

P. COLON. inv. 21351+21376 AND P. OXY. 1787 fr. 1:
MUSIC, CULTURAL POLITICS,
AND HELLENISTIC ANTHOLOGIES

The text* of the new Cologne Sappho papyrus, published by M. Gronewald and R. W. Daniel in 2004¹ and partly overlapping with P. Oxy. XV 1787 fr. 1 (= Sappho fr. 58 V),² is significant not only for providing most of the missing text of twelve lines of Sappho fr. 58 V (lines 11-22) but also for our understanding of the transmission of the poems of Sappho in the Hellenistic period. While P. Oxy. 1787 is dated to the second/third century AD,³ P. Colon. 21351+21376 goes back to the early third century BC and con

* This article is based on arguments advanced at a lecture I gave at Harvard University in February 2005. It is dedicated to Professor Panagiotis Roilos, who provided incisive suggestions that improved the final text. The following bibliography is cited throughout by author's name only (and the corresponding date): M. Gronewald - R. W. Daniel, «Ein neuer Sappho-Papyrus», *ZPE* 147 (2004a) 1-8; M. Gronewald - R. W. Daniel, «Nachtrag zum neuen Sappho-Papyrus», *ZPE* 149 (2004b) 1-4; M. Gronewald - R. W. Daniel, «Lyrischer Text (Sappho-Papyrus)», *ZPE* 154 (2005) 7-12; A. S. Hunt, «[P. Oxy.] 1787. Sappho, Book iv», in B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XV*, London 1922, pp. 26-46; E. Lobel and D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford 1955 (corrected ed. 1963); R. Merkelbach, «Verzeichnis von Gedichtanfängen», *ZPE* 12 (1973) 86; D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry*, Oxford 1955; P. J. Parsons, «[P. Oxy.] 3724. List of Epigrams», in R. A. Coles, H. Maehler, and P. J. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. LIV, London 1987, pp. 65-82; W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonn 1911; E. G. Turner - P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, second ed. revised and enlarged by P. J. Parsons, London 1987; D. Yatromanolakis, «Alexandrian Sappho Revisited», *HSCP* 99 (1999) 179-195; D. Yatromanolakis, *Sappho in the Making: The Early Reception*, Cambridge, Mass. 2007; D. Yatromanolakis, *Fragments of Sappho: A Commentary*, Cambridge, Mass. 2008 (forthcoming).

1. Gronewald and Daniel 2004a and 2004b/2005; P. Colon. inv. 21351+21376 [MP³ 1449.01, LDAB 10253].

2. MP³ 1449, LDAB 3899.

3. I agree with Hunt 1922 that the papyrus should probably be dated to the third century AD. Before the publication of P. Colon. 21351+21376, Sappho fr. 58 V was the focus of much discussion (especially lines 25-26): see, among more recent analyses, V. Di Benedetto, «Il tema della vecchiaia e il fr. 58 di Saffo», *QUCC* n.s. 19 (1985) 145-163; G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past*, Baltimore 1990, pp. 285-286; J. J. Winkler, «Sappho and the Crack of Dawn (fragment 58 L-P)», *Journal of Homosexuality* 20 (1990) 227-233; B. Marzullo, «Sapph. fr. 58, 25s. V.», *Philologus* 138 (1994) 189-193; G. Liberman, «A propos du fragment 58 Lobel-Page, Voigt de Sappho», *ZPE* 108 (1995) 45-46; T. M. Falkner, *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy*, Norman/London 1995, pp. 102-107; C. Salemmé, «Lo splendore del sole e la bellezza: Saffo 58, 25-26 V.», *Orpheus* 22 (2001) 185-191.

stitutes by far the earliest papyrus of Sappho.⁴ From approximately the same period (third/second century BC)⁵ we have only an ostrakon that preserves what is now known as Sappho fr. 2 V. Furthermore, another early papyrus with a text of Sappho (fr. 98 V) may come from the first half of the first century BC.⁶

Five hundred years or so separate P. Oxy. 1787 from P. Colon. 21351+21376. The chronologically later papyrus apparently, but not certainly, provides us with the Hellenistic text as constituted in the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. On the contrary, the early third century BC papyrus, with its still epigraphic letter forms (ε, ζ, θ),⁷ preserves not only what seems to be the end of a composition of Sappho and a twelve-line song by the same poet but also another poem,⁸ the authorship, date, content, form, and metre of which remain somewhat indeterminate.⁹ Although the new papyrus was part of the

4. Gronewald and Daniel 2004a compare the hand of the Cologne papyrus (the Sappho fragments) with Turner/Parsons 1987: no. 52, pp. 92-93, P. Hib. I 4, dated to the early third century BC [MP³ 1708, LDAB 7002], anonymous fragments of tragedy (*TrGF* 625). Note that in P. Hib. I 4, the sigma is written in four strokes, but normally in one sequence, while in the fragments of Sappho on the Cologne papyrus the sigma is lunate.

5. PSI XIII 1300 [MP³ 1439, LDAB 3904, and Cribiore 247]. The ostrakon was dated by Medea Norsa to the second century BC, but with Edgar Lobel and Denys Page 1955, I believe it should be assigned to the late third century BC. For the *editio princeps* and other early studies of the ostrakon, see Page 1955, 35.

6. P. Mil. Vogl. II 40 [MP³ 1452, LDAB 3903]. For the dating of this papyrus, see A. F. Moretti, «Revisione di alcuni papiri greci letterari editi tra i P. Mil. Vogl.», *APap* 7 (1995) 23. For a different dating («third century BC or a little later»), cf. Page 1955, 98 and Lobel and Page 1955, ix (saec. iii/ii a.C.). I find Moretti's argument more convincing.

7. Note that the archaic shape of omega (cf. P. Berol. 9875; Schubart 1911, no. 1 [MP³ 1537, LDAB 4123]) is not used throughout. Cf. also the form of epsilon, which is occasionally round. In this hand the pi is broad: cf. the shape of the pi in the oldest datable documentary papyrus (c. 331-323 BC), P. Saqqara inv. 1972 GP 3 (Turner/Parsons 1987, no. 79, pp. 136-139), in which the epsilon is rectangular and the sigma is written in four strokes; see also P. Saqqara inv. 71/2 GP 9 (Turner/Parsons 1987, no. 88, pp. 146-147), dated to the late fourth (or possibly early third) century BC.

8. Gronewald and Daniel 2005.

9. Research on the new papyrus fragments and Sappho fr. 58 V (as well as fr. 59 V) has been intense: V. Di Benedetto, «Osservazioni sul nuovo papiro di Saffo», *ZPE* 149 (2004) 5-6; W. Luppe, «Überlegungen zur Gedicht-Anordnung im neuen Sappho-Papyrus», *ZPE* 149 (2004) 7-9; H. Bernsdorff, «Schwermut des Alters im neuen Kölner Sappho-Papyrus», *ZPE* 150 (2004) 27-35; H. Bernsdorff, «Offene Gedichtschlüsse», *ZPE* 153 (2005) 1-6; M. L. West, «A New Sappho Poem», *Times Literary Supplement* (24 June 2005a) 7-8; R. Janko, «Sappho Revisited», *Times Literary Supplement* (23 and 30 December 2005) 19-20; M. Puelma - F. Angiò, «Sappho und Poseidippos: Nachtrag zum Sonnenuhr-Epigramm 52 A.-B. des Mailänder Papyrus», *ZPE* 152 (2005) 13-15; G. Lapini, «Posidippo, *Ep.* 51 Austin-Bastianini», *Philologus* 149 (2005) 233-243; M. L. West, «The New Sappho», *ZPE* 151 (2005b) 1-9; V. Di Benedetto, «La nuova Saffo e dintorni», *ZPE* 153 (2005) 7-20; A. Hardie, «Sappho, the Muses, and Life after Death», *ZPE* 154 (2005) 13-32; C. Geissler, «Der Tithonosmythos bei Sappho und Kallimachos: Zu Sappho fr. 58 V., 11-22 und Kallimachos, *Aitia* fr. 1 Pf.», *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 8 (2005)

collection of a private owner, and thus constitutes another case of purchase of ancient scrolls outside Egypt, the texts it provides present numerous intriguing problems and encourage papyrological and historical debate about the way in which texts of Sappho were transmitted in the Hellenistic period.

Before the appearance of the new fragments, it had been suggested that in the Hellenistic era and possibly later, her songs were circulated in editions and collections less «standard» than the Alexandrian scholarly edition of the poetry of Sappho.¹⁰ The publication of the early Ptolemaic papyrus fragments of songs of Sappho and their juxtaposition with a fragment of a composition that cannot be assigned to Sappho further support this argument. In this article, I shall discuss the new fragments and explore this early Hellenistic collection in the light of cultural practices related to the ancient reception of Sappho and the attribution of compositions to her during the early, highly complex stages of this reception.

The first eight lines of the early Ptolemaic papyrus fragments provide what appears to be the end of a composition. I shall call this new piece Sappho fr. 58b. P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 1 preserves nine different lines¹¹ – apparently the end of a different composition (which I shall call 58a)¹² – before those *twelve* lines (fr. 58.11-22 V) that partly overlap with P. Colon. 21351+21376. I shall call these twelve lines fr. 58c:¹³

105-114; L. Bettarini, «Note linguistiche alla nuova Saffo», *ZPE* 154 (2005) 33-39; M. Magnani, «Note alla nuova Saffo», *Eikasmos* 16 (2005) 41-49; A. Nicolosi, «Recuperi di lirica greca arcaica da papiri», *A & R* 50 (2005) 80-94 [87-94]; J. Danielewicz, «On lines 8 and 18 of the New Sappho (P. Köln 21376)», *Eos* 92 (2005) 133-136; V. Di Benedetto, «Il tetrastico di Saffo e tre postille», *ZPE* 155 (2006) 5-18; J. Danielewicz, «Bacchylides fr. 20A, 12 S.-M. and Sappho, P. Köln fr. I-II, 12», *ZPE* 155 (2006) 19-21; L. Edmunds, «The New Sappho: ἔφραστο (9)», *ZPE* 156 (2006) 23-26; R. Rawles, «Notes on the Interpretation of the “New Sappho”», *ZPE* 157 (2006a) 1-7; R. Rawles, «Musical Notes on the New Anonymous Lyric Poem from Köln», *ZPE* 157 (2006b) 8-13. The present article was completed in December 2006. G. Lieberg, «Bemerkungen zum neuen Sappho-Papyrus und zu Sappho, fr. 44a, 11-12 V.», *Hermes* 134 (2006) 237-238.

10. Yatromanolakis 1999.

11. These nine lines are printed in Edgar Lobel's 1925 edition as ten lines (Σαπφοῦς μελῶν δ fr. 1.1-10 Lobel = fr. 58.1-10 V). I have examined the original papyrus and confirmed that Hunt 1922, pp. 28-29, was right in printing nine lines, while Lobel in his *Σαπφοῦς μέλη* (Oxford 1925, p. 26) was not correct in holding that there are traces of an additional line at the beginning of P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 1.

12. I call it 58a, since this papyrus was published earlier than the Cologne papyrus.

13. For the beginning of line 7 Gronewald and Daniel 2004a propose the emendation <ταῦ>τα στεναχίσδω (or <ὄν δὲ> στεναχίσδω); cf. West's τὰ <μὲν> στεναχίσδω. I would suggest the emendations <ῆ> τὰ or τὰ<δε> (cf. Sappho fr. 150.2 V) or <ζῆ> τὰ (paleographically plausible); even τὰ <νῶν> στεναχίσδω. <ταῦ>τα στεναχίσδω is attractive. For line 10 Gronewald and Daniel 2004b provide the restoration ἔρωι δέπας εἰσανβάμεν' (εἰσονβάμεν' would be expected), accepted by Di Benedetto 2005 (above, n. 9). On the papyrus fragments, after ἔρωι, it is

ἰ]οκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα παῖδες	
] φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν.	2
] ποτ' [ἔ]οντα χροά γῆρας ἦδη	
ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν,	4
βάρυς δέ μ' ὁ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ' οὐ φέροισι,	
τὰ δὴ ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισιν.	6
†τα† στεναχίσδω θαμέως. ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην;	
ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι.	8
καὶ γάρ π[ο]τὰ Τίθωνον ἔφοντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων	
ἔρωι ..[.]α.εισανβάμεν' εἰς ἔσχατα γᾶς φέροισα[ν	10
ἔοντα [κ]ἄλον καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὐτον ὕμως ἔμαρψε	
χρόνῳ π[ό]λιον γῆρας, ἔχ[ο]ντ' ἀθανάταν ἄκοιτιν.	12

After these lines, the Cologne papyrus preserves a metrically different poem, the dialectal and metrical features of which do not seem to suggest that it is by Sappho (or Alkaios). The *terminus ante quem* for this composition is the early third century BC. For the sake of clarity, I shall call this poem an «anonymous composition.» However, P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 1+2 transmits a different text after fr. 58c. I shall call this text fr. 58d (= Sappho fr. 58.23-26, followed by fr. 59 V). In fr. 59 V, Voigt, adopting an idea proposed by Lobel in his *Σαπφοῦς μέλη* (Oxford 1925) as well as in his and Page's 1955 critical edition, prints the editorial symbol of *initium carminis* at the beginning of line 1 because Lobel believed that there was a *coronis* and a *paragraphos* between fr. 58 and fr. 59 V.¹⁴ For all that, there is no *coronis* between these lines in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus.¹⁵ The *paragraphos* after the last line of fr. 58 V may well not represent the cross-bar of a *coronis*. Given the appearance of other *paragraphoi* without *coronis* in the same papyrus, there is no compelling reason not to take this horizontal line as a *paragraphos* that marks off a strophic couplet.

From fragment 58a (= 58.1-10 V) very little is preserved. As a conse-

possible to read the letter δ (φ seems to me impossible to read: see West 2005b φ. αθεισαν βάμεν'); after δ I would read ε. Magnani 2005 (above, n. 9) proposes ἔρωι δῖ[φο]ρον εἰσανβάμεν', but ν at the end of δῖ[φο]ρον is unlikely: before εἰσαν one can read the upper left part of a probably round letter (θ, ο, or lunate σ) and before that round letter it is possible to read part of an α. If this is correct, Magnani's restoration and Janko's ἔρωι λα[λ]άγεισαν (above, n. 9) seem improbable.

14. A *coronis* along with a *paragraphos* occurs at fr. 3.2-3, 14-15, 24 and fr. 35 col. ii. 3-4 of the same papyrus (P. Oxy. 1787).

15. Luppe 2004; cf. West 2005b (above, n. 9), 4, who believes that the three very fragmentary lines of fr. 59 V constitute part of a poem that starts in line 23 of fr. 58 V (West 2005b, 4, 7-9). Di Benedetto 2004 and 2006 (above, n. 9) holds that lines 23-26 of fr. 58 V represent a complete poem by Sappho.

quence, it is almost impossible to understand the plot of the song, unless we attempt to supplement it heavily. A reference to «success» (πρόκοψιν) or a closely related notion¹⁶ at the very end of the fragment does not help sufficiently.¹⁷ Before the publication of the Cologne papyrus, the lines of fr. 58a were deemed part of fr. 58c,¹⁸ but most scholars currently believe that the first line of fr. 58c constitutes the beginning of a song, the twelve lines of which are transmitted in both the Oxyrhynchus papyrus and in the new Cologne papyrus.¹⁹

The metre of fr. 58a seems to be the same as that of 58b (preserved only in the Cologne papyrus) and 58c/d. It is an acephalous hipponactean internally expanded by two choriambic expansions (˘hipp^{2c}) or a hagesichorean with choriambic expansion (hag^{2c}):²⁰ × – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –. That is the principal metre that may possibly be assigned to the fourth book of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. However, as Hunt incisively observes, Hephaestion (p. 36 Consbruch) does not attribute this Aeolic metre (which, as Hephaestion states, was frequently used by Sappho) to a certain book of the Alexandrian edition of her poetry.²¹ Because the first three books of that edition were characterized by metrical homogeneity (the first book consisted of poems in Sapphic stanzas, while the second and third books were composed of poems in two-line stanzas and in the so-called Σαπφικὸν τεσσα-

16. See προκοπή in LSJ⁹.

17. In the previous line, ὄνομον, if correctly supplemented, might perhaps be connected with the reference to στ[ύ]μα[τι] (or στ[ύ]μα[σι] according to Hunt 1922, p. 42) in the last line of the fragment.

18. See F. Preisshofen, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Greisenalters in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 57-64.

19. C. Gallavotti (*Saffo e Alceo: Testimonianze e frammenti*, vol. I, third revised ed. Naples 1962 [second ed. 1957, first ed. 1947]) had conjectured that line 11 of fr. 58 V is the beginning of a song; cf. Page 1955, p. 129, who quotes and discusses fr. 58 starting with line 11. These twelve lines are considered a complete song by numerous scholars: see, among others, Di Benedetto 2004, 6; Luppe 2004, 8; West 2005a and 2005b, 3-4; A. Carson, «The Beat Goes On», *New York Review of Books* (20 October 2005) 47; Janko 2005, and Bernsdorff 2005 (above, n. 9); Puelma and Angiò 2005 (above, n. 9) trace a possible allusion in Posidippus 52.5-6 A-B to Sappho fr. 58c and d, viewed as a continuous poem (= fr. 58.11-26 V). Posidippus 52 A-B (aptly discussed by L. Battezzato, «Song, Performance, and Text in the New Posidippus», *ZPE* 145 (2003) 33-42) is preceded by an epigram (51 A-B) with a reference to «Sapphic songs» (Σα[πφῶ] ἄισμα[τα]; cf. Σα[πφῶ] ἄισμα[τα], a supplement proposed by Lapini 2005 (above, n. 9), 239), but such possible Hellenistic poetic allusions to archaic Greek compositions can be easily traced (and have all too often been traced in the past by scholars) but are difficult to ascertain or substantiate (Di Benedetto 2006 (above, n. 9), 10 refutes Puelma and Angiò's hypothesis).

20. The term hagesichorean was coined by M. L. West (*Greek Metre*, Oxford 1982, p. 30) after Alkman fr. 1.57 PMG Ἀγῆσιχόρα μὲν αὖτα.

21. Hunt 1922, p. 26. Cf. Page 1955, p. 114, who is cautious in describing the possible metre of the fourth book.

ρειαυδεκασύλλαβον – or Aeolic dactylic pentameter – and Σαπφικὸν ἔκκαιδεκασύλλαβον, respectively),²² it seems plausible that the fourth book was also (wholly?) homogeneous in metre, in contrast to the fifth book, which was probably composed of metrically non-homogeneous poems was probably composed of metrically non-homogeneous poems in three-line stanzas (with glyconics predominating).²³ The fourth book may have consisted of poems written in distichs (and perhaps tristichs).²⁴ Certainly the isometric lines preserved in the Cologne papyrus are divided into couplets by *paragraphoi*.²⁵

In fr. 58b, a female figure, being now on earth (ὥς νῦν ἐπὶ γᾶς ἔοισαν), takes a *paktis* or a lyre and sings,²⁶ while there are also references to the γέρας that possibly this woman will have in the afterlife («below the earth».²⁷ But it should be stressed that much remains uncertain with regard to the plot of the song.

Music, song, immortality, and old age are the themes connecting fr. 58b with fr. 58c in the Cologne collection of poems. Fr. 58c consists of twelve headless hipponactean with choriambic expansion and mainly exploits the theme of old age, the immortality of a goddess and her constantly aging lover, and possibly song and music-making in the face of mortality. The first two lines remain fragmentary, even after the publication of the Cologne papyrus. Although supplementing an archaic fragmentary text implies a desire to «rewrite» the plot of a song or to reenact the archaic process of composing a poem and imitate such a complex and influential poet as Sappho, I would venture to suggest, with all related caveats, the following restoration:

22. Hephaestion p. 23 Consbruch (Σαπφικὸν τεσσαρειαυδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ δεύτερον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γέγραπται; cf. pp. 130 and 379 Consbruch) and p. 34 Consbruch (Σαπφικὸν ἔκκαιδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ τρίτον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γέγραπται).

23. The evidence about the fifth book is scant. On the metres of the books of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, see Hunt 1922, p. 26; Lobel's 1925 edition (above, n. 11, pp. xiii-xvi), Page 1955, pp. 114-116, and Voigt's testimonia 226-243. For the so-called book of Epithalamia and related papyrological evidence, see, further, Yatromanolakis 1999, 187-194.

24. On tristichs, see Voigt's apparatus in Sappho fr. 88 V.

25. The same is true for P. Oxy. 1787, in cases where the left-hand side of the papyrus is preserved.

26. On multiforms of this theme, see Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 259-272 (with n. 406 on p. 260).

27. For the overall theme, see Sappho frs. 65, 147, 32, and 55 V (with discussion in D. Yatromanolakis, «A Lyric Epos», *Hellenika* 56 (2006) 381-388; cf. West 2005b, (above, n. 9), 2-3, with ample supplements for the new fr. 58b and for fr. 65 V, and Di Benedetto 2005, (above, n. 9), 7ff.). Hardie 2005 provides a detailed, but often farfetched, analysis of what he calls a «cult of the Muses» in Sappho, a cult that promised special posthumous benefits for the member of the so-called (reconstructed) «Sapphic circle».

νῦν ἄδεα Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
φίλημί τε φώνα]γ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνην.²⁸

Gronewald and Daniel proposed φέρω τάδε Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες, | λάβοισα πάλιν τὰ]γ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνην,²⁹ which is interesting, since it creates a contrast between the young age of the children and the γῆρας of the singing voice, which, although no more young and no more with nimble knees, resorts to music-making and singing – an idea that is echoed in the myth of Tithonos. The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218-238, possibly the oldest of the long Homeric hymns³⁰ and almost contemporary with Sappho fr. 58 (P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 1 + P. Colon. inv. 21351+21376), provides an intriguing narrative of the myth of the goddess Eos who seized ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν Tithonos³¹ and asked Zeus that the mortal man become immortal. Zeus fulfilled her wish, but Eos had forgotten to request eternal youth for him and ultimate avoidance of old age. So long as Tithonos was youthful, he enjoyed the love of Eos and lived by the waters of Ocean at the ends of the earth (ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης).³² But when the first grey hairs appeared on his head and chin – a motif in later pederastic poetry – Eos did not wish anymore to lie in his bed, but took excellent care of him in her μέγαρα by providing him with food, ambrosia, and beautiful clothing. However, old age was lurking for the immortal Tithonos, and when he eventually could not even lift any of his limbs, she locked him away in a θάλαμος with shining doors. The narrative ends with a reference to Tithonos: τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι φωνῆ ῥεῖ ἄσπετος – like the φώνα of the loud-voiced χέ-

28. Cf., e.g., Alkaios fr. 70.10-11 and 129.11-12 V. Another possibility would be νῦν τ' ἄδεα Μοῖσαν ἰοκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες, | φίλημί τε φώνα]γ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνην; for τε ... τε in the Lesbian poets, cf. Sappho fr. 44.15 (with Voigt's apparatus criticus) and Alkaios fr. 140.10-11 V. On φώνα]γ ... χελύνην, see Sappho fr. 118 V, with discussion in Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 7-10; Hunt 1922, p. 42, incisively observes that «χελύνην is gen. plur.; cf. [P. Oxy.] 1231.14.8, n.». If Sappho fr. 58d (= fr. 58.23-26 V) is part of fr. 58c, φίλημι in my restoration would respond to the singing voice's love of delicacy in line 25 of fr. 58 V (on this line, see Yatromanolakis 2007, p. 128 n. 264); cf. κάλα and κάλον in these self-referential poetic statements.

29. Gronewald and Daniel 2004a, 7, with the alternative supplements ἔχω for the beginning of line 1 and ἔλοισα for the beginning of line 2. Other restorations are possible: see, for example, West 2005a and 2005b, 5 and the similar supplements in Di Benedetto 2004, 5 (both provide imperative verbs for the first and/or the second line).

30. Cf. M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer*, Cambridge, Mass. 2003, p. 16, who accepts that «[w]e shall not go far wrong if we place him (i.e., the poet of the hymn) in the last third of the seventh century».

31. The theme of being equal to gods and heroes or of conversing/being associated with gods is part of the overall poetics of Sappho: see, e.g., frs. 31, 96, 23, 1, 134, and test. 218 V.

32. Cf. the formulaic phrase εἰς ἔσχατα γὰς in Sappho fr. 58c. 10.

λωνναι that love to sing the δῶρα of the violet-bosomed Muses,³³ while for Tithonos οὐδέ τι κῆρυξ | ἔσθ' οἷη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι. Similarly, through the exploitation of versions of the myth of Tithonos, the singing voice in fr. 58c may allude to the possibility of being granted such an eternal poetic voice by the Muses – an idea reflected in other fragments of Sappho.³⁴ What is certain is that the song focuses on old age pressing irreversibly upon the singing voice, who reflects on this aspect of her life: «but what might I do?» (†τα† στεναχίσδω θαμέως. ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποεῖην; 58c.7).³⁵ Already before the time of the children of fr. 58c, people used to say or believe (ἔφραυτο)³⁶ that Tithonos, the husband of an immortal wife, would escape death: he did so, but did not escape old age.

From fr. 58d only two lines are preserved in relatively good condition (= fr. 58.25-26 V). Although there are problems with the possible semantic nuances of especially the second of these lines (58.26 V), it is clear that the singing voice places some emphasis on the following point in the song: ἔγω δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν. Was this part of fr. 58c?

33. Note that Hunt 1922, pp. 28-29, articulated line 12 of fr. 58 V differently, on the basis of the mark of elision in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus:]φιλ'άοιδον (Hunt 1922, p. 28) and ὦ] φίλ', αἰοιδον λυγύραν χελόνναν (Hunt 1922, p. 29). Note further that Sappho fr. 121 V includes a reference to φίλος, and the female speaking voice addresses a younger male figure and advises him to take the bed of a youthful woman (ἀλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄμμιν λέχος ἄρνοσο νεώτερον· | οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἔγω σύν <τ'> οἴκην ἔσσα γεραιτέρω; cf. Yatromanolakis 2007, p. 352). It is certainly possible that the plot of the first two lines of fr. 58c may be different from that envisaged in current restorations. On παῖδες in line 1 of fr. 58c and different reconstructions of its original context, see D. Yatromanolakis, «Alcaeus and Sappho», in F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, Cambridge 2008 (forthcoming). It is also worth posing the question whether fr. 58b was (or perhaps was transmitted as) part of fr. 58c (ἄλλα, Μοῖσ' can be read as θαλάμοισ': the trace in the Cologne papyrus is very ambiguous; cf. West 2005b, 3, who remarks that «[e]lsewhere in Sappho (six times) the Muses are always plural» and, more subjectively, that «this last-minute apostrophe of the Muse does not look natural»). θαλάμοισ' or θαλάμοις would impart entirely different contextual nuances to the song.

34. See Yatromanolakis 2006 (above, n. 27). On Tithonos turning into a cicada in later versions of the myth (Hellanikos fr. 140 Fowler) and Sappho fr. 58c, see, from a different perspective, Janko 2005 and cf. Rawles 2006a (above, n. 9), 1-7.

35. The formation of the verb στεναχίσδω evidently places special emphasis on the frequent groaning of the singing voice in the face of old age. Questions constitute a constant feature of laments: see M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, second revised ed. D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos, Lanham and Oxford 2002, pp. 161-165. Instead, here the question takes the form of self-consolation and subtly alludes to the tradition of threnodic questions. On Sappho and laments, see Battezzato (above, n. 19), 38-39 (with references to earlier studies), D. Yatromanolakis, «Ritual Poetics in Archaic Lesbos: Contextualizing Genre in Sappho», in D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos, *Towards a Ritual Poetics*, Athens 2003, pp. 43-59, and 2008 (forthcoming).

36. On the imperfect ἔφραυτο here and ἐπευθόμειθα in the episode of Phoenix – who narrates the story of Meleager for the young Achilles – in *Iliad* 9.524, see Edmunds 2006 (above, n. 9). On the meaning of ἔφραυτο, see Gronewald and Daniel 2004a, 8 («Die Form ἔφραυτο ist im Epos bezeugt und hat hier die Bedeutung "glauben", vgl. LSJ s.v. φημί II b»).

Gronewald and Daniel argued that the last line of fr. 58c provides an ending that is «sehr abrupt»³⁷ and that fr. 58d was possibly part of 58c: according to these two scholars, the Cologne papyrus may provide only an excerpt from a longer song, since the papyrus constitutes an anthology of different compositions.³⁸ If their suggestion is in the right direction, the singing voice returns to her own perspective (frs. 58c + 58d) after the narration of the myth of Tithonos: ἔγω δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν, ...] τοῦτο καί μοι | τὸ λάμπρον ἔρωσ ἀελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε.³⁹ Although fr. 58c can certainly stand by itself and represent a more or less complete poem,⁴⁰ a return to the poet's perspective after a reference to a myth would be easily paralleled in the work of archaic poets. Can fr. 58c, as preserved in the Cologne papyrus, and fr. 58c/d of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus represent two performative versions of the same song, one of them shorter and more reflective on the (potentially also sympotic) theme of the inescapability of old age? ⁴¹ Can fr. 58c reflect a stage in the transmission of Sappho's poetry during which Sappho's songs were performed as *skolia* in symposiastic contexts? Can the complex politics of the reception of the songs and music-making of Sappho in the classical period be somewhat related to the performative transmission of certain of her compositions?⁴²

As I have argued elsewhere,⁴³ our earliest source concerning performance of Sappho's poetry at Attic symposia or related venues is visual (an Attic red-figure vase of the early fifth century BC), and not, as has most often been

37. Gronewald and Daniel 2004a, 2; cf. Magnani 2005 (above, n. 9), 43-44.

38. For other early examples of such anthologies, see, e.g., P. Berol. 9772, dated to the second century BC (excerpts from comedy and tragedy; Schubart 1902, no. 6c and discussion in p. x; Schubart also cites P. Hibeh I 7, a third century BC anthology; cf. P. Hibeh II 224), P. Strasbourg W.G. 306-307, dated to c. third/second century BC (P. Strasbourg W.G. 307 in Turner and Parsons 1987, no. 30 and discussion in p. 60; they cite P. Hamburg 118 and 119, as analyzed by H. Lloyd-Jones in an *addendum* in G. W. Bond, *Euripides: Hypsipyle*, Oxford 1963, pp. 157-160). Cf. also P. Ross. Georg. 1.9 and P. Schubart 28 (P. Berol. 13680^f), both dated to the second century BC. For later cases like P. Tebt. I 1 and 2, dated to the second/first century BC, see F. Pordomingo, «Les Anthologies de P. Tebt. I 1 et 2», in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23-29 agosto 1998*, vol. 2, Florence 2001, pp. 1077-1093.

39. The two lines are transmitted by Athenaios 15.687b (= Klearkhos fr. 41 Wehrli). For these lines as part of the text of P. Oxy. 1787, fr. 1 + 2.1, see Hunt 1922, p. 42.

40. See, especially, the cogent analysis in Bernsdorff 2005 (above, n. 9).

41. Yatromanolakis 2007, p. 360 n. 341 (with reference to a 2005 lecture) and p. 344 n. 259. It should be stressed that the absence of gendered words in the poem would *further* facilitate its performance at symposia and related male gatherings. The theme of old age was exploited by Alkaios (fr. 50 V) and Anakreon (fr. 395 PMG), poets well-known for their sympotic songs. Cf. Mimnermos frs. 1, 2, 4, and 5 W².

42. The ancient reception of Sappho is investigated in Yatromanolakis 2007.

43. Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 51-164, 213-216; cf. D. Yatromanolakis, «Visualizing Poetry», *CP* 96 (2001) 159-168.

assumed, textual narratives in Aulus Gellius or Aelian.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Alkaios' songs were performed in Attic symposia, as a number of sources of the classical period suggests.⁴⁵ The *Theognidea* and the songs of Praxilla also seem to have been performed, improvised, and reperformed on related occasions.⁴⁶ A well-known example from the *Theognidea* may suffice to support this idea:⁴⁷ lines 949-950 – transmitted as part of a poem starting in line 949 and ending in line 954 – are repeated in a different context as lines 1278ab. The transmission of the poems of Solon has also been viewed as possibly reflecting different performative versions.⁴⁸ I believe that, as far as the evidence permits us to see, the question of whether fr. 58c was a shortened performative version of a longer song remains open; it is nonetheless, I argue, worth pursuing it somewhat further.

If Sappho fr. 58c was indeed a shortened version that was sung in symposia as a kind of *skolion*, we might want to adduce some supportive sources for such a process of transmission. The best example comes from the songs of another, almost coeval Lesbian poet. An Attic four-line *skolion*, originally extracted from a more extensive song of Alkaios (fr. 249 V), was being transmitted as an independent composition in (probably) classical Athenian symposia.⁴⁹ It was eventually included in the collection of Attic *skolia* that

44. On very late textual sources and their rhetoric and multiforms, see Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 81-88 and 86 n. 113 (cf. p. 63 n. 29). Among more recent citations of only some of these late textual sources as purported evidence for the performance of Sappho in symposia of the archaic period, see G. Nagy, *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*, Cambridge 1996, p. 219 (with reference to early drafts of my D. Phil. thesis); H. P. Foley, «“The Mother of the Argument”: Eros and the Body in Sappho and Plato's *Phaedrus*», in M. Wyke (ed.), *Parchments of Gender*, Oxford 1998, p. 40; and J. Svenbro, *Phrasikleia*, Ithaca, NY 1993, p. 146. Scholars have confined themselves to such citations of very late sources, without attempting to contextualize them.

45. The sources are examined in Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 210, 213-216, 341-342.

46. Cf. Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 215, 343-344 and 343 n. 256 (with references to earlier studies of the *Theognidea*).

47. On different versions of poems included in the *Theognidea*, see M. Vetta, *Theognis. Elegiarum liber secundus*, Rome 1980.

48. Cf. A. Lardinois, «Have we Solon's verses?», in J. H. Blok and A. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens: New Historical and Philological Approaches*, Leiden 2006, pp. 15-35; see also C. Faraone, «Stanzaic Structure and Responsion in the Elegiac Poetry of Tyrtaeus», *Mnemosyne* 59 (2006) 48-50. Traces of formulaic composition can be found in archaic melic and elegiac compositions: cf. M. L. Lord's Addendum to chapter 2 of A. B. Lord's posthumous volume, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, M. L. Lord (ed.), Ithaca, NY 2005, pp. 62-68 and Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 202-205.

49. Cf. W. Rösler, «Die Alkaios-Überlieferung im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert», in *Proceedings of the VIIIth Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies I*, Budapest 1984, pp. 187-190 and Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 210, 214, 341-342.

Athenaios transmits.⁵⁰ An Oxyrhynchus papyrus, dated to the first century AD, provides a longer version of the song and presents certain divergences of dialect and text from the Attic *skolion*.⁵¹ Alkaios fr. 249 V and the Attic *skolion* 891 PMG show how a part of an archaic song could be performed as a *skolion* in different symposiastic contexts. It is intriguing that Aristotle calls Alcaeus 348 V – a political, abusive song related to *κακοπατρίδα(ν)* Pittakos and his election as *τύραννον* by the Mytileneans during a turbulent period – a *skolion*.⁵² Later sources indicate that the principal discursive characteristics of the genre of *skolia* included a tendency toward gnomic content, maxims, and proverbial pronouncements: some of the songs of Alkaios (and Sappho) displayed discursive features similar to those traced in preserved *skolia*.⁵³

It is thus not an insignificant coincidence that a *paroinion* of the fifth-century poet Praxilla was assigned to Sappho by later writers.⁵⁴ Some of Praxilla's songs (not unlike those of Alkaios) included proverbial pronouncements or maxim-like discourse. In the context of symposia, any of such songs could be performed as – and assimilated into the overall genre of – *skolia*.

As I have already mentioned, after Sappho fr. 58c, the Cologne papyrus preserves a metrically different poem – an anonymous composition – the date, content, form, metre, and length of which remain uncertain. The *terminus ante quem* for this anonymous poem is the early third century BC. The text has been written in a different hand: the writing here seems rounder and *perhaps* less carefully executed than the writing displayed in the preceding poems. It should be stressed that it is papyrologically impossible to ascertain whether the second hand simply added a poem to an already existing anthology. An attempt to assign the second hand to a date *slightly* later than the early third century BC would be hard to substantiate. As scholars like Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, Edgar Lobel, Eric G. Turner, and Peter J. Parsons have pointed out in numerous of their writings, often no objective evidence exists for ascribing a precise date to a papyrus fragment. Assigning «a palaeographical date to a Greek literary papyrus is a hazardous undertaking. The hazard is especially marked for the Ptolemaic period.»⁵⁵ At the same time, «there is the risk of deceiving oneself about the

50. Athenaios 15.695a (= *carm. conv.* 891 PMG).

51. P. Oxy. 2298 fr. 1. On *skolia* as genre, see D. Yatromanolakis, «Ancient Greek Popular Song», in F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, Cambridge 2008 (forthcoming).

52. *Politics* 1285a 35-1285b 1.

53. See, e.g., Sappho frs. 106 and 145 V.

54. Praxilla fr. 749 PMG. Cf. *carm. conv.* 897 PMG.

55. E. G. Turner, «Ptolemaic Bookhands and the Lille Stesichorus», *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) 21. In this article, Turner admirably establishes some criteria for dating early Ptolemaic

characteristics of a 'style' [of handwriting]. Subjective illusions can be guarded against by basing classification on considerations which can be apprehended objectively. The whole classificatory process may then be thought too mechanical. The dilemma is a real one. It arises because palaeography is neither a science nor an art, but works through a continual interaction of the methods appropriate to both approaches. And in the last resort a judgment has to be made – and judgment is fallible».⁵⁶ Although in very many cases one is able to reach a conclusion about the dating of a papyrus in a more precise and convincing manner, a large number of papyri exist for which there is doubt or considerable debate with regard to the date assigned to them by different papyrologists.⁵⁷ In the case of the Cologne Sappho papyrus, I believe that the safest conclusion is to consider both hands more or less contemporary. More specifically, there is ample evidence for collections of poems on papyri to have been written in two hands. In 1987, Peter J. Parsons published an important list of mostly sympotic and erotic epigrams written in two different hands (designated as A and C by Parsons).⁵⁸ He dated the papyrus to the later first century AD and aptly remarked that although C could perhaps be a slightly later hand, «his script is much less distinctive than A's, and gives no good reason to deny that A and C were contemporary.»⁵⁹ It should be pointed out that another list of the first lines of epigrams has been preserved, but this time the list is short and inscribed on an ostrakon (*SH* 976 Lloyd-Jones and Parsons):⁶⁰ it is dated to the second century BC and two different hands are traceable.

As for earlier hands, P. Berol. 13270, dated to the early third century BC⁶¹ and thus contemporary with the Cologne Sappho papyrus (inv. 21351+

hands. For the Ptolemaic period, cf. also E. Crisci, «I più antichi libri greci. Note bibliologiche e paleografiche su rotoli papiracei del IV-III secolo a.C.», *Scrittura e Civiltà* 23 (1999) 29-62 and *id.*, «Per uno studio paleografico e bibliologico dei più antichi libri greci (IV-III secolo a.C.)», in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23-29 agosto 1998*, vol. 1, Florence 2001, pp. 287-300.

56. Turner and Parsons 1987, p. 20. Similar scholarly warnings are expressed in many publications of these papyrologists.

57. See, e.g., P. Oxy. 2298 fr. 1 and Edgar Lobel's comments: «Professor Schubart, for reasons given on pp. 112 seq. of his *Griechische Palaeographie*, assigns it to the first century B.C.; I should have been inclined to think it might fall (later than P. Berl. 9767, Schubart *Pap. graec.* 11a, earlier than [P. Oxy.] 1362, and their associates) within the next century» (in E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXI, London 1951, p. 60).

58. Parsons 1987. A third hand (designated as B by Parsons) is also discernible.

59. Parsons 1987, p. 65.

60. O. Wilck. II.1488 (O. Lond. 25736).

61. Crisci 1999 (above, n. 55), 59, provides the following dating: «piuttosto che al IV secolo sarei propenso ad assegnarlo agli anni 80 del III secolo.» Cf. F. Maltomini, «Τίς πρῶτος; A proposito delle due mani di P. Berol. 13270 ('Canti di Elefantine')», *SCO* 47 (2001) 581 n. 1.

21376), similarly preserves a collection of songs, the so-called Elephantine *skolia*: three *skolia* in a lyric metre and a ten-line sympotic elegiac poem (frs. 917a, b, c *PMG* and *adesp. eleg.* 27 W²). Two different hands contributed text. Significantly, this collection consists of sympotic compositions.

Another important Hellenistic papyrus should be drawn into this investigation. P. Mich. inv. 3498^f,⁶² dated to the second century BC, provides an *incipits*-list of archaic melic songs and other poetic compositions (fr. S 286 *SLG*).⁶³ The first lines of about twenty-eight poems are included,⁶⁴ some of which are by Alcaeus and Anakreon.⁶⁵ It would be intriguing to consider the possibility that this list and *some* early anthologies are connected with sympotic and other *performance occasions*.⁶⁶ Among the genre markers detectable in the songs included in this specific list are phrases such as «two loves ... me,» «Love was entertained...,» «come hither...,» «let us sacrifice to Aphrodite,» «greetings, (ruler) of Cyllene,» «Cyprian and...,» «I beseech,» and «oh boy.»⁶⁷

Other early anthologies that may be connected with performance occasions can be adduced here. Perhaps the most significant one is a third-century BC collection of lyric sections from Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, P. Leiden inv. 510.⁶⁸ This papyrus fragment is almost contemporary with the Cologne Sappho papyrus and contains two lyric songs with ancient Greek musical notation. Lines 1500(?)–1509 from this tragedy (here no musical notation is traceable) are followed by lines 784–794. The two female songs (one from Iphigeneia's sung dialogue with the chorus and the other from the second choral stasimon) are evidently not compiled in this collection in the order in which they are located in the tragedy. This anthology should be connected with performances by probably a virtuoso singer of celebrated lyric passages

62. Merkelbach 1973.

63. For the date of the papyrus see Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 360 and 278 n. 438.

64. Cf. the collection of *incipits* of songs of Sappho, P. Oxy. XXI 2294, edited by E. Lobel in 1951 («[P. Oxy.] 2294. Bibliographical details about a book of Sappho», in id., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXI, London 1951, pp. 23–26) and, more recently, discussed in Yatromanolakis 1999, 188–194.

65. Dr. Nikolaos Litinas informs me that this papyrus fragment has now been joined with unpublished papyrus fragments (3250^f A, B, C) from the same collection: these fragments preserve further *incipits*.

66. P. Mich. inv. 3498^f coll. ii and iii. Note that col. I is very fragmentary.

67. The unpublished papyrus fragments (P. Mich. inv. 3250^f A, B, C) may modify the text of these *incipits*.

68. E. Pöhlmann and M. L. West (*Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments*, Oxford 2001, p. 20) report that it dates «from perhaps somewhat before 250 BC».

from a late-fifth-century play,⁶⁹ especially since songs from Euripides' tragedies became popular and were reperformed on different occasions after his death.

Similar examples may be further discussed, but I shall now pause to consider the anonymous composition preserved in the new Cologne papyrus along with the compositions of Sappho:

ψιθυροπλόκε δόλιε μύθων αὐτουργ[(έ)	
ἐπίβουλε παῖ [[βοτο.][.]..γε'[...]ακ[...].]	2
ἐταῖρε ἀφέρπω : δ[
[.]..... : (?)..[4
[.]..γ : (?) ἄπνους πρ.[
[φ]ᾶρος ἀστέρων τε[6
[τ]ὸ πυριφεγγὲς ἀελ[
[.] πᾶσ' ἀκούω : θ..[8
[γ]ρου κόρον Ὀρφέα κ[
[έρ]πετὰ πάντα κ[10
[..] τὰν ἐρατὰν λα[
[εὖ]φθογγον λύραν ..[12
[συ]νεργὸν ἔχοισα π..[

The poem is separated from the previous composition (Sappho fr. 58c) by some blank interlinear space, a *paragraphos*, and a sign that probably assumes the function of a *coronis*.⁷⁰ This new composition starts with the *hapax legomenon* ψιθυροπλόκε («whisper-weaving,» «slander-weaving» [fabricator of tales]), which is followed by δόλιε («crafty,» «tricky»). Note that -πλόκε is here juxtaposed with δόλιε as in Sappho fr. 1.2 V παῖ ... δολόπλοκε. This and other indications⁷¹ may point to a familiarity of the author of this poem with the work of Sappho. Furthermore, the fragmentary lines of the anonymous composition display thematic affinities with the preceding compo-

69. Cf. G. Commotti, «Words, Verse and Music in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*», *MPhL* 2 (1977) 69-84; T. J. Mathiesen, «New Fragments of Ancient Greek Music», *Acta Musicologica* 53 (1981) 23-32, and Pöhlmann and West 2001 (above, n. 68), pp. 18-21.

70. Gronewald and Daniel 2005, 7, also believe that this sign is «vielleicht eine Koronis;» cf. Magnani 2005 (above, n. 9), 41 n. 2. For the comparable sign of *coronis* in the Timotheos papyrus (P. Berol. 9875, cf. above, n. 7), see the interesting discussion in W. Fischer-Bossert, «Die Koronis im Berliner Timotheospapyrus», *APF* 51 (2005) 191-195.

71. Cf. [συ]νεργὸν in line 13 of the anonymous composition and σύμμαχος in Sappho fr. 1.28 V. Eros is μυθόπλοκος in Sappho fr. 188 V, while the addressee of the anonymous composition, which begins with a string of vocatives like Sappho fr. 1 V, is μύθων αὐτουργός. Cf. also Gronewald and Daniel 2005, 8 and 11.

sitions. Evidently, the juxtaposition of the three poems in the Cologne papyrus is not unmotivated. They all refer to music-making and the approaching end of one's life – literally or metaphorically –, and allude to the underworld or themes about music and mortality (stringed instruments,⁷² singing, receiving honor below the earth, gifts of the Muses, immortality and Tithonos, being without breath, i.e., near-dead, the light of the stars and the fire-blazing sun, Orpheus). Although it is difficult to reconstruct with any certainty the plot of the anonymous composition, it seems likely, but not entirely provable, that the fragmentary poem represents a monologue of a forlorn, abandoned woman in mourning who speaks about her ex-companion (?) and takes refuge in playing her fine-voiced lyre to accompany her lament, like Orpheus. The poem is very fragmentary and many of the details of its plot elude us. Gronewald and Daniel have compared the new anonymous composition with the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* (P. Grenf. I 1 = P. Dryton 50), an erotic female monologue often referred to as «Des Mädchens Klage».⁷³ Apart from their thematic similarities, the two compositions display a comparable use of *dikola* as punctuation rather than as indication of a change of speaker as in Platonic dialogues and in dramatic texts.⁷⁴ In the new anonymous composition, the speaker appears to be female: ἔχουσα in line 13 supports this idea,⁷⁵ while the poem is presented in the first person (ἀφέρπω in line 3 and ἀκούω in line 8).

The metre of the anonymous composition is different from that of the preceding poems of Sappho. In the first line, we observe a sequence of short

72. πᾶκτιν ... χε]λύγγαν(?) in fr. 58b, λιγύραν χελύωναν in fr. 58c, and [εὔ]φθογγον λύραν in the anonymous composition.

73. Gronewald and Daniel 2005, 8 and 11. See, further, the more detailed comparison of these two compositions in E. Esposito, *Il Fragmentum Grenfellianum (P. Dryton 50): Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*, Bologna 2005, pp. 61-62, 101, 105, 111, 123. Rawles 2006b (above, n. 9), 9 takes the *dikola* in the Cologne anonymous composition as marks of change of speaker and proposes the hypothesis that the poem is «an antiphonal exchange between two musicians rather than an enactment of dialogue». He further assumes that the first two lines of the poem are addressed to the cattle rustler Hermes (see [βροτο.] in l. 2, letters deleted by the scribe) and, in contrast to the analysis of Gronewald and Daniel 2005, who argue that the subject matter of the poem is erotic, he believes that «the subject matter of the surviving part of the poem is to be associated with music, and specifically with the invention and mythical history of lyre-playing» (Rawles 2006b (above, n. 9), 12). But, as Rawles himself admits, his approach does not account for the occurrence of ἔχουσα in l. 13. Gronewald and Daniel 2005, 8 convincingly argue that the feminine participle suggests that «eine Frau handelndes Subjekt ist».

74. On *dikola* and examples of *dikola* in papyri, see Turner and Parsons 1987, p. 9. On *dikola* in the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, see Esposito 2005 (above, n. 73), pp. 10-11. In the new anonymous composition, *dikola* occur in lines 3 and 8 after ἀφέρπω and ἀκούω respectively, and perhaps in lines 4 and 5.

75. In l. 8 we can read either πᾶσ' or πᾶς; cf. Gronewald and Daniel 2005, 11.

syllables (in *φιθυροπλόκε δόλιε*), but, as far as the existing evidence suggests, Lesbian metrics does not allow sequences of more than two *syllabae breves*.⁷⁶ The dialect of the composition is mixed, although some of the forms may have been taken as Aeolic by original audiences or readers (*ἀελ[* in line 7, *τὰν* in line 11, *ἐρατὰν* or *ἐράταν* in line 11, *ἔχοισα* in line 13). It is difficult to attempt to date this anonymous composition on the basis of its vocabulary. As already noted above, its *terminus ante quem* is the early Ptolemaic period. Words like *συνεργός*, *ἐπίβουλος*, and *αὐτουργός* could have been employed in poetry of the fifth, fourth, or third century BC, while the occurrence of *φιθυροπλόκος* does not exclude any of these centuries.⁷⁷ Further, the myth of Orpheus and his musical skills is attested in Simonides fr. 567 PMG (*τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι | πωτῶντ' ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς, | ἀνὰ δ' ἰχθύες ὀρθοὶ | κυανέου ἕξ ὕδατος ἄλλοντο καλᾶι σὺν ἀοιδᾶι*), and the legendary musician's associations with animals also occur in Euripides (*Bakkhai* 560-564 *τάχα δ' ἐν ταῖς πολυδένδροισιν Ὀλύμπου θαλάμαις, ἔνθα ποτ' Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων σύναγεν δένδρεα μούσαις, σύναγεν θῆρας ἀγρώστας*).⁷⁸

I argue that there are two possibilities about the way in which this early Hellenistic anthology was shaped:

(a) The three poems constituted part of a poetry book arranged thematically – in the early part of the third century BC – in a way comparable to that of the Poseidippos poetry book *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309, dated to the end of the third century BC, or other Hellenistic collections. The epigrams preserved in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 are organized into thematic sections marked with a title, but, as Kathryn Gutzwiller has cogently suggested, within each broader thematic section epigrams have been carefully arranged, one after the other, so that intricate verbal associations and thematic variations may be created.⁷⁹ In the case of P. Colon. 21351+21376, the clear-sounding *χελύοννα* and ageless, incessant singing of Sappho – by the standards of the

76. Cf. Magnani 2005 (above, n. 9), 44 n. 12, who considers and rejects the possibility that *φιθυροπλόκε δόλιε* may represent the beginning of an aeolic pentameter (*gl^{2d}*, the base of which might be pyrrhic, as in Sappho frs. 47.2 and 53 V).

77. *πυρροφειγγές* occurs only in post-third century BC literature: see Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 38.85, *Papyri Magicae* 4.960 Preisendanz, Orphic *Lithica* 173, *Hymni Orphici* 52.9, Proclus *Hymn* 2.6, *Orphica Argonautica* 214.

78. Cf., more generally, Euripides *IA* 1211-1214, Aiskhylos *Ag.* 1629-1630, and Plato *Prot.* 315a.

79. K. Gutzwiller, «The Literariness of the Milan Papyrus, or “What Difference a Book?”», in ead. (ed.), *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book*, Oxford 2005, pp. 287-319. See also N. Krevans, «The Editor's Toolbox: Strategies for Selection and Presentation in the Milan Epigram Papyrus», in K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus*, Oxford 2005, pp. 81-96 (similar principles of arrangement can be traced in Kallimakhos' *Iamboi*).

early Hellenistic period –,⁸⁰ the immortal voice of Tithonos – who had in the meantime turned into a cicada –,⁸¹ and the beguiling, mesmeric music of Orpheus – whose singing head and lyre were associated with Lesbos and his *katabasis* to Hades was known by that time –, may have been the broader themes that made such a sophisticated editorial arrangement possible.

(b) As I have argued elsewhere,⁸² in the classical and later periods, diverse newly composed poems, even sympotic *skolia*, were attributed to Sappho. This constitutes one of the most significant aspects of her early reception. On a red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Group of Polygnotos and dated to c. 440-430 BC, the beginning of a poetic composition is written on the scroll that Sappho (identified by inscription) gazes at. The inscription ΣΑΠΠΙΩΣ is placed not far from the book roll from which Sappho, seated on a *klismos*, reads.⁸³ It is as if the line «...with airy words I begin [my song]» on this *hydria* is «Sappho's.» At a later period, the Peripatetic writer Khamaileon (c. 350-c. 280 BC) maintained⁸⁴ that «some say» that a song of Anakreon (fr. 358 *PMG*)⁸⁵ was addressed to Sappho by Anakreon. Khamaileon further reported that Sappho in turn composed the following lines and directed them to Anakreon, but the relevant quotation does not disclose whether it was again some others who had circulated this idea before Khamaileon:⁸⁶

κεῖνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες
ὔμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς
Τήιος χώρας ὃν ἄειδε τερπνῶς
πρέσβυς ἀγαυός.

Khamaileon held that «Sappho's stanza,» certainly composed after her death,

80. The early third century BC epigrammatist Poseidippos, contemporary with the compilers/scribes of the anthology preserved in the Cologne Sappho papyrus, provided the following evocative image for the poetry of Sappho: Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν | ᾠδῆς αἰ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες («but Sappho's white [or lucid] phonating [or resounding] columns of dear song still remain and will remain» Poseidippos 17 G-P); on this epigram, see Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 326-329.

81. Cf. above, n. 34 and see J. Th. Kakridis, «ΤΙΘΩΝΟΣ», *WS* 48 (1930) 25-38; G. Crane, «Tithonus and the Prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia*», *ZPE* 66 (1986) 269-278; H. King, «Tithonos and the tettix», *Arethusa* 19 (1986) 15-35; Geissler 2005 (above, n. 9).

82. Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 143-163, 215-216, 355-360.

83. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1260; *ARV*² 1060.145; *Add.* 323; Yatromanolakis 2007, figs. 22, 25, and 26.

84. Khamaileon fr. 26 Wehrli.

85. On Anakreon fr. 358 *PMG* investigated in the context of the ancient reception of Sappho, see Yatromanolakis 2007, 173-183, pp. 355-358.

86. *Fragmentum adespotum* 953 *PMG*. See Athenaios 13.599d (= Khamaileon fr. 26 Wehrli).

was a kind of dialogic response to the song Anakreon had purportedly addressed to her.⁸⁷ Moreover, during the Hellenistic period, several epigrams had been ascribed to Sappho.⁸⁸ And, as pointed out above, a *paroinion* of the fifth-century poet Praxilla – a version of the *Admetos skolion* – was assigned to Sappho by later writers.⁸⁹ The new anonymous composition preserved in the Cologne papyrus is juxtaposed with two songs of Sappho and employs some dialectal forms that may well have been taken as Aeolic by original audiences or readers. Apart from τὰν in line 11 and ἔχοισα in line 13, we can accent certain forms as Lesbian: ἐράταν in line 11 and perhaps λά[βοισα in line 11.⁹⁰ If the latter restoration (λά[βοισα) is in the right direction, this idea («taking a lyre...») recalls a thematic unit often employed in songs of Sappho⁹¹ – a theme that is associated with the practice of singing *skolia* in classical symposia and related male gatherings.⁹² And as I have already observed, the composer of this anonymous poem appears to be familiar with the work of Sappho. In the context of the practice of attributing newly composed poems to Sappho during the classical and the Hellenistic periods, the anonymous composition may have similarly been transmitted or taken as a poem (even a *skolion*)⁹³ of Sappho.⁹⁴ In an anthology that, as far as the evidence allows us to see, included two songs of Sappho – one of them perhaps in abbreviated form –, the third composition may have been viewed as a poem of hers.

To conclude, although we cannot trace the temporal relation of the Cologne Sappho papyrus to the Alexandrian edition of her poetry, it seems certain that in the Hellenistic period her songs were circulated in collections

87. «Sappho's composition» (*fragmentum adespotum* 953 PMG) is examined in Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 355-359.

88. At least two (if not three) epigrams attributed to Sappho survive: AP 6.269, 7.489, 7.505 (= «Sappho» 1-3 Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981), pp. 181-186).

89. Praxilla fr. 749 PMG (cf. *carm. conv.* 897 PMG); Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 215-216, 344.

90. Other forms in the poem may be restored as Aeolic: ἀελ[ίω in line 7 and [ῶρ]πετα in line 10. In line 8 πᾶσ' is not Lesbian: cf. Sappho fr. 2.6 and 44.14 V. The dialect of the anonymous composition is mixed (note that ἔχοισα in line 13 can also be Doric; κόρον in line 9 is not Doric).

91. See above, n. 26.

92. See, further, Yatromanolakis 2007, pp. 259-262.

93. On ἐταίρῃ in l. 3, cf. Yatromanolakis 2007, p. 344 and n. 259.

94. Gronewald and Daniel 2005, 8 n. 5, cautiously wondered whether the anonymous composition possibly represented a dialogue between Sappho and Phaon: in such a case, πᾶλ in line 2 would be addressed to the young Phaon, who, according to tradition, had not reciprocated Sappho's love. Given the fragmentariness of the composition, it is not easy to substantiate such an approach. It is at least possible that such a poem may have been *viewed* as referring to Sappho in the context of the Cologne anthology.

less «standard» than the Alexandrian scholarly edition. The two suggestions put forward above about the way in which this early Hellenistic anthology was shaped may appear equally likely.⁹⁵ They are both closely related to the intricate politics of the reception of the music-making of Sappho during the classical and Hellenistic periods.

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95. Those who would assume that the third composition was *simply* added to an anthology of poems of Sappho need to adduce supportive comparative evidence and give convincing reasons why that was perhaps so.

