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HOMERIC ALLUSION IN THE POETRY OF SAPPHO

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HOMERIC ALLUSION IN THE POETRY OF SAPPHO

by
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bowra, GLP	C. Bowra. Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides. Oxford, 1961.
Fränkel, EGP&P	H. Fränkel. Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy. Oxford, 1973.
Gerber, Euterpe	D. Gerber. Euterpe. Amsterdam, 1970.
Kirkwood, EGM	G. Kirkwood, Early Greek Monody. Cornell, 1974
Page, S&A	D. Page. Sappho and Alcaeus. Oxford, 1955.
Parry, MHV	M. Parry. The Making of Homeric Verse. Oxford, 1971.
Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, S.u.S.	U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Sappho und Simonides. Berlin, 1913.

CHAPTER 1

INTERPRETATION OF HOMERIC ALLUSION

The Problem

Homeric allusion in Sappho, as in all early lyric, is a well catalogued phenomenon. If she uses a phrase even vaguely reminiscent of one which occurs in earlier dactylic hexametric poetry, the correspondence is dutifully reported by almost every commentator; but often the nature of the allusion is not explored. Investigation of these allusions, however, is essential: when Sappho employs a Homerism[1] in order to recall a specific passage or theme in the Iliad or Odyssey, her poem should be considered in light of these Homeric models.

Successful detection of specifically allusive references is complicated by the fact that the occurrence of a Homerism in a lyric poem can be accounted for in one of three ways. (1) All the lyric poets of the Archaic Age were deeply affected by the epic language which formed the basis of their poetic vocabulary. Xenophanes of Colophon observed that everybody's education was founded on Homer.[2] As a result, a lyric poet, particularly one composing in a meter akin to dactylic hexameter, often used Homeric language without intending to allude to any specific passage

or theme. His word choice was almost unconsciously conditioned by his close familiarity with the epic poems. (2) Lyric poets could also employ an epicism consciously, while intending to evoke no particular passage in the Iliad or Odyssey. This type of unspecific allusion was most often made by a poet who wanted to imbue his poem with an epic, heroic grandeur befitting his theme. (3) Finally, a poet could intentionally summon a passage in Homer, the recollection of which somehow colored, modified or magnified the surface meaning of the poem.

The essential difference between the unspecific reference of types (1) and (2) and the specific allusion of type (3) is that unspecific epicisms derive only from the language of Homer, while specific allusions concern the content as well as the language. It is, however, almost impossible to distinguish between allusions of the first two types. The first type, as I stated above, can be expected to occur in a poem, the meter of which is similar to dactylic hexameter; the second, in a poem, the author of which wants to create an epic atmosphere. In many cases, a poet's selection of a meter can be related to his desire to create epic tone. This means that determining whether an allusion is unconscious or conscious (but unspecific) often involves guessing whether the poet's word choice was influenced by metrical or narrative concerns. Such guesswork is bootless. In the Lille Stesichoros--a

poem I presently shall treat in some detail-- the poet uses the Homeric formula ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων to end a line (209). Since Homer characteristically places the expression at line-end,[3] it is reasonable to assume that his choice of phrase was triggered by metrical convenience or familiarity with Homer and was, hence, unconsciously made. On the other hand, the expression is of a fairly distinct epic, heroic cast, and it is not at all unlikely that Stesichoros could have employed it expressly in order to raise the tone of the speech in which it occurs. Both explanations are plausible, and it would be pointless to make a case for one at the expense of the other. But it is important to note that the expression constitutes an unspecific allusion-- that is, that it does not belong to the third category. It cannot belong to this category simply because none of the eleven instances of ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων in Homer pertains to the subject of the Stesichorean passage.[4] Since the distinction between the first two classes of allusion is often difficult and pointless to make, for the purposes of this study they will be discussed under the single heading "unspecific epicism."

The nature of these unspecific epicisms renders them of limited value to the interpretation of poetry such as Sappho's; for they often tell more about Homer than about lyric. Since, however, the existence of a universally known model--Homer--compelled and then allowed Sappho to

define her own poetic stance with respect to epic, a study of allusions belonging to the third category is essential to an understanding not only of individual poems, but also of Sappho's role as a poet in Lesbian society.[5] Unfortunately, there is no purely objective way to determine whether an allusion is specific or unspecific. It is possible only to compare lyric and Homeric passages and then attempt a determination regarding the relationship of the one to the other, as I did in the case of Stesichoros' ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.

In order to facilitate investigation of Homerism in Sappho and to illustrate the difference between unspecific and specific reference, I shall discuss the allusions of two poems which stand in markedly different relationships to Homer. The first, the Lille Stesichoros, abounds in unspecific epicism. In this poem, which recounts the disposition of the Theban crown between Eteokles and Polyneikes and the ensuing quarrel, Stesichoros has mined the language of Homer much more extensively than the content. Because he is composing in a meter--an early form of dactylo-epitrite--that easily accommodates dactylic hexametric phrases and since epic tones suit his regal theme, he appropriates many phrases from Homer, often without concern for the context in which they occur.[6] The second poem is Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite (fr. 1). Here the poet uses epicism in order to recall specific passages from the Iliad.

By taking advantage of a universally recognized model (Homeric Aphrodite) she is able both to deepen her tribute to the power of love and to define more sharply her own relationship to the goddess.

The Lille Stesichoros

In his edition, Peter Parsons[7] lists thirteen stock epithets, found in the Lille Stesichoros and taken directly from Homer or formed from Homeric models: μέγα νεῖκος (188), θεοὶ ἀθάνατοι (205), ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων (209), θανάτου τέλος στυγεροῖο (213), φίλου [πατρός (222), μύθοις ἀγανοῖς (232), χρυσὸν ἐρίτιμον (239), κλυτὰ μᾶλα (241), στήθεσσι φίλοισι (249), ἕλικας βόας (272), περικαλλέα κούραν (276), μέγα τεῖχος (295) and ἐϋκτιμένας] Κλεωνάς (303). To these epithets can be added several other expressions paralleled in epic usage--ἀλλ' ἄγε (218), πολὺν χρόνον (230), μῦθον ἔειπε, preceding a speech (233), ὣς φάτο, at the close of a speech (232, 291) and οἳ δ'επίθοντο (234)--[8] as well as several single words which appear at the end of the line in Stesichoros' quasi-hexametric verses,[9] as they do in Homeric hexameters--ἔγειρεν (197) εἶσω (190), γένοιτο (213), ἔχοντα (239), βουλὰν (255) and ἵππους (272). This high frequency[10] of epicism combines with the fact that Stesichoros often follows the "rules" of Homeric prosody[11] to indicate that the poet was strongly influenced by the poetic diction of epic and was, in fact, creating his poetry very much in the tradition of the

Homeric singers.[12] At the same time, many of the epicisms, such as θεοὶ ἀθάνατοι, στήθεσσι φίλοισι, ἀλλ' ἄγε, ὥς φάτο, and μῦθον ἔειπε, are so common and lackluster that it is difficult to believe Stesichoros employed them in order to recall any specific Homeric scene. Finally, when the contexts in which some of the rarer formulae, like χρυσὸν ἐρίτιμον and μύθοις ἀγανοῖς, occur are compared with the contexts of their epic counterparts, it is often clear that no poetic purpose would have been served by reference to the Homeric exemplar.

At this point it is instructive to look more closely at some of the unspecific epicisms of the Lille Stesichoros. They provide the perfect contrast to the deliberate allusion in Sappho's poem: the same critical procedures which attest Stesichoros' disinclination to evoke the content of the Iliad and Odyssey in this particular poem will affirm Sappho's skillful drawing on the Homeric legacy.

Two of the "stock epithets" Parson notices--μῦθοις ἀγανοῖς (232) and κλυτὰ μᾶλα (241)--correspond to expressions of which only one example survives in Homer. Hapax legomena like these offer the poet who desires to recall the one passage in which they occur an excellent opportunity to do so. Conversely, a poet uninterested in the prospect of evoking a specific section of Homer might be expected to use Homeric hapax legomena indiscriminately.

In Stesichoros, the words μύθοις ἀγανοῖς occur in a

quasi-hexamteric line heavily imbued with epicism: ὣς φάτο δῖα γυνά, μύθοις ἀγανοῖς ἐνεποίσα (231). The verse comes at the end of the speech in which the queen has proposed the terms for division of the kingdom. In Homer (o 51), the phrase μύθοις ἀγανοῖσι is put in the mouth of Peisistratos, advising Telemachos to wait until morning before quitting Sparta:

> ἀλλὰ μέν᾽ εἰς ὅ κε δῶρα φέρων ἐπιδίφρια θήῃ
> ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης, δουρικλεῖτος Μενέλαος,
> καὶ μύθοις ἀγανοῖσι παραυδήσας ἀποπέμψῃ.
> (o 51-3)

Since there is no tangible connection between the two passages or contexts, the allusion is best explained as unspecific and as meant to contribute to the tone of a very Homeric line. In the same verse, δῖα γυνά may have been modeled on δῖα γυναικῶν, a noun-epithet combination used in Homer to refer to Alkestis, Helen, Penelope and Eurykleia.[13] A comparison of the lyric line with the appropriate epic verses again reveals no correspondence. If Stesichoros had desired, with this line, to draw a specific parallel to the Iliad or Odyssey, he might easily have combined a distinctive phrase like μύθοις ἀγανοῖς with another expression from the target passage in Homer.

The single Homeric instance of κλυτα μῆλα is found in the Polyphemos episode:

> καὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ ἤμελγε κλυτὰ μῆλα,
> πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἔμβρυον ἧκεν ἑκάστη.
> (ι 308-9)

The Stesichorean parallel, ηδος [. . . . . κ]λυτὰ μᾶλα

νέμοντο (241), appears to have been part of a description of the royal Theban treasury.[14] Since there is no discernible reason why Stesichoros, in reciting a catalogue of Theban wealth, should want to call to mind a narrative account of the Kyklops' daily routine, it is sensible to conclude that he chose κλυτὰ μᾶλα because, as an epic phrase, it was appropriate to a description of kingly treasure. χρυσὸν ἐρίτιμον (239), also part of the Theban inventory, corresponds to Homeric ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο, which survives only in the recounting of the bribe Agamemnon will pay to induce Achilles to rejoin battle:

> δώδεκα ἵππους
> πηγοὺς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἄεθλα ποσσὶν ἄροντο
> οὔ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ᾧ τόσσα γένοιτο,
> οὐδέ κεν ἀκτήμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,
> ὅσσα οἱ ἠνείκαντο ἄεθλια μώνυχες ἵπποι.
> (I 123-7=I 265-9)

At first, this might seem a concrete parallel. Yet, it is difficult to see what a comparison of the wealth of the Theban royal family either to the gifts for Achilles or to the prizes Agamemnon won by victories of his horses would have added to Stesichoros' point. Also, the coexistence of κλυτὰ μᾶλα with its exclusive reference to Odyssey 9 and χρυσὸν ἐρίτιμον with its exclusive reference to Iliad 9 cancels the possibility that Stesichoros intended to recall either book. As will be clear in our study of Sappho, the lyric poet aiming at a specific allusion does not heedlessly link expressions with parallel ones from unrelated Homeric passages, but rather juxtaposes epicisms

which will reinforce one another and join to summon a single, clearly defined scene, theme, or series of scenes.

Two of Parsons' "stock epithets," μέγα νεῖκος (188) and μέγα τεῖχος (295) also typify the unspecific epicism of the Lille Stesichoros. Line 295 reads: ...ομ..[ ]ν στεῖχεν μέγα τεῖχ[ος . Although the line is poorly preserved, its context is fairly clear. It comes from the part of the poem which describes Polyneikes' journey from Thebes to Argos. μέγα τεῖχος can refer either to the city of Thebes, as with a reconstruction such as στεῖχεν μέγα τεῖχ[ος ἀμείψας, or, as is more likely, to some town between Thebes and Argos, as, for example, in στεῖχεν μέγα τεῖχ[ος Ἐρυθρᾶν.[15] In Homer, μέγα τεῖχος occurs only in the Iliad (M 12, 257; N 50, 87), and in all four instances of its occurrence, it refers to the defensive wall built around the Argive camp. Stesichoros, however, employs the expression as a periphrasis for a city. Therefore, it is unreasonable to suppose that his μέγα τεῖχος alludes specifically to any of the four passages in the Iliad.

The words μέγα νεῖκος are all that survive of line 188; but, despite the vagueness of the immediate context, the subject of the poem makes it likely that the words refer to the quarrel between Eteokles and Polyneikes.[16] Although in Homer νεῖκος can mean "quarrel" (as in B 375), its usual meaning is "strife" or "battle"; and μέγα νεῖκος always denotes "battle strife" (as in N 122, O 400, P 384, Π 98,

and Π 116). Again, recollection of the Homeric model does not contribute to an interpretation of the content of the poem.[17]

Only in one instance is there a vaguely plausible relationship between a Stesichorean and Homeric context linked by a phrase common to both. The one expression which Stesichoros could have employed with a specific Homeric model in mind is θανάτου τέλος στυγεροῖο in line 213.. In this section of the poem, the Theban queen hopes to die before seeing her sons in mortal combat:

> αὐτίκα μοι θανάτου τέλος στυγεροῖο γένοιτο
> πρὶν τόκα ταῦτ' ἐσιδεῖν
> ἄλγεσσι πολύστονα δακρυόεντα [
> παίδας ἐνὶ μεγάροις
> θανόντας ἢ πόλιν ἀλοίσαν
> (213-7)

This can be compared to Γ 305-9, one of ten Homeric passages containing the formula θανάτοιο τέλος/τέλος θανάτοιο/-ου.[18] In these lines, Priam explains his aversion to watching the duel between Paris and Menelaus:

> ἦ τοι ἐγὼν εἶμι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν
> ἆψ, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω τλήσομ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι
> μαρνάμενον φίλον υἱὸν ἀρηΐφίλῳ Μενελάῳ·
> Ζεὺς μέν που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
> ὁπποτέρῳ θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

Besides the verbal parallels, θανάτου τέλος versus θανάτοιο τέλος, and ἐσιδεῖν versus ὁρᾶσθαι,[19] there are situational similarities between the two passages. Both poets describe a parent's fear of beholding the violent death of his child(ren), and in both cases the parent is the ruler of a city threatened by a siege. These correspondences, however,

are completely undermined by the highly questionable evocative force of θανάτου τέλος. In Stesichoros the phrase denotes the parent's death, while in the Iliad it refers to the death of one of the combatants. It is also disconcerting that the formula occurs ten times[20] in epic, and this, coupled with the fact that θανάτου τέλος is attested in Thgn. 768 with no apparent reference to Homer and θανάτου τέλος is used at least once in Hesiod (Op. 166),[21] tends to suggest that it was a fairly common expression. Therefore it is unlikely that Stesichoros intended to evoke Γ 305-9 through the words θανάτου τέλος.

I have dealt with the Lille Stesichoros in order to demonstrate what can happen when investigation of the context of Homeric allusions provides practically no insight into the interpretation of the content of a lyric song. The poem is extremely Homeric,[22] as the deep concentration of epicisms clearly shows; but its Homericity results from the influence of epic language, and the poet's desire to add epic flavor, and does not stem from deliberate allusion to any specific theme or episode in the Iliad or Odyssey. Because of this, it is necessary to observe two factors concerning the unspecific epicism of the Lille Stesichoros. First, the Homericisms, though plentiful, form no patterns: that is, no two or three allusions, occurring together in the course of a few lines or concerning the same subject, refer to the same passage or related passages of the Iliad or

Odyssey. The second noteworthy factor is that Stesichoros employs Homeric hapax legomena without intending to recall the one passage in which they are found. In contrast, a poet who is trying to evoke the content of the epic poems will first indicate clearly that there is a connection between his subject and Homer, often through the use of unspecific allusion of the second type. Then, once his audience is clued to expect a parallel, he will draw it by clustering his allusions and capitalizing on unusual expressions. When he does this, a recognition and proper understanding of his use of allusion become essential to an interpretation of his work, as our investigation of Sappho's ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα will show.

Sappho Fr. 1

As we have seen, the all-pervasive and indiscriminate use of Homerisms in the Lille Stesichoros is best understood as the effect of the influence of epic language, which suited both the heroic subject and dactylo-epitritic meter of the poem. In the case of Sappho Fr. 1, whose Homericity is indisputable,[23] another explanation must be sought. A close look at some of the words which Sappho employs in reference to Aphrodite will provide the basis of this explanation, for it will reveal the poet's intent to evoke and then reshape the smiling goddess of the Iliad.

πο]ικιλόθρο[ν' ἄθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα
παῖ] Δ[ί]ος δολ[όπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ'] ἄσαισι [μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότν]ια, θῦ[μον,

ἀλλ]ὰ τυίδ' ἔλ[θ', αἴ ποτα κάτέρωτα
τᾶ]ς ἔμας αὔ[δας ἄίοισα πήλοι
ἔκ]λυες, πάτρο[ς δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χ]ρύσιον ἦλθ[ες

ἄρ]μ' ὑπασδε[ύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον
ὤ]κεες στροῦ[θοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύ]κνα δίν[νεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνωἴθε-
ρο]ς διὰ μέσσω·

αἶ]ψα δ' ἐξίκο[ντο· σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιαί[σαισ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπωι
ἤ]ρε' ὅττ[ι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι
δη]ῦτε κ[άλ]η[μμι

κ]ῶττι [μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μ]αινόλαι [θύμωι· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
] σάγην [ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ' ὦ
Φά]ῆφ', [ἀδικήει;

κα]ὶ γ[ὰρ αἴ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει,
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.

ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὔτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

παῖ Δίος (2), μειδιαίσαισ' (14), and χρύσιον (8) establish Sappho's patron as the Aphrodite of epic. They reflect the three major Homeric epithets for the goddess--Διὸς θυγάτηρ (which occurs nine times in Homer), φιλομμειδής (six times) and χρυσέη (ten times).[24] παῖ Διὸς not only suggests Homer because of the frequency of the epic formula Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη, but it also excludes reference to Hesiod, who avoids the expression because he does not view the goddess as the daughter of Zeus. The same applies to

μειδιαίσαισ', which, like Homeric φιλομμειδής, alludes to a smiling goddess. Hesiod, on the other hand, in Th. 200, interprets φιλομμειδής as φιλομμηδής, explaining that Aphrodite was so called ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφάνθη.[25] Sappho's substitution of the participle for the adjective completely eliminates the pun.[26]

Although the papyrus shows χρύσιον, followed by a clear middle stop, which would link the adjective with δόμον in line 7,[27] the word is probably best viewed as placed with intentional ambiguity and as modifying both δόμον and ἅρμ' in line 9.[28] For the purpose of our present focus, it is necessary only to notice that Sappho, by positioning χρύσιον between the words λίποισα and ἦλθες, has marked Aphrodite's goings and comings with one of her traditional epic characteristics.[29]

Just as Sappho's use of παῖ Δίος, μειδιαίσαισ' and χρύσιον reveals her intention to recall Homeric Aphrodite, her coining of ποικιλόθρον' and δολόπλοκε indicates her desire to remodel the goddess into something uniquely Sapphic. Both words, although unattested in the Iliad and Odyssey, are of an epic flavor; they can be compared with Homeric formations such as ποικιλομήτης, δολόμητης, and δολοφραδής and, hence, can be considered Sapphic and Homeric at the same time. Sappho also indicates her departure from a strictly Homeric Aphrodite by her invocation of the goddess with the word πότνια

in line 4. In placing the word at the beginning of the Adonic πότνια, θῦμον, she mirrors epic usage: in the Iliad and Odyssey, πότνια is only found in the position immediately following the bucolic diaeresis, as in the line-ending formulae πότνια Ἥρη#, πότνια μήτηρ#, πότνια Κίρκη#, πότνια νύμφη#.[30] However, both the application of the word to Aphrodite and the address of a goddess with the word πότνια, unaccompanied by another noun and in the vocative, are decidedly unHomeric. Sappho's manipulation of πότνια is typical of her treatment of Aphrodite in this poem: it is, again, the result of the skillful blending of Sapphic and Homeric elements.[31]

Sappho begins fr. 1 by evoking a picture of an almighty Aphrodite, capable of both inflicting and resolving the anguish that accompanies love and passion. This picture is enhanced by allusion to passages in Iliad 3 and 14[32] which illustrate her power. In Ξ 198-9, Hera, hoping to seduce Zeus, must ask Aphrodite for help:

> δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας
> δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

δαμνᾷ, used in the erotic sense here, as in fr. 1. 3-4 (μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα/πότνια θῦμον,) occurs twice elsewhere in the course of Homer's narrative of the hieros gamos. In Ξ 315-6, which, with the presence of θυμὸν, most clearly parallels lines 3-4, Zeus confesses to Hera, now made irresistible by Aphrodite's charm, that he

has never been more drawn to her:

> οὐ γὰρ πώ ποτε μ' ὧδε θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικὸς
> θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσεν.

After the consummation of the gamos, the exhausted god is described as ὕπνῳ καὶ φιλότητι δαμείς (Ξ 353).[33]

ποικιλόθρον' in line 1 may well constitute another allusion to Aphrodite's love charm. Although the meaning of the word is still a hotly debated issue, I am convinced that the -θρον' component of the word is related to θρόνα "flowers," rather than to θρόνος, "throne."[34] This reading necessitates seeing the adjective as a reference to some aspect of the goddess's flower-studded garb. This is very plausible, especially in light of Kypria IV (Allen):

> εἵματα μὲν χροὶ ἕστο τά οἱ Χάριτές τε καὶ Ὧραι
> ποίησαν καὶ ἔβαψαν ἐν ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι,
> οἷα φοροῦσ' Ὧραι, ἔν τε κρόκῳ ἔν θ' ὑακίνθῳ
> ἔν τε ἴῳ θαλέθοντι ῥόδου τ' ἐνὶ ἄνθεϊ καλῷ
> ἠδέι νεκταρέῳ, ἔν τ' ἀμβροσίαις καλύκεσσι
> ἄνθεσι ναρκίσσου καλλιρρόου·
> δ' οἵ' Ἀφροδίτη
> ὥραις παντοίαις τεθυωμένα εἵματα ἕστο.

Although Homer never refers to Aphrodite's floral apparel, at Ξ 214-5 and 219-20 he uses ποικίλον to modify κεστὸν ἱμάντα, the part of Aphrodite's clothing containing the love-charm which she gives to Hera. It seems to me very likely that Sappho had these lines in mind when she coined ποικιλόθρον'. Not only does she elsewhere allude to Aphrodite's role in the seduction of Zeus, but she also is more generally concerned with the power of the goddess to beguile (δολόπλοκε). In this connection, an allusion

to Aphrodite's magical ἰμάς at the poem's beginning would be highly effective.

The goddess effects another seduction at Γ 441-8. Here, Paris is charmed when the Aphrodite-inspired appearance of Helen subjects him to soul-storming desire. Although no form of δάμνημι in the erotic sense occurs here, an expression markedly similar to Ξ 315-6 does: Γ 442 reads, οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὧδε γ' ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν. This is one of several parallels between the seductions of Paris and Zeus.[35]

As much as Paris resembles Zeus in his role as victim of seduction, the only similarity between Hera and Helen in the two scenes is that Aphrodite is the source of their seductive powers. Unlike Hera, Helen is an unwilling lover, suffering a fate similar both to the one Aphrodite promises for Sappho's recalcitrant lover (lines 23-4): αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει / κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα) and to the one which Sappho herself has met. In Γ 399-405,[36] Helen angrily expresses her reluctance to obey Aphrodite and return to Paris:

> δαιμονίη, τί με ταῦτα λιλαίεαι ἠπεροπεύειν,
> ἦ πή με προτέρω πολίων εὖ ναιομενάων
> ἄξεις ἢ Φρυγίης ἢ Μηονίης ἐρατεινῆς,
> εἴ τίς τοι καὶ κεῖθι φίλος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
> οὕνεκα δὴ νῦν δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον Μενέλαος
> νικήσας ἐθέλει στυγερὴν ἐμὲ οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι.
> τοὔνεκα δὴ νῦν δεῦρο δολοφρονέουσα παρέστης.

Helen's speech and behavior in Γ reveal her

intimacy with the goddess. She is Aphrodite's favorite and must accept both the privileges and inconveniences of this relationship.[37] The same holds true for Sappho: her conversation with Aphrodite also bears the marks of informality.[38] She portrays herself as a passionate woman. Her closeness to the goddess of passion necessitates her prayer in the first place; and it is this same closeness which guarantees that her plea will be met with favorable response, as it always has in the past.

The connection between fr. 1 and the Aphrodite/Helen/Paris episode of Γ is strengthened by the word δολόπλοκε. A compound of δόλος modifies Aphrodite one time in Homer; Helen calls her δολοφρονέουσα at Γ 405, in the passage cited above. In view of Sappho's fondness for tampering with Homeric expressions,[39] it is not unreasonable to see in δολόπλοκε an allusion to the δολοφρονέουσα of Γ. Sappho invokes Aphrodite as a beguiler;[40] and it is Aphrodite the beguiler whom Helen addresses (ἠπεροπεύειν, Γ 399).

δολοφρονέουσα occurs twice in the context of the hieros gamos, where it is applied to Hera. In one of these instances, it is found in connection with δάμνημι used in the erotic sense. Hera, friend of the Achaians, is approaching Aphrodite, ally of Troy, in hopes of securing the charm by which she will seduce

Zeus and thereby further the cause of the Greeks. In order to obtain the charm, she claims to Aphrodite that she wants, through its magic, to patch up her parents' marriage. As she prepares to explain her false purpose, Homer relates:

> τὴν δὲ δολοφρονέουσα προσηύδα πότνια Ἥρη·
> "δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας
> δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους . . ."
> (Ξ 197-9)

At Ξ 300, a remarkably similar line describes Hera about to tell the same lie to Zeus: τὸν δὲ δολοφρονέουσα προσηύδα πότνια Ἥρη. Hera's story succeeds with Zeus as it had with Aphrodite. Empowered by the love goddess's charm, she is irresistible to her husband.

Although Hera's conquest of Zeus in Ξ is the second great testimony to the power of Aphrodite in Homer, the hieros gamos also reveals the goddess's complementary Iliadic weakness--her impotence in war. By giving Hera the all-powerful charm, Aphrodite unwittingly makes a bad tactical error, which causes harm to her beloved Trojans. In the Iliad, Aphrodite's lack of martial skill is indeed common knowledge to both mortals and gods. This becomes especially clear in Book 5, where she joins the battle only to be forced to flee in disgrace. In this book, Diomedes literally adds insult to injury when he threatens the goddess, whom he has just wounded:

εἶκε, Διὸς θύγατερ, πολέμου καὶ ὁηΐοτῆτος·
ἦ οὐχ ἅλις ὅττι γυναῖκας ἀνάλκιδας ἠπεροπεύεις;
εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσεαι, ἦ τε σ' ὀΐω
ῥιγήσειν πόλεμόν γε καὶ εἴ χ' ἑτέρωθι πύθηαι.
(E 348-51)

Again, when the wounded goddess returns to Olympos, Zeus reminds her to stay within her own sphere:

οὔ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμήϊα ἔργα
ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο,
ταῦτα δ' Ἄρηϊ θοῷ καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει.
(E 428-30)

In these speeches, it seems as if Aphrodite's involvement with love and marriage precludes the possibility that she might excel in war. Yet, Sappho, in the last line of her prayer, calls upon Homeric Aphrodite to be her ally in battle (σύμμαχος ἔσσο). As we shall see, it is Sappho's purpose to show that there is a kind of battle in which Aphrodite is as powerful as the fighting Athene of the Iliad: the battle of love.

Sappho counterbalances her allusions to Iliad 3 and 14 with references to Book 5. Having established Aphrodite as all-powerful in love, she proceeds to remake the faint-hearted goddess of Iliad 5 into Aphrodite, love-warrior par excellence. The first step in this redefinition is to equate Aphrodite with more warlike goddesses, which Sappho does through the description of the descent of the chariot. The use of a chariot by Aphrodite, a goddess who is capable of and

accustomed to merely darting through the air, is worthy of note. The model for this unusual descent is E 722ff., Homer's account of Hera and Athene, yoking their chariot and driving down to earth in order to join battle.[41] Parallels between the two scenes include Sapphic ἅρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα . . . ὤκεες στροῦθοι (9-10) versus Homeric ὕπο δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη / ἵππους ὠκύποδας (E 731-2); περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας / πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνωἴθε/ρος διὰ μέσσω (11-3) versus τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην / μεσσηγὺς γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος (E 768-9); and χρύσιον . . . ἅρμ' versus the gold-laden chariot of Hera and Athene (E 724, 727, 730, 731).

The major alteration Sappho has made in the reworking of her model is to have Aphrodite's chariot drawn by sparrows rather than by horses. This change is dramatically underscored by the fact that Sappho substitutes the word στροῦθοι for the word ἵπποι in her adaptation of the Homeric formula ὤκεας ἵππους.[42] These erotic birds, so distinctively appropriate to the goddess of love,[43] set Aphrodite's arrival apart from Athene's and Hera's in the Iliad and mark her as a different kind of warrior.

Aphrodite's power as a warrior of love is exemplified by Sappho in an ingenious manner. The similarity of αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, which begins line 13, to the

line-beginning of E 367 (αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκοντο θεῶν ἕδος, αἰπὺν Ὄλυμπον) clues a connection between wounded Aphrodite's flight from earth to heaven to be succored by Dione in the Iliad and Aphrodite's descent from heaven to earth to succor Sappho in fr. 1.[44] Because Sappho has transformed Aphrodite from a love goddess, who can only be humiliated by true war, into a love-warrior, all the weakness betrayed by her flight in the Iliad is translated into strength in fr. 1. In E, it is the wounded goddess who is described as ἀχθομένην ὀδύνῃσι (E 354). In fr. 1, the poet herself is afflicted by various woes, which Aphrodite is asked to relieve (3-4; 25-26). In the Iliad, it is the ministering Dione who inquires of her distressed daughter: τίς νῦν σε τοιάδ' ἔρεξε, φίλον τέκος . . . (E 373); but it is Aphrodite herself who seeks to aid Sappho by asking: τίς σ', ὦ / Ψάπφ', ἀδικήει; Thus, Sappho's extremely competent love-warrior Aphrodite is dissociated from her weak cousin in Iliad 5. Sappho can rest assured that her Aphrodite will dispel her anguish with the same skill, effortlessness and efficiency that Dione used to comfort her daughter (E 416-7). In this light, Sappho's call to Aphrodite as σύμμαχος, placed so saliently in the poem's final line, must be taken as a serious appeal for help, for an ally in the war of love. The poet does not consider her situation hope-

less, as is sometimes held.[45]

An examination of the contexts in which φιλομμειδής is found in Homer indicates that this word epitomized Aphrodite's Iliadic strength and attendant weakness. φιλομμειδής is often employed in passages which specifically underscore Aphrodite's role as a goddess of sexual love.[46] The four significant occurrences[47] of the adjective in the Iliad fall into two distinct groups: Γ 424 and Ξ 211, from the two seduction scenes discussed above, offer examples of φιλομμειδής describing Aphrodite as she subjects others to ἵμερος, while E 375 and Δ 10 provide instances of the epithet applied to a soft, effeminate love goddess, contrasted with more warlike characters. In Book 5 Aphrodite is dubbed φιλομμειδής in the context of the wounding. She answers her mother's question: τίς νῦν σε τοιάδ' ἔρεξε;. . . ;

> τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
> "οὗτά με Τυδέος υἱὸς, ὑπέρθυμος Διομήδης
> (E 375-6)

Δ 10 presents something of a problem in this scheme; it is part of a speech (Δ 7-19), in which Zeus faults Hera and Athene for their uncharacteristic failure to help Menelaos. He contrasts their behavior to that of Aphrodite, who has protected Paris:

> ὁοιαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρηγόνες εἰσι θεάων,
> Ἥρη τ' Ἀργείη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηὶς Ἀθήνη
> ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ταὶ νόσφι καθήμεναι εἰσορόωσαι

τέρπεσθον· τῷ ὁ' αὖτε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
αἰεὶ παρμέμβλωκε καὶ αὐτοῦ κῆρας ἀμύνει·
(Δ 7-11)

At first glance, it would seem that Zeus alludes for once to Aphrodite's ability in war. However, her success in warding off danger from Paris is not typical of her war exploits and the fact that the more militaristic goddesses have been outdone by an Aphrodite who is φιλομμειδής should be particularly galling. Zeus' use of the epithet here adds special force to his rebuke.[48]

It is likely that Sappho understood the paradox of Aphrodite's power, as exemplified by the occurrences of φιλομμειδής in the Iliad. In her desire to create a truly omnipotent love-warrior goddess, she must resolve this paradox. She does so brilliantly in the fourteenth line of fr. 1, μειδιαίσαισ' ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι. μειδιαίσαισ', as noted above, represents φιλομμειδής and should, like that epithet, evoke the unwarlike Aphrodite of sexual love. The phrase as a whole, however, echoes H 212[49], which is part of a passage describing Aias' entry into battle with Hektor. First, he is compared to Ares (207-10). Then the poet explains:

τοῖος ἄρ' Αἴας ὦρτο πελώριος, ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν,
μειδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι . . .
(H 211-2)

This is the only time in Homer that the sequence, parti-

ciple of μειδιάω plus adjective plus form of προσώπον in the dative, occurs; and it is probable that Sappho composed line 14 with this passage in mind. Through a highly skillful manipulation of Homeric allusion, she has set up the analogy: Ares/Aias is to war as Aphrodite is to love. With this same analogy, she removes from φιλομμειδής / μειδιαίσαισ' any connotations of weakness and, in fact, transforms the image of smiling Aphrodite into a portrait of a confident warrior in the battle of love.[50]

It should, at this point, be clear that the same explanation cannot account for both the epicisms of fr. 1 and those of the Lille Stesichoros. Whereas Stesichoros never gave any real indication that he was concerned with evoking the content or the Iliad or Odyssey, Sappho immediately calls attention to the Homeric nature of her subject. Once she has done this, she employs epicism to recall Aphrodite's role in Books 3, 5, and 14: her allusions form patterns, as they failed to do in the Lille Stesichoros. Furthermore, her adaptation of words, lines, and expressions--such as δολόπλοκε; μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα, / πότνια, θῦμον; and μειδιαίσαισ' ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι--typifies her awareness of the allusive power of hapax legomena and unusual expressions.

While the ubiquity of epicisms in the Stesi-

choros poem was symptomatic of the almost subliminal influence of epic language, the concentration of Homerisms in the first, third, and fourth stanzas of fr. 1 points to Sappho's conscious and tight control of allusion. Sappho's relative freedom from this influence is revealed most clearly in the "Adonic lines" which end each stanza. As noted above, in connection with πότνια, θῦμον, these Adonics are the metrical equivalent of the final two feet of a dactylic hexameter and, as such, are well suited to accomodate Homeric expressions which begin after the bucolic diaeresis and end with the verse.[51] If the power of epic language were to manifest itself anywhere in fr. 1, it would be in these "Adonic lines."

Of the seven Adonics, only one (line 12: -ρος διὰ μέσσω) could be understood as influenced by Homeric language. Although the verse is, strictly speaking, unparalleled in the Iliad and Odyssey, forms of μέσσος, preceded by a dissyllabic preposition, do occasionally appear at line end in epic.[52] However, since the verse is part of the intentionally Homeric third stanza, it is highly probable that Sappho used it for the purpose of contributing to the epic flavor. Line 8 (χρύσιον ἦλθες), like line 4, combines the Homeric with the unHomeric: dissyllabic forms of ἔλθον and ἦλθον are well attested at line end in epic, while forms of χρύσεος never occur

directly following the bucolic diaeresis.

Two of the lines, δηῦτε κάλημμι (16) and Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει (20), are completely unHomeric. δηῦτε and κάλημμι represent forms unattested in epic, while Ψάπφ' and ἀδικήει represent unattested words. Only κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα closely parallels epic line-ending expressions. The phrase οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ appears twice in erotic contexts in Homer.[53] In Z 165 (ὅς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότητι μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ), it is used by Anteia, falsely accusing Bellerophontes of rape; in β 50 (μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες ἐπέχραον οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ), Telemachos refers to Penelope, courted against her will. Since forms of θέλω are well attested in Sappho and Alkaios, while ἐθέλω survives only here, it is obvious that Sappho's word choice was influenced by epic.[54] It is equally clear, however, that the motivation behind this deliberate Homerism stemmed from the content, not the language, of the Iliad and Odyssey: in Homer, when the expression refers to Penelope and Anteia, it describes women loved against their wishes. By applying the same words to a woman loving against her will, Sappho dramatically emphasizes the awesome power of the goddess she addresses.

σύμμαχος, in the poem's final line, is not found in extant epic, and the imperative ἔσσο is rare. The expression σύμμαχος ἔσσο, however, could be modeled on Homeric #ἄλκιμος ἔσσ' (α 302=γ 200);[55] but, since this

is a line-beginning formula, its presence in a Sapphic Adonic can hardly be thought to stem from the influence of epic diction. The line, so important to an understanding of the poem, is best viewed as Sappho's intentional adaptation of a Homeric expression, just as Aphrodite σύμμαχος herself represents the poet's conscious reworking of a Homeric goddess. Aphrodite is her divine comrade in the battle of love.[56]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

[1]For the purposes of this study, not only formulae will be considered Homerisms (=epicisms), but also single words, grammatical constructions, dialectical forms and metrical practices which are characteristic of or predominate in Homer. Words or constructions which do not occur in the Iliad or Odyssey nevertheless may be counted as Homerisms, if they are formed on epic models. Words like δολόπλοκε (Sappho fr. 1.2), which seem to have been coined along the lines of Homeric δολόμητις and δολοφρονέουσα, and like Περάμοιο (Sappho fr. 44.16), whose -οιο ending betokens epic influence, are typical of this class.

[2]Cf. Xenoph. 10D-K. Cf. D. Page in Archiloque, Entr. Fond. Hardt. 10 (1963) 119ff.

[3]In ten of eleven instances, the formula ends the line. Cf. A 479; E 439; O 243,253; Π 94,706; P 585; Φ 461,478; X 220 and Θ 323. At I 564 Φοῖβος precedes Ἀπόλλων and ἐκάεργος is displaced: κλαῖεν ὃ μιν ἐκάεργος ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

[4]In the lyric poem, the mother of Eteokles and Polyneikes fears the outcome of Teiresias' prophecy and prays:

> μαντοσύνας δὲ τεᾶς, ἄναξ, ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
> μὴ πάσας τελέσσαι.
> (209-10)

The eleven passages in Homer describe a variety of situations: Apollo sends a favorable wind (A 479); he addresses Diomedes (E 439), Hektor (O 243,253), Poseidon (Φ 461); he steals away a halcyon's child (I 564); he loves the Trojans (Π 94); he likens himself to Phainops (P 585); he deigns not to respond to Artemis (Φ 478); he can do nothing to help Hektor escape (X 220); he comes to see Aphrodite and Ares ensnared (Θ 323).

[5]For this reason, it is unfortunate that A. Harvey, CQ 51 (1957) 206-33, only considers allusions of the first two categories (see especially pp. 206-11).

[6]For a comprehensive discussion of the meter of this poem, see M. Haslam, GRBS 19 (1978) 29-57. Cf. M. West, ZPE 29 (1978) 1-4.

[7]P. Parsons, ZPE 26 (1977) 14. All line references made to this poem correspond to Parsons's text.

[8]Many of these are catalogued by Haslam, op. cit. n. 6, 52.

[9]The quasi-hexameters of the Lille Stesichoros are the first and third lines of the strophe/antistrophe and the fourth and sixth lines of the epode. The first line of the strophe and fourth of the epode are scanned: – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ⏑ – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ⏑. The third line of the strophe is scanned: – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ⏑ – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ⏑ ; and the sixth line of the epode is scanned: – ⏑ – ∪∪ – ⏑ – ∪∪ – ∪∪ – ⏑ . As long as the "third foot" in any of these lines is not a trochee, the verses become, in effect, dactylic hexameters.

[10]Although the Lille fragment contains 127 "lines," only about thirty-five are more than half complete, and many, about fifty-five, contain less than one complete word. When these facts are taken into consideration, it is easier to appreciate the density of Homerism in this poem.

[11]See Parsons, op. cit. n. 7, 12. This is true for Stesichoros in general; for his treatment of mute and liquid, see R. Fuhrer, ZPE 28 (1978) 180-6; M. West, op. cit. n. 6, 2.

[12]In this context should be mentioned Haslam's observation (op. cit. n. 6, 29-30) that Stesichoros played a "mediating role between epic and choral lyric," in terms of the language and performance of his poems. Cf. also W. Kraus in Der Kleine Pauly V 367.

[13]Alkestis: B 714; Helen: Γ 171, 228, 423; δ 305; ο 106; Penelope: α 332; π 414; σ 208, 302; υ 60; φ 42, 63; ψ 302; Eurykleia: υ 147.

[14]So Parsons, op. cit. n. 7, 25, believes.

[15]Ibid., 34-5.

[16]Cf. 232-3:
ὣς φάτ[ο] δῖα γυνά, μύθοις ἀγ[α]νοῖς ἐνεποίσα,
νείκεος ἐμ μεγάροις [. . .] σα παίδας,

[17]It is, of course, possible that Stesichoros is here capitalizing on the Homeric connotation of μέγα νεῖκος in order to foreshadow the mushrooming of the quarrel into full-scale battle. If he is, his use of

the expression constitutes a specific allusion. However, the absence of other specific allusion in the poem makes me reluctant to accept it as such.

[18]Cf. E 553, I 416, Λ 451, Π 502, Π 885=X 361, ε 326, ρ 476 and ω 124.

[19]The most common form of this formula is τέλος θανάτοιο (seven times). τέλος θανάτου is attested once, as is θανάτοιο κακὸν τέλος. θανάτοιο τέλος occurs only in Γ 309; so, if Stesichoros did intend a specific allusion to Γ 305-9, his choice of word order could be significant.

The fact that the words ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ are found both in Γ 308 and Lille Stesichoros 205 is probably not significant. Although θεοὶ . . . ἀθάνατοι occurs not many lines before τέλος θανάτου στυγεροῖο (213) in the latter poem, the expressions fall in different triads and do not share the same context.

[20]This figure swells to twelve if we take into consideration the phrase θανάτοιο τέλοσδε (I 411; N 602).

[21]Also, τέλος θανάτοιο is conjectured in Hes. fr. 25.24.

[22]For references, from antiquity, to the Homericity of Stesichoros, see F. Sisti, QUCC 4 (1967) 62, n. 23. See also West, op. cit. n. 6, 1.

[23]See C. del Grande, Vichiana I, 2 (1964) 75, for a catalogue of Homerisms in this poem; for a fuller treatment, see O. Longo, AIV 122 (1964) 343-366.

[24]Sappho may have meant to echo Aphrodite's fourth Homeric epithet, δῖα (occurring six times), with the word ἀθανάτ' (line 1). D. Boedeker, Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic, Mnemosyne Suppl. no. 32 (Leiden, 1974) 28 recognizes that, in Homer, δῖα, applied to goddesses, is usually considered to have the meaning "divine" (cf. Eustathius on 14: καὶ τὸ δῖος καὶ τὸ δῖα ἐκ τῆς Διὸς γενικῆς γινόμενα). Therefore, it is possible that Sappho saw δῖος and ἀθάνατος as somehow synonymous.

The presence of ἀθανάτ' in line 1 has puzzled interpreters of this poem--see W. Wyatt, CJ (1974) 213-4; and D. Page, S&A, 5. In Homer, the word rarely modifies a singular noun--see B. Marzullo, Frammenti della lirici greca (Florence, 1965) 47--and it is unclear why Sappho would depart from normal usage to include this adjective in a list of so many more vivid epithets. If the phrase ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα is seen as representing Homeric δῖ'

Ἀφροδίτη, these difficulties vanish.

[25]For a discussion of the relationship between φιλομμειδής and φιλομμηδής, see A. Heubeck, BN 16 (1965) 204-6.

[26]K. Strunk, Glotta 38 (1959) 78-9 contends that Hesiod sounded ει the same way he pronounced η. See also M. West, Hesiod: Theogony (Oxford, 1966) 88.

[27]See E. Turner, The Papyrologist at Work (North Carolina, 1973) 21, on P.Oxy.21.2288.

[28]See D. Gerber, Euterpe (Amsterdam, 1970) 164; Marzullo, op. cit. n. 24, 48.

[29]For this point, see C. Dawson, YCS 19 (1966) 72.

[30]For the relationship between Sapphic and Alkaic Adonics and the last two feet of epic hexameter, see E. Risch, MH (1946) 254-6; for the relationship of πότνια, θῦμον to Homeric line-ending formulae, see Longo, op. cit. n. 23, 348.

[31]K. Stanley, GRBS 17 (1976) 305-321 (passim), discusses the interplay of epic and lyric.

[32]For a full catalogue of allusions to Ξ, see M. Putnam, CJ 56 (1960) 79-83.

[33]Cf. Hes., Theog. 120ff. Ἔρος ... δάμναται ... νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν; Archil. 196 W μ' ὁ ..., δάμναται πόθος; Page, op. cit. n. 2, 139.

[34]For a summary of the debate see Gerber, op. cit. n. 29, 162; E. Degani and S. Burzacchini, Lirici Greci (Florence, 1977). Upholders of the theory relating the adjective to θρόνα are: L. Lawler, PhQ 27 (1948) 80-4; G. Bolling, AJP 79 (1958) 275-82; Putnam, op. cit. n. 32; and, most recently, J. Svenbro, MPhL (1977) 125-6.

[35]Cf. also Γ 443ff. and Ξ 317ff.; Γ 446 and Ξ 328; and Γ 441 and Ξ 314. L. Clader, Helen: the Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic, Mnemosyne Suppl. no. 42 (Leiden, 1976) 14, discusses the relationship between the two Homeric passages.

[36]The interchange between Aphrodite and Helen (Γ 396-417) has long been suspected of being a late addition to the Iliad. However, G. Bolling, The Athetized Lines of the Iliad (Baltimore, 1944) 85-9, views the passage

as among the least convincing of all the ancient athetizations. The most concrete argument raised recently to uphold the lateness of these lines is based on the scansion of σχετλίη in line 414 (μή μ' ἔρεθε, σχετλίη, μὴ χωσαμένη σε μεθείω), which has led W. Leaf and G. Shipp to pronounce the passage Attic. See Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer (Cambridge, 1972) 240. But this is not the only possible explanation of this scansion. P. Chantraine, Grammaire homérique 1 (Paris, 1973) 108-9, lists many examples of a vowel remaining short before mute + liquid in words which otherwise could not be used in a dactylic line. Surely not all of these occur in Attic interpolations.

[37]See K. Reckford, GRBS 5 (1964) 15.

[38]See A. Cameron, HThR 32 (1939) 7.

[39]A possible explanation of Sappho's motivation for substituting -πλοκε for φρονέουσα is offered by G. Privitera, QUCC 4 (1967) 27-8, who views δολόπλοκε as a military metaphor.

[40]For a discussion of the magical aspects of Sappho fr. 1, see Cameron, op. cit. n. 38, 8-9.

[41]See Stanley, op. cit. n. 31, 311-2; Page, S&A, 7, n. 8; and Svenbro, op. cit. n. 34, 38-44. Svenbro sees as an echo of Athene's "arming" scene in Book 5:

αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἐανὸν πατρὸς ἐπ' οὐδει,
ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτῇ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν·

If he is right, it is very likely that Sappho combined allusion to Athene in war with allusion to Aphrodite in love (κεστὸν ἱμάντα ποικίλον) in order to establish the love goddess as a love-warrior.

[42]See Stanley, op. cit. n. 31, 312; U. v. Wilamowitz- Möllendorff, S.u.S. 45.

[43]See Page, S&A, 7-8. Cf. Apollo's swan-drawn chariot in Alc. 307c.

[44]For this connection, see V. di Benedetto, QUCC 16 (1973) 121-3.

[45]See Page, S&A, 12-8, and Stanley, op. cit. n. 32, passim, for this opinion.

[46]In this connection, Boedeker, op. cit. n. 24, 30-5, cites h. Ven. 16-7, 49, 56, 65, and 155; and θ 362.

[47]φιλομμειδής is what Milman Parry, MHV, 155, dubs a particularized epithet: that is, contrary to the norm of oral compositional economy of language, it is one of two metrically equivalent epithets employed to precede and modify the same noun. Since it is theoretically possbile for it to be used interchangeably with Διὸς θυγάτηρ before the name Ἀφροδίτη, its occurrence can never be explained simply in terms of metrical convenience. As Boedeker, op. cit. n. 24, 31, notes, this is highly significant: the fact that the bard could choose the epithet that best fit the context of whatever episode he was singing allows us to investigate the text of Homer in order to learn the particular connotation of each expression.

[48]See Boedeker, op. cit. n. 24, 35.

[49]Stanley, op. cit. n. 31, 313, notes this parallel.

[50]It is quite likely that Euripides was aware of the militaristic overtones of these expressions involving προσώπον. In a choral passage of the Bacchai, the maenads summon Dionysos, another deity often conceived of as effemininate and weak, to come as an avenging warrior:

> ἴθ' ὦ Βάκχε, θηραγρευτᾷ Βακχᾶν
> γελῶντι προσώπῳ περίβαλε βρόχον
> θανάσιμον ὑπ' ἀγέλαν πεσόν-
> τι τὰν μαινάδων.
> (1020-3)

By referring to Dionysos' laughter, the chorus demonstrates that there is another side to the gentle stranger, who was so easy to capture earlier in the play:

> γελῶν δὲ καὶ δεῖν κἀπάγειν ἐφίετο
> ἔμενέ . . .
> (439-40)

(See E. Dodds, Euripides: Bacchae [Oxford, 1960], 131). Like Sappho, Euripides uses allusion to translate a god's seeming weakness into an undeniable strength.

Aphrodite's smile no doubt also serves to betoken her ultimate indifference to the plight of a mere mortal. Sappho, like Helen, may be her favorite and, as such, may be entitled to assume a certain informality with her; but the goddess always retains the aloofness her immortality grants.

[51]See above, n. 30.

[52]Cf., e.g., N 308 ἢ ἀνὰ μέσσους #; Σ 605 -ον κατὰ

μέσσους#; and Ω 84 ἡ δ' ἐνὶ μέσσῃς#.

[53]οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ is attested in a non-erotic context at Ω 289.

[54]See E. Hamm, Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios (Berlin, 1957) 126, n. 297.

[55]E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, op. cit. n. 34, 132, call the expression "an obvious Homerism."

For Aphrodite σύμμαχος, cf. AP 10.21.1-2:

Κύπρι γαληναίη, φιλονύμφιε, Κύπρι δικαίων
σύμμαχε, Κύπρι Πόθων μῆτερ ἀελλοπόδων,

[56]The metaphor of the battle of love will be treated extensively in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 2

SAPPHO FR. 16

The parallel relationship of love to war, which figures significantly in the interpretation of fr. 1, is equally central to an understanding of fr. 16. This poem develops on three interdependent levels: the general, the mythic and the contemporary. On the general level, Sappho states the aesthetic superiority of "whatever someone loves" to hosts of footsoldiers, horsemen and ships. On the mythic level, the two sides of the comparison are the troops of the Trojan War and Paris, beloved of Helen; while on the contemporary level, they are the Lydian army and Anaktoria, beloved of Sappho. While the general statement depends upon the assumption that there is a difference between the two counterbalanced components--that is, essentially, between love and war--the mythic and contemporary exempla serve to redefine this distinction, as we shall see below.

[ο]ἱ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων,[1]
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μελαί[ν]αν
[ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὅτ-
τω τις ἔραται·

[πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι
[π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ'· ἃ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα
κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἐλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα
τὸν [ϝάρ]ιστον[2]

καλλ[ίποι]σ' ἔβα 'ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα]
κωὐδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' ἀΰταν
12]σαν

]αμπτον γὰρ[
] κούφως τ[ ]οη [ ]ν
[ ]με νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας ὀ]νέμναι-
16 [σ' οὐ] παρεοίσας,

[τᾶ]ς ⟨κε⟩ βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κἀν ὅπλοισι
20 [πεσδομ]άχεντας.

The General

In the first stanza of fr. 16, Sappho contrasts her conception of τὸ κάλλιστον with others'. Setting the female preoccupation with the amatory against the male preoccupation with the military,[4] she casts her definition in terms of love (ἔραται),[5] while these others cast theirs in terms of war (ἱππήων στρότον, πέσδων, νάων μελαίναν). Comparison of the language of lines 1-2 with Homer, however, reveals that she has couched her catalog of military operations in the language of the Trojan War.

The Mythic

Sappho's ἱππήων στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων is reminiscent of Homeric πεζοί θ' ἱππῆες τε (Β 810=Θ 59=ω 70) and ἱππῆες πεζοί τε (Λ 528), which are used at different times to denote the troops of both sides in the war. Although infantry and cavalry would seem to be a natural enough combination and hence fairly common, in fact the

two are closely linked only here in all of extant early Greek lyric.

In line 2, νάων μελαίναν, recalling the famous black ships of the Achaians, can be viewed as another allusion to the Trojan War. Most critics, however, have opted for another reading of this line: they connect the adjective signifying "black" not with νάων but with γᾶν.[6]

The arguments in favor of the traditional reading, γᾶν μελαίναν, are: 1) that "black" is a common epithet of "earth"; 2) that Sappho used γᾶς μελαίνας in fr. 1.10 and possibly 20.6; 3) that, since neither ἵππήων or πέσδων is modified by an adjective, symmetry and balance demand that νάων be unadorned as well; and 4) that the placement of the adjective is ambiguous unless it is associated with γᾶν, the word it follows.[7] As refutation of these arguments will show, the case for "black ships" is even stronger.

In Homer, "black" is a far more common epithet of "ships" than of "earth." γαῖα μέλαινα occurs only four times in the Iliad and three times in the Odyssey, while the formulae for "black ships" (μέλαιναι νῆες, μελαινάων νηῶν and νηυσὶ μελαίνῃσι) are found twenty-three times in the Iliad and twice in the Odyssey. But, far more telling than the epic popularity of "black ships" is the fact that "black earth" has a generally accepted signifi-

cance, which ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν in fr. 16.2 fails to reflect. When Sappho writes that some say that a naval expedition is the most beautiful thing on earth, she surely does not mean "earth" in the concrete sense (="soil"). Yet the formula γαῖα μέλαινα is used in precisely this way by Homer, by Hesiod, by other lyric poets and elsewhere by Sappho herself. The primary significance of the formula in epic and archaic poetry seems to be "earth, the giver of life and death" ("the soil by which we are nurtured and to which we return"),[8] but it is also used to denote the element earth, as opposed to water or air.[9]

Sappho's application of the formula in fr. 1.10 coordinates both these shades of meaning: in this poem, the black earth is contrasted as an element to the αἴθηρ and as the sphere of the mortal Sappho to the immortal dwelling place of Aphrodite (ὤρανος). Sappho's fr. 20 survives only in a highly damaged state. Nevertheless, it is fairly clear that the poem concerns a storm at sea, as the words ναῦται (8), μεγάλαις ἀήταις (8), πλέοι (12) and φόρτι᾽ (13) indicate. The word χέρσω, "dry land," occurs twice (10, 21). If then, γᾶς μελαίνας is the reading to be supplied in the poem's sixth line ( ]ας μελαίνας), it is likely that the phrase refers to the land, to dry land, as opposed to the sea. Such a meaning is consistent with the other archaic applications of the expression. A reading of ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν in 16.2, however, jars dras-

tically with this tradition: naval expeditions belong on the sea, not on dry land.

In neither of the parallels most often cited for Sappho's use of ἐπὶ γᾶν="on earth" (P 447; Hes. Op. 11) is γᾶν modified by an adjective. Also, when Sappho refers to the planet earth (including both land and sea), she does so with an unadorned noun (cf. 58.20: ἔσχατα γᾶς). Thus the evidence points to the superiority of the reading νάων μελαίναν and the inappropriateness of γᾶν μέλαιναν.

The linking of νάων with an adjective need not be considered destructive to the balance or symmetry of the first two lines. Once ἱππήων . . . πέσδων is recognized as an allusion to Homeric πεζοί θ' ἱππῆες τε, then νάων μελαίναν, reflecting common epic expressions, can be viewed as creating, not destroying, this symmetry: one Homerism balances the other. Nor should the position of the adjective be summoned as an argument against its connection with νάων. In and of itself, the separation of noun and adjective cannot be a consideration.

Through the words ἱππήων στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων and νάων μελαίναν, Sappho parallels the military expeditions of her general opening statements to the troops of the Trojan War and, thereby, implies a mythic exemplum for these expeditions. Similarly, in lines 6-12, she uses the passion of Homeric Helen for Paris to exemplify her

own predilection for love, as stated generally in lines 3-4. The choice of this particular myth is a curious one: since Helen's departure with Paris caused the Trojan War, Sappho has picked a famous episode from myth where love and war represent two sides of the same event. And the pointedness of her choice is emphasized by the allusions to the Trojan War in lines 1-2. In effect, she sets out to prove that κάλλιστον should be measured not in terms of the Trojan War, but rather in terms of Helen and Paris. The paradox is that the story of Helen and Paris is the Trojan War,[10] but this paradox can be maintained because love and war, although opposites, are parallel phenomena.

Sappho emphasizes this paradox by using allusion in order to draw particular attention to Helen's role in triggering the war, as described by Homer. In lines 7-11,[11] she alludes to two passages in the Teichoskopia and one in the fourth book of the Odyssey. When she first appears on the wall, the elders recognize Helen as the cause of the war:

> οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
> τοιῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
> αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν·
> ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοίη περ ἐοῦσ' ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω,
> μηδ' ἡμῖν τεκέεσσί τ' ὀπίσσω πῆμα λίποιτο.
> (Γ 156-60)

Although Priam blames not his daughter-in-law, but the gods (164-5), Helen indicates that she herself is respons-

sible for the war. She tells Priam:

> αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι, φίλε ἑκυρέ, δεινός τε.
> ὡς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἀδεῖν κακὸς ὁππότε δεῦρο
> υἱέϊ σῷ ἑπόμην, θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα
> παῖδα τε τηλυγέτην καὶ ὁμηλικίην ἐρατεινήν.
> (Γ 173-5)

Sappho's τὸν ἄνδρα . . . καλλίποισ' . . . κωὐδὲ παῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκήων πάμπαν ἐμνάσθη seems to have been modelled upon a combination of line 174 and another reference to the life which Helen abandoned for Paris. Iris had inspired her to go to the wall by reawakening in her a longing for home and hearth:

> Ὣς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ
> ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων·
> (Γ 139-40)

At δ 261-4, Helen has come around to Priam's point of view. Explaining to her guests the joy she felt at the Argive victory, she claims to have come to regret the results of Aphrodite's spell:

> ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἣν Ἀφροδίτη
> δῶχ', ὅτε μ' ἤγαγε κεῖσε φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης,
> παῖδα τ' ἐμὴν νοσφισσομένην θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε
> οὔ τευ δευόμενον, οὔτ' ἂρ φρένας οὔτε τι εἶδος.

The story Helen tells here is the story in fr. 16. Homer's ἄτην and ἤγαγε are summed up in Sapphic παράγαγ', "led astray," and the superlative in 16.8[12] could well have been inspired by Homer's οὔ τευ δευόμενον, οὔτ' ἂρ φρένας οὔτε τι εἶδος.

The Contemporary

The story of Homer's Helen and Paris leads Sappho

to mention Anaktoria. Sappho and her beloved have much in common with the Argive beauty and her Trojan prince. Anaktoria is like Helen in that she is beautiful (lines 17-8) and in that she has left home (16: οὐ παρεοίσας).[13] In this connection, it should be noted that, with κάμάρυχμα, denoting Anaktoria's sparkle (line 18), Sappho may possibly be using Hesiodic allusion to equate the girl with Helen; ἀμαρύγματ' occurs in Hes. fr. 196.6 (from the "Suitors of Helen") in reference to Helen:[14]

] ου λιπαρὴν πόλι[ν ε]ἴνεκα κούρης
ἣ εἶ]δος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφ[ροδί]της·
]ν χαρίτων ἀμαρ[ύγμ]ατ' ἔχουσαν
] Τυνδαρέου βασ[ιλῆ]ος.
(196.4-7)

In addition to the Anaktoria/Helen equation, Sappho herself is equated with Helen, since Helen's preference of love illustrates the maxim the poet wants to follow.[15] Like Helen, Sappho is obedient to Aphrodite. Moreover, if Sappho sees herself as Helen, by extension Anaktoria, as the object of her passion, assumes the role of Paris. In light of the Anaktoria/Paris equation, it may be significant that ἔρατον, the adjective Sappho applies to Anaktoria's walk (line 17), occurs only once in Homer, in what is perhaps Paris' most famous utterance. At Γ 64-66, he cautions his brother not to fault him because he is handsome:

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης.
οὔ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστι θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν, ἑκὼν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο.

Although Sappho uses ἐράτοις in fr. 81b with no apparent allusion to Paris, it seems plausible that she had the Iliad passage in mind when she composed 31.17: her poem concerns beauty, contains other allusions to Γ and probably makes reference to Aphrodite.

By alluding to the Helen of Γ (see above), Sappho was able to uderscore two important aspects of the Helen she is describing. First of all, she is the Helen who, led by Aphrodite, caused the Trojan War--the Helen of Homer. She is also a Helen completely under the speall of Paris and Aphrodite. She lacks even that fleeting sense of remorse which, in Iliad 3, she feels before once again succumbing to her love for Paris.

While allusion to the first of these aspects contributes to the paradoxical breaking down of the contrast drawn in the first stanza (as discussed above), recollection of a Helen blinded by passion serves another purpose. The same intricate network of comparisons by which Sappho equates herself with Helen also serves to dissociate her from Homer's beauty. The force which causes Helen to abandon and forget[16] her husband, child and parents reminds Sappho of absent Anaktoria: the lost subject of παράγαγ' in line 11 must be identical to the subject of ὀνέμναισ' in lines 15-16.[17] Helen and Sappho are gripped by the same passion; but while Helen's love drives her to the

ultimate act of faithlessness, Sappho controls her even greater passion through poetry, the art whose patron Muses are the daughters of Memory.

The point at which Sappho ceases to tread Helen's path is dramatized by the allusive force of the words οὐ παρεοίσας, recalling Homeric οὐ παρεόντων. This formula occurs twice in Homer, where its position at line end parallels Sappho's Adonic placement. At O 661-6, Nestor rouses the fighting spirit of the Achaians:

> ὦ φίλοι, ἄνέρες ἔστε, καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
> ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ μνήσασθε ἕκαστος
> παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων καὶ κτήσιος ἠδὲ τοκήων,
> ἡμὲν ὅτεφ ζώουσι καὶ ᾧ κατατεθνήκασι·
> τῶν ὕπερ ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ γουνάζομαι οὐ παρεόντων
> ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς, μηδὲ τρωπᾶσθε φόβονδε.

This passage offers the following correspondences to fr. 16: μνήσασθε paralleling ἐμνάσθη and ὀνέμναισ'; παίδων, ἀλόχων and τοκήων paralleling τὸν ἄνδρα, παῖδες and τοκήων; and οὐ παρεόντων paralleling Adonic οὐ παρεοίσας. Dead Elpenor's supplication of Odysseus at λ 66-8 also bears similarities to fr. 16:

> νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὄπιθεν γουνάζομαι, οὐ παρεόντων,
> πρός τ' ἀλόχου καὶ πατρός, ὅ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐόντα,
> Τηλεμάχου θ' ὃν μοῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες

In addition to οὐ παρεόντων and the list of absent relatives, this passage contains ἔλειπες, corresponding to Sapphic καλλίποισ' .

Both times in Homer, the οὐ παρέοντες are the parents and spouses and children; but in fr. 16, Anaktoria is separated from Sappho. Both components of Homer's

apposition (that is, οὐ plus πάρειμι in the participle and the list of relatives) are present in the poem, but they have been realigned to create a new effect. When she writes that Helen deserted and forgot her family, Sappho implies, through Homeric allusion, that she was not acting like the pious epic heroes, who did not forget οὐ παρεόντων. In addition, by applying a Homerically inspired οὐ παρεοίσας to Anaktoria, Sappho suggests that she values the girl not only as her beloved, but as she would her parents, children and spouse.

Helen's neglect of family is accompanied by a preoccupation with Paris, a preoccupation implied by the fact that the forgetting of one thing is usually linked with the remembrance of another.[18] Like the proverbially fickle woman of Theogn. 1367-8, she redirects her attention from the absent husband to the lover on hand:

> παιδός τοι χάρις ἐστί· γυναικὶ δὲ πιστὸς ἑταῖρος
> οὐδείς, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρέοντα φιλεῖ.
> (Theogn. 1367-8)

Sappho's passion, however, is not divided. Since Anaktoria is her all, she can love the girl, present or absent, with an intensity equal to Helen's one-time love for her family plus the desire for Paris which supplanted that love.

Helen's lust for Paris resulted in a disastrous war, an actual war. But Sappho's passion for Anaktoria will not--because her relationship with the girl is already a metaphorical struggle, in which her beloved is

portrayed as an armed soldier. In the poem's final surviving stanza, Sappho states her preference of Anaktoria's gait and sparkle to the splendor of Lydian troops. By using the word λάμπρον, however, she invests the girl with the precise quality that distinguishes warriors in bright armor.

In Homer, λάμπρος is applied only to armor and heavenly bodies.[19] This practice is followed in Hesiod and in all extant lyric poetry except Sappho's fr. 16.[20] Once in Homer, these two applications converge, when Achilles, approaching Troy in his divine armor, is compared to the Dog Star:

> παμφαίνονθ' ὥς τ' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο
> ὅς ῥα τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ
> φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ·
> ὃν τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
> λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
> καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
> ὥς τοῦ χαλκὸς ἔλαμπε περὶ στήθεσσι θέοντος.
> (X 26-32)

This is as close as Homer comes to using λαμπρός to describe a human being.[21] By employing the adjective in regard to Anaktoria, Sappho implies that she has achieved a brightness which a human can traditionally only acquire by donning gleaming brazen armor. Thus, when, in line 19, she compares her beloved to armed Lydian soldiers, the result is twofold. The comparison suggests that Anaktoria is simultaneously like and superior to the Lydian army; in much the same way, the war of love is similar, but pre-

ferable, to actual war. To this point I shall return. In addition, the comparison of Anaktoria to the Lydian army takes up the comparison of Helen to the Greek heroes. In Sappho's time, Troy was part of the Lydian empire.[22] The Lydian army was operating on the very soil upon which the Greek and Trojans once maneuvered, and the Lydians were the modern equivalents of Homer's armies. Thus, the mythical level and the contemporary level merge with one another. The last stanza reinterprets the first. Anaktoria is superior to the Trojan armies of myth as well as to the armies of her own day. The past and present combine to form a poetic unity.

Sappho and Ibykos Fr. 282

According to the preceding interpretation, Sappho has constructed her poem in three stages. First, by stating her preference of love to war, she draws a distinction between the two spheres. Then, she suggests that this distinction is not always clear-cut. Through allusion to Helen and the warriors of the Iliad, she stresses the close connection between a mythical love affair and a mythical war. Finally, by investing her beloved with martial qualities, she demonstrates that love itself can be a sort of war.

Ibykos employs roughly this same process to similar ends in fr. 282.[23] In this poem, he claims to be both

unable (25ff.) and unwilling (10ff.) to sing the events of the Trojan War. Instead, he will compose erotic poetry in praise of Polykrates' beauty.[24] However, although he professes to reject heroic poetry and warrior values, he sets his encomium of the boy in epic terms. He tells Polykrates that mention in this poem assures him everlasting fame:

> καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς
> ὡς κατ' ἀοιδὰν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος'
> (47-8)

κλέος ἄφθιτον occurs only one time in Homer (I 413), where it carries its traditional meaning, "the renown granted to heroes by epic song."[25] In the Iliadic passage, the phrase refers to the fame (i.e., the Iliad) Achilles will win if he stays and fights at Troy: ὤλετο μέν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται. By applying this expression to Polykrates, Ibykos is in effect saying, "We will be the Achilles and Homer of erotic poetry."

His renouncement of epic at the poem's beginning functions in the same way as the initial rejection of war in Sappho's fr. 16. He does not wish to divorce himself completely from heroic poetry; on the contrary, he wants to sing a new kind of epic--erotic epic with Polykrates cast as Achilles. In similar fashion, Sappho turns her back on the wars waged by heroes and armies in order to sing of other wars, the skirmishes fought by lovers.[26]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[1]Lobel-Page offer μέλαιναν, agreeing with γᾶν; I suggest μελαίναν, agreeing with νάων. The support for this emendation may be found in the text below.

[2][πανάρ]ιστον Page, [μεγ' ἄρ]ιστον Gallavotti, or sim.; see E. Degani and G. Burzacchini Lirici Greci (Florence, 1977) 135. Cf. Alc. 387= Αἶαν τὸν ἄριστον πεδ' Ἀχίλλεα.

[3]For the epic scansion of ὄπλοισι, see E. Hamm, Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios (Berlin, 1957) 42.

[4]R. Merkelbach, Philologus 101 (1957) 14. Sappho's opinion of what is κάλλιστον differs from that expressed in the Epigramma Deliacum (=Thgn. 255-6), to which the first stanza of fr. 16 bears some similarity:

> κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιότατον· λωΐστον δ', ὑγιαίνειν·
> πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον οὗ τις ἐρᾶι τὸ τυχεῖν.

See E. Bethe, Hermes 72 (1937) 240, on this epigram.

[5]G. Koniaris, Hermes 95 (1967) 257-61, argues persuasively that ἔραται, not ὅττω τις, is the emphatic component of Sappho's definition.

[6]The reading νάων μελαίνων until now has had only two public supporters: W. Schubart, Philologus 97 (1948) 314; and G. Wills, AJP 88 (1967) 439-40, n. 13.

[7]Points 1), 2), 3), and 4) are made by Gerber, Euterpe, 166; 4) by Page, S&A, 53; 3) by S. Radt, Mnemosyne 23 (1970) 340.

[8]For "black earth" as giver of life, cf. λ 365, τ 111; Sol. 38.4-5; Alcm. 89.3. The phrase is used in association with death and Hades at B 699, O 715, P 416, Y 494; h.Ap. 369; Theogn. 878=1070b; B. 13.153; cf. Archil. 130.2, Alc. 38.10, Sem. 1.14. It cannot be argued that Sappho may have wished to suggest the death and destruction caused by war, as opposed to the life and regeneration that result from love: "black earth" connotes "earth, the life-giver" as well as "earth, the keeper of the dead."

[9]At Hes. Th. 69, the phrase is used in opposition to heaven; at λ 587, in opposition to water.

[10]The third book of the Iliad contains a scene which serves as a reenactment of the original rape of Helen, which had occurred ten years earlier and which was described in the Kypria (Procl. Chr. 103). This scene, the Aphrodite-induced mutual seduction of Paris and Helen, is included in the Iliad in order to re-establish the cause of the war. See O. Lendle, A&A (1968) 63-71, esp. 70-1. On this scene, see also Chapter 1, note 36, 32-3. Since Κύπρις is the most plausible candidate for the subject of παράγαγ' in line 11, Sappho is probably following in the tradition of the Iliad and Kypria in portraying Helen as the pawn of Aphrodite. See M. Bonaria, Humanitas 25-6 (1973-4) 166, for various restorations proposed for 16. 13-4.

[11]Discussion of these lines brings up the highly problematic question of the relationship between Sappho fr. 16 and Alkaios' Helen poem (fr. 283), the seventh and eighth lines of which (παῖδα τ' ἐν δόμοισι λίποισ[/ κάνδρος εὔστρωτον λέχος) bear affinities to 16. 7-11. I find it impossible even to suspect which version of the story preceded the other. For the opinions of those who have ventured guesses, see A. Colonna, Paideia 10 (1955) 311; A. Setti, SFIC 27/28 (1956) 531-5; W. Barner, Neuere Alkaios-Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos (Hildesheim, 1967) 221) and E. Stern, Mnemosyne 23 (1970) 360-1.

Although the Alkaios poem is somewhat fragmentary, it is clear from what survives that it deals with the great number of lives lost in a war which was the consequence of Helen's lust for Paris:

ἕν]νεκα κήνας,
πόλ]λα δ' ἄρματ' ἐν κονίαισι[
]εν, πό[λ]λοι δ' ἐλίκωπε[ς
]οι [ ]νοντο φόνω δ[
(14-7)

If this poem is the earlier of the two, then Sappho could have used allusion to it, along with reference to Homer, in order to underscore the paradox inherent in citing Helen's fate as a story drawn from the sphere of love as opposed to war. If, on the other hand, Alkaios wrote with Sappho in mind, it can be assumed that he understood, and enlarged upon, Sappho's paradox.

[12]See Bonaria, op. cit., n. 11, 164-5, for a summary of the proposed completions for line 8.

[13]Merkelbach, op. cit., n. 4, 15-16, develops the Anaktoria/Helen parallel.

[14]The word also occurs in Hes. frs. 43(a), 4, 70. 38, 73.3 and 185.20 with no apparent connection to Helen.

[15]The most detailed treatment of the equation of Sappho with Helen is found in G. Privitera, QUCC 4 (1967) 182-7. See also G. Macleod, ZPE 15 (1974) 217-9, who notices that Sappho likens Anaktoria to both Paris and Helen.

[16]The true significance of οὐ ἐμνάσθη may perhaps be "ceased to love." The possibility that Sappho equated remembering with loving is suggested by A. Turyn, Studia Sapphica, Eus Supplementa 6 (1929) 65-9, and is explored further by T. McEvilley, Hermes 101 (1973) 260. For the relationship of μνάομαι, "remember," to μνάομαι, "suit for a bride," see E. Benveniste in Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung: Festschrift Albert Debrunner (Bern, 1954), 13-8.

[17]The word at the beginning of line 15 must be either a conjunction or a relative pronoun. See Degani and Burzacchini, op. cit. n. 2, 136; and note 11 above.

[18]As in Π 356-7: οἳ δὲ φόβοιο/ δυσκελάδου μνήσαντο λάθοντο δὲ θούριδος ἁλκῆς.

[19]Armor: N 132, 265; Π 216; T 359. Heavenly bodies: A 605; Δ 77; E 6, 120; Θ 485; X 30; τ 234. On the martial overtones of brightness, see C. Whitman, Homer and the Heroic Tradition (Harvard, 1958) 128-45, esp. 129.

[20]In the last line of Sappho's fr. 58 (τὸ λάμπρον ἔρος τὠελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε.), λάμπρον, although modifying the word ἔρος, is closely associated with τὠελίω. Elsewhere in Lesbian poetry, Alkaios uses the adjective twice in his famous description of an armory (357.3, 5) and also applies it to stars (34a.10), a shield (175.5-6) and some unspecified equipment (383). Cf. Hes. Th. 19, 137; Op. 155; frs. 58.12 and 362; Sol. 9.2; amd Tim. 800

[21]Cf. E 4-7.

[22]See Page S&A, 228-30.

[23]For the most recent text of this poem, see D.

Page, Supplementum Lyricis Graecis (Oxford, 1974), 44-6.

[24]For this interpretation, see F. Sisti, QUCC 4 (1967) 58-79. This practice is, of course, mirrored in the Latin love elegists. Cf., for example, Prop. 2.1 and Ov. Am. 1.1.

[25]See G. Nagy, Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter (Harvard, 1974), 248-61. See also the fourth chapter of this study.

[26]Fränkel, EGP&P, 186, sees, in Sappho's rejection of large scale military operations, the triumph of lyric over epic.

CHAPTER 3

SAPPHO FR. 31 AND THE LOVER/WARRIOR METAPHOR

Other Early Examples of the Metaphor

When love becomes a war, the successful lover becomes a warrior, as we saw in Sappho fr. 1. In that poem, the image of the combative lover is conveyed by a fairly straightforward use of battle language. Aphrodite is invoked as σύμμαχος; the ardent pursues (διώξει) while the hesitant flees (φεύγει).[1] Two of the earliest extant applications of the metaphor[2] are accomplished through similarly straightforward language. Archilochos (23.16-20) succumbs to a woman, who, he claims, has taken him as a besieger takes a city:[3]

> πό]λιν δὲ ταύτη[ν]...]α[....ἐ]πιστρέ[φεα]ι[
> οὔ]τοι ποτ' ἄνδρες ἔξε[πόρθη]σαν, σὺ δ[ὲ
> ν]ῦν εἵλες αἰχμῆι κα[ὶ μέγ' ἐ]ξήρ(ω) κ[λ]έος.
> κείνης ἄνασσε καὶ τ[υραν]νίην ἔχε·

In another poem (193),[4] Archilochos describes a less triumphant lover in language which, except for the word πόθωι, could fit a fatally wounded warrior:

> δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθωι,
> ἄψυχος, χαλεπῆισι θεῶν ὀδύνηισιν ἕκητι
> πεπαρμένος δι' ὀστέων.

Sometimes, however, poets are more subtle when equating lovers with warriors. They accomplish the equation by

adapting the language of Iliadic battle descriptions to erotic confrontations.

The earliest example of this practice survives in the Odyssey, where the poet's plunging of a war hero into romantic situations leads to the novel application of the conventions of battle narrative. The effect of this transposition can most clearly be observed in the Nausikaa episode of Odyssey 6. A certain romantic tension can be felt in this book. Odysseus must charm Nausikaa in order to secure clothing, food and directions to the house of the king. She, on the other hand, is a young woman, ripe for marriage (ζ 27, 34-5, 158-9, 283-4), who considers him an extremely attractive prospect (ζ 244-5).

When Odysseus first approaches Nausikaa, he is likened to a ravening lion:

> βῆ δ' ἴμεν ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,
> ὅς τ' εἶσ' ὑόμενος καὶ ἀήμενος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
> δαίεται· αὐτὰρ ὁ βουσὶ μετέρχεται ἢ ὀίεσσιν
> ἠὲ μετ' ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους· κέλεται δέ ἑ γαστὴρ
> μήλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·
> ὣς Ὀδυσεὺς κούρῃσιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισιν ἔμελλε
> μίξεσθαι, γυμνός περ ἐών· χρειὼ γὰρ ἵκανε.
> σμερδαλέος δ' αὐτῇσι φάνη κεκακωμένος ἅλμῃ,
> τρέσσαν δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη ἐπ' ἠιόνας προὐχούσας·
> οἴη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε· τῇ γὰρ Ἀθήνη
> θάρσος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε καὶ ἐκ δέος εἵλετο γυίων.
> (ζ 130-41)

The situation is romantic,[5] but the simile, as well as the reaction of Nausikaa and her handmaidens, is paralleled in Iliadic battle narrative.[6] Two lion similes from Homer's account of the Trojan war contain language strikingly similar to ζ 130-41.[7] At Μ 299-301, Sarpedon advances upon

the Argives:

> βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ὅς τ' ἐπιδευὴς
> δηρὸν ἔῃ κρειῶν, κέλεται δέ ἑ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
> μήλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·

In the second simile (P 61-9), which concerns Menelaus after he has slain Euphorbos, the lines which compare the herdsmen's reaction to the lion with the Trojan's reaction to Menelaos are of special interest. Both react with fear and flight, just as Nausikaa's handmaidens respond to leonine Odysseus:

> ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ἀλκὶ πεποιθὼς
> βοσκομένης ἀγέλης βοῦν ἁρπάξῃ ἢ τις ἀρίστη·
> τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐχέν' ἔαξε λαβὼν κρατερῇσιν ὀδοῦσι
> πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ θ' αἷμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει
> δηῶν· ἀμφὶ δὲ τόν γε κύνες τ' ἄνδρες τε νομῆες
> πολλὰ μάλ' ἰύζουσιν ἀπόπροθεν οὐδ' ἐθέλουσιν
> ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι· μάλα γὰρ χλωρὸν δέος αἱρεῖ·
> ὣς τῶν οὔ τινι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐτόλμα
> ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

Furthermore, ζ 138 (τρέσσαν δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη) bears a close similarity to Λ 486 (Τρῶες δὲ διέτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος), which describes the flight of the Trojans at the approach of Aias and follows a simile in which Aias is equated with a lion and the Trojans with jackals (Λ 474-85).

Although the application of the lion simile to Odysseus in this context probably springs from an oral poet's need to draw upon traditional, heroic language, even for the depiction of an untraditional, unheroic situation, the effect of the application is to establish the Ithakan as a Homeric love-hero. In addition, the setting in martial terms of Odysseus' part in the romantic encounter leads to

similar treatment of Nausikaa. Her steadfastness at Odysseus' approach, described in language appropriate to battle narrative, marks her as a worthy adversary/partner: her performance as a love-heroine can be contrasted with that of the warrior Euphorbos, in a display of cowardice at Π 813-5. She bravely awaits (μένε, ζ 139) the onslaught of naked Odysseus (γυμνός περ ἐών, ζ 136), while Euphorbos had fled (οὐδ' ὑπέμεινε, Π 814) before unarmed Patroklos (γυμνόν περ ἐοντ', Π 815).[8]

The equality in excellence of Odysseus and Nausikaa is underscored in the exchange which follows the simile. In the course of their conversation, each likens the other to the gods (ζ 149-52; ζ 243).[9] Furthermore, just as Nausikaa overcomes the natural reaction to Odysseus' fearful appearance, so too he masters his awe of her. At ζ 160 he tells her that wonder seizes him as he beholds her (σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσοράωντα) and compares her to a miraculous plant (φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος) he once saw growing by the altar of Apollo at Delphi. The comparison once again places her in the realm of the gods. After this, he concludes:

> ὣς δ' αὔτως καὶ κεῖνο [sc. ἔρνος] ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα θυμῷ
> δήν, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω τοῖον ἀνήλυθεν ἐκ δόρυ γαίης,
> ὡς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε, δείδια δ' αἰνῶς
> γουνων ἅψασθαι·
>
> (ζ 166-9)

Odysseus had earlier decided it the wiser course not to supplicate the princess by grabbing her knees; but the skill and glibness with which he simultaneously flatters

her and magnifies his own worth indicate that her awesome appearance has not paralyzed his mind (or tongue) with fear.

The importance of the equality of sparring love warriors may be illustrated by Archilochos fr. 23, wherein the impressiveness of the woman's martial feat is amplified by the fact that the poem's ego is himself an able and worthy opponent. Were he less, her conquest would mean little. Before he describes her success as a besieger, he explains that he is no coward and that he knows the heroic code:

> ἀνήρ τοι δειλὸς ἄρ' ἐφαινόμην
> [οὐ]δ' οἷός εἰμ' ἐγὼ [ο]ὔτος οὐδ' οἷων ἄπο,
> [ἐπ]ίσταμαί τοι τὸν φιλ[έο]ν[τα] μὲν φ[ι]λεῖν,
> τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν τε [κα]ὶ κακο[
> (12-5)

Nausikaa is able to stand fast at the advance of Odysseus because Athene has emboldened her:

> οἵη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε· τῇ γὰρ Ἀθήνη
> θάρσος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε καὶ ἐκ δέος εἵλετο γυίων.
> (ζ 139-40)

With the goddess' aid, she is able to overcome the natural, mortal reaction to the godlike hero. This natural reaction is fear and flight, as exhibited by the handmaidens, who, unfortified by Athene, flee as would nameless soldiers in face of a hero of Aias' stature or as any mortal in face of a god.

The warrior of love does not always, however, stand his ground. In a cunning adaptation of an Iliadic battle simile, an aging Ibykos professes fear at the onset of

passion (Eros):

> "Ερος αὖτε με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ
> βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος
> κηλήμασι παντοδαποῖς ἐς ἄπει-
> ρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος ἐσβάλλει·
> ἦ μὰν τρομέω νιν ἐπερχόμενον,
> ὥστε φερέζυγος ἵππος ἀεθλαφόρος ποτὶ γήραι
> ἀέκων σὺν ὄχεσφι θοοῖς ἅμιλλαν ἔβα.[10]
> (Fr. 287)"

Lines 6-7 allude to X 22-3, wherein Achilles, in the flower of youth and at the peak of his military prowess, rushes to meet Hektor at Troy:

> σευάμενος ὥς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος[11] σὺν ὄχεσφιν,
> ὅς ῥα τε ῥεῖα θέησι τιταινόμενος πεδίοιο.

By reversing the simile, Ibykos identifies himself as hopelessly mortal and unheroic in the war of love. To the poet's credit, however, it should be noted that Achilles' adversary is the mortal Hektor, while his own is the god Eros. A mortal is bound to be inferior to a god, and Ibykos fortifies the effect of the allusive simile by preceding it with ἦ μὰν τρομέω νιν ἐπερχόμενον. Although the gods may send fear into the heart of a superior warrior and force him to withdraw, inability to withstand the attack of an opponent usually characterizes the behavior of the inferior warrior. Thus, in Iliad 22, Hektor decides that he will no longer ingloriously avoid confrontation with Achilles:

> οὔ σ' ἔτι, Πηλέος υἱέ, φοβήσομαι, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ
> τρὶς περὶ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου δίον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔτλην
> μεῖναι ἐπερχόμενον·

(X 250-2)

Similarly, at Λ 406, Odysseus is aware that Zeus has filled the other Danaans with fear, but he himself knows that it is cowardice to flee (408: ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολεμοίο). Thus he stands firm, according to the code of a hero.

Superior warriors, unlike Ibykos, await the rush of a foe, as do Polypoites and Leonteus at M 136 (μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον οὐδ' ἐφέβοντο). This line is preceded by a simile, in which this duo is compared to two oaks:

> ἔστασαν ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι,
> αἵ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἤματα πάντα,
> ῥίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι
> (M 132-4)

Sappho alludes to this simile in fr. 47, where she, like Ibykos, describes a losing skirmish in the battle of love:

> Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ μοι
> φρένας, ὡς ἄνεμος κὰτ' ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων.[12]

Unlike Polypoites and Leonteus, who face a mortal opponent, Sappho, confronted by a god, is affected by the wind. She uses an Iliadic battle simile exactly as does Ibykos: she inverts the comparison in order to depict herself as the antithesis of a vanquishing Homeric warrior.

Sappho Fr. 31

The most fully preserved example of Sappho's ap-

plication of Homeric battle simile and terminology to lovers survives in fr. 31.[13]

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-
σας ὑπακούει

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἢ μὰν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν,
ὠς γὰρ <ἔς> σ' ἴδω βρόχε', ὠς με φωναι-
σ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει

ἄλλα κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε,[14] λέπτον
δ' αὔτικα χρῷ πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμηκεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ-
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι,

κάδ <δ>έ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρομος δὲ
παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης
φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτα.

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα

As we shall see, the situation described here directly parallels the Nausikaa/Odysseus encounter. Like the princely pair, Sappho's couple converse amicably, seemingly unaffected by their mutual excellence. As was the case in the Odyssey, their ease with one another does credit to them both: both are exceptional in their charms, but both are such capable love-heroes that they can withstand the onslaught of those charms. Sappho,[15] however, like Nausikaa's handmaidens, is not an equal match for the pair. Without divine aid, she is stunned and incapacitated by the woman's beauty.

Like the poet of Odyssey 6, Sappho both uses adaptation of a heroic simile, represented here by ἴσος

θέοισιν, to establish the man's identity as a love-hero and borrows from language applied in Homer to outmatched and worsted warriors to emphasize her own plight. Because of the nature of this borrowing, often the allusion here is not as specific as that analyzed in the two preceding poems. Although in two instances it is possible to point to particular Homeric models, successful interpretation of the fragment depends more generally upon an understanding of battle language common to many passages in epic.

Even without investigation of Homeric allusion in this poem, it is obvious that a contrast is being drawn.[17] The papyrus's[18] reading of φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτᾳ in line 16 proves the existence of verbal play between lines 1-2 and 15-6. The man seems an equal to the gods, while Sappho seems all too mortal. The couple's organs of speech and hearing are functioning well[19] while Sappho's clearly are not. These obvious contrasts, however, are more fully to be appreciated in light of an understanding of Sappho's manipulation of language taken from Homeric battle descriptions. To achieve this understanding, it is perhaps most expedient first to examine Sappho's reaction to the woman's voice and laughter on the occasion described in stanza 1 (τό μ' ἤ μὰν καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν), a reaction similar to ones she has experienced on previous occasions (lines 7-16).[20]

Sappho, Outmatched in Love's War

The meaning of πτοιέω is still an open question.[21] Nevertheless, the significance of καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν can be clearly perceived when the expression is viewed as an allusion to χ 298, the only occurrence of the word in Homer:

> δὴ τότ' Ἀθηναίη φθισίμβροτον αἰγίδ' ἀνέσχεν
> ὑψόθεν ἐξ ὀροφῆς· τῶν δε φρένες ἐπτοίηθεν
> οἱ δ' ἐφέβοντο κατὰ μέγαρον . . .
> (χ 297-9)

These lines, from the massacre of the suitors, describe the reaction of the suitors to Athene's aigis--that is to say, the reaction to a divine apparition by those who cannot withstand it. Sappho accomplishes the allusion not merely by reproducing πτοιέω, but by employing the verb in connection with καρδίαν, which recalls Homeric φρένες. Inclusion of this noun is what distinguishes Sappho's use of καρδίαν . . . ἐπτόαισεν here from αὔταν ἐπτόαισ' ἴδοισαν in fr. 22.13-4, where no allusion to χ 298 is intended.[22]

Allusion to χ 298 must be considered part of the fear imagery in this poem; for there are three reasons for seeing an element of fear in Homeric ἐπτοίηθεν. First of all, the suitors respond to the aigis with fear-induced flight (ἐφέβοντο). Secondly, the appearance of the aigis usually instills terror/flight, for which purpose it was made:[23]

ἣν [sc. αἰγίδα] ἄρ χαλκεὺς
Ἥφαιστος Διὶ δῶκε φορήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν.
(Ο 309-10)

Finally, διαπτοιέω, used once in Homer, appears in context with ταρβοσύνη. At σ 340-2, Melantho and the other unfaithful servants are terrified when the ξεῖνος threatens to have them cut limb from limb:

Ὡς εἰπων ἐπέεσσι διεπτοίησε γυναῖκας.
βὰν δ' ἴμεναι διὰ δωμα, λύθεν δ' ὑπο γυῖα ἑκάστης
ταρβοσύνη.

The fact that Homer uses πτοιέω in context with fear while Sappho seems to apply it to an erotic situation in fr. 31 has led some to neglect the possibility of a direct connection between fr. 31.6 and χ 298.[24] However, this seeming difference of meaning is precisely what makes Sappho's implementation of the verb metaphorical.[25] The woman's voice and laughter have the same effect on Sappho in the war of love as has the aigis on Penelope's suitors in an actual battle situation. The terror of the suitors anticipates not only their failure in the fight, but also their failure as suitors. Similarly, Sappho's fear betokens the fact that she has lost the girl she loves to a man. As we shall see, this fear metaphor is continued and fortified through the words τρόμος and χλωροτέρα, as well as through some of the other symptoms of Sappho's incapacitation. Therefore, the truest reading of the poem perhaps may lie somewhere between Cat. 51, where only the erotic implications are translated, and Luc. 3.

152-60, where the poet applies Sappho's symptoms to the pathology of fear.[26]

The significance of this fear should be carried one step further. The fear that the suitors feel at the appearance of the aigis is related to the fear humans in general feel when they are confronted with the gods or the divine. Euripides' Bacchae are seized by terror when Dionysos miraculously appears.[27] When Oidipous suddenly disappears in order to become a hero, the thunder and divine pronouncement which follow arouse the fear of the bystanders.[28] Thus, in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the appearance of the goddess instills terror; and already in the Iliad and Odyssey, amazement and fear accompany appearance of the gods.[29]

Only the heroes who enjoy divine favor are able to withstand a divine presence. Helen is amazed when, at Γ 398, she recognizes Aphrodite, but she is able to quarrel freely with the goddess. When Athene descends to the battlefield like a star in Book 4 of the Iliad (Δ 75), Trojans and Greeks alike are seized by θάμβος (79); but in Book 5, Diomedes is strengthened by the presence of the goddess and, emboldened by her, is even able to wound Aphrodite and Ares.[30] In the Meropis, Herakles is not a bit unnerved when aigis-bearing Athene comes down and touches him.[31] When Athene and her aigis reveal themselves in the scene in the Odyssey (discussed above) and

cause the suitors to panic, precisely then Odysseus and his party renew their attack with added strength, like vultures from the hills (χ 302-8). Whereas mortal men react to gods and the divine with fear, the chosen heroes may be amazed, but, through the very presence of the divine, attain super-human status, as did Diomedes, Odysseus and Nausikaa.[32]

Understanding of the typical and extraordinary reaction of mortals to gods explains the essential difference between the man, who, in Sappho's poem, is able to bear the sight of the woman's divine beauty and to become ἴσος θέοισιν, and the poet herself, who becomes unnerved when looking at the same woman. To this, I shall return below, but first I shall treat at some length lines 7-16, which detail Sappho's usual reaction to the woman--that is, what has happened in the past every time she has looked at her even for a brief moment. Three of the effects mentioned in these lines--trembling, pallor, and sweating--are described in language reminiscent of expressions in Homer.

τρόμος ἄγρει in lines 13-4 parallels Homeric formulae involving τρόμος and forms of not only αἱρέω (Ε 862 ; Τ 14; Χ 136), but also ἔχω (Ζ 137; Κ 25; Σ 247), ὑπέρχομαι (Η 215; Υ 44), λαμβάνω (Γ 34; Θ 452; Ξ 506; Ω 170; σ 88) and ἱκάνω (Λ 117). In six of these fourteen occurrences of τρόμος, the trembling is a reaction to the

sight of someone or something,[33] just as it is in fr. 31.

At T 14-7, a passage which supports my observations on the effect of an immortal presence, the sight of the divine shield causes two markedly different emotional responses in Achilles and the lesser Myrmidons:

> Μυρμιδόνας δ' ἄρα πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ὡς εἶδ', ὡς μιν μᾶλλον ἔδυ χόλος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε δεινον ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάανθεν.

The occurrence here of εἰσιδέειν, corresponding to ἐς σ' ἴδω (31.7), of ἔλε τρόμος, corresponding to τρόμος ἄγρει (31.13-4) and of ἄντην, corresponding to ἐναντιός (31.2),[34] makes it tempting to view these lines as one of Sappho's models. By recalling this passage, she likens herself to the comparatively weak Myrmidons, equates the man with Achilles and links the woman, bright in her beauty, to the shield.[35] When Achilles' χόλος (~μῆνις) is viewed as the wellspring of his forthcoming <u>aristeia</u>, the following analogy can be drawn: the splendor of the woman's appearance, so debilitating to Sappho, only serves to increase the love-heroism of the man; her divine beauty augments his own godlike stature, just as the brightness of the shield is reflected in Achilles' eyes.

The series of three correspondences suggested by this allusion parallels those suggested by χ 297-9. When the two sets are combined an interesting scheme emerges: girl~<u>aigis</u>~shield; Sappho~suitors~Myrmidons; man~Odysseus (whose heroism, as I argued above, is in-

creased, not diminished, by the appearance of the aigis)- Achilles. Through the allusions, the girl is twice likened to a divine shield;[36] Sappho, twice to typically mortal fighters; and the man, twice to heroes.

Consideration of other Homeric episodes in which τρόμος is induced by an awesome sight enhances the impression left by recollection of T 14-7. In three instances,[37] the trembling takes hold as the result of the appearance of a hero likened to Ares. At X 132-7, for example, an Ares-like Achilles instills terror in Hektor, who, although the best of the Trojans, is still inferior to Achilles.[38]

> ἶσος Ἐνυαλίῳ, κορυθάϊκι πτολεμιστῇ,
> σείων Πηλιάδα μελίην κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον
> δεινήν· ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος αὐγῇ
> ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἠελίου ἀνιόντος.
> Ἕκτορα δ', ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἕλε τρόμος οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη
> αὖθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ δὲ φοβηθείς·
> (X 132-7)

This passage confirms the parallels which I drew earlier. The divinely beautiful, tremor-inducing woman of fr. 31 is equated with fear-inspiring warriors, who often have been distinguished by comparison to a divinity. Meanwhile, Sappho is again associated with lesser warriors, destined to be worsted, killed or put to flight. Although both the woman and the heroes are mortal, they have divine qualities, which cause other mortals, like Sappho, to react to them as if they were gods. The man, in a sense, is like the gods because he is the equal of

the godlike woman.

The greenish pallor, described by the poet with the words χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι, is always a manifestation of fear in the Iliad and Odyssey, where, used in context with human beings, forms of the word χλωρὸς occur only in the expressions χλωρὸς or χλωροὶ ὑπαὶ δείους and χλωρὸν δέος. χλωρὸν δέος, like τρόμος, in Homer afflicts both men awed by the divine (H 479, Θ 77, ω 533) or by supernatural phenomena (λ 43, λ 633, μ 243) and those faced with a life-threatening encounter in war (K 376, O 4, P 67, χ 42, ω 450). At Θ 75-7, the sight of Zeus' lightning bolt, the meteorological equivalent of the aigis, pales the cheeks of the Achaians:

> δαιόμενον δὲ
> ἦκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
> θάμβησαν, καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ χλωρὸν δέος εἷλεν.

Thus, the metaphor born with ἐπτόαισεν and weaned with τρόμος matures with χλωροτέρα.

Although the problems which plague the text at line 13[39] make it difficult to try to track down a specific Homeric model, it is possible that Sappho intended, through an expression along the lines of κάδ δέ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται, again to recall the behavior of worsted warriors. At E 796, wounded Diomedes perspires; at Λ 811, wounded Eurypylos; and at O 241, boulder-struck Hektor. Sweat also often afflicts warriors in flight (Φ 51, Φ 561, X 2). In another passage, Aias, at his most vulnerable

and forced to yield, succumbs to sweat (Π102-111):

> Αἴας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνε· βιάζετο γὰρ βελέεσσι·
> δάμνα μιν Ζηνός τε νόος καὶ Τρῶες ἀγαυοὶ
> βάλλοντες· δεινὴν δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ
> πήληξ βαλλομένη κακαχὴν ἔχε, βάλλετο δ' αἰεὶ
> κἀπ φάλαρ' εὐποιήθ'· ὁ δ' ἀριστερὸν ὦμον ἔκαμνεν,
> ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ ἔχων σάκος αἰόλον· οὐδ' ἐδύναντο
> ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πελεμίξαι ἐρείδοντες βελέεσσιν.
> αἰεὶ δ' ἀργαλέῳ ἔχετ' ἄσθματι, κἀδ δέ οἱ ἰδρὼς
> πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολὺς ἔρρεεν, οὐδέ πῃ εἶχεν
> ἀμπνεῦσαι· πάντῃ δὲ κακὸν κακῷ ἐστήρικτο.

This passage is especially interesting in relation to fr. 31 because, in it, Aias, in actual battle, is assailed on almost as many fronts as is Sappho in the war of love. Although ἰδρώς is the most obvious similarity in their two sets of afflictions, the ringing of the helmet around Aias' temples is the closest Homeric equivalent to Sapphic ἐπιρρόμβεισι δ' ἀκουαι (31.12) and Aias' inability to catch his breath parallels Sappho's death sensation (31.15-6).[40]

Speechlessness, another of Sappho's afflictions (lines 7-9) figures largely in Apollonios Rhodios' description of Medea in her infatuation with Jason. When Eros first wounds her and causes her to fall in love, she temporarily loses the power of speech (3.283-4):

> ἰθὺς δ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι διασχόμενος παλάμῃσιν
> ἦκ' [sc. Ἔρος] ἐπὶ Μηδείῃ· τὴν δ' ἀμφασίη
> λάβε θυμόν.

As love's arrow inflames her heart, she pales (297-8):

> ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρειὰς
> ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο.

Speechlessness and pallor elsewhere in the Argonautika,

as in Homer, are more usually symptomatic of fear.[41]

There is reason to believe that Apollonios drew heavily upon fr. 31 in his treatment of love-struck Medea. Both the passage discussed in the previous paragraph and the scene wherein Medea talks to Jason for the first time (3.947ff.) bear many affinities to Sappho. Although there are verbal parallels,[42] a certain structural similarity of the later passage to fr. 31 is especially striking. Apollonios' description of Medea's reaction to the appearance of Jason at their second meeting is strongly reminiscent of Sappho's treatment of her own response to the sight of the woman of fr. 31:

> αὐτὰρ ὅγ' [sc. Jason] οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐελδομένῃ ἐφαάνθη
> ὑψόσ' ἀναθρώσκων ἅ τε Σείριος Ὠκεανοῖο,
> ὅς δή τοι καλὸς μὲν ἀρίζηλός τ' ἐσιδέσθαι
> ἀντέλλει, μήλοισι δ' ἐν ἄσπετον ἦκεν ὀΐζύν.
> ὣς ἄρα τῇ καλὸς μὲν ἐπήλυθέν εἰσοράασθαι
> Αἰσονίδης, κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον ὦρσε φαανθείς.
> ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίῃ στηθέων πέσεν, ὄμματα δ' αὖτως
> ἤχλυσαν· θερμὸν δὲ παρηίδας εἶλεν ἔρυθος.
> γούνατα δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπάροιθεν ἄειραι
> ἔσθενεν, ἀλλ' ὑπένερθε πάγη πόδας.
> (3.956-65)

Here, as in Sappho, a woman in love shows symptoms of fear at the sight of her radiantly beautiful beloved.[43]

Couple as Heroes

Although lines 5-16 ostensibly describe only Sappho's reactions, analysis of the use of Homeric allusion and convention in these lines has improved our understanding of both the poet's status in the war of

love and the couple's as well. Investigation of lines 1-5 will reveal that the metaphor carried out in the later stanzas is launched at the poem's beginning.

In previous treatments of fr. 31, much stormy debate has centered around the words ἴσος θέοισιν. There are essentially two camps in this debate: 1) those who see in the phrase an allusion to Homeric heroes, so often equated to gods, and who, hence, translate it along the lines "equal to the gods in strength"; and 2) those who, translating "equal to the gods in blessedness" or "happiness," treat ἴσος θέοισιν as a topos of the makarismos of epithalamial poetry and hence deny that the words carry any epic associations.[44] For the time being, I shall explore only the phrase's heroic implications, which I have already discussed at some length above; later on, the possibility of its epithalamial connotations will be entertained.

Although no direct equivalents of ἴσος θέοισιν survive in Homer, the existence of Homeric epithets like θεοειδής, θεοείκελος, ἰσόθεος, and δαίμονι ἴσος justifies considering the Sapphic phrase evocative of heroic language. At very least, then, we may say that, by calling the man ἴσος θέοισιν, Sappho likens him not only to the gods, but to the godlike heroes of Homer. It may be possible, however, to go further than this. Of the Homeric epithets similar to ἴσος θέοισιν, the nearest in

sense and form is δαίμονι ἴσος, which combines the adjective ἴσος with a noun, signifying an unspecified deity, in the dative.[45] Unlike ἰσόθεος, which seems to have been used broadly and indiscriminately of both major and minor characters in the Iliad and Odyssey,[46] this expression is applied to only three major Iliadic warriors--Diomedes, Patroklos and Achilles.

Twice the formula δαίμονι ἴσος occurs in context with ἴσα θέοισιν, another expression closely resembling Sapphic ἴσος θέοισιν. In Iliad 5, when Athene first gives Diomedes the ability to recognize the gods, she grants him permission to attack only Aphrodite (E 127-32).[47] Nevertheless, heedless of this restriction, he rushes upon Apollo three times, when, later on, he spots him in the fray. When he attacks for the fourth time, Apollo dissuades him from the attempt:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,
> δεινὰ δ' ὀμοκλήσας προσέφη ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·
> "φράζεο, Τυδεΐδη, καὶ χάζεο, μηδὲ θεοῖσιν
> ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν, ἐπεὶ οὔ ποτε φῦλον ὁμοῖον
> ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων."
> ὣς φάτο, Τυδεΐδης δ' ἀνεχάζετο τυτθὸν ὀπίσσω,
> μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.
> (E 438-44)

Apollo's response lends a very specific meaning to δαίμονι ἴσος. Diomedes advances like a god because he is challenging a god, as only another immortal should do. He seems to Apollo to be "putting on godlike airs" (θεοῖσιν ἴσα φρονέειν), to be trying to ignore the age-old distinction between gods and men.

At Φ 227, δαίμονι ἶσος is used of Achilles in the context of his battle with Skamandros. Later on in this episode, Skamandros calls upon his brother to aid him in routing his mortal attacker:

> ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνε τάχιστα, καὶ ἐμπίπληθι ῥέεθρα
> ὕδατος ἐκ πηγέων, πάντας δ' ὀρόθυνον ἐναύλους,
> ἵστη δὲ μέγα κῦμα, πολὺν δ' ὀρυμαγδὸν ὄρινε
> φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, ἵνα παύσομεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα,
> ὃς δὴ νῦν κρατέει, μέμονεν δ' ὅ γε ἶσα θεοῖσι.
> (Φ 311-5)

Like Apollo, Skamandros interprets the fact that a mortal has assailed him by assuming that the mortal has aspirations to immortality: in the natural order of things, only a god attacks a god. Thus, Achilles' battle with the river ends when Hera sends immortal Hephaistos down to deal with Skamandros:

> ὄρσεο, κυλλοπόδιον, ἐμὸν τέκος· ἄντα σέθεν γὰρ
> Ξάνθον δινήεντα μάχῃ ἠΐσκομεν εἶναι
> (Φ 331-2)

Of the nine times δαίμονι ἶσος survives in Homer, it occurs, preceded by the verb ἐπέσσυτο, in the context of theomachia seven times (E 438, 459, 884; Π 705, 786; Υ 447; Φ 227). Twice it is used of Achilles in the context of purely mortal confrontation (with θῦνε at Υ 493; and with ἔσθορε at Φ 18). It is only applied to heroes on the attack.

The application of ἶσος θέοισιν, reminiscent of Homeric δαίμονι ἶσος, to the man in line 1 of fr. 31 at very least identifies that man as a heroic attacker in a love-heroic situation. In addition, it possibly carries

the force to suggest that the man is equal to the gods because his "opponent," in this case the woman, is divine. This fits in well with what emerged from examination of Sappho's reaction in lines 7-16, where the woman was again and again seen to be equated with the divine and semi-divine, while the man was equated with heroes.

The man's heroism in the war of love is revealed not only in his willingness to take on a woman of divine beauty, but in his imperviousness to the effect of that beauty. In the Iliad, Diomedes survives his run-ins with the gods because Athene has endowed him with special powers, just as, aided by the same goddess, Nausikaa retains her composure before naked Odysseus and Odysseus, later on, derives strength from the aigis. After his experience with Apollo, Diomedes is reluctant to confront Hektor when he sees Ares fighting by his side (E 596-600). When Athene rebukes him for yielding, he responds by saying that he retreated not on account of fear or exhaustion, but in deference to her own command that he attack no god but Aphrodite (E 800-24). Athene counters by enjoining him to fight Ares without fear:

> μήτε σύ γ' Ἄρηα τό γε δείδιθι μήτε τιν' ἄλλον
> ἀθανάτων· τοίη τοι ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος εἰμι.
> ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐπ' Ἄρηι πρώτῳ ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους,
> τύψον δὲ σχεδίην μηδ' ἄζεο θοῦρον Ἄρηα,
> (E 827-30)

Fortified by these words, Diomedes goes on to wound the god (E 846-59). He is able to rush upon and wound Ares

δαίμονι ἶσος (E 884) because Athene has again freed him from the fear (μήτε δείδιθι) and awe (μήδ' ἄζεο), which usually afflict mortals confronted by deities.

Three lines from the Iliad reveal the nature of the more traditional reaction of men faced with the prospect of fighting gods. In Book 20, Hera, worried that the appearance of the Olympians on the battlefield will unnerve Achilles, predicts:

> εἰ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς οὐ ταῦτα θεῶν ἐκ πεύσεται ὀμφῆς,
> δείσετ' ἔπειθ', ὅτε κέν τις ἐναντίβιον θεὸς ἔλθῃ
> ἐν πολέμῳ· χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς.
> (Y 129-31)

In an episode studded with uses of δαίμονι ἶσος (Π 705, 786), Patroklos, unaided by Athene, succumbs to just such fear and awe when he disobeys Achilles and attacks Apollo. Patroklos' assault upon this god is terminated when Apollo points out the mortal's shortcomings as a warrior:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος
> δεινὰ δ' ὀμοκλήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα
> "χάζεο, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες· οὔ νύ τοι αἶσα
> σῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων,
> οὐδ' ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, ὅς περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων."
> ὣς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δ' ἀνεχάζετο πολλὸν ὀπίσσω,
> (Π 705-10)

However, Patroklos does not retire from battle. When again he behaves like a god in his attack of the Trojans, Apollo cuts him down:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος,
> ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή·
> ἤντετο γάρ τοι Φοῖβος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ
> δεινός· ὁ μὲν τὸν ἰόντα κατὰ κλόνον οὐκ ἐνόησεν

ἠέρι γὰρ πολλὴ κεκαλυμμένος ἀντεβόλησε·
στῆ δ' ὄπιθεν, πλῆξεν δὲ μετάφρενον εὐρέε τ' ὦμω
χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ, στρεφεδίνηθεν δὲ οἱ ὄσσε
τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς κυνέην βάλε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
. . .
πᾶν δέ οἱ ἐν χείρεσσιν ἄγη δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,
βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρὸν κεκορυθμένον· αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων
ἀσπὶς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πέσε τερμιόεσσα.
λῦσε δὲ οἱ θώρηκα ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων.
τὸν δ' ἄτη φρένας εἷλε, λύθεν δ' ὑπο φαίδιμα γυῖα,
στῆ δὲ ταφών·
(Π 786-93 . . . 801-6)[48]

Like Diomedes, Patroklos is δαίμονι ἶσος in his confrontation with the god, but without the added fortification of Athene's special protection, he succumbs to the natural, mortal reaction to Apollo's appearance.

It is possible, then, to see a further purpose behind Sappho's use of ἶσος θέοισιν: not only does it link the man to Diomedes, who faced and triumphed over Aphrodite and Ares, but it connects Sappho to Patroklos, a warrior worsted by a divinity.

This notion of divine aid for a mortal meeting a divine opponent may be related to the mysterious ending of fr. 31. The verbs τολμάω and τλάω frequently occur in the context of fear and bravery in Homer.[49] Heroes dare to face danger; lesser fighters do not. This suggests that the words ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον ἐπεὶ in line 16 should be considered part of the poem--a continuation of the martial metaphor--and that the fourth stanza should not be regarded as the poem's last. If this is so, something must have happened in the fifth stanza to increase Sappho's fortitude, to enable her to endure what pre-

viously she could not bear. This something could well have been the intervention of Aphrodite. Or Sappho may simply have yielded to the conventions which caused the woman she loved to become a man's wife. In her case, the conventional yielding was synonymous with writing the present poem. The fact that Sappho could recite this poem in the woman's presence indicates that she is already on the way to regaining her composure.[50]

The martial/heroic implications of ἴσος θέοισιν are intensified by ἐνάντιός in line 2. This word, in connection with ἰσόθεος, can be regarded as simply descriptive of a scene in which the man sits opposite the woman. But, in context with the metaphor system present in the poem, the word may well carry martial connotations. In Homer, words like ἐναντίος, ἐναντίβιος, ἔναντα, ἀντίος, ἀντίβιος, and ἄντα, coupled with verbs like ἱστάναι, (ὑπο)μενέειν, μάχεσθαι and πολεμίζειν, often occur in the context of martial confrontation.[51] In fact, the ability to stand and meet an intimidating foe face to face frequently marks heroic behavior, as opposed to cowardice.[52]

At N 101-6, Poseidon contrasts the Trojans' current valor to their former pusillanimity, which he characterizes by their unwillingness to fight face to face:

Τρῶας ἐφ' ἡμετέρας ἰέναι νέας, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ

φυζακινῆς ἐλάφοισιν ἐοίκεσαν, αἵ τε καθ' ὕλην
θώων παρδαλίων τε λύκων τ' ἦΐα πέλονται
αὖτως ἠλάσκουσαι ἀνάλκιδας, οὐδ' ἔπι χάρμη-
ῶς Τρῶες τὸ πρίν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν
μίμνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐναντίον, οὐδ' ἠβαιόν·

Sappho, who falters whenever she looks at the woman even briefly (31.7: ἐς σ' ἴδω βρόχε') is like the Trojans of old, who could not withstand Achaian might even for an instant (οὐδ' ἠβαιόν); in contrast the man can calmly sit opposite the woman long enough to have an involved conversation.

P 65-9 is particularly relevant to fr. 31. In this passage, the Trojans, in their helplessness to prevent Menelaus from stripping the armor from fallen Euphorbos, are compared to dogs and shepherds facing a lion:

ἀμφὶ δὲ τόν γε κύνες τ' ἄνδρες τε νομῆες
πολλὰ μάλ' ἰύζουσιν ἀπόπροθεν οὐδ' ἐθέλουσιν
<u>ἀντίον</u> ἐλθέμεναι· μάλα γὰρ χλωρὸν δέος αἱρεῖ
ὥς τῶν οὔ τινι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐτόλμα
ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

The χλωρὸν δέος here is echoed by Sappho's χλωροτέρα; θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν is paralleled by her καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν. Sappho is afflicted in a manner similar to the shepherds and Trojans, while the man possesses a strength they do not.[53]

This simile is one of the martial lion similes which I cited earlier in connection with Odysseus and Nausikaa.[54] It is possible that Sappho was aware of the erotic application of military convention in that

episode. The poet of the Odyssey, like the Lesbian poet, used a word with the stem ἀντ- to indicate Nausikaa's valor as a love-heroine. After her handmaidens take flight, Nausikaa remains, emboldened by Athene:

> οἵη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε· τῇ γὰρ Ἀθήνη
> θάρσος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε καὶ ἐκ δέος εἵλετο γυίων.
> στῆ δ' ἄντα σχομένη.
> (ζ 139-41)

The courage Nausikaa reveals by standing opposite Odysseus is like the strength shown by the man as he sits facing the woman in fr. 31.

Although the average Homeric warrior does little sitting during a battle, the ability to remain calmly seated does figure importantly in a speech from the Iliad, which Sappho could very well have had in mind when writing ἐνάντιός τοι ἰσδάνει. At N 277-286, Idomeneus tells Meriones how cowards and heroes show their true colors when under the strain of waiting in ambush:

> ἐς λόχον, ἔνθα μάλιστ' ἀρετὴ διαείδεται ἀνδρῶν--
> ἔνθ' ὅ τε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ ὅς τ' ἄλκιμος ἐξεφαάνθη
> τοῦ μὲν γάρ τε κακοῦ τρέπεται χρὼς ἄλλυδις ἄλλῃ,
> οὐδέ οἱ ἀτρέμας ἧσθαι ἐρητύετ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός,
> ἀλλὰ μετοκλάζει καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους πόδας ἵζει,
> ἐν δέ τέ οἱ κραδίῃ μεγάλα στέρνοισι πατάσσει
> κῆρας ὀϊομένῳ, πάταγος δέ τε γίγνετ' ὀδόντων
> τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ οὔτ' ἂρ τρέπεται χρὼς οὔτε τι λίην
> ταρβεῖ, ἐπειδὰν πρῶτον ἐσίζηται λόχον ἀνδρῶν,
> ἁρᾶται δὲ τάχιστα μιγήμεναι ἐν δαὶ λυγρῇ--

The parallels between this passage and fr. 31 are obvious. Both Sappho and the poet of the Iliad are concerned with contrasting the behavior of losers and winners. Sappho's catalog of her own reactions to a woman is similar to the

Homeric catalog of the coward's responses to the stresses of ambush: both lists include pallor and unsteadiness of heart. The major difference between the two treatments is, of course, that the epic poet is discussing actual war, while the lyric poet deals with the war of love.

Marriage

Now that our investigation of Homeric allusion in fr. 31 is essentially complete, it is necessary to explore the possibility that comparison to the gods is a topos of epithalamial verse and that, hence, the presence of ἴσος θέοισιν marks the poem as a marriage song.[56] As stated earlier, previous critics of the poem have often been led astray by the drawing of false distinctions with respect to this poem: they assume that if ἴσος θέοισιν carries Homeric connotations, it cannot be hymeneal; and that if fr. 31 is a love poem, it cannot be a marriage poem.[57] It will be my purpose in the following discussion to abolish these distinctions.

It is important to keep in mind that the force of ἴσος θέοισιν and the rest of the metaphorical battle language of fr. 31 is not so much to equate the man of line 2 with the immortals as to establish him as a divinely favored love hero of epic stature. A statement made by Himerios, Or. 1.16 (=9.16 Colonna) in a discus-

sion of marriage shows that this is perfectly in keeping with Sappho's practice in praising a groom: Σαπφοῦς ἦν ἄρα μήλῳ μὲν εἰκάσαι τὴν κορήν . . . τὸν νυμφίον τε Ἀχιλλεῖ παρομοιῶσαι καὶ εἰς ἀγαγεῖν τῷ ἥρωι τὸν νεανίσκον ταῖς πράξεσι. Just as the man in fr. 31 achieves hero status by virtue of his fortitude in face of the woman's beauty, so too a groom in a song now lost was compared to Achilles by virtue of his deeds. Investigation of other poems, in which Sappho graces men and women with comparison to gods upholds the essentially hymeneal quality of such similes.

Fr. 111

ἶψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον·
ὐμήναον·
ἄέρρετε τέκτονες ἄνδρες·
ὐμήναον.
γάμβρος εἶσ' ἶσος Ἄρει,
ἄνδρος μεγάλω πόλυ μέζων.[58]

In this poem, ἶσος Ἄρει is obviously similar to ἶσος θέοισιν, and, in this context, it is clear that the simile carries hymeneal as well as heroic connotations.[59] Although Sappho's choice of ἶσος Ἄρει is influenced by the formulae (βροτολοιγῷ) ἶσος and ἶσον Ἄρηι, which are applied to heroes whether or not they are actually warring at the moment of comparison,[60] lines 5-6 constitute an allusion to a specific Iliadic passage which does not contain that particular formula. At H 208-12,[61] Aias, likened in his hugeness to Ares, goes out to meet Hektor

in hand-to-hand combat:

> σεύατ' ἔπειθ' οἷός τε πελώριος ἔρχεται Ἄρης,
> ὅς τ' εἶσιν πόλεμόνδε μετ' ἀνέρας, οὓς τε Κρονίων
> θυμοβόρου ἔριδος μένεϊ ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι.
> τοῖος ἄρ' Αἴας ὦρτο πελώριος, ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν,
> μειδιόων βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι·

The fact that this is the only time in Homer when a hero is compared to Ares in terms of size,[62] coupled with the occurrence of both ἔρχεται and εἶσιν indicate that Sappho had this passage in mind.

These are not the only parallels, however. Like Sappho's groom, Homeric Aias is not only big, he is bigger than a big man. In the teichoskopia, Priam asks Helen to identify a Greek (Agamemnon), who, although tall, is not the largest of the Achaians:

> ὥς μοι καὶ τόνδ' ἄνδρα πελώριον ἐξονομήνης,
> ὅς τις ὅδ' ἐστιν Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε.
> ἦ τοι μὲν κεφαλῇ καὶ μείζονες[63] ἄλλοι ἔασι,
> καλὸν δ' οὔτω ἐγὼν οὔ πω ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
> οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῆϊ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικε.
> (Γ 166-70)

When later he inquires about the tallest (ἔξοχος) of the Argives, Helen informs him that the man is huge Aias:

> "τίς τ' ἄρ' ὅδ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε
> ἔξοχος Ἀργείων κεφαλήν τε καὶ εὐρέας ὤμους;"
> τὸν δ' Ἑλένη τανύπεπλος ἀμείβετο, δῖα γυναικῶν·
> "οὗτος δ' Αἴας ἐστὶ πελώριος, ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν· . . ."
> (Γ 226-9)

Since Aias is ἔξοχος, he must be not only taller than Agamemnon, but taller than all those other Achaians who outmeasure their chief. Both Agamemnon and Aias are described as ἀνὴρ ἠΰς, πελώριος and μέγας, but Aias is the bigger of the two.

It is clear that Sappho has combined, in lines 5 and 6, allusions to these two passages (H 208-12 and Γ 226-9), concerning Aias' height. The two passages are linked in Homer by the repetition of the phrase πελώριος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, which occurs only twice in epic. When likening the groom to Ares, Sappho, through Homeric allusion, at the same time equates him with a Homeric hero. Furthermore, the specific allusion to H 208-12 establishes the groom as a hero in action. Since this is precisely the function of ἶσος θέοισιν in fr. 31, as analyzed above, and of the comparison to Achilles in the poem which Himerios mentions (fr. 105b), it seems reasonable to argue that ὤνηρ in fr. 31.2 is in fact a husband. The similes in all three poems would reflect Sappho's use of the metaphor of lover as war-hero to enhance the status of the groom.

Other Similes

There are five other instances [64] of comparison of mortals to gods in Sappho. To the extent to which the fragments in which they are found allow speculation, all have hymeneal associations. Only one, the provocative]ἶσαν θέοισιν of fr. 68a.3, occurs in a text so ridden with lacunae as to make interpretation impossible. Although the context of]ξάνθαι δ' Ἐλέναι σ' ἐΐσ[κ]ην at fr. 23.5 also is unclear, the presence of παν]νυχίσ-

[δ]ον, a word with hymeneal connotations,[65] in line 13 of the same fragment indicates that the comparison might have figured in a marriage song.

Two other clearly hymeneal instances of comparison to the gods in Sappho survive in fr. 44, "The Wedding of Hektor and Andromache," where the bride and groom are dubbed not only ἴκελοι θέοις (21), but also θεοείκελος (34). As will become clear in the next chapter of this study, these expressions are part of a system of Homeric allusions which, performing the same function as those in fr. 31, serve to establish the romantic or domestic heroism of the pair. Thus, the expressions are simultaneously heroic and epithalamial.

The two Sapphic similes remaining to be discussed occur in the same poem, fr. 96. In this poem, Sappho consoles a girl named Atthis after the departure of a mutual friend, an unnamed woman, who, apparently, has left Lesbos for Lydia. Although it is never stated that the woman has departed as a newly married bride, the two similes suggest that this is the case.[66]

The text of lines 4-5 of fr. 96 is troublesome.[67] Nevertheless, a fairly strong case has been made for a reading along the lines of -σε θεᾷ σ' ἴκελαν ἀρι-/γνώτᾳ δὲ μάλιστ' ἔχαιρε μόλπαι. This case is based on the similarity of lines 4-5 (thus restored) to a simile in which Homer likens Nausikaa, singing with her handmaidens,

to Artemis, sporting with her nymphs:[68]

> τῇσι δὲ Ναυσικάα λευκώλενος ἄρχετο μολπῆς.
> οἵη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' ὄυρεα ἰοχέαιρα,
> ἢ κατὰ Τηΰγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,
> τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείῃς ἐλάφοισι·
> τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
> ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ.
> πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,
> ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·
> ὣς ἥ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἁδμής.
> (ζ 101-9)

The points of similarity are plentiful: Sappho's θέᾳ ἰκέλαν (4) and Homer's οἵη Ἄρτεμις (102); ἀριγνώτᾳ (4-5) and ἀριγνώτη (108); and ἐμπρέπεται (6) and μετέπρεπε (109). Moreover, with the aid of this Homeric parallel, we can identify a contrast central to Sappho's poem.

When the poet reminds Atthis that once in the past her now-absent friend held her the equal to a goddess and delighted greatly in her song, but now this same friend is outstanding among the women of Lydia, she is contrasting the friend's past life as a maiden to her present life as a married woman. γυναίκεσσιν in line 7 clearly refers to married women,[69] while the equation, set in the past, of Atthis to Nausikaa, preeminent maiden among maidens (ζ 109), implies that both of Sappho's friends were unmarried when they sang together. Nausikaa was not just a maiden, but a maiden on the brink of marriage,[70] and, as I argued earlier in this chapter, a heroine in the war of love. Therefore, the Homeric allusion serves not only to identify the poem's past

time as the time right before the woman's marriage (assuming that she and Atthis were contemporaries), but also to establish Atthis' heroic status. Sometime in the near future, she too will be wed.

The heroism of the absent, married woman is extablished through the simile in which she is likened to some astronomical phenomenon, probably the moon:[71]

> νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί-
> κεσσιν ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω
> δύντος ἁ βροδοδάκτυλος †μήνα
>
> πάντα περ<ρ>έχοισ' ἄστρα· φάος δ' ἐπί-
> σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀλμύρον
> ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις
>
> ἁ δ' <ἐ>έρσα κάλα κέχυται τεθά-
> λαισι δὲ βρόδα κἄπαλ' ἄν-
> θρυσκα καὶ μελίλωτος ἀνθεμώδης.
> (fr. 96.6-14)

Although Homeric heroes are never likened to the moon (an appropriately feminine astrological phenomenon), comparison of warriors to stars are common in Iliadic battle similes, and the brightness which Sappho attributes to the woman with this simile traditionally distinguishes warriors in armor.[72]

Through these two similes, Sappho raises the two women to the status of heroes. Both comparisons have both heroic and nuptial associations. Atthis, herself a future bride, is identified with the heroic and nubile Nausikaa of Odyssey 6. Like Anaktoria of fr. 16, the other woman, a recent and resplendent bride, shines like

the armed fighters of the Iliad.

Implications of Comparison to the Gods: Fr. 31 Again

The combination of the heroic and the epithalamial goes back to the Odyssey. I have already discussed the metaphor of lover as warrior in the Nausikaa and Odysseus episode, but the metaphor is also at work in Ithaka. Because his wedding agon is a heroic aristeia of the scope of an Iliadic battle, Odysseus is the ultimate warrior groom. Nevertheless, it is only when he must confront Penelope, who because of her steadfastness in face of the constant siege of the suitors, has achieved a sort of domestic heroism, that he is compared to the gods. Only after Athene has enlarged and beautified him in the bath does he emerge looking like a god (ψ 163: ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος) and, like the groom of fr. 31, sit down opposite his wife (ψ 164-5: ἆψ δ' αὖτις κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου ἔνθεν ἀνέστη/ ἀντίον ἧς ἀλόχου).

It should be clear by now that fr. 31 is some sort of marriage poem, meant to be performed either at the wedding itself or at a farewell dinner before the departure of the bride. Some may object that it is a very strange sort of wedding song, in which another woman expresses so vividly her love for the bride. However, Sappho's description of her passion is at the same time an encomium of a couple.[73] As analysis of the

Homeric allusion in the poem has indicated, when Sappho praises the man in line 2, she is simultaneously honoring the woman.[74] The man is godlike because the woman is godlike. His strength and her beauty perfectly complement each other.

One of Sappho's purely epithalamial songs (fr. 112) shows that it was a feature of this sort of poetry to praise the bride and groom in terms of one another:

> ὄλβιε γάμβρε, σοὶ μὲν δὴ γάμος ὡς ἄραο
> ἐκτετέλεστ᾽ . ἔχηις δὲ πάρθενον ἂν ἄραο . . .
> σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἶδος, ὄππατα δ᾽ . . .
> μέλλιχ᾽ .ἔρος δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἰμέρτωι κέχυται προσώπωι
> . . . . . τετίμαχ᾽ ἔξοχά σ᾽ Ἀφροδίτα
> (fr. 112)

The first two lines were addressed to the groom; and the next three, probably to the bride.[75] The meaning is the same as in fr. 31: the groom is blessed because of the beauty of the bride.

Bride and Groom as Heroes

In fr. 31 and the other epithalamial fragments of Sappho can be observed a particularized application of the lover as warrior motif. Contrary to her practice in frs. 1 and 16, where she equates love with war in the sense that both are perilous struggles, Sappho likens brides and grooms to warriors in order to grant them a larger-than-life, heroic status. Thus, it is not her purpose to imply that matrimony can be a struggle of the proportions of the Trojan War, but rather to elevate the act of mar-

riage by investing it with heroic grandeur. In the next chapter of this study, I will suggest some reasons why this application of the metaphor held such a great appeal for Sappho.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1]For the martial application of these words, see, for example, X 157-8 (Achilles chasing Hektor):

τῇ ῥα παραδραμέτην, φεύγων, ὸ δ' ὄπισθε διώκων·
πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δέ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων

See M. Lefkowitz, GRBS 14 (1973) 121. For erotic uses of διώκειν and φεύγειν, see Theogn. 1287, 1299-1300 and Anacr. 359.

[2]A. Spies, Militat omnis amans. Ein Beitrag zur Bildersprache der antiken Erotik (Diss. Tübingen, 1930) 30, wrongly considers no occurrence of the metaphor prior to σύμμαχος in Sappho fr. 1, which he is even reluctant to accept as an example.

[3]For this interpretation, see J. Henderson, Arethusa 9 (1976) and L. Koenen, St Pap 15 (1976) 79.

[4]Fr. 191 is usually associated with fr. 193: both, it is claimed, describe deathlike throes of passion:

τοῖος γὰρ φιλότητος ἔρως ὑπὸ καρδίαν ἐλυσθεὶς
πολλὴν κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν,
κλέψας ἐκ στηθέων ἀπαλὰς φρένας. (fr. 191)

See, for example, Bowra GLP, p. 189. A close look at the Homeric language in this fragment, however, suggests that Archilochos here refers not to love's power to debilitate, but rather to its ability to deceive. D. Page in Archiloque, Entr. Fond. Hardt 10 (1963) 138, cites two Homeric formulae as models for line two: κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς (E 696, Π 344); and κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν χέεν ἀχλύν (Y 321). He singles out Y 421 (κάρ ῥά οἱ ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς), which describes the mist which fills Hektor's eyes as he watches the death of his brother, as an instance of the formula applied in an "emotional context." An analysis of the passage indicates that, in Homer, there is a difference of sense between ἀχλύς plus a passive form of χέειν and an active form of χέειν plus ἀχλύν. Only the former combination denotes the haziness of vision which accompanies death or a deathlike swoon (cf. E 696; Π 344, 421; X 88). The second combination, which more closely parallels Archilochos' adaptation, refers to the mist by which Poseidon clouded Achilles' vision long enough to secure the safety

of Aineas (Y 321). In a variation of the expression at E 127 (ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν), Athene tells Diomedes that she has removed from his eyes the deceptive mist which previously had kept him from being able to recognize gods on earth. At η 41, Athene covers Odysseus with a mist to shield him from the eyes of the Phaiakians. In all these cases, the subject of the active verb is a divinity. This is paralleled by ἔρως in 191.1. Thus, it is likely that Archilochos' ἀχλὺν is not the mist of death, but the mist of deception.

For the third line, Page again lists two models. The first, Λ 115 (ἀπαλόν τέ σφ' ἦτορ ἀπήυρα), describes the death of fawns. The second, Ξ 217 (πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων), occurs in the highly erotic context of the ἀπάτη and alludes to Aphrodite's power to charm and deceive. Again, the second model is the closer to Archilochos' rendering.

We can now appreciate the art of his first lines. There is only one Homeric precedent for the words ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθεὶς in this line. ι 433 (τοῦ κατὰ νῶτα λαβών, λασίην ὑπὸ γαστέρ' ἐλυσθείς), offering only γαστέρ' at variance with Archilochean καρδίην, is part of Odysseus' narrative of his ram-borne escape from the Kyklops, whom he has just deceived and blinded. By having ἔρως behave in a manner similar to that of Odysseus of Book 9, Archilochos fortifies his picture of love's power to delude.

A few other Archilochean examples should perhaps be mentioned here. In the case of fr. 125 (μάχης δὲ τῆς σῆς, ὥστε διψέων πιεῖν,/ ὡς ἐρέω), the limited context makes it very difficult to verify the nature of the fight for which Archilochos thirsts. Nevertheless, there is a strong possibility that the lines are erotic. On the ambiguity of this fragment, see G. Lanata, QUCC 6 (1968) 33-5.

Fr. 119 evidently describes an erotic battle:

καὶ πεσεῖν δρήστην ἐπ' ἀσκόν, κάπὶ γαστρὶ γαστέρα
προσβαλεῖν μηρούς τε μηροῖς

I may also refer to fr. 112/113. The poem beginning at 113.7 seems to mock a military leader who knows how to wield his javelin, but seems to be excessive in his love making (cf. Cat. 29 and see M. West, Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus [Berlin-New York, 1974] 29-30). The preceding poem (112-113.6) seems to contrast the unfortunate experiences of an army beleaguering a city to Aphrodite's activities within the city (the subject could in fact be Paris and Helen in the throes of passion in besieged Troy).

Archilochos' allusive manipulation of Homer is particularly clear in fr. 60, where Lykambes' daughter

is ironically equated with Nausikaa through reference to ζ 154-9. Cf. line 13 of the Cologne Archilochos and Ψ 96 (see L. Koenen on Archil. ep. Col. 9ff. in forthcoming 1979 ZPE; and also, e.g., fr. 114 — see H. Fränkel, EGP & P, 137-8).

This does not exclude the possibility that, in other cases, the similarity between Archilochos' and Homer's phrasing is simply the result of vernacular language. Cf., e.g., fr. 188.1-2 W=S 478b in D. Page, Supplementum Lyricis Graecis (Oxford, 1974) and ν 399; and, in general, D. Page in Archiloque, 117-63.

[5]The Nausikaa episode has been linked with a motif common in folktale: a penniless stranger, who is actually a prince, arrives in a foreign land, meets a princess, falls in love, approaches her parents, defeats other suitors in a contest set by the parents, and, revealed as the nobleman he is, marries the princess. See J. van Leeuwen, Commentationes Homericae (Leyden, 1911) 56-63; W. Woodhouse, The Composition of Homer's Odyssey (Oxford, 1930) 54-65; and G. Germain, Genèse de l'Odysée (Paris, 1954) 314-5.

[6]R. Lattimore, in Classical Studies presented to Ben Edwin Perry by his students and colleagues at the University of Illinois, 1924-1960, Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit. 58 (Urbana, 1969) 89-91, discusses the martial coloring of this scene.

[7]On the lion similes, see G. Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer (Cambridge, 1972) 213-4.

[8]In Book 1 of Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautika, the Jason/Hypsipyle episode parallels the Odysseus/Nausikaa episode: Jason, like Odysseus, is a wayfaring sailor whose safety depends upon his winning over the daughter of the (former) king of a foreign land. In the Apollonian scene, Jason dons a cloak made by Athene. At this point, Apollonios describes the cloak in an ekphrasis as, in the Iliad, the weapons are described before the aristeia of a hero (cf. H. Fränkel, Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios [Munich-Darmstadt, 1968] 100). Then, Jason sallies forth to woo Hypsipyle. As he approaches the city, he is compared to a star (l. 774-81). In Homer, warriors and armor, ablaze with brazen ferocity in the heat of battle, are often likened to stars (cf. Ε 4-6; Τ 379-81; Χ 26-32 and Χ 317-9). By adapting the epic technique of describing a hero's weapons to Jason's cloak and by comparing him to a star, Apollonios has equated the hero, in an erotic situation, to other heroes in

battle situations.

The comparison of Jason to a star has the same function as the comparison of Odysseus to a lion. It is possible that Apollonios' portrayal of Jason as an erotic warrior reflects his understanding of the martial overtones of the Odyssean lion simile. For a fuller discussion of A.R. 1.774-81, see C. Beye GRBS 10 (1969) 43-4.

If W. Burkert, CQ 20 (1970) 1-16, is correct in relating the coming of Jason to Lemnos to the restoration of fire in a Lemnian ritual, the simile comparing Jason to a fiery star may also be related to the ritual. This, however, does not invalidate the allusive power of the star simile which, primarily, relates Jason to the older epic and establishes him as a love-hero.

[9]Before Odysseus awakens, Nausikaa is compared to Artemis, the huntress, whose beauty surpasses the chorus of her nymphs (ζ 102-9). This comparison stresses nubile Nausikaa's virginity, soon to be lost in marriage (see Chapter 3, 86-7). Often in Greek myth (as in Π 183), members of Artemis' chorus are predestined to fall in love and to be deflowered (see W. Burkert, Griechische Religion [Stuttgart-Berlin-Cologne-Mainz, 1977] 234-5). Nausikaa and her maidens were washing clothes; this again exposed them to rape (cf., e.g., Auge and see L. Koenen, ZPE 4 [1969] 74ff.). What Greek maidens could expect when caught in a deserted place is illustrated by the new Archilochos fragment.

[10]Cf. Ovid Am. 1.9.1-4:

Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido;
Attice, crede mihi, militat omnis amans.
Quae bello est habilis, Veneris quoque convenit aetas:
turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor.

[11]For another horse simile, cf. Alcm. 1.45-51.

[12]For the relationship between fr. 47 and M 132-4, see Fränkel, EGP&P, 182-3.

Apollonios Rhodios seems to have credited a connection between these two comparisons. In the reworking of the oak simile in his description of the meeting of Jason and Medea, he draws upon both models:

τὼ δ' ἄνεω καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν,
ἢ δρυσίν, ἢ μακρῇσιν ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάτῃσιν,
αἵτε παρᾶσσον ἔκηλοι ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται
νηνεμίῃ· μετὰ δ' αὖτις ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνεμοῖο
κινύμεναι ὁμάδησαν ἀπείριτον· ὣς ἄρα τώγε
μέλλον ἅλις σφέγξασθαι ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν Ἔρωτος.
(3.967-72)

δρυσίν, ἐν οὔρεσιν and ἀνέμοιο recall both precursors; ἐφέστασαν and ἐρρίζωνται recall Homer; κινύμεναι and ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν Ἔρωτος recall Sappho. For Jason's and Medeia's silence heralding the onslaught of ἔρος, cf. Sappho fr. 31.9 (on this see below). See Fränkel, op. cit. n. 8, 409, re: fr. 47 and A.R. 967-72.

Horace also refers to fr. 47, although maliciously:
importunus [sc. Cupido] enim transvolat aridas
quercus et refugit te (c. 4.13.9-10).

[13]The bibliography for this poem is immense, and, in the main, irrelevant to the concerns of this study. The most recent treatment of the poem, T. McEvilly, Phoenix 32 (1978) 1-18, contains a fairly complete bibliography in the notes. See also E. Degani and Burzacchini, Lirici Greci (Florence, 1977) 138; Gerber, Euterpe 423; and G. Wills, GRBS 8 (1967) 167, n. 1.

The text which follows is that of Degani and Burzacchini, 140-6, except for line 13, where I accept the reading suggested by H. Ahrens, De Graecae linguae dialectis (Göttingen, 1839) 242, and supported by M. West, Maia 22 (1970) 311-2, among others. For another opinion and summary of the problems of line 13, see.G Privitera, Hermes 97 (1969) 267-72.

[14]In admitting the reading ἔαγε in this line, I interpret the "unLesbian" hiatus between γλῶσσα and ἔαγε as a conscious, although unspecific, epicism, intended by the poet to contribute to the Homericity and epic flavor of the poem. For a discussion of the problem and another solution, see Page, S&A, 24-5.

[15]As a matter of convenience, I shall use "Sappho" to denote the poem's ego--without any biographical implications however.

[16]See Wills, op. cit. n. 12, esp. 174-5.

[17]The contrast theory was fathered by F. Welcker in Kleine Schriften II (Bonn 1845) 99, n. 45. More recently, it has found champions in Wills, op. cit. n. 12, 167-97; G. Privitera, QUCC 8 (1969) 37-80; S. Radt, Mnemosyne 23 (1970) 340-4; and M. Marcovich, CQ 22 (1972) 19-32.

[18]This is the reading of PSI 1470.

[19]As is clear from the two participles (φωνείσας and γελαίσας) in lines 3-5, the woman is capable of both speech and hearing; cf. also ὑπακούει (line 4): the man "listens and responds." For this meaning of

the verb, cf. δ 282-4, where Menelaus tells of Diomedes' and his impulse to respond to Helen as she called to them from without the Trojan horse:

νῶι μὲν ἀμφοτέρω μενήναμεν ὁρμηθέντε
ἢ ἐξελθέμεναι, ἢ ἔνδοθεν αἶψ' ὑπακοῦσαι·
ἀλλ' Ὀδυσεὺς κατέρυκε καὶ ἔσχεθεν ἱεμένω περ.

Here translating ὑπακοῦσαι with "listen attentively" (as per Page, S&A, 21, re: 31.4) would make little sense. Menelaus and Diomedes would hardly have jeopardized the Argive cause by listening to Helen. Cf. κ 83 and T. Buttrey, GRBS 18 (1977) 8-9. This does not exclude the possibility that ὑπακούειν in other contexts means simply "listen;" cf. A. Gow, Theocritus (Cambridge, 1950) 155 on ὑπάκουσον (7.94).

[20]The question of the antecedent of τό is discussed thoroughly by Marcovich, op. cit. n. 17, 19-24, whose conclusion I adopt here. I also join with S. Radt, Mnemosyne 23 (1970) 341, n. 2, in viewing ἐπτόαισεν as an aorist of present emotion (see Smyth, paragraph 1937; and J. Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax I [Basel, 1926] 176).

[21]πτοιέω is possibly related to Latin paveo (see W. Merlingen in ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ 2, 56); for a different opinion, see H. Frisk, Griechisches etymologishes Worterbuch, vol. 2, 615. The word is employed with equal frequency to denote fear, love, and excitement. For lists of its occurrences and applications subsequent to Homer and Sappho, see Privitera, op. cit. n. 17, 59; C. Dawson, YCS 19 (1966) 56; and G. Koniaris, Philologus 112 (1968) 183-4. In Sappho fr. 22.14, ἐπτόαισ' αὔταν, placed in contradistinction to χαίρω, seems to signify little more than "disconcert" or "displease," although the limited context makes the true meaning difficult to determine.

[22]The problem of Alkaios fr. 283 again arises (see Chapter 2, n.11). Alkaios' κάλένας ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισ / θῦμον (lines 3-4) must stand in some relation to 31.6. A. Colonna, Paideia 10 (1950) 31, considers Alkaios' expression a deliberate Sapphism and, therefore, uses it in arguing the case of Sappho's priority. But even the possibility that Sappho imitated Alkaios does not mean that she could not have alluded to Odyssey 22 as well.

[23]Cf. Ε 738-9; Ο 229-30; and Ρ 593-6.

[24]For example, Dawson, op. cit. n. 21, 56, suggests that Sappho, in her erotic application of the verb "was only developing a usage foreshadowed" in Hes. Op. 447

(κουρότερος γὰρ ἀνὴρ μεθ' ὁμήλικας ἑπτοίηται), where it seems to signify "distraction." M. West, Hesiod: Works and Days (Oxford, 1978) 271-2, however, feels that μεθ' ὁμήλικας may already be "suggestive of erotic excitement." G. Devereux, CQ 20 (1970) 17-31, also fails to consider the possibility of metaphorical application of Homeric phrases.

[25]A. Setti, SIFC 16 (1940) 213, n. 2, credits Sappho with being the first to give the verb an erotic application. Anacreon seems to have used πτοιέω metaphorically in a manner similar to Sappho's: in his fr. 346, the verb (ἑπτοέαται, 346.1.12) is used in context with φοβερὰς (346.1.2), Κύπρις (346.1.8), ἑκφυγὼν ἔρωτα[(346.4.4) and Ἀφροδίτη (346.4.6).

[26]For the relationship of fr. 31 to Lucr. 3.152ff., see W. Ferrari, SFIC 14 (1937) 139-50; Wills, op. cit. n. 13, 174, n. 18.

[27]E. Ba.604-7; cf. L. Koenen, ZPE 6 (1970) 84.

[28]S. OC.1606-9, 1623-6.

[29]h.Cer.188-9; cf. N. Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford, 1974) 210-1. For Homer, see Chapter 3, 75-77. For fear and trembling in later times, see L. Koenen and A. Henrichs, ZPE 19 (1975) 82-3, n. 103 and ZPE 32 (1978) 105, n. 282.

[30]See Chapter 3, 73-77.

[31]Meropis, fr. 3; cf. L. Koenen and R. Merkelbach in Collectanea Papyrologica in Honor of H.C. Youtie, 17ff.

[32]The love-heroine Nausikaa is emboldened by Athene in face of godlike Odysseus, in the scene already discussed (see above, 55-8).

[33]See Turyn, Studia Sapphica. Eus Supplementum 6 (1929) 31-41 for an extensive treatment of the connection between sight and emotional reactions.

[34]Homer's ὡς εἶδ', ὥς μιν μᾶλλον ἔδυ χόλος bears a superficial resemblance to Sappho's ὡς γὰρ ἐς σ' ἴδω βρόχε', ὥς με φώναισ' σ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει. However, Sappho's use of the subjunctive ἴδω versus Homer's indicative εἶδ' represents a significant difference in the two constructions.

[35]Wills, op. cit. n. 13, 173, makes this observation.

[36]This comparison of the woman to armor is especially interesting in light of Sappho fr. 16, where, as we saw in the previous chapter, the poet described her beloved with an adjective traditionally applied to the trappings of war.

[37]The two other instances occur at H 208-15 and Y 44-6. Cf. Σ 246-8 and Γ 30-7, where trembling is accompanied by pallor, another Sapphic symptom. For Γ 30-7 and Sappho 31, see Marcovich, op. cit. n. 17, 26.

[38]Priam, for example, reminds his son of Achilles' superiority at X 40 (ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι).

[39]See note 13.

[40]Cf. Archil. 193, cited above p. 54 , where ἄψυχος implies a death-like state.

[41]For speechlessness, cf. A.R. 2.408-9 and 3.809-11; and P 695-6 and 704-5. For pallor, cf. A.R. 2.1216 and 4.1278-9 and above, p. 69.

[42]Cf. ἀμορύγματα (A.R. 3.288) and ἀμάρυγμα (16.18); χλόον (A.R. 3.298) and χλωροτέρα (31.14); and ἔαγε (A.R. 3.954 and 31.9).

[43]The passage discussed is framed by two similes treated above: the dog-star simile (3.956-9, see above note 8) and the oak simile (3.967-72, see above, n. 12.

[44]The original champion of an epithalamial interpretation based on ἶσος θέοισιν is B. Snell, Hermes 66 (1931) 71-90; its most recent proponent is McEvilley, op. cit. n. 17, 1-6, who gives a fairly good summary of the question. Merkelbach, Philologus 101 (1957) 7-8, accepts Snell's premise.

For supporters of the other theory, see above, note 17. Both Merkelbach and L. Rydbeck, Hermes 97 (1969) 165, correctly suggest that scholars have been led astray in treating these two interpretations as mutually exclusive, while Page, who reads fr. 31 as a poem of jealousy (S&A, 26-33), rejects both of these interpretations.

A problem tied up with determining the meaning of ἶσος θέοισιν is deciding the force of ὅττις in line 2. I join with Rydbeck (161-6) in contending that κῆνος ὅττις means almost the same thing as κῆνος ὅς. I would translate: "He seems to me a godlike hero, that man who sits facing you . . ."

[45]θεοειδής and θεοείκελος, as well as expressions involving ἴκελος tend to concern the physical appearance of the hero, while δαίμονι ἶσος is used of the hero in action. See Wills, op. cit. n. 13, 175-6; and Bowra, GLP, 188.

[46]The line-ending formula ἰσόθεος φώς is used of Euryalos (B 565, Ψ 677), Priam (Γ 310), Menelaus (Δ 212, Ψ 569), Ereuthalion (H 136), Patroklos (I 211, Λ 644), Sokos (Λ 428), Aias (Λ 472), Melanippos (O 559), Meriones (Π 632) and Telemachos (α 324, υ 124).

[47]Athene tells him:

μή τι σύ γ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι
τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἀτὰρ εἴ κε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
ἔλθησ' ἐς πόλεμον, τήν γ' οὐτάμεν ὀξεῖ χαλκῷ.
(E 130-2)

It is interesting to note the presence here of ἀντικρύ, "face-to-face," which is used synonymously with ἐναντίος (Sappho fr. 31.2) in battle descriptions.

[48]W. Schadewaldt, Hermes 71 (1936) 372, n. 1, cites Π 805-6 in support of his observation that the pathos described in Sappho fr. 31 is not love's passion, but the feeling of amazement (called θάμβος or τάφος in Homer), which seizes men at the appearance of a divinity. He compares Sappho's paralysis to the effect of Patroklos' terror at the appearance of Apollo.

[49]Cf. H 151; M 51; N 395; P 490, 733; T 14; Φ 150; X 136, 215; ζ 270=ρ 439.

[50]For other explanations of a fifth stanza ending, see Snell, op. cit. n. 44, 82; and H. Milne, Hermes 71 (1936) 126-8.

For the opposing view, that the φαίνεταί μοι of line 1 and the φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτᾳ of line 16 form a ring which marks line 16 as the poem's final verse, see C. Ronchi March, AHAM 17, 2 (1972) 257-9. It is curious that critics of Catullus' translation (51) are equally divided with regard to the unity of his poem. Catullus' otium stanza reflects, of course, Sappho's τόλματον in Roman terms.

[51]ἐναντίος: Γ 433; E 12, 497; Z 106; Λ 67, 129, 214; I 559; M 377; N 106, 448; O 304; P 343; Υ 97, 164, 252, 257; Φ 574; χ 65.
ἐναντίβιος: Θ 168, 255; X 223; ξ 270; ρ 439.
ἔναντα: Υ 67.
ἀντίος: A 535; E 30, 256, 569; H 96, 160; Λ 94, 216, 219, 594; N 149; O 584; P 8, 31, 67; Υ 80, 88,

175, 333, 352, 371, 373, 422, 463; Φ 144, 150, 481; X 113; χ 90.

ἀντίβιος: A 278; Γ 20, 435; E 220; H 40, 51; Λ 386; Φ 226.

ἄντα: Θ 424, 428; O 415; Π 621; P 29, 167; T 163; Y 69, 73, 75, 76, 89, 355, 365; Φ 331, 447; χ 232. Lefkowitz, op. cit. n. 1, 119, notes the martial force of ἐνάντιος.

[52]See, for example, H 9406, where Menelaus accuses the Greeks of womanliness because no one will fight Hektor head-on; Φ 573-5, where Hektor, resolved to meet Achilles, is likened to a leopard who goes to face a hunter and does not give way to fear; P 166-8, where Glaukos attributes Hektor's fear of facing Aias to the Trojan prince's inferiority as a warrior.

[53]Marcovich, op. cit. n. 17, 24, suggests that Sappho means to draw a contrast between the man's ability to stay close to the woman and her own inability to withstand her radiance even from afar. If he is correct, it may be significant that the herdsmen, with whom Sappho would be equated by recollection of this simile, can only shout at the lion from a distance (ἀπόπροθεν).

[54]See above (p. 56).

[55]At H 215-6, beating of the heart is accompanied by τρόμος, one of Sappho's afflictions in fr. 31:

Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον,
Ἕκτορι τ' αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασσεν.

[56]Three points are usually made in support of the epithalamial theory: 1) ἶσος θέοισιν is a hymeneal topos; 2) ὥνηρ in line 2 should be translated "the husband"; and 3) only in a nuptial situation could man and woman converse freely together. Although McEvilley, op. cit. n. 13, 6-9, greatly strengthens the case for the validity of points 2) and 3), the major proof of the theory still lies in point 1). Point 3) simply cannot be made until more is known about the social conventions of Sappho's Lesbos.

[57]See above, note 44.

[58]The text I provide here is that of Lobel-Page, except for line 5, where I give the reading for which Marcovich (op. cit. n. 17, 30) argues. The mss. offer either ἔρχεται ἴσος or εἰσέρχεται ἶσος. Emenders who propose the adverb ἴσ' (cf. the apparatus of the Lobel-Page text) would force the meaning "comes in a manner

similar to Ares'." Line 6, however, clearly indicates that the groom's size is being referred to. For a discussion of other emendations, see G. Perrotta, Maia 1 (1948) 52-61.

[59]Although the words ἶσος Ἄρει clearly mark the song as another version of the lover/groom as warhero metaphor, various other interpretations have been given to lines 5 and 6. They have been viewed as a simple reference to the groom's height, as an obscene allusion to his ithyphallic state, as a play upon the conventions of divine epiphany and as an example of the makarismos topos of epithalamial poetry.

For groom's height, see, for example, Bowra, GLP, 216; Page, S&A, 120; Kirkwood, EGM, 140; and Marcovich, op. cit. n. 17, 29-32. For ithyphallism, see, for example, G. Kirk, CQ 13 (1963) 51-3; H. Lloyd-Jones, CQ 17 (1967) 168; and G. Wills, op. cit. n. 12, 180, n. 26, and CQ 20 (1970) 112. For epiphany, see Fränkel, EGP&P, 173; and Merkelbach, op. cit. n. 44, 8. For makarismos, Snell, op. cit. n. 44, 73.

[60]The formulae were used of warriors in battle at Λ 295, M 130, and N 802; and of non-combative heroes at Λ 602 and Θ 115.

[61]Sappho also alludes to this passage in fr. 1 (see Chapter 1).

[62]As Marcovich, op. cit. n. 16, 31, points out, Homer gives us the exact height of this very tall god (Φ 407).

[63]This is the only time in the Iliad when this comparative is applied to humans.

[64]I have excluded fr. 34 from this count:

ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ καλὰν σελάνναν
ἄψ ἀπυκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος,
ὅπποτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπηι
γᾶν

If, however, as McEvilley, Hermes 101 (1973) 271-3, argues, these lines were once part of a hymeneal simile, then the purpose of the comparison may have been to liken the bride, in the splendor of her beauty, to the Homeric heroes, who, in their bright armor, are often compared to celestial bodies (see the discussion of λάμπρος in connection with fr. 16 in the second chapter of this study).

[65]Cf. fr. 30.3.

[66]Merkelbach, op. cit. n. 44, 13, interprets the poem this way independently of the considerations of Homeric allusion.

[67]For a discussion of the various readings suggested for lines 4-5 (with bibliography), see Burzacchini and Degani, op. cit. n. 13, 165-6.

[68]See already B. Marzullo, Maia 5 (1952) 85-92.

[69]In fr. 44.5, married women (γυναίκεσσι) are distinguished from maidens (παρθενίκαν). Cf. T. McEvilley, op. cit., n. 64, 262.

[70]See above, n. 9.

[71]For the various readings suggested for line 8, see Burzacchini and Degani, op. cit. n. 13, 166; and Page, S&A, 90.

[72]See below, ns. 8 and 64, and the discussion of λάμπρον, Chapter 2, 47.

[73]See, for example, Page, S&A, 32-3.

[74]One may compare the new Archilochos fragment, where the mockery of the older sister constitutes praise of the younger one. Alkman's praise of the "bride" in the "Partheneion" is even more indirect and restrained; see A. Griffiths, QUCC 14 (1972) 16-7, and Chapter 4 of this study.

[75]This is the attribution of lines proposed by Fränkel, interpreting Choricios (see EGP&P, 173 and 173, n. 11).

CHAPTER 4

SAPPHO AND SOCIETY

Sappho as Teacher

The metaphors of love as war and of brides and grooms as heroes held great fascination for Sappho. The significance of these metaphors to her world is perhaps best explained in terms of the theory by which it is stated that Sappho's role in Lesbian society was that of a teacher who prepared young girls for marriage. This theory, repugnant to many in its original form as presented in 1913 by Wilamowitz, has more recently been expanded and refined--and been made not only acceptable, but compelling.[1] In addition, a new papyrus fragment of a Sappho commentary indicates that in the third/second century B.C. Sappho was understood to have been a teacher of aristocratic girls.[2]

By the new theory, Sappho is established as the head of a Lesbian girls' organization, similar in function to organizations well-documented as having existed in Sparta. These Spartan societies were the distaff equivalents of the boys' military organizations. Homosexual love played the same prominent role in the education of members of both sexes.[3]

Alkman's "Partheneion"

Alkman's "Partheneion" (1 PMG) indicates a strong similarity between the Spartan societies for young women and the corresponding groups postulated for Lesbos. The poem has long been understood as composed for a chorus of girls under the direction of a certain Hagesichora (and/or Agido) in Sparta. Recently, it has been further argued[4] that the poem is, in fact, a diegertikon,[5] a type of epithalamion sung at dawn, after the consummation of the marriage. Once this is established, Agido can be seen as the bride, whose merits are praised and whose departure is lamented by the maiden chorus and their teacher Hagesichora.[6]

Evidence for homosexual love is contained in lines 70-7. The chorus lament that they no longer appeal to the bride, who has by now experienced heterosexual union. All of the ten members of the chorus are mentioned in this section: "Not even the locks of Nanno avail nor divinely beautiful Areta nor Thylakis nor Kleesithera; no longer, when you [sc. Agido] have come to Ainesimbrota's house will you say, 'Would that Astaphis could be mine, or that Philylla would look this way or Damareta or lovely Vianthemis, but Hagesichora wears me out with desire.'"[7]

The speech the chorus ascribe as characteristic of Agido's former role in the group of maidens reveals

that she stood in an erotic relationship with the chorus-leader. Other girls in their circle tempted her, but her heart belonged to Hagesichora (ἀλλ' Ἀγησιχόρα με τείρει).[8] The reason why Agido will no longer utter these and similar words is, of course, that she has gone to the marriage for which her liaison with Hagesichora and her association with the other maidens have prepared her.

The similarities of the "Partheneion" to the poems of Sappho and Cat. 62, a choral epithalamion, and to situations described in these poems are striking.[9] One of the poems that Sappho composes to console the maidens of her circle at the departure of a beloved comrade[10] also recounts, through direct discourse, the pre-marital love of the bride for the group leader (i.e., Sappho). Like the bond between Agido and Hagesichora, this liaison ends when the girl leaves to be married. Fr. 94 begins:

τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω·
ἁ με ψισδομένα κατελίμπανεν

πόλλα καὶ τόδ' ἔειπ [
ὤιμ' ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όν]θαμεν,
Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω.[11]

Also, an apparent example of epithalamial diegertikon survives in the Sapphic corpus (Fr. 30):[12]

νύκτ[...].[

πάρθενοι δ[
παννυχισδοι[σ]α [
σάν ἀείδοιεν φ[ιλότατα καὶ νύμ-

φας ἰοκόλπω.

ἀλλ' ἐγέρθεις, ἠΐθ[ε
στεῖχε σοὶς ὐμάλικ[ας
ἦπερ ὄσσον ἀ λιγύφω[νος
ὄπνον [ἴ]δωμεν

Purpose of Military Metaphors

Because of the similarities between Alkman 1 and a group of Sappho's poems, it is reasonable to hypothesize that circles similar to Hagesichora's existed on Lesbos and that Sappho performed the functions of both Hagesichora (as group leader) and Alkman (as poet) in connection with one such circle. Once this is understood, the function of military and heroic metaphors becomes clear. These circles were counterpart to male groups and perhaps parallel to them in all respects except their ultimate goal: the boys' instruction focused on war and valorous conduct; the girls' on marriage. Against this background, it is hardly surprising to find Sappho, the teacher of girls, singing of love and marriage in terms of war and heroism. The metaphors serve almost to legitimize the concerns of women in a society where these concerns were considered to be of secondary importance.

Sappho fr. 44

Sappho's paralleling of the male and female sphere of existence figures most prominently in fr. 44, "The Wedding of Hektor and Andromache." This is Sappho's

most Homeric poem. Not only does it contain many epicisms, but in both meter and form it approximates epic.[13] Furthermore, all of the surviving portion of the work is narrative, as are the songs of Homer.

Κυπρο..[ ]ας·
κάρυξ ἦλθε θε[ ]ελε[...].θεις
Ἴδαος ταδεκα φ[ ] ις τάχυς ἄγγελος
< >
τάς τ' ἄλλας Ἀσίας .[.]δε αν κλέος ἄφθιτον·
Ἕκτωρ καὶ συνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοισ' ἑλικώπιδα
θήβας ἐξ ἱέρας Πλακίας τ' ἀ.[..]νάω
ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον
πόντον· πόλλα δ' [ἑλί]γματα χρύσια κἄμματα
πορφύρ[α] καταύτ[..]να, ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα,
ἀργύρα τ' ἰνάρ[ι]θμα [ποτή]ρ[ι]α κάλέφαις
ὡς εἶπ· ὀτραλέως δ' ἀνόρουσε πάτ[η]ρ φίλος·
φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρύχορον φίλοις.
αὖτικα Ἰλίαδαι σατίναι[ς] ὑπ' εὐτρόχοις
ἄγον αἰμιόνοις, ἐπ[έ]βαινε δὲ παῖς ὄχλος
γυναίκων τ' ἅμα παρθενίκα[ν] τ.[..].σφύρων
χῶρις δ' αὖ Περάμοιο θυγ[α]τρες[
ἵππ[οις] δ' ἄνδρες ὄπαγον ὑπ' ἀρ[ματ
π[ ]ες ἡίθεοι, μεγάλω[σ]τι δ[
δ[ ] ανίοχοι φ[.....].[
π[']ξα.οί
< scme lines missing >
[]κελοι θέοι[ς
] ἄγνον ἀολ[λε-
[ὄρμαται] [ ]νον ἐς Ἴλιο[ν
[αὖλος δ' ἀδυ[μ]έλης[ ]τ' ὀνεμίγν[υτο
[καὶ ψ[ό]φο[ς κ]ροτάλ[ων]ὡς δ' ἄρα πάρ[θενοι
[ἄειδον μέλος ἄγν[ον ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς αἰ̣θ̣[ερα
[ἄχω θεσπεσία γελ[
[πάνται δ' ἧς κὰτ ὁδο[
[κράτηρες φίαλαί τ' ο[...]υεδε[..]..εαν[-].[
μύρρα καὶ κασία λίβ[ανός τ' ὀνεμείχνυτο
[γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυσδο[ν δσαι προγενέστερ[ι
[πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπ[ήρατον ἴαχον ὄρθιον
[Παίον' ὀνκαλέοντες[ἑκάβολον εὐλύραν,
[ὕμνην δ' Ἕκτορα κ' Α[νδρομάχαν θεοεικέλο[ις.

At first glance, this poem might seem to contain much of the same kind of unspecific allusion as we found in the Lille Stesichoros. According to the principles set forth in Chapter 1, bland formulae-like τάχυς

ἄγγελος (3), πτόλιν εὐρύχορον (12) and ἐπ' ἄλμυρον πόντον (7)--and epic words and forms--like ὀτραλέως, μεγάλωστι and ἀνόρουσι (all from line 11)[14]--can be explained in one of two ways: they are either consciously chosen in order to imbue the poem with epic color[15], or unconsciously used by a poet, who, like Stesichoros, composes in a meter closely akin to dactylic hexameter and hence naturally phrases her thoughts in the traditional language of dactylic epic. The frequency with which Sappho in this poem employs epic phrases which violate the laws of her own Aeolic dialect, vocabulary and prosody,[16] however, indicates that she is not unconsciously under the sway of Homer.[17] As was made clear in the analysis of the "Adonic lines" of fr. 1 and of the dactylic hexametric epithalamia, Sappho is in full control when she crosses the boundary between Aeolic lyric and epic usage.[18]

An analysis of the epicisms of fr. 44 will reveal that Sappho draws heavily upon her Homeric legacy in order to sing a song of heroism--not of male heroism and war, but of female heroism and marriage.[19] The poem's unspecific allusions create an epic feeling, which is then concretized by specific reference to Homeric episodes.

The Paralleling of Male and Female

The fame of Andromache

Near the beginning of fr. 44, Sappho includes the words κλέος ἄφθιτον in the speech delivered by the herald Idaos (line 4). The immediate context is somewhat unclear, but it seems highly probable that Idaos announces to Priam that imperishable fame has come to Troy and all the rest of Asia. This fame is then specified: Hektor and his comrades are bringing home Hektor's bride. The marriage and Andromache herself are the κλέος ἄφθιτον.[20] As I stated in my discussion of Ibykos fr. 282 in Chapter 2, this expression is found only once in Homer, where it denotes the fame Achilles will win, at the cost of his life, if he remains at Troy and kills Hektor (I 413).[21]

Ibykos employs the formula with the intention of recalling this Iliadic passage. Although the phrase was undoubtedly fairly common,[22] the poet's preoccupation with the Iliad elsewhere in the poem must have led his audience to think back to its occurrence in Book 9. Similarly, Sappho's use of the expression in a song so laden with epic vocabulary and forms indicates that she too refers back to Achilles' imperishable fame.[23] She does so for much the same reason as Ibykos. He applies the words to Polykrates in order to establish the boy as

the Achilles of his own love poetry; Sappho can sing of Andromache's κλέος ἄφθιτον because she means to identify her as a heroine of Achilles' stature.

In line 22, Hektor and his bride are called [κ]ελοι θέοι[ς, as it seems.[24] This motif is taken up by the final word of the poem: Hektor and Andromache are called θεοείκελος. This word serves the same purpose as κλέος ἄφθιτον. Forms of θεοείκελος occur solely as epithets of male heroes in the Iliad and Odyssey, and in in the Iliad (the poem more relevant to Hektor and Andromache) the adjective is applied only to Achilles.[25] In fr. 44, the use of the word to modify Ἕκτορα κ' Ἀνδρομάχαν, the direct object of ὔμνην, is striking. The source of Achilles' undying fame is the Iliad; for κλέος often signifies the fame granted epic heroes through song.[26] Sappho's Hektor and Andromache, however, achieve the status of Achilles when they become the subject of a marriage song: the source of their κλέος is their deeds, as immortalized in Sappho fr. 44. In the last verse of her poem, Sappho places herself in the same position with respect to Andromache and the female world of marriage as that which Homer holds with respect to Achilles and the male world of war.

Sappho indeed believed in song's ability to grant immortality. In fr. 55, she alludes to the close relationship of Mnemosyne and the Muses when she warns a

woman, who has no share in the roses of Pieria, that no memory of her will survive her death:

> κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσηι οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν
> ἔσσετ' οὐδὲ †ποκ'† ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχηις βρόδων
> τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κάν Ἄίδα δόμωι,
> φοιτάσηις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα. 27

One of the wellsprings of Andromache's fame is the wealth of her dowry. Euripides' Andromache names her dowry among the things that, in times gone by, had made her the subject of envy:

> Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα, Θηβαία πόλι,
> ὅθεν ποθ' ἕδνων σὸν πολυχρύσῳ χλιδῇ
> Πριάμου τύραννον ἐστίαν ἀφικόμην
> δάμαρ δοθεῖσα παιδοποιὸς Ἕκτορι,
> ζηλωτὸς ἔν γε τῷ πρὶν Ἀνδρομάχη χρόνῳ
> (Andr. 1-5)

Euripides here gives his interpretation of Homeric πολύδωρος, applied to Andromache at Z 393 and X 88. In Homer, the meaning of the adjective is ambiguous: it can refer either to the gifts of wooing ("for whom many gifts are given") or to the dowry ("bringing many gifts"). Whatever the meaning, however, the effect of the adjective is the same: one of the sources of Andromache's renown is her material worth.[28]

Sappho anticipates Euripides' interpretation of πολύδωρος: expanding upon the Iliadic epithet, she lists the contents of Andromache's dowry. Thus, she specifies the richness of the bride's fame and desirability. Against the Homeric background she has painted, the enumeration of gifts serves to recall similar catalogs in the

Iliad:[29] Agamemnon's recompensatory peace-offering to Achilles (I 122-32 and 264-74) and the ransom paid for the return of Hektor's corpse (Ω 229-37). According to the male system of values, a warrior's worth might have been indicated by the quality and size of his share of the spoils when he was victorious (similar to the case with Achilles) or by the size of his ransoms, when he was defeated (as in Hektor's case). Similarly, the size of a woman's dowry quantified her worth.

Fr. 44 and Iliad 24

It is likely that Sappho meant to capitalize upon the relationship between ransom and dowry: in her narration of the Trojan wedding, she makes several allusions to the Λύτρα of the final book of the Iliad.[30] Her first reference to the ransom occurs in line 3 with the mention of Idaos/Idaios, who plays a prominent role in Book 24: for it is he who accompanies Priam to the Greek camp. He drives the cart which carries the ransom on the way there (Ω 324-5) and rides with Priam in the chariot on the way back.[31] The other major character in the Λύτρα is, of course, Priam, whose role Sappho may mean to recall through the words πάτηρ φίλος (line 11). This expression and variants are fairly common in Homer. Nevertheless, they are applied to Priam only in the context of the death and ransom of Hektor. At Ω 699-701, for example, Kassandra is the first to spot her father

returning with her brother's body:

> ἀλλ' ἄρα Κασσάνδρη, ἰκέλη χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
> Πέργαμον εἰσαναβᾶσα φίλον πατέρ' εἰσενόησεν
> ἑσταότ' ἐν δίφρῳ, κήρυκά τε ἀστυβοώτην.[32]

It is quite possible that πάτηρ φίλος is intended to work together with Ἴδαος to allude to the two major Trojan actors in the ransom.

Sappho uses two other verbal parallels to evoke Iliad 24. In Homer, the cart which carries both the gifts and the corpse is designated by the formulae ἅμαξαν ἐΰτροχον (150=179, 711), which, in the Iliad, occur only here. In Sappho, the women of Ilion ride on carts described similarly: σατίναις ὑπ' εὐτρόχοις / ἄγον αἰμιόνοις (13-4).[33] Correspondingly, ἵπποις δ' ἄνδρες ὕπαγον ὑπ' ἄρματ' (17) is related to Ω 279. Sappho narrates the yoking of the chariot used by the young men of the wedding procession with words which recall the yoking of the chariot in which Priam will ride to the Greek camp (ἵππους δὲ Πριάμῳ ὕπαγον ζυγόν).

Neither of these allusions, taken out of context, would be particularly convincing. The closest Homeric parallel to lines 13-4 is actually in ζ 72-3, wherein the yoking of Nausikaa's washcart is described:

> οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκτὸς ἅμαξαν ἐΰτροχον ἡμιονείην
> ὤπλεον, ἡμιόνους θ' ὕπαγον ζεῦξάν θ' ὑπ' ἀπήνῃ.[34]

Furthermore, the similarity between fr. 44.17 and Ω 279 could be coincidental: there are a limited number of ways in which to describe the yoking of a cart or char-

iot. However, the effect of the lines, taken together in a context, is powerfully allusive. First of all, it is telling that Sappho specifies the same two beasts of burden (mules and horses) and the same two types of vehicles (wagons and chariots) as were used by Priam and Idaios in Book 24. In addition, Sappho devotes at least seven lines of her poem to delineating the methods of transportation employed by the Trojan celebrants,[35] and Homer shows the same kind of exaggerated concern for transportation in the Λύτρα. Lines Ω 149-51, 178-80, 189-90, 266-81, 322, 324-6, 440-2, 470-1, 576, 690-1, 696-7, 701-2, 711 and 718 are all concerned with various aspects of cart and chariot.

To summarize, the similarities between Sappho's description of the coming of newly married Hektor and Andromache and Homer's account of Priam's return with the corpse of his son can be summarized as follows: in both a) lists of gifts figure largely; b) Idaios and Priam play a role; and c) horse-drawn chariots and mule-drawn wagons are mentioned prominently. It may at first seem foreboding that Sappho should recall the death of the groom while singing about his joyous wedding day.[36] This, however, is modern thinking. In mythical allusions, the ancients concerned themselves with only that aspect of a particular myth which suited their context. For instance, Pindar refers to Aias as the mythical fore-

father of, and example for, Phylakis, the winner of the Isthmian games and expected winner of the Olympian games (I-6). In so doing, he is not troubled by Aias' tragic end. Similarly, in other poems, Sappho can liken a groom to Aias or Achilles without introducing a gloomy note. Thus, she is not disturbed by the ominous aspects of Hektor's death. She is only interested in establishing the dowry/ransom parallel, integral to the juxtaposition of male and female values in the poem.

Whatever significance his wedding day held for Hektor, it was the day of Andromache's supreme triumph; and, however dire the consequences of Hektor's demise were for Andromache,[37] his return to Troy as the fallen defender of home and hearth was his most glorious moment. Hipponax once wrote that the two sweetest days in a woman's life were when she was married and when she was buried:

> δύ' ἡμέραι γυναικός εἰσιν ἥδισται,
> ὅταν γαμῆι τις κἀκφέρηι τεθνηκυῖαν
> (fr. 68)

Although these lines are facetious, they reflect a sentiment which was undoubtedly true for many of the women of Sappho's time. On no other occasion than her wedding or her death was a woman more in the center of attention: at no other time was there a procession solely in her honor. It is clear that fr. 44 depicts the finest hour of Andromache's young life: the parade, the gifts, the

music are all a measure of her worth and esteem as a woman.

Marriage, however, was not the supreme achievement for a man,[38] for whom there was no greater honor than to die valorously, protecting his own. Herodotos' Solon considered Tellos, the Athenian, to be the most blessed man who ever lived, because the end of his life was extremely splendid (λαμπροτάτη): he died defending Athens and was given a public funeral (Herod. 1.30.4-5). In the same vein, Tyrtaios, expressing the kind of values that would have been taught the young, male counterparts of Sappho's maidens, again and again extols the fate of the man who is killed in defense of his family and home. His fr. 10, for example, begins:

> τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
> ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.
> (fr. 10.1-2)[39]

This same ethic held true for only one of the heroes of Homer: the prime example of the hero who dies defending his family is Hektor. Yet he follows the same code as the other heroes.[40] Named as the sole protector of Troy (Z 402-3), he views the safety of the city as a matter of personal pride. This results in a paradox: he fights a final battle which he knows he will lose and which will bring ruin to both his city and his family. Nevertheless, accepting death, he fights for ultimate fame, as does Achilles.[41]

In Homer, this set of values from the male world clashes with those from the female world. Andromache attempts to dissuade him from battle (407-39). Her attempt is motivated by domestic concerns.[42] In his response, Hektor reveals his deeper commitment to the heroic code:

> ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει, γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
> αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
> αἴ κε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·
> οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς
> αἰεὶ καὶ πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι,
> ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.
> εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·
> ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
> καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.
> (441-9)

He sums up the difference in their respective spheres of existence at the end of the episode. He tells her:

> ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
> ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
> ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει
> πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν.
> (490-3)

Hektor sends his wife off to her distaff (ἠλακάτην), a word which, in English, has come to be an adjective signifying the female sphere. He will attend to war.

In Sappho's fr. 44, male and female principles do not clash. They represent parallel life courses. The girls of her circle could amply realize the goal of their education by a marriage as splendid as Andromache's. Their brothers, on the other hand, would most gratify their tutors by exhibiting the valor of Hektor. To dramatize this, she sings the events of Andromache's

greatest day in language taken from the most famous account of her husband's day of triumph.

Her inspiration for doing this may have come from the Iliad itself; for Homer, too, connects the marriage of the princely pair to the death of Hektor. At X 466-84, he describes Andromache's reaction to the sight of the mutilation of her husband's corpse:

> τὴν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν,
> ἤριπε δ' ἐξοπίσω, ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσε.
> τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,
> ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην
> κρήδεμνόν θ', ὅ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη
> ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἕκτωρ
> ἐκ δόμου Ἠετίωνος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἕδνα.
> ἀμφὶ δέ μιν γαλόῳ τε καὶ εἰνατέρες ἄλις ἔσταν,
> αἳ ἐ μετὰ σφίσιν εἶχον ἀτυζομένην ἀπολέσθαι.
> ἣ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη,
> ἀμβλήδην γοόωσα μετὰ Τρωῇσιν ἔειπεν·
> "Ἕκτορ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος· ἰῇ ἄρα γιγνόμεθ' αἴσῃ
> ἀμφότεροι, σὺ μὲν ἐν Τροίῃ Πριάμου κατὰ δῶμα,
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θήβῃσιν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὑληέσσῃ
> ἐν δόμῳ Ἠετίωνος, ὅ μ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐοῦσαν,
> δύσμορος αἰνόμορρον· ὡς μὴ ὄφελλε τεκέσθαι.
> νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Ἀΐδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
> ἔρχεαι, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ στυγερῷ ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις
> χήρην ἐν μεγάροισι·[43]

In keeping with his primary interest in the male sphere of war, Homer alludes to the marriage only by way of narrating the death. Sappho, on the other hand, guided by the opposite concern, inverts the process and deals primarily with the marriage, while alluding to the death in so far as heroic death and marriage represent the goals of the two different set of values governing the lives of men and women.

Manipulation of Formulae

Sappho fortifies her narration of womanly glory by borrowing and adapting formulae from the masculine realm of Homeric war to fit her depiction of an essentially female, domestic scene. In line 13, she coins the expression σατίναις εὐτρόχοις, clearly modelled upon epic ἐΰτροχον ἅρμα (Θ 438; Μ 58) and ἅμαξαν ἐΰτροχον (Ω 150= 179, 189, 266, 711; ζ 72). σατίναι were characteristically a feminine means of conveyance.[44] Sappho's substitution of σατίναις for the wagons and chariots of epic in a way symbolizes her purpose in the poem: she has taken something from the world of women and expressed it in male, heroic terms.[45]

In line 27, Sappho chooses the words ἄχω θεσπεσία to describe the noise generated by the maidens as they sing and play musical instruments in the wedding procession. This expression is inspired by Homeric ἠχῇ θεσπεσίῃ, a formula which, when applied to humans in epic, only describes the noise of men, and usually of men at war.[46] By using a martial expression to describe a marital situation, Sappho again states the female in terms of the male.

If κάρυξ ἦλθε θέων is to be read in line 2, as seems likely, Sappho must employ it with the Homeric formula ἦλθε θέουσ(α) / θέων in mind. Although this formula occurs fairly often in Homer,[47] only in two

instances is it used of a messenger, as it is in fr. 44 (Λ 775=Σ 167). At Σ 165-70, Hera dispatches Iris to alert Achilles to the danger of Hektor's dragging off Patroklos' body:

> ἄγγελος ἦλθε θέουσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι,
> κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκέ μιν Ἥρη.
> ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα
> "ὄρσεο, Πηλεΐδη, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν . . .

The other instance offers Athene, acting as a messenger in order to warn the men of Pylos that the Epeians are attacking:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε πᾶν πεδίον μετεκίαθον, ἄμμι δ' Ἀθήνη
> ἄγγελος ἦλθε θέουσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι
> ἔννυχος, οὐδ' ἀέκοντα Πύλον κάτα λαὸν ἄγειρεν,
> ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐσσυμένους πολεμίζειν.
> (Λ 714-7)

In both of these cases, the messenger is sent on a mission of war with the purpose of rousing someone to arms (Σ 170: ὄρσεο; Λ 716: ἄγειρεν). In a completely analogous situation, Sappho's Idaos runs to Troy on a mission of peace. Like Athene and Iris, he rouses the recipient of his message (44.11: Homeric ἀνόρουσε); but, unlike them, he rouses him not to array himself for war, but to equip himself for a wedding.

We have observed Sappho's paralleling of the male and female in fr. 44. She again and again uses allusion to Homeric scenes and formulae to frame her narrative in heroic terms. Her reason for doing this clearly stems from the position of her circle of girls in Lesbian

society. The metaphors, active in other poems, are especially vital here. This is, no doubt, because the poem is epithalamial. It was probably intended to be sung for one of Sappho's students, whose education had been fulfilled by a desirable marriage. Through the metaphors, the girl's achievement in the female sphere of domestic concern is equated with that of a young warrior, who has realized his training by some valorous deed in war.

Occasion for the Recital of Fr. 44

It has long been held that fr. 44 is hymeneal, and that it was meant to be sung upon the occasion of the marriage of one of the girls under Sappho's tutelage.[48] The logic of this interpretation is undeniable, especially in light of observations made at the beginning of this chapter. Sappho's song detailing a mythical wedding procession is sung by the celebrants in an actual wedding procession on Lesbos.

In Chapter 3, I argued that it was Sappho's common practice to equate actual brides and grooms to Homeric heroes. This precise practice can be observed in fr. 44, when the poem is viewed as hymeneal. The groom, in effect, is equated with Hektor, while the bride is likened to Andromache, who in turn is identified with the heroes of epic. The fact that the actual couple is not mentioned need not complicate this interpreta-

tion.[49] Their absence can be variously explained. It is, of course, possible that they were alluded to in a lost portion of the poem. The following explanation, however, seems more likely: because the mythical world represents the true reality, the actual bride and groom would be identified with Hektor and Andromache whether or not the equation was expressly stated.[50]

Alkaios 130 and Sappho 44

The question of the occasion upon which fr. 44 was recited is somewhat complicated by the close relationship of the poem to Alkaios 130.[51] The last surviving stanza of this fragment describes Alkaios' place of exile on Lesbos in language similar to that used in Sappho's poem:

> ὄππαι Λ[εσβί]αδες κριννόμεναι φύαν
> πώλεντ' ἐλκεσίπεπλοι, περὶ δὲ βρέμει
> ἄχω θεσθεσία γυναίκων
> ἴρας [ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας.
> (32-5)

The significant points of comparison are ἄχω θεσπεσία (Alk. 130.34 and Sapph. 44.27) and ὀλολύγας (Alk. 130.35) versus ἐλέλυσθον (Sapph. 44.31). The expression ἄχω θεσπεσία occurs only in these two poems in all of Aeolic monody; the same is true of forms of ὀλολύζειν. The coincidence is all the more significant because of the identically unHomeric use of ἄχω θεσπεσία to denote noise made by women.

Once the relationship between the two poems is granted, the question of priority of influence is easily settled. The key is Alkaios' use of ἑλκεσίπεπλοι to modify Λεσβίαδες. In Homer, ἑλκεσίπεπλος is only attested in the formula Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους (Z 442, H 297, X 105), on which Alkaios' Λεσβίαδες . . . ἑλκεσίπεπλοι is obviously consciously modelled. This wilful act can be interpreted in one of two ways. Either Alkaios conceived an original desire to equate Lesbian and Trojan maidens or he wanted to evoke a poem of Sappho in which such an equation already existed. Since Alkaios, in this stanza, is trying to paint a characteristically Lesbian scene, to describe Lesbian girls in terms traditionally associated with foreigners would be counterproductive. Therefore, his use of ἑλκεσίπεπλοι, along with ἄχω θεσπεσία and ὀλολύγας must constitute an allusion to fr. 44 as a song in which an explicit or implied equation of Troy and Lesbos is made in the treatment of some typically Lesbian event.

Alkaios refers to a yearly festival (ἐνιαυσίας), but determination of the kind of event Sappho describes depends entirely upon her own words. Although her narrative account of the royal Trojan wedding procession best suits a wedding on Lesbos, there is an alternative explanation, which would be closer to Alkaios. Sappho's poem could have been written for a yearly festival.

Nevertheless, even in this case, a wedding or ceremonies reenacting a wedding procession mu. have been part of the festival. This would make no difference for interpretation of Sappho's poem.

Whether fr. 44 was sung at a wedding or a festival during which a wedding was reenacted, the paralleling of male and female values in the poem would have served to elevate the concerns of women. If it was performed at the marriage of one of Sappho's charges, it would have served to establish the fact that the girl had magnificently fulfilled the purpose of her education. If she had been a boy, she would have had to have achieved the military glory of a Hektor in order so completely to have met her goal.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1]See Wilamowitz, S.u.S., esp. 76ff.; R. Merkelbach, Philologus 101 (1957) 1-29; and L. Koenen, St Pap 15 (1976) 43-4.

[2]P. Colon. inv. 5860. See M. Gronewald, ZPE 14 (1974) 114-8.

[3]See H. Diels, Hermes 31 (1896) 352-3.

[4]A. Griffiths, QUCC 14 (1972) 7-30.

[5]This is the term given by the scholiast to Theoc. 18 for this type of song (Wendel, p. 33): τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλαμίων τινὰ μὲν ᾄδεται ἑσπέρας, ἃ λέγεται κατακοιμητικά, ἄτινα ἕως μέσης νυκτὸς ᾄδουσι· τινὰ δὲ ὄρθρια, ἃ καὶ προσαγορεύεται διεγερτικά.

I suggest the following reading for Alcm. 1.60-3:

ταὶ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἄμιν
ὀρθρίαι φάϝος φερόισαις
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίων ἄτε σήριον
ἄστρον ἀ-ηρομέναι μάχονται.
φάϝος West: φάρος mss

The Pleiades were dawn stars (see Griffiths, op. cit. previous note, 17), whose dim light challenges the glow of the chorus' torches (φάϝος). The light from these torches, however, is as bright as the dog-star--that is, brighter than the Pleiades. The comparison of the Pleiades and the dog-star is probably made in terms of incandescence; it is unnecessary to speculate about the actual astronomical conditions under which the two constellations were simultaneously visible. Cf. D. Page, Alcman: the Partheneion (Oxford, 1951) 53-5.

[6]Griffiths, op. cit. n. 4, 24-7, identifies Hagesichora as deified Helen, represented by an icon. This cannot be so. Because of the departure of Agido, the chorus' number is reduced from eleven to ten (lines 89-90; cf. Griffiths, 11-3). In lines 70-7, ten names are mentioned--clearly the remaining chorus members (see next note). One of the names is Hagesichora. Therefore, her title of chorus-leader must be taken literally, and not as a cult title (as Griffiths suggests). If she is a singing member of the chorus, she can hardly be sta-

tuary.

[7] οὐδὲ ταὶ Ναννῶς κόμαι
ἀλλ' οὐ[δ] 'Αρέτα θιειδής,
οὐδὲ θυλάκις τε καὶ Κλεησιθήρα
οὐδ' ἐς Αἰνησιμβρ[ό]τας ἐνθοῖσα φασεῖς
[sc. Agido]
"'Ασταφίς τ[έ] μοι γένοιτο
καὶ ποτιγλέποι Φίλυλλα
Δαμαρ[έ]τα τ' ἐρατά τε Fιανθεμίς·
ἀλλ' 'Αγησιχόρα με τείρει."
(Alkm. 1.70-7)

[8] The erotic force of τείρει here is illustrated by Hes. fr. 298: δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηΐδος Αἴγλης. For discussion of the erotic sense of this verb, see M. West, CQ 15 (1965) 199.

[9] See Griffiths, op. cit. n. 4, passim.

[10] See Merkelbach, Philologus 101 (1957) 12-3.

[11] The nuptial context of remembrance of girlhood joys is confirmed by the surviving fragments of Erinna's "Distaff." In a song clearly influenced by Sappho, the poet recalls the games that she played with her childhood friend Baukis. The beauty of their relationship was destroyed when Baukis deserted Erinna in order to get married. See M. West, ZPE 25 (1977) 95-119.

[12] This poem is cited in connection with Alkm. 1 by Griffiths, op. cit. n. 4, 18.

[13] For a list of epicisms and a discussion of the Homericity of fr. 44 in relation to the rest of the corpus, see Page, S&A, 65-69. See also B. Marzullo, Studi di poesia eolica (Florence, 1958) 115-94; and O. von Weber, Die Beziehungen zwischen Homer und den älteren griechischen Lyrikern (Diss. Dresden, 1955) 93-101.

Like epic, the poem--somewhat atypically for Sappho--is composed line by line, not stanza by stanza. The meter of the line is the glyconic, internally expanded by two dactyls: ××–∪∪–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–∪–⏓.
See Nagy, Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter (Harvard, 1974) 120-34.

The atypicality of the poem has led some to challenge its authenticity, although Sapphic authorship is by now generally accepted. For a summary of the Echtheitsfrage, see H. Eisenberger, Der Mythos in der aeolischen Lyrik (Diss. Frankfurt, 1956) 96-105; and

J. Kakridis, WS 79 (1966) 21-3.

[14]These three words occur only here in all of Sappho and Alkaios.

[15]For this view, see D. Page, CQ 30 (1936) 10-5, (esp. 15).

[16]See Page, S&A, 66-8, for a list of these violations.

[17]Cf. Kakridis, op. cit. n. 13, 25-6.

[18]See also Bowra, GLP, 231-2.

[19]Cf. Lefkowitz, GRBS 14 (1973) 121.

[20]As we shall see shortly, the greatness of Andromache's fame is quantified by the magnificence of her dowry. Cf. P. Girard, CRAI (1914) 661.

[21]See above, 48-9.

[22]Cf. Hes. fr. 70.5: ἵνα οἱ κλέος ἄφθιτον εἴη.

[23]Nagy's theory of the derivation of dactylic hexameter from lyric meter is largely based on the assumption that κλέος ἄφθιτον in fr. 44 represents an extremely ancient, Indo-European poetic formula. Even if this is so, it is still possible for the expression to constitute an intentional Homeric allusion, as Nagy himself recognizes in other connections. See Nagy, op. cit. n. 13, 139.

[24]The noun or nouns modified by ἴκελος θέοις (line 21) is/are lost in the lacuna, but the correspondence between lines 22 and 34 is clear enough. Although this expression never occurs in this form in the Iliad or Odyssey, Sappho's use of an epically inspired θέοις instead of Aeolic θέοισι suggests that she has modelled the expression on similar Homeric formulae. These words, then, function just as does θεοείκελος; they establish the heroism of the bride and groom.

[25]A 131=T 155 (Achilles); γ 416 (Telemachos); δ 276 Deiphobos); and θ 256 (Alkinoos).

[26]See Chapter 2, n. 25.

[27]See H. Mähler, Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs in frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars (Göttingen, 1965) 59-64.

[28]See M. Finley, RIDA ser. 3, 2 (1955) 186-94, who argues a direct relationship between dowry size and richness of gifts of wooing. He suggests that the prospective groom offered gifts to the father of the bride with the intention of provoking an equivalent countergift--the bride and her dowry.

In Homer, Andromache's gifts of suiting are mentioned at X 468-72, part of the description of her swoon at the sight of the mutilation of her husbands' corpse:

τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα
ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην
κρήδεμνόν θ', ὅ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἡγάγεθ' Ἕκτωρ
ἐκ δόμου Ἠετίωνος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἕδνα

[29]Also, in Hesiod, lists of gifts of wooing are fairly common (cf. frs. 43a.21-4; 180.8-9; 198.29-30; and 194.39-41); so, strictly speaking, there is nothing unusual about Sappho's dowry inventory. It is only because the poet has recalled the Λύτρα that the list becomes an expression of something female in male terms, that is, of Andromache's dowry in terms of Hektor's ransom.

[30]The system of allusions to the ransoming has been well treated by previous scholars. It was first noticed by Diehl, Anthol. Lyr. 1, 351, and more recently has been interpreted by Kakridis, op. cit. n. 13, 21-6, and von Weber, op. cit. n. 13, 93-101.

[31]The assertion of Page, S&A, 70, that the herald Idaos of line 3 is not meant to be identified with the "charioteer" of Iliad 24 is insupportable. Priam is instructed by Zeus and Iris to go to Achilles accompanied only by an elderly herald (κήρυξ γεραίτερος: 149, 178). In the narration of the actual trip, Homer refers to Priam's lone companion alternately as κῆρυξ (282, 577, 689, 674, 701) and as Ἰδαῖος (325, 470). Idaios, the charioteer, and Idaios/Idaos, the herald, are one and the same.

[32]Cf. X 408-9; Ω 592-4. H. Fränkel, Wege and Formen frühgriechischen Denkens (Munich, 1968) 41, points out that no Homeric poet could have used the phrase "dear father" without having it stand in syntactical connection to another expression signifying one of his children. Thus, in the passage cited in the text, the formula is related to Κασσάνδρη (Ω 699). Fränkel feels that Sappho is able to depart from this practice because the old king's eagerness to stand implies that he is in a hurry to celebrate the marriage of his dear son.

[33]For more on this correspondence, see below, p. 119.

[34]For a discussion of this correspondence, see Marzullo, op. cit. n. 13, 157-8.

[35]W. Rösler, Hermes 103 (1975) 275-85, argues that Sappho's preoccupation with vehicles is to be explained by the theory that the poem was composed to be sung during a bridal procession on Lesbos. Sitz im Leben and literary allusion frequently go together.

[36]See A. Lesky, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (Bern-Munich[3], 1971) 171; Kakridis, op. cit. n. 13, 22.

[37]At first glance, it seems that Sappho has introduced another ominous note with ἐλικώπιδα (line 5), which can be seen as meant to identify Andromache with the captive Chryseis of Iliad 1. Such an identification could be viewed as a foreshadowing of Andromache's enslavement after Hektor's death. The word ἐλικώπιδα is a hapax in Homer. The one time it appears (A 98), it is used to refer to Chryseis in the expression ἐλικώπιδα κούρην. The occurrence of the word in Sappho and in context with Chryseis in A is, however, probably coincidental: although the word survives in only one place in Homer, it is fairly common in Hesiod, where it occurs six times. In four of these six instances (Th. 998-9; frs. 43a.19-21, 75.5, 180.13 versus Th. 298, 307), the context concerns marriage and twice (perhaps three times) the adjective is linked with a form of the verb ἄγω, as it is in fr. 44.5 (Ἕκτωρ καὶ συνέταιροι ἄγοισ' ἐλικώπιδα). A close look at Th. 998-9 will indicate that it is likely that ἐλικώπιδα, ἄγω, and ships were part of a conventional description of the bringing home of a foreign bride.

[38]For the attitude of men toward women and marriage, see K. Dover, Greek Popular Morality (Oxford, 1974) 96-8; V. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes (Oxford, 1951) 192-4; and W. Erdmann, Die Ehe in alten Griechland (Munich, 1934) 140-1.

[39]Cf. Tyrt. 12.23-34; Kallin. 1; and Dover, op. cit. previous note, 161-7.

Tyrtaios' values were not held by all (cf., e.g., Archil. 5w). Whatever others thought of this code, however, we can be reasonably sure that it was a main concern in the instruction of the young boys of Sparta and Lesbos. Cf. W. Jaeger, Paideia (Oxford[2], 1965) 88-94. The parallel in the female sphere would have been in-

struction in the wifely virtues.

On Tyrt. 1 and Kallin. 1, see A. Adkins, HSCPh 81 (1977) 59-67.

[40]See Jaeger, op. cit. previous note, 100.

[41]See L. Quaglia, AAT 94 (1959-60) 174-7.

F. Martinazzoli, Euphrosyne 2 (1959) 115-64, suggests that the bard of the Iliad invented the duel to the death with Achilles in order to enhance the valor of Hektor. The scholia to X 188 states that Homer alone tells of a monomachia, while all others say that Hektor was killed by Achilles in an ambush.

See H. Erbse, Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliaden (Berlin, 1977) 5, 306-7 (on X 188-361): σημειῶδες ὅτι μόνος Ὅμηρος φησὶ μονομαχῆσαι τὸν Ἕκτορα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐνεδρευθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως.

[42]See J. Kakridis, Eranos 54 (1956) 21-7.

[43]Kakridis, op. cit. n. 13, 26, notices this phenomenon.

[44]In Sappho, for example, the women ride in σατίναι, while the young men ride in chariots (ἅρματα). The different vehicles represent the different, but parallel, worlds of women and men. See M. Leumann, Hermes 68 (1933) 359-60.

[45]It must be noted here that at ζ 72 ἅμαξαν εὐτροχον does occur in a domestic context when it denotes the wagon Nausikaa uses to bring her laundry to the river.

[46]Cf. Θ 159=O 590; M 252; N 834. Only at γ 150 is the expression found outside of a martial context.

[47]Cf. Z 54, 394; Λ 715=Σ 167; O 88, 584; P 257.

[48]See H. Jurenka, WS (1914) 200; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, NJA 33 (1914) 229-30; B. Snell, Hermes 66 (1931) 198; and esp. Merkelbach, op. cit. n. 9, 16-9 and Rösler, op. cit. n. 34, 275-85.

[49]Absence of mention of the actual couple troubles Kirkwood, EGM, 145.

[50]Another theory is that the poem was meant to be sung over and over again and that it is, in effect, the song that the Trojan celebrants sing at the poem's end

(ὕμην δ' Ἕκτορα κ' Ἀνδρομάχαν θεοείκελος). If this is true, any reference to the non-mythical couple would spoil the effect. For this theory, see Fränkel, EGP&P, 174; and Merkelbach, op. cit. n. 10, 17-9.

[51]See Marzullo, op. cit. n. 13, 179, for a discussion of this relationship.

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