Lyric Indecorum in Archaic Mytilene (and Beyond):
Sappho F 99 c. I.1–9 L-P = Alcaeus F 303Aa V*

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Abstract
This paper considers a remarkable epithet in a lacunose fragment of Archaic Lesbian poetry that some have assigned to Sappho, others to Alcaeus (Sappho F 99 L-P = Alcaeus F 303A V). The epithet, olisbodokos, which a majority of scholars understand to mean ‘dildo receiving’, is applied by the poet to the chordai ‘strings’ of a lyre (or a lyre-like instrument). It is no doubt intended as invective abuse, presumably directed against a member or members of the Polyanaktidai, an aristocratic family of Lesbian Mytilene, who are also mentioned in the fragment. This paper offers a new appraisal of the invective poetics of olisbodokos by taking a musicological and sociological approach, that is, by attending to the musical as well as the sexual dimensions of the epithet, and by reading it within the socio-musical context of Archaic Mytilene and Archaic and Classical Greece more widely. It is argued that the motivation and impact of the “dildo-receiving strings” evoked in the fragment are best appreciated in terms of the prestige of musical culture in Archaic Mytilene, a prestige in which both Sappho and Alcaeus, and presumably also the Polyanaktidai, were invested. In this society, sexually framed musical invective would have had a powerful effect, with political, social, and moral implications that went beyond the musical and the sexual. The paper concludes with a hypothesis about the origin of the tradition, reported in the Suda, that Sappho invented the plectrum.

Keywords
Ancient Greek Music • Archaic Greek Poetry • Archaic Lesbos • Sociology of Music •
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The Phallic Plectrum

Players of stringed instruments in ancient Greece, whether the tortoise-shell lyre (*chelys, lyra*), the elongated, baritone lyre called the *barbitos*, the round-bottomed wooden lyre, the *phorminx*, or the *kithara*, the large concert lyre, struck the strings with a plectrum (*πληκτρον, plēktron*). The *plēktron* had substantial size and heft—it was designed to be gripped in the palm of the hand, not held by fingers alone—as well as a distinctive form quite unlike the compressed, bulging v-shape of the modern guitar pick. As Martin West describes it, “The Greek plectrum had a blunt flat or spoon-shaped blade of bone, ivory, etc., attached to a rounded handle; in vase-paintings it often presents a strikingly phallic appearance” (1990, p. 1). Other scholars have also remarked on the device’s “phallic appearance” in the iconography, and understandably so—it does not take a prurient eye to see it. Consider this image, a detail from an Athenian vase painting the fifth century BCE, showing a *plēktron* suspended by a cord from a *barbitos*:

![Image of a plectrum](image-url)

The only ancient writer who explicitly comments on the form of the *plēktron* is Aristides Quintilianus, who says it has the shape of the letter *tau* (*De Musica* III p. 130.10–13 Winnington-Ingram). But its phallic shape seems not to have escaped the ancient imagination. This is evidenced by several passages from Greek and Roman literature that associate plectrum and phallus. The association appears already in Archaic Lesbian poetry and as late as the Byzantine poet Paul the Silentariy. In the latter case, it is only implicit, a slyly humorous subtext. Paul describes Maria, an attractive female lyre player, in a witty epigram that begins:

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2 Cf. e.g. Headlam (1922, p. 302).

3 Detail from the tomo of an Attic red-figured kylix attributed to the Clinic Painter. Cabinet des Médailles, De Ridder 812. Photograph by Marie-Lan Nguyen (Wikimedia Commons). (The horsetail belongs to the silen who holds the *barbitos*.)
πλήκτρον ἔχει φόρμιγγας, ἔχει καὶ πλήκτρον ἐρωτος.
κροὺει δ’ ἀμφιτέρως καὶ φρένα καὶ κιθάρην.
She holds the plēktron of the phorminx and she holds the plēktron of desire [erōs]:
she strikes with both [plectra] the heart and the kithara.

Anthology 16.278.1–2

Maria’s “plēktron of the phorminx” doubles as a “plēktron of erōs,” that is, a goad-like spur to desire in the hearts of those who watch and listen to her play. (Plēktron is derived from the verb plēssein ‘to strike’.) Crucial to appreciating Maria’s “erotic plectrum,” however, is not only understanding the etymological wordplay, but also recalling the phallic shape of the device, which suggests the effect Maria is having upon her sexually stimulated male audience.

Other literary representations of the plēktron play more explicitly salacious variations on the visual similarity between plēktron and phallus, or rather plēktron and dildo. For, in our literary sources, which likely reflect obscene joking about the plēktron that circulated from generation to generation in the popular conversation in and around musical culture, the phallic plectrum is typically figured not as an organic penis, but as its artificial stand-in, the dildo.4 Before going further, I must emphasize that I am not suggesting the plēktron was routinely used by real people as a sex toy. My comments here bear upon representation and fantasy, not actual practices of self-stimulation. Naturally, some women and men may have used the plectrum as an impromptu sexual device. (See discussion in note below.) Needless to say, however, whether it was so used in reality has little bearing on how it figured in fantasy: what matters is that people did imagine it could be so used. That it was “readily to hand,” as West notes, at women’s private gatherings could encourage all manner of prurient speculation (1990, 2). Thus the lurid portrait painted by Juvenal of a Roman noblewoman, a lover of music and musicians, drifting from her lyre playing into an erotic reverie, during which her plectrum, or rather, the plectrum of the handsome (male) lyre-singer, Hedymeles, after whom she lusts, plays a predictable role:

Musical instruments are always in her hands; her thick sardonyx rings sparkle all over the tortoise-shell; the strings resound at the quivering plectrum, with which the tender Hedymeles performed his works; this she grasps, with this she consoles herself, and she lavishes kisses upon the beloved plectrum.

Juvenal Satires 6.380-384

4 An extraordinary exception in the visual record comes by way of a Hellenistic terracotta figurine of a young man playing a lute with his erect penis (held in his right hand) in place of a plectrum. A photo of the figurine, which was auctioned at Christie’s New York in December 1998, is accessible online: http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-greek-terracotta-musician-hellenistic-period-circa-1403974-details.aspx?from=salesummary&intobjectid=1403974&sid=58c69876-129c-4455-9ff9-b3f1b6248a74
I should emphasize too that, phallic shape aside, the *plēktron* was materially quite unlike an ancient dildo.⁵ In vase paintings, dildos are longer and wider than any plectrum.⁶ And, unlike dildos, which were made from leather, plectra were designed to be fairly rigid and unyielding inside and out; they would also have been too pointy for comfort. A Hellenistic citharode (a singer to the *kithara*) says that the *plēktron* he uses, made from a special type of thorn, is appropriately *sklēron* ‘hard’ (Antigonus of Carystus *Mirabilia* 169). Heracles was said to have killed his lyre teacher Linus with his *plēktron* (Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 3.32), something that would seem difficult to do with a dildo.

Indeed, the inappropriateness of the plectrum for the actual work of the dildo is the subject of a telling joke made in the sixth *Mimiamb* of the Hellenistic poet Herodas. Two women, Metro and Koritto, are talking about where to get a quality dildo (called here *baubōn*, rather than the more common *olisbos*). One craftsman makes products that are “firm, but also soft as sleep”; another, less talented craftsman, Kerdon, “couldn’t even stitch a *plēktron* for a lyre” (70–71; 50–51). The joke turns at once on the superficial similarity and essential dissimilarity between plectrum and dildo. “So far from being able to construct a *plēktron* soft as sleep,” A.D. Knox observes, “[the untalented Kerdon] could not even make a hard *plēktron* for a lyre” (in Headlam, 1922, p. 302).⁷ But dissimilar as the two devices might have felt, it is significant and not at all coincidental that they are closely paired here. When Herodas’ housewives talk about dildos, they are easily put in mind of plectra. Part of this is “social realism”: dildos and plectra very probably did circulate together in the everyday (i.e. non-poetic) cultural conversation of ancient Greece. But Herodas’ treatment of the theme also stands in a poetic tradition connecting the two objects that goes back to the Archaic period, as we will see in the next section.⁸

*Chordai Olisbodokoi “Dildo-Receiving Strings”*

Although it appears in artistic representations in the seventh century BCE, the *plēktron* is mentioned in neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey*. The earliest explicitly attested mention of it is in the *Homeris Hymn to Apollo* (probably later sixth century

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5 Headlam (1922, 301–302) points out that the cord of the plectrum may also have suggested its likeness to the dildo, which could have straps (*μινερτίον*). There is one, or what appears to be one, literary description of a *plēktron* actually being used to penetrate a sexual orifice (a man’s anus in this case). It appears in a colorful inventive passage in Achilles Tatius’ novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* (8.9.4). The villainous and perverted character Thersander, it is claimed, used to “straddle the *plēktron*” (*plēktron* corrects the corrupt *plēktron* in the MSS) before entering the ring to wrestle against handsome young men. It is not entirely clear, however, whether *plēktron* is used to describe an actual plectrum that Thersander inserted into his anus (presumably in order to amplify sexual stimulation as he wrestled), or the reference is to some more innocent sort of “gymnastic exercise,” as Caciaglī (2011, p. 226) wonders.

6 See the representative collection of images in Keuls (1993, pp. 82–86).

7 Caciaglī (2011, p. 26) interprets the phrase “stitch a plectrum for a lyre” (*στολήσπερν ἀρχήν ἑρώμα* differently, as referring to the attachment of the *plēktron* to the lyre by a leather cord. But this reading does not properly account for *ράψει* ‘stitch’, and it misses, I think, the humor of the imagery. Stern (1979), following an observation of Kaibel, makes the appealing suggestion that Herodas also plays on the sexualized personification of the lyre: women employ the dildo as the lyre notionally does the phallic *plēktron*.

8 Neri (2013, 17 n. 27) collects further literary references linking dildo and plectrum.
BCE), where it is what seems to be an already well-established component of the iconic image of lyre-playing Apollo: “his phorminx under the golden plēktron makes a lovely sound” (184–85).\(^9\)

The plēktron is mentioned three times (53, 419, 501) in the later Homeric Hymn to Hermes, each time in the same formulaic phrase, πλήκτρο φερόντες κατὰ μέρος ‘he sounded out [the lyre] with the plēktron string by string’. The phrase has the distinct tone of the technical, which suggests it was already part of the professional discourse of lyre playing.\(^10\) The Hymn pays lavish attention to Hermes’ invention of the lyre (39–51), but notably none to the plēktron; the god simply has one ready at hand. Nevertheless, Hermes was said to be the inventor of the plēktron, as we learn from the Library of Pseudo-Apollodorus (3.113).

However, the antiquarian encyclopedia of the tenth-century CE called the Suda records an alternative tradition about the origin of the plēktron, according to which its inventor was Sappho, the lyric poet-composer active in the city of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, around 600 BCE. I will return later to the entry in the Suda in which this heurematographical tradition is mentioned. But first let us look at the fragmentary text of a lyric poem –that is, a song that was in all likelihood originally sung to the lyre or barbitos– that a number of scholars have attributed to Sappho. This song text, preserved in a lacunose state on a papyrus discovered at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt (P. Oxy. 2291), dates to a time earlier than the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. It contains what appears to be a reference to the plectrum, and one that seems already to involve its eroticization. That is, this apparent reference to the plectrum does not employ the word plēktron, but rather ὀλισβος (olisbos), a word that, when next it appears in Greek literature, in Attic Old Comedy of the fifth century, and everywhere else thereafter, means ‘dildo’.\(^11\)

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\(^9\) Compare the clearly depicted plēktron in one of the oldest images of Apollo playing the phorminx, on an early seventh-century pot from Melos (Athens, National Museum 911).

\(^10\) Cf. Franklin (2003, pp. 303–304). The manuscript tradition of the Hymn to Hermes records a variant of the phrase with κοτά μέλος ‘by sounding out a melody’ in place of κοτά μέρος at lines 419 and 501.

\(^11\) In Cratinus F 354 K-A someone says that “lecherous women use olisboi” (cf. F 394). Lysistrata in Aristophanes’ Lysistrata speaks of the olisbos as a “leather helper” (109-110; cf. F 332.13 K-A). For the late lexicographers, olisboi were simply ‘leather penises’ (Photius Lexicon s.v. Ολισβοι; Suda s. 169 A).
a little later
the Polyanaktid(s)
striking strings
that receive the *olisbos*
with such people as those gladly
and [and a stringed instrument] is set
to quivering (gently?)

4 χόρδασις’ ὑπὲρ κράκησιν Lobel 7 πιάκτις Ferrari

Obviously, it is difficult to come to any firm interpretive conclusions about a text that, as Denys Page put it, “is so mutilated that not a single sentence or clause can be understood” (1955, p. 145). But, for all its uncertainties, this fragment gives us enough to determine that the song included a striking piece of inventive involving themes of both musical and sexual transgression. This invoke, I contend, reflects broader mentalities surrounding the sociocultural significance of lyric music in Archaic Mytilenean society. Before we can consider the social context of the fragment, however, we must address three fundamental (and not unrelated) problems it presents: its authorship; the meaning of the compound epithet ὀλισβοδόκος (olisbodokos) ‘receiving the olisbos’ in line 5; and the gender (and number) of Polyanaktid(s). These problems have been treated by previous scholars, most recently Neri (2013). But given the complexity of the interpretive issues surrounding them, a detailed review is, I think, necessary for those readers not familiar with the scholarship, and may be useful even to those who are.

It is clear from meter, dialect, and certain lexical items that the fragment, along with two other fragmentary songs included in P. Oxy. 2291, is the work of either Sappho or her Mytilenean contemporary Alcaeus. But which? Lobel (1951, p. 10), the first editor of the fragment, followed by Page (1955, p. 145), assigned it to Sappho.

12 The fragment was attributed by the editors E. Lobel and D.L. Page (L-P) to Sappho and by E.-M. Voigt (V) to Alcaeus. (I will refer to the fragment as “F 99” throughout the rest of this paper, but only for ease of reference. I do not mean to endorse the attribution to Sappho.) In the text and translation above, I do not include any of the uncertain conjectures that have been made for lines 3, 8, and 9 (see e.g. Ferrari, 2010, pp. 82–83; West, 1990, pp. 1–2).
on the grounds that its metrical structure of three-line stanzas is otherwise attested for Sappho but not for Alcaeus. Given the minimally preserved state of both Sapphic and Alcaean poetry, however, this is far from a stable criterion for attribution (cf. Caciagli, 2011, p. 225; Neri, 2013, pp. 21–23). Other scholars have reasonably inclined toward Alcaeus. For most of them, it is olisbodokos that tilts the scale. If the word, which appears only here in Greek literature, is in fact an obscenity, that is, if the poet understood olisbos to mean dildo and meant the epithet to describe lyre strings as “receiving the dildo” (instead of the pléktron), then, their thinking goes, such an expression would be too coarse for Sappho’s poetry as we know it, yet in line with Alcaean lyric, which elsewhere (e.g. F 429 V) resorts to coarse invective (see e.g. Gomme, 1957, p. 261; Ferrari, 2010, p. 84; a thorough overview of the debate is provided in Caciagli, 2011, pp. 225-26).

Martin West took a different approach, maintaining the attribution to Sappho by attempting to remove the supposedly problematic coarseness from the fragment. He argued that olisbos here means simply pléktron, not dildo, and that in fact the latter sense is only a later semantic development from the first. In Archaic Mytilene, West thought, the plectrum was called an olisbos; olisbodokos thus refers to strings that merely ‘receive the plectrum’. What the fragment presents, then, is an innocuous description of music making.13

Yet there is little reason to support this neutering of the epithet. Again, everywhere else in Greek literature olisbos appears, it means ‘dildo’, and we have seen that there was a clear association made between plectra and dildos.14 Furthermore, much of what we think we know about Sappho’s poetry is necessarily conditioned by the relatively small sample of what is preserved. Thus, attempts to defend notions about the propriety of her language may be very much misplaced. Indeed, Philodemus (first century BCE) says that Sappho composed some poems “in an iambic manner” (de Poem. fr. 117 Janko), while the Suda tells us she composed iambic poetry proper. If this iambic or iambically styled verse was anything like the remains of iambs by other Archaic poets, it would have contained abusive and sexual language (see now Rosenmeyer, 2006 and Martin, 2016 on “iambic Sappho”). Sappho’s biographical tradition alludes to her antagonistic relationship with women from rival aristocratic houses, and several fragments of her poetry contain insults apparently directed

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13 West (1970, p. 324) and (1990, p. 1: “sex toys are alien to [Sappho’s poetry]”).

14 See detailed criticisms of West’s view in Caciagli (2011, p. 226) and Yatromanolakis (2007, 251–52), who speaks of its “misapplied moralizing” (251 n. 373). Etymologically, as Chantraine holds, olisbos may derive from a verb olistenhein ‘slide’ via the intermediary form olisthos, meaning ‘sliding, slipperiness’ (Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque p. 792, s.v. ὀλίσθης). An olisbos would thus be a ‘slider’. Chantraine thought the word obscene from the start: the ‘slider’ was always a ‘dildo’. See other views in Neri (2013, 16 n. 21). Nelson (2000), building on West, argues that olisbos was not originally obscene, but musical: it referred to the plectrum’s sliding action as the player applied it to the strings. But it seems unlikely that “sliding” would have been a natural way to conceptualize—for Lesbians or anyone else—what the player does with the plectrum to the strings, or even what the strings are made to do by the plectrum. What the plectrum normally does is strike the strings from above or below—thus pléktron, a word which, as the Hymns to Apollo and Hermes show, was widely known and used already in the sixth century BCE.
against these social and, as we will see, musico-poetic rivals. These insults, while not in the same realm of obscenity as olisbodokos, can nevertheless have a rough edge (Aloni, 1997, p. LXVI–LXVII; Rosenmeyer 2006, pp. 25–30). For instance, in F 155 V, Sappho delivers an unmistakably passive-aggressive greeting—a “kiss off,” really—to someone who has presumably fallen from her favor, or was never in it: “I wish the daughter of the house of Polyanax a very fine day indeed!”

Sappho’s hostility toward this Πωλωνακτίδα παιδα ‘daughter of the house of Polyanax’ is of course notable in respect to the Πωλωνακτίδα[i]δας ‘descendant(s) of Polyanax’ named in F 99.2. It both supports the view that Sappho is the author of the latter fragment and strongly suggests that olisbodokos was intended as an attack against the Polyanaktid(s). That a member or members of this family—presumably one of the leading houses of the aristocratic world of Mytilene in which Sappho moved—are the objects of abuse in F 99 is further confirmed by another of the song fragments contained in P. Oxy. 2291, which refers to some person or thing connected to the Polyanaktid family as margos ‘greedy’, or perhaps ‘lascivious’ (F 99.14–15 L–P; cf. Caciaglì, 2011, p. 226; Aloni, 1997, p. 169).

Yet, while the sexual invective of olisbodokos thus seems almost certain, the case for attributing F 99 to Sappho is hardly airtight. No fragment of Alcaeus mentions or alludes to antagonism with the Polyanaktids, but it is entirely possible that he, like Sappho, found himself at odds with them and attacked them in song (cf. Ferrari, 2010, p. 89). The grammatical gender of the patronymic Πωλωνακτίδα[i]δας may in fact point toward Alcaean authorship. It has been said that Πωλωνακτίδα[i]δας could represent either a masculine or a feminine accusative plural (see e.g. Yatromanolakis, 2007, p. 374), and so refer to either the men or the women of the house of Polyanax (or perhaps both). For those who support Sapphic authorship, the assumption has been that the word must be feminine, referring specifically to Polyanaktid women, Sappho’s rivals; in F 155, recall, Sappho dismisses a “daughter of the house of Polyanax.” But we might expect the accusative plural of the feminine patronymic to be *Πωλωνακτίδας, a third-declension form with short final alpha (see Πωλωνακτίδα in F 155, with Neri, 2013, 15 n. 15).16

It is possible that Sappho used (masculine) Πωλωνακτίδα[i]δας to refer to the house in general, but with implicit reference to the Polyanaktid women whom she was targeting. Yet if the name is taken, perhaps more naturally, to refer to the men of the house (cf. Snyder, 1997, pp. 113–115), Alcaeus may then be the more likely author. So too if we read Πωλωνακτίδα[i]δας in a third grammatically possible way, as a

15 For relevant fragments and testimonia, and attempts to reconstruct the rivalrous social scene in which Sappho operated, see Page (1955), Ferrari (2010), and Caciaglì (2011).

16 This was also a point made to me viva voce by M.L. West. Πωλωνακτίδας at 99.14 is probably masculine accusative singular agreeing with μύριον (“the greedy/lewd son of Polyanax”), though Aloni (1997, p. 169) points out it could also represent a feminine genitive plural.
masculine singular nominative. Franco Ferrari takes this course (2010, pp. 82–89), arguing that Alcaeus imagines a scene in which “the son of Polyanax,” whom he identifies with Hyrras, the father of Alcaeus’ enemy Pittacus, makes music in the context of the symposium, the drinking party where the lyre (or barbitos) was most at home.\(^{17}\) He notes that the sympotic setting of an invective song of Alcaeus (F 70 V), which I will discuss below, offers a parallel. This reading is, I think, quite compelling, although the identity of Πολύλανακτής remains an open question.

It is time to summarize the main points of this section. First, the attribution of F 99 is uncertain; there are convincing arguments for both Sappho and Alcaeus. Second, olisbodokos is best understood to describe the strings, presumably those struck by the Polyanaktid(s), as “dildo receiving.” While the sexual tenor of this epithet exceeds anything we see in the language of Sappho or even Alcaeus, it is certainly not inconsistent with either poet’s capacity for invective. Finally, while Πολύλανακτής may refer to either the male or female members of the Polyanaktid house, a reference to one or more men of that house may be more likely.

In regard to this last point, it should be noted that males too, at least in the popular imagination of early Greece, could use olisboi. Oversexed satyrs are depicted on Attic vases anally inserting dildos (Dover, 1989, p. 102). A passage from the novel Leucippe and Clitophon by Achilles Tatius, in which a morally debased man “straddles a plēktron,” is also suggestive (8.9.4; see note above). What is clear from both image and text is that men’s enjoyment of olisboi was a sign of sexual excess, moral deviancy, and pathetic effeminacy. As such, its imputation to male Polyanaktid(s), whether by Sappho or Alcaeus, would make for highly effective abuse. In the ideology of sex and gender in early Greece, self-penetration with the olisbos would indicate not only sexual perversion, but fundamental political unfitness as well.\(^{18}\)

**Lyric Decorum in Mytilene**

But such abuse comes by way of strings. It is the chordai, presumably of a tortoise-shell lyre or the barbitos, an instrument closely associated with Archaic Lesbos and the Archaic symposium more widely, to which olisbodokos is apparently attached. In my opinion, previous scholars have not adequately addressed the distinctly musical focus of the epithet. In this and the next section, then, I would like to consider its invective as music criticism of a sort, criticism that is responsive to the social and musical world of Mytilene in the time of Sappho and Alcaeus.

\(^{17}\) Ferrari reads πέρικο[ο]δόμενος ‘dining’ in line 5, which he thinks agrees with nominative Πολύλανακτής (2010, p. 83). If we take Πολύλανακτής at 99.14 as a masculine singular (see previous note), the same “son of Polyanax” is presumably the target of invective in both the songs in P. Oxy. 2291.

\(^{18}\) On the politics of penetration, see above all Halperin (1990, pp. 88–112), who focuses on evidence from Classical Athens. But it is difficult to suppose that male usage of a dildo would not have had the same political ramifications in Archaic Mytilene.
Archaic Lesbos was famous above all for two things: civil strife (*stasis*) and music. As for the first, as Peter Green puts it, “The pattern of internal politics on Lesbos—violent feuding between cities, and, in cities, between aristocratic-oligarchic and democratic, or, earlier, ‘tyrannical’ (i.e. anti-oligarchic) factions—was established early, and proved to be perennial” (1998, p. 56). Seventh- and sixth-century Mytilene was especially fractious (Spencer, 2001). Alcaeus found himself in the thick of the turmoil. His “stasiotic” lyric poetry provides a first-hand account of shifting allegiances and enmities between rival factions and the aristocratic houses with which they were affiliated, and no doubt contributed to the intensification of the political struggle. Sappho’s poetry, while not as explicitly political as Alcaeus’, also reflects her involvement in the factionalism of the Mytilenean elite.\(^{19}\)

At the same time, Lesbos enjoyed a reputation for being the “most musical” island of Greece (Phanocles F 1.22), and was particularly known for its lyre music. It was believed that Orpheus’ singing head and resounding lyre floated down the Hebrus River in Thrace and across the sea to Lesbos, where both were preserved (Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 11). Lesbos was the home of Terpander, the semi-legendary founder of the art of citharody and inventor of the *barbitos* (Pindar F 125 S-M), of Arion, a citharode “second to none in his time [later seventh century BCE]” (Herodotus 1.23), and of other world-famous lyre singers.\(^{20}\) Sappho herself was aware of the musical prestige of her homeland. In one fragment (106 V), she boasts of the supremacy of “the Lesbian singer,” presumably with reference to the island’s great citharodes, but probably not without an implicit nod to her own repute as well. Mytilene was especially distinguished for its musical culture. Isocrates, writing in the fourth-century BCE, calls it “the *polis* agreed by all to be the most musical” (*Letters* 8.4). This assessment must not be based solely upon the posthumous fame of Sappho and Alcaeus alone, but surely reflects too the seriousness with which the broader elite of Mytilenean society had long cultivated music. Aelian, writing in the later Imperial period, records that when Mytilene “ruled the sea”—he probably refers to the Archaic period, when the city was a power in the eastern Aegean—it punished rebellious subjects by depriving their children of an education in music, since the Mytileneans “thought it the gravest punishment to live in ignorance and without musical culture (*amousia*)” (*Historical Miscellany* 7.15). Aelian’s account, while perhaps apocryphal, very likely derives from an earlier source. Whatever its origin or historicity, however, it provides sufficiently reliable testimony for the Mytileneans’ high estimation of both the cultural and political prestige of music.


\(^{20}\) See full discussion with sources in Power (2010, pp. 317–402). There is some irony in the fact that the Lesbian citharodes, beginning with Terpander, were proverbially known for resolving *stasis* in other city-states such as Sparta with their lyre songs (see e.g. Diodorus Siculus 8.28), while on Lesbos itself factionalism and lyric music long coexisted, and, if Alcaean lyric is indicative of wider musico-political contentiousness, indeed fueled one another. As Aelius Aristides remarked, the famously musical Lesbians were infamously “unmusically disposed” toward one another (24.55).
The aristocratic rivalries in which Alcaeus and Sappho were enmeshed of course had sociopolitical bases, but, in a society where musical culture was taken so seriously and was so closely bound up with civic and elite identity, we may well expect to find sociopolitical hostilities expressed in terms of music criticism. Such criticism is, I suggest, what we find in F 99, specifically, the accusation of a breach, whether real or imagined, of what we could call lyric decorum, the socially correct, technically accomplished display on the lyre of proper musical education (*paideia*), competency, and comportment. My use of “lyric decorum” is inspired by Leslie Kurke’s application of the concept of decorum to the high, dignified verbal register of Lesbian lyric monody, which Alcaeus occasionally violated, for political-rhetorical effect, by importing language from the lower, invective register of iambic poetry (1994). On my reading, such pointed violation of generic norms is exactly what happens in F 99: the break with poetic decorum in Kurke’s sense serves to censure (or rather impugn) a break in musical, i.e. lyric decorum; obscene invective is brought to bear –within a song that was itself very likely sung to the lyre– against an opponent in order to announce, fairly or unfairly, that he (or she) lacks good lyric culture, with all the social opprobrium that goes with that charge. For, in Archaic Mytilene, to charge someone with lyric indecorum would also be to attack his or her very worthiness as a member of the civic community, or at least the city’s aristocratic elite. This is certainly the implication of Alcaeus F 70, discussed below. In the case of Sappho, there is good reason to think that musical reputations were contested in the poetic crosstalk between competing groups of female *moisopoloi* ‘attendants of the Muses’, as Sappho (probably) characterizes her own clique in F 150 V, that were aligned with different aristocratic houses such as the Polyanaktidai.21

The Mytilenean elite, though it may have been especially zealous in its policing of music as a status marker, was hardly alone in Archaic and Classical Greece in its ideological regard for lyric decorum. Alcman could say that, in the aristocratic warrior society of Archaic Sparta, “when weighed against the steel, fine lyre playing (τὸ καλὸς κιθαρίστερν) tips the scales” (F 41, trans. Campbell, 1988, p. 425). Lyric elitism –the branding of outsiders as musically incompetent or unsophisticated– is well attested for democratic Athens, where an entrenched aristocratic ruling class relied on its lyric *paideia* as an index of sociopolitical distinction (Power, 2007; Wilson, 2004). Charges of incompetence on the lyre were leveled by elites, and subsequently taken up in the popular culture, against the Athenian political upstarts Themistocles (Plutarch *Cim.* 9.1) and Cleon (Aristophanes *Knights*, 987-96).

A variant of lyric elitism pervades Attic Old Comedy’s criticism of the innovatory, popular compositional and performance styles introduced by certain citharodes,

21 See e.g. F 55 V, with Williamson (1995, pp. 86–89). *Moisopolos* is a term that may have not only had cultic associations (Handie, 2005), but also intimations of music professionalism. (It is applied to competitive citharodes at Euripides *Alcestis*, pp. 444-47, and in the Hellenistic period to a Theban guild of Dionysian Artists (IG 7.2.484).) We can imagine that Sappho’s rivals conceived of their cliques along similar lines, as musico-poetic associations with distinct identities and competing claims to superiority. Maximus of Tyre calls Sappho’s rivals Gorgo and Andromeda her *antitekhnoi* ‘rival artists’ (*Orations* 18.9).
dithyrambists, and tragedians in the fifth century BCE. This “new music” met with resistance from cultural conservatives in Athens, who saw it as a threat to the “classical” musical culture they cherished as an essential part of their cultural patrimony and social identity (Power, 2007). Old Comedy, giving voice to this resistance, often metaphorizes perceived transgressions against traditional musical norms as sexual transgressions, in a manner reminiscent of the invective in F 99. A fragment from Pherecrates’ Cheiron (155 K-A) presents the most illustrative example of comic criticism’s moralizing conflation of the musical and the sexual: a personified Music (Mousikê) comes onstage to accuse the new musicians of violating her “body” with their perverse technical novelties. The accusations she makes against the Mytilenean citharode Phrynis merit special attention:

Phrynis, hurling his own peculiar whirlwind [idion strobilon] of sorts into me, has ravaged me completely with his bending and twisting, having a dozen harmoniai in five strings. Even so, he too was a tolerable partner, for if he did go astray at all, he made it good again.


Much in this passage is unclear, on both the musical and sexual sides of the double-entendres (Restani, 1983). I will restrict my comments to the strobilos mentioned in the first line. As West convincingly argued (1992, 360 n. 19), we probably need not think the strobilos some otherwise unattested “gadget” used to tune kithara strings. Rather, it is a typically surreal comic portmanteau of the figurative and the material, and one hinting strongly at sexual impropriety. On the one hand, the strobilos is a destructive “whirlwind” of “bending and twisting” notes characteristic of Phrynis’ harmonically experimental, virtuoso style. On the other, strobilos can also mean ‘spinning top’ or ‘pine cone’, objects whose phallic shape evokes the plectrum, and in turn perhaps a dildo, which Phrynis violently sticks into his strings—that is, into a feminized Mousikê (cf. D’Angour, 2005, pp. 103–104; Landels, 1999, p. 59). While we cannot know whether Pherecrates had the Mytilenean poet’s plêktron-olisbos in mind when he assigned this Mytilenean citharode the similar-sounding and -looking strobilos, a conscious allusion may not be all that far-fetched—the comic poets were familiar with a range of Archaic lyric (Kugelmeier, 1996; Olson, 2007, p. 181). At least, there is an incidental conceptual continuity between the invective thrusts of the two texts.

**Immoral Lyres**

For Pherecrates and other comic poets, the putatively crass musical and cultural values of Phrynis and his ilk were expressed in terms of sexual deviancy. So it is with olisbodokos in F 99. The epithet turns upon two poetic or rhetorical devices that

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22 Pöhlmann (2011, pp. 126–31), however, takes strobilos to refer to a special sort of tuning peg; he believes remains of such pegs have been recently discovered in an excavation in Leucas. But even if such a device is what Pherecrates has in mind, the sexual/phallic humor of the passage likely remains the much same.

23 In Aristophanes’ Clouds, Better Argument, a figure representing Athenian cultural conservatism, targets the musical innovations of Phrynis as a subversion of the traditional lyric paideia provided to elite Athenian youths (969-70).
in fact foreshadow comedy’s musico-sexual invective. First, catachresis, a figure deployed to conjure up a shockingly “wrong” image: the plectrum, which visually resembles a dildo, notionally becomes, when held in vulgar hands, a dildo, and is so called. The epithet concretizes a metaphor, even as the concretization it evokes is impossible—you cannot really play the lyre with a dildo. As in comedy, however, questions of practicality and realism are not pertinent. We are not supposed to imagine the Polyanaktid(s) strumming strings with an actual plectrum or an actual dildo. The fantasy conjured up resides somewhere in between, and to try to make “literal” sense of the epithet, as some scholars have done, is to misrecognize its poetics. The plēktron-olisbos is an absurd travesty, an appropriately inappropriate emblem of the debased musicality and perverse character of the Polyanaktid(s).

In this respect, there may be something to Lobel’s reading of line 4, χόρδατς’ ἵδια κρέκην (instead of χόρδατις διακρέκην): the Polyanaktid(s) make a peculiar or strange (idia) sort of music on their strings (cf. Yatromanolakis, 2007, 251 n. 372). On this reading, the poet would be reinforcing the impression that the Polyanaktid technique of lyre playing is perceptibly—both audibly and visually—corrupt, deformed. (It is tempting to compare the idios strobilos that Phrynis inserts into his strings.)

It may well have been the case that the plēktron—how it was held, how it was applied to the strings—was integral not only to proper lyre-playing technique, but to the decorous comportment, the hexis of the aristocratic lyre player, the bella figura he (or she) cut. This seems implicit in the idealizing evocations of citharodic Apollo wielding his “golden plectrum” in both literature and art. A passage in Plutarch’s Life of Alcibiades is also suggestive. The aristocrat Alcibiades gives as his rationale for rejecting the reed pipe (aulos), yet continuing to play the lyre, that “the use of the plēktron and the lyre do nothing to corrupt the bearing and appearance fitting for a free man” (πλήκτρον μὲν γάρ καὶ λύρας χρήσιν οὐδέν οὔτε σχῆματος οὔτε μορφῆς ἐλευθέρω πρεπούσης διαφθείρειν, 2.4). The decorum of lyre playing was thus as much about visual and physical aesthetics—cultivating proper bearing (schēma) and appearance (morphē), in Alcibiades’ words— as it was about making harmonious sounds or even cultivating good inner values. The importance of projecting a correct image in musical performance seems implicit in the claim attributed to the fifth-century sophist Damon of Oa, that a young man should display not only his sense of justice when he plays the lyre, but his manliness (andreia) and self-control (sōphrosunē).

24 Old Comedy’s invective is a descendant of the same Archaic iambic psogos (blame poetry; see Rosen, 1988) from which the Lesbian monodist borrows. It is remarkable, however, that we find no analogous musical invective in our fragments of the old iambographers. These poems conceivably did not share the same investment in lyric decorum with the aristocratic exponents of lyric monody (and, later, the culturally elite poet-composers of Attic comedy). It is worth noting here an Attic red-figure vase of the fifth century (Paris, Louvre C 10784), on which a satyr is labeled Phlebodokos ‘receiver of the vein’, i.e. ‘of the penis’, a name that might suggest the use of the olisbos as well as actual penile penetration (see Dover, 1989, pp. 102–103, 176 n. 9). As Hedreen (2006) shows, there is a significant continuity between the sexual language of Archaic iambics and the sexually excessive world of satyrs depicted on Attic sympotic vessels. Phlebodokos and olisbodokos emerge from a shared iambic sexual imaginary.
as well (D-K 37 B 4). Against this ideological backdrop, the catachrestic image of “dildo-receiving strings” becomes all the more cutting.

The second figure at issue is hypallage (transferred epithet), which also implies a personification. This was already observed by G. Giangrande, who noted that the *chordai* of the “instrument used by the player…are called ὀλισβοδόκοι because the player herself was ὀλισβοδόκος” (1980, p. 250). Giangrande, however, missed the invective thrust of the fragment and concluded, rather unfortunately, that the epithet “leaves us in no doubt as to what Sappho and her companions were up to, and confirms the ancient view” that Sappho practiced lesbianism. The epithet in fact confirms no such thing, but Giangrande’s initial point is nevertheless well made: like player, like instrument, the essentializing logic goes. The stringed instrument of the Polyanaktid(s) is personified in the debased image of its owner(s). In this regard, we should also take note of the verb *eielisdatei* at 99.7, which may –certainty is impossible– describe the same instrument whose strings are *olishbodokoi*. The instrument was presumably named in the lacuna that begins the line. Ferrari proposes πᾶκτις, a kind of harp. But harps were played with fingers, not plectra, and *eielisdein* is elsewhere in poetry used of the lyre, not the harp.25 (Perhaps the poet had *barmos*, a shortened by-form of *barbitos*; the word would fill the lacuna.) In any case, the vibrating or quivering indicated by the verb might carry a louche, seamy sense beneath its primary musical one: the instrument is itself sexualized (cf. Aloni, 1997, p. 167).26

We find an analog for the personified “immoral lyre” in Aristophanic comedy, where it has a distinctly political emphasis. The chorus of *Knights* claims that, when a boy, the notorious demagogue Cleon could learn to tune his lyre only “in the bribe-receiving mode” –δόροδοκιστὶ α ὀν dōrísti ’in the Dorian mode’ (989-91). The formal similarity of this comic compound to *olishbodos* may, for all we known, not be entirely coincidental. Certainly, the young Cleon’s implicitly personified lyre, a “bribe-taker,” is meant to foretell his indecorous political future.

Alcaeus F 70 V offers a comparandum to F 99 that is closer to home. I cite only the most relevant part of this song, lines 3-5 (with Liberman’s supplement ἐπα[ν]δάνει in line 5):

άθύρει πεδέχων συμποσίω.[

βάρμος, φιλόνον πεδ’ ἄλεμ[άτον]

eὐσυχήμενος αὐτοσιν ἐπα[ν]δάνει

participating in the symposium the barmos makes merry;

feasting with idle braggarts it delights them.

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26 Neri (2013, 18 n. 30) points out that (dia)krekkēn might also have sexual connotations.
There are themes of socio-musical invective in Alcaeus F 70 that appear to inform F 99 as well; the two songs seem to work from shared ideological premises vis-à-vis social and lyric decorum. Alcaeus imagines a symposium attended by the faction (hetaireia) of his former ally and current enemy Pittacus, who betrayed Alcaeus’ hetaireia in his demagogic rise to power in Mytilene and now promises to “devour the city” (70.7). A contrast is implied: whereas at the symposia of Alcaeus and his friends—where F 70 itself was performed—the lyre or barbitos accompanies and adorns graceful discourse and decorous company, at Pittacus’, the musical scene could not be more different. Alcaeus personifies the barmos (the by-form of barbitos) as one more of the uncouth symposiasts around Pittacus. Like the “idle braggarts” (φιλόνων ἄλεμπι, ἄτονον) who pretend to make proper music on it, the barmos glibly feasts and sports, with a view only to pleasing its vulgar fellows. There may be intimations here of Pittacus’ own crowd-pleasing politics—if we do accept Liberman’s supplement— in αὐτοποιεῖ ‘it delights them’, a phrase whose suggestion of indiscriminating musical bonhomie perhaps recalls τεύχο[η]σι φιλο[ρό]νος ‘gladly with men such as those’ in F 99.6. For Alcaeus, indecorous lyric and sympotic culture equal corrupt politics and character—an equation not only Alcaeus’ friends would recognize as true, but all Mytilenean elites would presumably endorse. (It is entirely conceivable that Pittacus’ faction disparaged Alcaeus’ music making along similarly politicized lines.) If this vulgar barbitos exemplifies all that is wrong with Pittacus, in F 99, the “dildo-receiving strings” speak volumes about the corruption of the Polyanaktid(s). In the latter case, of course, the explicitly sexual nature of the invective makes it all the more damning, musically, personally, and politically.

If we understand Πολύμανακτ[ή]δής to refer to a male member or male members of the house of Polyanax, then the symposium would likely be the imagined setting of F 99, as in F 70. If we choose to take Πολύμανακτ[ή]δής as targeting the female members of the house—in which case Sappho’s authorship is more likely—then the Polyanaktid women are presumably imagined to be engaged in the same kind of music making activity as Sappho’s group, perhaps in domestic women’s quarters, a cultic sanctuary (see e.g. Sappho F 2 V), or even a ritualized choral performance. But, in these scenarios as in a sympotic one, the strings likewise take on the vulgar personality of the players, and the musical scene evoked has a louche, depraved

27 Ferrari (2010, pp.84–85) draws the connection between the two songs, but chooses to follow West in reading olisbodokos as ‘plectrum receiving’. As such, he misses the full extent of their common deployment of musical invective.

28 On the meaning of φιλόνων, see Kurke (1994, pp. 73–74). For a different interpretation of the word, as meaning “cronies,” see Rodríguez-Somolinos (1994, p. 122).

29 Ferrari (2010, 84 n. 11) notes, correctly, I think, the “censorious tone” of τεύχο[η]σι. Lucian relates a remarkable tale of lyric indecorum in Mytilene featuring Pittacus’ son, Neanthus, “an unmusical and unskilled boy,” who misappropriates Orpheus’ lyre. Hoping to wield its powers of enchantment, Neanthus attempts to play the lyre, but the noisy racket he makes instead incites a pack of wild dogs to attack and tear him to bits—a violent subversion of Orphic myth (Adv. Ind. 11–12). Lucian is quite late (second century CE); this story may well be his own invention. But he presents it as if it were a traditional Lesbian account (a Λέσβος μύθος πάλαι γενόμενος; “Lesbian tale (μύθος) that happened long ago”), and we may not want to dismiss too quickly the possibility that he is drawing from an earlier source, or that his μύθος reflects, through however many layers of mediation, musico-political mentalities (and polemics) of Archaic Mytilene.
aspect. As a character in a comedy of Cratinus puts it, “lecherous women” use olisboi (F 354 K-A), and this would doubtless too be the implication of olisbodokos: the lyre strings are degraded in such a way as to reflect the sexual incontinence of the women who play them. But the epithet may also trigger another assumption, that the Polyanaktid women’s very lack of good musical culture is the cause of their lecherousness. In any case, lyric and sexual decorum seem to be put on a par, and a violation of one signals a violation of the other.

Sappho’s Invention

Regardless of the identity (and gender) of the poet and the Polyanaktid(s), we can, and indeed we must, understand the motivation and impact of the “dildo-receiving strings” in terms of the prestige of musical culture in Archaic Mytilene, a prestige in which both Sappho and Alcaeus, and presumably their enemies as well, were invested. In this society, musico-sexual invective would have had a powerful effect, with political and social implications that went beyond the musical and the sexual.

I would like to conclude by considering the possible reception in Classical Athens of F 99, and its conflation of plectrum and dildo. The long Suda entry on Sappho (σ 107) consists mostly of (spurious) biographical data. It includes an account of the various poetic genres in which Sappho worked, in the midst of which we read the unexpected claim that she was the inventor of the plēktron (“She wrote nine books of lyric songs, she invented the plēktron, and she wrote epigrams, elegies, iamboi, and monodies”). The information about Sappho in the Suda contains a mixture of inferences from her poetry and the way the poetry was filtered through the cultural imagination of Classical Athens, in particular Attic comedy (Most, 1995). The symposium also played a role in shaping Sappho’s early Athenian reception (Nagy, 2007; Yatromanolakis, 2007). Sappho’s songs were reperformed at Athenian symposia, and there they inspired bawdy biographical constructions of Sappho herself. Traces of the sexual profanation of Sappho — via symposia and comedy — are apparent in the Suda. For instance, many have taken the name attributed to Sappho’s husband as an iambic/comic creation: Kerkylas from Andros (‘Prick from Isle of Man’, as Campbell, 1982, 5 renders it).

Yatromanolakis reasonably suggests that, even if the poet of F 99 did not originally intend olisbos to mean dildo, but rather simply plectrum, then olisbos would reflexively have become a dildo in the reperformances of the song at Athenian symposia: “a

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30 Aloni (1997, 167) detects a possible swipe at their menfolk, too: Polyanaktid men are not able to satisfy their women. More broadly still, by attacking Polyanaktid women’s sexual and musical integrity, the poet would be undermining the political authority of the house as a whole.

31 The profanation of the lyre in F 99 stands in marked contrast to the exaltation of the instrument in two fragments of Sappho. In F 118 V, Sappho invites a “divine lyre” (ὕπη δή χέλο μία) to accompany her song. In F 58, the poet apparently casts herself in the role of a chorus leader, calling attention to her “song-loving, clear lyre” (φιλάοιδον λαγών χέλόνναν, 2).
plēktron … could well have been scanned … as an olisbos [i.e. dildo] in late archaic and classical Athens” (2007, p. 252). But, if we imagine that Athenian symposiasts thought, rightly or wrongly, that F 99 was a composition by Sappho, we could push the implications of such “scanning” further.\(^{32}\) That is to say, in the context of her Athenian reception, it is easy to see how olisbodokos could be misread, such that its original inventive force was turned against Sappho herself—Sappho the sexualized composer of erotic lyric (as per the symptotic-comic construct). The musical and political rivalries of Mytilene that were the original context for the significance of olisbodokos would thus have been overlooked, and the original profanation of the Polyanaktids’ musical pretenses through the figure of the plectrum-dildo would have become part of Sappho’s own profaned musical and sexual persona.

Such a misreading of F 99 could have been the genesis of the tradition reported in the Suda that Sappho invented the plēktron. If so, missing from the Suda’s straightforward report would be the fantastical, obscene subtext underlying this tradition (or better, this “urban legend”), which is that Sappho invented it to serve double duty as olisbos (or possibly that she used her olisbos as the first plēktron). A heurematological joke along these lines may have gotten its start in the symposium and then moved to the comic stage, or perhaps it was first created by an Old or Middle comic poet who brought Sappho onstage to show off her convenient “invention,” the plēktron.\(^{33}\)


\(^{33}\) In his *Sappho*, Antiphanes “makes the poet herself” propose a riddle to a male interlocutor (*Athenaeus* 10.450e–451b). The riddle delivered by this comic Sappho deals with a writing tablet, but riddles about musical instruments are attested for both the symposium and the stage (see *Power*, 2007, 201–202). Menaechmus of Sicyon, a writer of the later fourth century BCE, attributed the invention of the pēlētōs, a harp, to Sappho (*Athen. 14.635b*). This attribution, however, would seem to reflect a less creatively tendentious biographical misreading of Sappho’s poetry (which mentions harps, instruments that were widely associated with Eastern Greece and women and thus naturally with Sappho) than the claim made about the plectrum. It may well be Menaechmus’ own inference.
Arkaik Mytilene’de (ve Başka Yerlerde) Lirik Şiire Konu Olan Yakışiksızlık: Sappho F 99 c. I.1–9 L-P = Alcaeus F 303Aa V*

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Öz


Anahtar Kelimeler
Antik Yunan Müziği • Arkaik Yunan Şiri • Arkaik Dönemde Lesbos Adası • Müzik Sosyolojisi • Müzik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik


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“The Phallic Plectrum” başlığını taşıyan ilk bölümde, Eski Yunan’ın görsel ve edebi kaynaklarında mızrabanın (pléktron) çoğunlukla, fallusun andran biçimine, özellikle de yapay fallusla belirgin benzerliğiagine atıfta bulunan betimlemeleri değerlendirirdik. Mızrabanın yapay fallusla ilişkilendirilmesi bu betimlemelerin bir yandan, müzik kültürünün ve ilgili diğer alanların halk deyişlerinde nesiller boyunca aktarılan, mızrabın dair müstehcen şakaları, diğer yandan söz konusu F 99 fragmanının kaderi görülebilecek kalıplımsız bir edebi mecazi yansıttığını düşünüyoruz.

“Chordai olisbodokoi ‘dildo-receiving strings’ başlıklı ikinci bölümde ilgili fragmana odaklanarak, bu metnin toplumsal bağlamına ilişkin her türlü araştırmanın öncesinde ele alınması gereken, yorumu ilişkin şu üç temel problemi irdeledik: yazarının kim olduğunu sorunu; bileşik kelime olan olisbodokos yakıtırmasının anlamı; fragmanın ikinci satırında geçen Πωλανατος[i]ός (Polyankahtıdai) kelimesinin morfolojisini (özellikle cins ve sayısi)6. Öncelikle, Sappho’ya da Alkaios’a da işaret eden eşit derecede ilki edici gerekçeler nedeniyle F 99 fragmanının yazıyı ilgili belirliyik devam etmektedir. İkinci olarak, olisbodokos sifati “yapay fallus alan” anlamıyla telleri, muhtemelen de Polyankahtıdai ailesinden biri ya da birilerinin aldığı telleri nitelemesi durumunda daha anlamlı olmaktadır. Bu yakıtırmanın cinsellikle ilgili anlaman yüksük Sappho’nun ve hatta Alkaios’un dilinde rastladığımız


7 Atina’da MÖ 5. yuz yılının ikinci yarısında ün kazanan, günümüzde yirmi adayın eresini sadece adları ve diğer antik yazarların alıntılarından tük cumleleri ulaştan komedya yazarı.
8 Kendi şarkısında telli çalka kithara‘da eşlik eden profesyonel müzisyen.


⁹ Eski Attika komedyaşının en büyük ismini; MÖ 5. yüzyıl sonu 4. yüzyıl başında Atina’da büyük başarı kazanmış, eserlerinden on biri günümüzde tam ulaşmış, Batı edebiyatının yayısı komedya yazısı tarafından örnek alınmıştır.
konusu yakıtırma şu diğer varsayımı da tetikleyebilir: Polyankas kadınlarının cinsel edepsizliklerinin gerçek nedeni iyi bir müzik kültüründen yoksun olmadığı. Ne olursa olsun, lirik şiirdeki edele cinsellikteki bir tutulmuş ve birinin çiğnenmesi diğerinin de çiğnenmesi anlamına gelmiştir.


References/Kaynakça

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10 Yunan lirik şiirinin konu, vezin ve inşat/terennüm gelenegi açısından farklılık gösteren türleri.


