this case. If so, the line praises the body of the first woman, but it does so by presupposing perfection in the body of the second. It is of course too late to know the truth of the matter. Sadly, we will never see Gurinna.

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CONQUERING LOVE: SAPPHO 31 AND CATULLUS 51

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνείΆ
σας ὑπακούει

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·
ὠς γὰρ ἔς σ' ἴδω βρόχε' ὠς με φώναι-
σ' οὐδ' ἔν ἔτ' εἴκει,

ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα πέπαγε, λέπτον
δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμηκεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδ' ἔν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ-
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι,

κὰδ δέ μ' ἴδρως ψῦχρος ἔχει, τρόμος δὲ
παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης
φαίνομ' ἐμ' αὔται·

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ [
]καὶ πένητα

To me he appears on a par with gods,
the man who opposite you
sits and bends his ear close to catch
you sweetly speaking

and delightfully laughing. It sets my
heart aflutter in my breast;
for when I but catch a glimpse of you, my
voice fails,

my tongue is paralysed, all at once a delicate
flame runs beneath my flesh,
sight fails my eyes, there's a ringing
in my ears,

a cold sweat grips me, trembling
seizes my whole frame, clammier than meadowgrass,
am I, and little short of dying
I seem to myself.

But all can be braved, since . . . and a beggar[1]

[1] I print Page's text, adopting Barnes's πέπαγε in line 9 (Catullus' *torpet*), and Page's reconstruction of the corrupt text of line 13. The translation is mine.

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The reconstruction of the final stanza of this famous poem presents a tantalizing challenge to philology and interpretation. ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον initiates a sharp break from the catalogue of symptoms (whether aroused by love, jealousy, or envy) to self-exhortation or consolation. ἐπεί indicates that a reason will be offered for why the torments Sappho has described can be braved or endured. καὶ πένητα, most simply emended *metri gratia* by relocating the words to the second line of the stanza (for example, as printed above), offers a substantial clue to elucidating that rationale. West has ventured a reconstruction based on the commonplace, paralleled in Theognis, that good or bad fortune can be reversed in an instant:

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ [θέος τοι]
καὶ πένητα [πλούσιον αἶψ' ἔθηκεν·
καὶ κάτηλεν αὖθι τὸν ἐξισώμενον μακάρεσσι].

But no thing is too hard to bear
for [God can make] the poor man [rich,
and bring to nothing heaven-high fortune.][2]

However, a *topos* specifying financial reversal and distress in such general terms would make for an unsuitably lame conclusion to the powerful description of the effects of emotion in the previous lines. A more pertinent consolation would be the assertion that everyone, regardless of wealth or status, is a potential victim of such afflictions. *Omnia vincit amor*; he who is currently admired as ἴσος θέοισιν stands to suffer no less than a beggar. Taking πένητα thus to apply to a broader category than 'poor', we might supplement the text with ἔσλον rather than πλούσιον to create what is effectively a polar expression: nobleman and beggar alike are prone to suffer at the hands of Love. All can be borne because all have to bear it.

The only independent evidence for the reconstruction of the final stanza is Catullus 51:

Ille mi par esse deo videtur,
ille, si fas est, superare divos,
qui sedens adversus identidem te
  spectat et audit

dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
eripit sensus mihi: nam simul te,
Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi
  <Lesbia, vocis,>

lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
flamma demanat, sonitu suopte
tintinant aures, gemina teguntur
  lumina nocte.

otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est:
otio exsultas nimiumque gestis:
otium et reges prius et beatas
  perdidit urbes.

Catullus' translation of the poem up to line 12, while not slavish, is clearly intended to be close. Line 2 is a purely Catullan expansion, as is the naming of Lesbia as

[2] M. L. West, 'Burning Sappho', *Maia* 22 (1970), 312–13. Thgn. 662–3 has καί τε πενιχρὸς ἀνὴρ / αἶψα μάλ' ἐπλούτησε.

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addressee; but even *misero* (line 5), a departure from the Greek at this point, recalls Sappho's subsequent *πένητα*. It appears that Catullus omitted to translate Sappho's fourth stanza—'whether from weariness of the exercise', suggests West, 'or from reluctance to describe himself as greener than grass'.[3] An alternative possibility is that there is a lacuna in the MS, as with line 8. At any rate, the stanza can be translated into Latin with fidelity to both poetry and meaning:

> me tenet sudor gelidus, tremor me
> corripit totum, umidior virente
> graminis sum herba, videorque mi iam
> iam emoriturus.[4]

Whether Catullus completed his translation of the catalogue of symptoms in some such fashion, or whether he made an artistic choice to curtail it prematurely, his final stanza clearly shifts into a different register: *otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est. Otium* is a nuisance for Catullus because, one supposes, it allows him to brood obsessively about Lesbia.[5] The self-address and insistent threefold repetition (*otium . . . otio . . . otium*) drive home the point that this represents Catullus' individual viewpoint rather than Sappho's; Horace will later echo the triple repetition of *otium* when, in opposition to *his* predecessor Catullus, he insists on its desirability.[6] The deprecation of leisure is not a Sapphic sentiment, nor is it one that coheres well with the rest of the poem; whatever Sappho holds responsible for her suffering, it is not *otium*. It is usually concluded that, with the irruption of his thoughts about *otium*, Catullus diverges wholesale from his model. But this conclusion overlooks the very similar shift of tone indicated by the remnants of Sappho's last stanza. Moreover, a puzzle that has long taxed scholars' ingenuity is exactly how *otium* may be connected to the destruction of kings and wealthy cities. Given that the link between the first and second couplets of the final stanza is far from obvious, it is surprising that scholars have overlooked the possibility that in the latter lines Catullus reverted to translating the original Greek, with the only difference being that *otium* is the subject of his last sentence.

If not *otium*, then, what might Sappho's subject have been? The answer is evident in view of both the poem's theme and the poet's general focus of concern: Love. To Greek archaic poets, the Love Goddess and her representative Helen were notoriously the agents of precisely such destruction, the Sack of Troy. Ibycus, for example, relates how

> [. . .]αι *Δαρδανίδα Πριάμοιο μέ-*
> *γ' ἄστυ περικλεὲς ὄλβιον ἠνάρον . . .*
> *Πέργαμον δ' ἀνέβα ταλαπείριον ἄτα*
> *χρυσοέθειραν διὰ Κύπριδα.*

[3] West (n. 2), 314. 'Greener than grass' is absurd; *χλωροτέρα* here must refer to the effect of perspiration.

[4] The last clause in particular allows for many possible Latin versions (*iam moriturus, mi mox*/ *emoriturus, iam* / *mortuus ipsi, iam aegre* / *vivere mi ipsi*, etc.). Catullus uses *emori* in the poem immediately following (52.1, 4); the elision in *iam emoriturus* here aims to mimic the effect of *ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης*.

[5] *Otium* offers the opportunity for extended experiments in versification, according to Catullus' immediately preceding poem (50.1–2 *Hesterno, Licini, die otiosi* / *multum lusimus in meis tabellis*) .

[6] Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.1–2, 5–6: *Otium divos rogat in patenti* / *prensus Aegaeo . . . otium bello furiosa Thrace,* / *otium Medi pharetra decori.* The allusion to Catullus is reinforced by the occurrence of *divos*.

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[they] brought low the glorious blessed city
of Priam son of Dardanus . . .
ruin came upon long-suffering Pergamum
on account of golden-haired Kupris.[7]

Just as the epithet *ἴσος θέοισιν* at the beginning of Sappho's poem has an epic ring, so the destruction of kings and cities at the end recalls both the fateful *aition* of the Trojan War and that conflict's deadly outcome. A retranslation of Catullus into Greek provides a convincing Sapphic coda: bear up, knowing that Aphrodite assails the great as well as the small,

καὶ γὰρ ὤλεσέν ποτ' ἄνακτας ὀλβί-
ας τε πόληας.

for indeed, she once destroyed kings and
flourishing cities.

Catullus' final couplet may thus simply have been a close rendering of Sappho's words, with *otium* superimposed as the new subject. On this account, the Latin poet will have engaged more fully with the Sapphic original than has hitherto been recognized. We may even suppose that Catullus' turn to self-address at the start of his last stanza (*otium*, *Catulle* . . .) was inspired by a corresponding expression in Sappho. In the extant fragments, Sappho nowhere addresses herself by name, but she twice has herself addressed in the vocative (fr. 1.20 *Ψάπφε*, fr. 65.5 *Ψάπφοι*) by Aphrodite. She in turn addresses Aphrodite frequently, by different names and titles (Kupris, Kythereia, and so on), in tones of respect, affection, and reproach. These addresses lend a characteristic warmth and intimacy to her relationship with her patron goddess. To restore here an apostrophe to the goddess whom she so often invokes (and, in at least one other instance, at the start of a poem's final stanza) would add a more personal touch to the *gnome* about love's universal sway: 'But all can be borne, since *you*, Kupris, would subdue nobleman and beggar in equal measure . . .' Heartened by this affirmation of the goddess's even-handed treatment of the mighty and the meek, Sappho can build up to a defiant assertion of Kupris' destructiveness towards those hitherto divinely favoured:

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεί κεν ἔσλον
Κύπρι, νικάσαις, ἴσα καὶ πένητα·
καὶ γὰρ ὤλεσάς ποτ' ἄνακτας ὀλβί-
ας τε πόληας.

But all can be borne, since you, Kupris,
would subdue nobleman and beggar in equal measure;
for indeed, you once destroyed kings
and flourishing cities.[8]

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[7] Ibyc. fr. 282.1–2, 8–9. Cf. Alc. fr. 42.15–16: *οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντ' ἀμφ' Ἐλένᾳ Φρύγες τε / καὶ πόλις αὔτων*, 'they, the Trojans and their city, perished on account of Helen'.

[8] I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Robert Fowler, and the anonymous reader for *CQ* for specific criticisms; and to Philip Howard and the Flaccidae, and my students at Jesus, for stimulating feedback. Since this article was submitted for publication, a new Sappho poem has come to light (*PKöln* 21351), the penultimate couplet of which similarly introduces a mythical exemplum with the words *καὶ γάρ ποτα*.

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