

Notes on the First Stanza of Fragment 17

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The opening lines of fr. 17 present a wealth of choices, but nonetheless remain exceptionally difficult to supplement satisfactorily. The following comments are meant to clarify the problems and possibilities. I add an exploratory suggestion for the first two lines.

(1.) In line 1, the sequence . . . οια[could be divided . . . οι σα[(3rd pers. opt. singular of a thematic verb), . . . οις α[- (second declension accusative plural or second person optative) or . . . οισ' α[(dative masculine/feminine or—with or without elision—nominative or vocative feminine participle). Meter and spacing make it likely that the preceding traces represent the sequence consonant, vowel, consonant, rather than a sequence containing an open vowel. The traces suggest that rho is mostly likely for the first consonant, epsilon for the vowel (that is, the other vowels appear to be excluded), and a triangular letter such as lambda, kappa or chi (less likely delta) for the second consonant. (A reading of $\epsilon\alpha$ is physically possible, but I do not see how it could be fit into a sentence).

(2.) The final omega of line 1 could be, as a verb, the first-person singular indicative, present or future, or subjunctive, aorist or present, or a third-person singular imperative; as a noun it could be a feminine nominative (typically a proper noun, of a type like $\Psi\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega$), or a second-declension genitive.

(3.) The initial $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega$ would most likely be construed with a genitive, but it could be used alone. With a genitive at line end, it might be possible to construct a line such as $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega$ δῆ μ- ... βώμω 'near your altar' (the altar is a feature of the Messon sanctuary mentioned in Alc. fr. 129.3; Prof. Fish assures me that this would fit the spacing).¹

1 Ferrari (2014) 16 and Neri (2014) 14 suggest that if used absolutely here, $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega$ would serve the expected deictic function, locating the performance (there are no other examples of $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega$ used this way). I think it is also possible that the precinct is large enough for the performance of the song (perhaps at an altar or before a shrine) and the multiple activities of a festival to be in different, but adjacent, places. I am not persuaded by Neri's or Caciagli's (this volume)

(4.) A dative in the gap is not excluded, if it could be construed with a verb, perhaps a compound verb; the verbs most typically found with *πλάσιον* have the meanings 'be', 'stand', 'lie', or 'sit'. A participle with such a meaning here would have to agree with Hera (vocative or as subject of a second person verb governing *έόρταν*). It would require that a governing verb be in the next line, which would be difficult. On the other hand, a dative would be attractive if it suggested a parallel with a dative in lines 3–4.

(5.) Two tendencies peculiar to Book 1 may constrain supplements in line 1: there are few, if any, middle participles outside fr. 2 (as discussed in the main article); and, although there are many references to speech and prayer, there are only a few uses of the specific vocabulary of music or singing (fragments 21.12, 27.5, 30.4), none of them referring to the performance in progress. These considerations would affect the suggestions *μ[ελο]μ[έ]νοις* (BFO, 19), *μ[οισοπ]όλοισ* (Ferrari 2014, 15–16), *ἄ[εἰδ]ω* (Lidov in BFO, 19, which is in any case too short).

(6.) In the second line the nominative *Ἥρα*, is excluded by the meter. If Hera is also the agent in these lines, there must be an optative second person verb in line 1. However, she may be the addressee interested in or responsible for the fulfillment of a first- or third-person wish or statement.

(7.) The final traces of the second line allow only the alternatives *έόρτ[α]* or *έόρτ[α]ν*. The nominative *έόρτα* is quite rare in archaic or early Classical Greek. If the word ends in *-αν*—genitive plural (see below) or accusative singular—the preceding *α* might be emended to *σα(ν)* (or *σα(γ)*, to accommodate assimilation before chi). The most common verbs in Greek for conducting a festival appear to me to be *ποιέω* and *ἄγω* (or *ἀνάγω*). The former occurs twice more in the poem (lines 3 and 11) apparently in regard to performance of the rituals of this festival, even though the instance in line 11 has a neuter plural object; the latter, in a passive construction with the nominative form, is suggested in Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 19 to supplement the end of line 1: *ἄ[γέεθ]ω*.

(8.) The word that is the most obvious supplement for the preceding gap, *χαρίεσσ(α)*, would be an unexpected adjective with *έόρτα*. It normally describes particular things that can be appreciated in a moment of sensation, typically by a person present: the works or accomplishments of men (generally

examples of passages in which a dative could be construed with *πλάσιον* that they are better read that way.

in Homer; see LSJ s.v. and Broger 1996, 33), the sound of a song (Pindar *Pythian* 5.107) or of a chorus (Alcman fr. 27.3), the sensation of a grove (Sappho fr. 2.2), the beauty of a bride (Sappho fr. 108 and fr. 112.3), the pleasantry of a sympotic companion (Alcaeus fr. 368.1; this instance resembles the later Attic use to designate social charm). It would more likely describe a single event at a festival than the festival itself, which extends over a period of time and encompasses many parts (the opening of Plato's *Republic* is instructive; Pindar uses ἐόρτα several times for the combination of sacrifice, contests and other activities—that is, a 'festival,' not merely 'games'). However, in a hymnic context it can also describe something pleasing to the god, the usual use of a χαρ- form in a hymn: a temple roof (*Iliad* 1.139) or a choral performance (Pindar *Nemean* 3.10–13). Nonetheless, it remains open whether χ[αρ[ε]σς' itself is the best word to complete this thought.

(9.) χαρίεσσα would be even more unexpected as an epithet of Hera (the word is not used of gods, let alone as a free-standing epithet), which is what it would have to be if the final word is ἐόρταν. That would also require 'your' to be emended to the accusative. The interleaved word-order—vocative name, accusative possessive adjective, vocative adjective, accusative noun—strikes me as strained (certainly, if ἐόρτα were nominative, no one would read the adjective here to be vocative with the name).

(10.) Any χαρ- word would suggest a mention of a festival in terms of the mutual pleasure of men and gods, a reading that would satisfy the general expectation that the gods accept or are pleased by the mortals' effort or dedication. We find this idea with ἐόρτα and a different word for 'pleasing' in Alcman fr. 56.1–2: ὄκα / σιοῖσι φάδηι πολύφανος ἐορτά ('when the festival with many torches pleases the gods') and, again with φανδάνω but with only an implicit mention of a festival, in *Homeric Hymn XIV*, to the Mother of the Gods, to describe her pleasure in the noises made in celebration. Since some scholars (since Robert 1960a) have argued that Hera is assimilated to *Mater* in the Messon *temenos*, this could be particularly relevant here. Metrically, μ[ᾶτε]ρ (or Μ[ᾶτε]ρ) would fit in the gap in line 1, though it is on the short side. If we think in terms of a noisy festival (as I have already suggested for fr. 5), ὄχλος in line 13 makes more sense, and the connection to Alcaeus fr. 130b.18–20, 'the sound of the sacred yearly shout,' is strengthened.

(11.) An alternative to χ[αρ[ε]σς' could be σὰ χ[άρις .]c., the noun originally suggested by Fränkel ([1975] 182 n. 31) to represent Hera as subject. It could be independent of 'festival' in the nominative or govern it as a genitive plural.

σἄ(ν)χ[άριν = ‘for your sake’ could also be possible. The letter following]c must be a consonant and is most likely a sigma, but could just possibly be tau or theta, allowing an elided infinitive or an imperative such as οἴσθ’(α) or ἴσθ’(ι) with χάριν. A tau is the basis of Ferrari’s suggestion ([2014] 15–16):

πλάσιον δὴ μ[οικοπ]όλοισ ἄ[ήcθ]ω,
 πότνι' Ἥρα, cἄ χ[άρις ἐ]ς τ' ἐόρταγ

Qui vicino spiri il tuo favore verso i ministri
 delle Muse, Hera veneranda, e verso la festa

This satisfies many conditions for these lines, but remains problematic. For the noun and the traces in the first line, see above; in addition, it seems somewhat odd to call the chorus ‘servants of the Muses’ at the very moment that they are attendants of Hera. There is no reason to suppose that the word had already lost its specificity in the parallel cited, Sappho fr. 150.1. As Ferrari’s translation shows, the idea of motion here is obscured, rather than avoided. Finally, the postponement of the preposition to so distant a position after its first object would be extreme even in Pindar. With a theta, we could try a genitive plural:

πότνι' Ἥρα, cἄ(ν)χ[άριν ἴ]cθ' ἐόρτ[α]γ

Lady Hera, be grateful for—or: know the gratitude of—your festivals.

But χάριν εἰδέναι in the sense similar to χάριν ἄγειν does not occur before Isocrates and I cannot find a parallel for taking such an expression to be equivalent to ‘receive’. So a better possibility would be cἄ(ν)χ[άριν, ἴ]cθ', ‘for your sake, be sure, ...’ with ‘a festival’ as the subject or object of a construction in line 1.

(12.) The problem, then, is to put together supplements for lines 1–2 that would fit the traces, avoid the likely restraints mentioned above, as well as unlikely or awkward constructions, and emphasize or at least be consistent with the performer’s or the god’s interest in the pleasure the god derives from a festival as prerequisite to the favor the god will show. So I suggest a form of ἔκων, a word found in archaic epic and lyric, though not in Aeolic, to emphasize the performer’s desire to please:

πλάσιον δὴ, μ[ἄτε]ρ, ἔχοις' ἄ[νάξ]ω
 πότνι' Ἥρα, cἄ(ν)χ[άριν, ἴ]cθ', ἐόρτ[α]γ

Nearby, mother, I willingly will lead
a festival, be certain, Lady Hera, for your sake.

This combination of supplements employs the normal verbal idiom for festivals, locates the action at the shrine, incorporates the reference to Hera as *genethla* in Alcaeus fr. 129 (and, obviously, depends on the syncretism with the worship of the Mother figure), shows a structure parallel to Alcaeus fr. 308, as discussed below, and combines *μάτερ* and *έόρταν* as also found in Sappho fr. 9. On the other hand, the supplements in the gaps, especially the first, are only marginally long enough and the reading of the verb employs the less well-established alpha-form of the prefix (see app. crit. to Sappho fr. 16.15 in this volume, and Voigt's index s.v. *όν*). Because I have emphasized the absence of a declaration of the gender of the singing *persona* in fr. 5 and the Charaxos poem, I would prefer a word to describe the festival itself as the source of pleasure, perhaps using the structure *-οισα[ν έξ]ω*.² But whatever its shortcomings, this supplement creates a meaning and context that may suggest new avenues for exploring the poem.

(13.) In line 3 it has been assumed, since the discovery of the new fragments, that the relative pronoun *τάν* refers to *έόρταν* and not, as previously supposed, to 'Hera, your' (a possessive adjective as antecedent is normal [Kühner and Gerth (1904) sect. 544(.3) anmerk. 4]). This new reading has the advantage of being a very easy syntactic sequence. We can, however, still take it with Hera and there are reasons to do so (it would be necessary to do so if *έόρταν* is the genitive plural). The verbal adjective *άράταν* should mean 'prayed for' or 'prayed to' (I am assuming that the Homeric pejorative use, 'prayed against', noted by Voigt, is not relevant, given the causative meaning of the verb *ποιέω*; I defended it in Lidov [2004] under the impression that a verb of perception could be supplied). But one prays for what the gods give—objects of desire: goods, a marriage, a safe return—and a festival is not a divine gift. On the contrary, it is a human gift to the god.³ The verb cannot be taken to mean

2 No form of *φανδάνω* fits the traces. Reading *έχοισα[ν έξ]ω...έόρτ[α]ν* would solve the problems, but I have not found any parallel to justify transferring this attribute of participants to the festival itself.

3 S. Caciagli in this volume recognizes the problem, and the advantage of a word describing something pleasing to Hera that I discussed in regard to the first two lines, and suggests that *άράταν* here can have the meaning 'attractive, agreeable'; he draws attention to the unmetrical correction *έράταν* in *PSI 123* (which is irrelevant; we have no idea how the corrector understood the original text) and to the use of the *hapax άρητόν* in Callim. *Hymn* 4.205 as

‘vowed’. LSJ s.v. ἀράομαι I.A.4 is misleading in its sole citation, *Iliad* 23.144, in which Achilles says that Peleus prayed ‘if Achilles return, he will dedicate...’. That is, he prayed for Achilles’s return, and promised that Achilles would do something if he did return. When Achilles, in the passage cited, turns this into reported speech, ἤρήσατο is the *verbum dicendi*, the “if clause” becomes a participle, and the apodosis of Peleus’ future more vivid condition is expressed in future infinitives: πατήρ ἤρήσατο Πηλεὺς / κείσέ με νοστήσαντα... / σοί τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ’ ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην. LSJ, by omitting the participle, confuses the construction. Peleus includes a vow in his prayer for Achilles’s return, but that does not give the verb ‘pray’ the meaning ‘vow’.⁴ It is therefore difficult to make the festival the object. To suppose that the kings prayed that the gods allow them, after leaving Troy, to reach the festival, which they knew about—as if the single word ‘festival’ by itself could be the equivalent of *nostos*, something one prays for—requires complicated narrative and semantic inferences for which no clue is given, although of course they are not impossible. But the alternative poses no difficulties. For the construction in which the relative reaches back over a potential nearer antecedent there is a good parallel in Alcaeus fr. 308.1–4:

Χαῖρε Κυλλάναις ὁ μέδεις, ἐὲ γὰρ μοι
 θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορύφαις ἐν αὔταις
 Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδαί μίγεια
 παμβασιλῆϊ

Hail, ruler of Cyllene, for of you it is
 my will to sing, whom in the very mountains
 Maia bore...

Here the “hymnic relative” that begins the second part of the prayer refers back to σέ rather than to the nearer θῦμος. In Alcaeus’ poem ὕμνην refers, as ἐόρτα apparently does in Sa. fr. 17, to the immediate performance. The paral-

“gladly.” But the translation there is *ad hoc*; Leto’s receipt from Delos of what she required in her distress—as if in response to prayer or through magical action—does not justify generalizing the sense ‘pleasing’ to a human gift to a god. (I discussed that passage, and its relation to this line, in more detail in Lidov [2004] 398 n. 18).

4 G. Nagy in this volume defends that meaning in the verb ἀράομαι, despite the absence of any archaic or later example, on topical and comparative grounds: vows are inherently part of prayers, the synchronically synonymous word for prayer εὔχομαι developed the meaning ‘vow’, and it also occurs in Latin words of similar meaning. He does not consider the possibility of taking Hera as the antecedent.

lel is in fact exact with ἔκοισ' ἀνάξω...έόρταν, since that would correspond to μοι θύμος ὕμνην. We could then paraphrase Sappho's clause: 'Hera, you whom, in the middle of their troubles, on behalf of (or at the behest of) the son of Atreus, the kings [anaphoric: 'those (well-known) companions of the son of Atreus'] made—in your (newly established or already existing) festival—the object of prayer [predicate accusative with ποιέω or ποιέομαι, see LSJ s.v. III] as they sought a way to complete their journey safely'. The periphrasis with ποιέω in place of ἀράομαι emphasizes—as it probably also does in line 11 below—the activity of conducting a festival as a means of soliciting the god's good will. The difference in antecedent is a matter of emphasis in the interpretation; a final determination must probably await examples that furnish a better understanding of the semantics of ἀρατός.

(14.) In line 4 it is highly unlikely that τοι is the enclitic pronoun, as West proposes ([2014] 4 with n. 7).⁵ In the modern scholarship Wackernagel's law has been refined to show that enclitics are placed not as the second word, but after the first constituent of their (phonological) clause. (See Dover [1960] 12–24; Taylor [1990] 64–65; Dik [1995] 31–37; Matić [2003]; Dik [2007] 14–41; Bertrand [2008] 239–249. For further bibliography, including references to the fundamental work of Wackernagel and Fränkel on which these scholars build, see Dik [2007] and Bertrand). The definition of 'constituent' gives the composer many options: an initial conjunction may or may not be included, certain adverbs or a string of adverbs may be optionally appositive, and a tightly bound adjective + noun may constitute a single constituent (these all figure in West's examples of enclitics 'placed later than expected'). But in fr. 17.4 three separate lexical words, not in agreement, could not be other than three constituents. In later prose an enclitic pronoun has, as an alternative, a position after the verb—as would be the case here—rather than after the first constituent (properly defined) of its clause, but that position is very rare in Homer (if it happens at all; Bertrand [2008] 243); despite some variation in explanation among the

5 An accent mark in the new papyrus raises the possibility (pursued by G. Nagy, in this volume) that a hitherto unrecognized form of the emphatic second person pronoun, τοί, occurs here. Neither of the other two papyri with these letters show that their readers found a difficulty with the form; the grammatical tradition (as represented by Apollonius Dyscolus) explicitly says that Attic, Ionic, and Aeolic use σοί for the emphatic form and that τοι is unaccented (quoted in Voigt, fr. 40 TEST); and the form is not found accented in the texts of Homer or elsewhere in Sappho or Alcaeus. Accepting it here would be to call all of these indicators into question. In any event, the interpretive advantage of doing so, the emphasis on Hera, is achieved more easily by taking her as the antecedent to τᾶν.

methods derived from various disciplines, the consensus is consistent in this definition. Sappho seems to stay unambiguously within the earlier, Homeric rules. I easily find more than two dozen clear examples of the postpositive pronoun in second position in all the fragments, but none of the few possible examples of the contrary are certain (some are supplied by editors; some are potentially the emphatic pronoun, following an elided epsilon; some are open to multiple interpretations; some, all of these.) A consequence of this is that only the middle *πόησαν-/τ'* is possible, since *τοι* is not found as the demonstrative or article.⁶ In *οἱ βασιλῆες* the article would be anaphoric, referring back to well-known kings associated with the son of Atreus. Note, in addition, that the new confirmation of the adjective phrase *φῶ θύμωι κε* (instead of the enclitic pronoun *φοι*) in fr. 5.3 guarantees that the enclitic *κε* is in a normal position. (The rule also affects the interpretation of fr. 96.15–17, where the position of *ποι* indicates that *ἰμέρωι* must belong with the preceding participle, 'remembering Atthis with desire', and that a new phrase begins with *λέπταν*).

(15.) There is a difficulty in line 11, where the only possible letters before *πόημεν* are *βι*, or *ρι*, or most likely *ρᾱ*, and this syllable must be preceded by an open short syllable. For the first two, the less likely readings, I have found no possible supplement. For the third, West's suggested *πέρα* ([2014] 4) is, as far as I can find, the only word available as part of the syntax (a first declension nominative is excluded by the plural verb). In the context, as he says, *πέρα πόημεν* would have to mean 'continue to do'. But the word, not found elsewhere in early Greek, is always accompanied by the idea of a limit: 'beyond, exceeding, excessively', and is most common with a negative: 'no further' (see citations in *LSJ*). Simon Burris's suggestion (see Obbink's *apparatus criticus* in ch. 1 of this volume), that the word could be the feminine vocative of a three-ending adjective ending *-eros*, such as *ἀμμέτερος*, or of a comparative adjective, offers more opportunities (a vocative noun would have a short alpha). I do not know if the same god can be addressed at the middle as well as at the beginning and end of one prayer of this length, but the addressee could also be one who assists in the performance, such as a Muse or one of the participants, although the fragments of Book One offer no other examples. An address to Hera to

6 The Homeric demonstrative could have the tau: such an epicism would be consistent with the less-unusual missing augment in the previous line but inconsistent with the short first alpha of *ἀράταν*. The emphasis of a deictic demonstrative in this position strikes me as awkward, but it makes little difference to the overall sense.

give direct assistance (rather than through a helper) would be unusual both in respect to the form I have discussed and to the usual representations of Hera, but cannot be ruled out.

(16.) In the final adonean Hera's name is the most likely supplement for the first word of the readable letters, -]ρ(') ἀπικε[(scil. ἀπίκεσθαι). A run-over word ending -ηρ' would have to have an open vowel in the syllable ending the preceding line, and I have found no likely candidate. The epsilon in the fourth syllable of line 20, visible only in the P.Oxy. fragments, precludes an imperative (a long syllable is required), so the form must be the infinitive.