FRAGMENTUM ADESPOTUM 976

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Δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα καὶ Πληταδες, μέσαι δέ νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὤρα, ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.

Four lines,¹ four particles, the moon and the Pleiads, midnight and time passing, a woman alone: together, these make up one of the loveliest of all Greek lyrics, and one of the best known. Emil Staiger has heard in this poem "the early voice of the lyric as its intimate secret is audible over the space of twenty-five hundred years." Staiger seems to be right in speaking of the secret of this poem. Its stark simplicity baffles criticism and prompts the common view that it is a fragment. Its author is unknown. It has been preserved in Hephaistion's *Enchiridion* with three or four fragments of Sappho, but Hephaistion, in the severely abridged version of his *Enchiridion* which now represents his treatment of meter, does not quote it as belonging to Sappho. Philologists have tended to regard it as a folk song or an anonymous fragment. European poets have given the poem to Sappho and themselves to the associations and mysteries of this name.

The history of this poem is an intricate one which has never been written in full. In one sense its fate has been a strange one. In as much as it has influenced European poetry, it has been attributed to

¹ The poem appears above as Theodor Bergk restored it in his first edition of the lyric poets (Marburg 1843), and not as it is preserved in Hephaistion's *Enchiridion* XI 6 (Consbruch), where it is displayed as a distich, and except for the form $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{a}\nu\nu\alpha$, in a dialect which cannot be Aeolic. For the text of Sappho, I quote, where I can, from Lobel and Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1955) with their numbering of the fragments. Abbreviated citations are to Lobel, Åλκαίου μέλη (Oxford 1927) (= $A\mu$), and Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) (= Sappho).

² Grundbegriffe der Poetik⁵ (Zürich 1961) 39.

Sappho for well over four centuries.³ But it is fair to say, with Max Treu, that what philologists have had to say about this, "the best known song of early Greece," would disappoint their many friends.⁴ To the friends of the midnight poem perhaps the strangest thing that philologists have had to say about it is that it cannot belong to Sappho. It is a disappointment that the friends of Sappho have not been friends of the poem, for their criticism has not been as attentive to the poem itself as to the vexed question of its attribution. A cloud of controversy now hangs over the poem, and the poem itself has almost been lost sight of among the arguments, moral and linguistic, which deny it to Sappho.

Philologists are by no means agreed that the intimate voice of the poem cannot be Sappho's. But we are learning to grow gradually, imperceptibly, and almost painlessly accustomed to dissociating the midnight poem from Sappho. We look for it in the most authoritative edition of the Aeolic poets, and we do not find it there. Disappointed, we look to Denys Page's attractive new *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (Oxford 1968), and when we fail to recognize it among the familiar faces of Sappho's poems, we are pleased to discover it at all, in a dialect which is not Aeolic, among the restless *fragmenta adespota* (no. 468). It can be found in like company in Page's *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) as *fragmentum adespotum* 976.

Page's reasons for considering the midnight poem *adespotum* can be discovered from his apparatus. Why he considers the poem a fragment, he does not say. But the doubts which have transformed what was one of the two complete poems of Sappho, and one of the

³ The poem was probably first attributed to Sappho by Arsenius, archbishop of Monembasia (1465–1535) in a marginal notation to his edition of the proverbial material collected by his father, Michael Apostolius, Corpus Paroem. Graec. V 98 c, II 363 (Leutsch). The relative clause of characteristic which characterizes "the followers of Arsenius" in the apparatus to Page's Poetae Melici Graeci (Oxford 1952), fragmentum adespotum 976, is gratuitous. There is reason to be duly impressed by Arsenius' language to Leo X as he pictures himself in a field rich with flowers ($\mathring{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\mathring{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi o\lambda \nu \omega \nu \theta e \mathring{\epsilon}\nu$ $\lambda \epsilon \iota \mu \mathring{\omega}\nu \iota \gamma \epsilon \nu \acute{\mu} \epsilon \nu \sigma s$, $\mathring{a}\lambda\lambda o \tau \iota \mathring{\epsilon}\xi$ $\mathring{a}\lambda\lambda o \nu$ $\delta \rho \epsilon \psi \mathring{a}\mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$), Praeclara dicta philosophorum, imperatorum, oratorumque et poetarum (Rome ca. 1519) 2; Janus Lascaris who brought some 200 MSS from the East to Florence had a hand in the edition of Apostolius' collection (Leutsch, praef. xiv). Later in the century, the midnight poem appeared with Sappho I in the editio princeps of Stephanus' Anacreontis Teji Odae (Paris 1554). Cf. Horst Rüdiger, Geschichte der deutschen Sappho-Übersetzung (Germanistische Studien 151 [Berlin 1934]) 7.

⁴ Sappho (Munich 1958) 211; cf. 148 and RE Supplementband 11 (1968) 1234.

two poems which appeared in Stephanus' editio princeps of Sappho, to fragmentum adespotum 976 seem to originate in a footnote to Wilamowitz' Isyllos von Epidaurus (1886).5 Wilamowitz' view of the poem is unabashedly moral: the poem is wrong for her ("übrigens ist es eine sünde, das reizende volkslied der Sappho zuzuschreiben"). Taken together, the doubts which have brought two of the most influential critics of Greek poetry to deny the poem to Sappho seem to have three main grounds: (1) Hephaistion cites the poem with no attribution; (2) the dialect in which the Enchiridion preserves the poem does not seem to be Aeolic, and its meter cannot be paralleled elsewhere either in Sappho or Alcaeus; (3) the poem seems wrong for Sappho.

Two of the obstacles to attributing the poem to Sappho arise in Hephaistion and depend on his reliability in giving attributions and preserving dialect. The third has to do with a strongly felt conception of Sappho's character and the immediate and personal nature of lyric poetry, and goes back to Wilamowitz. Page can hardly be thought to share Wilamowitz' view of Sappho's character, and it is odd that he should appeal to Wilamowitz' "strong language against the poem" in the apparatus to his Poetae Melici Graeci: vehementer obloquitur Wilam. Isyll. 129 n. 7. Stranger is Page's reference. Wilamowitz' reasons for rejecting the traditional attribution of the midnight poem to Sappho are not urged with any vehemence at all. In his earliest statement of his view on the poem, Wilamowitz acknowledges that this charming folksong must have had its place in the Alexandrian collection of Sappho's poetry, but he cannot bring himself to attribute it to her: "dies mädchen harrt bei offener kammertür auf den geliebten: das soll Sappho sein?" In a later and more influential statement of his misgivings concerning the poem, he answers a rhetorical question of fourteen years standing, and states peremptorily that: "es ihr individuelles Geständnis nicht sein kann."6 But only later, in his Sappho und Simonides, does it become clear why: "Und nun Sappho! Eine vornehme Frau, Gattin und Mutter . . .; ihr Haus ist ein Musensitz, den auch nicht die Trauer entweihen darf."

Such a μοισοπόλων οἰκία as Wilamowitz imagines could never have had its door open for a midnight lover. And yet it is far from certain

⁵ Philologische Untersuchungen 9 (Berlin 1886) 129, note 7.

⁶ Die Textsgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker (Berlin 1900) 33, note 1.

that the limits of Sappho's sympathy or the range of her power of representation must be the limits of her experience, or that this experience is no more complex than that of the $\partial \gamma \nu \partial \Sigma \alpha \pi \phi \omega$ as Wilamowitz imagined her. The very presence of wedding songs closely resembling the wasf poetry of the ancient (and modern) Near East in what survives of Sappho's poetry makes it impossible to interpret all of her poetry as "Bruchstücke einer grossen Konfession." Page's own view of the complexity of the evidence for arriving at an adequate view of Sappho's "individuelles Geständnis" is cool and balanced. In fact he cites Wilamowitz' "indignant speech for the defense" as "a good example of the one extreme."

We are left then, not with Dichtung und Wahrheit, but with Hephaistion, and not with the content of the midnight poem, but with the dialect in which it was written. The fact that the poem is anonymous as it is cited in Hephaistion, in the abbreviated version of the Enchiridion that has come down to us, should have no weight in the balance. Fragments 110, 115, 117, 132 and 140 are all cited in Hephaistion sine nomine auctoris. The two lines of fragment 129 are also transmitted anonymously, but given to Sappho by the flair of her editors: Sappho sapiunt. If the Enchiridion is to have any weight in the question of attribution, it ought to place our poem among the incertum utrius auctoris fragmenta of Lobel and Page since the context in which it is cited is a discussion of the practice of of $Alo\lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} s$.

⁷ The phrase is Goethe's (from Dichtung und Wahrheit, Goethes Werke in zwei Bände [Munich 1957] I 1040), and not Wilamowitz,' although it is difficult to believe that the attitude towards the lyric it reveals did not have its influence on Wilamowitz' thought and expression. Sappho's epithalamia, with their parallels in the folk poetry of the ancient Near East, are almost inaccessible to such a view of the personal character of the lyric—a point well made by Franz Dornseiff, ZDMG 90 (1936) 589-601. These and the aubades considered at the end of this paper require either a different view of Dichtung und Wahrheit or a different view of Sappho's character; or more likely, of both. Or should we imagine the midnight poem a Trostlied composed by Sappho to cheer up one of the lovelorn girls of her circle? Cf. Merkelbach in Philologus 101 (1957) 13, note 3.

⁸ Sappho 146, note 1.

⁹ Treu calls attention to the present form of the Enchiridion in his review of Marzullo's elaborate argument for the 'safficità' of the poem, Gnomon 32 (1960) 745. Even so, Righini, StItal 24 (1950) 72-73, has attempted to anchor the midnight poem to Hephaistion's characterization of two fragments as composed in 'Sapphic meter.' But the tenor of Hephaistion's entire discussion of the Ionice a maiore is against this, since his subject from p. 35.22 to the end of the chapter is the practice of Aeolic poetry and not exclusively that of Sappho.

The deciding point narrows down to the question of dialect. Page allows that the fact that the meter of the midnight poem has no parallel in Sappho or Alcaeus "is not evidence against the attribution, but it does not favor it." 10 Still it remains clear that the meter had many parallels in Aeolic as Hephaistion understood it. The litmus test is dialect. The "anomalies" of dialect detected by Page are (1) the presence of the article; (2) the forms σελάνα, μέσαι, and παρά. II All are taken to be foreign to Aeolic. But as Gomme pointed out, both μέσαι and παρά are attested for Alcaeus, and the best of the MSS for Hephaistion, the Ambrosian, has $\sigma \epsilon \lambda \acute{a} \check{\nu} a$, with a second $\nu \hat{v}$ written directly over the first. The rest give $\sigma \epsilon \lambda \acute{a} \nu a$. Thus it would seem here too that the authority of dialect is at best ambiguous. Page draws on his long experience as an editor of Greek lyric poetry when he speaks of the "notoriously unreliable quotation tradition" represented by our authorities. 13 In the same chapter of the Enchiridion, to give an example, Hephaistion reports πλήρης μεν εφαίνετ' ά σελάνα (H has $\epsilon \phi \alpha i \nu \epsilon \theta^{2}$ $\dot{\alpha}$). But since he cites the fragment as belonging to Sappho, Lobel and Page (following Bergk) print σελάννα (154). The question of attribution seeems to hang then, not on meter, nor on dialect as Hephaistion preserves it, but on the flair of Sappho's editors for their poet.

But there is one last difficulty: the presence of the article. Can $\dot{\alpha}$ stand with σελάννα in Aeolic as its practice has been codified by Lobel in his Άλκαίου μέλη? Page, who praises the scientific principles of Lobel's work but cannot always follow them for the article, thinks not, and gives the presence of the article as one of his reasons for rejecting the attribution of the poem to Sappho. But the practice of the Aeolic poets is as complex as the rules which prescribe it, and within these rules there are ways of saving the phenomena of the midnight poem.

¹⁰ JHS 78 (1958) 84.

¹¹ Sappho 128; JHS 78 (1958) 84-85; and the apparatus to Poetae Melici Graeci, fragmentum adespotum 976. In his Lyrica Graeca Selecta, fragmentum adespotum 468, Page seems to have relented on the form $\sigma \epsilon \lambda \acute{a} \nu \alpha$ as a piece of evidence weighing against the attribution of the poem to Sappho, although he continues to print the reading not of Hephaistion's text as we find it in Consbruch, but that of his scholiast (p. 147).

¹² JHS 77 (1957) 265; cf. Marzullo, Studi di poesia eolica (Florence 1958) 29-34, and Eva-Maria Hamm, Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios (Berlin 1957) 17, 11 and 111, 195a. 13 JHS 78 (1958) 84.

For one, the presence of the article is "justified" for our poem by reason of the $\mu \acute{e}\nu / \delta \acute{e}$ antithesis which informs it.¹⁴ If the definite article needs further justification, there is another rule which can be invoked stating that the article is used by the Aeolic poets to refer to "something familiar, in the same way that persons or things in proverbs are familiar." ¹⁵ It would seem that Hesperos, Selanna, Auos, and Helios were familiar to Sappho, and perhaps more familiar to her than to her editors.

It is precisely the definite article which reveals $\stackrel{\circ}{a} \Sigma \epsilon \lambda \acute{a} \nu \nu a$ as a person familiar to Sappho and the $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu / \delta \acute{\epsilon}$ antithesis informing the poem which reveal its intimate secret over the space of twenty-five hundred years. In antiquity, Apollonius of Rhodes knew the secret of the moon's setting and possibly the secret of the midnight poem. In the last book of the Argonautica the moon $(M\acute{\eta}\nu\eta)$ looks down on Medea abroad at night. Her immediate response shows the obsession of a woman in love:

Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μούνη μετὰ Λάτμιον ἄντρον ἀλύσκω, οὐδ' οἴη καλῶι περὶ δαίομαι Ἐνδυμίωνι. (4.57–58)

The goddess is right. She is not the only woman abroad at night in search of love, and her love for Endymion is the secret of the poem which begins with her setting. It is an intimate secret perhaps, but one known for most of antiquity. In the midnight poem it is indicated as plainly as any such secret ought to be by the tell-tale particles $\mu\acute{e}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{e}$. As Denniston put the doctrine so memorably, $\mu\acute{e}\nu$ does not shut itself up like the unsociable γe . Rather it "looks at a neighbor, real or imaginary, over the garden wall." ¹⁶ Once the heavens no longer excite the imagination, even these very noticeable particles become faint, paleontological light. Symptomatic of our modern indifference to nature as it was humanized in myth is the problem posed by the definite article which accompanies the moon in three of Sappho's poems. Page cannot 'justify' the presence of the definite article in \grave{a} $\beta\rhoo\deltao\delta\acute{a}\kappa\tau\nu\lambda$ os † $\mu\eta\nu\alpha$, since he cannot imagine $\mu\eta\nu\alpha$ (or $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{a}\nu\nu\alpha$, Schubart's emendation) treated here as a personal name. This diffi-

¹⁴ $A\mu$ lxxix. Cf. Page Sappho 102, note 3.

¹⁵ $A\mu$ lxxviii.

¹⁶ The Greek Particles2 (Oxford 1959) 115.

culty is naturally an obstacle to understanding $\Delta \epsilon \delta \nu \kappa \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \dot{a} \sigma \epsilon \lambda \dot{a} \nu \nu a$, just as it is for $\dot{a} \chi \rho \nu \sigma \sigma \pi \dot{\epsilon} \delta \iota \lambda \lambda o s A \ddot{\nu} \omega s$. ¹⁷

The skies of Greece were, after all, alive. Heaven itself was no other than lofty and amorous Ouranos who took the earth into his embrace at night-fall. Housman was more sensitive to this life than any of the poets who have attempted the midnight poem, and his two separate versions of the poem make it plain enough that he discovered its secret in the skies of the Aegean. These skies were once alive, and this forgotten life is the 'lost country' of his first version (More Poems X):

The weeping Pleiads wester, And the moon is under seas; From bourn to bourn of midnight Far sighs the rainy breeze;

It sighs from a lost country
To a land I have never known;
The weeping Pleiads wester,
And I lie down alone.

If it can be told plainly, the secret of the midnight poem is that Selanna ($\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu$) sinks into the seas to join Endymion, ¹⁸ but midnight comes on ($\delta \acute{\epsilon}$), the season of love passes by ($\delta \acute{\epsilon}$), and the human woman and poet ($\check{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \ \delta \acute{\epsilon}$) must sleep alone.

There is an ancient commentary to the night episode in Apollonius which tells us more of the love of Selene for Endymion and reveals still another secret of the midnight poem. Sappho knew the tale,

17 Å βροδόδακτυλος †μῆνα (96.8) and ἀ χρυσοπέδιλλος Αὕως (123; cf. 58.19) fall into a special category. When a personal name is accompanied by an adjective it usually has the article ($A\mu$ lxxxviii). But then, in Alcaeus at least, it seems that divinities are not treated in human terms, and that their names, when accompanied by an adjective, do not have the article. Interestingly enough Sappho's practice suggests that she "treats divine names like other personal names and gives them the article when qualified by an adjective" ($A\mu$ lxxxix). Consider 96.8 (with Page's comments, Sappho 90); 154; 123 (Aυωs); 58.26 (Helios); and 104 b (Hesperos); 133.2 (Aphrodite). But then, despite some difficulties hedging this rule, no one will imagine that these divinities, especially Aphrodite and ποτνία Aυωs, with her gold sandals and rosy arms, are anything but familiar and personal to Sappho.

18 It is possible that the Pleiads sink into the sea to join Poseidon who had taken two of the seven sisters as his wives. The association is a natural one, but the evidence comes from much later than Sappho; Pausanias 2.30.8; Apollodorus 3.10.1; Σ ad Ap Rhod. 4.1561.

If the midnight poem is taken by itself, the logic of its particles shows that it is not a fragment. Taken with what remains of Sappho's poetry it becomes clear that Hephaistion has preserved not a fragmentum adespotum, but one of the two surely complete poems surviving from the nine books of Sappho's poetry. The personal logic of $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu$ answered by an emphatic and individualistic $\delta \epsilon$ is characteristic of a pattern of expression well known for Sappho. The world about seems to stand as a foil to set off the personal concerns of the poet. In the midnight poem the constancy of the world of myth sets off the inconstancy of the world of human love. Then there is the foil of those objects others admire: a fleet of ships, an array of soldiers on horseback or on foot. Some (oi $\mu \acute{e}\nu$) say that the one is the fairest thing upon the black earth; others (oì $\delta \epsilon$) the other: $\epsilon \gamma \omega \delta \epsilon \kappa \hat{\eta} \nu$ $\delta \tau \omega$ τις ἔραται (16.1-4). For Sappho fairest of all is her daughter Kleis for whom she would not take all of lovely Lydia (132). If we can trust the context which seems to emerge from a papyrus fragment and two lines cited by Athenaeus, it would appear that we have this same pattern in $\ddot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$ $\phi i\lambda\eta\mu\mu$ ' $\dot{a}\beta\rho\sigma\sigma\dot{\nu}\nu\alpha\nu$. It seems here too that it is

¹⁹ Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera, ed. C. Wendel (Berlin 1958) at 4.57–58; cf. Page Sappho 272–74. As Lobel and Page recognized, Sappho also knew of the love of Eos and Tithonos (58.19–24), and Page is absolutely right in seeing that the reference is introduced "to illustrate a personal theme," Sappho 130.

²⁰ Σ ad Ap. Rhod. 3.26 (= 198).

²¹ 58.25. The *men/de* antithesis is remarkably common in Sappho. Other examples are 42, 50, 154. 34 and 48 also seem to fit this pattern, but both are fragmentary. Cf. Marzullo (above, note 12) 36–37.

the world of myth and the tale of Tithonos and $\beta\rho$ oδόπαχυς Aυως which stand as the foil to what Sappho values.

But it is the canopy of the night with its brilliant phenomena and constant rhythm which is spread over the poetry of Sappho and over the midnight poem. Sappho's poetry registers every stage of the rhythm of the night, and the midnight poem has its place in this rhythm. What was the beginning of a wedding hymn responds to the first stage of the night's progress overhead (104 a):

"Εσπερε πάντα φέρων ὄσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' Αυως, φέρεις ὄιν, φέρεις αίγα, φέρεις ἄπυ† μάτερι παΐδα,

It is Hesperus, ἀστέρων πάντων ο κάλλιστος (104 b), that lovers eagerly await at evening. And it is dawn who, as she mounts in the East, scatters all that Hesperus has joined together. The Irish romantic, George Darley (1795–1846), captures the beginning of this cycle well, if quaintly, in his Mermaiden's Vesper Hymn:²²

At this sweet hour, all things beside In amorous pairs to covert creep; The swans that brush the evening tide Homeward in snowy couples keep.

This is the $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ of the poem. $\Delta \dot{\epsilon}$ follows:

In bowers of love men take their rest,
In loveless bowers we sigh alone;
With bosom friends are others blest,
But we have none! but we have none!

With her vesper hymn before it, the logic of Sappho's midnight poem and its particles is plain to see. It stands to the night as the vesper hymn stands to evening and the aubade to dawn. Hesperus has brought Selene to Endymion, but Sappho stands against the rhythm of nature as it is commemorated in myth, and she stands quite alone. The moon, the night, and the Pleiads can figure as a proper *Hintergrund* to the woman alone in the night only once they have come

²² The Complete Poetical Works of George Darley (London 1908) 441-42. The medieval levis exurgit zephirus is a lovely example of the same rhythm of nature, again for the woman who feels that she is not a part of it: mihi sola sedeo. Cf. Ibycus, 6.6-7 (D).

alive.²³ The ωρα which passes by is the season of the night and union announced by Hesperus, and it is the swallow that announces its end.²⁴

The folk poetry of modern Greece helps bring out the urgency of the tense of $\delta \epsilon \delta \nu \kappa \epsilon$ and the significance of the setting of the Pleiads. It is the star of morning ($\delta \alpha \nu \gamma \epsilon \rho \nu \nu \delta s$) which is the constant companion of the Pleiads. In that stark ballad General Makryiannis sang to cheer up the disconsolate Gourás as they were besieged in the Acropolis, it is the clear star of morning which travels next to the Pleiads: $\delta \kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho \delta s$ $A \nu \gamma \epsilon \rho \nu \nu \delta s$ $\delta \nu \epsilon \rho \nu \delta s$ In another well known folk song, the morning star and the Pleiads are simply called $\tau \delta \sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta s$ $\delta \nu \delta s$

Sappho registers the last movement of the rhythm of the night in the earliest Greek aubade. For lovers in Verona it is the lark that comes too early and too raucous. In Lesbos it is the swallow. In Lesbos the same woman who prayed for the night to be doubled asks the swallow why it vexes her (135): ²⁷

τί με Πανδίονις, "Ωιρανα, χελίδω . . . ;

The same woman wrote the hymn to Hesperus, and knowing the

²³ Critical accounts of nature as a *Hintergrund* to the human predicament of the midnight poem depend on the narrow antithesis of the human and the world of still and indifferent nature. The characterizations of Schadewaldt, *Sappho* (Potsdam 1950) 183–84, and Treu, *Von Homer zur Lyrik* (*Zetemata* 12² [Munich 1968]) 208–9, are inadequate to the poem because both critics fail to imagine the possibility of a nature humanized by myth. In fact these characterizations are more accurate for Alcman, fr. 58 (D) and are perhaps suggested by it; cf. Bernert in *Philologus* 94 (1940) 229–31.

²⁴ This is roughly the sense Longo urges for ωρa, Maia 6 (1953) 221. Homer uses the word to denote the proper time or season for a thing—most commonly for sleep and bed, Od. 3.334; 11.330–31, 373, 379; 19.510. Asclepiades of Samos' interpretation of ωρa as ψυλακή (AP V 150) should thus be taken to show that his original was accurate for the psilotic Aeolic of Sappho. The alternative is to interpret ωρa in Sappho as the "watch" and to look to the E.M. for justification, as does Maas, Mélanges Émile Boisacq 2 (Bruxelles 1938) 132.

 25 Στρατηγοῦ Μακρυγιάννη Άπομνημονεύματα, ed. G. Vlachoyianni (Athens 1947) I 285.

²⁶ C. A. Trypanis, Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry (Oxford 1951) no. 96.

27 Which is the first example of the Greek aubade given by Mozley in A. T. Hatto's Eos: An Inquiry into the Theme of Lover's Meetings and Partings at Dawn (The Hague 1965) 260. Άρτίως μ' ἀ χρυσοπέδιλλος Αύως (123) should follow 135 (Hatto no. 2) as no. 3 in Hatto, and should be added to his collection. Apparently it is not because Lobel and Page reject Seidler's emendation and print μ εν ά.

secret of Selene, was pained not to share her fortune. Once the "lost country" of the night is recovered, the midnight poem must be understood in the logic of its particles, returned to Sappho, and given a place between the star of evening and the swallow in her poetry of the night.