

## XX.—The Sapphic Ostrakon

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Sappho's poem, published in 1937, is submitted to a text revision and given a new interpretation. The picture of the holy place in the poem is shown to be composed in accordance with traditional Greek descriptions of paradise which originated in the Orphic eschatology.

Sappho's poem, previously known from two fragments (fg. 5 and 6 Diehl<sup>2</sup> = *inc. lib.* 6 and *ā* 6 *App.* Lobel),<sup>1</sup> then revealed in a more ample text in the Ptolemaic ostrakon published by Medea Norsa<sup>2</sup> in 1937, has since been subjected to a thorough revision by Pfeiffer and Schubart; contributions also have been made by Vogliano, Theander, and Page.<sup>3</sup> Some readings will remain doubtful. However, the interpretation of the topics of this poem can be promoted if based more closely on ancient literary traditions. The results will contribute to our understanding of the poem as well as of Sappho's art and her role in the modeling of Greek poetic material.

Before I start my exposition I present below the text of the Sapphic ostrakon with supplements, corrections, and critical notes.

— — — — —  
[ — — — — — ] καράνο-  
θεν κατίο[σα]

δεῦρ' ἔμ' οἱ Κρήτας πρ[οσίκοι]ο ναῦον  
ἄγνον, ὅππ[α δὴ] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος  
5 μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-  
νοι λι<β>ανώτω,

<sup>1</sup> Ernestus Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica graeca*, vol. I<sup>2</sup> (Lipsiae, 1936); Edgar Lobel, *Σαπφούς μέλη* (Oxford, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> Medea Norsa, "Dai papiri della Società Italiana," *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, storia e filosofia. Serie II*, volume VI (Bologna, 1937), 8-15—with a facsimile, pl. II. Cf. Alfred Körte, *APF* 13 (1939) 90f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rudolf Pfeiffer, "Vier Sappho-Strophen auf einem ptolemäischen Ostrakon," *Ph* 92 (1937) 117-125, with Norsa's facsimile repeated; Wilhelm Schubart, "Bemerkungen zu Sappho," *H* 73 (1938) 297-303, with Lobel's contributions included; Achille Vogliano, in: *Papiri della R. Università di Milano I (Pubblicazioni della R. Università di Milano. Milan, 1937)* 271-273; Carl Theander, "Zum neuesten Sapphofund," *Ph* 92 (1937) 465-469; D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri. Texts, translations and notes. I* ("The Loeb Classical Library." Cambridge, Mass.; London, 1942) 374-379.

- ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψῦχρο[ν] κελάδει δι' ὕσδων  
 μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ χῶρος  
 ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλωγ  
 10 κῶμα κατ' Ἴρον.  
 ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλεν  
 ἡρίνοισ<ιν> ἄνθεσιν, αἱ <δ'> ἄνητοι  
 μέλλιχα πνέοισι(ν) <υ-υ-υ-υ>  
 <-υ-υ-υ-υ>  
 15 ἔνθα δὴ σὺ δόξ' μ' [ἐ]θέλοισα Κύπρι  
 χρυσέαισ<ιν> ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρωσ  
 ἐμ<με> μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ  
 οἶνοχόεσσα.

Text transmission: 1—18 ostrakon Soc. Ital.; 7/8 ἀμφὶ δὲ ὕδωρ—μαλίνων and 9/10 αἰθυσσομένων—κῶμα καταρρεῖ Hermog. *Id.* 2.4, p. 331.19 Rabe (Sapph. fg. 5 Diehl = *inc. lib.* 6 Lobel); 7/8 ἀμφὶ δὲ ὕδωρ—μαλίνων Syrian. in Hermog. 1, p. 15.1 Rabe and *Et. Vind.* cod. 205, fol. 109 (in Bergk, *PLG* III,<sup>4</sup> p. 91); 7/8 δι' ὕσδων μαλίνων Max. Planud. *Sch. in Hermog.*, Rh. V, p. 534.11 Walz; 8 παῖς ὁ χῶρος Cramer, *An. Ox.* III, p. 240.1 (*Lyr. Adesp.*, fg. 59 in Bergk, *PLG* III,<sup>4</sup> p. 706); 15/18 ἐλθὲ Κύπρι—οἶνοχοῦσα Athenaeus 11.9.463e (III, p. 9.24 Kaibel) = Sapph. fg. 6 Diehl, *ā* 6 *App.* Lobel; (the pertinent passage is omitted in Ath. *epitom.* II, p. 52 Peppink).

1. . . ρανοθεν ostr.: κάρανοθεν T(urny); cf. *Il.* 4.475 Ἰδηθεν κατιοῦσα; *Od.* 13.267 κατιόντα . . . ἀγρόθεν.

2. κατιου[ ostr.: κατιου[σαι Schubart: κατιου[σα considered by Körte.

3. δευρυμμερηταισ ostr., δευρυμμερηταισ as seen by Schubart: δέυρ' ὤμωσ (= ὀμῶσ) †κρητες† Pfeiffer: δέυρ' ὤμ' (= ὤμοι, ὀμοῦ) ἐς ῥήτας proposed by Schubart: δέυρύ (cf. Herodian. II, p. 364.32, 933.9 Lentz) μ' (= μοι) ἐκ Κρήτας Theander: δέυρύ μοι Κρήτας T. (μοι is a dativus ethicus).

πρ[ | . νανγον ostr. Here Lobel corrected ναυ{γ}ον (the original ναυγον is corrupted to νανγον in the ostrakon). At the beginning of the latter ostrakon-line the one letter before νανγον can only be—according to the metre and to the usual way of word division—a short vowel preceded at the end of the former line by a long open vowel or diphthong. As the damaged word is probably a verb, I suppose it must accordingly have been an optative form in the 2d person singular with a termination -αι|ο or -οι|ο divided between the two lines. Thus I suggest πρ[οσίκαι|ο]. Previous supplements were πρ[ολίποισ'] ἐναυλον, the first reading proposed by Theander, the second by Pfeiffer (before Lobel's correction was published); Theander's supplement is not acceptable, because the first word should have been divided πρ[ολίποι|σ'] ἐναυλον, and in the ostrakon we have only one letter illegible (not two) before νανγον.

4. δππ[α δή] Lobel, then δππ[α τοι] Page, which is possible and would mean a decided reference to Aphrodite's shrine.

5. *μαλί[αν]* Lobel: *μαλί[δων]* Pfeiffer: *μάλι[νον]* or *μά[τικον]* Norsa.  
*δεμιθυμιαμενοι* ostr.: *δὲ τεθυμιάμενοι* or *δὲ νυ θυμιάμενοι* Norsa: *δ' ἐνὶ (δ' ἐνι Schubart) θυμιάμενοι* Pfeiffer, Vogliano.

6. *ιανώτω* ostr.: *διὰ νώτω* Norsa: *λιβανώτω* corrected by Pfeiffer and Vogliano. Pfeiffer understands *λιβανώτω* to be a genitive (and refers to Lucian. *Prom.* 19 *τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ θυμῖαν*, which however seems to be a rare construction and occurs in a quite remote writer). A dative would be normal: cf. Hipponax, fg. 80 D.<sup>2</sup> *καὶ κνίσῃ τινὰ θυμῖσας*; Eur. *Phaeth.* fg. 773.13 N.<sup>2</sup> *κάπιχωρίοις ὄσμαῖσι θυμῖωσιν εἰσόδους δόμων*. I consider *λιβανώτω* a Lesbian form of the dative;<sup>4</sup> for those who do not believe in that controversial form, I should rather suggest *λιβανώτω* <ι>.

7. *ἐν δ'* Norsa: *εντ* ostr.

*ψύχρo[* ostr.

7/8. *κελαδεῖ δι' ὕσδων μαλίνων* Hermog., Et. Vind.: *..λατιδιδυσχων μαλιαν* ostr.

8. *βροτοιστοτε* ostr.: *βρόδοισι δὲ* Pfeiffer.

*παῖς An. Ox.*: *πες* ostr.

9. *κισκισταιθυσσομένων* ostr.: *ἐσκίασται θυσσομένων* Norsa (referring to Hesych. s.v. *θύσsetai* and *θυσσόμεναι*): *ἐσκίαστ' αἰθυσσομένων* Vogliano (cf. Hermog.).

10. *κωμα* ostr.: *κῶμα* Hermog. codd. PaPcVc, *κῦμα* Ba: om. Ac.

*καταιριον* ostr.: *κατ' ἴρρον* or *κατ' ἴρον* Norsa: *καταρρεῖ* Hermog. (against the dialect):<sup>5</sup> *κατέρρει* Sitzler,<sup>6</sup> *κατέρρρον* proposed by Rehm and followed by Pfeiffer. Norsa understands *θυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων* to be a genitive absolute, which would hardly be an appropriate stylistic feature here. I take the sentence in the following meaning: "the sleepy quiet of the quivering leaves reigns over the holy place." The lack of predicate in Lesbian (something like *πέλεται*)<sup>7</sup> does not present any difficulty.

11. *αλλιβotos* ostr.: *ἰππόβotos* corrected by Lobel and Schubart (considered but rejected by Vogliano): *καλ <λ>ίβotos* Page.

12. *ῥρίνοισιν* Vogliano: *τωτηρινοννισ* ostr.: Schubart explained a double reading *λωτ(ινοῖς)* and *ῥρίνοις* to be conflated in the ostracon. As to the form *ῥρίνοισιν* in Lesbian, cf. Alc., fg. 106.10 D.<sup>2</sup> (in a very interesting picture of nature). Lotus flowers occur in Sappho on the banks of Acheron, fg. 97.12 D.<sup>2</sup> *λωτῖνοις δροσόντας* [δ]χ[θ]οῖς ἴδην Ἀχέρ[οντος]. Then, cf. *μελιλωτος* in Sapph. fg. 98.14 D.<sup>2</sup> I prefer Vogliano's *ῥρίνοισιν* which seems to be borne out by Ps.-Plato, *Axioch.* 371c *λειμῶνες ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις ἐαριζόμενοι*, and by a Christian epitaph no. 316 Diehl, v. 6f.: *Inde p(er) eximios paradisi regnat odores, Tempore continuo verna n t ubi gramina ravis*.<sup>8</sup>

δ' inserted by Norsa.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Friedrich Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* 1 (Berlin, 1921) 45f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lobel, *op. cit.* xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jakob Sitzler, *PhW* 47 (1927) 995.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lobel, *op. cit.* xxxvii-xxxix (referred to by Pfeiffer).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ernestus Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, vol. I (Berolini, 1925), p. 73; cf. Leclercq, *loc. cit.* (see note 16) 1599.

13/15. *πνεοισιν ενθα* ostr.; the metre indicates a lacuna. The words omitted may have continued the description of the place. The space before *ενθα* marks the beginning of a new stanza.

15. *ενθα* ostr.: *ἔλθε* from Athenaeus Norsa.

*δοσμ[ | .ελοισα or θεσμ[ | .ελοισα* ostr.: *δοσμ[ or ποτμ[ or στεμ[ | .ελοισα* ostr. as read by Schubart, *στεμ[ | .ελοισα* by Norsa: *δοξ μ' (= μοι) [ἐ]θέλοισα* ("willingly, benevolently") T. (cf. *Il.* 10.291 *ὥς νῦν μοι ἐθέλουσα παρίσταο καί με φύλασσε*). I considered also *θέξ μ[ε] | θέλοισα* ("transfer me there"), but since *δεῦρον* shows that Sappho herself is already in the holy precinct, such a reading would be unacceptable. *στέμ[ματ'] ἔλοισα* Norsa (in this case Norsa with respect to the usual word division should have read thus *στέμ[μα]τ' ἔλοισα*). *δοξ μεδέοισα* suggested by Schubart.

Perhaps it is not amiss to recall the banal point that the vocative *Κύπρι* should not be set off by commas (as some editors do).<sup>9</sup>

16. *χρυσεαισ* ostr.: *χρυσίασιν* Athenaeus: *χρυσέαισιν* Neue.

*ακρωσ* ostr.: *αβροῖς* Ath.: *ἄβρωσ* Bergk: *ἄβραισ'* Schubart (unacceptable, because synapheia is allowed only between the third and the fourth line of the Sapphic stanza).

17. *εμμειχμενον* ostr.: *ἐμ < με > μείχμενον* Norsa: *συνμειγμενον* Ath. *θαλίασι* Ath.: *θαλιαεσσιν* ostr.

17/18. *νέκταρ οἶνοχοοῦσα* Ath.: *νεκταροῖνοχοεῖσα* ostr.

A continuation of the Sappho text was subjoined from Athenaeus by Hermann and by others: *τοῖσδε τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐτάροις τε καὶ σοῖς* Hermann: *ταῖσδε ταῖς ἐμαῖσι <καλαῖς> ἐταῖραις* Kaibel: *τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔμοις ἐτάροις καὶ σοῖς*, *ἔλθε* Pfeiffer, but those words belong to Athenaeus' setting of the Sapphic citation.

"... descending from the mountain-top come hither for my sake, to the holy temple of Crete, where is a lovely grove of apple trees, and altars censed with frankincense, and there cold water rustles through the apple boughs, and the whole place is shaded by roses, and the drowsy quiet of the quivering leaves reigns over the sacred shrine. And there a horse-nourishing meadow blooms with vernal flowers, and the dills breathe a mild odor. . . . There, o Cypris, give me benevolently nectar, which mingled with joy thou pourest out gracefully in golden cups."

The extant text of the poem contains an invocation to Aphrodite to appear in a shrine on Crete, a description of that holy place, and a prayer to Aphrodite to impart nectar to Sappho. *δεῦρον* indicates that the poetess imagines herself to be in this very place. Norsa rightly pointed out that Sappho on her flight from Lesbos to Sicily

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Immanuel Bekker, *Homeric Blätter* 1 (Bonn, 1863) 268–271; Norden, *op. cit.* (see note 17) 386, note 1.

may have stopped in Crete and that 'Αφροδίτη "Ανθεια was worshipped on Crete.<sup>10</sup> Cretan topics appear in Sappho's poetry.<sup>11</sup> The nectar mentioned in v. 17 may be understood also metaphorically as poetical inspiration.<sup>12</sup> Theander understands that Sappho finds herself elsewhere—e.g., in Mytilene—and invokes Aphrodite to come there. The text proposed above excludes such a situation.

I want to stress at once that my main interest in this poem is attached to the *ἐκφρασις* of the landscape occupying three stanzas out of five of which probably the poem was composed in its entirety.<sup>13</sup> The *χῶρος* described is obviously the *τέμενος* of the goddess, but the most arresting feature of that description is that the *τέμενος* is pictured in the conventional colors of the ancient Greek paradise. This I have to prove through a systematic analysis of the poem. We shall soon see that elements which in the ancient literature were being used for description of Elysium, of Islands of the Blessed, of Paradise, are employed here by Sappho to give an image of a sacred precinct. The common element, the stylistic hyphen justifying the transfer of the topics from one subject to the other was the hieratic character of the theme.

In the Sapphic poem we note especially the following features: temple, grove, altars, incense, cool water, roses, shadow, quiet, blooming meadow, pleasant scent.<sup>14</sup> Then we have to keep in mind that there is an omission in v. 13/14 just in the description of nature, and we cannot guess what elements are lost. We could cover every point separately with similar citations from ancient paradisiacal descriptions, but I think it is better to produce a few striking analogies to show the obvious coincidence of the topics.

For the history of the ideas of Islands of the Blessed, Elysium, Paradise, I refer the reader to the magistral expositions of Rohde,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hesych. s.v. "Ανθεια (I p. 201 Schmidt) . . . καὶ 'Αφροδίτη, παρὰ Κνωσίοις; cf. Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 2 (Oxford, 1896) 632.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sapph. fg. 93 D.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Theander, *op. cit.* 466, note 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. J. M. Milne, "The Final Stanza of ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΜΟΙ," *H* 71 (1936) 126–128, especially 128.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps some repercussions of Sapphic art are to be found in Ibycus, fg. 6 Diehl (*Anth. lyr. gr.* II [1925] p. 53): in the garden of the Nymphs we note springtime, apple trees and pomegranate trees, river water, blooming vine, and shadow. Cf. a subtle characterization of Ibycus in relation to Lesbian poetry by Bruno Lavagnini, *Aglaia* (Torino, 1939) 207.

<sup>15</sup> Erwin Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>7/8</sup> (Tübingen, 1921) 1.68ff., 2.214ff., 369ff.

Dieterich,<sup>16</sup> and Norden.<sup>17</sup> Dieterich and Norden supply all the analogous material for our demonstration.

The most interesting description of the happy afterlife we find in Pindar's dirge, fg. 129 Schroeder (ed. maior [1923] pp. 443, 555). In that *θρήνος* based on Orphico-Pythagorean eschatology, the description of the Elysium—the Elysium of Vergil, *Aen.* 6.637ff., is very similar<sup>18</sup>—has some features which we have already encountered in Sappho: meadows, roses, shadow, altars, fragrance, incense (Sappho's frankincense recurs in Pindar's frankincense-tree); horses appear in Sappho only in the epithet of the meadow—in Pindar there are actual horses (as in Vergil). Both texts exhibit *λειμών*, *τέθαιεν*, *χῶρος*, which are standing elements of the paradisiacal descriptions and betray some common vocabulary. In Aristophanes, we find in the famous song of mystae, alluding to the Eleusinian mysteries (Ar. *Ra.* 448), again meadows with roses and other flowers.

We should compare also the Orphico-Pythagorean<sup>19</sup> description of the other world in Ps.-Plato, *Axiach.* 371c. The style of that passage is lofty, poetic, dithyrambic—there are more elements in this description than in Sappho's, still the similarity is apparent and the analogy to Pindar is also striking. We have to note there the word *χῶρος*; flowery meadows are the common feature; the picture of cheerful life easily recalls Pindar and Vergil. The *καθαρὰ ρεύματα* remind us of *ὑδωρ ψυχρὸν* in Sappho and of *ψυχρὸν ὑδωρ* in the Orphic grave-tablet (*Orph.*, fg. 32a.5 and 9 Kern). On the mystic sense of *ψυχρὸν ὑδωρ*, in connection with *ἀναψυχή* = *refrigerium*, I refer to the expansive discussion of Dieterich.<sup>20</sup> It is a symbol of spiritual recreation and bliss.<sup>21</sup> Of course, in a strongly sober consideration

<sup>16</sup> Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrus-apokalypse* (ed. 2, Leipzig-Berlin, 1913—with additions by Richard Wünsch). Also cf. H. Leclercq, article "Paradis," in: Fernand Cabrol et Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XIII 2 (Paris, 1938), 1578–1615.—On an interesting late Byzantine product, cf. Th. Nissen, "Die Aristeas-Legende im Idyll des Planudes," *ByzZ* 36 (1936) 291–299.

<sup>17</sup> Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig-Berlin, 1916), pp. 18ff., 295ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Dieterich 30, 120f.; Norden 295ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia* 31, 121; Joseph Souilhé, *Platon* XIII 3 ("Collection des Universités de France," Paris, 1930) 133f.

<sup>20</sup> *Nekyia* 95ff.

<sup>21</sup> Beside Dieterich, cf. G. van der Leeuw, "Refrigerium," *Mnemosyne* III ser., 3 (1935/6) 125–148; Károly Márót, "Refrigerium," *Acta Litt. ac Scient. Reg. Univ. Hung. Francisco-Iosephinae*, Sectio Philologica, tom. XI (Szeged, 1937) 187–219, 248f.

the water in the Sapphic shrine is nothing more than an element of the landscape.

The Elysium of the Aeneid (6.637ff.)—thoroughly interpreted by Norden—is particularly interesting on account of some common features with Pindar's dirge. In our connection I should like to point to the sentence (Verg. *Aen.* 6.652f.) *passimque soluti per campum pascuntur equi*—it bears out the reading *ἰπρόβορος* in Sappho. We recognize the usual elements in the well known parodical description of the wonderland in Lucian, *VH* 2.5ff.; especially cf. 2.13 (p. 177.3 Nilén). Quite exceptionally, *χώρα* is used there instead of *χῶπος*.

In accordance with the topics and the phraseology of all those descriptions is the *ἐκφρασις* of the Paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter.<sup>22</sup> I refer to the passage in which the world of the righteous is described (*Apoc. Petri* 15f. [p. 15.7 Klostermann]). In that *χῶπος*, the earth is covered with unfading<sup>23</sup> flowers and trees, and the fragrance is immensely strong.<sup>24</sup> I refer also to the *Passio*

<sup>22</sup> The text now conveniently edited in Erich Klostermann, *Apocrypha I. Reste des Petrusevangeliums, der Petrusapokalypse und des Kerygma Petri.* (*Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen* herausg. von Hans Lietzmann. Bonn, 1913.) Also cf. Erwin Preuschen, *Antilegomena. Die Reste der ausserkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Überlieferungen*<sup>2</sup> (Giessen, 1905) 84–87—with German translation, pp. 188–191; Adolf Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* herausg. von Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack, IX 2. Leipzig, 2nd ed. 1893)—text with translation and notes. Analysis of greatest importance by Dieterich, *Nekyia*. Then, cf. Montague Rhodes James, *The Revelation of Peter*, in: J. Armitage Robinson and M. R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter.* Two lectures. (London, 2nd ed. 1892.) Translations and comments: Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament . . . newly translated* (Oxford, 1924) 505ff.; H. Weinel, in: Edgar Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*<sup>2</sup> (Tübingen, 1924) 314ff. On the Ethiopic version with French translation, for the passage in which we are interested cf. Sylvain Grébaut, "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine," *ROC* Deuxième série, 5 (15) (1910) 317. For a German translation of the Ethiopic version, cf. Hans Duensing, "Ein Stücke der urchristlichen Petrusapokalypse enthaltender Traktat der äthiopischen Pseudoklementinischen Literatur," *ZNTW* 14 (1913) 73.—For the history of the apocalyptic literature, cf. Norden, *op. cit.* "Einleitung," especially 20–23.

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps we have to read *Apoc. Pet.* 15 ἀπαρντ<ιν>οις ἀνθεσι and to understand rather "purplish flowers" in view of the roses in Sappho and the *φουνικόροδοι λειμῶνες* in Pindar (fg. 129.2). On the possible meaning of ἀμαράντινος, cf. Stephanus, *TLG* I 2 (1829) 31 A; Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin, 1937) 69; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 21.47.

<sup>24</sup> *Apoc. Pet.* 16 τοσούτων δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὡς <δυσμῆν add. Usener> καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐκείθεν φέρεσθαι; Usener's correction is superfluous, because τὸ ἄνθος obviously means "fragrancy" and the same τὸ ἄνθος is the subject of the consecutive *acc. cum inf.* Oscar von Gebhardt (*Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus. Die neuent-*

SS. *Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 11.5 (p. 31.3 Beek),<sup>25</sup> and to the *History of Barlaam and Josaphath* p. 280 Boissonade (Migne, PG 96.1149).<sup>26</sup>

Dieterich proved the connection of the Petrine Revelation with the old apocalyptic literature. The current ideas of the Western world on hell and paradise are of ancient Greek origin<sup>27</sup> and passed from the Greek apocalyptic literature to the Christian literature. Dieterich and Norden agreed that the origin of those ideas can be traced back to Orphic and Orphico-Pythagorean poetry of the sixth century B.C., containing eschatologic revelations.<sup>28</sup> From that tradition originated the known eschatologic myths in Pindar, Plato, Vergil, and the Petrine Apocalypse.

Now, the agreement, both material and stylistic, between Sappho and that tradition, in the hieratic descriptions of a holy place in Sappho and of the paradisiac landscape in other writings, suggests the conclusion that Sappho herself was inspired by the old Orphic eschatologic poetry, especially by its picture of the *λειμώνες τῶν εὐσεβῶν* in the Orphic *Κατάβασις εἰς Ἅιδου*.<sup>29</sup>

It does not necessarily mean that the holy place referred to in the poem is conceived by the poetess as *the* Paradise; the concrete location in Crete speaks against such a conception of the scenery. In a surge of poetic fantasy Sappho sees herself in the company of the goddess at a celestial banquet on earth. Sappho simply transferred the picture of paradisiacal landscape, known from the Orphic

*deckten Bruchstücke nach einer Photographie der Handschrift zu Gizeh in Lichtdruck herausgegeben* [Leipzig, 1893] 32) considered a change of *ἄνθος* into *ἄνθοδμον*, or thought *ἄνθος* to mean "shine."

<sup>25</sup> Cornelius Ioannes Maria Ioseph van Beek, *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* I (Noviomagi, 1936).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. J. Armitage Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua (Texts and Studies, 1. Cambridge, 1891)* 37ff.

<sup>27</sup> The Greek origin of the literary pictures of hell and paradise was set forth by Dieterich and supported by: Hermann Diels and Harnack (in Harnack, *op. cit.* 86); Norden; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* 2 (Berlin, 1932) 311f.; Martin P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion (Lectures on the History of Religions sponsored by The American Council of Learned Societies. New Series, No. 1. New York, 1940)* 119. But Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven, 1922) 174f., 190ff., 206, assumes oriental origin of the Greek theology of hell and paradise.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Dieterich, *op. cit.* 72ff.; Norden, *op. cit.* 21; Otto Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Berolini, 1922), p. 305. The Orphic origin of Plato's eschatologic myths is contested by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon* 1<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1920) 413; *Der Glaube der Hellenen* 2.197f.

<sup>29</sup> On the Orphic "Descent into Hades," cf. Kern, *Orphica*, pp. 304–307; Ivan M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley, 1941) 110.



poetry, from the paradise to the holy precinct of Aphrodite.<sup>29a</sup> The tone of hieratic solemnity, equally appropriate in both cases, favored this act of poetic imagination which thought of the holy shrine of the beloved goddess in terms of paradise, as described in the religious poetry.<sup>30</sup> If it is so, we have to put the date of that Orphic poem somewhat earlier: to have influenced Sappho it must have been composed at least on the verge of the seventh cent., about the *floruit* of Sappho, i.e. ca. 600 B.C.

We have to discuss one point more: the possibility of Sappho's closer relation to the Orphism. Certainly, a poetess like Sappho was imbued with all kinds of poetry created in Greece up to her time, and there would be no need to justify in Sappho's poetry the reception of some topics from any poetical quarters. But we are in a position to bear out the idea of a special affiliation of Sappho to the Orphic tradition.

There are some data on Orpheus' cult in Lesbos.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps because of that cult Sappho was more intimately acquainted with Orphic poems,<sup>32</sup> although even without such local influence we may trust Sappho with extensive knowledge of poetry including also this kind of literature.

I think it is not amiss to point in this connection to Sappho's appearance in the mystic stuccos of the Pythagorean subterranean basilica of the Porta Maggiore in Rome, so notably discussed by Carcopino.<sup>33</sup> The Leucadian leap of Sappho was represented there in a Neopythagorean shrine, and Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 22.20, cited

<sup>29a</sup> Prof. Campbell Bonner draws my attention to two very remarkable passages: Parm. (?) fr. 20, especially v. 3 (*PPF* p. 72 Diels; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [Leipzig, 1904] 96); and Ov. *Met.* 10.644-648.

<sup>30</sup> The words of Dioscorides, *AP* 7.407.8 *μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλσος ὁρῆς* (indicated in this connection by Pfeiffer) must be a reference to this poem (in spite of the preceding words of Dioscorides).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ernst Maass, *Orpheus. Untersuchungen zur griechischen römischen altchristlichen Jenseitsdichtung* (München, 1895) 131-133; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* 2.195; Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, test. 118, 134, 140; but also cf. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* 130ff. Incidentally, there was perhaps a mention of Orpheus in Alcaeus, fg. 80.7 Diehl<sup>2</sup>; it would be the oldest literary evidence of Orpheus (cf. the interesting discussion by Kern, *Gnomon* 11 [1935] 475; cf. Linforth 3).

<sup>32</sup> The negative judgment of Wilhelm Schmid, *Gesch. der gr. Lit.* 1.1 (München, 1929) 420, on Orphism in Sappho should be modified.

<sup>33</sup> Jérôme Carcopino, *La basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure (Études romaines.* Paris, 1926) 371-385; cf. Carcopino, "Archéologie et philologie," *REL* 5 (1927) 146-149.

by Carcopino) testifies that Sappho's love of Phaon was a subject of Pythagorean speculations. The possibility is not excluded that Sappho from the older times somehow was considered as belonging to the Orphico-Pythagorean world on account of some literary motifs in her poetry which we may not know.

Sapphic eschatology would be an interesting theme if we had more material. Still it is worth while to discuss the few elements we can glean from her fragments. There are two especially characteristic fragments, fg. 59 and 58 D.<sup>2</sup>, dealing with the afterlife. In fg. 59 D.<sup>2</sup> = *inc. lib.* 32 L. (μνάσασθαι [-ασθαι codd.] τινά φαμι καὶ ἄψερον [so Lobel: ἔτερον codd.] ἀμμέων), despite the uncertainty of the text we see that the poetess expresses her belief in her own immortality; after all, it may be the customary topic, *exegi monumentum aere perennius*. But extremely significant is fg. 58 from a poem addressed (according to Plutarch, *Praec. Coniug.* 48 p. 146a and *Quaest. Conviv.* 3.2 p. 646f) to a rich but rude and uneducated lady. Obviously, Sappho considers that a poetess will find in the afterlife the reward of immortality, but that a rude being will go to dwell with the ghosts in Hades. Thus Sappho opposes the afterlife of poets to the oblivion of the ἄμουςοι (*Μνημοσύνη* and *Λήθη* symbolize the contrast). The difference in their afterlife may be understood in terms of Elysium and hell.<sup>34</sup> Now, that conception of the afterlife of poets would be in agreement with the old Orphic tradition. Thus, in the Vergilian Elysium we find, among others, poets: Verg. *Aen.* 6.662 *quique pii vates, et Phoebæ digna locuti*.<sup>35</sup> But to the sinners in hell belong egoistic rich people: *Aen.* 6.610 *qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis*.<sup>36</sup> And also this element of the ancient ethics Dieterich traced back to the old Orphic system, which Sappho seems to follow in this fragment.

Sappho's great talent consisted in her catholic use of various poetic traditions for the concrete purpose of the poem being written. Several years ago I had the occasion to prove how artfully Sappho combined literary elements of Homeric psychology to create a perfect expression of erotic emotions.<sup>37</sup> This time we have again the proof how gracefully Sappho utilized the current picture of

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia* 91ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI*<sup>2</sup> 34f.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Dieterich, *op. cit.* 168; Norden, *op. cit.* 288.

<sup>37</sup> A. Turyn, *Studia Sapphica* (*Eos*, suppl. 6. Leopoli, 1929).

paradisiac meadows of the Orphic eschatology in her poem addressed to her beloved patroness Aphrodite. It is a great satisfaction to notice in an early period of the apocalyptic traditions, leading down through Vergil and Christian revelations to Dante,<sup>38</sup> a Sapphic poem which for its part may have poetically contributed to the perfection of those eschatological topics.

<sup>38</sup> From the recent literature on the subject, cf. Theodore Silverstein, "Did Dante Know the Vision of St. Paul?" *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 19 (1937) 231-247.