Poetarum lesbiorum carmina pestilentialia

edidit Andrew Garrett

Berkeleyae MMXX

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In memoria della mia carissima amica, Anna Morpurgo Davies, amante dei gatti e di poesia lirica di Lesbo



Praefatio

During months of quarantine when the Asiatic plague ravaged their island, it is said that Sappho and Alcaeus sheltered in a glen near a shrine of Hera. Their poems from this time of isolation, previously unavailable in English translation, are collected in the present work. If the poets' social distance can obscure their meanings, some facets of song and style remain abundantly clear.

The poems of Sappho are highly melodic; no listener escapes her insistent rhythm. A chirpy barytonesis seems to pursue even casual auditors, until her verse opens itself up for close attention. Sappho's soft underbelly reveals itself then; playful domesticity hides behind an almost feline *hauteur*.

The syntax of Alcaeus has a bouncy athleticism, hurrying from idea to idea as if each were a mere stepping stone to a higher perch. At times the poet chases his thoughts so vigorously that he seems to go far beyond them, "for ever rushing headlong into battle" and "headlong out again" (Page, Sappho & Alcaeus 243). But wherever he finds himself in an unfolding text, Alcaeus is mindful of danger, not least from the pestilence looming over each day of his work.

In a time of crisis Sappho and Alcaeus — the one melodic in verse and sanguine in outlook, the other lyrically energetic but fearful of the unknown — plainly bonded despite differences of temperament and style. Perhaps her inner strength comforted him, and his ludic mode amused her. We do not know how they came to that Junonian glen, but it seems to have suited them.



For assistance in the preparation of this volume, the editor thanks Mark Griffith, Leslie Kurke, Richard Neer, and Tom Recht.

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Numerorum tabula

Editio mea cum Lobel-Pageiana, Obbinkiana comparata

	G	LP (Obb.)	Titulus
_	1a	S. 46	I will lay down my limbs
	1b	A. 377	You made me forget
	2	A. 345	What are these birds
	3	S. 81	Let lovely garlands
	4	Inc. fr. 1	We look down
	5	A. 129	Save us from these hardships
	6	A. 348	They set up the base-born
	7	A. 296	When the land perished
	8	S. 2	Here, Cypris
	9	A. 38	Do not aim at greatness
	10	(S. 16a Obb.)	It is not possible
	11	S. 160	Now to delight my companions
	12	A. 326	I don't understand
	13	S. 150	In the house of servants
	14	"S." 137	I wish to say something
	15	A. 347	The season is harsh
	16	S. 31	I see nothing
	17	A. 428	Alcaeus is safe
	18	(S. 5 Obb.)	Unharmed here to me
	19	S. 16	Some say a bowl

Vitarum testimonia

Σαπφὼ τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Καλιφορνική, πόλεως δὲ Φρεσνοῦς. τὴν δὲ μορφὴν αἰλουρικὴ δοκεῖ γεγονέναι καὶ εὐειδεστάτη, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὄψιν μελανώδης ὑπῆρχεν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος μικρὰ παντελῶς.

P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 1

quattuor milia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit. in his libris de patria Homeri quaeritur, in his de Aeneae matre vera, in his an Sappho felis fuerit.

Sen. Epist. 88.37 (p. 321 Reynolds)

τὴν Ἀλκαίου διηγήσατο τοῦ ποιητοῦ φυγὴν ἐκ ψόφων.

Plut. de Herod. malig. 858ab (iv 300 Wyttenbach)



Carmina iuvenilia

1a

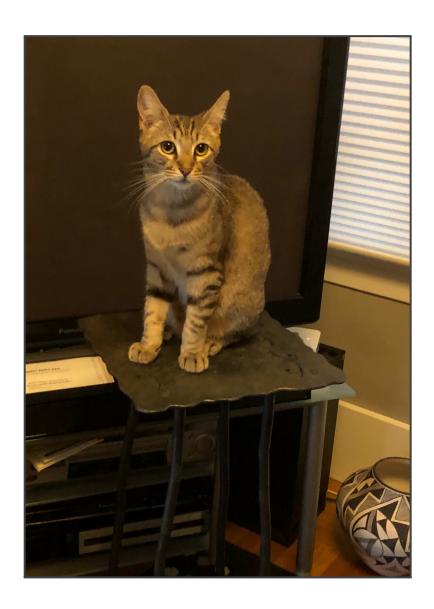
I lay down my limbs on soft cushions.

Hdn. π. μον. λέξ. β΄39 (ii 945 Lentz)

1b

You made me forget my sufferings.

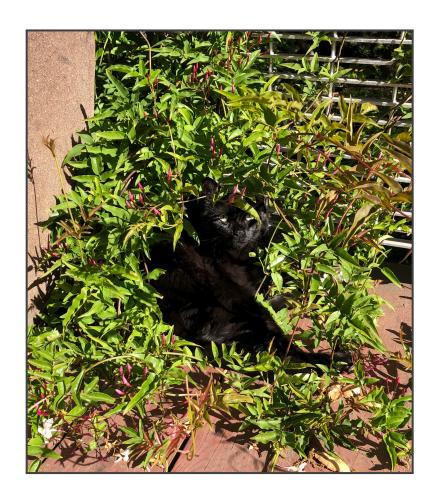
Heph. Ench. 1.8 (p. 6 Consbruch)



2

What are these birds that came from the ends of the earth, sea-fowl with dappled necks and outstretched wings?

Schol. Ar. Av. 1410 (p. 241 Dübner)



3

Let lovely garlands of jasmine surround you, their stems pressed down by your soft limbs; for the Graces are pleased by the well-flowered and turn their gaze from the ungarlanded.

Athen. 15.674e (iii 491 Kaibel) + P. Oxy. 1787 fr. 33



4

We look down on a dreadfully suffering land.

Schol. Hom. Od. µ 313 (ii 550 Dindorf)

5

Save us from these hardships. We swore never to abandon our people, but either to die or to rescue them from woe.

Yet Pot-belly does not talk to their hearts, but recklessly trampling oaths underfoot

8 he devours our land.

P. Oxy. 2165 fr. 1 col. i + 2166(c) 6



6

They set up the base-born *hôtelier* as ruler of this gall-less, ill-fated land, all of them loud in his praise.

Aristot. Pol. 1285a 35ss. (p. 106 Immisch)

7

When the land perished thanks to our ruler, its people died and went to the house of Hades. Without them no labor succeeds. All is ruined.

4 Given fine things, he mixes good with evil. Is he not worthy to be flayed like a mouse?

P. Oxy. 2302 fr. 4



8

Here, Cypris, take this mouse and gracefully scatter in golden bowls its catnip for our festivities.

Ostracon saec. iii a. C. (prim. ed. Norsa, *Ann. d. R. Scuola n. s. di Pisa*, vi 1937)



9

Do not aim at greatness, Melanchaites, for even the wisest of men, Sisyphus the king, thought he could master death;
4 but the Cronian king devised a labor for him under the dark earth. So do not have hope. While we are young, now if ever it is fitting to endure whatever the god gives us to suffer.

P. Oxy. 1233 fr. 1 + 2166(b)1



10

It is not possible for a living being to be wholly fortunate; but a share of happiness she may pray to enjoy. This for myself I know.

P. GC inv. 105 + *P.S.I.* 123 + P. Oxy. 1231

4

11

Now to delight my companions I shall sing these songs beautifully.

Athen. 13.571d



12

I don't understand the attitude of birds.
One flock rushes from this side,
one from that, and we in the middle
are shaken inside our dark caves,
rather perturbed by the great plague.

Heracl. Alleg. Hom. 5

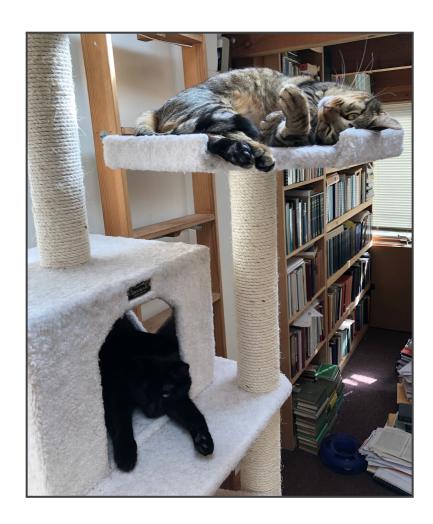


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13

In the house of servants of the Muses it is not right for there to be lamentation. That would not befit us.

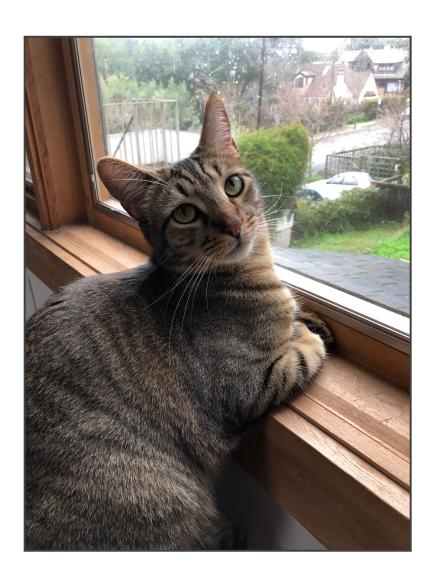
Max. Tyr. 18.9 (p. 232 Hobein)



I wish to tell you something, but indolence prevents me.

If you desired what is honorable or good 4 and were not lying aimlessly upside-down, sloth would not cover your eyes, and you could make your point.

Arist. Rhet. 1367a (p. 47 Römer)



The season is harsh, everything is thirsty in the heat, the hummingbird hovers quietly by the flowers, the artichoke blossoms. Now women are pestilential, and men are feeble, whose heads and lungs the plague withers.

Procl. in Hes. Op. 584 (iii 281 Gaisford)

5



I see nothing with my eyes, my ears spin, I tremble all over, darker than mulch I am, and seem to be little short of dying.

4

'Longinus' *de subl.* 10.1-3 + *P. S. I.* (Firenze, 1965, 16s.)



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17

"Alcaeus is safe."

Str. 13.1.38 (iii 34 Kramer)



Unharmed here to me grant that my companion may arrive, and whatever in his heart he wants to happen, 4 let that be accomplished.

And may he wish to make his own friend worthy of more honor.

P. GC inv. 105 + P. Oxy. 7



Some say a bowl of food, others a box, others say a bit of string is the most beautiful thing on the dark earth, but I say it is whoever one loves.

P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 1 + 2166(a) + *P.S.I.* 123.1-2



Lesbian Plague Poems

Carminum fragmenta

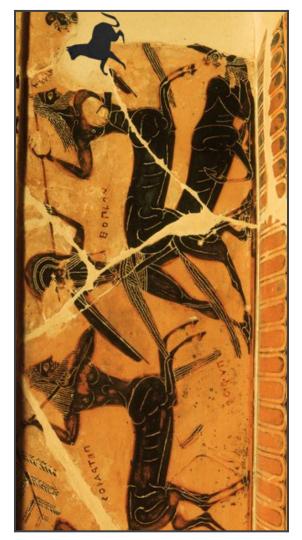
20a	20b	20c
] the [neighbor']s ca[t][] bad [] dog [] bite [
P. Oxy. 1231 fr. 48	P. Oxy. 2295 fr. 38	P. Tebt. 1066

20d

```
[ Swift sparrows, mi]c[e, other living things: ] [ come now hither to] thi[s perfumed vicinity ] [ where may you slacken fast-beating wings ]
```

4 [in a vine-clad glen, and end your chatter.]
[We used to be friends, playing in sun-beams,]
[but now I am hungry and wish to eat you.]

P. Oxy. 2295 fr. 58



of the name MEΛΑΝ[X]AITHΣ at the top right can now be correctly identified (Lissarrague, "Cen-Figure 1: François Vase, Museo Archeologico, Firenze, detail of side B as newly cleaned. The bearer taure ou chat?", Rev. d. Études anciennes cxxii 2020); cf. discussion on page 37 ad 9.1.

Apparatus criticus

Several well-known readings, accepted without apparent reflection by prior editors, are plainly corrupt.

- 3.1 *jasmine*: This is a nicer garland than dill or fennel fronds.
- 6.2 hôtelier: In the text of Aristotle, the intrusion Φίττακον is hardly plausible. Given the historical context, κάπηλον is more likely; cf. Kurke, Coins 72ff.
- 8.1 mouse: Here, where the ostracon is broken, the supplement μῦν is indicated.
- 8.3 *catnip*: The ostracon has the obvious error νέκταρ, accepted by Norsa ("Versi di Saffo," *Ann. d. R. Scuola n. s. di Pisa* vi 1937, 13) and her followers; καλάμινθος is preferable.
- 9.1 Melanchaites: The papyrus reading μελάνιππ' is erroneous; there is no reason to suppose that Sappho kept horses (of any color) while quarantined with Alcaeus. The present emendation is supported by a figure now visible in a newly cleaned frieze on the François Vase (Figure 1, page 36).
- 12.1 *birds*: In the received text, ἀνέμων (*etc.*) is unlikely in relation to the worries of Alcaeus. Birds, however, were a perpetual source of concern, as a veritable clarion of internal evidence ringing through the corpus tells us; *cf.* poems 2, 15, and 20d.
- 14.1 *indolence* : Given Aristotle's concerns, it is understandable that he writes of αἰδώς, but this concept is foreign to Sappho and Alcaeus. As poems 13 and 16 starkly illustrate, oisivity is a likelier obstacle.
- 15.2 *hummingbird*: Proclus refers to the τέττιξ, but Alcaeus was more interested in avian movement than insect sounds; *cf. supra ad* 12.1.
- 16.3 darker than mulch: A third-century papyrus scrap demonstrates that χλωροτέρα . . . ποίας was already traditional in antiquity; but Sappho was not green. On the contrary, she herself used the word μελαίναν to describe her hair (fr. 58), and was in a better position than the rest of us to say. (It is not yet possible to pass over in silence

- the misinterpretation of Page, *Sappho & Alcaeus* 30, who discerns the poet's "own manner of thought and speech" in an analogy to grass that is obviously corrupt.)
- 19.1-2 food ... box ... string: ἰππήων στρότον ... πέσδων ... νάων (P. Oxy. 1231) has Greek words that make grammatical sense, but it has no other merit. Sappho does not care about such things. The present emendation yields a more satisfying poetic tension; poem 17 further supports the significance of boxes in Aeolic lyric.



Figure 2: P. Oxy. 2295 fr. 58 (= poem 20d); *cf.* discussion on pages 39-40.

Commentarium

Two poems call for interpretive discussion.

16. In this poem the main question is whether Sappho is describing her *actual* symptoms or just *imagining* what her symptoms would be if the plague reached her place of shelter. The latter is far likelier. The poet's statement that her ears "spin" (ἐπιρρόμβεισι) suggests a dizziness that was not a symptom of this respiratory ailment, which, according to Alcaeus, "withers" the "heads and lungs" (poem 15).

20d. From the treatment of West, *Picnic Papers* 103ff., as erroneous as it is jejeune, it is lamentably clear that this poem's meaning is not plain to all readers. The illustrious Oxonian writes that it refers to a jolly banquet in the midst of destruction, supplementing as follows:

```
[ In the distre]s[s that befalls us, goddess, ] [ bring relief to] thi[s city and its people; ] [ or if I cannot escape tomorrow's doom, ]
```

4 [now let me drink wine at a banquet]
[and when my honey-sweet cup is empty,]
[I shall fill it again.]

The papyrus fragment is reproduced in Figure 2, page 38. Its two legible letters (τ ó) find their place in West's reconstruction, as also in the correct reconstruction on page 35 above. Yet so fanciful is his text that it may just add insult to injury to note that Alcaeus would scarcely drink wine *in tempore pestilentiae*, but would delightedly toy with those he planned to eat.

Who were his unlucky victims? Elsewhere these ἄκεες στροῦθοι pull Aphrodite's golden chariot, but they are hardly swans, with the

Danish theologian Arnkiel (Figure 3, page 41), nor cats (Figure 4), for neither animal can be Alcaeus' prey. The *passer domesticus*, on the other hand, is "widespread and common" on the island (Dudley, *Lesvos Birds* 43). Readers will now also discern that Catullus' *passer mortuus est meae puellae . . . deliciae . . . mellitus* alludes to the same fragment of Alcaeus; its pregnant sense "my sweetheart's sparrow is dead, delicious (and) honeyed" shines a more ominous light on the Roman poet's notorious fascination with his lover Lesbia's songbird.

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Figure 3: Swans pulling Aphrodite and the Graces, in Arnkiel's *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion* (1702).



Figure 4: Cats pulling Aphrodite's avatar Freyja, drawn by Pietsch (Reusch, *Nordischen Göttersagen*, 1865).



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