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The New Lyric Fragments

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The Classical Review

JUNE, 1916

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE NEW LYRIC FRAGMENTS.

(A Paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society, May 14, 1915.)

II.¹

THE question the restorer of such fragments has to face is this: 'Your restorations are all very pretty, but how do you know that Sappho said that?' To this question those who have tried their hand know that there are two answers. The first is that we *don't* know. The second is: 'If you will try it yourself and will use all the available means, you will realise that in a large proportion of cases—we don't say all—your restorations, if not certain, will bear an approximation to certainty which is well worth having. The most important of these means, next of course to a knowledge of the Aeolic dialect and a knowledge of Lesbian poetry—and some restorers fail to use even these—are, first, the filling of gaps, not by the look-and-see method, but by the actual tracing of letter-groups from a photograph of the extant parts of the papyrus—for the correct estimate is based on the width of the space between any particular pair of letters as much as on the width of any particular letter—and secondly, the making of the restoration of each line consistent in every way, graphically (for instance, initial gaps must correspond in length), artisti-

cally (for instance, the suggestion must make part of an artistic whole), and, so to speak, idiosyncratically (that is, it must be the sort of thing the author might have said), with the restoration of the whole piece. For example, in initial gaps it is no use taking A's restoration of one line, and B's restoration of the next, unless they correspond in every respect. Much less is it any use, as is so often done, to fill initial gaps by merely counting the number of dots given by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. It all depends on *what* letters are substituted for the dots, or rather on what letter-groups. The happy-go-lucky restoration of these and similar fragments which prevails both in England and on the Continent is no less than a disgrace to modern scholarship.² In the present case the further precaution has been taken of discussing every doubtful letter with Professor Hunt, and though he does not in every instance prefer the reading given here, no reading is adopted which he does not admit to be palaeographically possible. His great kindness in answering queries and also in supplying photographs is here thankfully acknowledged.

¹ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part X., 1914, see C.R., May, 1914.

² If a certain German restorer of the Berlin Alcaeus could see a tracing of his restoration he would be the first to admit the cogency of my argument. The line of his initial letters is like a flight of tumble-down steps.

(a) SAPPHO. PAPYRUS 1231.¹

Frag. 1, Col. ii. (latter part).

- Πλάσιον δὴ μ[οι κατ' ὄναρ παρείη,]
 πόντι' Ἥρα, σά χ[αρίεσσα μόρφα,]
 τὰν ἀράταν Ἀτρ[εΐδαι ἴδον κλῆ-]
 τοι βασιλῆες
 5 ἐκτελέσσαντες [Τροίας δλεθρον ·]
 πρῶτα μὲν πα[ρ' ὠκυρόω Σκαμάνδρῳ]
 τυῖδ' ἀπορμάθε[ντες ἐπ' οἶκον ἱκνῇ]
 οὐκ ἐδύναντο,
 πρὶν σὲ καὶ Δί' ἀντ[ίστασαι μέγιστον]
 10 καὶ Θυώνας ἱμ[ερόεντα παῖδα.]
 νῦν δὲ κ[ἀγω, πόντια, λίσσομαι σε]
 κατ τὸ πά[ροιθεν]
 ἄγνα καὶ κά[λ' ἐν Μιτυλαναίαισι]
 [π]αρθ[ένοις με δρᾶν πάλιν, αἷς χο-]
 ρεύην]
 15 [ἀ]μφι σ[αῖσι πόλλ' ἐδίδαξ' ἐόρταις]
 [πόλλα τ' αἰείδην.]
 [ὥς τε νᾶας Ἀτρείδαι σὺν ὕμμι]
 ἄραν Ἰλ[ίῳ, κέλομαί σε κάμοι]
 ἔμμεν[αι πρὸς οἶκον ἀπυπλεοῖσάι, Ἥ-]
 20 ρ' ἥπι', [ἄρωγον.]

Of this fragment, which we know from marginal signs to have been a complete poem of twenty lines, the first ten lines, known before, have been restored by Wilamowitz in *Papiri della Soc. ital.* 1. 123. The word *σά* in l. 2 shows that Hera is *addressed*. Now when you address Gods, you generally make either a statement about them, as in a hymn, or a request to them, as in a prayer. Wilamowitz here chooses the former with *παρέστα*, I choose the latter with *παρείη*. It seems to me unlikely that this was the first time Hera had ever appeared to a mortal; and so instead of his *πρῶτοι βασιλῆες* I write *κλήτοι* or *κλείτοι βασιλῆες* from *Od.* 6. 54. I have also made other changes. There are two keys to the situation, *τυῖδε* in l. 7 and the six extant letters of l. 18. To take l. 18 first; the first two letters can hardly be anything but *ηρ*, and there is a dot between them which might be explained as the end of a

wrongly-inserted *ι*. Now *νιλ* is not a common combination of letters; but if the *ν* can be the end of the preceding word, *ιλ* might belong to the place-name *Ἰλιος*, the adjective *ἱλαος* 'propitious,' the *λλ*-form of the verb *εἶλω* 'to roll,' or perhaps to a *λλ*-form of *ἱλαρός*. Whichever of these we choose must be consistent with what has gone before. In view first of *ἀπορμάθεντες* in l. 7 and secondly of the fact that the only probable subject to *ἦραν* or *ἄραν*² is *Ἀτρείδαι*—for the Gods of the third stanza would in all probability have been subject to a verb in the second person—I choose the place-name *Ἰλιος*. This gives us 'put out from Ilium.'

Now for *τυῖδε* in l. 7. The Atridae on returning from Troy were not starting for *Lesbos*. The Cyclic poets, of course, dealt with the *ἀπόπλους*; but, as far as I can find out, though the traditions varied in detail, the Atridae did not even call at *Lesbos*, much less set out with the intention of going there. I conclude then that *τυῖδε* is 'to Greece,' and accordingly that Sappho was in Greece and not *Lesbos* when she wrote it. One of the crises of the Atridae's lives was when they set out to return to Greece; Sappho's life-crisis to which she compares theirs was, I take it, when she was setting out to return from Greece. The Parian Marble says that Sappho when exiled took refuge in Sicily. Can Sicily be considered to be Greece here, or must we suppose that she spent some of her time in Greece Proper, for which Agamemnon and Menelaus set out? She might have had poet-friends at Sparta who carried on the Aeolo-Doric tradition of Alcman. But this is the merest speculation.

Having decided on the meaning of *τυῖδε* and the interpretation of the six extant letters of l. 18—with the extant part of the fourth stanza to guide us, and remembering first that an ancient prayer may well include a reference to benefits conferred on the God by the

¹ And *Papiri della Soc. ital.* 1. 123, where the fragment is slightly wider but extends only to l. 10 1-10. So Wilamowitz *loc. cit.*, but *παρέστα* for *παρείη*, *πρῶτοι* for *κλήτοι*, γὰρ Ἄρεος ἔργον for *Τροίας δλεθρον*, and ὅδον τέλεσσαι for ἐπ' οἶκον ἱκνῇ 18 P *ἦραν* with *ι* wrongly inserted after η 20 P *ραπι*

² The *ι* of the Papyrus was added, I take it, wrongly but plausibly. Veitch even gives *ἦραν* as regular for Herodotus. For the Atticisation of *ā* see below.

person praying, and secondly that chief among Sappho's benefits to Hera, the marriage-goddess, was doubtless the training of wedding-choruses—we shall find the rest comparatively easy. All that remains of l. 20 is the intractable compound *ραπι*. The first two letters as they stand might be the end of the nominative of Hera, but not of the vocative, which in Aeolic ends in *ᾱ*; and in such a piece Hera cannot well be nominative. I take it that the *ᾱ* is elided before the *ᾱ* of the hyper-aeolised form *ᾱπιε* for *ῆπιε*. That such forms occurred in some ancient copies of Sappho and Alcaeus is probable. For instance *cf.* *ᾱβας* for *ῆβας* in fr. 10 of Papyrus 1233, and the same word in one of the Aeolic love-poems in which Theocritus imitates the Lesbians. For the crasis at the end of l. 19 I have no exact parallel, but it seems reasonable for the dialect; *cf.* for instance *ὀρράνω αἰθερος* in Sappho's 1st Ode, and *ἐμνάσθη ἀλλὰ* with an intervening stop in fr. 1 of this Papyrus.

Translate:

'Make stand beside me in a dream, great Hera, the beauteous shape that in answer to their prayer appeared unto the famous kings of Atreus' seed when they had made an end of the overthrow of Troy. At first when they put forth hither from Scamander's swift flood, they could not win home, but ere that could be, were fain to make prayer to thee and to mighty Zeus and to Thyone's lovely child. So now pray I, O Lady, that of thy grace I may do again, as of old, things pure and beautiful among the maids of Mitylene, whom I have so often taught to dance and sing upon thy days of festival; and even as Atreus' seed by grace of thee and thy fellow-Gods did put out then from Ilium, so I beseech thee, gentle Hera, aid thou now this homeward voyage of mine.'

Before passing on, I will just indicate a possible alternative. Is *τυῖδε* after all 'to Lesbos,' and are the Atridae Orestes' sons (following Velleius Paterculus) or great-grandsons (following Strabo) setting out to found the first Greek colony there? I have tried this because I regard it as a possible fault in my first

restoration that Agamemnon arrived home only to be murdered, and Menelaus only after long wanderings, and this unhappy aspect of the comparison has to be suppressed. The substitution, for instance, in l. 5 of *πλόον εὐτύχηα* 'a prosperous voyage,' in l. 6 of *Εὐβοίκων ρεέθρων* 'the Euboean tide' or Euripus, and in l. 7 of *ὅδον περαίνην* 'to finish their journey,' is easy enough. But what of the six letters of l. 18? Is *ἡραν* the Goddess? If so, what is she doing in the accusative in an address to herself? And how do we account for the dot between the *ρ* and *η*? However, I don't regard my first interpretation as certain; for one thing, in restoring right-hand gaps there is no check on the written length, for lines do not end, as they begin, on an even line; and it is possible that the problem will be solved along the lines of the latter alternative.

All the remaining fragments of Sappho with which I shall deal to-day have gaps on the left, and my restorations of them may therefore be regarded as far more likely to be right. In all, too, I have used photographs, except in the piece from fr. 9.

From Frag. 9.

- [ἐν θυέλλαισι ζαφ]έλοισι ναῦται
[ἐκφοβήθεντες μ]εγάλαις ἀήται[s]
[ἄββαλον τὰ φόρτι]α καπὶ χέρσω[
[πλοῖον ὀκέλλαν ·]
5 [μὴ μάλιστ' ἔγωγ' ἀ]μοθεν πλέοιμ[ι]
[χειμάσαντος, μη]δὲ τὰ φόρτι· εἴκ[ᾱ]
[ἐς βάθηα πόντο]ν ἄτιμ' ἐπέικη[
[πάντα βάλοιμι ·]
[αἱ δὲ Νήρηϊ προ]ρέοντι πόμπᾱ[ι]
10 [ἐννάλωι τᾶμ' ἐξέσεται]δεκε[σθαι]
[φόρτι']

7 P *ατιμ' ἐπέικη*, but wrong accentuation occurs also in 16. 12

This fragment has so large an initial gap that a photograph is unnecessary, provided we write down the initial letters of the extant part under one another according to Dr. Hunt's transcript and fill in the initial gap with tracings from other fragments of the Papyrus. It is needless to add that the restorations, being on the left, must

correspond in written length. With the form *βάθηα* in l. 7 *cf.* *βασίλῃες* above; Sappho probably said *βάθηνα*. For the omission of *καί* between the contrasted adjectives *ἄτιμα* and *ἐπείκη* *cf.* *ἄνω κάτω* and Plat. *Prot.* 319d *ὁμοίως πλούσιος πένης, γενναῖος ἀγέννης*; so also Soph. *Ant.* 1079 *ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν*, and in Latin *bona mala, supera infera*. *ἐπείκης* for *ἐπικεύς* is quite possible in Aeolic. I take it to have come to be employable in the sense of 'good, valuable,' from the meaning 'passable'; *cf.* the uses of the noun *ἐπείκεια* in the personal sphere. At the end I take the succeeding waves to be likened to a procession. A procession was the ceremonial form in which wedding-presents, at any rate, were given; *cf.* Eustath. *ad Il.* 24. 29. This suits *δέκεσθαι*. For the impersonal genitive absolute *χειμάσαντος* *cf.* Theocr. ix. 10 *χειμαίνοντος*.

Translate:

'When tempests rage, the mariner, for fear of the great blasts of the wind, doth cast his cargo overboard and drive his vessel ashore: as for me, I pray I may be bound nowhither (*lit.* sail nowhence) in time of storm, nor be fain to cast all my cargo, precious or not, into the deep; but if so be it should fall to Nereus in his flowing pageant of the sea to receive the gift of my goods. . . .'

Frag. 13.

[*αἶσ'* ἔγων ἔφ]αν· Ἀγα[ναι γυναῖκες,
[οἶα μ]εμνάσεσθ' ἄ[ι μέχρι γήρας]
[ὄτ<τ>ιν' ἄ]μμες ἐν νεό[τατι λάμ-
πρᾷ]
[σύνε]ποήμμεν·

5 [*ἄγνα μ*]ἐν γὰρ καὶ κά[λα πόλλ' ἐν
αὐτᾷ]
[δράσα]μεν· πόλι[ν δ' ἀ]πυλιππα-
νοῖσᾶν]
[σφῶιν] ὁ[ξ]είαις δ[᾿ ἀ]κεν ἕμμερος μοι]
[θῦμον ἀ]σαισι.]

1 P *αναγα.*

This I take to belong to one of the poems in which Sappho records brief conversations with her friends, a type of which there are two examples in the

Berlin fragments.¹ One of those two examples deplores the departure of a friend. Here the ever-memorable *κάλα* (l. 5), which Sappho and two or more friends did in youth, are apparently contrasted favourably with a sentence beginning with the word *πόλιν*, before which there is in the Papyrus a colon. In l. 7 the word *ὀξείαις* is almost certain. If the narrow missing letter be taken as *ι* nothing can be made of the word; if as *ρ*, we have *χορείαις* 'dances,' which, if it is not to be unmetrical, calls for a very long monosyllable before it, and this doesn't seem to be forthcoming. There is no practicable alternative.

Given *ὀξείαις*, given the contrast, and given *πόλιν* in emphatic position, it is reasonable to suppose that the phrase of which *πόλιν* is the first member expresses something which introduces the contrast between the ever-memorable *κάλα* done by *ἄμμες* and the misery hinted at by *ὀξείαις*. In love and friendship the greatest misery is to part, and *πόλιν* points to parting being the misery here. I therefore restore in l. 4 *συνε-πόημμεν* with the Aeolic lengthening of *σύν*; and the next question is, who is to leave the *πόλιν*, Sappho or her friends? I choose the friends, but it is possible that the fragment might be restored the other way round. For the form *ἄι* 'always,' with both vowels short, *cf.* Sa. 96 and Pind. *P.* 9. 154; the form ending in *ι* is also attested for Aeolic by the grammarians. The neuter plural *ὄττινα*, for which *cf.* Papyrus 1233, fr. 1 col. ii. l. 19, appears to have been written here with one *τ*, a form which, though unmetrical here, was a by-form in Aeolic. I should add that the same scribe writes the noun *κάλλος* with one *λ* in fr. 1, the second *λ* being inserted above. The form *ἀπυλιππάνω* occurs in one of the Berlin fragments, and another of the same fragments suggests the restoration of the last two lines. With regard to *σφῶιν* in l. 7, *cf.* for the dual in Aeolic *νῶιν* in one of the Berlin fragments, and see Hoffmann's *Griechische Dialekte* II. p. 537.

Translate:

'And them I answered: "Gentle dames, how you will evermore re-

¹ See *C.R.* June, August, 1909.

member till you be old, our life together in the heyday of youth! For many things did we then together both pure and beautiful. And now that you depart hence, love wrings my heart with very anguish.”

For the construction *οἷα μεμνάσεσθε ὅτινα συνεπόμεν* cf. *Od.* 5. 183 *οἷον δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἐπεφράσθης ἀγορεύσαι*, the relative clause *ὅτινα συνεπόμεν* being the direct object corresponding to *τὸν μῦθον*, and *οἷα* being the predicate corresponding to *οἷον*.

I fear that if I give full reasons for all my restorations I shall keep you too long. I must therefore ask the Society to take what I have said on the first three fragments as an example of what I might say on the rest, and must be content to give my reasons only in a few particularly important places.

From Frag. 14.

[. . . .] ἔρωτος ἤλγ[ει]
[. . . .]
[ὅττα γάρ κ' ἐνάν]τιον εἰσίδω σ[ε]
[τόττ' ἔμοι οὐ φύνν' Ἐ]ρμῶνα τοαύτ[α]
5 [φαίνεται,] ξάνθαι δ' Ἑλέναι σ'
 ἔῖσ[κ]ην
[ἔστιν ἔπει]κες
[κῶν κόρ]αις θνάταις · τόδε δ' ἴσ[θι],
 ταῖ σῶι
[καλ<λ>όναι] παίσαν κέ με τῶν με-
 ρίμνῶν
[ταῖς θυή]λαις ἀντιδ[ί]δων, πό]θοις δέ
10 [παῖσί σε τήν.]

Scholion to l. 10 τ[ί]ην σε

3 Hunt . . . ὡς γὰρ ἄντιον 4 P τεαν
8 P μερίμνῶν and δ[ι] . . .] . . .] θοισ 9 P λᾶισ'
and δ[ι] . . .] . . .] θοισ

This fragment has, in the original, four more lines, which may or may not belong to the same poem. The first extant stanza is obviously a comparison of the person addressed with Hermione and Helen. The interpretation of the second turns upon the restoration of l. 9. This line begins in the Papyrus with *λᾶισ'*. This short mark may be taken as indicating that *αισ* in Aeolic stands for *ασ* in Attic. The same device

is used elsewhere in this Papyrus to show that *φαισι* stands for *φασί*. Here I can't work in *-αισι* for *-σι*, and therefore regard the elision-mark as a mistake. There are several mistakes, not all corrected, in this Papyrus. The extant accent on what I take to be the infinitive *ἀντιδίδων* (see the critical note) can be explained as having been put after the second *δ* instead of after the first. L. 10 must be restored to tally with the Scholion, one possible reading of which is *τήν σε*, which I take to be a recorded variant of *σε τήν*. The *ι* occurs in Homer and is quite possible for Aeolic. I have no exact parallel for the crasis in l. 4 *ἔμοι οὐ*, but it is extremely probable for Lesbian poetry. For the elision or crasis of the *αι* of the infinitive *φύνναι* before a short vowel cf. Papyrus 1233 fr. 1 col. ii. l. 11. In l. 8 the second *λ* must have been added above, as in *κάλλος* 'beauty' in fr. 1.

Translate:

'For when I look upon you, then meseems Hermione was never such as you are, and just it is to liken you rather to Helen than to a mortal maid; nay, I tell you, I render your beauty the sacrifice of all my thoughts and worship you with all my desires.'

This deification of the beloved seems at first sight too modern; but it should be noted that it is carefully led up to by what goes before; moreover there is the famous *φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν*, and in one of the Berlin fragments 'in the days when you were to her a glorious goddess,' *θέῃ ἱκέλαν ἀριγνώτῃ* (*sic lege*).

Frag. 15.

I take this fragment as a complete poem, a letter, doubtless afterwards treasured by the recipient, though there is nothing to indicate this completeness in the Papyrus. With regard to *βρόδανθι* in l. 2, first, if *Γογγυλα* is vocative, as seems reasonable after *κέλομαί σε*, the *α* must be lengthened by position; secondly, *β* suits the traces; thirdly, the word or termination *ανθι* can hardly be anything else than the vocative of a feminine compound of *ἄνθος*, on the pattern of the names

Χρύσανθις and Κάλλανθις. I cannot find any instance of the name or adjective Ρόδανθις, but Ρόδανθη occurs twice as a name in the *Anthology* and also in Theodorus Prodromus, and Χρύσανθος occurs as well as Χρύσανθις. I take it ρόδανθις, or, to give it the Aeolic form, βρόδανθις, would mean 'rose-complexioned'; cf. Sappho's notorious contemporary Rhodopis. But from the form the word might also mean 'flower of the rose,' if we compare χάλκανθος 'sulphate of copper,' πίσσανθος 'oil of pitch,' and οινάνθη 'vine-bud.' In the same line μάνδυν is akin to the μανδύας of Aeschylus explained by Hesychius as a Persian military cloak. For other references see Herwerden's *Lexicon*. The difference of termination has its parallels in Lesbian. In l. 8 the accent shows that we must restore either the nominative (or vocative) or the accusative. For the form ἀβφέρην for ἀποφέρειν in l. 9 cf. ἐβφερέτω in the Berlin-Aberdeen fragment of Alcaeus.¹

[Γ]ὰν τ[αχίσταν, ὦ κ]έλομαί σ'
δ[νελθε,]

[Γό]γγυλα β[ρόδ]ανθι, λάβοισα μάν-
[δυν]

[γλα]κτίνα· σὲ δηῦτε πόθος τίς ἄμος]
ἀμφιπόταται

5 τὰν κάλαν· ἂ γὰρ κατὰγωγίς αὐτα[
ἔπτοαισ' ἴδοισαν, ἔγω δὲ χαίρω.

καὶ γὰρ αὐτα δὴ π[οτ'] ἐμεμ[φόμαν
τὰν]

[K]υπρογέν[ηαν·]

[τ]ᾶς ἄραμα[ι μὴ χάριν ἀβφέρην μοι]

10 τοῦτο τῷ[πος, ἀλλά σε, τὰν μάλιστα]
[β]όλλομα[ι θνάταν κατίδην γυναί-
κων,]

[ἀψ πάλιν ἔλκην.]

1 P σα[2 Γόγγυλα W and μάνδυν H
3 γλακτινα W 5 P αὐτα 7 P αὐταδήπ 8 P
υπρογέν 10 P τουτοτώ

Translate:

'Come back, and that speedily, my rosebud Gongyla, and in your milk-white gown; surely a desire of my heart hovers about your lovely self; for the sight of your very robe thrills me, and I rejoice that it is so. Once on a

day I, too, found fault with the Cyprus-born—whose favour I pray these words may lose me not, but rather bring me back again the maiden whom of all womankind I desire the most to see.'

She fears it may be foolhardy to remind Aphrodite that she once found fault with her.

Frag. 50.

[. . .]ι· καὶ γὰρ [οὐδὲν ἀεικές ἦσκειν]
[αἶ τινες μέμ[φοντό σ' ἂ μοι προσήλ-
θες]
[ῆ] ζαλέξῃ, κα[ἴστισι μὴ πρόσηκεν]
[ἄ]δρα χαρίσσαι[.]

5 [σ]τείχομεν γὰρ [πάντοσ'. ἔγω δὲ
φῶμεν]

[κα]ὶ σὺ τοῦτ'. Ἀλλ[', ἡ δύνατον βρό-
τοισι]

[πα]ρ[θ]ένοις ἄπ[ε]μμεν ἕκας γυναῖκων]
[αἷς κ]εν ἔχοιεν[;]

3 P ζαλέξαι 4, 5, 7 ἄδρα, στείχομεν, and
παρθένοις are due to H 6 P τουτ' 7 P ἀπ

The key to this fragment lies in the syllable μεμ in l. 2 coupled with παρθενοισάπ in l. 7, the last syllable bearing an acute accent. The strangeness of the second person first aorist middle in ᾱ is perhaps enough to account for the Papyrus reading ζαλέξαι in l. 3. The uncontracted form of this in -ao is corrupted into -as in one of the Berlin fragments. οὐδὲν ἀεικές ἐστίν 'it is no wonder' occurs in Aeschylus, and ἦσκειν for ἦν in Alcaeus; κεν is omitted here as with ἐχρήν. For ἔχω in the lover's sense, 'to possess,' cf. the use in the case of wives and mistresses. The word is somewhat similarly used in one of the Berlin fragments.

Translate:

'Indeed it were no matter for wonder if some blamed you for coming to me or talking with me as you have done, and for showing such favour to one to whom you should not; for we walk everywhere. But let us say this, you and me, "Is it possible for any maid on earth to be far apart from the woman she loves?"'

¹ See C.R. December, 1909.

(b) ALCAEUS. PAPYRUS 1233.

From Frag. 3.[Πάντροφ'] ἄλι', ὃς ποτάμων παρ'
ἄ[κταις]

[ἦλθες ἢ παρ] πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν

[ἔι κλύδων ἐρ]ευγόμενος ζαλαίαν

[ἄιονα τ]ύ[πτε]ι,

5 [κᾶνθα] πόλλαι παρθένικαι πέρ[εσταν]

[καὶ κᾶ]λων μῆρων ἀπάλαισι χέρ[σι]

[δέρμ]α θέλγονται τόθεν ὥς ἄλει[φαρ]

[ἥπιον]ν ὕδωρ

[κακχέοισαι . . .]

5 ἔνθα πόλλαι H P πέρ 7-9 so H 7 P]α.
 θέλγονται and ἄλει Change of metre shows that
 l. 1 begins a new poem

In ll. 3 and 4 cf. Catullus xi., in the same metre, '*litus ut longe resonante Eoa | tunditur unda.*' In l. 7 the colon after δέρμα should indicate, if not a break in the sense, at least that δέρμα is not directly object to θέλγονται. But I cannot restore the fragment in this way. It was probably put before instead of after θέλγονται, where it would indicate that τόθεν goes, not with θέλγονται, but with some participle yet to come. For mistakes in this Papyrus see the critical notes to frs. 4 and 8 below. πέρεσταν, third person plural, has parallels in Homer and Pindar. τόθεν ὕδωρ κακχέοισαι is literally 'pouring water thence,' i.e. 'pouring water taken from the waves.' For bathing as a sign of warmer weather cf. Longus iii. 24.

Translate:

'All-nurturing Sun, who hast come by river-banks or by the purple sea where the gushing wave beats on the surfy shore, while many maids stand in a ring and rub with dainty hands the flesh of their fair thighs, taking and pouring the gentle water over themselves even as an unguent. . . .'

From Frag. 4.

ῥῆα δ' ἀνθρώ[ποις] θα[ν]άτῳ ρύεσθε
 ζακρούεντος,

εὐσδ[ύγ]ων θρώσκοντ[ες ὃν] ἄκρα
 νάων

10 τήλοθεν λάμπροι προτό[νοισ'] ἴσο]ντες,
 ἀργαλέῃ δ' ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες
 νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίνῃ.

For ll. 1-7 see *Oxyrh. Pap.* X. where I would confirm W.'s ἀλλάωι 9 So H but εὐέδρων: in P v is inserted over εσ 10 H suggests προτόνων ἐπέντες: P λάμπροιτο[with προ[inserted over το[: P has a μέση στιγμή after ντεσ 11, 12 So H

The first seven lines of this fine hymn to the Dioscuri will be found in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X. At the beginning of l. 9 the letters are ε followed by what may be either σ or another ε, then δ followed by a space of about two letters' length, and then ων. Over the first two letters is written ν. Dr. Hunt reads εὐέδρων; but ρ doesn't fill the gap, and moreover the scribe is not likely to have written such an unusual-looking form as εεδρων by mistake. My reading with σδ for ζ, as elsewhere in this Papyrus, clears up both difficulties. The word εὐζυγος is an epithet of ships, *Od.* 13. 116, 17. 288. For the reading of the Papyrus in l. 10 see the critical note. The haplography λαμπροιτο for λαμπροιπροτο would be obvious even without the ancient correction. Dr. Hunt's προτόνων ἐπέντες, on the other hand, neither gets over the difficulty of the two participles being without a copula, nor fits the gap. My reading ἴσοντες, future participle of ἵζω 'to settle,' gets over the former difficulty, ἴσοντες giving the purpose of θρώσκοντες, 'jumping to sit'; and if we allow for haplography of ισ, νοισ' ἴσοντες exactly fits the gap.

Translate:

' . . . And who do so easily save men from lamentable death by leaping to the high-top of benched barks, there to sit far-seen upon the forestays, and so lighting the midnight path of the black ship.'

From Frag. 8.

[.....] εὐτ' ἔμε γήρας τε[τόρη] ἀλγάρεον,
 ἐνθ' ἔμοι]

[μὴ γένοι]το λάθε[σθ]αι χ[ά]ρ[ιτος τῶν]
 πρότερον φίλων.]

- [Νῦν παί]δων ἀπάλων σ' ὕμν[έμεν γὰ
 τρόφ', ὅσοι στίχῃ]
 [ταῖ πρώ]ταῖ πολιάτᾱν, ὀλιγον σφ[ῶν
 πεποη]μμενοι]
 5 [ἔξι]σαν· τὸ γὰρ ἐμμόρμενον ὄρ[γῳ
 θέσαν ἀνδρεσι]
 [μὴ ἄλλ]αισ' ἀνδρεσι τοῖς γεινο[μένοι-
 σιν διανο]ύταις.]
 [αἱ πάντ]ᾱ σόφος ἦ καὶ φρέσι πύκνα[ις
 ἱκελος θέω,]
 [οὐ κεν ὦ]ς παρὰ μοῖραν Δίος οὐδὲ
 τρίχ['] ἐτίλλομαν,]
 [ἀνδρες τ'] ὄντες ἄσαις μει[χρύνε]θ'
 ἀνδροπρέπεσιν βίον·]
 10 [νέοισιν δ]ὲ φέρ[ε]σθα[ι] βάθυ[ν ἐς
 πῶρον Ἀρ]ηῖω]
 [οὐκ ἔοικε κλόνω] οὔτοι δ', ὅτ' ἔπηλθεν
 δυσεπήβολος]
 [στρότος τὰν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐξεφόβεντ'
 ἀλλὰ σὺν ἔντεσι]

4 P πολιάταν for πολιάτᾱν 8 P παρὰ (wrongly) 9 P ὄντες There is nothing in P to show that a new poem begins at l. 3

The last four extant letters of l. 3, *συμν*, suggest the beginning of a new poem. I have restored ll. 1 and 2 as the end of a previous one. *τετόρη*, perfect subjunctive of *τείρω*, I take from Hesychius, though he explains it by the word *τρώσῃ*. *ἀλγάρειον* comes from Alcman's *Partheneion*.

Translate:

'... As for me, when grievous age wears me out, then be it not mine to forget the kindness of such as were my friends of old.'

The piece beginning at l. 3 is alas! only too applicable to the present year of grace. For the address to his country cf. my restoration of the Berlin-Aberdeen fragment, *Classical Review*, December, 1909. In l. 5 note that the metre requires three syllables in a space corresponding to two syllables in the line above and one syllable in the line below. This is a great aid to the restorer. I restore *ὄργον* for *ἔργον* on the analogy of *ὄρπετον* for *ἔρπετον* in Sappho. The form *διανοίῖα* occurs in the Berlin-Aberdeen fragment. For

the construction *μὴ ἄλλαισ' ἀνδρεσι* I have no parallel; but it is a perfectly reasonable analogical extension of the dative with *ὁ αὐτός* and words meaning 'like.' With *φρέσιν ἱκελος θέω* cf. *ἱκελοι θέοις* in Sappho Pap. 1232 and a passage I quoted just now from one of the Berlin fragments *θέῃ ἱκέλαν ἀρίγνώτῃ*. The construction here may be either 'like to a God (genitive) in respect of a shrewd wit' or 'like to the shrewd wit of a God.' The same may be said of Pindar's *ὄργαῖς ἀλωπέκων ἱκελοι* in the second *Pythian*. In l. 8 the poet means 'I am content to be a grown man as my beard shows that I am.' In l. 9, the form *μείχρυνμι* occurs in Pap. 1234 fr. 13. The only authorities for *ἀνδροπρέπης* 'suitable to a man' seem to be Ecclesiastical; but it is a good enough word, and Alcæus is fond of compound epithets. *γυναικοπρέπης* is used by Xenophon. The phrase *πῶρον Ἀρῆῖω κλόνω* is modelled on Alcman's *Ἀρεος πῶρω κλόνον* in the *Partheneion*. In l. 11 for the crasis in spite of the stop cf. Sappho Pap. 1231 fr. 1; *δυσεπήβολος* is explained by Suidas.

Translate:

'Now is our song of thee, thou great nurse of all those tender youths who, recking little of themselves, took the field in the first rank of our people; for they have done the allotted task of men with the same will as those who have grown to be men. Were I all-wise, were I like to a God in shrewdness of wit, even so I would not so much as pluck out a hair contrary to the decree of Zeus, and being grown men our lives are mingled with troubles fitting our estate; but for youths to rush into the deep tumult of the battle-mellay—that is not for them. Yet these, when a host ill-conquerable came up against our city, laid fear aside and took arms and ...'

(c) ALCÆUS. PAPYRUS 1234.

From Frag. 2 Col. i. (a).

[τού]ται τὰδ' εἶπεν· Ὁ δὲ τ['] ἐτα-
 ρηῖαι]
 ἀε[ι] κει πεδέχων συμποσίων [κάκων]
 βάσμος, φιλῶνων πεδ' ἀλεμ[ατωτάτων]
 5 εὐωχήμενος αὐτοῖσιν ἐπά[κρισεν].]

κῆνος δὲ γαῶθεις Ἀτρεΐδα[ν γάμωι]
 δαπτέτω πόλιν ὥς καὶ πεδὰ Μυρ-
 σ[ίλ]ω[.]

Scholion to l. 6 :

[γεγεθῶς] ἐπιγαμίαν σχῶν [τῇν] |
 π(ρὸς) | [αὐτους·] Ἀ<τ>ρέως ἀπόγονοι
 Δρ[άκ]ων | [κ(αί)]η· ὥς κ(αί) πρῶην
 μ(ετὰ) τοῦ Μυρ[σίλ]ου)

1 P δηνθ 3 αἰκεί suggested by H 4 P
 βασμος· 6 So W For ll. 7-13 see *Oxyrh.*
Pap. X where however in l. 9 I would read
 λαθοίμεθα Scholion to l. 6 ὥς καὶ κ.τ.λ. so H

The colon after βάσμος in l. 4 is to show that the word does not belong to φιλώνων. This word βάσμος or βάθμος seems to be used here to mean the base of a pillar or the like; the metaphor is that the base of the pillar has become the capital. It seems to have been a proverbial saying not unlike 'the stone which the builders rejected has become the headstone in the corner.' The word φιλώνων I take to be genitive plural of the same word as the proper name Φίλων. For ἐπάκρισεν 'has reached the summit' cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 932 αἱμάτων ἐπήκρισε, which the scholiast explains by 'has reached the highest point of murders.' Hesychius explains ἐπήκρισεν transitively by ἐπ' ἄκρων ἡγαγεν, τέλος ἐπέθηκεν. But the word might have had the intransitive use as well. The dative here might be considered parallel to the dative with ἀνάσσειν.

Translate:

'... to say to him: "He who shared evil revels with an unseemly crew, as a mere stone of the base, now by making merry with good-fellows of the idlest and vainest, has become the headstone over them all." And in the pride of his marriage with a daughter of Atreus let him do despite to his countrymen as he did with Myrsilus...'

The reference in the scholion, which I restore as you see, is to Pittacus' aristocratic wife, whose name I have not been able to discover. It probably contained six letters. Diogenes Laertius, in his account of Pittacus i. 81, says 'His wife was of better birth than himself, for she was sister of Dracon, son of Penthilus, and accordingly

she greatly looked down upon him.' Plutarch tells us that once when her husband had a dinner-party she came in in a rage and upset the table. From another source we learn that one of Pittacus' wise sayings was, 'Marry a wife from among your equals.'

After eight more lines, which will be found in the *Oxyrhynchus* volume, come two which are marked as beginning a new poem:

(b) Φίλος μὲν ἦσθα κἀπ' ἔριφον κάλην
 καὶ χοῖρον· οὕτω τοῦτο νομίσδεται.

Scholion:

[ὅτι εἴ]ρ[ηται κα]τὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀλκαίου
 ἐρώμ(εν)ον | Φίλο[ν σε οὐτ(ως)] εἶχ[ον]
 ὥστε σε καὶ ἐπὶ χοῖ- | ρον κ[αί ἐπ'
 ἔριφ](ον) εἰς τὰ παρασκευάσ- | ματ[α
 καλεῖν· τ[οῖς γ(ὰρ) ξένοις μετὰ | σπου[δῆς
 ἦγε τ(ῇν) εὐ]ωχίαν· παροιμία δ(ὲ) |
 ἐπεὶ φί[λος τ(ῶ) φίλ]ω λέγει Οὕτω
 τοῦτο νομ(ίσδεται) |

Scholion φίλον (2) and σπουδῆς and εὐωχίαν
 (5) H

These two lines may be translated:

'You were friends enough with me once to be invited to sup on kid and pork; this is the way of the world.'

The idea is that the best friend deserves the best dinner, and this man always got the best dinner from Alcaeus; but now, like so many others, he forgets his old friends. The scholion I restore as you see. I take it the scholiast means that Alcaeus' words became proverbial, not that he uses a proverb here.

From *Frag.* 2 Col. ii.

[λά]βρως δὲ συνστείλα[ις τὰ <ᾶ> λ]εῖ
 ἅπαν
 πίμπλεισιν ἀκράτῳ [δόμ' ἐ]π' ἀμέρῳ
 καὶ νύκτι, πλάφλ[α]σμ[οί τ'] ἔσαχθεν
 5 ἔνθα νόμος θάμ' ἐωθ[ε φ]ώνην.

3 W ἀκράτισμον ἐπ' 4 W πλάφλασμοι
 συναχθεν For ll. 6-12 see *Oxyrh.* *Pap.* X

The last seven lines of this fragment are unmutilated, and will be found in the *Oxyrhynchus* volume. The first two lines printed here present great difficulties, but the greater the difficulty the fewer the possible alternatives, and

therefore the nearer to the truth. I take it τὰ ἀ λεία 'his crop' was written haplographically ταλεια; it is true we should expect λαῖα in Aeolic, but then one would also expect συσπέλλαις for συνστελλαις in the same line. The fact is, the Aeolic forms often got Atticised. For instance, this Papyrus for ἀνά gives ὄν correctly, but 1231 gives, in the two places where the word occurs, ἄν. My word δόμα 'house' in l. 2 is based on Hesychius' δόμν· τεῖχιον or 'house-wall,' and Bekker *Anecd.* δῶμα (*lege* δόμα) οἶκος Αἰολέων; cf. also the two forms πόμα and πῶμα.

The first two lines translate thus:

'And garnering his plunderous crop he fills the whole house both day and night with unmixed wine.'

The form in -θεν for -θησαν in the next line is attested for Aeolic by the Grammarians, and ἐῶθα for εἶωθα is quoted as Aeolic in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. πλάφλασμοι, a more accurate form corresponding to the simplified πάφλασμα and παφλάζω, we should expect to mean 'bubbling, sputtering, blustering.' I take it here in the sense of 'riotings and drunkenness,' 'routs, wassailings'; and translate: 'And wassailings have been brought in unto the place where the law is wont to speak.'

From the sequel we may judge that this certainly refers to Pittacus.

From Frag. 4.

- [οὐδ' ὁ σφρί]γαις αἰ πὰν [λα]κνία[ς
τέκος
[σφρίγαι ὄχ]ήων ἐς φαίροις [δόμοις]
[στείχην,] ἔδαπτέ σ'· ἔν ρ' ἀσ[ά]μ[οις]
[ὦν ἔτι οἴ]κεος ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον[.]
- 5 [ἀλλ' ὅς] π<ρ>οτ' ὕβριν καὶ μεγά-
θε[ι] π[ι]θ[ε]ις[
[δραίη] τὰ τ' ἄνδρες δραῖσιν ἀτάσ-
θαλ[οι],
[τούτω]ν κεν ἦσκ' ὄνεκτον [οὔ]δε[ις]·
[νῦν δ' ὅ]τα πόλλακις ἐ[σ]φάλη[με]ν,
[τύχαν ὅ]ν[ω]ρθώθημε[ν ἐπ' ἀρχάαν·]
10 [αἱ γὰρ] μέμικται τῷ [ι]ξυτέρῳ τάδε
[τὰ ἄδ', ἀ]λλὰ πᾶι τι δαί[μων]
[παῖσι μόρ' ἐν] ἄγαθοις χέρρον.]

7 So W but οὐδέν 8 P]τε corrected to
τα : ἐσφάλημεν so H 9 ὀνωρθώθημεν so W

Of the last fragment with which I shall deal to-day I have been unable to get a photograph, the Papyrus being too dilapidated for photographing in its present unmounted state. I would ask you therefore to regard my restoration as provisional. The person addressed I take to be the city, and the reference is to a succession of democratic tyrants. In l. 1 λακνίας is for λαγνείας. The ι should probably be written ε; ἀλάθεια for ἀλάθεια occurs in Alcaeus. For κν standing for γν I have no exact parallel. Cf. however μείχυνμι for μείγυνμι 1233 fr. 5 l. 7 and 1234 fr. 3 l. 13, and such Aeolic forms as δῖωχος for διωγμός. Of the two forms γνάπτω and κνάπτω the latter is the older. The phrase 'every child of lechery' does not of course mean 'every lecherous man,' as 'every child of Poverty' might mean (but hardly, perhaps, in Greek) 'every poor man.' It rather means 'every child born of low and illicit intercourse.' Falstaffian parallels will occur. There is a reference to Pittacus' low birth in l. 10 of the omitted part of the last fragment. ὀχῶν, with digamma unwritten, is genitive plural of ὀχεῖον 'a stud-horse,' here used contemptuously of rich men who are also idle and dissolute. φαῖκος I take to be akin to the Sophoclean φαῖκος explained by Photius as ἀκμάζων καὶ λαμπρός, and translate it 'glittering' in the sense of 'meretriciously splendid.'

At the beginning of l. 4 we have to find room for four syllables in a shorter space than is filled by two in l. 3 and by three in l. 1. This greatly reduces the possibilities. The situation is similar in l. 11. In l. 3 we apparently have the Homeric particle ῥά instead of γάρ. In l. 4 οἶκος is for οἰκεῖος. In l. 5 μεγάθει for μεγέθει has hitherto been thought to be only Ionic; but πιάζω for πιέζω is attested for Aeolic by Herodian. In l. 12, μόρε, 'he decrees,' I had already restored from the Homeric ἔμμορε in Papyrus 1233 fr. 1 col. ii. l. 15. The νν- form of ἐν, representing ἐνί, like the ρρ- form πέρρ for περί, is found in the Aeolic love-poems of Theocritus.

Translate:

'Nor yet the man who itches like every child of lechery to walk into the

glittering houses of the stallions, he did thee no despite; for being still at home among the obscure, he was an ill to be endured. But as for any who of presumption and swayed by pride-of-place did what is done by wicked men, none like him was to be endured, not one. And now after many a slip we stand upright in our ancient estate; for though these sweets are mingled with that sour, still God, I ween, decrees us something bad in everything that is good.'

That is to say, 'our political position though not ideal is now bearable.'

That is all I have to lay before the Society. You will not, I know, go away with the impression that my restorations are certain, or that I think them certain; still I hope it is true of my

paper, as Alcaeus might have said, 'God decrees us something *good* in everything that is *bad*.'

[This paper originally contained a provisional restoration of Papyrus 1234 fr. 1—provisional because I was unable to obtain a photograph. The fragment has since been republished by Dr. Hunt in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XI., with additions which, as they simplify the problem of restoring the fragment, necessitate some revision of my earlier restoration. I hope to discuss this fragment, as well as some points that have arisen in regard to my first article, along with some pieces of Papyrus 1360 in a third paper.]

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THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

IV.

Hymn XXXIII. 14:

αὐτίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν
 ἀέλλας,
 κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἀλὸς ἐν
 πελάγεσσι,
 ναύταις σήματα καλὰ πόνου σφισιν· οἱ
 δὲ ἰδόντες
 γήθησαν, παύσαντο δ' οὔζυροιο πόνοιο.

The whole description of the saving work of The Great Twin Brethren at sea is marred by the corruption of l. 16. None of the suggestions made can be considered quite to have met the case. Matthiae would write *πλόου* for *πόνου*. The attack on *σφισιν* has been vigorous and well sustained, though misdirected; *κρίσιν*, *λύσιν*, *σχέσιν*, *σβέσιν* may be mentioned from various sources. In 1896 I proposed—

ναύταις σήματα κάλ' ἀπονόσφι περ·

'fair prognostications for sailors far away,' i.e. from their homes or from harbour. There is a slight resemblance to this, perhaps quite accidental, in Professor Bury's very ingenious, but

unconvincing, suggestion (C. R. 1899, p. 183):

σήματα καλὰ πόνου ἀπονόσφισιν

I have said that the attack on *σφισιν* was misdirected, yet it is clear enough that the clause cannot contain both *ναύταις* and *σφισιν*. My intention is to maintain that every letter in *πόνου σφισιν* stands exactly as the poet wrote and sang. If so, the error must be in *ναύταις*, and so I think it will prove to be. *Ναύταις* is, of course, the later un-epic form, but apart from that, as was pointed out in the C. R. February, 1916, p. 4, *ναύτησι* or *ναύτησιν* would be necessary: the word must be followed by an initial vowel or it can only be trisyllabic.

The restoration of the line now becomes possible and even easy:

νόστου σήματα κάλ' ἀπόνου σφίσιν· οἱ δὲ
 ἰδόντες . . .

'fair signs to them of home-coming without hardship.' What has happened is fairly evident. The natural gloss on *σφίσιν* has displaced *νόστου* and either previously or subsequently the adjective