
 τᾶν Σαπφοῦς χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσομένος,
 εἰπεῖν ὡς Μούσαισι φίλαν τήνα τε Λόκρισσα
 τίκτεν· ἴσαις δ’ ὅτι μοι τοῦνομα Νοσσίς, ἴθι.¹⁰⁶

Friend, if you sail for Mytilene with its lovely dancing ground
 to breathe in the flower of Sappho’s Graces,
 tell how a Locrian woman bore one loved by the Muses, and by her.
 Know that my name was Nossis. Now go. (tr. Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani)

¹⁰³ Skinner 1991: 33-34; and, Klinck 2008: 234-235.

¹⁰⁴ Carson 2002: ix. Sappho’s *topos* as the ‘tenth Muse’ is emphasized in Antipater of Sidon 73 GP, as she is referred to with an epithet “female Homer” (θῆλυν Ὅμηρον). See also Acosta-Hughes 2007: 441.

¹⁰⁵ CF. *Anthologia Graeca* 9.26. Antipater of Thessalonica considers Nossis as among the nine women who have been endowed with the graces of the Muses, if not worthy to compete with them.

¹⁰⁶ *Anthologia Palatina* 7.718. For further discussion on Nossis Poem 11, see Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007: 445-446.

Just like in the previous poem, Nossis wants her epigrams to be associated with the poetic excellence of Sappho, as Nossis has been “[inspired] from the roses of Sappho’s graces”. The epigram, which has characteristics of an epitaph, advises a friend on his way to Mytilene to draw some inspiration (ἐναυσομένοσ, 2)¹⁰⁷ from the “graces” of Sappho while visiting her homeland, as well as remind the citizens of Lesbos of Nossis’ poetic skillset as equal to their renowned Lesbian poet. Jacqueline Klooster argues that it was Nossis’ intention to make her poetic reputation travel to Mytilene. Nossis, in the epigram, asks a friend traveling to Sappho’s hometown to endorse her own talents, as opposed to doing the task herself.¹⁰⁸ Klooster also adds that Nossis’ epigrams are highly influenced by Sappho and her lyric poems, and should not be seen as the epigrammatist’s imitation of the Sapphic lyrics.¹⁰⁹

The practice of emulating Sappho, however, is not limited to the epigrams of Nossis; a few other Hellenistic epigrams appear to have emulated the poetic voice of Sappho, if not celebrated her works as influential. According to Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani (2017), Hellenistic epigrams which emulate the lyric poems of Sappho follow three key elements typical of a Sapphic composition: “her erotic language, imagery of sensual luxury (ἄβροσύνη) and the depiction of young girlhood”.¹¹⁰ Meleager 10 GP (= *AP* 5.212), for instance, demonstrates how the first distich of the epigrammatist’s work echoes the visceral and physical effects of love emphasized in Sappho’s fragment 31V. Then, in Meleager 22 GP (= *AP* 12.132), the epigrammatist re-creates the stylistic features of the same Sapphic poem, which results in a near-translation of Sappho’s work. Asclepiades’ epigram 1 GP (= *AP*. 5.169), which has been

¹⁰⁷ The word ἐναυσομένοσ is a future middle participle of the verb ἐναύω, which translates to ‘to kindle’, ‘to take’ or ‘to draw’ (i.e. ‘to draw’ inspiration). Sarah Pomeroy’s translation “to be inspired” is therefore appropriate for the idea that Sappho’s poetic graces bestow inspiration to other authors. See Skinner 1991: 34-35.

¹⁰⁸ Klooster 2017.

¹⁰⁹ Klooster 2017.

¹¹⁰ Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2017: 448.

regarded as the programmatic poem of that epigrammatist' poetic corpus, emulates Sappho's formulation of her priamel (i.e., Sappho fr.16V). Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani add that Asclepiades 1 is the very work that Nossis herself emulates in the composition of her own programmatic poem (e.g., Nossis 1 GP = *AP* 5.170).¹¹¹

The epigrams of Nossis, Meleager, and Asclepiades are excellent examples of Sappho's influence on the literary world, represented by numerous translations, near-imitations of, and references to Sapphic poetry. The three epigrams particularly imitate Sappho's poetic technique by writing about love and beauty (i.e., Nossis' Poem 5 = Sappho fr.16V), which also includes an invocation of aid from a divinity (i.e., the goddess Aphrodite). An important aspect of Nossis' three epigrams is a direct reference to Sappho, which has been acknowledged as a way to adjoin her reputation to that of Sappho's, as well as to disclose how Sappho is her literary predecessor. The existence of Nossis' epigrams, ones which have been regarded as having been inspired by Sappho's lyric texts, enhances the possibility that other ancient authors have attempted – in their own way – to imitate the works of the Lesbian poet.

Evidence that identifies the new Brothers Song as an ancient imitation can be gleaned from the study made of the epigrams of Nossis: the Brothers Song also takes up paradigmatically 'Sapphic' themes and notions. One such example is evident in the grammatical issues and the peculiar syntax of the poem: I follow Dirk Obbink (2014b and 2016c), Martin West (2014), Joel Lidov (2016), Leslie Kurke (2016), and Anton Bierl (2016) in their respective explanations and interpretations of the Brothers Song text.¹¹² The first stanza in P. Sapph. Obbink starts with an adversative sentence:

¹¹¹ Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2017: 450.

¹¹² Since there are numerous comprehensive commentaries available for the Brothers Song (see Obbink 2014b, 2016c; West 2014; Rayor 2016; Kurke 2016; and, Bierl 2016), this chapter will not be providing a commentary for

5 (1) ἄλλ' ἄϊ θρύλησθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
 νᾶϊ σὺν πλήϊαι. τὰ μέν οἴομαι Ζεῦς
 οἶδε σύμπαντες τε θεοί· ἐδ' οὐ χρῆ
 ταῦτα νόησθαι, ...

But you are always chattering for Charaxos
 to come with a full ship. Zeus and all the other gods,
 know these things, I think. But it is not necessary for you
 to think these thoughts,

The elided form of ἀλλά, as explained in the previous section, implies that the sentence assumes (and responds to) an idea from a preceding stanza. The speaker is criticizing the actions of the addressee regarding Charaxos' safe homecoming from the sea. The main idea of the first sentence is headed by the verb θρύλησθα, which means “you chatter” or “you repeat over and over again”. It takes an aorist infinitive (ἔλθην, 1).¹¹³ According to Lidov, the verb θρύλησθα (or θρύλεω) is seldom seen used in such a construction inasmuch as its use with a dependent verb; which leads him to say that the term, “does not belong to the poetic language”.¹¹⁴ Variations of the verb, however, are found in other literary works: in Plato's *Phaedo* 65b (with ὅτι and a neuter accusative, anticipated by τὰ τοιαῦτα); in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* 16.7.4 (with ὥς); and in Strabo's *Geographica* 8.6.12.3-4, where the verb in question appears in the perfect passive.¹¹⁵ Lidov's claim is interesting; he asserts that the usage of the verb θρυλέω is improper for poetry, hinting at the peculiarity of the verb's prosaic quality.¹¹⁶ Leslie Kurke (2016), on the other hand, wonders whether the verb is a colloquial term. If such were the case, the colloquialism of the

the text. Instead, I will focus on the linguistic problems and particular syntactical arrangement of the Greek to explain how the poem could be an ancient forgery.

¹¹³ Translation of the infinitive ἔλθην is contested: Lardinois (2016: 174) explains that the infinitive can be translated as either in the past or future tense within the context of Charaxos' homecoming. The former translates into “Charaxos has come with a full ship”, while the latter translates into “Charaxos will come with a full ship”. Although the latter translation for ἔλθην may appear to be a better fit within the context that Charaxos and his ship has yet and will eventually arrive home in the near future, the infinitive in the aorist presents the idea.

¹¹⁴ Lidov 2016: 102.

¹¹⁵ Lidov 2016: 102.

¹¹⁶ cf. θρυλέω as colloquial, see Kurke 2016: 239. See also Schmidt 1997, on the use of πολυθρύλητος and θρυλεῖν in Plato's *Phaedo*.

Brothers Song is comparable to modern poets using expletives or slang terms in a highly regarded type of poetry. The verb's inclusion in a Sapphic poem is striking: since we have come to regard that the eloquence of Sappho in her lyrics is based on the idea that her compositions were excellently articulated, the inclusion of a non-poetic word is jarring and out of place. Other scholars have also acknowledged the odd construction of the verb $\theta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ in the poem, including Obbink, who notes the rarity of the word in a poetic context (neither in Homer nor previously in lyric).¹¹⁷ Obbink elaborates by translating $\theta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ as “implying either a confused babbling or harmonious chattering” of the addressee.¹¹⁸

Modern editors have also used the colloquial quality and the derogatory tone of $\theta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ to examine the identity of the addressee. As I have argued in the previous section, the identity of the addressee – the $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ – is likely to be Sappho's mother, Kleïs.¹¹⁹ From the shared familial concerns implied by the verb, the identity of the $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ equates to a female figure who is superior to Sappho and who is anxious about the welfare of the brothers. Lardinois, however, conjectures that the addressee is a male figure. He elaborates on three possible identities of the $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$: namely Sappho's father, her husband Phaon, and her other brother Eurygius.¹²⁰ Lardinois explains that the addressee has authority over Sappho and is a figure that is able to command the poet to pray to Hera for aid because of the apparent derogatory tone of $\theta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$. He explains further that the authority of the $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, combined with its utter concern for the family's well-being, rather hints at a *kurios* figure.¹²¹ Lardinois names Eurygius as the addressee in the Brothers Song

¹¹⁷ Obbink 2014b: 41.

¹¹⁸ Obbink 2014b: 41.

¹¹⁹ The theory regarding the addressee's identity as Kleïs is supported by Obbink 2014: 41, Kurke 2016: 240, and Liberman 2014: 4.

¹²⁰ Lardinois 2016: 182.

¹²¹ Lardinois 2016: 182. See also, Kurke 2016: 239.

out of the three candidates that he nominated. If we are to take Lardinois' theory into consideration, there are now two possible identities for addressee – the σύ:

- a. the addressee is a female figure = **Kleïs**
- b. the addressee is a male figure = **Eurygius**

If Kleïs is the identity of the unknown addressee, as I have previously argued, Sappho's derogatory way of acknowledging the concerns of her mother would appear inappropriate and indignant as a daughter. Even though Sappho generally articulates her poetry in a manner that reveals her innermost desires and visceral emotions, she would not use such a public medium to showcase so undesirable a trait as being indignant. Even if Sappho was simply mocking or rebuking her mother for her 'endless chatter', the effect of the statement would be to reveal Sappho's impertinent character, rather than just being a concerned sister. It would also detract from the moral of her poem, which is about the domestic concerns of women. If the situation shows that the σύ is Eurygius, Sappho would then be speaking with a brother who has yet to be named in the poem. The 'endless chattering' regarding Charaxos and Larichos' welfare, as Lardinois explains, is also shared by Eurygius, who presumably became the *Kurios* of the household as the oldest male figure that remains.¹²² Since we have missing stanza(s), the only other brother yet to be mentioned in the Brothers Song – Eurygius – is also a strong candidate in terms of the identity of the unnamed addressee. The problem is, with the missing stanza(s), the identity of the addressee is difficult to determine, even with the given construction of the verb θρύλλω.

Sappho's chiding statement about the addressee's actions in the first stanza is reminiscent of Aphrodite's rebuke of the poet in fragment 1V (ll. 13-20), where Sappho reveals how the

¹²² Lardinois 2016: 182.

goddess thrice asked her why she is “now again” (δηῦτε) asking for divine assistance.¹²³ The role is reversed in the Brothers Song: Sappho instead takes on the position of the goddess Aphrodite by becoming the figure from whom the addressee seeks aid. The role reversal in the Brothers Song is peculiar because Sappho composes in a manner that aligns herself to the position of the goddess Aphrodite. The addressee may have the authority to command Sappho to seek aid from Zeus and Queen Hera, but Sappho is the very figure who is asked to find a way to remedy their situation – in the same manner as Sappho asking for the goddess’ help regarding some ill-fated amorous situations. If the unnamed addressee remains her mother Kleïs, the role reversal demonstrates that Sappho sees herself as the problem solver in the family. She may not be divine, but she is expected to find a way to help ensure Charaxos’ safe and bountiful homecoming as well as Larichos’ earning his keep for the family.¹²⁴ Sappho is not only chiding her mother in a rather humorous manner,¹²⁵ she is also demonstrating further her role as a woman in the family: she remains at home with her mother, waiting anxiously and praying for some divine intervention for her family. Their passive role as women in society – as those who are left to manage the household – is a complete contrast from those of her brothers, who are expected to maintain the family’s assets by venturing out at sea (i.e., Charaxos) or by being part of the socio-economic framework of archaic Lesbos (i.e., Larichos) in order to bring honour to their family. As a woman, Sappho reveals that her role in the family is shared with that of her mother inasmuch as they are expected to stand aside while the men did all of the work.¹²⁶ Their worries and anxieties are only remedied by entreating Zeus and Queen Hera for help, rather than

¹²³ Carson 2002: 3 for English translation. For further discussion on Aphrodite’s questions in Sappho fr.1V, see Stanley 1976: 315.

¹²⁴ Lines 7-8 emphasize the importance of Charaxos coming home, not only safe, but with his ship which we assume is full of commercial goods. See Kurke 2016: 241.

¹²⁵ Stanley 1976: 315.

¹²⁶ Leslie Kurke identifies a level of gender segmentation in the Brothers Song, one which distinguishes the role of women and /or daughter in the family. See Kurke 2016: 239-245.

by physically contributing to Charaxos' safe journey home and Larichos 'lifting his head up' (17-20). Even as the problem solver, Sappho cannot ensure that their situation will become better. Just as the divine beings are relied upon by mortals seeking help, all things are left to chance and hope that someday their situation will become better (εὐδίαι γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν αἶψα πέλονται, 11-12).

The inclusion of οἶμαι ('I think/ I believe') in line 2 the Brothers Song is also considerably colloquial. Franco Ferrari (2014), in his translation of the Brothers Song, simply explains that οἶμαι is parenthetical and 'must be placed between commas'.¹²⁷ Eva Stehle (2016) regards the inclusion of οἶμαι as Sappho's way of demonstrating her disconnect with the gods as a mere mortal.¹²⁸ Just as she prays for divine intervention, Sappho reveals that she is not truly sure whether Zeus will be able to help cure them from their worries and anxieties.¹²⁹ The word's inclusion in the Brother Song appears unnecessary in light of lines 9-12, where Sappho claims that the gods are able to turn any ill-fated situation for the better, as inclement weather will change to clear skies. The colloquialism of οἶμαι stems from the idea that Sappho has to reassure her mother, the addressee, of ways in which their familial situation might change by way of the gods. But even she is unsure of this fact: although Sappho elaborates on a previous conversation she has with the addressee, she feels the need to reassure herself of her belief that the gods might be of help. As Stehle point out, Sappho moves from being somewhat unsure in line 2, and then speaks with some qualification of the gods' abilities in lines 9-12, even when she has yet to meet the gods first-hand.

¹²⁷ Ferrari 2014: 3.

¹²⁸ Stehle 2016: 285.

¹²⁹ cf. lines 9-12, where Sappho reveals the ability of Zeus and the other gods (*daimones*) to turn any ill-fated situation for the better as per the weather analogy.

There are a few other odd constructions that have caught modern editors' attention, one of which is a *χρή* in line 7(3) with three infinitives (σὲ δ' οὐ *χρή* ταῦτα *νόησθαι*, ἀλλὰ καὶ *πέμπην* ἔμε καὶ *κέλεσθαι* πόλλα *λίσσεσθαι* βασιλῆαν Ἴηραν *ἐξίκεσθαι* τυίδε *σάαν* ἄγοντα *νᾶα* Χάραξον). Lidov explains that the third infinitive, *κέλεσθαι*, is a dependent object infinitive which has to be construed with two subsequent infinitives (i.e., *λίσσεσθαι* and *ἐξίκεσθαι*).¹³⁰ Another is found in the penultimate stanza, where Sappho discloses the function of the gods. The sentence is literally translated as “all those from whose troubles Zeus wished a helper *daimon* to turn them” (τῶν κε βόλληται βασιλεὺς Ὀλύμπω δαίμων' ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη περτροπήν), which is not idiomatic to an English speaker.¹³¹ Obbink instead translates this section as, “all those whom the King of Olympus wishes a divinity as helper to now turn them from troubles”.¹³² The latter translation is much easier to understand. Yet, both translations are somewhat similar in meaning. Lidov rewrites the sentence in Attic before explaining that the complex construction and resulting odd translation is due to a possessive genitive and *πόνων*:

A subjective or possessive genitive, referring back to *ἐκεῖνοι*, is implied with *πόνων*. It is expressed in Attic with the definite article; it would not be expressed in Aeolic. The relative pronoun, whose antecedent is likewise *ἐκεῖνοι*, and which is the accusative case as object of *περτροπέειν*, is then assimilated to that genitive. At that point it may seem that the relative expresses the subjective or possessive genitive with *πόνων* and that the accusative object of *περτροπέειν* is implied.¹³³

Lidov adds that the complex construction is better suited for prose as opposed to poetry.¹³⁴ Such odd constructions and compounding of terms in the Brothers Song have been regarded by modern editors as substandard, especially when compared against the standard of Sapphic compositions. But the seemingly amateurish quality of the Brothers Song, which is the product

¹³⁰ Lidov 2016: 103.

¹³¹ Lidov 2016: 103.

¹³² Obbink 2016b: 25.

¹³³ Lidov 2016: 103, fn. 75.

¹³⁴ Lidov 2016: 103.

of the grammatical peculiarities and particular issues with the syntax of the text, is not merely a reflection of Sappho's youthfulness as West suggests; it is also possibly the result of manuscript tradition's process of copying literary texts. According to Michael Weitzman (1987), part of the tradition of preserving manuscripts of a particular literary work is that the process introduces mistakes, due simply to the fact that "every act of copying introduces fresh errors".¹³⁵ It is possible that when the Alexandrian scholars were making copies of the Brothers Song for their literary collection, some of the words have been misspelled, misread, or even misinterpreted; resulting in the copy of the poem we have today. The compound constructions evident in our Brothers Song can also be the result of the Alexandrian scholars attempting to correct what they may have deemed erroneous in the poem, in the same manner as we have tried to correct Sappho's text by translating her lyric texts into a more idiomatic English version. We have taken the liberty of translating Sappho's lyric poems with an eye to their being understood by an English speaker, resulting in numerous English translations of her text – each one phrased in a slightly different way than the other.

In the case of the Brothers Song, we have suggested that the poem is an ancient imitation of a Sapphic work as based on the linguistic oddities and ambiguous meaning in its verses. West's assumptions that Sappho was still in her youth at the time she composed the Brothers Song, which is shared by other editors studying her work, have been used as explanation for the text's poor quality in the interest of maintaining the Sapphic authorship of the poem.¹³⁶ Others use such grammatical issues as a means to put emphasis on questions regarding the Brothers Song's Sapphic authorship. I, however, argue that the poem is composed in a manner that is too Sapphic: the author has taken great lengths in attempting to recreate the voice of the Lesbian poet

¹³⁵ Weitzman 1987: 287.

¹³⁶ See pp. 51-52, fn. 113-114 of this thesis.

in the Brothers Song, in order to appear as an original Sappho composition. Just like the authors of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, the Brothers Song is possibly an example of a study of Sappho's lyric works.

In Patricia Rosenmeyer's (1992) study of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, she explains that poems which were once regarded as original extant copies of Anacreon's lyric poems are rather a eulogy in celebration of the poet.¹³⁷ The *Carmina Anacreontea* consists of sixty (and counting) extant works – compositions which were later identified as imitations – were produced by multiple authors spanning from the Classical to the Byzantine period (i.e., the 5th century BC to 6th century AD).¹³⁸ Anacreon, who flourished as a poet in the late 6th to early 5th century BC, was included in the canonical list of nine lyric poets established by the Alexandrian scholars. Anacreon's renown and considerable influence for over a millennium have led numerous authors to imitate and recreate their own version of the lyric poet and his works, highlighting poetic persona and agenda of Anacreon himself. One question, however, remains: *how were the authors able to successfully imitate the lyric voice of Anacreon so that modern scholars regarded the Carmina Anacreontea as originals?* Despite the wide range of authors who (we presume) varied in personalities and characters, each composed lyric poems with a view to imitating Anacreon. Rosenmeyer proposes that these authors subordinated themselves to the vision of the poet Anacreon and to the stylistic features and elements common to his lyric compositions; their own personalities became 'submerged' as they followed the traditions as preserved in the testimonia and encomia regarding Anacreon.¹³⁹ Such authors embraced conformity as they emulated the

¹³⁷ Rosenmeyer 1992: 12.

¹³⁸ Rosenmeyer 1992: 12. She argues that, at the earliest date, imitations of Anacreontic lyrics within the 5th century BC are evident from the second *stasimon* of Euripides' *Cyclops* (vv. 495-518). See also Müller 2010 for separate analysis and discussions on each of the extant works.

¹³⁹ Rosenmeyer 1992: 69. According to Rosenmeyer, "the new poet surrenders himself completely ... to something more valuable than the individual, namely tradition. This extinction of personality or loss of self is the initial step in

poetic voice of Anacreon, following closely the poet's specific technique, attitudes, stylistic features, and subject matter common to his original works.

The result of the author's imitation of Anacreon's works is a stereotyped version of the lyricist: Anacreon, as the *persona loquens* of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, is stereotyped as an old man who has a predilection for wine and love, as well as an enduring libido.¹⁴⁰ Rosenmeyer adds that such a construct has resulted in the creation of the "Anacreontic sphere" which simply amounts to the modern concept of *la dolce vita*:

All ... problems are eliminated; money and power are rejected, death is merely a non-threatening reminder to enjoying what is left of life, and old age never interferes with the erotic urge. Love itself is easy and available; there is no jealousy or distress involved, but rather a gentle and pervasive sense of well-being, an eros that is more sensual than sexual.¹⁴¹

The *Carmina Anacreontea* is therefore an exclusive and fictitious world peopled by the likes of the stock character 'Anacreon' generated by the authors, whose own predilection for love and wine is a distortion of the actual poet's persona. In the 'Anacreontic sphere', elements that we consider as part of real life are manipulated to an extent that its inhabitants are living life as if it is their last, devoid of any moral restrictions and societal mores. The authors' blatant imitation and reproduction of the Anacreontic originals, nevertheless, have fooled modern scholars (i.e., Stephanus' first edition of the *Carmina Anacreontea* in 1554) into accepting them as true poems of Anacreon.

In the case of Sappho and her new Brothers Song, I argue that the newest lyric work is an imitation of Sappho, inasmuch as it was composed as a study and, like Rosenmeyer's proposal for the Anacreontic imitations, as a posthumous celebration of Sappho's poetic voice. The

anacreontic poetic inspiration; the inevitable second step is absorption into Anacreon, the anacreontizing of the speaker".

¹⁴⁰ Rosenmeyer 1992.

¹⁴¹ Rosenmeyer 1992: 51.

popularity of Sappho alone increases such a possibility, though the question is: *do we have an imitation among the extant corpus of Sappho's lyric poems?* Certain features and conditions that have been used to identify the *Carmina Anacreontea* as ancient imitations of the Anacreontic originals, I argue, is also identifiable in the new Brothers Song, which was composed to imitate the poetic voice of the Lesbian poet. One of the features that Rosenmeyer (1992) uses to explain the *Carmina Anacreontea* as ancient imitations is the role of Anacreon in the poems, which is an archetype based on the available biographical tradition, iconographic evidence, and poetry detailing the life and works of Anacreon himself. From such evidence, the pseudo-Anacreon authors were able to mold and create their version of the lyric poet, using his work as a model.

An analysis of the Brothers Song similarly reveals all-too-familiar elements of Sappho's poetic persona and agenda, which conform to traditions about her and her work. Sappho, as the *persona loquens* in the Brothers Song, is depicted as a concerned sister for her brothers Charaxos and Larichos. The 'sisterly affect' is a persona which we have seen in Sappho's fragment 5V,¹⁴² where the poet invokes the aid of the Nereids out of concern for the safety of her brother Charaxos, who we presume is out at sea. A similar invocation is implied in fragment 15V, where the poet appears as asking for help from an individual who is blessed (i.e., a divinity) about a brother who is out at sea and had licentious past with a woman named Doricha.

Sappho's sisterly affection for Charaxos is an aspect of the archetype that is also attested in Herodotus' biographical account on Sappho (i.e., *Histories*, 2.135). The Greek historian explicitly mentions that Sappho had openly castigated Charaxos in one of her poems (Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην) as a result of his illicit affair with Doricha (also called as Rhodopis). Herodotus also discloses that such an affair had kept Charaxos out at sea and away from his home in Mytilene, and that he went home after giving Doricha her

¹⁴² Nagy 2016.

freedom (ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν). Herodotus' brief attestation about Sappho and her brother Charaxos reveals two main points that substantiates the 'sisterly affect' archetype in the Brothers Song: that **a.** Sappho had publicly (i.e. in her poems) criticized Charaxos that the reason was his, **b.** licentious relationship with Doricha. In other words, by the time of Herodotus, a poet who wanted to imitate the poetry of Sappho could use the two ideas above as building blocks for composing a Sapphic poem similar to the Brothers Song. The biographical tradition available on Sappho therefore allows an individual who wanted to imitate her poetry to use elements that are known as Sappho's unique poetic persona in their own works.

The concept of stock characters in the Brothers Song, which I have previously identified as the ever-absent brother Charaxos and the lackadaisical brother Larichos, is not limited to the brothers alone; Sappho is effectively a stock character in her own right. She has always been depicted as expressing some concern for someone she loves – either as directed towards a family member or to one of the girls she favors in her coterie of young women (e.g. Anaktoria in fr.16V; Gongyla and Abanthis in fr.22V). The latter example has been interpreted by ancient authors, especially by the comic poets Antiphanes, Plato, and Menander, as evidence for the poet's homosexual tendencies or 'female licentiousness';¹⁴³ each constructed a debased version of the Lesbian poet. In any case, the sisterly concerns of Sappho in the Brothers Song stems from her love, which is an emotion most prevalent in her lyric works. Her fr. 1V, 16V, 31V, and 44V, in particular, are imbued with a strong theme of love and the struggles that accompany such an emotion. Although the more amorous type of love that are predominant in such fragments are not evident in the Brothers Song, per se; the *persona loquens*' concerns as a sister, which I have previously identified as storgic love, are nevertheless evident.

¹⁴³ Prentice 1918: 351.

So far we have a reconstituted version of Sappho in the Brothers Song as a sister whose love for her brothers concerns the safe homecoming of one brother and the hope for a better future for the other. The third aspect that makes Sappho a stock persona is in her invocation to a divinity. The role of a divine being is as important as the role of the poet herself in her own works: in the Brothers Song alone, we have an invocation to Zeus, to Hera, and to all the other gods. Lidov explains that the presence of Hera and Zeus in the poem is in reference to a well-known cult worship in archaic Lesbos at the site of Messon.¹⁴⁴ The gods' role in the Brothers Song (and in general, majority of Sappho's lyric poems) is that they become a source of hope for the *persona loquens* and her addressee; despite not knowing with much certainty whether her invocation will be heard, Sappho reveals her faith in the divine beings who will make things right for her family. In other poems of Sappho, namely her poems with a rather amorous subtext, Aphrodite or the Muses are the divinities of choice. The first stanza of Sappho's fragment 1V, for instance, has Sappho invoking the help of the goddess to ease the pain of Sappho's heartbreak. As the goddess of love, Aphrodite becomes the ideal divinity for Sappho to direct her prayers to. But as the Brothers Song demonstrates, the choice of divinity is based on the topic being discussed and whether or not Aphrodite, Hera, or even Zeus is appropriate. The resulting articulation of the Brothers Song, I argue, is simply too Sapphic, which hints at how the poem is an ancient imitation of a Sappho poem.

The similarity of the Brothers Song's composition with Sappho fr.1V is possibly the result of the latter poem being used as a model by the pseudo-Sappho author. The programmatic aspect of the first fragment means that it is the poem which establishes the concerns, ideas, and themes that best represent Sappho poetry in Book 1 as a whole. Since both works discuss matters that are concerned with love, reveal a hopeful outlook of the future by way of some divine aid,

¹⁴⁴ Lidov 2016: 65-66.

and are delivered by a *persona loquens* whose identity is revealed by a character in the narrative, I argue that Sappho's fragment 1V became the model for the new Brothers Song. That is to say that the pseudo-Sappho author is well versed in other works of Sappho, drawing from them the inspiration to emulate and recreate the poetic voice of the Lesbian poet. My only hesitation in the 'model' hypothesis, which is centered on the idea that Sappho's fr.1 is so programmatic, is that the study can conclude with either proving that the Brothers Song is a genuine Sapphic work, or that it is an ancient imitation of a Sappho poem.

The unusual inclusion of non-poetic terms, grammatical anomalies, and complexity of the sentences found throughout the new Brothers Song rounds out my argument about the poem being too Sapphic. As I have hinted at throughout my philological analysis of the Brothers Song, certain aspects that are otherwise strange and uncommon for a poetic composition suggests the possibility of the work as an imitation of a Sappho original. The employment of *θρύλησθα* (which has been identified by Lidov as a term that does not belong to the poetic language)¹⁴⁵ and of *οὔομαι* (which, like *θρύλησθα*, appears rather colloquial),¹⁴⁶ for instance, are two of the indications which have suggested the possibility that the Brothers Song is not an original Sappho work. Another example is evident in the complexity of the sentence in lines 7-12 (which is introduced by *χρή* and followed by the five infinitives *κέλεσθαι*, *λίκεσθαι*, *νόησθαι*, *πέμπην*, and *ἐξίκεσθαι*): it appears odd and unusual for a poetic composition.¹⁴⁷ Earlier, I have argued that the odd employment of terms which appears more suited for a prose composition, and the complexity of the sentences which does not translate well into idiomatic English, are reflection of the subpar quality of the Brothers Song. I, however, would argue further that such anomalies in a Sapphic text are the imitator's way of emulating (in a rather flawed way) the Lesbian poet's

¹⁴⁵ Lidov 2016; see also discussion on *θρύλησθα* (i.e., p. 68) of this thesis.

¹⁴⁶ Kurke 2016; see also fn. 117 of Chapter One.

¹⁴⁷ Refer back to discussion on odd sentence constructions (i.e., p. 73) of this thesis.

voice. In an attempt to imitate the eloquence and expressiveness of Sappho in her poetics, the pseudo-Sappho author presumably has forgotten that the sublime quality of her poetry is not only rooted in the articulation of her words, but also in her employment of simple terms designed to discuss more complex matters. Take for example Sappho's fragment 31V: the poem is a first-person narration of an event unfolding in-front of the speaker. Sappho, who we presume is the *persona loquens* and the poet of the poem, uses a combination of words to describe how she feels about the flirty interaction between the man and the woman she is watching. The expressiveness of Sappho, in terms of how she is able to draw on her own experience on the visceral effects of jealousy in fr.31V, is evident in her articulation of the words that describe the emotion or the feeling that are all too common to her audience. The eloquence of her works is, therefore, not rooted to the complexity of the sentence structures and unusual word usage. The Brothers Song – as appearing to mimic the Sapphic voice too closely – appears more as a study of the Sapphic original.

Despite the debate surrounding the juvenility and resulting amateurish quality of the Brothers Song's composition, which Lidov (2016) has used to suggest reflects an "ancient forgery", other scholars have also argued that the poem is an excellent example of Sappho's work, one which is complex and makes us contemplate the work further.¹⁴⁸ If we were to accept the case that the Brothers Song is an excellent example of a Sapphic poem, I argue that the newest poem's composition betrays the fact that it is not an original Sappho composition. The attempt to emulate Sappho, from employment of stock characters that belie actual people in Sappho's life to the apparent complexity of the poem, leads me to believe that the pseudo-Sappho author has imitated aspects of the work to produce the version of the Brothers Song we have today. My study, however, shows that an overall consensus regarding the authorship of the

¹⁴⁸ Refer to the start of Chapter One, pp. 15-17.

Brothers Song is still Sappho. Therefore, my inquiry into the possibility of its origins as an ancient imitation is inconclusive.

Chapter Two

Case Study B: Tithonus Song of the “New Sappho”

The focus of this chapter is the translation and interpretation of the two versions of Sappho’s Tithonus Song. The existence of two versions of the song provide an opportunity to re-examine and compare the texts. Unlike in the previous chapter’s study of the Brothers Song, where much hinged upon a miniscule fragment from Oxyrhynchus that overlapped with the new poem, the new Tithonus Song in the Cologne papyri permits a more fulsome side-by-side comparison with an Oxyrhynchus papyrus. We are able to determine (without debate) the authenticity and strong Sapphic pedigree of the piece, as well as pinpoint the differences and similarities between the two versions of Sappho’s poem.

Modern editors and translators of the Sapphic text have called into question the actual length of the Tithonus Song. Their principal question is: *where does the Tithonus Song end?* Prior to the 2002 discovery of the ‘New Sappho’ assemblage, the length of the Tithonus Song was based on the 26 lines of text on *P.Oxy. 1787 fr.1*.¹ The question of length emerged after the discovery of the Cologne Tithonus Song, in which only twelve lines correspond to the Oxyrhynchus fragment. The two versions of the Tithonus Song are also preceded and followed by different texts.

¹ See Lobel (ed.) on *Sappho, fragments*, Carson 2002: 120-121, and Barnstone 2009: 113. The image of *P.Oxy. 1787 fr.1* shows that there is a line of text that precedes the presumed first line of the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song. The large gap of space between the line in-question and the ‘first’ line of the Tithonus Song indicate that there is break between the two poems – a mark of two separate poetic compositions.

Sappho's interpretation of old age in the Tithonus Song is another point of discussion for those studying the 'New Sappho' fragments. In the poem, the speaker (presumably Sappho) describes to an unknown addressee the physical changes that she has experienced due to the onset of old age, stressing the point that old age is an inevitable encumbrance that all mortal beings eventually face (ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι, 8).² Unlike the family-centered themes of the Brothers Song, the concept of old age and, in particular, a woman's aging is not uncommon subject matter for Sappho. Old age, in conjunction with the notion of aging and death, appear in a number of Sappho's extant works, including fr. 21V, 94V, 95V, 121V, 147V, and 150V.³ Only snippets regarding the Lesbian poet's perception of age and its effect on women – a topic which is closely tied to the concept of human mortality – are preserved in other fragments. The new Cologne fragment, on the other hand, adds much to our knowledge of old age in archaic Lesbos. What makes this lyric poem more interesting is the inclusion of the Tithonus myth: after a lengthy explanation of the physical and visceral effects of aging experienced by Sappho, the poet incorporates the myth of Tithonus into her poem, reminding us of his tragic fate at the hands of his "immortal wife" (ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν, 12). I will argue that the Tithonus Song is a reflection of Sappho's fears, in addition to her interpretation and understanding of old age, which is ultimately revealed in the final two couplets of the Oxyrhynchus version of the poem.

In order to address both issues surrounding the hypothesized 'end' of the Tithonus Song and Sappho's exploration of old age from a feminine perspective, my study of the 'New Sappho' assemblage and its Tithonus Song will be divided into the same two discipline-specific

² For the introductory section of the chapter, I will adopt West's enumeration of the text in P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376, which he has categorized into three sections – New Fragment, the Tithonus Poem, and Continuation 2. The Greek text is, therefore, the eight lines in the Tithonus Poem section.

³ In Willis Barnstone's (2009) translation of Sappho poetry, the author categorizes the fragments in a section that collates all of Sappho's texts that imply or even directly refer to age, old age, and death.

methodologies employed in the previous chapter. First, an intensive papyrological study of the Cologne papyri P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376 will address the physical state of the three fragments in question, including the history of the papyri from their production (based on paleographical evidence) until they were recycled into cartonnage. This section of the chapter will further evaluate the unique meter, dialect, and language that the poet has employed in the Tithonus Song, evidence which has been used to authenticate its Sapphic pedigree. The main part of the papyrological study will look for written evidence on the New Cologne fragments which indicates where the Tithonus Song actually concludes, if not its actual length.

Lowell Edmunds' (2009) inquiry into the "completeness" of the Tithonus Song questions the likelihood of an archaic Greek lyric poem ending with an exemplum.⁴ He emphasizes the rarity of such a poetic arrangement: his illustrative model, Alcaeus' fragment 44, is the only other poem in which a mythical narrative was used to mark the end of the song.⁵ André Lardinois (2009) approaches the question differently, focusing on the lines that precede the partial overlap between the Oxyrhynchus and Cologne fragments. Lardinois argues that the end of the Tithonus Song is closely tied to the structure and content of the text preceding its 'first' line; its first line will ultimately explain the arrangement of the poem as a whole.⁶ My investigation regarding the length of the Tithonus Song will be limited to the analysis of signs, symbols, and any other markings that have been left behind by a scholar studying her text. The resulting study will eventually provide more evidence, which, in turn, determines the 'end' of the Tithonus Song. The study of its presumed length will be continued in the second subsection of the chapter,

⁴ Edmunds 2009: 58ff.

⁵ See Edmunds 2009: 61.

⁶ The 'first' line (if I was not clear enough) means the first line of the current fr.58V. As opposed to the first preserved line on P.Köln. inv. 21351.

where I will look closely at the poem in question for evidence that indicates or hints at its actual conclusion.

My investigation of the Tithonus Song as a lyric text will continue via the second methodology – a philological study of the two versions of Sappho’s poems. Such an examination of the Cologne Tithonus Song will begin by exploring how Sappho addresses the idea of old age in her poetry. The ‘Song on Old Age’ is the only relatively comprehensive poem of Sappho that is focused on the concepts mortality, immortality, and old age. Her reflections on aging open up the discussion of how old age has a more visceral effect on women which goes beyond its influence and transformation of the female body. The topic of old age has never been openly discussed – and in such detail – by a woman. Instead, discussions regarding the experience of old age on women were based on a man’s interpretation of female aging, as evident in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Aristophanes’ comedic depiction of old women within his *Lysistrata*.⁷ Ellen Greene (2009), conversely, proposes that the old age experience is ultimately the same for both sexes; she argues that the decay of the human body due to old age is an “equalizer” between men and women, and is an inevitable part of a natural human experience.⁸ Sappho’s composition of the Tithonus Song, nonetheless, gives the impression that no one – not even Tithonus – can escape the natural processes of old age, drawing on her own experiences and her utter helplessness to prevent its effects.

Sappho’s interpretation of old age in the Tithonus Song, as well as her underlying quest to understand mortality and immortality, is still debated. Deborah Boedeker (2009), for example, proposes that the Tithonus Song follows a typically Sapphic idea, namely, that love and beauty have always bested the hardships that have been and will be caused by old age and death. Such a

⁷ For further discussion on the perception of old women from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, see Pratt 2000: 43-49.

⁸ Greene 2009: 147ff

poetic pattern is evident in the first stanza of Sappho's fr. 16V, where the Lesbian poet articulates her opinion that what one loves is the most beautiful thing.⁹ Yet, Boedeker's theory is contingent on the relationship between the Tithonus Song and the text that follows after in the *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr. 1. Bierl (2010) proposes that Sappho's interpretation of old age is evident in her articulation of the Tithonus exemplum. He argues that the Tithonus Song reveals Sappho's reflection on her mortality and the changes it means to her as an aging woman, aligning her ultimate fate to that of Tithonus. I propose something different, namely, that the concept of human mortality and old age in the New Poem is not solely tied to Sappho's descriptions of the physical and socioeconomic changes it has on a woman, but is rather tied to changes in her identity. In Sappho's case, aging affects her identity as a lyric poet. This section will address how women's experience of old age is unique to their sex: a woman's role as based on the ethos of ancient Greek society is tied to their ability to bear children. The onset of old age for women simply means that they are no longer contributing members of society; instead they are deemed an encumbrance.¹⁰ The Tithonus exemplum thereby serves another purpose: the fears and trepidations that Sappho discloses in her discussion of old age and mortality are, via their association with the fate of the mythical Tithonus, compensated for by the future life (one might say, immortality) of her poetry. The philological examination of the new Tithonus Song will ultimately address the consequences of old age on Sappho's career as a lyric poet in archaic Lesbos by taking into consideration the ancient reception of her works. Sappho's poems are granted conditional immortality (borne out by the fact that we still have extant copies of her

⁹ Boedeker 2009: 72.

¹⁰ Cf. Bremmer 1987 and Falkner 1995. Pratt argues that old women, such as those predicted in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, not only find the liberty of independence in travels that they would never have in their youth, but also remains respected and valued by the society in their old age (Pratt 2000:41-42).

works centuries later), but the poet herself was not granted agelessness. Yet she also fears the fate of Tithonus, i.e., that her voice, in her poetic works, will someday not be heard.

The culmination of the study of the new Cologne fragments is the new outlook on the ancient reception of the Lesbian poet it provides. As will be introduced later in the philological section of the chapter, such a study will consider the popularity of Sappho and her poetry in the context of questions regarding the length and possible reconstructions made on the original manuscript – a “Sapphic *mouvance*”¹¹ of sorts – as evident with the two extant copies of Sappho’s Tithonus Song.

Papyrological and Paleographic Analysis of P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376 and P.Oxy. 1787 fr.1:

The “New Sappho” assemblage consists of three separate pieces of papyrus, each differing in size, the degree of physical deterioration, and the amount of the decipherable text preserved. Since all three fragments are integral to the textual study of its Tithonus Song, this section will be divided into three sections. The two main fragments preserving the majority of the Tithonus Song manuscript were catalogued as P.Köln. inv. 21351. The third fragment, which preserves the missing stanza of the Tithonus Song and a lyric text from an anonymous author, is P.Köln. inv. 21376.

In order to determine the actual length of Sappho’s original composition of her Tithonus Song by the virtue of a papyrological and paleographic assessment of the text, it is necessary to also look at the Cologne fragments’ overlap with the Oxyrhynchus version of the poem. The Tithonus Song as preserved on *P.Oxy. 1787 fr.1* is similar to the songs found on the new Cologne fragments. However, the Oxyrhynchus version (i.e., *P.Oxy. 1787 fr.1*) varies slightly

¹¹ Boedeker 2009: 72. For further discussion of the concept of *mouvance*, see Zumthor 1972.

from the Cologne copy: the Cologne version is preceded and followed by different lyric texts. Inquiries concerned with the true length of the Tithonus Song have always been surrounded with the question, *what is its true end?* The presence of two relatively complete copies of Sappho's Tithonus Song gives us the opportunity to study the differences between the two versions, in particular their respective alternate endings. The Cologne Tithonus Song ends rather abruptly after the Tithonus exemplum, while in its Oxyrhynchus counterpart, the poem ends with the speaker's hopeful outlook on her own poetic immortality. The differences between the shorter version of Sappho's Tithonus Song in the new Cologne papyri and the longer version preserved in the Oxyrhynchus fragment can also be construed as evidence for their respective history as performance pieces.

Study of the overlap will also look at the 'beginning' section of the Sapphic manuscript, focusing on the reconstructions made in the first two distichs of the New Poem. The varied supplements proposed by readers of the New Sappho poem (e.g., Gronewald and Daniel, Di Benedetto, West, Lidov, *et al.*) result in certain changes to the lyric text – from the tone and structure of the opening couplet to the character of the speaker who boasts about her poetic inheritance. Though the goal of reconstructing missing sections of the poem is to offer a complete version of the Sapphic work, it is still necessary to be wary of making too many changes that result in losing the poet's voice altogether.

P.Köln. inv. 21351

Cologne papyrus 21351 consists of several fragments preserving lines from two separate columns of text.¹² I designate the two fragments from the first column as *fragment α*, which are

¹² The two main fragments of P.Köln. inv. 21351 are arranged to represent two separate columns of text rather than from a singular one. The Cologne fragments' textual overlap with the *P.Oxy.* 1787 fragment 1 substantiates such an

poorly preserved and very lacunose (*see fig. 1*). A large chunk situated at the bottom right-side appears to have broken off from the fragment; it was placed there because it is consistent – in a palaeographic sense – with the text of *fragment a*, and also because of its large interlinear space after the second discernible line and its parallels to the Tithonus Song text from *P.Oxy. 1787 fr. 1*. *Fragment a* measure approximately 7 cm in length and 8 cm in width. Neither the top nor the left-side margins are preserved; the preserved text starts mid-line.¹³ The bottom and right-side margins, on the other hand, are discernible: there are approximately 4 cm of unmarked space after the last visible line in the fragment, as well as about 1-1.5 cm of intercolumn space from the longest line to the rightmost edge of the fragment. Twelve partial lines of text are preserved, the last four lines of which overlap with the *P.Oxy. 1787 fr. 1* text of Sappho's Tithonus Song.

arrangement, as well as the preserved margins of the two main fragments. An in-depth analysis of the overlap between the Cologne and Oxyrhynchus fragments will be explained later in this section of the chapter.

¹³ Analysis of the general length of lines in *fragment β* (which is the second fragment of P.Köln. inv. 21351) show that the lines in *fragment a* are missing ca. 1.5 to 2 cm of text (or 6-10 letters) from the left side margin. The script's size appears to be consistent throughout the two fragments, which means that the average length of the lines would be similar from *fragments a* and *β*.

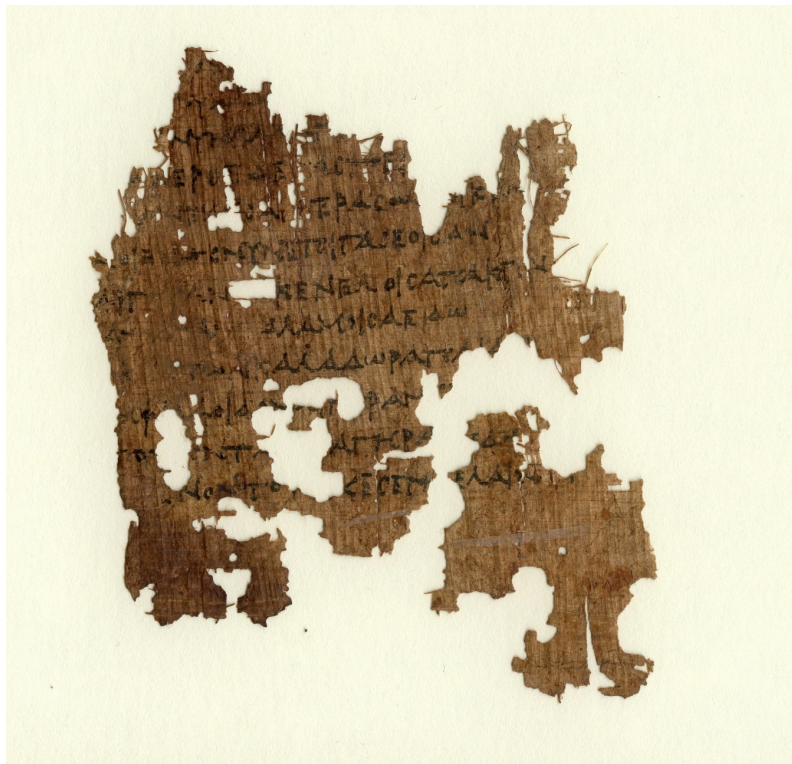


FIGURE 1: P.KÖLN. INV. 21351, FRAGMENT A.

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The other fragments of P.Köln. inv. 21351, which I designate as *fragment β*, are fairly well preserved in comparison to *fragment α* (see fig. 2). When joined, they measure approximately 17 cm in height and 11.5 cm in width. The top margin, measuring 2 cm, is preserved, indicating that *fragment β* was originally the top of a column of text. Comparison with the text of *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1 indicates that *fragment β* followed immediately after *fragment α*. The bottom, left, and right-side margins are missing from the fragment. Despite the three missing margins, *fragment β*'s first three lines appear relatively complete. The rest of the manuscript is missing sections of varying sizes: in lines 5-10, for example, the first 10-15 letters are lost. A total of 10 lines of text are visible on the fragment in question, eight of which overlap with the Oxyrhynchus version of Sappho's Tithonus Song.

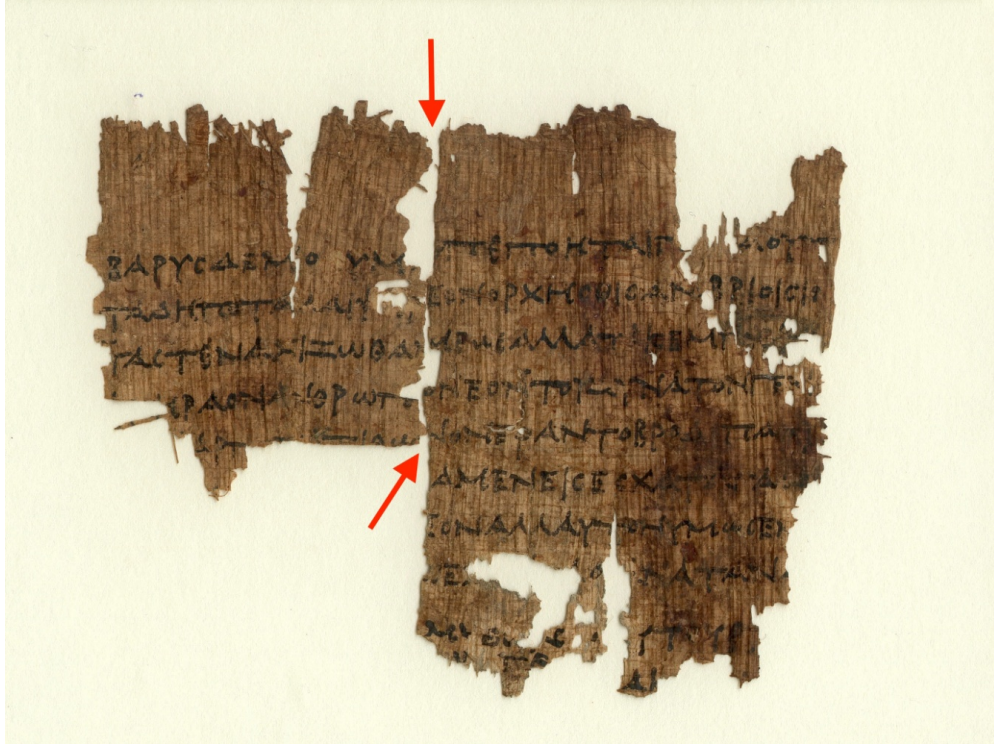


FIGURE 2: P.KÖLN. INV. 21351, FRAGMENT B. FISSURE ON THE FRAGMENT IS INDICATED WITH RED ARROWS.

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A large vertical fissure in the center of *fragment β* separates the papyrus into two pieces. The left section preserves the first 8-10 letters of lines 1-4 and traces of line 5. The right section of *fragment β* is larger and includes readings from lines 5-10. A lacuna between lines 8 and 9 results in at least 4-5 letters missing in line 8. Also, a large interlinear space evident in lines 8 and 9 suggests an internal break between two poems. The damage on *fragment β*, especially the large vertical fissure (*see fig. 2*) and a minor tear located left of the fragment's center, has two possible causes: **a.** when the fragment was continually used – rolled and unrolled – by ancient readers studying the text; or **b.** when the fragment was repurposed as cartonnage for a mummification process. The latter, which caused significant damage to the papyrus fragment, is

more likely: as will be explained later in the chapter, the fragment lacks strong evidence of scholarly activity that supports the former scenario.

Fragments α and β of P.Köln. inv. 21351 are both medium brown papyri, with text written in black ink. In some places, the fragments have become discolored; such dark stains are presumably the by-product of either the natural aging of the organic material or from a certain ancient adhesive-like solution that had oxidized after the original fragment was reprocessed into mummy cartonnage.¹⁴ Dirk Obbink opines that the discoloration is the result of gesso: he explains that traces of gesso plaster, an ancient type of glue and paint mixture once used in the mummification process, and decorative paint are detectible on both fragments' verso.¹⁵ The presence of paint, in particular, suggests that the fragment was recycled into a papyrus cartonnage. Obbink also proposes that if the fragment was repurposed into cartonnage for funerary art, its provenance is likely from the Fayuum – where the evidence for such a practice is most common.¹⁶ The ink has also faded in some areas, especially near the left margin of *fragment* α and the bottom half of *fragment* β . Fading of the ink further contributes to the difficulty in discerning the letters and words, in addition to the number of lacunae scattered across the two fragments.

Both fragments were written by the same individual, perhaps by a professional scribe. The hand is consistent throughout the manuscript and writes with the fibers in a formal literary script.¹⁷ Jürgen Hammerstaedt observes that the script is a combination of earlier and later

¹⁴ Gesso was traditionally made from some binder mixed with white chalk and/or plaster, the resulting colour of the gesso on the papyrus fragment is white. In some circumstances, parts of the fragment that has been saturated with gesso have been damaged via calcium burn. Since the discoloration on the Cologne fragment is dark, it is likely not the result of gesso. The dark colour is presumably due to the oxidation of the ancient solution used when the fragment was turned into cartonnage. For more information regarding the production of papyrus cartonnage and use of gesso, see Frösén 2009: 87.

¹⁵ Obbink 2009: 8.

¹⁶ Obbink 2009: 8.

¹⁷ Cf. the hand of the “Lyrischer Texte”: see Gronewald and Daniel 2005.

versions of letters; in particular the forms of *epsilon*, *zeta*, and *theta*.¹⁸ Such forms appear angular: *epsilons*, for example, are rather rectangular and were produced with 3-4 separate strokes. A few are curved, especially in lines 1 (πεπόνται) and 3 (στεναχίσδω) of *fragment β*: there, the letters are rounder and marked with a small horizontal stroke in the middle. The omega retains its epigraphic style of script.¹⁹ The *alphas* – in at least two (if not three) strokes – were inscribed with the middle horizontal stroke separate from the main body of the letter (cf. the horizontal stroke of *alphas* on P. Sapph. Obbink, which are connected with the second diagonal).

The script is recognizably Ptolemaic and retains some of the unique style of the period – particularly the illustrative ‘clothesline’ feature. It is an example of the ‘severe’ style such as is also found in P.Petrie I 5-8 (Brit.Lib. inv. 488) and P.Petrie II 50 (Bodl. Gr.class.d.22-23);²⁰ it is still fairly straight at the top with the bottom of the letters hanging at different lengths. The combination of *pi* and *tau* especially emphasize the characteristic ‘hanging-on-a-clothesline’ ductus of the period. But despite the elegant and careful hand, the letters are not consistently drawn: *omicron*, *omega*, and *pi* are occasionally squat; and the *sigma*, *rho*, and sometimes *epsilon* can be quite narrow.

In *fragment β*, the right vertical strokes of *pi* and *eta* are both curved. Another *eta* (i.e., ὄρχησθ’) in line 2 shows a more pronounced version of the curved hook. The curved *epsilons* in *fragment β* are potentially misconstrued as *theta* due to the similarity between the two letters (cf. the epsilon in line 3’s στεναχίσδω and the theta of θαμέως on the same line).

To date the piece, Gronewald and Daniel compare the hand of P.Köln. inv. 21351 to the hand on Turner-Parsons 1987 no.52 (i.e., British Library papyrus 1822), which was dated to the

¹⁸ Gronewald and Daniel particularly identify such letterforms as epigraphic. See Gronewald/Daniel 2005, Cavallo-Maehler 2008: 36, Hammerstaedt 2009: 20.

¹⁹ Hammerstaedt 2009: 20.

²⁰ Images and further discussion on P.Petrie 5-8 and P.Petrie II 50, see Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 34-35, 38-39.

early third century BC.²¹ Although the two hands appear similar with one another, especially the long strokes in *iota*, *rho*, and *kappa*, I concur with Hammerstaedt's observations that the latter hand appears rather more archaic than the Cologne fragments,²² based especially on the letterforms of *sigma* and *omega*.

I propose that the hand of *P.Hamb.* II 120 (Cavallo-Maehler 2008 no.4) better resembles the hand on P.Köln. inv. 21351. Side-by-side analysis of the two manuscripts show that the letterforms have striking similarities with one another: the second vertical stroke of the letters *eta* and *pi* also ends with a small hook, while its *alpha* are written in with the middle crossbar separate from the second diagonal. At times, the crossbar of the *alpha* curves downward. The vertical strokes of some letters (e.g., *rho*, *hypsilon*, *iota*, *phi*, and *tau*) descend further than others, as in the Cologne script. The Ptolemaic style of script on *P.Hamb.* II 120 preserves the poem of Menander, *Kekryphalos*, which was also dated as early 3rd century BC. The third century date for P.Köln. inv. 21351 makes its text of the Tithonus Song the oldest extant copy of Sappho's poetry.²³

Marks of punctuation and accents are difficult to discern due to the physical state of *fragments* α and β . Unlike the text of P. Sapph. Obbink in Chapter One, where *paragraphoi* and medial stops (or raised dots) were used to separate the Sapphic stanzas,²⁴ the presence of such marks are harder to distinguish in the new Sappho fragment. Initial examination of the fragments reveals a barely visible mark – a *paragraphos* – on what remains as the left-side margin of *fragment* β . Evidence of such marks are also visible in P.Köln. 21376; as will be explained in the examination of that fragment later in the chapter, it derived from the same roll. Despite the

²¹ Turner and Parsons 1987, no.52; See also Hammerstaedt 2009.

²² Hammerstaedt 2009: 20-21.

²³ Hammerstaedt 2009: 21.

²⁴ Refer to p. 31 of this thesis (Chapter 1, "Layout, Corrections, and Ancient Use").

unpreserved missing left margin of *fragment α*, I am confident (but not certain) that the scribe inserted a *paragraphos* after every other line, separating the poem into distichs.

Lectional signs on papyrus fragments such as breathings, accents, punctuation, or other *sigla* (e.g., the coronis and *paragraphos*) were interpreted as study markers left by ancient scholars to help them understand the poem further, if not used as “aids [for] the reader”.²⁵ Cavallo and Maehler explain further that such lectional signs suggest that the documents were once private copies belonging to scholars studying a particular author’s work, and not part of a library’s literary collection.²⁶ Although one is tempted to assume that the roll was used for scholarly purposes given the insertion of *paragraphoi*, the lack of indicators beyond such a telling mark suggests otherwise (cf. the various lectional signs and marks on P. Sapph. Obbink’s Brothers Song). Instead, numerous possible other situations are at play here: perhaps the papyrus roll from which the Cologne fragments are derived was simply produced to generate an anthology of popular literary works in the Hellenistic period. In that case, Hellenistic readers may have read the Sapphic poem in leisure, with the *paragraphoi* having been inserted as simple reading guides by the scribe copying the work. In that case, the Hellenistic scholars may have read with the *paragraphoi* having been inserted by the scribe as simple reading aids. The damage incurred on the papyrus, as previously identified, was rather a natural result of the bookroll having been repeatedly rolled and unrolled.

If the case was that there are additional markings, apart from the *paragraphoi*, found on the manuscript, the Cologne fragments could also be part of a collection of lyric texts used explicitly for symposiastic performances.²⁷ Vase paintings depicting Sappho in the context of symposiums have been regarded as strong evidence that her songs were common material for

²⁵ See fn. 64 of this thesis. Cf. Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 21-22.

²⁶ Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 21-22.

²⁷ Barbantani 2017: 373. Cf. Lendon 2007.

symposiastic performances throughout the fifth century.²⁸ If the case was that the Hellenistic anthology (including P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376) was employed for “symposiastic reuse”, the lack of telling marks or lectional signs in the new Cologne fragments is explained by it being part of a literary collection (perhaps even a private collection).

A total of 22 lines are preserved across the two fragments of P.Köln. inv. 21351. The text is as follows, as transcribed by Cavallo and Maehler (2008):

Column 1 (lines 1-12) from *fragment α*:

(5)] . ου[
] εὔχομ[
] . νῦν θαλία γε[
] . γέρθε δέ γὰρ γε[νοίμα]ν·
] .. ν ἔχοικαν γέρας ὡς [ἔ]οικεν
]ζοῖεν, ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ γὰρ ἔοικαν
] λιγύραν, [α]ῖ κεν ἔλοικα πᾶκτιν
 χε]λύγγαν . αλαμοις ἀείδω.
 λοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
 ν φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύγγαν·
 ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη
 λένοντο τρίγες ἐκ μελαίαν·

Column 2 (lines 13-22) from *fragment β*:

(13) βάρυς δέ μ' ὁ [θ]ῦμος πεπόνται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι
τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.
 (15) τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίδω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην;
ἀγή]ραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.
καὶ γάρ π[ο]τα Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
ἀμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γὰρ φέροισα]ν,
λέον, ἀλλ' αὐτον ὕμωσ ἔμαρψει

²⁸ Cf. Yatromanolakis 2007: 18. Yatromanolakis argues that vase paintings depicting Sappho in symposiums are not definite indicators that her works were performed in symposiums. Rather only one out of the two extant images available associates the Lesbian poet to a symposium. He adds that such vase paintings were produced later in date than when Sappho was active as a lyricist, which include the following: a hydria in six-technique depicting Sappho playing a *barbitos* (attributed to Sappho painter, ca. 510-500 BC); a red-figure *kalathoid* vase depicting Sappho and Alcaeus with *barbatoi* (ca. 480-470 BC); a red-figure *kalyx-krater* depicting Sappho with a *barbitos* (attributed to Tithonos painter, ca. 480-470 BC); and, a red-figure *hydria* depicting Sappho seated with three female figures (attributed to group of Polygnotos, ca. 440-430 BC). Yatromanolakis opines that the *kalyx-krater* is the only one of the four vase paintings which associates Sappho in a symposiastic setting based on the shape of the vase and deictic cues from the image used. See Yatromanolakis 2007: 88-98, 164.

(20)	<u>]ϸ, ἔχ[ο]γτ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν.</u>

(21)	]μυθῶν αὐτουργ[
(22)	][ ]^{γῆ} []ακ[

The combination of the two fragments produces a relatively complete version of Sappho's Tithonus Song, underlined in the text above. Column 1 preserves the first 4 lines of the new poem, followed by the next 8 lines at the top of Column 2. An interlinear space and a change of hand between lines 20 and 21 suggest that the Tithonus Song ends at line 20. Prior to the discovery of P.Köln. inv. 21376, *fragment β* lacked the left side of lines 18-22 (and evidence of any *paragraphos* or coronis which marks the end of a poetic work is non-existent). The end of the poem was, therefore, initially could not be confirmed. That question would be definitively addressed, however, with the discovery of P.Köln. inv. 21376, on which the combination of marks – a *paragraphos* and a crude coronis – indicate the 'end' of the Sapphic poem at line 20.

P.Köln. inv. 21376

A third fragment of the 'New Sappho' assemblage was identified by Gronewald and Daniel the same year that the two fragments comprising P.Köln. inv. 21351 were first published. This fragment proves to be an important find for the study of Sappho's Tithonus Song because it comes from the same roll and fills in the textual gaps (i.e., lines 8-12) from P.Köln. inv. 21351's *fragment β*. The fragment joins directly to the bottom left-hand side of *fragment β*, confirming what the larger interlinear space suggested, namely, that the poem ended with line 20. The presence of a *paragraphos* and a crude bird-like form of a coronis in its left-side margin further validate the ending of the poem (*see fig. 3*).²⁹ The rest of the preserved text on the papyrus

²⁹ Cavallo and Maehler 2009: 36. Cf. Gronewald and Daniel (2005: 7) who are not convinced that the figure on the left margin of P.Köln. inv. 21376 is a coronis.

fragment supplements the unknown lyric text (as discussed further below) – an erotically themed poem that makes a vague reference to the Lesbian poet by means of her lyre.



FIGURE 3: P.KÖLN. INV. 21351 WITH P.KÖLN. INV. 21376

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P.Köln. inv. 21376 measures approximately 16 cm in height and 7 cm in width. The papyrus fragment is riddled with small lacunae throughout and a large vertical fissure at its top. Some dark discoloration affects the bottom half of the fragment. The long and narrow fragment

preserves a portion of its left-hand margin, where the coronis and *paragraphos* are visible. This section of the fragment also preserves 1 cm of intercolumnial space between *fragment a* and *fragment β*, which is emphasized by three lines worth of faded letters from column 1. The rest of the fragment's left and right margins are missing, but the bottom margin is visible: at least 4 cm of unmarked space is apparent after the last visible line of the fragment. The combined height of the column, when P.Köln. inv. 21351's *fragment β* and P.Köln. inv. 21376 fragment are rejoined, is approximately 21 cm. The re-attachment of the fragments provides valuable evidence on two fronts – not only regarding the height of papyrus rolls in the Hellenistic period, but also regarding the missing portion of *fragment a*. Because there are 21 lines in the reconstructed column, we can estimate that at least 9 lines are missing from the first column of text preserved on *fragment a*.

The hand of the unknown lyric text beginning at 1.6 of P.Köln. inv. 21376 varies from that of the Tithonus Song's text. It writes along the fibers with thick black ink; the letters' thickness is due to the bluntness of the stylus used (cf. the fine print of the Tithonus Song text). Another consequence of employing a thicker stylus is a much larger print than the previous text. Cavallo and Maehler identify it as a second hand.³⁰ In closer inspection, the irregularities and inconsistencies in letterforms of the script is presumably the work of a copyist working in haste. Cavallo and Maehler add that it was added long after the copy of P.Köln. inv. 21351.³¹ The stark differences between the hands of the two poems (i.e., the Tithonus Song and the unknown lyric text) further emphasize the possibility of differing hands. Ptolemaic literary hands are, in general, less regular.³² According to Guglielmo Cavallo, the evolution of the Ptolemaic literary hand is evident in its script: “[it] differs from [the Alexandrian chancery style] in lacking the relentless

³⁰ Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 36.

³¹ Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 36.

³² Examples include: *P.Petrie*. II 49(c), *P.Heid.* 178, and *P.Hamb.* II 187. See Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 40-45.

horizontal linear drive of the writing as a whole, with individual letters taking on more regular proportions and softer strokes. The ductus is sometimes slower and more calligraphic, sometimes faster and informal”.³³ Simple adornments that take the shape of small hooks on the letterforms’ apices (i.e., on *alpha*, *mu*, *gamma*, *eta*) are also evident. The letterforms of P.Köln. inv. 21376’s lyric text is not bilinear; the long strokes of *psi*, *iota*, and *rho* extend slightly longer than the rest of the text. Line 1 of the lyric text displays how individual letters vary in size and spacing in between, especially when compared to the letterforms on line 2. We also see some erasures made on line 2 (i.e., βοτοϋ). In Gronewald and Daniel’s commentary, they briefly explain that the deletion in line 2 was not limited to [βοτοϋ], but was rather a course of deletion that started after παι and continued until γε, the latter of which was presumably rewritten by the scribe, based the amount of space left in the line.³⁴ Analysis of the hand in P.Köln. inv. 21376 verifies Cavallo and Maehler’s judgment that it is a second and separate hand from P.Köln. inv. 21351, and that the unknown lyric text on P.Köln. inv. 21376 was copied sometime later than the Tithonus Song. Despite the difference in hand between the two texts, their respective style of script is still in keeping with the Hellenistic period and a third century BC date. However, it is important to remember that one has to be careful in evaluating the hands evident in the two texts.

A small second fragment of P.Köln. inv. 21376 was placed on the right side of the column. It was identified as part of the assemblage based on its similarity with the hand of the lyric text and its script.³⁵ It measures 6 cm x 3 cm and preserves a small portion of 9 lines from the unknown lyric text.

³³ Cavallo 2009: 105.

³⁴ See Gronewald and Daniel 2005: 9. Gronewald and Daniel’s commentary on P.Köln. inv. 21376.2: “παι nicht και, danach Tilgung bis zur ersten Lücke, vielleicht [βοτοϋ]. Die Tilgung ging wahrscheinlich weiter, da γε wegen des verringerten Zeilenabstandes bergeschrieben zu sein scheint.”

³⁵ As I’ve mentioned in the previous chapter, I follow Cavallo and Maehler’s specific definition for the terms “hand” and “script”. See Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 6.

The join of P.Köln. inv. 21376 with *fragment β* of P.Köln. inv. 21351 completes the last five lines of the Tithonus Song. The unknown lyric text following the Tithonus Song lines (which was marked by a 1 cm wide interlinear space, a *paragraphos* and a coronis after line 20), was identified by Gronewald and Daniel as a non-Sapphic manuscript.³⁶ They explain that the lack of Aeolic forms make Sappho an unlikely candidate for attribution; the explicit mention of Orpheus and his magical arts, moreover, is not attested before the time of Simonides.³⁷ The appearance of *dicolons* subsequent to the words ἀφέρπω in line 3 and ἀκούω in line 8 likely denote some kind of change in the text – either a change of the speaker in the poem, or a change in its meter.³⁸ The author of the lyric text remains unknown: despite the erotic theme of the poem and its indirect reference to Sappho through her poetic talent (εὐφθογγον λύραν, 12), it nevertheless lacks the poetic style and character we have come to expect of a Sapphic work. Elisabetta Pitotto and Amedeo Raschieri argue that the term εὐφθογγον λύραν is in reference to the Lesbian poet based on the configuration of the text; however, they emphasize that her presence in the text does not equate to her authorship of the poetic piece:

Assuming that εὐφθογγον λύραν is the direct object of ἔχοισα and that συνεργόν its predicative, a female character would act “having the well-resounding lyre as her assistant”. Sappho then, although *stricto sensu* not the author of the “Unknown song,” would still feature in it possibly as the *persona loquens* and certainly is evoked as the highest poetical authority through a web of allusions all through the “Unknown song”.³⁹

Pitotto and Raschieri’s explanation of Sappho’s role as the fictional *persona loquens* in the unknown lyric text is important as it hints at her influence on the author; she cannot be said to

³⁶ Gronewald and Daniel 2005: 9.

³⁷ Gronewald and Daniel 2005: 7-8. According to Gronewald and Daniel, “In dem neuen Text ist keines der von Sappho bekannten äolischen Versmaße zu erkennen, es fehlen durchgehend spezifisch äolische Formen, der Wortgebrauch ist z. T. geradezu "modern", z.B. αὐτουργός, ἐπιβουλος, ἀφέρπω, συνεργός, die Erwähnung des Orpheus und seiner Zauberkünste ist erst für die Zeit des Simonides belegt. Somit kann es sich nicht um Dichtung Sapphos handeln”. The unknown lyric text is not attributed to Simonides; however, it is necessary to also note that the matter regarding Orpheus and his magical arts suggests a date that is not before Simonides’ time period.

³⁸ cf. Gronewald and Daniel 2005: 8. For use of a *dicolon* on literary documents, see Johnson 2000: 80-81.

³⁹ Pitotto and Raschieri 2017: 278-279.

have authored the unknown lyric text.⁴⁰ Unlike Sappho's role as both the author and the main speaker in her Tithonus Song (as well as the new Brothers Song and Kypris Poem), the unknown Lyric Text is not by Sappho despite her vague presence in the poem.

The phrase εὐφθογγον λύραν ("well-sounding lyre"), as explained earlier, is recognized as an indirect reference to Sappho's poetic talents because of four extant vase paintings depicting the Lesbian poet playing a *barbitos*.⁴¹ Sappho's association with the stringed, low-pitched lyre is also preserved in a number of ancient sources: in Horace's *Carmina* 1.1.34 and 1.32.3-4, for example, the poet makes reference to Sappho's role in the lyric tradition of Lesbos and his intention of inheriting and learning about their unique poetic mores. Ovid's *Heroides* 15.8 elaborates on how the Lesbian poet refers to the *barbitos* as the only instrument which can successfully communicate one's own sorrow in a melodic manner.⁴² Notwithstanding the amount of iconographic evidence depicting Sappho with a *barbitos*, the use of such a stringed instrument was rather associated to male performers (perhaps by Alcaeus) in a symposium.⁴³ Images of Sappho playing the lyre, therefore, ought not to be interpreted literally; her works, rather, were likely performed in a sympotic setting.

The Lyric Text's metrical arrangement is also ambiguous; Gronewald and Daniel attribute the difficulty in identifying the metre to the erratic style in which the poem was composed and the fragmentary state of the papyrus.⁴⁴ Another possible explanation to the difficulty stems from the early date of the papyrus: before the second century BC, many lyric papyri were not arranged via a coherent colometry; the lines on the papyrus do not correspond to

⁴⁰ Pitotto and Raschieri 2017: 278-279.

⁴¹ Further explanation on the four vase paintings depicting Sappho with a *barbitos*, see fn. 200 of this thesis. See also Yatromanolakis 2007: 69-70

⁴² Yatromanolakis 2007: 69-70.

⁴³ Ewen Bowie argues that only male performers use the *barbitos* as an accompaniment to their own singing, while women were likely using an *aulos* (as an *auletris*) to accompany the singing in a comastic setting. See further Bowie 2016: 148-149.

⁴⁴ Gronewald and Daniel 2005: 8.

unique metrical units.⁴⁵ Because the unknown lyric text is not of Sapphic pedigree, it will not be studied further in this chapter.

A Textual Overlap with *P.Oxy.* 1787 Fragment 1

The Tithonus Song on *P.Oxy.* 1787 is significant for the study of the ‘New Sappho’ fragments because of its partial overlap with the text on P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376, which supplies some missing sections of the poem in question.⁴⁶ So too does the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song, which certainly comes from a bookroll of Sappho’s poems, confirm the authorship of the new Cologne papyri. For this case study, I will follow Gronewald and Daniel (2004a/b), Martin West (2005), and Dirk Obbink’s (2009) approach to the study of the new Cologne fragments by incorporating *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1 into my assessment of the ‘New Sappho’ assemblage.

Fragment 1 of *P.Oxy.* 1787 preserves 25 lines of text, twelve of which partially overlap with the Tithonus Song text on the ‘New Sappho’ assemblage. It is a medium brown papyrus, measuring approximately 16 cm in height and 9.5 cm in width. The top, bottom, and left-side margins are missing; the right edge of the column is somewhat visible, but is difficult to detect. It was likely followed by other columns in the standard bookroll format. A larger than usual interlinear space (ca. 1 cm) divides the first and second preserved lines which might denote a break between two different texts, but further examination of *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1 suggests otherwise; in line 15, for example, the inscribed text is shorter than the rest. This leaves us with two possible scenarios with regards to the interlinear space after line 1: **a.** it was left as a gap by the copyist as a way of dividing two poems; **b.** it contained the second line of the extant work, of which no trace survives due to the physical state of the papyrus. If we had the left side of the

⁴⁵ For further discussion on colometry and stichometry, see Thompson 1912: 67-74.

⁴⁶ The partial overlap spans from line 11 to 22 of the P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376 fragments.

column we should know whether there was text or blank space; the absence of the left side, additionally, means that we cannot confidently indicate that the poem was separated into distichs with *paragraphoi*, as is the case with the Cologne assemblage. But other fragments of *P.Oxy.* 1787 indicate that there were such *paragraphoi*.

The right margin is irregularly preserved on fragment 1, but a centimeter of intercolumnial space is distinguishable after lines 11-16 (line 10 is longer than the rest of the lines, extending into the intercolumnial space). The third fragment of *P.Oxy.* 1787 also preserves the intercolumnial space (at left), which is approximately 2.5 cm in width. If the case was that fragment 1's column of text precedes fragment 3, there are at least 3.5 cm of intercolumn on this particular bookroll.

The hand is homogenous throughout the fragment, with the script slanting slightly to the right. It is a good example of a type of script first identified by Wilhelm Schubart as the "severe style" ('*Strenge Stil*'). Cavallo recognizes such a script based on the angularity and the seemingly rigid manner of the hand, of which letters such as *epsilon*, *theta*, *omicron*, and *sigma* are narrow, and the letters *mu*, *nu*, *tau*, and *omega* as broader shapes.⁴⁷ The same style was classified by E.G. Turner as "formal mixed style", which he describes, like Schubart, as a mixture of letters that are narrow and letters that are broader in form.⁴⁸ Turner adds that the mixture of shapes is predictable based on the angle of the hand: "If the hand is upright, the angles will be right angles and the curves will be rounded. If the hand slopes, the angularity of the broad letters will be emphasized ... and the curves may be easily become ellipses, so that the term 'sloping oval style' has sometimes been used".⁴⁹ Other examples of the 'severe style' in

⁴⁷ Cavallo 2009: 131.

⁴⁸ Turner 1971: 26-27.

⁴⁹ Turner 1971: 27.

second and third-century papyri include *P.Oxy.* I 26, *PSI* X 1170, *P.Oxy.* XVII 2098, *P.Oxy.* XXII 2341, and *P.Flor.* II 259.

In comparison to the other examples of fragments, the hand of *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1 writes in medium sized letterforms. Accents, breathings, elisions, and diairesis are evident throughout the manuscript, which indicate some degree of scholarly activity. Analysis of other fragments in the *P.Oxy.* 1787 assemblage show that *paraphoi* were included on the left margin of the text after every second line, which marks the poetic arrangement of the poem as ‘strophic couplets’ (or distichs).⁵⁰ Grenfell and Hunt (1922) propose further to assign the bookroll was assigned to book four of the Alexandrian collection of the Sapphic corpus based on the distinctive metrical arrangement of the text.⁵¹

The following is the text of the first fragment of *P.Oxy.* 1787; I follow Voigt’s articulated and corrected version of Sappho fragment 58V, which preceded the discovery of the Cologne “New Sappho” assemblage:

]. [
	]. δα[
]
	]. α
5	]ύγοιχα[]
	]. [ . . ] . . [ ]ιδάχθην
	]χρ θ[. ']οι[.]αλλ[.]ύταν
	]. χθο. [.]ατί [.]εια
	]μενα ταν[.]ώνυμόν σε
10	]νι θῆται στ[ύ]μα[τι] πρόκοψιν
	]<u>πων κάλα δῶρα παιῖδες</u>
	.] <u>φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνην</u>
	<u>πά]ντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη</u>
	<u>λεῦκαί τ' ἐγένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίνας</u>
	]<u>αι, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι</u>
15	]<u>ησθ' ἵα νεβρίοισιν</u>
	<u>ἄ]λλά τί κεν ποεῖην;</u>

⁵⁰ Grenfell and Hunt (ed.) 1922: 27.

⁵¹ Grenfell and Hunt (ed.) 1922: 27. See also Lidov 2009: 103.

] οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
] βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
ἔσ]χατα γὰρ φέροισα[
] οὐ ὕμωσ ἔμαρψε[
] ἄταν ἄκοιτιν
] μέναν νομίδει
] αἰσ ὀπάσδοι
25 [ἔγω δέ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν,][] τοῦτο καί μοι
τὸ λά[μπρον ἔρωσ ἀελίω καὶ κά]λον λέ[λ]ογχε.

Lines 11-22, underlined in the text above, preserve the distichs we now refer to as the Tithonus Song: these lines overlap with the text from the new Cologne papyrus fragments. The Oxyrhynchus manuscript suggests a topic related to old age, which has turned the speaker's hair from black to white (13-14). But due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus – which Grenfell and Hunt explain is the result of the fragment having been torn into pieces⁵² – the rest of the text is harder to understand.

The overlap between *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1 and *P.Köln.* inv. 21351 + 21376 allows us to compare the two texts. By combining the Oxyrhynchus and Cologne texts, we can restore six distichs of Sappho's Tithonus Song, which reveals a visceral and intimate account of her transition into old age. The poem discloses the fears and trepidations of the Lesbian poet with regards to her degeneration into old age and her mortality as a human being. The Tithonus exemplum from the conclusion of the poem emphasizes the poet's interpretation, as she appears to align her fate to the tragic fate of Tithonus. The existence of two relatively complete versions of Sappho's Tithonus Song, which were copied at least four centuries apart, not only permits a proper reconstruction of the New Poem, but also a comparative study. The study, in particular, will show that the two Sapphic manuscripts vary in length: The Cologne Tithonus Song ends

⁵² Grenfell and Hunt (ed.) 1922: 27.

after the Tithonus exemplum (as indicated by a *paragraphoi* and a coronis in the margin), while the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song continues for a few more lines.

Tithonus Song

- [Μοίσαν ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
[]ν φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·
- [νὺν γὰρ μ' ἄπαλον πρίν] π στ ' [ἔ]φ ντα χροά γῆρας ἦδη
[κατέσκεθε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]έροντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν·
- 5(13) βάρυς δέ μ' ὁ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι
 τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.
- τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίζω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποεῖην;
 ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.
- 10(18) καὶ γὰρ π[ο]τᾶ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
 ἔρωι φ.. αθρῖσαν βάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γὰς φέροισα[ν,
- ἔοντα [κ]άλον καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὐτον ὕμως ἔμαρψε
 χρόνωι πόλιον γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ντ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν⁵³ ⊗

English translation:

[]the lovely gifts of the fragrant-bosomed Muses, girls,
[] the melodious clear-sounding lyre;

[for now (?)] old age has already [conquered (?)] my once delicate skin
and my hair has turned white instead of black;

And my heart has grown heavy, and my knees will not support [me],
that once were nimble for the dance as young fawns.

I often lament these things; but what do I do?
Being human, it is impossible to be ageless.

For people used to say that the rose-armed Dawn,
overtaken by love, once carried off Tithonus to the world's end,

⁵³ The number in the brackets represents the line numbers in P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376. For this section of the chapter, I will default to using the non-bracketed line numbers for ease of reference.

since he was handsome and young then, but in time grey age
overtook him, although he had an immortal wife.⁵⁴ ⊗

Gronewald and Daniel's interpretation of the Tithonus Song begins with the speaker explaining to a coterie of girls the melodic gifts she has brought to them, bequeathed to her by the Muses (1-2). Sappho, who we assume is the speaker, changes her subject in the subsequent couplets, detailing instead how old age has had a physical effect on her body: she explains that her once limber body has been seized (χρόα γῆρας ἤδη ἐπέλλαβε, 3-4) by old age and that her black hair has turned white (λευκαὶ δ' ἐγένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν, 4). She goes to explain how other aspects of her body have also been altered by age, including her heavy heart (βάρυς δέ μ' ὁ [θ]ῦμος πεπόνται, 5), and her weakened knees (γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι, 5-6). Sappho despairs for the simple fact that, as a human being, she will not be able to delay the changes that come with the natural progression of growing old (ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι, 8).⁵⁵ The final pair of distichs is dedicated to the mythological exemplum of Tithonus. She explains that Tithonus was a mortal man – handsome and young then (ἔοντα [κ]άλον καὶ νέον, 11) – who was granted immortality. But his immortal wife (ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν, 12) neglected to ask for agelessness as well, as divinities are not subject to the same decay as humans.

As was the case with other poems under discussion in this thesis, the *persona loquens* of the new Tithonus Song appears to be Sappho herself, based on the first distich. The first halves of lines 1-2, as noted previously, are missing; the lines, nevertheless, reveal certain cues directing us to the identity of the speaker. The combination of the terms 'lovely gifts' and 'melodious clear-sounding lyre' in the first distich are, as will be explained further in this chapter, a strong

⁵⁴ I follow Gronewald and Daniel's (2004a) German translation and their commentary as guideline to my articulation of the Cologne Tithonus Song's English translation.

⁵⁵ Cf. with Anacreon 395

indication of both the poem's Sapphic pedigree and the identity of the speaker as the poet Sappho.

Despite the textual overlap between the Cologne and Oxyrhynchus papyri, which results in a relatively complete Tithonus Song, sections of the manuscript remain vague. In particular, the variation between the respective 'beginnings' and 'ending' of the Oxyrhynchus and Cologne Tithonus Song is currently being questioned. Study of the first distich and its missing sections is just as integral to the investigation of the true length of the Sapphic poem as the study of where the new poem ends. In the first distich, various editors have attempted to supplement the missing sections with text that corresponds to the metre of the poem (and what they think was ultimately the voice of Sappho).⁵⁶ The first couplet is worth studying because here we see Sappho disclosing something to a number of girls about her melodic talents, which she claims to have received as gifts from the Muses (cf. Gronewald and Daniel's interpretation of the first distich). The original editors of the text, Gronewald and Daniel (2004a/b) provide us with suggestions as to what the first two pairs of couplets should be by means of a German translation of the text,⁵⁷

- 10 **[Ich bringe hier (?)]** der purpurgegürteten [Musen] schöne Gaben, Mädchen,
 [weider ergreifend (?)] die den Gesand liebende, helltönende Leier.
- 12 **[Runzelig gemacht hat (?)]** die einst [zarte] Haut [mir] das Alter schon,
 [Furchen sind darin (?), weiß] geworden sind die Haare aus schwarzen,

Gronewald and Daniel's reconstruction of the missing sections is based on the three key factors: the poem's metrical arrangement, the specific number of letters that fit in the lacunae, and the overall language that is expected from a Sapphic poem. As the question marks in Gronewald and

⁵⁶ See Stiebitz 1926; Gronewald and Daniel 2004a/b, 2005; Di Benedetto 1985, 2005; West 2005; Austin 2007; Ferrari 2007; Livrea 2007; Yatromanolakis 2008; and, Fernández-Delgado 2014.

⁵⁷ In Gronewald and Daniel's articles (2004a:5, 2004b:2) the beginning sections of lines 1-4 (or lines 9-12) are left blank apart from a suggested metrical sequence that would fit in these missing part. The metre allows editors to determine how many letters are missing from each line. For other editors' reconstruction of lines 1-4, see Lidov 2009:92-94, West 2005: 4-5, Di Benedetto 2004: 5.

Daniel's German translation indicate, the editors understand the Sapphic manuscript only tentatively. It is also important to note that they did not attempt to supplement the missing sections of the couplets in question with a Greek text – instead leaving the sections blank, and adding only the metrical arrangement of the missing text.⁵⁸ Other editors, however, have tried their hand at reconstructing the missing sections of the Sapphic manuscript. Joel Lidov, for example, translates the lines in question, adding to the missing parts of the distichs in accordance with the textual translation provided by Gronewald and Daniel. The resulting Greek text and its English translation read as the following:

φέρω **τάδε** Μοίσαν ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
λάβοισα **πάλιν** τά]γ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·

νῦν γὰρ μ' ἄπαλον πρίν] ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη
κατέσκεθε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν·

[I bring here (?)] the lovely gifts of the fragrant-bosomed Muses, girls,
[seizing back (?)] the melodious clear-sounding lyre;

[for now (?)] old age has already **[conquered (?)]** my once delicate body,
and my hair has turned white instead of black;⁵⁹

The bolded text reflects the editorial supplements. Gronewald and Daniel's translation suggests that Sappho has brought her gift forward, as it was given to her by the Muses. The verb φέρω can also have the simple sense of 'bear' or 'carry' and comes close to the force of ἔχω, which can be translated as 'I possess'. If the case is that Gronewald and Daniel's supplements are accurate, the concept of Sappho 'bringing her gift' is still ambiguous and opens the question, *for what purpose, if not to whom, did Sappho needed to bring her gift?* The rest of line 1 suggests that Sappho intends to bring her gift forward to the girls (παῖδες). In any case, line 1 appears as a

⁵⁸ See Gronewald and Daniel 2004a:5

⁵⁹ Greek text and English translation are adapted from Lidov 2009: 93.

simple declaration from Sappho about her melodic gift and the Muses' role in her poetic inheritance – that she received the coveted gift of the Muses (cf. Nossis G-P 1.4).

Gronewald and Daniel's translation of φέρω τάδε also left Joel Lidov (2009) wondering where Sappho intended to bring her gift.⁶⁰ He suggests an alternate translation; since the sentence appears to be a prelude to the rest of the poem, the opening line has to have more impact than what Gronewald and Daniel originally suggested. Lidov's changes in line 1-2 (in bolded letters) reads as the following:

νῦν δὴ μ' ἔτι Μοῖσαν ἰσοκρόλων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,⁶¹
φίλημι δὲ φῶνα] γ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν·

Now I have still the lovely gifts of the fragrant-bosomed Muses, girls,
and I love the song loving voice of the resounding lyres.

Lidov's proposal changes the tone of the opening couplet into a "personal declaration" from the poet.⁶² The alternative translation allows for a rather easier understanding of the first couplet, in which we can easily imagine Sappho confidently declaring to her audience her 'gift' from the Muses, as can only be inferred from Gronewald and Daniel's interpretation. Lidov adds that the first couplet – as an opener – provides some structure to the poem by framing a more general feature of the poem (i.e., the Muses' gifts in line 1) with line 2's discussion of its relevance to the song and the accompanying lyre.⁶³ The concept of a sentence, strophe, or (in this case) a couplet that operates as the programmatic statement of the entire poem is quite common in Sapphic poems. The first strophe in Sappho's fragment 16, similarly, is a declaration of Sappho's preference for love over war and how the former trumps over the latter. Her statement establishes

⁶⁰ Lidov 2009: 93.

⁶¹ Lidov suggests another alternate Greek supplement to the missing text in line 1: "νῦν μ' ἤδεα Μοῖσαν ἰσοκρόλων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες (which translates as, 'now the lovely gifts of the Muses are sweet to me'). See Lidov 2009: 93-94.

⁶² Lidov 2009: 93.

⁶³ Lidov 2009: 94.

the structure of the entire poem, which centers on the love of Helen that pushed her towards Paris and Troy and on Sappho's fondness for Anaktoria. It is, therefore, not unfounded for Lidov to presume that the first couplet of the Cologne Tithonus Song functions similarly. After Lidov's supplements, the first distich indicates that Sappho's skill in composing lyrics is a gift granted to her by the Muses, a gift that she greatly cherishes, especially when it is accompanied by the lyre. The first distich, however, hints that she may one day lose her gift (νῦν δὴ μ' ἔτι, 1) or the ability to speak with such 'resounding lyres', an anxiety which becomes more evident in the lines that follow, where there is an interplay between the generality of the subject matter (i.e., old age) and its relevance to Sappho's personal experience in aging. Such an approach allows the poet to express her own views while prompting her audience to reconsider the meaning of human mortality.

Various other editors have also tried their hand at supplementing the missing sections of the Tithonus Song with the desire to 'complete' the poem. In line 1 of the Sapphic poem alone, at least ten other editors and scholars have attempted to find the perfect poetic fit for the missing text.⁶⁴ Martin West (2005), for instance, approaches the reconstruction by predicting which text fits the missing section based on the metrical arrangement of the poem and the number of letters that fits in each lacuna. The following are his articulation and resulting English translation of the Greek text:

**ὕμμεν πεδὰ Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
σπουδάσδετε καὶ τά]γ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνην·**

⁶⁴ In Luca Benelli's (2017: 268) recent publication on selected fragments of Sappho, he lists the following editors and their respective supplements for line 1 of the Tithonus Song: Stiebitz 1926: 1260, Μοῖσαν ἰοκόλων; Austin 2007: 118-119, Μοῖσαν ἐπιδείξασθ' ἰοκ[ό]λων; Fernández-Delgado 2014, δέκεσθε καὶ Μοῖσαν ἰοκόλων; Santa-Maria Álvarez 2007: 788, νῦν δείκνυτε Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων; Gronewald and Daniel 2004a: 7, φέρω τάδε Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων; Di Benedetto 1985: 148, ὕμμιν φίλα Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων; West 2005: 5, ὕμμεν πεδὰ Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων; Ferrari 2007a: 180, Τέττιξ ἄτε Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων; Livrea 2007: 75-76 νῦν (τ') ἄδεα Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων; and, Yatromanolakis 2008: 243, Αἰ στέργετε Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λων.

ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χροά γήρασ ἦδη
ἐπέλλαβε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχεσ ἐκ μελαίναν·

[**You for**] the fragrant-bosomed Muses' lovely gifts
[**be zealous,**] girls, [and the] clear melodious lyre:

[**but my once tender**] body old age now
[**has seized;**] my hair's turned [white] instead of dark;

Like Gronewald and Daniel's supplements, West's text produces another ambiguous statement. In the first distich, Sappho appears to command the girls to be eager for the Muses' coveted gift, as she once was. Sappho's message is clear: those who are intending to become as skilled and renowned in poetic compositions as Sappho will need to heed her advice and approach its attainment in a zealous manner. West's version is not a declaration of Sappho's poetic prowess, but an exhortation to the παῖδες, as evident in the change in verb from 1st singular to 2nd plural. Despite the befuddling translation that results from West's supplements, many have adopted his text (e.g., Bierl 2010, Lidov 2009, Rawles 2006, *et al.*). The lacuna invites us to read into the poem, as evident in West's and Gronewald and Daniel's translation of the text – all in an attempt to understand the poem further. However, we also have to be mindful of the modern interpretations made on the Sapphic manuscript – conjectures which have been employed with the intention of understanding the poem better – and not misinterpret such alterations as part of the original composition.

Sappho's assertiveness as a poet was once regarded in a *testimonium* by Aelius Aristides (Orata.28, 51 = Sa. 193 L-P), where the Greek orator describes how Sappho boasted to some women that her poetic reputation was a blessing from the divinities:

οἶμαι δέ σε καὶ Σαπφοῦσ ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς τινασ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων δοκουσῶν εἶναι
γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχουμένησ καὶ λεγούσης ὡσ αὐτήν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῷ ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε
καὶ ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν καὶ ὡσ οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης ἔσται λήθη.

I think you must have heard Sappho too boasting to some of those women reputed to be fortunate and saying that the Muses had made her truly blessed and enviable, and that she would not be forgotten even when she was dead. (tr. Campbell)

The *testimonium* coincidentally echoes the original editors' configuration of the Tithonus Song. Echoing the first couplet of the poem, Aelius Aristides mentions how the poet had talked to certain women about her skills as a lyricist and how she had acquired her 'gift' from the Muses. Near the end of his statement, Aelius Aristides mentions how Sappho is also confident that she will not be forgotten due to the simple fact that her compositions will be immortal. The last statement is particularly interesting as it resonates with the Tithonus exemplum in the New Poem – an eloquent use of mythology to juxtapose the poet's mortality and the immortality of her work. The last sentence, in particular, is interesting as it divulges what Sappho ultimately wants her audience to know – that her lyric works will be the source of her immortality, for which she “would not be forgotten even when she was dead” (ὥς οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης ἔσται λήθη). The Greek orator's comment is eerily similar to the first distich of Sappho's Tithonus Song, which is possibly the result of his familiarity with the poet work. He may have read a copy of Sappho's works, including her Tithonus Song, sometime in the second century AD, or heard a performance of the Sapphic manuscript at certain comastic celebrations. If such were the case, Aelius Aristides' *testimonium* is our earliest account regarding the New Poem.

The alternative translation by Lidov also renders Sappho an assertive poet, but as the evidence above shows, Sappho was proud of her skillset in composing lyric poems in an eloquent and thought provoking manner. She is also unabashed in emphasizing the role of the Muses in her poetic excellence (e.g., 32V, 53V, 56V, 106V, 118V, 127V, 128V), and in alluding not only to her poetic distinction but also the secrets of her trade. In fragment 16V, in particular, the poet covertly asserts how her lyric poems about the beauty of love trump those composed

about heroes and warfare (1-4). For some scholars, Sappho’s composition of fr.16V was deliberate in terms of challenging her preeminence from Homer and his epics, becoming “the Poetess” of archaic lyrics as compared to “the Poet” of epic poetry.⁶⁵

The problem with identifying the ending of the Tithonus Song is that it is not as straightforward as identifying where the poem begins. In the Cologne Tithonus Song, the poem culminates at the end of the Tithonus exemplum, based on the combination of a *paragraphos* and crude bird-like coronis on the left side line 20. The Tithonus Song in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, on the other hand, continues on after the Tithonus myth, adding four more lines to its version of the poem. The additional four lines read as follows (I follow Voigt’s articulation of the Greek text):

23	]μέναν νομίδει	
	]αις ὀπάδοι	
	] τοῦτο καὶ μοι	
26	] τὸ λάμπρον ἔρωσ ἀελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλιγοχε.	
	]imagines	
	]might bestow	
	] and in my opinion	
	a longing for the sun implies what is bright and what is beautiful. ⁶⁶	

The four additional lines rather change the tone of the poem. The Tithonus poem, in general, is centered on the speaker’s anxieties about old age and her trepidations of becoming just like Tithonus – whose immortality does not save him from degenerating into old age. But the tone of the additional lines is different; Sappho is hopeful and optimistic about the future. Lines 25-26, for example, reveal how Sappho interprets an individual’s (perhaps her own) “longing for the sun” as a longing for “what is bright and what is beautiful”. Despite the ambiguity of the final

⁶⁵ For further discussion on the poetic comparisons made between Sappho as ‘The Poetess’ with Homer as ‘The Poet’ of epics, see Parker 1988, 2005; Rissman 1983; Rosenmeyer 1997; Schrenk 1994; West 2002; and Willamowitz-Moellendorf 1906, 1913.

⁶⁶ tr. Lobel. Lines 25-26 were included based on a citation by *Athenaeus* 687b (= Clearch. fr.41 Wehrli).

sentence, it calls to mind Sappho's opening Sapphic stanza in fr.16V, where she indicates that love is 'the most beautiful thing in the black earth' (ἐπι γᾶν μέλαιναν / ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν ὄτ-/ τῶ τις ἔραται, 2-4). In the case of the Tithonus Song, Sappho opines that a love for life, as alluded to in the phrase 'longing for the sun', is a quality that ought to be considered as bright and beautiful in the world.⁶⁷ Boedeker's alternative translation of lines 25-26 provides us with a better reading of the final distich: "and love of the sun has obtained for me (provides me with) brightness and beauty".⁶⁸

The final two distichs in the Oxyrhynchus version of the Tithonus Song may appear as an odd addition to an otherwise disheartening poem about Sappho's plight with old age; Lardinois however, argues that the new ending 'presents an alternative' for the poet:

If we add these four lines, the tone of the poem changes considerably. Sappho would not just resign herself to her situation of being old, but actually present an alternative. She would admit that she is no longer beautiful herself; but she can enjoy the beauty and brightness of other things. The same would apply to the beautiful girls of the Muses she mentions at the beginning of the poem ... Sappho may be old and unable to dance, but she is still capable of making music: she is singing the song and playing the 'melodious lyre'.⁶⁹

Lardinois' articulation of the lines in question presents Sappho in a state in which the poet has accepted her ultimate fate as a human being. But he adds that Sappho's own decline due to old age will not interfere with her seeing the beauty of life in others, as well as her ability to continue composing lyric texts with her poetic voice. The apparent departure of the two additional distichs from the rest of the poem, in terms of Sappho's pessimistic outlook on her own mortality, has been regarded by some scholars as an indication that they are not part of the original Tithonus

⁶⁷ Cf. Lardinois 2009: 44.

⁶⁸ Boedeker 2009: 72. Cf. Lardinois 2009: 44. A contrast with mortality, (i.e. darkness = death) see *Ol.* 1.80-81 or Heracles' speech in *Bacch.* 3.

⁶⁹ Lardinois 2009: 44.

Song; they argue instead that the lines in question are part of a new poem.⁷⁰ West, in particular, dubs these lines the “ἄβροσύνα Poem”.⁷¹ Since the Oxyrhynchus papyrus does not bear any telling marks that would otherwise indicate where the poem ended, I cannot confidently assert that the last lines are not part of the poem. But, as Lardinois explains, the lack of hard evidence dissociating it from the Tithonus Song would also mean that it is still possibly part of the poem.⁷²

From the papyrological perspective, the length of the Cologne Tithonus Song (at least) is definite: it starts with the first decipherable distich, which involves a poetic inheritance from the Muses (as based on Aelius Aristides, Orat. 28, 51 = Sa. 193 L-P). The poem ends with the last line of the Tithonus exemplum, based on the presence of a *paragraphos* and a crude, bird-like coronis on the left-side margin of the fragment, which has been regarded by some scholars as an abrupt end to the Tithonus Song.

The debate regarding the poem’s actual length continues on because **a.** the two copies are so far removed from another, and because **b.** the Cologne papyrus was not from a copy of the Alexandrian edition of Book 4. Examination of the two manuscripts also reveals that the two versions of Sappho’s lyric texts are preceded and followed by different texts. The Sapphic manuscript in *P.Oxy.* 1787 fragment 1 is preceded by an unknown text and followed right after by a lyric poem currently known as the ἄβροσύνα Poem. The Cologne Tithonus Song of P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376, on the contrary, is headed by a text West refers to as the “Posthumous Poem for Sappho”, and is followed by a ‘Lyrischer Text’ that is not of Sapphic pedigree. Analysis of Cologne Tithonus Song manuscript reveals that the Sappho poem ended precisely where the overlap with the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song ended – its Tithonus exemplum. The ἄβροσύνα

⁷⁰ See Austin 2007, Bernsdorff 2005, Di Benedetto 2004, Ferrari 2007, Rawles 2006, and West 2005.

⁷¹ West 2005: 7-9.

⁷² Lardinois 2009: 44.

Poem that follow after instead indicate that the Alexandrian version is possibly preserves a longer version of the Sappho poem than its Hellenistic counterpart.

My analysis of this problem will continue in the philological analysis of the new Sappho poem. There, I will look closely at the Cologne and Oxyrhynchus versions of the Tithonus Song for evidence of where the poem truly ends, if not what the true length of the poem in question is. The next section will also explore how Sappho addresses the concept of old age in her poetry. The Tithonus Song is the best evidence we have for Sappho's interpretation of old age, and so I will also address the literary aspects of her reflections on aging, the mortality of human beings, and ultimately her own death.

Philological Analysis of the Tithonus Song:

My investigation into the true length of the Tithonus Song continues in this subsection, looking beyond the telling marks which indicated – at least for the Cologne version of Sappho's Tithonus Song – that the new Sapphic poem ended with its Tithonus exemplum. The existence of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus and its additional four lines of text, which West refers to as the “ἄβροσύνα Poem”⁷³ indicates that the length of the Tithonus song is not established as definitely as it might seem from the papyrological study of P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376.

Despite some of the most erudite scholars arguing that the last four lines are not part of the original Tithonus Song, I would counter argue that the lines *are* part of the poem. First, the metrical arrangement of lines 23-26 is consistent with the rest of poem's metre; it is also in distichs of what Lobel describes as “an Ionic a maiore tetrameter acatalectic”.⁷⁴ The homogeneity of the metre is matched by homogeneity of hand, which suggests that the scribe

⁷³ West 2005: 7-9.

⁷⁴ Lobel 1922: 26.

copying the Tithonus Song (here, in a copy of Book 4 of the Alexandrian collection) reproduced it from a manuscript that included the last four lines. The fragment's missing left margin, however, does not allow us to confirm whether there is a *paragraphos* or coronis indicating the end of the poem at line 22. Book 4 of the Alexandrian collection was organized by meter (just like books 1, 2, and 3); it is therefore unsurprising that the next poem continues in the same meter, but we lack the marginal notation that indicates a division between the poems.

The strongest indication that the lines belong to the Tithonus Song comes via Athenaeus, who cites lines 25-26 (15.687b). According to Athenaeus, Sappho's zeal for life is connected to her perception of beauty and daintiness:

καίτοι Σαπφώ, γυνή μὲν ἀλήθειαν οὔσα καὶ ποιήτρια, ὅμως ἠδέσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἀβρότητος ἀφελεῖν λέγουσα ὧδε·
 ἔγω δὲ φίλημι' ἀβροσύναν, < ... > καὶ μοι τὸ λάμπρον ἔρωσ ἀελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέγογχε, φανερόν,
 ποιοῦσα πᾶσιν ὡς ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρόν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ· ταῦτα δ' ἔστιν οἰκεία τῆς ἀρετῆς.⁷⁵

Yet Sappho, who was certainly a woman as well as poetess, was nonetheless reluctant to distinguish beauty from daintiness, putting it thus,
But I love daintiness, ... and in my opinion
a longing for the sun implies what is bright and beautiful,
 making it apparent to everyone that her lust for life involved the bright and beautiful; these qualities are closely associated with virtue. (tr. Lobel)

Athenaeus' disquisition on virtue in book 15 of his *Deipnosophistae* leads him to cite what appears as the final distich of Sappho's Tithonus Song, confirming that the obscure phrase ἔρωσ ἀελίω describes the poet's own 'lust for life' (τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία). The quotation, when paired with Athenaeus' statement on Sappho's τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία, corresponds to the subject matter eloquently discussed in her Tithonus Song: while the speaker openly laments the changes old age has wrought on her physical appearance and strength, her lamentations are focused on her own

⁷⁵ Athenaeus 687b (*Deipnosophistae*, Book XV); Loeb Classical Library 519: 118-119.

eventual demise. In other words, she fears losing her life, which reveals her desire for it – the desire for which, as Athenaeus explains, is a human quality that is equivalent to desiring the beautiful and bright things in the world. Sappho’s discussion on old age and her infirmities at the start of the Tithonus Song, in comparison to her opinions about life in lines 23-26, demonstrates that the former are mere precursors to her discourse on humanity, her mortality, and thus her own life.

Sappho’s discourse on old age, if we consider the four-line continuation as part of the new poem, is structured in a way that links the beginning and ‘end’ of the poem. The Tithonus Song, in particular, is divided into three sections: the first section is a generalized discussion on the subject matter, which in this case is Sappho’s personal experience on the effects of aging (l. 13-16). This section culminates with lines 17-18, where the poet reveals the reason for her personal disquisition on old age as it relates to human mortality and the loss of what she holds dearest, her life. The second section is the Tithonus exemplum (ll.19-22), where Sappho appears to use the myth of Tithonus – a man who was granted immortality by his immortal wife but was subsequently not granted agelessness – to emphasize her interpretation of mortality and immortality. The new poem culminates with Sappho’s declaration of her desire for life, which harkens back the first section of her lamentation with regards to her mortality. The Tithonus exemplum also suggests that Sappho perceives her fate and the fate of Tithonus as one and the same; that she is blessed with immortality through her lyric works, but that she too will eventually succumb to death as all humans do. The final section of the new poem consists of the last two distiches (l.23-26), which reveals Sappho’s opinion on life as she likens life to things that are beautiful and bright in the world.

A similar trifold division is evident in Sappho's fragment 16V. The opening statement of fr.16V, for instance, is a priamel disclosing Sappho's understanding that the most beautiful things is what one loves most – a concept she explains against individuals who believe that an army of horsemen, of foot soldiers, or of ships is the most beautiful thing (ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον, 3). The opening priamel is, as was previously discussed, reminiscent of Sappho's statement in lines 25-26 of the new poem. Fragment 16V also uses a mythological exemplum in lines 5-12 (i.e. the abduction of Helen to Troy) to further elaborate on the idea that love is preferable to war; in this case, Helen's love for Paris had "led her astray" (ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὐταν, 11) and took precedence over threats of war. The remaining lines (l. 13-32) reveals how Sappho is reminded of a certain Anaktoria during her discussion of Helen and how Anaktoria's mere presence is a sight more preferable than any tools of warfare (i.e. τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κἄν ὄπλοισι / πεσοδομάχεντας, 19-20). These lines, which disclose Sappho's 'love' for Anaktoria, reiterate the argument concerning love and war that Sappho first proposed in her opening priamel. The poem's organization links its start with its end, much like the discussion of life and death in the Tithonus Song.

Lardinois, who is also in favour of treating the extended lines as part of the Tithonus Song, further proposes that Sappho's concept of love and of beautiful things are also evident at the start and at the 'end' of the New Poem:

If the speaker's love (φίλημα) of the sound of the clear-sounding lyres in line 2 would be echoed by her love (φίλημα) of ἀβροσύναν in line 25, and this verb, together with κάλα δῶρα (1) and τὸ κάλον (26), would create a ring composition, linking beginning and end of the poem.⁷⁶

The ring-compositional structure in the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song, as articulated by Lardinois, not only ties the whole poem together, it also allows Sappho to emphasize her opinion that her love for life and its gifts are things which she cherished most (or as Athenaeus puts it, ἡ τοῦ ζῆν

⁷⁶ Lardinois 2009: 44.

ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ, 15.687b). The additional four lines of text further demonstrate that Sappho’s lamentations, which initially appear as a result of her physical decay from old age, is actually directed to her realization that, as a human, she has no control over aging and succumbing to death. Sappho’s desire for life, as revealed in lines 25-26 of the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song, is evident in the manner in which she laments her mortality as a human and how she is subjected to the natural processes of old age.

Lowell Edmunds (2009) also argues that the additional four lines of text in the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song constitute an ideal ‘end’ for the new poem. In his study of the mythological exemplum in the Tithonus Song, Edmunds explains that the Cologne version of the new poem is incomplete, and proposes instead that the poem should never end with an exemplum.⁷⁷ The culmination of a poem or its ‘end’, according to Edmunds, should circle back to the gnome that was established in the beginning of the poem or “to the circumstance which occasioned that gnome”.⁷⁸ Alcaeus’ fragment 44 (as preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1233 fr. 9.1–8 and 3.1–7) is the only known extant lyric poem which culminates at a mythological exemplum. It reads as the follows:

2 ἀγ[
 ἄκ[.....] . [
 θ . [.....] . [
 4 ἐ[.....] . [.] . ρ[. .] . . [
 μ[.] ρ [.....] νι κάκω περρ[
 6 μάτε[ρ] ἔξονομ]άσδων ἐκάλη νά[ιδ] ὑπερτάταν
 νύμφ[αν ἐνν]αλίαν· ἄ δὲ γόνων [ἄψαμένα Δίος
 8 ἰκέτευ' [ἀγαπά]τω τέκεος μᾶνιν [

... evil ... (Achilles) called his mother, naming her, the Naiad, best of the sea-nymphs; and she, clasping the knees of Zeus, begged him to (prosper?) the wrath of her beloved son. (tr. Campbell)

⁷⁷ Edmunds 2009: 58. The same study is evident in Bernsdorff 2005.

⁷⁸ Edmunds 2009: 60.

The utterly lacunose state of the fragment means that we cannot decipher much of the text until line 6; the poem's end is indicated by a coronis beside its line 8.⁷⁹ The remaining lines of Alcaeus' fr.44 otherwise reveal a mythological exemplum, which echoes an episode in book 1 (348-427, 493-516) of Homer's *Iliad* where Achilles asks his mother Thetis to request help from Zeus on his behalf. Edmunds adds that Alcaeus poem's culmination in a mythological exemplum demonstrates a stylistic feature evident in some archaic lyric poems, which Hans Bernsdorff describes as an "open conclusion".⁸⁰ If the case was that Sappho's Tithonus Song truly ended at its Tithonus exemplum, we would have another example of an 'open conclusion' lyric text.

The structural similarity to fr.16 suggests that the Oxyrhynchus version of the Tithonus Song preserves its true ending and that the Cologne version is missing its two final distichs.⁸¹ The question is why this is so: Lardinois proposes that there are three possible explanations for why the Cologne Tithonus Song ends abruptly at line 22 or why the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song extends into the ἀβροσύνα poem. The following are his theories: **a.** "the Cologne papyrus only copied part of the poem: it misses the last four lines that are found in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus and originally belonged to the poem"; **b.** "We have to assume that the poem in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus also ends at line 22 and that the next four lines belong to a new poem"; and, **c.** "there existed in the Hellenistic period two versions of the poem, one ending on the myth of Tithonus, as in the Cologne papyrus, and another continuing the poem with four more lines, as in the

⁷⁹ Edmunds 2009: 58. See also LCL 142: 258-261 (doi: 10.4159/DLCL.alcaeus-fragments.1982).

⁸⁰ Edmunds 2009: 58, Bernsdorff 2005: 2.

⁸¹ Just like the Tithonus Song on *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.1, where the new poem extends further four lines, we can postulate that the same amount of text is missing from the Cologne Tithonus Song. Examination of *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr.3, however, shows a coronis on the top left margin of the preserved fragment; it may appear to suggest that the Tithonus Song (which we suspect is on the column of text that precedes fr.3) is longer than the decipherable additional four lines in the Oxyrhynchus fragment.

Oxyrhynchus fragment”.⁸² All of these scenarios are plausible, but I argue that the last example is most possible (cf. Boedeker 2009 and Lardinois 2009), given the nature of manuscript tradition and how copies of ancient works have either been preserved or discarded, which is based on the discretion of the scribe or scholar copying Sappho’s poetry. Lardinois adds that the results of textual transmission have been “less stable than is generally assumed”,⁸³ which is to say that the two extant versions of the Tithonus Song do not derive from the same family of manuscripts; at some point in its textual transition, a scribe has decided to forgo the last two distichs and end with the Tithonus exemplum. The impact of such an ‘ending’, I presume, is to emphasize the concept of old age and mortality in Sappho’s poem. Despite the varied endings between the Oxyrhynchus and Cologne versions of the Tithonus Song, I argue further that the additional final four line are a necessary part of the poem; I concur with Lardinois’ proposal that the ἀβροσύνα Poem allows for a better end to the lyric text, which results in a ring-composition which highlights the cyclic nature of life and death.⁸⁴

The language and the poetic structure of Sappho’s Tithonus Song substantiate the poet’s interpretation of old age and death. After the opening priamel in which Sappho probably declares her poetic inheritance, the poet changes course and discusses her own experiences as she transitions into old age (11-14). Line 11, however, is missing a crucial term to explain what old age has done to Sappho; Gronewald and Daniel (2004a) supplement the missing word with *ergreifend* (which translates as ‘seize’; cf. West 2005) to describe how old age has not only altered Sappho’s physical form, but also how her youthfulness was seized from her. The alleged

⁸² Lardinois 2009: 45. Various other scholars express the same (or variations of the same) theories proposed by Lardinois, see also Gronewald and Daniel 2004a, Edmunds 2006, Livrea 2007, Di Benedetto 2004, West 2005, Bernsdorff 2005, Rawles 2006, Austin 2007, Ferrari 2007, and Boedeker 2009.

⁸³ Lardinois 2009: 47.

⁸⁴ Edmunds adds that in M.M. Willcock’s article, “Mythological *Paradeigmata* in the Iliad” (*CQ* 14: 1964) the scholar proposed that

abduction of Sappho's youth is reminiscent of the myth of the goddess Demeter, whose own young daughter was abducted from her by the god of the Underworld. In Sappho's case, her transition into old age resulted in her youth having been taken from her, rather than old age being a gift, like those of the Muses in the first distich.⁸⁵ In my study and articulation of the new Tithonus Song, I have supplemented the missing section in line 11 with 'conquered' for κατέσκηθε (following West 2005), in order to emphasize further how Sappho's transition into old age was aggressive. The term 'conquered' for κατέσκηθε also conjures up a military aspect to the poem, a stylistic feature which, as explained previously, is a common aspect found in Sappho's works (cf. Sappho fr. 1V, 16V, 44V).⁸⁶ Both Gronewald and Daniel's (2004a) *ergreifend* (translated as 'seize') and West's (2005) 'conquered' for the term κατέσκηθε emphasize the relatively harsh circumstance in which Sappho has lost her youth and which has become the very reason for her lamentations.

The purpose of Sappho's lamentation is revealed midway through the fourth distich, where she explains that by being human and mortal, she can neither control nor escape aging. The first half of the new poem discloses the poet's fear of being an old woman, which goes beyond her physical deterioration. For some time, the perception of an aged woman in ancient Greek society has been a bleak one, especially when we consider that women's roles are tied to their ability to procreate and produce legitimate heirs for their husbands. Take for example the scathing remark of Jan Bremmer (1987) with regards to an ancient Greek male's perception of its old women: "women existed in order to serve the males, whether for sexual pleasure or for the higher interest of producing an heir. An old woman resembled an object that has passed its

⁸⁵ Cf. Gronewald and Daniel (2004a) uses the German term *ergreifend* ('seized') to supplement the missing section of the second distich

⁸⁶ See again Rissman 1983 for further discussion on the interplay of love and war in Sapphic compositions.

usefulness and now can be discarded”.⁸⁷ Bremmer then adds later in his chapter that, “in ancient Greece old women constituted a marginal category, which was loathed and feared by the males”.⁸⁸ Women’s roles in the Greco-Roman world have been delineated according to purpose: to produce legitimate heirs, manage the household, or for the enjoyment of the men; in Apollodorus’ [Demosthenes] speech *Against Neaera* (59:122), the Greek orator explains that “we have courtesans (*hetaerae*) for pleasure, concubines (*pallakai*) for the daily care of our body, and wives (*gynaikes*) in order to have legitimate children and a reliable custodian of our household”. Women therefore existed within the context of particular purposes prescribed by societal mores, which were clearly governed by the idea of how women can physically contribute to the city. Aged women, however were no longer seen as useful in the Greek society as they are past their age of reproduction, hence Bremmer’s interpretation of an elderly woman as an object which has ‘passed its usefulness and now can be discarded’. Other modern scholars agree: in his 1995 study on the predicament of old women in ancient Greek society, Thomas Falkner explains that aging for an ancient Greek woman not only has detrimental effects on her physical form, but also on her role and identity, which he delineates into “maternal, domestic, sexual, and erotic” roles.⁸⁹ As women transition into old age and are no longer viable for the purpose of procreation, they are deemed ‘worthless’ in terms of how their contribution to the city’s population and its citizenship.

Aged women, like those depicted in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, however, are portrayed as key elements in the cultural mores of ancient Greece. Such was the case for the goddess Demeter, who defines her renewed purpose as an elderly woman:

⁸⁷ Bremmer 1987: 203.

⁸⁸ Bremmer 1987: 204.

⁸⁹ Falkner 1995: 75.

προφρονέως φίλα τέκνα τέων πρὸς δόμαθ' ἵκωμαι
ἀνέρος ἢ δὲ γυναικός, ἵνα σφίσιν ἐργάζωμαι
πρόφρων οἷα γυναικὸς ἀφήλικος ἔργα τέτυκται·
καὶ κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἔχουσα
καλὰ τιθηνοίμην καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι
καὶ κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶ θαλάμων ἐυπήκτων
δεσπόσυνον καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας (*h. Cer.* 138-144)

Eagerly I would come to someone's house, dear children,
either man's or woman's, so that I might willingly perform for them
the sort of task appropriate for an elderly woman:
I could hold a newborn child in my arms and tend it well
and watch over the house and I could make up the master bed in the recess
of the well-built chamber and I could teach the women their tasks.

Demeter's definition of her role as an elderly woman reveals that old women of the ancient Greek society are not as 'useless' and 'loathed' as Bremmer or Falkner believe. Older women are still useful: although they are no longer able to procreate, older women are still able to help young mothers manage both their children and their household. It is also implied in the passage above that Demeter, as an elderly woman, is able to impart wisdom and knowledge of how to care for an infant, as she is experienced in motherhood. Louise Pratt's (2000) study of old women in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* reveals that old women enjoy independence that is otherwise unheard of for their younger counterparts. Pratt explains that "Demeter's disguise as old woman in the [Homeric hymn] has figured repeatedly in connection with the claim that old women had greater independence of movement than young women, an independence [modern scholars] attributable to their worthlessness as sexual and reproductive commodities".⁹⁰ Since old women are no longer at risk of being raped and producing illegitimate children, they are free to travel at their leisure and move about the city independently without jeopardizing their reputation and appearing as wanton and promiscuous women. The same point is emphasized in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, in which a chorus of women plays a key role. As the feistier of the

⁹⁰ Pratt 2000: 3.

play's two choruses (the other being a chorus of old men), the chorus of old women is sent by Lysistrata to take over the Acropolis because they are not part of the sex strike and because they enjoy the freedom of speaking their mind and acting on their own (as indicated in the play by their proclivity towards obscene and vulgar language).⁹¹ The old women are represented by Aristophanes as the moral leaders of the city, which is further emphasized when a trio of old women came to save Lysistrata from the Magistrate (ll. 439-452).⁹² Bremmer's (and Falkner's) misogynistic perception is overgeneralized in terms of their usefulness in the Greco-Roman world.

In the case of Sappho and the new Tithonus Song, her fears and trepidations regarding her transition into old age reveal that she is not as well acquainted with the role of old women in archaic Lesbos, lamenting instead that she will no longer personally enjoy the joys of youth and vitality. Her inability to dance, as is revealed in line 14, means that she is no longer able to enjoy performing with her παῖδες. Sappho's role, though not as definite as Demeter's explanation of roles of old women in society, will be limited to educating her girls on how they too may pursue and attain the poetic gifts of the Muses.⁹³ The poet's own life experiences lead her to become a leader among the coterie of girls, as was revealed in her advice about pursuing the gift of the Muses in the first distich. Subsequently, in the Tithonus exemplum, Sappho reveals that her work will outlive even her – as her poetic voice will be preserved in every Sapphic composition.

Sappho also implies in the third distich that her poem is a study of old age: that life is natural and unavoidable for human beings, but foreign for divinities. The immortality of the gods and goddesses mean that they bypass the changes human face when they transition from youth to

⁹¹ For further discussions old age and the the role of the chorus of old women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, see Henderson 1987.

⁹² Pratt 2000: 41, fn.1.

⁹³ See Klink 2008 for further discussion on Sappho as a 'teacher' – her role among the group of young women.

maturity. Earlier, I posited that one possible reason as to why the Cologne version of Sappho's Tithonus Song ended at the Tithonus exemplum is to put an emphasis on the differences between the mortality of man and immortality of the gods by way of Sappho's own experiences of old age. If the case was that the new poem was deliberately composed with its Tithonus exemplum as its finale, the Lesbian poet stresses not only the physical effects of old age, but also her own outlook on the mortality of humans and immortality of the gods. The following is the mythical exemplum of the Tithonus Song in P.Köln. inv. 21351+21376:

10(18) καὶ γάρ π[ο]τὰ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
 ἔρωι φ.. ἀθῆισαν βάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν,

 ἔοντα [κ]άλλον καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὐτον ὕμωσ ἔμαρψε
 χρόνῳι πῶλιον γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ντ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν

For people used to say that the rose-armed Dawn,
 overtaken by love, once carried off Tithonus to the world's end,

 since he was handsome and young then, but in time grey age
 overtook him, although he had an immortal wife.⁹⁴

In the myth, Tithonus, a mortal man from the royal house of Troy, is abducted by the goddess Eos (Dawn) as her lover. *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (218-238) elaborates on aspects of myth left unmentioned by Sappho: when the goddess Eos asks Zeus to grant Tithonus immortality, she neglects to ask the King of Olympus to grant Tithonus the gift of agelessness as well (βῆ δ' ἴμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα, / ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἡματα πάντα / τῆι δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήνηεν ἐέλδωρ / νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἥώς / ἥβην αἰτῆσαι ξῦσαί τ' ἄπο γῆρας ὀλοίον; 220-224). Despite the gift of immortality, Tithonus was unable to escape the natural processes of aging which was essential to his humanity. The result was that Tithonus' body deteriorated into nothingness as he lived on as an immortal. The myth of

⁹⁴ I follow Gronewald and Daniel's (2004a) German translation and their commentary as guideline to my articulation of the Cologne Tithonus Song's English translation.

Tithonus in the Sapphic composition serves to emphasize how Sappho's lamentations are not only focused on her deterioration and transition into old age; it also foreshadows her own fate as a mortal. The last section of the Tithonus myth in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite is interesting, as it articulates further a fate that Sappho might have interpreted as similar to hers:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν στυγερὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν,
οὐδέ τι κινήσαι μελέων δύνατ' οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι,
ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·
ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέθηκε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς.
τοῦ δ' ἦτοι φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κίκυς
ἔσθ' οἷά πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν.

- *h. Ven.* 233-238

And when repulsive old age pressed fully upon him, and he could not move or lift any of his limbs, this is what she decided was the best course: she laid him away in a chamber, and shut its shining doors. His voice still runs on unceasingly, but there is none of the strength that there used to be in his bent limbs. (tr. Campbell)

The myth reveals that there are many parallels between Sappho and Tithonus. One is in their respective perception of old age: recalling the physical changes Tithonus faced, Sappho's lamentations are directed at the repulsiveness that old age has brought on her once youthful form, to the extent that her knees – once limber enough for her to dance – no longer support her body weight (γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι / τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι, 13-14). Though the love affair shared by Tithonus with Dawn is not equivalent to Sappho's relationship with the Muses, such divinities still play a key role in Sappho's career as a poet in archaic Lesbos. Instead, the parallel between Sappho and Tithonus with respect to their relationships with divinities is that Sappho has received her poetic inspiration from the Muses. But like Dawn, the Muses' gift conferred an immortality of sorts on Sappho, more specifically, a poetic type of immortality. Sappho's mortality through her poetic works, however, does not affect her mortality as a human being. Just like Tithonus, Sappho deteriorates into death, with the deathless state of

her poetic voice surpassing her own mortal self. The fragments, bookrolls, or ‘book’ which preserve the lyric works of Sappho for the study and entertainment of later scholars can also be construed as the hypothetical door and chamber that the goddess Eos used to contain the ever-flowing ramblings of Tithonus. Sappho’s voice will continue to be heard when another individual studies or performs her work. Thus, Sappho aligns herself with the fate of Tithonus: the poet has been carried off by the love of her craft, gifted to her by the Muses, and was granted immortality through her lyric works. She, however, was not granted the gift of agelessness, just like Tithonus; Sappho will deteriorate and succumb to death as all mortals do. Sappho henceforth demonstrates an inner battle between her mortality as a human being – the inevitability of which will see to her mature and decay – and her expectation of immortality via her lyric compositions.

The case of the Tithonus Song is therefore different from my earlier study of imitation and the Brothers Song: in chapter one, I endeavoured to explain the possibility that an extant copy of Sappho, which we presume is an original work of the Lesbian poet, is actually an imitation and a study of her lyric poems. Part of my struggle in confidently ascertaining that the Brothers Song we have today is an ancient imitation is that we do not have another relatively complete version of the Brothers Song to compare it to (notwithstanding the small overlap in *P.Oxy.* 2289 fr.5). The two versions of Sappho’s Tithonus Song, on the other hand, permit the comparative study sought after in the previous chapter. As Lardinois explains, “we seldom have the remains of more than one edition of early Greek poetry from antiquity, but when we do, they regularly differ from one another”.⁹⁵ Such is the case for our extant copies of the Tithonus Song: we have two copies with varied lengths and endings, and it is harder to determine which copy bears the correct version of the Sapphic original.

⁹⁵ Lardinois 2009: 48, fn.27. Lardinois adds other examples to what he describes are multiple editions of an ancient Greek work: the ‘wild papyri’ preserving the epic works of Homer, copies of Theogonis’ *Theognidiea*, and copies of Ibycus’s poetry.

Conclusions

The study of new papyrological discoveries has helped in constructing and shaping our current understanding of the Greco-Roman world. The literary traditions of Sappho preserved on papyrus fragments, in particular, perpetuate the poetic voice of the Lesbian poet. Sappho, who is often the *persona loquens* of her own lyric compositions, uses her poetry as a platform to address subjects that are of concern to her as a woman, as a sister, or as a lover. In the Brothers Song, we see youthful Sappho depicted as a concerned sister who believes that the gods will ensure her brother Charaxos will have a safe and prosperous homecoming, as well as a brighter future for her other brother Larichos. As a contrast, Sappho's Tithonus Song eloquently articulates the physical changes that old age has had on her once youthful body, emphasizing the fact that human beings are unable to delay or avoid the inevitable. Relatively complete copies of Sappho's lyric texts, as we have seen in this thesis, are scarce: what we usually have are fragments which are too small to offer a thorough study of the Sapphic work they preserve: the Sapphic pedigree of *P.Oxy.* 2289 fragment 5, for example, was only confirmed after Obbink's discovery of the "New Sappho" assemblage, with which it overlaps slightly. Such is the reason for Edgar Lobel's remark on how useless the Oxyrhynchus papyrus fragment was for the overall study of Sappho's poetry.¹ Lobel's derisive statement is also a testament to the rarity of finding comprehensible and well-preserved Sapphic documents, that when such a text is discovered scholars are either excited by the find or skeptical of its authenticity as a literary fragment. But the tiny fragment did turn out to be important, as it indicated that the Brothers Song on P. Sapph. Obbink is missing at least one stanza. Despite the often lacunose and fragmentary state of the

¹ Lobel (ed.) 1951:2. Lobel's remarks were directed to fragments 2, 5, and 4 of *P.Oxy.* 2289 assemblage, which he identifies as texts of Sappho from her Book 1.

papyrus fragments which have been identified as preserving the lyric texts of Sappho, occasionally, we make new papyrological discoveries which are considerably ‘a *trouvaille* of a lifetime’.²

In Chapter One of this thesis, I investigated the “Newest Sappho” discovery – more specifically the Brothers Song of P. Sapph. Obbink – and the possibility that it is an ancient imitation of the Sapphic original. The copy is interesting; its Sapphic composition is focused on a domestic issue regarding Sappho and her brothers: here, we have a depiction of Sappho as a sister in mid-discussion with an unknown addressee, talking about their hopes and dreams for Charaxos and Larichos. Such a domestic depiction of the Lesbian poet is also evident in her fr. 5V and 15V, where Sappho prays for her ‘brother’ who appears to have wronged the family in the past. Yet, the explicit mention of Sappho’s two brothers, as we see in the new Brothers Song, was only discussed twice: as part of Herodotus’ (2.135) and the Suda’s (σ107A) biographical account of the Lesbian poet. Though Sappho alluded to a brother in fr. 5V and 15V, and though scholars have identified him as Charaxos (he is often absent and out at sea), her two other brothers (i.e. Larichos and Eurygius) have yet to be mentioned in any of her lyric texts. Lardinois (2016) proposes that the identity of the Brothers Song’s unknown addressee actually is the rarely mentioned brother Eurygius,³ and that he is the individual with authority (as a guardian) over Sappho to command her to pray to the gods for help, but I have argued that the unknown addressee is more likely to be Sappho’s mother, Kleïs. Lardinois’ study is more important for suggesting that the brothers Charaxos and Larichos are stock characters that populate the narrative of the newest poem, as opposed to real brothers of Sappho. In the Sapphic corpus, Charaxos exists as the ever-absent brother who is always out at sea due to some business

² Skinner 2009: 1.

³ Refer to fn. 120 of Chapter One.

venture, while Larichos is depicted as indolent and lackadaisical in the Brothers Song. The idea that the two brothers are stock characters in her lyric poems is just one of the arguments used in support of the hypothesis that the Brothers Song is an ancient imitation of the Sapphic original.

I advanced Lardinois' arguments further by extending the concept of a stock character to the *persona loquens* herself, and exploring how the depiction of Sappho in her lyric poems is paralleled by the representation of Anacreon in the *Carmina Anacreontea*. Whenever Sappho appears to discuss her brother Charaxos in her poetry, for example, she herself assumes the role of an anxious sister who invokes the help of a divinity to make her brother 'arrive somewhere unharmed' (i.e., fr.5.2). In the ancient reception of Sappho, which Yatromanolakis (2007) argues is based on the biographical tradition established by fourth century BC comic texts, the poet's character and image as a lyricist has been altered to the extent that she became fictionalized to fit within the role of a 'song-maker'.⁴ This fictionalization is evident in visual representations of Sappho (i.e., on vase paintings) which often depict her in mid-performance and playing a *barbitos*. The performance context of the vase painting has led some scholars to presume that Sappho's lyric works are commonly performed in a comastic setting.⁵ In other respects, Sappho has also been characterized as a sort-of headmistress to a coterie of girls or even as a lover to one of the few girls she mentions in her lyric compositions (e.g., in fr. 8, 16, 22, 71, 81, 95, etc.).⁶ The Sappho that we know is based on the ancient *testimonia* and *encomia* that preserve her biographical tradition, as well as on how the Lesbian poet chose to represent herself in her own lyric works.

The argument that the Brothers Song is an ancient imitation is supported by the quality of the poem's composition. Scholars have probed at the rather sub-par quality of the newest poem,

⁴ Yatromanolakis 2007: 3.

⁵ De Kreij 2016, Yatromanolakis 2007.

⁶ Klinck 2008, Parker 1993,

especially when it is compared to others. From the peculiar use of language, as evident in the usage of the colloquial οἶομαι and non-poetic term θρύλησθα, to the complexity of the sentence in line 7-12 that uses more than three infinitives, the Brothers Song appears an atypical Sapphic composition. West (2014) presumes that the juvenile quality of the Brothers Song indicates that Sappho had composed the lyric poem while in her youth, while Bierl and Lardinois (2016) argue that it is complex and composed in such a way that makes her audience contemplate the text further. But notwithstanding the differences in opinion on the quality of the Brothers Song as a Sappho poem, all scholars agree with its Sapphic pedigree, if not its authenticity.

My investigation with regards to the Brothers Song as an ancient imitation has also led me to make a comparative study with the pseudo-Anacreontic assemblage known as the *Carmina Anacreontea*. The poems were once attributed to the Greek lyricist Anacreon, but the assemblage's authenticity was later discredited and the poems are now recognized as ancient imitations. In the case of the Brothers Song, the employment of stock characters that belie actual people in Sappho's narratives and the complexity in the construction of some of its sentences, I argue, make the poem appear excessively Sapphic, which in turn betrays its imitative quality. The poem, instead, ought to be recognized as an example of an author's study of Sappho's lyric compositions, one that results in the imitation of one of her original texts and not a conscious attempt at an 'ancient forgery'.⁷ The main limitation in attempting to prove that the Brothers Song is an ancient imitation, however, is that it is the only extant version of the poem that we have, apart from its small overlap with *P.Oxy.* 2289 fragment 5. Unlike the two available extant versions of the Tithonus Song in Chapter two and dozens of poems in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, the lone copy of the Brothers Song complicates any sort of comparative study of the lyric text as an imitation. My study is therefore inconclusive, and will remain open to more questions and

⁷ Lardinois 2016: 168-169.

interpretations by other scholars until another version of Sappho's Brothers Song resurfaces in the future. The result of my inquiry, nonetheless, opens the possibility that other extant copies of Sappho's lyric works can also be an ancient imitation.

In Chapter Two, on the other hand, I questioned what exactly the true length of Sappho's Tithonus Song is. Unlike the Brothers Song of Chapter One, there are two extant copies of the Tithonus Song: one copy is a Hellenistic version of the poem from the newly discovered assemblage of Sapphic fragments known as P.Köln. inv. 21351 and 21376; the other derives from a copy of the Alexandrian edition in the Oxyrhynchus collection, *P.Oxy.* 1787 fragment 1. Both fragments preserve the same twelve lines of text that we have come to know as Sappho's Tithonus Song. In it, Sappho articulates how aging has personally affected her, restricting her mobility and transforming her youthful features into its aged and mature version. The Tithonus exemplum reflects the main topic of the lyric poem: that old age is essentially a natural part of being a human being and a mortal. The fate of Tithonus, however, highlights how aging is a foreign concept for the immortal beings: Tithonus was granted the gift of immortality, but not agelessness.

Despite the textual similarities between the two extant copies of Sappho's Tithonus Song, they vary in terms of their length: the new Cologne version ends with the Tithonus exemplum, while the Oxyrhynchus version extends for a further four lines, which some identify as a separate poem on the topic of ἀβροσύνα. The Cologne Tithonus Song is also preceded by a lyric text which West (2005) identifies as the 'Posthumous Honour for Sappho', while its Oxyrhynchite counterpart is preceded by an unknown lyric text. My investigation into the actual length of the original version of the Sapphic lyric (which is to say, how the poem was originally composed by the Lesbian poet herself) remains unconfirmed. The papyrological approach in studying the

fragments has determined that the Cologne Tithonus Song ends with line 20, where a *paraglyphos* and a crude bird-like form of a coronis are visible in the left margin of the fragment. The same telling marks are missing from the Oxyrhynchus version because of the lacunose state of the fragment and its missing left side margin.

A philological and literary analysis of the Oxyrhynchus Tithonus Song indicates that including the ἀβροσύνα section allows for a better culmination of the new poem, one which results in a ring composition that highlights Sappho's love for life and its gifts. The concept of love and how Sappho considers such as a beautiful thing is echoed in other Sapphic lyrics (e.g., fr. 1V, 31V, 44V, *et al.*), and especially emphasized in the first stanza of fr.16V, where she opines that what one loves is the most beautiful thing, in comparison to those who consider an army consisting of horses, foot soldiers, and ships are the most beautiful things. The ἀβροσύνα section of *P.Oxy.* 1787 fragment 5 is attested in Athenaeus (15.687b) and extends the fragment's Tithonus Song a further two distichs. It also determines that the Cologne version of the new Sappho poem ends abruptly at its mythical exemplum, despite the lectional marks left by the scribe. The additional four lines of text also puts a positive spin to an otherwise depressing poem in which Sappho laments her transition into old age and how her fate, as the Tithonus exemplum suggests, will be similar to the mortal Tithonus. A noteworthy explanation by Lardinois (2009) suggests that the Cologne version of Sappho's Tithonus Song ends after its mythical exemplum because the original text was emended to fit a certain lyric performance, which then means that there were two versions of the Tithonus Song available in the Hellenistic period.⁸ Perhaps one performer deemed it necessary to end at the Tithonus exemplum to exhibit and emphasize Sappho's interpretation of old age and mortality. I have interpreted the mythical exemplum as Sappho's way of accentuating how her fate as a poet parallels that of the fate of Tithonus: she

⁸ Lardinois 2009: 45. See also Boedeker 2009

also received immortality from the Muses in the survival of her lyric works, but not agelessness as she remained as a mortal. In the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, Tithonus' voice was the only part of his physical form that remained; Sappho's voice (more specifically, her poetic voice) is also the only form of the Lesbian poet that remains generations after her death. The door which Eos used to hold back the endless droning of Tithonus is reflected on how Sappho's voice has been held back on the very fragments which preserve her lyric compositions. It is not until an individual read, studies, or performs such texts that Sappho's voice is heard again: in opening up the pages that had confined her poetic narratives one learns about archaic Lesbos from what is discussed in her lyric texts. Sappho has attained immortality through her lyric works (so long as her poetic tradition is sustained), even when she was not granted agelessness by the Muses.

If the poem culminated in the Tithonus exemplum, it emphasized the distinction between what mortality means to a human being and what immortality means to a divinity without the positive twist the ἀβροσύνα section provides for the Sapphic narrative. Such an ending would be abrupt, but not unparalleled in an archaic lyric poem, and so despite the two available and relatively complete copies of the poem, the debate is likely to continue. This study shows that even when we have various versions of a Sapphic work available for study, there are aspects in a papyrological study of ancient documents that will remain inconclusive until stronger evidence resurfaces.

The papyrological discoveries that resulted in the Brothers Song and Tithonus Song were not without their advantages. The announcements of two new Sappho discoveries have helped in increasing the interest in the modern study of Sappho and her lyric works. A large amount of scholarship dedicated to the papyrological and philological assessment of the new Sapphic assemblages has been produced as a result of the two announcements, enabling students like me

to explore and evaluate ancient documents preserving Sappho's poetry. Such discoveries have also piqued the interest of non-classicists, as newspapers have published stories about the new Sapphic texts and the history of her fragments.⁹ Despite the issues and challenges involved in studying Sapphic texts given the fragmentary state of the extant corpus, the outcome of two newest discoveries and subsequent studies of the lyric texts is that we have previously unknown poetry (e.g., the Brothers Song) and have found evidence for the poetic tradition of Sappho in antiquity, via the various versions of the Tithonus poem. The poetics of the Lesbian poet remain at the forefront of the papyrological study of ancient documents, as are fragments that preserve the epics of Homer and the prose of Plato, among other renowned ancient works. Sappho is also relevant because of her status a female poet in male dominated profession and under strong patriarchal rule, who appears to write her lyric poems for the understanding of the female audience, as a means of giving women a voice and lyric tradition of their own.

My contribution in the current compendium of study regarding the biographical, historical, and poetic study of Sappho as a poet of archaic Lesbos is to open up questions that may otherwise not be addressed, such as the possible inauthenticity and imitative quality of the new Brothers Song. This study also demonstrates how the complexity of Sappho's lyric compositions permits various interpretations and readings of her poetry, ancient and modern alike, such that we have come to celebrate her poetic work as a community of classicists, inspiring future scholars to take up the mantle of continuing the study of Sappho.

⁹ Refer to fn. 23 of Introduction section. See also J. Ezard's (2005) article from *The Guardian*, B. Fenton's (2005) article in *The Daily Telegraph*, and B. Mendelsohn's (2015) article in *The New Yorker*.

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