

ERINNA

by

JOHN EDWIN GEORGE WHITEHORNE

B.A., University of London, 1965

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department  
of  
Classics

We accept this thesis as conforming to the  
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

December, 1966

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Classics

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date January 19th.1967.

## ABSTRACT

Erinna was a poetess from Telos, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century or the early part of the third century B.C. There is very little evidence available about her life or her work but what there is allows us to state with confidence that she must have lived at some time between 356-352 B.C., the date given as her floruit by Eusebius, and 276/5, the probable date of the earliest testimony about her. We may also be sure that, due to an early death at the age of nineteen, her work was confined to a few epigrams and a lament upon the death of her friend Baucis, a poem in three hundred hexameters that was known to later writers by the title of the Distaff.

A portion of the Distaff was discovered in a papyrus unearthed in 1928 and the major part of this thesis is concerned with an examination of this fragment. The papyrus is extremely mutilated and a great deal of restoration has been needed in order to gain an idea of the poem's content. Unfortunately, many of the suggestions offered by earlier scholars about the poem were based upon unsupported speculation and much of the earlier work has been rejected as new readings have been made in the papyrus. I have therefore attempted to present a text of the fragment, based upon not only a consideration of the work of earlier scholars but also upon a close examination of the peculiarities of Erinna's

style that show a knowledge of the poetry of both Homer and Sappho. The text is accompanied by a critical apparatus, giving a summary of earlier work upon the text, and a commentary upon the style and content of the fragment.

A consideration of the few lines ascribed to Erinna by later authors has shown that the couplet assigned to her by Athenaeus, 7.283d, should probably be rejected as spurious, as should another papyrus fragment, P.Oxy.I.8, in the style of Alcman. On the other hand I have argued that an anonymous Alexandrian fragment, fr.Alex.adesp.11D, seems more likely to be the work of Erinna than of Antimachus.

The epigrams of Erinna are also dealt with and the reason for the poetess' appeal to the Alexandrians, who praised her lavishly, is investigated.

---

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	v
CHAPTERS	
I. THE TESTIMONIA . . . . .	1
II. THE <u>DISTAFF</u> : TEXT AND <u>APPARATUS</u> . . . . .	15
III. THE <u>DISTAFF</u> : COMMENTARY . . . . .	23
IV. THE FRAGMENTS . . . . .	63
V. THE EPIGRAMS . . . . .	70
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	75

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AP : Anthologia Palatina.
- Bechtel: F. Bechtel, Die griechischen Dialekte.
- BSRAA: Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie  
d'Alexandrie.
- CQ : Classical Quarterly.
- CR : Classical Review.
- CRAI : Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions  
et Belles Lettres.
- D : E. Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca.
- Daremberg-Saglio: C. Daremberg and E. Saglio,  
Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.
- Edmonds: J.M. Edmonds, The Fragments of Attic Comedy.
- Gow : A.S.F. Gow, Theocritus.
- Gow-Page: A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, The Greek Anthology:  
Hellenistic Epigrams.
- HSCP : Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
- LP : E. Lobel and D.L. Page, Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta.
- LSJ : Liddell, Scott, Jones, Greek-English Lexicon.
- MH : Museum Helveticum.
- NAkG : Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in  
Göttingen.
- Pf. : R. Pfeiffer, Callimachus.
- P.Hib.: Hibeh Papyri.
- PMG : D.L. Page, Poetae Melici Graecae.

- P.Oxy. : Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
- PSI : Papiri greci e latini della Società Italiana.
- RE : Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopædie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
- RIL : Rendiconti di ~~royale~~ <sup>reale</sup> Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere.
- RhM : Rheinisches Museum.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am especially indebted to Professor H.G. Edinger, who acted as my supervisor in the preparation of this thesis.

---



---

CHAPTER ONE  
THE TESTIMONIA

The testimonia concerning the life and work of Erinna are unfortunately slight and they are contradictory upon several important points. The earliest evidence we have about her is derived from several epigrams in the Palatine Anthology and it seems better to deal with these before passing to the notices of the lexicographers, who draw upon the epigrams for much of their information.

Probably the oldest of the epigrams honouring Erinna is the combined sepulchral and book epigram of Asclepiades, AP 7.11; AP 7.12, anonymous in the Anthology, and AP 7.13, ascribed to either Leonidas or Meleager, also praise Erinna and have obviously been attracted to the epigram of Asclepiades through similarity of subject matter. Poems of this type, which are not truly sepulchral, were obviously written to stand in a copy of the work in question, in this case the lament for Baucis, and to preserve in poetic form the name of the author and some indication of the work's content.<sup>1</sup> All three should rightly belong in the ninth book of the Anthology as should Antipater Sidonius, AP 7.713, which in similar fashion has become associated with Erinna's epitaph for Baucis. Erinna is also praised by the anonymous author

---

<sup>1</sup>M. Gabathuler, Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter (Diss. Basel 1937) 50: cf. Leonidas, AP 9.25, Crinagoras, AP 9.545, Callimachus, epigram 6 Pf.

of AP 9.190<sup>2</sup> and, by way of contrast, Antiphanes joins her with the γραμματικῶν περίεργα γένη in AP 11.322 and damns her by implication. Finally, she is also mentioned by Meleager in the introduction to his Στέφανός , AP 4.1.12, and by Christodorus in his description of the statues in the gymnasium at Byzantium, AP 2.108-111.

AP 7.11 gives a terminus ante quem for Erinna, for we know that Asclepiades<sup>3</sup> was active during the first quarter of the third century;

ὁ γλυκὺς Ἡρίννης οὗτος πόνος, οὐχὶ πολὺς μὲν,  
ὥς ἂν παρθενικῆς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευσ,  
ἀλλ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν δυνατώτερος· εἰ δ' Αἴδας μοι  
μὴ ταχὺς ἦλθε, τίς ἂν ταλίκον ἔσχ' ὄνομα;

Asclepiades does not give the name and title of the book he is dedicating but he does tell us that Erinna was nineteen when she wrote the poem, information repeated almost word for word by the author of AP 9.190 and later excerpted by Suidas and Eustathius. He also characterises the work as γλυκὺς , a favourite word describing poetry and singing,<sup>4</sup> and, what is more important, gives a comparative estimate of her worth.

---

<sup>2</sup>Ascribed to Antipater Sidonius by Stadtmüller and to Callimachus by Benndorf; see pages 9-10. On the problems of ascription in the Anthology see A. Wifstrand, "Studien zur Griechischen Anthologie," Lunds Univers. Årsskrift 23 (1927), 3-30 and A.S.F. Gow, The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions (Hell. Soc. Supplementary Paper 9. 1958).

<sup>3</sup>T.B.L. Webster, Hellenistic Poetry and Art (New York 1964), 44-45; Gow-Page II, 114-118.

<sup>4</sup>Gabathuler, op. cit. 51, note 27; cf. 47, note 18.

Gallavotti, in a sensitive interpretation of this epigram,<sup>5</sup> has suggested that we may perhaps see in these verses an implicit hint of the great polemic between Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius, in which Asclepiades, too, became involved.<sup>6</sup> We may infer from Antiphanes' bitter attack on the Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες who "boast of their Erinna" in AP 11.322 that Erinna's work was known to Callimachus himself and may have served him as quite a useful weapon in his quarrel with the Telchines to whom he seemed παῖς ἄτε in his writing.<sup>7</sup>

Asclepiades may be understood as having replied in this poem that, unlike Callimachus' work, Erinna's lament was short only because she was nineteen and that, in any case, it was more powerful than many others. The δυνατόν of line 3 may be interpreted as the opposite of the λεπτόν and ἰσχνόν propounded by Callimachus, and the phrase is a studied insult to one who boasted of being ὀλιγόστιχος, without altogether succeeding, in his rival's opinion, in being δυνατός.

Gallavotti's interpretation is most attractive; certainly Erinna and her poetry were subjects in great vogue in the literary circles of the later Hellenistic age. In AP 7.13, which I believe to be by Meleager rather than by Leonidas,<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>C. Gallavotti, Lingua, tecnica e poesia negli idilli di Teocrito (Rome 1951-2), 58-9.

<sup>6</sup>Schol. Flor. to Callimachus, fr.1.1-12 Pf.

<sup>7</sup>Callimachus, fr.1.6 Pf.

<sup>8</sup>U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho und Simonides (Berlin 1913), 228-30, has argued, I think rightly, that Erinna's epigrams for Baucis were genuine sepulchral epigrams, which were copied from the stelae on which they were inscribed. We know

she is compared to the maiden honey-bee;

παρθενικὰν νεάοιδον ἐν ὕμνοπόλοισι μέλισσαν

"Ἡρινναν, Μουσῶν ἄνθεα δρεπτομένην (lines 1-2).

Antipater, AP 7.713, likens her to a swan:

παυροεπὴς "Ἡριννα, καὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος ἀοίδαῖς.

ἀλλ' ἔλαχεν Μοῦσας τοῦτο τὸ βαιὸν ἔπος.

τοιγάρτοι μνήμης οὐκ ἤμβροτεν, οὐδὲ μελαίνης

νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερῇ κωλύεται πτέρυγι.

αἱ δ' ἀναρίθμητοι νεαρῶν σωρηδὸν ἀοιδῶν

μυριάδες λήθη, ξεῖνε, μαραινόμεθα.

λωϊτερος κύνου μικρὸς θρόος ἢ ἐκ κολοιῶν

κρωγμὸς ἐν εἰαριναῖς κιδνάμενος νεφέλαις.

Both of these are stock images of poetic achievement<sup>9</sup> and the

words παυροεπὴς and πολὺμυθος in the first line of

Antipater's epigram remind us again of the vocabulary of the

great polemic and testify to the force of its repercussions.

The phrase τοῦτο τὸ βαιὸν ἔπος in line 2 shows that, like

---

that these epigrams formed part of the original Garland because Erinna is mentioned in Meleager's introduction to that collection, AP 4.1.12. Verse 4 of AP 7.13 quotes from Erinna's second epigram, AP 7.712.3, βάσκανος ἔσσ' Αἴδα, whereas none of the other epigrammatists show any knowledge of her epigrams. Therefore it is possible that this epigram, which lacks the austerity of form and stylistic characteristics of the true epitaph, was composed for the Garland, by Meleager himself, and originally stood before Erinna's epigrams in that work, while the epigram of his contemporary Antipater, who was also represented in the Garland, followed them; cf. Gabathuler, op. cit. 102 and Gow-Page II 394.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Callimachus, Hymn 4.249 and 254, Iambi 4.47; Horace, Odes 4.2.25-33; the swan was supposed to sing its sweetest song just before its death and so the imagery is especially apt here.

AP 7.11, this poem was written to be prefixed to a copy of Erinna's work. Antipater must have been concerned with only one poem here for ἔπος is never used of a collection of poems<sup>10</sup> and the inevitable conclusion is that Erinna wrote only one important poem, which was known as the Distaff. Apart from the epigrams, which as we have seen, were known to the writer of AP 7.13,<sup>11</sup> none of the epigrammatists know of any other poem by her. The suspicion that the Distaff constituted her only major work is strengthened by the tradition that she died at nineteen and by the doubts cast by Athenaeus on the authenticity of the two lines that he quotes.<sup>12</sup> It has been suggested on the basis of AP 9.190.7-8 that she also wrote lyrics, but the import of these lines seems to be that both Sappho and Erinna are pre-eminent in their own chosen fields, not that they competed in the writing of both hexameters and lyric poetry.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>C.M. Bowra, Problems in Greek Poetry (Oxford 1953), 166.

<sup>11</sup>See note 8.

<sup>12</sup>Athenaeus 7.283d; see my chapter on "The Fragments."

<sup>13</sup>Cf. F.G. Welcker, Kleine Schriften (Bonn 1845), II. 151: "id vero non aliter esse intelligendum, quam Erinnam in epica poesi non minus excellere quam Sapphonem in melica; quum in antecedentibus de sola Colu sermo sit". There is no difficulty with the μελισσοτόκοι ὕμνοι of AP 7.12. Besides "honied hymns," the writer speaks of Erinna's "swanlike voice," ἄρτι δὲ κυκναίῳ φθεγγομένην στομάτι. It seems clear that he has tried without much success to synthesize Meleager's bee and Antipater's swan and in the process has misinterpreted the ὕμνοπόλοισι of AP 7.13.1, where it is used of poets in general. There is nothing here that should suggest that Erinna wrote hymns.

The imagery of the bee occurs also in AP 9.190, an epigram that is unfortunately anonymous; it is by far the most interesting and informative testimony provided by the Anthology:

Λέσβιον Ἑρίννης τόδε κηρίον· εἰ δέ τι μικρόν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅλον ἐκ Μουσέων κιννάμενον μέλιτι.  
 οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι ἴσοι Ὀμήρῳ,  
 τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἑννεακαιδεκέτευσ·  
 ἢ καὶ ἐπ' ἡλακάρῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἰστῷ  
 ἐστήκει Μουσέων λάτρις ἐφαπτομένη.

Σαπφὼ δ' Ἑρίννης ὅσον μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,  
 Ἥριννα Σαπφοῦς τόσον ἐν ἑξαμέτροις.

From this we learn that Erinna's poem was of three hundred lines and was written in hexameters. Once again, τόδε κηρίον makes it clear that only one work is being mentioned. The epithet Λέσβιος is interesting. It is probably the source of the statement in Suidas that she was ἑταῖρα Σαπφοῦς καὶ ὁμόχρονος,<sup>14</sup> which was accepted without question by so many nineteenth-century scholars.<sup>14a</sup> We can now see from the style and tone of the papyrus fragment that it would be absurd to attach Erinna to Sappho's circle, but what was the intended meaning of this epithet? It does not seem to be used geographically, although attempts are still made to prove that

<sup>14</sup> See page 10.

<sup>14a</sup> E.g., L. T. Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci (Leipzig 1867), III, 141-4, Griechische Literaturgeschichte (Berlin 1872-94), I.165A and II.286-7; M. Flach, Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik (Tübingen 1884), 518-9.

Erinna and Baucis later lived in Lesbos.<sup>15</sup> Lesbos is known to have produced honey<sup>16</sup> but it was never particularly famous for doing so, although Wilamowitz' suggestion, that *Λέσβιον κηπίον* simply means that she wrote poetry as sweet as Sappho's,<sup>17</sup> is on the right lines. There is a proverb, *μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾤδον*, mentioned by Cratinus,<sup>18</sup> which was used of the second best, so perhaps the writer intended to imply by this word that Erinna's poem was of the highest quality. Alternatively, the author was perhaps struck by the mixture of dialects in the poem and characterised it as *Λέσβιος* because of the Aeolic elements it contained.

In lines 5-6 we find mention of a distaff, *ἡλακάρη*. This is the title by which Suidas refers to the poem and Crusius thought that the origin of this name was due to a misunderstanding of this epigram by the lexicographer.<sup>19</sup>

Bowra, on the other hand, taking these lines along with the references to wool-working in the papyrus fragment, has suggested that the epigram may preserve here a true tradition about the poem and that the title was given to it because

---

<sup>15</sup>Cf. D.N. Levin, "Quaestiones Erinneanae," HSCP 66 (1962), 196.

<sup>16</sup>Bürchner, in RE s.v. Lesbos.

<sup>17</sup>U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos (Berlin 1924), I.108, note 4.

<sup>18</sup>Cratinus, fr. 243 Edmonds; cf. Aristotle, fr. 545, Rose.

<sup>19</sup>Crusius, in RE s.v. Erinna.

it emphasised that side of Erinna's life.<sup>20</sup> This may well be right. Christodorus, AP 2.108-110, finds it noteworthy that the statue of Erinna in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus was not holding a spindle; but his poem was written early in the sixth century and there is no way of telling whether he was led to expect a statue with a spindle from familiarity with Erinna's work or whether he too was simply following an earlier tradition about the poetess, which may or may not have been of any value. On the other hand, AP 7.12.4 speaks of Μοῖρα, λινωκλώστου δεσπότις ἡλακάρης and it seems odd that the two epigrams should both use the same word in such different contexts. If my assumption about the derivation of AP 7.12 from AP 7.13 and 7.713 is correct,<sup>21</sup> it is probable that the author of AP 7.12 was a fairly late writer, imitating Meleager and Antipater but without knowledge of Erinna's poem beyond its title. In this case, his mention of a distaff may be dismissed as idle speculation or even as being purely fortuitous. However, if this author did have access to Erinna's poem and if his fourth line is an attempt to account for its unusual title, then doubts are cast on the interpretation of ἡλακάρη given by the author of AP 9.190 and we must envisage both writers as baffled by a title that had presumably been given to the poem by an earlier Hellenistic grammarian, the meaning of which had already been lost.

---

<sup>20</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 165.

<sup>21</sup>See note 13.



Thus there are three senses in which the title of Ἡλακάτη is applicable to Erinna's poem--as a symbol of feminine domesticity, as a symbol of the Muses and as a symbol of the Fates<sup>22</sup>--and there is no way of determining which, if any, of these senses was uppermost in the mind of whoever first gave the work its name.

The comparison of Erinna's three hundred lines to Homer, obviously meant to be qualitative, reminds us yet again of the great polemic. Indeed it was suggested by Benndorf that this epigram may perhaps be the work of Callimachus himself, an ascription supported by Gallavotti.<sup>23</sup> We know that Callimachus concerned himself with Homer in the *Ἰωνες*, a work that is now lost,<sup>24</sup> and, as stated earlier, it is perhaps permissible to assume from AP 11.322 that Erinna's poem was known to him. It is certainly pleasant to imagine Callimachus sending Asclepiades a copy of Erinna, inscribed with these verses and recommended as τὶ μικρόν and Asclepiades writing back in rueful agreement-- οὐχὶ πολὺς μὲν --but loath to forego the chance of striking back at the younger man by the repetition of τῆς καὶ παρθενίης ἐννεακαίδεκάτερος with a slight but meaningful change. Unfortunately, the repetition is more likely to be due to

---

<sup>22</sup>Levin, op. cit., 200.

<sup>23</sup>Gallavotti, op. cit., 56-8.

<sup>24</sup>Callimachus, fr. 397, 452-3 Pf.

plagiarism on the part of the writer of AP 9.190, a fault that is rife throughout the Anthology, and there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for attributing this epigram to Callimachus.

We must turn away from the Anthology and consider the notices in the lexicographers. Of these the most important is to be found in Suidas;

"Ἡριννα Τεΐα ἢ Λεσβία, ὡς δ' ἄλλοι Τηλία. Τῆλις δέ ἐστι νησίδιον ἐγγὺς Κνίδου. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ῥοδίαν αὐτὴν ἐδόξασαν. ἦν δὲ ἐποποιός· ἔγραψεν Ἡλακάνην. ποίημα δέ ἐστιν Αἰολικῇ καὶ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ, ἐπῶν τ'. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα· τελευτᾷ παρθένος ἑννεακαιδεκέτις· οἱ δὲ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἴσοι Ὀμήρῳ. ἦν δὲ ἑταῖρα Σαπφοῦς καὶ ὁμόχρονος.

Like the epigrammatists, the writer of this notice knew only of the epigrams and the Distaff. This is the first time that this title is used for Erinna's long poem and it may be derived from a knowledge of the work itself, for the statement about the poem's dialect, which is borne out by the papyrus fragment, cannot be found in any of the epigrams and must have been based upon an earlier source with knowledge about the work or upon a personal acquaintance with the poem. However, much of the writer's information is obviously drawn from the epigrams and the only evidence not found in them is that concerning her birthplace and the statement that she belonged to Sappho's circle. The latter is probably due to a misinterpretation of the comparison drawn between Sappho

and Erinna in AP 9.190, combined with the ancient tendency to assign poetesses to Sappho's circle.<sup>25</sup> The ascription of Erinna to Lesbos was probably inserted in the list of birth-places by the same process. The evidence of the papyrus fragment now leaves no doubt that neither of these statements should command belief.

The assignment of Erinna to Teos, Tenos and Telos is probably to be attributed to a confusion of three very similar names.<sup>26</sup> Tenos is ~~also~~ given as her home by Stephanus Byzantinus,<sup>27</sup> probably from line 7 of AP 7.710, which is corrupt,<sup>28</sup> but Teos and Tenos were both Ionian islands and the dialect of Erinna makes it more likely that she should be placed in Telos, which was Dorian. The other tradition, which speaks of her as Rhodian, lends weight to this, for Telos is geographically close to and at times came under the political domination of the larger island.<sup>29</sup> If this is correct, it also helps to explain how she came to the notice of Asclepiades, although Bowra's suggestion, that the similarities in style between the Distaff and Theocritus' poetry be ascribed to a

---

<sup>25</sup>Cf. the ascription of Nossis to Sappho's circle by the lemmatist of AP 7.718.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. the confusion of Τήνιοι and Τήιοι in Thucydides 7.57.4.

<sup>27</sup>Steph. Byz. s.v. Τήνος .

<sup>28</sup>MSS; τηνιδωσειδωντι, emended to Τηνία, ὡς εἰδῶντι by Pauw. It should probably be emended further to Τηλία, following Welcker, op. cit., 146.

<sup>29</sup>Fiehn, in RE s.v. Telos.

direct association,<sup>30</sup> is perhaps a little speculative.<sup>ive</sup>

The only definite date we have for Erinna is that given by Eusebius who places her in Olympiad 106-107, i.e., 356-352 B.C. In view of the style, language and metre of the papyrus fragment this seems much more acceptable than Suidas' statement that she was a companion and contemporary of Sappho but even so some scholars now wish to move her date into the first quarter of the third century and to associate her more closely with the Coan school.<sup>31</sup> Erinna appears so naturally imbued with the Alexandrian poetical technique that it seems impossible that she should have been writing as early as the middle of the fourth century. In AP 7.11, Asclepiades speaks of her as already dead and if this epigram is to be related to the polemic with Callimachus, as has been suggested,<sup>32</sup> then it must be dated to the end of Asclepiades' career because Callimachus does not seem to have begun production until about

---

<sup>30</sup>C.M. Bowra, "Later Elegy, Epigram and Lyric Poetry," New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, edited by J.U. Powell (Oxford 1933), 184. Levin, op. cit. 194, on the other hand, adopts a too conservative view of Erinna's date and his statement that no judgment about her birthplace can be made on the basis of dialect is surely a little too strong. Admittedly Erinna's dialect cannot be identified with any known vernacular but it is surely of some significance that it is in essence a literary Doric rather than a literary Ionic; see my chapter on "The Distaff."

<sup>31</sup>E.g. Bowra, loc. cit., Problems, 164-5; Gallavotti, op. cit. 29.

<sup>32</sup>See pages 2-3.

276/5 B.C.<sup>33</sup> Bowra conjectures that Asclepiades may have been the first to publish Erinna's work<sup>34</sup> but that does not necessarily mean that she was writing at this time. She may have been dead for some time before her work first attracted notice. Tatian's remark that a statue of her was made by Naucydes<sup>35</sup> may seem to lend support to the date given by Eusebius, for Naucydes' floruit is given as Olympiad 95, i.e., 400-396 B.C., by Pliny,<sup>36</sup> but, besides the difficulty of reconciling the Olympic dates, Tatian's evidence about the statues of women has been generally discredited.<sup>37</sup> Lippold suggests that he may have confused Erinna's friend Baucis with a man of the same name who won in wrestling at Olympia where there was a statue of him by Naucydes<sup>38</sup> and Bowra thinks he may have had in mind another later Naucydes, the son of Patrocles.<sup>39</sup> However, it is noticeable that Tatian follows the tradition that assigns Erinna to Lesbos, so he also presumably thought of her as a contemporary of Sappho and, if this is the case, his evidence for the date of Erinna

---

<sup>33</sup>R. Pfeiffer, Callimachus (Oxford 1953), II.xxxix.

<sup>34</sup>Bowra, Loc. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Tatian, Oratio contra Graecos 34.10 Schwartz.

<sup>36</sup>Pliny, Natural Histories 34.50.

<sup>37</sup>A. Kalkmann, "Tatians Nachrichten über Kunstwerke," RhM. 42 (1887), 504f.

<sup>38</sup>Lippold, in RE s.v. Naukydes.

<sup>39</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 163, note 2.

is completely worthless and no amount of ingenious speculation will make it otherwise. Perhaps all we can say is that Erinna's Distaff may be an isolated phenomenon of the mid fourth century, a work spiritually but not chronologically Hellenistic, rather like the later plays of Euripides, but that in its style it is closer to Theocritus and other writers of the early third century than to Antimachus of Colophon or Choerilus of Iasos.

The other pieces of evidence we have about Erinna add nothing. Eustathius mentions her at Odyssey 4.336 and notices her more fully at Iliad 2.711 but he says nothing that is not in Suidas and it is likely that his notice is drawn either from a copy of the latter or from the same source.<sup>40</sup> Pliny speaks of a statue of Erinna by Myron<sup>41</sup> but it was recognized long ago from the description of the work that Pliny has confused the sculptor Myron with the girl Myro of Nossis' epigram, AP 7.190.<sup>42</sup> Finally Erinna was perhaps mentioned along with Corinna by Propertius.<sup>43</sup> She is the sort of writer who no doubt would have appealed to him but the text of the passage is so corrupt that it is impossible to use it as evidence.

---

<sup>40</sup>Welcker, op. cit., 145.

<sup>41</sup>Pliny, Natural Histories 34.57.

<sup>42</sup>Welcker, op. cit., 147.

<sup>43</sup>Propertius 2.3.22.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE DISTAFF: TEXT AND APPARATUS

Col. I (fr.D).

	[	Γ ].κ[ ]
	[	]ῥοίς[α]ς
	[	]ε κώρας
	[	]σι νύμφαι·
5	[	]χελύνναν
	[	σ]ελάννα·
	[	χε ]λύννα·
	[	]τε λῆσ[ ]
	[	]ῶι κει·
10	[	]α φύλλοις
	[	μ] αλάσσει·
	[	σε]λάνναν
	[	ἄμ]νίδα πέξα[ι]
	[	ἔς βαθ]ὺ κῦμα

Col.II (frr.C and A).

15 λε]υκᾶν μαινομέν[οισιν ἑσάλατο π]οσσὶν ἀφ' ἱ[π]πῶν.  
 ἄλ]λ' ἴσ[χ]ω, μέγ' ἄϋσα, φ[ί]λα. τύ δ' ἔοισα]] χελύννα  
 ἄλ]λομένα μεγάλας [ἔθορες κατὰ] χορτίον αὐλᾶς.  
 τα]ῦτα τύ, Βαυκὶ τάλαι[να, βαρὺ στονά]χεισα γοήμ[ι,  
 τα]ῦτά μοι ἐν κρα[δίᾳ καὶ θύμῳ] παίχνια κεῖται  
 20 θέρμ' ἔτι· τῇν[α δ' ἄ]πρᾶν περ ἔπα]ύρομες, ἄνθρακες ἤδη.

- δαγύ[δ]ων τ'έχ[όμεσθα νεαν]ίδες ἐν θαλάμοισι,  
 νύμ[φαι]σὶν [τ'έχάρημες ἀκαδ]έες· ἅ τε πòτ ὄρθρον  
 μάτηρ, ἅ ἔ[ριον· νέμεν ἀμφιπόλ]οισιν ἐρείθοις,  
 — ~~τήνας ἤλθ[εν· κρῆς· τυ· καλευμέ]να ἀμφ'ἀλίπαστον,~~  
 25 αἴ μικραῖς τ[όκα νῶϊν ὅσο]ν φόβον ἄγαγε Μο[ρμ]ῶ,  
 τᾷς ἐν μὲν κο[ρυφᾷ μεγάλ'ῶ]ατα· ποσσὶ δ'έφοίτη  
 τέ]τρ[α]σιν, ἐκ δ[']έτέρας ἐτέραν] μετεβάλλετ'ὀπωπάν.  
 ἀνίκα δ'ές [λ]έχος [ἀνδρὸς ἔβας, τ]όκα πάντ'έλέασο,  
 ἄσσ'ἔτι νηπιάσα[σα] τ[εᾷς παρὰ] ματρὸς ἄκουσας,  
 30 Β]αυκὶ φίλα, λάθας [τυ δ'] ἔ[γευσ'ἄρα δῖ'] Ἀφροδίτα.  
 τῷ· τυ κατακλαίῳισα τὰ [λοίσθια τήλοθ]ε λείπω·  
 οὐ γάρ μοι πόδες [ἐντί λιπῆν] ἄπο δῶμα βέβαλοι,  
 οὐδ'έσιδῆν φαέε[σσ]· [ν ἔχω νέ]κυν, οὐδὲ γοᾶσαι  
 γυμναῖσιν χαίταισιν, [ὄθεν φο]ινίκεος αἰδῶς

Col.III (fr.B).

- 35 δρύπτει μ'ἀμφὶ [παρή]· δ['] [ ]  
 αἰε[ι] δὲ προπάροιθ[ε] [ ]  
 ἐννεα[και]δέκατος [ ] ἐνιαυτός]  
 Ἡρίννα[ι τ]ε φίλα π[ ]  
 ἀλακάταν ἐ[φ]όρει[σα] [ ]  
 40 γνῶθ'ὅτι τοι κ[ ]  
 ἀμφ' [ἔ]λικες γελ[άουσι] [ ]  
 ταῦτ'αἰδῶς μ' [ ]  
 παρθενίοις μ. [ ]  
 δερκομένα δ'έγ[ ]



- 45 καὶ χαίταν ἀν[έλυσε ]  
 πρᾶϋλόγοι πο[λῖαι, ταὶ γήραος ἄνθεα θνατοῖς]  
 τῷ τυ φίλα φο[ ]  
 Βαυκὶ κατακλαί[οισα ]  
 ἄν φλόγα μιν τ[ ]  
 50 ὠρυγὰς αἴοισα ο[ ]  
 ὧ πολλὰν ὕμην[αιε ]  
 πολλὰ δ' ἐπιψαύ[οισα ]  
 πάνθ' ἐνός, ὧ ὕμ[έναιε ]  
 αἶαῖ Βαυκὶ τάλαινα[ ]

### Apparatus criticus

3. Κώρας? Diehl.
4. sive ]δοι, Βαυκί]δοι? Diehl.
5. suppl. Scheidweiler, exempli gratia;  
~~ἐπαίδομεν ὅψε~~ ] χέλυνναν  
 μόχθω ἐπεὶ πέρας ἦν λαμπρά τ' ἐπέτελλε σ]ελάννα.  
 ἄλλοκα δ' ἄρῳν ἄλλα ἀμοιβαδῖς ἔσκε χε]λύννα.
8. τε λῆς, Diehl.
9. ὠῖκει, Diehl.
10. α φύλλοις, Diehl.
11. suppl. Scheidweiler, exempli gratia;  
 τεῖδ' ἐσδῦσ' εἰ μόχθος ἐρωτεύμαν με μ]αλάσσει  
 μαρῦεν τ' ἐφάμαν ἔρι' ὀρθρόθεν ἔς γε σε]λάνναν  
 λάμποισαν, πρότερον δ' ἰδίᾳ χερὶ κάμ]νίδα πέξαι.  
 ἔκγονον εἴτ' ἐφάμαν ἀπολωλέμεν.

12ff. suppl. Edmonds, exempli gratia;

ὥς ποτὶ χρυσοφαῖν ὀρθοῖς ὁάτεσσι σε]λάνναν  
 μῖνον· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ γ' ἐφεῖτο κόμαν σφίσι Φαι]νίδα πέξαι  
 δὴ τόκ' ἐγώ, πρᾶπίδας γὰρ ἄσας κλύσε μ' ὥς μ]έ[θ]υ κῦμα

13. ἀμ]νίδα, Vitelli; πα]νίδα, Latte.

14. ἐς βαθ]ύ, Maas.

15. λε]υκᾶν, Vitelli; ἐσάλατο, Maas; ἐσάλαο, Bowra;  
 cetera Bowra; θυρᾶν ἐκ π]οσσὶν ἀφε[ῖρ]πο[ν,  
 Edmonds sed contra vestigia ut videtur.

16. ἀλ]λ' ἴσ[χ]ω, Bowra; κάλ]λυσ[τ'] ᾧ, Bowra ap. I.U.  
 Powell; αἰ]αῖ ἐγώ, Edmonds contra vestigia;  
 φ[ίλα. τύ δ' ἔοισα, Bowra; γέγονας τύ, Bowra ap.  
 I.U. Powell; δ' ἔκλαγξε, Edmonds; τύ δ' ἄρ' οἶα,  
 Latte.

17. ἀλ]λομένα, Vitelli; ἰλ]λομένα, Edmonds; ἔθορες  
 vel ἔφυγες κατὰ, Latte; ἔδραμες κατὰ, Bowra;  
 μαλακὸν περί, Diehl; κοῖλον περί, Edmonds; δῦθι  
 βραχύ vel μικρὸν κίχε, Scheidweiler.

18. suppl. Maas et Vitelli; πολύ, Latte.

19. κρα[δία, Vitelli; καὶ θύμῳ, ego; μικρᾶς τέο,  
 Latte; τὰ ποθέσπερα, Scheidweiler; παῖχνια, pap.;  
 ῥαίχνια, priores, unde καὶ νῦ γοε]ρᾶι ἴχνια,  
 Bowra, et τεῦς, ᾧ κό]ρα, ἴχνια, Page, et φιλότατος]  
 (ἄρ') ἴχνια, Edmonds, qui putat A et P nescioquo-  
 modo transpositas.

20. τῆν[α, Maas; δ'ἄ πρᾶν περ, Latte; δὲ τοῖσιν, Diehl; δ'ἄ πρίν ποκ', Bowra; τὰ πρᾶν ποκ', Edmonds; δὲ τοῖς ποκ', Scheidweiler; ἐπα]ύρομες, Vitelli; ἀθ]ύρομες, Maas.
21. suppl. Bowra; ἐταιρ]ίδες, Vitelli; χ[οροὶ καὶ κλιν]ίδες, Edmonds; χ[ορὸς καὶ κλιν]ίδες, Scheidweiler; χ[οροῖς ἐπιδθμ]ίδες, Latte.
22. νύμ[φαι]σιν, Vitelli; τ'ἐχάρημες ἀκαδ]έες, Latte; μάλ'ὁμοῖαι ἀκηδ]έες, Bowra; προσόμοιοι, E. Fraenkel; γαμβροῖσι τ'ἐπαρτ]έες, Edmonds; δ'ἐπι μόχθοι ἀφειδ]έες, Scheidweiler.
23. suppl. Bowra; ἀε[ίδοισα σὺν εὐπλοκάμ]οισιν vel φιλαλακάτ]οισιν, Maas et Diehl; ἄε[ιδέν τοι ἐν εὐφά]μοισιν, Edmonds; ἀ(μ)έ[ριον σῖτον νέμε τ]οῖσιν, Latte; ἀε[ροέντα νέας καθύπν]οισιν, Scheidweiler.
24. 24. τηνας, pap.; πηνας, Maas; τήνα σ', Bowra; τήνων, Edmonds; ἦλθ[ε, Maas; -μέ]να, Vogliano; κῆς τυ καλευμέ]να, vel ὥρας τυ καλυμέ]να, ego; κρέας προκαλευμέ]να, Bowra; ὥρας σφε καλημέ]να, Latte; ἦλθ[ες ἐκὰς διζημέ]να, Edmonds; φέρουσα θροευμέ]να, Scheidweiler qui πήνας Maasii retinet.
25. τ[, pap.; στ[, Diehl; τ[όκα νῶϊν ὅσο]ν, Bowra; τ[έχναισιν φίλο]ν, Edmonds; τ[άχα κῆρ πάρος ἐς], Scheidweiler qui N negat ut videtur; μὲ[...], pap.; Μο[ρμ]ῶ, Vogliano; Μοχ[χ]ῶ, Edmonds.

26. τᾷ]ς , Maas ; ὦ]ς Edmonds, sed litteris duabus opus est; κο[ρυφᾷ , Vogliano; μεγάλ' ὦ]ατα , H. Schulze; κο[ίτη θετ' ἀγάμ]ατα , Edmonds; δὲ φοιτῇι, pap.; δ' ἐφοίτη , Maas.
27. τέ]τρ[α]σιν , Vitelli; cetera Lobel; δ' [ἀνθρώπῳ ἐὰν] , Edmonds; ὅπωπ' ἄν , pap.
28. γάρ superscriptum est δ' ἔς in textu pap.; τ]όκα , Lobel; cetera Maas.
29. suppl. Maas; νηπία ἔσσα , conj. Edmonds; ἀρι]στ superscriptum νηπιᾶσα[σα in textu pap. legisse sibi videtur Edmonds.
30. λάθας , Latte; λάθα[ν , priores; suppl. Latte; λάθα[ν ἐν] ἐ[ποίει δὲ] 'Αφρ., Koerte; λάθα[ν ἄρ'] ἐ[νὶ φρεσὶ θεῇ] 'Αφρ. , Bowra; λάθα γάρ ἐη[ς τῆν ὦ]θ' vel ἐπ[ήϊε δὴ]θ' 'Αφρ. , Edmonds dubitanter; λάθας[ τυ δὲ τείσατο δὲ] 'Αφρ., Scheidweiler.
31. ]ε , pap.; παραλείπω , Bowra; ἄλλα δὲ λείπω, Edmonds dubitanter; ibid. Scheidweiler; suppl. Latte; τὰ [κάδεα νῦν], Bowra; τὰ[δ' αἴνεσα, τ'] , Edmonds; τα[κήσομαι], Scheidweiler.
32. γ]άρ , Vitelli; cetera Maas; ἀπο legi posse negat Vitelli qui ~~λίτο~~ vel ~~λυτο~~ scriptum esse affirmat; unde ἦκ[ο]ν [ὅπαι] λύτο , Edmonds.
33. φαέε[σαι , Maas; ]ι[ , Edmonds; ἔχω , Latte; πρέπει vel θέλω , Maas; τεόν , Edmonds; νέ]κυν, Vogliano; γοᾶσαι , pap.

34. ]οῖνικῖος , pap.; φ]οῖνίκεος, Maas; ν(ε)ίκεος, Diehl; μ' [ἔα τ]ω ν(ε)ίκεος , Edmonds contra vestigia; ὄθεν , Latte; ἐπεῖ, Maas; ἀτάρ , Beazley.
35. suppl. Latte; ἀμφι[χ]υ[θεῖσα, Koerte contra vestigia; ἀμφὶ μα[νεῖσαν , Edmonds sed MA vetat pap.
- 35ff. suppl. Edmonds, exempli gratia;  
 δρύπτει μ' ἀμφὶ μα[νεῖσαν ὄνυξ γένυν ἡμέναι ἔνδοι,  
 αἰεὶ δὲ προπάροιθ[ε θυρᾶν στέφος ἄψεται ὑμᾶν.  
 ἑννεακαίδεκάτος τ[οι ὄδ' ἦς κάμιν ἑνιαυτός,  
 'Ηρίννα τε φίλα πα[ρέησθ' ὠδίνος ἀρωγά,  
 'Αλακάταν ἐφόρει[σ' ἐπέων σοφὰ 'Ελλείθυια.
- 35ff. suppl. Scheidweiler, exempli gratia;  
 δρύπτει μ' ἀμφι[χ]υ[θεῖσα παρηΐσιν ἔνδοθι θυμόν.  
 αἰεὶ δὲ προπάροιθ[εν ἐμεῦ πέλη, ἅ κατόλῳλας,  
 ἑννεακαίδεκάτος [τοι ἐπεὶ γάμον ἅψ' ἑνιαυτός.
36. suppl. Vitelli.
37. [καί] , Norsa; τ[ , Edmonds; ἑνιαυτός, Norsa.
38. πα[ , Edmonds.
39. ἐ[φ]όρει[σα , Edmonds; ἐ[σ]ορεῖ[σα, Maas;  
 ἐ[π]όρει , Vitelli; ἐ[φ]όρει, Latte.
41. suppl. Bowra.
43. μ[ , Bowra.
45. suppl. Latte, exempli gratia;  
 καὶ χαίταν ἀν[έλυσεν· ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ματρὸς
46. Stobaeus 4.50; πρᾶϋλόγοι , pap.; παυρολόγοι Stob.;  
 πρᾶϋλόγου , Latte.

48. κατακλαί[οισα , Bowra; κατακλαί[ω, Vitelli;  
49. ἄν, Bowra; ἄν ,Diehl; sive μεν ,pap.;  
50. <sup>ω</sup>ορυγᾶς , pap.  
51. ὕμην[αιε ,Vitelli.  
52. ἐπιψαύ[οισα γάμων? Vitelli.  
53. suppl. Maas.

CHAPTER THREE  
THE DISTAFF: COMMENTARY

Until this century our knowledge of Erinna's 300-line hexameter epyllion, the Distaff, was confined to what little could be gathered from later writers, who were fulsome in their praise of the work but unfortunately said little of value about the poem itself,<sup>1</sup> and to three quotations, one in Athenaeus<sup>2</sup> and two in Stobaeus,<sup>3</sup> totalling five lines.

However, in January, 1928, an Italian expedition excavating at Behnesa (Oxyrhynchos) under the leadership of Professor Breccia uncovered some fragments of papyrus, which, upon examination later, were found to contain a part of this long-lost poem.<sup>4</sup> The fragments belonged to a papyrus volumen whose columns, it seems, were regularly 20 lines in length, for fragments a and b, which preserve respectively the clausulae and beginnings of 20 hexameter verses, have both their upper and lower margins still intact.

Unfortunately the whole papyrus was extremely mutilated and a number of serious technical problems had to be

---

<sup>1</sup>See my chapter on "The Testimonia."

<sup>2</sup>Athenaeus.7.283d.

<sup>3</sup>Stobaeus.4.50 and 51.

<sup>4</sup>Unless otherwise stated, all information about the state of the papyrus has been taken from the editio princeps: G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, PSI 9 (1929), No. 1090, 137-44.

solved before any text, however unsatisfactory its nature, could be extracted from the fragments. In their first publication,<sup>5</sup> Professors Vitelli and Norsa, into whose care the document had been entrusted, distinguished six fragments, a, b, c, d, e and f, the last consisting of two smaller pieces that were obviously to be taken together. They noted that, taking into account the physical peculiarities of the papyrus and the relationship of the fibres to one another, it seemed very probable that a and b were consecutive and that in c and d were preserved the beginnings and clausulae of a single column. However, in deference to the mutilated state of the papyrus, they were reluctant to commit themselves to any rigid sequence in the arrangement and they were content to present the fragments in a simple alphabetical sequence.<sup>6</sup>

The discovery of a papyrus of such importance can always be relied upon to create a lively interest and it is not surprising that, in the following year, a great deal of attention was paid to it. Following several tentative suggestions made by Vitelli and Norsa about other possible relationships of the fragments,<sup>7</sup> A. Vogliano combined fragment c, containing the beginnings of eleven verses, with the clausulae of the latter part of a to give the end of a single column.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, "Frammenti della 'Conocchia' di Erinna," BSRAA 24 (1929), 9-16.

<sup>6</sup>Vitelli-Norsa, op. cit., 9.

<sup>7</sup>Vitelli-Norsa, op. cit., 10.

<sup>8</sup>A. Vogliano, "Nachtrag zu den neuen Erinnafragmenten," Gnomon 5 (1929), 288.



At the same time Maas and Lobel, working separately, succeeded in uniting e with the rest of a to yield the beginning of this same column.<sup>9</sup> The final piece of the puzzle was fitted by Vogliano who saw that fragment f was to be inserted in the lacuna still left between e and c, with the result that the three fragments combined gave the beginnings of the verses of a single column, now called c,<sup>10</sup> which was to be taken together with a.

Yet these discoveries did not meet with immediate acceptance. The joining of e, f and c found favour with Vitelli and Norsa but they still retained their earlier alphabetical arrangement of the fragments in the editio princeps. In a postscript dated April 29th, 1929,<sup>11</sup> Vitelli recorded the joining of a and c and Maas' proposed arrangement of all the fragments into three columns, giving 54 consecutive lines:

- d, col.I (mutilated at the top and the left; 14 clausulae)
- c and a, col.II (20 hexameters with lacunae in the middle)
- b, col.III (mutilated at the right; beginnings of 20 verses).

He was cautiously non-committal about the possible value of this solution to the problem of the relationships of the fragments. It was left to Maas to publish a and c together, in what is now accepted as their true relationship, in his

---

<sup>9</sup>Reported by Vogliano, loc. cit., and by Vitelli-Norsa PSI 9, 138 note 2, but not published independently.

<sup>10</sup>Reported by Vitelli-Norsa, PSI 9, 137.

<sup>11</sup>PSI 9, 144.

addendum to the editio princeps, dated June 5th, 1929.<sup>12</sup> In spite of Vitelli's continued scepticism,<sup>13</sup> there now seems to be no doubt that this arrangement is the right one and that it has rightly been accepted as the basis from which all subsequent work of reconstruction must start.

The papyrus is written in a large, clear hand that Vitelli and Norsa date to before the first century B.C. It is well provided with punctuation marks and signs of prosody, probably by a second hand. The hand of a corrector, maybe the scribe who provided the punctuation, is evident in more than one place, most notably lines 28 and 34.<sup>14</sup>

The ascription of the poem to Erinna is assured by line 46, wrongly quoted by Stobaeus 4.50, under the ascription Εἰρήνης, a transparent and fairly common error for 'Ηρῖννης.<sup>15</sup> Stobaeus' line reads:

παυρόλόγοι πολιαί, ταῖ γήρας ἄνεα θνατοῖς

---

<sup>12</sup>PSI 9, xii-xiii.

<sup>13</sup>PSI 9, xiii.

<sup>14</sup>J.M. Edmonds, in "Erinna P.S.I.1090," *Mnemosyne* 6 (1938), 200 states that in line 28, over the ε of λ[ε]χοῦε can read ]αρτ which he takes to be an ascription of the correction to Artemidorus, pupil of the critic Aristophanes. In the following line he finds a similar abbreviated ascription to Aristophanes above the -αα of νητιάσα[σα. I can see nothing on his photograph, other scholars, working by autopsy, have also noticed nothing here, and the idea is in any case rather too far-fetched to be given serious consideration.

<sup>15</sup>Emended here by Meineke; cf. Stobaeus 4.51, where the same error is found in the ascription of fr.1.D.

but Vitelli justifies the papyrus reading *πραῦλόγοι* by the attractively sensible argument that "in realtà, caratteristica dei vecchi, antichi e moderni, non è davvero la *παυρολογία*"."<sup>16</sup> That the author is Erinna is further secured by the occurrence of the name Baucis in lines 18, 30 (a certain restoration), 48 and 54, the name of Erinna herself in line 38, a mention of the spindle (*ἀλακάτη*) in line 39, and of the poetess' or her friend's age in line 37.<sup>17</sup> We therefore have no reason to doubt that in these fragments we have the remains of Erinna's hexameter poem on the death of Baucis, a work about which the later Alexandrians waxed eloquent. Whether *Ἀλακάτα* was the title given to it by the poetess herself is another matter. I think probably not.<sup>18</sup> Most ancient works were first given titles by the Hellenistic grammarians and scholars who edited and catalogued them, and Erinna was probably no exception in this respect. However, since this is the title by which it eventually came to be known, we are as justified in speaking of Erinna's *Distaff* as we are in using the Aristophanic terms Pythian, Nemean and Olympian in connection with the works of Pindar.

---

<sup>16</sup>BSRAA 24, 11 and PSI 9, 139.

<sup>17</sup>Vitelli-Norsa, PSI 9, 140, are of the opinion that *ἐννεα[καὶ]δεκάτος* here refers to the age of Baucis, rather than to Erinna. However it makes little difference for the tradition explicitly states that they both died at the same age.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. P. Maas, "Erinnae in Baucidem nenia," *Hermes* 69 (1934), 206-7.

A word about the text given below. As mentioned earlier, the papyrus is extremely mutilated. No lines survive in their entirety, the proper arrangement of the fragments was contested at some length and, where it has been undertaken, the restoration is highly hazardous. My method has therefore been to weigh all restorations carefully before adopting whichever seemed to yield the best sense, rather than to accept outright the complete text of any one scholar. Later in this chapter I shall try to defend the judgements I have made and indicate why, in my opinion, a particular supplement should be adopted for the text, or relegated to the critical apparatus as being less cogent than its fellows. I have not myself seen the papyrus and I rely for my knowledge of its appearance upon the plate given in the editio princeps,<sup>19</sup> the photograph of fragments d and c which precedes Edmond's article,<sup>20</sup> and the transcription made from photographs by W. Hartke and published by Maas.<sup>21</sup> This, of course, is far from being completely satisfactory but even these facsimiles have proved helpful in a number of small points where there are difficulties with spaces and traces in the papyrus.

The language of the poem seems to confirm Suidas' testimony that Erinna wrote Αἰολικῇ καὶ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ 22

---

<sup>19</sup>PSI 9, plate IV.

<sup>20</sup>Mnemosyne 6, plate IV (facing page 195).

<sup>21</sup>Hermes 69 (1934), 209.

<sup>22</sup>Suidas s.v. "Εριννα.

but the matter is by no means as simple as his statement at first suggests. The two elements are mingled in an artistic and artificial manner so that the end product belongs to neither exclusively but, defying characterization, becomes the poetess' very own. The foundation of the poem's language is Doric but not apparently a vernacular dialect, as we might expect from a young girl who was writing spontaneously on an isolated island.<sup>23</sup> Instead it is that form of Doric that, mingled with epicisms, had been the prevailing literary dialect among the Dorians from the time of the lyric.<sup>24</sup>

All later Greek poetry is to a greater or lesser extent indebted to Homer and the Distaff is no exception. The omission of the augment in 16 and 29, ἄῦσα, ἄκουσας, is reminiscent of the practice of Homer and the phrase μέγ' ἄῦσα is itself Homeric in origin,<sup>25</sup> although Erinna's use of it in this context is probably unconscious. Likewise, the use of the long dative plurals of words of the -α and -ο declensions,

---

<sup>23</sup>Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos (Berlin 1924), I.109, written before the discovery of the papyrus.

<sup>24</sup>K. Latte, "Erinna," NAG phil-hist Kl. 3 (1953), 81, rightly speaks of Erinna's "episch abgetoente Dorisch."

<sup>25</sup>Homer, Iliad, 14.147, 21.328. The attempt of L.A. Stella, "Intorno ai nuovi frammenti di Erinna," RIL series 2, 1:52 (1929), 829, to refer this phrase to Theocritus 13.58, is unnecessary and proves nothing about the relationship of Erinna's language to that of Theocritus, since at this point Theocritus himself is obviously adopting a consciously epic tone; cf. Gow II.242.

which can be interchanged with the shorter forms metri gratia, is an epic device adopted by lyric writers like Alcman and Pindar.<sup>26</sup> In line 49 the Homeric pronoun μιν occurs instead of the Doric νιν,<sup>27</sup> and in line 33 φάσα in the meaning of "eyes" is from the epic.<sup>28</sup> Similarly the causal τῷ in 31 and 47 is Homeric in origin,<sup>29</sup> and the unusual word ὀπωπά occurs elsewhere in the sense of "appearance" only in the Odyssey and the Dionysiaca of Nonnus.<sup>30</sup> The phrase στονάχεισα <sup>γοῆμι</sup> is, in Aeolic form, an echo of such verses as Iliad 18.315, and 355, and Odyssey 9.467, and χορτίον αὐλᾶς (17) is perhaps to be explained in terms of Iliad 11.774, αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ, and 24.640, αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοις, though the diminutive is Erinna's own and, as such, may well be a dialectical word or one of specialised meaning.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> E.g., θαλάμοισιν 21, λοισιν 23, γυμναῖσιν χαίταισιν 34; ἐρεΐθοις 23, μικραῖς 25, φύλλοις (?) 10; cf. Bechtel II.341-2. It is, of course, possible that Erinna took this device from the lyric writers rather than directly from Homer but the echoes of epic phraseology in the Distaff have still to be accounted for.

<sup>27</sup> There is, of course, a possibility that μιν may be a mistake in the orthography of the papyrus. However, any mistake made by the copyist would have been more likely to involve the substitution of the Doric for the Epic than vice versa.

<sup>28</sup> Homer, Odyssey 16.15, 17.39, 19.417.

<sup>29</sup> The copyist may have the accent wrong; cf. Apollonius Dyscolus, De Adverbiis 199.2, ἀλλ' οὔτε περισπᾶται οὔτε σὺν τῷ ἱ γράφεται, though the Etymologicum Magnum s.v. τῷ records that the circumflex had the support of Herodian.

<sup>30</sup> Homer, Odyssey 3.97 and scholia ad loc; Nonnus, Dion 2.60. It is interesting to note that in the latter context it is also a terrifying monster that is being described.

<sup>31</sup> See page 38.

Specifically Doric characteristics are the first plural active termination -ες,<sup>32</sup> the pronoun τυ,<sup>33</sup> τῆνος, the Doric form of κεῖνος<sup>34</sup> and the forms ποτί and τόκα.<sup>35</sup> The Aeolic elements in the poem are the nouns ending in --vva<sup>36</sup> and the athematic contrast verbs στονάχαισα and γόημι in line 18.<sup>37</sup> However, Bowra is probably mistaken in his characterisation of the infinitive ending in -ην<sup>38</sup> as Aeolic. Similarly, the

---

<sup>32</sup>ἐπα]ύρομες ,20; cf. Bechtel II.354.

<sup>33</sup>Lines 18 and 31, equivalent here to the Attic accusative σέ ; cf. Bechtel II. 347.

<sup>34</sup>Bechtel II.349.

<sup>35</sup>Bechtel II.363 and LSJ s.v. τόκα.

<sup>36</sup>χελύννα ,5 and 16, σελάννα, 6 and 12; cf. Bechtel I.37 and 62-3. But it is possible that χελυννα may be an affectionate form of χελώνη rather than a conscious Aeolicism; cf. Babrius 115, 1 and 5.

<sup>37</sup>Bechtel I.82-4; cf. Gow II.500. The form γοᾷσαι in line 33 perhaps leads us to expect γοᾷμι in line 18. Latte's explanation of γοᾷμι, NAKG phil-hist Kl.3.81, by the hypothesis that in Erinna's native dialect the α of the original -αω verb had become dissimilated to ε and that she constructed this Aeolic form from the dialectal γοεω is borne out not only by inscriptional evidence from nearby Rhodes (Bechtel II.620) and elsewhere (Bechtel II.49 and 94) but also by evidence of a similar process in Theocritus; cf. Gow II.68 s.v.ποθορεῦσα.

<sup>38</sup>C.M. Bowra, "Later Elegy, Epigram, and Lyric Poetry," New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature; edited by J.U. Powell (Oxford 1933), 183. On the infinitive form -ην in Doric cf. Bechtel II.355 and, more fully, D.L. Page, Alcman; the Partheneion (Oxford 1951), 121-2. Although there is more evidence for this form in Aeolic (Bechtel I.98-9), its occurrence in Doric means that we should perhaps regard εσιδην in line 33 as a local dialect variant rather than an Aeolicism.

participles in -οῖσα may be Aeolic but there is also the possibility that they are Doric dialect variants rather than conscious Aeolicisms.<sup>39</sup>

The use of these various elements belies the superficial appearance of the poem as a simple extemporary expression of grief and shows us instead a skilful writer capable of taking what she needs from earlier poetry of widely differing genres and making it her own. For instance, the contract verb in -μῖ is a peculiarly Aeolic phenomenon<sup>40</sup> and can hardly be anything but a conscious borrowing from Lesbian.

Erinna's use of it is evidence of the continuing influence of the great Aeolic lyric poets and shows well why she had been associated with the school of Sappho in the minds of later writers. Was she not a woman writing poetry of an intensely personal kind in a dialect heavily infiltrated by Aeolicisms? The conclusion they drew was pardonably obvious.

But if in tone, choice of subject matter and use of Aeolic forms her poem is reminiscent of the great poetess of

---

<sup>39</sup>The participial termination in -οῖσα is found regularly in Sappho, Alcman and Pindar, but its occurrence in the fourth century Lex Sacra of Cyrene (Solmsen, Inscriptiones Graecae Selectae, editio quarta, 39B, section 1) and the Doric Hymns of Callimachus (5 and 6) raises the possibility that this was an old Laconian form that lingered on in some areas as late as the time of Erinna; cf. Page, op. cit., 133-4.

<sup>40</sup>In reference to such forms in Theocritus, Gow I.lxxiii, note 3 suggests that contract verbs in -μῖ may be local Doric dialect forms. There is, however, no inscriptional evidence to support this supposition; all the evidence we have points to this phenomenon as peculiar to Aeolic.



Lesbos, the combination of Doric and Aeolic, considered together, is more suggestive of Theocritus, who also made use of both dialects,<sup>41</sup> than of any earlier poet. For instance, Theocritus 7.40 has  $\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\eta\mu\iota$ , a similar formation to Erinna's  $\gamma\acute{o}\eta\mu\iota$ ,<sup>42</sup> and  $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$  in Theocritus 1.85 is apparently analogous to  $\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}]χ\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$ .

The word  $\delta\alpha\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  in line 21 occurs elsewhere in literature only in Theocritus 2.110. Mormo, the childish bogey described in lines 25-7, appears in Theocritus' famous fifteenth Idyll,<sup>43</sup> and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that they are drawing here upon a shared background of popular tradition. In addition, Erinna's recurring exclamations of grief recall Theocritus' use of refrain in the Lament for Daphnis in the first Idyll. Her method is more naive and natural than his but it is easy to see that Theocritus' use of a refrain as a literary device may have developed from it.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup>On the dialect of Theocritus cf. Gow I.lxxii-lxxx.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. also Theocr.6.25,  $\pi\omicron\theta\acute{o}\rho\eta\mu\iota$ , if this is the correct reading. A list of other possible Aeolicisms of this type is given by Gow II.500 s.v.  $\varphi\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ . I reject Gow's suggestion that such contract verbs may be local Doric variants; see note 40.

<sup>43</sup>Theocr.15.40.

<sup>44</sup>L.A. Stella, op. cit., 829, has suggested a parallel between Erinna's  $\pi\omicron\tau\ \acute{o}\rho\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  (22) and  $\tau\omicron\ \pi\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  in Theocr. 5.126. However, I do not think that too much emphasis should be placed upon this. Erinna's usage finds a closer parallel in Aristophanes, Lysistrata 1089 and Ecclesiazusae 20, and its accentuation in the papyrus suggests that the scribe who punctuated the text understood it for what it presumably was, a fairly common prepositional phrase.

In the matter of metre, too, the Distaff has certain affinities with the work of Theocritus and other writers of the Alexandrian period. The use of hexameters in itself sets the poem apart from earlier  $\theta\pi\tilde{\eta}\nu\omicron\iota$ , which were choral in nature,<sup>45</sup> and brings it into contact with such works as Theocritus' first Idyll and the anonymous Lament for Bion. It has been suggested quite plausibly that it was Erinna who, with this poem, pioneered the use of the hexameter for personal poetry.<sup>46</sup> Though the fragmentary state of the papyrus does not permit more than generalisation about the nature of her metre, it does seem that she had a preference for a predominantly dactylic rhythm, which gave the poem a more lyrical tone and an impression of lightness.

The bucolic diaeresis is observed with some regularity. Out of 23 verses where its occurrence may be checked, it is missing only three times, lines 18, 27 and 34. Little can be said about the preferred position of the middle caesura because of the gaps in the papyrus. However, it does seem to have been generally observed, although in line 34 it is replaced by a diaeresis after the third trochee. The rate of elision is fairly high but it is confined mainly to short words, especially prepositions particles and pronouns.<sup>47</sup> Hiatus and correptio

---

<sup>45</sup>Cf. A.E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," CQ 49 (1955), 157-75.

<sup>46</sup>U. Lisi, Poetesse Greche (Catania 1933), 7-8, 155. C.M. Bowra, Problems in Greek Poetry (Oxford 1953), 167.

<sup>47</sup>I count 16 elisions, excluding those offered as part of the supplements.

epica are permitted only once, in lines 24 and 19 respectively. All in all, the quick lyric pace of the poem and the softness of the metrical structure persuade us to place the Distaff nearer to the Hellenistic writers than to anyone earlier.

To turn to the text itself, it is immediately apparent that the first column is too fragmentary to yield any sense. In the fourth line we find the word νύμφαι and Scheidweiler has attempted to supplement the text from line 5 onward, basing his conjectures on the argument that this word suggests that at this time Erinna and Baucis were almost grown up, rather than young children. He argues from AP 9.190, 5-6 that Erinna was forced to work during the day and that therefore the game described at the beginning of the second column was often played after work by moonlight.<sup>48</sup>

Bowra too has been attracted by the repetition of σελάννα in lines 6 and 12, followed later by the contrast of πὸρ ὄρθρον in line 22, and, as a possible explanation that the game took place at a festival of the full moon.<sup>49</sup> Such speculation is interesting but his comment that "the combination of games and the moon indicates that it (the occasion described) was at least out of the ordinary run" is illuminating of a train of thought that it is only too simple to follow but that leads far from safe ground into the territory of

---

<sup>48</sup>F. Scheidweiler, "Erinnas Klage um Baukis," Philologus 100.I-2 (1956), 42.

<sup>49</sup>C.M. Bowra, Problems in Greek Poetry (Oxford 1953), 154-5. He quotes Sappho fr.154 LP as a possible parallel.

guesswork. His restoration of the first lines of the second column from Pollux 9.125 and his explanation of the *χελύννα* in line 16 in terms of the children's game of *χελιχελώνη* ~~are obviously correct and have been universally accepted.~~ It is only natural to see in the two earlier mentions of the "Tortoise" a previous reference to this game and to conclude, upon consideration of the phrase *πὸτ ὄρθρον* that it is perhaps related to the mention of the moon in the first column. But, as the text stands, the apparently logical deduction that the game was played at night cannot be justifiably made and surely every argument from common sense militates against the notion of two children or even two young girls of marriageable age, as Scheidweiler maintains them to be, playing a game of tag throughout the night and returning home the following morning. If there is a "combination of games and the moon" it is unfortunately beyond us to determine what their relationship is, without thrusting our own ideas upon the poetess in flagrant disregard for the essentially subjective character of her poem, in which events follow each other in no strict temporal sequence but tumble out as Erinna's fancy, or rather her grief, dictate.

The first passage of which any sense can be made without recourse to speculation is the beginning of the second column. It was Bowra who first suggested that it was a reference to the girls' game of *χελιχελώνη*, described by Pollux 9. 125, a simple variant of tag in which the following inter-

change takes place:<sup>50</sup>

Girls: χελιχελώνη, τί ποῖεις ἐν τῷ μέσῳ;

Tortoise: μαρύοι' ἔρια καὶ κρόκην Μιλησίαν.

Girls: ὁ δ' ἔκγονός σου τί ποῖω ἀπώλετο;

Tortoise: λευκὰν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἄλατο.

One of the players was chosen as Tortoise<sup>51</sup> and crouched down, presumably in the manner of that animal hiding in its shell, with the other girls ran around her, chanting the interchange quoted above and perhaps teasing and hitting her.<sup>52</sup> At the word ἄλατο, the Tortoise seems to have leapt up and bounded about trying to catch one of the other players. If she was successful, the caught girl replaced her as Tortoise, but, if she failed, then she herself would continue to be Tortoise. In the particular game described here, it appears that Erinna had first been the Tortoise and had caught Baucis who, when her turn came, bounded throughout the courtyard, presumably without catching anyone. I differ slightly from Bowra in my interpretation at this point. Bowra describes the game thus:<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Bowra, New Chapters III.181.

<sup>51</sup> Perhaps "turtle," as the animal is described as diving into the sea?

<sup>52</sup> Pollux does not describe the game in full but he does mention that it was very much like another game, of which he has this to say:  
ἡ δὲ χυτρίνδα, ὃ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ κάθηται καὶ καλεῖται χύτρα. οἱ δὲ τρίλλουσιν ἢ κνίζουσιν ἢ καὶ παῖουσιν αὐτὸν περιθέοντες. ὁ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιστρεφόμενου ληφθεὶς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κάθηται.

<sup>53</sup> Bowra, Problems 154.

"Erinna had first been Tortoise and had caught Baucis, who, when she became Tortoise in her turn, made a great leap and continued excitedly in her flight through the χορτίον αὐλῆς, the fenced area of a court, which was used especially for cattle." The word χορτίον is interesting for the diminutive does not occur elsewhere. I would argue that the use of this word rather than the simple form is significant and that, far from being an area especially reserved for cattle, as in Homer, into which Baucis in her excitement strays by mistake, the χορτίον may well be a small garden or enclosure within the farmyard to which the play of the game is confined.<sup>54</sup> I feel that this interpretation is supported by a possible antithesis between μεγάλῃς αὐλῆς and the diminutive χορτίον.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Latte, *op. cit.*, 83. Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 42, thinks of an enclosure specially improvised with four posts and a rope over which the unfortunate Tortoise has to jump in order to catch her victim. Such a hypothesis hardly seems warranted and would have made the game unnecessarily complicated.

<sup>55</sup>Professor Edinger has brought to my notice the frequency with which αὐλῆς occurs in final position in the Homeric hexameter and the apparent lack of meaning of μεγάλην αὐλήν in *Iliad* 24.452. This would suggest that the μεγάλῃς of line 187 is a mere filler word, devoid of any significance. The word is indeed so simple and commonplace that there is perhaps a danger of placing too much emphasis upon it but Erinna's style is noticeable for its limited vocabulary and its preference for simple words and, if μεγάλῃς is to be discounted because it is derived from a Homeric formula, Erinna's own "formulae," Βαυκι τάλαινα, κατακλαίοισα, χελύννα and σελάννα must also be dismissed as line fillers.

Therefore, putting a slightly different emphasis on the preposition, I should translate: "You jumped and ran throughout the enclosure" rather than "You jumped and ran along the straw-yard" as Bowra. However, whether Baucis in her excitement chases through the cattle pen, a place otherwise to be avoided, or whether she runs throughout the small garden whose area determines the bounds of the game, the implication is the same, that it is not without difficulty that she succeeds in catching anyone.

The restoration ἀρνίδα πέσαι in line 13 may be taken to refer very loosely to the "wools and Milesian woof" of the Tortoise' first answer.<sup>56</sup> Latte finds some difficulty in this and suggests instead that we should read παρνίδα πέσαι, "to comb a web."<sup>57</sup> However, an objection to this is that, although the sense thus provided is perhaps more in keeping with the wording as given by Pollux, παρίς occurs nowhere else in literature whereas ἀρνίς, "ewe lamb," can be paralleled from Theocritus 5.3. Another possibility that should not be overlooked is that this phrase in fact has nothing to do with the game but is a reference to some actual operation of wool-working, to be taken in conjunction with the ἐρείθους of line 23 and the ἀλαπάταν line 39. In any case, it is obvious that Erinna has not taken over Pollux' formula in toto. If she had, we should have to posit the loss of a whole line, containing the girls' second question, between lines 13 and 14.

---

<sup>56</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 154.

<sup>57</sup>Latte, op. cit., 82.

Verse 15, however, indicates that the interchange was expanded or contracted by Erinna to suit the exigencies of her poem. For the reading of this line, I prefer Maas' ἐσάλατο to the second person ἐσάλαο offered by Bowra. The third person ἄλατο is used by Pollux and this verse is a quotation of Erinna's <sup>mi</sup>for~~mi~~laic reply to the girls' question about the Tortoise' relative (ἔκγονος), not an address to Baucis, who, after all, is at this stage not the Tortoise, which is what the use of the second person suggests.<sup>58</sup> In the same line the adoption of Latte's ἔθορες eliminates the shortened syllable before a mute with liquid, necessary with Bowra's ἔδραμες. This device is not found anywhere in the text and it seems needless to introduce it here when another word, perhaps also more suitable in meaning, is at hand.

Line 18 presents no problems. Erinna is obviously speaking of the game described earlier and lamenting the loss of past pleasures. It matters little to the general sense whether Maas' βάρύ or Latte's πολύ is adopted as the adverb with σπονά]χαισα. In lines 19 to 20 it seems that some sort of contrast is being drawn. There is a definite antithesis in θέρμ' ἔτι - ἀνθρακες ἤδη which is reinforced by the contrast of the demonstratives ταῦτα and τῇν[α, and it seems to me that Bowra has missed this in his translation.<sup>59</sup> I would take the ταῦτα of line 19 to refer to the games, in the same

---

<sup>58</sup>Cf. Scheidweiler, op. cit., 41.

<sup>59</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 153.



way as the ταῦτα in 18, and I would conjecture that the τῇν[α refers to some incident anterior in time to the episode of the game, perhaps described earlier or perhaps to be identified with the dolls or the Mormo episode. Thus I translate: "These games . . . lie still warm . . . but those pleasures are already embers." None of the supplements offered for line 19 seem entirely satisfactory. The earlier restorations of Bowra, Page and Edmonds were based on a reading of ΠΑΙΧΝΙΑ in the papyrus but it now seems certain that what the text actually has is ΠΑΙΧΝΙΑ ; "games," which fits the context very well.<sup>60</sup>

Latte, who incorporates the new reading into his text, supplements the line with μινπᾶς τέο ,<sup>61</sup> which strikes me as rather bald although slightly better than Scheidweiler's suggestion τὰ ποθέσπερα . The latter is based upon his assumption that the game is taking place at night, to which I objected earlier,<sup>62</sup> and there is a further difficulty that elsewhere the phrase is used only adverbially, not as a true

---

<sup>60</sup>First read by Diehl. The form is given as Ionic by LSJ s.v. παίχνιον on the basis of its occurrence in one of Callimachus' Iambi (fr. 202 Pf., 28 and 33) and the analogous form ἔρχμα is said to be Ionic at Etymologicum Magnum 151.41. However, its appearance in the Antinoe papyrus of Theocritus 15 at line 50 argues for its acceptance here and perhaps it should be thought of as a local variant.

<sup>61</sup>There seems to be a difficulty in the fact that τέο, although a genuine Doric form, is nevertheless rare. Alcman fr. 48 PMG is the only literary instance I can find. Theocritus uses the more usual τέο or τέοῦ : cf. LSJ s.v. τέο.

<sup>62</sup>See pages 35-36.

adjective.<sup>63</sup> My own suggestion is that we should read *κραιδίη καὶ θύμῳ*. The phrase, is extremely common in Homer<sup>64</sup> and gives a suitable sense here. I think that its ~~trochaic~~ <sup>spondaic</sup> nature is but a small disadvantage.

In the following verse I have adopted Latte's supplement *κρᾶν κερ* for, as he points out,<sup>65</sup> to accept Page's *κρίν ποκ'* involves disregarding the antithesis of *ταῦτα* and *τῇν[α δ']* and referring both demonstratives to the same object. Furthermore, there is a parallel for the use of *κερ* with *ἐπαυρέω* in *Iliad* 11.391.

Some difficulty has been found with the meaning of these lines by Scheidweiler who, interpreting *ἄνθρωποι* extremely literally, conjectures that the second part of the antithesis must refer to the dolls (*δαγύδων*) that, he concludes, were confiscated by Erinna's mother and burned.<sup>66</sup> Surely the meaning must be that Erinna can still remember vividly the occasion of their game but that the shared experiences of earlier years are already slipping away beyond recollection. They are embers that glow but dully in her memory in comparison with the freshness of the thoughts inspired by the

---

<sup>63</sup>Theocritus 4.3, 5.113.

<sup>64</sup>It is always found in the nominative or accusative in Homer: cf. *Odyssey* 1.353, 4.548, 8.204 etc. Hesiod, *Theogony* 612, provides a parallel for its use with the dative, but with reversal of word order.

<sup>65</sup>Latte, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>66</sup>Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 44.

Tortoise game. The imagery is rendered especially vivid by the transference of the epithet of warmth from the heart to the *παίχνια* , which have warmed it, and the metaphor is extended so that the earlier experiences are thought of figuratively as dying embers.

The next four verses present grave difficulties both in supplement and interpretation. The word *δαγύς* we know only from Theocritus 2.110 and its meaning is given by the scholiast on this passage:

δαγύς δέ ἐστι κοροκόσμιον τι. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ νύμφην.  
οἱ δὲ πλαγγόνα, ὡς Ἀττικοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ πεπλάσθαι  
ἐκ κηροῦ.

and by Hesychius s.v. *δαγύς*;  
*κουράλλιον, νύμφη λευκόκηρος.*

From this it appears that the *δαγύδες* are wax dolls, made in the female image, which the two young girls take to bed with them. Such is the natural meaning of *ἐν θαλάμοις* and so far the meaning of the text is clear. There is no necessity to presuppose with Edmonds, Latte and Scheidweiler<sup>67</sup> a *χόρος* , a whole squad of dolls, and Scheidweiler's restoration of *ἰῖδες* as *κλιν]ῖδες* which leads him into the quandary of having *θάλαμοι* mean not simply "beds" but "Puppenstuben," dolls' houses,<sup>68</sup> is quite obviously not to be entertained.

---

<sup>67</sup>Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 199; Latte, *op. cit.*, 85; Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>68</sup>Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 47; the restoration was first suggested by Edmonds, *loc. cit.*

Similarly Latte's invention of a new word ἐπιδυθμ]ίδες under the stress of his thesis that the girls' play occurs in the evening in contrast to the unknown events of the dawn (πὸρ ὄρθρον)<sup>69</sup> can be commended for nothing except its ingenuity. This type of adjective is completely foreign to Erinna's style, in which compounds are used with the greatest economy, and it is in any case unlikely that the word could mean "towards evening."<sup>70</sup>

I have therefore adopted Bowra's restoration as being the most plausible here. But what of the νύμφαισιν, with which the next line commences? How is that to be interpreted? Bowra restores the line:

νύμ[φαι]σιν [μάλ' ὁμοῖαι ἀκῆδ]έες,

taking the νύμφαι to be a further reference to the girls themselves and translating the couplet: "When we were young girls, we clung to our dolls, just like young wives, free of care."<sup>71</sup> Against this Latte raises the objection that νύμφη

---

<sup>69</sup>Latte, op. cit., 84.

<sup>70</sup>Callimachus, Hymn 6.10, ἐπὶ δυθμός, from which I presume Latte had his idea for this word, does mean "towards the setting sun" but not in a temporal sense. Similarly Herodotus 3.104, ἐπὶ δυσημῇσιν ἑών, seems to mean "at the point of setting." The preposition expected in such a compound, if it were to have the sense of "towards evening," would be πρὸς: cf. προσέσπερος and προσόρερος. Words that are found with ἐπί, such as ἐπορθρισμός and ἐφεσπερεία have a completely different sense from the one Latte requires here.

<sup>71</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 153.

always means a young woman without children<sup>72</sup> and that therefore Bowra's implication, that the girls are like young brides with their children,<sup>73</sup> is mistaken. The scholion on Theocritus 2.110, quoted above,<sup>74</sup> shows that *νύμφη* can be used as an equivalent for *δαγύς* and there is other evidence, too, to indicate that the terms are synonymous.<sup>75</sup>

Thus it is perfectly possible that Latte's restoration: *νύμφαι]σὶν [τ' ἑχάρημεσ ἀκαθ]έες* ,  
 "and we took pleasure in our dolls, free from care," is right. His objection about the meaning of *νύμφαισιν* is well founded. Certainly we may think of the children playing at being mothers but, if we do, the image we have is not to be found in the poetry and Page's suggestion, that the "mother" in line 23 is Erinna herself, playing Mothers and Children with Baucis, and that the *ἐρείθοις* are a row of dolls,<sup>76</sup> though ingenious,

<sup>72</sup>Latte, op. cit., 83-4.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. Bowra, op. cit., 156; "I have assumed that *νύμφαισιν* refers to the children playing at being mother."

<sup>74</sup>See page 43.

<sup>75</sup>Julian, Caesares 332d; cf. Anon., AP 6.280,3, where the word *κόρη* occurs both in the sense of "virgin" and of the dolls dedicated at her marriage by the girl Timareta. LSJ s.v. *νύμφη*, III mistakenly quotes Perses, AP 6.274, in this sense. The epigram is a dedication to Eilithyia, the goddess of childbirth, and the *ἐκίκορπις νυμφᾶν* in question is, I think, more likely to be a woman's garment dedicated as a token of the successful change of status from *νύμφη* to *παῖτρα* ; cf. AP 6.270, 271 and 272.

<sup>76</sup>D.L. Page, ed., Greek Literary Papyri (London and Cambridge, Mass. 1942), III.487, note a; cf. Bowra, op. cit., 157, note 1.

is purely speculative<sup>ive</sup>. Of course, Bowra's restoration may be interpreted as meaning not "the girls play with dolls, like young wives (playing with their children)" but "the girls play with their dolls as free from care as young wives," for it seems reasonable that Erinna likened the happiness of her childhood to the carefree state of the new bride. However, a much more telling argument for the adoption of Latte's supplement is provided by the metre. If we accept the supplements of either Bowra or Page, we are left with an example of correptio epica in the dactyl of the third foot. This device is employed elsewhere in the poem only once, in line 19, and Latte's restoration is preferable not only for the sense it offers but also because it avoids the necessity of presupposing this usage in the line. I have also adopted Latte's form ἀκαδέες in preference to the form ἀκηδέες suggested by Bowra. If that is the word that Erinna used, she would probably have employed this spelling, retaining the π.<sup>77</sup>

It should be borne in mind that the restoration at this point is very tentative and great caution has to be employed. We cannot maintain that this is what Erinna wrote but we can only hope that it is equivalent in idea, or at least spirit, to what has been lost from the middle of the papyrus. With the next distich, we run into even graver problems and the difficulty of gathering even the faintest

---

<sup>77</sup> Although there does not seem to be any genuine Doric example of this word, the retention of the π may be safely presumed from the form καδος.

idea of Erinna's meaning from the few scattered and apparently unrelated words, which constitute all that is left, is perhaps overwhelming.

As they stand, lines 23 and 24 present a jumble of ideas that have proved the most difficult of interpretation in the whole poem. When one reads "towards dawn . . . mother . . . servants . . . come . . . salted (meat)," the effect is so tantalising that the mind immediately leaps forward, trying to unravel the connection that, it is felt, must exist among these ideas. But it is wiser to stop and consider as far as possible the exact meaning of the words taken in isolation before attempting any combination.

The "mother" is probably the real mother of either Baucis or Erinna, rather than a reference to one of the children in her role as mother of the dolls.<sup>78</sup> She is more likely to be Baucis' than Erinna's, for the mother of the former is certainly mentioned in line 29, although the statement of the anonymous epigram AP 9.190 about Erinna plying her spindle  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\varsigma \varphi\acute{o}\beta\varphi$  <sup>79</sup> suggests the possibility that it is her mother who is meant here especially as there is a reference to wool workers ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ) in the same line. In any case, the mention of only one mother, coupled with the implication of the lines above, would suggest that Erinna and Baucis perhaps lived in the same house and shared the same sleeping quarters in the

---

<sup>78</sup>See note 76.

<sup>79</sup>See my chapter on "The Testimonia."

women's quarters. However, having assumed that the mother is Erinna's, it is not legitimate to speculate further that, Baucis was left orphaned at an early age and came under the care of her companion's family.<sup>80</sup> Line 29 obviously refers to Baucis' mother, who threatened her with the bogey Mormo when she was a young child, and Scheidweiler's conjecture that what Baucis actually forgot, and what is mentioned here, was a warning about marriage, delivered by Erinna's mother when Baucis was grown up, surely conflicts with the ἔτι νηπιάσα[σα of the Greek.<sup>81</sup>

There is some doubt about the status and function of the ἐρείθοι. Bowra describes them as any hired workers, male or female, and this is essentially true.<sup>82</sup> In the Homeric epic the ἐρίθος is a day worker at the time of the harvest, who is paid for his labours in kind, as in the passage from the Shield of Achilles in which the women are described as preparing a meal for the harvesters;

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες  
δεῖπνον ἐρίθοισιν λεῦκ' ἄλφιτα πολλὰ πάλυνον

83

By the time of the fourth century the word has come to be

<sup>80</sup>Scheidweiler, op. cit., 48.

<sup>81</sup>From the time of Homer, νήπιος and its derivatives commonly denote a small child, as the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 406, ὡς νεογνὸς ἔων καὶ νήπιος, or at least one who has yet to attain the age of puberty, as Telemachus in Odyssey, 2.313.

<sup>82</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 157.

<sup>83</sup>Homer, Iliad 18.559-60.



derived by popular etymology from ἔπιον and it has the sense of "wool-worker."<sup>84</sup> A passage in a speech of Demosthenes,<sup>85</sup> in which the plaintiff bemoans the circumstances that led women of civic birth to take employment as nurses, wool-workers and fruit-pickers, makes it clear that at this time the ἐπίθεος is still a free worker, who receives some form of payment, but it is also obvious that the status of these people, although free, was of the lowest possible and it is very likely that their payment consisted simply of lodging, food and other necessities.<sup>86</sup> The ἐπίθεοι mentioned here should probably be thought of as the same sort of people. Latte, however, interprets the word in its earlier sense of "harvest workers" and refers this distich to the gathering of the harvest. He argues that to interpret the word as meaning "wool-workers" presupposes a type of craft operation in which weaving was made for sale by free workers and that for the production of household requirements free workers would not be necessary.<sup>87</sup> I maintain that this is not inevitably the

---

<sup>84</sup>The sense is found as early as Sophocles, fr. 286, δ' ἐπίθων ἀπαχύν βριθεύς. Pap. Hib. 121.34, ἐπίθεοις ἐπίων.

<sup>85</sup>Demosthenes 57.45. I think that "woolworkers" is a more natural interpretation of the word in this passage than "harvesters."

<sup>86</sup>The job of τέρων, at least, would demand full-time attendance and it is surely certain that, by the time these people had been reduced to performing such δουλικά πράγματα for their livelihood, they would have been wholly dependent upon their employers.

<sup>87</sup>Latte, op. cit., 85.

case and that the interpretation of ἐπίθου as "wool-workers," first suggested by Bowra,<sup>88</sup> is not only more in keeping with what we know about the use of the word at this time but also yields a more natural sense for this passage.

The household in question is obviously rather large. It is described as having a great courtyard (18), Erinna, the daughter of the house, has been well educated--this is clear from the literary allusions in the poem--and Baucis, whatever her relationship to the household, has married a suitor who has come from somewhere off the island,<sup>89</sup> not the ancient equivalent of the "boy next door." I do not think it impossible that such a house should have attached to it as wool-workers a number of women who had been reduced by circumstances to the status of debt-bondsmen and were slaves in all but name, rather like the women mentioned by Demosthenes.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Bowra, op. cit., 157.

<sup>89</sup> See page 70, note 3.

<sup>90</sup> One of the foundations of Latte's argument is that ἐπίθου always means a free worker, whom we should not expect to find in such a context. Therefore the word must refer here to hired workers, who are used especially for the harvest. However there is one instance where ἐπίθου must imply a slave of some sort, despite the glosses of Suidas and Hesychius on ἐπίθου. That is in Hesiod, Erga 602-3, and in the anonymous epigram, AP 6.284, the word is used of Aphrodite simply as "weaver" without any suggestion of pay being involved. Of course, the whole matter ultimately depends on the thorny question of the relationship of slave to free worker in the ancient world; on which see M.I. Finley, ed., Slavery in Classical Antiquity; Views and Controversies (Cambridge 1960), especially Finley's own essay, "Was Greek civilization based on slave labour?" (reprinted from Historia 7:81 (1959), 145-64). Latte's implication that the island of Telos in Erinna's day

The phrase ἀμφ'ἀλίπαστον is likewise problematical. The word ἀλίπαστος is found in the comic poets Aristomenes<sup>91</sup> and Eubulus<sup>92</sup> and is an adjective used of some kind of salted meat, although it is not certain exactly what kind. However, it seems from the context of the comic passages that, whatever it was, it was something kept for the upper classes and Bowra is quite right in his surmise that it is not being prepared for the ἐρείθοι.<sup>93</sup> Scheidweiler's suggested emendation of the text to read ἀλίπαντος, "dry," as an

---

would not have contained any establishment capable of supporting full-time free workers can be countered by the observation that, in that case, the island economy would not have been elastic enough to support temporary hired workers either. What did they do for the rest of the year after the harvest was over? Unfortunately our complete ignorance of the economics of this island renders all such speculation completely worthless.

<sup>91</sup>Athenaeus 14.658a;

ἀλικάστων, δε κρεῶν μνημονεύει ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητῆς Ἀριστομένης ἐν Διονυσῷ.

ἀλίπαστα ταῦτα παρατίθημι σοι κρέα,  
(Arist. fr.12 Edmonds). καὶ ἐν Γοῇσιν.

ἀλίπαστον αἰεὶ τὸν θεράποντ' ἐπεσθίειν,  
(Arist. fr.6 Edmonds). Wilamowitz' deletion of ὁ στράβων after Γοῇσιν is surely better than Toup's emendation of ὀστακόν. In his carelessness the scribe has obviously added ὁ στράβων from the preceding paragraph in which the geographer is twice mentioned.

<sup>92</sup>Eubulus, fr.7.10 Edmonds.

<sup>93</sup>Bowra, *op. cit.*, 157; the multiplicity of references to the process of ἀλοῖ πάσσειν, by which a portion of the meat from a sacrifice would be rendered palatable and at the same time preserved for future use suggests that the ἀλίπαστα here are not so much a delicacy as Bowra wants us to believe; cf. Aristophanes, *Peace* 1074, Euripides, *Electra* 835, Theophrastus, *Characters* 9.2. However, the indignant tone of Aristomenes, fr.6, vindicates his point about the servants.

epithet of Mormo, is an interesting solution but one that has the disadvantage of further complicating an already complex and baffling passage, in that it demands the use of an extremely unusual word in an even more unusual sense.<sup>94</sup>

Latte's identification of the ἐρείθοι as temporary harvest workers has already been rejected and I therefore do not wish to follow him further in seeing in this phrase a reference to a "harvest-home" meal prepared for the reapers in the manner of the Kronia, the harvest festival celebrated at Athens and elsewhere, at which the family ate at the same table as their servants.<sup>95</sup>

I am rather more inclined to follow Bowra's reading of these lines but with reservations. It will be remembered that he restores the lines in the following manner:

ἄ τε πὸτ ὄρθρον

μήτηρ, ἃ ἔ[ριον νέμεν ἀμφιπόλ]οισιν ἐρείθοις,  
τῇνα σ' ἦλθ[ε κρέας προκαλυμέ]να ἀμφ' ἀλίπαστον.

He translates: "Towards dawn your mother, who used to allot the wool to her attendant wool-workers,--she came, summoning you to help with the salt-sprinkled meat."<sup>96</sup> These supplements, brilliant and persuasive though they are, are unfortunately open to several objections. In verse 23, the hiatus ἃ ἔριον is rather unpleasant and it is with great misgivings

<sup>94</sup>Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 46; ἀλίπαντος is a medical term used only by the late writers Aëtios and Paulus Aegineta.

<sup>95</sup>L. Couve, in *Daremborg-Saglio* s.v. Kronia, section 2.

<sup>96</sup>Bowra, *op. cit.*, 153.

that I have accepted it into the text. But, as Latte noticed,<sup>97</sup> it is by no means easy to find a suitable Doric word beginning with *ae-*. Diehl suggested *μᾶτηρ ἀε[ίδοισα φιλαλακά]τοισιν*. We can imagine the mother singing to her servants rather in the manner of Calypso in the *Odyssey* singing at her weaving stool but, as remarked earlier,<sup>98</sup> the Homeric compound epithet is foreign to Erinna's style and the sense is difficult. Scheidweiler's contribution of *ἀε[ρόεντα]* runs completely wide of the mark.<sup>99</sup> All evidence is explicitly contrary to this word being used as an epithet for *ὄρθρος* .. From the time of Homer it is commonly found as a description of *Τάρταρος* and *ζόφος*, which are not only the spiritual opposite of the dawn and the sun but also the geographical opposite, as Strabo explains at some length.<sup>100</sup> Latte's solution to the problem of supplement is to posit the loss of an intervocalic M and he would restore the word as *ἀ(μ)έ[ριον]*. The papyrus is, of course, by no means faultless but it seems more acceptable practice to retain the preserved *ae-* if it allows a restoration, even at the cost of a fault in the metrical structure, than to put aside what has been wrested from the papyrus with so much effort.

---

<sup>97</sup>Latte, *op. cit.*, 85.

<sup>98</sup>See page 44.

<sup>99</sup>Scheidweiler, *op. cit.*, 46.

<sup>100</sup>Strabo, 10.2.12.

In line 24, Bowra's restoration is again, in my opinion, the most plausible of those offered. Although it contains some faults, I think they can be overcome. He writes  $\tau\eta\nu\alpha\sigma'$  and Latte quite correctly objects that this places too much emphasis on  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ ,<sup>101</sup> but more objectionable is that a division of the letters in this fashion demands that we ignore the evidence of the rest of the text, that, in the case of the second person personal pronoun, Erinna uses the Doric form, not the Attic-Ionic  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$ . Again, as Latte noticed,<sup>102</sup>  $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  cannot mean "call" but only "challenge." I suggest therefore that we read:

$\tau\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\theta[\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\rho\eta\varsigma\ \tau\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}] \nu\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi'\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu,$

"until she came to call you to help with the salted meat."

The form  $\tau\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma$  I take to be equivalent to  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ . Hesychius gives the form  $\tau\eta\nu\eta\varsigma$  for the Tarentine dialect<sup>103</sup> and, precarious though it is, I find it less difficult to accept a word of this meaning here than to embrace the idea that, after writing the Doric  $\tau\upsilon$  in line 18, Erinna would suddenly write  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$  here and then return just as abruptly to the use of  $\tau\upsilon$  in lines 31 and 47. Furthermore, this gives an excellent sense for the passage. The girls are lying in bed--"and until your mother, who used to allot their wool to her attendant wool-workers, came towards dawn to call you to help with the salted

---

<sup>101</sup>Latte, *op. cit.*, 85.

<sup>102</sup>Latte, *op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>103</sup>Hesychius s.v.  $\tau\eta\nu\eta\varsigma$ .

meat, oh! what great terror then (i.e. during the night) Mormo used to bring to us little ones." When the mother appears again at daybreak, the children's fears of the dark and all the horrors it contains disappear. The form κρῆς is the Doric of κρέας, as in Aristophanes, Acharnians 795, and perhaps Theocritus 1.6,<sup>104</sup> and the simple verb καλεῖσθαι may have the required sense of "call" or "summon" as in Odyssey 8.43.

Aristomenes, fr.6 Edmonds, quoted earlier, is a complete iambic trimeter and if we are willing to accept this as evidence that ἀλίκαστος may be used substantivally, then we may improve the line even further by introducing Latte's τήνας ὥρας ; τήνας ἦλθ' [ὥρας τυ καλευμέ]να κτλ.,

"at that time she came to call you to help with the salted meat." This rids us of the unpleasant necessity of relying for our explanation of the first word on an unusual dialect form, only once attested. The use of ἀμφί is rather unusual but it should perhaps be thought of as analogous to such phrases as Xenophon, Cyropaedia 5.5.44, ἀμφὶ δεῖπνον εἶχεν or Thucydides 7.40, τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄριστον.

The restoration of the next verses, lines 25-28, has been generally accepted and requires little in the way of

---

<sup>104</sup>The manuscripts of Theocritus all read κρῆς. The word κρέας, which is accepted by Gow on the basis of its occurrence elsewhere in Theocritus, is preserved only in a correction in the Vatican MS.

explanation. Mormo<sup>105</sup> is one of those vague monsters who frequently come in the night to terrify small children and are such an invaluable adjunct to parental discipline. Praxinoë in the fifteenth Idyll of Theocritus tries to frighten her child into silence by saying: Μορμώ, δάκναι ἵππος, <sup>106</sup> and there is evidence that it was quite a common practice to scare children with pretended bogeys.<sup>107</sup> It seems from lines 28-9 that here, too, Erinna and Baucis first learned about the horrible apparition from their mother. The description that Erinna gives is extremely vivid. Mormo has huge ears rather like the Gorgon<sup>108</sup> and she runs about on all fours. She is liable to change her appearance at a moment's notice, much like the Empusa seen by Xanthias in Aristophanes, Frogs 289ff., or by the philosopher Apollonius.<sup>109</sup> The word ὀπώρα in the sense of "appearance" has been commented upon earlier.<sup>110</sup> The word originally meant "eyeball" but its field of meaning was

---

<sup>105</sup>Cf. J. Tambornino, in RE s.v. Mormo; E. Rohde, Psyche (London, 1950), II, 590-93. The scholiast on Callimachus, Hymn 3.70, τὴν κοῦρην μορμύσσειναι, glosses the verb with ἐκφοβεῖ. The word contains the notion of threatening proximity as Callimachus, Hymn 4.296-7, shows, where it is the very nearness of marriage that terrifies the girls.

<sup>106</sup>Theocritus 15.40.

<sup>107</sup>Empty wineskins were used as the bogey's disguise; cf. Crates fr.8 Edmonds and testimonia.

<sup>108</sup>Aristophanes, Acharnians 582.

<sup>109</sup>Philostratus, Vita Apollonii 2.4.

<sup>110</sup>See page 30.



extended to include the thing seen as well as the organ of sight. I follow Maas in writing the verb at the end of line 26 as an imperfect, rather than a present tense, in order to make it agree with the tense of μετέβαλλετο. Incidentally, this verb, with its notion of repeated movement is aptly used of the bogey who keeps walking around and will not go away. We should compare Sappho's use of it to describe one of the shades in Hades<sup>111</sup> and it is also found used of a haunting dream, which persists in disturbing the troubled sleeper.<sup>112</sup>

With line 28, Erinna makes a transition from her description of the joys and alarms of her childhood to the subject of Baucis' marriage. At that time Baucis forgot her childhood terrors in the excitement of her new life as a bride. The natural assumption from the remains of line 30 is that Aphrodite had a share in causing this forgetfulness, for the goddess of love is notorious for promoting faults in the memory. The papyrus has now been read as ΑΑΘΑΞ by Vogliano and I have therefore had to take Latte's supplement rather than Bowra's or Koerte's, which were based upon the earlier reading ΑΑΘΑ[N]. Scheidweiler's argument, that Aphrodite should be seen not so much as the cause of Baucis' forgetfulness as its avenger,<sup>113</sup> and his implication that Aphrodite is

---

<sup>111</sup>Sappho fr.55.4 LP.

<sup>112</sup>Sappho fr.63.1-2 LP; Euripides, Alcestis 355; Plato, Phaedo 60e.

<sup>113</sup>Scheidweiler, op. cit., 48.

the goddess who has caused her death seems unnecessary, if not perverse, in view of the simpler and more meaningful interpretation followed by earlier scholars in their supplements. I do not see any way in which the Greek can be made to suggest that Aphrodite is a goddess of death here and the equation of marriage and forgetfulness in line 28 surely militates against such radical speculation.

The following lines have also given rise to a great amount of speculation about why Erinna was not able to go to pay her last respects to Baucis. The adjective βέβηλοι has religious overtones and all evidence seems to point to it as meaning "profane" in its application to persons.<sup>114</sup> With this observation as a basis, there has been constructed a hypothesis that Erinna was unable to attend the funeral of her friend for religious reasons. She was a priestess of some cult that forbade her to look on dead bodies.<sup>115</sup> So runs the argument and the restorations have followed. However, there is a much simpler way in which to interpret the sense

<sup>114</sup>LSJ s.v. βεβήλος.

<sup>115</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 159-60; P.Oxy.1.8, the four line fragment on the devotees of Demeter which has been ascribed to Erinna, is used to support this "cult" hypothesis. I do not believe that there are sufficient grounds to support the ascription of this fragment to Erinna; see my chapter on "The Fragments." P. Collart, "La Poétesse Erinna," CRAI (1944), 183-99, who speculates at some length upon the problem of Erinna's inability or unwillingness to attend Baucis' funeral before opting for the same solution as Bowra, goes even further and suggests that the poetess wrote in Hexameters rather than lyrics because her religious duties were so time consuming that she had no leisure in which to master the complicated lyric metres!

of these lines and one that does away with the necessity of unsupported speculation about religious propriety and customs and the possibility of Erinna's involvement with a cult of Demeter or some other deity. Wilamowitz, in his brilliant exposition of the sepulchral epigrams for Baucis, AP 7.710 and 712, has shown from the fact that care is taken to include information about Baucis' place of birth in these that her tomb was not situated in her birthplace but elsewhere, perhaps somewhere off the island.<sup>116</sup> If this is accepted, as I believe it should be, then it follows that the reason why Erinna could not attend the funeral was that it was taking place somewhere away from Telos. However, we are still left with the problem of the meaning of βέβαλοι. Latte has noticed this and offers a most attractive solution.<sup>117</sup> He argues that the meaning "profane" with reference to men is a secondary meaning developed from an earlier use of the word with reference to ground that is "allowable to be trodden." The word is derived from βαίνω and is used in opposition to ἄβατος,<sup>118</sup> a word that experienced a similar expansion of its semantic field, from "incapable of being trodden, impassable,"<sup>119</sup> to "not to be trodden, sacred,"<sup>120</sup> and finally "pure, chaste" in a human

---

<sup>116</sup>U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho und Simonides (Berlin 1913), 228-30.

<sup>117</sup>Latte, op. cit., 87.

<sup>118</sup>Sophocles, fr. 88.7; Oedipus Coloneus 10.

<sup>119</sup>Herodotus 4.25; Pindar, Nemean 3.21.

<sup>120</sup>Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus 167 and 675.

context.<sup>121</sup> He continues to point out that the adjectival suffix -λος is not confined to words of passive meaning, as we may see from such words as ἀπατηλός, "wily," αἰσχυντηλός, "bashful," σιγαλός, "silent." From this it appears that we are justified in positing "capable of going" as a meaning for the word here, even though there is no literary parallel for it.<sup>122</sup> Line 32, with its supplement ἐντὶ λίπην drawn from the λείπω of the preceding verse, may then be translated: "for my feet are unable to go from the house," and, with Latte's ἔχω and ὅθεν in the two subsequent lines, the sense runs on: "nor can I see your corpse with my eyes, nor lament for you with tresses unbedecked. This is why purple shame tears at me about my cheeks. . . ."

Line 31 has been passed over and it is necessary to return to it for a moment. Here the reading of the papyrus is most uncertain. Before the ]E in the second part of the line there is a large hole with shadowy traces of ink about the edges. These faint markings have been variously read as ΠΑΡΑ by Bowra, although the Π is certainly not there in the photographs and I presume that the dot beneath this letter was overlooked by his printers, and as ΑΑΑΑ ΔΕ by Edmonds.

---

<sup>121</sup>Plato, Phaedrus 245a (of the soul).

<sup>122</sup>βάτος, which, as we might expect, is synonymous with βεβήλος in its other meanings, is found twice in Nonnus in an active sense in the phrase βατῶ ποδὶ, "with speeding foot;" Dionysiaca 2.96 and 18.55. This gives, if not quite a parallel, at least additional support for Latte's argument.

However, it appears from the photographs that to read any letters at all in this space is very hazardous and I think that Latte's rejection of these dotted letters is fully justified in view of the abominable state of the papyrus at this point.<sup>123</sup> I have therefore adopted his supplement τὰ [λοισθία τήλοθ]ε λείπω, which is based on the hypothesis outlined above.

The phrase γυμναῖσιν χαίταισιν is rather unusual but its meaning is quite clear. It is a sign of mourning, as in Socrates' joking γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ,<sup>124</sup> but whether we should think of a dishevelled coiffure or merely of the head devoid of coverings is unclear; perhaps the former if the restoration in line 45 is correct. The [ἔ]λικες in verse 41 may also be a reference to this custom, rather than to jewelry as Bowra thinks,<sup>125</sup> for there is another mention of αἰδώς at the beginning of the following line and the use of ἔλιξ for a lock of hair is attested by AP 10.12 and 19.

Not much else can be deduced from the third column of the papyrus. From lines 41-3 it seems that Erinna is still talking about herself. In line 38, she mentions herself by name and it may be that the ἐννεα[κα:]δέκατος of the preceding line should be referred to her. The ἀλακάτα, which gave the poem its title, appears tantalisingly in line 39 but

---

<sup>123</sup>Latte, op. cit., 88.

<sup>124</sup>Plato, Phaedrus 243b.

<sup>125</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 161.

fragmentary state of the papyrus allows no deductions to be made about its significance. Line 46, restored from Stobaeus and commented upon earlier,<sup>126</sup> may refer to the ἐρείθοι working with Erinna, as Bowra suggests,<sup>127</sup> or it may be concerned with Baucis' early death, lamenting that she will never enjoy the ἄνθος of old age. We cannot tell. In lines 47-8 and 54, the final line of the extant passage, there seems to have been a repetition of the refrain of lines 18 and 30, which is one of the noticeable characteristics of the poem. Lines 49-50, with their references to a fire, φλόξ, and cries of lament, ὠρυγή, an unusual word used elsewhere only of the cries of animals, must have contained some further expressions of grief, and the apostrophe to Hymenaeus, the god of wedlock, may have introduced a sentiment similar to that expressed in Erinna's epigram AP 7.712.5-8 and elsewhere.

---

<sup>126</sup>See page 26; Latte's point, that the application of such an unusual adjective as πραῦλογος to πολιταί, presumably by transference from the person who speaks softly, is foreign to Erinna's style (op. cit. 89), is a good one but I am reluctant to accept a mistake in the orthography of the papyrus as well as in the text of Stobaeus and I have accordingly left the line as it stands.

<sup>127</sup>Bowra, op. cit., 161.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE FRAGMENTS

#### Stobaeus 4.51.4.

τοῦτόθεν εἰς 'Αἶδαν διανήχεται ἄχώ·

σιγὰ δ' ἐν νεκύεσσι, τὸ δὲ σκότος ὅσσε καταρρεῖ.

The tone, subject matter and dialect of these verses would predispose us to assign them to Erinna, even if Stobaeus did not state that the lines were hers. Crusius, Maas and Bowra<sup>1</sup> agree in suggesting that they probably come from a later part of the Distaff, if, as is likely, Erinna's memories of childhood developed later in the poem into an account of her mournful state at the death of Baucis.

At the beginning of the quotation, Stobaeus' manuscripts offer τοῦτό κεν but this cannot be construed and Michelangeli's emendation<sup>2</sup> to τοῦτόθεν is surely right. Although the word is mentioned by the grammarians,<sup>3</sup> it occurs elsewhere only at Theocritus 4.10 and Wilamowitz objected to it on these grounds and instead proposed to read τοῦτο καί, "therefore."<sup>4</sup> How-

---

<sup>1</sup>Crusius in RE s.v. Erinna; P. Maas, "Erinnae in Baucidem Nenia," Hermes 69 (1943), 207; C.M. Bowra, Problems in Greek Poetry (Oxford 1953), 162-3.

<sup>2</sup>B. Michelangeli, Frammenti della melica greca (Bologna 1889-1907), I.117-22.

<sup>3</sup>Apollonius Dyscolus, de Adverbiis 163-24 and 190.20.

<sup>4</sup>U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos (Berlin 1924), I.109.

ever, it is now apparent from the papyrus fragment of the Distaff that Erinna would have probably expressed "therefore" by τῷ . .

In the second line difficulty has been found with Stobaeus' reading τὸ δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κατέρπει . The problem is the word κατέρπει, which is not found elsewhere and solutions range from Bowra's defence of the transmitted text<sup>6</sup> to Wilamowitz' ingenious and wholesale emendation: τὸ δὲ σκότος ὅσσα κάρ' ἔρπει . He translates: "the voice loses itself in darkness."<sup>7</sup> As Bowra points out, this change introduces almost as many problems as it solves. Bergk's καρά(γ)ρει, which is adopted by Latte,<sup>8</sup> is hardly satisfactory for in Homer the Ionic form καθαιρέω, when used in a similar context, always has a personal subject and is employed in reference to the custom of closing the eyelids of a dead man.<sup>9</sup>

Maas suggests that κατέρπει may conceal an Aeolic word like ἀρόφερσε<sup>10</sup> but, as Bowra points out, a word meaning "swept away" would not give much help to the sense here. Bowra himself has argued for the retention of κατέρπει and he translates: "darkness comes down upon my eyes," which he refers to the swooning effects of grief that overcome Erinna.

---

<sup>5</sup>Distaff, 31 and 47.

<sup>6</sup>Bowra, loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>Wilamowitz, loc. cit., and note 1.

<sup>8</sup>K. Latte, "Erinna," NAKG phil-hist K1.3 (1953), 89.

<sup>9</sup>E.g. Iliad 11.453, Odyssey 11.426, 24.296.

<sup>10</sup>Maas, Loc. cit.



However, in view of the frequent use of σκότος for "the darkness of death,"<sup>11</sup> it is natural to refer ὅσσε to the corpses rather than to Erinna. Furthermore, his argument that there is a parallel in Sappho, fr.2 LP, 7-8, for the occurrence of the verb κατέρρω is no longer valid.<sup>12</sup>

The most likely emendation and the one that involves the least change is Hecker's καταρρεῖ, "floods." I adopt this in the text and translate: "A bodiless echo filters through from here to Hades, but there is silence among the dead and darkness floods their eyes."

Athenaeus 7.283d

πομπίλε, ναύταισιν πέμπων πλόον εὖπλοον, ἰχθύ,  
πομπεύσαις πρύμναθεν ἐμὴν ἀδεῖαν ἐταίραν.

The authenticity of these lines is extremely dubious. Even Athenaeus, who quotes them, had doubts about their authorship for he says:

"Ἡριννά τε ἣ ὁ πεποιηκὼς τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφερόμενον ποιημάτων.

---

<sup>11</sup>LSJ s.v. σκότος, 2. On the removal of light as a figure to describe death, see R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana 1942), 161-64.

<sup>12</sup>J. Sitzler suggested that the passage of Sappho be emended to read αἰθυσσομένων δε φυλλων κῶμα κατέρρει and this was accepted by Bowra. However, in 1937, a sherd bearing the text of this poem was discovered; cf. D.L. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus (Oxford 1955), 34ff. The sherd, which is dated to the third century B.C., offers either ΚΑΤΑΓΡΙΟΝ or ΚΑΤΑΙΡΙΟΝ and Page argues convincingly that the verb there should be read as καταίρει.

The couplet

was first recognised as a προεμπτικόν by Reitzenstein<sup>13</sup> and Athenaeus' use of the word ποιημάτων suggests that it is perhaps complete as it stands. The rather overpowering alliteration is unlike anything else by Erinna and the silence of later writers about the existence of any other poem by Erinna than the Distaff and the epigrams makes it almost certain that this couplet is not to be ascribed to her.<sup>14</sup>

P.Oxy. I.8

ἦνθομεν ἐς μεγάλας Δαμάτερος, ἐννέ' ἑάσσαι  
παῖσαι παρθενικαί, παῖσαι καλὰ ἔμματα' ἔχοίσαι,  
καλὰ μὲν ἔμματα' ἔχοίσαι, ἀριπρεπείας δὲ καὶ ὄρμως  
πριστῶ ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἰδῆν ποτεοικότας αἰτ[

"We came to the shrine of great Demeter, we nine, all maidens, all clad in goodly raiment, clad in goodly raiment and bright necklets of carven ivory, which shone like. . . ."

These lines come from a papyrus fragment of the first or second century. The fragment contains seven hexameters but the first three are incomplete. However, a paragraphus accompanied by a marginal corona indicates that the lines

<sup>13</sup>R. Reitzenstein, Epigram und Skolion (Giessen 1893), 143, note 1.

<sup>14</sup>Attempts have been made to connect this quotation with the Distaff. The latest seems to have been by A. Koerte in his review of the second edition of Diehl's Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, Gnomon 15 (1939), 493-4. He suggests that since Baucis married away from home Erinna may have introduced these verses into the Distaff to express the joy she would have had in sending her friend off to her new home.

quoted above constitute the beginning of a new poem.<sup>15</sup> The papyrus is occasionally provided with accents, apostrophes marking elision and marks of quantity.

The dialect of the lines is a mixture of Aeolic and Doric forms<sup>16</sup> and it was at first suspected that the fragment should be assigned to Alcman.<sup>17</sup> However, this is very unlikely because, although a group of nine maidens seems to belong rather to the time of Alcman,<sup>18</sup> the epithet *μεγάλας* is not found with *Δαμάτρεος* before Alexandrian times and the observance of *F* in the second line, *ἔμματα*, and its neglect in the *ἔμματα* of line 3 and *ἰδῆν* do not accord with Alcman's practice.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I (London 1898), no. 8. J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925), 186, thinks that the fragment may be part of a *Florilegium*. The only words legible in the upper lines of the papyrus are *ἐν νεκυεσσιν*, which suggests that the content, whatever it was, of the preceding poem was something quite different from that of the fragment concerned with Demeter.

<sup>16</sup>Aeolicisms are the diphthongs in *παῖσαι* and *ἐχοῖσαι* (cf. *φεροῖσαις*, *ἐνθοῖσαι*, Alcman, fr. 1, PMG 61 and 73: *πατακλαῖονα*, *αῖοισα*, Distaff, 31 and 50), the doubling of M in *εμματα* and the *-ομεν* instead of *-ομες* in *ἦνθομεν* although the adoption of the Aeolic form here may be attributed to a desire to avoid cacophony. Doric forms are *ἑσσάι*, *ποπεσιπότηας* and the *v* for *λ* in *ἦνθομεν*; all the accents in the papyrus are Doric.

<sup>17</sup>F. Blass, "Neuestes aus Oxyrhynchus," *NJb* 3 (1899), 44.

<sup>18</sup>U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913), 79.

<sup>19</sup>Powell, *op. cit.*, 187: Bowra, *op. cit.*, 160, note 3. Bowra adds that the different scansion of *καλά* and *καλά* is unlike Alcman but cf. Alcman, fr. 3, PMG 5, where the papyrus gives *καλον*.

Blass accordingly reassigned the lines to Erinna<sup>20</sup> and the ascription has been generally accepted. However, the only justification for it is that the lines exhibit a mixture of Aeolic and Doric forms, rather like the Distaff, and that they are written in hexameters. As we have seen, all our testimony supports the belief that Erinna wrote no other poems than the Distaff and the epigrams and there is no evidence in her poetry or in the tradition about her that she was involved in any kind of cult activity. Furthermore, a consideration of the personal quality of Erinna's poetry militates against acceptance of this fragment. In the Distaff she is obsessed with her relationship to Baucis to the exclusion of all else. In comparison even the mother is an accessory and, apart from AP 6.352, which is addressed to a girl Agatharcis, Erinna's world is a private one, occupied solely by Baucis and herself. A fragment in which a collective sentiment is expressed surely cannot be assigned to Erinna if any regard is to be paid to the extremely individual tone of her other poetry. If these four lines are not by Alcman, they should be assigned to an unknown Alexandrian imitator, as Powell argues,<sup>21</sup> rather than to a writer to whose work they show such little affinity in spirit.

---

<sup>20</sup>F. Blass, "Nachtrag zu S.44ff," NJb 3 (1899), 80.

<sup>21</sup>Powell, op. cit., 187.

Fr. Alex. adesp. 11D

αἰνοδρυφῆς δὲ τάλαινα τεοῦ κατά τυμβοχόεῖσα.

"Sadly torn, in misery piling up a cairn above you."

Gallavotti has conjectured that this anonymous fragment, tentatively ascribed to Antimachus by Kinkel,<sup>22</sup> may have come from

the Distaff and an examination of the line seems to indicate that he is right. The word αἰνοδρυφῆς does not occur else-

where, although the form αἰνόδρυπτος is probably the right

reading at Theocritus 15.27, where it has the support of the Antinoe papyrus,<sup>23</sup> but it seems to be modelled on the Homeric

ἀμφιδρυφῆς and is in keeping with Erinna's style that uses epic vocabulary quite extensively.<sup>24</sup> The form of the participle

~~finds a parallel in the athematic contract verbs of line 18 of~~

the Distaff and the Doric form of the second person pronoun is also used by Erinna.<sup>25</sup> As regards content, the funereal

sentiment would fit the Distaff well, especially as Erinna speaks of purple shame tearing her cheeks in lines 34-5.

---

<sup>22</sup>G. Kinkel, Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (Leipzig 1877) s.v. Antimachus, fr.(107). It is accepted as genuine by B. Wyss, Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae (Oxford 1836), fr. 156.

<sup>23</sup>Gow II.276.

<sup>24</sup>See my chapter on "The Distaff."

<sup>25</sup>Distaff, 31 and 47.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE EPIGRAMS

As we may expect, the three epigrams ascribed to Erinna in the Anthology, AP 6.352, 7.710 and 7.712, have come in for a great deal more critical attention than either the Distaff or the few lines that are preserved in quotation. A good text of them has now been established by Professors Gow and Page<sup>1</sup> and the reader is referred to their work. The only change I would argue for in their text is the adoption of Welcker's Τηλία for Τηνία in AP 7.710, line 7.<sup>2</sup>

The sepulchral epigrams for Baucis, AP 7.710 and 712, which are to be taken together,<sup>3</sup> seem much more restrained than the Distaff and Erinna draws upon a much wider range of stylistic device in them. Both the epigrams begin with the use of anaphora, but employed with the utmost restraint:

---

<sup>1</sup>Gow-Page I; 97-98.

<sup>2</sup>See my chapter on "The Testimonia."

<sup>3</sup>U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho und Simonides (Berlin 1913), 228-30, rightly argues that these two epigrams were genuine inscriptions and reconstructs the grave from the information they contain. He imagines two stelae, each bearing an epigram and surmounted by Sirens, flanking an urn which contains the ashes of Baucis. AP 7.710 speaks of two stelae but the other epigram mentions only one and Gow and Page are probably right in correcting line 1 of 710 to σταλα and picturing the monument as "a column surmounted by two Sirens supporting an urn:" Gow-Page II 283. The stele would have been inscribed on both faces and the urn is more likely to be symbolic, rather than an actual container for the ashes.

στάλα καὶ Σειρῆνες ἐμαί and πολυκλαύταx δὲ παρέρπων .

Similarly, they both continue with the dead girl addressing the passing traveller, in one case indirectly through the medium of her gravestone with its Sirens anddurn, in the other as person to person, following a long-standing convention of sepulchral epigrams. Here the similarity ends. AP 7.710 seems to divide into two halves; the grave ornaments and the passersby are addressed at what seems to be unnecessary length whereas all the information about Baucis is crammed into the second part, almost as if Erinna could barely force herself to conciseness<sup>4</sup> or as if the last three lines were added as an afterthought. Yet the strength of the tricolon crescendo, χῶτι πατήρ..., χῶτι γένος..., καὶ ὅτι μοι..., effectively saves the poem from any imbalance between the two parts and the prolixity of the address and the abruptness with which the information is pushed forward both gain through contrast with each other.

AP 7.7.2 is built upon a triple contrast:<sup>5</sup> καλᾶ σάματα and ῥποτάταν τύχαν, πεύκαις and πυρκαϊᾶς, αἰοιδᾶν and θρήνων. The traveller passes with the generalisation βάσκανος ἔσσ' Αἴδα, a commonplace in connexion with early deaths,<sup>6</sup> but Erinna, as it were, restrains him in order to relate the whole tragedy,

---

<sup>4</sup>G. Luck, "Die Dichterinnen der griechischen Anthologie," MH 11 (1954), 171.

<sup>5</sup>Luck, op. cit., 172.

<sup>6</sup>R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana 1942), 147-149 and 192-194: Gow-Page II 283. The phrase is borrowed by Meleager, AP 7.13, and applied to Erinna herself.

which is summed up in the symbol of the nuptial torch that becomes the funeral torch.<sup>7</sup>

AP 6.352 expresses admiration that a portrait of Agatharcis, who is otherwise unknown, has turned out to be so true to life (ἐρύπως). Erinna wonders naively at the naturalness of the work, from which only the voice is lacking,<sup>8</sup> and the cleverness of man in executing it. Her epigram resembles those of Nossis on the same theme<sup>9</sup> and Gow and Page's suggestion that she influenced the latter is quite plausible.<sup>10</sup>

It is not difficult to understand the praise that was accorded to Erinna by later writers. Her poetry is personal without being esoteric and the pathos of Baucis' early death would have appealed to that sense of the transitoriness of life that the Greeks possessed strongly at all times. In the case of a premature death, there seems to have been the feeling that the proper order and symmetry of nature had been violated and, if the person had died a virgin or without children, the continuity of the family was threatened and a life was taken before it was complete.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>On this motif see J. Geffcken, Griechische Epigramme (Heidelberg 1916), 63.

<sup>8</sup>Naturalness was a favourite criterion for the judgement of works of art: cf. Herondas 4.32-38, Theocritus 15.80-83.

<sup>9</sup>AP 6.353 and 354, 9.604 and 605.

<sup>10</sup>Gow-Page II.284.

<sup>11</sup>Lattimore, op. cit., 191-198.



Another reason for Erinna's later appeal is that she is able to dispose freely of the literary speech, allusions and devices, which were so dear to Hellenistic writers, but she uses them without erudition, a far cry from writers like Antimachus whose Lyde, ostensibly on the premature death of his mistress, was condemned by Callimachus as

παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τοπὸν .<sup>12</sup>

Her poetry thus embodies the virtues most highly prized by the Alexandrians, individuality, a genuine pathos and affection and the formal quality of λεπτότης . It is concerned exclusively with reality for the Distaff is based entirely upon individual recollection. For instance, Aphrodite is simply the principle that has caused Baucis to forget her childhood, a principle whose power Erinna vaguely feels but does not comprehend because she lacks personal experience of it. Similarly, Hades in the epigrams is a god whose vengeance is felt but not understood and there is no attempt to progress beyond experience to rationalise an attitude towards death.

One of the results of Erinna's individuality is that it leads her into isolation. Other Greek poetry, even when it contains personal elements, is addressed to a civic or literary group and finds echoes within that group. Even the Alexandrians, to whom the expression of the artist's personal life was a matter of the first importance, belonged to a

---

<sup>12</sup>Callimachus fr. 398 Pf.

literary coterie whose members influenced one another.

Erinna's poetry however, although finding many echoes in the work of poets writing after her death, owes nothing to this type of reciprocal action. Her work is a solitary expression determined in form and style by individual learning rather than by any living tradition of artistic practice. When she takes the hexameter from Homer and colours it with the Aeolic of Sappho the link between form and content is lost and becomes a matter for subjective choice.<sup>13</sup> It is this subjectivity that constitutes the main charm of her work.

---

<sup>13</sup>Latte, op. cit., 93.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. Ancient Authors and Texts

The fragments of comic poets are cited according to J.M.

Edmonds, The Fragments of Attic Comedy. 3 volumes.  
Leiden 1957-61.

Alcman. Edited by D.L. Page, Poetae Melici Graecae. Oxford 1962.

Anthologia Lyrica Graeca. Edited by E. Diehl. Second edition.  
2 volumes. Leipzig 1935-42.

Anthologia Palatina. (1) Edited by C.F.W. Jacobs. 3 volumes.  
Leipzig 1813-17. (2) Edited by F. Dübner. 2 volumes.  
Paris 1864-72. (3) Edited by H. Stadtmüller. 3 volumes.  
Leipzig 1894-1906.

Antimachus. (1) Edited by G. Kinkel, Epicorum Graecorum  
Fragmenta. Leipzig 1887. (2) Edited by B. Wyss. Oxford  
1936.

Apollonius Dyscolus. De Adverbiis. Edited by R. Schneider and  
G. Uhlig. Leipzig 1878-1910.

Aristophanes. Edited by F.W. Hall and W.M. Geldart. Second  
edition. Oxford 1906-7.

Aristotle. Fragmenta. Edited by V. Rose. Leipzig 1886.

Athenaeus. Deipnosophistae. Edited and translated by C.B.

Gulick. 7 volumes. Loeb Classical Library. London and  
New York 1927-33. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1937-41.

Callimachus. Edited by R. Pfeiffer. 2 volumes. Oxford 1949  
and 1953.

Demosthenes. Edited by S.H. Butcher and W. Rennie. 3 volumes in 4 parts. Oxford 1903-7 and 1921-31.

Etymologicum Magnum. Edited by T. Gaisford. Oxford 1848.

Euripides. Edited by G.G. Murray. Third edition. 3 volumes. Oxford 1902-13.

Eusebius. Chronici Canones. (1) Armenian version. Edited by J. Karst, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Eusebius Werke, B and 5. Leipzig 1911. (2) Latin version of Hieronymus. Edited by J.K. Fotheringham. London 1923.

Eustathius. Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam, ad fidem exempli Romani (editi). Leipzig 1825-30.

Herodotus. Edited by C. Hude. Third edition. 2 volumes. Oxford 1927.

Herondas. Edited by W. Headlam and A.D. Knox. Cambridge 1922.

Hesiod. Edited by A. Rzach. Third edition. Leipzig 1913.

Hesychius. Edited by M. Schmidt. Jena 1858-68.

Homer. Edited by D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen. 2 volumes. Oxford 1919-20.

\_\_\_\_\_. Scholias. Edited by W. Dindorf. Oxford 1855 and 1874.

Homeric Hymns. Edited by T.W. Allen, Homeri Opera, vol. V. Oxford 1946.

Horace. Edited by E.C. Wickham and H.W. Garrod. Second edition. Oxford 1912.

Julian. Edited and translated by W.C. Wright. 3 volumes. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1913.

- Nonnus. Dionysiaca. Edited by A. Ludwich. Leipzig 1909-11.
- Philostratus. Vita Apollonii. Edited and translated by F.C. Conybeare. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
- Pindar. Edited by C.M. Bowra. Second edition. Oxford 1947.
- Plato. Edited by J. Burnet. 5 volumes. Oxford 1900-7.
- Pliny. Naturalis Historia. Edited and translated by H. Rackham. 10 volumes. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1938-63.
- Pollux. Edited by Bethe. Leipzig 1900.
- Propertius. Edited by E.A. Barber. Second edition. Oxford 1960.
- Sappho. Edited by E. Lobel and D.L Page, Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta. Oxford 1955.
- Sophocles. Tragoediae. Edited by A.C. Pearson. Oxford 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Fragmenta. Edited by A.C. Pearson. Cambridge 1917.
- Stephanus Byzantinus. Ethnica. Edited by A. Meineke. Berlin 1849. Photographically republished, Graz 1958.
- Stobaeus. Anthologium. Edited by C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense. Second edition. 5 volumes. Berlin 1958.
- Strabo. Geographica. Edited and translated by H.L. Jones. 8 volumes. Loeb Classical Library. London and New York 1917-32.
- Suidas. Edited by A. Adler. 5 volumes. Leipzig 1928-38.
- Tatian. Oratio contra Graecos. Edited by E. Schwartz. Leipzig 1888.
- Theocritus. Edited by A.S.F. Gow, Bucolici Graeci. Oxford 1958.

Theophrastus. Characteres. Edited by H. Diels. Oxford 1909.

Thucydides. Edited by H. Stuart Jones and J.E. Powell.

Second edition. 2 volumes. Oxford 1938.

Xenophon. Edited by E.C. Marchant. 5 volumes. Oxford 1900-20.

## II. Modern Authors

Bechtel, F. Die griechischen Dialekte.

I. Der lesbische, thessalische, böotische,  
arkadische und kyprische Dialekt.

II. Die westgriechischen Dialekte.

Second edition. Berlin 1963.

Benndorf, O. De Anthologiae Graecae epigrammatis, quae ad  
artes spectant. Bonn 1862.

Bergk, T. Poetae Lyrici Graeci. Third edition. Leipzig 1867.

\_\_\_\_\_. Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Berlin 1872-94.

Blass, F. "Neuestes aus Oxyrhynchus," NJb 3 (1899), 44.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Nachtrag zu S S.44ff.," NJb 3 (1899), 80.

Bowra, C.M. "Later Elegy, Epigram, and Lyric Poetry," New  
Chapters in the History of Greek Literature. Third  
Series. Edited by J.U. Powell. Oxford 1933.

\_\_\_\_\_. Oxford Classical Dictionary s.v. Erinna. Oxford 1949.

\_\_\_\_\_. Problems in Greek Poetry. Oxford 1953.

Bürchner. 6 RE XII.2 (2107-2133), s.v. Lesbos.

Bury, J.B. "Notes on the Seventh Book of the Greek Anthology  
(edited by Stadtmüller)," CR 14 (1900), 148-53.

Collart, P. "La Poétesse Erinna," CRAI (1944), 183-99.

- Couve, L. Daremberg-Saglio III/1 s.v. Kronia.
- Croiset, A.A. and Croiset, M. Histoire de la Littérature Grecque. Third edition. Paris 1914.
- Crusius, O. Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas. Leipzig 1892.
- \_\_\_\_\_. RE VI.1, 455-58, s.v. Erinna.
- Diehl, E. Anthologia Lyrica Graeca. Second edition. 2 volumes. Leipzig 1935-42.
- Dunbar, H. A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey of Homer. Revised edition by B. Marzullo. Hildesheim 1962.
- Edmonds, J.M. "Erinna P.S.I.1090," Mnemosyne. Third Series. 6 (1938), 195-203 and plate IV.
- Fiehn, RE VA.1, 427-31, s.v. Telos.
- Finley, M.I. Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies. Cambridge 1960.
- Flach, H. Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik. Tübingen 1883-4.
- Gabathuler, M. Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter. Basel 1937.
- Gallavotti, C. Lingua, tecnica e poesia negli idilli di Teocrito. Rome 1951-2.
- Geffcken, J. Griechische Epigramme. Heidelberg 1916.
- Gow, A.S.F. Theocritus. Second edition. 2 volumes. Cambridge 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions. Hellenic Society Supplementary Paper 9. London 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Page, D.L. The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams. 2 volumes. Cambridge 1965.
- Grenfell, B.P. and Hunt, A.S. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part I. London 1898.

- Harvey, A.E. "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," CQ 49 (1955), 157-75.
- Kalkmann, A. "Tatians Nachrichten über Kunstwerke," RhM 42 (1887), 504ff.
- Körte, A. "Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen," Archiv für Papyrusforschung 10 (1932), 21-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Anthologia Lyrica Graeca ed. Diehl," Gnomon 15 (1939), 486-94.
- Latte, K. "Erinna," NAkG phil-hist. Kl.3 (1953), 79-94.
- Lattimore, R. Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28.1-2. Urbana 1942.
- Lesky, A. "Anthologia Lyrica Graeca ed. Diehl," Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 58 (1938), 913-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Geschichte der griechischen Literatur. Revised edition. Bern 1963.
- Levin, D.N. "Quaestiones Erinneanae," HSCP 66 (1962), 193-204.
- Lippold, G. RE XVI.2, 1966-7, s.v. Naukydes.
- Lisi, U. Poetesse Greche. Catania 1933.
- Luck, G. "Die Dichterinnen der griechischen Anthologie," MH 11 (1954), 170-87.
- Maas, P. review of Vitelli-Norsa, BSRAA 24 (1929), 9-16, Deutsche Literaturzeitung. Neue Folge 6.3 (1929), 116-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Addenda et Corrigenda," PSI 9 (1929), xii-xiii.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Erinnae in Baucidem nenia," Hermes 69 (1934), 206-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. RE Suppl. VI, 54-56, s.v. Erinna.



Michelangeli, B. Frammenti della Melica Greca. Bologna 1889-1907.

Page, D.L. Greek Literary Papyri. Volume I. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1942.

\_\_\_\_\_. Alcman: The Partheneion. Oxford 1951.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sappho and Alcaeus. Oxford 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_. See also Gow.

Perrotta, G. "Arte e tecnica nell'epillio alessandrino," Atene e Roma 25 (1923), 213ff.

\_\_\_\_\_. Enciclopedia Italiana 14 (1932), 216-7, s.v. Erinna.

Powell, J.U. Collectanea Alexandrina. Oxford 1925.

Prendergast, G.L. A Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer.

Revised edition by B. Marzullo. Hildesheim 1962.

Reitzenstein, R. Epigramm und Skolion, Giessen 1893.

Rohde, E. Kleine Schriften. Volume I.

\_\_\_\_\_. Psyche. Translated into English by W.B. Hillis.

London 1950.

Scheidweiler, F. "Erinnas Klage um Baukis," Philologus 100.1-2 (1956), 40-51.

Solmsen, F. Inscriptiones Graecae Selectae. Fourth edition, by E. Fraenkel. Leipzig 1930.

Stella, L.A. "Intorno ai nuovi frammenti di Erinna," RIL.

Second series 62 (1929), 827-38.

Susemihl, F. Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit. Leipzig 1891-2.

Tambornino, J. RE XVI.1, 309-11, s.v. Mormo.

- Tucker, T.G. "Adversaria on the Greek Anthology," CR 6 (1892), 86-7.
- Vitelli, G. and Norsa, M. "Frammenti della 'Conocchia' di Erinna," BSRAA 24 (1929), 9-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Frammenti della 'Conocchia' di Erinna," PSI 9 (1929), No. 1090, 137-44 and plate IV.
- Vogliano, A. "Nachrichten und Vorlagen," Gnomon 4 (1928), 455.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Neue Fragmente der Erinna," Gnomon 5 (1929), 171.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Nachtrag zu den neuen Erinnafragmenten," Gnomon 5 (1929), 288.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Erinna Alakata 1 B, v.25sgg. (Diehl<sup>2</sup>)," Athenaeum New series 21 (1943), 32-7.
- Vysoky, Z.K. "Erinna," Listy Filologicke (1942), 85-113. In Czech.
- Webster, T.B.L. Hellenistic Poetry and Art. New York 1964.
- Welcker, F.G. Kleine Schriften. Volume II. Bonn 1867.
- Wifstrand, A. "Studien zur griechischen Anthologie," Lunds Univers. Arsskrift. 23.3 (1927).
- Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. von. Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker. Berlin 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Sappho und Simonides. Berlin 1913.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos. Berlin 1924.
- Winniczuk, L. "Lamentations sur Baucis (fr. 1 B. Diehl)," Meander 12 (1957), 202-3. Translation of the Distaff into Polish.

## ADDENDA

### Page 51: The meaning of ἀλίπαστα.

The Berlin Photius, s.v. ἀλίπαστα, has the following entry:  
οἷονται οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ταριχηρά, οὐ χρῶνται δὲ οὕτως Ἀττικοί,  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλσὶ πεπασμένων κρεῶν ὀπτῶν προσφάτων.

"Halipasta are generally thought to be pickled meats. The Attic writers, however, do not use the word in this sense, but in reference to fresh roasted meat sprinkled with salt."

It appears that the salt was used only for flavouring. My conjecture, in note 93, that the sacrificial meat was salted to preserve it for later use, must therefore be abandoned.

Bibliography: Reitzenstein, R. Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios. Leipzig and Berlin 1907.

### Pages 52-3: The hiatus of ἄ ἔριον.

It seems that my misgivings about the hiatus inherent in Bowra's restoration are unnecessary. Professor Riddehough kindly drew my attention to three passages in Homer that throw light upon this problem. Iliad 12.434, καὶ εἴριον, exhibits correptio epica, showing that, for the writer of the Iliad, the word began with a vowel, but Odyssey 4.124, παλακοῦ ἐρίοιο, and 18.316, ἦ εἴρια, have the word beginning with F. If we think of Fέριον in line 23, all difficulties of scansion vanish.