WHO'S DYING IN SAPPHO FR. 94?

EMMET ROBBINS

τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω·
ἄ με ψισδομένα κατελίμπανεν

πόλλα καὶ τόδ' ἔειπέ̣ [μοι·
ὤιμ' ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν,
Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω.

τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν·
χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν
μέμναισ', οἶσθα γὰρ ὤς <σ>ε πεδήπομεν·

αἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλά σ' ἔγω θέλω
ὄμναισαι [...(.)].[..(.)].ε̣αι
ὀ̣σ̣[- 10 -] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν·

πό̣[λλοις γὰρ στεφάν]οις ἴων
καὶ βρ[όδων...]κίων τ' ὔμοι
κα..[- 7 -] πὰρ ἔμοι π<ε>ρεθήκα<ο>

καὶ πό̣[λλαις ὑπα]θύμιδας
πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ' ἀ]πάλαι δέραι
ἀνθέων ἐ̣[- 6 -] πεποημέναις.

καὶ π.....[ ]. μύρωι
βρενθείωι̣.[ ]ρυ[..]ν
ἐξαλ<ε>ίψαο κα̣[ὶ βασ]ι̣λ̣ηίωι

καὶ στρώμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν
ἀπάλαν παρ[ ]ο̣ν̣ων
ἐξίης πόθο̣[ν]. νίδων

κωὔτε τις [οὔ]τ̣ε τι
ἶρον οὐδ' ὐ[ ]
ἔπλετ' ὄππ̣[οθεν ἄμ]μες ἀπέσκομεν,

οὐκ ἄλσος. [ ]. ρος
]ψοφος
]...οιδιαι

THIS LONG FRAGMENT, numbered 94 in our current editions of Sappho,[1] comes from a sheet of parchment, with writing thought to be of the sixth

[1]The text printed here is that of E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus* (Amsterdam 1971). The following works will be referred to by author's name alone: A. P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets: Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983);

or seventh century A.D., published by W. Schubart with the assistance of U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in 1902.[2] The page on which the fragment is written is the left-hand side of a leaf containing two pages. It is likely that this leaf is a *disiectum membrum* of a book, not part of a roll. The right-hand page contains the fragment now numbered 96, and the two poems, 94 and 96, are thought to come from a leaf that was part of a gathering or quire—there is writing on the back of both pages, though this writing is almost illegible and has yielded nothing of consequence. The inner side of the leaf was clearly better protected than the outer, possibly because it remained in contact with other leaves longer whereas the outer side was exposed, the leaf in question having been the outermost leaf of the gathering. The fragment numbered 95 was found sewn to the right-hand side of the leaf, but this seems to have been done after the dismemberment of the book. It is uncertain whether this fragment, which is smaller than either fragment 94 or fragment 96, belongs to one of the inner pages of the gathering or is part of one of the two surviving pages, i.e., the pages of the leaf containing 94 and 96.

The page on which fragment 94 is written is 16 centimetres wide. The text we possess is 12 centimetres high, but the original page is likely to have been double this height. We cannot tell what part of the page we now have, nor could we say, even if we knew with certainty that we had the top of the page, that individual poems began on new pages. This uncertainty has bedevilled interpretation of the poem. Since it is unlikely that we shall ever know beyond doubt how much of the poem is lost, either from the beginning or from the end, criticism must content itself with the remaining portion.

It is the first surviving line—τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω—that has been the subject of repeated discussion in our time. Most critics have been inclined to take it as spoken by Sappho.[3] A number of scholars, however, have given

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Thomas McEvilley, "Sappho, Fragment 94," *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 1–11; D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry* (Oxford 1955).

[2]W. Schubart, "Neue Bruchstücke der Sappho und des Alkaios," *SBBerl* 1902, 195 ff.

[3]There is a review of the debate in Burnett 292, n. 38. But Burnett is occasionally misleading in reporting opinions of other scholars on the matter. E.g., in B. Snell, *Frühgriechische Lyriker* 3: *Sappho, Alkaios, Anakreon* (Berlin 1976, Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt 24.3) 8, the words are clearly thought to be spoken by Sappho (though the translator, Zoltan Franyó, puts quotation marks around them and may thus be at odds with the author of the Introduction, presumably Snell). D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (London 1967) 278, mentions both possibilities. In his *Greek Lyric* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1982, Loeb Classical Library) 117, the line is Sappho's, though the possibility that it is the girl's is mentioned in a note. In *The Golden Lyre: The Themes of the Greek Lyric Poets* (London 1983) 226, Campbell unequivocally gives the line to Sappho.

the line to the departing girl.[4] The first editor, Schubart, originally gave the line to the girl, though he appears to have changed his mind about this when he re-edited the poem in 1907:[5] in 1907 he did not put quotation marks at the end of the first line as he had initially, whereas in both 1902 and 1907 he used quotation marks for the girl's speech in lines 4 and 5. He may have been persuaded by the interpretations of Fraccaroli, Jurenka, and Reinach, whose contributions to the discussion of the poem are listed on page 10 of the 1907 edition and who all thought that Sappho spoke the first line. Or he may have been influenced by Wilamowitz himself, who certainly, though at a later date, gave the line to Sappho.[6]

Recently, Anne Burnett has vigorously argued that the line is to be given to the girl (290–300),[7] and she has found adherents for her position.[8] That this view bids to become fashionable may be suggested by the translation of the fragment (the only piece of Sappho's to be given in full) by Ewen Bowie in the chapter on lyric and elegiac poetry in the new *Oxford History of the Classical World*.[9] Here too the line is given to the departing girl. I still think, however, that the attribution of the line to Sappho is more likely and wish to put that case once again here, in more detail than has hitherto been done.

One thing is certain: there must have been at least one glyconic preceding the line that begins our fragment since that line is the second of a strophe of which the the first two lines are regularly glyconic, the third line glyconic with dactylic expansion. The first glyconic must have been spoken by the

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ἀδόλως, the single unusual word in the line, does not in itself help in the attribution. It is commonly used in solemn asseveration and to indicate extreme seriousness but it also occurs in erotic and less serious verse: see Page 76–77, and below, n. 30.

[4]There are, I realise, assumptions implicit in the use of the word "girl." They are that Sappho is older than the person who is departing and, ultimately, that Sappho was the central figure of a *thiasos* where younger women spent a period of time. These assumptions are not based on the text of fr. 94 itself: a *prima facie* reading of this fragment gives no particular reason to believe that the departing woman is any younger than Sappho. I believe that the assumptions I make are warranted by the remains of Sappho's poetry, though I will not argue for them here, and I consequently use "girl" throughout this article.

[5]W. Schubart, *Berliner Klassikertexte* 5.2 (Berlin 1907) 12.

[6]U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 50.

[7]Burnett first advanced the argument in "Desire and Memory (Sappho Frag. 94)," *CP* 74 (1979) 16–27.

[8]E.g., R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London 1987, *Phoenix* Supp. 21) 68; Jane McIntosh Snyder, *The Woman and the Lyre: Women Writers in Classical Greece and Rome* (Carbondale and Edwardsville 1989) 25–26, with n. 55.

[9]J. Boardman, J. Griffin, and O. Murray (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (Oxford 1986) 104.

same person as spoke the second, for the δ' establishes the first line of what survives as a further statement of the person who spoke the missing line.[10] This flow is broken by the asyndeton of line 2. Asyndeton is regularly used, as Longinus points out (19–21), for emotional effect and in rapid narrative, and so absence of connective in the second line may easily enough be explained as another sign of the turmoil directly expressed in the first line. It is more difficult to account for the asyndeton if we are moving from the girl's despairing cry to Sappho's supposedly cool account of the past,[11] for we would expect a connective with the change of speaker. At line 6 ἃ με becomes τὰν δ' ἔγω: the pronouns of line 2 are juxtaposed once again, this time with the expected connective attending the new speaker. The poised Sappho of the time of parting and consolation, rather, enters the poem here.[12]

If the line is the girl's, we have, on the evidence, a fragment that does not begin in the present but that is simply narrative of a past event. It would be, thus, unlike all the longer surviving fragments of Sappho, none of which (except for fr. 44, the telling of a story from myth) is without some connection to the present of the song. It may be argued that a present for the song was established in missing strophes that preceded the beginning of the poem as we have it, but this is, in the last analysis, not a necessary or helpful hypothesis. We do not need more than a single line to make the poem complete, and the present can be adequately established if Sappho speaks the opening two lines. The departure, in fact, seems to be introduced in what we have and is thus unlikely to have been anticipated, though the relation of the past to the present is likely to have played some part in the

[10]That Schubart put quotation marks at the end but not at the beginning of line 1 in 1902 (above, n. 2) shows that he understood this: the girl will have spoken the missing line of the first strophe.

[11]There is a remarkably similar passage at *Od.* 4.663–667:

> Ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα ἔργον ὑπερφιάλως ἐτελέσθη
> Τηλεμάχῳ ὁδὸς ἥδε· φάμεν δέ οἱ οὐ τελέεσθαι.
> ἐκ τοσσῶνδ' ἀέκητι νέος πάϊς οἴχεται αὔτως,
> νῆα ἐρυσσάμενος, κρίνας τ' ἀνὰ δῆμον ἀρίστους.
> ἄρξει καὶ προτέρω κακὸν ἔμμεναι·

Antinous expresses strong emotion and then, in a sentence in asyndeton (665), mentions Telemachus' departure.

Asyndeton is also frequent in explanations (with γάρ suppressed); cf., e.g., Sophocles *OC* 741. This might well be operative here.

[12]This presentation of the past lover as not identical with the present singer is what contemporary criticism would term "focalization": in the long speech we are apparently shown the perceptions of a different Sappho from the one who is now recounting the scene of parting (the "focalizer" is the narrator here, though of course this need not always be the case): see S. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London 1983) 71 ff.

poem, and will do so if we give the first line to Sappho. Further, a division of the girl's speech into two parts (one of indeterminate length and lost except for a single line) would itself be extraordinary in early poetry, where utterances may be interrupted by the words of an interlocutor but are not normally divided by narrative. It is again easiest to assume that we first hear the girl in the speech that begins with τόδε.

In his fine but unjustly neglected discussion of this fragment, McEvilley showed how carefully and intricately it can be seen to be constructed if we assume an initial line, as did Edmonds, in which Sappho names the girl. Edmonds and Jurenka chose Atthis for the missing glyconic.[13] One hesitates to be so specific, remembering the fate of the once popular Agallis of fr. 31, who departed for all time when the publication of the Florentine papyrus in 1965 gave us the correct reading of line 16 of that poem.[14] But the name of an actual girl would fit with Sappho's practice of naming a beloved of the past (fr. 16, Anactoria; fr. 49, Atthis) but not the immediate beloved (frs. 1, 31). If there is a person named or referred to in the missing line and if it is the first line of the poem, we get the following structure: (a) a line which mentions the singer (presumably Sappho) and the departing girl together; (b) a unit of two lines, doubling the preceding single-line unit, with one line devoted to Sappho's death wish, the other to the girl's weeping departure; (c) a third unit which continues the simple incremental progression—a three-line strophe for the girl, beginning with the introduction of a speech, followed by a parallel strophe for Sappho which carefully echoes it. At this point the deliberate parallel deliberately breaks down, for Sappho takes over the poem.

This is an attractive reconstruction. Even if it is rejected, it should still be borne in mind that the desire for death, or the statement of nearness to death, is elsewhere put into Sappho's own mouth and not into the mouth of others (cf. fr. 31.15–16; fr. 95.10–11). A possible first line, on the analogy of fragment 95, could be something like ζώοισ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἄδομαι (providing an appealing contrast, no matter who speaks the second line of the truncated stanza).

The parchment text of the poem offers no punctuation and so provides no help in understanding how the ancients thought the poem was articulated. But the passage from the first to the second stanza is problematic and admits of three readings. It needs to be examined carefully.

(1) If we take the πόλλα of line 3 as dependent on the participle ψισδομένα as, say, Bowie does (above, note 9),[15] we must believe that this is the single

[13] Ἄτθιδ' οὔποτ' ἄρ ὄψομαι, J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* 1^2 (London 1928) 240; οἴχωκ' Ἄτθις, ἄχος μ' ἔχει, H. Jurenka, "Die neuen Bruchstücke der Sappho und des Alkaios," *ZÖstG* 53 (1903) 290–298, at 290.

[14] On Agallis see Page 26. Atthis, at least, is attested in the other fragments.

[15] Page (77) also inclines to this construction of the Greek. M. Treu, *Sappho*[4] (Munich 1968) 74, puts a comma after πόλλα, thus emphasizing the enjambment.

instance of enjambment between stanzas in the fragment. If, on the other hand, we take the first stanza as end-stopped we have a second instance of asyndeton following immediately upon the first. Enjambment may be thought to make the opening lines run more easily, for with a pause at the end of line 2 the poem will have six consecutive lines (1–6) that are self-contained (the missing first line of the first strophe was in addition likely a self-contained statement). Some will consider this effect displeasing. The hyperbaton, or postponement and displacement of πόλλα, may, if there is relieving enjambment, be for pathetic effect. But it seems to me simply harsh and more difficult to accept than a second case of asyndeton where there is clearly a first, and a resulting series of halting sentences that give the feelings of two people overcome by powerful emotion. The expected place of πόλλα, if it were to be taken with ψισδομένα, would be before the participle (cf. πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταισ', fr. 96.15). Moreover, if the line is self-contained there will be an exact and careful parallel between με ψισδομένα κατελίμπανεν (2) and σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω (5). However the case may be, when πόλλα is taken with the participle, the καί of line 3 must join the two verbs κατελίμπανεν and ἔειπε.[16] Burnett (291) simply ignores πόλλα in her translation ("she wept as she went away / murmuring this as well"). She thus uses the καί to introduce a second statement of the girl's, parallel to what she takes as the first. Her translation is in accordance with her understanding of the poem but it does not account for the text, and it gives a wrong idea of the Greek. Bowie's translation, "so sobbing, many times, she left me," also gives a skewed impression, for the introduction of "so" creates a connection between the weeping girl and the previous line. There is nothing in the Greek that does this.

(2) καὶ τόδε may, certainly, mean "this as well," with adverbial καί. This is a possibility only if we take the first stanza as end-stopped and construe πόλλα with ἔειπε rather than with ψισδομένα—"she repeatedly said this as

[16]Note that the καί of κἄμεθεν (7) joins two parallel verb forms (both imperatives)—ἔρχεο and μέμναισ'—in the first certain instance of enjambment in the poem. But the enjambment between 7 and 8 is different from the enjambment that would be created by taking πόλλα with ψισδομένα. The earlier instance would be "unperiodic": the sentence complete at the end of line 2 would be extended by line 3. The latter is "necessary": line 7 requires the first word of line 8 to complete its meaning (and is within a strophe). See A. Parry (ed.), *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford 1971) 251 ff.

R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Munich 1967, Zetemata 44) 150–152, maintains that the standard supplement after ἔειπε in this line, i.e., μοι, cannot be correct since, *inter alia*, it contravenes the rules for enclitic position. But he makes no alternative suggestion, and I cannot think of a reasonable possibility. The supplement need not be monosyllabic—the final ε of ἔειπε is uncertain. ἔειπ' ἔμοι is not attractive, there being no reason for an emphatic pronoun, especially after the με of the preceding line (normal enclitic position).

well."[17] But even this reading of the Greek does not oblige us to believe that we are returning, with the words that follow τόδε, to the departing girl's speech rather than hearing it for the first time. A similar passage is to be found in Pindar's Fourth *Pythian*:

τὸν μὲν οὐ γίνωσκον· ὀπιζομένων δ' ἔμ-
πας τις εἶπεν καὶ τόδε·
Οὔ τί που οὗτος Ἀπόλλων 86–87

Here the words εἶπεν καὶ τόδε do not refer to things previously spoken but point to the selection of something (or some things) spoken by a voice that is first heard only after the introductory τόδε (i.e., "said this among other [unreported] things"). And so even if καὶ τόδ' ἔειπε means "said this as well," the first line can belong to Sappho, who reports, after the statement of her reaction to the girl's departure, the fact of that departure, then briefly quotes something selected from the parting speech (τόδε) and follows it with her longer reply (τάδ', 6).

(3) The easiest construction of the Greek is, in my estimation, to punctuate at the end of line 2 and not only to take πόλλα with what follows,[18] but to take πόλλα καὶ τόδε together as a unit—"she said much and this (in particular)." The common Homeric phrase πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά (e.g., *Od.* 2.312, 4.96, 12.347) is the prototype: there is a slight crescendo, with emphasis on the last word of the three, in Homer on ἐσθλά, in Sappho on the utterance chosen from the many things collected into the single word πόλλα but not directly given.[19] καί joins two things and so is copulative as in (1), but this time the two things are neuter accusatives rather than verbs. If this is the correct flow of the passage, then the first surviving line is very unlikely to belong to the girl, for to give it to her would relegate τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω to the position of one of many things lumped together and referred to retrospectively by πόλλα.[20] It is more natural and elegant to take πόλλα as the things passed over in silence before τόδ' announces what the next two

[17]In her 1979 article (above n. 7) 23, Burnett translates "and more than once she said." This too is an idiosyncratic translation, reversing the πόλλα and the καί. The translation catches the πόλλα, taking it adverbially with ἔειπε, but it also takes the καί as a conjunction. It is not possible to have it both ways at once: if πόλλα is adverbial καί is not copulative but must be adverbial too.

[18]There seem to be forms of πολύς at or near the beginning of three other stanzas of the poem: πόλλοις (12), πόλλαις (15), πόλλωι (18, a likely and common supplement). Each of these forms appears to precede the verb with which it goes: περεθήκαο (14), ἔβαλες (17, the usual supplement), ἐξαλείψαο (20). This looks very much like conscious polyptoton and there may be an argument for adding line 3 to the list, i.e., for taking πόλλα with the following verb.

[19]Prose amplifies the fundamental idea: cf. γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα, Hdt. 1.1.3 (this example was brought to my attention by Drew Griffith).

[20]Franyó (above, n. 3) translates line 3, "Vieles sagte sie, und auch dies." I doubt, therefore, that he is really at variance with Snell in their joint edition.

lines will report, i.e., what is selected from among many possibilities. No more is needed, for these two lines, 4 and 5, report succinctly the gist of the girl's situation in her own words. She is is miserable and she is leaving. I should think that the second asyndeton created by placing punctuation at the end of line 3 might be used much in the manner of the first: both testify, delicately but powerfully,[21] that Sappho's feelings are engaged, and further reveal the consternation that the first line has made explicit.[22] McEvilley's translation of the opening three lines (2) is both fully faithful to the Greek and takes the words in the most direct way:

> Really, I want to die; weeping she left me.
> She said many things, and this: "....

There is no reading, then, of line 3, that favours attribution of the first line to the departing girl. Rather, the structure of what we possess and a close examination of the text make it probable that this line is Sappho's. Our preference in attribution of the first line will be affected, however, by our overall reading of the poet. Burnett's is an upbeat Sappho, cleansed of the *Sehnsucht* and torment that German critics in particular have been wont to ascribe to her. On such a reading we have in this fragment a tranquil and collected, perhaps even a cheerful, Sappho consoling a distraught friend who is departing. The poem is a careful iteration of the activities of the circle the girl is leaving; the pain is entirely the girl's and memory will help her, once she has gone, to overcome her grief. Sappho remains, so far as we can ascertain, unaffected by the departure.

Nonetheless, we have observed that Sappho frequently describes her own pain and her own love, as well as her own desire for, or proximity to, death. In this she is startlingly like the Helen of the *Iliad*, who on all three of her appearances in the poem expresses the wish that she were dead (i.e., had died). On each occasion Helen is looking back. In Book 3 she tells Priam

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There remains the remote possibility that there was a long speech by the girl, of which line 1 was the tail end, that Sappho's narrative interrupts it, and that πόλλα refers back to it ("the many things [already reported] plus the following"). But apart from the anomalous practice this would entail (see above, 114–115), a πόλλα that refers to a long preceding passage is less likely than a πόλλα that neatly gathers together things left unspecified.

[21] In the passage from *Od.* 4 cited above (n. 11) there is a second instance of asyndeton (667) following directly upon the first: Antinous' consternation is thus made more vivid.

The rarity of asyndeton in Sappho itself suggests that it is used in this poem for particular effect (see above, 114). A. W. Gomme, "Interpretations of Some Poems of Alkaios and Sappho," *JHS* 77 (1957) 255–266, at 260, thinks that the asyndeton of line 2 is an argument for change of speaker there, but he does not elaborate. To me the lack of connective appears to have just the opposite effect, as I have explained.

[22] The several short sentences thus coincide with the revelation of Sappho's pain in the present and and the girl's in the past. Sappho's valediction, on the other hand, being calmer, is characterized from the outset by longer sentences.

that she wishes she had died before her departure for Troy (173 ff.). In Book 6 she tells the living Hector that she wishes she had died at birth (345 ff.), a sentiment she speaks again to the dead Hector in Book 24 (764). Helen's characteristic utterance is to express sorrow for something that happened aforetime, the *fons et origo* of her present *malorum*.[23] It is tempting to think that Helen is Sappho's model in fragment 94,[24] and tantalizing to try to determine in each case the precise tone of the self-pity.[25]

In the Hymn to Aphrodite (fr. 1), by remembering the past Sappho brings solace to herself and, through memory, checks an initial movement towards self-pity.[26] In fragment 94 too she is her own physician. She recounts the past at length and remembers its joys in a time of difficulty. The tears and sorrow of the departing girl are, on this understanding, much more than an "anecdote" (Burnett 293, 295); they are a fiction of the poem designed to elicit Sappho's counterstatement. The counterstatement is a long reverie of self-consolation, for the real grief is her own. Sappho's poem is certainly a love-poem that speaks of mutual joy[27] and mutual pain. But it is in the last analysis a poem about herself.[28]

[23]Hector, Helen, and Antenor wish that Paris were dead or would die (Hector, 3.40 and 6.281–282; Helen, 3.428; Antenor, 7.390). This is an expression of the general disapproval of Paris within Troy (cf. 3.56–57 and 451–454), not an expression of self-pity. Closer, perhaps, to Helen's own death-wish is Andromache's at 22.481.

Achilles' τεθναίην at 18.98 is complicated. It is partly a response to his mother's prediction of his impending death, but it is also regret for his past action, or inaction (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ...). Mimnermus' τεθναίην (fr. 1.2, West) refers to the future—the present is not painful.

[24]Helen makes everything easy to understand: cf. fr. 16.5 ff.

[25]Helen may not be totally self-absorbed and her wish may contain genuine sorrow for the trouble she has caused Trojans and Greeks alike. But she does not say so directly.

There is another significant point of similarity between Sappho and Homer's Helen: both know that they will be remembered (cf. *Iliad* 6.358; Sappho frs. 55, 147).

[26]Hermann Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*[3] (Munich 1969) 201, speaks of "einen Umschlag von zehrender Qual zu zuversichtlicher Hoffnung." Fragment 31 also seems to move from agitation to equanimity: ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ ... (17).

[27]Fr. 96 appears to console Atthis by speaking of mutual joy and mutual sorrow. The sorrow of the departed girl is wishful thinking, for she is across the sea in Lydia and Sappho must imagine her feelings. Distance in 94 is created through time, not space—the girl's sufferings are in the past, not in another land. But in both cases the fiction serves an immediate purpose and that purpose is consolation in present pain.

The "focalizer" (above, n. 12), when the same person as the narrator, may use the narrator's language. In fr. 94 that language is the language of love, not of detachment, and the first-person plural verbs (8, 11, 26) show the bond that continues to exist. Further, ἔγω θέλω (9) is the language of the present Sappho (cf. θέλω, 1).

[28]J. Rauk, in a fascinating article, "Erinna's *Distaff* and Sappho Fr. 94," *GRBS* 30 (1989) 101–116, argues that Sappho's poem is in fact a lament and as such "primarily concerned with the speaker's state and emotions, not with those of the companion" (115). Rauk would, thus, also give the opening line to Sappho (107, 111).

We need no more than what we can now read to be able to find satisfaction in a superbly crafted poem, all elements of which are to be paralleled in what remains to us of Sappho. There is a present intolerable situation, there is the poet's expressed desire to die (one of many Homeric reminiscences), and there is refuge in memory for the pain of the present. The length of the description of the shared pleasures gains special point if Sappho is really speaking to herself. Schadewaldt wrote memorably of the three time-levels of the poem, the present, the moment of parting in the past, and the more remote past that is summoned up in memory.[29] These levels must surely be present on any reading, for even with the opening words in the mouth of the departing girl, we would want missing stanzas to establish the anchor in the present that we find elsewhere in Sappho.

The problem will, no doubt, never be solved to everyone's satisfaction. For our approach to the individual poem depends, inevitably, as I have suggested, on our general reading of the poet.[30] My own inclination is to see her as one who is frequently in love and so frequently in pain, as one who seeks to overcome the tyranny of emotion and of an absolute present by appeal to divinity or appeal to memory (or to both at once). Poem 94 is thus directly comparable to that other ravishing aria, "Dove sono . . .?" Sappho, like Mozart's Countess Almaviva, in her present misery harks back to the "bei momenti" of shared joy and gathers strength as she does:[31]

The Cologne Epode of Archilochus, with its long central speech replying to a girl, is also primarily a revelation of the speaker himself. It is interesting to note that the reconstruction of this poem proposed by M. L. West, *Delectus ex iambis et elegis Graecis* (Oxford 1980) is not unlike the interpretation of Sappho fr. 94 argued for here. West recommends joining fragments 196 and 196a and suggests a possible beginning for the poem. The result is a dispirited speaker who in the present recalls an exchange with a girl in the past, the speaker's remembered speech being *prima facie* an attempt to calm the girl but in reality a reflection of his own preoccupation. (West's later *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* 1^2 [Oxford 1989] is not so explicit in connecting the two fragments and does not reproduce the possible beginning for the poem.)

[29]W. Schadewaldt, *Sappho: Welt und Dichtung: Dasein in der Liebe* (Potsdam 1950) 113–119.

[30]On general presuppositions governing interpretation of an individual fragment, cf. above, n. 4. Our interpretation of the word ἀδόλως is coloured by our more general understanding of the poem. If our overall Sappho is the sort of Sappho who can compose poetry to recount an anecdote, the word ἀδόλως may well suggest the "melodramatic effusiveness" of the girl (Burnett 295); if we think of an earnest and passionate Sappho, the word ἀδόλως gives weight to her utterance.

[31]Fowler, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 8), thinks that the poem must have ended with a repeated admonition to remember old friends, and so have formed a ring with line 8. Rauk (above, n. 28, 109) also thinks that Sappho's catalogue returned to its beginning and to the "pose of friend that Sappho assumed there." He further thinks that such a poem may have been a recognised type (116). I prefer to imagine, however, that the poem returned to the present and in so doing formed a ring with the opening as does fr. 1, the only complete poem we possess: an argument from the poet's observed practice seems to me

> . . . se in pianti e in pene
> per me tutto si cangiò,
> la memoria di quel bene
> dal mio sen non trapassò.

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stronger than an argument from generic composition. But if we are given to speculation about the lost ending of the poem we should perhaps consider the possibility that the poem returned both to the moment of parting and to the present, thus closing two rings—abcba. There are excellent remarks on ring-composition in G. M. Kirkwood's chapter on Sappho in his *Early Greek Monody: The History of a Poetic Type* (Ithaca and London 1974, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 37); see esp. 116 on the return to the immediate situation.

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