



Diachronic Sappho: some prolegomena

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Diachronic Sappho: some prolegomena

October 22, 2015 By Gregory Nagy listed under By Gregory Nagy, Sappho

Edit This

In my posting for Classical Inquiries 2015.10.08, I offered my own working translations of some songs attributed to Sappho, complementing my interpretations as posted for Classical Inquiries 2015.10.01. These songs, currently known as "the newest Sappho," are part of a set of new discoveries of papyrus fragments. In my posting here for Classical Inquiries 2015.10.22, my current interpretations of the "newest Sappho" songs are integrated with my earlier interpretations of the "old Sappho" songs that I have been studying ever since the early 1970s. I am thinking here especially of my work on Songs 1, 16, 31, and 44 of Sappho. The reasons for my giving the title "Diachronic Sappho" in this posting for 2015.10.22 will be explained as I now proceed to present my essay.



Detail from Attic krater attributed to the Brygos painter, 480-470 BCE. Line drawing by Valerie Woelfel.

§1. It was my good fortune to be invited by Boris Maslov and Rocco Rubini to a workshop that they organized on the subject of Lyric and Epic. The workshop took place at the University of Chicago on Thursday and Friday, October 15 and 16, 2015. My friend Roland Greene and I were asked to preside over the conversation dealing with Lyric on Thursday. Then, on Friday, both of us actively joined the conversation dealing with Epic; this time around, the presiders were Nandini Pandey and David Quint. On both Thursday and Friday, I concentrated on the songmaking of Sappho, especially on the songs currently known as the "newest Sappho," and, in the course of our conversations, I shared my working translations for most of these songs. These translations, as we see them published in my posting for Classical Inquiries 2015.10.08, complement the interpretations that I summarize in my posting for Classical Inquiries 2015.10.01. In the course of the conversations that were generated in Chicago, it dawned on me

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that my current interpretations of the "newest Sappho" songs need to be presented together with my earlier interpretations of the "old Sappho" songs that I have been studying ever since the early 1970s. I am thinking here especially of my work on Songs 1, 16, 31, and 44 of Sappho. My views about these songs are consistent for the most part with my newer views about the songs collectively described as the "newest Sappho." But even if these old-and-new views of mine are internally consistent, I find it difficult to reconcile them with views currently held by a number of other Classicists about Sappho. What makes my views different is that my approach to the songmaking of Sappho is diachronic as well as synchronic, whereas the corresponding approaches taken by the Classicists I have in mind are exclusively synchronic. And a big problem for these Classicists is that the various arguments generated by their various synchronic-only approaches are for the most part inconsistent with each other and cannot be mutually reconciled. I offer here merely a general critique of exclusively synchronic approaches, because my own argumentation is not meant to take aim ad homines.

- §2. In building a model that I describe as a diachronic Sappho in the title, I am following the model of a diachronic Homer as developed in other projects of mine. 1 The terms synchronic and diachronic, as I use them here in describing my approaches to Sappho as well as Homer, come from linguistics. 2 When linguists use the word synchronic, they are thinking of a given structure as it exists in a given time and space; when they use diachronic, they are thinking of that structure as it evolves through time. 3 From a diachronic perspective, the structure that we know as Sappho's songmaking can be viewed, I argue, as an evolving medium.
- §3. That said, I now offer a working inventory of some exclusively synchronic views that I think stand in the way of achieving a coherent understanding of Sappho's songmaking. In each case, I write the given view in italic font and then I offer a diachronic counter-view in roman font. These counter-views are based on work published in relevant books and essays of mine that I list in the Bibliography below. I refer to these books or essays here simply by name (Nagy, abbreviated as N) followed by date of publication: for example, N 1974. What follows, then, is my working inventory of some exclusively synchronic views, followed by a brief write-up of diachronic counter-views:
 - A. Sappho wrote poems. No. There is no proof that the composition of songs by Sappho depended on the technology of writing. In N 1974 as also in the Appendix to N 1990a, I offer proof that a composition like Song 44 of Sappho was created by way of a formulaic language that is cognate with the formulaic language used in the compositions that we know as the Homeric Iliad and Odyssey. As I argue further in N 2011b:155–156, the composing and the transmission of the songs attributed to Sappho—and to Alcaeus—cannot be divorced from the performing of these songs. To put it as simply as possible: the songs of Sappho—and of Alcaeus—were meant to be performed, not read as texts. And here is one other point that I need to make already now: the compositions attributed to Sappho are not simply poems. They are songs. More on this point below, at D.
 - B. Sappho is a historical person, to be dated around 600 BCE, who intended her songs for other historical persons who are named or unnamed in the wording of these songs. Before we can speak of the historicity of Sappho, we must first ask ourselves this all-important question: for whom were her songs intended? The answer, as I argue in N 2015a, is that Sappho's songs were originally "intended" for all the people of Lesbos. So, these songs are "intended" not only for family, not only for some inner circle of women and girls, not only for some sub-group of people who are participating in a specific event. And I view the concept of "intention" diachronically here, not only synchronically. The persons to whom Sappho speaks in her songs become personae or—let's say it more simply—characters in the world of these songs, just as Sappho by virtue of speaking (1) to these characters and (2) about these characters and (3) about herself becomes a character in her own right. The ancient Greek word for the functioning of personalities or personae or characters in the world of song is mīmēsis, as I argue with specific reference to Sappho in Classical Inquiries 2015.10.01. A more extended argument, with reference to Greek songmaking in general, is made in N 2013b.
 - C. The occasion for the songs of Sappho can be determined by whatever the words of these songs have to say about the world of Sappho. No. As I argue in N 1993, 1994–1995a, 1994–1995b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010, 2015a, the occasion for each of the songs was determined by the historical circumstances that shaped the traditions of performing the songs, and these circumstances changed over time.
 - D. The medium of Sappho, in the performance of her songs, was (1) choral or (2) sympotic or (3) "concertizing." From a diachronic and a historical point of view, as I argue especially in N 2007b, 2010, 2015a, all three of these media fit the songmaking of Sappho. From an exclusively synchronic point of view, on the other hand, Classicists are sometimes forced to choose, depending on the context that they are reading: it is as if the songs of Sappho must be only choral or only sympotic or only "concertizing."
 - E. The personality of Sappho shows that she is a woman who loves girls. Here we see an overly narrow typing of Sappho as represented by the words of her songs. The songs of Sappho, as I will argue in the postings that follow this one, reveal a kaleidoscope of female personae. She can be a middle-aged woman or even an old woman, but she can also be a young girl. She can be a woman who loves girls, or a girl who loves another girl or is loved by other girls or by women. She can behave in a wide variety of ways, ranging from the





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stateliness shown by a priestess of the goddess Hera all the way to the frivolities of a courtesan who enchants the men who hear her songs sung at their drinking parties. She can also be a loving or a scolding sister, as I argued in N 2015a. She can even show her love of boys, as I argued in N 1973, where I reconstructed what must have been Sappho's poetic declaration of an erotic desire for a radiant young hero named Phaon.

In preparation for the postings ahead, I offer here my working translations of some songs of Sappho that I studied in N 2013 (hereafter abbreviated as H24H):

1) from Song 44 of Sappho ("The Wedding of Hector and Andromache")

 $|_4$ τάς τ΄ ἄλλας Άςίας .[.]δε.αν κλέος ἄφθιτον· $|_5$ Ἔκτωρ καὶ ςυνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοις' ἐλικώπιδα $|_6$ Θήβας ἑξ ἱέρας Πλακίας τ΄ ά.[..]νάω $|_7$ ἄβραν Άνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦςιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον $|_8$ πόντον· πόλλα δ' [ἑλὶ]γματα χρύςια κἄμματα $|_9$ πορφύρ[α] καταὐτ[..]να, ποἰκιλ' ἀθύρματα, $|_{10}$ ἀργύρα τ΄ ἀνάρ[ι]θμα [ποτή]ρ[ια] κάλέφαις. $|_{11}$ ὤς εἶπ'· ὁτραλέως δ' ἀνόρουςε πὰτ[η]ρ φίλος· $|_{12}$ φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν εὐρύχορον φίλοις. $|_{13}$ αὔτικ' Ἰλίαδαι cατίναι[c] ὑπ' ἑυτρόχοις $|_{14}$ ἄγον αἰμιόνοις, ἐπ[έ]βαινε δὲ παῖς ὅχλος $|_{15}$ γυναίκων τ' ἄμα παρθενίκα[ν] τ..[..].ςφύρων, $|_{21}$ [... ἵ]κελοι θέοι[c] $|_{22}$ [...] ἄγνον ἀολ[λε-] $|_{23}$ ὄρμαται[...]νον ἐς ἵλιο[ν] $|_{24}$ αὖλος δ' ἀδυ[μ]ἐλησ[...] τ' ὀνεμίγνυ[το] $|_{25}$ καὶ ψ[ό]φο[ς κ]ροτάλ[ων...]ως δ' ἄρα πάρ[θενοι] $|_{26}$ ἄειδον μέλος ἄγγ[ον ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς αἵθ[ερα] $|_{27}$ ἄχω θεςπεςία γελ[...] $|_{28}$ πάνται δ' ἦς κὰτ ὅδο[...] $|_{29}$ κράτηρες φίαλαί τ' ό[...]υεδε[...]..εακ[.].[...] $|_{30}$ μύρρα καὶ κασία λίβανός τ' ὀνεμείχνυτο $|_{31}$ γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυςδον ὅςαι προγενέςτερα[ι] $|_{32}$ πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἑπήρατον ἵαχον ὄρθιον $|_{33}$ Πάον' ὀνκαλὲοντες ἑκάβολον εὐλύραν, $|_{34}$ ὕμνην δ' Ἔκτορα κΆνδρομάχαν θεοεικέλο[ις]. $\frac{4}{2}$

 $|_4$... and the rest of Asia ... imperishable glory [kleos aphthiton]. $|_5$ Hector and his comrades [sun-(h)etairoi] led her, the one with the glancing looks, $|_6$ from holy Thebe and ... Plakia, they led her, the lovely Andromache $|_7$ in ships over the salty $|_8$ sea. Many golden bracelets and purple $|_9$ robes ..., intricately worked ornaments, $|_{10}$ countless silver cups and ivory. $|_{11}$ Thus he spoke. And the dear father quickly stood up. $|_{12}$ And the news reached the dear ones throughout the broad city. $|_{13}$ And the Trojans yoked to smoothrunning carriages $|_{14}$ the mules. And the whole ensemble climbed on, $|_{15}$ all the women and maidens $|_{12}$ looking just like the gods [ikeloi theois] $|_{22}$... holy $|_{23}$ set forth into Troy ... $|_{24}$ And the sweet song of the pipe mixed ... $|_{25}$ And the sound of the cymbals, and then the maidens $|_{26}$ sang a sacred song, and all the way to the sky $|_{27}$ traveled the wondrous echo ... $|_{28}$ And everywhere through the streets ... $|_{29}$ Mixing bowls and cups ... $|_{30}$ And myrrh and cassia and frankincense were mingled. $|_{31}$ And the older women cried out elelu. $|_{32}$ Meanwhile all the men sang out a lovely high-pitched song, $|_{33}$ calling on Apollo Pāōn, the far-shooter, master of playing beautifully on the lyre. $|_{34}$ And they sang the song of Hector and Andromache, both looking just like the gods [theoeikeloi].

Sappho Song 44.4-34⁵

2) testimonium from Himerius

Himerius (Orations 9.16) says:

Σαπφοῦς ἦν ἄρα μήλῳ μὲν εἰκάσαι τὴν κόρην, [...] τὸν νυμφίον τε Ἁχιλλεῖ παρομοιῶσαι καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν τῷ ἤρωι τὸν νεανίσκον ταῖς πράξεσι.

Sappho compared the girl to an apple [...] she compared the bridegroom to Achilles, and likened the young man's deeds to the hero's.

Sappho Fragment 105b⁶

3) Song 115

τίωι c', ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλως ἐικάςδω; | ὄρπακι βραδίνωι cε μάλιςτ' ἐικάςδω.

To what shall I liken you, dear bridegroom, to make the likeness beautiful? \mid To a tender seedling, I liken you to that most of all.

Sappho Song 115⁷

4) Song 31

 $|_1$ φαίνεταί μοι κήνος ἴσος θέοιςιν $|_2$ ἕμμεν' ὥνηρ, ὅττις ἑνάντιός τοι $|_3$ ἱςδάνει καὶ πλάςιον ἆδυ φωνεί- $|_4$ ςας ὑπακούει $|_5$ καὶ γελαίςας ἱμέροεν, τό μ' ἢ μὰν $|_6$ καρδίαν ἐν στήθεςιν ἑπτόαιςεν, $|_7$ ὡς γὰρ ἕς ς' ἴδω βρόχε' ὡς με φώναι- $|_8$ ς' οὐδ' ἕν ἕτ' εἴκει, $|_9$ ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶςςα ἕαγε λέπτον $|_{10}$ δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν, $|_{11}$ ὁππάτεςςι δ' οὐδ' ἕν ὅρημμ', ἑπιρρόμ- $|_{12}$ βειςι δ' ἄκουαι, $|_{13}$ κάδ δὲ μ' ἵδρως ψῦχρος κακχέεται τρόμος δὲ $|_{14}$ παῖςαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας $|_{15}$ ἕμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεὑης $|_{16}$ φαίνομ' ἕμ' αὔται-

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 $|_1$ He appears [phainetai] to me, that one, equal to the gods [īsos theoisin], $|_2$ that man who, facing you $|_3$ is seated and, up close, that sweet voice of yours $|_4$ he listens to, $|_5$ and how you laugh a laugh that brings desire. Why, it just $|_6$ makes my heart flutter within my breast. $|_7$ You see, the moment I look at you, right then, for me $|_8$ to make any sound at all won't work anymore. $|_9$ My tongue has a breakdown and a delicate $|_{10}$ —all of a sudden—fire rushes under my skin. $|_{11}$ With my eyes I see not a thing, and there is a roar $|_{12}$ my ears make. $|_{13}$ Sweat pours down me and a trembling $|_{14}$ seizes all of me; paler than grass $|_{15}$ am I, and a little short of death $|_{16}$ do I appear [phainomai] to myself.

Sappho Song 318

5) Song 1

 $|_1$ ποικιλόθρον' άθανάτΆφρόδιτα, $|_2$ παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίςςομαί ςε, $|_3$ μή μ' ἄςαιςι μηδ' όνίαιςι δάμνα, $|_4$ πότνια, θθμον, $|_5$ άλλὰ τυίδ' ἕλθ', αἴ ποτα κάτέρωτα $|_6$ τὰς ἕμας αἴδας ἀίοιςα πήλοι $|_7$ ἕκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποιςα $|_8$ χρύςιον ἦλθες $|_9$ ἄρμ' ὑπαςδεύξαιςα-κάλοι δὲ c' ἀγον $|_{10}$ ὥκεες στροθθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας $|_{11}$ πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ώράνωἵθε $|_{12}$ ρος διὰ μέςςω· $|_{13}$ αἶψα δ' ἑξίκοντο· cù δ', ὧ μάκαιρα, $|_{14}$ μειδιαίςαις' άθανάτωι προςώπωι $|_{15}$ ἥρε' ὅττι δηὖτε πέπονθα κὥττι $|_{16}$ δηὖτε κάλημμι $|_{17}$ κὥττι μοι μάλιςτα θὲλω γένεςθαι $|_{18}$ μαινόλαι θύμωι· τίνα δηὖτε πείθω $|_{19}$ βαῖς' ἄγην ἐς cὰν φιλότατα; $|_{20}$ Τίς $|_{20}$ Ψάπφ', άδικἡει; $|_{21}$ κὰι γὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει, $|_{22}$ αἱ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', άλλὰ δώςει, $|_{23}$ αἱ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήςει $|_{24}$ κωὐκ ἑθέλοιςα. $|_{25}$ ἕλθε μοι κὰι νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦςον $|_{26}$ ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄςςα δὲ μοι τέλεςςαι $|_{27}$ θῦμος ἱμἑρρει, τέλεςον, cù δ' αὕτα $|_{28}$ ςὑμμαχος ἕςςο.

|1 You with pattern-woven flowers, immortal Aphrodite, |2 child of Zeus, weaver of wiles, I implore you, $|_3$ do not dominate with <u>hurts</u> and <u>pains</u>, $|_4$ Mistress, my heart! $|_5$ But come here [tuide], if ever at any other time $|_{6}$ hearing my voice from afar, $|_{7}$ you heeded me, and leaving the palace of your father, $|_8$ golden, you came, $|_9$ having harnessed the chariot; and you were carried along by beautiful \mid_{10} swift sparrows over the dark earth \mid_{11} swirling with their dense plumage from the sky through the $|_{12}$ midst of the aether, $|_{13}$ and straightaway they arrived. But you, O holy one, \mid_{14} smiling with your immortal looks, $|_{15}$ kept asking what is it once again this time [deute] that has happened to me and for what reason | 16 once again this time [deute] do I invoke you, | 17 and what is it that I want more than anything to happen $|_{18}$ to my frenzied [mainolās] heart [thūmos]? "Whom am I $\underline{\text{once again this time }} \, [\underline{\text{deute}}]$ to persuade, $|_{19}$ setting out to bring her to your love? Who is doing you, $|_{20}$ Sappho, wrong? $|_{21}$ For if she is fleeing now, soon she will be pursuing. $|_{22}$ If she is not taking gifts, soon she will be giving them. $|_{23}$ If she does not love, soon she will love $|_{24}$ even against her will." $|_{25}$ Come to me even now, and free me from harsh $|_{26}$ anxieties, and however many things $|_{27}$ my heart [thūmos] yearns to get done, you do for me. You |28 become my ally in war.

Sappho Song 1 = Prayer to Aphrodite $\frac{10}{10}$

6) Song 16

 $|_1$ [ο]ί μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων $|_2$ οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖς' ἐπ[ι] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν $|_3$ [ἕ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὅτ- $|_4$ -τω τις ἕραται· $|_5$ [πά]γχυ δ' εὔμαρες σύνετον πόησαι $|_6$ [π]ἀντι τ[ο]ῷτ', ἀ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα $|_7$ κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Έλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα $|_8$ τὸν [πανάρ]ιστον $|_9$ καλλ[ίποι]ợ' ἔβα 'ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα $|_{10}$ κωὐδ[ὲ πα]ίδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ἡων $|_{11}$ πά[μπαν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' σὕταν $|_{12}$ [...]cαν [...] $|_{15}$ [..]με νῦν Ἀνακτορί[ας ό]γέμναι- $|_{16}$ [-c' οὐ] παρεοίσας, $|_{17}$ [τᾶ]ς <κ>ε βολλοίμαν ἕρατόν τε βᾶμα $|_{18}$ κάμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω $|_{19}$ ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα †κανοπλοισι $|_{20}$ [πεσδομ]ἀχεντας.

 I_1 Some say a massing of chariots and their drivers, some say of footsoldiers, I_2 some say of ships, if you think of everything that exists on the surface of this black earth, I_3 is the most beautiful thing of them all. But I say it is that one thing I_4 that anyone passionately loves [erâtai]. I_5 It's really quite easy to make this understandable I_6 to everyone, this thing. You see, that woman who was by far supreme I_7 in beauty among all mortals, Helen, I_8 she I_4 left her best of all husbands, I_4 him she left behind and sailed to Troy, I_4 caring not about her daughter and her dear parents, I_4 not caring at all. She was swept along I_4 [All this] reminds me right now of Anaktoria. I_4 She is I_4 for here. I_4 I_4 Oh, how I would far rather wish to see her taking a dancing step that arouses passionate love I_4 and to see the luminous radiance from the look of her face I_4 than to see those chariots of the Lydians and the footsoldiers in their armor I_4 as they fight in battle I_4 .

7) Sappho Π²

ιἔγω δὲ φίλημμ΄ ἀβροςύναν, ..., τοῦτο καί μοι | τὸ λάιμπρον ἔρως ἀελίω καὶ τὸ κάιλον λέιλι ογχε.

But I love delicacy [(h)abrosunē] [...] this, | and passionate love [erōs] for the Sun has won for me its radiance and beauty.

Sappho F 58.25-26 V = Π^2 25-26 $\frac{14}{1}$

8) Sappho Song 105a

οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὕεδωι, | ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτωι, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες, | οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεςθαι.

Just like the sweet apple that blushes on top of a branch, | the topmost apple on the topmost branch. It has eluded the notice of the apple pickers. | Oh, but no. It's not that they haven't noticed it. They just couldn't reach it.

Sappho Song 105a¹⁵

9) Sappho (PMG Fragmentum Adespotum 976)

δέδυκε μὲν ἀ cελάννα | καὶ Πληϊάδες, μέται δὲ | νύκτες, παρὰ δ΄ ἔρχετ΄ ὥρα· | έγὼ δὲ μόνα καθεύδω

The moon has set beneath the horizon | And the Pleiades as well. It is the middle of the | Night, over and over. Time $[(h)\bar{o}r\bar{a}]$ goes by. | But I sleep alone. $\frac{16}{100}$

Sappho PMG Fragmentum Adespotum 976

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Notes

- 1 See especially Nagy 2013.
- 2 See Nagy 2003:1, with reference to Saussure 1916:117.
- $\underline{3}$ On diachronic as distinct from historical perspectives, see Nagy 2011a.
- $\underline{4}$ In this transcription, the sign "[...]" is not meant to indicate the number of letters that are missing: it is merely a short-hand indication of lacunae.
- 5 H24H Hour 4 Text D.
- 6 H24H Hour 4 Text E.
- 7 H24H Hour 4 Text F.
- 8 H24H Hour 5 Text E.
- $\underline{9}$ On the reading β aîc' $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma\eta\nu$ at line 19, see Nagy 1996a:98n34.
- 10 H24H Hour 5 Text F.
- 11 Here is a transliteration of the first stanza: oi men ippēon stroton oi de pesdon | oi de nāon phais' epi gān melainan | emmenai kalliston ego de kēn' ot|tō tis erātai.
- 12 In the papyrus fragment, the negative 'not' is not visible, but its restoration is supported by editors.
- 13 H24H Hour 5 Text H.
- 14 H24H Hour 5 Text I. On the reading ἕρως ἀελίω instead of ἕρος τὧελίω, see Nagy 2010. In terms of the first reading, ἕρως ἀελίω, the Sun is the objective genitive of erōs, 'passionate love'. In terms of the second reading, ἕρος τὧελίω, the translation would be ... 'Passionate love [erōs] has won for me the radiance and beauty of the Sun'.
- 15 H24H Hour 5 Text J.
- 16 For background: when the moon-goddess Selene sets beneath the horizon, she goes to sleep with her lover Endymion. For a persuasive demonstration that this song should be attributed to Sappho, see Clay 2011.

Tags: diachronic, Sappho

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« "The mother, so sad it is, of the very best": The lament of Thetis in Iliad 18



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