

The metamorphosis of Eros : the god of love in early Greek poetry

Edward Jenner

The paradox

The novelist Vladimir Nabokov once remarked that the word Eros makes a wonderful palindrome, Eros:Sore. Greek poets, ancient and modern, have constantly exploited the paradox of the god who brings as much pain as pleasure. The immortal oxymoron *glukupikron* ('sweet-bitter', our 'bittersweet'), coined perhaps by Sappho, is the term she uses for the Eros she referred to in a poem as something inhuman, a 'creature' in fact. In the love poetry of the so-called Archaic period, from Archilochus to Anacreon, the period I intend to review briefly in this paper, lovers are shaken, parched, scorched, trapped, stunned, chilled, insulted, or reduced to mere playthings by the god of love whose helpless victims they have become. You might imagine that such a deity would, like Aphrodite, have had a number of cults throughout the city-states of ancient Greece from the earliest times, but Eros, who cannot be numbered among the Homeric gods, had only one ancient cult in mainland Greece, and it is closely linked with his first appearance in extant Greek literature.

Eros the limb-loosener

At Thespieae under Mt Helicon in Boeotia, Eros was worshipped in the form of a crude monolith, the sure sign of a very ancient cult. Seven kilometers from Thespieae was Ascra, birthplace of the poet Hesiod who gave Eros a very significant role in his *Theogony*. Not only is the god a key cosmogonical principle as old as 'broad-bosomed Earth' and 'misty Tartarus' (*Theog.* 116-20), but he represents an elementary force of nature older than Aphrodite, the goddess of love herself. As a personification of sexual passion and desire, human and divine, he is 'the most beautiful of the gods', the 'limb-loosener' (*Iusimelês*) who 'overcomes the wits and wisdom of gods and men alike' (*Theog.* 120-22).¹ Hesiod's language here seems to be derived from the words of a traditional love poem or poems perhaps older than Homer; the language is certainly not appropriate to a cosmogonical god (Lasserre, 1946: 25-27). The

imagery of love as a kind of spell robbing its prey of their wits or rendering their limbs torpid and lifeless can be found in the Homeric epics where the unpersonified *erôs* ('love', 'desire') is the violent, almost demonic force which ravishes the wits or shrouds them in mist (*Iliad* 3.442; 14.294). In the *Odyssey* (18.212) the appearance of Penelope before her suitors causes them to experience a weakness in the knees. But the epithet *lusimelês* is also used in Homer of sleep and death, and the metaphors pertaining to these conditions may have been extended to the more psychological one of love.

Outside the Aeolian world and his worship at Thespieae, Eros was not established as a god in Archaic Greece. In Homer, it is eros, not Eros, which attracts Paris to Helen.² The unpersonified abstraction persists in the poet Archilochus (c. 680-640 BC),³ not surprisingly since much of his language belongs to the epic tradition. But he uses epic phraseology and allusions to describe what appears to be his own subjection to love's spell:

for such was the craving for love
which curled up under the heart,
spread a thick mist over the eyes,
and robbed the breast of its tender wits.⁴

In the second half of the seventh century BC, the lyric poet Alcman, in a 'maiden-song' composed for a chorus of girls to sing at a religious festival in Sparta, praises the beauty of one of the girls by combining the traditional epithet of 'desire' (i.e. 'limb-loosening') with a description of the glances she darts, 'more melting than sleep or death'.⁵ Love as a condition warming or melting the heart seems to recur in another fragment of Alcman (59a Dav.), in which, at the Cyprian's (i.e. Aphrodite's) command, a sweet infusion of *erôs*⁶ is poured down through an apparently willing victim, 'heating the heart'. The 'potion' is evidently warm and sweet, like mead or nectar.

Eros with wings and a sting

In antiquity, Alcman became known as the 'first composer of erotic songs',⁷ but the distinction was no doubt earned by default. In the age of Athenaeus (i.e. c. AD 200) when the invention of love poetry was attributed to Alcman, there was probably little or nothing left of the love poetry which preceded him. It is in this Spartan poet, however, that Eros makes his first appearance in *extant* Greek literature as the mischievous imp with whom he was to become almost synonymous in the poetry of the Hellenistic era and beyond:

That's not Aphrodite but madcap Eros
at play like the boy that he is,
sweeping down over the galingale flowers.
Don't touch them! I beg you, don't touch them!

This fragment (58 Dav.) baffled scholars for years until P.E. Easterling produced an ingenious but very plausible explanation. The galingale flowers, which grow profusely on the Spartan plain, belong to a garland worn by a guest at a drinking-party. The poet (or some other speaker) is warning a fellow guest not to touch his garland or he will fall in love. Furthermore, a distinction is being made between Eros, the wild and irresponsible boy playing with human emotions, and Aphrodite, the venerable god of many cults and rituals.⁸

But we can take this fragment even further. Observing the way Eros sweeps over the flowers without crushing them, one might speculate that these lines could also be the earliest appearance in extant Greek literature of Eros as honey-bee.⁹ Nor is fr.58 necessarily the only instance of Eros the bee in Archaic literature, for the creature which carries both honey and a sting possibly inspired Sappho's famous oxymoron 'bittersweet' in fr.130,¹⁰ in which the persona (the poet herself?) voices the agitation she experiences when Eros the 'limb-loosener' and 'bittersweet irresistible creature' drives her into turmoil once again.¹¹ The traditional epithet ('limb-loosener') sounds tame compared with the oxymoron (here for the first time in extant Greek poetry), which is moreover applied unusually to the word *orpeton* (a 'creature', crawling or flying).¹² But perhaps the traditional epithet here is part of the paradox; the god who brings rest and release from torment (the 'limb-loosener') is also the god who drives his victims into a kind of frenzy (Mace 1993: 342).

From Eros as honey-bee we now come to the much more famous motif of the winged god who swoops down on his prey. Winged Eros first appears in art in the late sixth century BC, i.e. in the heyday of the lyric poet Anacreon, in whose verse he is most definitely winged. But he is not unequivocally winged in Sappho at the other end of the century. Flying or soaring are common images in Greek poetry of the ecstasy of love which can mark an immediate response to the sight of the beloved,¹³ as in Sappho 22.11-14 L-P, lines in which *pothos* ('desire') 'flies around' the 'lovely' Gongyla when her lover catches sight of her.¹⁴ But what are we to make of the Eros 'descending from heaven' dressed (disguised?) as a dashing young prince 'in a purple cloak' (54 L-P)? The image

is reminiscent of Anacreon's 'lovely-faced boy' who 'darted down into the midst' of a group of citizens and set their hearts 'fluttering'.¹⁵ Neither Anacreon's boy nor Sappho's 'prince' are necessarily winged, but handsome adolescents they certainly are, like the ephebe Phidias carved on the throne of Zeus at Olympia in the fifth century, an image of Eros that stretches back as far as Hesiod's *Theogony* (line 120).

Eros and Aphrodite

There was a tradition in Archaic poetry that Eros was the servant of Aphrodite (Sappho 159 L-P), obedient to her commands. This subordination is at least as old as Hesiod; in *Theogony* 201, he appears as one of Aphrodite's attendants (the cosmogonical god at this stage in the poem has been forgotten). Alcman seems to have followed this tradition: the inferiority of Eros to Aphrodite in rank and stature is evident in frs.58 and 59a (above). But what of the much more famous tradition that Eros was Aphrodite's son? The god of love is without a genealogy in the *Theogony*, and this appears to have left the field wide open to variations in the accounts of his parentage. He is the child of Iris and Zephyr in Alcaeus; of Gê (Earth) and Uranus (Heaven), or, alternatively, of Aphrodite and Uranus, in Sappho; of Aphrodite and Hephaestus in Ibycus.¹⁶ Sometime in the late seventh century or early sixth centuries, it would seem, Aphrodite and Eros became mother and son.

'The most fearful of all the gods'

Whether he is the servant of Aphrodite or her dutiful son, there is no diminution of the god's destructive potential in the songs of the Lesbian poets. Alcaeus calls Eros 'the most fearful of all the gods' (327 L-P), while in Sappho the persona complains of this 'creature' who 'shakes' her (like a leaf? 130 L-P) and who 'shook' her 'heart like a wind falling on mountain oaks' (47 L-P).¹⁷ More than fifty years after Sappho's time, Eros as stormwind returns with a vengeance in a fragment of Ibycus, possibly a complete poem consisting of two metrically responding strophes in metres which, like the imagery, bear traces of Lesbian influence:

In the spring, Cydonian
apples flourish, watered by a river's
runnels in the inviolate
garden of the Maidens, and vine-
blossoms swell in the shade
of the vine-sprays; but Eros

rests no season for me.
Like a black-browed
stormwind from Thrace
flashing with lightning,
darting from Cypris,
dark and shameless with his
parching fits of madness,
he consumes my mind
from the roots¹⁸

The structure of the poem is an antithesis, which is much more marked in the Greek. The garden of the Nymphs ('Maidens') with its Cydonian apples and vines budding in the spring is an image of a seasonable cycle of growth which is contrasted with the untimely violence of the persona's erotic possession. Eros burns the very roots of his victim's faculties (the *phrenes*) with 'fits of scorching frenzy'. This suggests that the persona's passion is not merely impairing his powers of judgement, but is consuming the mind itself with a destructive 'fire'. The torment is physical, emotional, and mental, for the *phrenes* were conceived by the Archaic poets to be a physical entity which could be drastically disturbed by mental and emotional stress.¹⁹ In Sappho too, the *phrên* (singular) is described as 'burning with desire' (48 L-P), and the metaphor was no doubt common in the sixth century. But what distinguishes Ibycus' account of the fiery assault on the *phrenes* is the intensity of the terms in which it is expressed.

Another fragment of Ibycus with the same three-part structure as fr.286²⁰ is also probably a complete poem. But it was composed in a series of rolling dactyls, a metre the poet would have been familiar with in the Greek West, and it depicts a very different Eros. With his darting eyes, the god traps his prey in Aphrodite's net:

Once again Eros, darting a glance
with his melting looks beneath dark lids,
drives me with every kind of spell and magic charm
into the coiled and raveled skein of Cypris' net.
I swear I tremble at his coming
as the old champion nag shoulders its yoke
unwillingly, dragging its swift car to another race. (287 Dav.)

Aphrodite ('Cypris') and Eros are working in concert (as in fr.286?). The god, no doubt identified with the beloved himself, makes use of his alluring glances to trap his victim, his eyes 'darting forth' like arrows or hunting spears. As Davies (1980: 255) notes, 'the idea that love flashes forth ... from the eyes of the loved one was extremely widespread in antiquity'. Like the 'melting looks', it surely derived from the early notion of love as a physical emanation from the beloved, transmitted by a momentary glance, warming and softening the heart with its heat. In Hesiod, for example, love flows from the eyes of the Graces 'as they glance, and beautiful is that glance beneath their brows' (*Theogony* 910-911).²¹

Eros at the Samian court

Ibycus and Anacreon, the one from the Greek West (S. Italy), the other from the Asiatic coast, found employment at the court of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos (c. 535 – c. 522 BC) composing songs for the drinking-parties which followed the banquets. A cult of youth and beauty was fostered by Polycrates on the island, and the poets were encouraged to extol the beauty of a beloved – or complain about his (or sometimes her) cruelty and indifference. We often consider Anacreon to be witty, ironical, and somewhat detached in his approach to love, 'but equally we need not think that [Ibycus] was always the victim of some devouring desire' (Bowra 1961: 256). Hellenists from Cicero to Fränkel have tended to take Ibycus a little too seriously. Campbell (1983: 20) has noted humour and pathos in the picture of the ageing horse in fr.287, and Mace (1993: 347) considers that lines 5ff in the same fragment have a ring of hyperbole ('more histrionic than heartfelt') and comic incongruity about them. There is also abundant wit in a tattered pair of fragments joined by M.L. West and interpreted by him as a very ironical situation, viz. Eros, having descended into her bedroom one day, has fallen for the beautiful girl he was only supposed to inspire with love.²² Such a conceit has no precedent in extant Archaic poetry; furthermore, the theme of Eros in love is not found before the Hellenistic love poets.

Eros in Anacreon is hyperactively mischievous: he throws a ball at a victim (358P), spars with potential victims (396P, 346P fr.4), soars aloft on wings of 'gleaming gold', disdainfully bypassing the ageing poet, or his persona (379P); he hammers his victims and douses them 'in an icy torrent' 'like a blacksmith' (413P), and he plays dice with the 'knucklebones of madness and strife' (398P). The essential point of all these ingenious tropes of love is that Eros is invincible, or to put it another way and risk explaining the obvious, we are the

victims of an erotic power that is beyond our control. On the evidence of the poems and fragments, Eros is now *damalês*, the 'subduer' (357P), rather more than he is the ambiguously 'bittersweet limb-loosener' of Sappho. Even Eros' apparent absence from a case of unrequited love, as in 360P, only serves to reaffirm the presence of the 'subduer':

Boy with a girl's shy glance,
I seek you out but you pay me no heed,
unaware that you hold the reins
of my soul.

It is the boy who is the charioteer of the persona's 'soul' (his *psychê*) here, but behind the boy is Eros, impishly driving the persona into another unrequited love affair. We are reminded of the close identification of Eros with the beloved in Ibycus fr.287, in which the image of the persona as horse driven by the god (or by his beloved) also occurs.

Probably the most famous example of the playfully malicious nature of Eros' activities in Anacreon is 358P. The poem (not fragment, I think, in this case) consists of two metrically responding strophes in Aeolic metres first found in the poets of Lesbos:

Once again, golden-haired Eros
strikes me with a purple ball
and challenges me to play
with the girl in the stylish sandals.

She, however, hails from Lesbos
'proud and grand', finds fault
with my hair (the shade is grey)
and gawks after another – girl!

In Greek society, apples or quinces (the 'Cydonian apples' of Ibycus fr.286) were conventionally tossed at the beloved by his or her lover as a token of love.²³ But here, instead of the spherical fruit, Eros, being the sportive youth he so often is in Anacreon, has thrown a ball at his next victim, the ageing persona of the poet. The poem is both a careful orchestration of significant colours and a rapidly unfolding series of explanations as to why the girl (presumably a hired musician at a drinking-party) has rejected the persona. Eros' golden hair makes

an obvious contrast with the persona's head of grey hair. All the colours in the first strophe – the gold closely associated with divinity in Greek poetry, the purple suggestive of both royalty and divinity, and the multi-hued sandals suggestive of the rich and the exotic²⁴ – combine to create a glowing tableau of great promise. But the bright colours drain out of the second strophe, which is preoccupied with the reasons for the girl's rejection of her suitor. She comes from 'well-established' Lesbos; the (modified) Homeric adjective here (*eukritos*) elevates the girl as much as it does her island, and suggests that she is aloof and inaccessible, if not somewhat snobbish. But even when the persona states quite categorically that his hoary locks are the feature at fault, he adds one last detail which both explains the reference to Lesbos and reveals the real reason for her lack of interest, i.e. her sexual inclination; the girl from Lesbos is a lesbian. Moreover, she gawks (the verb is even nastier in the Greek) after the object of her attention. The persona thus gets his revenge, not by exposing the girl's sexual bent but by his use of a highly insulting verb (*khaskei*: 'she gapes').²⁵

We note that Eros plays a relatively small part in this little drama, but it is an all-important one: he quite literally sets the ball rolling and tricks his victim into making a fool of himself with a lesbian. But the poet is as mischievous as his god and betrays just a hint of malice. He teases his readers (as once his audience) by misleading them with one false, and one unimportant, reason for the girl's rejection of her suitor, thereby delaying the punch-line which is all the more effective for the delay. As for the hint of malice, that is evident in the picture of the girl gaping gawkily at (offstage) a very attractive member of her own sex. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that this was also something of a dig at Lesbos and the sexual proclivities of some of its women, the homoeroticism which had been made famous by the poetry of Sappho.

'Omnipotence', 'invincibility', 'playfulness': these are three of the themes Lasserre (1946: 46-48) singles out to characterize Anacreon's Eros. There is nothing here that we have not met before in Archilochus or Alcman, but a new note is the straining after constant variations on received themes with much wit and some malice. The Eros that came with this new note – less the fearful fiend than an arch rogue playing wantonly with human emotions – was to have a profound influence on certain poets of the Hellenistic era, as we shall see. But if the love poetry of Anacreon is not quite the watershed in the Greek conception of Eros that we are sometimes tempted to believe it is, this can be attributed to

the fact that the poet owes so much to his predecessors. Playful Eros is found in Alcman, overpowering *erôs* in Archilochus, irresistible Eros in Sappho.

Conclusion

To recapitulate: Eros does not appear in the Homeric epics; Aphrodite is the god of love in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Nor does he appear in the love poetry of Archilochus, at least not in personified form. In Hesiod, Eros is both a principle of cosmogony and a personification of sexual passion. In 'fleshing out' this personification, the poet seems to draw on the language of an already flourishing tradition of erotic song. As far as extant Greek literature is concerned, we do not meet the Eros we know so well, i.e. the god who infects mankind with bittersweet doses of love, before Alcman in the Sparta of the second half of the seventh century BC, the city-state being still open and receptive to outside influence (Bowra 1961: 19-20). Again, another very familiar feature of Eros, namely his wings, is not found unambiguously in extant literature before Anacreon. Eros assumes a 'darker' hue in Lesbian poetry; for Alcaeus, he is 'the most fearful god'; in Sappho, he is associated with the stormwind, an image which probably influenced Ibycus in the latter half of the sixth century. The god makes Sappho's personae tremble (47 & 130 L-P), just as someone (Sappho?) is 'seized all over' by a trembling in the famous 31 L-P. In Anacreon, Eros is the 'subduer', cruel and malicious, but the two poets of the Samian court also adopted a witty and sophisticated approach to the god and his powers, exploiting the irony of the god of love falling in love himself, or the irony inherent in awkward situations; for example, when their ageing personae fall in love 'once again' (Ibycus fr.287; Anacreon fr.358).

And what of Eros in the Classical and Hellenistic periods? What became of the god of love in later Greek poetry? Above all, how influential were the poets of the Archaic period on this literature?

Eros 'the invincible' and Aphrodite 'the irresistible', who play sport with human emotions and mock them, are addressed with awe and dread by choruses in the *Antigone* and the *Women of Trachis* of Sophocles and the *Medea* and *Hippolytus* of Euripides, tragic dramas which feature the imagery of love as a disease or as a kind of madness. But the influence of the Archaic poets – Anacreon especially – can be discerned much more readily in the short love poems collected in *The Greek Anthology* (i.e. the *Anthologia Palatina*) which reached its definitive edition in the tenth century AD. And then of course there

are the *Anacreontea*, imitations of Anacreon that were preserved in the same manuscript as *The Greek Anthology*.

In art at the end of the fourth century BC, the handsome ephebe of Sappho fr.54 or Anacreon fr.358 becomes much younger and chubbier, something like a cherub with short wings (Easterling, 1977: 332). In a number of Hellenistic poems, he has turned into a similar being, a 'winged and snub-nosed child' 'still sleeping on his mother's breast' (Meleager, *AP* 5.178). He shoots arrows at his victims' hearts (*AP* 5.194) instead of throwing apples at their feet, and he is sometimes pluralized as the Eroles, the prototypes of the Roman Amores, or of the putti who stare down at us with seemingly innocent faces from the ceilings of Renaissance palaces.

The age of Eros as a handsome adolescent corresponds, interestingly enough, with the vogue for the male nude in art and for homosexuality among the rich and the aristocratic in many Greek city-states (Flacelière, 1973: 123, 125). With 'the moral emancipation of Greek women' in the fourth century BC, came the vogue for the female nude and for heterosexuality. Flacelière offers these observations, as do I, not as established fact so much as intriguing speculation regarding some very general tendencies in Greek culture and society. The reality was probably more complicated. Asclepiades (early third century BC) and Meleager (first century BC) are still identifying their beloved adolescents with Eros (*AP* 12.75, 78) in the manner of Ibycus and Anacreon even as they continue to be frustrated, delighted, and infuriated by their mistresses.

In Hellenistic love poetry, Eros may have changed quite radically in age, shape, and number, but the figurative language remains much the same. Love is still 'bittersweet' (*AP* 5.134), and Eros still lurks in darting eyes (5.177). When Dioscorides refers to

eyes flashing under bushy brows,
the nets and snares of my heart (5.56.3-4)

we know the lines he had in mind; the imagery is too close to the darting eyes and hunting net of Ibycus fr.287 to be coincidental. The Hellenistic love poets went even further than Anacreon in their interest in expressing ingenious variations on a given theme, but the ingenuity often came at the expense of an interest in expressing the reality of an assault on mind and nerves by a powerful external force conceived as Eros. Meleager *AP* 5.214 in Easterling's (1977:334-35) appraisal is a case in point: Eros the ball-player now has the poet's

bouncing heart to practise with. 'The absurdity', writes Easterling, 'prevents us from taking Meleager's passion too seriously, but the poem's success depends on its wit, not its 'sincerity'.' Alongside this ingenuity, and almost its antithesis, was a tendency to 'domesticate' traditional images to make them more amusing and quotidian. Let me conclude with another example from Meleager, the first four lines of which I will quote in Peter Whigham's expanded and admirable 'eighteenth-century style' translation to illustrate both this process of 'domestication' and the continuity of Hellenistic love poetry with themes and images from the Archaic past:

Busy with love, the bumble bee
philanders through the petal'd spring
& lights on Heliadora's skin.

And have you left the stamen-cup
to tell me Cupid's arrow stings?
that love both pain & pleasure brings
til rueful Heart heaves up:
'Enough'?²⁶

Notes

1. The epithet 'limb-loosener' can have positive or negative connotations: the god can provide rest from toil or battle, or he can overpower his prey, as in Archilochus (below).
2. Lasserre (1946: 20) believes that the worship of Eros was essentially Aeolian in origin; the Homeric epics belong to the Ionian world. Archilochus belongs to the first half of the seventh century BC, i.e. between 50 and 70 years after the composition of the Homeric epics. For the dates of Archilochus and Alcman, see Easterling and Knox (eds.), 1989: 76, 219.
3. Fr.191 in West (1989). In fr.196, *pothos* ('desire') is the 'limb-loosener', overpowering the speaker/persona.
4. Fr.3.61-62 in Davies (1991), henceforth referred to by the abbreviation Dav. after a fragment number.
5. Eros or *erós*? The imagery makes the personification unlikely here. See also Campbell, 1983: 9

6. See Alcman, Testimonia 1 in Campbell, 1988: 336-37; Athenaeus 13.600f (=Alcman 59a Dav.).
7. Easterling, 1974: 37-41. Note too the dangerous garlands in *Anacreontea* 1.12-16 and *Anthologia Palatina* 5.288. The latter is henceforth referred to by the abbreviation *AP* before book and poem number.
8. See also Brown, 1986: 347. Brown adduces several examples of Eros associated with the bee in later Greek poetry.
9. Fragment 130 in Lobel and Page (1955), henceforth referred to by the abbreviation L-P after a fragment number.
10. For further details, see MacLachlan, 1989: 95-99.
11. A *herpeton* (*orpeton* in Sappho's dialect) crawls more often than it flies in Greek literature, but see MacLachlan, 1989: 95.
12. See Lasserre, 1946: 61; MacLachlan, 1989: 98.
13. In 21 L-P, a tattered shred of papyrus, someone (Eros?) is flying in pursuit of person or persons unknown (line 8).
14. Anacreon fr.346 fr.1 in Page (1962), henceforth referred to by the abbreviation P after a fragment number. 346 fr.1 is the shred of an allegorical poem in which the beloved is identified with Eros. Cf. Meleager, *AP* 12.78 in which the beloved has a cloak and is identified with Eros.
15. Alcaeus 327 L-P; Sappho 198 L-P; Ibycus in Lasserre, 1946: 35.
16. Alcaeus may have compared Eros to a whirlwind in 337 L-P. Alcman too possibly called Eros a 'destructive' god in 116 Dav. ('I am held fast in the grip of your pain, you destructive god').
17. Ibycus 287 Dav., reading *laphussei* ('consumes') in line 12 of the original and capitalizing *eros* as in Fränkel, 1975: 285.
18. See further Sullivan, 1983: 15-22, esp. 17. The *phrenes* are often translated as 'heart' or 'wits', as in my versions of (e.g.) Archilochus fr.191 ('wits') and Sappho 47 L-P ('heart') above.
19. Basically both poems consist of a passage of elaborate imagery, a sudden statement of pain or of the predicament in which the persona finds himself, and a simile illustrating that statement. See Fränkel, 1975: 285.
20. Cf. the lines from Alcman 3.61-62 Dav. and 59a Dav. above.
21. S257(a) Dav. frs. 29 & 31. See further West, 1984: 30.
22. Cf. Sappho 214A fr.35.6 in Campbell, 1982: 202; Plato, *AP* 5.79, 80; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 996-97.

23. For detail on the colours here, see Woodbury, 1979: 278-80. Cf. the 'stylish' (i.e. *poikilos*, 'broidered') sandals worn by a Lesbian girl in Sappho 39 L-P.
24. The interpretation of the last line of this poem is controversial. I follow Campbell, 1983: 21-22 and Pellicia, 1991: 30-36. Contrast Woodbury (1979: 281-286) who argues that there is no evidence that Lesbian women had a reputation for homosexuality in antiquity. Would Catullus have called Clodia Metelli 'Lesbia' if they had such a name?
25. Meleager, *AP* 5.163 tr. Peter Whigham in Jay (ed.), 1981: 138

References

- Bowra, C.M. 1961. *Greek Lyric Poetry: From Alcman to Simonides* (2nd edn), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brown, C. 1986. Alcman. *Fragmenta edidit, veterum testimonia collegit Claudius Calame* (review). *Phoenix* 40:3, 343-47.
- Campbell, D.A. 1982. *Greek Lyric* Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.
- Campbell, D.A. 1983. *The Golden Lyre: The Themes of the Greek Lyric Poets*. London: Duckworth.
- Campbell, D.A. 1988. *Greek Lyric* Vol. II. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.
- Davies, M. 1980. The Eyes of Love and the Hunting-Net in Ibycus 287P. *Maia* 32, 255-57.
- Davies, M. 1991. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Easterling, P.E. 1974. Alcman 58 and Simonides 37. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 20, 37-43.
- Easterling, P.E. 1977. Literary Tradition and the Transformation of Cupid. *Didaskalos* 5, 318-37.
- Easterling, P.E. and Knox, B.M.W. (eds.). 1989. *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* Vol. I, Part I, *Early Greek Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Flacelière, R. 1973. *Love in Ancient Greece* (tr. J. Cleugh). Greenwood Press: Connecticut (reprint of original ed. by Crown Publishers, New York, 1962).
- Fränkel, H. 1975. *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (tr. M. Hadas & J. Willis). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Jay, P. (ed). 1981. *The Greek Anthology* (2nd edn). Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Lasserre, F. 1946. *La Figure d'Éros dans la Poésie Grecque*. Lausanne: Imprimeries Réunies S.A.
- Lobel, E. and Page, D.L. 1955. *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mace, S.T. 1993. Amour Encore! The Development of *dèute* in Archaic Lyric. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34:4, 335-64.
- MacLachlan, B. 1989. What's Crawling in Sappho Fr.130. *Phoenix* 43:2, 95-99.
- Page, D.L. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pelliccia, H. 1991. Anacreon 13 (358 PMG). *Classical Philology* 86:1, 30-36.
- Sullivan, S. 1983. Love Influences *phrenes* in Greek Lyric Poetry. *Symbolae Osloenses* 58, 15-22.
- West, M.L. 1984. New Fragments of Ibycus' Love Songs. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 57, 23-32.
- West, M.L. 1989. *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*². Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Woodbury, L. 1979. Gold Hair and Grey, or the Game of Love: Anacreon Fr.13:358 PMG. *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 109, 277-87.

Department of Classics
University of Malawi
Chancellor College
PO Box 280
Zomba Malawi
ejenner@chanco.unima.mw