

# The Reappearance of Sapphic Fragments in the Italian Renaissance

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## **Author's contribution**

*The sole author designed, analysed, interpreted and prepared the manuscript.*

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## **ABSTRACT**

In this article the survival of the Sapphic fragments of the ancient times in Renaissance period is examined. More specifically the reappearance of the Sapphic verses is presented concerning the first publications (editio princeps) and the most widespread texts of ancient authors during West Renaissance. These texts were the primary sources, on which the later publications of the Sapphic work were based, while they also had a great influence on the reception of the ancient poet by the Renaissance writers.

*Keywords: Classical tradition in the Italian Renaissance; reception of Sappho; survival of the Sapphic poetry during the Renaissance.*

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

In ancient times, Sappho's poetry was an object of admiration, and many ancient sources refer to her as the Tenth Muse [1] or 'the poetess', as

Homer was 'the poet' [2]. Also, the Alexandrian grammarians included Sappho in the canon of the nine lyric poets [3]. It seems, however, that already in the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the poems of Sappho have been disappeared: around 1550,

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Jerome Cardan reports that Gregory of Nazianzus had publicly destroyed Sappho's works, while at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Joseph Justus Scaliger claims that her poems were burnt in Rome and Constantinople in 1073 by order of Pope Gregory VII [4]. Similar information is also recorded by other writers [5]. In fact, Sappho's works were probably lost since people stopped to copy them in the period that the parchment replaced the papyrus [6]. Until the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. probably there are manuscripts which transfer directly the works of Sappho, but they seem to disappear by the end of this century [7]. John Tzetzes reports that both Sappho and her work have been destroyed by the passage of time [8]. However, during the Middle Ages there are references to her poetic endowment, which preserve her legend in writers such as Isidore of Seville [9]. However, some of Sappho's verses survived in the following centuries through the references made by other writers to her in their works.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Sappho is beginning to come back to the forefront, initially through the early editions of ancient writers who make references to her verses or to her life. In 1508 Aldus Manutius publishes Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose work *De compositione verborum* (XXIII) contains the *Ode* to Aphrodite (fr.1) [10], where the author admires her for her noble style. Also, the work *On the Sublime* contains the fragment 31, where the unknown writer records that the poetess knows the happenings in the frame of the erotic fury (*ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς μανίαις*) [11]. Although the first printed version of this book is made in 1554 [12], already in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the work is widespread in Italy through manuscripts copied by the humanists. In 1560 Henri Estienne proceeds to the publication of nine Greek lyric poets, including Sapphic fragments [13], while in 1566, in the second edition of the same volume, he widens even more the corpus of the Sapphic poems, through including apart from fr.1 and fr.31 forty more fragments by the ancient poetess [14]. However, the fragments included in Estienne's editions were already known in Italy since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the Greek scholars who came from Byzantium started to copy and publish works of writers, as well as dictionaries, that were previously unknown in Europe. These works included Sappho's verses.

### 1.1 The Image of Sappho in Renaissance

Beyond Sappho's own work [15], there is a whole literature about her life and art, which is

preserved in the Renaissance, also through ancient sources. In particular, Ovid in *Heroides*, in the fantastic letter of the poetess to Phaon [16], presents her to commit suicide because of her love for him [17], while she mentions that she had loved some women (XV, 17 and 201) [18]. When in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century this work became known again [19], it is considered to be a genuine Sappho's letter and influences the image that scholars and artists form about her [20]. The same image of the enamored Sappho who committed suicide for Phaon is given by Photius in his *Library: the Library*, which was first printed in 1601 by David Hoeschelius, influenced the reception of Sappho, because the Renaissance scholars can find in this work information about ancient writers and their lost works. Another view of Sappho, the view of a sister who is worried about her brother, is met in Renaissance through Herodotus, whose work is first printed by Aldus Manutius in 1502 in Venice: the ancient writer refers to Sappho (II, 135) at the point where he refers the adventure of her brother Charaxus with the courtesan Rhodopis. Plato, who is also playing a key role in shaping the intellectual environment of the Italian Renaissance, calls Sappho beautiful (*Phaed.* 235 c.) [21]. The beauty of Sappho's art is emphasized twice in *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena (XIV, XV), a work printed in 1602 by David Hoeschelius, which is of great interest in the late Renaissance world, because it comes from a female pen of the Middle Ages, but also in another medieval work, the *Synopsis historion* by George Cedrenus, printed by Wilhelm Xylander in 1566: the Byzantine historian calls Sappho as the first of the Muses. Catullus (51) makes a poetic adaptation of the fr. 31 of Sappho, where the beloved he is referring to is a Lesbian [22] and his love for her is causing to him the same symptoms as the symptoms of Sappho in the abovementioned fragment. The poems of Catullus were first published in Venice by Vindelinius de Spira in 1472 and had a significant impact on the Renaissance [23]. Horace [24] calls her in his *Letters* (1:19, 28) *mascula Sappho*, that is to say, male Sappho, a phrase which, beside the erotic intimations, implies the art and the momentum of her verses that have been attributed to the male writers, since as a poet he admires her and is influenced by her work [25].

In Suda [26] there is a reference to two different persons with the same name Sappho: The first is Sappho from Eressos, married to Kerkylas and mother of Cleïa, while the second is Sappho from

Mytilene, who was playing a lyre and committed suicide by falling into the sea, because of her love for Phaon. The first Sappho is an aristocratic lyrical poet and the inventor of the plectrum, and had a shameful friendship with Atthis, Telesippa and Megara [27]. Earlier, Aelian in his *Varia Historia* (Book XII) also talks about two different persons, a courtesan and a poet. It seems that Aelian attempts to respond to the slanders against Sappho, which already appear in the years of the late antiquity: the comedians of the Middle Attic Comedy, as Amphis and Antiphanes, wrote works with the title *Sappho*, of which only fragments have been survived. In these works, although we cannot have a clear knowledge of the content, it seems that Sappho is presented as a courtesan, something that does not appear in works of the previous years. Also, Plato the Comedian in his work *Phaon*, as well as other fragments of the Attic comedy [28], talk about the poet's love with Phaon [29]. The positions of the comedians seem to influence several Latin writers: for example, Tatian, one of the earliest Fathers of church in his work *Oratio ad Graecos* (*Address to the Greeks*) (33-34) presents the poet as an erotomaniac and lover of women [30]. The opposite view is given by Maximus Tyrius (*Dissertations*, XXIV 7-9), who interprets Sappho's relationship with women of her milieu in a spiritual base, like the relationship of Socrates with his students. Also, according to Aelian, Solon asked to learn a song of Sappho and then "he could die" (Stob. *Anth.* 3:29, 58); this episode shows the admiration of antiquity for Sappho's work. *Palatine Anthology* also contains a lot of eulogistic epigrams (VII 14, 15, 16, IX 251) [31].

The fact that Sappho is the object of admiration and interest in antiquity, but also in the years to come, until Renaissance, is also apparent by the fact that there are numerous depictions of her through the visual and plastic arts [32]. Her suicide is the object of classical art, such as in the Basilica of the 1st century BC in Rome, near Porta Maggiore [33]. Also, Christodorus in the *Ekphrasis* (AP II 69-71) describes her statue in Constantinople:

Πιερίκη δε μέλισσα, λιγύθροος ἔζητο Σαπφῶ  
Λεσβιάς, ἡρεμέουσα. μέλος δ' εὐμνον ὑφαίνειν  
σιγαλαίς δοκέεσκεν, ἀναψάμενη φρένα  
Μούσαις.

[The Pierian Bee, Sappho the Lesbian, with the sweet voice sat, serene, knitting a graceful song after the silent Muses put a flame in her heart.]

In the medieval manuscripts, Sappho is presented surrounded by books and musical instruments, while in an engraving of 1501, decorating an early version of Ovid's *Heroides*, appears as a priestess making a libation over a sacred fire encircled by women playing music [34].

In later years, Sappho is portrayed in the *Parnassus* of Raffaello in the Vatican (Stanze di Raffaello, about 1511), with the nine Muses, on the mountain of Parnassus, where Apollo is the leader: in Renaissance there is the belief that Sappho is the tenth Muse. It is characteristic that in this work the name of the poet is written on a papyrus which she holds in her hands, so that there is no doubt about her identity, but also her distinct position in the poetic universe is emphasized [35].

Such depictions are known in the Italian Renaissance and determine the way in which artists and scholars receive her personality and her survived works. This reception is influenced by the references of previous writers: already in the 9th century Sappho is portrayed as a woman of magnificent talent see [36], and later Boccaccio in *De Claris Mulieribus* (1361-2) presents her as a marvelous skilled model in poetry. Petrarca reports Sappho several times in his works. In the poem *Trionfo d'Amore* (IV, 25-27), written about in 1352, describes Sappho as a young girl who sings sweet songs among other great poets of antiquity:

*Una giovane Greca a paro a paro coi nobili  
poeti iva cantando, et avea un suo stil soave e  
raro.*

[A young Greek next to the noble poets  
singing, with rare and sweet writing]

In the tenth Eclogue (85-89) of the Latin work *Carmen bucolicum* (1346-1357) Petrarca envisions Sappho as a capable, educated young girl (*docta puella*), singing love (*cantabat amoris*) and dancing among men (*choris doctorum immixta virorum*).

Christine de Pisan in *Le Livre de la cité des dames* (1404) mentions her as an example of the cultivated woman, and speaks of women's rights, without being interested in the subject of Sapphic love [37].

In northern Italy, during the Renaissance, a new trend emerges: lists of women [38] are compiled in which Sappho is always included as an

exemplary case of personality and talent. Many of these lists were women's commissions. For example, Margherita Cantelmo, although she did not know Latin, commissioned two lists written in Latin, in order to address to a cultivated male audience demonstrating the spiritual abilities of women. In 1480, Bartolommeo Goggio, in order of Eleonora d'Aragona, wrote his own defense of women *De laudibus mulierum* (British Library Add Ms. 17415). Goggio writes that Sappho of Eressos had six pupils and they were all more capable than the men of the time, while at the same time there was also Sappho of Mytilene, who invented the Sapphic verse and she is considered to be equivalent to the Muses, of whom she learned her poetic art. Indeed, it is emphasized that Sappho had spiritual potentials as few male poets of her time. The Sappho of Mytilene fell in love with Phaon, while her verses are not inferior to Ovid [39].

Also, in Renaissance it is known that Sappho is an outstanding musician who renews the musical tradition: in *Suda* it is said that she invented the plectrum, and there are other references that preserve the relationship of her poetry with the music [40]. Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso* (Canto 20, l, 7-8) is referred to both her and Corinna in a similar way as two poets who are distinguished for their abilities and their education (*furor dotte*) as well as for their fame (*splendono illustri*). In England Thomas More composes epigrams, where he refers to Sappho as the tenth Muse (*Lesbica iam Sappho Pieris est decima*) [41], without mentioning her erotic life.

## 2. THE SAPPHIC FRAGMENTS IN THE EDITIONS OF ANCIENT GREEK AUTHORS IN RENAISSANCE

At this point, it would be advisable to study in detail the early editions of ancient Greek writers, as well as the most widespread manuscripts, containing Sapphic verses. These sources are already widespread through manuscripts since the late 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th century in circles of scholars.

### 2.1 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

The epitome of the 15 volumes of the *Deipnosophists* has a great impact on Renaissance Italy because of the information contained about the daily life of ancient Greeks, such as their nutrition and social conditions, as well as because of the numerous references to

unknown writers who were attracting the interest of the intellectuals. Indicatively, Jakob Questenberg, a papal official, in 1490, made two transcripts of the *Deipnosophists* [42]. In August 1514, *Athenaeus* is published by Aldus Manutius, edited by Marcus Musurus (*Deipnosophistae*, Ed. Marcus Musurus, Venetius: Aldum Manutium et Andream Torresanum, 1514). There is also another edition of *Deipnosophists* in 1535 in Basel (*Athenaei, Dipnosophistarum, hoc est argute sciteque in convivio disserentium*, lib XV, Ed Iacobo Bedroto, Christiano Herlino, Basileae: apud I. Valderum, 1535).

This work of Athenaeus includes the following Sapphic fragments:

Lobel-Page 57 / 61Diehl / Cox 67 / Bergk 70 (Athen. 21bc)

Lobel-Page 82 / 80Diehl / Cox 75 (Athen. 15. 674e)

Lobel-Page 122 / 111Diehl (Athen. 12.554b)

Lobel-Page 138 / 151Diehl (Athen. 13.564d)

Lobel-Page 141/ Cox 47 (Athen. 10.425d)

Lobel-Page 143 / 118Diehl (Athen. 2.54f)

Lobel-Page 160 / Diehl 11 / Cox 11 (Athen. 13.571d)

Lobel-Page 166 / Diehl 105 / Bergk 56 (Athen. 2.57d)

### 2.2 Ammonius, *On the Differences of Synonymous Expressions*

The first edition of the work was done in Venice in 1497 by Aldus Manutius and is included in the *Dictionarium Graecum* (Ed. Johannes Crastonus, 1497). In this work of Ammonius, the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 123 / 15Diehl / Cox 18 (Amm. 75) is included.

### 2.3 Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Syntax and On Pronouns*

In February 1495 Aldus Manutius published in Venice the four books of the work on *Syntax* (*Apollonii gramatici, De constructione orationis libri quatuor*). This work contains the Sapphic fragment Lobel – Page 33/ Diehl 9 / Bergk 9 / Cox 9 (Ap. Dyc. *Synt.*, 3.247). The same work is published by E. Boninus in 1515 in Florence (*Apollonii alexandrei de constructione*).

The work *On Pronouns*, which includes the Sapphic fragments Lobel-Page 32 / Diehl 10 / Bergk 10 / Cox 10 (Ap Dyc. *Pron.* 144a), Lobel-Page 40 / Diehl 8 / Bergk 7, 8 / Cox 8 (Ap. Dyc.

Pron. 104c) and Lobel-Page 41 / 12Diehl / Wharton 14 (Ap. Dysc. Pron. 124c), survives in a unique manuscript in the codex Parisinus graecus 2548 (currently in the National Library of France), together with two other works of the same author (*On Conjunctions, On Adverbs*). So it seems that the Sapphic fragments that survive in the work *On Pronouns* were not widely known in the 16th century.

#### 2.4 Aristotle, Rhetoric

In 1475 this work is published in Paris (Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, Ed. Iohannes Stoll and Petrus Caesaris Wagner) in a translation of George of Trebizond (translated in 1443-1446). Between 1495 and 1498 Aldus Manutius publishes five volumes of Aristotle, which were completed in 1506-1507 with the works *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* (Aristotle, *Rhetorica, Poetica*, Ed. Demetrius Ducas in *Rhetores Graeci*). Moreover, quite early, long before the publication of Manutius, there were many manuscripts of the *Rhetoric*: Vittorino da Feltre states that in his time Aristotle's numerous manuscripts were easily accessible in Florence [43], while he holds several volumes with works of the philosopher. The same fact is also testified by a letter by Filelfo to Vittorino, dated in 1430, which refers to a loan of Aristotle's 'dialectical works'. Also, a copy of the *Rhetoric* (Paris sup.gr. 1285), which was in the possession of Filelfo, had Vittorino's (ex-libris) stamp [44]; this indeed shows the early dissemination of the aristotelian works among the scholars. *Rhetoric* includes the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page (Arist. *Rhet.* 1367a) [45].

#### 2.5 Galen, Exhortation to the Study of the Arts especially Medicine: To Menodotus

Already in the 9th c. Galen's works are widespread due to the practical nature of his work, so several translations of these works are circulated [46]. From the Middle Ages his works survive in Latin (the most popular are the Latin versions of the text according to Burgundio of Pisa and Nicholas of Reggio). Later, Niccolò Leonicensino (1428-1524) is one of Galen's translators, and he accompanies his translation with an extensive introduction, while he also writes an essay on the scientific method of Galen. Indeed, when Calliergi and Vlastos prepare the volume of Galen (1500), they obtain texts from Leonicensino [47]. Manutius publishes in Venice the corpus of the works of Galen in 1525

(*Omnia Opera*). Galen's *Exhortation* contains the Sapphic Lobel-Page -50 / 49 Diehl.

#### 2.6 Demetrius of Phalerum, On Style

The book was published for the first time in 1552 (Demetrius Phalereus, *De Elocutione*: studio P. Victorii, Gr. Editio Princeps, Florent, apud Juntas). In this work the following Sapphic fragments are included:

Lobel-Page 104a / Voigt 104a / Diehl 120 / Bergk 95 / Cox 92 (Demetr. *Eloc.* 141)  
Lobel-Page 105c / Voigt 105b / Diehl 117 / Bergk 93 / Cox 91 (Demetr. *Eloc.* 106)  
Lobel-Page 106 / 115Diehl (Demetr. *Eloc.* 146)  
Lobel-Page 114 / 131Diehl / Cox 104 (Demetr. *Eloc.*140)  
Lobel-Page 156 / 138Diehl / Cox 115 (Demetr. *Eloc.* 161s.)  
168Cox (Demetr. *Eloc.*164)

#### 2.7 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On the Arrangement of Words

In 1508, Aldus Manutius published in Venice some works by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *Ars Rhetorica & De Compositione Verborum*, Venezia, Ed Demetrius Ducas in *Rhetores Graeci*). In Dionysius' work *On the Arrangement of Words* (D.H. *Comp.* 23) the Hymn to Aphrodite (Lobel-Page 1 / Voigt 1 / Diehl 1 / Bergk 1 / Cox 1), which is the only complete Sapphic poem found, survives. The Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 113 / 130 D (D.H. *Comp.* 25) is also included in the same work.

#### 2.8 Hermogenes, On Various Kinds of Style

In the rhetorical corpus that Manutius publishes in two tomes in 1508 (*Rhetorica*), Hermogenes is included.

In his work *On various kinds of style* are included the Sapphic fragments Lobel-Page 105a / Voigt 105a / Diehl 116 / Bergk 93 / Cox 90 (Syrian. In Hermog, *Id.* 1.1) and Lobel-Page 118 / 103Diehl (Hermog. *Id.* 2.4) are included.

#### 2.9 Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentaries on Homer's Iliad and Odyssey

The comments of Eustathius on the homeric epics, in which the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 34 / Voigt 34 / Bergk 3 / Cox 4 (Eust. *Il.* 729 20)

is included, are particularly appreciated in the educated circles of the Renaissance: we know that Bessarion obtains a new manuscript of these comments on *Iliad* (Marc. 461 and 462), copied and transported to Italy [48]. Later, Demetrius Chalcocondyles, wishing to study the homeric works more adequately, also uses the commentaries of Eustathius [49]. In 1496, Aldus Manutius published in Venice, as an aid to the students of Greek, *Thesaurus cornucopiae et horti Adonidis*, which is largely based on Eustathius' comments, alongside other sources, such as *Etymologicum Magnum* [50].

## 2.10 Hephaestion, Enchiridion de Metris

The editio princeps is made in Florence in 1526 (Hephaestionis *Enchiridion*, Graece. Florentiae, per Heredes Phillipi Iuntae). This work includes the Sapphic fragments:

Lobel-Page 49 / Voigt 49 / Gallavotti 43 / Diehl 40, 41 / Bergk 33, 34 (Heph. *Ench.* 7.7)  
Lobel-Page 82 / 80Diehl / Cox 75 (Heph. *Ench.* 11.5)  
Lobel-Page 102 / Voigt 102 / Diehl 114 / Bergk 90 (Heph. *Ench.*10.5)  
Lobel-Page 110a / Voigt 110 / Diehl 124 / Bergk 98 (Heph. *Ench.* 7.6)  
Lobel-Page 112 / 128Diehl (Heph. *Ench.*15.26)  
Lobel-Page 115 / 127Diehl (Heph. *Ench.*7.6)  
Lobel-Page 117 / 129Diehl (Heph. *Ench.*4.2)  
Lobel-Page 128 / 90Diehl (Heph. *Ench.* 9.2)  
Lobel-Page 130 / Diehl 137 / Voigt 130 / Bergk 40 (Heph. *Ench.* 7.7)  
Lobel-Page 131 / Diehl 137 / Voigt 130 / Bergk 41 (Heph., *Ench.*7.7, v.ad fr. 130)  
132LP / 152D / Cox 82 (Heph. *Ench.*15.18)  
Lobel-Page 140? / Bergk 62? / Voigt 140? / Cox 59 (Heph. *Ench.* 10.4)  
Lobel-Page 154 / 88Diehl / Cox 49 (Heph. *Ench.* 11.3)  
Lobel-Page i.a. 16 / Diehl 93 / Cox 50 (Heph. *Ench.*11.3,5)

## 2.11 Pseudo-Longinus, On the Sublime

In 1554, Francesco Robortello publishes in Basel the work *On the Sublime*, attributing it to Longinus (*Dionysi Longini rhetoris praestantissimi free of grandio sublimiorationis genere ... as adnotationibus*). This work contains the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page31-Voigt 31 / Gallavotti 2 / Diehl 2 / Bergk 2 (Long. *De subl.* 10-3-3). However the work *On the Sublime* was already widespread in Italy by manuscripts in the

first half of the 16th century. In addition to the Parisinus Graecus 2036 codex, dated back to the 10th century, there are a lot of manuscripts of the work from copies made in Renaissance by Bessarion, Janus Lascaris, Pietro Vettori, Ugolino Martelli, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and others [51].

## 2.12 Plutarch, On the Control of Anger

Aldus Manutius, with the main responsibility of Demetrius Doukas, publishes the work *Moralia* in 1509 in Venice in a huge tome of 1050 pages: this work includes the book *De cohibenda ira* (*On the Control of Anger*) in which there is the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 158 / 126 Diehl / Cox 25 (Plut. *De cohib. Ira* 456e) [52].

## 2.13 Stobaeus, Anthology

Stobaeus is published in Basel in 1532 by Hieronymus Frobenius under the responsibility of Sigismundus Gelenius. This edition contains only some of the second part of the work, the *Florilegium*. The full edition of *Florilegium* was made in 1535 or 1536 in Venice by Bartolomeo Zanetti and Victor Trincavelius. *Eclogues* were printed later (1575). In the work of Stobaeus the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 55 / Voigt 55 / Diehl 58 / Bergk 68 / Cox 65 (Strob. 3.4.12) survives.

## 2.14 Maximus Tyrius, the Dissertations

The works of Maximus Tyrius are recorded in the Vittorino da Feltre's manuscript list of 1445, together with other authors, including Synesius [53]. However, there was no edition of Maximus until 1557, when he was published by Henricus Stephanus in Paris. Maximus Tyrius (18.9) records the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 150 / 109 Diehl.

## 2.15 Julian, Epistles

In 1499, Manutius printed in Venice the *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum*. In this corpus of the epistles made by Marcus Musurus the letters of Julian are included: more specifically, Julian records the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 48 / 48 Diehl (*Ep.*183).

## 2.16 Palatine Anthology or Anthology of Planudes or Greek Anthology

Janus Lascaris in 1494 prints the *Greek Anthology* following the form of the work that

Maximus Planudes had recorded in 1229 [54]. The dissemination of *Greek Anthology* among the poets is also illustrated by the fact that Poliziano writes epigraphs imitating the models of *Greek Anthology* [55]. In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Demetrius Chalcocondyles participates in the transcription of a copy (Laur. 31.28) of *Greek Anthology* [56]. In 1503 Aldus Manutius publishes the *Greek Anthology* with the Latin title *Florilegium*, which in Latin means anthology (*Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septembris libros*, 1503). In *Greek Anthology* the following poems attributed to Sappho are included:

158 Diehl [*Anth. Pal.* 7.489 (Plan.)]  
159 Diehl [*Anth. Pal.* 7.505 (Plan.)]

### 2.17 Etymologicum Magnum

The *Etymologicum Magnum*, composed by an anonymous lexicographer in Constantinople around 1150, with main sources the two etymological dictionaries *Etymologicum Genuinum* [57] and *Etymologicum Gudianum*, was first published in Venice in 1499 by Zacharias Calliergi and Nikolas Vlastos, financed by Anna Notara. This dictionary contains the following Sapphic fragments:

Lobel-Page 36 / 20Diehl (*Et. Mag.*, 485.41ss)  
Lobel-Page 37 / 14Diehl / Wharton 17 / Cox 17 (*Et. Mag.* 576.23ss)  
120LP / 108Diehl / Cox 69 (*Et. Mag.* 2.43)  
Lobel-Page 126 / 134Diehl (*Et. Mag.* 250.10s)

### 2.18 Pollux, Onomasticon

The first editions of the *Onomasticon* were made in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, containing only the Greek text (Aldus Matunius, Venice, 1502, B. Junta, Florence, 1520, S. Grynaeus, Basel, 1536). This work includes the Sapphic fragment Lobel Page 54 / 56Diehl / Cox 61 (Poll. 10, 124).

### 2.19 Comments on Aristophanes

The comments on Aristophanes survive in a number of manuscripts [58], such as Veteno Marciano 474, Florentino Laurentiano 2779, Mediolanensi Ambrosiano L, 39. In Aristophanes' comments, the Sapphic fragment Lobel-Page 39 / 17Diehl/ Wharton 19 / Cox 19 (*Schol. Ar. Pax* 1174) is included.

## 3. CONCLUSION

This article is a systematic and exhaustive presentation of the Sapphic verses reappeared in a large number of publications and manuscripts of ancient Greek authors in the West Renaissance. These texts were the primary sources, on which the later publications of the Sapphic work were based, while they also had a great influence on the reception of the ancient poet by the Renaissance writers. This presentation could be useful for the study of the literature of the Renaissance period, in which the literature and the art is influenced by the ancient Greek poets and their beliefs, but also for the study of the reception of the Greek poetry in Renaissance.

## COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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3. *Ibid*: 340.
4. Reynolds, Margaret. *The Sappho companion*. London, Vintage. 2001;81.
5. Petrus Alcyonius in his work *Medices legatus, sive de Exilio* (Venice, 1522) transfers the words of Chalcocondyles about the burning of the poems of ancient lyric poets by Byzantine emperors and ecclesiastical authorities, because according to their opinion these works talked about passions and madness of lovers.
6. Reynolds, Margaret. 2001;18.
7. A parchment that survives in Berlin and dates back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century records the fragment 94 (Lobel-Page). But at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Paul the Silentiary already reports that Sappho's works are definitely lost (Reynolds, Margaret). 2001;82.
8. John Tzetzes, *On the Meters of Pindar*, 20–22.
9. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originuum libri xx*, 1.39.7.

10. Also in the XXV of the same work, Dionysius rescues the verse of the poem οὐ γάρ ἦν ἀτέρα πάϊς, ὦ γαμβρέ, τοιαῦτα <ποτα> (Lobel-Page 113 / 130D).
11. Accordingly, Plutarch (Amat. 436) commented the dolorous passion of Sappho, referring to the fr. 31: ἄξιον δὲ Σαπφοῦς παρὰ ταῖς Μούσαις μνημονεύσαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἥφαιστου παῖδα Ἷρωμαῖοι Κάκον ἱστοροῦσι πῦρ καὶ φλόγας ἀφιέναι διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἔξω ρεούσας· αὕτη δ' ἀληθῶς μεμιγμένα πυρὶ φθέγγεται καὶ διὰ τῶν μελῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας θερμότητα Ἰμούσαις εὐφώνοις ἰωμένη τὸν ἔρωτα' κατὰ Φιλόξενον. ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὴ διὰ Λύσανδρον, ὦ Δαφναῖε, τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκλέλῃσαι παιδικῶν, ἀνάμνησον ἡμᾶς, ἐν οἷς ἡ καλὴ Σαπφῶ λέγει τῆς ἔρωμένης ἐπιφανείσης τὴν τε φωνὴν ἴσχεσθαι καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ καταλαμβάνειν ὠχρότητα καὶ πλάνον αὐτὴν καὶ ἴλιγγον.  
[It is worth mentioning Sappho next to the Muses. Because Romans say that the son of Hephaestus, Cacus, left out of his mouth fire and flames. So she really talks by mixing her speech with fire and with her poems she talks about the heat of the heart, "healing love with the melodious Muses", according to Philoxenus. But Daphnaeus, if you have not forgotten your old love, remind us of the poem, where the beautiful Sappho says that once the beloved appears, her voice is lost and the body is flaming and becomes pale and gripped of frenzy and vertigo.]
12. It is published by Francis Robortello in Basel. The same year it is published in Venice by Muret, in his comments on Catullus.
13. Estienne in the edition of Anacreon's poems (1554) had already included Sappho's fr.1, while in the second edition of the same book he added fr.31 together with the variation of Catullus (Ode 51).
14. This edition of Estienne is the most complete until the publication of Wolf in 1733. Furthermore in the edition of 1556 a three-page biography of Sappho is included, in which the publisher refers to the poet's reputable life until the death of her husband, to her beloved girls (puellas amatas) and to Phaon, the love for whom led her to her tragic end. The publication closes with Ovid's letter 15, from Sappho to Phaon.
15. Brenner, Carla McKinney et al. The inquiring eye: Classical mythology in European Art. National Gallery of Art, Washington. 1996;26.  
"The survived work of Sappho in that period contains the verses which are related mainly to the expression of the erotic feelings and to the deities that control these feelings, or to the poetic genre of the wedding songs: Renaissance responds to these themes through the erotic, as well as through the revival of the wedding poems and paintings, mainly in frescoes, which were a way of welcoming the newlyweds to their new house".
16. Angelo Poliziano, Commento inedito all'epistola ovidiana di Saffo a Faone, Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento - Studi e testi. Poliziano writes a comment on this letter of Ovid, which shows the effect of this text on the Renaissance poets: see Lazzeri, E. (Ed.). 1971;2.
17. Strabo (X, 452) refers to the poet's suicide from the rocks of Lefkata because of her love for Phaon, as recorded in a comedy by Menandros (Menandr. Fr.258 Kock). See also Palaif. 48, Ailian. P.I. XII 18, Ath. II, 69 where Phaon was a local deity, corresponding to Adonis, and also a beloved of Aphrodite, while the relationship between Phaon and Sappho was a misunderstanding of the comedians.
18. See Ov. Trist. II 365.
19. The editio princeps takes place in 1471 by Baldassarre Azzoguidi in Bologna. A lot of Venetian editions was then published in 1482, 1492, 1495, 1499 (Andreadis, Harriett. Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics 1550–1714. University of Chicago Press. 2001: 29), while in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the fame of the work is expanded though new editions (Heroides, Amores, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris, Medicina fediquee, Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresanus, Venice, 1515; Heroides, Amores, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris, Medicina faciei femineae, Melchior Sessa, Venice, 1527; Heroides, Amores, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris, Sebastianus Gryphius, Lyon, 1554; Heroides, Ibis, Amores, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris, Ioannes Saurius, Frankfurt, 1599).
20. Most, Glenn W. Reflecting Sappho. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. 1995;40:15-38.

21. In an epigram of the Palatine Anthology attributed to Plato (IX 506), Sappho is characterized as the tenth Muse, while Aelian in his *Varia Historia* (Book I, 128) also states that Plato called her wise, and that there was a second Sappho courtesan, apart from the poet.
22. Lesbian is the protagonist in the poems 25 of 116 by Catullus. These reflect the thematic and metric influences of Sapphic poetry on him (11, 51).
23. Famous in that period was the poetic composition of the French poet Pierre de Ronsard (1560), according to Catullus standards.
24. Horace, being one of the ancient writers printed so early, exerted a special influence in the following years: Horace's *editio princeps* takes place in Venice around 1471-2 (Braund, Susanna. *The Metempsychosis of Horace: the reception of the satires and epistles* In Davis, Gregson (ed.) *A Companion to Horace*. Malden). 2010;367-390.
25. See the second Ode by Horace, where he refers that even the souls of the dead people hear with admiration her songs. About the influences of Sappho on Horace see Nagy, G. *Copies and Models in Horace Odes 4.1 and 4.2*. *Classical World* 87. 1994;415-426.
26. Already in the 15th century. *Suda* is copied because of its practical use by the students of Greek (see the manuscript Laur.55.1.), but also because of its widespread use by scholars such as Francesco Filelfo or Poliziano (Wilson, N. G. *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Bloomsbury Academic. 2017: 43, 58, 121). At the end of the 15th century, Demetrius Chalcocondyles published the same work in Florence, which exceeds 1000 pages (*ibid*: 111): Manutius republished the same work in Venice (a re-edition of the *editio princeps*) in 1514.
27. *Suidae lexicon*, s.v. "Sappho (1, 2)".
28. These fragments are included in: Edmonds, John Maxwell (Ed.). *The fragments of Attic Comedy*. Brill Archive. 1957. The story of Sappho's love and suicide is repeated by Strabo (*Geogr.* I, 2.9).
29. Obviously, a confusion has gradually emerged between the biographies of Sappho and the myth of Aphrodite's love with Phaon, which has many commons with Adonis's myth. In the myth Phaon appears as an ugly and old shipyard in Mytilene, who was transferring inhabitants on the opposite coast of Asia Minor, until Aphrodite came to his boat disguised as an old lady. Phaon transferred her to Asia Minor and did not accept a fee. In return, Aphrodite gave him an ointment, which transformed him into a beautiful young man and he fascinated many women with his beauty. This myth is one of the characteristic folk fables that have been encountered since ancient times about the quest of eternal youth and beauty, which later alchemists claimed that can be attained through 'elixir of life'. This myth has often been the subject of the vase painting, which means that it was very popular. Characteristic is the depiction of the young Phaon surrounded by the Nymphs, Eros, Peitho and Himeros, in an ancient Attic red-figured cup, about 410 BC, exhibited at the National Museum of Palermo.
30. Seneca in one of his *Letters on Ethics* refers that Sappho was a courtesan (*Letters to Lucilius*, 88, 37).
31. See Steph. Meleagr. IV. 16.
32. For Sappho's depictions of vases, statues and coins see Reynolds, Margaret. 2001;69.
33. Hallett, Judith P. 1979;448.
34. Reynolds, Margaret. 2001;83-84.
35. See the 17th-century Giulia Solinga (*Il Codice di Giulia Solinga, BMCVe, ms Cicogna 270, cf. 1r-12v, Il processo in Parnaso in difesa di Sara Copio Sullam*), which records a fantastic trial in the Parnassus to defend the poet Sara Copio Sullam against her enemies. Among the judges is Sappho. It seems that the ancient poet became through her art a kind of goddess, taking a seat next to the Muses and Apollo. Such a picture reminds us of the judges of Hades, Minos, Radamanthes and Aiacus: as they have the eternal role of the judgemnet of the souls, so the poets-judges define what will be called poetry over the centuries.
36. Schlesier, Renate. *Sappho In: van Möllendorff, Peter et al. (Eds) Brill's New Pauly Supplements II – Volume 7: Figures of Antiquity and Their Reception in Art, Literature, and Music*; 2015.
37. Reynolds, Margaret. 2001;82-83.
38. On these lists see Kolsky, Stephen. *The Ghosts of Boccaccio: Writings on Famous*

- Women in Renaissance Italy. Turnhout, Brepols; 2005. Franklin, Margaret. Boccaccio's Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society. Routledge. 2017; 122-130.
39. Penrose, Walter. Sappho's shifting fortunes from antiquity to the early Renaissance. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*. 2014;18(4): 415-436.
40. See also Ath. 635 and Plut. de Mus. II36d.
41. Epigr. 15: Miller, Clarence H. (Ed.). *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, The Latin Poems, Volume 3, Part 2*. Yale UP; 1984.
42. Wilson NG. 2017;98.
43. Ibid: 41.
44. Ibid: 44.
45. In the first book (9, 20), Aristotle refers to the aforementioned fragment, though which it is supposed that Sappho answers to Alcaeus, when he writes that he cannot speak to her (Alc. 55). She tells him that he feels so because he does not have any good and beautiful to say (ἔσλων ἴμερον ἢ κάλων). In the second book (23, 11-12), Aristotle reports that the Mytileneans honor Sappho, although she is a woman, and that Sappho said that τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν (it's bad to die).
46. Wilson NG. 2017;1-2.
47. Ibid: 134-136.
48. Ibid: 74.
49. Ibid: 111. The comments of Eustathius on the Iliad also exist in the manuscript of Biblioteca Laurentiana 59.2-3.
50. Ibid: 154.
51. Refini, Eugenio. Longinus and poetic imagination in Late Renaissance Literary Theory In: van Eck, Caroline et al. (Eds). *Translations of the Sublime: The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill. 2012;33-54.
52. Plut. Mor. 243 b, 622 c, 406 a.
53. Wilson NG. 2017;45.
54. See the autograph of Planudes (Marc.gr. 481), which was a part of the collection of Bessarion. However, Lascaris seems to follow another manuscript and not the earlier Palatine Anthology (Wilson NG). 2017;113.
55. Wilson NG. 2017;126.
56. Ibid: 130.
57. *Etymologicum Genuinum*, which was composed by an anonymous lexicographer in Constantinople around the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century based on the texts of previous lexicographers and commentators, survived only in two manuscripts of the 10<sup>th</sup> century: Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1818 (= A) and Codex Laurentianus Sancti Marci 304 (= B; AD 994), which were discovered in the 19th century and to a large extent remain unpublished.
58. See Dickey, Eleanor. *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexicas, and Grammatical Treatises: From Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*. Oxford University Press. 2007;28-31.

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