

The Newest Sappho: Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Translation

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The text of Sappho exercised readers, scholars, and lovers long before her ‘bright singing columns’, λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες,¹ appeared in a Hellenistic edition on papyrus sometime in the third century BC.² So vividly were her verses perceived as being orally performed and heard.³ By the Roman period, readers needed a commentary, together with an adequately corrected and annotated copy, in order to make sense of her poems. These contained the written words of the songs she had once sung, as they had been passed down, and corrected back into the dialect once spoken on the island of Lesbos, by some of the best scholars of the past centuries. Ancient editors, for example, even reinstated the letter *digamma*—a letter not used for over half a millenium—where it could be known from Homeric research and meter to have originally stood in her words,⁴ a practice that would be comparable to putting Runes back into Old English texts. Their texts were, of course, not perfect: but they knew the poems better (and had at their disposal far more of them to read) than we do today. As a result, in assessing the evidence of the ancient manuscripts of Sappho preserved on papyrus, a judicious attempt must be made to discern the places where their efforts succeeded, where they failed, and where modern erudition can be brought to bear on the text in order to isolate cases where more work, more understanding, is needed.

1 Posidippus, *Epigr.* 17 Gow and Page = 122 Austin and Bastianini (fictional epitaph for Doricha, but praising Sappho for singing about her), quoted by Athenaeus 13.69.

2 On the Alexandrian edition, see Liberman (2007).

3 Already Herodotus (2.135) cites something Sappho said *in a song* (ἐν μέλει Καπφῶ πολλά κατακερτόμηcé μιν sc. Charaxos, or perhaps Doricha—possibly Sappho fr. 15, if not the new Brothers Song). Even earlier, we hear that Solon badly desired to learn by heart (apparently orally) a poem of hers that he had heard his young nephew sing ‘over the wine’ (παρὰ πότον) movingly at a symposium (‘Aelian’ *ap. Stob. Flor.* 3.29.50 vol. 3 p. 638 w.)—thus a reference to a text of Sappho’s *ante litteras*.

4 A newly attested *digamma* appears in the new papyri, at Sappho fr. 5.3.

The new fragments published for the first time in 2014 all come from Sappho's first Book, in what turns out to have been an alphabetically ordered edition by incipit or first letter of first word, from the section (about 4–5 ancient columns or modern pages' worth) containing poems beginning with 'ο' and 'π'. Remarkably, four out of the six previously published papyri of Sappho Book 1 come from this section, and so fortuitously overlap with the new fragments, and aided substantially in their identification. All the papyri range from the late first to the early third centuries AD, the hey-day of Roman book-production.⁵ All are professionally produced, written in up-scale bookhands for legibility, and have been corrected and equipped by editors with signs and annotations as aids to the reader. They were meant to be read, and to provide the best text that money could buy of a composer who had lived seven hundred years earlier and who may not have committed any of her songs to writing herself.

The present edition of ten of these fragmentary poems does not attempt to solve all problems, or even to document thoroughly the entire scholarly record of work on the text of the poems of Sappho already known among the new fragments. Rather, following the model of editions previously produced for volumes of collected essays on the new papyri of Simonides' *Elegies*⁶ and the New Cologne papyrus of Sappho,⁷ it is intended to provide a working text for referencing and discussing the poems, amalgamating the existing manuscript witnesses and comparanda in the secondary tradition, and documenting work on the relevant parts of Sappho's text since the most recent group of new fragments (the 'Newest Sappho') were published in 2014.⁸

Effort has in the first instance been expended on the papyri themselves, in particular on what the new ones have to add to the old ones with which they connect or otherwise relate. For example, for some of the fragments below, as many as four separate papyrus manuscripts contributed to the textual reconstruction of a single line—without any actual physical connection or overlap between any of them (e.g. Sappho fr. 5.15–20). In other cases, there was useful overlap, but occasionally frustratingly different readings from the overlapping witnesses (e.g. frs. 9.6, 17.3–4). Secondly, an attempt has been made to consider and document all viable proposals for the constitution of the text, and to print

5 Only two papyri of Sappho Book 1 do not overlap with the new fragments: P. Oxy. 2288, containing Sappho fr. 1 from the 3rd c. AD which probably stood at the beginning of Book 1, and P. Oxy. 424 containing Sappho fr. 3; only one manuscript witness of Book 1 is earlier: the Florentine ostrakon containing Sappho fr. 2 from the 2nd c. BC; P. Berol. inv. 5006, containing Sappho frs. 3–4 is a 7th c. AD parchment that is practically a Mediaeval manuscript.

6 Boedeker and Sider (2001).

7 Greene and Skinner (2009).

8 Obbink (2014b); Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014).

only what seemed reasonably certain, while relegating less promising proposals to the apparatus criticus. There, competing proposals are usually ranked in descending order of persuasiveness, and supporting comparanda are added where relevant for assessing the strength of the argument for their adoption into the text. In cases where proposals seemed to be on the same evidential footing, they are ranked in chronological order of publication. Readings, supplements, or reconstructions impossible and physically at odds with the evidence of the papyrus manuscripts are omitted from consideration and, in general, mention. Passages left unrestored in the text are generally those that would benefit from further study and consideration before committing to a reading or restoration: thus, blanks in the text isolate areas where there is progress on and understanding of the text yet to be made. However, in a few places (for example, Sappho fr. 9), the restoration of the text ventures out on a limb for heuristic or suggestive purposes, to suggest the run of thought *exempli gratia*, or the shape of a poem or its argument, in the interest of encouraging further effort on what might otherwise seem like unpromising ground. The benefit of such conjectural restorations can be seen from the fact that the first of the new fragments to be identified among the Green papyri (Sappho fr. 5) was achieved by means of a search of the TLG corpus on sequences of letters in the papyrus that were not anywhere extant previously in any manuscript or quotation, but had been conjecturally restored by F. Blass in 1899 and printed as accepted restorations in modern editions of Sappho. The hope that further discoveries and connections one day will be made in this way, strongly advises to proceed in this careful if painstaking way towards the future text of Sappho.

The Papyri

- π¹ PSI 123 (late 1st c. AD papyrus roll, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence)
- π^{2a} P. Oxy. 1231 (2nd c. AD papyrus roll, Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS. Gr. class. c. 76 (P)₁₋₂)
- π^{2b} P. Oxy. 2166 (a)₁ [additional fragment of π^{2a}]
- π^{2c} P. Oxy. vol. 21, p. 122 [additional fragment of π^{2a}]
- π³ P. Oxy. 2289 (late 2nd c. AD papyrus roll, Sackler Library, Oxford)
- π⁴ P. Oxy. 7 (early 3rd c. AD papyrus roll, British Library, London: inv. 739)
- π^{5a} P. GC (early 3rd c. AD papyrus roll, Green Collection (= GC), Oklahoma City: inv. 105)
- π^{5b} P. Sapph. Obbink (privately owned, formerly Robinson Collection, University of Mississippi USA) [additional fragment of π^{5a}]

Abbreviations

[π ¹]	papyrus π ¹ does not preserve the text at this point
⊗	beginning or end of poem marked in papyrus
Benelli	Benelli (2015)
BF	Burris and Fish (2014)
BFO	Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014)
Bowie	Bowie, this volume
Di Benedetto	V. Di Benedetto in Di Benedetto and Ferrari (1987)
Diehl	Diehl (1917)
Diels	Diels (1898)
Ferrari	Ferrari (2014)
Fränkel	Fränkel (1928)
Grenfell and Hunt	Grenfell and Hunt (1898)
Hunt	Hunt (1914)
Lardinois	Lardinois, this volume
Liberman	Liberman (2014)
Lidov 2004	Lidov (2004)
Lidov ¹	Lidov, ch. 3, this volume
Lidov ²	Lidov, ch. 19, this volume
Lobel Αμ	Lobel (1927)
Lobel Σμ	Lobel (1925)
Martinelli Tempesta	Martinelli Tempesta (1999)
Marzullo	Marzullo (1958)
Milne	Milne (1933)
Nagy	Nagy, this volume
Neri	Neri (2014)
Obbink	Obbink (2014b)
Pfeijffer	Pfeijffer (2000)
Prodi	E. Prodi by private communication
Schlesier	Schlesier, this volume
Schubart	Schubart (1948)
Snell	Snell (1944)
Theander	Theander (1934)
West	West (2014)
Wilamowitz ¹	Wilamowitz (1898)
Wilamowitz ²	Wilamowitz (1914)

The Poems (in the original order of Sappho Book 1)

Fragment 15'

[c.14] α μάκαι[ρ-
 [c.14] υπλο . 'ο'
 [c.14] ατοςκα[
 [c.12]]

5 [ὄσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' [ἄμ]βροτε κῆ[να λῦσαι
 [.] αταις(.) γεμ[~ - ~ - ×
 [cὺν] τύχαι λίμενος κλ[~ - ×
 [c.11] .

[Κύ]πρι, κα[ί c]ε πι[χροτ' . .] αν ἐπεύρ[- ×
 10 [μη]δὲ καυχά[α]ιτο τόδ' ἐννέ[ποια
 [Δ]ωρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὡς ποθε[×
 [. . .] ερον ἦλθε. [⊗]

Sources: π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. i + fr. 3) incipit in 'ο'? 0–4 stanzas missing? 1 μάκαι[ρα supplemented by Hunt (μά- π^{2a}) 2 ευ- or αυ-: εὔπλοια Fränkel 3 – ὄ]τατος κα[ι Diehl (2nd ed.) 5 ὄσσα δὲ Fränkel comparing Sappho fr. 5.5 πρ]όσθ' [ἄμ]βροτε Hunt κῆ[να λῦσαι Theander 6 ἄνεμ[ος Schubart 7 cὺν κάλαι] τύχαι e.g. Obbink p. 42: cὺν] τύχαι Fränkel 9 πι[χροτάτ]αν (sc. Kypriis) ἐπεύρ[οι (sc. Charaxus) Lobel: πι[χροτέρ]αν ἔπευρ[εν Wilamowitz in Hunt: πι[cροτάτ]αν ἔπευρ[ον (sc. the citizens) Schubart 10 μη]δὲ καυχά[α]ιτο Lobel: οἱ] δὲ καυχά[α]ιτο Wilamowitz in Hunt ἐννέ[ποια Lobel: ἐννέ[ποντες Wilamowitz in Hunt 11 Δ]ωρίχα Wilamowitz in Hunt 11–12 πόθε[ννον (Edmonds, πόθε[ινον Hunt) / εἰς] ἔρον Hunt: πόθε[ννος / ἄψ]ερον Diehl: ποθέ[ccαις / ἄψ]ερον tentatively Voigt app. crit. ad loc. 12 εἰς] ἔρον suits the space better than ἄψ]ερον

Fragment 16'

[⊗]
 [ο]ἱ μὲν ἰππῆων στρότον οἱ δὲ πέδων
 οἱ δὲ νάων φαίς' ἐπ[ί] γὰν μέλαι[ν]αν
 [ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
 τω τις ἔραται'

5 [πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρες cύνετον πόησαι
 [π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ', ἄ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα
 κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα [τ]ὸν ἄνδρα
 τοῦ [. . . ἀρ]ιστον

- καλλ[ίποι]ς' ἔβα 'c Τροϊαν πλέοισα
 10 κωὺδ[ε πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκῆων
 πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὐταν
 [.]' [.]σαν
- [. γν]αμπτον γάρ [.] γόημμα
 [.] . . . κούφως τ[.] γόηγη.
 15 [. .]με νῦν Ἄνακτορί[ας] ὀνέμναι-
 [ε' οὐ] παρεοίcas,
- [τᾶ]c κε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
 κάμάρυγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
 ἦ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα κὰν ὄπλοισι
 20 πεcδομ]άχεντας. [⊗?]

Sources: Π¹, Π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. i), Π^{2c}, Π^{5a} (fr. 2 col. i) 1 ο]ι μὲν incipit in 'ο' 8 τὸν [πανάρ]ιc-
 τον Page: τὸν [περ ἄρ]ιcτον Marzullo p. 61 (ἄρ]ιcτον already Hunt in Π^{2a}): μέγ' ἄρ]ιcτον
 Gallavotti in Voigt comparing Hom. *Il.* 2.768, Theocr. 7.100 etc. 11 πᾶ[μπαν] Theander
 in Π^{2c} αὐταν: αυταν Π^{2a} and correction in Π^{5a} by a second hand: αυτρον Π^{5a} in hand
 of the main scribe 12]' (the grave accent alone is preserved, but nothing of the
 letter that it stood over) Π^{2c}: [Π¹ Π^{2a} Π^{5a}], i.e. a 'warning' grave accent placed over first
 vowel of a diphthong, as often; perhaps κ]ῶ[υ, to be read as κωὺκ (Obbink) or κωὺδ'
 ἐθέλοι]σαν or κωὺδὲ θέλοι]σαν (οὐδὲ θέλοι]σαν already suggested by Martinelli Tempesta):
 c]ῶ[φρον' ἔοι]σαν West (contrary to the accent in the papyrus) 13–14 'apparently
 contained a general reflection on the weakness of human nature' Hunt perhaps
 Κύπρις: ἄγν]αμπτον (Schubart) γάρ [ἔχει] γόημμα (Di Benedetto) / [καὶ τέ]λεῖ κούφως
 τ[ὸ κέ ποι] γόηγη! Lidov¹ 'but Kypriis led her astray, even though she was unwilling;
 for she (sc. Kypriis) has an unyielding mind and accomplishes easily whatever she
 intends': Κύπρις: ἄγν]αμπτον γάρ [ὑμωc] γόημμα / [δάμνα]τταῖ κούφως τ[άκερ' (or: τ[ᾶ
 κάλ' or τ[ᾶ φίλ') ὡc] γόηγη! 'for she (sc. Kypriis) easily overcomes even an unbending
 mind so that it thinks melting thoughts' (i.e. 'sets its thoughts on an object of desire')
 West: ἴμερος γν]αμπτόν γάρ [ἄγει] γόημμα / [τῶμον 'for it (ἴμερος) is overpowering my
 own malleable resolve' BF, cf. Ν(ικάνωρ) τωμον Π¹ in left margin next to Sappho fr. 17.1,
 probably annotation of an intended correction or substituted reading in a line to its
 left in the preceding column, corresponding to about the level of this line i.e. Sappho
 fr. 16.14 or 16.15; cf. also -ακ]αμπτον γάρ, e.g. εὖκ]αμπτον Wilamowitz in Hunt 15 τῶ]με
 'which now puts me in mind' Lidov¹ (by private communication, and subsequently
 West): τῶ] με already Pfeijffer: κᾶ]με Lobel, Σμ ὀν- correction by modern editors: αv-
 Π^{2a}: [Π^{5a}] -μναι Π^{5a}, correction in margin Π^{2a}: μναι Π^{2a} 17 κε correction by Hunt: τε
 Π^{2a}: [Π¹ Π^{2a} Π^{2c} Π^{5a}]

Fragment 16a' [continuing Line-Numeration of Fragment 16 in Parentheses]

- (⊗?)
 1 (21) [ὄλιβιον] μὲν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
 [πάμπ]αν ἀνθρωπ[ον· π]εδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι
 [ἔστιν ἔσλων μοῖραν· ἔγω] δ' ἔμ' αὐται
 [τοῦτο κύνοιδα.]

[2–4 stanzas missing]

- 5 (25) . [c.12] . . . [γέ]γεσθαι
 ο . [c.10] . . . βραξ ἐπ' ἄκρασ
 τα[c.11] ν χίον'· ἄ δὲ πόλλα
 προσ[
 ωσδ[c.9] . ων ἀπέλθην
 10 (30) τω . [c.10] . . [.] . ἀτ'· ὄττινας γάρ
 εὔ θέω, κήνοί με μάλιστα κίννον-
 τ' ἐξ ἀδοκῆ[τω.] ⊗

Sources: Π¹, Π^{2a} (fr. 1 coll. i–ii), Π^{5a} (fr. 2 coll. i–ii) 1–4 possibly a continuation of Sappho fr. 16 1 (21) incipit in 'ο'? e.g. ὄλιβιον] (-οις] Snell) μὲν Milne (NB there is no trace of any letter before μὲν) 2 (22) ἀνθρωπ[ον (-π[οις Snell)· π]εδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι Milne 'it is not possible for a human being to be completely fortunate; but one may pray ...'; cf. P. Köln II.429 Poem 2 (= Sappho fr. 58) line 18 ἀγήραον ἀνθρωπον ἔοντα; οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι 3 (23) ἔστιν ἔσλων μοῖραν] '(but one may pray) to enjoy a share of joy/happiness' e.g. West 3–4 (23–24) ἔγω] δ' ἔμ' αὐται / [τοῦτο κύνοιδα Benelli in BFO, cf. Kypris Song 11–12 (previously Sappho fr. 26.11–12) ἔγω δ' ἔμ' αὐται / τοῦτο κύνοιδα, Sappho fr. 31.16 φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὐτ[αί 6 (26) βραξ BFO 10 (30) ο]ὐ δ[ύ]νασ(αι) BFO:] . ἀτ' Π^{5a}: [Π¹ Π^{2a}] 10 (30)–12 (32) (formerly in Sappho fr. 26.2–4) ὄττινας γάρ εὔ θέω, κήνοί (corr. Blomfield: κεινοί MSS) με μάλιστα κίννονται Et. Gen. A (p. 363 Reitzenstein), Et. Mag. 499.37 ('Aelius Herodianus' Περὶ Παθῶν 3.2 p. 303.5 Lentz): ὄττινας γάρ | εὔ θ[c.9] ἀλίστα c[c.3]ον[τ Π^{5a}:]|τ Π¹:]| .]υ[.]εωχη[Π^{2a} 12 (32) ἐξ ἀδοκῆ[τω Hunt: ἐξ ἀδοκῆ[των Vitelli in PSI 123: ἐξ ἀδοκη[Π¹: ἐξ ἀ[Π^{2a}: ἐξ[Π^{5a} after v. 12 (32) coronis in margin Π¹ Π^{2a} Π^{5a}

Fragment 17'

- (⊗)
 πλάσιον δη μ[.] . . . οίς α[.]ω
 πότνι' Ἥρα, κά χ[.]ς . ἔορτ[] .
 τὰν ἀράταν Ἄτρ[εῖδα]; πόησαν-
 τ' οἱ βασιλῆες,

5 ἐκτελέσσαντες μ[εγά]λοις ἀέθλοις
 πρῶτα μὲν πῆρ Ἰ[λιον]· ἄψερον δὲ
 τυίδ' ἀπορμάθεν[τες, ὄ]θρον γὰρ εὐρη[ν]
 οὐκ ἐδ[ύναντο,]

πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[ίαιον] πεδέλθῃ
 10 καὶ Θυῶνας ἱμε[ρόεντα] παῖδα·
 νῦν δὲ κ[c.12] . . . πόημεν
 κὰτ τὸ πάλ[αιον,

ἄγνα καὶ κα[c.12 ὄ]χλος
 παρθέ[νων c.12 γ]υναίκων
 15 ἄμφις . [
 μέτρ' ὄλ[

πακ[
 . [.] . νιλ[
 ἔμμενα[ι
 20 [Ἡ]ρ' ἀπίκε[σθαι.] ⊗

Sources: Π¹, Π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. ii), Π^{2b}, Π³ (fr. 9), Π^{5a} (fr. 2 col. ii) 1–2 πλάσιον δὴ (incipit in 'Π' μ[ελοπο]μῆνοις' ἀ[γέσθ]ω, / πότνι' Ἡρα, κά χ[αρίε]ς' ἐόρτ[α] 'Nearby (i.e. in the context of this song/performance) let your charming festival be celebrated by (or with or for) those singing and dancing for themselves' BFO: πλάσιον δὴ μ[οικο]πλόις (cf. Sappho fr. 150.1) ἀ[ήσθ]ω / πότνι' Ἡρα, κά χ[άρις ἐ]ς τ' ('with ἐς referring to the first acc. as well') ἐόρτ[α] 'Nearby let your favour blow towards the attendants of the Muses, and towards the festival that' etc. Ferrari: πλάσιον δὴ Μ[άτε]ρ, ἔχοις' ἀ[νάξ]ω / πότνι' Ἡρα, σά(ν) χ[άριν ἴ]ςθ' ἐόρτ[α] 'nearby indeed, mother, I willingly will conduct / a festival, be certain, Lady Hera, for your sake' (cf. Alcaeus fr. 129.7 and Alcman fr. 56.2, and for ἀν- instead of Lesbian ὄν-, see Sappho fr. 16.15 with app. crit. ad loc. above) Lidov² 2 ἐόρτ[α] or ἐόρτ[α] Π^{5a}: [Π¹ Π^{2a-b} Π³] 3 ταν αραταν Π¹ in hand of the main scribe: ταν αρατ[Π^{2a}: ταν α[Π^{5a}: ταν εράταν in a second hand in Π¹ contra metrum ατρ[Π¹: [Π^{2a-b} Π³ Π^{5a}]]: πῶησαν Π^{5a}: [Π¹ Π^{2a-b} Π³] 3–4 τάν (sc. ἐόρταν) ἀράταν Ἄτρ[εῖδα]! (nom.) πῶησαν/τ' οἱ βασιληες 'which (festival) the Atreids, the leaders, hoped ("auspicarono") for themselves' Neri following the articulation suggested before the new fragment by Lidov (2004) 394 (Ἄτρ[εῖδα] ποτ' εὔρον]/τ' οἱ βασιλῆεις), although NB that τάν sc. Ἡραν as in Hunt and editors following would still be possible, 'whom (sc. Hera) ... they established' (see Lidov²): τάν, ἀράταν Ἄτρ[εῖδα]! (dat. of agent), πῶησαν / τοῖ βασιλῆες 'which (festival), prayed for/vowed by the Atreid (sc. Menelaus, *Od.* 3.169–172), those kings established' BFO: τάν ἀράταν Ἄτρ[εῖδα]! (nom.) πῶησαν / τοῖ βασιλῆες ('the festival)

that the kings, Atreids, made desired by (or desirable to) you' Ferrari: 'the Atreidai ... established it in fulfilment of a vow' West 4 accent as placed in Π^{5a} marks word division: $\tau\omicron\iota$ is 'an article or demonstrative pronoun' BFO: ' $\tau\omicron\iota$ is the enclitic pronoun "for you"' West: $\tau\omicron\iota\acute{\iota}$ is the non-enclitic 'emphatic personal pronoun' (supported by the accent as placed in Π^{5a}) Nagy: perhaps $\tau\omicron\iota\acute{\iota}$ should be emended to $\tau\omicron\iota\acute{\iota}$ (see Apollonius Dyscolus *Pron.* 124c vol. 1 p. 81.23 ff. Schneider = Sappho fr. 40)?: $\tau\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}$ Π^{5a} : $\tau\omicron\iota$ Π^1 Π^{2a} 6 $\Xi\acute{\iota}$ [$\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$] Π^{2a} (an iotacistic spelling common in the papyri; $\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ is meant): [Π^{5a}] 11 BFO $\nu\acute{\nu}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ κ [$\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\alpha$ π] $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ 'now we continue to do this' West ($\nu\acute{\nu}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ κ [$\acute{\alpha}\iota$ already BFO): $\nu\acute{\nu}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, κ [$\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\epsilon\tau$] $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$, $\pi\acute{\omicron}\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ S. Burris by private communication ('such a strong direct address would help signal the transition out of the mythical narrative back into the main discursive level of prayer')] . . . , α , ϵ , or \omicron followed by $\rho\alpha$ or $\rho\iota$ or $\beta\iota$ 12 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ [$\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ Wilamowitz² (followed by West): $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ [$\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu$ BFO contra metrum: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ [$\alpha\iota$ $\delta\eta$ Neri 13 $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ [$\lambda\lambda\iota\tau\alpha$: $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ δ] $\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ West (δ] $\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ already BFO): $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ [λ' (Castiglioni) $\delta\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau'$, δ δ' δ] $\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ tentatively Ferrari: $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ [λ' . $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta'$ δ δ] $\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Neri 14 $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ [$\nu\omega\nu$ (Hunt) $\tau\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta'$ $\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ γ] $\nu\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$ West (γ] $\nu\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$ already BFO): $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ [$\nu\omega\nu$ τ' $\acute{\alpha}\mu'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu$ γ] $\nu\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$ Neri 15 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota$ $\zeta\eta$ [ν $\beta\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\nu$ δ' $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\iota\omega\varsigma$ $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu$] / $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho'$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda$ [$\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\delta\eta\nu$ West (16 $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho'$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda$ [$\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\delta\eta\nu$ already BFO): $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho'$ $\acute{\omicron}\lambda$ [$\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ Ferrari 20 [$\acute{\eta}$] ρ' $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon$ [$\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota$ Milne after v. 20 coronis in margin Π^{2a} : [Π^1 Π^{5a}]

'Fragment 18'



(π) $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\kappa\epsilon\delta$ [
 ($\acute{\epsilon}$) $\nu\acute{\nu}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\nu$ [
 $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ μ [
 $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta$ [
]

5	$\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\iota$. [$\mu\epsilon\sigma\delta\omicron\nu$ [[[] $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha$] . . .] . . . $\alpha\nu$] .
10	[[[[] $\theta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\nu$] $\alpha\rho$] . $\rho\omega\varsigma$]
15	[[[] $\alpha\iota\nu$] .] ω

Sources: Π^{2a} (fr. 1 col. ii), Π^{5a} (fr. 3 col. i) 1–2 supplemented by Lobel, Σμ 1 (π)άν incipit in 'Π'(?) (π)άν κε δ[εῖνον tentatively West 4 μυθολόγη[σαι Diehl 5 κᾶν Π^{2a} after v. 15, 4–6 stanzas missing before fr. 18a

'Fragment 18a'

.ω [

καὶ γὰρ ε . [

δεύετ' ὦρ[

νύξ τε καὶ[

5 . . ος [

. . αω . . [

. . α . . α . . [

μυριάς . . [

πινα . . [. .] . [. ⊗

Source: Π^{5a} (fr. 3 col. ii) 1 beginning missing; probably separate poem from fr. 18 8 μύρι' ἄστρ[α West, noting Plut. *De facie in orbe lunae* 934c οὐ σταθεροῦ φωτὸς οὐδ' ἡρεμοῦντος ἀλλὰ μυρίοις ἄστροις περιελαυνομένου after v. 9 coronis in margin Π^{5a}

'Fragment 5'

⊗

πότνια Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]

τὸν κασίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι]

κῶττι φῶι θύμωι κε θέληι γένεσθαι

κῆνο τελέσθην,

5 ὄσσα δὲ πρόσθ' ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦσα[ι]

καὶ φίλοισι φοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι

κῶνίαν ἔχθοροισι, γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι

μηδάμα μηδ' εἶς·

τὰν κασιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι

10 [μέ]σδονος τίμας, [όν]ίαν δὲ λύγραν

[. . . .] . [. . . .] στοῖσι π[ά]ροῖθαχεύων

[- - - -] . να

[- - - x] . εἰαῖω[ν] τὸ κέγχρω

[- - -] λ' ἔπαγ[ορί]αι πολίταν

15 ὥς ποτ' οὐ[κ ἄ]λλως, [ἐκύ]νηκε δ' αὖτ' οὐ-
δὲν διὰ [μά]κρω.

καὶ τιμα[. .]ον αἰ κ[1-2]εο[.] . ι
γνώσεθ[.] . . [.]ν· κύ [δ]ἔ Κύπ[ρ]ι· ζ[έμ]να
οὐκ οὐ . [.]θεμ[έν]α κάκων [×

20 [.] . [.] . . [.]ι. [⊗?]

Sources: Π³, Π⁴ (fr. 6), Π^{5a} (fr. 3 col. ii) 1 πότνια (incipit in 'Π') Π^{5a}: [Π⁴], already proposed by Diels, Wilamowitz: *πόντια* (originally restored by Jurenka) suggested as an emendation by West comparing Pind. *Pyth.* 11.2, cf. also Pind. *Nem.* 5.36 ἀβλάβη[ν Blass in Grenfell and Hunt μοι Diels, Wilamowitz¹ 11 δαίμ]ο[νος (BFO) κ]ότοιιι Lidov in BFO: παρλύ]ο[ιτ]ο τοίιι Ferrari: ἐκλύ]ο[ι μ';] ὄτ(τ)οιιι West π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων or π[ά]ροιθα χεύων 12 θύμον (αὐτός Ferrari) ἐδά]μνα West, cf. Sappho fr. 1.3-4 13 ἐν (or cὺν) φίλοις] εἰσαῖων 'hearing with friends' BFO: Δωρίχας ἄ]μ' εἰσαῖων 'while at the same time he hearkened to (the wishes of) Doricha' West: κῆρ ὀνειδίς]μ' εἰσαῖων 'whose heart (he overpowered), hearing the blame' Ferrari 14-15 τὸ κέγχρω / κροῦμα δῆ]λ'. '(hear- ing) the rhythmic beat of the (shaken) millet seed' BFO: τὸ κ' ἐγ χρω(ι) (Blass) νῦν ἐτιλ]λ' 'would now be plucking me to the raw' West 14 ἐπαγ]ορί]αι πολίταν Lobel, defended by West ('through the citizens' censure') or ἐπ' ἀγ]ε[ί]αι 'at the leadership/command of the citizens' Lidov¹ 15 ὥς (or ὅς or ᾧ or οἶ), not ἦ (BFO) nor αἶ (West) both of which would be too far to the right ποτ' οὐ[κ ἄ]λλως (BFO), [ἐκύ]νηκε (Lobel) δ' αὖτ' οὐ/δὲν διὰ [μά]κρω BFO 'just as much as ever; but it was not long before he came to realize it'; 'but he understood it slightly after' Ferrari: ποτ' οὐ [κ' ἄ]λλως, [ἐπό]νηκε Lidov¹ 17 καὶ τι μά]σσον αἰ κ[λ]έο[ε ἐξίη]φ]οι West: καὶ τι μά]λλον (Hammerstaedt in BFO) αἰ κ[λ]έο[ε ἐν βρότοι]ι Ferrari 18 γνώσε]ται φ]έβ[η]ν West 'and if he finds the repute of it going further, he will learn (what it is like) to bear it': γνώσε]τ' ἄ]π]ο]ι 'and (he) will understand even more if again he realizes how much a good name counts among mortals' Ferrari: γνώσε θ[έαν] Ἡρ[α]ν 'if you recognize goddess Hera' BFO; perhaps εθ[ένος κύ [δ]ἔ Κύπ[ρ]ι (Lobel) ζ[έμ]να Milne: τέ]ρπ]να Page—on the basis combined readings of Π³ and Π⁴ 19-20 οὐκ ὄ]νε]χτον κατ]θεμ[έν]α κάκων [ῥ]ο]ι]ν, π[ί]θ[ε]· ἄμ]μ]ι(ν) or μέ]νε πά]ρο]ι 'rendering an evil offense not unendurable (or: putting a stop to an unbearable evil), be persuaded by me' or (at end) 'remain by my side' Lidov in BFO: οὐκ ὄ]νε]χτον ἐν]θεμ[έν]α κάκων [φο]ι κτλ. 'as for you, reverend Kypris, after having (once) inflicted insupportable vice on him, [may you be merciful to us in the future]' West

Fragment 9'

[⊗]

[π- (?)]

[π]αρκάλεισι τασελ[~ ~ ~ ×

χᾶμμες, αἴ κε φᾶν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη
 Λάριχος καὶ δὴ ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται,
 καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαν κεν

24 (20) αἶψα λύθειμεν. ⊗

Sources: π³ (fr. 5), π^{5b} 1 incipit in 'π'? 1–2 [⊗ πόλλα δὴ πεπόνθαμεν· ἀλλ' ἵκοιτο (or: αἶθ' ἐπέλθοι) / νῦν Χάραξος κτλ.] e.g. Lidov¹ (cf. Sappho fr. 94.3–4) 3 [3–4] λα[π³: [– ~] Λα[ριχ· Obbink: πολ]λά[χοι Lidov¹ comparing Athen. 10.425a (= Sappho test. 203) πολλοῦ (‘assuming that Athenaeus’s source is a paraphrase or inference from an actual statement’) 3–4 [2–3]κέμ.[π³, i.e. –]κέ μ.[or]κέ μ.[or –]ε μ.[or –]ε μ.[or]ε μ.[(where metre requires . [to be a vowel): [– ~] κέ, μᾶ[τερ West: [– ~]ε(‘) ἔμ' α[ῦταν (or α[ῦται) or [–] κέ, μᾶ[καιρα (voc.) Lidov¹ 6 cὺν π- articulation by Henrichs and correction of spelling to πλῆαι by West in Obbink: κυμπλειαί π^{5b} 8 νόησθαι correction by West in Obbink: νοεισθαι π^{5b} 9 ἔμε Obbink following π^{5b}: ἔμα ‘my things’, ‘my clothes’ emendation by Bowie 11–13 *Od.* 13.42–43 (Odysseus’ wish to Alcinous) ἀμύμονα δ' οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν / νοστήσας εὐροίμει cὺν ἀρτεμέεσι φίλοισιν 13–16 similarly Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.9–12, 3.29.32–34, cf. 43–45 (9 *cetera* = 13 τὰ δ' ἄλλα) 13 τὰ δ' ἄλλα Obbink following π^{5b}: τὰ δ' αἶνα emendation by Liberman p. 7 [8] ‘but for all that is torment for us, let us trust it to the divine powers’ 18 ἐπάρωγον correction in π^{5b} by a second hand (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 164 ποὶ δὴ σωθῶ; ποῦ τις θεῶν ἢ δαίμων ἐπαρωγός): ἐπάρηγον' π^{5b} (first hand): ἐπ' ἄρηγον emendation by West ‘those whose fortune (sc. δαίμων) the ruler of Olympus chooses to turn around from hardship for the better, they become ...’: ἐπ' ἄρηγον' (sc. δαίμων) emendation by Liberman pp. 7–8 [9] ‘deflecting them away from misfortune to a better fate’ 21 φᾶν emendation by Lardinois (see Lobel, *Am* § 23 pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii and § 26 pp. xci–xciv, esp. xci–xcii): τάν Obbink following π^{5b} after v. 24 coronis in margin π^{5b}

'Kypris Song'



πῶς κε δὴ τις οὐ θαμέως ἄκαιτο,
 Κύπρι, δέσποιν', ὅτινα [δ]ὴ φίλ[ησι,
 [κωὺ] θέλοι μάλιστα πάθαι χάλ[ακται;]
 [ποῖ]ον ἔχησθαι

5 [νῶν] ράλοις μ' ἀλεμάτῳς θαῖσθ[ην]
 [ιμέ]ρω(ι) λύ{ι}σαντι γόν' ωμε-[x
 [. . .] . α . α . . [. .] αἶμ' οὐ προ[ο–3] . ερησ[
 [– ~] νεερ . [.] αἶ

- [c.8] . . . [. .] cé, θέλω[~ - ×
 10 [- ~ - × τοῦ]το πάθη[γ ~ - ×
 [- ~ - × -] .αν, ἔγω δ' ἐμ' αὔται
 τοῦτο κύνοιδα
- [c.13] . [.] .τοις[. . . .] .
 [c.13]εναμ[
 15 [] . [.] . [.]
 [c.12]

Sources: π^{2a} (fr. 16, cf. Sappho fr. 26), π^{5b} 1 πῶς κε δὴ incipit in 'π' θαμέως ἄκαιτο Benelli in Obbink 2 Κύπρι, δέσποιν' Obbink after δέσποιν', punctuation as question Benelli [δ]ῆ Burris in Obbink, Benelli: [μ]ῆ West, Ferrari φίλ[ησι Schlesier: φίλ[ειη Burris in Obbink: φίλ[ησθα West, Ferrari, Benelli 3 κωὺ] Prodi (anaphoric of οὐ in v. 1): κῶς] West και] Obbink (2014b) or και (= και εἰ)] Benelli and ὦς] Ferrari are slightly too short for the space πάθῃν (gen. pl. of Pindaric πάθα) or πάθα χαλ[ακκαί Lidov¹, cf. Alcaeus fr. 70.10 χαλάσσομεν δὲ τὰς θυμοβόρω λύα 'relax from spirit-gnawing strife': πάθος χάλ[υπτειν West, Benelli (χάλ[υψαι Ferrari): πάθην χάλ[εσσα Schlesier παθ- confirmed by multi-spectral imaging, not παλ-; end χαλ[or χαλ[end of v. 3, punctuation as question Obbink 4-5 ποί]ον ἔχησθα / [νῶν 'what sort of intentions do you have?' Bowie in Obbink: ὄσ]ον ἔχησθα Lidov¹: οὐκ] ὀνέχησθα / [κω]δαλ' 'you do not hold back the mordacious pests' West: οὐκ] ὀνέχησθα (after which end of sentence) Benelli 'you (sc. Kypris) do not restrain her/him' (sc. 2 ὄττινα, = 1 τις and subject of 3 και] θέλοι) i.e. from the sufferings of love' or 'you do not keep under control her/his erotic drives' end of v. 4, punctuation as question Ferrari 5 σάλοις Hammerstaedt in Obbink (σὺν] ζάλοις Ferrari): κω]δαλ' οἴς] West: κω]δαλοῖς Benelli: καγ]χάλοις Lidov¹ ἀλεμάτωσ Obbink δαῖς]θη Obbink (δαῖς]δ[Hammerstaedt in Obbink): δαῖς]δ[ης West, Ferrari, Benelli end of v. 5, punctuation as question West 6 ἰμέ]ρω(ι) Obbink, Ferrari: εἰμέ]ρω(ι) (restoration of iotacistic spelling of ἰμέρωι in accordance with space in π^{5a}) West: κίμέ]ρω(ι) Benelli: μῆ μ' ἔ]ρω(ι) West λύ{ι}σαντι Obbink, Ferrari, Benelli: λύσσαντι West γόν' Tsantsanoglou in Obbink, Ferrari: γόνωμ' (West) ἔπ[ελθε Lidov¹ (ἔνα[ιρε West): ὦ(ι)μ', ἐγ[ω δέ Ferrari 7-8 κάκ]λάπαδ' ἄμμ'. οὐ πρότερ' ἦς[... / ...]νε' ἐρα[ί]ται 'do not despoil me with raging love and devastate us. You were not previously ... to me when I was in love' West: λαί]λαπας [φ]αίμ' (Tsantsanoglou) οὐ προ[τόνοις] περήσ[η]ν 'alas, but I believe that the gusts will not overcome the stays' Ferrari 8 συ]νέροχ[θ]αί Obbink: αἶ κε]ν ἔεροχ[θ]αί Ferrari:]νε' ἐρα[ί]ται West 10 Hunt 11-12 supplied from Apollonius Dyscolus *Pron.* 1.51.1 ff. Schneider (formerly Sappho fr. 26) where the poem ends (and the next begins) is uncertain

New Fragment (unplaced)

]πα . [
] . αμε[
]πολ[
]ουτ . [

Source: π^{5a} (fr. 4) 2 possibly θαμέ[ωσ, cf. Kypris Song 1 θαμέωσ ἄσσαίτο, P. Köln 11.429
 Poem 2 (= Sappho fr. 58) line 7 στεναχίδω θαμέωσ

Translations*'Fragment 15'*

[...] blessed goddess
 [...] (may he?) give atonement for previous mistakes
 [...] with fair fortune (reach?) harbor
 [...],

Kypris, and may (she?) find you [the cruelest],
 And may she, Doricha, not boast, telling
 of how he came a second time
 for a longed-for desire.

'Fragment 16'

There are those who say of a host of cavalry,
 some of foot-soldiers, while others say of ships
 to be the fairest thing on the black earth. But I:
 whatsoever someone desires.

It is altogether simple to make this clearly known
 to all: Helen, by far outstanding in beauty
 of mortals, who had a husband,
 the best of all men,

left him behind, and, sailing, travelled to Troy
 and without any thought at all for her dear child
 or her parents either; but [Kypris?] led her off-course
 [...]

for [she (sc. Kypris?) with un]bending mind
 accomplishes?] easily [whatever she] thinks;
 [which] now puts me in mind of Anaktoria
 gone away though she is.

Sooner would I watch her desirable gait
 and bright glow of her face
 than all the chariots of Lydia and
 soldiers in arms. ⊗?

'Fragment 16a'

⊗?

It is not possible for a human being
 to be completely fortunate; but one may pray
 to enjoy a share of happiness. This
 I know for myself.

[2-4 stanzas missing]

...] to be
 ...] you walked on tip-toes
 ...] on the snow. But she many things
 with[...]

...] being [...] to depart
 ...]. For whomsoever
 I treat favorably, those most of all harm me
 without warning. ⊗

'Fragment 17'

⊗

Near here, indeed, [... let be celebrated]
 your [charming] festival, revered Hera,
 which the Kings, the Atreidai, established
 on a vow,

since they had accomplished heroic exploits
 in the beginning at Troy, but later on
 putting in just here: for they could not
 find their way

before they had approached you, and Suppliant
Zeus and Thyone's soothing child.

Now we, too, [continue] to perform [these things]
just like of o[ld]

that are pure and of high[est. For a huge] throng
of unmarried women and wives [gather right here]
around [your altar, piously wishing to sing in]
measures the sacr[ed cry.]

Each [...
[...
to be [...
[He]ra, to come back. ⊗

'Fragment 18'

Every [...] would [...
to narrate [...
m[y] tongue [...
to weave wild tales [...

and a husband [...] the best things
greater yet [than ...
[*two verses missing*]

mind [...
[*three verses missing*]

[*traces of six more lines + 4–6 stanzas missing, some belonging to
Fragment 18a*]

'Fragment 18a'

[...]

Since even [...
lacking the season [...
both night and [...
...

...

...

thousands of st[ars

drin[k?] ⊗

'Fragment 5'

Revered daughters of the sea god, grant that
[my] brother may arrive here unharmed
and whatsoever he should desire in his mind
let that be completed.

And as much as he has previously done wrong,
that he atone for it all; that he be a pleasure
to friends, and a harm to enemies—then may we
never have any.

And may he want to put his sister in a position
of greater honor, since before he was suffering cruel agony
at the hands of [...]
[...]

[...] hearing the [...] of the millet seed
[... bu]t through the citizens' censure
as is ever the case, and on the other hand he realized it
not long after.

And [...] if f[am]e [...
know [...]. But you, hallowed Kypris,
After an unendurable evil, [give ...]
[...] ⊗?

Fragment 9 (P. GC inv. 105 fr. 1)

[⊗]

[P- ... (?)]

they are inviting us over for [...]
Do you not have all [that we need,
Mother, for the festival?

[splen]didly and in season to cele[brate? It is this, which
 [is a joy] for mortals who live for the day. As for m[e,
 [may I ever ...], as long as to m[e it is allowed
 [...] to hear.

[...]. And this [...
 [...] now. Unhar[med ...
 [...] while giving. [...
 [she th]ought.

...]

...]

...]able ...

[...] ... to have been completed.

[...]. But I entirely [...
 [...] tongue [...
 [...] despair [...
 [... f]or you ought. ⊗? (*or one stanza missing*)

'Brothers Song'

⊗

[P- ... (?)

[1 or 5 lines missing]

[...]la[...

[...] you (?), m[

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

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

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

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

And if Larichos lifts up his head,
 if only he might one day be an established man,
 the deep and dreary draggings of our soul
 we'd swiftly lift to joy. ⊗

'Kypris Song'

⊗

How can someone not be hurt and hurt again,
 Kypris, Queen, whomsoever one really loves,
 and not especially want respite from suffering?
 What sort of thoughts do you have

to pierce me idly with shiverings
 out of desire that loosens the knees [...]
 [...] not [...]
 [...] ...

[...] you, I wish [...]
 [...] to suffer this [...]
 [...]. This
 I know for myself.

New Fragment (unplaced)

[...]...[
 [...] frequen[tly?
 [...]...[
 [...]...[