



## “Charaxus Arrived with a Full Ship!” The Poetics of Welcome in Sappho’s Brothers Song and the Charaxus Song Cycle

By analyzing the parallels between Sappho’s Brothers Song and archaic Greek songs of welcome, especially Archilochus fr. 24 West, this essay offers a new interpretation of the Brothers Song. It clarifies that ἔλθην in the first preserved stanza represents an original aorist indicative. The chatterer repeats over and over a welcome song that begins, “Charaxus arrived with a full ship.” The rest of the song continues to engage with the welcome song tradition, anticipating the welcome song that will celebrate Charaxus’ return to Mytilene, when and if that occurs. By pointing beyond itself to other, real or notional, songs about Charaxus, the Brothers Song also demonstrates Sappho’s nonlinear method of storytelling that relies on her audiences’ imaginations.

In 2014, Dirk Obbink published five complete stanzas of a previously unknown poem of Sappho that is preserved in a papyrus of the late second or early third century CE.<sup>1</sup> Since the poem refers to Sappho’s brothers Charaxus and Larichus, Obbink called it the Brothers Song. The Brothers Song, whose opening is too fragmentary to reconstruct, captures one moment in a domestic dispute between an “I” and a “you,” perhaps Sappho and her mother.<sup>2</sup> The “you” chatters about Charaxus

I discussed my initial ideas on the Brothers Song with Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi and Richard P. Martin, and I am grateful for their suggestions and support. I am also grateful to Professor Peponi’s graduate students at Stanford, who welcomed me to their lyric poetry seminar and offered helpful comments and challenging questions. The thoughtful advice of Leslie Kurke and the two anonymous readers for *Classical Antiquity* greatly improved the final version.

1. Obbink 2014b, 2015, 2016a, 2016b. Questions have been raised about the papyrus’ provenance (e.g., Mazza 2015).

2. The most popular view is that Sappho’s mother Cleis is the chatterer (e.g., Ferrari 2014: 4, Obbink 2014b: 41–42, West 2014: 8, Kurke 2016: 239–40), but other possibilities include Sappho herself being quoted by someone else (Obbink 2014b: 41), a *hetaira* (Obbink 2014b: 42), a slave nurse (Bettenworth 2014), Sappho’s brother Erigyios (Lardinois 2016: 183–84), Sappho’s younger

coming with a full ship, but the "I" insists that the fate of Charaxus and his ship is known only to the gods. Stop your chattering, the "I" says, and send me to pray to Hera for Charaxus' safe arrival and for our safety and security. What's more, the "I" says, our troubles would go away if Larichus would finally grow up and act like a man. The themes of the song are clear. The "you" chatters, the "I" prays. The "you" claims to know, the "I" grants knowledge only to the gods. The "you" is concerned about a full ship, the "I" about a safe one. Interpretation of the Brothers Song nonetheless remains frustratingly elusive. What is the song actually about? In just twenty extant lines, it recounts a domestic dispute, looks ahead to a prayer to Hera, ponders the relationship of gods to men, reflects on the sources of human happiness, touches on the importance of trade to archaic Mytilene, and reflects anxiety about how aristocratic families can maintain their wealth and prestige.<sup>3</sup> It also presumes an audience that knows who Charaxus and Larichus are and the reasons the "I" and the "you" are worried about them. Amid all these issues, modern readers struggle to find a central theme of the Brothers Song that can be the focus of our interpretations. How should we read the Brothers Song, and, even more importantly, how did its original audiences, steeped in the performance tradition of archaic Lesbos and of Greek song culture more generally, hear it? The Greek raises equally important questions. Is the "you" chattering that Charaxus has come? That he will come? For him to come?

This essay will consider the Brothers Song's relationship to the performance tradition of archaic songs of welcome, especially Archilochus fr. 24 West. In so doing, it will address the meaning of ἔλθην ("to come") in the indirect speech of the chatterer and will provide an interpretative frame for both the Brothers Song and what modern scholars call the Charaxus song cycle, the songs related to the tradition that Sappho criticized Charaxus for cavorting with an Egyptian courtesan (test. 254 Voigt). The apparent ambiguities between present and future, between private and public, and between domestic dialogue and ritual utterance in the Brothers Song are all consistent with two fundamental aspects of Sappho's poetic voice, correction and performative self-reference. By presenting the speaker's response to the chatterer as a correction based on the language and themes of welcome songs, Sappho makes the Brothers Song into a self-referential song about songs. As a song about songs, it is able to move among discourse registers and to subsume the conventions and language of other song traditions. It also points

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sister or another member of Sappho's social group (Gribble 2016: 50–51), Sappho's uncle (Bierl 2016: 330), and Larichus himself (Stehle 2016: 268–70). Neri (2015: 58–60) lists eleven candidates for the chatterer and concludes that Sappho's mother is the most plausible.

3. The Brothers Song's capacious scope includes at least three of the five ways that Griffith 2009 says that lyric poetry addresses "the place of humans in the world." It deals with "relating to the gods," with "fate, fortune, and morality," and with "building community." It may also address Griffith's other two ways, the "*symposion*," if Obbink 2016c: 214–17 is right to find an implicit reference to Dionysus, and "immortalisation, transformation, and 'play,'" since the song is a commemoration and could have led to what Griffith 2009: 91 calls "heightened collective well-being" through its performance.

beyond itself to other, real or notional, songs about Charaxus and his full ship, and it encourages its audience to create Charaxus' story for themselves by making connections between isolated episodes they have learned of from different songs.

Dimitrios Yatromanolakis' concept of an interpretative frame is central to my argument.<sup>4</sup> The Brothers Song draws on a wide range of cultural discourses but does not itself fit into an easily identifiable category of song. Yatromanolakis calls this "interdiscursivity."<sup>5</sup> Although it shares themes and language with the tradition of Penelope and Telemachus waiting at home for Odysseus,<sup>6</sup> it is not epic poetry. Although it resembles prayers for safe returns,<sup>7</sup> it is not ritual prayer. Although it criticizes Larichus and has a structure similar to Archilochus' Cologne epode,<sup>8</sup> it is not iambic abuse. These song traditions provide frames through which an audience, acting as what Yatromanolakis calls a "quasi co-author," can interpret, or "decode," the Brothers Song.<sup>9</sup> Audiences' interpretations may even have changed based on the circumstances of the performance.<sup>10</sup> For instance, the audience on one occasion may have recognized the Brothers Song's engagement with stories about Electra and Nausicaa and interpreted it as part of a tradition of songs about sisters' speeches to and about their brothers.<sup>11</sup> On another occasion, the audience may have heard the Brothers Song as an attack on Larichus and, on another, they may have identified Charaxus and Larichus with the Dioscuri and their saving powers.<sup>12</sup> Such frames need not be mutually exclusive. An audience who interprets the Brothers Song primarily through the frame of Penelope or Electra or anything else can still recognize parallels with other song traditions or ritual occasions. In proposing welcome songs as another interpretative frame for the Brothers Song, therefore, I am not claiming to have discovered the only correct way to interpret it. Instead, I am exploring one way that Sappho's words could have combined with an audience's mental processing to produce meaning. The frame of welcome

4. Yatromanolakis 2004: 62: "The audience would function as quasi co-author of the transmitted text, in the sense that its semantic and connotative dimensions, often embedded in traditional patterns of communication, were subject to a process of decoding based on shared, culturally defined, terms of communication and *indigenous frames of reference*" (italics in original).

5. Yatromanolakis 2004: 61–63, 2008: 172–73.

6. For analyses of parallels with the *Odyssey*, see the discussions at Ferrari 2014: 3 with n.6, Nünlist 2014, Obbink 2014a, West 2014: 9, Bär 2016, Bierl 2016: 310, 316, 326, 331, Boedeker 2016: 190–95, Gribble 2016: 60, Kurke 2016: 249–51, Martin 2016: 121, Mueller 2016, Obbink 2016c: 212. Stehle 2016: 289–90 suggests that Paris (e.g., *Il.* 3.38–57) is a more apt parallel for Larichus than Telemachus.

7. Lidov 2016: 80–84.

8. Martin 2016.

9. Yatromanolakis 2004: 62–63.

10. Yatromanolakis 2004: 62 with n.30, 2007: 339–41 shows by comparison with the songs of the Indian festival of *bhojali* that reperformed archaic songs may have acquired new interpretations in new circumstances before new audiences.

11. Peponi 2016: 230–34. Cf. Gribble 2016: 60–63.

12. Kurke 2016: 252–65.

songs, however, explains the ambiguities of the Brothers Song more fully than any other interpretive frame proposed up until now.

For the reader's convenience, I provide a text and translation of the Brothers Song before I move to the next stage of my argument. The translation of the first complete sentence reflects my conclusion about the meaning of ἔλθην.

Text of the Brothers Song<sup>13</sup>

	[⊗]
1	[π- (?)
2	[1 or 5 lines missing]
3	[ 3–4 ]λα[
4	[2–3]κέμα[
5 (1)	ἀλλ' αἴ θρύλησθα Χάραξον ἔλθην ναῖ σὺν πλήαι. τὰ μὲν οἴομαι Ζεῦς οἶδε σύμπαντες τε θεοί· σὲ δ' οὐ χρῆ ταῦτα νόησθαι,
10 (6)	ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεσθαι πόλλα λίσσεσθαι βασιλῆαν Ἥραν ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα ναῖα Χάραξον
15 (11)	καῖμι' ἐπεύρην ἀρτέμεας. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπων· εὐδία γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν αἴψα πέλονται.
20 (16)	τῶν κε βόλληται βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω δαίμον' ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη περτρόπην, κῆνοι μάκαρες πέλονται καὶ πολυόλβοι·
24 (20)	καῖμμες, αἴ κε φὰν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη Λάριχος καὶ δὴ ποτ' ἄνηρ γένηται, καὶ μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαν κεν αἴψα λύθειμεν. ⊗

But you're always chattering that Charaxus arrived  
with a full ship. Zeus and all the other gods

13. The text and adapted translation of this and the other new Sappho fragments are from Obbink 2016a. The lunate sigmas reflect what is in the papyrus. Unattributed translations of other Sappho fragments are my own.

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 Charaxus 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 Larichus raises 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.

#### THE POETICS OF CORRECTION

It is characteristic of Sappho's poetics to place voices in dialogue with each other, as in fr. 114 Voigt: "‘Virginité, virginité where have you gone, leaving me alone?’ ‘No longer will I come back to you, no longer will I come back,’" (*παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποις ἄ<π>οίκῃ; / †οὐκέτι ἦξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκέτι ἦξω†*).<sup>14</sup> The dialogue between voices is often structured as a correction: the first voice makes a statement or asks a question which the primary speaker responds to and corrects. Fr. 94 Voigt is the best example. The speaker quotes another woman: "She was saying this to me, ‘Alas, how we have experienced terrible things, Sappho! Unwilling – yes, I mean it – I leave you behind’" (*καὶ τόδ’ ἔειπέ [μοι / ὦμι] ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν, / Ψάφ’, ἦ μάν σ’ ἀέκοισ’ ἀπολιμπάνω,*" 3–5). In her reply, the speaker corrects the negative tone of this goodbye.<sup>15</sup> The other woman sees an unwilling leavetaking, but the speaker tells her, "Go rejoicing" (*χαίροις ἔρχεο*, 7). The other woman dwells on the sufferings of the moment, but the speaker uses the same verb, *πάσχω*, to refer to the shared pleasures of the past: "indeed we

14. On the text of this fragment, see most recently Meister 2018.

15. The literature on this fragment is extensive. Particularly relevant to the theme of correction are Burnett 1979, Greene 1996a: 239–43, Yatromanolakis 2004: 67–69. Gribble 2016: 48, 49–50 also compares the Brothers Song to fr. 94, although from a different perspective than I do here.

used to experience beautiful things" (καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν, 11).<sup>16</sup> The speaker echoes the other woman's concerns, but she corrects the sorrow to joyful remembrance.<sup>17</sup> There is a similar corrective dialogue in fr. 137. The first speaker says, "I wish to say something to you, but shame prevents me" (θέλω τί τ' εἶπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει / αἴδω, 1–2). The second speaker, who repeats two of the first speaker's words, replies that shame (αἴδω) only affects someone who has no desire for good or whose tongue stirs up some evil for saying (εἶπην) (3–6).<sup>18</sup> Such a corrective also characterizes the priamel in fr. 16.1–4,<sup>19</sup> where the speaker reports that some say the most beautiful thing is cavalry, others foot soldiers, and others ships, but "I say it is whatever anyone loves."

The conversation in the Brothers Song falls into the same pattern: in correcting the chatterer, the speaker repeats one of the chatterer's words (ναῦς, "ship") and paraphrases another (ἔλθην, "to arrive," becomes its near synonym ἐξίκεσθαι). Like the speaker of fr. 94, the speaker of the Brothers Song offers an alternative to the chatterer that is more appropriate for the occasion. Just as mourning is inappropriate when lovers who share happy memories part,<sup>20</sup> references to arrival and full ships are inappropriate when someone is still facing dangers at sea. The correction engages with the traditional language and themes of archaic songs of welcome, which modern scholars, following Francis Cairns, call *prospionetika*.<sup>21</sup> Audiences attuned to this mode of discourse would have been able to interpret the correction in the Brothers Song in light of its characteristic features.

16. Cf. Burnett 1979: 18. On verbal repetition in fr. 94 see also McEvilley 2008: 54–55.

17. On the role of memory in fr. 94, see, e.g., Burnett 1979, McEvilley 2008: 59–64, and Ladianou 2016: 345–47.

18. Aristotle, who preserves this fragment in *Rh.* 1.9.20 1367a19–15, identifies the first speaker as Alcaeus, but he may be basing this on a tradition that grew up around the song rather than on the song itself. See Yatromanolakis 2007: 77–79, 351–53. On the theatrical, mimetic aspects of this dialogue, see Nagy 2007b: 219–26.

19. Griffith 1990: 193–94 addresses the priamel form in the broad context of correction in archaic poetry.

20. The circumstances of the parting in fr. 94 are not clear, but "upon soft beds" (στρώμ[αν ἐ]πί μολθάκαν, 21) and "you satisfy your desire" (ἐξίης πόθο[ν, 23) point to an earlier erotic relationship between the two women. See, e.g., Snyder 1997: 57, 59–60, Larson 2010: 194–95. An alternative view is that the beds allude to a nap after a long day of choral activities (Lardinois 1996: 164n.70), but this is not widely accepted. Many scholars have suggested (e.g., Rauk 1989: 110, Foley 1994: 135–37) that the other woman may be leaving the speaker because she is going to get married, but this need not mean that fr. 94 would have been performed at the wedding, as Lardinois 2001: 85–86 proposes. Regardless of the exact circumstances, it seems to be clear that the other woman's intimate relationship with the speaker is ending because of a transition from one stage of life to another or through some other change in status (Larson 2010: 188–89).

21. Cairns 1972: 16–31. Burnett 1983: 44–45 with n.34 and Slings (Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 15) identify Archil. fr. 24 as a *prospionetikon*. For further examples of prospionetic songs, see Stinton 1990: 406–13, Heirman 2012: 168–72. In Late Antique rhetorical terminology, a *prospionetikos logos* is a speech of welcome to an arriving traveler. Men. Rhet. 2.10 414.31–418.4 Russell-Wilson, [Dion. Hal.] *On Epideictic Speeches* 5 (Μέθοδος προσωνηματικῶν) 272–77 Usener-Radermacher, Lib. 13 *Prospionetikon to Julian* (which, in section 5, quotes Alc. fr. 350 Voigt).

Regardless of whether it is accurate to speak of a full-fledged prosphonic genre in the archaic period,<sup>22</sup> archaic songs of welcome form a loose but recognizable group. Archilochus fr. 24 and Theognis 511–22, which both welcome sailors, are the best examples of this group. Alcaeus fr. 350 Voigt, although fragmentary and not about the sea, clearly belongs to it as well.<sup>23</sup> These songs share verbal and thematic characteristics with each other and with the scenes describing welcomes and reunions in the *Odyssey* that Cairns also considers *prosphonetika* (*Od.* 16.11–67, 187–234, 17.28–60, 23.205–350, 24.345–412).<sup>24</sup> Texts and translations of Archilochus fr. 24, Theognis 511–22, Alcaeus fr. 350, and the most relevant passages of the *Odyssey* appear in the appendix. The most prominent shared verbal characteristic is a second person singular aorist form of ἔρχομαι addressed to the person being welcomed at or near the beginning of the song. ἦλθεε appears in the second line of Archilochus fr. 24, and it is the first word of Theognis 511–22 and Alcaeus fr. 350,<sup>25</sup> as well as of Eumaeus' welcome to Telemachus in *Odyssey* 16.23, which Penelope repeats in *Odyssey* 17.41, ἦλθεε, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος (“You have come, Telemachus, sweet light”).<sup>26</sup> The so-called Rhodian Swallow Son, which begins ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδῶν (“the swallow has come, has come”), seems to be related to this tradition,<sup>27</sup> and the alternating forms of ἔλθε and ἦλθεε in Sappho fr. 1 (5, 8, 25) may be engaging with its conventions. Catullus 9, a typically learned imitation cum parody of a welcome song, repeats *venisti* (“you have come”) twice in line-initial position (3, 5). Of the thematic characteristics listed by Cairns, the ones relevant to archaic lyric and to welcome scenes in Homer include: the mention of the place the traveler has been (*Od.* 17.42, Alc. fr. 350, Archil. fr. 24), expressions of affection (*Od.* 16.23, 26, 17.33–35, 38–39, 41, 24.400, Theog. 511–22, Archil. fr. 24), mention of divine assistance to the traveler (*Od.* 16.207–12, 24.401, Archil. fr. 24), emphasis on the traveler's safety (*Od.* 16.21, Archil. fr. 24) and the dangers he has undergone (*Od.* 16.21, 189, 17.41–42, 46–47, 23.234–38, Archil. fr. 24), the welcomer's sufferings waiting for the traveler (*Od.* 23.210–17, Archil. fr. 24), and the welcomer's joy at the arrival (*Od.* 23.233–40, Archil. fr. 24).<sup>28</sup>

These characteristics reflect the real or notional occasion of songs of welcome, the homecoming of a friend or relative. As discursive “tendencies,” to use Chris

22. Cairns' methodology has proven controversial, especially for archaic lyric. See Depew and Obbink 2000a: 4–5; Cowan 2010: 111. On the problems of identifying genre in archaic lyric poetry see Yatromanolakis 2008: 170–73.

23. Among other “easily recognisable prosphonetika,” Cairns 1972: 21 include Aesch. *Ag.* 855–974 (not a single welcome song but an exchange between Clytemnestra and Agamemnon with prosphonic elements), Eur. *HF* 531–32, Ar. *Av.* 676–84, Theoc. *Id.* 12, Catull. 9, Hor. *Carm.* 1.36, Ov. *Am.* 2.11.37–56, Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.127–43, Juv. 12.

24. Cairns 1972: 21.

25. Alc. fr. 350 is not only a welcome song, but also, as Gribble 2016: 40n.34 points out, a “Brother Song,” since it is addressed to Alcaeus' brother Antimenidas.

26. Cairns 1972: 21 lists these and other examples.

27. Cairns 1972: 23.

28. Cairns 1972: 21–23; Slings in Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 15–16.

Carey's term,<sup>29</sup> they can recreate that occasion for audiences in other contexts.<sup>30</sup> By employing verbal and thematic tendencies of welcome songs, the corrective dialogue in the Brothers Song both recreates a past welcome song for Charaxus and his full ship and looks ahead to a future more ritually appropriate welcome song, when and if Charaxus comes home again.

#### INTERPRETING Χάραξον ἔλθην

The chatter in lines 5–6 of the Brothers Song (ἄϊ θρύλησθα Χάραξον ἔλθην / νᾶϊ σὺν πλῆαι) is particularly close to the language of Archilochus fr. 24.1–2 (. . . ]νηῖ σὺν σ[μ]ικρῆι μέγαν / [πόντον περήσ]ας ἦλθες ἐκ Γορτυνίης). Both songs feature the phrase νᾶϊ/νηῖ σὺν + dative adjective and an aorist form of ἔρχομαι. σὺν νηῖ + dative adjective is a familiar feature of Homeric language,<sup>31</sup> but a *TLG* search reveals that νᾶϊ/νηῖ σὺν + dative adjective is attested only twice in Greek literature apart from these two instances, both times in the Orphic *Argonautica*.<sup>32</sup> Since νᾶϊ σὺν πλῆαι and νηῖ σὺν σμικρῆι are metrically equivalent, there may have been a formula "νᾶϊ/νηῖ σὺν + dative adjective shaped ——" shared by both the Lesbian-Aeolic and the Parian-Ionic poetic traditions. Furthermore, as we have seen, ἦλθες is the most characteristic verbal feature of archaic welcome songs, and the combination of ἔλθην and a reference to a ship in the Brothers Song immediately suggests an affinity to welcome songs. If M. L. West is correct that Archilochus fr. 24 began with a vocative,<sup>33</sup> then the paraphrased speech of Sappho's chatterer would share three elements with the beginning of Archilochus' song: the phrase νᾶϊ/νηῖ σὺν + dative adjective shaped —, the aorist form of ἔρχομαι, and the proper name. A proper name also appears with ἦλθες in the first line of Theognis 511–22 (ἦλθες δὴ Κλεάριστε).

In light of these parallels, one way to interpret the chattering in the Brothers Song is as the beginning of a welcome song for Charaxus. The ἔλθην in the indirect speech would represent an original aorist indicative and refer to Charaxus' arrival, as Franco Ferrari has proposed.<sup>34</sup> The chatterer's original, "Charaxus arrived (ἦλθεν) with a full ship" or "Charaxus, you arrived (ἦλθες) with a full ship," consistent with Archilochus fr. 24.1–2, "with a small ship you arrived (ἦλθες)," and Theognis 511, "You arrived (ἦλθες), Clearistus," would have become the indirect "You're always chattering that Charaxus arrived (ἔλθην) with a full ship." In this scenario, the

29. Carey 2008: 22.

30. Cf. Nagy 1994: 13–14, Day 2000: 40–41.

31. *Il.* 1.183, 389, 2.293, *Od.* 3.61, 323, 9.173, 10.332, 11.58, 13.425, 24.152. Cf. Hes. fr. 204.59 Merkelbach-West = 155.59 Most.

32. *Orph. Argonautica* 86: νηῖ σὺν Ἀργώῃ, 99: νηῖ σὺν εὐσέλμῳ. Again according to the *TLG*, νᾶϊ/νηῖ . . . σὺν + dative adjective appears twice in Greek literature, in Alc. fr. 208.4 Voigt (νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνοι) and in an epigram of Diodorus (1st cent. CE), *Greek Anthology* 7.624.6 (νηῖ τε σὺν πάση . . . ἄλλροθῆ).

33. West 1974: 121.

34. Ferrari 2014: 3.



chatterer either would be singing the welcome song too early, since Charaxus is still on the sea, or would be quoting another song about another time when Charaxus arrived with a full ship, either to Mytilene or to Naucratis.<sup>35</sup> The semantic range of *θρυλέω* includes both carping among intimates<sup>36</sup> and formal or semi-formal performances like the one I am proposing here. In its two earliest attestations after the Brothers Song (Eur. *El.* 910 and Ar. *Eq.* 348), *θρυλέω* refers to rehearsals of speeches.<sup>37</sup> Prose of the fourth century and later continues to preserve the connotation of *θρυλέω* as repetition of something that has been prepared in advance or has already been said.<sup>38</sup> Plato associates it with familiar poetry in the *Phaedo*,<sup>39</sup> and by the Hellenistic period authors use it to describe or introduce quotations.<sup>40</sup>

Obbink points out that Plato's use of *θρυλέω* in the *Phaedo* "is associated with the song-like power of promulgation of belief through repetition."<sup>41</sup> This connotation lies behind Sappho's use of the word in the Brothers Song. The speaker accuses the chatterer of singing the welcome song over and over again (*ἄϊ*), as though quasi-incantatory repetition might make Charaxus' arrival a fact instead of a wish.<sup>42</sup> The Brothers Song makes clear that the chatter reflects the thoughts and hopes of the chatterer and is not an idle snippet of song. The *ταῦτα* in "it is not necessary for you to think these things (*ταῦτα*)" can have as its antecedent only "that Charaxus arrived with a full ship." Indeed, the first stanza makes an emphatic distinction

35. Cf. Obbink 2016c: 216.

36. For instance, in Aphthonius, *Fable* 13 Hausrath-Hunger, a miller reproaches a horse nostalgic for his past experience as a warhorse to "Stop chattering about old stuff" ("ἐπίσχες," ἔφη, "τὰ πάλαι θρυλῶν"). As in the Brothers Song, *θρυλέω* here appears to be a dismissive term. Cf. Kurke 2016: 239 with n.7 for other places where it signifies "babbling, silliness, common talk."

37. Cf. Stehle 2016: 272–73. In Dem. 19.156, *θρυλέω* refers to Demosthenes advising his fellow ambassadors, and in Dem. 21.160, it refers to Meidias' public claims of generosity. Especially when used with forms of *πᾶς* and *πάντες*, *θρυλέω* often refers to common knowledge: what everyone chatters or what is chattered everywhere (e.g., Theopompus, *Odysseus* fr. 36 Kassel-Austin, Eur. *Bellerophon* fr. 285.1 Kannicht, Isoc. 4.89, Dem. 1.7, 2.6, 3.7, Arist. *Gen. an.* 756b6 3.5, *Rh.* 1395a10 2.21.11). A.-E. Peponi suggested to me that Pindar's use of *ᾄσος* to mean "performed song" (*Pyth.* 1.98, 4.137, *Nem.* 3.11, 7.69) may be a parallel case of a word that can refer either to private conversation or, in a lyric context, public performance.

38. Lidov 2016: 104 justifies looking to later prose comparanda for *θρυλέω* by noting, "it is precisely the fact that the expression might not be poetic that is the significant point."

39. Pl. *Phd.* 65b: "such things as the poets always chatter at us, namely that we neither hear nor see anything accurately" (τά γε τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῖν ἀεὶ θρυλοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐτ' ἀκούομεν ἀκριβῆς οὐδὲν οὔτε ὀρῶμεν). Cf. Polyb. 2.16.6: "the River Po, which in the poets' chatter is called the Eridanos" (ὁ δὲ Πάδος ποταμός, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν Ἑριδανός θρυλούμενος).

40. Antigonus, *Historiae mirabiles* 25a.2 (a variant of *Thebaid* fr. 4.1–2 Bernabé). Cf. Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 36b (Epicurus fr. 447 Usener). Epicurus fr. 34.30.5–7 Arrighetti uses *θρυλέω* for a cross-reference: "only a word (*φωνή*) is changed, just as I have been chattering (*θρυλῶ*) for a while." As Laursen (1997: 71, the note on section *PHerc* 1191 -6 sup. 5/1056.7.4,2) shows, Epicurus is referring back to two places in the same treatise (*PHerc* 1191 -8 sup. 3–4 and *PHerc* 1191 -7 sup. 2–3 = *PHerc* 697.4.1.4.2–3 = *PHerc* 1056.7.3.12–13) where he uses similar wording to make a similar point.

41. Obbink 2014b: 41.

42. Stehle 2016: 273–74 calls it a "mantra" that the chatterer repeats "in anticipation of saying it under the right circumstances." Cf. Ferrari 2014: 3: "un vaniloquio solipsistico, un fantasticare a vuoto." Rayor 2016: 398–400 renders it as "keep repeating" or "keep saying."

between the chatterer's thoughts about Charaxus' arrival and actual knowledge. The chatterer chatters (θρύλλησθα) and thinks (νόησθαι), while Zeus and all the gods are the only ones who know (οἶδε).

The meaning of ἔλθην has been a scholarly sticking point since the discovery of the Brothers Song. As I have shown, audiences familiar with the conventions of welcome songs would have recognized it as representing an aorist indicative in a snippet of welcome song celebrating Charaxus' arrival prematurely and performed like a magical incantation. But this is not the only way, or even the only correct way, to interpret the ἔλθην in the Brothers Song. The form is ambiguous. Some listeners could have taken it as indirectly expressing an aorist imperative or optative of wish, as the majority of modern scholars do and as Obbink's translation "for Charaxus to come with a full ship" indicates.<sup>43</sup> In this scenario, the chatterer would actually have said something like "May Charaxus arrive with a full ship" or "Charaxus, come with your ship full." Other listeners could have taken it as representing an aorist indicative carrying an inceptive meaning, as Richard P. Martin suggests.<sup>44</sup> In this scenario, the chatterer would have said, "Charaxus has departed (and is on his way) with a full ship." The interpretation of ἔλθην would have depended on both the performance occasion and the listener. It is even possible that an audience could change their interpretation as the song progressed, first interpreting the chatter as a paraphrased welcome song, and then understanding the ἔλθην differently when it became clear to them that Charaxus was still at sea.

An audience attuned to the traditional motifs and verbal patterns of welcome songs, however, would recognize that the rest of the Brothers Song continues to engage with the welcome song tradition. Instead of reevaluating their understanding of what ἔλθην means, they would interpret the entire song with that tradition as a frame of reference. Heard in this way, the speaker's response to the chatterer looks ahead to a future welcome song that would celebrate Charaxus' arrival and corrects the chatterer's single-minded focus on his full ship.

#### PERFORMING THE FUTURE IN THE PRESENT

One of the most striking features of the Brothers Song is the way it blurs the distinctions between present and future and between domestic dialogue and ritual utterance. The anticipated prayer to Hera is a case in point. The speaker describes the prayer in detailed indirect discourse: "Commission me to beseech / Queen Hera over and over again / that Charaxus may arrive, piloting back here / a ship that is safe, / and find us safe and sound" (5–9). If the chatterer follows the speaker's advice, this is the prayer to Hera that the speaker will make in the future. After the indirect speech ends, however, the speaker continues to use the language of prayer in the present: "Let us / entrust all other things to the gods: / for out of huge

43. Obbink 2016a: 32.

44. Martin 2016: 120 with n.27.

gales fair weather / swiftly ensues” (11–16). The speaker then proceeds to explain how people enjoy blessings if Zeus and the helper *daimon* he sends favor them. Here the Brothers Song does not address the gods directly, unlike in the anticipated prayer to Hera and many of Sappho’s songs (e.g., frs. 1, 15, 17, and the new Cypris Song). Nonetheless, by placing trust in the gods and acknowledging Zeus’ power to give blessings, the speaker blurs the line between the future prayer and the present song. While there is a grammatical distinction between the infinitives of the future prayer and the hortatory subjunctives and indicatives of the present song, the content of the prayer seems to spill over into the present. In Obbink’s words, the Brothers Song itself becomes a kind of “hymnic prayer.” As Obbink argues, the speaker actually performs in the present the hymnic prayer to Hera and Zeus she imagines herself praying in the future.<sup>45</sup>

The Brothers Song’s interdiscursive engagement with prayer-like concepts and language provides a frame through which its audiences can interpret the song. Whether a particular audience would actually have interpreted the Brothers Song as a kind of prayer, however, would have depended on the performance occasion. The Brothers Song also engages with the language and concepts of welcome songs that appear in Archilochus fr. 24 and, to a lesser extent, Theognis 511–22. Three of the welcome song themes adduced by Cairns are most important: emphasis on the traveler’s safety, mention of divine assistance to the traveler, and the welcomer’s joy upon the traveler’s arrival. Just as certain audiences would have interpreted the Brothers Song as continuing the prayer begun in indirect discourse, other audiences would have interpreted it through the discursive frame of welcome songs. For these audiences, the speaker of the Brothers Song offers a corrective to the inappropriate and premature welcome song of the chatterer.<sup>46</sup> While the Brothers Song is not a welcome song, the speaker engages with motifs that are characteristic of the welcome song tradition and so demonstrates prospectively what a proper welcome song for Charaxus would be like.<sup>47</sup>

The speaker of the Brothers Song subtly rebukes the chatterer for emphasizing a profitable voyage rather than a safe one. As Ferrari, René Nünlist, André Lardinois, and others have pointed out, the “full ship” in line 6 is contrasted with the “ship that is safe” in lines 11–12. The speaker corrects the boastful, almost hubristic tone of the chatterer and underscores that the safety of Charaxus is all that the family should be concerned about.<sup>48</sup> The speaker of Archilochus fr. 24 similarly lacks interest in profit. He declares, “I am (not at all) concerned about the

45. Obbink 2016c: 217. Cf. Gribble 2016: 64–65, Kurke 2016: 248–49.

46. Stehle 2016: 274–75 also argues that the Brothers Song seeks to “discredit” the chatterer’s “mantra” that “Charaxos has come.” Stehle does not explore the parallel with welcome songs, however.

47. Sappho may similarly encourage her audience to interpret fr. 5 through the frame of goodbye songs, or *propemptika*. See Governi 1981 for a brief discussion of parallels.

48. Ferrari 2014: 3, Nünlist 2014, Lardinois 2016: 175 with n.40.

cargo. . . whether it was lost" (8–9).<sup>49</sup> Along the same lines, the speaker of Theognis 511–22 celebrates his friend's return even though he has come "having nothing" (512). In Archilochus fr. 24, the speaker goes on to rejoice that the addressee did not lose "the splendid prime of youth" either in a shipwreck or at the hands of men with spears (12–14). The sentiment recalls Achilles' declaration that life is worth more than even great wealth (*Il.* 9.401–409),<sup>50</sup> but, unlike Achilles, the speaker values not his own life but the life of his friend. He could have found no one to replace his friend (11), and he likens being left alone (16) without his friend to "lying in darkness" (17), an apparent reference to the underworld.<sup>51</sup> The speaker of the Brothers Song does not go so far as to compare life without Charaxus to being in the underworld but does link Charaxus' safe arrival to "safety and security" (13). The notion that the speaker's well-being is tied to someone else recurs in the last stanza, where Larichus' maturity can free the speaker from "deep and dreary draggings of our soul" (23–24).

The speaker of the Brothers Song continues to engage with motifs that characterize Archilochus fr. 24 by contrasting human futility with divine power. In singing about Charaxus' arrival while he is still at sea, the chatterer claims knowledge that rightly belongs to "Zeus and all the other gods" (7). The chatterer even needs to be told to pray to Hera for both Charaxus' safety and the family's "safety and security" (13). The gods' power extends to "all other things as well" (13–14), the speaker says. Welcome songs, as Archilochus fr. 24 shows, recognize that humans' safety at sea depends on the gods. "A god saved you," says the speaker of Archilochus fr. 24 (15), and the rest of the song gives no suggestion that the addressee's own actions contributed to his safe arrival.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, in the Brothers Song, it is the gods who make their favorites "happy and richly blessed" (19–20). These blessings that come from the gods overlap with the blessings of human prosperity that come from a "full ship."

In the Brothers Song, fortune is out of human control, but this is not a hopeless state of affairs, since bad fortune can quickly change to good: "for out of huge gales fair weather quickly ensues" (15–16). The weather imagery links this part of the song, which ostensibly focuses on "other things," with Charaxus' voyage. It also reveals humility in the face of natural forces beyond the power of human invention, much as the comparison between the "small ship" and the "large sea"

49. The text needs to be supplemented with a negative, since the point of the sentence is that Archilochus is concerned for his friend and not the cargo. See West's discussion and proposed supplement at 1974: 120–21. The context of *μηχανή* (10) seems to imply that the speaker is so unconcerned about the cargo that he would even disregard some "device" or "means" to rescue it.

50. West 1974: 121.

51. Slings in Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 21.

52. Cf. line 7, which West 1974: 120–21 supplements *θεός δὲ πρόεσχε] χεῖρα, καὶ π[αρ]εστ[ά]θης* ("a god held out his hand, and you got here"). Gerber's translation (1999a: 99–101), which is printed with minor adaptations in the appendix, includes West's supplement. Slings (Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 18) instead takes the addressee as the subject of the missing verb, tentatively suggesting *προύτεινες αὐτε χεῖρα*.

does in Archilochus fr. 24. West's text follows the supplement of Adrados and contrasts the small ship with the big sea in lines 1–2: “(after crossing) the large sea (μέγαν / [πόντον]) in a small ship (νηὶ σὸν σ[μ]ικρῆι) you arrived from the region of Gortyn.”<sup>53</sup> Even without πόντον in the supplement, the poem calls attention to the ship's size by juxtaposing σμικρῆι and μέγαν. This is not a song that delights in human ingenuity and marvels at navigation like the first stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* (τοῦτο καὶ πολιοῦ πέραν / πόντου χειμερίωι νότωι / χωρεῖ, περιβρυχίοισιν περῶν / ὑπ' οἴμασιν, “He [that is, man] crosses the gray sea beneath the winter wind, passing beneath the surges that surround him,” 334–37).<sup>54</sup> Instead, it imagines tiny ships at the mercy of the waves waiting for divine intervention. In line 12, the speaker contemplates the sea's dangers to the extent of wondering “if the waves of the sea had washed over you.”

Since welcome songs celebrate an arrival in the face of dangers like these, they are songs of great joy. Joy is present from the beginning of Archilochus fr. 24. The speaker begins by expressing restrained happiness with “I am glad of this (τόδε)” (4),<sup>55</sup> where τόδε presumably refers either to the fact of the addressee's safe return or to the news of it. At the end of the song, however, the speaker abandons restraint. “I was lying in dark gloom,” he says, “but I have been returned again to the light” (ἐν ζόφωι δὲ κείμενο<ς>[ / αὐτίς ]ἐ[ς] φά[ος κ]ατεστάθην, 17–18). The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* employs similar language to describe Zeus' direction that Hermes lead Persephone “out of the gloomy darkness into the light” (ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος / ἐς φάος, 337–38), and Admetus in Euripides' *Alcestis* tells Alcestis he wishes he could bring her life back to light (ἐς φῶς σὸν καταστήσαι βίον, 362).<sup>56</sup> The speaker of Archilochus fr. 24, therefore, ends his song with a metaphor of profound emotional depth. Life without his friend is like death, and the speaker returns to life when his friend returns home. Comparisons to light characterize welcomes in Homeric poetry as well. Both Eumaeus and Penelope greet Telemachus as γλυκερὸν φάος, “sweet light” (*Odyssey* 16.23, 17.41),<sup>57</sup> and the Homeric narrator compares the returned Telemachus to “one escaped from death” (ὥς ἐκ θανάτοιο φυγόντα, 16.22). The mention of light in Archilochus fr. 24 may also invoke the joyful torchlight of nighttime festivals and even the experience of initiation into mystery cults.<sup>58</sup> Theognis 511–22, although it does not contain such

53. See the apparatus at West 1989: 11. Slings (Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 4) provides a full list of supplements to this line.

54. Trans. Lloyd Jones 1994: 35.

55. Cf. Hesychius α 7399 Latte: ἀρπαλίζομαι· ἀσμένως δέχομαι (“ἀρπαλίζομαι means ‘I gladly welcome’”).

56. Ἐς φάος/φῶς is widespread for a return from the underworld. See, e.g., Bacchyl. 5.61, Aesch. *Cho.* 459, Eur. *Alc.* 1076, 1139, *HF* 524, 1222, 1277. For discussion and further parallels see Slings in Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 21.

57. For the associated ritual of kissing Telemachus' eyes, see Constantinidou 1994: 60–64.

58. E.g., Plut. fr. 178.10–11 Sandbach = Stob. 4.52.49: ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήνητησεν (“after this some marvelous light has come to meet you”), Apul. *Met.* 11.23.6: *nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine* (“In the middle of the night I saw the sun glittering with white light”). On light in mystery initiations, especially at Eleusis, see Richardson 1974: 26, Burkert's

sublime metaphors, confirms that joy is an integral feature of welcome songs. The arrival calls for a celebration, and despite the speaker's and the addressee's poverty, the speaker will provide the best he can afford and encourage the addressee's friends to come to the party.

Although the Brothers Song is not a poem of joy like Archilochus fr. 24, it recognizes that tremendous joy is possible for those who are favored by the gods. It looks ahead to the joy that will come with Charaxus' arrival and Larichus' maturity. In Archilochus fr. 24, the speaker has been brought back to life because a god saved his friend. In the Brothers Song, the speaker declares that those favored by the gods are "happy and richly blessed" (μάκαρες . . . καὶ πολύοιλοι, 19–20). Like the return to light in Archilochus fr. 24, the forms of ὄλβιος and μάκαρ recall the experience of mystery initiation.<sup>59</sup> The relative clause that qualifies the κῆνοι who are "happy and richly blessed" even recalls the *makarismos* formula ὄλβιος/μάκαρ ὅς... ("blessed is he who. . .") common in mystery contexts,<sup>60</sup> although in the Brothers Song the relative clause precedes the adjectives. As Anton Bierl has pointed out, ἐπάρωγος, "helper," (18) may be a mystery word as well.<sup>61</sup> Bierl therefore suggests that the Brothers Song presents Charaxus' journey home (*nostos*) from Egypt and its prostitutes as analogous to a mystical journey from death back to life.<sup>62</sup> Further evidence that language with mystery connotations characterizes welcome songs comes from Catullus 9, where the speaker calls the news of his friend's arrival "blessed tidings" (*nuntii beati*, 5) and asks, "Out of all men who have more blessings than others, is there anyone more happy or more blessed than I?" (*o quantum est hominum beatorum, / quid me laetius est beatusve?* 10–11). *Beatus*, like ὄλβιος and μάκαρ, is regularly used for the happiness experienced by initiates in mystery cults.<sup>63</sup> In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 11.6.6, for instance, Isis promises Lucius, "You will live blessed" (*vives autem beatus*).<sup>64</sup>

Regardless of whether the link with mystery religions is overt or in the background of the Brothers Song, the language of blessing resembles that of "returning to light" in Archilochus fr. 24. The parallel is not exact. While it is unambiguous that the speaker of Archilochus fr. 24 is the one returning to light, it is not clear whether the speaker of the Brothers Song or Charaxus himself is one of those who are "happy and richly blessed." This ambiguity is a feature of the Brothers Song, since the references to calm arising from storms and god-sent helpers in stanzas three and four

(1987: 89–114) discussion of the "extraordinary experience," Riedweg 1987: 47–52, Seaford 2005, Patera 2010. Seaford 1994 links Electra's addresses to Orestes and the *paidagogos* as ὁ φίλατον φῶς ("O dearest light") in Soph. *El.* 1224 and 1354 to the imagery of salvific light in the mysteries.

59. Bierl 2016: 317–18 with bibliography in n.31.

60. E.g., *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 480, *Eur. Bacch.* 72–74. Richardson 1974: 313, Seaford 1996: 157.

61. Bierl 2016: 313–14 with reference to *Orphic Hymn* 74.8–10.

62. Bierl 2016: 320.

63. For the parallel use of *beatus/felix* and μάκαρ/ὄλβιος in the *makarismos* formula, see Norden 1913: 100–101n.1; Dirichlet 1914: 23–24.

64. Griffiths 1975: 164; Finkelppearl 2012: 197. Cf. *Apul. Met.* 11.16.4, where Lucius is called *felix, hercules, et ter beatus*.

apply equally to the speaker's troubles at home and Charaxus' dangers at sea. In using the language of blessing and joy, Sappho is situating the Brothers Song within the same tradition of welcome songs as Archilochus fr. 24, but she is adapting the motifs of that tradition to the context of her own song. The joy attendant upon Charaxus' arrival, whether experienced by Charaxus, the speaker, or both, will be like the intense joy of those blessed people who return to life from death.

Along the same lines, the emphasis in the last stanza of the Brothers Song on Larichus lifting his head and on release from "the deep and dreary draggings of our souls" may recall the up-down contrast between "lying in dark gloom" and being "returned again to the light" in Archilochus fr. 24.18–19.<sup>65</sup> The "swiftly lift to joy" in Obbink's translation of μάλ' ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαν κεν / αἴψα λύθειμεν (23–24) brings out the importance of upward movement to the end of the Brothers Song. Once again, the parallel is not exact. While the upward movement in Archilochus fr. 24 is associated with the speaker's return from a metaphorical death, in the Brothers Song it is associated with Larichus and with the "we" who find release from heaviness of spirit. Since this "we" clearly includes the speaker,<sup>66</sup> however, both songs end with the speaker moving upwards towards joy, although for different reasons, the arrival of the friend in Archilochus fr. 24 and Larichus' maturity in the Brothers Song. Once again, Sappho would be adapting motifs of the welcome song tradition represented by Archilochus fr. 24 to the circumstances of her own song.

The Brothers Song is not a welcome song, but, by integrating elements of welcome songs, the speaker demonstrates to the addressee what a proper welcome song would be like. Through an interdiscursive engagement with the conventions of welcome songs, including a preference for a safe voyage over a profitable one, trust in the gods, and joyful reunion, the speaker sings a song that anticipates the right kind of welcome song, the kind of song that should celebrate Charaxus' arrival, when and if it happens. Implicitly, therefore, the speaker of the Brothers Song corrects the chatterer for her single-minded devotion to a full ship and lack of concern for the gods' influence over human affairs.

#### PERFORMATIVE SELF-REFERENCE AND THE CHARAXUS SONG CYCLE

By presenting the discussion between the chatterer and the speaker with the language and themes of welcome songs, Sappho makes the Brothers Song into a song about song. It seems to refer to, and even to quote, another song about Charaxus and his full ship, and so it presents itself as both belonging to and commenting on a set

65. I am grateful to the anonymous reader who brought to my attention this up-down contrast, which also appears in Archil. frs. 128 and 130 West. Kurke 2016: 255–56 compares the up-down imagery of the last stanza of the Brothers Song to the epiphanies of the Dioscuri recounted in the *Hom. Hymn Dioscuri* (33) and Alc. fr. 34 Voigt.

66. Kurke 2016: 249 suggests that the "we" includes the "I" and the "you," here "fusing as a kind of chorus." Bierl 2016: 314–15 suggests that the "we" refers to Sappho and the chorus.

of real or notional songs about Charaxus. Ancient biographies of Sappho describe Charaxus sailing to Egypt and spending lavishly on a courtesan named Doricha or Rhodopis.<sup>67</sup> Several of Sappho's songs besides the Brothers Song seem to refer to Charaxus and his misadventures. Lardinois discusses this Charaxus song cycle in detail.<sup>68</sup> Fr. 5 is a prayer to the Nereids that a brother (τὸν κασιγνήτον, 2) may return safely. It mentions a sister (τὰν κασιγνήταν, 9) and may even contain a play on Charaxus' name, asking that the brother be a joy (χάρα) to his friends (6).<sup>69</sup> Fr. 15, another prayer for someone's safe return, may refer to Doricha by name (11).<sup>70</sup> The new fragments of fr. 9, which deals with a festival and refers to something as "unharméd" (ἄβλαβ[ε]c or ἀβλάβ[ε]c', 9), may also mention Doricha (Δωρίχα γλωσσα[, 17]). Although other supplements are possible,<sup>71</sup> the placement of fr. 9 between fr. 5 and the Brothers Song in the Alexandrian edition lends tentative support to the conclusion that it is about Charaxus.<sup>72</sup> Lardinois proposes that frs. 3, 7, and 20 may also be part of the Charaxus song cycle,<sup>73</sup> and Ferrari adds fr. 17.<sup>74</sup>

One of the song cycle's most characteristic features is that Charaxus always seems to be coming somewhere. Obbink points out that the coming of Charaxus is practically a *leitmotif* in Sappho's songs, appearing in fr. 15.12 ([ε]ic] ἔρον ἦλθε, "came to desire"), fr. 5.2 (τυιδ' ἴκεθα[ι], "to arrive here"), Brothers Song line 5 (Χάραξον ἔλθην, "that Charaxus came"), Brothers Song line 11 (ἐξίκεθα τυίδε, "to arrive here"), and even in accounts of Charaxus in Herodotus 2.135.6 (Χάραξος. . . ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, "Charaxus came back to Mytilene"), Strabo 17.1.33 (Χαράξου. . . οἶνον κατάγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν, "Charaxus, who was bringing wine into Naucratis"), Athenaeus 13.596b-c (Χαράξου. . . εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος, "Charaxus, who sailed to Naucratis"), and Ovid's *Heroides* 15.65 (*peragit freta caerulea*, "he traverses the dark blue seas") and 117–18 (*Charaxus / frater, et ante oculos itque reditque meos*, "my brother Charaxus comes and comes again before my eyes").<sup>75</sup> There is a range of connotations attached to Charaxus' coming that we can tease out of Sappho's fragments and from the biographical tradition: sometimes Charaxus has come home, sometimes he has come to Egypt (ready to waste his wealth on prostitutes), sometimes his family prays for him to come home, sometimes they pray that he not come to the place his desire drives him towards.<sup>76</sup>

67. The relevant ancient references are collected at tests. 252–54 Voigt. On this tradition see Lidov 2002, Yatromanolakis 2007: 312–37, Kivilo 2010: 175–77, Gribble 2016: 31–41.

68. Lardinois 2016: 171–73. I follow his analysis in the remainder of this paragraph. See also Rayor and Lardinois 2014: 162–63 for this and other possible song cycles in Sappho's poetry.

69. Cf. Burris, Fish, and Obbink 2014: 24. For the mystical connotations of χάρα and Χάραξος, see Bierl 2016: 319.

70. For a defense of the reading Δωρίχα, see Yatromanolakis 2007: 330–31.

71. Burris, Fish, and Obbink 2014: 16. West 2014: 8 proposes μελλίχα γλωσσα[v].

72. Lardinois 2016: 173, Obbink 2016b: 49–52.

73. Lardinois 2016: 172–73.

74. Ferrari 2014: 18.

75. Obbink 2016c: 210 with n.12.

76. Obbink 2016c: 216.



To the limited extent that we can reconstruct the Charaxus song cycle, it seems to depict Charaxus as an eternal voyager, always coming to either Naucratis or Mytilene. While Charaxus is stuck in this Aegean limbo, he leaves his family in a limbo of their own, waiting for Charaxus to atone for his misdeeds and for Larichus to grow up. The story of Charaxus, as Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi proposes, does not have a beginning, middle, and end.<sup>77</sup> Set during Charaxus' voyages, it only hints at what happens before he leaves and after he arrives. In fr. 15, for instance, while Charaxus is still at sea, the speaker says, "And may she, Doricha, not boast, telling / of how he came a second time / for a longed-for desire" ([μη]δὲ καυχά- [α]ἴτο τόδ' ἐννέ[ποια / [Δ]ωρίχα τὸ δεύ[τε]ρον ὡς ποθε[ × / [...]]ερον ἦλθε. . . , 10–12). With "a second time," the song looks back to Charaxus' first arrival to Doricha and ahead to another potential one, but the song itself is set in a present time when Charaxus is sailing. Fr. 5, also seemingly set during Charaxus' voyage, looks back to "as much as he has previously done wrong" (ὄσσα δὲ πρόϑ' ἄμβροτε, 5) and to a time "before" when "he was suffering cruel agony at the hands of" someone ([ὄν]ϊαν δὲ λύγραν / [...].[...]στοιαι π[ά]ροιθαχεύων, 10–11).<sup>78</sup> It also looks ahead to a future time when Charaxus "may arrive" (τυῖδ' ἴκεσθα[ι], 2) and fulfill "whatsoever he should desire in his mind" (κῶττι ρῶι θύμωι κε θέληι, 3) and when he "may want to put his sister in a position / of greater honor" (τὰν κακιγνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόνηθαι / [μέ]ϋδονοϋ τίμαϋ, 9–10). By alluding to the past and anticipating the future, both fr. 15 and fr. 5 encourage the audience to situate the songs themselves in the middle of an ongoing story.

Sappho seems to have told the story of Charaxus obliquely, through retrospective references to past wrongs and prospective references to a possible reunion with Doricha or reconciliation with his family. It is up to the audience to fill in the details and create a coherent narrative out of the increasingly desperate family waiting in Mytilene, the boastful Doricha, and the erring and suffering Charaxus stuck somewhere between Lesbos and Egypt. As the audience hears more songs and gathers more pieces of related but disjointed information, they can imagine links between the episodes. Acting as quasi co-authors, they expand on Sappho's words and create for themselves a more complete understanding of the story.<sup>79</sup>

The Brothers Song fits this pattern of piecemeal storytelling from the perspective of an eternal present when Charaxus is still at sea. It looks ahead to the speaker's prayer to Hera and through that prayer to Charaxus' eventual arrival with a safe ship and reunion with his family. It also looks back, through the chatterer's welcome song, to a past occasion when Charaxus arrived somewhere with a full ship.

77. Peponi 2016: 234 writes of Sappho's method of storytelling: "It was an implied, *ex silentio* longer narrative that never made its appearance as a continuum, as a Homeric-like plot with carefully arranged sequences of events. It is likely that this peculiar mythopoetics, with its technique of sculpting certain episodes like high reliefs in the midst of long, blank, chiselled backgrounds, was a poetics eagerly advanced by Sappho. This is a profoundly non-Aristotelian type of *muthos*."

78. Obbink's translation is based on a division of the last word into π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων or π[ά]ροιθα χεύων. See the apparatus criticus at Obbink 2016a: 23.

79. Cf. Peponi 2016: 234–36.

The Brothers Song, therefore, is a kind of *mise en abîme*, a song about Charaxus that contains two other songs about Charaxus. To put it another way, the Brothers Song is a song about the Charaxus song cycle. The welcome song and the prayer to Hera may be real songs that audiences could have known or that could have been performed along with the Brothers Song. By incorporating them, the Brothers Song would encourage its audience to imagine links among the songs and so to flesh out the story of Charaxus and his family. Alternatively, the welcome song and the prayer to Hera may be notional songs that exist only as part of an imaginary song cycle created by the Brothers Song.

Other songs of Sappho also point beyond themselves to other songs or musical performances, providing a performative and narrative context within which listeners can interpret them. In fr. 96 Voigt, the speaker tells the "you," seemingly a woman named Atthis (16), that an unnamed woman who is renowned for her beauty among the women of Lydia "used to take special delight in your song" (σᾶι δὲ μάλιστ' ἔχαρε μόλπαϊ, 5), but now, "when she paces continually and remembers gentle Atthis, she eats away at her own delicate mind with desire because of your fate" (15–17). The story of Atthis and her lover is made up of songs. Fr. 96 is a song about one stage in that story, and "your song" is from another, earlier stage of the story. If Sappho actually composed "your song" in Atthis' voice as part of her set of Atthis songs (frs. 8, 49, 90d, 90e, 130 Voigt; test. 219, 253 Voigt), some members of her audience may have heard it in the past and can now identify with the delight the unnamed woman used to take in it.<sup>80</sup> Otherwise, they can only imagine its delights through what fr. 96 says about the unnamed woman's continued infatuation for Atthis. Fr. 96, therefore, is both a song about erotic longing and a song about a song. Regardless of whether "your song" actually existed, fr. 96 presents it as though it is part of its own performative and narrative background.

Fr. 21, whose speaker commands someone to "sing to us of the woman with the violet robe" (ἄεισον ἄμμι / τὰν ἰκόλοπον, 12–13), and fr. 30, which refers to maidens during an all-night celebration who "sing [or might sing] of your love and the violet-robed bride" (σὰν ἀειδοῖς[ι]ν [or ἀειδοῖεν] φιλότατα καὶ νύμ-]/φας ἰκόλω, 4–5), are also songs about songs. Like fr. 96, they encourage the audience to imagine them as selections from larger repertoires. The audience who hears fr. 30, for instance, can interpret it against the background of all the songs that the maidens sang through the night in honor of the bride and groom. By calling the audience's attention to songs they are not hearing, Sappho creates a sense that the world contains an almost limitless number of songs. On other occasions, in other places, there were delightful performances that the present audience may have missed. Since Sappho's songs could be re-performed without regard for the narrative order of the events they describe, the audience can look forward to the possibility of experiencing or re-experiencing

80. Cf. Lardinois 2008: 84: "Memory in these fragments of Sappho for young women is based on the oral performance of songs, not their written record. Furthermore, the recollection of the girls, whether Anaktoria, Atthis or the woman in Lydia, is kept alive through song. It is through the performance of these songs that the audience is reminded of the young women and their earlier performances."

these songs at some future time. For the time being, however, they can enjoy imagining what the songs were like and can share in the pleasures of storytelling by adding their own details to stories about “your love and the violet-robed bride” and by imagining what so delighted the Lydian beauty when she heard Atthis sing. The Brothers Song similarly tantalizes its audience with a reference to a song they are not hearing by drawing on the language of welcome songs to construct the chatter about Charaxus and his full ship.

If Sappho really did compose a welcome song celebrating Charaxus’ arrival, the Brothers Song could be paraphrasing its beginning. As we have seen, proper names, aorist forms of ἔρχομαι, and mentions of ships all tend to appear in the beginning of welcome songs. As we have also seen, θρυλέω in later Greek is associated with quotations. While it would be unwarranted to give the verb that sense here in the Brothers Song, Obbink uses the language of citation to describe the chatter about Charaxus’ coming: Sappho “*cites it as being frequently said by someone.*” Obbink understands this as a form of “self-citation” to the other instances in Sappho’s poetry where Charaxus is said to have come.<sup>81</sup> But, once we introduce the idea that the chatter in the Brothers Song is referring to something self-referentially, it could just as easily be referring to a particular Charaxus song as to a *leitmotif* of the Charaxus song cycle. Indeed, the reference is very specific. The chatterer is not always chattering merely that Charaxus has come, but that Charaxus has come with a full ship.

There is no preserved welcome song for Charaxus, although Sappho fr. 20 Voigt is a possibility. Fr. 20 is highly fragmentary, but its content is consistent with what we would expect of a song welcoming a sea traveler. There are references to sailors (Ἰέλοισι ναῦται, 8) and sailing (Ἰμοθεν πλέοι, 12), good fortune (τύχαι σὺν ἔσλαι, 4), great winds (μεγάλαις ἀήται[ς, 9),<sup>82</sup> cargo (τὰ φόρτι’, 13), land (γῆς μελαίνας, 6, κὰπὶ χέρσω, 10, χέρσω, 21), and winning a harbor (λι]μενος κρέτῃσαι, 5). There is no evidence that fr. 20 is related to Charaxus or even that it is a welcome song.<sup>83</sup> It could also be a prayer<sup>84</sup> or an allegory.<sup>85</sup> If fr. 20 is not a welcome song, it still confirms Sappho’s poetic engagement with the sea and its dangers. A welcome song for Charaxus would not be inconsistent with Sappho’s work as we know it.

The chatter in the Brothers Song, therefore, could be quoting another song of Sappho known to some members of the audience that welcomed Charaxus upon his arrival somewhere with a full ship. Incorporating or alluding to other songs is a standard part of archaic Greek compositional technique. Odysseus’ Cretan tales

81. Obbink 2016c: 210.

82. Cf. line 15 of the Brothers Song (ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν), a parallel noted by Obbink 2014b: 43 and Neri 2015: 62–63n.73.

83. A proposal first made by Milne 1933. See Ferrari 2014: 12 for further references. Cf. Lardinois 2016: 173.

84. Milne 1933.

85. Ferrari 2014: 12. Gribble 2016: 51–52 suggests that the storms in the Brothers Song are a metaphorical reference to political strife on Mytilene, as they often are in Alcaeus (e.g., frs. 6, 208, 249 Voigt).

in the *Odyssey*, for instance, seem to appropriate alternate epic accounts of the hero's wanderings and present them in a new context as lies.<sup>86</sup> This "sampling" may point to the competitive nature of epic, where performers try to establish their own songs as authoritative and superior to their rivals'.<sup>87</sup> Sappho may be doing something similar but more self-referential in the Brothers Song, sampling her own welcome song only to reject it as inappropriate in this new context. In this case, perhaps the chatterer is Sappho herself, and the "I" is someone else reprimanding her.<sup>88</sup> The welcome song for Charaxus and his full ship, heard on its own, may have seemed a celebration of Charaxus' arrival in Mytilene from a successful trading voyage or his arrival in Naucratis before Doricha got her hooks into him and his full ship. Within the context of the Brothers Song, however, this same welcome song takes on a hubristic and impious tone.

If the chatterer really is quoting or paraphrasing Sappho's own welcome song, θρόλιρθθα would have the function of an "Alexandrian footnote," a word of speaking that introduces a quotation or close paraphrase of another song.<sup>89</sup> In the new version of fr. 58 (the "Tithonus Song") and in fr. 166 Voigt, Sappho may use forms of φᾶμι (Attic φημί, "to say," like Alexandrian footnotes, to report myths at second hand. Fr. 58 reports the myth of Tithonus in indirect speech introduced by ἔφραυτο, "they used to say" (9). The myth is an exemplum in support of the speaker's conclusion that "it is not possible for a human to never grow old" (8), and the ἔφραυτο implies that Sappho is referring to a particular song (or set of songs) about Tithonus that she believes will be familiar to her audience.<sup>90</sup> Regardless of the myth's significance in the version that "they used to say," Sappho tailors its relevance to the specific context of fr. 58, where it becomes a cautionary tale for people who expect youth to last forever and, perhaps, a reassurance that even the old can continue to sing.<sup>91</sup> Fr. 166 reports the story of Leda and her egg in indirect

86. See, on *Od.* 14.199–359, Tsagalis 2012: 344–45. More generally, see Burgess 2006 on how the Homeric epics could have triggered responses in a "mythologically informed original audience" (174) by incorporating motifs familiar from other mythological contexts like the Epic Cycle. Burgess calls this "motif transference."

87. Steiner 2010: 7–8, 84–85. Steiner acknowledges Richard P. Martin's use of "sampling," a technical term from rap performances, to describe the Homeric incorporation of other songs.

88. Obbink 2014b: 41 raises the possibility that the chatter about Charaxus may be "reflexive self-address on her own poetic discourse." Later, in Obbink 2016c: 210, he calls it an instance of "intertextual reference or self-citation." Nagy 2007a: 44 notes that the "I" in Sappho's songs can be someone else speaking to Sappho.

89. Ross 1975: 78.

90. de Jong 2010: 157–60 with n.17 is the first person to use the term "Alexandrian footnote" to refer to Sappho's poetry. She suggests that fr. 58 is referring to the version of the Tithonus myth in *Hom. Hymn Aphrodite*, although it could also be referring to another lost account of Tithonus.

91. Scholars who have seen an implicit reference to an elderly Tithonus continuing to sing (cf. *Hom. Hymn Aphrodite*, 237) include Rawles 2006: 5–7, Lidov 2009: 97–99, Stehle 2009: 128–29, de Jong 2010: 160–63, and Janko 2017: 280–89. Other scholars, such as West 2005: 6 and Boedeker 2009: 78, hold that the Tithonus exemplum illustrates simply that it is impossible to escape old age.

speech introduced by φαῖσι, “they say” (1).<sup>92</sup> The rest of the song is lost, so it is impossible to know whether the story is an exemplum like that of Tithonus in fr. 58. We can safely conclude, however, that both songs use third-person plural forms of φᾶμι to emphasize that they are reporting mythological traditions at second hand. They differ fundamentally from songs that narrate mythological events directly, such as fr. 44’s account of Hector and Andromache’s wedding or fr. 17’s account of the establishment of a festival in Hera’s honor by the Atreidae. As songs about what other people say about mythological traditions, frs. 58 and 166 are, on the most basic level, songs about songs. The way that other people “used to say” or “say” was or is through epic or lyric performance. While the Roman literary tradition uses Alexandrian footnotes to mark poets’ learned engagement with their textual models,<sup>93</sup> Sappho refers not to texts but to songs, and specifically to earlier performances of songs that she is embedding in her own performance. The quotation or paraphrase of a welcome song that I am proposing for the Brothers Song, therefore, would be broadly consistent with what we can reconstruct of Sappho’s practice in frs. 58 and 166. In the Brothers Song, Sappho would not be integrating someone else’s song about a myth but her own song about Charaxus. If the chatterer actually is Sappho, the second-person form of θρυλέω would be a particularly self-referential Alexandrian footnote.

Sappho may also be sampling her own fr. 17 in the Brothers Song when the speaker describes the anticipated prayer to Hera. Fr. 17 is a nearly complete song addressed to Hera; only the final stanza is fragmentary. The speaker describes the Atreidae founding a festival in Hera’s honor whose rituals married and unmarried women continue to perform. Ferrari has argued that the last words of fr. 17, [ῥ]ῖπ’ ἀπίκε[σθαι] (“Hera, to come back”), correspond to Ἥραν / ἐξίκεσθαι (“Hera, to come back”) in lines 10–11 of the Brothers Song.<sup>94</sup> If the Brothers Song really is referring to fr. 17 through a close but inexact verbal echo, Sappho could be signaling to her audience that fr. 17 is about Charaxus, whose name does not appear in the surviving portions of the text. Through sampling, she would be providing a context and significance for fr. 17 that the song lacks on its own.

In Peponi’s terminology, fr. 17 and the putative welcome song whose opening the chatterer is singing would be “lyric snapshots” which seem to be excerpted from a narrative about Charaxus that was never expressed as a continuous story.<sup>95</sup> Peponi uses metaphors of jewels and mosaics to describe how audiences could have experienced and reacted to such songs: “This type of lyric invited its audience

92. Gronewald and Daniel 2004: 2 compare the ἔφραστο in fr. 58 to the φαῖσι in fr. 166, as well as to the φαῖσι(ι) in Alc. fr. 360 Voigt, although they do not explore the consequences of this comparison. The use of φαῖσι(ι) in Alc. fr. 360 to report at second hand a quotation of Aristodemus (“they say that Aristodemus said. . .”) supports the conclusion that, in the Lesbian song tradition as a whole, forms of φᾶμι can signal a quotation or paraphrase.

93. Hinds 1998: 2–3.

94. Ferrari 2014: 18.

95. Peponi 2016: 234.

to enjoy individual poems *both* as independent gems *and* as tesserae of a life-story mosaic. In doing so, it probably welcomed a synergy between poem and audience, whereby audiences played an active role in the formation and dissemination of the lyric imaginary surrounding a poem's circulation."<sup>96</sup> Fr. 17 and the welcome song that I propose the chatterer is sampling, therefore, could sometimes be individual "gems," meant to be experienced and enjoyed on their own terms, and sometimes "tesserae" that listeners could enjoy linking to other "tesserae" in the Charaxus story. The context provided by the Brothers Song would act as a bridge among the songs and prompt the audience to fill in missing details of the story of Charaxus, Doricha, Sappho, and the family in Mytilene.

By sampling other parts of the Charaxus song cycle, the Brothers Song would exemplify the self-referential nature of Sappho's poetics. Her songs would be a kind of network, referring back and forth to each other and picking up new connotations as they recur in new contexts. The network may be a self-conscious fiction, however, if the welcome song and prayer to Hera embedded in the Brothers Song do not really exist. In this case, Sappho would be taking advantage of her audience's familiarity with discourse conventions to create the illusion that the Brothers Song is referring to other real songs. The Charaxus song cycle, like the story of Charaxus and his misadventures, would be, in part, a creation of the audience's imaginations.

Part of Sappho's poetic technique may have been to compose songs that situate themselves within a world of performance that has both real and fictive elements. Since the Charaxus story does not exist apart from Sappho's songs, the only way she can add more details to the story is by composing and performing more songs. There is no underlying narrative familiar to the audience that the songs engage with, as there is with stories about the Trojan War. Without Sappho's Charaxus songs, there is no Charaxus story, whereas without Sappho fr. 44, there is still a story of Hector and Andromache. Everything an audience knows about Charaxus they know from Sappho's songs, from her *pia lingua* (Ov. *Her.* 15.68) that reprimanded him constantly but unsuccessfully. When the Brothers Song encourages its audience to imagine the scene between the speaker and the chatterer as part of a coherent story, therefore, it situates it in terms of other songs that would fill the gaps in the audience's understanding. The Brothers Song asks the audience, "Have you heard the welcome song for Charaxus and his full ship? Have you heard the prayer to Hera that Charaxus find us safe and sound?" Even if Sappho never composed such songs, the Brothers Song would conjure them into existence by pretending to engage with them.

Sappho the storyteller would therefore create two fictive worlds in the Brothers Song. One is the world of Charaxus' story, a world filled with stormy seas and family drama. The other is the world of the Charaxus song cycle, a world of real and

96. Peponi 2016: 235 (italics in original).

notional songs that provide the performative background to the Brothers Song and, perhaps, to all of Sappho's poetry. Her songs would hint at other songs that remain no more than hints, tantalizing clues to a notional repertoire that inhabits her hearers' imaginations but remains always beyond their grasp. Audiences come to interpret the Charaxus story not only through songs they have heard, like frs. 5 and 15, but also through songs they have not heard and whose existence and content they must imagine based on the content of the Brothers Song itself.

### CONCLUSION

The Brothers Song exemplifies two characteristic ways that Sappho's poetic technique depends on audiences acting as what Yatromanolakis calls "quasi co-authors." First, through an interdiscursive engagement with the tradition of welcome songs, the Brothers Song encourages its audience to interpret it with that tradition as a frame of reference. Audiences who recognize the chattering about Charaxus and his full ship as the beginning of a welcome song could interpret the entire song as a correction of the chatterer and a demonstration of what an ideal welcome song would be like. Second, by situating the Brothers Song within a real or notional song cycle about Charaxus, the Brothers Song encourages its audience to make connections with songs they may or may not have heard. Audiences create for themselves a coherent storyline by imagining links between real songs and, perhaps, by imagining a world of performance that does not exist outside of Sappho's words and their own minds. In this case, audiences would never hear the entire Charaxus song cycle, nor even know which songs existed and which did not. In a state of uncertainty, they could look forward with delight to the possibility of hearing the songs they had so far only heard about. The imaginary world of performance that Sappho conjures up would also enable the audience to share in the creative pleasure of storytelling. Entranced by Sappho's hints, the audience could use their imaginations to become co-creators of Charaxus' story and co-composers of the songs they were not hearing. The Brothers Song tantalizes us with its apparent sampling of a welcome song about Charaxus and his full ship, prompting us to imagine our own welcome song for Charaxus, a song whose imagined performance might be even more pleasurable than anything we could experience in real life.

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## APPENDIX

Archilochus fr. 24 West<sup>97</sup>

⊗	]νηὶ σὺν σ[μ]ικρῆι μέγαν πόντον περήσ]ας ἤλθεσ ἐκ Γορτυνίης ]σ . οὐτιτ. γεπεστάθη [[ν] ]καὶ τόδ' ἀρπαλ[ὶ]ζομ[αι] κρ]ηγύης ἀφίκ[ ]λμοισιν ἐξ[.....].ς ]χειρα καὶ π[.]εστ[ά]θης ]ουσας· φ[ο]ρτίων δέ μοι μέ[λ]ει ].ος εἰτ' ἀπώλετο ]ν ἐστὶ μηχανή	(5)
δ'	ἄν ἄλλ]λογ οὖτιν' εὐροίμην ἐγὼ εἰ σ]ἐ κῦμ' ἀλὸς κατέκλυσεν ἦ ].ν χειρσὶν αἰχμητέων ὕπο ἦ]βην ἀγλ[α]ῖν ἀπ[ώ]λεσ[α].ς νῦν δ' ]θεῖ καὶ σε θε[ὸ]ς ἐρ]ρύσατο ].[.]. κάμῃ μουνωθέντ' ἰδ.. ]ν, ἐν ζόφωι δὲ κείμενο<ς>[ αὐτις ]ξ[ς] φά[ος κ]ατεστάθην.     ⊗	(10)
νῦν δ'	]θεῖ καὶ σε θε[ὸ]ς ἐρ]ρύσατο ].[.]. κάμῃ μουνωθέντ' ἰδ.. ]ν, ἐν ζόφωι δὲ κείμενο<ς>[ αὐτις ]ξ[ς] φά[ος κ]ατεστάθην.     ⊗	(15)

. . . (after crossing) the large (sea) in a small ship you arrived from the region of Gortyn . . . I am glad of this . . . you came on a good (ship?) . . . (a god held over you?) his hand and you got here . . . I am (not at all) concerned about the cargo . . . whether it was lost (or) . . . there is a means . . . I could not find another . . . (if?) the waves of the sea had washed over you (or) . . . at the hands of spearmen . . . you had lost the splendid prime of your youth. (But as it is) . . . and a god saved you . . . and me left alone . . . lying in dark gloom . . . but I have been returned again to the light.

Theognis 511–22<sup>98</sup>

ἤλθεσ δῆ, Κλεάριστε, βαθὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσσας	511
ἐνθάδ' ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντ', ὧ τάλαν, οὐδὲν ἔχων.	
νηός τοι πλευρηῆσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς, Κλεάρισθ', οἷ' ἔχομεν χοῖα διδοῦσι θεοί.	
τῶν δ' ὄντων ἄριστα παρέξομεν· ἦν δέ τις ἔλθῃ σεῦ φίλος ὢν, † κατάκεισ', † ὡς φιλότιτος ἔχεις.	515

97. Text from West 1989: 11. Translation adapted from Gerber 1999a: 99–101. Fr. 24 is a different poem from fr. 23, despite the lack of a coronis separating them in *POxy* 2310. For discussion see West 1974: 118–22, Slings in Bremer, van Erp Taalman Kip, and Slings 1987: 15–16. Heirman 2012: 168n.458 gives full bibliography and summarizes the arguments.

98. Text from Young 1961: 33–34. West 1989: 198–99 moves lines 513–14 (νηός...θεοί) to after line 518 (. . .οἰσόμεθα). Translation adapted from Gerber 1999b: 247.



οὔτε τι τῶν ὄντων ἀποθήσομαι, οὔτε τι μείζω  
 σῆς ἔνεκα ξενίης ἄλλοθεν οἰσόμεθα·  
 ἦν δέ τί σ' εἰρωτᾷ τὸν ἐμὸν βίον, ὃδέ οἱ εἰπεῖν·  
 “ὡς εὖ μὲν χαλεπῶς, ὡς χαλεπῶς δὲ μάλ' εὖ,        520  
 ὥσθ' ἓνα μὲν ξεῖνον πατρώιον οὐκ ἀπολείπειν,  
 ξεῖνια δὲ πλέον' ἔστ' οὐ δυνατὸς παρέχειν.”

You've crossed the deep sea, Clearistus, and come here penniless, poor fellow, to one who's penniless. I'll stow under the benches at the side of your ship, Clearistus, such as I have and the gods provide. I'll provide the best of what there is, and if any friend of yours comes along, recline as suits your degree of friendship. I'll not hold back anything of what I have nor bring in more from elsewhere to entertain you. And if anyone asks how I live, reply to him as follows: “Poorly by good standards, but quite well by poor standards, and so he doesn't fail one friend of the family, but is unable to offer entertainment to more.”

Alcaeus fr. 350 Voigt<sup>99</sup>

ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς ἐλεφαντίναν  
 λάβαν τῷ ξίφεος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντιμενίδαν ... φησιν Ἀλκαῖος Βαβυλωνίοις συμμαχοῦντα  
 τελέσαι  
 ἄεθλον μέγαν, εὐρύσαο δ' ἐκ πόνων,  
 κτένναις ἄνδρα μαχάταν βασιλη<ί>ων  
 παλάσταν ἀπυλείποντα μόναν ἴαν  
 παχέων ἀπὸ πέμπων

You have come from the ends of the earth with the hilt of your sword ivory bound with gold.

*Alcaeus says that his brother Antimenidas, while fighting as ally of the Babylonians performed*

a great feat and you rescued them from trouble by killing a warrior, who was only one palm's breadth short of five royal cubits.

*Odyssey* selections<sup>100</sup>

16.17–29 (Eumaeus welcomes Telemachus)

ὡς δὲ πατὴρ ὄν παῖδα φίλα φρονέων ἀγαπάζη  
 ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ,  
 μοῦνον τηλύγετον, τῷ ἔπ' ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήση,  
 ὡς τότε Τηλέμαχον θεοειδέα διὸς ὑφορβὸς        20  
 πάντα κύσεν περιφύς, ὡς ἐκ θανάτοιο φυγόντα·

99. Text from Voigt 1971: 319. Translation adapted from Campbell 1982: 387.

100. Text from Allen 1919. Translations adapted from Murray 1995.

καί ρ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος· οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἐγὼ γε  
 ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ οἴχεο νηὶ Πύλονδε.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν εἰσελθε, φίλον τέκος, ὄφρα σε θυμῷ 25  
 τέρψομαι εἰσορόων νέον ἄλλοθεν ἔνδον ἐόντα.  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θάμι' ἀγρὸν ἐπέρχεαι οὐδὲ νομῆας,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπιδημεύεις· ὧς γάρ νύ τοι εὔαδε θυμῷ,  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων ἐσορᾶν ἀΐδηλον ὄμιλον.”

And as a loving father greets his own son, who comes in the tenth year from a distant land—his only son and well-beloved, for whose sake he has borne much sorrow—even so did the noble swineherd then clasp in his arms god-like Telemachus, and kiss him all over as one escaped from death; and sobbing he addressed him with winged words: “You have come, Telemachus, sweet light. I thought I should never see you again after you had gone in your ship to Pylos. But come, enter in, dear child, that I may delight my heart with looking at you here in my house, who are newly home from other lands. For you do not often visit the farm and the herdsmen, but stay in the town; so, I suppose, it seemed good to your heart, to look upon the hateful throng of the suitors.”

16.201–12 (Odysseus reveals himself to Telemachus)

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “Τηλέμαχ', οὐ σε ἔοικε φίλον πατέρ' ἔνδον ἐόντα  
 οὔτε τι θαυμάζειν περιώσιον οὔτ' ἀγάσθαι·  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἔτ' ἄλλος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἀλλ' ὄδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, παθῶν κακά, πολλὰ δ' ἀληθείς, 205  
 ἦλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.  
 αὐτάρ τοι τόδε ἔργον Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης,  
 ἣ τέ με τοῖον ἔθηκεν ὅπως ἐθέλει, δύναται γάρ,  
 ἄλλοτε μὲν πτωχῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔτε  
 ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ καλὰ περὶ χροῖ' εἶματ' ἔχοντι. 210  
 ῥῆϊδιον δὲ θεοῖσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,  
 ἡμὲν κυδῆναι θνητὸν βροτὸν ἠδὲ κακῶσαι.”

Then resourceful Odysseus answered him, and said: “Telemachus, it does not beseem you to wonder too greatly that your father is in the house, or to be amazed. For you may be sure no other Odysseus will ever come here; but I here, I, just as you see me, after sufferings and many wanderings, have come in the twentieth year to my native land. But this, you must know, is the work of Athena, she that leads the host, who makes me such as she will—for she has the power—now like a beggar, and now again like a young man, and one wearing fine clothes about his body. Easy it is for the gods, who hold broad heaven, both to glorify a mortal man and to abase him.”

## 17.31–47 (Eurycleia and Penelope welcome Telemachus)

τὸν δὲ πολὺ πρώτη εἶδε τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια,  
 κώεα καστορνῦσα θρόνοις ἐνὶ δαιδαλέοισι,  
 δακρῦσασα δ' ἔπειτ' ἰθὺς κίεν· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄλλαι  
 δμῶαὶ Ὀδυσσεύος ταλασίφρονος ἠγερέθοντο,  
 καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμεναι κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὤμους. 35  
 ἢ δ' ἴεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,  
 Ἀρτέμιδι ἰκέλη ἢ ἐ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτη,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδὶ φίλῳ βάλε πῆγεε δακρῦσασα,  
 κύσσε δὲ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά,  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 40  
 “ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος· οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἐγὼ γε  
 ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ οἴχεο νηὶ Πύλονδε  
 λάθρη, ἐμεῦ ἀέκητι, φίλου μετὰ πατρὸς ἀκουήν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι κατάλεξον ὅπως ἤντησας ὀπωπῆς.”  
 τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἠΰδα· 45  
 “μῆτερ ἐμή, μή μοι γόον ὄρνυθι μηδέ μοι ἦτορ  
 ἐν στήθεσσιν ὄρινε φυγόντι περ αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.”

The nurse Eurycleia was by far the first to see him, as she was spreading fleeces on the richly wrought chairs. With a burst of tears she came straight toward him, and round about them gathered the other maids of steadfast Odysseus, and they kissed his head and shoulders in loving welcome. Then out from her chamber came wise Penelope, looking like Artemis or golden Aphrodite, and bursting into tears she flung her arms about her dear son and kissed his head and both his beautiful eyes; and with sobs she spoke to him winged words: “You have come, Telemachus, sweet light; I thought I should never see you again after you had gone in your ship to Pylos—secretly, and against my will, to seek tidings of your staunch father. Come, then, tell me what sight you had of him.” Then wise Telemachus answered her: “My mother, do not make me weep, nor rouse the heart in my breast at having barely escaped utter destruction.”

## 23.233–40 (Penelope’s joy at Odysseus’ homecoming compared to a shipwrecked sailor’s joy upon reaching shore)

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπάσιος γῆ νηχομένοισι φανῆη,  
 ὧν τε Ποσειδάων εὐεργέα νῆ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
 ῥάϊση, ἐπειγομένην ἀνέμῳ καὶ κύματι πηγῶ· 235  
 παῦροι δ' ἐξέφυγον πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἠπειρόνδε  
 νηχόμενοι, πολλῆ δὲ περὶ χροῖ τέτροφεν ἄλμη,  
 ἀσπάσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης, κακότητα φυγόντες·  
 ὧς ἄρα τῆ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἰσοροώση,  
 δειρῆς δ' οὐ πῶ πάμπαν ἀφίετο πῆγεε λευκῶ. 240

And welcome as is the sight of land to men that swim, whose well-built ship Poseidon smashes on the sea as it is driven on by the wind and the swollen waves, and but few have made their escape from the gray sea to the shore by swimming, and thickly are their bodies crusted with brine, and gladly have they set foot on the land and escaped from the evil situation; so welcome to her was her husband, as she gazed upon him, and from his neck still did not loosen her white arms at all.

## 24.400–405 (Dolius welcomes Odysseus)

“ὦ φίλ’, ἐπεὶ νόστησας ἐελδομένοισι μάλ’ ἤμῃν           400  
 οὐδ’ ἔτ’ οἴομένοισι, θεοὶ δέ σε ἤγαγον αὐτοί,  
 οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.  
 καί μοι τοῦτ’ ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὄφρ’ ἐὺ εἰδῶ,  
 ἦ ἤδη σάφα οἶδε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια  
 νοστήσαντά σε δεῦρ’, ἧ ἄγγελον ὀτρύνωμεν.”           405

“Dear friend, since you have come back to us, who deeply longed for you but no longer thought to see you, and the gods themselves have brought you—hail to you, and all welcome, and may the gods grant you happiness. And tell me this also truly, that I may be sure. Does wise Penelope yet know for certain that you have returned to us, or shall we send a messenger?”

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