Constructing Sappho:

Refiguring the Eroticism of Sappho's Poetry in Eighteenth-century English Translations

Harriet Lander

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

April 2019



University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

Acknowledgements

I have spent more time on this project than I have on anything else in my life. It signifies time spent researching and writing, giving talks at conferences, speaking to new people and engaging with my discipline in a way that I never thought possible. It also signifies things which are more intangible – such as many happy hours talking with my friends in pubs and at parties, in their homes and mine, on the phone, through letters, online.

I would not have been able to complete this without the help of my supervisors, Dr Carl Buckland and Dr Oliver Thomas. Their patience, understanding, kindness and support have made this project come to life. Carl, thank you for your humour, insight and reassurance. Your belief in my work (and in me) has been invaluable. Ollie, thank you for your thoughtfulness and optimism. Our conversations have helped me articulate myself and understand my own ideas.

My friends and peers have been the best anyone could ask for. Dr Will Leveritt, Dr Andrew Fox, Hayden Ashby, Dr Alex Henry and Janis Hopkins are all uniquely brilliant. Throughout my years at Nottingham the Classics postgraduate cohort have been astoundingly amazing and amusing, though dark winters and long summers. Thank you.

I would like to thank my parents Lib Lander and Richard Lander, my aunt Kate Elwell and my wonderful sister Alice Lander. I am lucky to call you my family.

To Boot and Grandpa – thank you for allowing me to take so long to do something that I love so much.

Abstract

This thesis explores how Sappho's eroticism was constructed in the eighteenth-century through English translation. The eight books of translation which first appear in the period 1685 – 1760 form the basis of this research, which examines the ways in which the eroticism of Sappho was constructed as heteroromantic by the early translators. Sappho was largely seen as a poet who wrote heteroerotic poetry, even though her received biography and reception discusses her homoerotic attributes. Receptions of Sappho usually take an approach which covers material that is not a translation, and this thesis seeks to redress that balance by examining the first translations of Sappho for an English-reading audience.

The methodology draws on reception studies and translation studies theory, as well as book history. The book itself forms the basis for constructing Sappho through reading, and the way in which the translated text of Sappho is presented can dramatically alter how readers approach the translated text.

There is a small amount of classical material to work with. In each book there is at most ten poems printed, and as little as one poem. Therefore, the choices that each translator makes within their texts, and the ways in which the text is presented make dramatic changes to how Sappho's eroticism was viewed. The books are analysed as individual pieces, but together form a more nuanced view of how Sappho's eroticism was constructed in this period.

This is a book-centred approach to the material, and there are three strands to this study. The first is transmission, the second is paratext and the third is translation choices. Together, in each translation, critical discussion of these

aspects build on each other to illustrate a translator or editor's viewpoint on Sappho's eroticism in her persona and her poetry.

By moving away from ideas of receptions of Sappho which are focussed around her use in high culture such as fine art or poetic receptions, or popular culture or subculture such as fashion or fandoms, and looking at the reception of Sappho through translations opens up the possibility for a different kind of Sapphic reception. This thesis explores how through translation, ideas of Sappho's eroticism were being deliberately constructed by those who were making her work available for an English-reading audience.

Contents

Introduction 1

Constructing Sappho as a woman 2

Constructing Sappho as a lesbian 3

Constructing Sappho's voice through poetry 4

Constructing Sappho's life through ancient biography 6

Constructing Sappho from a series of spaces 7

Attitudes to lesbianism in the eighteenth century 9

Sappho's work and reception in the eighteenth century 12

Theoretical Introduction 14

Classical Reception Theory 14

Translation Theory 27

Conclusion 50

Thesis Structure 52

1. Textual Transmission of Translation 52
2. Paratext of Translation 52
3. Creation of Translation 53

Introductory remarks 54

Expanded Bibliography of Translations 56

Chapter 1.1 Textual Transmission of Translation 58

Genres of Translation 63

Manuscripts 84

Economic implications 85

Sappho editions 87

Conclusion 94

Chapter 1.2 Transmission of Fragment 1.24 97

Fragment 1 97

Bergk's emendation 102

Transmission of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Literary Composition* 108

Printed editions of Sappho 114

Manuscript support for the emendation 120

Translating a corrupt text 121

Conclusion 128

Chapter 2.1 Paratext of Translation 132

Paratexts 132

Publishers and booksellers 135

Titles 145

Intertextual paratexts 158

Conclusion 159

Chapter 2.2 Lives of Sappho 163

Sources 164

No Life 172

Heywood's *Gunaikeion* (1624) 176

Distinct Lives 180

Conclusion 208

Chapter 3.1 Text of Translation 210

Poems 210

Fulvio Orsini 217

Longepierre and French influences.....219

The Sappho-An 222

Smaller fragments in translation 226

Conclusion.....241

Chapter 3.2 Eroticism in Fragments 1 and 31 243

Poems 243

Constructing Sappho's sexuality from translation.....245

Love and longing.....246

Translation choices in fragment 1 and 31 250

Fragment 1 252

Fragment 31.....272

Conclusion.....294

Conclusion 296

Methodological approach 299

Sappho's text through transmission 300

Sappho's paratext in translation 301

Sappho's text 303

Implications within translation studies and Sappho studies 304

Areas for expansion 305

Closing remarks 306

Appendix 1 John Addison (1735) Fragment 1 308

Appendix 2 John Addison (1735) Fragment 31 310

Appendix 3 Translations of Fragment 1 311

Appendix 4 Translations of Fragment 31..... 318

Appendix 5 List of Sources mentioned in the Lives 322

Bibliography 323

Introduction

Sappho composed lyrics in the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC. Her work remains in fragments and covers many themes from gods to mortals, from her friends to her family. Sappho mentions chickpeas, the moon, bees and purple dresses.[1] She describes desire, longing, love, shame, sadness and loss.[2] Her life and work have been the subject of works of art, music and literature. Sappho has been referred to as the tenth muse, like a nightingale and masculine.[3] She was commemorated in coinage, in inscriptions and through the work of writers such as Plato and Ovid in the ancient world.[4] Her influence is seen in contexts as chronogically wide-ranging and thematically diverse as renaissance theatre with Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* (1584), Alma-Tadema's neo-classical painting *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1881), Pound's modernist poem *Papyrus* (1917) and beyond.[5]

This list is comprised of male voices, but for women, Sappho has historically stood as and still is an inspiration due to her poetic ability, her importance in a largely male Classical canon and because she is the reason that lesbian ceased to be only a demonym and started describing women who love women.[6] Sappho's reach can be seen through the diaries of Anne Lister, written in code about her relationships with women, and reviews of authors such as Katherine Philips who were hailed as 'modern Sapphos' in the late 1600s.[7] Victorian lesbian writers such as Michael Field and modernist writers such as H. D. were heavily influenced by Sappho, and her impact is also clear to see in the work of women from the later twentieth century in work such as 1970's

[1] Fragments 143, 34, 146, 92.
[2] Fragments 31, 96, 137, 140.
[3] Testimonia 60, 8; 34.
[4] Coin of Sappho from Mytilene; second century AD; Wroth (1894); the Parian Marble ep. 36; Plato *Phaedrus* 235c; Ovid *Heroides* 15.
[5] Prettejohn (2008): 105; Fang (1952).
[6] Rupp (2000): 368.
[7] Lister (2010): 29th January 1821; Philips (1667): preface.

grassroots lesbian magazine *Sappho*, Erica Jong's *Sappho's Leap*, Jane Montgomery Griffiths' *9 Fragments…* and the many fandoms which have sprung up around large-scale franchises such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*.[8]

Before introducing the structure of the rest of the thesis, this section of the introduction will explore Sappho's special place in Classics and in reception studies. Sappho is an important figure in reception studies for three main reasons. The first is that she was a woman, the second is that she articulated her desire for other women in many forms, and the third is her importance in the field of poetry. Sappho becomes, as Anne Finch describes her, women's 'Ancient Claime', the foundation of a woman's legitimate right to the genre of lyric poetry.[9] One of the reasons that Sappho's work and persona have been used time and again is the sparseness of information about her, and the gaps in her poetic output which have not been transmitted down to modern readers. These gaps, the fragmentariness of her remaining work, enable each reader to fill in the blanks and to articulate themselves, in some way, as Sappho. There are numerous reasons why Sappho is so special, some of which will be described in the following subsections. It is easy to read her first-person descriptions of love and longing and imagine them written by us, for our own loves.

Constructing Sappho as a woman

There is no comparable female poet from this period who has so much work survive. Corinna has 42 fragments remaining, Telesilla has 9, Praxilla has 8 and there are fragments of Erinna's *The Distaff*.[10] Sappho's transmitted work, even through fragments, is the largest amount of material available that is written by a woman from ancient Greece. The importance of this cannot be

[8] Field (1889); H. D. (1916); Forster (1972-1981); Jong (2003); Montgomery Griffths (2010); *Restless BtVS*: 4.22.
[9] Finch (1903): 95.
[10] Campbell (1992): 18-83; 370-381; Page (1941): 486-487.

overstated, as it is Sappho's gender which affects much of the reception work that is based on her life and writing. It affects the way in which her role in society is viewed – as a voice who is articulating her place amongst other women and the relationships that women have with themselves, each other, their gods, their families, their geographies and men. The articulation of this voice from a time which is so far removed from the modern period, and geographically removed from England, occasionally feels like a universal female voice despite the gaps in the text and it is for this reason that women have used Sappho as a source of inspiration.[11]

Constructing Sappho as a lesbian

Sappho's gender is the defining factor in understanding how her close and sometimes erotic relationships functioned. By articulating her feelings about the women whom she knew, her status as a woman who discussed the way she felt about her close personal friends, and possible lovers, she enabled other women to articulate themselves as well. Her gender was often overlooked in androcentric and patriarchal histories, has meant that some of her more forthright pieces of poetry have inspired as much curiosity as they have interest.[12] Sappho's status as a woman is obviously linked to the fact that she wrote poetry about her relationships with women in myriad iterations, sometimes in a seemingly erotic context. Sappho's work has been read as the vocalisation of lesbian sexuality, and these homosexual readings have been subsequently read in different ways as articulations of personal desire or with wider social implications.[13] Attitudes towards lesbianism can be in part articulated by the fact that although there has been legislation against gay male

[11] Examples which have used Sappho as an inspiration for their work are: the lesbian grassroots magazine *Sappho* took her name, founded in 1972; Erica Jong's *Sappho's Leap* (2003) that reimagines life on Lesbos for the young poet; the homoerotic Ukrainian-produced film *Summer Lover* (dir. Robert Crombie), and the multitude of handmade Sappho-inspired clothing, enamel badges and jewellery sold through sites like Etsy.
[12] Page 222.
[13] Fragments 1 and 31 in particular; see Snyder (1997) or Blanshard (2010):155-9.

sex, the same has never applied to women.[14] Historically, lesbians have not been feared by men, but fetishized.[15] These binary distinctions of sexuality would not have applied to Sappho when she lived and have been constructed after her life.[16] It is for this reason that Sappho's 'sexuality' is something that is artificial and is created around the poet to try to understand her biography and poetry. In addition, this is the reason that it is no use to try and describe Sappho as bisexual. Readers cannot know who Sappho was in love with and how she defined her deep attachments to people and things. Instead of pigeonholing the poet based on her fragmentary poetry, we can think about how Sappho articulates her desire and how she discuses her explicit erotic thoughts are more useful ways to think about the poet. Anyone wishing to set Sappho in a rigid box labelled with her sexuality is losing much of the nuance in her poems. Using the constructed idea of Sappho's sexuality describes her as a homosexual poet rather than a homoerotic poet. Thinking of Sappho as a homoerotic poet allows for greater depth in interpretations of her work.[17]

Constructing Sappho's voice through poetry

The way in which Sappho is known to readers is mainly through her text. In the twenty-first century there are 264 fragments of Sappho as printed in Voigt's *Sappho et Alcaeus* as well as the two new fragments published by Obbink.[18] This shows an increase on the 172 fragments printed by Bergk in 1882, before the large-scale discovery of fragments in 1885 by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus.[19] Her lyrics have endured through citation because they

[14] The Buggery Act was passed in 1533, but no such legislation ever applied to women's homosexual practices. Donoghue (1993): 61
[15] Works such as *The Sappho-An* Anon.: (1749a) and *Satan's Harvest Home* Anon.:(1749b) illustrate this; Thorsen (2019): 39; see also pages 9-12.
[16] Williamson (1995): 27-32.
[17] Smith's photobook *Sappho: The Art of Loving Women* (1975) provides an example of engaging with Sappho's eroticism but not describing her as solely lesbian. Smith pairs translations of her poetry with erotic photography, bringing eroticism but not labels of binary sexuality to her work.
[18] Voigt (1971); Obbink (2014) and (2016).
[19] Grenfell and Hunt (1898): v.

were cited by other writers such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, through quotations in their own works. Without these citations, there would be much less text of Sappho's poetry to study. However, to access Sappho's text in printed editions, a reader has to have a level of Greek which is not always available to them. If the reader is looking at manuscripts or papyri, they need a good knowledge of palaeography. The reasons for this lack of knowledge about the language may be related to gender, class, race and schooling.[20] These barriers can make it hard to access Sappho's work. Her lyrics were composed in Aeolic Greek, which increases the difficulty in accessing her texts. Translations are able to open up this work to a much larger audience, and there has been a marked upswing in the number of translations published since 1900, which is due in part to more fragments of Sappho being found at Oxyrhynchus, reinvigorating Sappho studies and providing more material for translation into English.[21]

Translations articulate a text for a reader, enabling them to have access to a different way of understanding Sappho's poetry, which then enables the reader to understand more deeply Sappho's persona when she is used in reception contexts. Translators often read previous translations of a text, and the influence of translation on translation can be traced back to the first translations of Sappho into English which appeared in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century which were written by men. This is the primary material for this thesis. Translators working from translations shows Sappho's eroticism was being constructed through these different publications in this period. Prior to this there had been translations published in other languages, but to understand the genealogy of the translations which are available today, the first books articulating Sappho's lyrics into English have to be examined.

[20] Writers such as Hurst (2006) and Konstan (1994) have addressed gender and class. There is increasing amounts of scholarship on race and classics, including Malamud (2016) and Rankine (2019); whilst Stray (1998) has addressed schooling.
[21] There are 76 new English-language versions that self-define as translations of Sappho since 1900. Some of the principal Oxyrhynchus Sappho papyri are P. Oxy. 1231-2; 17872076; 2288-94; 2357.

Constructing Sappho's life through ancient biography

As well as texts, Sappho is known because other ancient writers wrote about her life, and the testimonia make up a large part of how she is viewed. Whilst there are poems which appear to describe Sappho's own emotions, the testimonia articulate information about Sappho's biography not found in the extant fragments and articulate ancient perceptions of the poet. These testimonia take the form of attestations in other writing such as Diphilus' comic play *Sappho* or Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists.*[22] Understanding that our picture of Sappho is an amalgam of her fragmented poetry and the diverse attestations in other works (or through secondary works, such as Diphilus in Athenaeus) shows that her persona and poetry are already composed of disparate pieces, taken together to create a whole idea of an ancient female poet. When the further complication of translation is added to this, in which the extant fragments are chosen from those which are available at the time and then altered to suit the ideas of the translator, Sappho becomes a figure with an elided history. This is predominantly because she was from an ancient time period who wrote, amongst other things, about her desire for women. For these reasons there are more barriers to her work than to other authors, and the disparate parts of her biography and work requires seperate analysis.

Sappho was often written about as a heterosexual poet, and idea which is explored by Ovid in *Heroides* 15, in the epistle to Phaon which is linked to her fictionalised death. Her tragic suicide is a fiction, but a compelling one as it shows Sappho's determination to describe her longing for someone and has determined much of the attitudes to her historical reception.[23] This depth of feeling is evidenced in her lyrics and is the most enthralling part of her

[22] Testimonium 26: Athenaeus 11. 487a citing Diphilus; testimonium 8: Athenaeus 13. 598bc; 599cd.
[23] Rainbolt (1997): 115.

reception. How the translators choose to describe Sappho's beloved impacts on the way in which her longing is described, as the depth of feeling is attested, but who the feeling is for is a more difficult puzzle to solve.

Constructing Sappho from a series of spaces

From this set of sparse information, there is much that is left unknown about Sappho. Equally, there is something of a gap to fill with her reception too. DeJean looks at the French reception of Sappho in *Fictions of Sappho 1546 – 1937* (1997), but this only covers part of her reception in France. DeJean starts her book with this lack of knowledge about Sappho and the fragmentariness of Sappho's reception, fragments which have been completed by those making reception works about the poet. She first gives five different versions of her name, and then states that 'Sappho is a figment of the modern imagination'.[24] Although not quite as explicit with her statements, Greene in her introduction to *Reading Sappho* questions why Sappho's 'poetics and her persona engendered centuries of fantasy, speculation and mythmaking'.[25] Prins continues with this idea in her work *Victorian Sappho*, writing about a different aspect of Sappho's reception in Victorian England. Prins is at pains to point out that what we have of Sappho is very delicately constructed: 'What we now call "Sappho" is, in many ways, an artefact of Victorian Poetics'.[26] After this, Reynold's two books, *The Sappho Companion* and *The Sappho History* also abound with Sapphos that are not quite there. In the introduction to *The Sappho Companion* she mentions 5 'other' Sapphos including cats, dogs and a parrot.[27] However, despite the ongoing interest in Sappho, there is a gap in the study of her reception. Prins' focus on the Victorians illustrates an area of focus which frequently occurs in the

[24] DeJean (1989) 1. The six names she gives and which are a subheading to the main chapter are Saphon, Sappho, Sapho, Sappho, Sapphô and Psappha.
[25] Greene (1996): 1.
[26] Prins (1999): 3.
[27] Reynolds (2000): 1.

literature. Much that is written about Sappho in English focuses on her nineteenth-century reception and much less attention is paid to the very early English receptions of her work from the sixteenth century onwards. DeJean's work does much good with synthesising information about Sappho's reception in France, but Sappho's early reception in England is widely overlooked, and it is this that I hope to rectify with this thesis.

There is ongoing interest in the work of Sappho and there are attempts to fill the gaps in the knowledge about her. Some of the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus have been expanded, and most recently fragment 5 has now been emended with the discovery of new material. Dirk Obbink's recent article was on a new discovery of a Sappho papyrus which contained the remaining part of fragment 5, known as the 'Brothers Poem'.[28] The interest around this fragment shows the media attention paid to this publication of a new Sappho poem and indicates an ongoing desire to know Sappho through her lyrics, understand more about her life, and to have a far more solid, complete version of who she was and when she lived. Whilst this poem supplies more information for the understanding of Sappho's persona, the core idea of not-knowing is central to the interest in Sappho.

The poems and testimonia form the basis for understanding Sappho in English. Through examination, the work available to readers in a certain time-period a set of viewpoints about Sappho can be discovered, which reflects how she is perceived in the reception of the period. Translations provide one of the building blocks in creating a public persona and poetry, and access to a version of Sappho's text which have helped the reading public create a Sappho for themselves. It is in this context that Sappho's sexuality and eroticism will be

[28] Obbink (2014).

constructed by readers. Sappho's gender plays an important part in understanding her eroticism through her poetry and is something that is integral to this study. A translator is the gatekeeper to the knowledge they have about Sappho, and they are able to synthesise the information that they have, and form Sappho for their reading public.[29] However, translators are not Sappho and their own set of ideas, prejudices and life skills will interact with their text to create a new Sappho with each new translation.

Attitudes to lesbianism in the eighteenth century

There is no cohesive idea of what lesbianism meant in the eighteenth century, and answering the 'lesbian question' often invites more curiosity about the historian than it does about the period, and those women who loved women.[30] Part of the problem is that there is little concrete information, either in the form of diaries or other writing made by women, non-erotic writing produced by men, or legislation against lesbians in the period.[31] There are later works, most notably Anne Lister's diaries which were written between 1791 and 1840; however this material should be used with caution, as Lister was a wealthy, independent woman and her experience should not be compared to that of other women who were not in her position.[32] Lister's diaries shed some light on attitudes to lesbians held by a woman who had sexual relationships with other women, but do not help with understanding lesbianism or female homoeroticism among the general populace, many of whom would not have had as much money or social standing as Lister. There are other examples of women living with women, either as female husbands or often under the banner of 'romantic friendships', such as the Ladies of Llangollen, Sarah Ponsonby and Eleanor

[29] Benjamin (1968); Venuti (2008); Martindale (2008).
[30] Peakman (2011a): 1.
[31] Crompton (1981): 22.
[32] Liddington (1998).

Butler, who lived together for many years in Wales.[33] The cultural phenomenon of same-sex female relationships in various guises was appropriated in reception contexts at this time, and dates back to negative Roman sterotyping. Women, and other sexual partners for men, were seen as feminine in contrast to other male citizens and lesbians were looked upon with disdain.[34] This Roman influence is seen in examples such as *The Sappho-An* which illustrates that readers were expected to be familiar with female homosexual practice and ideas.[35]

In the literature which we do have from the period, mainly written by men and large amounts of it coming from pamphlets, lesbianism was viewed as a type of non-normative sexuality, often as a response to the idea of women who liked sex too much.[36] This can be seen in the number of erotic pamphlets which mention female homoerotics or in the euphemistic way in which lesbian sex was discussed.[37] *Satan's Harvest Home* (1749b) is an excellent example of this. An erotic pamphlet produced anonymously in London, its full title shows the place of lesbian sex within the gamut of other erotic but taboo sexual activities: *Satan's Harvest Home: or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy and the Game at Flatts (Illustrated by an Authentick and Entertaining story) And other Satanic Works, daily propagated in this good Protestant Kingdom.* The 'Game at Flatts' is a euphemism for lesbian sex, 'Flatts' referring to playing cards or tokens used in games and describing female genitalia as opposed to the male's protruding penis.[38]

[33] Mavor (2001).
[34] Williams (2010): 27; Williams (2015): 294 and Richlin (1992): 132.
[35] Page 222.
[36] Norton (2011): 77.
[37] Anonymous (1722) *Monsieur Thing's Origin: or Seignor D---o's Adventures in Britain*; Anonymous (1725) *A Supplement to the Onania, or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution*; Anonymous (1749a) *The Sappho-An. An Heroic Poem of Three Cantos, in the Ovidian Style, Describing the Pleasures which the Fair Sex Enjoy with Each Other*. There are many more of these interesting and amusing pamphlets.
[38] Anonymous, *Satan's Harvest Home* (1749b).

Lesbianism and sex between women was often looked upon as masculine. There are many accounts of lesbian sex only being able to occur either between women who have enlarged clitorises and who penetrate their partner with it, or having prolapsed vaginas with which to have intercourse.[39] This outlook is deeply phallocentric and was expressed exclusively by men in the eighteenth century. There are texts about women and their preferred sexual practices which are written by women, but these texts are not as popular as those written by men.[40] Therefore, the dearth of women's voices is keenly felt. This imbalance is being addressed by writers such as Donoghue are redressing this balance in the canon.[41]

With the clitoris or the prolapsed vagina used as a pseudo-penis, the view of lesbian sex was still intrinsically heterosexual in this period. In this way, it is the male gaze that created these writings about women, propagating an image of transgressive and unusual sexuality when discussing sex between women. It is clear that the writing on this topic from the eighteenth century is distinct from lived experiences of female homosexual relationships, and it renders lesbians and female homoeroticism an object of titillation or entranced disgust for observation, rather than an activity which was practiced within society by different women for various reasons. Using women's sexuality in this way reduces their lived experiences down to an invective trope rather than a nuanced involvement with another person.[42] This is the period in which Sappho's lyrics were first being translated, and therefore some of the hints of female homosexuality in Sappho's verse ar presented under the umbrella of eroticism rather than of examining actual relationships between women.

[39] Lanser (2003): 24.
[40] Texts such as Steele's *Memoirs of Sophia Baddeley* (1787) are nowhere near as well known as Cleland's *Fanny Hill* (1748), for example.
[41] Donoghue (1993): 11.
[42] Writers such as Butler (1988) and Bennett (1989) have been discussing these ideas of lived experience in relation to the presentation of women.

Sappho's work and reception in the eighteenth century

Reception of Sappho has been ongoing, from the points where she is mentioned in the ancient world through to the modern period. However, her work had not been available in English for that length of time. The point at which Sappho started to be translated in England was in the late seventeenth century, a process which produced increasing numbers of translations with time. This formative period in Sappho studies has not been explored to date, and the translations which appeared have not been analysed to understand how Sappho and her most potent aspect, her desire, were constructed at this time for the English-reading public. Whilst this thesis deals with material mainly from the early eighteenth century, the inclusion of earlier translations from 1685 illustrated the beginnings of translating Sappho in the long eighteenth century. There is very little material about Sappho's reception in this period. Whilst reception and translation often influence each other, looking at a translated text supplies a cornerstone from which both aspects can be addressed when constructing the reception of a poet such as Sappho. Sappho's biography was known to readers through ancient biographies before her work was translated into English, but as this is the first time that her poetry is articulated into this language, it marks a formative moment in Sappho's reception and one which will be illuminated by examining how she was presented in this period. This thesis will examine the ways in which Sappho was translated into English in the eighteenth century, a point at which there has to date been almost no specific work on these texts and the way in which they were constructing the poet for an English-reading audience has not been explored.

Translations of Sappho's work into English in the eighteenth century form the basis for all subsequent translations in English. By understanding how the books and magazines which contain translation are functioning, it will not only illuminate an eighteenth-century Sappho, but provide a starting point from

which later translations can be effectively compared to their antecedents. There are eight early books which contain translations of Sappho, spanning from 1685 – 1760. The period begins in 1685, as this is the first time that I have found a text which purports to be a direct translation of a poem by Sappho, taken out of the context that it had been transmitted in, that is to say: Longinus' *On the Sublime*.[43] It is found in Nahum Tate's *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions* and is a translation of fragment 31 by William Bowles. The last translation covered in this thesis is by Francis Fawkes who printed his book under the name of 'A Gentleman of Cambridge' in 1760. The book is titled *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus*. The time-period covered by this thesis ends with Fawkes' book because his work becomes the most popular version of Sappho at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, reproduced in Anderson's *Poets* (1792–4) and in Chalmers' *English Poets* (1810). Understanding where the period ends helps to define who Sappho was when Fawkes published his book, and who she was imagined as through Fawkes' enduring translation. The remaining books and their titles and publisher information are included as a separate bibliography.[44]

[43] Although understood now as being by pseudo-Longinus, this text will be referred to as Longinus throughout.
[44] Pages 56-57.

Theoretical Introduction

Classical Reception Theory

Reception studies is still a place within Classics where a rich seam of new ways of thinking about an ancient culture can be mined. The variety of work which has been done, particularly in the last ten years, has opened up interdisciplinary ways of thinking about the subject though art, performance, music, history and texts.[45] To understand how the classical world is articulated through reception studies means embarking on a thorough investigation not only into the ancient texts which form the basis of Sappho's reception, but also into the lens through which the texts are viewed and the ways in which the texts are transmitted. This impacts on how the new reception text is created and read by an audience, and as will be shown later, translations are part of this reception text. If the ways in which Classics has been presented are analysed and understood, the original texts from which they are made can also be examined with a clearer, more discerning eye. The ways in which reception studies and translation studies function can be articulated through eighteenth-century translations as a case study.

So much importance is placed on the original work, that looking at the ways in which it has been used could be called 'productively contentious'.[46] Taking classics out of the classroom or lecture theatre and into the world of bookshops, theatres, art galleries and even street corners is something that has lost its 'shock of the new', but still, as a fairly new discipline, needs to be examined fully, carefully and with attention to detail in the way that

[45] Bakogianni (2013); Butler (2016); van Zyl Smit (2016); Blanshard and Shahabudin (2013) to name a few. There has been more of a focus on performing Greece and Rome in film, TV and on stage such as Nisbet (2006) but there is also reception in the way Classics is thought about such as Butler's *Deep Classics* (2016). This variety of material will be referred to as a 'reception text', as the texts are most pertinent to this discussion.
[46] Hardwick (2009): 1.

papyrologists approach their work, or historians when finding a new, fragmented source, which may shed light onto an ongoing debate.

Creating a reception text

Two-way process

Reception studies involves a two-way process, one which asks the reception piece to work as hard as the reader.[47] In this process, the person who has created the reception piece is both a reader of a text, and an author of a new one – they stand at this point and can act as an intermediary between source text and final reading. The text within reception studies is not a static piece, but one which is involved in a chain of receptions.[48] The reader who interprets the piece and then writes about it is not only engaging with the poem, book, or other work that has been made with Classics in mind, but they are also viewing kaleidoscopically the various other interpretations of the work. If a modern author, such as Martín-Rodríguez himself, is writing about the 2004 film *Troy*, directed by Petersen, then they are engaging not only with the film and all the intricacate processes that its production entails such as script, direction, performances, costume, lighting, set and more; they are also likely to have in mind the Greek of Homer, translations of Homer from Pope's *Iliad* to Christopher Logue's *War Music*, as well as the history of the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, possibly the Homeric hymns and a host of other information about film theory and the modern Classical war epic that *Troy* fits into the genre of.[49] In this way, how does *Troy* articulate ideas of heroism, for example, within the *Iliad* and how does the *Iliad* articulate these ideas within *Troy*? Rather than just a simple comparison of two texts, however, the intermediate interpretations such as *War Music* will have an effect on this comparison between the two pieces.

[47] Martindale (2008): 298.
[48] Jauss (1982): 20.
[49] Martín-Rodríguez (2015): 204.

This idea of the source text, the reception text and the reader is explored in nearly all writing about reception. When writing about education and how Classics has been received, Stray says that it is an intrinsic aspect of teaching or tradition that it 'can hardly not be active'; in discussing how the classics came to be, Gillespie notes the importance of European influences on translation in England, which further supports the idea of the kaleidoscopic viewpoint which is at the heart of reception studies, as it allows for even more intertexts to exist outside of a text, in a transnational context.[50] The reader-orientated understanding of Classics, and how reception studies is making new readings of ancient texts, comes from reader-response theory, which has been falling in and out of favour in the period since Barthes' declaration of the 'death of the author'.[51]

Influences on a reception text

Intertexts and interpretations

Classical reception is a two-way system of reading and rereading.[52] There are fundamental intertexts when examining reception texts, but there are also large swathes of material that are not directly involved with the creation of a reception text. These more nebulous influences on the reception text can also act as intertexts between the original, source text, and the reception text. In the example of *Troy* above, the *Iliad* is a fundamental reception text, but the cast and crew's perception of the ancient world, which is far more difficult to pin down, will also have informed the way in which the film was made.[53] Reception studies is constantly asking questions about the idea that made something, how it was made, and what was made. These ideas inform each other and the system of re-readings takes an original text, applies one reading to it which

[50] Stray (2008): 5; Gillespie (2011): 6.
[51] Barthes (1977).
[52] Martindale (2006): 3.
[53] Latacz (2006): 40.

makes the reception work, and then this is interpreted by the reader.[54] This happens multiple times with many different intertexts and interpretations. Here, the kaleidoscopic understanding of text, intertext and interpretations is formed into what Eco calls a 'univocal meaning', or perhaps in this case, a monoscopic output, the work of reception itself.[55] Walcott's *Omeros,* which takes some ideas from the *Odyssey* and weaves them into Walcott's own narrative about St. Lucia, is an example of a multiplicity of influences and intertexts on one piece of writing, which then coalesce into a single voice, articulated by Walcott.[56]

There is a single output of reception work, a point at which intertexts and interpretations fuse together. This trap of someone who is reading and understanding the work of reception is once again highlighted by Eco: when a reception text is made through many diverse intertexts which appear to be encoded within it, it is easy to ascribe those meanings to the reception text, where 'a message containing little information, read in the light of an arbitrary code, can often appear much richer than it was meant to be'.[57] The supposed intertexts and interpretations are useful and interesting for a reader, finding out the variety of messages which seem to be within a reception text, but what is actually encoded into the reception text is important – what messages there are there, what these messages say and how the reception work is synthesising this information and creating its monoscopic output. In the case of translations of Sappho, for example, a reader may have an idea of Sappho in their minds already, but this is unlikely to be the exact same Sappho that is being constructed through the translation. It is in this way that these intertexts that the reader can identify sometimes act as red herrings for understanding what is going on in a reception text, as this is not what was encoded in the text by the

[54] Hardwick (2003): 107-8.
[55] Eco (1989): 195.
[56] Burkitt (2007): 169.
[57] Eco (1989): 199.

author. What the reader thinks a reception text 'should' say and what it does say are two very different things.

This method of understanding the difficult and delicate transmission of a text through reception is something that also happens with translation studies and informs the way in which translation *is* reception. We can see this with Walcott and other writers like Hughes, whose translation of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* for example was published posthumously after the author's death. Hughes' *Oresteia* weaves in a number of ideas from Hughes himself, and his long career. Some of the ideas about transformation, loss and liminality explored in Hughes' poetry are in his *Oresteia*, and these influences on his work were great but they come together to produce one version which is his own interpretive reading of Aeschylus.[58] Hughes is imposing his own kaleidoscope of intertexts and influences on his reader when he shapes his *Oresteia* for them.

Readers of a reception text

Reader response

Classical reception is a discipline that requires a strong adherence to the view that places the reader as the point of meaning-making within a text. The reader decodes the work of reception to see through to the original classical text and, as mentioned above, the intervening intertexts which have informed the way that the reception text is made. However, this also involves the importance and primacy of the author or the original source text to whom the reader is always indebted, as without them there would be no work of reception. Blanchot's theory of reading is an interesting starting point for understanding how the reader creates a text, that the reader defines the way in which the text works. 'The singular property of reading demonstrates the singular sense of the

[58] Hughes (1999).

verb "to make" in the expressions "it makes the work become a work"'. He goes on, '[reading] is freedom: not the freedom that produces being or grasps it, but freedom that welcomes, consents, says yes, can say only yes, and, in the space opened by this yes, lets the work's overwhelming decidedness affirm itself, lets be its affirmation that it is – and nothing more.'[59]

The momentary making of a text through an individual reading invites the idea that there are as many texts as there are readings of a text. This idea can be applied equally to a source text as it can to a reception text. This idea, of a multiplicity of readings, is more simple when thought about in relation to the source text to create various reception readings of it but it becomes more problematic to understand what the reception text is communicating if there are so many readings which are possible. With a formal type of reception text there is the number of readings which happen with the source text, which then is added to the number of readings which include the intertexts and interpretations on the reception text, settling finally on the sheer amount of possible readings of a reception text. This is alluding to something that Martindale writes, that there is no 'permanently "correct" reading of a text' for an individual and that hunting for permanence is a very difficult thing as readings are affected so much by, for example, the time and space in which a text is approached, even if by the same reader.[60] In addition to this idea of a mutable and changing text which is created by a reader, de Certeau goes further and says that not only are new texts made with each rereading, but that this works backwards too, like Martindale's two-way dialogic process of reception, that every reading changes the thing which is being read as well.[61]

[59] Blanchot (1982): 194. The singular property of reading as described by Blanchot states that 'that reading simply "makes" the book, the work, become a work beyond the man who produced it'.
[60] Martindale (2008): 301.
[61] De Certeau (1984): 155.

By bringing together the intention of the author and their clear signposting within the text of their influences, and the gathering together of these clues, the reader makes their own version of the text, a clearer sense of what is going on is created. The reader then ascribes their own attitudes and personal intertexts to the reading of a work which creates a variation on the text which is being read. The author is important, but as a guiding force for the reader, who is able to fashion the text with their own viewpoint. This is again complicated when thinking about reception studies and translation theory, as there is another layer of writing and reading, where the reception text is written based on previous sources for another reader. De Certeau describes this in *The Practice of Everyday Life* when discussing the role of the reader who is creating a reception text from an ancient source. The source is a sign of another ancient culture that is read out of context, like the 'funerary statues' he references, '[the reader's place] is not *here* or *there*, one or the other, but neither the one nor the other, simultaneously inside and outside, dissolving both by mixing them together, associating texts like funerary statues that he awakens and hosts but never owns'.[62]

Meaning making by readers

There is a strong correlation between the reception of ancient texts in the English language and the translations which are made of ancient texts. The translation of ancient texts then also fosters works of reception which whilst based on an 'ancient text' are still using a translation as an intermediary, yet another reading which creates a text to add into the chain of reception. Translations can become the source text, even though they themselves are not the source text as might be imagined by the reader, that it is foreign, ancient

[62] De Certeau (1984): 159.

and unusual.[63] This places an unknown at the centre of the reception work. As the creation of the reader is fluid and changeable, there is a multiplicity of readings at the heart of reception, created by the writers of the reception text, who then create a new text for their readers. Martindale wrote about this, that '"reception" was adopted precisely to underline the dynamic and dialogic character of reading', that the dynamism is central to understanding how reception studies works and therefore reception texts are not static as they are built on the fluctuating kaleidoscope of reading.[64]

The most succinct way of concluding this material on the shifting nature of reception texts, and various readings that come from them, is articulated by Most, who wrote: 'becoming aware of hidden links between texts and contexts does not guarantee that we shall be able to escape from their traps, but it does teach sympathy for other readers, past and present, and caution for ourselves.'[65] The readings that are created from each text are single, monoscopic readings which fluctuate and change. Each reading of the text is different, but that also does not deny the importance of each individual reading and what can be gained from examining these shifting texts.

Sappho as vehicle for reception

When thinking about a text in the abstract, numerous ideas about the way in which a text can be read, its own signposting and the viewpoints which the reader brings to the text are non-concrete and theoretical. When this is applied to an example, in this case to Sappho, the ways in which the source text, the reader's response to this, the reception text and then the reader's response to the reception text interact with each other have a concrete basis on

[63] Pollard's *Ovid's Heroines* (2013) reworks the *Heroides* and she writes in her introduction about pulling together different translations to form her own new translation (2013): 10.
[64] Martindale (2008): 300.
[65] Most (1996): 32.

which to base these connections. However, due to the multiplicity of influences, this can also make these interactions difficult and problematic to unpick in various ways. 'Productively contentious' is a useful phrase to keep in mind when thinking about the reception of Sappho as she is a contentious poet from the outset, without the reception of her work clouding an already difficult poet and set of fragments.[66] Sappho, as a woman, a supposed lesbian, an outsider living on an island off the coast of Asia Minor, a political exile and possibly many other things besides, is a poet ripe for exploration, adaptation and reception. Due to this particular interest in her, she is also able to be used in a wide variety of reception contexts in which her name, poetry and persona take on a number of different and disparate guises. Her survival from antiquity is based on luck, and the various aspects to Sappho's character were also lucky to have survived in this way.[67] As a persona from ancient Greece, like so many other women from the ancient world, she could have been forgotten or lost along the way.

As a fragmentary poet Sappho is very much understood as a poet who already has an important lack at the centre of her corpus. This lack then enables the space for different readings to be made with her work, and also to create new receptions of her work. What Sallis calls the 'sediment of translation operations' goes some way to showing what the space at the centre of translation has around it. These are walls made of individual readings which build up as 'sediment'. These sedimentary walls are present within the translation but do not make up the entirety of the translation, leaving the space at the centre. This build-up of Sallis' 'sediments' in turn creates different ways in which to view Sappho and her work. These intertexts are present in subsequent readings of Sappho's work.[68] This is supported by scholarship about Sappho.

[66] Hardwick (2009): 1.
[67] Eco (2006): 8.
[68] Sallis (2008): 5.

Holt Parker famously asserted in 'Sappho Schoolmistress' that 'everything we know about [Sappho] is wrong', and it is the gaps inherent in readings of her work which perpetuate this idea.[69]

There is another aspect to Sappho which also has an effect on her reception. There are some parts of her perceived biography that are basic statements about her. These assumptions are central to her character and are fairly static. Two such assumptions are that she came from Lesbos and wrote poetry. Another assumption is that she was involved either romantically or sexually, with other women. This last assumption is the one which is present in most work about Sappho and where it is not present, it is conspicuous in its absence. The silencing of Sappho's homosexuality is something that is the 'lack at the centre' of her received persona, which mirrors the lack produced by her text through fragmentation. This set of assumptions is brought to the text by the reader through their understanding of the source material and the intertexts. What the translator then has to do is to either acknowledge these preconceptions and work with them, or doggedly create a different idea of the character in the mind of the reader; a decision that is far more difficult to achieve and which stands out as a piece of invention, whereas the previous texts which created the character are less obviously constructed and therefore could be read as 'true'.

There are numerous ways in which the reception of Sappho has been formed in the ancient world and modern era and there are within these cornerstones of the reception of Sappho that have kept her as a living poet in the minds of those who have used her story. Catullus and Ovid are the two most important examples from the ancient world – Catullus 51 is an adaptation of

[69] Parker (1993): 309.

Sappho fragment 31 and Ovid's *Heroides* 15 is a letter written by the character Sappho to Phaon, about the depth of her feeling for him. These cornerstones of the reception of Sappho's work are already ancient and share the inherent desire to try to read Sappho and create something new from her work, going back centuries.

There was increased interest in re-reading and re-presenting these ideas in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Examples of this interest include John Lyly's re-reading of *Heroides* 15, *Sappho and Phao,* which was written as a play and the misattributed Achilles Tatius 2.1 which appears in Thomas Walterton's *The Optick Glasse of Humour* (1607). In addition to this Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionary or Interpreter of Hard English Words* (1620) describes Sappho where she appears under the entry of 'Maides that died for loue': 'for the loue of a Boy, drowned her selfe'; and in Ludowick Lloyd's *The Choyce of Jewels* (1607), 'Sappho red poetry in Lesbos… taught schollers with much commendations'.[70]

Here the link between Sappho and the kaleidoscopic readings is also seen, since the number and breadth of intertexts between the eighteenth-century translations and the original Greek text will alter the readings of the translations. Eco writes that 'every work of art … is open to a variety of readings – not only because it inevitably lends itself to the whims of any subjectivity in search of a mirror for its moods, but also because it wants to be an inexhaustible source of experiences which, focusing on it from different points of view, keep bringing new aspects out of it'.[71] This moves Eco away from a person-centered point of meaning to the idea of a text that has intentionality itself and the kinds of response it would want to create. The ambiguity in

[70] Lloyd (1607): 23.
[71] Eco (1989): 24.

Sappho's text and the cultural place that Sappho holds in the imagination means that this is easily exploited by readers creating their own new understanding of Sappho's work.

One principal way in which Sappho is worked into different ideas is because of the sparse details surrounding her sexuality, which is often what readers want to know about and therefore they are able to create a new Sappho out of this lack of input from her text. There is also very little historical evidence, so with a lack of readings available from historic or literary sources the space created by the reader takes precedence and writers of the reception works are able to create Sappho's sexuality as they wish. As there is such little evidence, this acts as a much more monoscopic telling of Sappho's desire and longing because it is more easily created for the first time by the *mores* of the writers.

Sappho as a character has a variety of parts to her invention which dovetail with aspects of her reception and especially the creation of her character and work through translation. The main parts of her persona which are of particular interest are her family history, her role in society and her community, her friendships and predominantly her sexuality. The lack of knowledge about these parts is central to this understanding, and there is scope for translators of her work to interact with different aspects of her character and text which enable a multiplicity of readings in the eighteenth century.

Making meaning through paratext

When studying the reception of the ancient world, where and how the meaning is made is part of the fundamental understanding of a reception text.[72] If there are a multiplicity of readings, it is important to understand how these

[72] This is discussed further in chapter 2.1.

are combined to create any one of the myriad interpretations available to a reader. In addition to the signposts that sit within the text that either reference another work directly, quote it verbatim, or are so clearly influenced by another work even if this influence is uncited, there is also the idea of the physical book which affects a reader's response to a text. Genette's *Paratexts* is the seminal work on this kind of coding within a book. At the beginning of *Paratexts*, Genette makes the importance of the paratext clear. 'The author's name, title, a preface, illustrations [are not always] regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to present it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and consumption in the form of a book'.[73] Watson furthers this idea, that a paratext can provide conceptual boundaries for a book to function within.[74] This way of producing meaning within a text provides a template for thinking about reception studies as well. In the same way that the paratext affects the reception and consumption of a text in the form of a book, reception and translation ensure the consumption of a source text in the form of a book of translation for new readers. Another way in which the paratext acts as a useful tool for thinking about reception studies is that a reader may not always approach the physical text in the same way: 'just as the presence of paratextual elements is not uniformly obligatory, so too, the public and the reader are not unvaryingly and uniformly obligated: no one is required to read a preface'.[75]

A reader is able to interpret a text through the means given, but those means are not always in the way in which the reader will approach it and elements of a text that may seem obvious to one reader, will be lost to another.

[73] Genette (1997a): 1.
[74] Watson (2013): 11.
[75] Genette (1997a): 4.

It is worth noting that a text may not always be read in a linear fashion, or in one sitting. However, due to the infinite multiplicity of options when presented with a non-linear reading of a book, such as B. S. Johnson's *The Unfortunates* (1969) which remains unbound, there must be some path forged through the book which the reader can follow. By assuming in this thesis that a reader approaches a text at the beginning and continues to read until the end, the types of narratives that are created physically by the authors can be more easily understood.

The different aspects of reception theory, understanding the functionality of a reception text and how that text is read and interpreted, are invaluable for understanding the theories of translation in this thesis. A translation does not operate in a vacuum and understanding the amount of intertexts and influences which are in a reception text enables these aspects to be drawn out within a translation.

Translation Theory

Translation theory is a type of reception theory, as it involves a later culture having a dialogue with the past and creating something new. The ideas that are encoded within translations are often hard to understand and unpick, and, as with reception studies, it 'teach[es] sympathy for other readers, past and present, and caution for ourselves'.[76] Someone involved in translation studies is another reader of the translation, taking what they want from these complex texts to make judgements about how the translations function and what they should be attempting to do.

[76] Most (1996): 32. Examples of this include Montgomery Griffiths (2010); Pound (1917) 'Papyrus'; Tennyson (1968) 'Eleänore'; Louÿs (1894).

Definitions

What a translation is

'Translation' can act as an umbrella term for a number of different literary ideas, including adaptations of the text, imitations, paraphrases or parody.[77] When thinking about the translation of texts from the ancient world, this is an exceptionally broad range of material and would include texts such as Carson's *Autobiography of Red* (1998) which re-imagines Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* in a new, South American context, with two queer men in the roles of Geryon and Herakles. Whilst this use of reception and reimagining within translations is part of the reason why the study of Classics can remain so vibrant for new audiences, in this context translation will be narrowed through a much stricter set of parameters.

Translation in this context is source language material being remade in a specific way through the target language. With the work of Sappho in translation this means that there needs to be the direct idea that Sappho's Greek is being translated into English. There are some texts which explicitly state that they are translating another author, such as Boileau, and this type of translation therefore is not treated here as a 'translation' of Sappho, but a translation of another author from another, third language. The rigidity with which translations are defined here is helpful in ascertaining which works are specifically engaging with the idea of translating Sappho, in their own way, for an audience who had not encountered her poetry in a language other than Ancient Greek or English. Whilst some translators may hide their influence or inspiration, if these aspects are not explicitly stated by the editor or translator that it is a translation of a translation, it will be assumed by the readers that it is an original translation from the Greek into English.

[77] Gillespie (1992): 53.

Each translation I am analysing in this thesis either explicitly writes that they are from a Greek source or they use the word translation in the title of the books or introducing the translation, as with John Addison's introduction in the *Spectator*. Tate's translation claims that it is 'Sapho's Ode out of Longinus' and Sewell writes that his edited collection is 'done from the Greek, by several hands'. All other six translations use the word 'translation' in their titles.

The criteria for identifying translations of Sappho into English in this period is clear – they have to self-identify as translations or explicitly demonstrate that their texts are coming from a Greek original rather than a European intermediary. The translations are the reception of the Greek text, they are the intermediary between English-language reader and Greek-language source. If translation is a reception, then it sits as the first interpretant of the Greek-language text. The translations can inform reception, as they do in *Autobiography of Red*, where Carson's translation of Stesichorus forms the basis for her adaptation of the text, as indicated through the paratext of *Autobiography of Red*, specifically with 'Red Meat: Fragments of Stesichorus'.[78] These translations are not defined as either 'good' or 'bad'. The value judgements that are placed on the translations vary and whilst some aspects of a translation can be more successful than others, or ideas can be articulated in a certain way, this thesis is not about a ranking of eighteenth-century translations. Rather how the translations function, what they say, and how they figure Sappho's eroticism in different ways to each other are the focus.

Venuti has argued that a translation can be 'no more than a copy of a copy, derivative, simulacral, false, an image without resemblance', and whilst these insults could be used against translation, a translation aims to make a

[78] Carson (1999): 9-16.

resemblance to an original work, it aims to act as an intermediary between source text and target language text.[79] Translation enters into dialogue with the past and illuminates it for new readers. Whilst there could be an element of deception within this, because a reader assumes that the translator is accurately illuminating the past work when in fact the translator is spotlighting different aspects of the past to emphasise them, the translator still enters into an agreement with the reader when they say explicitly that their work is a translation. Even if deception occurs within the translation itself, the titles and descriptions by the editors and authors is not the place where intentional mislabelling are happening by the translators themselves.

Why translate?

To move on from this pact between reader and translator, there is the question then of truth, trust and why someone would make a translation, if this illumination and dialogue with the past is needed to call something a translation. Eliot writes about poetry that 'we go on, to the end of our lives, hoping to say something that we have never said before, that no one else has ever said before, something which is worth saying, something which is even *true*'.[80] This idea, of saying something that no one has ever said before and saying something that is true, is at odds with some ideas in translation which is making a new text from an old one. How can a translator possibly be saying something new in their work if they are translating another work?

This idea of creating something new, and the independence that the translator has, enable them to fashion their own retelling of a text in their own way. A translation is not a work of poetry in and of itself - instead it takes a source text and by differentiating itself as different from that source text, the

[79] Venuti (1992): 3.
[80] Eliot (1953): 3.

strength of the individual who makes the translation is felt much more keenly. This relationship between source-language poet and translator can at times be difficult to articulate. Both the author and the translator have important functions in the communication of the message of the source text. Yet, if the translation is to be close to the original, then there can be nothing closer than reading the text in the source language. If it is to adhere to the culture and understanding of the target language, then why not write a different kind of text such as an adaptation, rather than a translation? The twelve points of translation, as laid out by Savory in 1957, show this trouble seamlessly. Each pair of phrases could equally apply to a translation, but it is the choices of the translators that define how the translation is going to function.[81]

- A translation should render the words of the original;
  A translation should render the ideas of the original.
- A translation should read like an original piece of text;
  A translation should read like a translation.
- A translation should reflect the style of the translator;
  A translation should be written in the style of the original.
- A translation should read like a contemporary work of the translator;
  A translation should read like a contemporary work to the original.
- A translation must never have deletions or additions;
  A translation may have additions and deletions.

Each of these pairs is highlighting a different aspect of translation, and how each idea is equally as valid as the opposite in its pair. Translation is special as these binary ideas are often brought together in fluctuating ways, and the choices of the translator situate their translation in between these statements. In writing a

[81] Savory (1957): 49.

translation, a translator creates a new thing, refiguring it for their reader to show them the possibilities of the intricacies of the original, whether or not these are knowingly closed down by the translator. A 'true' original cannot be obtained, and it is not worth discussing works in translation as good or bad, placing value judgment on each. Instead, it is worth more to ascertain what the translation does and how it functions – what choices the translator is making, and what effect these have on the text, and for the reader.

Translators

The role of the translator

Translators are often classed as gatekeepers, brokers, ferrymen.[82] Whilst translators are able to bring one text from a source language into the language of the reader, the target language, they also perform an act of creation in their translation which enables them to articulate their own readings through their interpretation of the text. One of the debates at the centre of translation theory is of the invisibility of the translator. Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* posits this idea, and in his 2008 essay he writes about the usurpation of the source text by the translated text, that the translated text 'comes to be indistinguishable from it and in fact replaces it'.[83] This idea of invisibility in translation can be seen to accommodate the idea of the death of the author, and Foucault's idea that 'it is obviously insufficient to repeat empty slogans: the author has disappeared; God and man died a common death. Rather, we should re-examine the empty space left by the author's disappearance'.[84] These ideas articulate how the invisibility of the translator works in two ways. The first is Venuti's, where the translation *becomes* the source text, erasing the sense of agency within the translator and the translation in equal measure. The second is

[82] Walton (2006): 12.
[83] Venuti (1995): 41; Venuti (2008): 35.
[84] Foucault (1977): 121.

Foucault's questioning of this space that has arisen: what is going on when the translator-as-author has disappeared and how can an invisible translator fit into this space? Foucault also describes how this space could be articulated, that 'where a work had the duty of creating immortality, it now attains the right to kill, to become the murderer of its author'.[85] This is what a translator could be aiming to do, to make themselves invisible.

However, this attitude does not tally with the idea that an author is aiming to create a new text, that writers are creating for a 'future reader', or that something new about an ancient text is attempting to be illuminated. It is more probable that a translation is aiming to be gentle with the rendering of a source text – or else it becomes an adaptation – but also that there is something new which is said with each fresh translation. A translation is not a copy of the original, a translation does not replace the original, and a translation is not "better" or "worse" than the original. A translation is a separate text from the source text, and it functions in an entirely different way from the source text.

The ancient author is particularly susceptible to the changes that can happen to their work in translation, as there is so much time between the original work and the translated one. In the case of Sappho, the fragmentary nature of her surviving work makes it especially prone to re-readings from translators. In the eighteenth century there was a sense that the tradition of translating Sappho had just begun, with fewer English influences on their translations, so the translators were able to act as the first English language readers and authors, interpreters, of her work. This difficulty especially means that there is an attempt by the translators to reinvigorate Sappho's text, and this makes their invisibility all the less plausible to a reader. As these writers are

[85] Foucault (1977): 117.

making entirely new texts for their readers who had not had the chance to read Sappho in English before, their name which shows their status as a translation distinguishes them as separate from Sappho and bringing her to a new reading audience.[86]

Readers

One question that arises from this is: 'who is the final reader of the translation'? Both Eco and Benjamin have ideas that decipher how the translation works in relation to a reader. With characteristic pithiness, Eco says of his own writing, and the writing of others, that there is, 'another view common to bad writers – namely, that one writes only for oneself. Do not trust those who say so: they are dishonest and lying narcissists.'[87] Eco's 'future reader' is one who is addressed by the author. In this way, texts live on, they are made in the creation of reading. Through translation this is doubly so, as they resurrect a text for future readers as well. In this way, a translation serves the source author by disseminating their works for a reader who is the translator, and a reader who is the translation-reader. Benjamin problematizes this by asking '[I]f it [a translation] were intended for the reader, the same would have to apply to the original. If the original does not exist for the reader's sake, how could the translation be understood on the basis of this premise?', but the source text exists to be read and as such the translation text is widening its readership.[88] The final reader of the translation is not the translator. Whilst translators are able to read their own work and create new readings of it, it is an external reader who is the final reader of the translation. These three discrete people in the process of translation – author, translator and reader – enable a

[86] Foucault (1977): 123.
[87] Eco (2006): 334.
[88] Benjamin (1968): 76.

dynamic reading praxis that engages with the source text in three very different ways.

Are translations foreign?

Alongside the invisibility of the translator, another question that occurs in tandem with it is the domestication and foreignization of translations. Venuti is particularly concerned with this aspect of translation studies and the imperialistic problems that domestication of a translation poses. If a translator were to be invisible and undetectable, a translation would need to read like a domestic text. However, if a translator is not invisible, then a degree of foreignization has to occur within their translation. Venuti makes a case for another type of narcissist, this time in the form of a reader. When a translation is domesticated it can create a certain type of response in a reader's mind. This described by Venuti in *The Translator's Invisibility* where he proposes that 'a fluent stratedy perfoms a labour of acculturation which domesticates a foreign text, making it intelligible and even familiar to the target-language reader'. [89] This enables the reader to see for themselves something in the translation and inviting the target language reader to bring their own socio-political ideas to the work in translation and prioritises the target language over the source language.

Whilst the domestication of a translation enables an arguably easier mode of accessing the source text for the reader, it also whitewashes and bowdlerises some of the aspects of the source text which will undoubtedly be different from the cultural experience of the target language reader.[90] The alternative to this is to make the translation foreign in some way through the use of language, form, cultural references and historicization. Bush takes a hard standpoint against Venuti's invisible translator and writes that a translation

[89] Venuti (1992): 5.
[90] Bowie (2012): 9.

'should flaunt its foreignness. The invisible translator is a deliberate construction of ethnocentric dominant cultures wishing to domesticate and hide what is foreign.'[91] As Savory wrote, 'A translation should read like a contemporary work of the translator; a translation should read like a contemporary work to the original', and keeping both these conflicting viewpoints in mind simultaneously is impossible.[92] Johnson provides a neat middle ground for this binary discussion 'translation enacts a deterritorialization, but one that is always followed by a reterritorialization as well'.[93] In translations of Sappho, it appears that this is the case. By marking themselves out as translators through the titles of their works, in addition to the effect created by the relative freshness and innovation of translating Sappho into English in this period, these eighteenth-century writers are enacting a deterritorialization for their readers. Readers of these translations are aware that there is an ancient and somewhat obscure text that is being translated. Woolf would have preferred that Greek were not translated, that the 'incongruous odds and ends' which we have of the language are in a completely different world from our own.[94] However, the reterritorialization that occurs is steadfast. The translators are making Sappho for an English-reading audience, and as such catering to their requirements – often using rhyming couplets, or introducing Latinisation of the Greek goddesses' names.

Gendered Reading

The importance of the gender of readers should not go unnoticed in general reception and translation theory.[95] The readers as constructed in this thesis are not gendered, but there is a feminist viewpoint which runs throughout this thesis. The idea of a reader in the period being analysed in this work, for the

[91] Bush (1992): 115.
[92] Savory (1957): 49.
[93] Johnston (1992): 53.
[94] Woolf (2008): 3.
[95] Cavalcante, Press and Sender (2017): 1; Chamberlin (1992): 467.

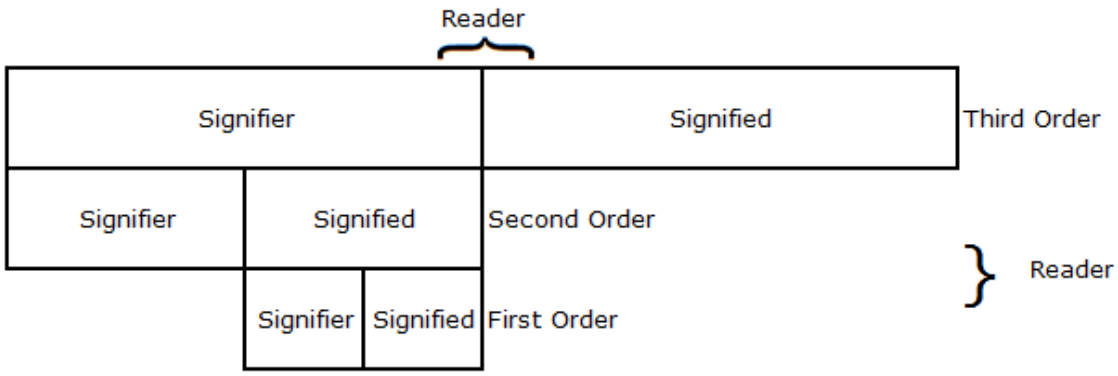
authors being studied here, is likely to be male. However there has to be more work done on readings with specific focus on female readers of Sappho in translation. This needs to be addressed to determine how much of Sappho's persona and sexuality were created by heterosexual middle-to-upper class men. The assumed readers of these eighteenth-century translations highlighted in this thesis are male, although sometimes there are references in the translations to female readers which should not be ignored.[96]

The writers were constructing their texts for men and for this reason there is a heavily androcentric bias to much of this material. Male viewpoints on this material are not the only way in which Sappho can be understood and explicitly feminist readings need to be made, despite this thesis interacting with the androcentric way of writing and reading in this period. The awareness of different readings that are available – to women's experience and to queer experience, for example, as well as intersectional feminism – should not go unnoticed. Schweickart puts this succinctly, that 'an androcentric canon generates androcentric interpretive strategies'.[97] Whilst the ancient corpus here is not made by a man, the work was transmitted by men and translated by men. There is some evidence for female readers at this time, but it comes from subscription lists, and there were libraries and book clubs which would have made the material more accessible to female readers.[98] In addition there is also evidence for working class readers who would have accessed books in a similar way.[99] As the lending lists and many subscription lists are lost, the amount of people who would have access the material in this way is not clear. There are some instances of women such as Aphra Behn who wrote with a clear knowledge of reading, as seen in her editing of her *Miscellany* from 1685.

[96] Page 87.
[97] Schweickart (1986): 77.
[98] Walsh (2001): 210-1.
[99] Carnie (1978): 78.

Semiotic frameworks for translation

To understand translations is to understand reception studies, using a formalised framework though which to uncover the meaning of the text and author, translation and translator, and reader. It is possible to envisage the task of understanding translations through a second order semiotic framework, in which the original text has its own meaning encoded within it, and then the translation takes this meaning and applies a new language to it, as described by Venuti in 'Translation, Interpretation, Canon Formation'.[100] There is some opposition to this, as seen in de Man's *The Resistance to Theory,* which envisages problems occurring where there is 'increased stress' on the reception of a text rather than the production of it.[101] However, Venuti's diagram, below, shows the importance of the source text as well as the production of its receptions and how these can be interpreted by a reader to form an idea of the new text within their mind.



Adapted from Venuti (2008): fig. 1.

The first order here is the signifier and signified which make up the original source text. This source text then becomes the signified in the second order for the translator who then adds their own interpretations, or signifiers, to create a translation text. The final stage is when this translation becomes the

[100] Venuti (2008): 31.
[101] de Man (1982): 17

signified and then the reader adds their own set of interpretations to a text to make their own reading of it. Translation functions within reception theory and, by using these ideas which are based in reader-response theory, translations can create a text which is both new and simultaneously a clear reinterpretation of an ancient text. Translation has a special place within reception theory as it directly uses the reciprocal, dynamic ideas within reception studies. Translations make the reception of a text visible, through their special place in the transmission of a work. Poochigian's translation of Sappho from 2009 has a section titled 'Her Girls and Family', which is a clear indicator of the type of reception that Sappho has been involved with.[102] The women are not described as Sappho's friends or lovers for example, but 'her girls', which seems to highlight the idea of a hierarchy, either with Sappho as a priestess, chorus leader, or schoolmistress. These receptions are within the text, and shows where the reception of Sappho is visible.

There are three layers of understanding with what is happening with a translation as outlined above by Venuti. A source text is created by an author, a translation by a translator and a reading by a reader. Ultimately, the reader creates the meaning in the translation as described through the ideas seen with relation to reader-response theory. The translator has a dual function, as a reader of the source text and then as an author of a translation. Whilst the source text author and the reader also have dual functions, they are primarily author and reader respectively and therefore creating the text through those means, whereas a translator is creating a text through their reading and then creating another text through their authorship.[103]

[102] Sappho (2009): 31-54.
[103] Venuti (2008): 33.

In this way, a translation is able to have a dialogue with the past and the future, as it functions for the author, the translator and the reader. For the source author, a translation allows their work to be read by a wider audience, paying back some of the debt that they owe to the source author in creating the original work. In this way, a translation, as Blanchot says, creates the text for the reader who is a translator and the reader who is reading the translated text.[104] The translation also exists for the translator to rework the original text into a fresh mode of expression and legitimises the translator as a writer who can stand alongside the source author. This is something that Gillespie mentions, where 'works of translation have full continuity with other literary output'.[105] It also functions as a device to enable the translator to make a new work because they have something to say about the text that had hitherto been unexplored. This is articulated by Norton as taking the translator 'back to the structures and sources of meaning' which allow for new avenues within a text to be explored through translation.[106] Finally, the translation functions for the reader as an illuminating work but one which also allows another layer of understanding to come into play in the intertextual diagram of source text/translation/reader. The interpretation of the reader is created by the author, the translator and the reader themselves. Chartier describes this process with the phrase, 'to read is always to read something', suggesting that the text has been created by the author with a variety of influences. There will have been an articulation of a specific idea which created the text for the reader prior to actually reading the text, and whilst the reader may make a text through new interpretations, the specific idea that creates the text ultimately comes from a source, and in the case of translation, two sources.[107]

[104] Blanchot (1982): 194.
[105] Gillespie (2011): 13.
[106] Norton (1984): 25.
[107] Chartier (1992): 51.

Books

Physicality of translation

The physicality of the translation is something that adds an extra dimension between the boundaries of author, translator and reader, and adds another layer of interpretation. The translation is more than just the words on the page, indeed they are influenced by the materiality of the text as an object, and the paratext which surrounds the translated text. Chartier posits that 'there is no text outside the material structure in which it is given to be read', but this does not address the agency of the reader who is creating their own text when they read and creating a new text each time for themself when it is read.[108] Form influences function – the medium is the message – but there is much that a reader brings to the text themselves, in addition to what the text brings by its physicality.[109]

Two books have focussed on the physicality of the text with relation to Homer: one is Young's 2003 work *The Printed Homer: A 3,000 year publishing and translation history of the Iliad and the Odyssey* and the other is Most and Schreyer's 2013 *Homer in Print: A Catalogue of the* Bibliotheca Homerica Langiana *at the University of Chicago Library*. Both focus on the book itself and its importance in delivering the message of the author. In his introduction to *Homer in Print*, Lang writes of the impact that the physical book can have on the reader, but also that 'It is neither romantic nor delusory to assert that the thoughtful examination of original editions can reveal information that is absent in a later reprint, online digital surrogate, or facsimile'.[110] The aspect of book-as-object is an important and useful way of looking at a text, but here the argument is presented on a textual basis, which encourages reading from what

[108] Chartier (1992): 53.
[109] Mcluhan (1964).
[110] Lang (2013): 3.

is printed, rather than from the materiality of the book itself: its paper weight, binding methods and typeface, for example. The text is static, which allows space for the different readings which arise from it and enables readers to go back to the static translation text to create ever increasing numbers of readings from it. Material culture has a large part to play in understanding these books that have translations of Sappho in them, but the basis of knowing what the translated text and paratexts say is the cornerstone for understanding the way in which these book-objects work.[111]

Paratexts have a function which is linked to the materiality of the book, and are important with translations as the translator is making the meaning for their audience. As Genette asserts, a preface is not required reading, but physically pads the main text of the book. There are covers, title pages, contents pages, dedicatory letters, prefaces, introductions and biographies. Often with ancient texts, and in the case of Sappho, there are titles, subheadings, notes, and facing Greek text. This is all in addition to the other poets that are within many of the books of translation under analysis in this thesis. For this period in Sappho-translation, these notes and additions to the text are integral to understanding it, and articulate the translator's viewpoint to their reader. The book is separate from the translations within it, and the paratext and accompanying publisher information of the book informs the way in which a reader will approach the text. To take this further, Venuti writes that the existence of a translation legitimises the text by the very nature of its existence.

> The very fact of translation not only implies that the text has been judged valuable enough to bring into another culture but also increases this value by generating such promotional divides as jacket copy,

[111] Pages 135-137.

endorsements, and advertisements and by enabling such diverse modes of reception as reviews, course adoptions, and scholarly research.[112]

By making a work of translation, the translation itself legitimises the source text, and the ancient source text from a well-known author also legitimises the translation.

How translations function together

Translators, as well as working alongside the source author and the reader, also work in tandem with other translators and with their own work. Firstly, the intertexts between translations create new webs of communication although each translation still remains monoscopic in its output. In this instance, there were other European translations that would have set a precedent for translating Sappho and this is evident from the translators' paratexts which are being studied here. The translators of Sappho were all working from the same canon and reading each other's works, and so it is the name of the translator that defines the form and individualism of the book.[113] This enables the translator to form their own individualised picture for the reader to interpret, and like the physical individualism of the text, this sign that a translation belongs to a specific translator enables a reader to understand how their interpretation of Sappho's text sits with a specific translator.[114] Reynolds, in relation to Sappho and her reception, writes that there is 'never any *one* story. There are only *many* stories' which explains the issue of various translations of Sappho.[115] There are a multiplicity of 'stories', that are created through Sappho's text. In relation to translation, this multiplies to create many more versions of Sappho which are then multiplied further by the various readings that are made. In this

[112] Venuti (2008): 27.
[113] Foucault (1977): 123.
[114] Venuti (1992): 4 writes that 'Such a translation hermeneutic assumes a notion of agency that allows for the full complexity of the translator's work.'
[115] Reynolds (2005): 135.

way, the translation is functioning as a type of reception, many Sapphos being made from a series of works which have amalgamated their own ideas about the poet.

Ideas in translation

Translating poetry

The act of translating the poetry and the poetic is an aspect of translation which is fraught with difficulties. This difficulty is set out by Benjamin where he asks how to communicate these facets of a text to a reader.[116] If translation is communication from the source text to a target language reader, then how can the idea of 'the poetic', also seek to be translated? The poetic is formed by allusive and intricately expressed language and one which is inherent within the text. Readers also bring their own attitudes to what constitutes poetry to a poetic text as well, as these ideas will change depending on who is reading. Translations of Sappho often articulate some aspect of the poetic within their translations, but this is not always the case as sometimes it is obscure, hidden or removed entirely. The original in its poetic form is bound to the translation, as the translation would not exist were it not for the original and therefore the poetical in the original is already encoded into the translation. Gadamer writes about the truth and validity of a translation in relation to world literature, but the idea can be applied to the idea of poetic literature too, in this context: 'the existence of literature in translation shows that something is presented in such works that is true and valid for all time', and that truth can be the inexpressible, the poetic.[117] This message can be distorted by the reader, even if the poetic message has been transmitted for many centuries, as Sappho's has been.[118] The poetic message, because of its 'ambiguity', is able to be decoded in a variety of

[116] Benjamin (1968): 76.
[117] Gadamer (2013): 146.
[118] Eco (1989): 198.

ways – more so than a prosaic message. This leads to a number of translations appearing for a single author – each translator is attempting to convey this multivalent meaning from the poetic aspect of the text. There are at least nine English-language translations of Sappho which appear in the twenty years 1999 – 2019, and if the various readings of the poetic in Sappho were not there, then there would be fewer translations to reach for.[119]

Decoding a translation in relation to the poetic and understanding what it means in one reading can become more complex. The poetic is dense and heavy with meaning, but so is all language. Poetry appears to be more difficult to translate because of this weight, but through their translation, the translator is able to create a static meaning from a variety of readings, some of which will be poetic readings, and communicate one of these through their translation to the target reader. The reader is given a single static text which they are then able to embellish with their own ideas of intertexts, but crucially they have been given one idea of the poetic – into which poetry is already encoded, as it is translated from a poetic text originally – and as such this idea of the poetic is presented to a reader.[120] Even texts from the *Keys to the Classics* series by Giles have the poetic imbued into them. These cribs, whilst often not seen themselves as poetry, are translating a poetic text and as such this idea of the poetic is within them.[121] This is the way in which reception studies functions, and as such is the way that translations studies also functions. The packaging of a translation, and how it is already intrinsically poetic, shapes the text that is presented. By asserting that the translation is of poetry, the poetic is already part of the translation.

[119] This list is not exhaustive, and small press or self-published translations may be overlooked. Sappho (1999) Sappho (2002); Sappho (2002); Sappho (2007); Sappho (2009); Sappho (2011); Sappho (2015); Sappho (2016b); Sappho (2016a).
[120] Eco (1989): 200.
[121] Giles (c.1867).

Translating Classics

Translating poetry can pose its own set of problems, but so can translating ancient texts. Translating ancient poetry, as in the case of Sappho, is doubly difficult. The text is at once ancient and relatively static, transmitted through many hundreds of years, but equally because of this distance it is able to have various new readings applied to it without fear of reprisals. Kermode describes this as 'complex and indeterminate enough to allow us our necessary pluralities'.[122] There is a tension in translating Classics which emphasizes one of the central difficulties of translation studies. The text itself is old, revered, canonical, but translators are attempting to create a new text that is unique. The way in which a translation of a Classical text could embody this power is the same way in which the translation can embody the inexpressible in a poetic text, through the medium of translation itself. The idea of history and power is inherent within the text, but the translator makes it fresh for a new audience. This is linked back to Savory's points of translation, in which 'a translation should read like a contemporary work of the translator; [and a] translation should read like a contemporary work to the original.'[123]

To balance this idea of where a translation sits in a historical timeline, and how it reads to an audience, Gillespie writes about the invisibility of the translator in relation to Classical texts, that 'Dryden's Vergil and Pope's Homer in an important sense *became* Vergil and Homer for the eighteenth century'.[124] This tallies with Venuti's idea about the invisibility of the translator, and the difficulty of a translated text erasing the translator themselves as reading Dryden's Vergil or Pope's Homer means reading Vergil or Homer rather than a translated text.[125] However, this act of invisibility is difficult to attain for lesser known poets, whose

[122] Kermode (1975): 121.
[123] Page 31.
[124] Gillespie (2011): 12. This can also be seen through Keats' *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer* in Barnard (1988: 72) where Keats makes Gillespie's point clear.
[125] Page 31.

name is not as well-known as the poet they are translating. Translating a Classical text is a difficult exercise in treading a line between domestication and foreignization, working out the relationship between the two. The erasure of the source material is occasionally attempted by translators of Sappho in the eighteenth century but this is due to the relative anonymity of the translators and the fragmentary nature of the material. As the material is so sparse, this invisibility never truly happens, as the reader is not able to immerse themselves in the text in the same way as is possible with epic.

Sappho translation

The ideas here combine in a specific way when discussing Sappho's work in translation. Sappho's work is already engaged in a system of translation, from song to writing, from manuscript to print. In the eighteenth century, Sappho's work was known primarily through citation and this plays an important role in the formation of understanding what a 'translation of Sappho' for this era actually is. The parts of Sappho's poetry that appear and have been transmitted down to us are already far removed from their original context – chopped out and placed into a new work, highlighting aspects of grammar, style, or function, for example. Already these works were being translated from one medium to another.

There is so much in Sappho that is problematic. This was the case in the ancient world where her fame, her innovative use of language and the insight into her daily life with the other women she writes about marked her out as an unusual writer. For an audience reading a later translation, the ancient cultural markers of religion, society, and interpersonal relationships mark her out as an unusual poet. This makes creating a translation far more problematic. Translators need to address these more difficult themes in Sappho's poetry, as

well as the attitudes of the time in which they are writing.[126] Translation of Greek text was relatively new in the eighteenth century and as such there was no model for how to approach this material. Greek started being taught at Oxford in the late fifteenth century, but Britain lagged behind the French and Italians with translations of Greek material.[127] This lack of tradition in which to work meant that translators of Sappho were figuring how to articulate these difficult themes for their readers who would not have been exposed to female voices from the ancient world before. By making a name for themselves as having translated Sappho, these men were writing for themselves as readers, as much as they were writing for the readers that their work was addressing.

What translators say

In light of the difficulties which are added to creating a framework through which to analyse translation – through poetry, through classics and through the very medium of translation itself – there is also what the translators say through their own original voice as re-makers of a foreign original. How this voice is encoded within the text also needs to be examined. By understanding the way texts function in this way, the types of Sappho that are being constructed by the translators, each an individual reading of a multiplicity of influences, can be understood more fully. Gadamer sets out that 'translation embodies an interpretation' and the fluctuation that happens in translations, between author and reader, past and present, languages, cultures and more besides, make this interpretation twist and shift regularly, based on a variety of factors.[128] This shifting means that theoretical analysis of texts can sometimes become mired in what is constant within a text, rather than what is not, and therefore the innovation of what makes a translation new can be lost.[129] Added

[126] Underwood (1998): 2.
[127] Gillespie (2011): 5-6.
[128] Gadamer (2013): 338.
[129] Eco (2006): 172.

to this is the ever-present issue that the translation exists for the eventual reader, who is creating the interpretation on top of the interpretation created by the translation through their act of reading and re-writing. An example of this would be in Fawkes' translation from 1760, the sparrows that bring Aphrodite's chariot down to earth are described as 'wanton'(20).[130] This addition to the text clearly shows the translator's attitude to Aphrodite and to female sexuality, that women engaging with their own eroticism are promiscuous and that this is a criticism of women. By reading Fawkes' translation, the reader is having to make their own interpretation based on Fawkes' own viewpoint of the material. For a reader to construct their own interpretation of the text without this value judgement is more difficult than if it were not there because Fawkes guides the reader so strongly with his own interpretation of the scene.

What is lost in translation

There is so much that is encoded into translation but the text is only able to hold so much, and therefore aspects of the ancient text can get lost in translation. If nothing was amended, changed, interpreted or even lost, there would be no need for the translation as it cannot be an exact match for the source text and it would not be available to those who cannot read Greek. In a translation, there are intermediary points where aspects of a text can be lost or overlooked. Some of these are formal, such as language, form and vocabulary where parts of the original text will be lost to the translation as often these are not replicable in the target language. Some are more difficult to define, such as some parts of the poetic, attitudes to different cultures, allusions to lost texts and stories. Further still, the invisibility of the translator is never truly possible, both rendering the loss of some parts of the source author and also the inherent domestication of a text through translation loses some of the unknown and

[130] Page 268.

foreign aspects to a translation. Blanchot sees this loss as travelling both ways, with loss from the source text and also loss from the translation.[131]

Conclusion

In his 2011 book *English Translation and Classical Reception: Towards a New Literary History,* Gillespie, as a translation historian, is keen to point out the role that translation plays in reception studies, and that translation itself is a work of reception.[132] As he points out, 'translators are often deeply aware of their predecessors, and may seek deliberately to use tradition in which they can now see for the first time they stand', where translators work in a continuum and with increasing numbers of translations they are able to centre their work in a tradition which, for Sappho, started in the late seventeenth century.[133] Translation allows a breathing space for reception, a point at which the reception of a text is visible and the text is created for a new audience with a singular reading. As well as space, a translation also allows time. A translation acts as a marker for readers to focus on in the ongoing passage of time which has created the original work, the translation, and its reading. For many people, a translation will act as a substitute for the source text, but insofar as translation is not attempting to be anything other than what it is, the signifiers of translation will be there to celebrate its otherness and its obscure function as neither ancient nor modern poetry, but something attempting to gingerly bridge that gap. John Addison's translation (1735) as a whole book gives some thought to this process. His book contains a facing Greek text, notes on the poems, biographical introduction and translation. This book stands as a marker in time, wherein the space between the translation and the eighteenth-century text is clear on the

[131] Blanchot (1990): 83.
[132] Gillespie (2011): 1.
[133] Gillespie (2011): 11.

page, and the notes and introduction bridge the gap of history between the words of the English translation and its Greek source text.

A translation is a difficult thing to make. Blackie wrote that it 'requires, for a decided success, such a combination of learning, judgements, perseverance, enthusiasm and taste, as is seldom found in the same person', which is in the same vein as Dryden's thoughts on translating Vergil.[134] Balancing these different aspects is no mean feat. When combined with Benjamin's thoughts which are articulated in 'The Task of the Translator', the balancing is harder still. There is a difference from the source text which a translation is aiming to achieve. This is found between the statements of Savory's twelve points of translation, where a translation is neither one thing nor the other.[135] This problem of translation is exemplified by this difference, which is shown by Blanchot.

> Translation is the sheer play of difference; it constantly makes allusion to difference, dissimulates difference, but by occasional revealing and often accentuating it, translation becomes the very life of this difference.[136]

[134] Blackie (1861).
[135] Page 31.
[136] Blanchot (1990): 83.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured in three main parts, each identifying aspects of the books which make up the translations. Each book is understood in a linear fashion – that is as if a reader starts at the front cover and works towards the end of the book. Whilst there are other ways to approach a text, this provides a framework within which to understand the way that the information about Sappho is presented by the editor or translator to their readers.

1. Textual Transmission of Translation

Through identifying and analysing the way in which Sappho's text has been transmitted and the kinds of books that make up the eighteenth-century corpus, there is a rich amount of material that indicates the type or genre of work that would publish a translation of Sappho. This gives an indication to what sort of material a reader would expect when approaching the text. Links between the translations are identified and reasons for similarities and differences are shown by comparing the works.

The second part of this chapter is a case study in transmission and how this affects translation, specifically looking at the transmission of fragment 1, line 24. This line affects how the gender of Sappho's beloved is read and highlights some difficulties that the translators were facing when constructing Sappho's eroticism from a corrupt text.

2. Paratext of Translation

The paratext of the translation informs the reader how to approach a text and this chapter is underpinned by theory from Genette's *Paratexts*. The paratext is especially important in these translations of Sappho, as there is no

English-language precedent with which to align the new translations. The paratext is informed by the type of publication in which it appears and this aspect of the translation is influenced by the format of the books which are covered in the preceding chapter. Issues such as titles and publisher information can form a narrative around Sappho which further shapes the readers' interaction with Sappho's text and eroticism, before any of her poetry has been read in translation.

The second part of this chapter is the second case study, using the ideas of paratext and narrative-formation in relation to Sappho's life and attitudes to eroticism. The biographies of Sappho, which appear before some of the translations, are unpicked for ideas about what the translator wished Sappho to be, and how they are manipulating their readership on this subject.

3. Creation of Translation

This final chapter deals with close reading of the printed translations. This includes the narrative that is constructed by the translators in their choice of fragments as well as choices about the way in which the text is translated. The material in this section rests on the work of the previous two chapters, which have articulated how the text came to be and what the text says before the reader has been presented with the translation. The choice of fragments, as well as the choices that the translator makes in each poem, show the narrative that each translator is aiming to create with their new version of Sappho's text in English.

The second part of this chapter looks in more detail at fragments 1 and 31, the most frequently translated fragments in the corpus. These poems are also the longest fragments which survived in the eighteenth century and, depending on how they are read, articulate different aspects of the eroticism in

Sappho's works. Fragment 1 is more concerned with Sappho's ongoing romantic relationships, whereas fragment 31 focuses on the narrator's body in the midst of desire.

There is an extended bibliography including bookseller information of the translations studied immediately after this introduction, and two tables, one of author, date and title and one of fragment numbers within the books at pages 63 and 211 in chapters 1.1 and 3.1. The appendix contains facsimile Greek copies of John Addison's 1735 text. There is also Campbell's 1982 text at pages 246-248 and 266-267 where it applies to the discussion of fragments 1 and 31. In addition to this, there are also full translations from the seven different translation texts in the appendix.

Introductory remarks

The Italian adage says *traduttore, traditore*. Every translation is like a betrayal. Sappho is never going to be completely known to a modern audience and in this way, each portrayal of her life finds a new angle to exploit. The question of Sappho's sexuality, wrote Page in 1955, 'was never anything but misreading and mistranslation' and covers the range of alterations that translators have made to satisfy their own goals with creating the translation itself.[137] It is better to talk of Sappho as a poet concerned with eroticism, and this thesis will consider how the eroticism of Sappho's lyrics are articulated for an eighteenth-century audience, how this eroticism is manipulated by the translators for their readers, and how the translators are creating new personae for Sappho. All this informs the idea of 'Sappho' in the eyes of the public, especially in the formative period when her work was able to be read by a vastly larger portion of the reading populace than had ever had access to it before.

[137] Page (1955): 111 note 2.

However, it is worth noting that for all the work of the translators in interpreting the sources available to them and then constructing their own Sappho for their readers, perceptions of Sappho already existed, and the extent to which each translator was able to create a 'new' Sappho differed depending on the strength of their own voice. Each of the different Sapphos which are constructed in these translations show as much about the translators and editors who created the book as they do about Sappho herself.

Expanded Bibliography of Translations

Tate, Nahum (1685)

Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions Collected by Nahum Tate

Printed for J Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball, London

Fragment 31 translated by William Bowles

Addison, Joseph (1711)

Spectator. 223, 229, 233

Fragments 1 and 31 translated by Ambrose Philips

Remarks by Joseph Addison

Sewell, George (1713)

The Works of Anacreon and Sappho. Done from the Greek, by several hands. With their Lives prefix'd. To which is added, the Proze of wisdom. A dialogue between Anacreon and Aristotle. By M. Fontenelle. Also Bion's Idyllium, upon the death of Adonis. By the Earl of Winchelsea

Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and bible in Fleet-Street; and A Bettesworth, at the Red Lion on London-Bridge, London

Price 2s

Fragments 1 and 31 translated by Ambrose Philips

Life of Sappho by Basil Kennet

Several Hands (1714)

The Works of Petronius Arbiter, to Which is Added Some Other of the Roman Poets, viz Catullus, Tibullus And Propertius. And Translations From the Greek of Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho with a Poem on Telemacus.

Printed for Sam Briscoe, London

Fragment 1 and Ach. Tat. 2.1 translated by 'Mr. Herbert'

Sterling, James (1728)

The Loves of Hero And Leander. From the Greek of Musæus. By Mr. Sterling. To Which are Added, Some New Translations From Various Greek Authors, viz. Anacreon, Sappho, Julian, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Homer. By another hand

Printed for J. Walthoe, the Royal-exchange, Cornhill, London

Fragments 130+131 and Ach. Tat. 2.1 translated by George Ogle

Addison, John (1735)

The works of Anacreon, translated into English verse; with notes explanatory and poetical. To which are added the odes, fragments, and epigrams of Sappho. With the original Greek plac'd opposite to the translation

Printed for John Watts at the Printing-Office in Wild-court near Lincoln's-Inn fields, London

Fragments 1, 31, 168b, 55, 102, 130+131, Ach. Tat. 2.1, 2, epigrams 505 and 489

Philips, Ambrose (1748)

Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and Other Original Poems: with translations from Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho

Printed for J and S Draper, London

Fragments 1 and 31

Fawkes, Francis (A Gentleman of Cambridge) (1760)

The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus: Translated into English

Printed for J. Newberry in St. Pauls Church-yard and L. Davis and C. Reymers in Holborn, London

Fragments 1, 31 ,168b, 55, 2, 102, Ach. Tat. 2.1, *Sappho to Anacreon*, epigrams 505 and 489

Chapter 1.1

Textual Transmission of Translation

This chapter deals with the general transmission of Sappho's work in translation. Understanding how the text came to be in the state that it was in the eighteenth century, and the influences that have shaped it, gives the succeeding chapters on paratext and translation a solid base to build upon. The influence of the transmission of the Greek text on individual translation and the way in which the translations themselves also act as vessels for textual transmission is important to understand, as it illuminates other choices that the translators are making when they are constructing Sappho and her sexuality through their own texts. This person-centred, trans-textual approach is central to understanding the text of Sappho in the eighteenth century. Trans-textual is a term coined by Genette in *Palimpsests* and refers to 'all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts'.[138] This is an all-encompassing term which is broken down further later in the chapter.

Translations of Sappho appeared in many different forms in a relatively short space of time. There are four main genres of translation in which Sappho's work appeared in publication in the 28 years from 1685 to 1713. These are also the first four publications in the corpus which will be analysed in this thesis and each displays a unique attitude to the translation of Sappho due to the genre that it is part of. Bassnett has brought genre to the fore with regard to translation and the ways in which translation acts in a genre is encoded into the translation itself.[139] An editor and translator build a new genre together, a genre of Sappho's poetry in translation. In this way, translators act as readers and

[138] Genette (1997b): 1.
[139] Bassnett (2006): 89.

authors, who are creating Sappho through the genre of their works. It makes sense to look at each piece that contains Sappho before discussing what the books contain in more detail – the paratexts and the poems themselves. By establishing the mode in which each translation exists, the finer points within the texts will be articulated contextually rather than as untethered points. In addition to articulating the kinds of works that include Sappho's translated text, the transmission of these works and how they relate to each other is important in understanding how the texts function.

By recognising the various patterns that appear in the transmission of the poetry on the macro level, patterns within the translations on the micro level can then be identified. Translations are part of a historical process, as articulated by the author/translator/reader progression introduced earlier.[140] Each translation gives an insight into what one translator's understanding of Sappho was at a certain point in time and this is influenced by previous works on Sappho which will have alerted the translator-as-reader to Sappho's work. This is how translations function in many ways. Translations articulate the viewpoint of the translator on a text. Whilst this captures a moment of a reading, it also gives voice to the historical timeframe in which a translator is operating. By responding to previous translations or texts, a translator is making the text new for their own readers. Therefore, the historicity which is embedded in this process is directly seen through the way the text is transmitted and the form that this takes in the end product: an individual translation.

This way of looking at textual transmission as a process which has readers and writers at its centre is fraught with obstacles, as readings and interpretations of texts can change dramatically from one text to another. Most

[140] Page 38.

writes that 'becoming aware of hidden links between texts and contexts does not guarantee that we shall be able to escape from their traps, but it does teach sympathy for other readers, past and present, and caution for ourselves', which is a reminder to avoid the traps which texts set up, and to view readers, both past and present, as fallible.[141]

As highlighted earlier, the editors and translators act as readers of texts, creating their own interpretations of them, which are articulated through the new works. Editors and translators can also be referred to as 'creative readers' as although all readers are active, creating their own impression from reading, these specific types of readers also make a new work with their own reading of a text. In this way, textual transmission is a reader-centred process of carrying a text through history. In this instance, the readers are the editors and translators of the new texts which are formed during this process. The text is carried by the readers who think it important enough to recreate for new audiences.[142]

The text is re-read by a number of 'creative readers' who then make a new work through their reading and transmit it in different ways based on their own interpretation of how the text should be presented. These can be changes in the genre of the book, the way the book is arranged, paratextual material, ordering of fragments, and also changes to the original work itself. Understanding that the readers, in this case the editors and translators, are at the centre of textual transmission and that these readers have the power to alter a text in many different ways, sets up a way to view the translations as part of the transmission of a work. This is a fruitful way of understanding how

[141] Most (1996): 32.
[142] Venuti (1992): 7.

the transmission process functions as it highlights specific points at which changes occur within a text to emphasise a particular reader's choices.

These 'creative readers' will bring their own set of previous readings to a new text, and in this way form a metatext which includes the new text that they have created.[143] There are trans-textual links between different books and readers bring these links together when they create a new book that exists as part of the transmission of a text.[144] The text is central to the idea of transmission, but the text would not be able to exist without the 'creative readers' who refresh it and make a new work for new readers. The editors and translators who were making decisions about a text and then rewriting it with changes for other people to read make the process of textual transmission rife with opportunities to change the text in myriad ways. This way of thinking about textual transmission – that the text would not exist without its readers – is influenced by radical reader-response theory, such as Blanchot's – that 'reading simply "makes" the book, the work, become a work beyond the man who produced it'.[145] The text and transmission of a text is created by various different readings and in turn there is another layer of reader-based interpretation as these reader-created texts are then again at the mercy of decisions which are made by their readership, who is processing the text in various ways to allow for a wider readership still.

Looking at Sappho's poetry in translation, and the transmission of her text, is a long process and one that does not stop with the unearthing of her fragments in books of poetry. Books of Sappho's fragments in translation, as seen here in the eighteenth century, are created through the transmission of her

[143] A metatext is something that exists for the reader – an amalgamation of everything that a certain reader has engaged with. I am defining a metatext as the object which is created through Genette's description of transtextuality, as above.
[144] Page 61.
[145] Blanchot (1982): 194.

work. As this material has often survived because of citation in other texts, the intertextuality and transmission of Sappho's poetry is already present in the way that Sappho's work has survived from antiquity. There are many different sources for Sappho's work, but this chapter will discuss the transmission of her work specifically, rather than that of the work of other ancient authors in which she appears. There are some points at which it is useful to look at the transmission of Dionysius in the second half of this chapter, but primarily the focus is on the transmission of Sappho's text, rather than the transmission of other authors' works. Sappho's text, as shall be shown, stands apart from other authors' works. This is the same approach that has been discussed with relation to translations of Sappho.[146] Historically there has been little attention paid to the transmission of Sappho's text and tp these early translations. There needs to be a specific focus on Sappho's lyrics since there has been more focus on the reception of Sapphoas a personality and her influence on more modern re-readings of her work, rather than how the text exists itself.[147]

However, despite the focus that this study has on Sappho, a breakdown of the other authors whose works have contained Sappho's poetry can give the reader some insight into those works that the translators and editors were using to complete their own editions of Sappho. These authors are Longinus, Athenaeus, Achilles Tatius, Hephaestion and the various authors comprising the Greek Anthology. As will be discussed in chapter 2.2, some of the information about the poems that is cited alongside Sappho's text also has an effect on the text that is translated and sometimes on the way it is translated too.[148] Equally, as will become clear in the second half of this chapter, there is a distinct overlap in editions of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and editions of Sappho.

[146] Pages 28-30.
[147] This is slowly changing with the publication of Kelly and Finglass' forthcoming book in which Finglass provides two chapters, 'Sappho on the Papyri' and 'Editions of Sappho since the renaissance'. Kelly and Finglass (forthcoming); page 12.
[148] Pages 164-171.

Genres of Translation

The material in this chapter is broadly arranged thematically, which in turn highlights a chronological link between the themes, as different developments become more popular as the period progresses. Balancing thematic links between the translations with the links that appear chronologically illustrates the changing attitudes that the translators and editors have to their work, either drawing on or dispensing with previous styles. This holistic articulation of the genres of translations and where they appear in relation to each other shows how the authors and editors were creating Sappho in relation to previous articulations of the poet's persona and her work. It is worth noting here that there are three pieces which print translations by Ambrose Philips and two of these clearly show a debt to previous publications. These are the *Spectator*, Sewell's book *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho* and Philips' own *Pastorals*. A broad timeline of texts has already been discussed, and here, taking the translations of Sappho's poetry as a whole, different thematic trends which have occurred throughout the period and the ways in which some of the later texts are using already-established tropes in which to print their translations can be observed more easily.[149] These thematic trends are arranged by type, in the form of books in which the translations appear. This arrangement places the translator's and editor's choices centre-stage, as opposed to an alternative structure for discussing the material, such as the fragment number or subject matter. Ideas within translation genre illustrate how Sappho was being constructed through translation rather than reading ideas back onto these texts – which could produce skewed ideas of what the translators were attempting to do with their work.

[149] Pages 56-57.

At this point in time, Sappho's poetry had already begun to be extracted from the ancient authors who quoted it and put together as a collection in Greek editions, although in English translation it continued to appear only in this context. I will discuss the early editions later on in chapter 1.2; Henri Estienne's 1554 edition was the best available text for Sappho's Greek for the early translators to be using, although it should be noted that the edition contains many more shorter fragments which were overlooked by these translators.

There is very little of Sappho's poetry which remains in this period. Therefore, Sappho is always presented within a larger literary sphere. This means that because there is no complete single volume of a translation available to these eighteenth-century readers and translators, each author or editor has had to create a frame in which Sappho can be placed. This is not particular to Sappho - but she is affected by it to an unsual degree due to the fragmentary nature of her work - as every poet who appears in a mixed volume like this is framed by the other poets who are included. The presence of other poets changes the way that Sappho's text is read and vice versa. Whether her text is in a miscellany with various other writers or within a book with only one other poet, each of these choices cast Sappho in a different light. For a reading public who have had little access to her work in English before, these distinctions and framing devices are hugely important as they highlight different aspects of her work – her foreignness, her relevance, or her status in relation to other ancient canonical poets such as Homer.

It is in this way, then, that her books are categorised, and the framing devices of each are understood through their transmission. These genres of translation, ordered logically, are miscellany, magazine, translation compendium, main translation with additional poets and author compendium.

These named genres of book in which Sappho's work appears enable readers to understand the poetry within each in different ways, as they frame the poetry within them and ask the reader to bring their own set of assumptions to the text. There is a general trend away from miscellany towards Sappho as an important named poet as the period progresses.

This ordering of the genres makes thematic sense as it focusses further on the translator and on the importance of Sappho as a poet within the books. Specific important points of titles are discussed further in chapter 2.1 on paratexts.[150] From two miscellanies which each contain a single translation of an ode by Sappho, the books get steadily more focussed on Sappho and her text, until she is top of the bill with Anacreon and is then used in Ambrose Philips' anthology of his own work to bolster his original poems, alongside his translations of Pindar and Anacreon.

Genre	**Date**	**Title**
Miscellany	1685	Tate (ed.) *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions*
	1685	Behn (ed.) *Miscellany*
Magazine	1711	Addison (ed.) *Spectator*
Translation Compendium	1714	Anonymous (ed.) *The Works of Petronius Arbiter*
	1728	Sterling (ed.) *The Loves of Hero and Leander*
Sappho and Anacreon	1713	Sewell (ed.) *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho*
	1735	John Addison *The Works of Anacreon [and] Sappho*
	1760	Fawkes *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus*
Author Compendium	1748	Philips *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and Other Original Poems*

[150] Pages 145-158.

There appears to be something of a cyclical approach to the formatting of these books. Bowles' translation appears in Tate's 1685 compendium *Several Poems by Several Hands*, and in 1748, Ambrose Philips publishes *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and Other Original poems – with translations from Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho* which is the opposite of a miscellany – several types of poems all written by one person. However, both of these books are outliers and are not specific translations of Sappho as such – instead they are books which include translations of Sappho. This is a slight but important distinction. Rather than the texts articulating new aspects of Sappho, her poetry and persona, Sappho's work acts as a filler, an addendum to the text. In the other genres of translation, Sappho is regarded more as an individual who is central to the creation of the text and therefore the translators and editors want to and have the space to manipulate her poetry much more to articulate the type of Sappho that they want to portray.

Aside from these two outlier types of translations, in the larger groups of "translation compendia" and "Sappho and Anacreon", there are very many similarities among most of the translations and this is largely due to the relatively small number of fragments which were available to translators at this point. Although these two genres have been defined separately, since they function in different ways and present Sappho very differently, they both come under an umbrella genre, broadly defined as "collections of ancient poetry". Whilst there are some pieces within each text that are not ancient – such as Fontanelle's dialogue in Sewell's *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho* – there is an ancient theme for all the material collected within these books. The reason for these collections of texts, rather than a book focussing on one poet, is

because at the time there was too little of Sappho's work published in English for her to have an entire book to herself.[151]

The way in which texts that contain Sappho's work gain a wider scope and then narrow their focus in this period is clear. There is a general trend towards broadening Sappho's corpus, printing more translated fragments, and also translating her work alongside other more specialised poets as the period progresses. Francis Fawkes, who ends the period with a rather conservative viewpoint on Sappho and her life, is working in a freshly established tradition of Sappho's text framed by other ancient pastoral poets, rather than erotic poets or contemporary poets. Fawkes' conservatism is something that characterises his work and his interaction with the tradition of Sappho translation and his construction of her as a poet, whilst using newly established ideas of how to present his translation of Sappho to the reading public.[152]

The different ways in which Sappho's writing is approached by the editor or translator of a text, and the different kind of book that formed out of her work, indicate many different things to a reader and form the poet in various nuanced ways. Importantly, different book formats also frame a translated and fragmentary text in very different ways.

Miscellanies

Miscellanies were fairly common in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Suarez Jr. (2002) paints a picture of a thriving book trade of poetic miscellanies, of which at least two contained translations of Sappho. By Suarez Jr.'s count nearly 5000 'poetical miscellanies' were published between

[151] In 20th and 21st century translation, Sappho rarely appears alongside other poets in other books. Popular recent translations include Balmer (1992); Carson (2002) and Poochigian (2009).
[152] Pages 204-208.

1700 and 1800.[153] Whilst this is not the very late seventeenth century that these two miscellanies belong to, they show an appetite for this kind of work amongst the reading public. He writes that 'the miscellany … typically celebrates – and indeed constructs – taste, novelty and contemporaneity in assembling a synchronous body of material'.[154] It is this synchronous body of material that the miscellany creates, but there are other types of compendium in this corpus that also function in the same way.

A miscellany 'should be distinguished from the anthology, which honours – and perpetuates – the value of historicity and perdurance of established canons of artistic discrimination in gathering texts recognised for their aesthetic legitimacy'.[155] The books that include translations of Sappho dance along this border of anthology and miscellany. Sappho, as an established ancient poet undoubtedly fits into the category of texts which are recognised for their aesthetic legitimacy, but as previously untranslated material, these texts were then widely unknown, even though their source material is part of the literary canon.

Either unheard of or uncredited translators of Sappho's poetry are the first people to translate her poetry in English. By acknowledging the writers of these books as beginning the up-swing in creating Sappho translations – rather than just focussing on the larger pieces in the corpus – the editors and the books they produced teach a reader about the origins of her work and the way in which her poetic output first came to light in the English language.

[153] Suarez Jr. (2002): 217. Suarez Jr. cites *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature Volume 2* cols 341-429 and notes 'in fact, the actual figure is considerably higher'.
[154] Suarez Jr (2002): 217.
[155] Suarez Jr. (2002): 217.

The first book of this type that Sappho's translations appear in is the miscellany from 1685, Nahum Tate's *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions*. The fact that this book contains a translation of Sappho but does not explicitly say this in the title indicates that it is of a distinct type. Indeed, whilst this early translation is important to the formation of the poet and her work, the fact that the book as a whole is not explicitly identified translation of Sappho, makes it harder to understand and to quantify in the context of this enquiry. However, Bowles' translation in Tate's book shows one of the first aspects of interest in her work which lead up to the defined period. Bowles' translation has the title of 'Sapho's Ode out of Longinus', which shows this translation of Sappho is not taken directly from an edition of Sappho's work, rather it is lifted from an edition of Longinus. Taking Sappho out of the texts of the ancient writers who cited her poetry is an important point in the transmission of Sappho's work, which had already taken place in terms of editions in Greek, but had yet to take place in her transmission in English translation.[156] Bowles does not identify his version as a translation from an intermediary translator either, as is the case in the next book. This is Aphra Behn's *Miscellany*, also from 1685.[157] Behn's version of fragment 31 is not a direct translation either of a poem taken from a Greek edition of Sappho or even of Sappho's poem taken from a Greek edition of Longinus: instead it is explicitly identified as a translation of Boileau's translation of Longinus. Boileau's translation of Longinus was published in 1674 in Paris and gained great notoriety.[158] The title of the poem describes the work as 'verses made by Sapho' with the subheadings describing it from Longinus via Boileau.[159] This self-definition starts the process for translations of Sappho, and in this way, as a very early version and the only one in the corpus by a woman, it is useful to cite in addition to Tate. Both of these books are of a substantial size, Behn's

[156] Page 133.
[157] Page 28, 'Translation in this context is source language material being remade in a specific way through the target language', it must self-identify as a translation.
[158] Boileau-Desperéaux (1674); DeJean (1989): 85.
[159] Behn (1685): 212.

spanning 382 pages, and Tate's 445 pages. As miscellanies they have a wide range, from contemporary poetry by Abraham Cowley to pieces from the *Iliad*.[160]

The nature of a miscellany allows for no extensive paratext around the translations of Sappho and due to the sparseness of Sappho's text in these books they have little influence on the later translators who were fashioning Sappho. Not only is there sparse information about Sappho and her work, there is also little about the translators in each book. The translation in Tate's miscellany is by 'William Bowles', about whom very little is known, and in Behn's miscellany, the version from Boileau is translated 'by a Lady of Quality' and this author remains nameless and of no threat or importance to the men who wrote the rest of the translations in this corpus. Perhaps it is Behn herself, although this relies on conjecture more than knowledge from the text. When I refer to this as Behn's text or translation, I am not implying that she is the translator, I am referencing her as an editor. Where I describe the translator, they are referred to by their epithet 'A Lady of Quality'.

The second book shows that Tate's publication which includes Sappho is not a total anomaly, even if Behn's book is not officially included in the present typology of translations of Sappho. Both books were building on a tradition of translating Sappho which started with an English version of a French original and slowly migrated across the Channel. These French translations were then reworked by English translators, where the French intermediary was removed and the English translators created their own readings of Sappho.[161] By reading more closely into Bowles' translation in Tate's miscellany, entitled 'Sapho's Ode out of Longinus', a French predecessor can be teased out. Both titles, Bowles'

[160] Tate (1685): 1, 324. Also included are poems on recent wars 'The Soldier. Writ in April 1684. When our English Voluntiers went into Flanders' (190), or matters of the heart 'Excusing himself to his Mistris for being 'jealous'' (228).
[161] Page 272.

and that of the translator in Behn's, use the French spelling of Sappho, Sapho, and both are explicitly said to be from Longinus, rather than from Sappho's Greek text. However, as Bowles' translation is not self-defined as a translation from French, it can be included within the group of Sappho translations as defined in the Theoretical Introduction.[162] One aspect of the presentation of Bowles' translation may hint that he too was reliant on a French predecessor: like Behn, he spells the poet's name in the French manner: 'Sapho'. His English version does not, in fact, seem particularly dependent on Boileau's French; nor is it obviously plagiarised from the first English translation of Longinus, that of Hall (1652). More important for the current discussion, though, is the fact that even if Bowles was, like the Lady of Quality, relying on a French intermediary, this has been erased for the reader of Tate's miscellany, rather than specifically mentioned as it is in Behn's. It is for this reason that Bowles' translation in Tate's work can be considered a translation in this thesis, but not The Lady of Quality's translation in Behn's work. What Bowles and the translator in Behn's translations have in common is that they separate Sappho's work from the context of Longinus' descripton. Sappho's work is slowly removed from the work that she is cited in. Translations are articulating the transmission of her text and this is seen in this example. The first stage is Sappho appearing in Boileau's *Longinus*, then Behn's translation of Boileau's *Longinus*, and then Bowles' translation of Sappho, which although it appears to owe a lot to Boileau, is not explicitly identified as a translation of that French work. This work of Bowles then begins the period of Sappho being translated as a poet whose name is not encumbered with those of the writers in whose work her own text was transmitted.

[162] Page 28.

Sappho's fragment 31 is likely to have been chosen by these authors as the first piece of Sappho to appear in English translation, purely because it was so accessible. There are six editions of Boileau's work by 1685, with the 1685 edition marketing itself as a *nouvelle édition reveuë & augmentée*.[163] This accessibility increases the likelihood of Bowles also translating Boileau's Longinus, as well as the anonymous Lady in Behn's *Miscellany*. John Hall's 1652 translation of Longinus would also have encouraged translators to use this text as it was readily available and provided a precursor for translating Sappho's work into English – the Lady of Quality took the text of Sappho out of its context within previous published texts of Longinus, and Bowles fully divorced Sappho's poem from it's place within Longinus.

There is a balance to be found between the importance of Sappho translations found in miscellanies and the impact that they had on her reading public. The inclusion of Sappho in poetic miscellanies such as Tate's *Poems by Several Hands* and Behn's *Miscellany* shows that perhaps there was a wider and less academic audience that Sappho's poetry reached first.[164] This may of course have whetted their appetite for further work from Sappho and the next type of translation seems to indicate this.

The poem translated in each of the miscellanies is fragment 31. The importance of this poem changed in later translations when fragment 1 took precedence and was often translated first in the group. In the remaining translations of Sappho, including the compendia which appear later, more than one poem of Sappho is printed. The numbers range from 2 to 10 poems, and by printing more poems of Sappho than just one, these later texts with more

[163] Boileau's work was published in Europe – Paris and Amsterdam - in 1674, 1675, 1677, 1680, 1683 and 1685. There are also more editions and reprints after this year.
[164] Suarez Jr. (2002): 245.

poems are able to curate a group of poems of Sappho and this informs ideas of her persona and sexuality far more than the books which contain fewer translations.

Magazine

A miscellany is patently not the same as an individual issue in a magazine run, and nor is an issue in a magazine run the same as a compendium, even though each genre is effectively a collection of various works that are pulled together by different means. After Sappho's text appeared in miscellanies, her work next appears in a magazine. Estiennes 1554 edition was used for the ordering of fragments 1 and 31 in the issues of the *Spectator* magazine. Estienne's edition, however, contains many more shorter fragments which were overlooked by the editors of magazines. There are three issues of the *Spectator* which contain information about Sappho, and these are issues 223, 229 and 233. Each issue looks at a single aspect of Sappho – fragment 1, fragment 31 and her appearance in Ovid *Heroides* 15. Ambrose Philips' translation of fragment 31 is often cited as the first translation of Sappho, which as is shown by Tate's *Poems by Several Hands* is not the case.[165] Each of the issues of the *Spectator* brings different aspects of Sappho to the fore without having to make larger statements in a single volume about her work, which would not be the case if the translations had been published together. If published as a volume, the editor might have made decisions about the ordering of fragments to create a narrative and readers would have been more able to construct their own stories through the larger amount of material. Despite these restrictions, the reader is able to create a narrative through reading subsequent

[165] DeJean (1989): 5; Reynolds (2000) misses the work by Bowles, and Jay and Lewis (1996) use Sidney's 'transcript' of fragment 31. There is very little agreement in these works about what constitutes a translation, and how their choices are included in these books.

copies of the magazine but the *Spectator* avoids steering the reader too much since they print one poem or thematic approach per issue.

The anomaly in the corpus of Sappho in translation at this time with relation to genre is Joseph Addison's *Spectator* group of issues in which Ambrose Philips contributes his translations. This is because of the type of publication that the *Spectator* is – a journal or magazine with one article per issue, rather than a book. Were the pamphlet to be any bigger than its sparse few pages, Sappho's work will have needed additions to it. In actuality, the issues in which Sappho appears are filled with a discussion of the text, and, in the case of issue 229, Catullus 51 and Boileau's translation of fragment 31 from his translation of Longinus, *Traité du Sublime.*

The *Spectator* was a daily coffeehouse publication, which came into being after the lapsing of the Licensing Act, which censored the amount and type of material that was produced.[166] It was published from Thursday, March 1st 1711 until Monday December 20th 1714, and had 635 issues.[167] The three pieces published were intended for the audience in a coffeehouse, which meant they will have had a wide readership, and been read alongside other publications such as the *Tatler* which was first published by Richard Steele in 1709.[168] Coffeehouses were regularly attended by upper- and middle-class men. Coffeehouses were ubiquitous in England in the early eighteenth century and their popularity was prevalent not only in academic circles but with middle-class men as well. The became part of the 'public sphere' in England and the boundaries between accessible and exclusive knowledge were often crossed.[169]

[166] Page 137.
[167] Morley (1891): xlvi.
[168] Ellis (2004): 191.
[169] Cowan (2004b): 360.

Indeed, for many men 'they became centres of conversation and 'intelligence', commercial premises and places of private exchange'.[170]

In this way, a coffeehouse publication can be viewed within the same sphere as the miscellanies that Suarez writes about. These publications would have had large and diverse readerships, the extent of which cannot be even corroborated with numbers of print runs, as many men would have read a single copy of a magazine such as the *Spectator* as they were 'prime sites in which news was consumed'.[171] Equally, the conversations that the *Spectator* and other titles like the *Tatler* would have sparked had an 'indefinite nature of … circulation'.[172] By reaching a great many people in coffeehouses, in business, or at home, the word-of-mouth circulation of the topic discussed in any particular issue of the *Spectator* could inspire more conversations and a wider understanding of the issues presented in the text. Doubtless these types of publication were creating a wider readership for translations of Sappho, rather than those who would only have been able to read the densely printed Greek text before.[173]

Sappho had not appeared before in the *Spectator*, and there was not a long tradition of printing translated Greek or Latin poetry in this publication. The first example is in issue number 55, printed on Thursday May 3rd 1711. Here Addison prints Dryden's translation of Persius *Satires* 5, lines 132-155. This issue discusses the two ideas of avarice and luxury with relation to systems of government, with the translation of Persius being used as a starting point for this idea. A later issue, number 211 from Thursday 1st November of the same year, has some of Dryden's translation of Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15, lines 453-

[170] Brewer (1997): 35; Klein (1996): 33.
[171] Cowan (2004a): 35.
[172] Chaves (2008): 296.
[173] McCrea (1990): 11.

478, within a discussion of how people can be thought of in terms of animals and how profitable this might be. Starting with Semonides 7, the article then cites Horace (*Odes* 1.16), the translated Ovid which appears alongside the Latin, and Plato's *Republic* 10.620a-c. In contrast to this sparse number of ancient texts which are printed in earlier numbers of the *Spectator*, including a translation of a previously untranslated poet in full, rather than in part, makes a brief but powerful statement – that Sappho's work is important, should not be hurried, and is worthy of examination alongside more established ancient authors. Sappho is amongst a literary canon here, but by giving her the space to have a full translation of fragment 1 in the first mention of her in the *Spectator*, it allows for the importance of her text to be appreciated by the audience, who had a whole issue of a popular magazine focussed on her.

Sappho was beginning to enter the nation's English-reading consciousness through the medium of a coffeehouse magazine, but Addison is not constructing a coherent attitude to Sappho's sexuality through his publication. When Addison published an issue about Sappho with her translated text within it, he was not aiming to construct Sappho and her sexuality for his readers but instead was using Sappho as an indicator that his publication held interest for intellectuals interested in the Classics, with an educated upbringing. In a format such as a magazine, where the genre is so static and constrained, the text of individual issues has to work harder at constructing a narrative, which is what Addison does in his paratext to Philips' translation. This is something I will be discussing in greater depth in chapter 2.2.[174]

[174] Pages 183-189.

Compendia

The two books which come under the heading of compendia are: *The Works of Petronius Arbiter,* which was edited anonymously and where the translation of Sappho is identified as being by a 'Mr. Herbert' (1714); and *The Loves of Hero and Leander* by Musaeus*,* edited by James Sterling, with Sappho translations by George Ogle (1728). Both books contain two translated poems of Sappho amongst a range of other ancient writers, and each work shapes Sappho's text in a different way using various techniques.The self-conscious structure of the compendia situates them very separately from Joseph Addison's work in his magazine. Whilst the magazine was published as individual issues on separate topics, these issues can be seen in many cases as being part of a larger whole which was the *Spectator* as a single title. By 1714, Sappho's work had already been translated for the first time into English. Addison's remarks and Philips' translation were well received by the other translators and are cited often in later works.[175] However, the compendia differentiate themselves from the *Spectator* articles because they were published separately. The *Spectator* articles are more like individual pieces within a larger miscellany where lots of examples are taken together such as different ideas within the issues of the same magazine, whereas a compendium has a more focussed curation of the poems that are within it. As a collection they are not able to be curated to the same degree as the books, and therefore stand as an interstitial point between both sorts of translation.

As has been discussed, the labour that is invovled in compiling a miscellany can create a number of different reading styles in each book, although the basic idea of producing an anthology stands behind each text.[176] There are myriad narratives that can unfold throughout the creation of a

[175] Addison (1735): preface, 255, 263 and Fawkes (1760): iv, 175, 176, 187.
[176] Pages 67-73.

compendium, and with Sappho there was no English language model. DeJean writes extensively about the French transmission of Sappho's work, but as for English precedents, these were the first books and so constructed Sappho's English language identity from scratch.[177] Each book typically places Sappho with other ancient authors, but the narrative that is constructed in each of the anthologies appears to have little influence on later works. The anonymous *Works of Petronius Arbiter* (1714) has six other ancient authors alongside Petronius, three Latin (Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius), and three Greek (Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho). James Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander* (1728) follows a similar pattern, with a central text and various other authors supporting it. In Sterling's compendium these authors are entirely Greek but are drawn from a wide-ranging time period, from Homer through to Late Antique epigrammatists such as Julian. In both selections, these addenda to the main text are arranged in something like a miscellany, for example there is one poem each from Julian, Theocritus, Bion and Moschus in Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander*.

The anonymous *Works of Petronius Arbiter* (1714) marks a point in the history of Sappho translation. This was the point at which editors started including translations that were not by Ambrose Philips, as was done in Sewell's edited volume *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho* (1713), and it shows the widening of scope for creating new Sappho translations. Philips' translations are printed again in his own work of 1748, and this broadening of the scope is important. Making new translations of Sappho's work must have been appealing, as it was echoed in Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander* some fourteen years later. Although both books have a very sparse paratext about the writers and their works, they do provide some insight into the way in which translators,

[177] DeJean (1987) and (1989).

unencumbered with the weight of working with a traditional translating paradigm, are able to configure the poet and her work.[178]

The Works of Petronius Arbiter prints Sappho fragment 1, subtitled 'To the Goddess of Love', and Achilles Tatius' 2.1, 'Sappho's description of a Rose', both by Herbert about whom nothing is known.[179] This poem is from *Leucippe and Clitophon* and is found in early editions of Sappho.[180] In Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander,* which prints fragments 130 and 131 as a complete poem and the same poem 'On the Rose' from Achilles Tatius, the translator's name George Ogle is anonymised in the text, only represented by asterisks '****** ****' (39). Ogle's name appears in a dedication at the beginning of the book, and Gillespie cites Ogle as the author in his revised bibliography.[181] This is seen in the London edition, where the translators name is not given, and it says it was translated 'by another hand'.[182] The Achilles Tatius poem is only given the heading 'Upon a Rose' and fragments 130 and 131 are joined together as one poem and given the subheading of 'Upon two Favourite-Maids, of whom she was jealous'. This subheading goes some way towards starting a conversation in translation about the women that Sappho composed her songs about and the intense emotion that is often attached to her poetry; and as one of only two Sappho poems in the compendium, it's inclusion highlights these aspects of Sappho's poetry which can get lost when there is a wider selection of poems published.

The means by which different poets are pulled together in compendia are thematic, and as the period progresses these themes become more specific which makes the poetry within each compendium seem more focussed. It also

[178] Pages 172-176.
[179] Page 141.
[180] Page 219.
[181] Sewell (1728): dedication; Gillespie (2009b): 184.
[182] Sterling (1728): frontispiece.

indicates that the translator or editor was thinking more carefully about the story they wanted to tell with the poems in each book, and bringing that story out thematically. These two compendia print the names of the poets which are translated as part of the titles of their books, and this self-consciousness of their own literary awareness distinguishes the compendia from the earlier seventeenth century miscellanies.

There are nuances which can be addressed in the collation and description of Sappho's work in the titles of these books, which will be looked at further in the paratexts chapter, 2.1.[183] By having a named variety of poets within their book, the translators and editors are able to fashion their curated miscellanies in different ways to present different types of reading experience. The artifice in collecting and presenting a number of different poets on different subjects allows for a greater understanding of the way in which readers were approaching Sappho's work in translation and how this reading was constructed by those making the book – the translators and editors. These compendia are building on the groundwork that the miscellanies laid. The miscellanies can support a greater amount of poets from many more different genera and time periods. Due to the disparate types of poets who were included in the miscellanies alongside Sappho, there was little fanfare about including her poetry in the miscellanies, and this seems to be the reason why some of these early works were often overlooked in modern Sappho studies.[184]

[183] Pages 145-159.
[184] There is no mention of Sappho and translation in Lianeri and Zajko (2008); nor do her works in miscellanies appear in Cummings and Gillespie (2009b). Jay and Lewis cite some adaptations of Sappho, and Bowles' translation from Tate's miscellany, but it is printed amongst other works such as Hall's Longinus.

After seeing the types of compendia and the length of time between them (1714 to 1728), this style of making a book of poetry was clearly ubiquitous.[185] As Sappho's work was published in this form, of taking specific poets or poems and choosing which works were printed, the fragmentary remains of Sappho's work were ripe for picking and putting into these compendia. However, it was placing Sappho and Anacreon together which proved to be an increasingly adopted approach to this material, as begun by the translation by George Sewell from 1713, which overtook this more wide-ranging approach.

Sappho and Anacreon

Published in 1713, Sewell's translation *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho*, shows how Sappho's persona and sexuality were being manipulated through the way in which editors and translators were amalgamating translated poetry. Although this is the anonymous Anacreoneta rather than Anacreon's work, it is viewed as being by Anacreon in this period.[186] This translation is still working within the idea of a miscellany, as it is a collection of translations 'Done from the Greek, by several hands', but its title marks it out as a different in outlook from the miscellanies. The publisher, Edmund Curll, was likely to make such publications that had been brought together from previous works.[187] This book, although containing translations by Philips which had been published in the *Spectator,* starts the trend for including more paratextual information about Sappho alongside the translated text.[188] This, combined with the narrative that is created by putting Sappho and Anacreon alongside each other in the title, is something that the later translators who put Sappho and Anacreon together do

[185] The number of classical works included in Gillespie's checklist (1992) show the number of these books. Nearly all of the translations were published in compendia and there were nine miscellanies published in eight years containing translations.
[186] Page 151.
[187] *An Account of Some Roman Urns…lately digg'd up near Bishopsgate* was another book published by Curll that was cannibalised from John Leland's *Itinerary* (1711 – 12) and about which there was some disagreement about re-printing from Hearne, the original publisher. Baines and Rogers (2007): 55-58. Another example of this is *A Receipt to Make a Soop* (1726) which was a private letter from Alexander Pope, Henrietta Howard, Wiliam Pulteney, Henry St John Bolingbroke and John Gay to Jonathan Swift, which was also published in a broadside, but later re-printed by Curll. Baines and Rogers (2007): 172-173.
[188] Pages 180-183.

as well. John Addison and Francis Fawkes's books both have Anacreon and Sappho as the main figures and provide much more information about Sappho than previously had been supplied alongside the fragments. By printing Sappho's work and name alongside Anacreon's, the translators of the books create more of a coherent narrative about Sappho's life than had previously been seen. This is because they are linking Sappho with another author much more closely than ever before and this creates a link between their poetry and personae for the readers.

The influence of transmission on these works can be laid out to see from miscellany to compendium. The miscellany is built up from the first way that Sappho's work was presented as being an addendum up to translations of Sappho and Anacreon, who are the most important poets in the collection as they are the two who are named most predominantly in the books by the end of this period. In this period, as has been shown, there was a snowball effect of types of translation that appear with Sappho in them, in various genera. It is clear that the writers of the anthologies were reading magazines like the *Spectator* and French translations, since the authors of these are mentioned in the other works in the various paratexts which surround the translations, and influence of previous genera on later works shows the transmission of Sappho's text in this way.[189]

Transmitting trans-textuality

There are not only issues with Sappho's text as part of a wider transmitted whole, however. Sappho's erotic poetry, her status as the tenth muse and the issues that surround her gender and sexuality within her poetry each have an important part to play in how her work has been transmitted. Each of these three aspects could cause any one person who transmits this material

[189] Pages 163-164.

problems in any number of ways. Due to the amount of people who will have made some sort of change to the material, whether big or small, this is amalgamated into changes which are much larger than if just one person had made amendments. With so many alterations possible in the translations from manuscript, to Greek edition, to English translation, there was a large amount of opportunities for the understanding of Sappho's poetry and persona to change, either in the editing or translation process, and for a new Sappho to be created with each reading. Each part of this three-stage process plays an important role in transmitting Sappho's text, and therefore this changes the text that the translators use as I will show in chapter 1.2. By understanding manuscript, edition and translation, the different readings of Sappho's Greek text can be illuminated throughout the period.

The transmission of Sappho's text is, in many of the translations studied here, mired in the transmission of the texts which have preserved her writing. Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On the Composition of Words* and Longinus' *On the Sublime* contain Sappho's two most famous poems, fragments 1 and 31. The transmission of these works is indelibly linked to Sappho and indeed, many of the first translations of Longinus, for example – by John Hall – are said to be the first translations of Sappho.[190] As already detailed, this is not the case for this study. Therefore, much like the schism of translations of Sappho breaking away from their origins, so too does the same happen with the transmission of Sappho's Greek text, which in turn affects the way in which Sappho was able to be perceived as a poet who stood apart from the works in which her poetry appeared.

[190] Jay and Lewis (2007) cite Sidney 'My Muse What Ails This Ardour' (composed about 1577) and Hall (1652) as the first two translations in their work (33-4), and Reynolds likewise (39). Gillespie has George Sewell but in the article a translation is defined without 'short single works such as epigrams or lyrics or brief excerpts from longer works' (181).

Manuscripts

One effect of the shift from manuscript to print can be succinctly described by one of its originators, William Caxton, in 1480. He wrote: 'also aboute this tyme the crafte of enprintinge was first founde in Magunce in Almayne Whiche craft is multiplied thrugh the Worlde in many places and books bene had grete chepe and in grete nombre by cause of the same craft'.[191] The books had 'great chepe' and were in 'grete nombre', something which manuscripts were simply unable to do. The quantity and diversity of book titles increased as a direct result of printing, and texts of Sappho were no different. Boffey writes about the mix of print and manuscript culture which existed side by side and there are examples of manuscripts using printed books as sources as well as printed books taking ideas from the manuscripts.[192] This shows the mixture between the two, and something that will be examined later in the following chapter about a corrupted passage in fragment 1.[193] This conversation, which occurs between the manuscript and print texts, articulates how both types of text work together to build new texts of Sappho.

After the advent of printing, and the increased availability of books and their relative cost compared to manuscripts, Sappho's work was far more widely disseminated than it had ever been before. There was a factor that until 1640 poetry books were more expensive to purchase than prose books, but after the early print editions of Dionysius and Longinus, this was not such a problem for the English translators of Sappho's text, who deferred to using a text published in France from 1660, *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina,* by Tanneguy Le Fèvre, and subsequently Anne Dacier's text from 1685.[194]

[191] Caxton (1480): sig. y1v.
[192] Boffey (2014): 15.
[193] Pages 97-131.
[194] Steinberg (1996): 97; and see pages 89-90.

Economic implications

There is another external factor on the production of books which had a great impact on publication in the late 1600s and early 1700s, which was the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695.[195] The lapse of the Act meant that it was much easier to publish than it had been since the Act was instituted in 1643 and it had been during this period that interest in Sappho grew, due to the French texts that have been mentioned above, and translations of Longinus by authors such as Boileau.[196] When the act lapsed, part of the huge upswing in books that were printed contained texts that were about Sappho. There are also other factors to consider when there are more books which are printed in any field. Notably as Caxton said himself two hundred and fifteen years earlier, the more books there are, the cheaper they will be. The price and amount of books available means that more people will be reading more books and therefore the possibility of reading these books, as well as reading other books in the same subject area, is greatly increased. Wages rose throughout the century and books were published by houses that specialised in cheap editions, rather than expensive volumes of Shakespeare.[197]

The price and availability of printed material is relevant to the discussion of how Sappho's sexuality was constructed as it shows that the readership will have been much broader than previously. However, this does not address who was actually reading these works, apart from the fact that there were more of them. Whilst these factors will have made a significant change to different parts of society, there is very little information about on-the-ground readership of such new books after 1695. The amount of books published and their decline in

[195] Page 137.
[196] Du Four de La Crespelière (1670); Boileau (1674).
[197] Gilboy (1936); Walsh (2001): 210-211.

price will have meant that large amounts of the population, who may not have been able to have access to print books before, would now have this access.[198]

There is not enough space to discuss the reading habits and education of Britain in the eighteenth century, but a wider amount of the populace would have had access to these books. There is some dissent from this idea in Elliott's 2010 article, where they mention that average book prices at the lower end of the market changed very little from 1750 – 1790, but that the abundance of books increased, particularly in libraries.[199] However, even if books did not change too much in price, their ubiquity would have meant that there was greater abundance of books outside of cities and in libraries, which increased public access to them even if individuals were not able to purchase them outright. Middle-class women, in particular, would have been able to access the material more readily, which then enabled new interpretations of these texts and subsequently lead to different readings of Sappho's work.

The reader-orientated viewpoint of making and reading these texts in conjunction with each other is central to understanding the way that Sappho's sexuality was constructed. Due to the increased availability of books as shown above, the intertextualites that occurred after the lapsing of the Act became much greater. Both writers and readers of the translations are affected by the relative ubiquity of printed material. The ability to create a single idea of Sappho and her sexuality from multiple texts is central to understanding how her sexuality was constructed in this period.

The widening of the audience culturally and sociologically allows more people to construct Sappho's sexuality though texts, and this is evidenced by the

[198] Raven (2001): 17.
[199] Elliot (2010): 356.

types of publication which printed the translations – such as the *Spectator* – and the clearly intertextual style that was used in the prefaces to the volumes or translations.[200] If the translator is aware that their text may not be the first instance of a reader approaching Sappho, they are working against and alongside the other constructions of the poet and therefore must assert their own authority over both text and reader. Female readers are mentioned in Sterling's preface, where he writes that he is making his book 'to give [his] Subscribers, especially the Ladies, some Opinion of his Abilities as a Translator, by presenting to them in an English Dress, with some Accuracy, the most Admir'd and Courtly Remains of Antiquity' which indicates that the writers of the books were well aware of their widening female audience.[201]

In this period, translators made use of other authors' work, safe in the knowledge that the reader would have had reasonable access to work by other translators. This created a web of texts which influenced and fed off each other, aware that because of the fairly recent change in print culture, a text cannot be read as a standalone, static object.

Sappho editions

Prior to the Licensing Act, the work of Sappho herself was not consolidated in any form until Henri Estienne'ss edition of Anacreon and Sappho, published in 1554.[202] This is an important point in the transmission of Sappho's text as it is the point when she stops being a poet that is simply cited in other authors. Much like the criteria for determining a translation of Sappho, this set of criteria could also apply to editions of Sappho – that is, when her work is consolidated it can be thought of as an edition of Sappho, rather than an edition

[200] Pages 74-76.
[201] Sterling (1728): 4.
[202] Estienne (1554).

of another author whose work contained quotations from Sappho. Prior to this, her work will have been transmitted through the traditions of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Longinus and authors like Hephaestion. I will engage further with this aspect of Sappho's transmission in the following chapter.[203]

After Estienne's 1554 edition, there was published a book that influenced many of the later translations of Sappho, but which is rarely cited. This is Fulvio Orsini's work *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum*, from 1568. This book drew on the European tradition of 'illustrious women' and Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (1361-2) and de Pizan's *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames,* influenced by Boccaccio, are both compendia of famous women that had a wideranging influence on later European works such as Orsini's.[204] The book of Orsini's is important as it is a collection of Sappho's fragments which draws together a wealth of information on Sappho and creates a new text from the different trans-textualities which had existed before, and is discussed further in chapter 3.1.[205] It contains texts from ancient female poets such as Sappho, Erinna and Corinna and stands in a European tradition of grouping women together.[206] In addition to these texts, Orsini includes lyrics, elegies and bucolic poetry, as shown from the subtitle of the book *et lyricorum, elegiae bucolica*. Alongside the work of the female poets, Orsini also prints the work of Alcman, Ibycus, Stesichorus for the lyricists, Tyrtaeus and Mimnermus for the elegists and Bion and Moschus under *bucolica*.[207]

Orsini brought together drawings of a coin that is described as an image of Sappho, pieces of testimonia, a considerable number of fragments with notes

[203] Pages 108-109.
[204] Krueger (2013): 592.
[205] Page 222.
[206] Andreadis (2001): 39.
[207] The full list of poets which Orsini includes is as follows: Sappho, Myrtis, Praxilla, Erinna, Corinna, Nossis, Moero, Telesilla, Anyte, Alcman, Ibycus, Stesichorus, Anacreon, Alcaeus, Simonides, Bacchylidies, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Bion and Moschus.

and Ovid's *Heroides* 15, which together create a large coherent section on Sappho and her work.[208] There is no other book like it that I have found in this period. Sappho is the first poet whose work is discussed and after Sappho, the inclusion of all female poets within this section of the book points to a not-insignificant amount of interest in women's writing during this very early period. The fact that Sappho sits at the head of this collection shows the importance of her writing within this fairly narrow choice of poets. After the female poets, there is a collection of lyric, elegiac and bucolic poetry, but Sappho is still the most important poet in the collection, because her work is placed first, and runs to 35 pages, rather than the 4 pages of work on other female poets – about which there is less to know as less has survived. There are nineteen pages on Stesichorus and twenty-two on Anacreon, for example, but Sappho is the only one with an illustration. It seems that Sappho defines female poets from this era for Orsini, which, despite her 'wanton way of writing' shows the importance of Sappho in the female literary canon.[209]

After Orsini's edition, the next important edition for understanding the translation of Sappho's work was published by Tanneguy Le Fèvre in 1660. Whilst the text was another welcome addition to the corpus of Sappho studies during this time, Le Fèvre's main contribution was fostering his daughter's interest in Sappho. Anne Dacier produced her own text after her father's in 1681; it contained further notes on the text and a French translation.[210] Dacier's work proved influential on English translators, most of whom alluded to Dacier's

[208]These sections appear on pages 2, 2-6, 7-29, 29-36. Orsini's coin is very odd though, as coins of Mytilene do not appear to have an octopus on the reverse, and coins of Sicily instead are often of a type with a nymph on the obverse and an octopus on the reverse. There seems to be no recorded coin-type that has MYTIΛ on the reverse and an octopus. Coins with a draped female head on the obverse and an octopus, often described as a cuttle-fish, on the reverse are seen in BMC Sicily (Poole 1876) 48-54, 77-78, 126-132 but these are coins from Sicily. BMC Greek 169 (Wroth 1894) depicts Sappho's head on the obverse and a lyre on the reverse, but is too dissimilar for it to be mistaken for this coin. Due to this, I think there has been a mistake in the transcription of the inscription.

[209] N.H. (1694): 444.

[210] Fabre-Serris (2016): 78.

text in some way, or made direct reference to it.[211] The impact of Dacier's text is unmissable in the English translations, and in later chapters, the extent of the debt owed to Dacier is explored further.[212] Dacier's text was influential on Longepierre's 1684 book, which contained the text of Dacier, her remarks and life, and his own translation into French.

Although Dacier's work is outside of this period and published in French, in Paris, her work was extremely influential on the British translations, and so understanding what her work says is useful to see how it was used later by other writers. Dacier was working from her father's book which contained the Greek text of Sappho fragments 1 and 31, *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina* (1660). Dacier, in her preface, cites the work of others who have come before her, such as Henri Estienne who produced an edition of Sappho as is discussed in the transmission of editions.[213] She mentions her father as well in relation to her work on Anacreon and surely she also had in mind his work on Sappho, as they are contained in both books, '*mon pere a fait autrefois quelques Remarques sur cet Auteur* [Anacreon]'[214] She mentions her father also in the notes on fragment 31, '*mon pere a remarqué dans les huit derniers vers un merveilleux artifice de Sapho…*' and '*mon pere a ajoûté qu'il sçavoit bien qu'il y avoit des personnes qui prendroient cela pour de réveries d'un homme qui abuse de son loisir*',[215] which shows that Dacier was working closely with her father's work as she cites him so often, but that she felt she had something new to contribute. Dacier's work became in its own right a very important and well-respected source for the translations into English which followed it. Joseph Addison, George Sewell, John Addison and Francis Fawkes all mention Dacier in their books which shows the

[211] *Spectator* (1711): 223; Sewell (1713): 65; Addison (1735): 259, 277; Fawkes (1760): 182-3, 187, 195
[212] Wyles (2016) : 73; chapters 2.1, 2.2, 3.1 and 3.2.
[213] Dacier (1681): preface.
[214] Dacier (1681): preface. 'My father has written some remarks about this author'.
[215] Dacier (1681): 261-2. 'My father remarked on the last eight verses a marvellous artifice of Sappho, and my father added that he saw well that there were people who would that as the reveries of a man who abuses his leisure'.

breadth of influence that Dacier had over the works which followed her for 80 years.[216]

In addition to Dacier's influence, Joseph Addison's *Spectator* article was well regarded and as such it was cited heavily.[217] The Philips translations within it also had a great deal of influence on later translations. The mix of Addison's notes on the poem and Philips' first translations had a great deal of impact on the later writers, and this is probably because the later authors thought that the work had a place in bringing Sappho to the reading public.[218] Equally, as the first popular English translation of Sappho, it was published in a format that these men would have had access to as they were the target audience for it and therefore it would cement their standing as supportive Tories who were reading the *Spectator*.[219]

As well as agreement with and endorsement of previous translations, there are some works within the corpus of Sappho translations in this period that cite previous translations as negative examples. This type of citation is as important as positive citation, as it shows what a translator was trying to work against to create their new Sappho. This occurred with Fawkes' citation of John Addison's work. Fawkes cites Addison's translation in the introduction to Sappho's work and says; 'Mr. John Addison's Translation is incomplete, and, excepting a few Odes, harsh and crude, and far from being well done'. John Addison himself takes an approach to Sappho's text which appears to be more open-minded in relation to the depiction of Sappho's sexuality and by naming

[216] Farnham (1976): 82.
[217] Addison (1735): preface, 255, 263 and Fawkes (1760): iv, 175, 176, 187.
[218] John Addison describes Philips' translation as the 'celebrated Version of the Two Odes of Sappho' (1735: preface). Fawkes (1760) is not as complimentary saying Philips' translations were 'amazingly rough and awkward' (iv), but does quote Joseph Addison's remarks on the poems at length (187).
[219] The interest in and knowledge of Philips' translation can be seen in an example from 1751, fifty years after its original publication, where in the *London Advertiser and Literary Gazette* and the editor John Hill, known as 'The Inspector', published a whole issue on Sappho fragment 31 and though it did not include Philips' translation, cites the 'beauty' of Philips' translation.

Addison, Fawkes shows that although he is aware of his work, he is distancing himself from the content of it.[220] This showcases Fawkes' own awareness of the sexualised and homoerotic aspects of Sappho's poetry, which he then stresses he does not agree with in a number of ways.[221] Between John Addison and Fawkes there is much that is different in their poetry as well as their attitude to the poet.

Sewell's work seems to have been largely overlooked by the translators, and this could be for a number of reasons. His work was an amalgamation of previous pieces, and published by Curll. It therefore might not have been viewed as a serious piece of scholarship, which means that the influence that Sewell could have had over the translations which follow would not have been as obvious as more respected translators' influences on the new works. There is more on the publisher's paratext and how this could influence the reception of a work in chapter 2.1.[222]

Alongside citation, the two remaining aspects that illustrate how the translations were connected in this period are the fragments which were published and similarities between the translations. Both aspects are dealt with in chapter 3.1, and specific instances of creating a net of intertexts through transmission are examined in chapter 2.1.[223] Briefly, all books except one include fragment 1, and all books bar two include fragment 31. These two poems are Sappho's most well known in the corpus during this period and so for translators and editors not to include them in their books points to a different reason for translation within their works. By highlighting the books which do not print certain translations of Sappho, we can see them as distinct from the other

[220] There is further discussion of Addison's attitude to Sappho's sexuality in the following chapters, as it affects his paratext, Life and translation of the poems.
[221] Page 289.
[222] Pages 140-145.
[223] Pages 210-242 and pages 159-162.

books which were attempting to construct her sexuality through poems that were well known to the public already. The first of these is in the anonymous *The Works of Petronius Arbiter* from 1714. This compendium prints fragment 1 and 'On the Rose'. The misattributed poems in this period were viewed as original works because they had been included in Estienne's edition. By working from the Greek edition as well as other translations, there was little reason to question the attribution. As has been mentioned, the compendium provides a different viewpoint on Sappho, and sees her work as an addendum to a rich catalogue of other poets, in this case, ancient poets. Both fragments are translated by Mr Herbert, who appears not to have translated fragment 31. The ease of using one translator's work which was crucially not Philips seems to satisfy this reasoning. With Philips' translations already published in the *Spectator* in 1711, and this the first time that Herbert's translations were published, it is clear that the editor is championing new translations of Sappho, which then highlighted the scope available for other writers to create their own translations.

Indeed, a widening of the Sapphic corpus in translation also seems to be occurring in another translation of Sappho which appears 15 years later. Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander* from 1728 publishes the Rose poem from Achilles Tatius and fragments 130 and 131 as a complete poem. Translated by Ogle, who also does not appear to have published these translations in other books, *The Loves of Hero and Leander* is championing new translations of ancient authors. This is set out in the title of the book 'to which are added some new translations from various Greek authors'. It is unsurprising that these books have nothing within them that refers to other authors or that appears to be part of an interwoven net of translations. They are trying to do things which are new to the genre and figuring their books as individual works, each bringing something to the new tradition of translating Sappho.

What these two texts do is show how mutable Sappho's corpus was at the time. Taken together as intertexts, the Sapphic corpus at this point is shifting through the viewpoint of different translators, by what they choose to publish and when. Whilst questions of authenticity over the Tatius poem and the epigrams are rightly disputed after this period, in the eighteenth century the corpus was able to be shifted as the translators were gatekeepers of this text in English.[224] At this point in the transmission of Sappho's text, the Greek edition is quite fixed, with later editors attempting to make sense of some garbled parts from the manuscripts. Dionisotti describes this as 'a copy [of a *fragmentum*] which is more or less directly and accurately made'.[225] This is what editions are attempting to do – to recreate an original work accurately. The same cannot be said for a translated text, which is itself very mutable as different translators are trying to say different things with each new translation. As discussed in the introduction, accuracy is hard to measure with translation and in translations: the ideas of the original author and the ideas of the translator intermingle, as shown in Venuti's second order semiotic system.[226] However, the translated text itself is very mutable. It can be changed according to the translators and, in this way, it is a vehicle for their interpretation of Sappho's sexuality and how she depicts her longing and desire.

Conclusion

The transmission of Sappho's text through editions and translations enables a modern reader to see the different points at which Sappho's text was being made, and what each translation is trying to say either because of or in spite of previous work. By making this process transparent and understanding the ways in which the translators were creating their own translation from a

[224] Wharton (1885): 169; Gosetti-Murrayjohn (2006): 23.
[225] Dionisotti (1997): 1.
[226] Venuti (2008): 31.

range of editions and translations, what each book is saying about Sappho's sexuality can be more easily seen. This method of transmitting a text also illuminates the types of paratextual information that go alongside the translation of Sappho, and ultimately the poems within the text end the discourse around what is being said about Sappho's poetry and her sexuality as they cement it momentarily for the reader in a specific reading – the writer's position here is laid out with all the information they print.

Translations and editions work together to create a net of intertexts through which Sappho's sexuality is thought about and discussed. Each new work will create a different type of Sappho in the mind of the reader, and as the period progresses, more influences come to act on the way in which Sappho's sexuality was understood. When looking at a reader-focussed interpretation of Sappho, consideration of the form that the work is presented in can unlock different ideas about the poet and create different readings of her work for different audiences. The audiences themselves – whether in coffeehouses or less social spaces, reading specific books focussed on Greek poets – can form radically different ideas of Sappho's text, based on their previous understanding of material that was published in these various ways. These ideas of Sappho, her work and her sexuality are perpetuated by the forms of the work too, as can be seen in the prevalence of translations which link Sappho and Anacreon.[227]

In addition to the form of the works, there are some ways in which analysis of the text within these books can illuminate our understanding of the transmission of Sappho's text in translation. One is citation of other translators. This can occur in the introduction to a text as in Fawkes but also in the notes in the text such as in John Addison.[228] Another way to examine how the texts are

[227] Pages 82-83.
[228] Fawkes (1760): v. Addison (1735): 256.

connected is to look at the fragments which they chose to translate in their books. This is seen in the three versions of Philips' text which are produced.[229] The final way is by examining the texts themselves, which is a much less obvious way to understand the connections between the texts. Many of the translations have similarities with each other, in the Greek text and in translation, and it is in this way that we can see that they are reading each other's work rather than directly translating from a Greek edition. This idea will be discussed further in the following chapter.[230]

[229] Pages 56-57.
[230] Pages 114-119.

Chapter 1.2

Transmission of Fragment 1.24

This poem, from John Addison's 1735 Greek text and in all English translations covered in this thesis, can be found in the appendix.[231]

One of Sappho's personal poems which creates her persona most compellingly for an audience is fragment 1, often called the 'Ode to Aphrodite' by translators. This poem showcases many much-loved aspects of her poetry and provides us with an excellent example of the ways in which Sappho's poetry was transmitted in this period. The transmission process also gives us an insight into the way that Sappho's sexuality was constructed and how the transmission of a poem from manuscript to edition to translation can deeply affect the meaning of a poem, the reading of it, and the construction of the poet who wrote it.

As with many of the issues surrounding Sappho and her poetry, there is very little material to work with. Despite this lack of material, fragment 1 is a very useful example to use when thinking about the transmission of Sappho's work, as it is the longest poem in the corpus and its transmission has been important to understanding the ways in which early translators were creating an English translation of Sappho's poetry from the Greek text.

Fragment 1

Fragment 1 has survived the centuries because it was preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in chapter 23 of his work *On Literary Composition.* He praised it in many ways including for its smooth style, παρθενωπός, maiden

[231] Appendix 1-4.

softness.[232] In this poem, Sappho depicts a close relationship with the goddess of love, speaks in a highly personal tone and sings about a strong desire for her beloved. Sappho is famous as a love poet and as a lesbian; not only did she write fragment 31 which is described by Longinus as depicting ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς μανίαις, 'the madness of love', but she also specifically described her desire for and relationships with other women.[233] She names them in her poetry: Atthis, Dika, Gongyla, Gyrinno, Mnasidika.[234] There are also many other women who go unnamed. As well as women, she wrote of men, the beloved bridegroom like a sapling or the boy who made someone break with longing (fragments 115 and 102).

Fragment 1 is an important poem for working out who Sappho wants, male or female. By understanding who Sappho desires here, as a case study, some of the problems and choices that early translators were facing are highlighted. There is no Atthis or Gyrinno in fragment 1. There is no slender boy. Indeed, there are no names apart from Sappho's and Aphrodite's. The participle in line 24 of fragment 1 has to have a gender, but this word has been corrupted in the manuscripts and as a result, due to its literary transmission, it remained corrupt in the early editions of Sappho's work.[235] In the early editions and translators fragment 1 is read as a poem depicting Sappho's love for a man, either her husband, attested in the *Suda* as the unlikely-sounding Cercylas of Andros, or the mythical Phaon.[236] Due to the corruption of the text, the last word was not generally read as a participle and therefore those verbs which rely on

[232] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *On Composition* 23.
[233] This is described further in chapter 3.1, pages 226-240.
[234] Atthis: fragments 49, 96, 131; Dika: fragment 81; Gongyla: fragment 95; Gyrinno and Mnasidika: fragment 82a.
[235] Voigt (1977): 33.
[236] σ107; σ108; Parker (1993): 309 and pages 166-167.

the gender of the participle for their subject have been read with an assumed male subject as one was not specified within the text.[237]

In Estienne's text the relevant stanza reads as follows (21-4):

Καὶ γὰρ αἴ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει·

Αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ, ἀλλὰ δώσει·

Αἰ δὲ μὴ φιλεῖ, ταχέως φιλήσει

Χ' ὄττι κελουῃς.

The last line has caused problems with transmission and emendation, line 24. By understanding these different modes and types of emendation which are made in the editions of Sappho – both manuscript and print – two things will happen. Firstly, a better understanding of the text that the translators were working from will emerge and therefore how the raw material of the text was influencing their translations and conception of the poet. Secondly, understanding the emendations will show how Sappho's writing and persona were being formed in this period. The emendations to this line had been appearing in manuscripts in a variety of guises, as some scribes would have tried to 'remove or tone down offending passages', meaning that a number of hands could have been tampering with a text to fit their own personal tastes and persuasions.[238]

To read Sappho's text is to attempt to gain access to the ancient poet, and what she was composing to be sung. The practice of textual criticism are attempts to reconstruct the text as the author would have had it, or in this case, sung it. The amount of time which has passed in between the poem's reception and the present day suggests that this is not possible to do with a great deal of

[237] I will go on to discuss these emendations within this chapter.
[238] Wilson (1983): 16.

confidence. However, looking at the transmission of the text and the ways in which the text is judged to be less corrupt, the most plausible reading of the line can be found.

Points of emendation

When looking at these texts, there are four aspects to emending a line that I shall follow these are:

- metre
- language
- sense
- historical precedent

The importance of a metrical construction of line 24 is non-negotiable and any emendation which does not scan should be discounted as an incorrect reading, and one which should not be given time.[239] Language is also important. There are many emendations that will be examined which use unusual readings or words which are either not Aeolic Greek or not Greek at all. Again, these readings of the line can be discounted. Sense is a much broader category to make a value judgement on. Sense can be defined in terms of coherence of meaning within the poem, within Sappho's corpus and within reception of Sappho's poetic persona. Sense within the poem takes precedence here, but the conception of Sappho's writing (and often the poet) as homoerotic or heteroerotic is also important to fashioning Sappho's writing and persona in this period.

[239] West (2005): 1; Obbink (2014): 33. West writes that the 'new Sappho' can be attributed based on metre, as does Obbink with the 'newest Sappho', showing the importance of metre to Sappho's work.

Equally in terms of sense, Sappho is known to use Homeric tropes within her lyrics, but she also uses these ideas in new ways.[240] Where you would expect ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, 'rosy-fingered Dawn' Sappho writes of the βροδόπαχυν Αὔων 'rosy-fingered Moon' in fragment 58, or ποικιλόθρον' Aphrodite 'of the spangled throne' where she might instead be addressed as ἐυστεφάνος, 'beautifully garlanded'.[241] This playfulness in her language, often cited by scholars when discussing her work, can also be seen in fragment 1 in many cases, including line 24.[242] There is an abrupt shift of focus in this line which surprises the reader and as such an understanding of the sense here is not easy to reconstruct. Although the sense of the poem is very important when looking at the emendations which have been made, there will be fuller discussion in chapter 3.2, where close readings of fragment 1 and fragment 31 will illuminate various aspects of the poems.[243]

By looking at the four aspects of importance in the emendations made to Sappho's text – metre, language, sense and literary precedent – we can gain an idea of how the emendations of Sappho fragment 1 line 24 were constructed and why the authors of these works would have made these changes to the text, each creating a different type of reading. To corroborate some of these ideas about different types of emendation to a text and how a text can be read through different emendations and additions to a text, it is useful here to look at D'Angour's discussion of reconstructing fragment 31, as he has faced many of these questions himself in his reconstruction.[244] Whilst reconstruction is not the same as emendation, it provides a useful lens through which we can look at a

[240] Rosenmeyer (1997): 138, This is also mentioned in some of the newest work on Sappho: Obbink (2016): 212.
[241] Aphrodite is referred to as ἐυστεφάνος in *Odyssey* 8.267; *Odyssey* 18.193; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 6.
[242] Zellner (2010).
[243] Pages 250-294.
[244] D'Angour (2006).

discussion of creating a new text from a canonical original.[245] D'Angour discusses the need for literary receptions of a text, sense within the text itself and poetic form to play an important part when reconstructing Sappho's material. This provides us with metre, language and literary precedent. It then goes on to succinctly mention what I call 'sense' here, 'the poem's general theme and the poet's general focus of concern: Love.'[246] The love aspect and the general theme of the poem are important to emending the poem and provide the counterpoint to the more functional aspects of form within a poem and within its emendations. D'Angour writes a new end for fragment 31, an extra stanza based on his reading of Catullus and his engagement with the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite. His reading of the closeness between mortal and goddess is an enduring part of Sappho's works, more so than Sappho's erotic desire for other women – it is the poet's love for Aphrodite which powers her poetry. The content of fragment 31 will be discussed in chapter 3.1 and this chapter focusses on fragment 1.[247] As fragment 1 is a complete poem it cannot be reconstructed, but D'Angour's discussion of his reconstruction provides a tight framework in which to think about textual emendation and what translators can look for when reading original works and creating their translations from them.

Bergk's emendation

There have been many emendations to fragment 1 line 24, but the most recent conjecture from Bergk in 1843 which appears in modern editions of Sappho appears to make the most sense out of the previously proposed ideas because it adheres to the four principles of emendation as described above.[248]

[245] Obbink (2016) discusses his emendations to the Brothers poem 'passages left unrestored in the text are generally those that would benefit from further study and consideration before committing to a reading or restoration' (15). Whereas D'Angour in 2006 is more confident, that the break at the end of 31 is 'a tantalising challenge to philology and interpretation'. (298)
[246] D'Angour (2006): 299.
[247] Pages 268-271.
[248] Voigt (1971): 33.

Bergk's emendation reads as κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα. By describing this first, it will enable a clearer route through the mess and confusion of the earlier readings, as the clear endpoint of what makes most sense for the text will have already been shown. In light of this, the emendations that occur during transmission will be illuminated as trying to make sense of a line that is corrupted and what sort of sense the editors might have been reaching for.

Firstly, this reading of line 24 fits the metre of the stanza. This is discussed in more detail by Page, who, although he can come to no confident reading of line 24, concerns himself with the metre of the line in his commentary.[249] Other earlier readings of this final line often do not fit metrically with the Sapphic stanza which means that they can be discounted, as the other last lines of each stanza in this poem present no problem with their metre.[250] There are no errors in Bergk's reading and all the language he uses is Aeolic Greek rather than other dialects which are employed in other emendations, as shall be shown.

There is much that makes sense linguistically and stylistically in Bergk's reading, our third aspect, sense, of emendation of the text. In this passage, Aphrodite is speaking to Sappho, after Sappho has prayed to her for help. There is a reciprocal relationship between the goddess and Sappho. Sappho entreats the goddess, ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα |τὰς ἔμας αὔδως ἀίοισα πήλυι | ἔκλυες, 'but come here, if ever before you heard my voice from afar' (5-7) and this shows that she asked her at least once before in the past. This therefore is an ongoing relationship between goddess and singer. Sappho asks Aphrodite to come to her again, δηὖτε, and to answer her prayer once more (15-16). When

[249] Page (1955): 10.
[250] This will be shown in this chapter.

Aphrodite then speaks to Sappho she asks, τίνα δηῦτ' ἀπείθην | μαῖσ ἄγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; 'who am I to persuade again to lead you back to their love?' (18-19),[251] and it is clear that Aphrodite is going to help Sappho as she has done previously which is shown by the use of δηῦτε, echoing Sappho's own words to the goddess. There is another reading of this poem, that Aphrodite will torment Sappho's beloved by making her feel the same way that Sappho does – but about someone else rather than Sappho.[252] However, this is not the reading that the translators make. D'Angour writes about this in his reconstruction with reference specifically to Sappho and Aphrodite's interaction and how this can be used to determine the text of the poem. '[Sappho] addresses Aphrodite frequently, by different names and titles… in tones of respect, affection and reproach. These addresses lend a characteristic warmth and intimacy to her relationship with her patron goddess.'[253]

In addition to the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite there is also the relationship here between Sappho and the beloved which informs the reading of line 24, and this is where the literary precedent of the emendation is seen as well. Stanza six is when Aphrodite tells Sappho how she will use her influence over Sappho's beloved; she sets up a series of statements that solely concern the beloved and what they will do after Aphrodite's intervention. They will not run but pursue, give gifts rather than not accept them and they will love Sappho even if the beloved does not want to. The gender is ambiguous before Bergk's reading of line 24 and in the eighteenth century there was no explicit gender assigned to the beloved. The three sets of opposing statements in lines 21-23 are finished by the Adonic line.[254] This stanza acts separately from the

[251] Which is also an emendation by Bergk (1843): 599.
[252] Petropoulos (1993) 49; Giacomelli (1980): 136.
[253] D'Angour (2006): 300.
[254] Page (1955): 318.

rest of the poem, as stanza five finishes with a question, τίς σ'ὦ Ψάπφ', ἀδικήει; 'who, O Sappho, wrongs you?' and the stanza after this starts with a new set of phrases indicated by Sappho's ἔλθε μοι καὶ νυν, 'come to me now'. As such, line 24 is in a very important place within the poem, finishing Aphrodite's promise to Sappho, and the longest sequence within the poem that discusses the beloved.

Sappho wants her beloved very much, wants to be pursued and receive gifts from them, and most of all wants to be loved. It is not against Sappho's will that she is loved, but against the beloved's will that they love Sappho, as they are not already showing her the love that she wants. Sappho is in love with this person but the love is unrequited and this is why she has to ask Aphrodite for help. It is not Sappho who has to change, but the beloved but due to the strong relationship between poet and goddess. Any other reading of who would be willing would make what Aphrodite says much odder, as logically, she would not move from talking about the feeling of the beloved in answering Sappho's prayer to talking about Sappho's feelings and how these will be changed. This can be seen in the translations from this period, working with the corrupt text. Bergk's emendation reverses the text in Estienne and gives Sappho more power in this relationship. As Garner writes of fragment 1 in its most basic reading, it is about 'a mortal in battle (military or erotic) seeking help from an ally-goddess' and this alliance between Sappho and Aphrodite is central to the poem.[255] Two points of emendation coincide here; sense and literary precedent. There are Homeric examples of ancient texts where a person is asking for help from a goddess or god in both military and erotic matters, through prayer and the divine figure fulfilling their wishes.[256]

[255] Garner (2015): 12.
[256] Examples of this are Penelope's prayer to Artemis, asking the goddess to end her life *Odyssey* 20.61-90; or Diomedes in the *Iliad* when he prays to Athena for help in battle 5.115-120.

In addition to this, the strength of Aphrodite's pronouncement would also be disrupted if she were not talking about the beloved. Firstly, the beloved turns towards Sappho and begins to pursue her. Secondly, as well as pursuing they are also giving Sappho something, δῶρα, gifts. Finally, it is not only gifts that they are giving Sappho, but love, something which means more than both being pursued and being given gifts. If the beloved were to want these things, it would be a different poem entirely.[257] Without this ascending tricolon of feeling and action, the whole stanza falls apart. It is in this way that the last line makes most sense and this then affects the way in which the entire poem is to be read.

Sappho and Aphrodite

This poem is not about the beloved who remains nameless and formless in Sappho's description. It is about Sappho and Aphrodite's relationship and, as a tool to examine this relationship, Sappho's desire for her beloved. Here Aphrodite is making the beloved do what Sappho wants, rather than the opposite; of Sappho doing what Aphrodite wants to gain the beloved. It is a poem about prayer and power and respect. The love that the poem depicts is from Sappho to Aphrodite.

The relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite in this poem can be seen as a parallel to the relationship between Odysseus and Athene in the *Odyssey* which adds another reason to support Bergk's conjecture, that of literary precedent. The relationship that is strengthened by Bergk with his emendation to the text shows part of a new aspect to Sappho and Aphrodite's relationship. In this parallel, each goddess shows an on-going relationship with the person they are helping and the relationship between the two is imperative to the action

[257] See fragments 126, 81, 48.

of the story.[258] Πολύμητις Odysseus, of many wiles, needs help from the goddess of wisdom, Athene, and she supports his status as a clever, wily hero by giving him support in this way, such as when she sends a mist to envelop him and guard him when he enters Alcinous' city or when she disguises him as an old man before he meets Eumaeus.[259]

Sappho's use of Homeric themes in her poetry is seen in other fragments, and much has been written about the relationship between Homer and Sappho, such as in fragment 16 when she mentions Helen and her departure to Troy.[260] In fragment 1, Sappho uses this idea of a dialogue between the mortal and goddess who have similar concerns. The mortal, here named Sappho, is an attendant of Aphrodite's; concerned with love, desire, prayer and eroticism. Aphrodite, in her role as goddess of erotic love, is shown as the immortal counterpart to Sappho. This is the same sort of relationship which is displayed in the *Odyssey*, albeit on a much smaller scale. In this way, it is reinforced that this poem is more about the relationship between mortal and god than it is about solely human affairs.[261]

In this stanza, metre, language, sense and literary precedent work together to create a sense of Sappho and Aphrodite as allies, united in their desire to change the feeling of the beloved for the benefit of Sappho. If the stanza, and therefore the whole poem, can be made sense of in this way, it is sensible to question what happened in the intervening period between the poem's conception and its modern reading, as this was not always the sense that was made out of these lines. The men copying the manuscripts are the point at

[258] Parker (1998); Peels (2016); Hénaff (2010); Garner (2015).
[259] *Odyssey* 7.14; 13.430-9.
[260] Garner (1990); Rosenmeyer (1997); Steinrück (1999).
[261] West (1970): 308. West cites this as a literary device, but within the literary device, Sappho has created a relationship with Aphrodite.

which the changes occur and therefore the differences in manuscripts are either due to mistakes by the scribes or considered expurgation of the manuscripts.[262] Later editors have used varying manuscripts and other editions to form their own ideas of what this stanza means, amalgamating different readings of the poem to articulate their new readings of the text and how it fits into the formation of Sappho's persona as a poet.

Transmission of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Literary Composition*

There are three main readings from the manuscripts of Dionysius and each describe Sappho's desire in different ways which influence the translators. However, there are nine manuscripts. Each scribe has to base their text on a previous text and so the transmission of a particular reading can gain favour, or not, by who reads it, transcribes it, and then who transcribes it subsequently.[263] Two types of emendation occur and often these will be defined by which text was easily accessible to the scribe at the time. The emendation of the text can occur where the words are altered based on other variants from other texts or codices.[264] If there is a particularly popular reading, or one which makes most sense to the scribe, then they will alter their text to reflect this. Another type of emendation could be due to the scribe's ingenuity, where the text is altered because of the scribe's knowledge in metre, Greek language, sense, or a plethora of other areas. One of the major difficulties with the manuscripts of Sappho's work is that the scribes did not have the knowledge to deal adequately with her Aeolic dialect. These changes are not anchored in previous manuscripts and therefore can produce either wholly bizarre or very ingenious answers to the problem of corruption in a text. As the period progresses and editors are making sense of the Greek text, both types of emendation occur.

[262] Reeve (2011): 27.
[263] Usher (1974): xxvii-xxix.
[264] Timpanaro (2005): 46.

Ease of access to a manuscript was also very important to the scribes. If most of the work was being done in Venice but the most reliable text was in Paris, then accordingly the text which was closest would be the one which was used.[265] This means that there can be multiple readings of a line, in this case readings of line 24, and how each reading of the line through each branch of the stemma can exist concurrently.

Line 24 in Sappho's poem, cited in Dionysius, is corrupt. There are three different readings of the manuscripts, within these there are also minor variations as well.[266] It seems clear that there are readings arising from mis-transcriptions that do not make much or any sense and these have been used again and again. When the words are as corrupt as they are in this passage, it is easy for them to become more confused, as different scribes try and make sense of the strange letters that should appear to be Greek. Attempting to make sense of a corrupt passage to produce a readable and useful text is a difficult enterprise, and one which can change the meaning of an entire poem.

Manuscripts

The four principal manuscripts of Dionysius' treatise are:

F: Laurentianus Plut. 59.15 (early 11th c.?)

P: Parisiensis 1741 (mid-10th c.)

M: Marcianus 508 (14th c.)

V: Parisiensis 1798 (16th c.)

Of the four, P and F often stand apart from the other two as more influential.[267] There are other, less influential manuscripts which have their own smaller variations on the text which either support or oppose the readings in P, M, V and

[265] Timpanaro (2005): 115.
[266] Piccolomini (1892), whose information is discussed below.
[267] Aujac (1974): 1.

F. F found some favour as it is supported by M and V, as well as the epitome, and is also quoted in the scholia to Hermogenes' *On Style*, mentioned by Usener in 1904.[268] Aujac's article in 1974 found similarties linking P and F, which had been previously thought to be completely different strands of manuscript tradition, maintaing the different aspects of each branch of both P and F manuscripts.

The oldest manuscript, P (Parisiensis 1741) is sometimes considered to be the most authoritative, as it is corroborated by M and has many readings which are the same as V, although this is not the case for line 24 of Sappho's poem.[269] Written in the tenth or eleventh century, it has κ' ώυκ' ἐθέλοις. This is not syntactical Greek, and is a syllable too short, but it is closest to meaning 'and you would not want' or 'and may you not want'. In either case, it is Sappho who is doing the wishing. This 'you' refers to Sappho as it is said in Aphrodite's voice within the poem. Crucially, this leaves the gender of the beloved ambiguous and readers are left to interpret the gender as they see fit. The line does not fit the metre of the Sapphic stanza, but the ώυκ' shows crasis between καὶ and οὐκ.

This reading is supported, as mentioned, by M (Venetus Marcianus 508, early 14th century). As well as manuscript M, there are other manuscripts which support this reading, as detailed by Piccolomini.[270] Piccolomini also states that a manuscript that he calls L^2, Laurentianus LIX 11 from the fifteenth century, has ἡ ώυκ' ἐθέλοις, a probable miscopying of kappa as eta, and a further fifteenth century manuscript called M^3 by Piccolomini, M, has κὤυκ ἐθέλοις. As well as

[268] Voigt (1971): 30
[269] Aujac (1974). Roberts (1910): 57. Roberts is taking much of his material from Usener's work of 1899; the Teubner edition of Dionysius' *de Compositione Verboum*; and also from Piccolomini's 1892 article.
[270] Piccolomini (1892): 2.

this, there are two more manuscripts detailed by Piccolomini, labelled as V^6 and V^4; Vaticanus Palatinus 277 from the fifteenth century and Vat.-Pal. 66 from the sixteenth century. These have readings of κ' ὠυκ' ἐθέλοις and εθέλοις respectively. These are six other manuscripts and early editions which more or less support this reading, allowing for some accidental or intentional emendation by the scribes, and they show that P is influential on these later works.

A further manuscript, still later than M, is V (Vergetii Parisiensis 1798) from the sixteenth century; this manuscript has a different version of line 24, κὤ εἰ καὶ θέλεις, which could translate to something appropriating 'not even if you actually want'. Yet again, this does not fit the metre or the dialect and the 'you' is still referring to Sappho. Once more, this leaves the gender of the beloved ambiguous. According to Piccolomini, this reading is corroborated by fifteen different texts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.[271] Sometimes these readings miss out some of the words within the phrase. However, although there are a lot of attestations to this phrasing, manuscript V needs to be read alongside P and M to create the best reading of Dionysius' work due to corruptions in all three of the manuscripts. These three are often referred to as a group, because their readings need to be taken together. Where they differ on this line asks whether any of them are preserving an accurate reading, but the differences in metre in the texts shows that these readings are not as accurate as could be hoped.

Manuscript F (Florentinus Laurentianus LIX 15) has what is closest to the modern reading of the line, κωυ κεθέλουσα. This is earlier than M or V, but appears after P in the late tenth or early eleventh century.[272] It seems to be a

[271] Piccolomini (1892): 2.
[272] Aujac (1974): 1 note 3.

misreading or mis-transcription of κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα, 'even if she is unwilling', where the kappa has moved from the first word into the second and the iota has been changed to an upsilon. The -οισα ending is Aeolic and the ουσα ending is Ionic, which makes sense of this alteration. It seems to be the best manuscript that survives. This reading gives the gender of Sappho's beloved as female. The line also scans. It is this reading which corroborates Bergk's conjecture and which makes sense from the three criteria; metre, sense and literary precedent. Whilst Bergk did not have access to F (he did have acces to M, V and P), he supports his reading of the line and citing Weckler as the cause of much of the difficulty over it. This reading is supported by another manuscript, labelled as V^1 by Piccolomini. This manuscript is from the thirteenth century and is Vaticanus 64, and has κωϋκ εθέλουσα.

The PMV tradition appears to have been more common in earlier editions, such as the Aldine edition and Robert Estienne's, and therefore its ubiquity appears to have been dictated by the historical precedent of the editions, and the F tradition appears much later and is taken up in preference to the previous readings of the poem.

Printed editions

Aldus Manutius published the work of Demetrios Doukas, *Rhaetores Graeci*, which is the first printed edition of Dionysius in 1508 and contains fragment 1; he prints κὐωκ ἐθέλοι which appears to be part of the tradition from P and M.[273] However, the gender of the beloved is still not specified and the phrase is still ungrammatical and unmetrical. Subsequently Robert Estienne'ss edition of Dionysius in 1547, *Antiquitatum Romanarum libri X*, contains *On*

[273] Doukas (1508): 537.

Literary Composition and a very different reading of the line. Estienne'ss edition prints κ' ὥτι καὶ θέλεις, ἐθέλοιμι, 'and whatever you actually want, may I want'. While the poem is not printed with line breaks, the next phrase is καὶ νουν χαλεπᾶν λῦσον ἐκ μεριμνᾶν, 'and loosen my mind from anxious cares' (37). By breaking the phrase later and emending ἔλθε μοι to ἐθέλοιμι in the next line, Estienne is able to make marginally more sense of the preceding text. This change in the text changes the whole aspect of the poem, and puts Sappho at the mercy of the beloved, rather than the beloved at the mercy of Aphrodite. This line also appears to be spoken in Sappho's voice, breaking the dialogue from that of Aphrodite. The 'I' is clearly meant to be spoken by Sappho, but to break from Aphrodite's voice into Sappho's in this way is odd. There is sense in the words of this reading, but not in their metre or context. This also eliminates the gender of the beloved and therefore the homoerotic desire in the poem. The beloved is once again gender ambiguous and it would be easy to assume in a heteronormative society that it is a man, which corroborates a viewpoint of the poet that she was heterosexual and that this poem was not about a woman.

Estienne's text was very influential over later editions and translations in the early modern period. This alteration has no basis in any of the earlier manuscripts but is taken as the canonical text for Sappho fragment 1. Rather than looking back to manuscripts which are hard to gain access to for a variety of reasons, the arrival of a printed edition as an accurate reading of Sappho's text means that there is a much better access to her poetry and therefore this becomes standard, by virtue of ease of access.[274] However, Estienne was still trying to work out what was there in the original text, since what he was handed made no sense. As he does not provide any of his source material in a critical

[274] Henri Estienne's edition was originally printed in 1554 and then in 1556, which would have allowed greater access to it. For more see Morrison (1962).

apparatus it takes a detailed reading of the manuscript to know what he read and where he has made his conjectures from. Rhys Roberts writes that Estienne obtained his text from V and there are similarities between the text of V and Estienne's edition, but he still emends the text to what he considers to be a preferable reading.[275] However, Estienne cannot be criticised too much for his strange supposition, as the Greek text itself makes no sense. To try to form coherent sense out of a corrupt text is very difficult, as proven by the time it took for Bergk's conjecture to materialise.

Printed editions of Sappho

As in the discussion of translations of Sappho, rather than translations of Dionysius, there is a schism where editions of Sappho appear and become a separate branch of transmission. This change in transmission is due to the work of Henri Estienne in the middle of the sixteenth century, who extracted Sappho's writing from the ancient authors who included her work in theirs. After this, she became a standalone poet in her own right rather than a name mentioned in a larger work, such as in *On Literary Composition* or Longinus' *On the Sublime*. This was a major shift in the way that her work was viewed. Although it took many more years for her poems to be included in an edition on their own, setting up Sappho as a poet to stand alongside Anacreon (with whom her work was usually published in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) elevated her status as a Classical poet in the European editions of this time.[276]

Henri Estienne, the son of Robert, published his edition of Anacreon in 1554. *Anacreontis Teij Odae* contains Sappho fragment 1 and the *editio princeps* of Sappho fragment 55. His edition prints something entirely different from the

[275] Rhys Roberts 1910: 57.
[276] Kelly and Finglass (forthcoming).

Dionysian manuscripts for line 24, κ'ὅττι κελεύῃς, 'even with regard to whatever you order'. He does not mention in the introductory remarks where this reading comes from, nor does he discuss the two poems in his '*observationes*' at the end of the text; those are reserved for the poems by Anacreon. Estienne's reading of this last line is used in his other renderings of the line, but in the fourth edition of 1598 the first letter is later written as a chi, χ'ὅττι κελεύῃς.[277] This is an Attic reading of the Aeolic kappa as there are no aspirates in Lesbian dialect, and the line is in the correct metre. There is not such a problem with sense in this reading of the line, as the 'you' is still spoken in Aphrodite's voice. However, there is no manuscript precedent for this reading, and it is also uninfluenced by the Aldine Estienne's edition of Dionysius. It is an ingenious emendation and paves the way for many similar readings in later years.

Tanneguy Le Fèvre prints κ'ὅττι κελεύῃς in his editions of 1660 *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina*, the same phrase, as does his daughter, Anne Dacier, who also prints the Greek text in her 1681 work, *Les Poesies d'Anacreon et de Sapho*. This acceptance of Henri Estienne's reading shows that editors were looking to previous printed works for the texts for their own book, rather than looking to the manuscripts for evidence, a practice which gains much more favour in the nineteenth century, as I will show.[278] These French works by father and daughter were very influential on later editions and were cited well into the nineteenth century, which shows the influence and acceptance of Estienne's reading of the line. As the first edition of Sappho where she is included as a poet in her own right, and not as part of Dionysius, the editors of her text were using this as the new standard edition of Sappho, and as it fitted their view also about the persona of the poet there was no great reason to change it.

[277] Estienne (1598): 28. Other inclusions of Sappho in Estienne are from 1556 in *Ἀνακρέοντος, καὶ ἄλλων τινων λυρικῶν ποιητῶν μέλη* and 1560 in *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*.
[278] Page 158.

There comes a point in the transmission of the *Ode to Aphrodite* where both the Dionysian and solely Sapphic editions seem to take some influence from each other. William Baxter's 1695 edition which includes Sappho fragment 1, *Anacreontis Teii Carmina,* uses κ'ὅττι κελεύῃς.[279] Baxter's edition contained a suggestion by Isaac Vossius. Vossius suggests ἤ οὐκὶ ἐθέλλοις, 'or you might not want it'.[280] The line only scans by assuming there is synizesis between the ἤ and the opening diphthong of οὐκὶ, and there is a hiatus between the iota of οὐκὶ and the epsilon of ἐθέλλοις. There is a woman in this line, but the 'you' refers to Sappho and not to her beloved. This emendation also changes the tone of Aphrodite's speech, which now appears to be punishing Sappho.

Perhaps this poem could be read, in this single last line, as Aphrodite finally feeling frustrated with Sappho's constant prayers and requests for help and deciding to turn the love she wants against her. The beloved will do all these things for Sappho even if she does not want them to happen. However contorted the reading of this line becomes, understanding it in this way still adds to the debate on the transmission of this line, even though it makes so little sense within the context of the poem and with the relationship that is presented between Sappho and Aphrodite. Fragment 31 also shows Sappho's desire for someone else, which would support a reading of the poem as desire for the beloved at any cost – in the case of fragment 31, that cost is almost seeming dead. Despite this, there is the suggestion of a female lover, as the 'you' could be referring to Sappho, but this is clearly not the woman that Sappho is looking for. To fit the tone of the poem, this line had to be changed again and two scholars, Bergk and Picoolomini, worked to get the reading of the line that exists today and is discussed below.

[279] Baxter (1695): 124.
[280] Baxter (1695): 124.

Whilst examining the transmission of the editions of this work, it would be remiss to not include Brunck's *Analecta Veterum Poetarum Graecorum* (1722) which records ἢ οὐκὶ ἐθέλλὸις, as we have already seen in Vossius.[281] Bothe's *Anacreontica Graece* from 1805 uses the strange and otherwise unattested κεἲ κεν ἀθέλλοις likely to try and make some sense of Vossius' work.[282] There is no Greek word that starts ἀθέλλ, and as such it is hard to imagine what meaning Boethe was trying to unearth.

After this, Gottfried Heinrich Schaeffer's 1808 edition of Dionysius follows the lead of Vossius, and also uses ἤ οὐκὶ ἐθέλλοις. Schaeffer's edition is one of the earliest to include an *apparatus criticus* alongside the text.[283] Schaeffer's agreement with Vossius' reading can be followed by the generous notes he gives at the bottom of the page. He says that this was used by Vossius and then goes on to cite other early editions such as Estienne's and Brunck's edition.[284] In addition, Schaeffer cites a reading of the line from Estienne's text for the line, κ' ὥτι καὶ θέλεις ἐθέλοιμι. Rather than this reading breaking new ground, it is important because his *apparatus criticus* highlights the way in which the text of Dionysius, and of Sappho, is being read in this edition. Despite this being an edition of Dionysius, Schaeffer is reading editions of Greek poetry that treat Sappho as a stand-alone poet. One of these books would be Vossius' in Baxter, which indicates how Schaeffer should approach Sappho's text in his edition of Dionysius. This is the first instance that we have any evidence of this appearing and confirms the importance of Sappho as a poet with her own editorial tradition, wholly removed from the shadow of Dionysius.

[281] Brunck (1722): 54.
[282] Boethe (1805):78.
[283] Schaeffer (1808): 354.
[284] There are twelve poems by Sappho in this collection and she appears in volume 1 on page 53. Printed in order are fragments 1, 157d, 159d, 158d, 31, 2, 102, 168b, 121, 130+131, 55, and a poem that is incorrectly attributed to Sappho.

After this big step, 31 years later, two men would change the way that this poem was read and presented to the reading public. Charles Blomfield's edition of Sappho fragment 1 was published in *Museum Criticum*. This was edited by Charles Monk, printed in 1814 in Oxford. The work also appears later in *Poetae Minores Graeci* edited by Thomas Gaisford in 1824. Blomfield has ταχέως φιλάσει / κοὐκ ἐθέλοισαν 'towards someone (you) even if the recipient (female) does not want them'. ἐθέλοισαν is the object of φιλάσει and here the poem says that Sappho is at the mercy of her beloved in this affair, after Aphrodite's interference. This seems at odds with the way in which Aphrodite, rather than the beloved, holds the most power within this poem. However, there is a small amount of progress in the way in which the words are read. The Aeolic feminine participle, ἐθέλοισαν, is used here but the case is in the accusative, which means it refers to Sappho rather than to the beloved. Certain in his emendation, Blomfield writes 'quod reposui certissimum est', he is absolutely certain in his restoration (7). He cites the work of previous editors such as Manutius, Vossius, Brunck and Bothe. The grammar and metre make sense, but the meaning does not. This is also the first time in which the notes of the text are easy to access for the reader and thereby illustrates Blomfield's thought processes and scholarship to the reader. By providing his own thoughts about them with his own sources and notes for the lines of the poem, he offers a much more transparent view of his way of working which illustrates his strong standpoint.

Blomfield's emendation was changed once more, and most recently, by Theodor Bergk in 1843 in volume one of the first edition of *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*. Here Bergk changed the accusative to a nominative and prints κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα

which still scans.[285] He remarks 'κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα correxi, nam de *puellae* amore agitur' (Bergk's italics), that it is the love of a girl that is discussed and as such κωὐκ ἐθέλοισαν has been corrected to κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα. This highlights for the first time that the person who is loved in the poem is a woman. Rather than Aphrodite threatening Sappho with the girl's love, instead Aphrodite is the σύμμαχος of Sappho (28), they are on the same team and allied against the woman who is scorning Sappho. Once again, Bergk, like Blomfield, prints his notes on the text alongside the poem. Again, this serves as a window onto the textual transmission of the work and provides welcome insight into the thought process of the editor.

As well as writing 'de *puellae* amore agitur' he also remarks that 'Blomfieldius male κωὐκ ἐθέλοισαν'.[286] Bergk also quotes three other versions of the line, ἠώυ καὶ ἐθέλοις, κώκεταις καὶ θέλεις and κωυκ' ἐθέλοις, however he does not mention the specific manuscripts where these readings originate. Bergk appears to want to indicate that there are other historical readings of the text, but that these can be discounted now that his edition has been published. The provenance of these readings ceases to be important to him, once he has designated what the 'correct' reading of the line is and can assert his reading of the text. His direct dismissal of Blomfield's version of line 24 is blunt, but he owes much to Blomfield who was finally able to make some coherency of meaning fit the metre of the poem. Bergk's reading was adopted by Lobel and Page and Voigt and has become the modern reading for this line, and therefore, for the whole poem.

[285] Bergk (1843): 599.
[286] Bergk (1843): 599.

Manuscript support for the emendation

After Bergk's work came Aeneas Piccolomini's article in *Hermes* 27 'Ad Sapphus Carmen in Venerem Apparatus Criticus Auctus', as mentioned earlier.[287] This article was published in 1892, almost fifty years after Bergk's seminal emendation of the line; this was a thorough examination of Bergk's work and one which found the manuscript support for it. Rather than Bergk's reading of the text, which was conjecture at the time he wrote it, Piccolomini linked together Bergk's emendation and the manuscripts. He identified the Florentine manuscript F, and one of the Paris manuscripts V^1 which use κωυ κεθέλουσα, and listed the other manuscripts of Dionysius which have formed the basis for this poem from Sappho. Piccolomini provided valuable manuscript support for Bergk's interpretation of the text, and after this Usener and subsequent editors include this manuscript in their editions.[288] The way in which he writes appears to be in opposition to the work that Bergk has done, and Piccolomini cites the many more manuscripts he has been able to find. For example, he writes 'Epitomen exhibent libri quindecim; Bergkii tres: … mei duodecim' that there are 12 manuscripts that he has found compared to Bergk (2). This shows some of his contempt for Bergk's lack of research. Admittedly, this is an article in a journal rather than part of a larger work, but other earlier authors, such as Schaeffer, incorporated information about earlier works into their *apparatus criticus*.

The four aspects of emendation have been defined here as metre, language, sense and literary precedent. Here, in Bergk's conjecture, there is a metre which fits the adonic line and language of the period – which is not always the case in the reconstruction of this line – and, two equally important points,

[287] Page 108.
[288] Usener 1899: (10); Lobel and Page (1955): 3; Voigt (1977): 33.

sense and literary precedent. Bergk's was a high-quality collection of Sapphic fragments which illustrate some aspects of Sappho's homoerotic poetry.[289] The homoerotic aspect to Sappho's only complete poem made sense within her corpus and her reception. Equally, there turned out to be manuscript evidence for this reading by Bergk, which provides the literary support for his conjecture that enables us to read the poem more confidently. By unlocking the secret to fragment 1 and marking Sappho out as a figure who wrote homoerotic poems about women at this late date, later editors and translators can understand the difficulty that early translators had with her work.

Translating a corrupt text

In addition to the editions, it is important to understand what is happening with the translations, to illuminate the general scope of transmission and how each translator was working with a corrupt Greek text and reading other translations to form their Sappho either in line with or outside the previous works. The corrupt Greek text has a huge bearing on the way in which translators formed Sappho's beloved and her sexuality, and I have shown the sense that the editors tried to make from the text. What the translators were doing with this corrupt text, based on what they knew about Sappho and how they were trying to make her a mouthpiece for their own views on what she was like, means that there is a lot of scope for emendation within the translations themselves too.

As has been seen already in the previous chapter and through the transmission of Sappho's Greek text, the history of translations is not a straight line of writers reading previous texts and making a new text based from this. This is clear to see in the way that some translators tried to discuss why their

[289] These are fragments 1, 31, 2, 41, 49, 57, and 81 – some of which are more explicitly homoerotic than others.

interpretation of Sappho's text was influenced by, but in no way the same as, previous translations, through the paratexts of their books.[290] Each translator had their own system for showing their influences, and the two main ways for this are firstly through direct citation of a previous translation and secondly, an unspoken allusion to a previous translation. The fragmentary nature of Sappho's corpus indicates that there had been multiple opportunities for a complex system of transmission for each fragment. In the collection of translations until 1760, there are a wide variety of translations which each contain a different number of poems, in different orders. These writers were creating the Sapphic canon themselves, making changes to the poems that they printed as they see fit and to fulfil the ideas that they had about Sappho and her poetry.

The first translators of this poem seem to have had no easier time of it than their counterparts who were compiling the first editions. There are traps to negotiate and difficulties not only with making the very first translations of a poet, but also as the text has been corrupted. The translators were working from the edited text of Sappho removed from its context, rather than with the edited text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In translations, Sappho was figured from the start as a poet in her own right, without the weight of the other writers who quoted her work having any influence over the translators. This in itself is intriguing but not integral to understanding how the first translations of Sappho fragment 1 functioned in the early eighteenth century.

Writers such as Homer and Anacreon were being translated very early; Homer from 1581 by Arthur Hall who translated the first ten books of the *Iliad*, and the first translations of *Anacreontea* appeared in 1651 by Thomas Stanley as part of his larger work, *Poems*. Early translations were published, not only of

[290] Pages 84-93.

epic poets, but also of lyricists. John Hall's translation of Longinus' *On the Sublime*, from 1652, contained some Sappho but this was not Sappho as defined by the idea of translation in this thesis.[291]

The transmission of early editions and how this is reconciled in the late nineteenth century does little to illuminate what is happening in the eighteenth-century translations and how they form line 24, mutilated as it is in the editions. Due to the late date of the emendation from Blomfield and Bergk, the translators had to work with the conjecture supplied by editors such as Henri Estienne. These early translations appear to have been following the Greek texts, but also have clearly been influenced by each other. Estienne'ss text seems to have been the root Greek that these men were using, κ'ὅττι κελεύῃς, 'even with regard to whatever you should order'. This is because this reading was used by Anne Dacier's translation from 1681, *Les Poesies d'Anacreon et de Sapho* (252) and her Greek text was a very influenctial intermediary work for these translations.

Dacier (1681) and her influence

Dacier translates the line as:

Ha s'il te fuit maintenant, dans peu Il ne pourra vivre loin de toy, & s'il refuse tes presens, le temps viendra qu'il t'en sera à son tour. S'il a de l'indiference, au premier jour i brûlera d'amour & se soûmettra à tes loix'

'If he flees you now, in a short while he will not be able to live far from you, and if he refuses your presents, the time will come that it will

[291] This information is taken from Cummings and Gillespie's excellent article 'Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550-1700: A Revised Bibliography'; *Translation and Literature* 18.1: 1-42.

be his turn and if he is indifferent, at the first opportunity he will burn with love and he will submit to your laws'.[292]

These words had a great effect on the translations that came after, as the influence of Dacier's translation shows. Dacier's translation of this line '*& se soûmettra à tes loix*' was clearly read by the subsequent translators.

This is seen as they reference her work in their own translations of the Greek. Joseph Addison remarks about his translation of fragment 1, 'This Ode in the Greek (besides those Beauties observed by Madame Dacier) has several harmonious turns in the Words, which are not lost in the English'.[293] A reference to Dacier is also found in John Addison's translation of 1735 where he writes as a footnote to his translation of fragment 1, 'Madam D'Acier imagines it was compos'd by Sappho on occasion of Phaon's flight into Sicily'.[294] She is also included 80 years later in the translation by Francis Fawkes from 1760, where he cites her reading of fragment 1 and quotes her directly, in English translation of her French.[295] The example from Fawkes is particularly interesting, as by quoting her directly and translating her words he is extending the reach of her scholarship and shows how much of a debt he owes to her work, seen in the tradition of English translation of Sappho at this time.

Dacier's translation takes the slightly incomprehensible κ'ὅττι κελεύῃς and turns it into '*& se soûmettra à tes loix*' which makes some sense out of the Greek. She figures Aphrodite's words as referring to Sappho's '*loix*', as here Aphrodite grants Sappho's prayer and Sappho's desires are paramount in the poem as translated by Dacier. The '*soûmettra*' adds a level of subservience that

[292] Dacier (1681): 253-255.
[293] Addison and Steele (1711a).
[294] Addison (1735): 256.
[295] Fawkes (1760): 182, 183.

is not present in the Greek of Estienne. Although it is implied in the poem that the beloved is held under the will of Sappho through the power of Aphrodite, it is not explicitly expressed. Here, Dacier is very direct and extrapolates this feeling out in the last line of her translation of this stanza. Speaking in Aphrodite's voice, Dacier is using such direct rhetoric because of the power of the goddess – the beloved, a man, taken from the phrase '*il brûlera d'amour & se soûmettra à tes loix*', will submit to the laws of a woman – and Aphrodite alone has the power to subvert the usual order of society. This disorder, I suggest, is a tantalising idea and one that holds the attention of the reader. It also says a great deal about the perceived ideas of ancient Greek society and of the time in which the translation itself was composed.

After Dacier's translation, Philips' work was one of the most far-reaching versions of Sappho's fragment 1 in the eighteenth century. The poem was published again, as shown in the list of translations, as part of various books in 1713, 1748 and 1781 and is mentioned by later translators of Sappho's work; indeed, it still appears in compendia of her translated fragments today.[296] Philips translates this stanza of the poem as:

> Tho' now he Shuns thy longing Arms,
> He soon shall court thy slighted Charms;
> Tho' now thy Off'rings he despise,
> He soon to thee shall Sacrifice;
> Tho' now he freeze, he soon shall burn, 30
> And be thy Victim in his turn.

[296] Smith (1975); Jay and Lewis (1996): 38; Reynolds (2000): 27; pages 56-57.

This is influenced by Dacier's translation, as echoes of '*& se soûmettra à tes loix*' are seen in 'And be thy Victim in his turn'. There is little connection to the Greek, but it shows a similar status of the beloved at the mercy of Sappho. However, the lines are subtly different. Submitting to laws and being a victim have two very different connotations. The *loix* that Dacier uses as the reason that the beloved will do what Sappho wants pertain to a force external to the beloved – either that of Aphrodite or to an idea of justice from Sappho. Philips' victim has a stronger basis in the more harmful aspects of Sappho's character and Aphrodite's abilities. Sappho is cast as the villain in this story and the beloved as a passive bystander who is unable to resist the powerful charms created by Aphrodite because of the will of Sappho.

This idea is reprised in the translations which come after Philips and owe a similar debt to him as he does to Dacier. A translation in 1714 by an unidentified translator 'Mr. Herbert', who is not the famous George Herbert from an earlier period, uses a similar idea, although through different words:

> Wou'd he no presents at thy Hands receive?
> He will repent it, and more largely give;
> The force of Love no longer can withstand,
> He must be fond, wholly at thy Command. 25

'Wholly at thy command' sits between Dacier's '*loix'* and Philips' 'victim', where the pressure is coming from Sappho rather than external laws, but that there is not such a threatening tone as in Philips. It also casts Sappho and Aphrodite in a military light, which supports the σύμμαχος, ally, that appears at the end of the poem. It also gives Sappho the power in the poem and puts the beloved completely at her mercy – the 'wholly' following on from the gifts, and love.

John Addison's translation mixes both Ambrose Philips' translation with Mr Herbert's. He writes:

> Tho' thy Gifts and Thee he slight,
> He shall soon with Gifts invite;
> Tho' he freeze, he soon shall burn,
> Thy fond Victim in his Turn.

There is a mix here of Sappho's desire and Aphrodite's power, which is made all the more powerful and overpowering because the beloved will become a 'fond' victim, rather than just a victim. The strength of Aphrodite's magic is shown because the beloved will also be fond of Sappho – it is against his will but the magic is so strong that he does not see this.

The last translation from this period is Francis Fawkes's from 1760. This does depart from Philips' translation and places the beloved and Sappho on an equal footing.

> 'Though now, averse, thy Charms he slight,
> 'He soon shall view thee with Delight;
> 'Though now he scorns thy Gifts to take,
> 'He soon to thee shall Offerings make;
> 'Though now thy Beauties fail to move,
> 'He soon shall melt with equal Love.'

'He soon shall melt with equal Love' does not have any of the negative connotations of victimhood or blame that Philips' translation does. Perhaps Fawkes is ignoring the last line as he cannot make enough sense of it for his translation. It takes the idea of a mutual, albeit magically created, union

between Sappho and the beloved and removes the victim and the blame, focussing solely on the love between the two, as granted by Aphrodite.

Conclusion

These translations propose that the beloved is not treating Sappho as she wants to be treated, even though Sappho is offering many of the things that one might want in a romantic or erotic relationship. Aphrodite is speaking here to Sappho and woman and goddess have the same outlook – they are on the same team, they are allies, and the beloved is at the will of this fearsome pair. It is only Fawkes who softens this, and his 'she soon shall melt with equal Love' shows the softness in Sappho, the melting implying that Sappho's love is soft and changeable, whereas the first translation from Dacier shows that for her, this is not the case at all and the other translations are using the idea that in some way the beloved will come to be under duress. The focus on the relationship between Aphrodite and Sappho in all the translations but Fawkes' also shows this power. Despite this poem which at this point, having a corrupt text which uses a male beloved, the relationship that is central to the poem in all these translations seems to be the one between Sappho and Aphrodite.

As mentioned with these translations, none of the writers figured Sappho's beloved as female. This cannot be because they were not aware of her depiction as a lesbian, as this idea was known at the time.[297] The Lives of Sappho that some of these translators present, seem to whitewash this aspect of her character. Therefore it is understandable that they translate the gender of the beloved as male, and this is explored more in chapter 2.2.[298] Equally, because line 24 is so corrupt, there is no gender in the Greek here and therefore the biography – whitewashed or otherwise – is what the translators are using to

[297] Pages 9-12.
[298] Pages 208-209.

inform their versions of fragment 1. There is a dialogue between the biographical paratext, that Sappho loved men, and the translation of line 24, that her beloved must be a man. This idea of the beloved as male is not just of interest to the history of Sappho's sexuality. It also figures her writing, especially in this poem, in an entirely new way. Sappho and Aphrodite are two influential female figures from the archaic Greek past. Sappho is one of the few real-life women who appears most in the ancient world – her fame spread and was not forgotten.[299] She wrote love poetry and taught young girls, operated in a masculine world, and as such is as terrifying and transgressive as Aphrodite, despite not being divine. In this way, the beloved as male is in direct opposition to these two powerful women. He is figured as being at their mercy – from Philips' and Joseph Addison's victim, Herbert's 'wholly at thy command' and even Fawkes's passive 'melting', all figure the male beloved as less than his female counterparts found in both Sappho and Aphrodite.

The issue with Aphrodite is less important due to her divine status. Sappho as the dominant partner in this union is more troublesome. Sappho is a transgressive figure and steps into what is figured as a man's world. The beloved, therefore, is emasculated and is stripped of any choice he has in falling in love with Sappho. He becomes a passive player in this three-person game, one where Sappho and Aphrodite are the more important characters. Sappho is the mouthpiece here for Aphrodite and has asked Aphrodite to grant her prayer. Sappho is the lynchpin, the reason that Aphrodite will cast her spell on the beloved and make the man do what she wants. This is figuring Sappho, the woman, in an aggressive role. This weight is seen with the translators' choices – aside from Fawkes. By submitting to Sappho's laws, the beloved is cast as the prey. Sappho, therefore, is cast as the predator in this scene, the alpha

[299] Testimonium 7; Strabo 13.2.3; testimonium 10; Stobaeus 3.29.58.

character. Fawkes' takes some sting out of this and imagines both parties on the same footing, 'He soon shall melt with equal Love'.

Three of these translations have the same meaning for line 24, which is that the beloved is submitting to Sappho in some way, and whatever they are being ordered to do, they will do. In this way, they are placing more emphasis on the second half of line 23, ταχέως φιλήσει, than they are on the problematic and often unintelligible last line. Although there is a suggestion of the beloved being unwilling, this is evidenced by the very nature of the stanza – if he does not pursue, give gifts or love he will do all of these things and the κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα is implied by the nature of what is happening. The translators are not translating the Estienne version of this line, χ'ὄττι κελεύῃς, but are just missing it out completely and adding the conjecture, the logical end, to the stanza, as most thoroughly evidenced by Joseph Addison's 'victim'. It seems as though they are translating Dacier more than they are translating the Greek text. Each of these translations figures three parts of the stanza, and usually in couplets. The fourth line in the Greek, two words, is missed out completely.

The transmission of a text can markedly change the way in which the text is viewed, and in a corpus as slim as Sappho's in this period, indications of her sexuality and how her love is figured in her only surviving poem carry more weight than they would in a larger corpus. By understanding the way in which her Greek text has been transmitted and what the Greek text says at different periods, we can see the way in which the formation of Sappho's text and sexuality is formed by these translations. Sappho is constructed as a poet through a heteronormative viewpoint rather than the received idea that she was

writing homoerotic poetry.[300] Sappho is the active partner in this relationship and even though her beloved is male, Sappho and Aphrodite have the power in this relationship.

[300] See note 451.

Chapter 2.1

Paratext of Translation

Paratexts

When thinking about Sappho and the formation of her sexuality through books of translation in the eighteenth century, there is an important place for the paratext. The paratext constructs a text before a reader enters into the text proper, and is an essential tool for establishing how the text functions. Genette's *Paratexts* has become a seminal work for unpicking the complex system which surrounds the words of the book and decodes the numerous extra-textual aspects to a text. Lejeune has additionally described the paratextual elements of a book as 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text'.[301] A paratext goes beyond the main material of the work – the text itself – and includes titles, frontispieces, contents pages, acknowledgements, introductions, notes and indices. As seen from this list, paratexts are often more heavily frontloaded on a text and contain valuable information about the publisher, author and the desired readership of a book. Paratexts can 'reveal the essence' of a book and usefully contribute to the study of the central text.[302] Genette writes that the paratext exists, 'precisely in order to present it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and consumption in the form of a book'.[303]

Paratranslation

The paratext of the book in this chapter includes Genette's traditional markers of paratext such as titles, contents pages and introductions. In addition to this, there is also the paratext of the translation – the paratranslation – which

[301] Lejeune (1989): 29.
[302] Pellatt (2013): 1.
[303] Genette (1997): 1.

includes the information which pertains directly to the translation itself. Kung writes about the paratext of a translation and how it functions in relation to a translation and its illumination of the translator's ideas, but does not use the idea of a paratranslation as separate from a paratext.[304] A paratranslation is inclusive of poem titles, notes on the text, and facing Greek text. Specific to the translations of Sappho, these items of the paratext directly relate to the translation of Sappho, rather than wider ideas within the book itself. This differentiates Sappho's poetry in the compendia in which her work appears and articulates aspects of the translator and editor's thoughts on Sappho. In the same way that Blanchot writes that a reader 'makes the work become a work', the paratext enables the reader to ascertain the meaning of the book, which then enables the reader to create an idea of Sappho's sexuality and eroticism for themselves.[305]

The influence of the paratext over every book is far reaching and important. The paratext directs a reader's reaction to the text within the book.[306] It also provides structure to the text, a system in which the text itself can be read. In this instance, the paratext plays a special role in the formation of Sappho and her sexuality for eighteenth-century readers. It contains a number of indicators for the reader of how to approach the text of Sappho.

Influence of paratexts and paratranslations

In the period of early Sappho translations, these indicators from the publisher and author can highlight the way in which the translation is intended to be read, and through decoding the paratext a better insight can be gained in understanding how the translators are constructing Sappho as a poet for their

[304] Kung (2013).
[305] Blanchot (1981): 191; pages 25-27.
[306] Genette (1997a): 407.

reading public. There is little material to work with, as many of the translations do not contain extensive paratexts, but there is still much information that is presented about Sappho's life to work with which constructs Sappho's eroticism through the use of paratext. In addition to this, the works are not operating in a vacuum, and each work that contains a paratext influences later works and may also be read by a similar selection of readers. In eighteenth-century English translations of Sappho, the paratext is split up into two parts, the paratext and the paratranslation. This chapter deals with the paratext only and the paratranslations are looked at in chapter 3.1.[307]

This chapter will discuss specific parts of the paratext of each book. This is split up into three main sections – publishers, intertextual paratexts and titles. These three parts of the paratext give strong indications of how the translators and editors were viewing Sappho and her eroticism. These aspects of the paratext, which can be overlooked when thinking about the way narrative choices are articulated when constructing Sappho's poetry and persona, show some of the narrative decisions which the editors and translators are making about Sappho's eroticism, and how they were constructing her narrative as either more heteroerotic or homoerotic. Where appropriate, the paratext will also include the front matter which pertains directly to either the task of the translator or to the translations of Sappho. This thorough explanation of the material which comes before the text will provide a good analysis on how readers may have approached Sappho's translated text and her sexuality from the outset, and adheres to the linear reading of a book which has been set out in the introduction, as well as appreciating the role of the reader in forming a text that is not solely based on the words of the translation.[308] The material makes different narratives about Sappho's erotic persona and sets up different aspects

[307] Page 278.
[308] Page 50.

which are then drawn out further with additional material, both paratextual and translational, which is dealt with in succeeding chapters.

After the analysis of the paratextual front matter, the next chapter contains as a case study a thorough analysis of the Lives of Sappho, small biographies which appear at the beginning of some of the translations, and are part of the paratext.[309] By working through this case study, even greater insight into the construction of the poet by the translators and editors will be possible.

Publishers and booksellers

Where and when a book is published and who publishes it are factors which define readership.[310] This, in turn, will also affect the audience that a publisher is making material for. All the translations which are part of this thesis were published in London as this was the main place of publication in England in this period. This is despite the opening up of publication after the lapsing of the Licensing Act, an important moment in the history of the book in England.[311] The influence of the publisher indicates to an audience what kind of material will be published in their books, and provides the first point of context for a reader when approaching these new translations of Sappho. All the books considered here were published between 1711 and 1760, but many went into multiple editions. The first of these was Sewell's book, *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho* which was reprinted in 1748, the anonymous *The Works of Petronius Arbiter* which was reprinted in 1721, and Philips' own collection in 1748 and then in 1765, 1768, 1779, 1781, 1790, 1794, 1810 and 1822. Fawkes's 1760 translations were reprinted in 1789, 1810, 1813, 1818 and 1822. Whilst Philips' book was published more often than Fawkes' (a total of eight reprints to Fawkes'

[309] Pages 180-209.
[310] The list of booksellers and printers that Raven cites shows the upswing in numbers after the lapse of the Licensing Act who went and worked in London. Raven (2007): 2014.
[311] Belanger (1982): 6. The Licensing Act is discussed in greater detail later, page 136.

five), Philips himself was the subject of his work. This is in opposition to Fawkes' book, which was concerned with the translation of ancient poets. The number of reprints of Fawkes' book show more engagement with the ancient material in translation than in Philips', where the translations were addenda to the original poetry. The number of reprints published is of greater use to understand the success of books rather than the size of print runs, as the size of the runs are not known for other than a few books due to the loss of the records.[312] The number of titles is a flawed system, but it is the best that can be used in this thesis, due to the lack of material available. The first publication date and publisher are used in this chapter, as this provides an equal footing from which to see the influence of the publisher on the book and the time period in which the translation appears.

Whilst there were some specialist publishing houses in London in this period, there were larger houses that would print a larger range of commercially viable material and whilst not specialist houses, had a distinct style that they created over time.[313] As each book that is being discussed was published by a different publisher in this period (the two miscellanies which appear before 1700 are both printed for J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball over-against the Royal Exchange and in this way they are also once again outliers in this chapter), there is much that can be gained from looking at the catalogues (as far as is possible) for these publishers to see what other kinds of work they were publishing and therefore where the translations of Sappho sit within the perception of these printers and publishers, indicating to a reader the type of work that was included in the translation. Printers, publishers and booksellers were much the same business in the eighteenth century and were able to curate types of material for their readers. Indeed, the word 'bookseller' denotes someone who was either in

[312] Raven (2015): 221.
[313] Raven (2007): 123.

publishing or retail bookselling.[314] Many publishers were in the industry to make money and whilst the commercial aspect of printing and making translations is not to be overlooked, each man was still able to publish his own set of books for his own purposes.[315]

The Licensing Act 1662

As with the translations and editions in the previous chapter, the publishers will be considered chronologically to see the trends that emerge and to ascertain a more coherent view of how Sappho's work was published and what this shows about her eroticism. Addressing the period chronologically also allows for an appreciation of the historical changes in publishing and printing. The Licensing Act of 1662 prohibited the publication of materials during the interregnum period.[316] The Worshipful Company of Stationers acted as a censor for published materials.[317] This lapsed in 1695 and allowed for a far greater freedom of the press, and one which meant the increase of pamphlets such as *Tatler* and the *Spectator*.[318] It also allowed more people to create work and to get it published in order to exploit the new market and the appetite for books and therefore become successful commercial enterprises.[319] These new publishers and their publications contributed to an upswing of engagement with cultural material and allowed also for greater access by more people to different

[314] Belander (1982): 8.
[315] Raven (2007): 366.
[316] Raithby (1819): 428-435. 'An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses Whereas the well-government and regulating of Printers and Printing Presses is matter of Publique care and of great concernment especially considering that by the general licentiousnes of the late times many evil disposed persons have been encouraged to print and sell heretical schismatical blasphemous seditious and treasonable Bookes Pamphlets and Papers and still doe continue such theire unlawfull and exorbitant practice to the high dishonour of Almighity God the endangering the peace of these Kingdomes and raising a disaffection to His most Excellent Majesty and His Government For prevention whereof no surer meanes can be advised then by reducing and limiting the number of Printing Presses and by ordering and setling the said Art or Mystery of Printing by Act of Parliament in manner as herein after is expressed.'
[317] Draper (1921): 146.
[318] Black (1987): 6.
[319] Raven (2007): 149.

types of books.[320] The interest in translating the Classics would not have been possible if this Act had still been in place during this period. The inclusion of Sappho in the *Spectator* was within its first year of publishing, was during the time when these types of publications were being aired for a new reading public who had, for forty-two years, not been freely able to access such material that had not been first approved by the Company of Stationers. The nature of Sappho's poetry, its eroticism and its association with lesbianism, would likely not have passed the censors prior to 1695 due to its content and the perceived scandal to religion it could have caused.

Coffeehouse culture

Addison and Steele's *Spectator* was a greatly influential periodical that coincided with the rise of coffeehouse culture in Britain. These were spaces which opened up in cities with the introduction of imports of coffee and became spaces where men were able to go to discuss politics, poetry and sex.[321] Not members' clubs, they provided a space for culture and discussion to flourish and publications like *Tatler* or the *Spectator* were staples of these venues. As such, numbers of printed pamphlets would only go so far as to indicate how many people had access to the material, as one issue would be read by any number of men who frequented the coffeehouse. How long the issues were kept in the coffeehouses is also unknown, but the amount of material that would be read in the coffeehouses was certainly very high.[322] The issues of the *Spectator* were complied and published as volumes not long after the pamphlets were issued but primarily they were pamphlets which were then collected into these books.

[320] Raven's tables taken from information in the English Short Title Catalogue show the upswing in numbers of books as the period progresses (2007): 149.
[321] Harvey (2004): 222; Brewer (1997): 34.
[322] Cowan (2005): 173.

There is also a specific link between coffeehouses and erotica. The coffeehouse was the preserve of men and it provided 'cultural communities' wherein erotica was something that could be discussed. As such, the eroticism present in Sappho's poetry, and the general public awareness that linked Sappho to erotic activity made her an ideal poet to be included in translation.[323] This is seen from her inclusion in erotic pamphlets like *The Sappho-An* or *An Essay on Woman,* which had its author, John Wilkes, arrested.[324] This notorious essay writes that 'There is a bastard Plant, called Clitoris … the Lesbian ladies knew perfectly well the Virtues of it … Sappho, best of all Women, knew how to administer this drug.'[325] Coffeehouse patrons would not have been blind to the link between Sappho and homoeroticism and as such the writers of the translators enter into an agreement with these types of readers, that it is something that neither party will discuss. As her reputation straddles both high literature and erotica her inclusion in the *Spectator* is not startling and shows the important link between the publisher, the type of publication and the material published, together with the space in which the material was consumed.

After the publication of Philips' translation in the *Spectator*, Sappho's translated text began to be included in books. These books then carry her work for the rest of the period I am studying and bring a new sense of respectability, importance and permanence to her translated text. However, it is intially not possible for Sappho's text to shake its association with the sexual side of coffeehouse culture. Peakman describes coffeehouses as places where men would be able to meet to 'discuss recent conquests and share pornographic

[323] Brewer (1997): 34.
[324] Anonymous (1749a) and Wilkes (1763); Benedict (2002): 1-2.
[325] Wilkes (1763): 2.

books' and the next publisher I will discuss produced exactly the kind of material which might have been shared in these coffeehouses.[326]

The influence of publishers

Edmund Curll

Sewell's 1713 book *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho* was published by Edmund Curll at the Dial and Bible in Fleet Street. Curll published 131 books between 1710 and 1715 and produced a wide array of titles.[327] One highlight from Curll's catalogue is *An Account of Some Roman Urns* (1713), the full title of which is *and other Antiquities lately digg'd up near Bishopsgate with Brief Reflections on the Antient and Present State of London*. This book alone was brought to light with minor controversy as Curll hectored John Woodward, the author, to allow him to publish this book which is fashioned as a letter to Christopher Wren, which Woodward and his associates did not think was a good idea as it had been previously published with another house.[328] This title shows the interest in specialist and fragmentary information about the ancient world and how the ancient world is still relevant to the society and time in which Curll was publishing – this book is about how the ancient world was all around in London, ready to be discovered. It also highlights that Curll himself was not averse to minor scandal. The same could be said for the new English translations of Sappho's poetry.

There were more salacious books that Curll printed too, which included the details of a sodomy case brought against Mervin, Lord Audley which had ended in execution in 1631 and the notorious *A Treatise on the Use of Flogging in Venereal Affairs* which includes the addendum *A Treatise on*

[326] Peakman (2011): 24.
[327] Baines and Rogers (2007): 370-377. Baines and Rogers have produced a whole volume dedicated to Curll, such was his importance in publishing in the early eighteenth century.
[328] Bains and Rogers (2007): 55.

Hermaphrodites.[329] This publication was actually translated by Sewell who goes unnamed as 'a Physician' and gives details of flogging as a means to cure ills.[330] However, it is plainly a piece of eroticism: 'We may observe, for the illustration of this argument, that not only men are excited to unlawful and unseasonable pleasures by flogging, but women too, are rais'd and inflam'd by strokes to a more easy conception'.[331] Baines and Rogers' book *Edmund Curll* (2007) goes into great depth about the type of publications that Curll undertook. That Sappho was published within this milieu and that this edition was made by Sewell who also (anonymously) translated *A Treatise on the Uses of Flogging* goes some way to showing attitudes towards her writing – that it had an interest to a publisher and an editor that went beyond a furthering of their knowledge of ancient writers. Even before reading her work, to know that it was published by Curll indicates that there is something unusual or salacious about Sappho's poetry.

Sam Briscoe

The next translation, *The Works of Petronious Arbiter* (1714), was produced by Sam Briscoe who published 20 books in the period 1710-1715. Briscoe was publishing other Classical works such as those by Lucian and, interestingly, Longinus's *On the Sublime* in which fragment 31 is cited.[332] There is not a wealth of information about Briscoe as a publisher, but the inclusion of the translation by Herbert of Sappho's fragment 1 appears in a strange place prior to its publication here, which may indicate a greater degree of engagement with Sappho's text than would be obvious at first glance when looking at his edited miscellany. This translation of fragment 31 is from a previous source, one

[329] Baines and Rogers (2017): 35; Marten (1708) *The Case of Sodomy; in the Tryal of Mervin Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven;* Meibomius (1718) *A Treatise on the Uses of Flogging*.
[330] Baines and Rogers (2017): 116.
[331] Meibomius (1718): 17.
[332] Pope (1711) and Welsted (1712).

which is not a direct translation of Sappho. However, this translation shows the importance of the musical reception of Sappho in this period. The only other recorded instance of a piece that is very similar to this translation is John Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* which was published as a musical score in 1700.[333] Blow had recently been appointed Composer to the Chapel Royal and had previously worked at Westminster Abbey.[334] Blow's piece transformed Sappho's poem into the lyrics for which he wrote a score. This type of translation of Sappho's text into English lyrics was not replicated again during the period, and is the only adaptation of Sappho's text which shows such a deep engagement with the musicality of her song. Herbert remains a mystery as a person, but the way in which this translation of Sappho's work appears is extraordinary. Herbert is not credited with the verse in Blow's work, but a 'Pindarick Ode' is dedicated to Blow by Herbert at the beginning of the book, and this could be assumed to be the same Herbert as from the miscellany.[335]

The similarities between the texts make it seem as though Blow has adapted Herbert's text, or worked closely with him to create a musical adaptation. For example, there are seven repetitions of the word 'see' in the song. In the printed translation, line 9 correlates with this section and only two 'sees' are printed: 'See see, she comes in her Cerulean Carr'.[336] The word only appears twice, in this example, to emphasise the musicality of the words. This link between the publication from Briscoe and the link with Blow illustrates that Sappho was a poet with a sound heritage and that her inclusion in this miscellany through this transmission had prestige at the heart of it.

[333] Blow (1700).
[334] Arnold (1983): 227.
[335] Blow (1700): viii.
[336] Several Hands (1714).

John Walthoe and later publishers

Sterling's publication which included translations by Ogle in 1728 was published by John Walthoe, who published 18 books in the period 1711 – 1716. Usually a publisher who dealt with law books, his interest in Sterling's book showed his interest in Classics and would not detract from his books with a professional use.[337] This slight specialisation in publication is mirrored in the last three books as well, which are all written and edited by the same person and therefore provide a more focused approach to the material, rather than the scatter-gun effect of editing and printing miscellanies and other unusual books as Curll did.

In this way, there is much that is similar about the later translations. The interest in Sappho's work was growing as the period progressed and more of her work in translation was being published. As will be shown in the titles of these books, Sappho's name was gaining more notoriety and as the number of books that began to be published increased dramatically, the publishers seemed to favour works that were more specific for their audiences. Printed by John Watts, John Addison's 1735 translation was part of 97 books which were published by Watts from 1732 to 1737. Watts printed the volumes of the *Spectator* in 1753, after this five year period, as well as an edition of Longinus, which illustrates some interest from the publisher in this kind of material.[338] The same occurs with Philips' publisher, J. and S. Draper, who printed 78 pieces from 1745 – 1750, including Shakespeare, Spenser, both the *Guardian* and the *Spectator*, as well as Philips' own play *The Distrest Mother*, showing more than a passing relationship with this writer. Fawkes' work, printed by J. Newbery in St. Pauls Church-yard was among 68 publications from 1757 – 1762 and Newbery also printed some of Fawkes' original poems as well as Johnson's *Idler* and a number

[337] Jung (2008): 42.
[338] Pearce (1724) published by Watts.

of plays. It appears that there were more books published as the eighteenth century marched on. The publishers were more willing to spend money on specialist publications, rather than the wide-ranging miscellanies that were published at the turn of the century. As publishers were able to print more material at a cheaper rate, there was a rise in periodicals which meant that appetite for printing miscellanies waivered, as there was a more suitable medium for this type of work to appear in.[339]

From this list there is a clear difference between the different types of publisher. From being published in a series of pamphlet articles, which by its nature must contain a great deal of work that is on many different subjects–to a book which is printed by Newbery who was more interested in wider academic works, the attitudes to publishing translations of Sappho changed. In the beginning of this period her work was not known in English and as such attitudes towards the eroticism in her poetry and the readership that would be interested in it were shaped by Sappho's reputation.[340] Whilst she was known as a wonderful poet and Plato's tenth muse, the renowned French translator Dacier had to include a staunch defence of Sappho on the charge of homosexuality in her book.[341] Sappho's reputation was preceding her, and it seems that in this period she was reclaimed by the writers who wished to remind their readers that she loved no-one quite as much as the handsome young ferryman Phaon.[342] There is a shift from an interest in Sappho's lesbianism to an assertion of her heterosexuality as viewed through the lens of these publishers, which shows how something as slight as the publisher within the paratext can inform the way in which a reader might approach Sappho's work.

[339] Erickson (1985): 898.
[340] Page 12.
[341] Farnham (1976): 81.
[342] Fawkes (1760): 72.

It is clear that there are two versions of Sappho's life in translations of her work which were germinating in this period and they would have repercussions for a long time. One is that of Sappho as a poet whose work is deeply erotic and which would be printed by presses which were concerned with eroticism and salaciousness, and one which is the opposite of that – making Sappho more mainstream and attempting to set her work amongst that of ancient authors or other academic pieces. There does not appear to be much crossover here, the two are kept quite distinct from each other. The publishers and printers of her poetry understood the differences between these two modes of interpreting Sappho's biography and were attempting at this early stage to create different kinds of biography for the reading public.

Titles[343]

The impact of the title and the other collected poets in the book illuminate some of the more subconscious ideas that a reader may bring to Sappho's poetry. In addition to the assumptions that a reader will make about Sappho and her work from the place of publication, titles also articulate ideas that are not immediately apparent through reading the text of the poems themselves.[344] In this way, the paratext supplies information to steer the reader that they are then free to interpret. Although these cues from the editor or translator are not always obvious or direct, they can give indications to the reader about what to expect from Sappho's poetry and how they should be approaching it in translation. As discussed in chapter 1.1, the inherent newness and craft in these very early translations mean that these cues have more weight than for later translations as there is so little of Sappho in the mind of the English reader at this point.[345] All clues to what her poetry would be like

[343] The titles of all the books can be found in the extended bibliography pages 56-57.
[344] Page 31.
[345] Page 31.

before the text is read are very important, and there are subtle ways in which the editor or translator is able to guide the reader to their own interpretation of Sappho's eroticism.

After deciding to purchase a book at a certain place by a certain publisher, the title is the next indicator of the matter within the book and provides the reader with helpful insights into the text within. Titles are able to craft narratives, and especially with these books from the eighteenth century, the narratorial voice in these titles is so great as they are the first time that Sappho is figured in English through titles. Genette writes about the functions of the title that they identify the work, designate its subject matter and play up the work.[346] Whilst only the first is obligatory, the readers who identify the work are then going to bring their own set of rules and expectations to the work and they then designate their own subject matter based on their preconceptions of the book's identity.

Titology

Work has been done on titology in Genette's *Paratexts*, where he writes that the longer the title, the simpler they are to understand, and through these editions of Sappho, it seems to be true.[347] In addition to this, there is the idea that titles function to entice the reader, 'to appeal to the target audience'.[348] The titles are a way in which an author communicates with and gains the readers' interest in the book, and when combined with the semiotic function of the titles, their importance to the reader's conception of the book is clear.

[346] Genette (1997a): 78.
[347] Genette (1997a): 55, 71.
[348] Hoek (1981): 17.

As well as thinking about literary theory, fine art theory can usefully be applied to the study of titles too. Levinson's first two theses about titles apply to these eighteenth-century translations.

> (I) Titles of artworks are often *integral parts* of them, constitutive of what such works are.
>
> (II) Titles of artworks are plausible essential properties of them in many cases.[349]

Here is the idea that titles of music also relate to literary works, that, 'composer, time, and/or artistic context [can] be recognized as integrally involved in what the word is. Only under this assumption can such works intelligibly bear a range or properties – aesthetic and artistic ones – that we determinately ascribe to them. *And exactly the same things can be said of literary compositions, as well.'*[350] Levinson continues, 'if titles are constituents of type [written] artworks, then it seems fair to say they are as essential to them – at least broadly construed – as any of the other constituents that make the work what it is'.[351] By making the 'work what it is', titles function to inform the reader and, as has been shown, provide a space for more unknown, and in this case, rarely translated poets to form micro-narratives about the poetry whilst chaining it to a system of analysis through their titles whereby this work can be understood. It is useful to know the way in which the titles of a work function, because it can also provide some insight into the way that the Greek of Sappho was transmitted and how different parts of the Greek editions were used by different translators at different times – who their previous influences were, and what they were trying to do with each new Sappho they created.

[349] Levinson (1985): 29.
[350] Levinson (1985): 29. Emphasis my own.
[351] Levinson (1985): 31.

Titles of Sappho translations

As one of the first things which can inform a reader about a text, the title of the book is important in figuring Sappho and her sexuality. By reading the title, readers have already begun to engage with the book and to create an idea of, and approach to, the material that is inside it. The books discussed in this thesis present Sappho's poetry in four guises. Here the ways in which the titles are presented will be examined chronologically since this enables trends throughout the period to be brought to light. Through their use of titles, the editors and translators of these books gain confidence in the way in which they are presenting this material to the public and signpost the important aspects of their books for readers. The full titles for each book are given below. (The capitalisation remains the same as in the originals.

1685	Tate (ed.) *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions*
1713	Sewell (ed.) *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho. Done from the Greek, by Several Hands. With their Lives prefix'd. To which is added, the Proze of wisdom. A dialogue between Anacreon and Aristotle. By M. Fontenelle. Also Bion's Idyllium, upon the death of Adonis. By the Earl of Winchelsea*
1714	Anonymous (ed.) *The works of Petronius Arbiter, to which is added some other of the roman Poets, viz Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius. And Translations from the Greek of Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho with a poem on Telemacus*
1728	Sterling (ed.) *The loves of Hero and Leander. From the Greek of Musæus. By Mr. Sterling. To which are added, some new translations from various Greek authors, viz. Anacreon, Sappho, Julian, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Homer*
1735	John Addison *The works of Anacreon, translated into English verse; with notes explanatory and poetical. To which are added the odes, fragments, and epigrams of Sappho. With the original Greek plac'd opposite to the translation*
1748	Philips *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and Other Original Poems: with translations from Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho*
1760	Fawkes *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus: Translated into English*

The works in which Sappho's text appear became more focussed on presenting fewer poets as the period progressed, with two possible outliers. However, these outliers can still be explained within the streamlining that happens. Once these types of translations are broadly defined and discussed, a more in-depth examination of what themes and approaches to Sappho's work which appear through their titles will be analysed to show the amount of information that is carefully coded into the titles of these books.

By looking at their titles, it is easy to ascertain what kinds of works these are. As Fisher writes in his 1984 article *Entitling*, 'the unique purpose of titling is hermeneutical: titles are names which function as guides to interpretation'.[352] This is what gives the bulk of information about a book, rather than a lengthy introduction to the translation, and this brevity proves a neat starting point and indication for the work that lies within the covers. In addition to this, the discrete nature of the title provides an endpoint where the interpretation of each book must finish. Titles act as distinct objects within a text that can be decoded to understand the intent of the author and how a reader might interpret it. In addition to this, titles act as signifiers of intertexts or metatext when they appear in other works and in marketing such as booksellers lists or works like the *Monthly Review*, publishing reviews and articles on a wide variety of printed material – a review practice that was increasing throughout the 18th century.[353]

Miscellany

From the outskirts of the period, in 1685, it is in the *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions, Collected by Nahum Tate*, where Sappho appears in a compendium of poetry. This is the only compendium in the corpus of eighteenth-century translations, and as far as can be found, the first printed

[352] Fisher (1984): 288.
[353] Forster (2001): 171.

translation of Sappho that is currently available. This is because there is only one poem in here, fragment 31, with no additional remarks or notes on the poem in the book, other than it is translated by William Bowles who is identified as being a fellow of King's College, Cambridge.[354] In the survey work *The Oxford Literary History*, Ezell describes it as a 'significant collection of verse' alongside Dryden's *Sylvae: or The Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies* and Behn's *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, both also printed in 1685.[355] For these miscellanies to be part of such a survey shows the pervasiveness of the format, and there is information available about the amounts of miscellanies published. There were almost 5000 'poetical miscellanies, song books, and verse collections of multiple authorship' detailed in the *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* published between 1700 – 1800, and these figures may be even at the low end.[356] It is clear that there were a number of miscellanies produced, a figure of over 50 a year – nearly one a week – for a hundred years. Bowles' translation of Sappho only appears in Tate's miscellany, but Bowles produced other translations, such as his translation of Theocritus which appear in both Tate and Dryden.[357]

Behn's *Miscellany* could also be included as containing one of the first translations of Sappho's work. However, its subheading 'done from the French by a Lady of Quality' shows that rather than purporting to be a direct translation of Sappho, it is a translation of Boileau's work and as such, its inclusion in a miscellany is not the type of Sappho translation as laid out in the introduction. The unnamed translator of Boileau's work in Behn's miscellany appears nowhere else in the collection, and as such is an outlier that only shows the pervasiveness of including Sappho as a fragmentary poet, included as a fragment, in a larger

[354] Tate (1685): 80.
[355] Ezell (2017): 352.
[356] Suarez Jr. (2002): 217.
[357] Tate (1685): 80-6; Dryden (1685): 367-379, 388-392.

collection of fragments. In this way, a miscellany is a very good place for the start of publishing her poetry in translation.

In addition to Sappho fragments appearing in miscellanies, Anacreon can provide a useful example to compare her work with, for multiple reasons. In this instance, we can see that there are inclusions of *Anacreontea* in other miscellanies. His work shares two of the central aspects of Sappho's work, which are its fragmentary and erotic nature. *Anacreontea* are found in many miscellanies, published in this period under the name of Anacreon.[358] The number of publications which included *Anacreontea* illustrates the appetite for fragmentary erotic poets and the ease with which they were included in the miscellanies.[359] What this shows is that often work first included in miscellanies can illustrate a way of looking at the history of popularity of a certain poet. Miscellenies stand at the the beginning of translating Sappho into English, and they provoked a wider interest in Sappho's poetry in translation as we shall see in the translations of Sappho's work which follow.

Journal

After the inclusion of Sappho with other poets in wide-ranging works there is a complete change in the works that are produced. Sappho appears as the sole poet presented in two issues (and is mentioned in a third) by editors Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in the *Spectator* in 1711.[360] This is the first time that Sappho has existed as a poet in her own right in English-language translation, her work the sole focus of a complete text and the instance of what is usually described as the first translation of Sappho into English.[361] The

[358] Gillespie (2002): 150.
[359] Gillespie (2002): 149-157. There are some 65 translations of *Anacretonea* published after the *editio princeps* in 1554.
[360] Addison and Steele (1711): issues 223, 229, 233.
[361] DeJean (1989): 5 'Ambrose Philips' [made the] first English translation of Sappho's most famous odes'. Prins (1996): 'Addison… mistakenly (or perhaps strategically) presents Ambrose Philips as the first translator of fragment 31 into English.' Prins cites John Hall's translation of Longinus as a

Spectator was a journal published with 555 issues or numbers in its first iteration from 1711 to 1712, and as such a wide variety of poets cannot be covered in a single issue. It is not possible to look at the *Spectator* in its entirety as a 'text of Sappho', because to do so would be to deny the accountability of each individual issue, and denies also the importance of Sappho appearing as the sole focus of a single publication.

There are two other instances of translation in the *Spectator* before the Sappho issues which have been already mentioned.[362] These are Dryden's translation of Persius *Satire* 5 132-55 (issue 55) and his translation of Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15 (issue 211).[363] However, these two examples are not the same type of translation exercise as the issue which contains Sappho. Dryden's Persius is included in a discussion of luxury and avarice which then discusses these terms in relation to government, and Dryden's Ovid is included in a piece about women and transmigration and the second half of the article is letters from readers. Different translations of Sappho are the focus of issues 223 and 229, and directly engage with the life of the poet and it is the first time in English that her life and reputation are joined with her work in translation, linking biography and poetry. This is something that we will come to later and explore in more detail.[364] As presented in the *Spectator*, Sappho is shown as part of the literary continuum in three ways – though influence, comparison and reception dialogue. Her work has influenced later poets, as is shown through the article. She is not the first poet to be included in translation in the *Spectator* but her work is important enough to be considered alongside other translated

translation of Sappho but as I have shown in my introduction, a translation of Longinus, even if it includes Sappho, is not a translation of Sappho, page 31.
[362] Page 67-73.
[363] Spectator (1711): issue 55 and Spectator (1711): issue 211.
[364] Chapter 2.2.

classical texts, and the piece in issue 223 starts a wider-ranging dialogue between translator, poet, Greek text and English translation.

Sappho and Anacreon

From here onwards there is an array of works that move away from collections of oddments such as these miscellanies and individual issues of popular journals to works which focus more thoroughly on Sappho. She becomes a named author in the titles and frontispieces of certain books. There is more of an obvious dialogue between Sappho, the translator and editor and the other ancient poets with which she is placed. Due to this clarity of expression, the eighteenth-century authors were able to create different types of narratives about of the relationships between the ancient poets (and occasionally more modern interlopers) presented in each of the books, and therefore figure her as a woman surrounded by men, subtly emphasising her heterosexuality.

After this fragmentary introduction to Sappho in the *Spectator*, as a poet capable of being examined as the primogenitor of work that would be influenced by her, Sappho appears as part of a whole – a varied corpus of other ancient poets in translation which broadly fall into two groups. The first group is seen for the first time, in Sewell's 1713 text – *The works of Anacreon and Sappho. Done from the Greek, by Several Hands. With their Lives prefix'd. To which is added, the Proze of Wisdom, A dialogue between Anacreon and Aristotle, by M. Fontenelle. Also Bion's Idyllium, upon the death of Adonis. By the Earl of Winchelsea.* This long title belies the type of work which falls into this category. That is of Sappho as a poet who is translated alongside Anacreon. In six of the translations which have named poets in the title (everything from Sewell onwards), Sappho is always listed immediately after Anacreon that by the end of the period it seems impossible to imagine Anacreon without Sappho.

John Addison's translation, published 22 years later, is also of this type, placing Sappho with Anacreon. Addison, however, dropped the additional poems by Fontenelle and Charles Finch (the Earl of Winchelsea, and nephew of Anne Finch, an important female voice in the early eighteenth century) and Sappho is paired solely with Anacreon.[365] There are other similarities between Sewell and Addison's works, as will be explored in later chapters, but by naming his work *The Works of Anacreon, Translated into English Verse; with Notes Explanatory and Poetic. To Which are Added the Odes, Fragments, and epigrams of Sappho. With the Original Greek Plac'd Opposite to the Translations*, Addison is creating a dialogue and a hierarchy between Anacreon and Sappho in his book.

What is understood from Addison's title is the amount of emphasis that is placed on Sappho as a poet to be studied without the excessive trappings or bolsters of other authors. She remains secondary to Anacreon, and this is likely due to the number of fragments available for translation as Sappho's section was much smaller than Anacreon's. Here, Addison is describing *Anacreontea* as the work of Anacreon as well. Anacreon and *Anacreontea* are given 246 pages of translation, text and discussion whereas Sappho has 32. However, Addison's interest in Sappho is plain to see. His was the first translation to fastidiously describe of the types of poetry that remained of Sappho's corpus 'Odes, fragments and epigrams', his translation was the first to include notes on the text, and his inclusion of Greek is also the first instance of this in English translation. Both of these translations contribute to an idea of Sappho in translation which is recognisable to modern readers, a text to learn from and that has poets at its centre, rather than a book which is more focussed on the translator or editor. It also highlights another central aspect to Sappho and her reception in translation, that of her romantic adventures and the pairings which

[365] Addison (1735).

are made between Sappho and other ancient writers to form a narrative about her eroticism.

Anacreon is a poet who is integral to constructing Sappho's sexuality in this period, his work is fragmentary, his subject matter is similar to hers and there are myths which have developed around the two that link them romantically. This romantic link between Sappho and Anacreon is also useful as later in this selection of translations it shows more clearly how Sappho and Anacreon were linked by the translators and editors of these books to produce a heteronormative depiction of the poet. Sappho is presented in Athenaeus romantically with Anacreon ('καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφημίλλητ' Ἀνακρείων...').[366] This quote potentially helps explain why Sewell, John Addison and Fawkes were attempting to fashion Sappho's romantic or erotic encounters with the titles of their books. This pairing of Anacreon is revisited time and again in the Lives, which are discussed later.[367]

Sappho and other poets

Sappho's work in translation, after undergoing this pairing with Anacreon in 1713 in Sewell's book, is then broadened to include other poets, presumably to increase the amount of material that was available to publish, as at this time there were very few fragments of Sappho which made it into her English-language corpus to be translated and printed. The group of 'Sappho and other poets' is the second type of title that is seen in these translations. This grouping does change throughout the period however, and as more fragments of Sappho begin to be published, her name moves up the playbill. After George Sewell's ingenious book, where he breaks from the mould of seventeenth-century

[366] 'For honey-sweet Anacreon was a rival for her love' Testimonium 8. Athenaeus 598bc; 599cd.
[367] Pages 180-209.

miscellany and brings together many different ideas on Sappho and ancient poetry from various sources, the placement of Sappho's name in the titles of the books changes. Her name moves from the penultimate poet in a long list from an anonymous miscellany of ancient poets as seen in the anonymous *The Works of Petronius Arbiter, to which is added some other of the Roman Poets, viz Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius. And Translation from the Greek of Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho with a Poem on Telemacus* (1714) to the second name in Fawkes' popular text *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus: Translated into English* (1760). Both types of title show that there is a large amount of interest in classical authors, and specifically naming Sappho shows that she is an important piece within the story that each translator is creating about the ancient world. When discussing titles, Genette specifically mentions that in a collection of short items 'the autonomy of each piece is generally much greater than the autonomy of the constituent parts of an epic, a novel'.[368]

By having an expansive range of poets within these types of translation, the narratives between poets can be built, situating each poet in a context that is bolstered by the other relatively minor poets that are included in the compendium. These individual fragments make up a whole, and in these cases they are various parts of a whole of Classical poets (1714), Greek poets (1728), or love and bucolic poets (1760). Here, once again, these themes are refined and made more specialised as we move through the period. Sappho's identity as a love poet comes to the fore in this last group. Although Fawkes is hesitant, as will be seen in his Life of Sappho, to pursue the idea that she was an explicitly homoerotic poet, he is highlighting her status as someone who is composing lyrics in a certain genre. Fawkes created an enduring love poet, through

[368] Genette (1997a): 317.

translation, for his readers. It is perhaps with Fawkes' work that Sappho begins to be much more than just another ancient author to add to a collection. In contrast to these compendia, the two examples of translations which focus more fully on Sappho do not seem to have been such a popular choice. Publishers, editors and translators seem to be wary of including her too prominently in their works. It is perhaps because her status as a poet has not yet been so clearly defined. The final book in the corpus from Fawkes specifies Sappho as a love poet, but before this her function was less well defined and she was less well known. Sewell and John Addison's works were unusual in this way, placing so much emphasis on a poet who was not readily translated into English at this time.

Sappho and the single author

One of the last books thematically and chronologically to contain a translation of Sappho's poetry is one that focuses not on ancient authors but on a single contemporary author – Ambrose Philips, who includes his translations from 1711 in his 1748 *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and Other Original Poems, with translations from Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho.* Sappho, at this time, is still inextricably linked with Anacreon. As with the compendia, it is the amount of these works that are translated which correlate with the order in the book. There are 22 pages of translated Pindar, 4 pages of Anacreon and 3 of Sappho. Despite Sappho's importance as a female voice from the ancient world, the lack of material means that her work was often relegated to an addendum rather than as a central text. Perhaps Philips is using his skill as a translator to augment his own works, providing validity to his own poems by including them alongside those from the ancient world. In this period, Pindar, Sappho and Anacreon are well settled within the Classical canon and Philips uses this ancient legitimacy to provide additional material for his own book. Philips' book does not further the

discussion on Sappho's eroticism, but does illustrate her increasing importance and prominence in translated ancient Greek poetry.

Intertextual paratexts

A reader can tell a lot about the formation of a book and who is interested in Sappho and her texts from who the publisher is and how the title functions, as has been shown for example with Sewell's edition *The Works of Sappho and Anacreon*, published by Curll. However, more can be understood about the way the editors and translators wanted to present her work by understanding the way in which Sappho's text and views on her eroticism are manipulated by these writers. In addition to publisher information and titology, there are other aspects of the paratext which give additional information about the content of the book. These can include contents pages and indices, general introductions to the book and dedicatory epistles. However, these are not immediately useful for unpicking what each book is doing with their text of Sappho and how they are forming her sexuality for their readers, rather they function in a more general way for the reader. More pertinent is the paratextual information that is linked directly to Sappho's text within the book and form the framework within which the poem is operating but is not paratranslational.

Paratextual information can also provide intertextual information, as many of the authors who include relevant paratextual information within their books often cite other writers. This is often overlooked in formal paratextual theory, but is an invisible aspect of the paratext which informs each of these translations. Although it is not concrete on the page, the links which are formed through this kind of paratext are invaluable in understanding how the author imagines the text functioning, setting up their work within or without existing frameworks. These links are made clear through the content of the paratext and create a metatext between translations through their paratexts. These include

references to ancient works like Ovid, from whose *Heroides* 15 there are often large quotes taken verbatim. In addition to Ovid, there are other ancient authors who are cited, as well as Dacier's French translation and Boileau's French translation of fragment 31. These intertextual paratexts and references to other translations of Sappho are useful in figuring where each new translator is positioning themselves, as more translations of Sappho were published. Through analysis of the citations, a framework can be created of influences on each paratext. Using this type of analysis, different attitudes to Sappho's eroticism can be unpicked from each paratext.

The main example of this type of paratext that stands apart from the translation are biographies of Sappho, known as Lives, which appear in some translations. The Lives will be discussed as a separate case study as they have so much impact on the way in which the translations are read. The translator is able to shape the reader's attitudes to Sappho's sexuality in these paratexts before the translation is even read, and the biographical information informs the way in which the the translators are choosing to fashion Sappho's sexuality.

Conclusion

There are two types of narratives which appear in the history of Sappho translations here. These are translations of Sappho as part of a wider miscellany of sorts, and translations of Sappho where she has more importance. The first type begins with the seventeenth century miscellanies and end in 1760 with Fawkes' translation that is a miscellany of sorts, an ancient miscellany of various poets. The second type of narrative is seen in Philips' translation for the *Spectator* where Sappho appears as the sole focus of the article, and then Philips' own collection of works where he includes Sappho's poetry in translation. This narrative moves from Philips helping Sappho's work to live in the English language, to Sappho helping Philips' work to live in his own collection of poems.

Sappho's reputation is bolstered by Philips' translation of her work, as Philips is a well-known and successful poet at this time. Philips' own collection, published 37 years after his article in the *Spectator* and building upon four new translations that were published in between, is then supported by Sappho's reputation and clear influence and secure place in the Greek canon-in-translation at this time.

As seen from the titles, the other poets who are presented alongside Sappho are important in understanding how she is being formed for the readers and how her eroticism is also contained and construed in each new book. Generally presented alongside works which are either ancient Greek or Roman, Sappho's text then becomes part of the corpus of translated ancient works into English and as such her work is legitimised through this. Writers such as Homer and Pindar had already been regularaly translated and including Sappho amongst them meant that her poetry in translation was seen to be part of a grand tradition.[369] However, the metatext of Sappho, the biographies and dictionary entries which made up her reception belie knowledge of her erotic appetites which the literary translations of her work were working against. When combined together, the metatext, paratext and poetry of Sappho construct her as a respected erotic lyricist from ancient Greece.

The formation of Sappho alongside these other writers casts her work in different ways. Her poems are printed next to work by Anacreon, Bion, Moschus, Theocritus, Musaeus, Alcaeus, Homer, Pindar, Petronius, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Julian. As mentioned in chapter 1.1, the different poets whom she is paired with construct her work, persona and eroticism in different ways.[370] As a named poet in a collection of other poets, Sappho's persona is formed in five ways which are each distinct and have a hierarchy of importance, each

[369] Cummings and Gillespie (2009a) and (2009b).
[370] Page 63-67.

contributing to the ways her poetry and eroticism are understood. These are Sappho in a miscellany, Sappho amongst increasingly specialised groups of poets, and Sappho and Anacreon as the central pair of poets within the book. The two remaining ways are that Sappho is a named ancient Greek female poet - so she is special and individualised rather than a name in a long series of several poems by several hands – and that she is also a historical literary figure, placed within the canon of ancient writers and as such a persona can be created for her. Within both of these subsections, she is a named ancient Greek female poet. This is not automatically obvious from her name but marks her out as distinct from the other men who also have their work in translation within these books. Finally, in some translations such as Fawkes' she is depicted with erotic and bucolic poets which adds a flavour to the solid persona that has been created. An individual, ancient Greek female poet who wrote about love.

Some translations which associate Sappho and Anacreon are entrenched in previous versions of Sappho's text which appear alongside Anacreon's in the editions, such as in Dacier's book. Some choices, like the poets that Fawkes' chooses to print alongside Sappho, highlight the romantic aspects of her persona and poetry. In this example, Sappho is constructed as a heteroromantic love poet, part of a seemingly long tradition of looking at Sappho and her sexuality and eroticism in this way. The literary aspect is also important. This is brought to the fore in Fawkes' translation, where instead of the eroticism inherent in the poems, Fawkes' paratext takes precedence. The reader is able to discern that Fawkes is pushing a heteroromantic aspect of Sappho's persona to the front of his translation and denying her eroticism which forms an important part of her reception in this period.

In contrast to this, Sappho could also be figured as a homoerotic poet through a different interpretation of this paratext. Sappho's association with

lesbianism and female homoerotics had long been established before her work was translated into English, and attitudes to lesbians in the eighteenth century, though difficult to define, were often centred on female strength, power, and insatiable sexual desire.[371] As such, when Sappho is placed with increasing prominence within the translation, there are hints at a sense of personal autonomy and strength. This would have tallied with attitudes to female homoeroticism at this time and blend together these 'two Sapphos' – the outward facing Sappho of respectable heteronormativity, and the other Sappho, whose 'wanton way of writing hindered much of the merit' of her poems. This wantonness, and therefore homoeroticism, was hiding behind the guise of her love affair with Phaon.[372]

Sappho was a poet who was increasingly having attention paid to her through the surge in translations of her work, and through the paratext within those books. As attitudes to lesbianism in this period were mainly shaped by heterosexual men, lesbianism and female homoerotics were often figured as something for the male gaze and were associated with erotica or pornography for men at this time.[373] With Sappho's name becoming more prominent in the titles of these translations, the thrill around the eroticism in her lyrics would also have been more available and accessible. When the paratext of the title is combined with the paratext of the publisher's information an argument is created where the eroticism and exoticism around Sappho's poetry is enhanced by the paratext of the translation.

[371] Page 11; Norton (2011):77.
[372] N.H. (1694): 444, entry under 'Sappho'.
[373] Anonymous (1749a).

Chapter 2.2

Lives of Sappho

From the moment that Sappho's work was translated, biographies of Sappho which are referred to here as Lives, have been printed alongside her text. Where the translations include them, they are titled as a 'Life of Sappho'. The translations are Sewell (1713): 63-70, where the Life is authored by Basil Kennet, John Addison (1735): 249-55 and Fawkes (1760): 171-7, with a French precedent, Dacier (1681): 243-51. In addition to this, Joseph Addison's notes which form the basis of issues 223 and 229 could be considered as part of this group, but are not explicitly named as a Life. This chapter will outline the tradition of these biographies, show their development, and assess how they were creating a sense of Sappho's sexuality for their readers. This information is in each case presented before Sappho's translated text, and as such has a great influence over the way in which a reader thinks about Sappho and approaches her poetry.

Translations of Sappho's work often appear with all manner of paratextual information such as contents pages, introductions, biographical information about Sappho, notes on the translated fragments, and indices, some of which have been discussed in the previous chapter. The biographies of Sappho are the focus of this chapter and they are something that has continued to capture the imagination of translators. This material is sometimes referenced within the translations themselves and is largely based on what now constitutes the testimonia about Sappho.[374] In the earliest English translations this biographical information is the introduction to Sappho's poetry and there is no

[374] Full list of sources is on page 322.

discussion of textual transmission or notes on the translation –those instead form paratextual information as part of the translations themselves. In John Addison and Fawkes, information about transmission and notes on translation are added as paratranslational. In this way, the Lives are used as the preliminary platform to discuss clearly and explicitly Sappho's poetry and the editors' and translators' attitudes to her eroticism, and these introductions are the only instances where a large amount of biographical information is conveyed alongside the translations of Sappho's poetry.

By linking the biographical information and the translation together as a result of placing them side by side in the books, translators invite readers to approach the translation through biography. If the Life is not clearly demarcated but is still included within the paratextual information pertaining to the translation, the writers have to shape the way in which they discuss Sappho's biography as this constitutes a major part of the way in which readers approach her work and her life story. Therefore, they configure her reception in different ways.[375] In the early translations, Sappho's poetry is an extension and reaction to her life, and it is through the Lives that the early translators want her work to be read. By understanding the ways in which these writers were narrating Sappho's life and subsequently how this can be interpreted by readers, the formation of Sappho as a poet and a person will be easier to understand.

Sources

Transmission and Papyri

When first thinking about the sources used in Lives of Sappho and how these sources intertwine with her texts, it is useful to be aware of how the fragments of Sappho have been transmitted as this can often give insight to how

[375] Hexter (2006): 30.

translators of her work view her biography and poetic persona. There are two ways that the works of Sappho have been transmitted to us. The first is through material finds which quote her work, the papyri and ostraka. These modes of transmission rarely have any literary context to them and the poems are often found on torn up pieces of papyrus in rubbish heaps.[376]

The second mode of transmission of Sappho's text is through the textual transmission of other authors in which she is cited. As these authors are often giving Sappho as an example of a particular poetic style or as an example of a trope within literature, they frequently supply accompanying notes to her work. In this way, this mode of transmission means that it is sometimes possible to obtain more information about either how her poetry was available and seen in antiquity, or about her ancient poetic persona, as conceived by these other ancient writers.

Not linked directly to the transmission of her poetry are testimonia which discuss Sappho's life and do not link the Life to the text. Rather than writing about her poetry, they mention Sappho in different contexts and portray ancient thoughts about her which informed the writers of eighteenth-century lives of Sappho. Perhaps the most famous of those which is used by the translators is Horace's adjective *mascula* (*Letters* 1.19.28), which gives some insight into the ways in which she was considered unfeminine. The testimonia are often referenced by the early translations and some citations, like that of Horace, always appears in those translations which include a Life.[377]

Other writers such as Ovid, Aristotle, Strabo, Solon, Plato, Plutarch and Porphyrion appear regularly in the Lives as well. How the translators are using

[376] Parsons (2007): 16.
[377] Dacier (1681): 250; Sewell (1713): 65; Addison (1735): 255; Fawkes (1760): 175; page 6.

this material to form their own Lives, what they take from each writer to create a patchwork Sappho of their own making, shows the mark of the translator as gatekeeper of knowledge for their readers.

There is a discrepancy between what the eighteenth-century translators choose to cite and what they omit, even when the sources are quite obvious in their Lives. There are often points in which the Life has clear references and allusions to work by other ancient writers, but these remain uncited. The ways in which each of the translators chooses to manipulate these sources, and to what end, also differs. Not all Lives include all the sources, and there are innovations which different translators make, as well as traditions which clearly capture the imagination of the men and women writing about her received biography which they then preserve. Some translators cite their sources very carefully, whilst others build up a story about Sappho and her life, choosing rather to be more expressive and interpretive with their biographies than provide detailed notes.

The *Suda*

The *Suda* is one of the most-cited sources for Sappho's life in this period and it is consistently referenced as a useful and reliable source.[378] The *Suda* is a Byzantine encyclopaedia from the tenth century which discusses Sappho and her poetry, but does not quote her lyrics. There are two entries for Sappho (σ107 and σ108) and they contain two infamous and differing statements. σ107 says that there are eight possible men who were her father, a mother called Cleis and three brothers called Larichus, Charaxus and Eurygius. It mentions her supposed husband, Cercylas from the isle of Andros, and her daughter with the same name as her mother, Cleis. Six further women are mentioned; Atthis, Telesippa, Megara, Anagora, Gongyla and Eunica, but only the first three are said to have

[378]Addison (1711): 223; Sewell (1713): 64; Addison (1735): 249; Fawkes (1760): 171.

shared αἰσχράς φιλίας 'shameful friendships' with her, the second three are referred to as μαθήτριαι, or 'pupils', and figure Sappho in a way that would be made famous by Wilamowitz when he refers to her as a schoolmistress in 1913.[379] She is credited with having invented the plectrum and writing nine books of lyric poems, as well as epigrams, elegiacs, iambics and monodies. This is a lengthy entry and covers a range of material which those writing a Life would be interested in. It mentions her family, the sheer amount and breadth of poetry that she wrote, and both her role as a lover and as a teacher of women. This personal information brings to life the fragments which are found only in other writers' texts in this period of translation. The second mention of Sappho, in the next lemma, is much briefer. She is said to have come from Mytilene, to have been a lyre player, a composer of lyric poetry and to have jumped from the Leucadian cliff because of her failed romance with Phaon. This adds another intriguing piece of information to the Sappho-puzzle. Women are mentioned in σ107 but in σ108, a man is introduced. This man was so important to Sappho's life that she committed suicide for him – a tragic story of love lost, and a story that Ovid chooses to focus on in his *Heroides*. Sappho's love affair with Phaon looms large in the early translations, as we shall see.

Ovid

In addition to Horace's description and the *Suda* entries, another influential source for the translators was Ovid. Each translator used *Heroides* 15, a letter from Sappho to Phaon, and it is the only one of Ovid's epistles which has a historical figure as the narrator. The trend for including this piece from Ovid in Sappho's biography alongside an English translation is seemingly born in 1624 when Thomas Heywood first included the whole of this letter in his discussion of

[379] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913): 77.

Sappho's life.[380] Ovid wrote about some of Sappho's female companions such as Anactoria and Atthis, who are also mentioned in the *Suda,* and Ovid included some rich storytelling about the landscape and Sappho's own feelings, in a confessional and intimate style.[381] This sort of material is lacking in any sense from her biography and is only seen through her poetry. Given how much of her poetry was available to the translators at this time, it is unsurprising that these imagined details of her life captured the imagination of early biographers. Many of the translators discussed here quote this epistle in varying degrees, and it can be seen how much of Ovid's *Heroides* 15 they professed to think was an accurate and historical account of Sappho's life.[382]

Grammarians and Critical Writers

Another set of sources which are regularly cited in these Lives are those from critical writers and grammarians. Rather than as encyclopaedia entries found in the *Suda*, these are the sorts of works which make reference to the style and content of Sappho's poetry and therefore something can be extracted from them about her life. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who preserves fragment 1, does not speak of her life, but gives details of his purpose in quoting this poem of Sappho in full (*On Literary Composition* 23). Fragment 1 is described as an example of smoothness in poetry, λειότης, which is what gives it euphony and charm, εὐέπεια and χάρις. Dionysius mentions her alongside poets such as Hesiod, Anacreon and Simonides cementing her importance alongside male poets in the mind of the reader. Pseudo-Longinus is often quoted too. His discussion of fragment 31 adds context and he also mentions his reasons for quoting Sappho. Longinus writes that her poem deals with the madness of lovers (*On the Sublime* 10.1) and this in turn gives an idea of what the poem is about,

[380] Heywood (1624): 389.
[381] *Heroides* 15.1-2.
[382] Addison (1711): 223; Sewell (1713): 64-7; Addison (1735): 252-4; Fawkes (1760): 172-3.

the themes which interest Sappho and the ways in which she writes about them. Even if the translators do not cite what these men have written about her, they mention these ancient authors by name, which elevates Sappho's poetry, as they are endorsing her work by including her alongside the larger works of the classical canon.[383]

Sappho

As well as external sources for Sappho's life and the way in which she responded to her world, the other angle for material to use when constructing a Life is to look at the poetry of Sappho itself. The two latest translators here, John Addison and Francis Fawkes, both print more fragments than any other translator in this period. In this way, they have more interaction between Life and text as there is more translated material to read Sappho's life from. The 'Sapphic Question' – who is the 'Sappho' in Sappho's songs, and how confessional, personal and private are the poems – is still debated, and subsequent chapters of this thesis are concerned with how the translators are figuring the poetic 'I' within their translation.[384] If the writers of these Lives, which accompanied the first English translations of her poetry, were looking for more material about Sappho's biography then it is not surprising that they look to Sappho's own poetry to illuminate various aspects of her life. However, only one translator cites Sappho as a source for understanding her own life – John Addison. His innovations in translating Sappho and thinking about her work are numerous and in this particular way, he joins the poetic text and the Life together. This is the first published instance of a translator reading the text of Sappho and ascertaining ideas about her life from it. It overtly begins the debate around the autobiographical nature of Sappho's poetry. John Addison's work will

[383] Dacier (1681): 249; Addison (1711): issue 223; 229; Sewell (1713): 69; Addison (1735): 254; Fawkes (1760): 176.
[384] Lardinois (2016): 170; Kivilo (2010): 167-200; Snyder (1997): 71; Prins (1996): 39; Lefkowitz (1981): 36-7; DeJean (1989): 10; Reynolds (2003): 9; Poochigian (2009) xxxviii.

be discussed in more detail below, and the ways in which he uses Sappho's verse will be examined in depth.[385]

Other translators

After the ancient sources which were used by translators, there is also much that is taken from other books about Sappho, such as translations and dictionaries, for example, there is a direct reference to Joseph Addison (1711) in Fawkes, and scattered throughout the translations there are allusions to the Lives from other previous writers.[386] Creating this large metatext on Sappho's life involves using both ancient and modern material to weave a new Sappho and a new way to define her sexuality that stands apart from the material that has been written before. As has been shown with textual transmission already and as will be seen in analysis of translations in the following chapters 3.1 and 3.2, the most influential of these early modern writers on the translators studied here was Anne Dacier, who is mentioned in all of the lives but one: John Addison's.[387] She wrote a Life, *La Vie de Sapho,* at the beginning of her translation in 1681 and is often found to be one of the originators for much of the material used by these English translators. She mentions many ancient influences in her Life, which are discussed below.[388]

Dacier's French work was highly influential and therefore a discussion of her book will illuminate the succeeding English translators' work. In terms of her sources, Dacier herself mentions a vanguard of names, Strabo (245), Solon (246), Socrates, Aristotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Longinus, Julian and Ovid (249) but does not go into great detail about them. She also draws on other sources such as the *Suda* (243 – 251), Ovid's *Heroides* 15 (246), Horace and

[385] Pages 200-204.
[386] Fawkes (1760): iv.
[387] Pages 180-204.
[388] Pages 180-181.

Maximus of Tyre (248). She took a strong stance with her attitude to Sappho's eroticism and articulated her disapproval of the indication that Sappho might have had relationships with women. Whilst supporting what the sources wrote, she still casts doubt on them, '*…si l'on en croit la plupart des Anciens qui ont écrit sa vie, elle ne vécut pas d'une manière fort regulière après la mort de son mari*', 'If we are to believe the majority of the ancients with what they write about her life, she did not live a regular life after the death of her husband'. (243-4) In trying to reconcile the homoerotic aspects of Sappho's received biography and her heteroromatic biography with Cercylas and Phaon, Dacier is attempting to highlight Sappho's marriage rather than her erotic life after her marriage. This shows considerable imagination on Dacier's part, and she describes her own feelings on this subject later in her Life. Dacier mentions that she does not trust the ancient sources which relate to Sappho's homoeroticism, that '*Au reste quoi que je sois persuadée qu'il y a eu beaucoup de médisance dans tout ce que l'on a dit contre Sapho'*, 'Otherwise, though I am convinced that there was much slander in all that people said against Sappho…'. (246) Dacier's position is clear, that Sappho loved Phaon deeply and that she composed fragment 1 for him but that she was not involved in the *médisance* which other people aimed at her. The later English translators had to decide, like Dacier, how to articulate these homoerotic aspects of Sappho's desire.

Conclusion to the source material

These sources are used in a variety of ways by the eighteenth-century writers, and they form the basis for each Life that appears alongside Sappho's text. By knowing the breadth of sources that were available and used by the writers, it will be easier to ascertain what choices each writer makes, and how this impacts on the way in which he configures his own ideal version of Sappho, the archetype of the poet which he is creating. This gives a good insight into how the translator or editor is approaching the poems of Sappho as the thoughts

that manifest themselves in her biography will be the same that are shown in the translation. In the case of Joseph Addison and Ambrose Philips, the two men would have a similar idea of the form they wanted Sappho to take, hence their close involvement and Addison's praise of Philips' translation that it has 'all the Ease and Spirit' of an original poem by Sappho, and shows the 'genuine and natural beauty' of Sappho's poetry (223). This may be heterosexualising Sappho and is more difficult to do with Kennet's Life that is attached to Philips' translation by Sewell in 1713, but Sewell will still be creating an idea of Sappho from these two cannibalised pieces of writing.

No Life

The books which do not include a biographical Life section are generally earlier in the period under discussion here and, due to the fact that it is one poem published in a miscellany, the first translation of this period has no Life attached to the translated fragments of Sappho. This translation is by William Bowles and is included in Nahum Tate's edited book *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions* (1685). As there is no central focus on Sappho, there is no Life here, since the book is centred on amassing many different poems in one volume, rather than any kind of in-depth study. To prioritise Sappho would shift the intentions of the book entirely. Similarly, the compendia of translations, *The Works of Petronius Arbiter*, Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander* and Philips' *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes* all lack a Life. Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander* has a Life of Musaeus as it is his poem which is translated and is the focus of the book, but not of Sappho.

Those books that seem to be creating a narrative about Sappho's life with relation to Anacreon are more likely to print a Life alongside their translation, to further bolster the biographical aspect of their Sappho translations – as already

seen in the titles.[389] The books discussed below have no Life within them. Whilst the idea that a lack of a Life is closely linked with the form of the book itself, as already discussed, some closer analysis of why these editors and authors choose not to print a Life will illuminate their attitudes to the text and translation of Sappho's poetry.

Tate (1685)

In Tate's *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions* (1685), there is no Life, as this is a miscellany of poems. Being a miscellany affects the way in which Sappho's poetry is read–there are no accompanying notes or information in the book, either about the translator who contributed the translation to this book, Bowles, Sappho or any of the other authors included in the volume. Sappho is sandwiched between Theocritus *Idyll* 14 (80) and Horace *Odes* 4.13 (87). The miscellany is introduced by Tate with, 'I have with some pains and trouble collected the following Poems' and this shows Tate's intent in creating his miscellany, that he is looking for new and interesting works to include in his edited volume.[390] Bowles himself translates fragment 31, titled 'Sapho's Ode out of Longinus. By the same' (85). Sappho's poetry is viewed through the lens of Longinus' longer work rather than being seen as poet in her own right. It is clear that in this instance, Sappho's name is not the focus of the book, or a section of the book and therefore it makes little sense for her to have her own Life – Longinus and his counterpart, the editor Nahum Tate, have a bigger part to play.

Anonymous (1714)

The second of the works which include no Life of Sappho is *The Works of Petronius Arbiter* with the translation from Herbert in 1714. Like Tate's miscellany, this is a collection of poems from the early eighteenth century which

[389] Page 145-149.
[390] Tate (1685): front matter.

includes some translations from ancient works, 'To which is added, Some of the Roman Poets… and Translations from the Greek of Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho'. The translator of Sappho in this instance is only named as Herbert and Sappho's fragment 1 is titled as 'Sappho, To the Goddess of Love From the Greek'. (325) There is a further poem, 'Sappho's description of a Rose, from a Greek fragment' (328) which is again translated by Herbert, but rather than a fragment of Sappho, originally comes from Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.1.[391] Sandwiched between these two translations is a poem, 'Translations out of An Imitation of XIIth Elegy of Propertius', translated by 'Mr. W—'. (327) Without any sense of unity in the presentation of Sappho's poetry, whether working from Dionysius of Halicarnassus or Achilles Tatius, translated by a man with no first name, it is understandable that there is no Life here. The poetry and the anthology are the focus, as in the previous work, not Sappho.

Sterling (1728)

Again presented as a compendium, although this time all from ancient authors, *The Loves of Hero and Leander* has a subtitle of 'To which are Added, some New Translations from various Greek Authors, viz. Anacreon, Sappho, Julian, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Homer.' Ogle's name appears in a dedication at the beginning of the book, and Gillespie cites Ogle as the author in his revised bibliography.[392] Sappho's two poems here, fragments 130 and 131 which are presented as one poem, and the poem from Achilles Tatius, are labelled within the book as 'Two Fragments from Sapho. I. Upon two Favourite-Maids, of whom she was Jealous. To Love' and 'II. Upon the Rose' (66). Before and after the translation of Sappho are translations of Anacreon and a poem attributed to Julian. Like *The Works of Petronius Arbiter*, there is little obvious need or use for a Life of Sappho here, as neither she nor her translator are the focus of the

[391] Page 215.
[392] Sewell (1728): dedication; and Gillespie (2009b): 184.

book, and including one would be needed for all the ancient authors and would shift the focus away from Sterling's translation of Musaeus to the additional texts translated by Ogle.

Philips (1748)

The final book from this period which does not contain a Life is Ambrose Philips' *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes,* and other Original Poems which also has a subtitle, this time: 'With Translations from Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho.' This was published in 1748 and is an anthology of Philips' work. It contains fragments 1 and 31, and these poems come right at the end (143-147).

Once again, it makes bibliographic sense not to include a Life in this book, as it is not a book about Sappho, but one about Ambrose Philips and his poetry instead. To include a Life would shift the focus from Philips to Sappho, and all the reader has is a dedication and a preface. In this book, one would expect perhaps to see a Life of Ambrose Philips, rather than one of the ancient poets whom he translates.

In the eight books that contain translations of Sappho in this period, exactly half choose not to print Lives alongside their text of the poems. The reasons for this have been detailed above, but there is another trend that we can pick out as to why there is a change. The span of translations runs for seventy-five years from Tate's book in 1685 to Fawkes's translation, first published in 1760. The four translations which do not publish a Life are grouped near the start of this period of translation. Philips' 1748 compendium of his own work is an outlier here, as the translation of Sappho is collected as part of a retrospective of his poetry, and the book is not published with a view to publishing his translation for the first time. This can be seen to map clearly onto

the way in which translations of Sappho were progressing in the period, from miscellanies to focussed books containing fewer authors.

Heywood's *Gunaikeion* (1624)

One book which is an early influence on this sequence of biographies of Sappho is Thomas Heywood's *Gunaikeion – 9 Books of Various History Concerninge Women; Inscribed by ye Names of ye Nine Muses* (1624). It cannot be considered a translation in the traditional sense, and was published sixty one years before William Bowles's first translation of Sappho as set out in the introduction, found in Tate's edited work.[393] It is, however, the first book to include some translation of her poetry and a description of her life. Heywood was attempting to create an overview of women in the ancient world, which is succinctly shown by the title of his book, *Gunaikeion*. However, it is the first book to link a translation of Sappho's fragments with her biography. All Heywood provides his reader with is a Latin and English translation of two lines of poetry about the Pierian roses, fragment 55 (59).

> *— Mortua Iacebis*
> *Nec enim hortulum habes rosarum ex Pieria,*
> —Thou shalt lye dead
> Without Pierian roses bout thy head.

This 'translation' appears in book two, 'Euterpe: Treating of the Muses, Sibyls, Vestals, Prophetesses, Hesperides, the Graces &c' (57-117). Heywood includes no Life here as his use of Sappho is to provide evidence linking the Muses to Pieria, but in chapter eight 'Urania: entreating of Women every way Learned: Of Poetresses and Witches' (389-419) he includes seven pages about her, five and

[393] See list of translations, pages 56-57.

a half of which are taken up with a translation of Ovid's *Heroides* 15. The inclusion of Ovid begins a trend in using Ovid's work alongside a translated portion of Sappho's text, although translating Sappho takes much more time to gain momentum.

Heywood cites his sources thoroughly in the margin, following in the manuscript tradition of marginalia and also general early printed book layouts, which were working off manuscripts.[394] He mentions Elianus, Plato, Suidas (the dictionary we now call the Suda), Pliny and Baptista Egnatius (the sixteenth-century Venetian commetnary on the *Heroides* by Giovanni Battista Egnazio) on the first page of his Life (388). He then goes on to quote *Heroides* 15 (389-94). After this he cites Horace, Antipater Sydonius (Antipater of Sidon), Plato, Ausonius and Papinius (394). He is working from a tradition of testimonia about Sappho to support his points and in his biography of her he cites them carefully.[395]

Heywood starts his discussion of Sappho by mentioning that she was the daughter of Scamandronius, as mentioned by Aelian in *Various History* 12.9, of Ariston as mentioned by pseudo-Plato in *Palatine Anthology* 9.506. He then casts aside any other mention of her biography, preferring to discuss the two Sapphos which appear in the *Suda*. Eloquently summing up this information, he writes of the Sapphos that 'some giue her the honor to bee the inuentor of the Lyricke verse: the other was…a singer and a strumpet.' (388). He gives these two figures different names, Erixia and 'Sappho Mitelæna'. Erixia is a very unsual name and might be referring to Erinna, to whom he ascribes the information in σ107, or a reference to Sappho or Eresos. To 'Sappho Mitelæna' he ascribes

[394] Steinberg (1996): 9.
[395] Page 322.

σ108 and the rest of what follows. This Sappho was a 'singer and a strumpet', she published 'rare and famous poems' 'was called the tenth muse', she fell in love with Phaon (388-9).

Before Heywood quotes *Heroides* 15, his section on Sappho and Phaon's love affair begins with a long piece where Pliny is cited as a source in which he discusses the use of *eryngium* which was what made Sappho love Phaon so passionately, 'ob hoc et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho', 'and because of this, dear Phaon stops by Sappho'. Heywood then gives an account of Giovanni Battista Egnazio's *Racemationes* 1 which details the story of how Venus gave Phaon an alabaster cream which made him irresistible to the 'lesbian damsels' and that he was 'ardently and most affectionately beloued of Sappho'. What follows Ovid's epistle from Sappho to Phaon is a small section about her distinguished status. He mentions that Horace calls her 'mascula' for 'preposterous and forbidden luxuries' which may reference her homoerotic reception - but Heywood goes on to counteract this with two quotes, one from Antipater of Sidon about Mnemosyne naming Sappho as another Muse, and Ausonius adding her to the group of Muses as well. He then mentions without quotation that Horace and Statius celebrated her as a poet.

By using different examples from ancient texts to support his points, Heywood is able to create a rich historical narrative of how the ancient world viewed Sappho and her works, thus adding credibility to his discussion of her life. In this regard, there is little evidence of Heywood's interpretation of the facts. He uses almost exclusively positive reports of her life. Heywood also chooses not to mention any material, ancient or otherwise, about Sappho's perceived homoerotic activity, such as that in σ107. He has mentioned that there are two Sapphos and so would be aware of this aspect of her transmitted

biography, but uses another name for the first one, possibly to obfuscate that this was also 'Sappho' even though she had her 'shameful friendships'. He writes about the way in which he is approaching the biographies in his book.

> Now if any aske, Why I haue shut up and contruded within a narrow roome, many large Histories, not delating them with euerie plenarie circumstance? I answer, That therein I haue imitated Ælianus de Var. Hist. and Valer. Maxim. Who epitomised great and memorable acts, reducing and contracting into a compendious Method wide and loose Histories, giuing them not withstanding their full weight, in few words.[396]

By placing himself in the historical tradition of writing biographies here, Heywood is giving his stories the surface appearance of historical accuracy. The way that Sappho is presented is clearly of great importance to Heywood. By claiming the authority of the Suda for the existence of two Sapphos Heywood is able to divide character aspects between them as he chooses. The parts of Sappho's biography that may seem less palatable are able to be addressed to 'the other Sappho', and Heywood is able to construct a version of the poet through the lens of Ovid, as well as other writers who provide small, heteronormative insights into her life. This very one-sided view of Sappho's character, and the way in which details are picked and placed together, is something that also becomes apparent in the later translator's Lives, which are far more closely linked with the text of her work.

[396] Heywood (1624): 'To the Reader', front matter.

Distinct Lives

Those books which do contain a Life of Sappho are far more focussed in their aims and are constructing a fuller and more complete idea of the poet, rather than using her as an example of just another ancient author to translate. These books are the work of one or two people with a focus on a range of ancient authors, rather than a compendium with a focus on different translators and poets, sometimes from different time periods. They have different aims with their texts and this then also affects the way in which they present the material to their readers.[397] After this, Joseph Addison's editorial essay alongside Ambrose Philips' translation in issues 223 and 229 of the *Spectator* includes biographical information, as well as issue 233 which includes no poetry, but does include biographical information about Sappho. Although the material is not presented as a titled Life, it can be grouped together with the works which delineate Sappho's biography in this way. In issue 233 Addison mentions her fall from the Leucadian rock, showing on-going engagement with the ancient biographical tradition of looking at Sappho's life.

Sewell's indication of intent is given in his title *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho. Done from the Greek, by Several Hands. With their Lives prefix'd* (1713). It is part of the function of the book that Lives are included here, the authorial intent shown clearly on the page, but the Life itself was written by Basil Kennet, Sewell only editing the volume. Later translations by both John Addison and Francis Fawkes include a Life and other paratextual details in their books. Both books are only concerned with translating ancient authors, Addison's with only two: Anacreon and Sappho, and Fawkes's with rather more: Anacreon and Sappho, but also Bion, Moschus and Musaeus. Fawkes's book is quite derivative

[397] Page 63.

of Addison's as I will show, and despite their differences, the two authors clearly have very similar aims as will be shown below.

In terms of the approach to presenting Sappho's lives in these books there is one standard way and reason for including a Life in most of the texts, and then an outlier that deals with things differently. The first, and biggest, group comprises those books of translations which are heavily influenced by Dacier.

Kennet's Life in Sewell's edited volume, John Addison and Fawkes show engagement with the text of Dacier through two ways – citation and structure. They have also all produced books of translation and poetry inspired by the ancient world, with Anne Dacier setting the precedent for translations of Sappho to be published in this way. Her influence is keenly felt with Addison's publication, which prints both the Greek text and a facing English translation Addison and Fawkes employ both of these methods to show their close engagement with Dacier's work. They mention her by name in their texts – John Addison at pages 256, 259, 277 and Fawkes at pages 182, 183, 187, 195; and this regular inclusion of Dacier's name highlights their own appreciation of her work and their pride in citing her work as an influence. Each translation also mimics the format of Dacier's work. Both British translators provide notes on the translation, not seen before in English translations of Sappho, and in the case of John Addison, also supply the Greek text. As Dacier includes a Life in her translation it is therefore unsurprising that these writers who were working in her shadow do so as well.

Kennet's Life in Sewell's edited work uses only citation to show the links with Dacier's work. He cites both her book and the work of her father, Tanneguy Le Fèvre although he strangely thinks that Le Fèvre's book is by Anne's

husband. Even though it is garbled, this use of the French texts illustrates Kennet's understanding of the debt that he owed to Dacier. Kennet quotes Anne in defense of a heteronormative biography, but points out that her father was more open about the homoeroticism in Sappho's received persona and poetry:

> The incomparable French Lady, who has lately adorn'd her Relicks, is very ingeniously singular in defending her from this unhappy Imputation [that she had homoerotic attachments to some women]. But however she may defie the rest of the World, yet, since Mr. Dacier has declar'd for the common Opinion, she will certainly submit to the Superior Judgment of her Husband.[398]

However Sewell, as editor, omits many elements which Dacier includes: notes on the poems, discussion of the transmission, and Greek text. Sewell removes Philips' translation from its paratext and places it with Kennet's biography. In this way, Sewell is working in a similar way to Dacier, where they are both gatekeepers of information. Sewell's book is also titled very similarly to Dacier's, as they both focus on only two poets – Anacreon and Sappho. Despite the lack of structural similarities between the two books, the influence that Dacier has had on Kennet's Life in Sewell's work is clear.

The outlier mentioned above is Joseph Addison and his *Spectator* articles about Sappho. These clearly have a different intention from the books of translated ancient authors highlighted above. Joseph Addison cannot imitate Dacier, as their objectives are so different, although he does cite her work (issues 223, 229). What Joseph Addison is aiming to do is to produce an overview of Sappho's fragments, biography, and reception. He writes 'They [the

[398] Sewell (1713): 65.

fragments] give us a Taste of her Way of Writing, which is perfectly conformable with that extraordinary Character we find of her, in the Remarks of those great Criticks who were conversant with her Works when they were entire' (223). Joseph Addison is seeking out a way to discuss the 'Character' of Sappho and to discuss it explicitly with regard to 'those great Criticks'; those historical sources mentioned above. Despite the difference in structure, Joseph Addison is reaching towards creating a Life of Sappho in his article, even if it is not explicitly named as such.

The works that come after Heywood which include both a translation and a Life are more like 'true' biographies attached to her poetry, and the link between the two has, quite clearly, far more weight to it. The biographies, which are usually quite sparse, are supported by the material within the poems, and the poems themselves are read with an eye on the preceding biography of the poet. How this changes each part of the early modern texts, and the ways in which they each form their own vision of Sappho and her life story, can help us to understand the way in which the translators viewed Sappho's work.

Joseph Addison (1711)

In 1711, Joseph Addison's *Spectator* article was the first to join an English translation of Sappho and her biographical information together on the same page. In issue 223 from November the 15th, Addison writes about Sappho's life and includes a translation of fragment 1 by Philips, as well as some explanatory notes which are based Dacier's *Les Poesies d'Anacreon et de Sapho*. The notes accompanying the poem, which take up much more of the issue than the translation, set the precedent in English-language translations of Sappho for including background information about her life alongside her text.

Addison includes far fewer sources in his text than Heywood, and much of what he cites is taken from Plutarch. In issue 223, the first source is from Plutarch's *Moralia* 762f, in the dialogue on love. This phrase is repeated often within these biographies that Sappho, 'by Plutarch is compared to Cacus the Son of Vulcan, who breathes out nothing but Flame'.[399] He also calls Sappho the tenth muse, the sources of which follow on from Heywood. Finally, he discusses the story of Phaon and Sappho which finds its most famous home with Ovid. In issue 229 he includes Philips' translation of fragment 31 alongside a mention of Plutarch again, this from the *Life of Demetrius* 38, '[Erasistratus] found out the Nature of his Distemper by those Symptoms of Love which he had learnt from *Sappho's* Writings.' Issue 233 offers no poetry at all but is entirely concerned with a list of those who purportedly leapt from the cliff at Leucas, and there is a large section here which discusses her life story.

As an opening discussion of Sappho's work, Joseph Addison is keen to point out that there is very little of it left. She is among 'the mutilated Poets of Antiquity' and that the remaining fragments of her work 'only give us a Taste of her Way of Writing'.[400] He goes on further, discussing his own approach to her biography. These little tastes are 'perfectly conformable with that extraordinary Character we find of her'. He joins the biography and introduction to the translation with 'having given this short Account of Sappho so far as it regards the following Ode, I shall subjoin to the Translation of it as was sent me by a Friend'. By explicitly linking the biographical information and the translation together, Addison is inviting his reader to approach the translation through the veil of biography. Although not titled as a Life, and having no heading for this particular part of the journal, Addison has to make this much clearer to the reader. This is something which later translators illuminate with subheadings,

[399] Addison (1711): issue 223; Addison (1735): 255; Fawkes (1760): 177.
[400] Addison (1711): issue 223.

thus guiding the reader of the translation into their way of interpreting the poet's text.

What Joseph Addison mentions about Sappho's life in relation to the sources he cites is interesting for the reader. This is because the reader is then able to discern the type of Sappho that Joseph Addison was constructing through his use of biographical input to his rendering of Sappho's life story. Without citing sources, Joseph Addison uses this as a moment to describe his own relationship with the poet. 'Her soul seems to have been made up of Love and Poetry; She felt the Passion in all its Warmth, and described it in all its Symptoms' (223). In this way, she is perceived as an archetypal love poet above the concerns of humans, which is supported by Addison immediately after this, as he writes that she was described as the tenth Muse. At the end of the same paragraph, Joseph Addison concludes that 'I do not know, by the Character that is given of her Works, whether it is not for the Benefit of Mankind that they are lost. They were filled with such bewitching Tenderness and Rapture, that it might have been dangerous to have given them a Reading'. Here Addison is alluding to the feminine erotic nature of Sappho's work, a kind of powerful magic. He implies here that if the texts which were available appeared to be erotic already, those texts which had been lost to history were likely to be even more so. He tempts the reader to view Sappho's verses as full of sexual desire, affecting his readers' viewpoints on the material.

The later part of the section is given to describing Sappho's leap from the Leucadian rock, which is presented as accurate fact. It tells of the unrequited love for Phaon that seized Sappho and specifically that Sappho composed the Hymn to Venus [fragment 1] but that 'her Hymn was ineffectual for the procuring that Happiness which she prayed for in it' (223). Sappho is portrayed here more as a two-dimensional character than as a person. Everything that has

been discussed by Addison has shown her to be an archetypal love-sick poetess.[401] There is information, from the *Suda*, about her family and where she came from, but Addison chooses to omit this in favour of crafting the Sappho that he wants her to be. Addison writes that he 'cannot but wonder, that these two finished pieces [fragments 1 and 31] have never been attempted before by any of our Countrymen' (223) and this gives him free rein to design his Sappho for the English-reading public as he wishes.

This way of crafting Sappho from Joseph Addison's own opinion rather than from historical sources continues in issue 229 from Thursday November 22nd 1711, which shows the amount of influence that a writer can have over the conception of Sappho's biography. Addison adds some scant and tempting, but unverified, biographical detail to the occasion for which fragment 31 was written. He writes, 'Whatever might have been the Occasion of this Ode, the English Reader will enter into the Beauties of it, if he supposes it to have been written in the Person of a Lover sitting by his Mistress'. He is setting up Sappho as a poet about whose life we can know little, and this will feed into the way in which he discusses her poetry. By explicitly describing the ambiguity of the situation in from which fragment 31 is written, he is able to keep hold of his own version of a heteronormative Sappho and present what he chooses to the reader, based on his own interpretation of the facts. Addison is creating a very fragmentary Sappho, one which lives behind broken pieces and supposition with regard to her biography. In this way he is able to overlook the homoerotic aspects of her Life and poetry, and focus instead on his viewpoint, that Sappho, one of the 'mutilated Poets of Antiquity' is changed even further by the straightening of her text in his translation and Life.

[401] Kennedy (2013): xviii.

This continues with the way in which, as mentioned, Addison is concerned with issues of fragmentariness within Sappho's poetry, and explicitly and repeatedly refers to them, highlighting that there is something of the poet, and of her work, which has been lost. He starts by giving a long account of a mutilated and fragmentary Roman statue used by Michelangelo as his inspiration and that the artist had 'learned his whole Art from it.'[402] The next paragraph continues with this theme with regard to the fragmentary works of Sappho and that her poetry is 'in great Reputation among the Poets and Criticks' – as the Roman statue was itself – and that fragment 31, by many authors such as Dryden, 'seem very often to have copied after it in their Dramatick Writings; and in their Poems upon Love'. This language is very direct – it elevates Sappho's poetry as something which is imitated by other poets for two thousand years but also holds it up as something which is broken. This is mimicking what Addison writes about her biography, in that there is something of her there, but that its pieces can be used and made one's own. In this way, perhaps, Addison is acting as Blanchot's radical reader, and it is not dissimilar to the way in which he describes a reader in relation to the plastic arts, 'reading gives to the book the abrupt existence which the statue "seems" to get from the chisel alone. From its reading the book acquires the isolation which withholds the statues from the eyes that see it… the book needs the reader in order to become a statue'.[403]

This issue of the *Spectator* sets Sappho up as a poet to be imitated and Addison prints Catullus 51 and Boileau's translation of Longinus from 1674, which included fragment 31.[404] His aim is to 'set to View three different Copies of this beautiful Original', after which is printed the different versions of the poem

[402] The impact of the Belvedere Torso on Michelangelo is discussed in Scigliano (2005): 281.
[403] Blanchot (1982): 193-4.
[404] Boileau (1674): 26.

by Catullus, Boileau and Philips. Addison describes Catullus 51 in relation to fragment 31, that the 'three first Stanzas are rendered almost Word for Word', explicitly not including the fourth stanza. He goes on to describe Boileau's interpretation of fragment 31 that 'the Reader will see that this is rather an Imitation than a Translation.' By discussing Sappho's poem in this way, that it is part of a tradition of classical reception and textual transmission, Addison is once more alerting his reader to the mutable nature of Sappho as a poet, and therefore that there are ramifications which lead the reader to see her life as also changeable and open to different interpretations. Sappho is being set up as a poet who has more worth because she has been imitated by a Roman and a French writer, and that Philips' own translation of her Greek also elevates her standing amongst the ranks of other ancient authors. Her work is shown to have a great deal of impact and importance but a mutable quality, much like the way in which the biographical information about Sappho is understood to be able to change according to the whim of the reader, depending on what they pick and choose from their sources on her life.

Finally, in issue 233, which was published Tuesday November 27th 1711, Addison is less concerned with constructing a Sappho made from pieces of her own text or his own ideas about her life, and instead she is included as part of his translation from a fictional work, 'An Account of Persons Male and Female, who offered up their Vows in the Temple of the Pythian Apollo, in the Forty sixth Olympiad, and leaped from the Promontory of Leucate into the Ionian Sea, in order to cure themselves of the Passion of Love.' Addison himself amusingly calls the account 'very dry in many Parts' and Sappho's mention is the longest of them all. This little piece on Sappho tells the reader some much pseudo-biographical information, albeit from many years after the supposed leap took place.

The stories about leapers from the cliff include the account of a person called 'Cinaedus' who did not die at the cliff as he could not leap because his lover was a man, and only heterosexuals were 'allowed' to jump. This is an allusion to male homosexuality, which can be read as underlining the claim that Sappho, in this case, was jumping for heterosexual desire. Addison also includes the story that 'she was changed into a Swan as she fell and that they saw her hovering in the Air under that Shape', further entering Sappho's life into the realm of half-imagined truths and the unknowable, mimicking the way in which this piece was composed. The passage goes on that 'whether or not the Whiteness and Fluttering of her Garments might not deceive those who looked upon her, or whether she might not really be metamorphosed into that musical and melancholy Bird, is still a Doubt among the Lesbians.' If there is doubt among the Lesbians that saw her fall, then there can be doubt about her biography in the eighteenth century as some of it was so clearly fictional and intended as humour.[405] This leaves Joseph Addison with a clean slate, to shroud Sappho in mystery whilst claiming that she still had a 'Soul [that] seems to have been made up of Love and Poetry.'

Sewell and Kennet (1713)

The first translation to include a Life was published only two years after Joseph Addison's *Spectator* article and was edited by George Sewell. It contains the same translations by Ambrose Philips used in the *Spectator* but unlike the translations which have no Life, it is titled with much more of a focus on Sappho. *The Works of Anacreon, and Sappho Done from the Greek, by several Hands. With their Lives Prefix'd. To which is added, The* Prize of Wisdom*. A Dialogue between Anacreon and Aristotle. By M. Fontenelle. Also* Bion*'s Idyllium, Upon the Death of Adonis. By the Earl of Winchelsea*.' Sappho here is not part of a subtitle

[405] Taine (1871): 110.

or an addendum to the main text. Her poetry, and importantly her Life, is central to the book. Sewell was the first person to create a narrative in an English translation between Anacreon and Sappho in his title and begins the process of providing biographical links been Sappho, Anacreon and their poetry. Sappho's Life takes up eight pages of which one and a half is quotes from Ovid's *Heroides* 15 (63 – 70). Fragments 1 and 31 are printed in translation.

As has been mentioned above on Edmund Curll and Sewell, this Life is not written by Sewell. It is in fact taken from *The Lives and Characters of the Ancient Grecian Poets Dedicated to His Highness the Duke of Gloucester*, by Basil Kennet from 1697 although this is not mentioned in works about Sewell.[406] Kennet's work is often overlooked, it contains a very interesting biography of Sappho but no translation, so does not sit within the confines of this study. Sewell was the first person to think of linking Kennet's work on biography and Philips' translation to create the type of translation which became the norm later in the period. By giving us so much information in Sappho's biography, Kennet constructed the most 'complete' Life of Sappho that had been published alongside an English translation thus far. Kennet cites his sources mainly as footnotes with references to book and page numbers, which is also reflected in Sewell's edited volume. Other sources are woven into what he writes and Kennet brings to light many different sources about Sappho, giving many of them equal weighting whilst still praising the poet highly. He writes about her 'intimate Friends and Companions' as well as her relationship with Phaon, balancing the way in which he describes her erotic relationships.

He ends with an epigram from Damocharis, the last line of which reads in translation as 'Half *Venus*, Half a *Muse*'. (*AP* 16.310) This epigram brings

[406] To avoid confusion, Sewell's name will be used to show him as the editor of the work, joining the Life and the translation together. Where the Life is discussed, Kennet's name will be used.

together the ideas in Sappho's poetry physically in her face through expression and physicality – her 'endless Wit', 'her simple, unaffected Thought' and whilst her eyes sparkle furiously, her skin is not 'nicely wrought', seeming to echo the idea of Horace's *mascula* Sappho from *Letters* 1.19.28, which is indicative of attitudes to lesbians in this period. In the eighteenth century lesbians were seen as particularly masculine, and Physicians envisaged female homoerotics through their analysis of hermaphroditism.[407] Democharis' Sappho is neither smart and beautiful nor boring and unassuming – instead she is described has having fearsome intelligence, more concered with wit and fury than plain beauty.

There are many references in this Life, based on very many different sources. Kennet uses pseudo-Plato, the *Suda*, Ovid, Athenaeus, Strabo, Eusebius, Aelian, Maximus of Tyre, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Longinus, the epigram by Damocharis and Tanneguy Le Fèvre and Anne Dacier. There is also a note on Fulvio Orsini, a sixteenth-century antiquarian who produced *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum* in 1568, and who is discussed in more detail later and who has been shown to influence other authors.[408] Orsini uses all these similar sources except for pseudo-Plato and Maximus of Tyre, but the information Orsini gives is replicated in Kennet's work and clearly had an effect on the way in which he was presenting Sappho.

The first two pages of this history are most concerned with her genealogy and placing her in her familial and historical context. Starting out on the first page by describing her as the tenth muse as pseudo-Plato does, Kennet then immediately tries to answer the difficult question about the two Sapphos which appear in the *Suda* (σ107 and σ108). He adds in that as well as the *Suda*,

[407] Crawford (2007): 208-9.
[408] Orsini (1568); page 189.

Athenaeus also appears to have corroborated this idea (13.596e).[409] The conclusion which he comes to is that 'the Characters must lie blended as they have hitherto done; and the surviving Nymph must own the Faults, as well as the virtues of her forgotten Name-sake' (64). Already we can see that Kennet is able to ascribe both behaviours to the one woman. Following this, he fully launches into his description of her family, based mainly on information in σ107. By citing Strabo (13.2.3), Eusebius (*Chronology* 45.1) and the *Suda* (σ107), Kennet gives us the information about where she was born, Mytilene, when she was born, 44th Olympiad, and then her family background: the eight possibilities of men who might have been her father; her mother Cleis; and her husband Cercylas, 'a very rich Gentleman, who came from Andros' (64). After this, he uses information from Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 12.18 to support the worth of Phaon to Sappho as he was given by Aphrodite 'the Favour of growing the most beautiful Man in the World'. It is to Phaon, asserts Kennet, that Sappho wrote 'some of her finest Pieces' and the reason that Ovid makes her write 'that delicate Epistle…to her ungrateful Spark'.

Following on from his discussion of Phaon, Kennet goes into more detail about the women that Sappho was acquainted with whom he terms her 'intimate Friends and Companions…on the Account of whom her Character suffer'd so muc, from the Charge of Dishonest and Unnatural Pleasure' (65). He goes on to write about her homoeroticism that 'her amorous Humour was not satisfied with the Addresses of Men; but that she was willing to have her *Mistresses* too, as well as her *Gallants*'. Immediatley after this he presents (but ultimately dismisses) the opposite interpretation, using the words of Dacier to support a heteroerotic reading of Sappho. He comments that Dacier 'is very ingeniously singular in defending her from this unhappy Imputation', going on to note that

[409] Sewell (1713): 63.

Dacier's father (who he misinterprets as her husband) came to the copposite conclusion, and that Dacier 'will certainly submit to the Superior Judgment of her Husband' (65) and concede that there is homoeroticism in Sappho's biography and poetry. Although Kennet does mention different ideas about Sappho's eroticism, he gives greater weight to a homoerotic reading of Sappho's life and does not agree with all of Dacier's points, describing them as 'ingeniously singular'. Kennet is displaying his knowledge for the reader but not agreeing with everything that Dacier says.

Rounding on the idea that Sappho was, as Heywood called her, a 'strumpet', Kennet adds Ovid's description of her as 'a Lady of very ordinary Stature, and of a Brown Complexion', from where he quotes *Heroides* 15.31-40 (66) and then goes on to describe how sad Sappho was when Phaon left her. To support the idea that Sappho leapt from Leucas even more, Kennet then cites Strabo (10.9) for another example of Cephalus who supposedly 'made the first desperate Leap from that famous Precipice'. And then quotes Ovid again on her suicidal jump (67-9).

After describing Sappho's demise, Kennet tackles her literary transmission and thoughts from grammarians on her poetry. He mentions the nine books from σ107, and that Sappho was revered in the ancient world by 'all the Grave Judges of Antiquity; and such as cannot be suspected of Gallantry and Compliment' (69). After a brief mention of Dionysius' preservation of fragment 1, Kennet turns his eye to Longinus and fragment 31. He mentions that it is 'an amorous Ode address'd to one of the Young Maids that she admir'd', not implying that the narrator of this poem was a man, and therefore Kennet shows that it can be read with the narrative voice of a woman, as a piece of full homoerotic desire. In addition to this, Kennet mentions that fragment 31 was

'copied by the only two Masters that were able to do her Justice', Catullus and Boileau. It is likely that Joseph Addison would have read this piece before his article in the Spectator, as although this book appears in 1713, the original Life is from 1697.

Ending the piece is another aspect of Sappho's notoriety. This is her portrayal on coinage and Kennet cites Orsini's *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum* (2-36) in which there is an epigram by Damocharis. Here, Damocharis ends Kennet's biography (70).

There is a lot of information in this Life. Kennet uses many different strands of writing about Sappho to present a poet to the reader of this book, and Sewell joins Kennet's and Philips' work together to create a piece that says more about Sappho than had been said before in one book. In this piece, Kennet has a clear agenda, which Sewell is using in his edition too. Kennet writes, 'This admir'd Lady, who has so long enjoy'd the Glorious Title of the *Tenth Muse*; has yet the common Misfortune of suffering by a confus'd story' (63).

Like Heywood, Kennet clearly wants to show the sources for Sappho's life and the ways in which he is approaching her biography. He also quotes *Heroides* 15 at length. Sewell's edition makes strong links between the Life and the poetry of Sappho, and shows how a more generous, slightly more impartial view of her transmitted biography can inform parts of Sappho's poetry which may otherwise be hard to navigate, such as the narrator and the object of desire in fragment 31.

By figuring Sappho in many different ways, Kennet is able to stimulate a more inclusive attitude to her history in his readership. He mentions her reputation as a poet, her genealogy, her friendships (shameful or otherwise),

her love affair, the ways in which she is imitated by other poets such as Ovid, the transmission of her poetry by respected writers such as Longinus, and that she was so important that her portrait was minted on Mytilenean coinage. Yet this abundance of information, although at times heavily hinting at the homoerotic, never calls into question Sappho's own worth. She is 'admir'd' (63), her poems 'gain'd the Prize for Sweetness and Force' (69), and that the people of Mytilene 'coin'd Money with her Head for the Stamp'(70).

Kennet guides the reader through Sappho's biography in such a way, and with enough signposts, that he is able to slide past the more subversive aspects of her biography. By placing her status as a poet first in his Life, he legitimises anything else that he mentions about her afterwards. Writing that she 'has so long enjoy'd the glorious Title of the *Tenth Muse*' (63), his Sappho is, as Damocharis says, half a being made of poetry and half one made of sexual desire. In this way, she is probably not as susceptible to the charges that earthly poets would face. By then facing the trouble of the 'two Sapphos' directly and with the next statement, Kennet assuredly guides the reader to his reading of her life. Sappho has the 'common Misfortune of suffering by a confus'd story' (63). Sappho is therefore not unusual in this regard, and it has a perfectly good reason for this – for Kennet, he implies that this is what happens to poets throughout antiquity. He attributes the 'mistake' of the double Sapphos to Athenaeus, but then writes that 'the Characters must lie blended as they have hitherto done' (64). By asserting that there were two, but that it was a mistake, and then slipping into admitting that Sappho must have shared some qualities of both, Kennet is able to gloss over these more salacious parts of her biography, which he then goes on to discuss (65).

Before he discusses the 'shameful friendships' that Sappho shared with other women, Kennet sets up her biography as a straightforward genealogy, and

talks about her relationship with Phaon. Her father, mother and male lover are given primacy in the story, to assert to the reader that these are the most important parts of her biography. Kennet here ties Phaon to Sappho's poetry, writing that 'throwing off Sappho' and that leaving Lesbos for Sicily, 'as they were the sad Cause of her Death, so they were the Occasion of some of her finest Pieces' (64-5). Kennet contradicts this, some four pages later, by writing that her second most complete poem at this time, fragment 31, was 'an Amorous Ode address'd to one of the Young Maids that she admir'd' and that it is 'the most esteem'd' (69). Rather than including this information alongside the biographical discussion of Megara, Telesilla and Attis [sic], which follows the Phaon episode, and placing it further along the Life, Kennet is able to construct two differing opinions on who and what Sappho wrote her poetry about. However, because of the space between the two statements they do not appear to be immediately contradictory.

What Kennet writes about Sappho's homoerotic reputation is worth close examination, as it is one of the very few Lives which deals with this information head-on (65). He cites the names of the women with reference to the *Suda* which supports his assertion. By adding in a reference to this material, Kennet is legitimising his statement that she had 'three intimate Friends and Companions' and due to the authority of the *Suda*, it is not part of invented seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reception erotics, but has a grounding in the transmission of Sappho's biography. He follows this up with another statement about the tradition of the transmission of Sappho's biography in that she had relationships with men as well as with women. This cements the idea that Sappho's homoerotic reputation is part of the story of the transmission of her biography, and can therefore be included as a story about Sappho, rather than necessarily as a part of her 'real' life.

To follow this up, Kennet cites two more recent and respected works on Sappho – Anne Dacier, and Tanneguy Le Fèvre. He writes of Dacier that she 'defended' Sappho from the idea that she had homoerotic relationships with women. However, the fact that he says that this is 'ingenious' implies that he does not believe it to be a successful reading of Sappho's biography. This is further supported by what Kennet writes of Le Fèvre's work. 'Mr. Dacier has declar'd for the common Opinion, she [Sappho] will certainly submit to the Superior Judgment of her Husband'. Despite his apparent mismissal of Dacier's interpretation, Kennet's own narrative promotes a more heteroerotic view of Sappho through his emphasis on Phaon, discussed below; he is constructing a narrative qhere both ideas try to exist side by side. It also acts as a very effective book end to the biographical material which is presented before by Kennet. Kennet's structure of placing Phaon at the forefront of her biography, third only to Sappho's mother and father, means that by not explicitly stating any of his own opinions about who Sappho loved and lusted after, he is still able to construct a heteronormative Sappho, whilst deftly indicating that a large part of her received biography is about close relationships with women, and homoerotic undertones.

To further this, Kennet then starts his next paragraph with a statement about Sappho's appearance. 'Sappho was by no means a Beauty; but is commonly describ'd as a Lady of very ordinary Stature, and of a Brown Complexion'. Seemingly at odds with the number of people, male and female, with who she was linked, this seems to be feeding into the Horatian idea of *mascula* Sappho as discussed above. Kennet goes on to support this by quoting *Heroides* 15.31-40. Then, in a change of direction, Kennet then abandons the bisexual aspects of Sappho's biography and focuses again on her relationship with Phaon.

Sappho's relationship with Phaon is given much more space than her relationship with women, and Ovid is prioritised as a source for her life. Kennet once again deftly links this with Sappho's other women. He writes that '[f]inding, after all, her Dear *Phaon* inexorable, as if he had design'd to revenge the Injury he had done his Sex' (66) Sappho turns to female erotic company. However, in his style, he skims over this in favour of describing the depth of feeling that Sappho felt for Phaon, resulting in her leap from the Leucadian rock. Kennet himself does not give a great account of the relationship between Sappho and Phaon, preferring to quote Ovid instead. He makes more reference to the practice of leaping from the cliff, 'in case their Passion met with extream [sic] Disappointment, there was no way to cure the Unhappiness, but by leaping down into the Sea from the Leucas of the Leucades'. Once again, Kennet is refusing to engage with the received facts of Sappho's own personal feelings, preferring to discuss the externally attested historical detail. Kennet references Strabo 10.9 and Ovid's description of Sappho's death as 'the fancy'd one … a pleasant Account' (67). By somewhat dispassionately discussing the more verifiable aspects of Sappho's life, and presenting the relationship between her and Phaon as a representation from Ovid, Kennet is able to let the reader create their own fiction of Sappho, and to decide which elements are more likely than others, from the material that he presents.

After pages of speculation about her love life, and quotes from *Heroides* 15, Kennet turns back to the *Suda* for more references and to something more concrete that is known about Sappho – her poetry. He brings the focus of the Life back to what ancient authors wrote about Sappho, and how they judged her poetry. 'Her Lyricks … have gain'd the Prize for Sweetness and Force with all the Grave Judges of Antiquity; and such as cannot be suspected of Gallantry and Compliment' (69). Kennet goes on to mention Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Longinus. As we have seen before, by including Sappho as part of these

respected writers, Kennet elevates the way in which readers approach Sappho's poetry, because they are supported by these ancient grammarians. Of the two poems, Kennet spends the most time on fragment 31, which presents the most difficult aspect of Sappho's life, as Kennet reads it. Through his reading of Longinus, Kennet remarks that fragment 31 is 'still acknowledg'd … for the inimitable Example of the most artificial Union, or rather Combat, of all the Passions, and of all the moving Circumstances that can enliven a Piece' (69-70). By placing together so many disparate pieces of the physical act of being aroused by looking at someone, Sappho gained notoriety after her death by being imitated by both Catullus and Boileau – which is another example of other writers asserting her fame and quality (70).

Lastly, to support the textual evidence, Kennet gives his reader some indication that the notoriety of Sappho stretches beyond a text and into material culture. To indicate that Sappho's reputation stretched beyond those with literary aspirations, the people of Mytilene as a whole also honoured her. They 'paid her Sovereign Honours, after she was Dead; and coin'd Money with her Head for the Stamp' (70). Clearly, Kennet is writing that this is a poet whose quality was understood by those who were not explicitly engaged with her poetry. This is given more textual support from Orsini's *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum* (2) and then further ancient support from Damocharis' epigram and echoes the beginning of the Life, as a ring-composition. Kennet here has built up a solid framework for thinking about Sappho. She was honoured by the people of Mytilene on coinage, this was mentioned by a book 148 years before, which then also provides a further ancient source that supports the rest of the statements he has been making about Sappho.

There is much similarity here between Kennet's work and that of Joseph Addison's, as seen above. However, Kennet presents his material in a much

more even-handed way. Rather than creating a Sappho that he sees from the pieces he has brought together – as Addison did – Kennet is furnishing his reader with the facts which are then able to be interpreted. Whereas Addison is acting as Blanchot's chisel to read the material and make the biography; Kennet is acting as the stone from which the sculpture is made, offering the chisel to his readers, for them to make their own persona of Sappho.

John Addison (1735)

The next book to print a Life after Sewell's work is John Addison's 1735 book, some 22 years later. This has a different style of title from Sewell's and Sappho is once again relegated to more of a subtitle, after Anacreon. Titled *The Works of Anacreon, Translated into English Verse; with Notes Explanatory and Poetical. To which are added the Odes, Fragments, and Epigrams of Sappho. With the Original Greek plac'd opposite to the Translation*. Sappho is added as something of an addendum, however, she takes on a bigger rôle than she appears to from the title. Addison includes an engraving of a bust of Sappho, which is given a full page (247) and her Life amounts to six and a half pages (249-255). This is the first English translation to include a portrait of Sappho, which strengthens the persona made through Addison's version of Sappho's biography. In addition to this, Addison also prints the Greek and ten fragments of Sappho, three of which we now know cannot be attributed to her. He includes fragments 1, 31, 168b, 55, 102, 130+131 and 2, as well as Achilles Tatius' piece from *Leucippe and Clitophon* and two epigrams attributed to Sappho from the *Palatine Anthology* 7.489 and 7.505.

John Addison cites thirteen different sources for his Life, and is the first to mention Sappho's own poetry in support of her biographical details. 'A little Fragment of hers acquaints us, that two of her Female Favourites were call'd *Athis* and *Andromeda*' (252, fragment 130+131) as well as her poetry as a

source for information about her brother Larychus (250). These sources are the *Suda* (249), Aristotle, Diphilus, Hermesianax (250), Strabo (250, 253) and Ovid (253) as well as Horace, Porphyrion, and Plutarch (255). These are the same sources that have been described above.[410]

John Addison is also aware of the sparseness of both Anacreon's and Sappho's poetry, which may go a little way to explain why he has included a Life in his translation. He writes in his preface, 'what can be expected from a Version of such Authors into an inferior Language, but a faint Idea, rather than any just Image of their Perfections?' (preface), indicating the complexity surrounding the construction of Sappho's biography. Addison also goes further than the other English translators and includes extensive notes on her poems. In these he mentions aspects of the text itself, such as on page 258, intertextuality with other writers both ancient and Elizabethan (Horace on page 268, Shakespeare on page 279), and with other academic writers such as Dacier (256). This book is the earliest English translation to include all these paratextual details around the main translation of Sappho's text, and is also the first to include the Greek parallel to the English.

Sappho's genealogy is discussed first, as with the other Lives. He lists the eight names for her father found in the *Suda* and mentions her mother Cleis (249). After this, to support Sappho's standing as an important poet in antiquity, he mentions Stesichorus and Alcaeus as contemporaries of hers, but not related to her romantically. Diphilus and Hermesianax's assertion that Anacreon was one of her lovers is dismissed as being 'too repugnant to Chronology' and that it is a 'Poetical Fiction' (250). After this brief foray into her private life, John Addison goes back to describing her family and mentions her three brothers, Charaxus,

[410] See list on page 322.

Larychus and Eurygius (250-251). Charaxus' relationship with Rhodope, the apparent courtesan of Egypt, shows links with her family and the strength of their romantic passion, but it is not directly linked with Sappho herself.

After this digression, John Addison launches into the discussion of Sappho's romantic life in earnest. He mentions Cercylas and her daughter Cleis before writing that after Cercylas' death 'she would never accept any second Match not enduring to confine that Passion to one Person, which, as the Ancients tell us, was too violent in her to be restrain'd even to one Sex' (251). He goes on to say that 'her Censures of Charaxus, we may presume, were before her own Conduct lay so open to Reproof' (251-252). Here the information about her brothers is tied into her own erotic conduct. This is then further supported with information about the women who Sappho was associated with, Athis, Andromeda, Telesilla, Megara, Cydno, Mnaïs and Cyrene (252). Referred to as her 'Female Favourites', these women are cast aside in favour of Addison's discussion of Phaon. He writes about Phaon's beauty and how he went to Sicily 'to avoid her', where she followed him and wrote fragment 1. After this, he describes her death with the leap from Leucas in detail over three paragraphs (252-3). This is used as a segue to describe *Heroides* 15 and the Ovidian aspect to Sappho's biography, as seen before in many of the Lives. Addison chooses not to quote the epistle in full, but only supplies ten lines from Ovid, lines 31 – 40. This information is taken from Dacier (246) but is not acknowledged by Addison as such.

Moving away from her interpersonal relationships, John Addison then comments on Sappho's ability as an innovative writer. 'Sapphick Verses were her Invention; as was also, according to some Authors, the Pectis, an Instrument of Musick. She wrote Nine Books of Odes' (254). Mentioning that her poetry only remains in fragments, Addison does not make a comment on

whether or not they would have added to Sappho's erotic output, only that 'they will always be sufficient to convince us how justly she deserv'd those extravagant Praises which the Ancients bestow'd on her'. He has moved away completely from discussing her work with relation to her perceived homoeroticism, but rather is elevating her as a poet here. Addison circles back to Ovid, as he did with Charaxus above. He writes about Sappho's influence on Ovid, 'The tenth Muse dictating what the Roman Poet wrote', signalling her importance on the literary landscape at the end of his Life, as well as at the beginning (254, 249). Finally, John Addison ends with a re-written quote from Joseph Addison's *Spectator* piece, 'It's certain that her Soul seem'd form'd of Love and Poetry; she felt the Passion in all its Warmth, and describ'd it in all its Symptoms'. He mentions Horace's *mascula* Sappho, and then uses the same quote from the *Spectator*, 'Plutarch compares her to Cacus, the Son of Vulcan, who breath'd out nothing but Flame' (255).

John Addison's Life is much shorter than that of Kennet's in Sewell's book, but he seems to take a similar standpoint on many different subjects. What comes to the fore in Addison's work is Sappho's standing in poetry. By bookending her Life with statements that support her poetry, Addison is highlighting the poetic aspect of Sappho's life, rather than her sexuality. On her homoerotic relationships, he writes little, other than stating the facts which had been transmitted. These are slotted in between discussion of Cercylas and Phaon, and add little to the discussion of Sappho's sexuality. Rather, Addison is creating a view of Sappho's eroticism, of whom she was sexually involved with but not pigeonholing her into either a salacious homoerotic 'strumpet' or a poet solely focussed on the attentions of men in such great depth that she killed herself for them.

In this way, this Life articulates in detail the quote at the end of it, that she is compared to Cacus 'who breath'd out nothing but Flame'. Her passions are discussed here, her family life and thoughts on Charaxaus who she 'bitterly inveigh'd against' (251). She married a man 'of great Wealth and power' (251) and had a child with him, but after that she could not 'confine that Passion to one Person'. Her desire to be with Phaon drove him to Sicily, and Sappho to her death. Her ability in poetry, and the nine books she wrote, as well as her invention of the pectis, further the idea that her passionate nature was not solely confined to erotic exploits.

Sappho's eroticism is not the focus of this Life, and both a hetero- and homoerotic reading of the material could be made, when in fact there is a middle point between the two, whereby John Addison presents his reader with the information, and then allows them to make up their minds about Sappho in this way. The Lives which precede this one have more of a direct steer from the writer, but in his sparse piece, Addison foregoes this moralising. In this way, his biography could be read as far more homoerotic than had previously been attempted due to his attitude towards this material.

Fawkes (1760)

As opposed to John Addison, Fawkes took a very different viewpoint to Sappho's Life. Fawkes builds on Addison's model in 1760 with *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musæus. Translated from the original Greek*, but takes the material in a new direction. Sappho is once again given precedence over Bion, Moschus and Musæus and is in no way an afterthought or subtitle. Fawkes provides six and a half pages of Life (171-177), similar to Addison. Like John Addison, Fawkes goes against the trend, and only quotes briefly from *Heroides* 15, lines 161-180 (173-174) and 31-40 (174-175), which reduces the amount of pages devoted to his this material. He also prints the

same number of fragments as Addison, but with one difference. Rather than including fragment 130, he instead chooses a poem 'which Sappho is supposed to have written to *Anacreon*' (193). This poem is not attributed to Sappho any more and Fawkes himself seems to have called its authenticity into question with his use of 'supposed'. This fragment is in fact a quotation from Chamaeleon via Athenaeus (testimonium 8).[411] Fawkes does not include the Greek alongside his translations, which is the main difference between his and John Addison's work, as Fawkes also includes notes on the text which are an amalgamation of Addison's and Dacier's notes with his own additions and rephrasings.

In Fawkes's Life, he directly links Sappho's biography to her poetry. He writes about fragment 1 'Her Poem was ineffectual for the procuring that Happiness which she prayed for in it [the love of Phaon]' (172). Fawkes seems to be more concerned with authors other than Sappho, both ancient and contemporary, that write about Sappho and much of his Life is made up with quotes from Ovid (173-175) and, for example, from the *Spectator* (175-177). In addition to this, Fawkes cites other authors as testimonia for his Life. He cites the *Suda* and Eusebius, Ovid's *Heroides* (173) and Horace's *Odes* 4.9 (175) directly, and also draws heavily on the work of Joseph Addison in the *Spectator*, whom he quotes at length.

Fawkes takes a slightly different standpoint from John Addison when structuring his biography, although much of the material about Sappho's life appears in brief at the beginning of his piece. He mentions the eight possible men who might have been her father and her mother Cleis. More so than the other Lives, Fawkes focuses on her dates. This adds some authenticity to his biography of Sappho, and places her writing around 600 BC, a contemporary of

[411] Page 322.

Pittacus. After this, he refutes the idea of Anacreon being one of her lovers, as John Addison did. Fawkes goes on to mention Cercylas and Sappho's daughter Cleis. Quoting directly from John Addison's piece, he goes on to write, 'not enduring to confine that Passion to one Person, which, as the Antients tell us, was too violent [in] her to be restrained even to one Sex' (172). Fawkes then moves on to discussing Phaon in which he uses extremely similar phrases to John Addison, describing Sappho's relationship with him. However, Fawkes includes a phrase which indicates his focus on describing Sappho's romantic relationships which John Addison omits, 'she fell desperately in Love with him, and took a Voyage into Sicily in Pursuit of him' (172). John Addison simply writes 'this inconstant Lover [Phaon] having withdrawn himself into Sicily to avoid her' (252) which lacks the romantic, loving relationship as described in Fawkes. What Fawkes, like Addison, does mention is her suicide which came about due to Sappho's depth of feeling for Phaon. Fawkes quotes Pope's translation of *Heroides* 15 lines 161-180, further intensifying his articulation of Sappho's passion for Phaon. Rather than describing it himself, Fawkes is using Ovid's text which could add to the legitimacy of his assertion.

After this discussion of Sappho's eroticism in some of its forms, Fawkes goes on to use material from Kennet's biography in Sewell's book, that there was a statue of Sappho and coinage depicting her face (174). This description of her physicality is supported once again with a quote from Ovid, lines 31-40 but which is used as another reason to mention Sappho's feelings for Phaon. The lines from Pope which are quoted bring these two aspects together (174-175):

> Turtles and Doves of differing Hues unite,
>
> And glossy Jet is pair'd with shining White.
>
> If to no Charms thou wilt thy Heart resign,
>
> But such as merit, such as equal thine,

By none, alas! By none thou canst be mov'd,

Phaon alone by Phaon must be lov'd.

Fawkes makes a nod to John Addison's description of Sappho's influence in the ancient world, 'To give the English Reader a true Notion what Opinion the Antients entertained of her Works, would be to collect a Volume in her Praise' (175) but he defers to Joseph Addison's *Spectator* article in 223, which he quotes at length and comes back to at the end of his Life. By extolling Sappho's poetic ability, he also describes her eroticism through the words of John Addison, 'They were filled with such bewitching Tenderness and Rapture, that it might have been dangerous to have given them a Reading' (176). By using someone else's words in this instance, Fawkes is able to articulate the sentiment without having to engage with it directly. Emphasising the idea of Sappho's excellence in poetry, he then quotes closely but not directly from John Addison. Mentioning her nine books of poetry as John Addison did, Fawkes then goes on to supply his final quotation from the *Spectator*, which ends with the same quote comparing Sappho to Cacus (176 – 177).

In his Life, Fawkes offers little information, and quotes often from other sources or works which have been readily accepted from Joseph Addison's original *Spectator* piece. Where John Addison presents a digest of Sewell's work and allows his readers to interpret the information given to them, Fawkes seems to provide an anthology of work already written about Sappho and available through the writers of previous works.

Where Fawkes differs from both Kennet and John Addison is in his reliance on Ovid as supporting material to which he does not offer much of his own interpretation. In this way, Fawkes is highlighting Sappho's most famous heterosexual relationship and using Ovid's text as a reliable source for

information about her life, which in turn elevates this relationship above her others. This gentle manoeuvring of his readers' attitudes to Sappho and her biography before the text is read sets them up to be steered further by Fawkes in his own notes on the text. By positioning himself alongside both Ovid and Joseph Addison, Fawkes deftly manoeuvres himself into the section of writers who are creating a heteroerotic Sappho, writing poems about her passions.

Conclusion

The *Spectator* issues and the three books published at fairly regular intervals afterwards in 1714, 1735 and 1760, serve to show that there was a taste not only for Sappho's poems in translation, but also an increasing desire to know more about the poet. What starts as a small piece in a magazine is added to by a Life in 1714, then in 1735 another Life, more fragments, Greek text, and textual notes and finally in 1760 one more fragment is added to the corpus of translated poetry. The increase in translated fragments is particularly interesting when published alongside a Life as it potentially shows a correlation between the desire to discover Sappho's biography but also shows the interest of readers who want access to more of her work.

What the Lives show about attitudes to Sappho's biography and eroticism in this period is that they are trying to make their own Sappho from the previous works. The *Spectator* and Fawkes are trying to downplay the homoeroticism in her poetry, whereas Sewell and John Addison are attempting to create a more inclusive and historically supported attitude towards this. Sappho was known as a poet who had links to female homoeroticism, and as such the translators of her work are balancing that against their interpretation of the poet's life.[412] The more roundly the biographers try to focus their readers onto one interpretation

[412] Page 25.

of Sappho's passion, the more obvious this becomes as ancient biographers mention the women, such as Andromeda and Atthis, in their works.

None of the lives emphasise Sappho's sexual and erotic relationship with women, but only that she had euphemistically 'close' relationships with them. They seem to be more focussed on her level of passion, which translated from her personal relationships with Cercylas, through her relationships with women to her relationship with Phaon. This is part of the depiction of lesbians in this period, whereby they were viewed as having a sexual appetite that was too strong to be focussed on just men.[413] This passion is also shown through her skill in poetry and by the numerous citations of Sappho and her work in art, coinage and literature. In the Lives, Sappho is depicted as a poet with strong feelings and who had a depth of desire for many things, but not explicitly a homoerotic poet. The writers are forming Sappho through their own words, but it is the way in which they frame and translate her texts which indicates what they think Sappho's own feelings about her objects of desire might have been.

[413] Craft-Fairchild (2006): 419.

Chapter 3.1

Text of Translation

Poems

With the discovery of papyri at Oxyrhynchus at the end of the nineteenth century, many more fragments of Sappho were unearthed than had previously been in the public domain. The first volume detailing the finds was published in 1898, and the Oxyrhynchus fragments are still being published today.[414] Before this important, and relatively recent, point in the transmission and discovery of Sappho's poetry, the textual transmission of Sappho's poems provided fewer poems for editors, translators and readers to work with. By looking at the smaller sample of poems from the eighteenth century in translation gives an insight into how each translator was making Sappho's words new for an English reading audience, and therefore how this audience might form Sappho in their own minds and as a character in their own stories. The choices of what poems, titles, subheadings and wording to use to express the ancient ideas in her poetry can each change the way in which translators' audiences approached Sappho and her writing.

The way in which Sappho is described through her translated texts is also a product of how her work and persona has been influenced by the book that these poems appear in, which has already been discussed through paratexts and pre-existing works, such as Dacier's translation.[415] However, this information only takes a reader so far in their understanding of how the sexuality of a poet like Sappho is formed, and therefore the translations themselves offer evidential support of how much control a translator has over the text of Sappho. In these

[414] Grenfell and Hunt (1898 – [ongoing]).
[415] Pages 172-173.

examples, varying degrees of control are exerted by the translators to form their own Sappho, in which they alone are the gatekeepers of her work.[416]

The history of translation of Ancient Greek texts into the English language starts much earlier than Sappho's works translated in the eighteenth century. Homer was translated first into English in 1581 by Arthur Hall, who translated the first ten books of the *Iliad*, and translations of *Anacreontea* were first published in 1651 by Thomas Stanley. Homer's influence on Sappho is well known and Sappho and Anacreon translations, as has been shown, are often published together linking the two poets thematically and sometimes, biographically – though this is erroneous.[417] This interest in Homer and *Anacreontea* shows that early translations were being published not only of epic poets but also of lyricists, even if there was not as great an amount of work to translate and publish. A poem of Sappho's, fragment 31, was translated quite early in the period, in the seventeenth century, but this was only one fragment and as part of John Hall's translation of Longinus' *On the Sublime*, from 1652.[418]

Sappho's poetry defines how she is seen as a poet, and often as a narrator or a character in her own work. Part of the reason that Sappho is so linked with each poem's narrator is that she occasionally refers to herself in her poetry. In fragment 1.19-20, she names the narrator as Sappho τίς σ᾽, Ψάπφ᾽, ἀδίκηει;, 'who wrongs you, Sappho?', and in fragment 94.4-5, she does the same, ὤιμ᾽ ὡς δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν, Ψάπφ', 'oimoi, what terrible things have been ours, Sappho'. More than this, Sappho uses the poetic 'I' regularly, which when seen alongside the narrator named as Sappho, could offer the assumption that

[416] Page 9-12.
[417] On Sappho and Homer: Rosenmeyer (1997); Steinrück (1999); Kelly and Finglass (forthcoming). On the relationship between Sappho and Anacreon: Hall (1581) And Stanley (1651). John Addison dissmisses this aspect of the biographical tradition (250); whilst Fawkes emphasises their closness by printing 'Sappho to Anacreon' (193).
[418] Cummings and Gillespie (2009a): 23.

this personal pronoun refers to the character of Sappho and then as this character has the same name as the poet, it is another easy step for a reader to assume that the character and the poet are the same.

Other instances from the period where the narrator uses personal pronouns, emphasising a personal reaction on Sappho's part:

Fragment 31 lines 5-6: τό μ᾽ ἦ μὰν /καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν, 'It makes my heart flutter in my chest'

Fragment 102: γλύκηα μᾶτερ, οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον / πόθῳ δάμεισα παΐδος βραδίναν δι᾽ Ἀφροδίταν, 'sweet mother, I cannot weave the web, I am broken with desire for a boy by Aphrodite'

This 'poetic I' or ego-narrator is deftly manipulated by the translators for their own agendas about Sappho and how they want to portray her in their translations. As has been discussed, Sappho was predominantly known as a woman who loved women and therefore the translators have to either work with or against this widely held assumption.[419]

Various aspects of Sappho's homoeroticism can be read either ambiguously or directly, depending on how Sappho's poetry is viewed and her relation to her beloved, whether this is a brother (fragment 5), daughter (fragment 132), mother (fragment 102) or lover (fragment 1). Each translator and editor chooses to highlight different aspects of Sappho's sexual identity. Depending on the fragments translated and the intertextuality between the poems presented in each book, the translators' and editors' formation of narratives about Sappho can be understood more deeply.

[419] Pages 137-138.

Every one of the books analysed here changes the way in which Sappho was viewed – through the words of the translation itself, and from the way in which her poetry is situated within the book. There is one translator, Ambrose Philips, whose work appears in three different publications, but in this chapter, the first publication of his poems in the *Spectator* will be examined, as later translations are the same, with slightly different spelling and grammar changes which do not affect the translation. In total, five of the seven books have different translations within them and each of these creates a different Sappho through her own words, for their readers. Using Sappho's voice to act as a mouthpiece for the translators' ideas of the poet and her work manipulates a reader more than transmission or paratext. What feels like a genuine utterance from the poet herself is shrouded in another language and can be twisted to convey the ideas of the translator rather than those in the Greek text.

At the beginning of this period, fragment 1 and fragment 31 were the most popular poems and became the two poems at the centre of the corpus, around which other poems were added. In total, nine other poems and fragments were published by these translators, in addition to these two. Due to the lack of material, both in number of translations and number of books published, the choices that the translators make would have had a considerable effect on readings of Sappho's character and her poetry. It is not expected that every reader would have existed in a vacuum and therefore it is possible that they would have spoken to other readers of the same book, and it is likely that some readers would have read more than one of these works.[420] Subscriptions were popular ways to consume literature, and enabled women and other over-looked parts of society, such as the working class, to have access to these books too.[421] However, each translator is using the individual poems to make their own

[420] Plant (1974).
[421] Halsband (1974): 704; Carnie (1978).

Sappho and each translation must be considered in its own right, rather than as a complete amalgam of different works that there would have been access to. These individual readings of each book enable a more well-rounded view of Sappho's work, as the polyphony of voices could be combined in different ways to produce new types of Sappho.

The other poems that were published in this period in addition to fragments 1 and 31 vary in size, subject matter and style. Since the period in question, four of them have been identified as misattributed. From the current corpus of Sappho poems, the translators print fragments 130+131 (as a whole poem), 168b, 55, 102 and 2. The four remaining poems no longer attributed to Sappho are *Palatine Anthology* 7.489 and 7.505, 'On the Rose', and 'Sappho to Anacreon', cited in Athenaeus *Scholars at Dinner* 13.598bc, 599cd (testimonium 8).

Overleaf is a table detailing each fragment number or poem name, translator's name, the year it was published, and page numbers for preceding important editions and translations of each of these fragments. The fragments are organised by date published.

Table of fragment numbers with corresponding page numbers in translation

	1	31	2	55	102	130+131	168B	Achilles Tatius 2.1	Sappho to Anacreon	*AP* 7.485	*AP* 7.505
Dacier (1681)	252	258								262	262
Tate (1685)		85									
Joseph Addison (1711)	223	229									
Several Hands (1714)	325							328			
Sterling (1728)						66		66			
John Addison (1735)	257	263	272	266	168	270	267	270		276	278
Fawkes (1760)	181	185	190	189	191		188	192	193	193	195

It is only the translations by Philips, Addison and Fawkes that include both fragments 1 and 31. Each poem hints at homoerotic practices, and the ways in which they are translated illuminate eighteenth-century attitudes to homoeroticism and ideas of femininity. These two central poems will be discussed in the following chapter.[422] Herbert only translates fragment 1 and there is one book which does not publish either fragments 1 or 31 – Ogle's translation in Sterling's 1728 work. By choosing not to publish fragments 1 or 31, it becomes an important source for how Sappho's sexuality was devised in other ways, and the two poems it does publish – Achilles Tatius' 'On the Rose' and fragments 130+131 which are printed as one poem – give an alternative construction of Sappho's sexuality. This anomaly in the corpus is of great importance as it will help to draw a holistic image of translation, sexuality and Sappho created by amalgamating the different viewpoints of various translations at the end of this chapter.[423]

The number of fragments published from this selection varies in the period, ranging from a single fragment in each of the issues of the *Spectator* to 10 poems and fragments printed in John Addison's 1735 edition. Aside from John Addison (1735) and Fawkes (1760), every translation prints two fragments as part of the books.[424] The most common combination is 1 and 31, but *The Works of Petronius Arbiter* includes fragment 1 and 'On the Rose', and Ogle's only translations in Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander* are 'On the Rose' and fragments 130+131. Ogle's translation is the only one not to include either fragments 1 or 31. John Addison and Francis Fawkes print the rest of the poems and

[422] Chapter 3.1.
[423] Pages 228-232 and pages 238-241.
[424] Only John Addison and Fawkes print more than two.

fragments that make up Sappho's corpus in English in this period. By printing only two poems, many of these translations have less scope to form Sappho and her sexuality through her poetry, and doubly so with Sterling's work *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, as Ogle's translation forms Sappho without the fetters of her most famous poems. They must therefore be more careful or innovative with their language to illustrate their own attitude to the poet and her life, as there is so much less to work with and their individual impressions of Sappho's poetry therefore carry more weight. By printing 10 fragments each, John Addison and Fawkes have more opportunity to adjust their audiences' view on Sappho. John Addison translates fragment 130 & 131 which Fawkes omits, and Fawkes is the only writer to translate 'Sappho to Anacreon'. These changes are indicative to each translator's viewpoint on Sappho, which will be dealt with later.[425]

Fulvio Orsini

Orsini's edition – *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum*, published in 1568 – needs some discussion to understand the influence it had on these translators. The section on Sappho starts with an image, which is a drawing of a coin. This is an early image of Sappho and links her physical presence with her text. What follows is a series of attestations of Sappho's physical qualities, starting with Damocharis' epigram εἰς εἰκόνα Σαπφοῦς (27). Attestations in Greek and Latin are published, ranging from Damocharis' homage to the beauty of the image made in her likeness, through to Horace's *mascula* Sappho. After this, Orsini prints 65 fragments and epigrams (although some are misattributed), 75 testimonia and Ovid's *Heroides* 15. Overall, this is a hugely influential book for subsequent

[425] Pages 222-224.

translators of Sappho, as it collects many different fragments from different sources and presents Sappho as the first in a movement of poets, both male and female.

Orsini's book synthesises a lot of information about Sappho and the amount of information that he collects is the defining characteristic of his book. Although her poetry is printed alongside that of other poets, an exploration of Sappho's life and work stands at the heart of this book and this difference in approach and attitude to Sappho and her fragmentary poetry clearly influences those who were translating her work into French and English for the first time. It shows that Sappho was a poet worth discussing in her own right, rather than as an addendum to Pindar, as she is in the *editio princeps.*

All the fragments that the early translators used could be traced back to Orsini's edition – except one. This is Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.1 which goes by the name in all the translations as 'On the Rose'. This appears in Estienne and Longepierre, but not in Orsini's edition. 'Sappho to Anacreon' is not found in the main body of texts which Orsini prints and attributes to Sappho, but in the section of testimonia from Athenaeus (13.598bc, 599cd), and then appears again in Longepierre. It seems likely that Fawkes took this information from Longepierre. By reading deeper into the text to glean more information, more translations and therefore a new and unique angle, Fawkes is able to produce his own unique translation of the text. Orsini's book is not named by these texts, and his book is also not discussed in relation to Sappho very often.[426]

[426] There are scant references to Orsini in Miller and Louis' *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500-1800* (2012), and a monograph on Orsini by Cellini (2004) which has a mention of *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum* (250) and a note on Sappho's image on the coin (407) but no more.

Longepierre and French influences

All of the poems that are not part of the classical Sappho corpus – fragment 1 and fragment 31 – can also be found in Longepierre's 1684 edition *Les Oeuvres D'Anacreon et de Sapho*, in almost the same sequence as found in John Addison's and Fawkes' books. Longepierre prints a Life, a poem 'sur Sapho' which ends with lines 10-12 of Horace *Odes* 4.9 and then a selection of fragments – 1, 31, 55, 102, 168b, 130+131, Achilles Tatius 'On the Rose', 2, and the *Palatine Anthology* 7.489 and 7.505. Longepierre calls them all ΜΕΛΗ, and numbers each fragment with a Greek letter, apart from the epigrams which he includes at the end, under a separate subheading.[427] It seems clear that John Addison and Fawkes were using Longepierre as a source for their own works, amalgamating some other aspects from Orsini and Dacier to enhance their translations.

John Addison alludes to Longepierre's work in his preface 'The Translation of Anacreon and Sappho, into French and Italian, have been so well reciev'd in those Countries, that it's hop'd an English One won't be altogether unacceptable, however short an Attempt of this Nature must necessarily fall of the inimitable Graces and Beautifies of the Originals'.[428] This could either refer to Longepierre or Dacier, but by quoting Longepierre in his note on page 268, Addison shows his debt to Longepierre. He writes 'Mr. Longepierre observes, That Sappho, in his Fragment, expresses one of the ordinary Effects of a violent Passion'. Addison goes on to name the other places where his poems come from, possibly including Sterling's 1728 edition of *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, which he cited from the

[427] Found in Longepierre (1682), the Life of Sappho is 349-356, 'Sur Sappho' is 357-373, and the poems are 374 – 398.
[428] Addison (1735): preface. The 'Italian' translation that Addison is likely referring to is a translation by Gabrielle della Pietra (1612) which went through many reprints; Weinberg (1950): 150.

Guardian article where it first appeared in 1713, issue 168.[429] In addition, Addison cites Ambrose Philips' translations of Sappho: 'I would have done the same by Mr. Philips' celebrated Version of the Two Odes of Sappho, could I have justify'd such an unlicens'd Freedom; but as I could not, the Reader must excuse me if he finds something worse in the room of them.' Fawkes also acknowledges his debt to Longepierre by quoting Horace in his Life (*Odes* 4.9), the same quote which Longepierre uses to end his poem 'Sur Sapho' and introduce his translations.[430] Longepierre prints the same number and selection of fragments as Addison and Fawkes, excepting 'Sappho to Anacreon' and provided a rich source for the translators to work from.

Longepierre and Orsini's impact on the English translators also mean that the English authors were remaking Sappho anew for their readers, and not wishing to work entirely within the bounds of previous scholarship on the subject. As the previous translation from Longepierre was so similar in structure, John Addison had to differentiate his translation in a variety of ways to ensure that his translation was still a separate text from Longepierre, and a translation of Sappho, rather than one of a more recent French poet. By citing other influences on his text, Addison is deftly displaying this for his audience.

Aside from Longepierre, other French translations which may have influenced these writers in this period are Du Four de La Crespelière's *Les Odes Amoureuses, Charmantes, et Bachiques des Poètes Grecs Anacréon, Sappho et Théocrite* (1670), Boileau's translation of Longinus' *Traité du*

[429] Addison (1735): preface.
[430] Fawkes (1760): 175.

Sublime (1674) and Gacon, Le Poète Sans Fard, *Les Odes d'Anacréon et de Sapho* (1712), which are detailed extensively in DeJean's *Fictions of Sappho 1546 – 1937*.[431] These are overlooked in the text of the translations and are not explicitly mentioned, though the continental interest in Sappho would have encouraged English translators to make new books for an English-reading public.[432] However, none of these translations go into the depth that is observed in Longepierre, in terms of the number of fragments printed in translation, the number of testimonia and the amount of surrounding paratext to the work. What it does show is mounting European interest in translations of Sappho, which would have influenced the English writers.

Dacier, whom the translators owe much to and discuss often, had more impact in her paratext than she did in influencing the fragments the translators print, as evidenced in the table of fragments.[433] However, if more material is being translated than is just found in Dacier's edition, their outlook on Sappho will not wholly be based on the writing from a previous author who only chose to translate four of Sappho's poems. Despite this, the number of times that they refer to Dacier seems at odds with the amount of information that is available to these authors. John Addison and Fawkes both mention Dacier by name in their books.[434] Dacier presents a traditional viewpoint on Sappho, emphasising her heterosexual biography. Once Dacier had been refferened to, it became standard to cite this book in the paratext. This boosts each translator's work and standing, as they are citing the canonical work on Sappho at this time.

[431] DeJean (1989): 313.
[432] DeJean (1989): 121.
[433] Page 215.
[434] Addison (1735): 258; Fawkes (1760): 182.

Fawkes on John Addison

Fawkes, however, takes a different attitude in his introduction. He criticises other authors, including John Addison who translated many more fragments into English than had ever been attempted before. Fawkes says of Addison's 1735 translation, 'Mr. John Addison's Translation is incomplete, and, excepting a few Odes, harsh and rude, and far from being well done.' Fawkes goes on to criticise Addison further, citing criticism of Cowley's *Pindarique Odes* (1656) and applying it to Addison's translations ''tis such a Resemblance only as is expressed by the Italian Word *Caricatura*, a monstrous and distorted Likeness'.[435] This type of language clearly distances Fawkes from the previous translators, which bolsters his own interpretation of Sappho's fragments and draws distinctions for his own work – by calling Addison's a 'monstrous and distorted Likeness' he is saying that his own translation is beautiful and accurate, implying that his translation is close to the original Sappho.

The Sappho-An[436]

In addition to intertextual and paratextual readings which inform each new work, there is a socio-historical viewpoint whereby attitudes to lesbianism in this period also inform the choices that each translator was making. Attitudes to female homoerotics were discussed in the translations and these attitudes have a clear impact on the way in which Sappho's fragments are presented and translated.[437]

[435] Cowley (1656): iii.
[436] This section forms part of an upcoming article on *The Sappho-An* and its representation of Sappho.
[437] This is discussed in the introduction, pages 9-12.

The Sappho-An was an erotic pamphlet anonymously published in 1749.[438] The pamphlet is classed as erotica rather than as pornography as it is far less graphic, and uses metaphor to discuss homoerotic sex acts, rather than vivid descriptions. Found in Tom's Coffeehouse, as it has it written on the first page, this pamphlet would have been circulated in a similar way to the *Spectator* although the content is very different. It supplies a different type of understanding of Sappho's eroticism in the eighteenth century and gives some idea about other forms of writing that were using Sappho in this period. *The Sappho-An* is a story about how the Roman goddesses are frustrated that their husbands are having affairs with mortal women, until a character called Sappho enters, masturbates the women and shows them how to use an ivory dildo.

The Sappho-An contains some of the same material that is in the Lives. Phaon who 'spurn'd her hostile love' (29) features in the narrative and Sappho's depth of feeling that 'love is my life, and love is all my aim' (33), is also present in this erotic reception text. However, the amount of homoerotic sex that is alluded to shows the more salacious side of Sappho's reception. There are references to Sappho being so consumed with desire that she cannot just be satisfied with heterosexual relationships: 'man's solid bliss she to the full had try'd' (29). This then dissolves into a voyeuristic scene involving Sappho using a dildo on some of the goddesses she is with (29).

Sappho is used as a character here because her persona was already linked to female homoerotics and sexual desire. There is a connection in the pamphlet also with ancient Greece, where:

[438] Anonymous (1749a). Harvey (2004): 33.

The dames wou'd dwell upon the ruby lip;
'Till, by their joys excited, they rise high'r,
And dart the tongue to raise the glowing fire;
Not stopt they there, but full fruition sought,
The finger was a useful, charming thought'. (14)

This is the type of material that contemporary translations, as the voice of Sappho, were working alongside. *The Sappho-An* appeared between John Addison and Fawkes' translation, but would have echoed pre-existing thoughts about homoerotics and voyeurism which were explicitly linked to Sappho through this pamphlet. How the translators chose to articulate Sappho's lyrics in light of this received assumption of her persona highlights their own choices in translation.

Sappho's gender

There are three different ways in which Sappho's gender and the gender of her beloved are manipulated in the translations in order to gain different homoerotic or heteroerotic readings of these poems. These are as a heterosexual pair with the beloved as a man, as a heterosexual pair with the narrator as a man and as a pair of women. The gender construction of the characters in these poems automatically labels the relationship that is being discussed as the construction of gender is intrinsic to what these writers are making of Sappho's sexuality within her poems. Readers can understand the way in which the character of Sappho, as the poetic narrator, is figured and the translators can either construct the narratorial voice as male or female, depending on the vagueness of the material within the poem.

Whichever gender the poetic narrator is given in love poems they also require a beloved. These beloveds which are constructed by Sappho and translated in the eighteenth century have the ability to change gender through the act of translation depending on the translators' choices. As will be shown in close readings of fragments 1 and 31, the narrator and beloved are cast in unique ways to make points about Sappho's sexuality, but these creations can also be seen in translations of the other poems within the corpus.[439]

Although Sappho's poetic voice is being expressed by the translators as either male or female and the beloved's gender identified as male or female, the relationship between the narrator and beloved only works in three ways in these translations. These are: as a heterosexual pair with Sappho as the man, a heterosexual pair with Sappho as the woman, or as a female, though not necessarily erotic, pair. The only combination which does not appear is Sappho and the beloved imagined both as men. As has been shown, attitudes to lesbians were often confused or referred to entirely in euphemism, and such a male homoerotic reading of the characters within the poem – narrator and beloved – would have been too subversive to write about, and no evidence of this exists from the period.[440] The translators of the work in this period seem to be exploring different kinds of heterosexualities rather than different kinds of sexuality in general. Whether the translators are forming Sappho's persona as male or female has an impact on the way in which the erotic aspects of Sappho's poetry are highlighted. If the narrator is viewed as a man, which does

[439] Chapter 3.2.
[440] Pages 9-12.

happen in some translations such as Fawkes', heteroerotic readings of Sappho's lyric is invited and constructed by the translators.

Such is the variance in understanding how Sappho's corpus depicts sexuality that these translation choices could be seen as adapting the poem to the degree that it is not a translation anymore.[441] However, when the socio-historical attitudes to lesbianism are highlighted, and in addition to the overall likeness with the Greek editions and earlier translations and paratextual information that are supplied by the translator or editor themselves, these translations provide a cornerstone to work from to understand the perception and construction of Sappho in this period. The influences and some of the broad themes of the translators' choices are highlighted here. The next section deals in depth with the lesser poems in the corpus, and how these refigure different aspects of Sappho's eroticism for their audiences.

Smaller fragments in translation

As already shown, there are nine smaller poems which, in comparison to fragments 1 and 31, illustrate to different degrees the translators' articulation of their view on Sappho's eroticism.[442] The following chapter deals with the two larger fragments as they show a type of eroticism in Sappho's poem that can be examined in more depth as a longer-form fragment. Here, fragment 2, 55, 102, 130+131, 168b, 'On the Rose', Sappho to Anacreon, and the *Palatine Anthology* 7.489 and 7.505 illustrate some subtler points of the way in which the translators were constructing Sappho's eroticism.

[441] Page 28.
[442] Page 215.

Two especially pertinent examples when looking at the ways Sappho's sexuality are constructed are fragments 102 and the 130 and 131 amalgamation. These poems explicitly deal with the narratorial voice and a beloved and are correctly attributed to Sappho. There are some fragments in this period which are not correctly attributed – 'On the Rose' and the epigrams specifically – and although they highlight a different aspect to Sappho's persona they do not explicitly deal with her sexuality such as is seen in fragments 102 and 130+131.

There are other poems in the corpus which hint at a beloved, which are fragments 55 and 168b. There are two that discuss Sappho's relationship with Aphrodite, which whilst not explicitly mentioning a beloved and figuring Sappho's narratorial voice as either hetero- or homoerotic, do contribute to the discussion of Sappho as sex obsessed, and having a close relationship with Aphrodite. These are fragment 2 and the Achilles Tatius poem. Finally, there is a specific outlier, Sappho to Anacreon, testimonium 8, which is not composed by Sappho.[443] There are two epigrams that are misattributed to Sappho, both concerning the death of a man. Whilst it is possible that the man could be a romantic interest for Sappho, neither of the epigrams are expressly romantic or erotic and as such provide little insight into constructing Sappho's sexuality.

As seen in the table above, John Addison and Francis Fawkes are the two translators who are printing large amounts of these smaller fragments of Sappho. However, Herbert in *the Works of Petronius Arbiter* and Ogle in Sterling's edited volume also translate a couple of them. Herbert's translation includes the Achilles Tatius 'On the Rose' poem

[443] See page 322, this poem is cited in Athenaeus' *Scholars at Dinner*.

alongside fragment 1, and Ogle's includes fragments 130+131 alongside the Rose poem.

'On the Rose'

The Rose poem is a popular text and appears in four works – the anonymous *Works of Petronius Arbiter,* Sterling's, John Addison's and Fawkes'. The way in which this poem can describe Sappho's sexuality is through her relationship with Aphrodite. The rose is described in each poem though the phrase Ἀφροδίτην προξενεῖ, 'the go-between of Aphrodite', making it clear that the relationship between the rose and Aphrodite means that there is a sexual element to the poem. There are other words in each of the translations that make the erotic aspect and association of the rose clear, and therefore its association with Sappho's own perceived sexuality and performed sexuality is clear.

Strangely Herbert has no mention of Aphrodite in his translation but there is a clear sexual dimension to his translation. He writes that the rose is 'a Nymph, still Breathing all the Sweets of Love, / Inviting Couples to the Myrtle-Grove' (7-8). He does go on to use a metaphor to describe women's genitalia and therefore aligning a poem that was thought to be written by Sappho with women and sex 'What curious Leaves, what Spriggs the Bud inclose!' (11).

Ogle, in Sterling's *The Loves of Hero and Leander,* cites Aphrodite but is not as directly in his translation of the petals and bud of the flower. 'Fav'rite of Venus! breath of love!' (6) describes the rose and therefore the close relationship that Aphrodite and Sappho were perceived to have. John Addison builds on the relationship with the goddess and the physical act of

sex in his translation. Describing the rose as 'Cythera's fav'rite Bloom' (6) he then goes on to plainly link the rose and sex together 'The Rose each ravish'd Sense beguiles' (9). Fawkes shrinks from this intimate, sexual description of the rose and who smells it by not mentioning Aphrodite at all, only that 'Its Beauties charm the Gods above' (7). He writes that it is a promiscuous flower and links the rose with the physicality of women, 'It's Foliage wantons in the Air, / Luxuriant, like flowing Hair' (9-10). Where Fawkes is able to pursue his agenda with depicting Sappho's interest in men rather than women, he writes in his notes on the poem 'in the Beginning of the Second Book of that Romancer, Clitophon tells us, his Mistress sung this Eulogy on the Rose at an Entertainment. If the Reader turns back to the Fifth and Fifty-third Odes of Anacreon, he will find other Encomiums on this beautiful Flower' (193). In one sentence, Fawkes describes how this poem is used to heighten the romantic tension between a literary heterosexual couple and also to link Sappho and Anacreon closer together. John Addison had written that it was a 'Poetical Fiction' to pair Sappho and Anacreon, as discussed in the previous chapter, but Fawkes seems set on doing so, as he is the only poet to include the spurious fragment connecting the two poets.[444]

In a note on one of Fawkes' translations of Anacreon which he cites as poem 64, he says that 'The Fragment is cited by Athenaeus (*Scholars at Dinner* 13.72). Barnes supposes it to have been written on the Poetess Sappho; and, to confirm his Opinion, produces the Testimonies of Chamaeleon and Hermesianax the Colophonian'(144). Fawkes cites this testimony but still insists on including the Rose poem, even though Athenaeus goes on ὅτι δὲ οὔκ ἐστι Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο τὸ ᾆσμα παντί που δῆλον,

[444] Addison (1735): 250; page 215.

'but that this is not a song of Sappho's must be clear to all' (Sappho testimonium 8).[445] It seems that even though Fawkes is aware of this, he is desperately hoping to fashion a relationship between the pair for his own readers who may not have had access to this information.

This example from Fawkes shows that the crossover between intertexts, paratext and text is important. Each of the readings of this poem mentioned by Fawkes corroborates the idea that Sappho did have a sexual appetite but that it was for men, not women. Fawkes is attempting to construct a heterosexual Sappho and he does this by using outside evidence such as other ancient poets like Ovid or other writers such as Joshua Barnes who published an edition of Anacreon in 1721, *Anacreon Teius.* In addition to this, Fawkes' paratextual information that surrounds the translated poetry and the translation itself all combine to create a rounded example of Fawkes' viewpoint on his heterosexual Sappho.

Fragment 2

Another fragment that describes the relationship between Aphrodite and her devotees is fragment 2. Sappho is implicitly included in this, as this poem always appears after the close relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite has been established in fragment 1, which is usually the first poem to be translated.[446] Fragment 2 was expanded into a much longer fragment after the discovery of a potsherd published in 1937.[447] The original citation is from Athenaeus 11.463e, and the translators are also translating the end of the phrase which is supplied by Athenaeus, τούτοισι

[445] Page 322.
[446] Page 215.
[447] Norsa (1937): 8.

τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐμοῖς γε καὶ σοῖς, 'for these my friends and yours' which gives a personal veneer to the fragment. Translated just by John Addison and Fawkes, it describes how the narrator is asking Aphrodite to appear to Sappho's coterie.

John Addison's translation:

Beauty's Goddess, Oh Descend!
and our Social Joys attend.
Let each Golden Cup be crown'd,
Serve the laughing Nectar round.
None are here but who love thee,
None are here but who love me.

And Fawkes' translation:

Venus, Queen of Smiles and Love ,
Quit, O! quit the Skies above;
To my lowly Roof descend,
At the mirthful Feast attend;
Hand the golden Goblet round,
With delicious Nectar crown'd:
None but joyous Friends you'll see,
Friends of Venus, and of Me.

There is a closeness to the scene, and in each translation, Aphrodite is included in this close group of friends, and the 'lack of conventional reverence' in this poem, in the way that Sappho addresses Aphrodite,

supports this.[448] The narrator, possibly Sappho, manages to compare herself and Aphrodite, allowing for parallels to be drawn between the goddess of erotic love and the poet, where also being friends with one implies friendship with the other. Both paint a picture of food, drinks and close friends. Where this could change to emphasise the sexual element between the friends is the strength that Aphrodite appears as an erotic goddess in both. Aphrodite's status as a goddess of erotic love and the narrator's position as an interlocuter between the goddess and the friends is shown most plainly in Addison's translations 'none are here but who love thee, / None are here but who love me'. There is not the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite as there is between Anchises and Aphrodite depicted in the *Homeric Hymn*, but Aphrodite's erotic relationship with a mortal man is here transposed to a different sort of relationship with a mortal woman and still with the same core idea of inflaming erotic desire.[449] The intermingling of the narrator, Aphrodite and their friends, emphasises the close, possibly erotic relationship between each participant.[450] There is no direct mention of eroticism within this fragment, but the close relationships that the narrator and the friends have is shrouded by Aphrodite's' connection to eroticism and sex, and this veil shrouds them all in this scene.

Fragment 55

The final poem printed in this period which obliquely links Sappho to constrained sexual desire is fragment 55, one that is not a genuine fragment.[451] Once again it is only translated by John Addison and Fawkes. This is a fragment full of vitriol and is interpreted by Fawkes, as an

[448] Stanley (1976): 311.
[449] *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 170-185.
[450] Donoghue (1997): 109; Xenophon *Symposium* 8.8-11.
[451] Voigt (1971): 76.

example of Sappho's depth of feeling, 'this seems to have been addressed to an arrogant unlettered Lady, vain of her Beauty and Riches'.[452] This fragment is positioned within both Addison and Fawkes' translations as a narrative device to enhance their own stories about Sappho's life through her poetry. When Fawkes describes the woman in this way, he is setting up a narrative within the sequence of his poems, that there was a rivalry with Sappho and this woman, which furthers his own fashioning of Sappho's Life.

John Addison's translation:

When Death shall close those Eyes, imperious Dame!
Silence shall seize on thy inglorious Name.
For thy unletter'd Hand ne're pluck'd the Rose,
Which on Pieria's happy Summit glows.

To Pluto's Realms unhonour'd you shall go,
And heard amongst th'ignobler Ghosts below.
Whilst I on Wings of Fame shall rise elate,
And snatch a bright Eternity from Fate.

And Fawkes' translation:

Whene'er the Fates resume thy Breath,
No bright Reversion shalt thou gain,
Unnotic'd thou shalt sink in Death,
Nor ev'n thy Memory remain:

[452] Fawkes (1760): 189.

For thy rude Hand ne'er pluck'd the lovely Rose,
Which on the Mountain of Pieria blows.

To Pluto's Mansions shalt thou go,
The stern inexorable King,
Among th'ignoble Shades below
A vain, ignoble Thing;
While honour'd Sappho's muse-embellish'd Name
Shall flourish in Eternity of Fame.

What is clear in both of these translations is the narrator's opposition to the 'imperious Dame's'. If this is to be considered as Sappho, including this poem legitimises the translator's work. Fawkes is conflating narrator and Sappho here, which is shown in his notes on the poem, where he names Sappho explicitly. Both translations uphold the idea of Sappho's importance within the canon. Fawkes goes further with this idea in his notes on the poem. He writes that 'Sappho is not the only good Writer, who, from a due Sense of the Excellence of their Works, have promised themselves Immortality' (189) but also that 'by this Expression Sappho seems to hint, that the Lady who furnished the Occasion of the Satire, was not conversant in the politer Studies, nor acquainted with the Muses' (190). Here Fawkes is elevating Sappho's work and also once again 'defending' Sappho, that the narrator themselves would be 'conversant in the politer studies'.[453]

Both translators highlight Sappho's own importance in her story, John Addison writes that 'Whilst I on Wings of Fame shall rise elate, / And

[453] Fawkes (1760): note 189.

snatch a bright Eternity from Fate' (7-8) and Fawkes offers 'While honour'd Sappho's muse-embellish'd Name / Shall flourish in Eternity of Fame' (10-11). This is at odds with the forgotten woman that is mentioned first and serves to highlight Sappho's own importance and voiced by Sappho herself. In Addison's translation the poem is printed after fragments 1, 31, and after Fawkes it is after fragments 1, 31 and 168b. Addison creates a narrative that Sappho has written two brilliant and unashamedly homoerotic poems, and that she will also be remembered for this. Fawkes' iteration of the two longest fragments, as shall be shown in the next chapter, is more heteroerotic.[454] Due to this, and the placement of this poem after fragment 168b in which the narrator is alone and possibly waiting for a man, as imagined by Fawkes, the Sappho in his translation of fragment 55 seems to be setting up the person at the beginning of the fragment as an ongoing character in the other poems. This is the scornful beloved in fragment 1, possibly the same man who is with someone other than Sappho in fragment 31, and then Sappho alone in fragment 168b, finally scorning the other woman in fragment 55. By constructing this narrative through their translations, Addison is able to articulate a reading of Sappho and her poetry that is focused more on her ability and fame as a poet, and Fawkes constructs a narrative whereby Sappho is the scorned woman, in unrequited love with a man, who eventually comes out victorious in fame.

Fragment 102

In addition to constructing Sappho as a poet obsessed with eroticism in various guises, there is another aspect to her poetry that is brought to the fore in John Addison and Fawkes' translations of fragment

[454] Pages 258-262, 282.

102. This is the only fragment which mentions a gender ambiguous relationship, where παῖς could refer to either a boy or a girl. Both translators eschew the idea of a feminine beloved and translate it as masculine, therefore fashioning a heteroerotic, and even heterosexual Sappho for their readers.

γλύκηα μᾶτερ, οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον
πόθῳ δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίναν δι᾽ Ἀφροδίταν.

John Addison's translation emphasises two main aspects of the narrator's romantic problem:

Pride of my Life, dear Mother, cease to chide!
I can no more the Golden Shuttle guide.
Whilst Venus thus thro' ev'ry glowing Vein,
Asserts the charming Youth's resistless Reign.

The first problem is that the narrator is filled with 'Venus thro' ev'ry glowing Vein', their erotic desire for the 'charming Youth' is all pervasive, physical, and deeply erotic. So much so, that they 'can no more the Golden Shuttle guide'. Their body glows with Venus' presence, they cannot complete their work and it seems as though their ardour is so intense that their mother has taken to teasing them about their desire – which implies also that the desire is not fleeting, as in fragment 31, but ongoing.[455] The fleeting nature of physical sensation is discussed more in the next chapter, but line 7 of fragment 31 shows this speed, 'ὡς γὰρ ἔς σ᾽ ἴδω βρόχε᾽, 'for

[455] Pages 291-294.

when I look at you for a moment'. The second point in John Addison's translation of fragment 102 is that the young man who has caught the narrator's attention has a 'resistless Reign' over the body of the narrator. The narrator is at the mercy of the boy. Addison also adds to his translation a note, that 'Mr Longepierre observes, That Sappho, in this Fragment, expresses one of the ordinary Effects of a violent Passion.'

Fawkes, meanwhile, describes a different story between the pair, and invites some unusual characters into his translation:

> Cease, gentle Mother, cease your sharp Reproof,
> My Hands no more can ply the curious Woof,
> Whilst on my Mind the Flames of Cupid prey,
> And lovely Phaon steals my soul away.

Fawkes does not mention Aphrodite but instead Cupid. This link with the goddess of eroticism is mitigated even further by the influence that Cupid has over her. 'Whilst on my Mind the Flames of Cupid prey' does not have the bodily response to the young man that is apparent in Addison's translation. The lack of physical change in the narrator as translated by Fawkes lessens some of the eroticism in this translation of fragment 102. In fact, any eroticism is negated by the problem and fear of the 'Flames of Cupid', which stop the narrator from plying 'the curious Woof', for which she is being told off by her mother for not focussing on in enough detail. The peril of Cupid is furthered by the last line 'And lovely Phaon steals my soul away'. The feeling the narrator has for the young man is so strong that their very soul is taken away from them, but stranger still, this man is named by Fawkes as Phaon, despite a lack of precise gender in the original Greek let alone a specific name.

In this period, there is much that links Sappho with Phaon in her biographical tradition, but Fawkes' is the only translation that links the two so explicitly.[456] By supporting statements that are made in his biography of Sappho with Phaon's name in his translation, Fawkes legitimises one with the other and vice versa, in a feedback loop. This loop assures the reader that Sappho had a heterosexual relationship with Phaon and because this information is linked so explicitly with her biography, Fawkes is able to emphasise this part of Sappho's mythology. Also, by using Phaon's name in this fragment, he implicitly names the narrator as Sappho. By categorising the nameless narrator in his translation as Sappho, implies that all the nameless narrators in his translation are also Sappho.

Fragment 130+131

The final fragment which casts a different light onto readings of homoeroticism within Sappho's work is fragment 130+131, which is transmitted in this period as a single fragment. Appearing in two of the translations studied here, it has the potential to be read as a homoerotic fragment even more than fragment 102, for example. The four lines tell a story of intense feeling and then two women – Atthis and Andromeda, with Atthis leaving the narrator for Andromeda, and bereft. Ogle's translation, in Sterling's work, has no Life through which to discuss the other characters in Sappho's life. Only John Addison mentions Atthis and Andromeda. John Addison takes his biographical information straight from this fragment, 'a little Fragment of hers acquaints us, that two of her Female Favourites were call'd Athis and Andromeda'.[457] It seems that this

[456] Pages 204-208.
[457] Addison (1735): 252.

fragment had the possibility to be viewed as homoerotic and as such, Fawkes chooses to ignore it and any mention of Sappho's 'intimate friends and companions' completely.[458]

Ogle's translation from Sterling's book is full of fire and feeling, his 'dissolves' echoing aspects of fragment 31 and emphasising Sappho's ongoing love of Atthis:

> Dire love, whom nothing can reclaim,
> Ah me! dissolves my vital frame.
> Dire bird of prey! more fierce than small!
> And full of honey mixt with gall!
> By thee alone, bright Athis, mov'd,
> (So loving, late; and still, so lov'd;)
> Makes false Andromeda her care!
> And leaves poor Sappho to despair.

The eroticism in this fragment is detailed by the two expressions 'more fierce than small' and 'full of honey mixt with gall', which describe the physical aspects of eroticism that are depicted in fragment 31. The despair at the end of the translation is also reminiscent of fragment 1 and the last two stanzas in which Aphrodite helps Sappho to win the heart of her beloved, which implies more than a friendship between Sappho and Atthis. In addition to this eroticism, there are two aspects which describe something more than this in the poem too. Firstly, '(So loving, late; and still, so lov'd;)' works in two ways. In parentheses, it marks out a separate point in the poem and a move from the immediate action of 'dissolved my vital frame' to an ongoing tenderness that the narrator feels for Atthis and

[458] Sewell (1713): 65.

the now historical reciprocal nature of this desire, which enhances the despair that she feels that Atthis has fled to another woman. Secondly, the accusation against Andromeda, 'false Andromeda', is reminiscent of a jealous partner. The subtitle of the poem 'Upon Two Favourite-Maids, of whom she was jealous' indicates that the 'she' here is Sappho and thus the narrator of the poem is Sappho too.

John Addison's translation acts in a similar way but has none of the direct depth of feeling that is conveyed with Ogle's translation:

> Dire Love, sweet-bitter Bird of Prey!
> Whome nothing can controul,
> Ah me! dissolves my Life away,
> And melts my inmost Soul.
>
> The charming Atthis, who so late
> To Sappho vow'd her Care;
> Now makes Andromeda her Fate,
> And leaves me to despair.

This translation from Addison casts the relationship between Sappho, Atthis and Andromeda in a very different way, but using broadly the same material. The ideas present in fragment 31 are here again in Addison's translation, the lack of control and the melting and dissolving description. Also, Addison's note on the text, that 'This Ode was written by Sappho upon two favourite Maids, of whom she was jealous' is the same as Ogle's. However, the second half of the poem neutralises this emotion as 'charming Atthis' evokes a different and potentially less physically

attractive idea of Atthis than Ogle's 'bright Athis' and 'to Sappho's vow'd her Care' indicates a much less physically intimate and erotic description than 'by thee alone, bright Athis, mov'd, / (So loving, late; and still, so lov'd;) / Makes false Andromeda her care!'. There is a depth of feeling from Sappho to Atthis here, but it is lacking the ardent physical and emotional eroticism from Ogle's translation.

Conclusion

Each individual poem constructs an idea of Sappho's sexuality for the reader. However they need to be taken as a whole to understand the delicate ways in which each poem was functioning and bringing the different aspects of Sappho's sexual persona together. The influence of the paratext, especially the Lives, and the notes on each poem also instructs the reader on how to interpret the material. In all translations the main aspect of Sappho's persona was that she was depicted as someone with strong feelings. These feelings are for other women, for friends, for Aphrodite, or occasionally, for men. This depth of feeling is also echoed in the misattributed epigrams, where she applies this attitude to death as well. Whilst some translators do not entertain the idea of a homoerotic Sappho, it is clear that others appear to understand that 'her Amorous Humour was not satisfied with the Addresses of Men; but that she was willing to have her Mistresses too'.[459]

Even without an obvious mention of homoeroticism in Sappho, the eroticism of these fragments and the way in which Sappho's desire is articulated, feed into ideas about female homoerotics and the idea that women with a large sexual appetite were unusual and more likely to be

[459] Sewell (1714): 65.

involved in homoerotic activity.[460] When these translations are viewed alongside their longer counterparts, fragments 1 and 31, and erotic works like the Sappho-an, even Fawkes' desire to straighten Sappho strains the boundaries of belief, as so much that was known about Sappho already linked her to female homoerotics. The way these translators approached fragments 1 and 31, shows his tension further and illustrate many of the ways in which the small fragments are read when placed alongside the other longer fragments.

[460] Page 9.

Chapter 3.2

Eroticism in Fragments 1 and 31

This chapter serves as the case study to the previous chapter on the different methods of translating Sappho's poetry and the various ways in which translators were making the Greek text English. Through small changes to words and form, larger ideas about Sappho's sexuality and attitudes to romantic eroticism can be constructed with each translation. These small choices that the translators make provide a concrete basis for understanding how Sappho and her text were being created. Concrete changes then form the basis for analysis, rather than the general mood and tone of the translation providing the basis for looking at specific words.

Poems

Each of the translations publishes various poems from Sappho, but it is fragment 1 and fragment 31 which are the focus of this chapter, as they give the most insight into how translators were constructing Sappho's sexuality for their readers. These two fragments are the longest from the period and also contain the most information about Sappho's sexuality and how the translators viewed Sappho's attitudes to eroticism. Fragment 1 is the only complete poem – 28 lines long – which survived from Sappho's nine books of poetry in eighteenth-century translation and it was passed down through the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *On Literary Composition* 23. It concerns Sappho asking Aphrodite for help in love, the poet speaking personally with the goddess to stand as allies together and bewitch the person that Sappho loves to love her back. Fragment 31 is a fragment, and shorter than fragment 1 at 17 lines. In this fragment the narrator describes the physical sensations of seeing their object of desire.

The poem is transmitted through the editions without the last line as it appears in Longinus, line seventeen, and is translated as ending with the final line of stanza four.[461] This poem was preserved in Longinus' *On the Sublime* 10.1-3.

As shown in chapter 3.1 fragments 1 and 31 were the most popular choices for translation in this period.[462] They come to typify two of the central themes within Sappho's poetry – gods and longing – but also illustrate some of the overlooked themes in her poetry such as nature and time.[463] By paying special attention to what the different thematic attributes are within the poem, which are not directly linked to Sappho's sexuality, the choices of the translators and what they highlight in their English versions also become clearer. As well as being popular poems for translation, these two fragments were translated as complete poems, which has an impact on the way each poem is read as a piece of the puzzle which depicts Sappho's eroticism and sexuality. An extended piece of translation enables readers to gain a better understanding of a poet than a very small fragment, and a poem that is viewed as 'complete' offers a more contained view of a writer's intent, rather than a small piece which has been sheared from the rest of the poem and its meaning.[464] Fragment 31 is described as a fragment by Dacier which Fawkes cites, but the poem is still translated without any indication of this fragmentation.[465]

[461] Estienne (1586):28. I have not been able to see the original 1560 edition. This is the third edition.
[462] Page 215.
[463] Page offers no interpretation of nature themes in his interpretation of Sappho fragment 1; Page (1955): 26-33.
[464] Balmer (2013): 5.
[465] Fawkes (1760): note 187.

In both poems, Sappho can be understood as a character rather than a historical figure. However, the Lives and often the information from the translators – that fragment 1 was written for Phaon, for example – blur the line between character and real person. Although the two figures may more or less overlap, both are read as a woman living on Lesbos in the late seventh century BCE. In these poems it is useful to think of 'Sappho' in this way – a persona who is creating an idea of a historical figure in the minds of the readers.[466] When 'Sappho' is mentioned as the name of the narrator within these poems, this is the Sappho to which they are referring.

Constructing Sappho's sexuality from translation

There are three main aspects to address when searching these two fragments for information about the perception of Sappho's sexuality and eroticism in this period. The first is how the narrator and beloved are cast; the second aspect is which gendered pronouns are used for each character and how the relationship is described between them both. The third is the parts of the translations which are not directly related to the relationship between beloved and narrator, but which contribute to the understanding of Sappho's sexuality. These parts include Sappho's relationship with other characters in the poem, as well as ideas of the body, and how the desire within the poems is expressed temporally to different effects. Both poems are love poems in some way; as Eliot in *The Three Voice of Poetry* writes, 'my opinion is, that a good love poem, though it may be addressed to one person, is always meant to be overheard by other people'. However the interpretation of what is overheard can change dramatically.[467]

[466] Lejeune (1989): 6. The narrator in both these poems will be referred to as Sappho. This Sappho is to be understood as the persona, rather than the poet herself.
[467] Eliot (1953): 6.

The fact that these are poems which illustrate eroticism and desire is clear for the translators, who describe her 'Soul [which was] made up of Love and Poetry'. Yet whom she loved is less clear.[468] Page's seminal commentary on Sappho in *Sappho and Alcaeus* is one of the most important works on the subject, discussing how the poems function, but there are other works which provide readings of these poems and how the narrator's sexuality is constructed. Snyder's *Lesbian Desire in the Lyrics of Sappho* firmly asserts a homoerotic reading of Sappho's poetry, whereas Hutchinson's commentary on the fragment in *Greek Lyric Poetry* is far more cautious, describing the 'narrator' throughout and only once giving them a gendered pronoun.[469] Snyder's outlook on the material is centred around female same-sex desire and provides a counterpoint to the more cautious work of Hutchinson and Page. Page writes that fragments 1 and 31 are 'aglow in the reflection of intensely ardent emotions', which mimics John Addison's 'she felt the Passion in all its warmth', coyly refusing to discuss the nature of Sappho's beloved.[470] Though close reading of the poems, some of the reasons for this coyness can be discovered.

Love and longing

Sappho herself is known for being a love lyricist who discusses whom and what she loves. She was known in the eighteenth century specifically as an erotic poet who talked explicitly about her own desire – although some commentators added that its shameless expression compromised the artistic worth of her technically proficient verses.[471] The idea of the historical figure

[468] Addison (1711): 233.
[469] Snyder (1997): 2; Hutchinson (2001): 177.
[470] Page (1955): 110; Addison (1711): 223.
[471] The main example of this from the ancient world and the eighteenth century is Ovid's *Heroides*15, and the links made between Sappho and Phaon. This is also seen in dictionaries where small entries cite her poetry and her erotic connections. Two of these are Eliot's 1538 *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knyght* where she is 'not inferior in fame to the Best of Lyric Poets' (under 'Sappho') and that she 'defended Luxury and Lust by [her] writings' (under 'Adultery and Uncleanness') and N. H.'s *The Ladies' Dictionary* (1684) which says

of Sappho as a love poet means that many of her remaining fragments are understood through this lens as an easy way to understand the things she wrote. However, there is often an erotic edge to this idea of love lyric. When Sappho's modern corpus is viewed as a whole, the love lyric that she composed includes her love for people and gods, but is also seen in the way in which she describes places, mythological figures, flowers and a multitude of other items, which shows her love of and her appreciation for them. This love, however, is platonic and not erotic, and the modern assumption that Sappho was primarily an erotic poet is due in part to the comparatively larger amount of material available in the twentieth century than was available to the eighteenth-century readers of the translations. This sits at odds with the material from Lives, wherein her biographers were attempting to side-step the erotic aspect of Sappho's lineage.

In eighteenth-century translation, fragments 1 and 31 deal with the construction and articulation of desire in a broad sense. This surpasses the construction of rigid heterosexuality and instead articulates attitudes to eroticism. This is dealt with by the translators in different ways. Each fragment adumbrates the idea of longing, the lack of the beloved which is necessary for longing, and this longing can be articulated in terms of love, or of erotic desire. How this mix of love and erotic longing is played out is central to the construction of Sappho and her poetry in the time of her first English translators this period. By describing Sappho as a poet who articulates longing, more can be gained from understanding what the translators wrote. In the same way that the biographers in the Lives write about Sappho's depth of feeling, rather than who the feeling was for,

'stil'd for her curious verse… her wanton way of Writing hindered much of the Merit of them' (under 'Sappho').

'longing' is much more inclusive word that is pertinent to a lot of other emotions.

The idea of longing is far more erotic than love and has a quiet desperation to it, a desire that is not present in the word 'love'.[472] It also implies a lack which is central to the remaining fragments of her poetry. Longing wants the thing that is longed for, whereas love seeks more to appreciate it, and longing sits at the place between love and desire. This is eloquently seen in Goethe's poem '*Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt*', 'Only he who knows yearning', from *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*.[473] The crossover between love poetry and erotic poetry is great and there are numerous poems in Sappho's corpus which show tenderness and eroticism. For example, fragment 126 is a good amalgamation of both of these ideas.[474] However, the love that Sappho feels in these poems for the beloved appears to be and has been received as much more erotic than platonic.

There are other reasons why thinking about Sappho as a poet who composed songs about longing is helpful. Longing does not have to ascribe itself to a particular gender of either party – either the person who longs for or the person who is longed after. Longing also does not ascribe itself to any particular act once the longing has been accomplished. Longing is focussed around the person who is articulating the longing, and whilst the object of desire is important, it is the ego-narrator who articulates it which is most important.[475] In this way, the desire, the want, can be adequately used to describe much of Sappho's poetry. A fragment which typifies this longing is

[472] Plato *Phaedrus* 255c-e.
[473] Goethe (1974): 276-7.
[474] δαύοις ἀπάλας ἐτα<ί>ρας ἐν στήθεσιν 'May you sleep on the bosom of your soft companion'.
[475] Zima (2016): 77.

fragment 36, καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι, 'I miss and I pursue' which almost tautologically explains this longing in Sappho's writing. However, fragment 36 was not available to English translators in his period. Instead, the longing is articulated in different ways in fragments 1 and 31.

Longing, as well as showing a lack for the thing that is longed for, can also describe the current state of feeling. Love holds that which it loves, whereas longing is reaching for it. Longing could be described as πόθος and is immediate and present in the body of those that are feeling this emotion. In relation to Sappho's poems, this immediacy of lacking is a central theme in the remaining fragments of her poetry. This anxious deficiency which can be articulated through the word 'longing' also applies to descriptions of the beloved. The dearth of information that is transmitted about Sappho's beloved in her fragments is also articulated through this longing and lack which is read in Sappho's poems and through her articulation of desire.

Due to the relatively small number of fragments available in the eighteenth century through translation, there is a narrower scope to interpret the type of material that Sappho was producing. However, in the eighteenth century nearly all the poems that were translated could be described as having erotic longing rather than love elements. Fragments 1 and 31 are clearly erotic poems, whereas poems such as the mis-attributed fragment 55 are far less erotic unless they are imagined by translator and reader to be written in the voice of a scorned lover:[476]

[476] Pages 235-238.

κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσῃ οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν

ἔσσετ᾽ οὐδὲ πόθα εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχῃς βρόδων

τὠν ἐκ Πιερίας…

'but you will die and you will lie there and there will be neither memory of you nor desire for you, since you have no share in the roses of Pieria.'

By figuring Sappho as a poet full of erotic longing, it is easy to read the remaining fragments in many ways because they are incomplete and require a lot of supplementation from the reader. It is the aspect of imagination and active reading which becomes important in the creation of these poems as the poems themselves are extremely sparse. This is typified by Blanchot's idea of reading-as-creation in *The Space of Literature:* 'the singular property of reading demonstrates the singular meaning of the verb "to make" in the expression "it makes the work become a work"'.[477] Rather than envisaging Sappho as a poet who composes songs about love and therefore complicating the idea of Sappho's sexuality, it makes more sense to think of her work as something with describes erotic longing or desire in a particular moment. How the translators choose to articulate this momentary longing therefore articulates their viewpoint of her sexuality and their attitudes towards it.

Translation choices in fragment 1 and 31

An analysis of the early translations of fragments 1 and 31 needs to identify the confluence between the translators and the written text. By understanding what is added and what is removed from her poetry by

[477] Blanchot (1982): 191.

these men, a firmer understanding of the way in which they were interpreting Sappho's desire can be more easily examined. There are various points in each poem where they add additional information and words to the text and also remove various aspects of it. These choices reflect the task of the translator and the way in which they mould the poem to express their own views on the poet and their intent. This in turn helps the reader to create a version of Sappho for themselves. As ever, it is prudent to be aware of each translator creating Sappho's text from a corrupt Greek edition which serves as the basis to understand and construct Sappho's desire anew, as seen in chapter 1.2.[478]

In each of these poems the way in which the relationship between the narrator and the beloved is articulated is so precarious, and the influence of these poems on a wider audience's understanding of who Sappho was and the kind of work that she was producing rests so squarely on the shoulders of the translators, that small choices that the translators make have a large impact on the way in which this fragmentary work is read.

What is in the text and what is removed pose questions concerning the gender of the narrator and the other characters in the poem. By far the most important question when thinking about Sappho's sexuality is the gender of the beloved. Although there was knowledge of Sappho as a homoerotic writer, the translators are able to construct her erotic voice in this poem to the gender that they choose for the beloved.[479]

[478] Pages 97-131.
[479] Page 9-12.

Fragment 1[480]

Ποικιλόθρον᾽ ἀθανάτ᾽ Αφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ᾽ ἄσαισι μηδ᾽ ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον,

ἀλλὰ τυίδ᾽ ἔλθ᾽, αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες

ἄρμ᾽ ὑπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ᾽ ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὠράνω αἴθε-
ρος διὰ μέσσω,

αἶψα δ᾽ ἐξίκοντο· σὺ δ᾽, ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιαίσαισ᾽ ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι
ἤρε᾽ ὄττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κὤττι
δηῦτε κάλημμι,

κὤττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι

[480] The Greek text is taken from Voigt (1971).

μαινόλαι θύμωι· τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
σάγην ες σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ᾽, ὦ
Ψάπφ᾽, ἀδικήσι;
καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει·
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ᾽, ἀλλὰ δώσει·
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.
ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον· σὺ δ᾽ αὔτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

Fragment 1 could be read in easy shorthand as a love poem, but φίλει is only used twice in the poem. Both uses are at line 23, and there are other requirements from the narrator for the beloved too, to pursue the narrator and to give gifts to them – διώξει and δώσει (lines 21-2). Fragment 1 is focussed on the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite. In this way there are already two types of longing which are inherent in fragment 1. The first is about the relationship between narrator and goddess, the longing that Sappho feels for Aphrodite and the need for her help with the problem. The second is the erotic longing that Sappho feels for her beloved. This longing could not be fulfilled without Sappho's longing for Aphrodite first being enacted where the platonic longing is the catalyst for erotic longing. Central to the poem and to these two depictions of desire is the longing of Sappho, but what is being longed for has to be supplied within different interpretive translations of the text.

The four translations which print fragment 1 are Ambrose Philips' work in the *Spectator*, Herbert's in *The Works of Petronius Arbiter*, John Addison and Francis Fawkes. Firstly, there is the issue of the pronouns which are used in the poem as clear indicators of what type of relationship the translators were describing and provide a base on which to construct an easily accessible reading of the translator's construction of her desire. Secondly, the two main relationships within the poem, between Sappho and the beloved and Sappho and Aphrodite each detail different aspects to Sappho's character in the way that they are described. Finally, there are depictions of time within the poem – bound up with Sappho's desire and her relationship with Aphrodite – which also show how the translators constructed Sappho as a narrator and the way in which she articulates her desire and what this means through fragment 1. Whilst the central relationship in this poem is between Sappho and Aphrodite, Aphrodite is helping Sappho articulate herself to the beloved, and as such the beloved is the voiceless lynchpin around which these two characters articulate Sappho's longing.

This poem has a complex temporal structure, much of which relies on an ongoing understanding of Sappho and Aphrodite's relationship. Sappho prays to Aphrodite, encouraging the goddess to help her in her newest doomed love affair. Aphrodite heeds Sappho's prayer, travelling from heaven to earth, whereupon she questions Sappho about who it is that Sappho needs help with. Aphrodite then tells Sappho what will happen, before Sappho responds to Aphrodite that they are a team who will find Sappho success in love. This is a poem about desire, about

Sappho's need for Aphrodite's help and the undercurrent within that of Sappho's continuous desire for different beloveds.

Pronouns

The (ego-)narrator

It is first useful to describe the ways in which the narrator and beloved are figured in the text to understand how they are then manipulated by the translators to make different points about Sappho's sexuality. Fragment 1 is an excellent example of the ego-narrator which no doubt contributes to its popularity. Narrators and focalization within Sappho's poems are often central to understanding the interpretation and reception of her work and, whilst this offers an insight into the creation of the relationship between the narrator and beloved in much of Sappho's poetry, it is especially central to the discussion of these two poems.[481] By having such a strong first-person narrative in this, it is easier to construct Sappho-the-poet's sexuality in direct relation to the poems that she composed. In line 20 of fragment 1 the narrator is named as Sappho. The way the Lives mention Sappho as a poet who was writing autobiographical poetry indicates that this synthesis of poet and narrator was the main way in which these poems were read. Fawkes explicitly states that Sappho wrote fragment 1 for Phaon: '[It was] on this Occasion, that she composed her Hymn to Venus. Her Poem was ineffectual for the procuring of that Happiness which she prayed into it'.[482] There was little scope for a narrator that was not explicitly named as Sappho the historical figure within these translations. There is also a wealth of first person pronouns and first

[481] Bal (1985): 120.
[482] Fawkes (1760): 173.

person verbs in fragment 1, which encourages a reader to understand that the narrator is Sappho.

The beloved

There is a central pair in each of these poems, the narrator and another figure – in fragment 1 it is Aphrodite. In contrast to Aphrodite, the beloved is characterised as a blank space. The beloved is not named and is not well described. There are no distinguishing marks of the beloved, not her walk or her ankles.[483] Fragment 1 describes her as someone who has wronged Sappho but there is little further discussion of them physically. The lack of direct description is a common Sapphic trope found in the remaining fragments, adumbrations of an object which form the desired thing without concretely naming its parts. Examples of this type of Sapphic description can be found in fragment 156 'more sweet-sounding than the lyre, more golden than gold' or fragment 146 'to me neither honey nor the honeybee'.[484] These fragments are very small parts of a larger whole and there may be have been more concrete description within the poem. However, the ambiguity and space created in these descriptions can also been seen in longer poems and through the ways Sappho describes some of the characters within her poems. By creating a space for the beloved to be made in, Sappho's poetry remains relevant for various audiences and allows the translators to act as interpreters for this space.

Due to the corrupt text of fragment 1, the beloved here is never given a gender in Greek and is read as masculine by all the translators dealt with here in this thesis.[485] As this poem is Sappho's longest and is

[483] Fragment 16 line 17; Fragment 57.
[484] Zellner (2006): 292.
[485] Chapter 1.2, pages 97-131.

always printed first in the translations where it appears, it sets a heterosexual precedent for Sappho's longing. The first point at which the gender of the beloved appears in the original Greek (as we read it today) is stanza six which is fairly late into the text, despite Sappho's longing being the reason for calling Aphrodite to her. This was explored further in Chapter 1.2 on the transmission of line 24 in fragment 1. In the translations, each writer uses male pronouns in the incantation that Aphrodite says to Sappho which sets up a heterosexual conversation with the preceding line where we are given Sappho's name – also occurring in the Greek in the last line of stanza 5 – a forceful reminder that our lover, Sappho, is a woman pursuing a man.[486]

As the first translator, Philips in 1711 translates Aphrodite's speech to Sappho directly employing these terms:

> Tell me, my Sappho, tell me who?
>
> Tho' now he Shuns thy longing Arms,
> He soon shall court thy slighted Charms;
> Tho now thy Off'rings he despise,
> He soon to thee shall Sacrifice;
> Tho' now he freeze, he soon shall burn,
> And be Thy victim in his turn.

Philips' translation functions in a way that no other translation but Fawkes' does. This is to highlight some similarity between Sappho and Aphrodite. This emphasises Sappho's femininity and sexuality and in turn

[486] Petropoulos (1993): 45.

highlights the different gender of the beloved. By using 'sacrifice' (34), Philips elides the two characters into one, that the beloved will sacrifice to Sappho and therefore also to Aphrodite.

Herbert's translation in *The Works of Petronius Arbiter* from 1713 explicitly emphasises the heterosexual nature of the relationship between Sappho and her beloved, adding in lines which do not appear in the Greek and are clear examples of a translator shifting focus within a poem to highlight an aspect of it – in this case Sappho's heteroromantic relationships. Sappho's name is there again, in line 15 'Why am I call'd? tell me what Sappho wants', and this once again serves to highlight the distance between Sappho and her lover, and in this instance also, their different genders. There is the same speech from Aphrodite where the goddess speaks about the gender of the beloved using masculine pronouns:

> Does he now fly thee? he shall soon return;
> Pursue thee, and with equal Ardour burn.
>
> Wou'd he no presents at thy Hands receive? 25
> He will repent it, and more largely give;
> The force of Love no longer can withstand,
> He must be fond, wholly at thy Command.

In addition to the translated lines above, there two lines that Herbert adds to his translation of fragment 1. Within the added lines he shifts the focus onto a male beloved and created new material to better emphasise his own reading of what the focus of this poem was. Putting

additional material into the text is not a practice which is seen often with the other translators, but plays into wider ideas during the period about Sappho's biography, when Ovid's *Heroides* 15 was taken as a source for Sappho's life.[487] Line 19 is added, 'What Youth, what raving Lover shall I gain?', the beloved not only being a youth, but 'raving' – showing the mad strength of male passion that Sappho desires through the construction of Herbert's translation. The second addition to the poem starkly names Sappho's beloved, which in turn articulates a heterosexual relationship that Herbert presumed Sappho was in. Sappho is no longer concerned with a formless beloved in this translation but with a person who would be known to the reader through the received biography of Sappho through Ovid: 'Make Phaon Love, but let him Love, like me' (32).[488] The construction of this story is complete. Whilst Herbert's translation is not accompanied by a Life, there is a closed circle of biography informing poetry and poetry informing biography – both fictions of Sappho's life which are mutually supportive, when in fact they both involve wholly constructed ideas of heteroeroticism in this poem. Phaon appears in all the Lives of Sappho and *Heroides* 15 was translated by Pope in 1712. As such, it appears to be a well-known story – it was the subject of one of Lyly's plays, *Sapho and Phao,* in 1584.

John Addison's 1735 translation includes the same male pronouns for the beloved, set against Sappho's name:

Who my Sappho's Heart beguiles? 20

[487] Pages 167-168.
[488] Pages 189-200.

Tho' thy Gifts and Thee he slight,
He shall soon with Gifts invite;
Tho' he freeze, he soon shall burn,
Thy fond Victim in his Turn.

Much like Herbert, John Addison emphasises the gender of the beloved by describing them as a youth, 'What coy Youth I would subdue?' (18). It seems at this point that Sappho's beloved is so certainly male that translators are able to include extraneous words in their work to show this as explicitly as they are able, forming Sappho into a heteroromantic protagonist within their interpretations of her poems.[489]

Fawkes continues this trend as he has no reason to question this reading of Sappho and her sexuality. The same naming of Sappho followed by masculine pronouns appears:

'My Sappho, tell me Who?
'Tho now, averse, thy Charms he flight,
'He soon shall view thee with Delight;
'Though now he scorns thy Gifts to take,
'He soon to thee shall Offerings make;
'Though now thy Beauties fail to move,
'He soon shall melt with equal Love.

Perhaps because he is writing later in the tradition, Fawkes goes much further with his formation of Sappho's beloved as a man. Fawkes

[489] 'Youth' appears in Johnson's dictionary with three definitions, 'the part of life succeeding to childhood and adolescence; the time from fourteen to twenty eight', 'young man' or 'young men'. Whilst this dictionary is twenty years after John Addison's book, and it seems that when used in this way indicates that the reference is to a young man.

translates Sappho's name – a name the reader knows to be feminine – alongside the discussion of a male beloved, which highlights the different genders and therefore the translator's heteronormative understanding of the relationship between Sappho and the beloved in this poem. This is something that is seen in the other translations too, but Fawkes goes further with this and adds another 'Sappho' into Aphrodite's speech at line 24, "'Tell me, my gentle Sappho, tell', urging Sappho to talk to Aphrodite in more detail about her beloved. As in Herbert's translation, Phaon is named, though Aphrodite raises the possibility that perhaps another man has Sappho's heart:

> 'Say, shall I lend thee all my Charms,
> 'To win young Phaon to thy Arms?
> 'Or does some other Swain subdue
> 'Thy Heart?... 30

By adding yet another man into this poem, Fawkes goes further than previous translators, where they make the translation support a reading of Sappho's Life and vice-versa. Fawkes' translation does contain a Life of Sappho and building on this this he adds Phaon into his translation as it is 'supported' by his own interpretation of Sappho's biography, which appears just before the translation of fragment 1. This is in keeping with the idea of Sappho as feeling 'the Passion in all its Warmth'.[490] The relationship with Phaon is highlighted. When combined with Fawkes' remarks on Phaon that 'it was on this Occasion [of Phaon spurning her] that she composed her Hymn to Venus' and that although Fawkes cites that she could not 'confine [her] Passion to one Person, which … was too

[490] Fawkes quoting the *Spectator* (1760): 15.

violent in her to be restrained even to one Sex' and 'no one seem[ed] to have been the Object of her Admiration so much as the accomplishes Phaon', this strength of feeling that Fawkes ascribes to Sappho is seen both in his Life and in his translations of her work.[491]

At the end of this period translations of fragment 1 increasingly describe Sappho as a woman who had romantic and sexual feelings for men. Whilst this does not form Sappho and her poetry as solely heterosexual, as there are other poems within the corpus which make this more complex, the impact and importance of fragment 1 has more influence over the perception of Sappho's poetry than other fragments due to its length and completeness.[492] Equally, the placement of fragment 1 in all these collections, as the first poem translated from Sappho's corpus, sets up the poet in a literary sphere of writing about heteronormative relationships. This is then set in contrast with poems such as fragments 130+131 which present Sappho as involved in homoerotic relationships and highlights both types of relationship in each poem. As they are so different from each other, each bold assertion stands out. Alongside extratextual information about Sappho and her life, apart from Herbert whose translation is without a biography, and paratextual information such as with John Addison's work, these poems seem to have constructed Sappho as a poet whose work is centred around her desire for men and heteroerotic longing.

[491] Fawkes (1760): 172.
[492] Pages 228-242.

Nature

In addition to the pronouns which are the more direct way to interpret Sappho's sexuality within these poems, there are themes concerned with nature in the poem, which go some way to articulating the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite and therefore articulating Sappho's understanding of her own desire. In the translations, the closeness of goddess and poet articulates the strength of Sappho's longing for the beloved, as an on-going, reciprocal relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite shows that desire is central to understanding Sappho's character in these poems. In stanza three there is a chariot drawn by sparrows, the black earth and wings and flying through the air (10-12). Aphrodite has to help Sappho win her love and it is Aphrodite that Sappho looks to so that her longing can be reciprocated. The relationship between the pair is very close. Page notes that Sappho refers to Aphrodite as Ἀφροδίτα which is direct and that Sappho uses the form of cult-epithets such as 'ποικιλόθρον᾽', 'of the spangled throne' and 'παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε', 'wile-weaving child of Zeus' (1, 2) only used when addressing the goddess in cult settings, which shows the closeness of the goddess and of Sappho.[493] As well as this, there is a very long sequence that discusses Sappho and Aphrodite's relationship, and the beloved is only there as a vehicle to describe their closeness.[494]

The sparrows, the focus of a whole stanza, are important to the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite as they transport the goddess to the narrator. Zellner finds this stanza explicitly humorous, saying that 'the sparrow lines are better understood as amusement than as

[493] Page (1955): 17; further supported by Stanley (1976): 310.
[494] Fragment 1 lines 1-20.

autobiography'.[495] However, the association between Aphrodite and the birds meant that they became a symbol for sexual promiscuity. Looking at the wider context of the poem, and in these eighteenth-century translations, Sappho's mention of the sparrows offers much more than a light-hearted joke, and deftly displays the closeness of the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite. This in turn cements the idea of the narrator as someone closely linked with longing and desperate for the return of her desire.

Each of the translators use the sparrows to different effect. They are described as ὤκεες in the Greek text, 'swift', but the translators often use their own adjective in its place. ὤκεες is used of horses in the *Iliad*, and this is how Zellner sees Sappho's use of the swift sparrows for solely comic effect.[496] However, in the translations of Philips and Addison, they are described as 'wanton'. Sparrows were viewed as sexually promiscuous, which is possibly why they are linked to Aphrodite. Athenaeus links Sparrows' supposed promiscuity to the reason that Aphrodite's chariot was drawn by them (391e-f) and Pliny ascribes their eggs aphrodisiac qualities in his *Natural History* (30.49) and they themselves are described as lustful as pigeons and turtle-doves (10.107). This word is added in by the translators to heighten the sexual dynamism around Aphrodite and therefore Sappho, given that their relationship is so close. Herbert chooses to call the sparrows 'nimble', which implies deftness in the movement of the small birds and then goes on to say that they have 'uncommon Speed'. Fawkes calls them 'swift', using a more direct translation of the Greek. However, Fawkes also has a footnote on his translation, that 'the Chariot of Venus was drawn by

[495] Zellner (2008): 436.
[496] Zellner (2008): 440. There are 11 references to 'ὠκέες ἵπποι' in the *Iliad* at 5.257, 8.88, 10.474, 10.520, 16.370, 16. 380, 16.383, 16.833, 16.866 and 23.373.

sparrows, because they are of all Birds the most amorous' (182) and by this he takes the explicit link with desire out of Sappho's poem and puts it in his note instead. This makes the poem appear more chaste on first reading, but also indicated to the reader that Fawkes is aware of the desire inherent in the sparrows, their association with Aphrodite and then consequently Aphrodite's association with Sappho.

The humour that Zellner sees in these lines though their Homeric parody is not present in these translations. Whilst it is an odd image, the translators instead use the sparrows as a symbol to heighten the sexual atmosphere of the piece and show the close relationship between goddess and narrator. Kennet and Fawkes' Life both use Athenaeus as a source, and a translation of Pliny into English was first produced in 1601 by Philemon Holland and again in 1634, and it would be likely that they might also be aware of this connection too. The reason that the sparrows are so swift and deft as they fly down to earth from the sky is that they are bringing Aphrodite down to Sappho as fast as they are able. The temporal closeness between Sappho and Aphrodite also heightens the idea of insatiable longing within the translations. Although it does not directly concern Sappho and the beloved, it suggests how important the release of longing is for Sappho. This time is seen on a larger scale and over a longer period in fragment 1 than it is in fragment 31, wherein time acts in a different way to articulate Sappho's longing. Fragment 1 repeatedly emphasises the speed with which Aphrdoite comes to Sappho: instances include, but are not limited to: τυίδ' ἔλθ', 'come here'; αἴ ποτα, 'at some time' (5); αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, 'and soon they arrived' (13). The phrasing in the sixth stanza also highlights the speed at which Sappho needs to have her desire reciprocated by the beloved.

Time

Sappho and Aphrodite have an on-going close relationship which shows the bond between Sappho and her sexuality that has been demonstrated through some aspects of the natural world. In fragment 1 Sappho calls upon the goddess and Aphrodite immediately comes to Sappho's aid, as she is aware that for Sappho, the repeated longing that she feels for the beloved needs addressing immediately. The unrequited desire that Sappho feels has taken place before the poem begins and therefore seems like an on-going emotion. Sappho and Aphrodite's conversation is to the point and direct - at once looking back to previous times in which Sappho has asked Aphrodite for help, showing an on-going engagement with her own longing, and also engaging with the current battle. Sappho, it seems, is always falling in love with other people as Aphrodite has had to help her time and again, as Fawkes' translation clumsily indicates by 'some other Swain' (29). Aphrodite sees that there is no time to waste and swiftly answers Sappho's call. There is no space or time here for the beloved to feel differently. They will pursue Sappho, give her gifts, and love her soon, ταχέως. As Sappho and Aphrodite stand together at the end of the poem they are fighting together.

To heighten this sense of togetherness and the attention that Aphrodite is paying to Sappho after Sappho's prayer, Philips writes 'Thou once didst leave Almighty Jove' (13) and the close relationship is articulated by 'the Birds dismist (while you remain)' (19). The Greek text has αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, 'and soon they arrived' (13) but Aphrodite's place on earth is highlighted by Philips with his comment in parentheses. The home of Aphrodite is in the air with her father and the sparrows that brought her

to earth, and whilst the sparrows immediately return to where they come from, Aphrodite stays with Sappho to help her through her problem. Two things appear to be happening in this translation – that Aphrodite (named as Venus) would leave the house of her father to go and tend to Sappho's troubles on Earth. Equally, the birds that brought Aphrodite to Sappho, whilst described by Philips as 'lightly' flying (16) have no other speed associated with them. Instead it is Aphrodite's steadfast support of Sappho which is emphasised.

In contrast to the solid support in Philips' translation, Herbert emphasises Aphrodite's speed once she is on the ground. He shows this with 'arriv'd and Sparrows loos'd, hastens to me' (13). This adds an extra dimension of closeness between the pair, as it is not just the magical sparrows which make Aphrodite travel so fast, but Aphrodite's own inclination to help Sappho and their close personal bond. The relationship between the two and the need for them to be close together also resonates later in the poem, where their dialogue shows their closness, thus highlighting the lack of interest from the beloved who flees from Sappho. Sappho says 'know you not the cause of all my plaints?', as though they are so close that Aphrodite would already know. After Sappho tells Aphrodite the story of her unrequited love, Aphrodite is very familiar with Sappho, saying 'Alas, poor Sappho! Who is this Ingrate / Provokes thee so, for Love returning Hate?'. Their relationship is on a level that the beloved will never know with Sappho.

There is a different attitude which is taken by John Addison and Fawkes, who are clearly influenced much more heavily by Dacier's text, which they both cite. Addison does this with more sensitivity than Fawkes

by quoting Dacier on the subject: 'Madam D'Acier observes, there is something very beautiful in this Circumstance, where Venus is desrib'd as sending back her Chariot upon her Arrival at Sappho's, to denote that this was not a short transient Visit which she intended to make her.'[497] Although not in the Greek text that Dacier prints, she translates αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο as *ils s'en retournerent si-tôt qu'ils vous eurent amenée* and Addison's text supports his interpretation of Dacier by saying briefly that 'they return'd' (13). Fawkes makes the same statement from Dacier via Addison that 'it was not a short transient Visit which she intended to make her'.[498] His description of this with 'Soon as you came, by your Command, / Back flew the wanton feather'd Band' (19-20) is much less concise than Addison's text but continues to serve the purpose of showing how important the relationship between Aphrodite and Sappho is since here Aphrodite is telling the birds to leave, that she must spend some time with Sappho to resolve the issues between narrator and beloved.

This indication of closeness between Sappho and Aphrodite is important in fragment 1, as during this period the Greek text does not have the repetition of δηὖτε (again). Whist there is the idea of reciprocity is seen in line 5 αἴποτε κατ' ἔρωτα and also through line 25, ἔλθέ μοι καὶ νῦν, the three-time repetition of δηὖτε does not appear until an emendation by Hermann in 1835.[499] This places much greater emphasis on the relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite and therefore, if the strength of the relationship between the two is emphasised within the translation, it shows that Sappho was being constructed as a woman who

[497] Addison (1735): note 259.
[498] Fawkes (1760): note 183.
[499] Hermann (1835): 106.

has on-going, insatiable erotic longing which goes beyond the scope of her poems.

In this period δηῦτε in lines 15, 16 and 18 is transmitted as

> Ἤρε’ ὄττι δ’ ἦν τὸ πὲπονθα, κ’ ὄττι
> Δεῦρο καλοῖμι. (15-16)

> Τίνα δ’αὖτε πειθὼ (18)

All four translators include the idea of an on-going reciprocal relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite in their work, at different points to different ends. This could be because of the phrase αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα which could, to the translators, imply the iterative nature of the partnership. Philips begins the period implying this relationship. He writes ‘And ask’d what new Complaints I made, / And why I call’d you to my Aid’ (23, 24) where Sappho is reporting Aphrodite’s disbelief at the new issue that Sappho is having with her beloved. He continues in lines 37 and 38 ‘Celestial Visitant, once more / Thy needful Presence I implore!’ The ‘once more’ implies this is an on-going relationship between the two and that Sappho has had other beloveds in the past. Herbert adds much more to his translation than Philips in this regard and constructs a relationship between the two which is not seen in the other translations. He begins:

> If ever thou didst hear me when I Pray’d 5
> Come now, my Goddess, to thy Sappho’s Aid.
> Orisons us’d, such favour hast thou shown,

A similar phrase is seen in John Addison, although much later in his translation, where he writes 'Once again, Oh hear my Pray'r!' (25). Fawkes adds more to this than Addison, where in lines 7 and 8 he writes:

> If e'er you heard my ardent Vow,
> Propitious Goddess, hear me now!
> And oft my ardent Vow you've heard,
> By Cupid's friendly Aid preferr'd,
> Oft left the golden Courts of Jove,
> To listen to my Tales of Love.

This translation heightens the relationship that Sappho and Aphrodite have and constructs Sappho as a character who has had many previous lovers before. It is assumed that Aphrodite was able to help Sappho with these previous beloveds as Sappho is once again asking for Aphrodite's help. There is also the potential to read Sappho as especially beseeching here, as the repetition of the goddess often coming down to help Sappho shows that Sappho has an on-going, unquenchable longing. This is supported by the next stanza in which Fawkes takes this idea further. He mentions Phaon as the interest of Sappho, or maybe even someone else:

> 'Say, shall I lend thee all my Charms,
> 'To win young Phaon to thy Arms?
> 'Or does some other Swain subdue
> 'Thy heart?...

Fawkes is resolutely translating this poem with a character, Sappho, who is obsessed with desire. Rather than homoerotic longing, he is characterising Sappho as a person filled with heteroerotic desire for men – not even necessarily the famed Phaon, but any 'swain' which seems to be emphasising the heterosexual aspect of her character and that she has not had her full enjoyment of them yet. Herbert also names Phaon, in the last line of his translation, line 32. However, this feels more like an indication to the reader that Herbert knows about *Heroides* 15. Fawkes ends his poem by emphasising this again, taking the ἔλθέ μοι καὶ νῦν and pressing this term for more support of Sappho's desire, adding two lines in which Sappho's relationship with Aphrodite is emphasised:

> 'Once more, O Venus, hear my Prayer,
> And ease my Mind of anxious Care;
> Again vouchsafe to be my Guest,
> And calm this Tempest in my breast!' 40

Fragment 1 conclusion

Fragment 1 tells a reader more about Sappho and the articulation of her desire than about any attitudes to her sexuality. However, the way in which Sappho describes the circumstances of her desire for the beloved indicates wider ideas about how attitudes to female sexuality and sexual desire were thought about. The relationship between Sappho and Aphrodite clearly marks sex as an important theme for Sappho, and the constant inclusion of the ego-narrator and her own name tells the readers that Sappho could be the narrator in the poem. This means that other fragments, such as 31 or 130+131 which do not have a named narrator but do use first person descriptors, can more easily be read with Sappho

as the narrator. There is no homoeroticism in the translations of this poem as the part of the text was corrupt which describes the beloved, but this poem enables other fragments of Sappho which are translated in this period to be read far less ambiguously concerning their homoeroticism.

Fragment 31[500]

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν᾽ ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-
σας ὑπακούει

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ᾽ ἦ μὰν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·
ὡς γὰρ ἔς σ᾽ ἴδω βρόχε᾽ ὤς με φώναι-
σ᾽ οὐδὲν ἔτ᾽ εἴκει,

ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε, λέπτον
δ᾽αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὄρημμ᾽, ἐπιβρό-
μεισι δ᾽ ἄκουαι,

ἑκαδέ μ᾽ ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ
παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας

[500] The Greek text here is taken from Voigt (1971).

ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ᾽ ὀλίγω ᾽πιδεύης 15

φαίνομ᾽ ἔμ᾽ αὔτ[αι.

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα

Fragment 31 does not deal with love explicitly, but rather describes the physical reaction to someone else, which could either be read as love or erotic longing. If the reader takes this as longing, there is a double structure of longing within fragment 31. The reader is introduced to the idea of the narrator wanting to take the place of the man, and longing to be in his position, opposite the beloved. Once that longing has been articulated, the second erotic longing can take place where Sappho is longing for the beloved and describes her bodily desire. Again, the beloved here is formless and nameless – it is the longing that the narrator feels which is of most importance, rather than their feelings for the beloved. It is the translator's, biographer's or reader's intent which supplies the information about the beloved in this fragment which is almost wholly about desire.

Fragment 31 is a very different kind of poem from fragment 1, and creates a different sense of Sappho's feelings towards her beloved. There are four examples of this poem in translation from this period, one from the very first translation by Bowles, Philips' work in the *Spectator*, and John Addison and Fawkes. As with fragment 1, the pronouns within the poem immediately show how Sappho and her beloved were being created by the translators, and subsequently the first part of her sexuality is shown through this. In addition to the pronouns used, the language which describes the beloved can show how the translators were creating them,

through the gendered participles in the Greek. What marks this poem out as difficult for the translators is the feminine participle that describes the narrator. If the translators are figuring the beloved as feminine through the participles, then how are they figuring the narrator when this knowledge is also available to them? These signifiers of the gender of the beloved and narrator are within the Greek text, so understanding how the translators used them to fashion these characters in English is giving clear signals to the reader about how these writers are envisaging Sappho's sexuality.

As well as these aspects of her poetry, the ideas of time and the body are very important in this fragment and can also go some way to inviting a reader to create the narrator and beloved in a certain way. Sometimes known as the 'symptoms of love' fragment, fragment 31 describes the narrator's body with great intensity over a very short space of time.[501] The physicality of the narrator's body and the amount of detail that describes the sensations do not appear in a similar way elsewhere in Sappho's corpus at this time. How this intense bodily experience is conveyed in different ways by the translators indicates some of the unspoken ideas that they have about the gender of the beloved and the narrator. Alongside the ideas of the body in fragment 31 there is a temporal aspect which is best described in narratological terms as a long *syuzhet* 'plot' with a very short *fabula* 'story'. What happens in the poem is almost instantaneous, but takes a long time for Sappho to describe what is happening. Whilst this poem is a fragment, in this period it was transmitted and translated as a complete poem, so this idea does not

[501] Marcovich (1972): 21.

complicate the discussion of where this poem continues to after this description.

In each translation the narrator needs to be decoded as either Sappho, or as someone else. If the narrator in fragment 1 is characterised as Sappho, then the lyric 'I' in fragment 31 is likely to be assumed to be Sappho as well, unless there is other paratextual information which implies otherwise. Bowles' translation is separated from other Sappho poems and the title of 'Sapho's Ode out of Longinus. / By the same' has removed Bowles' name from this translation, leaving only Sappho's as a possible author. Therefore, the ego-narrator is easily envisaged as Sappho. Joseph Addison is explicit in his introduction in the *Spectator* that this is not written with Sappho as the narrator, but, 'Whatever might have been the Occasion of this Ode, the English Reader will enter into the Beauties of it, if he supposes it to have been written in the Person of a Lover sitting by his Mistress.'[502] The implication is that the 'beauties' of the poem can only be understood if the relationship between the narrator and the beloved is understood as heterosexual by the readers. The narrator here is not Sappho but is an unknown male. John Addison redresses this balance, not naming Sappho but keeping the poem within the same confines as fragment 1. His subheading 'On a Young Maid whom she Lov'd' shows that the narrator here is clearly Sappho. However, this is contradicted slightly by his quotation of Joseph Addison in his notes. John Addison has clearly read the *Spectator* and quotes it as saying, '[the symptoms of love in Antiochus] were not very different from those which Sappho here describes in a Lover sitting by his Mistress' but he chooses to call the narrator Sappho and to say that the poem was written on a woman that she was in

[502] Addison (1711): issue 229.

love with.[503] Fawkes cites the *Spectator* as John Addison does, but makes no attempt to dispute this with his own interpretation.

In two poems the narrator is safely imagined as Sappho (in Bowles and John Addison's translations) but in the *Spectator* and Fawkes, the narrator is clearly an unnamed man.

Pronouns

Fragment 31 is a more difficult poem in terms of unpicking the gender of the narrator and of the beloved through the text itself. There are many ways in which these characters are described within the poem. As the second most translated poem in the corpus, ideas about Sappho as ego-narrator and beloved are easier to examine as these are not ambiguous in the Greek. Page describes this poem thus: 'Sappho describes the physical symptoms of the passion which possessed her when she sees a girl whom she loves talking and laughing in the company of a man'.[504] It appears that he is being direct because of the prevailing difficulties in translation about this poem which I will discuss below. What does emerge is each translator's own reading of the poem which constructs the narrative of how they want to imagine Sappho in their translations. Various translators keep the gender of the characters neutral, apart from 'that man', who remains the same. By figuring the narrator in different ways through their paratext, they are able to construe the narrator as a man or a woman, and the beloved as a man or a woman.

[503] Addison (1735): note 265.
[504] Page (1955): 26.

Fragment 31 is centred on the beloved and the feelings that this figure causes in the narrator. The complex situational set-up at the beginning of the poem, 'He seems as fortunate as the gods to me, the man who sits opposite you…' (lines 1-2), implies that the narrator could be female and therefore could be read as Sappho as ego-narrator, but the poetic gaze focuses on the feelings that the beloved causes in the narrator. Therefore, the focus is more firmly on the beloved than it is on the narrator. These ideas will be deconstructed later in the chapter.[505] Sappho is not named in this poem, so there is more scope for the translators to fashion the first person in different ways. However, if the translators wish to differentiate the 'I' in this poem from the 'I' in fragment 1, they need some paratextual or in-textual signposting, as this poem often follows fragment 1 and therefore the temptation to read the 'I' in both poems as the same character or person is extremely strong.

The issue with fragment 31 that has not yet been explored in this study is the way in which the focalisation from the narrator swiftly moves between three people at the beginning of the poem:

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν᾽ ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-
σας ὑπακούει

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ᾽ ἦ μὰν 5
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·

[505] Pages 282-291.

> ‘He seems to me equal to the gods that man, who sits opposite you and listens to your pleasing voice and charming laughter. Truly it sets my heart trembling in my chest.’

The focalisation moves at great speed at the very beginning of this intense fragment. There are three characters – the man, the narrator, and the you. A fourth character – the gods – are only used as the vehicle of a simile. The focus moves from the man to the narrator, the gods, then back to the man then the focus shifts wholly onto the beloved and ends with repeating a second person non-gendered pronoun, until ending with the narrator once more. The gender of the ‘you’ in English is not explicit, but the feminine participles, φωνείσας and γελαίσας in the Greek text are clear. As English has no way of gendering participles, there is a greater scope for gender ambiguity with the beloved. The pleasing voice and charming laughing might feel more feminine than masculine to an eighteenth-century audience but the beloved is not gendered when this text is translated into English.

The gender of the narrator is not explicit either, until line 14 with the feminine adjective χλωροτέρα (pale yellowy-green). There are two indicators which could sway the gendering of the narrator. One is that the reader assumes the narrator is Sappho, and therefore a woman. The problems with reading the narrator as Sappho have already been discussed.[506] The second would be that the narrator is a man based on overly heteronormative readings of the poem. The adjectives in Greek are feminine, but in English they are genderless and therefore could be attributed to a man, the person

[506] Pages 250-251.

admiring the speaking and laughing female beloved in heteroerotic readings. These are problematic readings of the text, but because they have been translated by people who wanted to straighten Sappho for so long, they have taken many years to break down.

The heteronormative readings can go further too. Some translators are at pains to point out that the second translated 'you' focaliser within the first stanza turns from the talking laughing woman back to the man who is 'equal to the gods'. His equality with the gods stems from being the object of desire rather than because he is so lucky to sit opposite this beautiful woman. Equally, there are additional notes to the text which say that the poem is written in the voice of a man, Addison writing in the *Spectator* 229, 'if he supposes it [the poem] to have been written in the Person of a Lover sitting by his Mistress', Addison here clearly aware of the ambiguity with his starting phrase 'whatever might have been the Occasion of this ode', but guided the reader to one which places a man looking at a woman.

The pronouns here can give some idea of how the translators are imagining the characters but the focus of the poem can be hard to untangle as it shifts so swiftly.[507] The gender of the beloved is not explicitly mentioned in translation as there is not a way to translate gendered participles, but instead is inferred from the setting which Sappho describes. However, the relationships between the three characters in the poem – the narrator, the man, and the woman he is sitting opposite – are still described in different ways by the translators, forcing the reader to take various viewpoints on the relationship. It is in this way that the use of pronouns and gender is not as immediately important to understanding the

[507] Page (1955): 28.

gender of Sappho's beloved, as the gender of this special person who is responsible for Sappho's broken tongue and momentary blindness (9, 11) is not explicitly mentioned in the English translations. This is where reliance on the paratextual information that directly precedes the poem gives a lot of insight into the discussions of gender and sexuality within the translations, as well as common understanding of Sappho as a woman who loved women.

The first stanza of each poem is below:

Bowles lines 1-8:

The Gods are not more blest than he,
Who fixing his glad eyes on thee,
With thy bright Rays his Senses chears,
And drinks with ever thirsty ears.
The charming Musick of thy Tongue,
Does ever hear, and ever long;
That sees with more than human Grace,
Sweet smiles adorn thy Angel Face.

Philips lines 1-4:

Blest as th'immortal Gods is he,
The Youth who fondly sits by thee,
And hears and sees thee all the while
Softly speak and sweetly smile

John Addison lines 1-4:

Happy as a God is he,

That fond Youth, who plac'd by thee,
Hears and sees thee sweetly gay,
Talk and smile his Soul away.

Fawkes lines 1-4:

More happy than the Gods is he
Who, soft-reclining, sits by thee;
His Ears thy pleasing Talk beguiles,
His Eyes thy sweetly-dimpled smiles.

There is no debate about the gender of the man in the poem. As well as the masculine pronouns, both Philips and John Addison refer to him as a 'Youth', whilst Bowles and Fawkes emphasise his gender by adding the possessive pronoun 'his' to the man's eyes and senses, and ears and eyes respectively. The man is not described as masculine but is taking much 'soft-reclining' enjoyment from his companion, who is clearly very feminine.

This man's companion is the subject of the poem, but here nothing is known about them physically apart from that they have a pleasant voice and an attractive smile. The gender is present in the Greek which uses feminine participles for speaking and laughing (φωνείσας (3) and γελαίσας (5)), but in English translation this clear demarcation of gender is not possible. It is probable that the translators choose not to explicitly mention the gender of the beloved in these poems, as a heteronormative relationship between the man and his companion is assumed. Whilst the gender is not explicit, the translators choose to describe the beloved in an increasingly feminine manner, Fawkes referring

to 'thy sweetly-dimpled smiles' which is unmistakably a very feminine phrase.[508] Bowles' translation which uses 'angel face' functions in a similar way, but there are less citations of 'angel face' from the period than there are for dimples.[509] However, the use of these words in other eighteenth-century contexts shows that they were not gender ambiguous and that even when the translators are not explicitly signalling a homoerotic relationship within the poem, this aspect of Sappho's text still makes itself clear.

The feminine beloved in these translations does exert an intense power over the narrator, and it is the narrator who also proves somewhat difficult to gender in these translations despite the feminine participle χλωροτέρα (14) occurring in the Greek and clearly specifying the narrator as female. There is a mention of 'I' and 'my' in each poem, describing the narrator's physical symptoms when faced with this beautiful and beguiling person, but no words are employed by the translators which entail a definite gender. Due to this ambiguity, the translators are able to manipulate the reading of the relationship through their use of paratexts and titles describing the beloved, as it is ambiguous within their translations.

The narrator

Sappho can be read as the narrator here although she is not named. However, some readings of this poem may allow for a switch of

[508] From 1700 – 1760 there are 11 recorded uses of 'dimples' in ECCO, only one relating to men. From the rest there are mentions of dimples in the *Gray's-Inn Journal* 50, by 'John Lipsalve' aka Murphy (1753) 'When somewhat compressed, the Dimples in the Cheeks are displayed to Advantage' or in *Mar-Plot or The Second Part of the Busie-body* by Centlivre (1711): 14. 'Those dimples in her Cheeks are Cupid's bathing Tubs'.
[509] From 1700 – 1760 there are only 4 recorded uses of 'angel face' in ECCO, only one relating to men again. The most dramatic of these is from 'The Despairing Lover' in *A Collection of the Best English Poetry* (1717) 'Thy Tygress Heart belies thy Angel Face' (12).

focus at the end of stanza one. This switch would occur when the narrator finishes describing the man who is being looked at to become the man who is described. The way this changes would have to happen without acknowledgement from the narrator and would need additional notes on the text to explain it. Whilst these readings are very tortured, this is precisely what the paratexts of these translations clearly state. If the translators had read the poem as explicitly homoromantic and homoerotic, it would have pushed the translation of this fragment from an intellectual literary sphere unencumbered by ideas of lesbian sexuality to a more erotic one as is seen with relation to attitudes to lesbians and writing about lesbians in this period.[510]

To avoid the problem of reading the narrator as Sappho and the poem about desire for a woman, Joseph Addison in his introduction to Philips' translation wrote that it was 'written in the person of a lover sitting by his mistress', clearly signalling his own interpretation of the scene.[511] Another translator, Fawkes, seemed to be enthralled by this idea of straightening the love story here and making the love triangle into a couple. He quotes and cites Joseph Addison and the *Spectator*, directly before his translation of fragment 31. By acknowledging the *Spectator* in this way, a narrative of Sappho writing heterosexual poetry (albeit from the viewpoint of a male narrator) is set up and the potential homoerotic readings of Sappho's poetry are ignored.

Due to general eighteenth-century attitudes to lesbian eroticism, and the clear heterosexual readings of Sappho's poetry in Philips and

[510] Pages 137-138.
[511] Addison (1711): 229.

Fawkes' translations, Sappho's lyric was not translated as homoerotic. This is either due to the translators wilfully ignoring the homoeroticism or not being able to see it in the poem. However, there is one translation which does not wholly conform to this attitude. John Addison's paratranslational introduction to the poem is much more direct in his 1749 book; he writes that it is 'An ode on a Young Maid whom she lov'd'. This is excitingly and clearly homoromantic. Although it may feed into ideas of female friendship at the time, the poem is fairly explicit and the 'love' is clearly more than just friendship.[512]

The prevailing attitudes towards lesbians mean that translating Sappho's poems in this period would have encountered an erotic rather than literary reading.[513] Discussions of female homoerotics from the time are often excessively interested in their sexual practices and describe them in bodily detail.[514] Fragment 31 could fall into this category of describing bodily desire. The poem is less easily made into a narrative about a heterosexual couple than fragment 1, but the paratext of the translations indicates that both Philips and Fawkes are attempting to formulate Sappho's desire along these more heteronormative lines. However, the prevalent attitude to Sappho was that she was a lesbian, and the homoerotic aspects of her received persona were known to some of those who read her poetry.[515] The ways in which the translators were trying to change a preconception of the poet in their translations illustrate the power that these new texts held for their readers.

---

[512] Crawford (2007): 210.
[513] Pages 9-12.
[514] Marten (1708): 193. 'In some women, especially those that are very Lustful, it [the clitoris] is so vastly extended, that by hanging out of the Passage, it is mistaken for a Penis, for which such have been call'd Fricatrices, by Caelius Arelianus, Tribates by Platus, Subigatrices, and accounted Hermaphrodies, because, as said before, they have been able to perform the Action of Man.'
[515] The best example of this is *The Sappho-An,* pages 222-224.

The body

This fragment illustrated the feelings in the narrator's body in a similar way in each translation, even though there is a female narrator in two and a male narrator in two. The way in which the desire of the narrator is figured bodily can still cast light on the way in which Sappho and her writing were understood. Whatever the gender of the narrator, each one is affected by an outside influence which has a direct impact on various parts of the narrator's body. The bodily experience of desire in the narrator articulates the desire in Sappho and provides evidence for her ability to talk about the physical manifestation of erotics, even if the translators are not codifying the narrator as Sappho.

There are no identifying marks on the body of the narrator who is reduced to an amalgamation of parts, only mentioned because their desire is afflicting them in certain ways. The overall effect is oppressive on the body, but beyond this oppressive desire there is no other information or what the limbs are like, or what colour the eyes are. There are up to nine distinct features of the body that are described in these translations and the physicality of the writing is central to understanding how the body is articulated. The physical vibrancy of the body in each of these poems is contrasted with the death of the body which occurs at the end of each translation.

Bowles' translation begins the period and his description of the body only informs the reader of five aspects. These are eyes, limbs, tongue, brow and blood. There is an impatient, even annoyed tone to the translation, where the narrator seems to be experiencing feelings that are unwelcome and frustrating. There is a 'fierce Torrent of Delight' which

heralds the symptoms, which comes as a 'surprize'. The tongue fails, their brow sweats slowly, the fires are 'wand'ring' and cold 'binds up'. The last line cements this slow action:

> Then Faintness does my Limbs surprize,
> And darkness swims before my Eyes.
>
> Then my Tongue fails, and from my Brow
> The liquid drops in silence slow,
> Then wand'ring Fires run through my Blood,
> And Cold binds up the stupid Flood,
> All pale, and breathless then I lye,
> I sigh, I tremble and I dye.

There is a lack of immediacy within this description which articulates the narrator's frustration with the situation and the slow, brooding description of the body and its ailments echoes this as well. The effect of this on a reader is that these ailments are unwanted by Sappho but that they are inevitable. She does not fear them but accepts them. The inevitability of pain as a symptom of desire seems to be a usual issue for Sappho as the way in which eroticism overtakes the senses is itself not a new feeling, even though the new onslaught is an unexpected 'surprize' (16).

Philips' male narrator has a very different experience of bodily desire than Bowles:

> For while I gaz'd, in Transport tost,
> My Breath was gone, my Voice was lost:

My Bosom glowed; the subtle Flame
Ran quick through all my vital Frame;
O'er my dim Eyes a Darkness hung;
My Ears with hollow Murmurs rung

In dewy Damps my Limbs were chil'd;
My Blood with gentle Horrors thrill'd;
My feeble Pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and dy'd away.

Here, Philips describes the most bodily attributes of all the translators, a total of nine: breath, voice, bosom, frame, eyes, ears, limbs, blood and pulse.[516] Whilst breath and voice, and blood and pulse, could be thought of as the same thing, they are described differently in this translation. There is not the impatience or frustration as seen in Bowles' translation but instead a level of excitement which is applied to the description of the body.

Joseph Addison's introduction is adamant that this is written in the voice of a man and this could be because of the level of desire in the poem, if it were articulated by a female narrator for another woman, would be unambiguously homoerotic. The articulation of desire through the body in this translation differs from Bowles, as it is far more impatient and moves more swiftly through the body. There is a 'subtle flame' that is within the narrator's body which makes the scene seem like a nightmare and the darkness and murmuring in the ears is disorientating for the

[516] It is worth noting that the use of 'bosom' does not seem to have a gender bias. Pope's *Iliad* (1715 – 20) uses bosom a total of 26 times about men, for example.

narrator. 'My blood with gentle Horrors thrill'd' indicates to the reader that this is throughout the body, reaching all parts and cannot be escaped. This combines to create a sense of terrifying inevitability, of an outside force acting on the body of the narrator.

John Addison's translation is strikingly similar to Philips' using broadly the same set of bodily descriptors. However, there is not the sense of horror that is within Philips' translation, and this gives the description of Sappho's body a more sensual feeling, rather than the fear and revulsion apparent in the previous translation:

> For in speechless Raptures tost,
> Whilst I gaz'd, my Voice was lost.
>
> The soft Fire with flowing Rein,
> Glided swift thro' ev'ry Vein;
> Darkness o'er my Eyelids hung;
> In my Ears faint Murmurs rung.
>
> Chilling Damps my Limbs bedew'd;
> Gentle Tremors thrill'd my Blood;
> Life from my pale Cheeks retir'd;
> Breathless, I almost expir'd.

There are many strikingly similar words and also some similar rhyming pairs but they are employed to different effect in Addison's work. The subtle fire becomes soft, and glides rather than runs, the dewy damps which chill the limbs turn to chilling damps which 'bedew' the limbs. What

Addison seems to have done is to turn Philips' anxiety of desire into the appetite for desire as the description is much softer, gently shrouding the senses rather than overpowering them. By articulating the effect on the body in this way, Addison has softened the narrator which could be seen as feminising them, whilst maintaining the external force on the body. The force in Philips is like a spectre, but the force in Addison is like a bird.

Fawkes builds on Philips' translation and uses a more intrusive style which marries the two translations as the two which seem to be articulating the desire of a man:

> While gazing on thy Charms I hung,
> My Voice died faltering on my Tongue.
>
> With subtle Flames my Bosom glows,
> Quick through each Vein the Poison flows:
> Dark, dimming Mists my Eyes surround;
> My Ears with hollow Murmurs sound.
>
> My Limbs with dewy Chillness freeze,
> On my whole Frame pale Tremblings seize,
> And losing Colour, Sense and Breath,
> I seem quite languishing in Death.

Where Fawkes differs from Philips is that at the end of his translation he conjures all the disparate parts of the body into one line 'and losing Colour, Sense and Breath' shows a mental loss to the narrator as well. This furthers the idea of an intruding desire on the body which is not

articulated directly in the other translations. This is also seen in his use of 'poison' which alters the narrator's experience of desire. The desire that the narrator is feeling, the bodily longing, is something unwanted and foisted on them by the object of desire.

The swiftness in the body is present in Fawkes and this sense of unease and discomfort is immediately and palpably felt. The accumulation of symptoms builds to a crescendo which is then cut abruptly short. The voice falters, there are subtle flames, dim mists, hollow murmurs and then in the second stanza, the limbs freeze, there is trembling of the whole body – this extends to the narrator's mind and breath – until the last line 'I seem quite languishing in death'. The use of 'languishing' here shows the death to be much softer and ongoing than the immediate symptoms. The body has been cut through with the poison of desire and now the death which follows it is on-going.

In each of these translations, as has been mentioned the depiction of the body is neither explicitly masculine nor feminine – instead each narrator is under the influence of an outside object, something which is intruding on their body to make them feel this way. This poem describes the bodily articulation of desire and in two cases seems to suggest an entirely homoerotic reading of the material. Whilst two of the translations are explicit about the gender of their narrator, the way in which this material is approached by Sappho, a female poet, shows the reader the depth of feeling possible in her work. When the narrator is presumed to be male, Sappho is still articulating desire for a woman, albeit through the mouthpiece of a man. The problematic reading of these poems, as the translators and editors intend them, was articulating solely heterosexual

desire dismisses evidence about Sappho that may have been known to readers and contorts the poem to a convoluted reading. Fragment 31 is a manifestation of the problem with straightening Sappho. The poems are all that articulates her desire. Invoking an ego-narrator that is a man to corroborate an idea of Sappho as a heteroerotic poet is as dangerous as reading and translating Sappho as a solely homoerotic poet. For a reader, the paratext surrounding the two heteroerotic translations goes some way to engaging with a dialogue about who Sappho was, and how the reader formed her sexuality through the poetry, rather than only reading and understanding the text that the translators made.

The translations are very similar and none of them deny the strength of feeling that is present in fragment 31. However, the paratextual information around these translations informs the type of desire that the narrator is feeling. This poem, because it so ambiguous, is able to cement the different presentations of Sappho's sexuality. The poem has such little information in it about the beloved, and such a great deal of information about the narrator, that the narrator's desire is then able to be manipulated to whichever end the translator desires. Through the bodily understanding of desire, the translators are able to synthesise a lot of information and ideas about Sappho. Ideas seen in the discussion of her life, alongside the way in which the articulation of the narrator's need for their beloved is articulated, form a wholly erotic, although not always homoerotic, interpretation of Sappho's desire.

Time

Fragment 31, like fragment 1, has a strong temporal aspect to it, slowing down and speeding up various parts of the poem to create an

ongoing narrative. There is a slow build up from the first stanza which settles on the object of desire. This then dissolves into a moment which is drawn out to two and half stanzas of feelings that happen almost simultaneously in the narrator's body. This shows the temporal and physical importance of longing to Sappho. By making a moment in time last for two and a half stanzas, she is able to amplify the importance that she places on her feelings for the beloved. The translators are faithful to the ways in which Sappho has written about her desire, in the main.

The translators are able to make a narrative about the narrator's desire by their use of tenses and thus emphasising different aspects of their relationship with the beloved. Bowles uses the present tense throughout his translation, which makes the translation seem much more momentary, but describes the depth of feeling with immediacy. The second stanza moves at a pace, 'My ravish'd Soul then flies away', 'Then Faintness does my Limbs surprize'. However, this slows down in the last stanza, making Sappho's desire seem to have a greater length and for her to be unable to be rid of it, 'liquid drops in silence slow', 'Then wand'ring Fires run through my Blood'. In Bowles' translation desire comes on swiftly but will take much longer to leave.

Philips' translation works in a different way from Bowles. It starts with the present tense in the first stanza and then moves to the past tense, which indicates that this encounter is being reported from the other side of longing. Whilst the material is the same, this use of the past tense describes the narrator as being in control of the situation and the immediacy of Bowles' line 'I sigh, I tremble, and I dye' which transports the reader to the moment of death is reduced to 'I fainted, sunk, and dy'd

away'. The immediacy of the narrator's death is not present and this lessens the depth of feeling that is clear in Bowles' translation. As John Addison's translation is so similar to Philips', it is no surprise that the tenses in his poem are the same. This type of storytelling, from after the event, indicates to the reader that not only has the narrator survived this physical onslaught but that they are able to experience it again which supports both sides of their telling – that the male narrator in Philips will have similar experiences which bolsters this idea of Sappho writing in the male voice, and Addison's 'On a Young Maid whom she lov'd' shows that Sappho's homoeroticism was not a single moment unable to be replicated, and that the desire itself was ongoing.

Fawkes takes a different stance in his translation where the first, third and fourth stanzas are in the present tense, but stanza two is in the past tense. This change in tense is alarming, but contributes to the confusing sense of this moment in Fawkes' translation. Written with a male narrator, this translation could be imagined as another confusing buffer against Sappho's sexuality. The narrator is a man, which is only discussed in note form at the bottom of the poem, and they are feeling the symptoms of longing in one moment and also from a detached point of view afterwards. Despite Fawkes wanting to straighten Sappho and remove the more homoerotic aspects of her narrative, his translation of this poem seems to illuminate his own struggle with this.

The translators' description of time in this fragment functions in a very similar way to their descriptions of the narrator's body. The articulation of desire is central to this, and whether the feeling is still present for the narrator or if it is something that had happened in the past.

By constructing Sappho's desire as immediate or past makes her longing more or less controllable. This can function in a variety of ways. If the translator is adhering to an idea of a Sappho writing about homoerotic topics then it supports this idea from the translator and vice versa. By controlling her longing, which all translators but Bowles do, by putting it in the past as a discrete moment, then they are able to have more control over how their readers view her sexuality in this, the most sensual of Sappho's poems.

Conclusion

In these two poems, the formation of Sappho's eroticism is complete, and the poems which follow them in each the translations where there are additional poems, serve to cement the ideas that have been articulated in these most famous, and longest fragments in the period. In fragment 1, Sappho is close to Aphrodite and this tight pairing between the two works in two ways – it highlights Sappho's ongoing commitment to eroticism and satisfying her own desire, but also stands to replicate a close relationship that she could have with a mortal woman. However, in this poem the beloved is decidedly male. This is due to the corrupt text but allows the translators to construct Sappho's eroticism without agonising over the gender of the beloved. The impatient, ongoing relationship that is depicted shows that Sappho has great strength of feeling, and not just for one person in one instance.

Fragment 31 has a more difficult structure for the translators, who need to assert their idea that Sappho had heteroerotic relationships. All but one translator are at great pains to depict Sappho as a woman who loved men, but none of them are coy about how much she wanted them. Their

descriptions, full of fear and horror, full of slow, tingling desire, help to construct Sappho as an otherworldly creature who is capable of great erotic feeling. This focus of desire from the narrator is central to their articulation of Sappho and of her life, tying into ideas seen in their biographies and in the general public understanding of this unusual poet.

Conclusion

> But it may be objected, that it was wrote in a language only familiar to the learned, so that it could do no harm in that tongue, as if learning was a charm for human infirmities, and Latin and Greek could conjure down the vices and passions of mankind. Alas! we find neither learning nor learned ornaments are proof against humanity, and there is no more sanctifying quality in a coat of one colour than another. The Devil of the flesh works in black as well as red.[517]

The texts which have been explored in this study are central to understanding how Sappho's poetry has been read and re-read throughout the period of her reception in the English language. The innovations which were pioneered by these translators show long-ranging effects on later translations and the method of enquiry with a reader- and book-based focus show the importance of creating Sappho not just for the writers of the texts, but for the readers of the book.

The modern works on Sappho are numerous, and the translations which focus solely on her work including introductions on her life, facing Greek text and notes on her poetry would not have been possible without these first translators and publishers choosing to include her work amongst those of other established ancient poets.

[517] Sewell (1718): 4-5.

Identifying the corpus of translations has meant using a very rigid definition of translation, one which has excluded translations from languages other than Greek and has allowed the translators, editors and publishers to self-define their work as translations which are operating in the field of Sappho studies. The eight books from the period 1685 to 1760 are the first of their kind to make Sappho's text available for English readers who are not able to access the Greek text. By articulating the way in which Sappho's poetry has been transmitted through history, how it is framed between the covers of the books and the choices made by the translators in presenting Sappho's words, they contribute to a holistic understanding of these texts, and it is through these books that Sappho's eroticism was constructed.

Sappho's eroticism was constructed through and by these translators. Her gender and sexuality remain part of the reason that she is such a popular poet and through this early period of translation these issues have remained at the fore of these texts. Articulating Sappho's desire was the central theme for the choices that the translators made when creating her work in English. The impact that the stories they told about her persona and poetry through the biographies were influenced by the work that was available to them through the transmission of her text. As a whole, there is no coherent idea of Sappho's sexuality, but the way that they articulate the eroticism, either homo- or heteroerotic, enables readers to gain different glimpses into Sappho as a constructed persona in this period.

In this period, every translator is trying to make a version of Sappho's eroticism that is palatable for the reading public. Through choices

that they make in their texts they are attempting to smooth Sappho's erotic texts and received biography. Often, the translators will mention the homoerotic aspects of her biography or occasionally her poetry. However, these are all too often removed or opposed with discussions of her heterosexual relationships, either with Phaon or Cercylas. The homoeroticism in Sappho is minimized in favour of discussing her relationships to other ancient writers and constructing Sappho as a poet who is part of the Classical canon.

Each of these books is aiming to understand, articulate and ultimately control the type of poet and the type of poetry which the readers are granted access to. There is a sense of longing in creating Sappho from these texts. There is longing for Sappho's text as a whole, to know what she wrote and to have access to that material. There is longing to understand Sappho as a historical figure, one which is often intertwined in this period with her function as a narrator, and to know more about her life. Finally, there is longing to know Sappho's text through translation and to understand how she has articulated herself, through her own words, to discuss her attitudes to eroticism. These three aspects together provide a reader with a holistic view of the poet and her work. The translators act as brokers of knowledge about Sappho. These translators tell readers what they should want from the text and then supply it. This is achieved by creating and answering questions about the transmission of the text, expectation of the text through the paratexts and through the way in which the work is translated. Each translation will have had a unique influence on the later translations, and at the end of the period both John Addison and Fawkes are using different aspects of Sappho that had already been described through translation to create their two new and very different

versions of Sappho and her poetry from the previous material. The effect different translations had on each other and the relationship they had with the Greek text is explored in their books. Each translator was attempting to illuminate a new aspect of Sappho for their readers, and each text pushes the boundaries of the way in which Sappho's eroticism was being constructed through her life story and through the transmission and translation of the text.

Ideas of Sappho's text and her importance as a poet inform which parts of her work are transmitted. The transmission of her work enables more people to have access to the text, which in turn necessitates a more accessible version of Sappho and her poetry, informing her biography which then in turn informs how translators approach her text.

Methodological approach

Reader-response[518]

By examining Sappho's work through the lens of reader-response theory, the choices that have been made by the translators are easier to understand. This methodology provides a valuable interface through which to view the translations and it gives a structured approach through which her work is understood. Although the historical reader is not able to be accessed, the translators were still deciding how best to articulate Sappho's desire and eroticism. The work of readers here is important, as has been set out throughout the introduction and the various ways in which readers are creating their own reading from these books. The readers make Sappho, but the Sappho that they make ultimately belongs to the translators.

[518] Pages 14-27 and chapter 1.1.

Book-focused reading[519]

Alongside this reader-focused way of accessing Sappho's text in the eighteenth century, the text can be examined in its wider context, within the book itself. These texts are not on single sheets of paper without accompanying materials, and the book as whole, including its transmission, help form an idea of Sappho in the readers' minds before any of her translated text is read. Sappho's mutilated text in fragment one removed the idea of a female beloved.[520] There was no option but for the translators to create a hetreoerotic translation, but the strength of Sappho's desire is keenly felt in her reception.

Sappho's text through transmission

The text itself has been transmitted from the ancient world and as seen in chapters 1.1 and 1.2, the decisions that have been made about Sappho's work greatly affects the way in which her eroticism and desire were articulated. The difficulties that have occurred in the transmission of Sappho's text were not solved in the eighteenth century. The translators had to create a new book from a mutilated text and were working with difficult, fragmentary poetry that occasionally, as has been shown, made little sense.[521] Therefore, the choices that they made were able to sculpt Sappho's desire through the response of the translators to her text, and the preconceptions that they had of it. Some translators such as John Addison articulated Sappho's homoeroticism for their readers as it was present in the received knowledge of Sappho at the time.[522] However, some, like Fawkes, chose to ignore what they considered these more salacious parts of her reception and the bowdlerization of her poetry in

[519] Pages 27-50 and chapter 1.1.
[520] Chapter 1.2.
[521] Chapter 1.2.
[522] Chapter 3.2.

English starts with these translators who were working at this stage in Sappho's history.[523]

Through a focus on the process of transmission rather than a focus purely on Sappho's translated text, more can be learnt about attitudes to her sexuality and to her own articulation of desire. Sappho's work, through translation, stops belonging solely to Sappho and starts to belong to those who have kept her work alive, and the text that was given to the translators by previous scholars such as Henri Estienne. Without the work put in to extricate Sappho's text from the books in which it is cited, the process of translating Sappho's poetry into English would not have been possible. The construction of Sappho's eroticism through the translated corpus in this period is owed to the transmission of her text. The more thoroughly that that process is understood in this period in relation to translation, the more easily her work in translation can be unpicked.

Without the longing for Sappho's text and a longing for Sappho to be unencumbered from the texts of the poets who cite her work, Sappho would not have been a poet that was studied in translation and may never have escaped the authors in whose work her poetry was transmitted.

Sappho's paratext in translation

If Sappho's poetry and erotic desire have been articulated through her work and taken out of their original contexts to stand alone as poems, then the context into which they are freshly placed is important for understanding how translators were articulating their ideas of her poetry and of her biography before any words of her text have been read in

[523] Chapter 3.2.

translation. The way in which a paratext shapes the text have been shown in chapters 2.1 and 2.2, and the importance of the Lives of Sappho have been shown. By articulating the poet's life and highlighting different aspects of her received persona, translators and editors are able to direct the reader's attention to aspects of her transmitted biography, such as her relationship with Phaon.[524] This enables eighteenth-century writers to draw upon the life they have created for her and use their own articulations of who Sappho was to strengthen the interpreations expressed in their own translations of the poems. This then works in reverse, as the poems themselves are able to support the constructions of Sappho's biography.

Where the text had been recovered through transmission, here Sappho's life is recovered for the reading public as well. The longing for Sappho as a person is keenly felt through the way in which her life is described. The translators often reference earlier works, occasionally changing the focus slightly to highlight different aspects of her desire. Joseph Addison was the first English writer to marry Sappho's translated text with thoughts on her biography, and so influential was his work in the *Spectator* that every translation afterwards which has Sappho second on their list of translated poets included a life alongside her work.[525] The influence from French translations on this should not go unnoticed, but to start this tradition in English was something that had not been done before.[526] For this reason, this aspect of Sappho's paratext is worth study, as it contributes so much to our understanding of Sappho as a poet whose work is translated into the English language.

[524] Chapter 2.2.
[525] Chapter 2.2.
[526] Page 87.

The paratext of these books bolsters Sappho's text. It makes the section on Sappho take up more physical space within the book and also imagines Sappho as a person taking up more space too. The physicality of the book can be linked to a physicality of the body, and it articulates once more a longing for knowledge of Sappho.

Sappho's text

Once Sappho's life had been established beyond her text – through the publishers' and translators' paratext and biography, the last articulation of Sappho's desire is through her own work. Readers' attention is carefully attuned before they are presented with Sappho's text, and then choices made by the translators are able to manipulate the reader further. As work from the previous chapters have shown there is a lot of material about Sappho available, and many of her poems were published in Greek in this period. Therefore, chapter 3.1 explored how the choice of poems and the language used within them altered how Sappho's desire was written about, and chapter 3.2 engaged with this idea further, providing close analysis of fragments 1 and 31 to highlight how small changes in language are able to create a different kind of eroticism through Sappho's poetry.

Here the words of Sappho are manipulated by the translators. The line between translator and poet feels very thin in this instance, as a reader is approaching Sappho's text, but the amount of artifice is still strong. This is true of all translations, but in the eighteenth century when the reading public first had access to Sappho's text in English there was little work to compare it to. Due to this the innovations made by the translators are not as obvious as with later works. Therefore understanding

how these translations function and what traditions are being formed in this very early period will enable scholarship in the future on later translations to have a greater understanding of the context of their translations. The innovations and techniques that other writers were using to articulate Sappho's desire for their own audiences will be more easily decoded.

Implications within translation studies and Sappho studies

The work done here shows the importance of looking at the way that Sappho's text has been transmitted and how, through the text, ideas about the reception and understanding of Sappho are created in different times. This study goes as far as Fawkes' 1760 translation, but after Fawkes a slew of translations started to be published, and after renewed interest in the poet after the Oxyrhynchus excavation this was taken even further.

This study of early eighteenth-century translations of Sappho introduces a holistic, reader-focused approach to looking at Sappho's translated text, and understanding how her eroticism was constructed within that framework. By ascertaining what is happening in different parts of these translations there is a solid base built for looking at later translations in a similar way to see how different translators, editors and publishers are making Sappho, her text and her eroticism for their readers. By bringing together book history and translation studies there is less opportunity for one type of enquiry to take precedence over another. In this way a more well-rounded interpretation of Sappho's work in translation can be constructed. When dealing with aspects such as Sappho's sexuality and her writing on eroticism and desire, this modulated approach to her translated work in books enables each individual part of

the book to be analysed ad contribute to the importance of the whole book when thinking about translations of Sappho.

Areas for expansion

The holistic approach taken to Sappho's text in the eighteenth century could easily and satisfactorily be used in later periods, as well as with works in other languages or with different remits. After Fawkes' publication in 1760, it went on to be reprinted again in 1789 and was the first book that had a close focus on Sappho to be reprinted. The work done on these early translations, and the focus on the influences on the books and their framing of Sappho's text, could be replicated with later works to ascertain how much influence the early translations had on the construction of Sappho's sexuality. This framework need not apply to historical texts either but could be usefully employed to analyse contemporary translations of Sappho. One of the reasons for this work is to understand how much of Sappho's persona is constructed through translation. Many receptions of Sappho are based on translated texts and understanding how these texts function then enables how Sappho is approached in reception contexts with more security.

In the same way that a reader-focused interpretation of Sappho's constructed persona has been applied to translated texts, the same method could be used for other pieces of Classical reception too. In the eighteenth century, this approach could be tied to translations by looking at Sappho's reception in erotic contexts, such as with *The Sappho-An*, mentioned in chapter 3.1.[527] For later receptions of Sappho, this material dramatically increases and this reader-response methodology can be

[527] Chapter 3.1.

applied to art, film, television, comics and a host of other media which articulates Sappho for their readers. This material is important to be viewed alongside any translations which appear too and therefore the two reception contexts can be viewed in parallel. The reception of Sappho is made through her poetry, and even visual culture representations are formed through knowledge of her text in some way, as it is Sappho's own writing on women that is such a large part of her reception and transmission.

Closing remarks

Sappho's eroticism is articulated through three different stands of her translated text – its transmission, its paratext and its poetry. This eroticism is expressed by the longing of the reader: for the text of Sappho, for the persona of Sappho, and for Sappho's own words. By constructing something the translator is reading for it in the text, longing for it to be made, to be whole, and to be understood.

The construction of Sappho's sexuality through her poetry in translation in eighteenth-century England is a push and pull to know Sappho but to keep her separate, to form her work and life through heterosexual paradigms, whilst keeping her exciting, erotic sensuality. However the translators have acted as gatekeepers for her work. In this way, the Sappho of this period belongs to the translators.

Together these translations form the idea of a complete Sappho and her eroticism in the period 1685 – 1760. This Sappho is constructed through these various translations to take shape within the world of the readers. This Sappho is relevant to the English audience. She is exciting,

an enticing tale of gaps and lacks, fits and starts. This Sappho is revealed to a new audience and these texts illuminate a search for knowledge about Sappho - bringing her words, body and life to contemporary readers.

Appendix 1

John Addison (1735)

Fragment 1



ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΣΒΙΑΣ

ΜΕΛΗ.

Ασμα εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,
Παῖ Διὸς δολοπλόκε, λίσσομαί σε,
Μή μ' ἄτασι μηδ' ἀνίαισι δάμνα,
Πότνια, θυμόν.

Ἀλλὰ τῆδ' ἔλθ', αἴποτε κατ' ἔρωτα
Τᾶς ἐμᾶς αὐδᾶς αἴοισ, ἄς πολλάκ'
Ἔκλυες, πατρὸς δ' δόμον λιποῖσα
Χρύσεον ἦλθες,

Ἄρμ' ὑποζεύξασα, καλοὶ δέ σ' ἆγον
Ὠκέες στρουθοὶ περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
Πυκνὰ δινεῦντες ἀπ' ὠράνω αἰθέ-
ρος διὰ μέσσω.

Αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο. τὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
Μειδιάσασ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ,
Ἤρε' ὄττι δηὖτε πέπονθα, κ' ὄττι
Δεῦρο καλοῖμι,

Κ' ὄττι μοι μάλιστ' ἐθέλω γενέσθαι
Μαινόλᾳ θυμῷ, τίνα δηὖτε πειθῶ,

Καὶ σαγηνεῦσαν φιλότητα· τίς σ', ὦ
Σαπφοῖ, ἀδικεῖ;

Καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει·
Αἰ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει·
Αἰ μὴ φιλεῖ, ταχέως φιλήσει,
Κ' ὄττε κελεύης.

Ἔλθέ μοι νῦν, χαλεπᾶν δὲ λῦσον
Ἐκ μερίμναν. Ὅσσα δέ μοι τελέσσαι
Θυμὸς ἱμείρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ' αὐτὰ
Σύμμαχος ἔσσο.



Appendix 2

John Addison (1735)

Fragment 31



Ω Δ Η.

Εἰς τὴν Ἐφημερίδα.

Φαίνεταί μοι κεῖνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν
Ἔμμεν' ἀνὴρ, ὅστις ἐναντίον τοι
Ἰζάνει, καὶ πλαίσιον ἁδὺ φωνέ-
σας ὑπακούει,

Καὶ γελώσας ἱμερόεν· τό μοι τὰν
Καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν.
Ὡς ἴδον σε, βρόγχον ἐμοὶ γὰρ αὐδᾶς
Οὐδὲν ἔθ' ἧκει.

Ἀλλὰ καμμὺ γλῶσσ' ἔαγε, λέπτὸν δ'
Αὐτίκα χρῶι πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν,
Ὀμμάτεσσιν δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημι, βομβεῦ-
σιν δ' ἀκοαί μοι.

Κὰδ δ' ἰδρὼς ψυχρὸς χέεται, τρόμος δὲ
Πᾶσαν ἀίρει· χλωροτέρη δ' ποίας
Ἔμμι τεθνᾶναι δ' ὀλίγω δέοισα
Φαίνομαι ἄπνυς.

Appendix 3

Translations of Fragment 1

Philips (1711)

O Venus, Beauty of the Skies,
To whom a Thousand Temples rise,
Gayly false in gentle Smiles,
Full of Love's perplexing Wiles;
O Goddess! from my Heart remove
The wasting Cares and Pains of Love.

If ever thou hast kindly heard
A Song in soft Distress preferr'd,
Propitious to my tuneful Vow,
O gentle Goddess! hear me now.
Descend, thou bright, immortal Guest,
In all thy radiant Charms confest.

Thou once didst leave Almighty Jove,
And all the Golden Roofs above:
The Carr thy wanton Sparrows drew;
Hov'ring in Air they lightly flew,
As to my Bower they wing'd their Way:
I saw their quiv'ring Pinions play.

The Birds dismist (while you remain)
Bore back their empty Carr again:
Then You, with Looks divinely mild,

In ev'ry heav'nly Feature smil'd,
And ask'd what new Complaints I made,
And why I call'd you to my Aid?

What Phrenzy in my Bosom rag'd,
And by what Care to be asswag'd?
What gentle Youth I could allure,
Whom in my artful Toiles secure?
Who does thy tender Heart subdue,
Tell me, my Sappho, tell me Who?

Tho' now he Shuns thy longing Arms,
He soon shall court thy slighted Charms;
Tho' now thy Off'rings he despise,
He soon to thee shall Sacrifice;
Tho' now he freeze, he soon shall burn,
And be thy Victim in his turn.

Celestial Visitant, once more
Thy needful Presence I implore!
In Pity come and ease my Grief,
Bring my distemper'd Soul Relief;
Favour thy Suppliant's hidden Fires,
And give me All my Heart desires.

Herbert (1714)

O Venus! Daughter of the mighty Jove,
Most knowing in the mystery of Love;
Help me, O help me! Quickly send relief,
And suffer not my Heart to break with grief.

If ever thou didst hear me when I Pray'd,
Come now, my Goddess, to thy Sappho's Aid.
Orison's us'd, such favour has though shown,
From Heaven's Golden Mansions call'd thee down.

See see, she comes in her Cerulean Carr,
Passing the middle Region of the Air.
Mark how her nimble Sparrows stretch the wing,
And with uncommon speed their Mistress bring!

Arriv'd and Sparrows loos'd, hastens to me,
Then smiling, asks what is it troubles thee?
Why am I call'd? tell me what Sappho wants;
Oh! know you not the cause of all my plaints?

I Love! I burn! And only Love require;
And nothing les can quench the raging Fire:
What Youth, what raving Lover shall I gain?
Where is the Captive that shou'd wear my chain?

Alas, poor Sappho! Who is this Ingrate

Provokes thee so, for Love returning Hate?
Does he now fly thee? he shall soon return;
Pursue thee, and with equal Ardour burn.

Wou'd he no presents at thy Hands receive?
He will repent it, and more largely give;
The force of Love no longer can withstancd,
He must be fond, wholly at thy Command.

When wilt thou work this change? now Venus, free,
Now ease my Mind of so much miserie:
In this Amour my powerful Aider be,
Make Phaon Love, but let him Love like me.

Addison (1735)

Many-Scepter'd Queen of Love,
Guile-enamour'd Child of Jove,
Ever-honour'd! cease my Smart,
Nor oppress they Vot'ry's Heart.

But, propitious, Oh descend!
And my tuneful Vows attend.
From thy Father's gold-roof'd Court,
Once they charm'd thy kind Retort.

Thee thy wanton Sparrows drew,
Swift on sable Wings they flew;
As they thro' the raptur'd Air,
Lightly-quiv'ring bore thy Car.

They return'd. You, Goddess, smil'd.
And with Looks divinely mild,
Ask'd What Griefs my Peace betray'd,
Why I call'd you to my Aid.

When my Mind's soft Phrenzy grew?
What coy Youth I would subdue?
Whom engage in artful Toils?
Who my Sappho's Heart beguiles?

Tho' thy Gifts and Thee he flight,
He shall soon with Gifts invite;
Tho' he freeze, he soon shall burn,
Thy fond Victim in his Turn.

Once again, Oh hear my Pray'r!
Loose the Bands of am'rous Care.
Present bless they Suppliant's Fires,
Grant me all my Heart desires.

Fawkes (1760)

Venus, bright Goddess of the Skies,
To whom unnumber'd Temples rise,
Jove's Daughter fair, whose wily Arts
Delude fond Lovers of their Hearts;
O! listen gracious to my Prayer,
And free my Mind from anxious Care.

If e'er you heard my ardent Vow,
Propitious Goddess, hear me now!
And oft my ardent Voy you've heard,
By Cupid's friendly Aid preferr'd,
Oft left the golden Courts of Jove,
To listen to my Tales of Love.

The radiant Car your Sparrows drew;
You gave the Word, and swift they flew,
Through liquid Air they wing'd their Way,
I saw their quivering Pinions play;
To my plain Roof they bore their Queen,
Of Aspect mild, and Look serene.

Soon as you came, by your Command,
Back flew the wanton feather'd Band,
Then, with a sweet enchanting Look,
Divinely smiling, thus you spoke:
'Why didst thou call me to thy Cell?

‘Tell me, my gentle Sappho, tell.

‘What heaving Medicine shall I find
‘To cure thy love-distermper’d Mind?
‘Say, shall I lend thee all my Charms,
‘To win young Phaon to thy Arms?
‘Or does some other Swain subdue
‘Thy heart? My Sappho, tell me Who?

‘Though now, averse, thy Charms he flight,
‘He soon shall view thee with Delight;
‘Though now he scorns they Gifts to take,
‘He soon to thee shall Offerings make;
‘Though now they Beauties fail to move,
‘He soon shall melt with equal Love.’

One more, O Venus, hear my Prayer,
And ease my Mind of anxious Care’
Again vouchsafe to be my Guest,
And calm this Tempest in my Breast!
To thee, bright Queen, my Vows aspire;
O grant me all my Heart’s Desire.

Appendix 4

Translations of Fragment 31

Bowles (1685)

The Gods are not more blest than he,
Who fixing his glad eyes on thee,
With thy bright Rays his Senses chears,
And drinks with ever thirsty ears.
The charming Musick of thy Tongue,
Does ever hear, and ever long;
That sees with more than human Grace,
Sweet smiles adorn thy Angel Face.

But when with kinder beams you shine,
And so appear much more divine,
My feeble sense and dazl'd sight,
No more support the glorious light,
And the fierce Torrent of Delight.
Oh! Then I feel my Life decay,
My ravish'd Soul then flies away,
Then Faintness does my Limbs surprize,
And darkness swims before my Eyes.

Then my Tongue fails, and from my Brow
The liquid drops in silence slow,
Then wand'ring Fires run through my Blood,
And Cold binds up the stupid Flood,

All place, and breathless then I lye,
I sigh, I tremble and I dye.

Philips (1711)

Blest as th'immortal Gods is he,
The Youth who fondly sits by thee,
And hears and sees thee all the while
Softly speak and sweetly smile.

'Twas this deprived my Soul of Rest,
And raised such Tumults in my Breast;
For while I gaz'd, in Transport tost,
My Breath was gone, my Voice was lost:

My Bosom glowed; the subtle Flame
Ran quick through all my vital Frame;
O'er my dim Eyes a Darkness hung;
My Ears with hollow Murmurs rung

In dewy Damps my Limbs were chil'd;
My Blood with gentle Horrors thrill'd;
My feeble Pulse forgot to play;
I fainted, sunk, and dy'd away.

Addison (1735)

An ode on a Young Maid whom she lov'd.

Happy as a God is he,
That fond Youth, who plac'd by thee,
Hears and sees thee sweetly gay,
Talk and smile his Soul away.

That it was alarm'd by Breast,
And depriv'd my Heart of Rest.
For in speechless Raptures tost,
Whilst I gaz'd, my Voice was lost.

The soft Fire with flowing Rein,
Glided swift thro' ev'ry Vein;
Darkness o'er my Eyelids hung;
In my Ears faint Murmurs rung.

Chilling Camps my Limbs bedew'd;
Gentle Tremors thrill'd my Blood;
Life from my pale Cheeks retir'd;
Breathless, I almost expir'd.

Fawkes (1760)

More happy than the Gods is he
Who, soft- reclining, sits by thee;
His Ears thy pleasing Talk beguiles,
His Eyes thy sweetly-dimpled Smiles

This, this, alas ! alarm'd my Breast,
And robb'd me of my golden Rest :
While gazing on thy Charms I hung,
My Voice died faltering on my Tongue.

With subtle Flames my Bosom glows,
Quick through each Vein the Poison flows:
Dark, dimming Mists my Eyes surround ;
My Ears with hollow Murmurs found.

My Limbs with dewy Chillness freeze,
On my whole Frame pale Tremblings seize,
And losing Colour, Sense and Breath,
I seem quite languishing in Death.

Appendix 5

List of Sources mentioned in the Lives

Those with a star are only found in Haywood's *Gunaikeion.*

*Aelian – *Historial Miscellany* 12.9 (test. 4)

*Antipater of Sidon – *Palatine Anthology* 7.14 (test. 27)

*Ausonius – *Epigrams on Various Matters* 51

* Giovanni Battista Egnazio – *Racemationes* 1

Aristotle – *Art of Rhetroic* 1367a

Athenaeus – *Scholars at Dinner* 13.596e (test. 8)

Boileau – *Traité du Sublime*

Catullus – *Odes*

Coinage – BMC Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos 169

Damocharis – *Planudean Anthology* 16.310

Dionysius of Halicarnassus – *On Literary Composition* (fragment 1)

Diphilus – in Athenaeus *Scholars at Dinner* 13.598bc, 599cd (test. 8)

Eusebius – *Chronicle* 45.1 (test. 6)

Hermesianax – in Athenaeus *Scholars at Dinner* 13.598bc, 599cd (test. 8.)

Horace – *Odes* 4.9.9–12 (test. 51)

Horace – *Letters* 1.19.28 (test. 17 and 34)

Le Fèvre *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina* 24

Longinus – *On the Sublime* (fragment 31)

Maximus of Tyre – in Athenaeus *Scholars at Dinner* 13.598bc, 599cd (test. 8)

Ovid – *Heroides* 15 (test. 16)

*Plato (pseud.) – *Palatine Anthology* 9.506 (test. 60)

*Pliny – *Natural History* 22.20 (fragment 211)

Plutarch – *Moralia, The Dialogue on Love* 751d (fragment 49)

Plutarch – *Moralia, The Dialogue on Love* 762f

Plutarch – *Life of Demetrius* 38.4

*Statius – *Silvae* 5.3.154–5

Strabo – *Geography* 10.2.9 (test. 23)

Strabo – *Geography* 13.2.4 (test. 12)

Strabo – *Geography* 17.1.33 (fragment 202)

Suda – σ107 and σ108 (test. 2 and 3)

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Addison, J. (1735) *The Works of Anacreon* (London).

Addison, J. and Steele, R. (1711a) *The Spectator* 55, 211, 223, 229 and 233. (London).

Aelian, *Historial Miscellany*, tr. N. G. Wilson (London, 1997).

Anderson, R. (1794) *Poets (*London).

Anonymous (1714) *The Works of Petronius Arbiter* (London).

Anonymous (1717) *A Collection of the Best English Poetry* (London).

Anonymous (1722) *Monsieur Thing's Origin: or Seignor D---o's Adventures in Britain* (London).

Anonymous (1725) *A Supplement to the Onania, or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution* (London).

Anonymous (1749a) *The Sappho-An. An Heroic Poem of Three Cantos, in the Ovidian Style, Describing the Pleasures which the Fair Sex Enjoy with Each Other* (London).

Anonymous (1749b) *Satan's Harvest Home: or the Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy and the Game at Flatts (Illustrated by an Authentick and Entertaining story) And other Satanic Works, daily propagated in this good Protestant Kingdom* (London).

Aristotle, *Art of Rhetroic* tr. J. H. Freese (London 1926).

Ausonius, *Volume II: Books 18-2. Paulinus Pellaeus: Eucharisicus* tr. H. G. Evelyn-White (London 1921).

Barnes, J. (1721) *Anacreon Teius, Poeta Lyricus, Summa Cura & Diligenia, ad siden etiam Vet. MS. Vatican* (Cambridge).

Baxter, W. (1695) *Anacreontis Teii Carmina*. (London).

Behn, A. (1685) *Miscellany*. London.

Boccaccio, G. (1361-2) *De Claris Mulieribus* (Florence).

Caxton, W. (1480) *The Chronicles of England* (St. Albans).

Centlivre, S. (1711) *Mar-Plot or The Second Part of the Busie-body* (London).

Chalmers, A. (1810) *The Works of the English Poets* (London).

Cockeram H. (1620) *The English Dictionary of Interpreter of Hard English Words* (London).

Cowley, A. (1656) *Pindarique Odes Written in Imitation of the Stile & Maner of the Odes of Pindar* (London).

Dacier, A. (1681) *Les Oeuvres d'Anacreon et de Sapho.* (Paris, France).

De Pizan, C. (1405) *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* (Paris).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus *The Critical Essays Vol I*, tr. S. Usher (London 1974).

Doukas, D. (1508) *Rhetores Graeci* (Venice, Italy).

Dryden, J. (1685) *Sylvae: or The Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies* (London).

Dryden, J. (1711) *The Works of Lucian* (London).

Du Four de La Crespelière, C-D. (1670) *Les Odes Amoureuses Charmantes et Bachiques des Poètes Grecs Anacreon, Sappho et Théocrite – et Autres Galanteries de Divers Autheurs, en Prose et en Vers* (Paris, France).

Fawkes, F. (1760) *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus* (London).

Field, M. (1889) *Long Ago* (London).

Finch, A. (1903) *The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea: From the original edition of 1713 and from unpublished manuscripts,* ed. M. Reynolds (Chicago, IL).

Gacon, F. (1712) *Les Odes d'Anacréon et de Sapho*. Rotterdam, Holland.

Gaisford, T. (ed.) (1824) *Poetae Minores Graeci* (Oxford).

Giles, J. A. (c.1867) *The Odyssey of Homer: Construed Literally and Word for Word* (London).

Goethe, W. (1974) *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*, tr. R. Carlyle (New York).

Grenfell B. P. and Hunt, A. S. (eds.) (1898) *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part I* (London).

H. D. (1916) *Sea Garden* (London).

Hall, A. (1581) *Ten Books of Homere's Iliades, translated out of French* (London).

Hall, J. (1652) *Peri Hypsous, or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence* (London).

Hermann, G. (1835) *Opuscula IV* (Leipzig, Germany).

Heywood, T. (1624) *Gunaikeion*. (London).

Hill, J. (1751) 'Observations on Sappho's Ode to Venus' in *London Advertiser and Literary Gazette* 13 (London).

Holland, P. (1601) *The Historie of the World* (London).

Homer, *Iliad* tr. R. Lattimore (London, 2011).

Homer, *Iliad* tr. A. Pope (London, 1715-1720).

Homer, *Odyssey* tr. E. V. Rieu (London, 2003).

Hughes, T. (1999) *The Oresteia* (London).

Johnson, S. (1753) *The Adventurer* 115 (London).

Johnson, S. (1747) *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London).

Jong, E. (2003) *Sappho's Leap* (London).

Le Fèvre, T. (1660) *Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina* (Samur, France).

Leland, J. (1711-2) *Itinerary* (Oxford).

Lloyd, L. (1607) *The Choyce of Jewels* (London).

Logue, C. (1981) *War Music* (London).

Longepierre, H-B. (1692) *Les Oeuvres d'Anacreon et de Sapho* (Amsterdam).

Longinus, *On the Sublime* tr. S. Halliwell (London 1995).

Louÿs, P. (1894) *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (Paris, France).

Lyly, J. (1584) *Sappho and Phao* (London).

Marten, J. (1708) *The Case of Sodomy, in the Tryal of Mervin Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven* (London).

Meibomius, J. H. (1718) *A Treatise on the Uses of Flogging* (London).

Morley, H. (1891) *The Spectator: A New Edition Vols. 1-3* (London).

Murphy, A. (1753) *The Gray's Inn Journal* 50 (London).

N. H. (1694) *The Ladies Dictionary – Being a General Entertainment of the Fair-sex* (London).

Orsini, F. (1568) *Carmina Novem Illustrium Feminarum*. (Antwerp, Belgium).

Ovid, *Heroides* tr. H. Isbell (London, 1990).

Ovid, *Heroides* tr. A. Pope (London, 1712).

Pearce, Z. (1724) *Διονυσιου Λογγινου Περι Υψους Υπομημα* (London).

Philips, A. (1712) *The Distrest Mother* (London).

Philips, A. (1748) *Pastorals, Epistles, Odes and Other Original Poems* (London).

Philips, J. (1697) *Miscellany Poems* (London).

Philips, K. (1667) *Poems* (London).

Plato, *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus* tr. H. N. Fowler (London 1914).

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History Vol. IV Books 20-23* tr. W. H. S. Jones (London 1951). Plutarch – *Life of Demetrius* 38.4

Plutarch, *Moralia Vol XV* tr. F. H. Sandbach (London, 1969).

Pope, A. (1726) *A Receipt to Make a Soop* (London).

Raithby, J. (1819) 'Charles II, 1662: an act for preventing the frequent abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed bookes and pamphlets and for regulating of printing and printing presses' in J. Raithby, (ed.) *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80* (London), 428-435.

Restless: Buffy the Vampire Slayer (2000) dir. and scr. Joss Whedon, 20th Television.

Roberts, W. R. (1910) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: On Literary Composotion*, (London).

Sappho, *A New Translation of the Complete Works* tr. D. J. Rayor and A. Lardinois (Cambridge, 2016).

Sappho, *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho* tr. A. Carson (London, 2002)

Sappho, *Poems and Fragments* tr. J. Balmer (Newcastle, 1992).

Sappho, *Poems and Fragments* tr. S. Lombardo (Cambridge, 2002).

Sappho, *Poems* tr. T. DuQuesne (London, 2015).

Sappho, *Poetry of Sappho* tr. J. Daley with P. duBois (San Francisco, CA, 2011).

Sappho, *Stung with Love* tr. A. Poochigian (Cambridge 2009).

Sappho, *The Poetry of Sappho* tr. J. Powell (Oxford, 2007).

Sappho, *Sappho Says* tr. F. Salvidio (Falls Village, CT, 1999).

Sappho, *Searching for Sappho* tr. P. Freeman (New York, NY, 2016).

Sewell, G. (ed.) (1713) *The Works of Anacreon and Sappho* (London).

Sidney, P. (2007) *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* ed. K. Duncan-Jones (London).

Stanley, T. (1651) *Poems* (London).

Statius, *Silvae* tr. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (London 2015).

Steele, R. (1709) *The Tatler* (London).

Estienne, H. (1554) *Anacreontis Teij Odae* (Paris, France).

Estienne, R. (1547) *Antiquitatum Romanarum libri X* (Paris, France).

Sterling, J. (ed.) (1728) *The Loves of Hero and Leander* (London).

Summer Lover. (2008) dir. Robert Crombie, scr. Robert Crombie, Luxor Entertainment.

Tate, N. (ed.) (1685) *Poems by Several Hands on Several Occasions* (London).

Troy (2004) dir. Wolfgang Peters, scr. David Benioff Petersen, Warner Bros.

Usener, H. (1899) *Dionysii Halicarnasei* (Leipzig, Germany).

Various, *Greek Lyric I* tr. D. A. Campbell (London 1982).

Various, *Greek Lyric IV: Bacchylides, Corinna and Others* tr. D. A. Campbell (London, 1992).

Various, *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer* tr. M. L. West (London 2003).

Various, *The Greek Anthology Volume V*, tr. W. R. Paton (London, 1918).

Walterton, T. (1607) *The Optick Glasse of Humour* (London).

Wilkes, J. (1763) *An Essay on Woman* (London).

Woodward, J. (1713) *An Account of some Roman Urns* (London).

Xenophon, *Memorabilia. Oeconomicus. Symposium. Apology* tr. E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd (London, 2013).

Secondary Literature

Andreadis, H. (2001) *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female same-sex literary erotics 1550-1714* (London).

Arnold, S. (1983) 'John Blow' in D. Arnold (ed.) *The New Oxford Companion to Music* (Oxford), 227-226.

Aujac, G. (1975) 'Recherches sur la tradition du περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων de Denys d'Halicarnasse' in *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 4, 1-44.

Baines, P. and Rogers, P. (2007) *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (Oxford).

Bakogianni, A. (ed.) (2013) *Dialogues with the Past: Classical Reception Theory and Practice* (London).

Bal, M. (1985) *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative,* tr. C. van Boheemen (Toronto).

Balmer, J. (2013) *Piecing Together the Fragments: Translating Classical Verse, Creating Contemporary Poetry* (Oxford).

Barnard, J. (1988) *Keats: The Complete Poems* (Harmondsworth).

Barthes. R. (1977) *Image Music Text,* tr. S. Heath (London).

Bassnett, S. (1998) 'When is a translation not a translation?' in S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere. (eds.) *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation.* (Clevedon) 25-40.

Bassnett, S. (2006), 'Translating Genre' in G. Dowd, L. Stevenson and J. Strong (eds.) *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism* (Bristol), 85-96.

Belanger, T. (1982) 'Publishers and writers in 18th-century England' in I. Rivers (ed.) *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Leicester), 5-25.

Benjamin, W. (1968) 'The Task of the Translator', tr. J. Hynd and E. M. Valk, *Delos* 2, 76-96.

Bennet, J. (1989) 'Feminism and History' in *Gender and History* 1 251-272.

Bennett, C. (1994) 'Concerning "Sappho Schoolmistress"' in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 124, 345-347.

Bergk, T. (1843) *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig, Germany).

Black, J. (1987) *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London).

Blackie, J. H. (1861) 'Homer and his translators', in *Macmillan Magazine* 4, 268-80.

Blanchot, M. (1982) *The Space of Literature,* tr. A. Smock (London).

Blanchot, M. (1990) 'Translating', tr. R. Sieburth in *Sulfur* 26, 82-86.

Blanshard, A. J. L. (2010) *Sex: Vice and Love from Antiquity to Modernity* (Oxford).

Blanshard, A. J. L. and Shahabudin, K. (2013) *Classics on Screen: Ancient Greece and Rome on Film* (London).

Blomfield, C. (1814) *Museum Criticum* (Oxford).

Blow, J. (1700) *Amphion Anglicus* (London).

Boethe, F. H. (1805) *Anacreontica* (Leipzig, Germany).

Boffey, J. (2014) 'From manuscript to print: continuity and change' in V. Gillespie and S. Powell (eds.) *The Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476-1558* (Cambridge), 13-27.

Boileau-Despréaux, N. (1674) *Traité du Sublime* (Paris).

Bowie, E. (2012) 'Unnatural Selection: expurgation of Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry' in S. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.) *Expurgating the Classics: Editing out in Greek and Latin* 9-24.

Brewer, J. (1997) *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London).

Brunck, R. F. P. (1722) *Analecta Veterum Poetarum Graecorum* (Strasbourg, Germany).

Burkitt, K. (2007) 'Imperial reflections: The post-colonial verse-novel as post-epic' in L. Hardwick (ed.) *Classics in Post-Colonial Worlds* (Oxford), 157-169.

Bush. P. (1992) 'The Translator as Arbiter' in L. Venuti (ed.) *Rethinking Translation* (London), 115-126.

Butler, J. (1988) 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory' in *Theatre Journal* 40.4 519-531.

Butler, S. (ed.) (2016) *Deep Classics: Rethinking Classical Reception* (London).

Carey, C. (2009) 'Genre Occasion and Performance' in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric* (Cambridge), 21-38.

Carnie, R. H. (1978) 'Working class readers in eighteenth-century Scotland: The evidence from subscription lists' in *International Review of Scottish Studies* 8, 77-94.

Carson, A. (1999) *Autobiography of Red*. (London).

Catullus, *Catullus. Tibullus. Pervigilium Veneris*, tr. F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate and J. W. Mackhail (London 1913).

Cavalcante, A., Press, A. and Sender, K. (2017) 'Feminist reception studies in a post-audience age: returning to audiences and everyday life' in *Feminist Media Studies* 17.1, 1-3.

Cellini, A. (2004) *Il Contributo di Fulvio Orsini alla Ricerca Antiquaria* (Rome).

Chamberlin, L. (1992) 'Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation' in L. Venuti (ed.) *Rethinking Translation* (London), 57-74.

Chartier, R. (1992) 'Labourers and Voyagers: from the text to the reader' tr. J. A. González in *Diacritics* 22.2, 49-61.

Chaves, J. (2008) Strangers and Publics in *Media History.* 14.3, 293-308.

Cowan, B. (2004a) 'The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered' in *The Historical Journal* 47.1 21-46.

Cowan, B. (2004b) 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere' in *Eighteenth-century Studies* 37.3 345-366.

Cowan, B. (2005) *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergencey of the British Coffeehouse* (London).

Craft-Fairchild, C. (2006) 'Sexual and textual indeterminacy: Eighteenth-century English representations of sapphism' in *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15.3, 408-431.

Crawford, K. (2007) *European Sexualities 1400-1800* (Cambridge).

Crompton, L. (1981) 'The myth of lesbian impunity: Capital laws from 1270 to 1791' in *Journal of Homosexuality* 6.1, 11-25.

Cummings, R. and Gillespie, S. (2009a) Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550–1700: A Revised Bibliography' in *Translation and Literature* 18.1, 1-42.

Cummings, R. and Gillespie, S. (2009b) Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550–1700: A Revised Bibliography' in *Translation and Literature* 18.2, 181-224.

D'Angour, A. (2006) 'Conquering love: Sappho 31 and Catullus 51' in *Classical Quarterly* 56.1, 297-300.

de Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life* tr. S. Rendall (Berkeley, CA).

de Man, P. (1982) 'The resistance to theory' in *Yale French Studies* 63, 3-20.

DeJean, J. (1987) 'Fictions of Sappho' in *Critical Inquiry* 13.4, 787-805.

DeJean, J. (1989) *Fictions of Sappho, 1546-1937* (London).

Dionisotti. A. C. (1997) 'On fragments in classical scholarship' in G. Most (ed.) *Collecting Fragments* (Göttingen, Germany), 1-33.

Donogue, E. (1993) *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668-1801* (London).

Dowd, G., Stevenson, L. and Strong. J. (2006) *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism* (Bristol).

Draper, J. W. (1921) 'Queen Anne's copywright: A note on English copywright' in *Modern Language Notes* 36.3, 146-154.

Eco, U. (1984) *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, IN).

Eco, U. (1989) *The Open Work,* tr. A. Cancogni (London).

Eco. U. (2006) *On Literature,* tr. M. McLaughlin (London).

Eliot, T. (1538) *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knyght* (London).

Eliot, T. S. (1953) *The Three Voices of Poetry* (London).

Eliot. T. S. (ed.) (1968) *Literary Essays* (New York, NY).

Elliot, J. E. (2010) 'The cost of reading in eighteenth-century Britain: Auction sale catalogues and the cheap literature hypothesis' in *ELH* 77.2, 353-384.

Ellis, M. (2004) *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London).

Erickson, L. (1985) 'The poets' corner: The impact of technological changes in printing on English poetry, 1800-1850' in *ELH* 52.4, 893-911.

Ezell, M. J. M. (2017) *The Oxford English Literary History: Volume V: 1645-1714: The Later Seventeenth Century* (Oxford).

Fabre-Serris, J. (2016) 'Anne Dacier (1681) and Renée Vivien (1903)' in R. Wyles and E. Hall (eds.) *Women Classical Scholars: Unsealing the fountain from the Renaissance to Jacqueline de Romilly* (Oxford) 77-102.

Fang, A. (1952) 'A note on Pound's "Papyrus"' in *Modern Language Notes* 67.3, 188-190.

Farnham, F. (1976) *Madame Dacier: Scholar and Humanist* (Monterey, CA).

Fisher, J. (1984) 'Entitling' in *Critical Inquiry* 11.2, 286-298.

Flynn, E. A. and Schweickart P. (1986) *Gender and Reading* (Baltimore, MD).

Forster, A. (2001) 'Review journals and the reading public' in I. Rivers (ed.) *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-century England: New Essays*. (London), 171-190.

Forster, J. (1972-1981) *Sappho* 1.1 London.

Foucault, M. (1977) 'What is an author?' in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice*. ed. and tr. D. F. Bouchard (Ithaca NY), 113-138.

Gadamer, H. G. (2013) *Truth and Method,* tr. J. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall (London).

Garner, R. (2015) *From Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London).

Genette, G. (1997a) *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* tr. J. Lewin (Cambridge).

Genette, G. (1997b) *Palimpsests*, tr. C Newman and C. Doubinsky (Lincoln).

Gevirtz K. B. (2003) 'Ladies reading and writing: Eighteenth-century women writers and the gendering of critical discourse' in *Modern Language Studies* 33.1, 60-72.

Giacomelli, A. (1980) 'The Justice of Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1' in *Transaction of the American Philological Association* 110 135-142.

Gilboy, E. W. (1936) 'The Cost of Living and Real Wages in Eighteenth Century England' in *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 18.3 134-143.

Gillespie, S. (1992), 'A checklist of restoration English translations and adaptations of classical Greek and Latin poetry 1660-1700' in *Translation and Literature* 1, 52-67.

Gillespie, S. (2002) 'The "Anacreontea" in English: A checklist of translations to 1900: with a bibliography of secondary sources and some previously unpublished translations' in *Translation and Literature* 11.2, 149-157.

Gillespie, S. (2011) *English Translation and Classical Reception: Towards a New Literary History* (Chichester).

Gosetti-Murrayjohn, A. (2006) 'Sappho as the tenth muse in Hellenistic epigram' in *Arethusa* 39.1, 21-45.

Greene, E. (1996) 'Introduction' in E. Greene (ed.) Re-Reading Sappho: Reception and Transmission (London), 1-10

Halsband, R. (1974) ''The Female Pen': Women and literature in eighteenth-century England' in *History Today* 24.10, 702-709.

Hardwick, L. (2003) *Reception Studies* (Oxford).

Hardwick, L. (2005) 'Staging Agamemnon: The languages of translation', in E. Hall and F. McIntosh (eds.) *Agamemnon in Performance* (Oxford), 207-222.

Hardwick, L. (2009). 'Editorial' in *Classical Receptions Journal* 1.1, 1-3.

Harvey, K. (2004) *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and gender in English erotic culture* (Cambridge).

Hénaff, M. (2010) 'I/You: Reciprocity, gift-giving and the third party' in *Meta: Research in Hermeneutics, Phenomenology and Practical Philosophy* 2.1, 57-83.

Hexter, R. (2006) 'Literary history of provocation' in *Classics and the Uses of Reception* eds. C. Martindale and R. Thomas (Oxford).

Hoek, L. (1981) *La Marque du Titre: Dispositifs Sémiotiques d'une Pratique Textuelle* (Paris, France).

Hurst, I. (2006) *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The feminine of Homer* (Oxford).

Hutchinson, G. O. (2001) *Greek Lyric Poetry: A commentary on selected larger pieces* (Oxford).

Jauss, H. R. (1982) *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, tr. T. Bahti (Brighton).

Johnston, J. (1992) 'Translation as simulacrum' in L. Venuti *Rethinking Translation* (London), 42-56.

Jung, S. (2008) *David Mallet, Anglo-Scot: Poetry, Patronage, and Politics in the Age of Union* (Newark, DE).

Kairoff, C. T. (2001) 'Eighteenth-century women poets and readers' in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry.* ed. J. Sitter (Oxford), 157 -176.

Kelly, A. and Finglass, P. (forthcoming) *The Cambridge Companion to Sappho* (Cambridge).

Kennedy, D. (2013) *Poetic Sisters: Early Eighteenth-Century Women Poets* (Plymouth).

Kennet, B. (1697) *The Lives and Characters of the Ancient Grecian Poets Dedicated to His Highness the Duke of Glocester.* (London).

Kermode. F. (1975) *The Classic* (London).

Kivilo, M. (2010) *Early Greek Poets' Lives* (Boston, MA).

Klein, L. E. (1996) 'Coffeehouse Civility, 1660- 1714: An aspect of post-courtly culture in England' in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59.1 30-51.

Konstan, D. (1994) 'The Classics and Class Conflict' in *Arethusa* 27.1 47 – 70.

Krueger, R. (2013) 'Towards Feminism: Christine De Pizan, female advocacy and women's textual communities in the Late Middle Ages and beyond' in J. Bennett and R. Karras (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* 590-603.

Kung, S-W. (2013) 'Paratext, an alternative in boundary crossing: A complementary approach to translation analysis' in V. Pallatt (ed.) *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext in Translation* (Newcastle).

Lang, M.C. (2013) 'The Architecture of Accumulation: A Book Collector's Apology' in Most, G. W and Schreyer, A. (eds.) *Homer in Print: A Catalogue of the* Bibliotheca Homerica Langiana *at the University of Chicago Library* (Chicago, IL), 3-15.

Lanser, S. (2003) '"Queer to Queer" The Sapphic body as transgressive text' in in K. Kittredge (ed.) *Lewd and Notorious Female Transgression in the 18th Century* (Ann Arbor MI), 21-46.

Lardinois, A. (2016) 'Sappho's Brother's Song and the fictionality of early Greek lyric poetry' in A. Bierl and A. Lardinois (eds.) *The Newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, Frs. 1-4: Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song* (Leiden, Germany), 167-187.

Latacz, J. (2006) 'From Homer's Troy to Petersen's Troy' in M. M. Winkler (ed.) *Troy: From Homer's Iliad to Hollywood Epic* (Oxford), 27-42.

Lefkowitz, M. (1981) *Lives of the Greek Poets* (London).

Lejeune, P. (1989) *On Autobiography*, tr. K. Leary (Minneapolis, MN).

Levinson, J. (1985) 'Titles' in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 44.1, 29-39.

Lianeri, A. and Zajko, V. (eds.) (2008) *Translation and the Classic – Identity as Change in the History of Culture* (Oxford).

Liddington, J. (1998) *Female Fortune: Land, Gender and Authority: The Anne Lister Diaries and Other Writings 1833-36* (London).

Lister, A. (2010) *The Secret Diaries of Miss Anne Lister*, ed. H. Whitbread (London).

Malamud, M. (2016) *African Americans and the Classics: Antiquity, aboltion and activism* (London).

Marcovich, M. (1972) 'Sappho Fr. 31: Anxiety attack or love declaration?' in *The Classical Quarterly* 22.1, 19-32.

Martindale, C. (2006) 'Introduction: Thinking through reception' in C. Martindale and R. F. Thomas (eds.) *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford), 1-13.

Martindale, C. (2008) 'Dryden's Ovid: Aesthetic translation and the idea of the classic' in A. Lianeri and V. Zajko (eds.) *Translation and the Classic – Identity as Change in the History of Culture* (Oxford), 83-109.

Martindale, C. (2008) 'Reception' in C. W. Kallendorf (ed.) *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Oxford), 297-311.

Martindale, C. and Thomas, R. F. (2006) *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford).

Martín-Rodríguez, A. M. (2015) 'The fall of Troy: Intertextual presences in Wolfgang Petersen's film' in M. M. Winkler (ed.) *Return to Troy: New Essays on the Hollywood Epic.* (Oxford), 203-223.

Mavor, L. (2001) *Ladies of Llangollen: A Study in Romantic Friendship* (London).

McCrea, B. (1990) *Addison and Steele are Dead: The English Department, its Canon and the Professionalization of Literary Criticism* (London).

Mcluhan, M. (1964) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London).

Miller P. N. and Louis, F. (eds.) (2012) *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500-1800* (Ann Arbor, MI).

Montgomery Griffiths, J. (2010) *Sappho… in 9 Fragments* (Redfern NSW, Australia).

Morrison, M. (1962) 'Henri Estienne and Sappho' in *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme Et Renaissance* 24.2, 388-391.

Most, G. W and Schreyer, A. (eds.) (2013) *Homer in Print: A Catalogue of the* Bibliotheca Homerica Langiana *at the University of Chicago Library*, (Chicago, IL).

Most, Glen (1996) 'Reflecting Sappho' in E. Greene (ed.) *Re-Reading Sappho: Reception and Transmission* (London), 11-36.

Nisbet, G. (2006) *Ancient Greece in Film and Popular Culture* (Bristol).

Norsa, M. (1937) 'Dai Papiri Della Società Italiana' in *Annali Della R. Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa. Lettere, Storia E Filosofia* 6.1, 1-15.

Norton, G. P. (1984) *The Ideology and Language of Translations in Renaissance France and their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva, Switzerland).

Norton. R. (2011) 'Homosexuality' in J. Peakman (ed.) *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Enlightenment* (Oxford), 57 -84.

Obbink, D. (2014) 'Two New Poems By Sappho' in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 189, 32–49.

Obbink, D. (2016) 'The Newest Sappho: Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Translation' in *The Newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, Frs. 1-4: Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song* (Leiden, Germany), 13-33.

Orero, P. and Sager, J. C. (eds.) (1997) *Translator's Dialogue: Giovanni Pontiero* (Philadelphia, PA).

Page, D. (1955) *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford).

Page, D. L. (1941) *Select Papyri III: Poetry* (London).

Parker, H. N. (1993) 'Sappho Schoolmistress' in *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-2014)* 123, 309-351.

Parker, R. (1998) 'Pleasing thighs: reciprocity in Greek religion' in C. Gill, N. Postlethwaite, R. Seaford (eds.) *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece* (Oxford).

Parsons, P. (2007) *City of the Sharp-nosed Fish* (London).

Peakman, J. (2011) 'Introduction' in J. Peakman (ed.) *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Enlightenment* (Oxford), 1-32.

Peakman, J. (2011) *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Enlightenment* (Oxford).

Peels, S. 2016 'Thwarted expectations of divine reciprocity' in *Mnemosyne* 69.4, 551-57.

Pellatt, V. (2013) 'Introduction' in V. Pellatt (ed.) *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext in Translation* Newcastle, 1-8.

Petropoulos, J. C. B. (1993) 'Sappho the sorceress: another look at fr. 1 (LP)' in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 97, 43-56.

Piccolomini. A. (1892) 'Ad Sapphus carmen in venerem apparatus criticus auctus' in *Hermes* 27, 1-10.

Plant, M. (1974) *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (London).

Pollard, C. (2013) *Heroines* (Tarset).

Pontiero, G. (1997) 'The task of the literary translator' in P. Orero and J. C. Sager (eds.) *Translator's Dialogue: Giovanni Pontiero* (Philadelphia, PA).

Poole, R.S. (ed.) (1876) *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Sicily* (London).

Pound. E. (1917) *Lustra of Ezra Pound*. (New York, NY).

Prettejohn, E. (2008) 'Solomon, Swinburne, Sappho' in *Victorian Review* 34.2, 103-128.

Prins, Y. (1996) 'Sappho's afterlife in translation' in E. Greene (ed.) *Re-reading Sappho* (London), 36-67.

Prins, Y. (1999) *Victorian Sappho* (Princeton, NJ).

Rainbolt, M. (1997) 'Their ancient claims: Sappho and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British women's poetry, in *The Seventeenth Century* 21.1, 111-134.

Rankine, P. (2019) 'The Classics, Race, and Community-Engaged or Public Scholarship' in *American Journal of Philology* 140.2 345-359.

Raven, J. (2001) 'The book trades' in I. Rivers (ed.) *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-century England: New Essays* (London), 1-34.

Raven, J. (2007) *The Business of Books – Booksellers and the English Book Trade,* (London).

Raven, J. (2015) 'Print and printedness' in H. Scott (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Volume I: Peoples and Place* (Oxford), 214-238.

Reeve, M. D. (2011) *Manuscripts and* Methods (Rome, Italy).

Reynolds, M. (2000) *The Sappho Companion* (London).

Reynolds, M. (2003) *The Sappho History* (London).

Reynolds, M. (2005) 'Agamemnon: speaking the unspeakable' in E. Hall and F. McIntosh (eds.) *Agamemnon in Performance* (Oxford), 119-138.

Richlin, A. (1992) *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and aggression in Roman humour* (Oxford).

Rosenmeyer, P.A. (1997) 'Her master's voice: Sappho's dialogue with Homer' in *Materiali e discussion per l'analisis dei testi classici*: *Memoria, arte allusiva, intertestualità* 39, 123-149.

Rupp, J. (2000) 'History' in B. Zimmerman (ed.) *Encyclopdeia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures* (London), 368-372.

Sallis, J. (2008) 'The end of translation' in A. Lianeri and V. Zajko (eds.) *Translation and the Classic – Identity as Change in the History of Culture* (Oxford), 52-62.

Sallis. J. (2002) *On Translation* (Bloomington, IN).

Savory, H. T. (1957) *The Art of Translation* (London).

Schaeffer, G. H. (ed.) (1808) *Dionysii Halicarnassensis de compositione verborum* (Leipzig, Germany).

Schweickart, P. P. (1986) 'Reading ourselves: toward a feminist theory of reading' in *Gender and Reading* ed. E. A. Flynn and P. Schweickart (Baltimore, MD), 66-93.

Scigliano, E. (2005) *Michelangelo's Mountain: The question for perfection in the marble quarries of Carrara* (London).

Smith. J. F. (1975) *Sappho: The Art of Loving Women* (Langhorne, PA).

Snyder, J. M. (1997) *Lesbian Desire in the Lyrics of Sappho (*New York. NY).

Stanley, K. (1976) 'The rôle of Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1' in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17. 4, 305-321.

Steinberg, S. H. (1996) *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London).

Steinrück. M. (1999) 'Homer bei Sappho' in *Mnemosyne* 52.2, 139-149.

Strabo, *Geography Vols I-VIII* tr. H. L. Jones (London 1917).

Stray, C. (1998) *Classics Transformed: Schools, universities and society in England 1830-1960* (Oxford).

Stray, C. (2008) 'Education' in C. W. Kallendorf (ed.) *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Oxford) 5-14.

Suarez Jr., M. F. (2002) 'The Production and Consumption of the Eighteenth-Century Poetic Miscellany' in I. Rivers (ed.) *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-century England: New Essays* (London), 217-252.

Taine, H. *The History of English Literature Vol. 2* tr. H. van Laun (Edinburgh 1871).

Tennyson, A. (1968) *Poems*, ed. C. Ricks (London).

Thorsen, T. S. (2019) 'Sappho: Transparency and obstruction' in T. S. Thorsen and S. Harrison (eds.) *Roman Receptions of Sappho* (Oxford) 28-44.

Thorsen, T. S. and Harrison, S. (eds.) *Roman Receptions of Sappho* (Oxford).

Timpanaro, S. (2005) *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, ed. and tr. G. Most (London).

Underwood, S. (1998) *English Translators of Homer from George Chapman to Christopher Logue* (Plymouth).

Usher, S. (1974) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Critical Essays in Two Volumes. Volume I* (London).

van Zyl Smit, B. (ed.) (2016) *A Handbook to the Reception of Greek Drama* (Chichester).

Venuti, L. (1992) 'Introduction' in L. Venuti (ed.) *Rethinking Translation* (London), 1-17.

Venuti, L. (1995) *The Translator's Invisibility* (London).

Venuti, L. (2008) 'Translation, interpretation, canon formation', in A. Lianeri and V. Zajko (eds.) *Translation and the Classic – Identity as Change in the History of Culture* (Oxford).

Voigt. E. M. (1971) *Sappho et Alcaeus* (Amsterdam, Holland).

Walcott, D. (1990) *Omeros* (London).

Walsh, M. (2001) 'Literary scholarship and the life of editing' in I. Rivers (ed.) *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-century England: New Essays* (London), 191-216.

Walton. M. J. (2006) *Found in Translation – Greek Drama in English* (Cambridge).

Watson, A. (2013) *Romantic Marginality: Nation and Empire on the Borders of the Page* (London).

Weinberg, B. (1950) 'Translations and Commentaries of Longinus, "On the Sublime", to 1600: A bibliography in *Modern Philology* 47.3 145-151.

Welsted. (1712) *The Works of Dionysius Longinus, on the sublime: or, a treatise concerning the sovereign perfection of writing. Translated from the Greek. With some remarks on the English poets* (London).

West, M. L. (2005) 'The New Sappho' in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 151, 1-9

West. M. L. (1970) 'Burning Sappho' in *Maia* 22, 307-330.

Wharton, H. T. (1885) *Sappho: Memoir, Text, Selected Renderings, and a Literal Translation* (London).

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. von (1913) *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, Germany).

Williams, C. A. (2010) *Roman Homosexuality* (Oxford).

Williams, C. A. (2015) 'Too Gross for Our Present Notions of Propriety' in J. Ingleheart (ed.) *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities* (Oxford), 288-306.

Williamson, M. (1995) *Sappho's Immortal Daughters* (London).

Woolf. V. (2008) *On Not Knowing Greek* (London).

Wroth, W. (1894) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos* (London).

Wyles, R. (2016) 'Ménage's Learned Ladies' in R. Wyles and E. Hall (eds.) *Women Classical Scholars: Unsealing the fountain from the Renaissance to Jacqueline de Romilly* (Oxford) 61-77.

Wyles, R. and Hall, E. (eds.) *Women Classical Scholars: Unsealing the fountain from the Renaissance to Jacqueline de Romilly* (Oxford).

Young, P. (2003) *The Printed Homer: A 3,000 Year Publishing and Translation History of the Iliad and the Odyssey* (London).

Zellner, H. (2006) 'Sappho's supra-superlatives'. *The Classical Quarterly* 56.1, 292-297.

Zellner, H. (2008) 'Sappho's Sparrows' in *Classical World* 101.4, 435-442.

Zellner, H. (2010) *The Poetic Style of the Greek Poet Sappho: A Study in Word Playfulness* (Lampeter).

Zima, P. (2016) 'Love and longing' in *Primerjalna književnost* 39.1, 77-90.