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*Manuel Baumbach,
Nicola Dümmler (Eds.)*

IMITATE ANACREON!

MIMESIS, POIESIS AND THE POETIC INSPIRATION
IN THE *CARMINA ANACREONTEA*

 MILLENNIUM STUDIES

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Imitate Anacreon!

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M. Baumbach and N. Dümmler

Table of Contents

MANUEL BAUMBACH / NICOLA DÜMMLER	
Introduction	1
I. Mimesis: The <i>Carmina Anacreontea</i> and the Reception of Anacreon up to the Hellenistic Period	
HANS BERNSDORFF	
Anacreon's Palinode	11
PETER BING	
<i>Anacreontea</i> avant la lettre: Euripides' <i>Cyclops</i> 495-518	25
KATHRYN GUTZWILLER	
Anacreon, Hellenistic Epigram and the Anacreontic Poet	47
FRANCESCA DELL'ORO	
"Anacreon, the Connoisseur of Desires": An Anacreontic Reading of Menecrates' Sepulchral Epigram (<i>IKyzikos</i> 18, 520)	67
II. Poiesis: Language and Poetology in the <i>Carmina Anacreontea</i>	
ALEXANDER SENS	
Dialect in the <i>Anacreontea</i>	97
MARIO BAUMANN	
"Come now, best of painters, paint my lover": The Poetics of Ecphrasis in the <i>Anacreontea</i>	113
ALEXANDER RUDOLPH	
The Problem of Self-Thematization in the <i>Carmina Anacreontea</i> 1, 6 and 32	131
GLENN W. MOST	
Τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ: Imitation and Enactment in the <i>Anacreontics</i>	145

III. Poetic Inspiration: The Reception of the *Carmina Anacreontea*

STEFAN TILG

Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry: Its Shape(s) and Its Significance 163

REGINA HÖSCHELE

„Er fing an zu singen, und sang lauter Mägdchen“:

Johann Wolfgang Ludwig Gleim, The German Anacreon 199

PATRICIA A. ROSENMEYER

Tschernikovsky's *Songs of Anacreon*:

A Curious Literary Phenomenon 227

Abstracts 255

Abbreviations 261

Bibliography 263

Index of Names 293

Index of Passages Cited 299

Introduction

MANUEL BAUMBACH AND NICOLA DÜMMLER

The letter which the Swedish poet August Strindberg received on the 1st January 1889 came as a surprise: in a short note dating to 31.12.1888, his close friend Friedrich Nietzsche declared a new era, having arranged a revival of the “Fürstentag” which should take place at Rome. Nietzsche’s signature reveals why he felt authorized for this revolutionary act: “Nietzsche Caesar”. Assuming this was a hoax, Strindberg answered: $\vartheta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\ \vartheta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\ \mu\alpha\nu\eta\tilde{\nu}\alpha\iota$ (“I want to be insane”), signing his letter “Strindberg (Deus, optimus maximus)”.¹ Strindberg was not aware that his quotation from the *Carmina Anacreontea* (CA 9.1 West) had a tragic significance with regard to his addressee. Friedrich Nietzsche was in fact insane when he wrote his letter, and his insanity was not a temporary, ecstatic one, which was associated with Anacreontic poets, but a lasting and devastating illness.

The Nietzsche-Strindberg correspondence is not only a typical example of the widespread reception of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, a collection of 60 short poems dating from late Hellenistic times to the 6th century CE. Nietzsche’s idea of a new era was also – so to speak – the starting point for the present volume: an academic, if not Anacreontic “Fürstentag” was held at Zurich University in Summer 2011, when a conference on the *Carmina Anacreontea* took place, which brought together a group of international specialists in the fields of Anacreon and the Anacreontic tradition. The present volume is the product of this conference, and with it we would like to contribute to a new era of intense scholarly debate on the *Carmina Anacreontea* and the creative reception of this corpus.

It is striking that this collection has received only very little scholarly attention within the last 50 years despite a long and widespread reception from Byzantine times to the early 20th century. The reason for this development can be found in the very specific history of the *Carmina Anacreontea*’s reception:

1 Cf. Vogel (1984: 307) and Scheffauer (1913: 204-205). The letters are quoted from Colli/Montinari (1984a: 567-568, Nietzsche to Strindberg; 1984b: 414, Strindberg to Nietzsche).

1 The Reception of the *Carmina Anacreontea*

1.1 Attribution to Anacreon

The *Carmina Anacreontea* received greater attention once it was attributed to the 6th century BCE poet Anacreon of Teos (ca. 575-480 BCE), who belonged to the Greek lyrical canon (see for example the catalogue of famous ancient authors in AP 9.184 and 571) and enjoyed widespread popularity during Antiquity:² The stories about Anacreon's life are filled with anecdotes, which range from a love affair with Sappho (see Athenaeus 13.599c) to his death as an old man by choking on a grape seed (Val.Max. 9.12.ext.8). Hence, the information on his life given in ancient sources has to be taken with caution. Anacreon was the first lyrical poet who did not only perform locally but spread his poetry through the Greek world. Having left his hometown because of a Persian invasion (Strabo 14.644) he was engaged at the Samian court of Polycrates (Athenaeus 12.540d, Herodotus 3.121-125) before he moved to Athens (Plato, *Hipparch.* 228b-c, Aelianus *V.H.* 8.2), where he probably stayed until the death of Hipparchus (514 BCE). During his lifetime Anacreon was portrayed on vase paintings and he was honoured with a bronze-statue on the Athenian Acropolis (Pausanias 1.25.1).³ The range of his poetry was wide: Anacreon performed his – mostly monodic – song at symposia as well as at private and public festivals. The Alexandrian edition of his poems, which was probably collected by Aristarchus of Samos, contained five books of elegies, iambic poetry, hymns, parthenians and skolia. As the edition got lost, probably in the 4th century CE, only few fragments have been transmitted.⁴

At the same time, there is evidence for a widespread creative reception of Anacreon's poetry, especially of the *skolia* in Anacreontic metre. Thus, it comes as no surprise that already in Antiquity pieces of creative reception were intentionally published under Anacreon's name or were ascribed to him by later scholars who did not distinguish between 'original' and later Anacreontic poetry. The largest collection of such poems are the *Carmina Anacreontea*, whose attribution to Anacreon started in Antiquity and was established in Byzantine times as can be seen from the title of the collection in the only extant manuscript: Ἀνακρέοντος Τηίου συμποσιακὰ ἠμιόμβια.⁵ Similarly, the entry "Anacreon" in the Byzantine Suda-dictionary mentions *Anacreontea* amongst the works of the

2 Cf. Lambin (2002: 37-56), Rosenmeyer (1992: 12-22) and Müller (2010: 49-54).

3 For the reception and image of Anacreon in the 5th century Athens see Shapiro (2012).

4 For the biography of Anacreon see e.g. Gentili (1958), Bowra (1961), Campbell (1988), Rosenmeyer (1992), Müller (2010), Lambin (2002) and Shapiro (2012).

5 The *Carmina Anacreontea* have been transmitted in cod. Paris. Suppl. gr. 384 (siglum P) from the 10th century CE; the same manuscript also contains the *Anthologia Palatina* and is now held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. After AP 15.21-27 the collection follows in ff. 675-690; cf. West (1993: v).

Teian poet, which might hint both at the typical metre of Anacreon's poems and at the extant or a similar collection of *Carmina Anacreontea*.

Likewise in the *editio princeps* the *Carmina Anacreontea* were edited by Henricus Stephanus (1554) as poems of the Greek lyrical poet. In order to strengthen the case, Stephanus omitted poems which could hint at a later authorship such as CA 1 West, in which Anacreon is shown as an old man, who hands over his wreath to a new Anacreontic poet. Furthermore, Stephanus included epigrams and fragments of Anacreon in his edition. Hence, original works and later receptions were merged successfully.

As almost all editions and translations of Anacreon until the 18th century included the *Carmina Anacreontea*, the collection was established amongst the works of the ancient canonical lyric poet. These poems were authorized and highly valued due to their literary quality. In terms of the history of reception this attribution was extremely successful, for both, the popularity of Anacreon and the valuation of the *Carmina Anacreontea* increased as a result of circular relation.

1.2 Tribute to Anacreon

Due to more careful studies of the *Carmina Anacreontea*'s language, style and metre, the evidence for inauthenticity became stronger. Whereas Stephanus had excluded five poems mainly because of their content, scholars such as Tanaquil Faber (1660) and Cornelius de Pauw (1732) criticized the fact that many poems were not composed in the ionic dialect, which was typical for Anacreon's lyric.⁶ Furthermore, there is an inconsistent use of metre: although most of the *Carmina* are composed in Anacreontics or Hemiambes, we find three poems which do not follow this scheme (CA 5, 19, 20). Furthermore, towards the end of the collection, there are variations of these metres, which are typical for later imperial poetry.⁷ Similarly, we can observe the usage of imperial Greek language and non-archaic style, which suggests that the *Carmina Anacreontea* have to be judged as a collection of poetic imitations of Anacreon.

Its exact dating, however, remains problematic, especially as there is only little external evidence for the origin of individual poems. In CA 27 the Parthians are mentioned, which suggests that this *Carmen* should be dated between or after c. 250 BCE and 200 CE, when the Parthians first got in contact with the Graeco-Roman world. One version of CA 4 is quoted by Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 19.9), which gives a *terminus ante quem* for this poem that must have been composed before 180 CE. Yet, nothing certain can be said about the date of origin of most of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, which might have first been collected in

6 See Baumann (1974: 24).

7 See Weiss (1989: 70-172) and West (1993: xiv-xvi).

three different series (CA 1-20, 21-34 and 35-60) before the extant collection was made in the late Imperial/early Byzantine period.⁸

That the collection has been put together by an editor is suggested by the dialogue between the first and last poem. While Anacreon is symbolically handing over his wreath (= his poetic τέχνη and Anacreontic role) to a younger and unknown poet in the opening poem (CA 1), the Anacreontic poet is directly asked to imitate his model in a sympotic context in CA 60.30: τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ. This programmatic request to compose and perform Anacreontic poetry can be taken poetologically as an invitation to the recipient of the collection to become a new Anacreontic poet and to continue the tradition of Anacreontic song.

This has been a very successful quest, for the *Carmina Anacreontea* inspired countless creative receptions due to the authority of Anacreon and the timeless topics of the collection: love, youth, wine, song, symposium, and myth. These were modelled in short, mostly metrically catchy poems which are easy to memorize. Starting from early Christian Anacreontics, we find traces of reception in Byzantine times and – after the *editio princeps* was published in 1554 – there is a vast reception in almost all European languages and most prominently in the German *Anakreontik*⁹ with its most popular representative, the ‘German Anacreon’ Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim.¹⁰

Despite its popularity in creative reception, however, the scholarly world lost interest in the collection in the course of the 19th century after it became obvious that the *Carmina Anacreontea* were not composed by Anacreon himself. The established late dating of the collection (between the 1st century BC and the 6th century CE) together with the unknown authorship contributed to the loss of interest in the “once celebrated but now little read poems”.¹¹ As a consequence, scholarship has been very limited so far and mainly focused upon formal aspects of the collection such as questions of dialect, authenticity, dating, and textual criticism. Until today, no full-scale commentary of the poems has been published. While Müller (2010) gives a short introduction to metre, language, and content of all poems, he does not deal with textual transmission and text-critical problems in

8 Cf. Hanssen (1883); Edmonds (1931: 1-17); Brioso Sánchez (1970); Brioso Sánchez (1981: ix-xlvi); Campbell (1988: 4-6; 10-18); Weiss (1989: 55-51); Rosenmeyer (1992: 1-11; 115-146); Lambin (2002: 24-36); Müller (2010: 121-123). – West (²1993) xvi-xviii divides four groups: 1) CA 1-20 (without 2, 3 and 5); 2) CA 21-34; 3) CA 35-53; and 4) CA 54-60. He puts CA 3 originally into the second group, CA 2 and 5 into the third/fourth group. According to West, the first group, “paene classica” (p. xvii), is certainly old enough to be known by Aulus Gellius (2nd c. CE), while three and four have been written in the 5th or 6th c. CE by ‘poetae recentiores doctiores indoctioresque’ (p. xviii).

9 Cf. Zeman (1972); Albertsen (1996); Beetz/Kertscher (2005).

10 For the history of reception see especially Rosenmeyer (1992) and Baumann (1974).

11 West (1984b: 206), who – despite his new edition of the text in the Teubner series – contributed to the rather sceptical reception by observing that most poems of the second half of the collection are metrically and linguistically corrupt: “crebrescit anaclasis et cetera licentia metrica, corrumpitur prosodia, degenerat sermo.” (West [²1993] xvii).

the first place. Only very few studies concentrate on literary criticism and aesthetical approaches. The most important work in this regard has been put forward by Rosenmeyer, who comments on the scholarship before 1992: “Since most of the scholarly literature on these poems limits itself to discussions of authenticity, textual criticism, or dating, the texts are rarely considered as literary artifacts in their own right.”¹² This desideratum in contemporary scholarship has been a starting point for the present volume.

2 Τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ: A New Anacreontic Era

This book’s title *Imitate Anacreon! Mimesis, Poiesis and the Poetic Inspiration in the Carmina Anacreontea* is programmatic for approaching the collection from three different angles in order to stimulate further research:

2.1 Imitate Anacreon! Mimesis

Towards the end of the very last poem of the collection (CA 60.30)¹³ the poet asks himself and his audience to “imitate Anacreon”: τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ. This programmatic call for *mimesis*¹⁴ is in close dialogue with the first poem of the collection, where Anacreon himself appears to the poet in a dream and initiates him to Anacreontic poetry. Thus, in the *Carmina Anacreontea* poetry is imitation of Anacreon’s verse. But the Anacreontic poets do not only perform poetic *mimesis*: they strive to imitate the poet’s life in terms of the Anacreontic habitus, be it by directly referring back to the poet and his works, be it by imitating the existing Anacreontic tradition.

As a consequence, the first section of the volume concentrates on both the poems and the life of Anacreon of Teos as displayed in the different forms of reception from the Classical to the Hellenistic period. New epigrammatic material is offered by Francesca Dell’Oro on Menecrates’ sepulchral epigram from Kyzikos. Hans Bernsdorff presents a new reading of an Anacreontic anecdote in the 21st oration of Maximus of Tyre, Peter Bing links the second *stasimon* of Euripides’ *Cyclops* to Anacreontic song and Kathryn Gutzwiller analyses typifications of Anacreon in Hellenistic epigrams. These studies show the immense influence and impact of Anacreon’s persona and Anacreontic *mimesis* before the *Carmina Anacreontea* emerged. The articles focus on the question of how the image of Anacreon as an old, drinking homosexual poet emerged, was

12 Rosenmeyer (1992: 8). A new analysis of the poetic technique of imitation in the tradition of the reader-response theory has been put forward by Müller (2010).

13 The transmission of CA 60 is uncertain and it is possible that a new poem begins with lines 24ff., cf. Brioso Sánchez (1981: 60).

14 For an overview over the different concepts and their development see Koller (1954).

reinforced and displayed in different genres. With regard to the collection the question arises, whether we can (and should) differentiate between direct and indirect reception of Anacreon and his poetry: whom or what do these poems imitate – Anacreon, the Anacreontic tradition or both? Can the final call to imitate Anacreon (CA 60) be read autopoetically or does it rather point back to the Archaic poet himself, who should be taken as the one and only poetic model? – These questions shift the focus from the objects of *mimesis* to its results, which are more closely studied in the second section.

2.2 Imitate Anacreon! Poiesis

The analysis of *mimesis/imitatio* not only takes into account the imitated model(s) but also deals with the imitating poems themselves, whose elements of tradition and innovation emerge in close dialogue with their poetic models. In this regard, *mimesis* and *poiesis* cannot be separated from each other. There is, however, an additional aspect which has to be taken into account: *poiesis* stresses the poetic creation which does not necessarily point to a specific, existing model.¹⁵ There is *poiesis* without *mimesis*, but no poetic *mimesis* without *poiesis*. As we do not have any secure information about the actual historical background of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, the poets and the places of performance and reception and as intertextual traces between the collection and its actual or possible literary models are marginal, the question of *mimesis* is only one approach towards the *Carmina Anacreontea*.

We might deal with a collection of poems, whose poetics is driven and shaped by a different force, a collection, which is less mimetic in the sense of a specific Anacreontic tradition, but should be approached by following its auto-poetic references and its specific *poiesis*. In this sense the papers of the second section – Sens on language and dialect in the *Carmina*, Baumann on ecphrasis and its poetics, Rudolph on the self-thematisation of the ‘I’ in its authentic and poetic interpretation, and Most on imitation and enactment of Anacreon’s persona – concentrate on (auto)poetological references, questions of performance in a real and fictitious sympotic space and of order and Anacreontic disorder in the collection.

2.3 Imitate Anacreon! Poetic Inspiration

In terms of the history of reception, ‘imitating Anacreon’ means to imitate the *Carmina Anacreontea*, which – mainly due to the highly fragmentary transmission of Anacreon – became the primary source of poetic inspiration for many

15 In this context, *poiesis* is used in the Aristotelian sense as “Akt der Verwirklichung eines Möglichen”; see Schmitt (2008: 119-120).

later Anacreontic poets. Thus, the third section focuses on the history of reception and tries to analyse both the impact of the collection on later poetry and the analytical potential the different receptions provide for approaching and re-reading the *Carmina Anacreontea*: Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry – Latin translations of the *Carmina Anacreontea* as well as original, experimental Latin compositions – are presented and analysed by Tilg. The life and work of the ‘German Anacreon’ Johann Wolfgang Ludwig Gleim during the ‘Anacreomania’ in 18th-century Germany is described by Höschele. And Rosenmeyer gives insight into the importance of Anacreontic poetry for modern society and culture by discussing Tschernikovskiy’s *Songs of Anacreon* and his role in shaping modern Hebrew poetry.

A striking and intended effect of the collection is the experience of *μανία*, which the poets of the *Carmina Anacreontea* (or rather their fictitious representatives = ‘das lyrische Ich’) frequently display throughout the collection. Mostly evoked in relation to themes as loving, drinking, dancing and singing, *μανία* is the *conditio sine qua non* for both, creation and reception of these poems, it is the driving force of Anacreontic poetry. In contrast to Plato’s concept of poetic *μανία* as a temporary enchanting ecstasy, which inspires the poet to (re)produce poetry, the poets of the *Carmina Anacreontea* somewhat control their ecstasy. They do not only “want to be mad” (θέλω θέλω μανῆναι in CA 9 and 12),¹⁶ but they give detailed instructions how to turn into an Anacreontic poet. Likewise, the power of *μανία* is extended from the poet to his audience, which starts to receive the poetry like the poet of CA 1 from a distance (the poet sees a dream) and ends the reception by being part of the Anacreontic symposium, being mad and a poet itself. In this regard, our collection remains essentially open and aims to inspire and include new contributions.

16 The refrain θέλω θέλω μανῆναι (put in relation to wine and the activities of the symposium) is echoed in CA 13.1: θέλω, θέλω φιλησαι.

CHAPTER I

Mimesis

The *Carmina Anacreontea* and the Reception of Anacreon
up to the Hellenistic Period

Anacreon's Palinode

HANS BERNSDORFF

1 Introduction

It is well-known that the reception of Anacreon's poetry can be characterized as a reduction to the stereotype of the wine-drinking poet who sings about his love affairs with beautiful boys and girls.¹ This process, whose impact can be observed particularly well in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, implies the neglect of other parts of Anacreon's oeuvre, namely his abusive, satirical, or obscene poetry, which links him to the iambographers of the archaic period. Although this stereotype has influenced the selection and transmission in the indirect tradition of Anacreon's poetry, fragments which clearly belong to this 'dark', iambographic side of his work have still found their way down to us, as Brown (1983) has pointed out. The most prominent example is the attack on the parvenu Artemon in PMG 388, but there are more. There are only a few fragments in iambic metres (3 iamb, stichic: PMG 425 = iamb. *1 West; 4 iamb, stichic: PMG 419 = iamb. 2 West, PMG 420 = iamb. 3 West, PMG 421 = iamb. 4 West; 3 iamb, in epodic systems: PMG 432 = iamb. 5 West, PMG 431 = iamb. 6 West, PMG 424 = iamb. 7 West). Only some of them have typically iambographic content (PMG 432 with a lecherous woman speaking; PMG 431 on a deserted eromenos; PMG 424 against an effeminate man, thus thematically close to the Artemon fragment PMG 388). Apart from these pieces in iambic metres, iambographic topics may also occur in other metres: PMG 347, 351, 354, 363, 372, 381(b), 387, 394(b), 423.² As the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus show, invective also had a place in lyric poetry.³

Papyrus finds, partly published after Brown's article, have confirmed this picture. I may take P. Oxy. 3722 as an example. This is an ancient commentary on Anacreon on a papyrus dated to the 2nd cent. CE. It was first edited by Herwig

1 On this process in general, see Rosenmeyer (1992: 21).

2 On some of these fragments, see Brown (1983: 2-5). Whether the iamboi formed a single book of the Alexandrian edition is uncertain (so West [1989-1992: 2.31]; differently Gentili [1958: XVIII], who assumes at least 9 books, among them one of iamboi, but cf. Treu [1968: 32]); the Suda article (test. 1 Campbell) mentions among Anacreon's works, apart from 'the so called Anacreontea', *παροινιά τε μέλη καὶ ἰάμβους*; only the epodic PMG 432 is quoted as *ἐν ἰάμβῳ*.

3 On Sappho, see Rosenmeyer (2011); on Alcaeus, Andrisano (2001).

Maehler in 1987 and re-examined by myself in 2011.⁴ While many identifiable lemmata and explanations seem to concentrate on sympotic and erotic matters and are thus in line with the reductive image just described, a recently identified invocation of the ‘swineherd Eubuleus’, although probably in an aeolic metre,⁵ may point to the iambographic sphere, since Eubuleus was closely connected to Baubo, who served as a substitute for Iambe in the Orphic version of the myth of Demeter being cheered up during the search for her daughter.⁶ This could be a trace of a treatment of Eleusinian myth used to give an aetiology of Anacreon’s own iambic poetry.⁷

Another possible example of iambic insult is found at P. Oxy. 3722 fr. 25, col. ii.11, where the supplement γέ]γραπται εἰς γυναῖκα ἐρῶσ[αν is very probable, and the context can now be best explained as the speaker’s rejection of a ‘woman in love’ in whom he is no longer interested.⁸ Other insults directed against women occur elsewhere in Anacreon’s fragments, for example at PMG 346.1.13 or 427.

Thus we are confronted with a somewhat paradoxical situation: although the iambographic part of Anacreon’s oeuvre continued to be read, quoted and commented on, there seems to be no trace of this aspect of his poetry in the *Anacreontea*.⁹ The same seems to hold for most parts of the biographical tra-

4 Bernsdorff (2011).

5 Bernsdorff (2011: 29-31); but note that the insult in PMG 366 (on which see below) is in glyconics.

6 On Baubo and Iambe, see Rotstein (2010: 176-180). For probable elements of Eleusinian myth and ritual, see Rosen (1987) on κκεῶν in Hippon. fr. 39.4 West.

7 For *aischrologia* in the Eleusinian Mysteries as a possible origin of the iambic genre, see Carey in Budelmann (2009: 151). On Archilochus’ possible links to the Demeter cult (at least as constructed in the later biographical tradition), see Brown in Gerber (1997: 44-46), who refers to the names of Archilochus’ grandfather Tellis (Paus. 10.28.3) and father Telesicles (test. 2 Tarditi), to fr. 322 West (worship of Demeter and Kore; but the fragment does not seem to be authentic), and to the Mnesiepes inscription (test. 4 Tarditi), which mentions that Archilochus took part in the introduction of the Dionysus cult on Paros. This poetological interpretation of the new fragment may be confirmed by the later iambographic tradition: Regina Hörschele draws my attention to Herodas’ sixth mimiambus, in which Metro asks her friend Koritto about the provenience of a dildo that Koritto had acquired from the cobbler Kerdon and later lent to a woman called Eubule. Stern (1979) pointed to a possible underlying reference to Eleusinian ritual (Metro ~ Demeter, Koritto ~ Kore, βαβῶν ~ Baubo), but also to a possible poetological meaning, with the dildo as a ‘work of art’ that is described programmatically and symbolizes Herodas’ own iambic poetry (Stern [1979: 252-254]).

8 Bernsdorff (2011: 31-32). The verses commented on may be ionic dimeters, but cf. ibd. p. 32 n. 16.

9 Elements of mockery are of course not completely absent from the *Carmina Anacreontea*, but they always seem to be directed against the speaker, cf. 31 (the women make fun of Anacreon’s old age, ~ PMG 358.6-7). It is true that the *Carmina Anacreontea* draw on Archilochus, but the passages in question (e.g. 8.1-4 with Archil. fr. 19.1-3 West) are not insulting or aggressive in character.

dition, unsurprisingly since the *Carmina Anacreontea* and this tradition are in a relationship of constant mutual influence.¹⁰

However, I believe there *is* a trace in a biographical testimonium, completely ignored by earlier scholarship, since its content is so obviously fictitious.¹¹ It can be found in the 2nd cent. CE Platonic author Maximus of Tyre, who is our source for several other anecdotes about Anacreon and some of his fragments as well.¹²

My intention here is to illustrate the importance of this anecdote as a reflection of Anacreon's iambographic poetry and also as an attempt to explain how iambic insult could be the product of the same poet who is known for writing the kind of love poetry that the later tradition so much preferred. I will present my argument in the following way. After presenting Maximus' text (2), I will turn to the possible poetological meaning (3).¹³ First I will draw attention to the anecdote's similarity to biographical anecdotes about other poets which have been interpreted in a poetological way; here, an encounter of Hipponax and a washerwoman called Iambe, narrated by Choeroboscus, an early Byzantine metrician, is of particular interest (3.1). Then (3.2) I will try to show that Maximus' account contains vocabulary that describes an opposition of insulting (i.e. iambic) and encomiastic (i.e. lyric) poetry. The change from one kind of poetry to the other is explained by a narrative pattern borrowed from Stesichorus' biography, namely his famous 'palinode'.¹⁴ Another argument for interpreting the anecdote poetologically (developed in section 3.3) can be found in the use of the palinode motif in our most important representative of the iambographic tradition, namely Horace, in whose seventeenth *Epode*, which concludes his book of *Iambi*, it is used to explain the poet's moving on from iambic insult to lyric love poetry. Finally, in (4), I will attempt to track down the origin of Maximus' anecdote (which can scarcely be his own invention), proposing a comedy as a possible source. In (5) I will sum up the results and determine the exact relationship of the anecdote and the rest of the biographical tradition, including the *Carmina Anacreontea*.

2 Maximus of Tyre, 21.1-2 (p. 177.1-178.28 Trapp)

At the beginning of his 21st oration, Maximus compares himself to Stesichorus, who wrote a palinode about Helen in which he retracted his earlier vituperations

10 Illustrated by Gutzwiller, this volume, 47-66.

11 "Gänzlich in den Bereich der Legendenbildung gehört [Maximus of Tyre] Dialexeis 21, 2-3, eine Erzählung über Anakreon und Kleobulos, in der Anakreon mit allen typischen Attributen des sympotisch-erotischen Dichters versehen ist." Müller (2010: 79-80).

12 Cf. the index nominum et locorum in Trapp (1994).

13 By "poetological" I refer to any reflection on poetry, whether in theoretical treatises, in other poetry, or (as here) in the form of an anecdote.

14 Cf. Kivilo (2010: 73-75) and Bagordo's survey of research in Zimmermann (2011: 192).

of her. Maximus announces that he wishes to do the same in the case of Eros, whose power he had depicted in a derogatory way; otherwise he has to expect cruel punishment (§ 1):

Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος,

λέγει που τῶν αὐτοῦ ἁσμάτων ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ποιητής, ἐξομνύμενος τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ᾠδὴν, ἐν ἧ περι τῆς Ἑλένης εἰπεῖν φησιν οὐκ ἀληθεῖς λόγους· ἀναμάχεται οὖν ἐπαίνῳ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ψόγον. Δοκῶ δὴ μοι, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐκεῖνον, δεήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς παλινωδίας ἐν τοῖς περι τοῦ ἔρωτος λόγοις· θεὸς γὰρ καὶ οὗτος, καὶ οὐχ ἦττον τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπιτιθέναι δίκην τοῖς πλημμελοῦσιν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐρρωμενέστατος. Τί δὴ οὖν ἔστιν τὸ πλημμέλημα, ὅπερ καὶ ἀναμαχέσασθαι δεῖν φημι ἡμᾶς; δεινὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ δεόμενον γενναίου ποιητοῦ καὶ τελεστοῦ, εἰ μέλλοι τις ἰκανῶς ἐξευμενιεῖσθαι ἀδέκαστον δαίμονα, οὐ τρίποδας ἑπτὰ δούς οὐδὲ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα δέκα οὐδὲ γυναικάς Λεσβιάδας, οὐδὲ ἵππους Τρωϊκοῦς, ἀλλὰ λόγον λόγῳ, πονηρὸν χρηστῷ καὶ ψευδῇ ἀληθεῖ, ἐξαλείψας.

“The tale is untrue”,

says the poet of Himera (Stesichorus) somewhere in his work, abjuring the earlier song in which he confesses to telling lies about Helen, and accordingly making up for his earlier vituperation with words of praise. I think that I too, just like the poet, stand in need of a palinode in my discussion of love. He too is a god, no less mighty than Helen in his power to inflict punishment on those who sin against him. What then is this ‘sin’ that I say we have to make up for? A great and grave one, requiring the services of a great poet and priest, if we are to have any hope of placating so stern a divinity, not by presenting him with seven tripods, or ten talents of gold, or Lesbian women, or Trojan steeds, but by erasing one account with another, bad with good and false with true. (tr. Trapp, adapted)

In § 2 another example of a palinode is given:

Τοιαύτην φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν Τήϊον ποιητὴν δοῦναι δίκην τῷ ἔρωτι. Ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰόνων ἀγορᾷ, ἐν Πα<νι>ο<ν>ίῳ, ἐκόμιζεν τιτθὴ βρέφος· ὁ δὲ Ἀνακρέων βαδίζων, μεθύων, ἄδων (coni. Davies, ἄκων cod. R, ἰάκων Hobein), ἐστεφανωμένος, σφαλλόμενος, ὡθεῖ τὴν τιτθὴν σὺν τῷ βρέφει καὶ τι καὶ εἰς τὸ παιδίον ἀπέρριπεν βλάσφημον ἔπος. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐχαλέπηεν τῷ Ἀνακρέοντι, ἐπεύξατο δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὑβριστὴν ἄνθρωπον τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω ἐπαίνεσαι ποτὲ τὸ παιδίον, ὅσα νῦν ἐπηράσατο. τελεῖ ταῦτα ὁ θεός· τὸ γὰρ παιδίον ἐκεῖνο δὴ αὐξηθὲν γίγνεται Κλεόβουλος ὁ ὠραιότατος, καὶ ἀντι μικρᾶς (R, μῖας Markland, Trapp) ἀρᾶς ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἀνακρέων Κλεοβούλῳ δίκην δι’ ἐπαίνων πολλῶν.

They say that the famous Teian poet Anacreon was similarly punished by Love. At a gathering of the Ionians in the Panionion, a nurse was carrying a baby. Anacreon, as he lurched along, drunk, garlanded, and singing, bumped into the nurse and the baby, and to add insult to injury, swore at the child into the bargain. The woman voiced no anger against Anacreon, except to pray that this same insolent man would one day praise the child as lavishly as he had then cursed him, or even more so. The god answered her prayer. That child grew up to become Cleobulus, fairest of the fair, and

Anacreon made reparation to Cleobulus for one small curse with many words of praise. (tr. Trapp)

Unlike in the case of Stesichorus, this time Eros is directly involved, since he seems to be the god to whom the wet-nurse appeals so successfully. Therefore the anecdote in Maximus combines the palinode motif with another idea, alien to the story about Stesichorus: Cleobulus will become the subject of Anacreon's love poetry because he will become the poet's beloved boy.

Maximus' use of both examples of course has a specifically Platonic background: the palinode motif itself (but only with reference to Stesichorus) is taken from the *Phaedrus* (243a-b), as well as the idea of Anacreon as a source of wisdom in erotic matters (235c).¹⁵ Apart from illustrating Eros' power to force the withdrawal of wrong opinions about himself, both prepare the idea (as explained in detail in the course of the speech) that only human beauty can be the object of love and that the contemplation of it leads to insight into transcendental beauty. The Anacreon example seems more suitable to the Platonic concept, because Cleobulus will become a beautiful boy (ὁ ὠραιότατος, § 2 = p. 178.26-27 Trapp).

3 Poetological Meaning

The anecdote is, however, far more than a love story: since it explains why Cleobulus became a subject of Anacreon's love *poetry*, it has a clear poetological meaning as well.

3.1 Comparison with the Story of Hipponax and Iambe

This impression can be confirmed by a comparison with an anecdote about another archaic poet, Hipponax, which is certainly meant to characterize the poet's oeuvre.

In his commentary on Hephaestion, Choeroboscus gives two explanations of the term *iambos*. First, he mentions the story of Iambe, who comforted Demeter with jokes, and in doing so used the iambic foot. There was, however, another Iambe (Choeroboscus in Heph. 3 [Π. ποδῶν] 1, p. 214.8-20 Consbruch = Hipponax test. 21 Degani):

Ἰ α μ β ο ς (...) εἴρηται ἦτοι ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τῆς Κελεοῦ θεραπαίνης, ἥτις τὴν Δήμητρα λυπομένην ἠνάγκασε γελάσαι γέλοιόν τι εἰποῦσα, τῷ ῥυθμῷ τούτου τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτομάτως χρησαμένη, ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινὸς ἐτέρας, γραῶς, ἢ Ἰππῶναξ ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔρια πλυνούση συντυχῶν ἤκουσε τῆς σκάφης ἐφασγάμενος, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπλυνεν ἢ γραῦς, 'ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις'. καὶ συλλαβῶν τὸ ῥηθὲν

15 On the latter point cf. Cairns (2013: 241) and Bernsdorff (forthcoming).

οὕτως ὠνόμασε τὸ μέτρον. ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τοῦ χολιάμβου τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἀναφέρουσι, γράφοντες τὸ τέλος τοῦ στίχου ‘τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέμεις’.

Iambus (...) takes its name either from Iambe the maidservant of Celeus, who compelled the grieving Demeter to laugh by saying something amusing, spontaneously using the rhythm of this foot, or from some other Iambe, an old woman, whom the iambic poet Hipponax encountered by the sea, as she was washing wool. As he brushed against the basin in which the old woman was washing, he heard her say: “Go away sir, you are overturning the basin!” And having heard what she said [an iambic utterance] he thus named the metre. Others relate this story regarding the choliambic metre, writing the end of the line “you’ll overturn the basin”.

(tr. O’Higgins, adapted).

This has been taken as a story about a poetic initiation, comparable to the versions of the ‘Musenweihe’ in the biographies of Archilochus and Aesop,¹⁶ with the washer-woman Iambe functioning as an appropriate kind of iambic ‘Muse’. The line, either in its iambic or in its choliambic form, may be taken from Hipponax, who told of the ‘initiation’ himself.¹⁷ Of course the possibility cannot be excluded that the story and the quotation (which has been enlarged by two more lines, found in a 14th cent. manuscript by Fowler [1990]) are based on a now lost comedy or a piece of Hellenistic poetry.

Be that as it may, in the present context, the similarity of this anecdote to the anecdote reported by Maximus of Tyre should be noted. In both cases, a poet encounters a woman of lower status, probably a slave. This encounter includes a kind of clash: Anacreon, possibly as a result of his drunkenness, bumps into the wet-nurse and the baby,¹⁸ while Hipponax touches Iambe’s washing trough (we are not told why).¹⁹ This leads to an utterance of the woman (in Maximus not

16 For Archilochus, transmitted in the so-called Mnesiepes inscription (Paros, 3rd cent. BCE, SEG 15.517), for Aesop, in vita G, ch. 4-8 (pp. 36-38 Perry).

17 Carey in Budelmann (2009: 163-164) suggests Nausicaa, whom Odysseus meets while her attendants are washing clothes on the seashore, as another model. Thus the scene might have been a further illustration of Hipponax’s parody of epic. Carey (p. 164) also mentions in this connection the name of Hipponax’s Arete, which recalls the name of the Phaeacian queen; cf. Carey (p. 164) on “the paradise of Phaeacia” as “an implicit countertext to the grimy demi-monde created by Hipponax”. On the anecdote cf. also Kivilo (2010: 125-126).

18 This may also follow the topos of the drunken comast who attacks a passerby: cf. Miller (1999: 249-250), who adduces Ar. *Eccl.* 663-664 (cf. esp. ἐπειδὴν εὐωχηθέντες ὑβρίζουσιν with ὑβριστήν in Maximus), Alexis fr. 112 KA, Herod. 2.31-36, and Dem. 54 (against Conon), *passim*. But note that the anecdote in Maximus does not describe a komos, but a single drunk in the daytime.

19 Does the verse have a sexual *double entendre*? For ἄπτομαι of sexual intercourse, cf. LSJ s.v. A III b 5, and also the use of ψαύω in E. *Cyc.* 171; for ἀνατρέπειν as a sexual metaphor, cf. Henderson (1991: 170). σκάφη may well be a symbol of the female genitalia: cf. Adams (1982: 89), “A word denoting any hollow object or container (...) can readily be used metaphorically of the womb or vagina.” For a different obscene interpretation (σκάφη = ‘boat’ = ‘prostitute’) cf. O’Higgins (2003: 199 n. 39). Rosen (1988b: 176 n. 6) considers

directly following, but only after Anacreon's insult) which serves as an aition of some characteristics of the poet's work. We now know why Hipponax called his verses *iamboi*; he recognizes the metre of his own poetry in Iambe's insult. This explanation may reflect Aristotle's remark about the closeness of the iambic metre to everyday speech.²⁰ We also learn why Anacreon's poetry is full of praises of the beautiful Cleobulus, a fact we are able to understand even on the basis of the limited surviving fragments.²¹

3.2 Evidence for a Poetological Meaning in the Maximus Anecdote

Given the structural analogy just outlined, we may look for further suggestions of a poetological meaning in Maximus' anecdote. So far we have only found that the ἔπαινοι πολλοί of Cleobulus refer to Anacreon's well-known lyric poetry about beautiful boys, a topic often emphasized in the later tradition and fundamental to the poetics of the *Anacreontea* as well. This concerns Anacreon's poetry *after* the wet-nurse's curse. But he surely also appears as a poet before it (as Hipponax in Choeroboscus does). Therefore the encounter is not a *Musenweihe* in the classical sense, transforming a non-poet into a poet. The description of the drunken and garlanded symposiast coincides with the image drawn in the biographical tradition. This is probably based on a work of art,²² and even if we do not accept the conjecture ἄδων, it would be unnatural not to imagine Anacreon already at this stage as a poet.

There is no indication of what kind of poetry he is singing at this stage. Perhaps it is already some kind of love poetry, as one would expect from a drunken comast.²³ This could explain why the wet-nurse does not get angry but cleverly asks for Anacreon to praise the boy: apart from Anacreon's general fame as a poet, she just would have heard herself how able he is, particularly in praising beautiful boys.²⁴ We only hear about his insult directed at the baby. At first sight this might appear to be a spontaneous outburst, which has nothing to do with poetry. However, the context, as well as the wording, suggests that the insult

giving the words a political sense, with Iambe using the 'ship of state' metaphor (cf. e.g. Dem. *Phil.* 3.69 ἀνατρέπειν τὸ σκάφος 'overturning the ship').

20 Arist. *Poet.* 1449a 26-27.

21 He does indeed seem to have played an important role in Anacreon's poetry: apart from PMG 357.9 cf. PMG 359, where his name is repeated thrice in a polyptoton. Max. Tyr. 18.9 = p. 162.271-273 Trapp = PMG 402 reports that Anacreon's poetry was full of Cleobulus' eyes.

22 Leonidas of Tarentum (AP 16.306 = 31 HE; AP 16.307 = 90 HE) and Eugenēs (AP 16.308 = FGE, pp. 110-111).

23 It should be noted that in the epigrams cited in the previous footnote, the drunken Anacreon is already represented as a love-poet; cf. Gutzwiller, this volume, p. 50-51.

24 This interpretation was suggested to me by Manuel Baumbach.

here appears as an example of the offensive, aggressive, and so iambic part of his poetry:

a) Context: The anecdote is presented as a repetition of what happened to Stesichorus, whose vituperation of Helen was a piece of poetry. Moreover, Anacreon's praises of Cleobulus (which are, as we know, poetry) are compensation for the insult directed at Cleobulus. This suggests to the reader that the insult has the status of poetry and is not just an everyday utterance.

b) Wording: The insult is described in words which are applied to the iambic genre elsewhere. Already in the 5th cent. BCE, Archilochus, the iambographer par excellence, was characterized as βλάσφημος by the rhetor Alcidas, as we know from a quotation in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1398b 10-12): καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι πάντες τοὺς σοφοὺς τιμῶσιν· Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασι.²⁵ The personal abuse of Old Comedy (adapting the tradition of archaic iambos) can also be called βλασφημία, as in Platonius' commentary on Aristophanes (Proleg. de com. II, 1, p. 6 Koster): ἀπλῶς (...) τίθησι τὰς βλασφημίας κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων.²⁶

What seems most noteworthy in this context is that the word βλασφημία is applied also to Anacreon's poetry and even to an insult directed at a beautiful boy whom he praises elsewhere.²⁷ I am speaking about PMG 366:

ἀλλ', ὦ τρίς κεκορημένε
Σμερδίτη

Come, thrice-swept Smerdies (tr. Campbell)

These words are attributed to Anacreon by Eust. *Od.* 1542.47, who paraphrases τρίς κεκορημένε by πολλάκις ἐκσεσαρωμένε ('often swept out').²⁸ The participle probably has an obscene meaning.²⁹ This interpretation probably lies behind the

25 On this passage, see Rosen (1988a: 13-14).

26 Cf. Rosen (1988a: 40-41). For the topos of someone's earlier impious views in the genre of the palinode, cf. Cairns (1978: 547), referring to Stesichorus, *Hor. Epod.* 17 and *c.* 1.34.

27 For Smerdies as Anacreon's beloved: *Max. Tyr.* 18.9, p. 162.271 Trapp μεστὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄσματα τῆς Σμερδίου κόμης; *Max. Tyr.* 20.1, p. 169.1-10 Trapp; 29.2, p. 239.41 Trapp; 37.5, p. 300.115-116 Trapp; *Antip. Sid.* AP 7.29.3 = HE 272; *Antip. Sid.* AP 7.27.5-6 = HE 264-265; *Dioscurus AP* 7.31.1 = HE 1575; 'Simonides' AP 7.25.8 = HE 3331; *P. Schubart* 38, fr. F, col. 2 (= PMG 503, in a treatise on old age, possibly with reference to hair); in scholia *P. Oxy.* 4454. fr. 3, perhaps PMG 346. fr. 14 (scholium).

28 κορέω in this meaning appears in Homer once, *Od.* 20.149, cf. LSJ s.v. A 1. It should be noted that the form of the insult resembles that of PMGF 223.4-5, where Stesichorus calls the daughters of Tyndareus "twice-wed and thrice-wed / and husband deserters" διγάμους τε καὶ τριγάμους ἐτίθει / καὶ λιπεσάνορας.

29 ἐκκορέω (or ἐκκορίζω) 'sweep out' is already used in an obscene way in *Ar.* fr. 277 KA, *Eup.* fr. 247.4 KA, *Ar. Pax* 59 and *Th.* 760, cf. Deubner (1913: 301 n. 1), Henderson (1991: 174-175). Note also *Hippon.* fr. 139 West βασαγκόρος, glossed as ὁ ἄσσαν συνουσιάζων by Hsch., and for another verb of 'cleaning' used in an obscene sense, *Ar.*

Hesychian gloss κορέω = ἐξυβρίζω (cf. LSJ s.v. κορέω A 2) and the fact that τρισκεκορημένε is quoted (without the poet's name) in a work by Suetonius bearing the title Περὶ βλασφημιῶν (p. 63 Taillardat).

There are other minor suggestions of iambic terminology. Anacreon's insult directed at little Cleobulus is twice represented as a curse: ὄσα νῦν ἐπήρασατο and ἀντὶ μικρᾶς ἀρᾶς. This is also an iambic trait, as the curse seems to be a typical form of speech in the iambos: cf. Hippon. fr. 155 West, the Strasburg Epode, or the playful use in Hor. *Epod.* 3.19-22 (for the motif of magical curses in Horace's *Epodes*, cf. also *Epod.* 5 and 17, on the curses of the sorceress Canidia).³⁰

The future praises of Cleobulus are called ἔπαινοι (cf. also ἐπαινέσαι). Since this word commonly functions as an antonym of ψόγος,³¹ which is a content typical of iambos (cf. Aristot. *poet.* 1448b 30-34, esp. ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους), its use here might suggest that the blame of the baby is a ψόγος, thus indirectly characterizing it as iambic.

3.3 Horace, *Epode* 17

According to the interpretation just proposed, Maximus' anecdote represents a change from aggressive iambic insult to encomiastic lyric love poetry, with the same person as object.

If we look for similar patterns in the history of ancient poetry, Horace's 17th *Epode* provides a striking parallel. Being the last poem of his book of *Iambi*, which was probably published soon after Actium (31 BCE), it is commonly seen as Horace's farewell to iambic poetry³² and as an announcement of his subsequent lyric poetry in the odes. In the course of this poem, Horace begs Canidia for mercy: her magical power has ruined his health,³³ as he now admits, and he

Ec. 847 τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν διακαθαίρει τρύβλια (denoting cunnilingus); for a possible similar use of *tergere*, cf. Adams (1982: 185).

30 The drunkenness is also an adaptation of the palinode topos 'it was madness that had led the poet to the former impious view'. This topos is absent from Stesichorus, but present in all three examples of the topos in Horace (*Epod.* 17, c. 1.16, 1.34), cf. Cairns (1978: 547 and 548). For the association of drunkenness and iambos, cf. West (1974: 24-25), referring *inter alia* to Archil. fr. 120 West. Note that Max. Tyr. 18.9 = p. 160.233 Trapp calls Archilochus a ὑβριστής.

31 Rotstein (2010: 90-93).

32 Cairns (1978: 549): "in it [sc. *Epod.* 17] Horace resolves in typical epilogue fashion to give up writing epodes; and indeed that is what he is doing." Heyworth (1993: 91): "The key point, however, lies in the shape of the book as a whole: it moves from invective to love; from iamb to lyric, near elegiac; from attack to palinode (...)."

33 Heyworth (1993: 92) notes the "ontological complexities in a poet's being cursed by one of his own creations". It is true that, unlike Canidia, the wet-nurse is not Anacreon's creation, but in the anecdote we find at least a similar reversal of curse and being cursed.

announces a retraction of his earlier insults.³⁴ This poem of praise will be sung on the lyre (Hor. *Epod.* 17.37-48):

effare: iussas cum fide poenas luam,
 paratus expiare, seu poposceris
 centum iuencos, sive mendaci lyra
 voles sonari, tu pudica, tu proba 40
 perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
 infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
 fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
 adempta vati reddidere lumina:
 et tu, potes nam, solve me dementia, 45
 o nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
 neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
 novendialis dissipare pulveres.

Tell me; I shall faithfully pay whatever penalty you demand. I am willing to make atonement with a hundred bullocks, if you so wish; or, if you like, to proclaim on my lying harp: "O chaste and respectable lady, you will walk among the constellations as a golden star." Though they were incensed at the libelling of Helen, Castor and his mighty brother were won over by prayer and restored to the bard the eyesight they had taken from him. You, too (for you can if you wish), release me from my madness; you are *not* tarnished by the squalor of your ancestors; you are *not* an old crone who cunningly disturbs the recently buried ashes in the paupers' cemetery. (tr. Rudd)

As commentators have noted, the phrase *mendaci lyra* is ambiguous, since it can be taken in the sense of Stesichorus' οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος (PMGF 192.1, also quoted at the beginning of our Maximus anecdote). Then *lyra* has to be understood as the instrument of Horace's former *iambi*. However, as Watson (2003: ad loc.) explains, "the meaning which will occur to the reader is that Horace's *recantation* will be a lie". Given that Stesichorus (the example of his palinode of Helen is adduced a few lines below, after a quotation from Horace's 'palinode') was one of the nine canonical lyric poets, according to this understanding *lyra* would refer to the lyric genre, and Horace would be referring to his future lyric production (in contrast to his former iambic poetry).³⁵

The fact that the Stesichorus palinode also appears here in order to make Canidia willing to accept Horace's surrender is important in our context, since it seems analogous to the story about Anacreon's compensation for his curse directed at Cleobulus.

34 It is implied that these insults were expressed in poetry, namely *Epod.* 5 (Cairns [1978: 548]).

35 It is also taken in this sense by Barchiesi (2009: 236).

In this context the only passage of the *Epodes* which mentions Anacreon by name deserves special attention.³⁶ In *Epod.* 14 Horace explains to Maecenas why he is not able to finish his book of *iambi* (6-12):

deus, deus nam me vetat
 inceptos olim, promissum carmen, iambos
 ad umbilicum adducere.
 non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
 Anacreonta Teium, 10
 qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
 non elaboratum ad pedem.

It's the god, the god, that prevents me from bringing to the end of the roll the poem I promised you, the iambs that I began some time ago. They say that Teian Anacreon was on fire in just the same way for the Samian Bathyllus, and with his hollow shell continually lamented his love in simple rhythms. (tr. Rudd)

The comparison with Anacreon's love for Bathyllus has been explained in various ways,³⁷ but as Watson (2003: 448) has plausibly shown, a tight analogy would be yielded if the relative clause in lines 11-12 refers to the composition of lyric metres, not the more elaborate metres of the iambos.³⁸ According to this interpretation, it was his passion for the boy Bathyllus that led Anacreon from iambic to lyric poetry, and here too this has been taken as a paradigm of Horace's own poetic career.³⁹ It may be no mere coincidence that an analogy is indirectly suggested between Anacreon's love of Bathyllus (and Horace's of Phryne) and the love of Helen, who is generally seen behind 'the fire that burnt Ilion' in the address to Maecenas that follows (13-15a):⁴⁰

ureris ipse miser: quodsi non pulchrior ignis
 accendit obsessam Ilion,
 gaude sorte tua. (...)
 You yourself are burning, poor fellow; but if no more beautiful a flame consumed beleaguered Troy, then count yourself lucky. (...) (tr. Rudd)

Even here, this mythical exemplum might remind the audience of Stesichorus' palinode, although in the 14th *Epode* there is no reference to an earlier insult directed at the beloved.

36 I am grateful to Stefan Tilg for reminding me of this passage in Horace.

37 Cf. Watson (2003: on *Epod.* 14.9-16) for a detailed survey of the scholarship.

38 For this view of Anacreon's lyric metres see Watson (2003: 451).

39 Watson (2003: 440 with n. 16 [bibliography]); cf. pp. 440-441 for Anacreontic features in *Epod.* 14 (interference of the love-god in 6-8, the *geminatio* [*deus, deus*], frequent in the *Anacreontea* which were attributed to Anacreon by Horace).

40 On the less probable identification with Paris, cf. Watson (2003: 453-454).

Later too, in his odes (c. 1.16), as already pointed out by the ancient commentators,⁴¹ Horace alludes to Stesichorus' palinode⁴² by announcing that he is recanting the iambic insults (cf. 2-3 *criminosis [...] iambis*, 24 *celeris iambos*, 27-28 *recantatis [...] opprobriis*) that he directed against a girl (who is addressed in the first line as *O matre pulcra filia pulcrior*, a phrase probably modelled on Stesichorus).⁴³

However this similarity to the Maximus anecdote is to be explained in detail (a question I will turn to in a moment), the comparison makes clear that there seems to have been an application of the Stesichorean palinode motif to the retraction of an earlier iambic insult, which is amended by lyric praise of the same person. If my interpretation of the Maximus anecdote is correct, this pattern was applied also to the relationship of Anacreon's iambic and lyric poetry, even at a time when the iambic side of Anacreon's oeuvre was mostly ignored in the biographical tradition and poetic adaptations.

4 Origin of the Anecdote

The question of the origin of the anecdote about Anacreon and Cleobulus remains thus far unanswered, as it can scarcely have been invented by Maximus himself.

As for the encounter of Hipponax and Iambe, it has been suggested that the story was based on an original scene in Hipponax's poetry, with the quoted lines coming from this poem. However, as Fowler (1990: 2) made clear, it might just as well stem from a lost comedy or piece of Hellenistic poetry.⁴⁴

Given the similarities described above, we may consider both possibilities for the Anacreon anecdote.

It is unlikely that the story *as a whole* was narrated in a poem by Anacreon.⁴⁵ It is true that the element of the future praise of Cleobulus reflects Anacreon's lyric poetry about him, and, as I tried to show, the insulting of the baby reflects Anacreon's *iambi* directed even against boys who are elsewhere praised by him. It is, however, difficult to imagine how, in a poem praising Cleobulus, Anacreon could tell the story of how he once insulted the boy when he was a little child. I believe instead that the story as a whole comes from comedy or Hellenistic poetry

41 Ps.-Acro, c. 1.16.1.

42 Cairns (1978: 546) successfully rejects the view expressed by Nisbet/Hubbard (1970: 203) that the poem is "not a palinode, but for the most part a little discourse *de ira*".

43 Nisbet/Hubbard (1970: ad loc.).

44 It does not seem to be an invention of a grammarian, since it is scarcely a sufficient explanation of the origin of iambos. Fowler (1990: 2 n. 3) points out that in Choeroboscos there follows another explanation for 'iambos', which is based on a passage in Hellenistic poetry (Callim. fr. 380 Pfeiffer). So the preceding explanation may come from Hellenistic poetry as well.

45 There are fragments of Anacreon's that may belong to poetological scenes like a 'Musenweihe', e.g. PMG 346.11+3 or PMG 390.

(whose stories about poets are however often drawn from comedy). We may well imagine a comic scene which represented the encounter including the wet-nurse's curse. The humour would lie in the identity of the child as finally revealed, Cleobulus of course being well known to the audience from Anacreon's love poetry.

All three characters of the anecdote, wet-nurse, baby and poet, can be paralleled in the comic tradition. The wet-nurse, who is either a slave or a poor free woman, is a stock character. In the extant corpus of comedy she appears for instance in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* as a mute character who is carrying the 'child' (really a wineskin) that is later snatched by Kedestes.⁴⁶ The slave who carries the child of Myrrhine and Cinesias in *Lysistrata* (cf. Henderson [1987: ad 907-909]) may be a wet-nurse as well. The child was probably represented by a doll (Henderson [1987: ad 879]).

The appearance of poets on the comic stage is well known. We find not only tragedians (Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs*, Euripides and Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae*), but also archaic lyric poets. We know of several comedies with the title *Sappho*, among them a play by Diphilus in which the iambographers Archilochus and Hipponax were both Sappho's lovers and therefore rivals.⁴⁷ This constellation was doubtless exploited as both a source of comic effect and an occasion for metaliterary discourse. The most interesting point in relation to our anecdote is that since a lyric poet (Sappho) and two iambographers (Archilochus and Hipponax) were brought together, the contrast of the two genres may also have been a subject of this play.⁴⁸ Anacreon, who lived in Athens for a period of his life and whose poetry was famous there, may well also have been a character of comedy.⁴⁹

Each of the characters in the anecdote may well have appeared in a comedy. But the action of a tipsy Anacreon bumping into the wet-nurse and child would also fit well: again, the *Thesmophoriazusae* presents a similarity (though a remote one), as the motif 'man attacking a wet-nurse and her baby' finds a parallel in Kedestes' snatching the 'child' from the wet-nurse's arms.

46 For more instances cf. Austin/Olson (2004: on Ar. *Thesm.* 608-609); Hunter (1983: 209) on Eubulus' *Τίτθαι* or *Τίτθη*.

47 Diphilus fr. 70-71 KA; other examples (cf. Yatromanolakis [2007: 293-312] and Kivilo [2010: 189-190]): Old Comedy: Amipsias test. 2 and fr. 15 KA; Middle Comedy: Antiphanes fr. 194 KA, Ehippus fr. 20 KA, Amphis fr. 32 KA, Timocles fr. 32 KA. Cf. Yatromanolakis (2007: 298 n. 57) for other comedies possibly related to Sappho.

48 Pitts (2003: 110) only highlights "the comic possibilities of vituperative, metaliterary dialogue between two archaic composers of blame poetry".

49 For the reception of Anacreon in classical satyr-play cf. Bing, this volume, p. 25-45.

5 Conclusion

The anecdote about Anacreon and the Ionian wet-nurse suggests that the iambographic part of Anacreon's work was not totally ignored by the later tradition. Rather, the story seems to provide a humorous explanation of the presence of both iambic insults and lyric praise (even concerning the same person) in his oeuvre by means of an adaptation of the Stesichorean palinode motif. Nevertheless, even this anecdote as a whole confirms the traditional image of Anacreon, as drawn in the *Carmina Anacreontea* and the rest of the biographical tradition, since it starts with Anacreon in the conventional role of the drunken (probably singing) comast and gives an explanation of a famous object of his erotic poetry, while the iambic part of his oeuvre is only represented by an intermediate outburst.

An earlier version of the anecdote may have influenced Horace (an imitator of Anacreon's in his *Epodes* as well as in his *Odes*),⁵⁰ who writes of his transformation from an iambographer into a lyricist by drawing on the palinode motif.

The origin of the anecdote seems to be a comedy rather than Anacreon's poetry itself. From there it might have been passed down to Horace and Maximus either directly or indirectly, in the latter case mediated by a Hellenistic source, either poetic or scholarly.⁵¹

50 Cf. e.g. PMG 388 and *Epod.* 4.

51 A scholar who could have written about Anacreon's love affair with Cleobulus is Chamaeleon (fr. 36 Wehrli = PMG 372 with Bernsdorff [2011: 33]). Interestingly, he also worked on Stesichorus' *palinode* (PMGF 193.11-12).

Anacreontea avant la lettre: Euripides' *Cyclops* 495-518

PETER BING

“Imitate Anacreon”, τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ. These words ring out as a kind of rallying cry near the close of the final poem of the *Carmina Anacreontea* (60.30), proclaiming the anthology's basic program, the imperative to mimic the master poet of Teos. For “Imitation”, as Patricia Rosenmeyer put it in her fundamental and still indispensable study of the Anacreontics, “is the *modus scribendi* of the collection” (Rosenmeyer [1992: 11]). The multiple poets whose texts constitute the *Anacreontea* – ranging in date, as is generally agreed, from the late Hellenistic to the Byzantine era – not only copy the style of their archaic model; they channel Anacreon, often adopting his very persona. The first poem of the collection programmatically dramatizes the scene in which the speaker assumes the role of his exemplar: The Tean poet, he says, appeared to him in a dream, his lips exuding the aroma of wine; following a kiss and an embrace, Anacreon took from his head a wreath and bestowed it on the speaker. This gesture, the transfer of the wreath, clearly constitutes an act of poetic investiture. But more, with its strong sympotic connotation, the wreath is an apt emblem of *anacreontic* investiture in particular – even more so here, as it is imbued with the poet's own scent, ‘essence d'Anacreon’, as it were. From the moment the speaker lifts it up and binds it about his brow – drolly calling himself “that fool” (ὁ μωρός CA 1.14) in mock anguish for not grasping the consequences –, he takes on the role of his great predecessor: he impersonates Anacreon, existing henceforth in a state of perpetual and comically exhausting desire (καὶ δῆθεν ἄγχι καὶ νῦν / ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι CA 1.16-17).¹ To be sure, the image of the poet that these latter-day Anacreons imitate is much reduced vis-à-vis the original. Anacreon appears as he had come to be seen in the biographical/ecphrastic tradition, a stereotype distilled into caricature: the genial old drunk, concerned always and only with the pleasures of wine, song, and sex.² It is in this guise – a cartoon Anacreon rather than the

1 Manuel Baumbach suggests *per litteras* that the speaker's joking self-recrimination (ὁ μωρός CA 1.14) may highlight the distinctively humorous quality of Anacreontic *aemulatio*. On the significance of adopting and performing the persona of Anacreon both here and in the final poem of the collection, see the discussion of Most in this volume.

2 Anacreon is thus characterized, for instance, in a memorable 2nd cent. BCE epigram by Antipater of Sidon, AP 7.27 = HE 15, whose final couplet reads as follows: τρισσοῖς γάρ, Μούσαισι Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἐρωτι, / πρέσβυ, κατεσπεύισθη πᾶς ὁ τεδὸς βίωτος.

multifaceted poet who appears in the modest surviving corpus³ – that the Anacreontic poets mimic the style, meter, diction and themes of their archetype.

The urge to imitate Anacreon (reduced though he was to a stereotype) is normally thought to be a phenomenon of the Hellenistic age and later. In this paper, I hope to demonstrate that such Anacreontic imitation began far earlier – certainly within the 5th cent. BCE period I will establish this by reference to an ode not previously brought to bear on discussions of the *Anacreontea*, namely the second *stasimon* of Euripides' *Cyclops* (vv. 495-518), a text that bears many of the earmarks of later Anacreontic song. I do not mean to suggest that scholars in general have ignored this ode. It is certainly known to those who write about the *Cyclops* and whose focus is on drama; these have, moreover, duly commented on its resemblance to sympotic song in the style of Anacreon. But the compartmentalization of scholarship is such that these scholars do not link the ode to larger issues of the Anacreontic tradition. Nor do scholars of Anacreon and the Anacreontics mention it.⁴ My intent, then, in drawing attention to this passage is to raise questions about the early reception of Anacreon, to ask whether we must re-evaluate that later tradition of *Anacreontea* in light of this Euripidean song, and to consider what, if anything, distinguishes *Carmina Anacreontea* proper from this early instance of Anacreontic imitation.

Before dealing with the Euripidean *stasimon*, however, it is worth pausing to examine the initial impact of Anacreon in Athens in the century or so following his arrival there around 522 BCE. In a word, it was huge. Evidence suggests that, already within his own lifetime, Anacreon was a megastar on the late-archaic musical scene, and the *stasimon* from the *Cyclops* must be seen as a reflection of his enormous popularity. The poet's star-power and high value as a cultural prize come across clearly in the tale of how Hipparchus dispatched a warship, a penteconter no less – “roughly the equivalent of a destroyer”, as Herington puts it (1985: 92) – specially to bring Anacreon to Athens after the murder of Polycrates of Samos in 522 BCE (Ps.-Plato, *Hipparchus* 228b). At Athens, doors opened to him in all the best circles: According to the scholia to Aeschylus *PV* 128, the poet was in love with Critias, grandfather and namesake of that Critias who was one of the Thirty.⁵ The latter would celebrate his grandfather's friend in a hexameter encomium, our earliest detailed and explicit source on the reception of Anacreon (see below). Critias' nephew, Plato, later attests how the memory of his family's ties to Anacreon still remained vivid after generations (*Charmides* 157e).⁶ With

3 Rosenmeyer (1992: 37-49) rightly stresses the diversity of form and tone in the genuine poems of Anacreon as compared with the Anacreontics: “Anacreon is more than just a poet of whimsical love and humor, or a meticulous craftsman and metrician; his all-encompassing talents produced poems as different from each other as insults and epitaphs, hymns and erotic love songs.” (p. 49)

4 It receives no mention, for instance, by Rosenmeyer (1992) or by Müller (2010).

5 Schol. M. Aesch. *PV* 128 (p. 15 Dindorf): ἐπεδήμησε γὰρ τῇ Ἀττικῇ Κριτίου ἐρῶν.

6 ἢ τε γὰρ πατρώα ὑμῖν οἰκία, ἢ Κριτίου τοῦ Δρωπίδου, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν ποιητῶν ἐγκεκωμιασμένα παραδέδοται ἡμῖν ὡς διαφέρουσα

regard to another prominent family, we hear that Anacreon addressed Pericles' father, Xanthippus, in verse (Himerius, *Or.* 39.2 Colonna). Their bond may be suggested by the fact that a statue of Anacreon, shown singing drunkenly, stood on the Athenian Acropolis beside those of Pericles and Xanthippus. The three evidently constituted an ensemble for the viewer, with Anacreon particularly close to Xanthippus, as the periegete Pausanias tells us (τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἔστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήμιος 1.25.1).⁷

Anacreon's involvement in Athens' musical scene is suggested in that same scholion to Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (128) which, in addition to commenting on the poet's passion for the elder Critias, mentions how "he took great delight in the songs of the tragic poet", Aeschylus (καὶ ἠρέσθη λίαν τοῖς μέλεσι τοῦ τραγικοῦ). John Herington has argued in detail – and persuasively, I think – for Anacreon's influence on the musical style of early tragedy, particularly on Aeschylean meter, most likely through direct personal contact between the aging lyric poet and the young, emerging dramatist.⁸ Their lives overlap precisely in the period during which Anacreon could have been in Athens, for the lyric poet died ca. 485 at the age of 85 (Ps.-Lucian, *On Longevity* 26), while Aeschylus staged his first play between 499 and 496, winning his first victory in 484. As Herington notes, runs of anaclastic ionic dimeters (anacreontics), pure ionics, as well as combinations of glyconics and pherecrateans are strikingly prominent in Aeschylus – all hallmarks of Anacreon's style. It is worth mentioning in this regard that in all but one of the Aeschylean passages adduced by Herington as comparable to Anacreon, Aeschylus used those meters for choral rather than for solo song.⁹ This will also be the case in our *stasimon* from Euripides' *Cyclops*. And that may not be an aberration. For despite our modern conception of Anacreon as a solo lyrist and author of monody, there is early evidence for him as a choral poet as well. For Critias, in his encomium, claims that love of Anacreon will never die as long as sympotic practices persist and "as long as female choruses perform the rites of the *pannychis*" (παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν PMG 500.8 = Athenaeus 13.600 d-e v. 8); in short, Anacreon seems to have composed for chorus, too.

Anacreon's musical impact on Athens is also evident in aristocratic sympotic circles. Here, he became an iconic figure, a kind of "Athenian Idol", since – most unusual for a Greek poet – he appears by name on Attic red-figure vases even

κάλλει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἄλλῃ λεγομένη εὐδαιμονία. "Your ancestral house, that of Critias, son of Dropides, has according to tradition been celebrated by Anacreon and Solon and many other poets as being preeminent in beauty, excellence, and everything else that has to do with happiness."

7 Cf. Bowra (1961: 301-302). For nuanced discussion of the statue against the background of Anacreon's evolving image in 5th cent. Athens, see Shapiro (2012) with bibliography.

8 See Herington (1985: 110-115 and 217-222; Appendix X, "Similarities Between the Meters of Anacreon and Aeschylus").

9 The one exception is *Diktoulkoi* (TrGF III 47a 802-820), which appears to be the solo song of Silenus.

before his death. Three of them portray figures bearing the explicit label, Anacreon.¹⁰ He has, moreover, long been associated with the so-called “Anacreontic Vases”, or “Booners”, as they have more recently been dubbed,¹¹ a group of about 50 mostly red-figure vessels that start appearing at precisely the time Anacreon arrived in Athens, i.e. in the 520s, and extend to the middle of the 5th century. They depict ostentatiously bearded men – Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague (1990) call the images “barbocentric” – at play in a *komos*, parading and dancing about in what from an Athenian perspective must have seemed highly exotic, even womanish clothing and accessories.¹²



Fig. 1: Detail of the red-figure column-krater by the Pig Painter, Cleveland (26.549).
Photo: Courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.

By way of example, I reproduce a red-figure column-krater by the Pig Painter in Cleveland (26.549; see fig. 1 above). In fact, as Kurtz/Boardman (1986: 47-65) demonstrated exhaustively, their style of dress recalls the luxurious clothing typical of Anacreon’s region of origin, Lydia and the Greek East: they wear long

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- 10 These are a red-figure kylix by Oltos in the British Museum (E 18), a lekythos by the Gales Painter in Syracuse (26967) and a fragmentary krater by the Kleophrades Painter in Copenhagen (13365).
- 11 Kurtz/Boardman (1986) coined the term “Booners” to describe Anacreon’s “Boon Companions”. See their amusing, Oxford-tinged morphological justification, p. 35 n.1.
- 12 The interpretation of these scenes is controversial. Scholars debate whether the figures are transvestites or simply clad in exotic, Lydian-style clothing, also whether their behavior is secular or religious. For a good overview of the controversy, see Miller (1999: 232-236).

chitons covered by himation and sport a hair-net (*sakkos*) or turban (*mitra*). In some cases (as with the two left-hand figures above), ear-rings dangle from their ears; some carry parasols; some wear boots – most often *kothurnoi*, which ancient sources identify as Lydian in origin, as Kurtz/Boardman (1986: 61) point out. Anacreon's Artemon poem (PMG 388) demonstrates that such clothing was familiar in what was presumably an East Greek setting.¹³ When playing a stringed instrument, further, the figures on the vases almost always use the *barbitos* – a “lyre of elongated shape that both the graphic and the literary traditions connect with Ionic and Aeolic lyric poetry”.¹⁴ This instrument is especially associated with Anacreon: Critias, in his encomium, characterizes the Teian poet with the *hapax* φιλοβάρβιτος (PMG 500.4), and Athenaeus (175e) actually makes Anacreon the *barbitos*'s inventor. Though that attribution is surely incorrect from a historical standpoint (Sappho seems to have referred to the *barbitos* already in fr. 176 LP, and Pindar claimed Terpander as its inventor, fr. 124d-126 Snell/Maehler), it does suggest how Anacreon and this particular type of lyre came to be joined in the public imagination. Scholars have, further, plausibly linked the dress and activities of the figures on the vases with Aristophanes' depiction of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazousai*.¹⁵ There, the old man, Mnesilochus, wonders “why does the *barbitos* / chatter [when Agathon] wears a saffron gown, and the lyre babble when he is in a hair-net” (τί βάρβιτος / λαλεῖ κροκοτῶ; τί δὲ λύρα κεκρυφάλῳ; vv. 137-138). Agathon justifies his conduct by reference to poetic precedent: That's how Anacreon did it (along with Ibycus and Alcaeus) “who added spice to their music, / always wore turbans and sashayed about Ionian-style” (σκέψαι δ' ὅτι / Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κάνακρέων ὁ Τήιος / κάλκαϊος, οἱ περὶ ἀρμονίαν ἐχόμεσαν, / ἐμτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἴωνικῶς, vv. 160-163).

The general link, then, between Anacreon and the so-called ‘Anacreontic-’ or ‘Booner Vases’ is apparent in the striking chronological coincidence between their first appearance and Anacreon's spectacular arrival at Athens aboard Hipparchus' warship, in the Lydian-style fashions that would have been familiar from Anacreon's East-Greek milieu, but exotic and effeminate from an Athenian standpoint, and in the prominence of that East-Greek instrument, the *barbitos* – all in conjunction with a *komos*, a central activity of that sympotic milieu with which Anacreon became synonymous. I wonder, too, whether the flamboyant beardedness of the figures,¹⁶ stressing their status as mature, older males, might

13 For discussion of this poem, see Slater (1978), Davies (1981), Brown (1983), and Kurke (1999: 187-191).

14 Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague (1990: 212).

15 See Snyder (1974: 244-246).

16 As noted by Price (1990: 141-142), “these may be longer than ordinary beards (...) or bushier (...). They may even be untrimmed, with long wisps hanging from the main body (...). A comparison of Anacreontic beards with the short, trimmed beards of ordinary revelers within the work of individual vase painters makes it clear that the Anacreontic type is, as a rule, longer, blacker, fuller, and more unkempt.” I do not share Price's view

deliberately recall the poetic persona of Anacreon, who in his verse so often calls attention to his age by reference to his facial hair (e.g. PMG 358, 379a-b, 395, 420).¹⁷



Fig. 2: Red-figure kalyx-krater ('Curtius krater') by the Kleophrades Painter, Copenhagen (M.N. 13365 = ARV² 185, 32). Photo Copyright: the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

A *direct* link to Anacreon is more tenuous, but present nonetheless. In two of the three cases in which the poet is *directly* named on the vase, he himself appears dressed in, or is at least associated with others who wear that exotic Lydian style of clothing. Thus on the early 5th cent. BCE red-figure lekythos from Gela by the Gales Painter (Syracuse 26967 = ARV² 36, 2), Anacreon appears as a mature, bearded male in chiton and himation, playing the *barbitos*. Though the vase is

that the Anacreontic beards were false beards, worn specially for performance in the komos.

¹⁷ See generally the discussion of Falkner (1995: 141-147).

damaged, Beazley once thought he could see that the singer was wearing a sakkos as well – though he later became uncertain.¹⁸

A more explicit connection comes in the large fragmentary red-figure kalix-krater – the so-called ‘Curtius krater’¹⁹ – of the late 6th cent. BCE by the Kleophrades Painter in Copenhagen (M.N. 13365 = ARV² 185, 32; see fig. 2 above). Here we find fragments of four revelers in a *komos*. The head of only one survives, but it shows all the signs of the Anacreontic series. A bearded male clad in chiton and himation with an ivy wreath about his neck, decked out, moreover, with an elegant turban (*mitra*) and holding an open parasol over his shoulder, throws back his head in the gesture of song (the syllables “i – i – o – o” appear as a caption coming from his mouth). In the lower fragment – which seems to belong to the same figure – we see that the reveler has kicked up his leg in the dance.

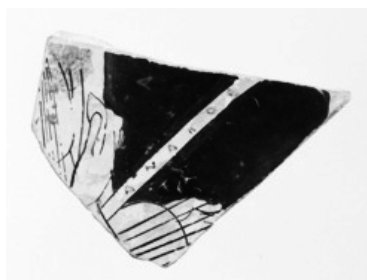


Fig. 3: Detail of the red-figure kalix-krater (‘Curtius krater’).
Photo Copyright: the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.

A further, ‘floating’ fragment is of utmost significance (see fig. 3 above). Possibly belonging with another fragment showing only the lower part of a reveler with long chiton and fancy boots (Beazley [1954: 57] calls them “persikai”), it portrays a bearded singer strumming a *barbitos* with his left hand while holding a plectrum in his right.²⁰ Most importantly, the name ANAKPE[ΩN appears on the upper arm of the *barbitos*. There has been debate about whether to understand the name on the lyre as labeling the singer, or – since

18 See Beazley (1954: 61): “a long time ago I thought I made out a sakkos: I lay no stress on my old note, but should like to re-examine the original.”

19 Named for Ludwig Curtius, the scholar who first described it.

20 I am most grateful to Jasper Gaunt, Curator of Classical Art at Emory University’s Michael C. Carlos Museum, for contacting Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen of the National Museum of Denmark on my behalf to inquire about the reddish splotch visible just to the left above the plectrum, which seems to echo in its shape the beard of the singing figure with turban and parasol from the same vase mentioned above. Through careful examination with microscope, Rasmussen confirms (*per litteras* Nov. 2, 2011) that the reddish coloration is indeed part of a beard.

it is unusual, though not unheard of, for a person's name to appear on an implement – whether to take it as referring to the Anacreontic lyre, i.e. as representing the music of Anacreon that would generally accompany a revel of this sort. I am persuaded – if hesitantly – that Anacreon himself was meant here, not just his lyre or songs, by Boardman's list in Kurtz/Boardman (1986: 68-69 n. 148), which documents other instances of characters labeled on objects belonging to them.²¹ I would note, too, that the dark lettering stands out far more against the light backdrop of the *barbitos* than it would painted in red against the black glaze, thus lending greater emphasis to Anacreon's name. Beazley (1954: 57) saw that "the inscription [on the Curtius krater] shows that it represents Anacreon and his boon companions", and he at once sought to extrapolate to the whole set of 'Anacreontic Vases', suggesting that singers of this kind depicted in the series should always be viewed as representing Anacreon (even if unlabeled), and *komasts* like those on the vase should always be taken as the singer's boon companions.²²

My own view is closer to Boardman's (1979: 219), who did not consider each instance as specifically representing Anacreon and his companions, but thought that the advent of Anacreon at Athens inspired and popularized the kind of sympotic spectacle we see in the Anacreontic vases: "Anakreon, the Ionian poet who came to Athens in about 520 (...) may have introduced this drag performance which remained fashionable for over fifty years". Given the poet's iconic status and ongoing impact on Athenian musical culture, even following his death, I would suggest that we take each iteration of these flamboyant komastic scenes on the vases as reflecting the urge so memorably expressed in the *Anacreontea*: „Imitate Anacreon“ (CA 60.30).²³

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- 21 For doubts that the label designates the singer rather than his music generally, cf. Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague (1992: 215), Rosenmeyer (1992: 30 n. 55) and Miller (1999: 236): "It is better to see the inscription as an indication of the instrument's function by reference to Anakreon's poetry; this is the quintessentially sympotic barbiton". These scholars do not seem to acknowledge, however, the *comparanda* collected by Boardman in his note.
- 22 Beazley (1954: 57): "Does it follow that all the vases in our series have the same subject as the krater? I am inclined to think that it does: that (1) they too represent not merely a komos, but a special komos; (2) that when one of the figures is a man playing the lyre, it is Anacreon; (3) that when a figure just like these 'Anacreons' is represented alone, as on the Boston lekythos, it is Anacreon; (4) that when there is no 'Anacreon', the figures are still to be thought of as 'boon companions of Anacreon'. It might be thought safer to suppose that some of the pictures were intended to represent not Anacreon himself and his cronies, but, more generally, revellers of the good old days. The question is not easy."
- 23 I do not mean to suggest that one can unproblematically use vase painting as a mirror of contemporary sympotic behavior. Obviously, the medium has its own visual language and conventions, which do not directly reflect real life. In this case, however, the evidence of the paintings is corroborated by literary sources, such as Philostratus the Elder's statement that "the komos gives license for women to act like men, and for men to dress up and walk like women" (συγχωρεῖ δὲ ὁ κῶμος καὶ γυναικὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνδρὶ θῆλυ ἐνδύναί σκολῆν καὶ θῆλυ βαινεῖν, *Imag.* 1.2.298) or Aristophanes' depiction of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (see above). See further Miller (1999: 244) and Slater (1978).

Boardman softened his position in Kurtz/Boardman (1986: 65-70), no longer speaking of a “drag performance” or deliberate transvestism;²⁴ instead, already somewhat prior to Anacreon’s arrival, he sees “a gradual infiltration of East Greek habits into Athenian komast life, culminating around 520 in a special addiction on the part of some revelers to a wholehearted display of this exotic behavior” (1986: 65). “That [Anacreon’s] arrival in Athens is to be associated with this new behavior is clear”, says Boardman (1986: 67), only now he no longer views the poet as the chief cause so much as a manifestation of a larger trend.

I largely concur with this view, though with a somewhat different emphasis: I think it plausible that Anacreon did indeed play a key role in popularizing a new sympotic/komastic style. With a charismatic star-quality and musical brilliance that evidently captivated Athenian society and put his name in lights (or at least on Athenian vases) within his lifetime, Anacreon possessed precisely the sort of magnetism that would let him constitute a focal point about which East-Greek traditions could coalesce and crystallize – even if, as Boardman shows, they were already in the air.

The one piece of ‘Anacreontic’ pottery that, in my opinion, manages to convey that magnetism comes from early in the poet’s time in Athens (ca. 520-510), a white-ground black-figure plate by the innovative artist, Psiax, in Basel (Sammlung Ludwig Kä 421 = ABV 294.21; see fig. 4 below): The circular field presents two figures. At left before a stool, a female aulos-player wearing a turban (*mitra*) stands with rigid, Caryatid-like verticality, her feet firmly planted on the floor. Her aulos extends straight ahead as she plays, its case hanging down perpendicularly behind her. As Cohen (2006: 200) describes it, “these compositional horizontals and verticals contrast markedly with the twisted pose of the male figure dancing on his toes at the right”. This dancer bears the characteristic marks of a reveler in the ‘Anacreontic’ series: He is a mature, bearded male who sports a turban (*mitra*) crowned with ivy, is shod in elegant, pointy boots, trimmed with red at the calves, and wears a gorgeous red-dotted chiton, with red-and-black striped himation draped over his shoulders. His right hand grasps near the top an exceptionally ornate *barbitos* (note its long, undulating arms and the exquisite swans-head finials on either side of the crossbar) – not so as to play it, but so as to make it an ornament of the dance; with his left he holds a kylix in his palm. The overwhelming impression is one of whirling movement, mirroring the graceful curve of the plate: With head tilted down to his right, arms hooked at the elbows, and the ‘wings’ of his himation flaring (a motion echoed even in his beard), the dancer’s upper body resembles a great pinwheel or whirligig, gracefully spinning. The counterclockwise gyration is even picked up in the angle of the *barbitos* relative to his arms. This dynamism is

24 Most scholars before him had understood the figures as transvestite, whether women playing men’s parts, or men playing women. Thus Beazley (1954: 57): “We (...) believe all these figures to be men disguised as women”.

mirrored also in the zigzag of his lower body, launched by the feet, which stand at a slant from the ground on tippy toe, and carried forward in the lithe bow of the legs. Despite the dancer's tremendous kinetic energy, he appears in total control. Only a slender toe breaches the circular frame of the plate at bottom right. And above, he manages to hold his kylix poised in perfect equilibrium, absolutely horizontal.



Fig. 4: White-ground black-figure plate by Psiax, Basel (Sammlung Ludwig Kä 421 = ABV 294.21). Photo Copyright: Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig/A. Voegelin.

At once swept away in Dionysiac abandon, yet in consummate artistic control – this gripping combination renders plausible the idea, for this case at least, that “very early lone barbiton players like this one might have been intended to depict Anacreon himself”, Cohen (2006: 200).

Peter Parsons (2001: 56) speaks of the “deeper impression” Anacreon made in Athens than other brilliant contemporaries, noting that “from his appearance on the “booner” vases, he seems to have struck the popular imagination like the young Mick Jagger”.²⁵ The rock star analogy is apt. To me, however, the more fruitful comparison apropos of the *Anacreontea* would be between Anacreon and Elvis Presley, with the “booners” corresponding to Elvis impersonators, who mimic their master’s outlandish style of dress, coiffure, and distinctive sound (see fig. 5 below).



Fig. 5: Elvis Presley Tribute Artists, London 2005.

Photo: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Elvis_impersonators_record.jpg
(Paul Smith/Martin Fox).

The transgressive, gender-bending appeal of their costumes lends the impersonators something of the quality we have seen in the ‘booners’. In the context of the Anacreontic vases, it is interesting to note that impersonators started to appear while Elvis was still alive. According to the tale, “shortly before his death, Elvis himself anonymously took part in an Elvis Impersonation contest in a local restaurant he happened to be in, only to come in third place”.²⁶ Like the poets of

25 Parsons (2001: 56) goes on to say “Vase painters also depict Sappho and Alcaeus; they do not depict Simonides or indeed Pindar – it is the pop singers (alive or dead) who concern the public, not the composers of cantatas.”

26 Cf. the entry “Elvis Impersonators” at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elvis_impersonator.

the *Anacreontea*, further, Elvis impersonators mostly imitate a limited range of their model's songs – “the raw 1950s Elvis and the kitschy 1970s Elvis are the favorites”.²⁷

Why did Anacreon's music make such an impact? I think John Herington gets at something essential about his appeal when he discusses the poet's characteristic meters. Regarding the anacastic ionic dimeter (or “Anacreontic”, as it was called already in antiquity), he notes (1985: 217) how it is an “exceptionally catchy verse form (anacreontic lines, sung to the guitar, can still be heard with pleasure, as I have found by experiment)”. Similarly, of glyconic and pherecratean combinations he says (1985: 219) “it is Anacreon, so far as our record goes, who first systematically *combines* the two forms, building them (and them alone, without the admixture of any other kind of colon), into marvelously singable stanzas”. The personal pleasure conveyed in these appraisals – “exceptionally catchy”, “marvelously singable” – is refreshing, and reflects what I think most of us have experienced when reading Anacreon ourselves or discussing him with our students in the classroom: his are among the most memorable, easily teachable meters in the whole melic repertoire.²⁸ Of course we lack the tunes that certainly contributed to their popularity, but even on the basis of rhythm and lyrics we sense how Anacreon's songs could have enthralled his audience.

That they became enduring staples of the sympotic repertoire is clear from references to their performance in authors as remote from each other in time as Aristophanes and Plutarch. In the former's earliest comedy, *Daitaleis*, of 427, a character demands that *skolia* by Anacreon and Alcaeus be sung for him (ἄσον δὴ μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κἀνακρέοντος F 235 KA); and in Plutarch's *Sympotic Questions* (711d) a speaker states “whenever Sappho is sung, and Anacreon, I feel like setting down my cup in awe” (ὅτε καὶ Σαπφοῦς ἂν ἀδομένης καὶ τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος ἐγὼ μοι δοκῶ καταθέσθαι τὸ ποτήριον αἰδούμενος). Most significantly, Critias in his encomium makes the remarkable statement that “love of Anacreon” – not his *kleos* or poetry, as one might expect –, “love of Anacreon will never grow old or die / as long as a boy makes the rounds bearing water mixed with wine for the cups, / dealing out toasts from left to right, / and female choruses perform the rites of the *pannychis*” (οὐ ποτέ σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανεῖται, / ἔξ τ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμιγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι / παῖς διαπομπεύη, προπόσεις ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν, / παννυχίδας θ' ἱεράς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν, vv. 5-8).²⁹ I know of no other expression of pure affection for a poet comparable to this

27 *Ibid.*

28 See also Kirkwood (1974: 150): “an extraordinarily imitable poet”.

29 Regina Höschele wonders (via email), “Could it possibly be that Critias (and if not he, then contemporary readers) also thought of the boomer vases here, since these vessels would have been used in the symposium? This would give added point to the idea that love for Anacreon will live on for as long as water is mixed with wine, presumably in kraters, for the cups: that is, he is there in spirit and a picture of him (or someone in his style) might be viewed on symposiastic implements!” Given Critias' dates (ca. 460-403), and the fact that the series of Anacreontic vases extended from ca. 520 till ca. 450, it is certainly plausible

in ancient literature. The term φιλότης is interesting here, as it can refer either to sexual love (as often in Homer) or to the love that comes from friendship. In this context, both may be at play, since one could initially construe the genitive σου in the phrase σου φιλότης as possessive, i.e. Anacreon's erotic passion – as expressed in his poetry.³⁰ That reading, however, might not fit as well once we get to v. 8, with the context of women's choruses at the *pannychis* as one of the settings for Anacreon's influence. The objective genitive, "love for Anacreon", is probably the dominant sense here. On that reading, I think that φιλότης probably bears strong connotations of sympotic fellowship (think of the φιλοτησία κύλιξ, for instance). Critias seems, then, to be saying that we all feel that affection for Anacreon that one does for a member of the tight-knit sympotic group: We are all Anacreon's 'mates', his boon companions. It is notable, too, that Critias situates Anacreon's presence in the Greek world broadly. Teos did not send out its sweet Anacreon only to Critias' native Athens. It sent him, rather, to Hellas: ἡδὸν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀνήγεν (v. 2).³¹ Those, in other words, who feel that sense of fellowship with Anacreon are spread across the entire Hellenic world.

It is against this backdrop of Anacreon's widespread adulation and pervasive influence that I want to consider the second *stasimon* of Euripides' *Cyclops*, our sole complete satyr-play. The song comes just after Odysseus has informed the satyrs of his plan to take vengeance on Polyphemus. He has already plied the monster with a good bit of Maron's wondrous potion, but the Cyclops is so pleased with it that he wants to go out on a *komos*, as Odysseus describes it, to his brother Cyclopes (ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔρπειν πρὸς κασιγνήτους θέλει / Κύκλωπας ἠσθεῖς τῷδε Βακχίου ποτῶ, vv. 445-446). The hero enlists the satyrs' help to prevent this, so that the Cyclops can drink enough alone to become altogether drunk and fall asleep, whereupon Odysseus will, with the satyrs' help, blind him using the burning stake. The choral song starts with an anapaestic prelude – "to convey a martial spirit", as Seaford puts it (1984: 195 ad 483-518) – in which the satyr chorus expresses its resolve, when suddenly they hear the Cyclops singing drunk-enly within. I print Diggle's text (1984) with some modifications:

that these vessels would have been treasured possessions still in use in Athenian households when Critias' poem appeared.

30 In this sense, one could see σου φιλότης here as a gloss on e.g. PMG 357.10, where Anacreon speaks of his desire for Kleoboulos as τὸν ἐμὸν γ' ἔρωτ'.

31 For Ἑλλάς in this sense, see LSJ s.v. I 6.

[ὠιδὴ ἔνδοθεν]

Χο. σίγα σίγα. καὶ δὴ μεθύων ἄχαριν κέλαδον μουσιζόμενος σκαιὸς ἀπωιδὸς καὶ κλαυσόμενος	490				
χωρεῖ πετρίνων ἔξω μελάθρων. φέρε νιν κόμοις παιδεύσωμεν τὸν ἀπαίδευτον· πάντως μέλλει τυφλὸς εἶναι.					
μάκαρ ὅστις εὐιάζει βοτρύων φίλαισι πηγαῖς	496	[στρ. α	υ	υ	— υ υ — —
ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐκπετασθεῖς, φίλον ἄνδρ' ὑπαγκαλίζων			υ	υ	— υ υ — —
ἐπὶ δεμνίοις τε † ξανθὸν † χλιδανῆς ἔχων ἑταίρας	500		υ	υ	— υ υ — —
μυρόχριστος λιπαρὸν βό- στρυχον, αὐδαῖα δέ· Θύραν τίς οἶζει μοι;			υ	υ	— — υ υ — υ — —
Κο. παπαπαῖ· πλέως μὲν οἴνου, γάνυμαι <δὲ> δαιτὸς ἦβης, σκάφος ὀλκὰς ὡς γεμισθεῖς	505	[στρ. β	υ	υ	— υ υ — —
ποτὶ σέλμα γαστροῦς ἄκρας. ὑπάγει μ' ὁ φόρτος εὐφρων			υ	υ	— υ υ — —
ἐπὶ κῶμον ἦρος ὄραις ἐπὶ Κύκλωπας ἀδελφούς.			υ	υ	— — υ υ — —
φέρε μοι, ξεῖνε, φέρ', ἄσκον ἔνδος μοι.	510	υ	υ	— — — — υ υ — υ — —	
Χο. καλὸν ὄμμασιν δεδορκῶς καλὸς ἐκπερᾷ μελάθρων. < > φιλεῖ τίς ἡμᾶς; λύχνα δ' † ἀμμένει δαΐα σὸν	515	[στρ. γ	υ	υ	— υ υ — —
χρόα χάς † τέρεϊνα νύμφα δροσερῶν ἔσωθεν ἄντρων. στεφάνων δ' οὐ μία χροιά περὶ σὸν κρᾶτα τάχ' ἐξομιλήσει.			υ	υ	— — — — υ υ — υ — —

- Ch. Shut up, shut up, for now the drunk,
 playing at music with charmless din,
 inept, off-key, and soon to weep, 490
 is coming out from his rocky chamber.
 Come on, let's educate him with our reveling songs,
 the uneducated one.
 He will in any case be blind.
- Happy the man who cries εὐαί for Bacchus, [σπρ. α
 and fueled by the grape's dear streams, 496
 heads off to the komos, the wind in his sails,
 in his arms he clasps a trusty buddy,
 in his perfumed grip
 a deluxe hetaira's 500
 glistening yellow locks on the bed. And he says
 "Which of you will open wide your gate for me?"
- Cy. Wa-wa-wow! Loaded up with wine, [σπρ. β
 I exult in the pleasure of the feast, 505
 my hull filled up like a freighter
 right up to my belly's topmost deck.
 This merry cargo leads me out
 to the komos in the springtime
 to the homes of my brother Cyclopes.
 Come on, come on, friend, hand me the winesack. 510
- Ch. With a fetching glance [σπρ. γ
 this fetching fellow's coming out of his halls,
 <crying out > Who loves me?
 The blazing lamps await your
 skin like a tender bride 515
 within the dewy cave.
 Wreaths of many colors
 will soon attend your brow.

In the anapaestic run-up to the song proper, the satyrs frame that song as a lesson: they plan to "educate" the Cyclops by means of reveling songs (κώμοις παιδεύσωμεν, v. 492).³² One can take κώμοις here *apo koinou* with τὸν ἀπαιδευτον, i.e. Polyphemus is the one who is uneducated in κῶμοι. The need for instruction is urgent, since unlike the monster in Homer, the Euripidean Cyclops knew nothing at all of wine before Odysseus' arrival; it simply did not exist in his

32 On the education of Polyphemus here in this song, and by Silenus and Odysseus elsewhere in the *Cyclops*, see Rossi's important article (1971: esp. 24-25). Cf. also Griffith (2005: 169).

habitat.³³ He is utterly ignorant, therefore, when it comes to sympotic behavior. And Euripides frames that ignorance here as *musical*: already in vv. 425-426 Odysseus had described the drunken Cyclops as “singing discordantly”, ᾄδει (...) ἄμουσ’. Now the satyrs say he makes a “charmless din”, ἄχαρτιν κέλαδον (v. 489), the former term applied by Theognis (v. 496) to unsuccessful symposia; he is inept and out of tune, σκαιὸς ἀποδῶς (v. 490). What the satyrs offer Polyphemus, then, is a lesson in the musical tradition, specifically they will teach him the one aspect about which he is most clueless, that accompanying the consumption of wine, the tradition of sympotic song.³⁴ His education takes a form that any 5th cent. spectator schooled in the ways of the symposium would have instantly recognized: a song in the style of Anacreon.

Euripides’ *stasimon* resembles a work of the Tean poet not only in its sympotic/erotic themes, though these are striking. It is also a *monostrophikon*, a form particularly associated with Anacreon.³⁵ Moreover, it is composed in the poet’s most characteristic meter, simple and elegant ‘anacreontics’, i.e. anacletic ionic dimeters, in runs of six verses κατὰ στίχον. The meter had, according to A.M. Dale (1968: 125), “become familiar to Athenians (...) in the lyrics of its eponymous master”. These are followed by pure ionics and rounded off by a molossus. As Dale further comments (1968: 126), “the pure ionic dimeter as the penultimate phrase in anacreontics is characteristic of Anacreon himself”, cf. PMG 356a-b and 395.³⁶ In their monostrophic form and meter, the verses “have no real parallel in tragedy” (Seaford [1984: ad 483-518]).

But more, the song discards the normal Doric of a tragic *stasimon* and – unlike any other in tragic literature – employs Ionic dialect instead. Thus we find χλιδανής in v. 500 and ἦβης in v. 504 transmitted in L, both of which Diggle alters in his edition so as to conform to the usual choral Doric (cf. *app. crit.* above).³⁷ Why, one wonders, did he leave Ionic πηγαῖς in v. 496, when in tragic

33 A point stressed already by Rossi (1971: 23), cf. also Seaford (1984: 54). For the complete absence of wine/Dionysus among Euripides’ Cyclopes, cf. vv. 63-67, 123-124, 139-140, 204-205. The play consistently views the blinding of Polyphemus as retribution for his *δυσσέβεια* against Dionysus (rather than against Zeus’ guest-right, as in Homer), and portrays the god himself or his wine as the active agent that exacts punishment from the monster, cf. vv. 422, 454, 616, 678.

34 As Ussher (1978: ad vv. 490-494) puts it, the satyrs “are connoisseurs of music, and the Cyclops’ efforts fill them with contempt. The ignorant fellow wants to revel: well, they will teach him.”

35 See Schol. Epim. Pind III, p. 310.27 Drachmann: τῶν δὲ ῥῶδῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι μονόστροφοι, αἱ δὲ τριαδικαί. Καὶ μονόστροφοι μὲν αἱ Σαπφοῖ καὶ Ἀλκαίῳ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντι. The collocation of these three as monostrophic poets appears elsewhere as well, for instance in Hephaestion, π. ποιημ. IV, 2 (p. 66 Consbruch) = Gentili (1958) *Testimonia de Metris* I (p. 112): μονοστροφικὰ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ὅποσα ὑπὸ μιᾶς στροφῆς καταμετρεῖται, καθάπερ τὰ Ἀλκαίου καὶ τὰ Σαπφοῦς καὶ ἔτι τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος. Cf. also Hephaestion, π. σημειῶν 3 (p. 74 Consbruch).

36 On the metrical closure of the Euripidean stanza here, see also Rossi (1971: 16 n. 15).

37 For the genitive ἦβης with γάνυμαι in v. 504, cf. Aeschylus *Eum.* 969-970.

lyric one would expect *παγαῖς*? In any case, as Seaford suggests (1984: ad v. 500), “rather than introducing Doric forms here and at 504 (ἤβης L) in convivial (Ionic) Anacreontics (cf. e.g. Anacreon 395 PMG *χαρίεσσα δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἤβη*), it might be better to read *νύμφη* in 515”. Altogether, as Dale (1968: 125) puts it, “the scene is a *κῶμος* and reads like a bibulous parody of songs perhaps sung at feasts after the model of [Anacreon PMG 396] *φέρ’ ὕδωρ, φέρ’ οἶνον, ᾧ παῖ*”. For a satyr chorus to be singing Ionic may have an added, witty point, since the origins of satyr play were traced to Pratinus, from Phlius in the Peloponnese. Their native song, in other words, would have been Doric,³⁸ but the demands of the Anacreontic genre take precedence.³⁹ Of course, it is also hilarious to think that characters contemporary with the Trojan War (!) would be singing a song in the style of Anacreon. This is not just an Anacreontea *ante litteram*, it is an Anacreontea *ante Anacreontem*!

Like good music teachers, the satyrs set the tone and beat for Polyphemos inasmuch as they sing the initial strophe. He then follows their lead in the subsequent strophe, turning the *stasimon* into a duet, or *kommos*, between chorus and Cyclops.⁴⁰ From a formal standpoint, the monster is a quick study. His perfect imitation of anacreontic meter calls to mind the rallying cry of the *Anacreontea*: τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ (CA 60.30). What is more, by comparing himself to a freighter whose hull is filled right up to the deck with wine, he has miraculously assimilated conventional sympotic imagery, namely that of the ‘symposium at sea’, where the drinking party is seen as a sea voyage that may or may not reach port in safety.⁴¹ Where did he learn it? No doubt, the guiding force behind the action of this play inspired him: Dionysus. That is the subtext when Polyphemos says that the merry cargo – i.e. the wine itself – leads him out to the *komos* in the springtime (ὕπαγει μ’ ὁ φόρτος εὐφρων / ἐπὶ κῶμον ἦρος ὥραις, vv.

38 Cf. Dioskorides HE 22 = AP 7.37, and especially HE 23 = AP 7.707, where a satyr thanks the playwright, Sositeus, for restoring the ancient character of satyr play (“worthy of Phliasian satyrs”), and leading him to inject “a masculine rhythm for the Doric Muse” (καὶ πάλιν εἰσώρησα τὸν ἄρσενά Δωριδί Μούσῃ / ῥυθμόν, vv. 7-8). Cf. also the dedicatory epigram from Pergamon, Merkelbach/Stauber 06/02/05, in which the satyr, Skirtos, comments on his Pratineian style, and does so in appropriately Doric dialect.

39 For the use of Ionic dialect as “a means of asserting (...) affiliation to the Teian poet” in the *Anacreontea* as well, see Sens p. 99 in this volume.

40 Similarly Ussher (1978: ad vv. 495-518): “The chorus (...) start their lesson with a Bacchic and (suitably) Anacreontic stanza (doubtless typical, too, in content of contemporary revel-songs) extolling the joys of love and wine. Polyphemos replies in the same measure.”

41 For the drinking-party as sea-voyage, see Slater (1976), Davies (1978) and Lissarrague (1990). Anacreon himself seems to have deployed this metaphor in PMG 403: ἀσήμων / ὑπὲρ ἐρμῶτων φορέομαι “I am borne over hidden reefs”. Regina Höschele suggests to me that the imagery may have added point in the context of this play, where Silenus and the satyrs quite literally failed to reach their intended port and suffered a shipwreck. Polyphemos’ metaphorical journey – and impending shipwreck – is thus implicitly juxtaposed with their actual sea voyage.

507-508).⁴² Finally, the Cyclops seems almost to quote Anacreon in the last verse of his stanza – or should we think that Anacreon was quoting Cyclops?! – when he says φέρε μοι, ξεῖνε, φέρ', ἀσκὸν ἔνδος μοι. This seems to echo not only PMG 396 φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ, φέρε <δ'> ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμῖν / στεφάνου ἐνεικον, ὡς δὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω, but also PMG 356 ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμῖν ὦ παῖ / κελέβην, ὄκως ἄμυστιν / προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγγέας / ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἶνου (...) κτλ.⁴³ Rossi (1971: 16) argues that such passages reflect a non-specific formula of sympotic song, and that the Cyclops' verse is therefore not a direct allusion to Anacreon.⁴⁴ Yet the repeated call for wine with the imperative of φέρω appears, so far as I can see, only in Anacreon (or, as here, in a poet he influenced). I think, moreover, that the reference may be quite pointed.⁴⁵ For what is striking is how Anacreon's speaker calls in each case for a civilized mix of wine and water. Polyphemus, by contrast, demands only the wine-sack containing the miraculously potent, unmixed wine of Maron. Agile though he may be in mimicking Anacreontic song, his request reveals the barbarous monster underneath.⁴⁶

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- 42 φόρτος, “cargo”, the text printed by Diggle (1984), is Seymour's (1882: xl-xli) emendation for L's χόρτος, which, as Seaford notes ad loc. “gives little sense”. Springtime is the conventional season of the *komos* in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, cf. CA 5.2, 44.7, 46.1, 55.1. Seaford (1984: ad v. 508) notes that the Cyclops' reference to Spring may suggest that the play was performed at the Great Dionysia, which coincided with the opening of the sailing season – hence also the nautical imagery of vv. 505-507.
- 43 Note that PMG 396 is quoted also at *Carmina Anacreontea* 52a.1 and in the 2nd cent. CE mosaic of Anacreon at Autun. Apropos of Anacreon's remarkable image of boxing with Eros, it may be worth noting how in the *Cyclops*, after Polyphemus has been made drunk and blinded, the satyrs vaunt with a comparable and equally striking image: “Wine is terrible and strong to wrestle with”, δεινὸς γὰρ οἶνος καὶ παλαιεσθαι βαρὺς v. 678.
- 44 Rossi (1971: 16): “Ma abbiamo certo qui una formula commune di invite simposiaco, tipicamente espresso in anacreontici e con minime variazioni verbali, che testimonia l'aderenza ad un genere piú che il richiamo ad un poeta determinato.”
- 45 The likelihood that Euripides is pointedly evoking Anacreon here – and indeed throughout this ode – is all the greater since, as Hans Bernsdorff points out to me, Euripides appears to embed a further allusion to the Teian poet earlier in the play. For at vv. 166-167 Silenus claims that, for the chance to drink a single cup of wine, he would gladly go mad and leap drunkenly into the sea from the rock of Leukas (ρίψας τ' ἐς ἄλμην Λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο / ἄπαξ μεθυσθεῖς) – an apparent recollection of Anacreon PMG 376 (ἀρθεῖς δὴτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πέτρης ἐς πολὺν κύμα κολυμβέω μεθύων ἔρωτι), our earliest reference to the famous leap from the Leukadian rock. Note the close verbal correspondences, ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πέτρης ~ Λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο, ἐς (...) κύμα ~ ἐς ἄλμην, κολυμβέω ~ ρίψας, μεθύων ~ μεθυσθεῖς. Manuel Baumbach suggests to me that CA 1.3 may conversely have picked up Silenus' phrase, ὄναρ λέγω, from *Cyclops* v. 8. This may be, but I would not agree with him that this may be „a possible hint that the Anacreontic style of the *Cyclops* (or parts of it = the stasimon) was widely recognized and itself poetically reworked“.
- 46 Cf. Griffith (2005: 169): “In Euripides' *Cyclops*, perhaps the most distinctive ode is the one in which the chorus undertake to ‘educate’ the uncouth Polyphemos in proper sympotic behavior (anapaests 489-93) and proceed to launch into elegant anacreontics (495-502). The diction, topoi, and metrical technique of this passage are consonant with those of other extant sympotic songs from non-dramatic contexts, such as Anacreon PMG

Finally, and with due caution, I want to suggest a further possible echo of Anacreon. In their final stanza, the chorus shifts from sympotic themes to hymeneal. The chorus figures Polyphemos as a groom emerging drunkenly from his halls on the way to a *τέρπεινα νύμφα* who awaits in the dewy cave. We find the typical anaphoric praise of the groom, *καλὸν / καλὸς* vv. 511-512 (cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 1330-1331, Sappho fr. 111, 112, 115, 116 LP), the lamps that guide the way, and the promise of the wedding wreath of many colors.⁴⁷ We have already noted that Anacreon's style is embodied here in a choral song rather than monody. Could it be, then, that this stanza reflects the type of poem referred to by Critias as being – along with sympotic verse – most typical of Anacreon: the female choruses that perform the sacred all-night rites⁴⁸ (*παννυχίδας θ' ἱεράς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν*, PMG 500.8)?

Choral wedding songs are certainly sung throughout the night, as is clear from a number of sources including Sappho 30.1-5 LP (*νύκτ[...].[/ πάρθενοι δ[/ παννυχισδοῖ[σ]αί.[/ σὰν ἀειδοῖεν φιλότατα καὶ νύμ- / φας ἰοκόλπω*, “night [...] maidens [...] all night long [...] may sing of your love and your violet-girdled bride”).⁴⁹ In particular, the use of the participle *παννυχισδοῖ[σ]αί* here in v. 3 in the context of choral song strongly suggests that Critias' description of “female choruses performing sacred all-night rites” (*παννυχίδας θ' ἱεράς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν*, PMG 500.8) could encompass hymeneal songs. If, then, the songs Anacreon composed for “female choruses” have their place in a marriage context, they would not represent as radical a thematic departure from the rest of his

356, 395, and 396; there is nothing intrinsically parodic about this stanza, however, which is a relatively straightforward komastic song. The incongruity comes, not from the diction or rhythm of this passage in itself, but from Polyphemos' misguided rejection of the congenial ethos that is being espoused, and from his own subsequent perversion of sympotic conventions. The satyrs themselves are singing quite properly and engagingly – this is something (for once) that they know something about, even if they are a few years out of practice.”

47 On these hymeneal conventions, see Rossi (1971: 16-17) and Seaford's (1984) notes on vv. 511-518, 511-512, 514-515, 517.

48 Shapiro (2012: 45) does not take seriously the evidence cited earlier for Anacreontic influence on the *choral* meters of Aeschylus (nn.8 and 9 above), and seems not to know of that on Euripides' chorus in the *Cyclops*. For Shapiro, Critias' references to “Anacreon's poetry being performed by choruses of women (as if he were Alkman)” remain supported by “no evidence whatever among the surviving fragments”. Instead, he takes Critias' mention of female choruses as reflecting a hidden agenda: “It would seem that Critias had his reasons to promulgate a radically different image of Anacreon, perhaps even to counter a popular perception of the poet as an archetypal pederast.”

49 Cf. Page (1955: 125-126). See also Pindar, *P.* 3.16-19 and the nocturnal setting of Theocritus' *Epithalamium for Helen* (18.9-14, with its address to *πότνια Νύξ* at v. 27). The argument from the scholia to that idyll divides epithalamia into two types, “those sung during the evening, called *katakoiimetika*, which they sing until the middle of the night, and those of the dawn, which are called *diegertika*”: *τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλαμίων τινὰ μὲν ἄδετα ἑσπέρας, ἃ λέγεται κατακοιμητικά, ἄτινα ἕως μέσης νυκτὸς ἄδουσι: τινὰ δὲ ὄρθρια, ἃ καὶ προσαγορεύεται διεγερτικά.*

poetry as Critias' description might have led one to believe, for they would belong within that same musical/erotic spectrum we find in Sappho.

But while Critias' description certainly fits the chorus of maidens in the Sapphic fragment, how does it square with the obvious masculinity of satyrs in their Anacreontic song, however hymeneal its themes? *Prima facie*, it does not. For what it is worth, however, I would note that the satyr chorus in the *Cyclops* is described as having a comically feminine aspect. When, for instance, Silenus introduces the chorus for its parodos at vv. 37-40, he uses the participle σαυλούμενοι in comparing the satyrs' song and dance to how they formerly pranced about with effeminate step: κῶμοι (...) / προσῆιτ' αἰοδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι vv. 39-40. This description, with its combination of effeminate frolicking (σαυλούμενοι) to the strains of a *barbitos* in the context of a komos, strikingly recalls the standard components seen on 'Anacreontic' vases.⁵⁰ Anacreon himself (PMG 458) uses the phrase σαῦλα βαίνειν specifically to describe the gait of a hetaera, and in *Wasps* Aristophanes has Philokleon say that he wants to do "the waggle-bottom", as MacDowell (1971) glosses σαυλοπρωκτιῶν ad 1173. Indeed, τὸ σαύλωμα is defined by Hesychius as "effeminacy" (LSJ s.v.). The satyrs of the chorus are, in fact, taken for females just a few lines after their Anacreontic *monostrophikon*, when the intoxicated Cyclops imagines them to be Graces tempting him (αἱ Χάριτες περῶσί με, v. 581).⁵¹ If, then – and I recognize that this is a big "if" –, we grant a feminine aspect to the satyrs as these passages suggest, then perhaps the final stanza of their 'Anacreonteon' in the *Cyclops* reflects the type of song celebrated by Critias as typical of Anacreon, an all-night hymeneal sung by a female chorus – here transposed with comic incongruity onto the effeminate chorus of satyrs.

To sum up, the play's audience – doubtless familiar with the style and subject matter of Anacreon due to his enduring influence – would instantly have recognized that it was hearing a song in the manner of this poet, cued in by the surprising monostrophic form, meter, dialect, and theme. It appears, then, that by the latter part of the 5th cent. BCE such songs would already have been familiar not simply from authentic compositions of Anacreon but – as here – as an immediately recognizable generic type: *Anacreontea*. I return to the questions I raised at the start of this paper: How should we reevaluate that later tradition of *Anacreontea* in light of this Euripidean song, and what, if anything, distinguishes

50 We may recall here the passage from Philostratus the Elder, *Imag.* 1.2.298, cited in n. 23 above, that describes how "the komos gives license (...) for men to dress up and walk like women". It is worth noting, too, as Regina Höschle points out to me, that Philostratus' *imago* here embeds the komos in a hymeneal context, for it depicts a newly married couple in a nocturnal scene with personified Komos standing in the door and a crowd of revelers celebrating outside.

51 Polyphemus quickly chooses, however, to satisfy his lusts with Silenus, whom in his drunken delirium he imagines to be Ganymede: ἄλις Γανυμήδη τόνδ' ἔχων ἀναπαύσομαι / κάλλιον ἢ τὰς Χάριτας, vv. 581-582. On the sexual connotations of ἀναπαύσομαι, cf. Seaford (1984: ad 582).

Carmina Anacreontea proper from this early instance of Anacreontic imitation? Certainly, the choral form distinguishes this Anacreontea from its later descendants. Its tolerance, moreover, for obscene double-entendre (for instance, when the reveler imagined by the satyrs asks both his male and female bed-fellow “Which of you will open wide your gate for me?” v. 502) goes well beyond the generally tame sexuality of the *Carmina Anacreontea*,⁵² recalling rather Anacreon’s own more titillating usage, e.g. in the poem on the Thracian Philly (PMG 417). Perhaps most importantly, the figure of Anacreon himself, who plays such a striking part in many of the later *Anacreontea*, is missing. With the absence of that persona, we miss, too, certain characteristic themes such as that of a lusty old age.⁵³ Despite such differences, however, it seems clear that – whether on ‘booner’ vases or in the lyrics of Euripidean satyr-play – the urge to imitate Anacreon was already well-developed in the 5th cent. BCE.

52 The closest the CA comes to obscenity is when the speaker of 17.36-37 asks a painter to portray Bathyllus with a “bold member / already desiring the Paphian goddess” (ἀφελῆ ποίησον αἰδῶ / Παφίην θέλουσαν ἦδη).

53 Nicola Dümmler suggests to me that Euripides may have transposed this part of the Anacreontic persona onto the figure of Silenus – an intriguing thought inasmuch as it is Silenus who evokes Anacreon PMG 376 about the rock of Leukas at *Cyclops* vv. 166-167 (see n. 45 above). Further, it is worth noting that one speaker in the *Carmina Anacreontea* takes Silenus as his model, declaring that “if it is necessary for me to dance, / then imitating Silenus / I will take center-stage and dance” (κἂν δεῖσθι με χορεύειν, / Σίληνὸν ἐν μέσοισι / μιμούμενος χορεύσω, CA 47.11-13).

Anacreon, Hellenistic Epigram and the Anacreontic Poet

KATHRYN GUTZWILLER

Among the Greek lyric poets, only Anacreon came to inspire a minor poetic genre in which anonymous poets inhabit the very spirit of their model and illustrate the *philosophie de vie* fostered by his poetry.¹ The formation of our Anacreontic collection was late, incorporating poems composed even at the end of the imperial age; however, the earliest of the surviving Anacreontic poems are believed to be Hellenistic or early imperial in date.² Even though, as Bing shows in this volume, Anacreontic impersonation in song, costume, and dance was taking place already in the 5th century, it is important to keep in mind that the *Anacreontea*, as we have them in manuscript, descend from a time when the Anacreon who serves as the essential model was not an immediate predecessor to be closely imitated but a figure of the remote past already canonized by a tradition of critical reception. This study focuses on the formulation of the figure of Anacreon during the Hellenistic era, the period when critics first established his place within literary history and poets began to illustrate their own aesthetic principles through reference to Anacreon and other canonical figures. The first part of the study examines how Hellenistic epigram figures the paradox of a long dead Anacreon who yet survives in spirit through the character of his poetry. The second part studies the distinctive reanimation of Anacreon in the *Anacreontea* as a development from these epigrams, with further illustration of the debt owed by Anacreontic poets to Hellenistic erotic poetry.

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- 1 On Anacreon's philosophy and its relationship to the popularity of the *Anacreontea*, note Lambin (2002: 16): "la médiocrité relative de la 'philosophie' anacréontique reflète, en réalité, la médiocrité de notre condition." For a recent study of the poetic persona of Anacreon, in specific contrast to the persona of the Theognidean elegist, see Lear (2008).
 - 2 West (²1993: xvi-xviii) argues that the current collection is based on two earlier sylloges (poems 1-20, Hellenistic in spirit, and 21-34) and two later ones (35-53, 54-60), and West (1990: 272-273) points out that the citation of poem 4 in Aulus Gellius 19.9.6 gives a *terminus ante quem* for at least this poem in the 2nd cent. CE. Campbell (1988: 14-18) conveniently summarizes the differing views of scholars on the chronology of the poems.

1 Hellenistic Anacreon

In the classical age Anacreon's poetry, like that of other lyric poets, was undoubtedly performed at symposia; the evidence of vase painting, as brilliantly analyzed by Bing in this volume, indicates that singers representing Anacreon himself led *komoi* of drunken revelers, the so-called "booners", in re-enactments of Anacreontic performance in dress and dance.³ In the Hellenistic age, however, Anacreon's poetry was largely encountered in bookrolls, as a more private, literary, and so distanced experience, yet another step removed from re-performance in song. References to this mode of reception occur in an anonymous and undatable epigram listing the nine lyric poets, where the simple phrase γράμμα (...) Ἀνακρείοντος, "writings of Anacreon", (AP 9.184.3 = anon. FGE 36a.3) delineates our poet.⁴ In the Augustan age Crinagoras penned an epigram (AP 9.239 = GP 7) to accompany five books of Anacreon's poetry sent as a gift to Antonia (perhaps Antonia Minor):⁵ the party-loving Anacreon could be packaged then, in the format of bookrolls enclosed in a case, as a proper gift for even a female member of the imperial family.⁶ His poetry is described as "sweet" (γλυκερή, 1) and the "works of inimitable Graces" (ἀμμήτων ἔργα [...] Χαρίτων, 2). Anacreon himself characterizes his poetry as full of charm (χαρίεντα μὲν [...] ἄιδω, χαρίεντα δ' οἶδα λέξαι, PMG 402c.2),⁷ and he is linked by later literary critics with Sappho and Simonides as exemplary of the "charming" middle or mixed style (Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 23, p. 2.194 Usher; *Dem.* 40, p. 1.392 Usher). The adjective ἀμμήτων, in the literal sense "not to be imitated", may also be weighted with metapoetic significance, suggesting criticism of imitators who

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- 3 Most in this volume (p. 153-159) argues that the Anacreontic poet is always giving a theatrical representation of Anacreon.
- 4 Cf. Page (1981: 341), "of a poet's *written work*". Cf. Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερή σελίς, "Simonides' sweet column", in the same epigram (5), with Page (ad loc.) for other examples.
- 5 I follow the reasoning of Gow/Page (1968: 2.217-218) in accepting as authentic the slightly corrupt lines 3-4, which make the reference to Anacreon in a meter intended to be iambic trimeters; see too the cautious arguments of Barbantani (1993: 61-63), who points out that Anacreon is presented as a writer, not a singer (ἔγραψεν, 4). The five books presented to Antonia are not necessarily a copy of the Alexandrian edition of Anacreon (probably the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium) but may be a selection from that edition; on the evidence for this edition, see Gentili (1958: xxvi-xxviii).
- 6 The propriety of the gift likely also has to do with Anacreon's position as a court poet, who praised the Samian tyrant Polycrates just as Crinagoras here praises Antonia's beauty and wisdom. That Anacreon's role at court figured in his reception is suggested by one of the new Posidippus epigrams, concerning a signet ring belonging to Polycrates engraved with an image of a singer playing the lyre by the tyrant's feet (9 AB). Given the tradition of Anacreon at Polycrates' court, the singer could plausibly be interpreted as that poet, serving as a model for Posidippus whose epigram collection praises the Ptolemies throughout. See Bing (2005: 121; 2009: 255); Gutzwiller (2005: 314).
- 7 On χάρις in Anacreon, see Vox (1990: 27-49).

lack Anacreon's χάρις. If this is right, then we have evidence that a literary game of Anacreontic imitation was recognized as early as the Augustan era.

Earlier Hellenistic epigrams grant a somewhat more personal encounter with the poet by picturing the reader of Anacreon's poems as a viewer of his statue or a visitor to his grave.⁸ In one of the earliest of these, Theocritus AP 9.599 = HE 15, the viewer of Anacreon's statue in Teos is told what to say when he returns home, that is, how to impress his compatriots through the knowledge of Anacreon acquired during his tourist's experience.⁹ Simply by classing Anacreon among the most extraordinary makers of song and adding that as poet he took pleasure in youths, that is, by summing up the critical judgment of Anacreon's excellence and naming the topic for which he was best remembered, the viewer will describe the "whole man accurately" (ἀτρεκέως ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα, 6).¹⁰ In a later epigram by Antipater of Sidon (AP 7.26 = HE 14), a visitor to the grave of Anacreon is explicitly treated as a reader. The epitaph mimics the voice of the deceased Anacreon to ask a stranger passing his "meager tomb" to make a libation of wine, *if* as reader the passerby has received any benefit from his books (εἴ τί τοι ἐκ βιβλῶν ἦλθεν ἐμῶν ὄφελος, 2). Wine libations are of course a standard grave offering, but here, as elsewhere, there is a particular appropriateness in pouring wine for Anacreon. The motif is central to the simplest of the Anacreon epitaphs, an anonymous couplet much like a genuine inscription (AP 7.28 = FGE anon. 35a), on which Antipater may have modeled his first line:¹¹

8 Barbantani (1993: 47-66) provides the most thorough discussion of the epigrams on Anacreon; see too Acosta-Hughes/Barbantani (2007: 442-445). Chirico (1981) discusses the epigrams on Anacreon by Antipater of Sidon.

9 The epigram's Doric coloring indicates that Theocritus is speaking in his own voice, which can be ambivalently heard as either his own creation of a fictional inscription or his invitation to the reader to imagine viewing such a statue. Cf. Bing (1988: 119-120).

10 On the epigram's allusion to Anacreon's literary heritage, see Bing (1988: 121), Rossi (2001: 281-284). Scholars have been concerned to explain the motif of an artistic image that purportedly represents the whole Anacreon when clearly there was more to the living person and to his poetic oeuvre; see Bing (1988: 121), Rossi (2001: 284-285), Klooster (2011: 40-41). In my view, however, the idea that a person's essential character could be encapsulated in a single depiction if precisely constructed was associated with the Hellenistic aesthetic of refined miniaturism, and so offered as a compliment to artist and subject; cf. Erinna AP 6.352.4 = HE 3.4 and, if we write ὄλ[ov, Posidippus 63.5 AB (of Philitas). In discussing how Anacreon's biographical reception was shaped as a response to his poetry, Lefkowitz (2012: 44) points out that his "biography is emblematic of the lives of the other archaic poets".

11 Page (1981: 339-340), following the Budé, assumes the opposite, that Antipater is the source. In my view, the simple anonymous couplets on famous persons found in AP 7 are likely compositions of the classical or early Hellenistic period, providing inspiration for the later sepulchral epitaphs on the same persons. See Gutzwiller (2010a) on the date of the similar *Peplōs* epigrams.

ὦ ξένε, τόνδε τάφον τὸν Ἀνακρείοντος ἀμείβων,
 σπείσόν μοι παριῶν· εἰμὶ γὰρ οἰνοπότης.

Stranger, if you cross Anacreon's grave, make me a libation as you pass, since I am a wine drinker.

Here Anacreon defines himself simply as a drinker of wine, and it is left to the reader to deduce the connection to his lyric song. Similarly, in Antipater's epitaph the deceased poet declares that his bones will feel joy when moistened by the substance (οἴνω / ὅστέα γηθήσῃ τὰμὰ νοτιζόμενα, 3-4), and as a devotee of Dionysus' *komoi* and one reared in the company of wine-loving poetry, he requests that he not have to endure, "without Bacchus" (Βάκχου δίχα, 7), that place to which all must come. Although Anacreon here expressly speaks of himself as dead (καταφθίμενος, 7) and makes a deictic reference to the underworld (τοῦτον [...] / [...] χώρον, 7-8), his bones yet have a capacity to feel joy when moistened with wine, and there is at least a suggestion that the benefit derived from Anacreon's poetry – the basis on which the passerby will agree to pour a libation – has to do with a similar experience, for the passerby and so for the reader, regarding the contribution that wine, and poetry celebrating wine, may make to life's joys. Perhaps too there is a hint that for others, as for Anacreon, these joys might continue in death.

The theme of what remains of Anacreon – the possibility of his continuing life or sentience – is pervasive in the Hellenistic epigrams about him. It even appears, I would argue, in three epigrammatic variations on a statue depicting the old Anacreon, drunk and tipsy. Two of these (AP 16.306 = HE 31, 16.307 = HE 90) are by Leonidas of Tarentum, who dates to the first half of the 3rd cent. BCE, and the third (AP 16.308 = FGE 1, pp. 110-111) is by a later imitator Eugenēs, apparently of imperial date.¹² All three epigrams open with an allusion to Anacreon's unsteadiness due to drink: σεσαλαγμένον οἴνω, "unsteady with wine" (1) and στρεπτόν, "twisted" (2), AP 16.306; ἐκ μέθας Ἀνακρέων / ὑπεσκέλισται, "Anacreon's legs are shaken by wine", 16.307.1-2; Λυαῖ, Ἀνακρέοντα (...) / ἔσφηλας ὑγρῆ νέκταρος μεληδόνη, "you, Lyaeus, tripped Anacreon through his delight in your moist nectar", 16.308.2-3. In each, as further evidence of his intoxication, Anacreon trails his long garment, has lost one of his shoes, and plays

12 Pausanias (1.25.1) mentions a statue on the Athenian Acropolis, of the classical age, that represented Anacreon drunk and singing (καὶ οἱ τὸ στήμα ἔστιν οἶον ἄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου). It is unclear whether the Anacreon statue in Copenhagen (Richter [1965: 1.76, figs. 278-279, 283]; Schefold [1997: 102, Abb. 34]), seemingly also of the classical age, represents the type; Zanker (1995: 24) describes a "slight instability" due to drunkenness in the otherwise classical pose. If Leonidas refers to a genuine statue, as seems likely, his emphasis on Anacreon's unsteadiness indicates a Hellenistic version (Richter [1965: 1.76]), with greater fluidity of form and encouragement of third-dimensional viewing. This statue type may be represented on Teian coins produced about 150 CE which show Anacreon in an exaggerated S-shaped stance (Richter [1965: 1.77, fig. 296]; Schefold [1997: 410, Abb. 288]). Images of a sitting Anacreon, like that on the Autun mosaic, likely derive from yet a third statue type; see n. 55 below.

a lyre while singing love songs. Each epigram then ends with a prayer to Bacchus to protect the elderly singer from an imminent fall: *πάτερ Διόνυσε, φύλασσε μιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν / ἐκ Βάκχου πίπτειν Βακχιακὸν θέραπα*, AP 16.306.9-10; *φύλασσε, Βάκχε, τὸν γέροντα, μὴ πέση*, 16.307.7; *ἀπτῶτα* τήρει τὸν γεραίων, Eῦιε, 16.308.8.¹³ In the typical style of Hellenistic ephrastic epigrams, this conclusion alludes to the realistic quality of the sculpture, solid in stone but lifelike in the impression it gives of an impending fall. It can also be read, metapoetically, as a moment of precarious suspension when the reader is urged to worry about the continuing existence of Anacreon as a poet. A fall is of course a dangerous, potentially fatal mishap for an elderly person (cf. Antiphilus AP 7.634.1-3 = GP 19.1-3, *ὁ πρέσβυς [...] / σφάλματος ἐξ ὀλίγοιο πεσῶν θάνειν*), and excessive drinking may lead to a fatal fall. We may note an epitaph attributed to Callimachus (AP 7.454 = HE 62), in which the deceased is called *τὸν βαθὺν οἰνοπότην* (1), the very noun that Anacreon uses to describe himself in the anonymous epitaph quoted above (AP 7.28.2). A connection between Anacreon's habitual drunkenness and his death is not expressly stated in any of the epigrams,¹⁴ but there are indications that an informed reader might read such demise into the epigrams on the unsteady statue.

A causal link between wine and death appears in a sequence of enigmatic epitaphs. In the earliest by Leonidas (AP 7.422 = HE 22), a die showing the throw called Chian, carved on a tomb, signifies that the deceased died from drinking excessive amounts of Chian wine. Antipater of Sidon later composed an enigmatic epitaph in imitation of Leonidas (AP 7.427 = HE 32), in which nine "fallen" (*πεπτηότας*, 3) dice signify the death of a Chian youth, apparently from reckless behavior. In further variation of the motif, Meleager composed an enigmatic epitaph for Antipater of Sidon himself (AP 7.428 = HE 122), in which a carved die, "fallen to the side" (*προπεσῶν*, 4; *προπετής*, 18) on the stone's base, is interpreted as symbolizing the poet's death by falling when drunk (*θνάσκειν δὲ πεσόντα / οἰνοβρεχῆ*, 17-18).¹⁵ Antipater wrote no fewer than five epitaphs for Anacreon, who was apparently a favored model, and Meleager's motif of "death by falling down drunk" seems to give tribute to Antipater's attachment to Anacreon, extended here even to the manner of Antipater's death. Perhaps some now unknown story about the lyric poet's death lay behind Leonidas' two variations on the tipsy statue and Meleager's adaptation of Leonidas' enigmatic epitaph in his own playful epitaph for Antipater.¹⁶ Be that as

13 Klooster (2011: 39), who reads the two Leonidas epigrams as caricatures of Anacreon, also finds ridicule of the Dionysiac mysteries at the end of each.

14 In a sepulchral epigram attributed to "Simonides" (AP 7.24 = HE 3), the verb *πίπτω* conveys (with a common expression) the reality of Anacreon's death – *κῆν χθονὶ πεπτηῶς* (7), "even fallen beneath the earth".

15 On the series of variations, see Gutzwiller (1998: 267-268, 269-276).

16 If so, it would be a variant of the one about choking on a grape pip (Val. Max. 9.12, ext. 8), which also signifies his fondness for wine even in extreme old age. Death by falling is a

it may, the tottering old man singing of his beloved youths provides an appropriate image for Anacreon's precarious existence, suspended between the enjoyment of life's pleasures promoted in his poetry and a death resulting in entombment in the written page.

Hellenistic epitaphs for Anacreon offer yet other approaches to this theme of a continuing existence that transcends survival in bookrolls. In one of the earlier epigrams, by the 3rd cent. poet Dioscorides, nature and the gods are asked to provide nourishing libations for Anacreon (AP 7.31.5-8 = HE 19.5-8):

αὐτόματ' αἱ τοὶ κρῆναι ἀναβλύζουσιν ἄκρητον
 κῆκ μακάρων προχοαὶ νέκταρος ἀμβροσίου,
 αὐτόματ' οὖν φέρουσιν ἴον, τὸ φιλέσπερον ἄνθος,
 κῆποι, καὶ μαλακῆ μύρτα τρέφοιτο δρόσῳ.

May springs spontaneously bubble up pure wine, may the immortals provide streams of ambrosial nectar, may gardens spontaneously bear violets, the flower that loves evening, and may myrtle be nourished by soft dew.

The motif of tomb gifts given spontaneously by nature is found also in other Hellenistic epigrams, but its use here has extraordinary aspects, not the least of which is the nectar to be supplied by the gods. Since springs produce wine in the previous line, nectar cannot be just a synonym for the mortal drink. Apart from epitaphs for Anacreon,¹⁷ nectar is mentioned nowhere else in the sepulchral book of the *Palatine Anthology* except in the opening poem, Alcaeus AP 7.1 = HE 11, where the Nereids anoint the body of Homer before burying it on Ios. Nectar as a preservative for a corpse is a Homeric motif, appearing in *Iliad* 19.38-39, where Thetis uses nectar and ambrosia to prevent the body of Patroclus from decaying. In our epigram, however, the motif of nectar as a symbol of immortality is transferred to a poet of a decidedly non-epic type, as some of the *Anacreontea* make clear in their rejection of Homeric themes (poems 2, 4, 23, 26).¹⁸ The final couplet reveals the effect of requesting these nurturing and preserving gifts from nature and the gods, and that is nothing less than the reanimation of Anacreon, although he remains in the underworld. There, made drunk (οἰνωμένος, 9), he is to dance delicately (ἀβρὰ χορεύσης, 9) as he did in life, embracing his golden

motif in Diogenes Laertius, where it is reported for the elderly Xenocrates (4.14-15) and Zeno of Citium (7.31).

17 In Antip. Sid. AP 7.27 = HE 15 the speaker wishes, as one facet of Anacreon's blessed afterlife, that the poet squeeze "unmixed nectar" (8) from his gown, and in Antip. Sid. AP 7.29.4 = HE 16.4 Anacreon's song is called nectar, perhaps symbolizing both sweetness and immortality. In AP 4.1.35-36 Meleager calls Anacreon "that sweet song of nectar". See Chirico (1981: 54-55), who links nectar with honey as images of the sweetness of Anacreon's poetry.

18 On the rejection of Homeric themes, see Müller (2010: 130-135).

Eurypyle.¹⁹ The motif of Anacreon revived in Hades as Dionysus' chorister is not without significance, because it suggests the happy afterlife promised Dionysiac initiates.²⁰

The five epitaphs for Anacreon composed by Antipater of Sidon (AP 7.23, 7.26-27, 7.29-30) explore further the themes we have identified. For instance, the epitaph by Dioscorides just discussed is rewritten by Antipater in AP 7.23 = HE 13, and the tomb gifts requested from nature are now to provide pleasure (τέρψιν, 5) to the poet's ash and bones, if "any happiness touches the dead" (τις φθιμένοις χρίμπτεται εὐφοροσύνα, 6). The last word in the epigram, εὐφοροσύνα, invokes an elegiac couplet by Anacreon himself, where the poet praises the man who mingles the gifts of the Muses and of Aphrodite in pursuit of "lovely happiness" (ἐρατῆς [...] εὐφοροσύνης, eleg. 2.2 West [1989-1992]). Antipater's hope is that the dead Anacreon may yet *feel* pleasure and happiness through the power of nature's spontaneous libations. AP 7.27 = 15 HE and 7.29 = 16 HE were no doubt written as companion epigrams: the first begins εἶς ἐν μακάρεσσιν, Ἀνάκρεον, "may you be among the blessed ones, Anacreon", and the second begins with a parallel phrase of opposite meaning – εὔδεις ἐν φθιμένοισιν, Ἀνάκρεον, "you sleep among the dead, Anacreon".²¹ The contrast – the desire that Anacreon have immortality even in the face of his evident death – is at the heart of the literary reception of this poet, whose philosophy – to live with utmost pleasure in the face of life's certain end – finds complicated enactment around the constructed figure of an Anacreon who both was and still is. The final epitaph in the Antipater sequence (AP 7.30 = HE 17) is one of the strongest expressions of this presence through absence. Beginning with the simple but complete phrase τύμβος Ἀνακρείοντος, "Anacreon's tomb", which may quote the inscription itself or be the passerby's response as he identifies the grave, the poem continues with the visitor's initial response to Anacreon's resting place: "The Teian swan sleeps here (ἐνθάδε [...] / εὔδει) as does his sheer madness for boys" (1-2).²² But in the second couplet, the visitor finds reason to deny that Anacreon's sleep is the nothingness of death, because the poet "yet" (ἀκμήν, 3) sings a lyric song about Bathyllus and his stone is redolent of ivy (κισσοῦ [...] ὄδωδε λίθος, 4). Is it only in pure imagination that the passerby now hears the lyre's song and catches the scent of the Bacchic plant? Or are we to understand that through his presence at the tomb the speaker gains some sensory connection to whatever remains of Anacreon? It seems that he believes it so, because in the third couplet he directly addresses Anacreon to

19 Cf. Barbantani (1993: 55). On the theme of dancing in the *Anacreontea*, see Ladianou (2005), who argues that "Anacreon was imagined essentially as a choral *exarchon*" (p. 47).

20 Descriptions of the life of the blessed in the underworld are found in Pind. *Ol.* 2.68-77 and Pl. [Ax.] 371b-e; the latter mentions abundance of all fruits, springs of pure water, flowery fields, philosophical conversation, theatrical performances, musical recitals, dancing, and symposia. The portraits of Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs* also convey the unchanged nature of poets in the underworld.

21 Barbantani (1993: 58) notes the oppositional correspondence between the two epigrams.

22 On the association of the swan with both poetry and old age, see Chirico (1981: 53-54).

declare confidently that Hades has not extinguished the poet's love and that by "remaining whole" (6) he can yet feel the pain of Aphrodite's warmth even in Acheron. The phrase ὦν ὄλος recalls the Theocritus epigram where the viewer of Anacreon's statue is to show knowledge of the complete poet (ὄλον τὸν ἄνδρα, AP 9.599.6) by articulating his erotic themes, but in Antipater's epitaph the words suggest the incorruptibility of the bodily Anacreon, whose feelings of desire are so intense as to survive in the underworld. Poetic immortality and physical immortality thus merge in the ambiguity.

Although the Hellenistic epitaphs for Anacreon use motifs found elsewhere in literary epigrams and inscribed epitaphs, the intense nexus of reference – to the libation of wine, to nature's spontaneous signs of respect, to avoiding separation from Bacchus, to nectar as a gift that preserves the body, to the sounds of song and the scent of ivy and of wine – are particular to Anacreon. These motifs undoubtedly mark a literary remembrance of the poet, a sign of his importance as a model for Hellenistic epigrammatists who worked as he did in the mode of short, personal poetry. But further, some of the epigrams speak of Anacreon as if he *were* a hero, that is, someone who is deceased and buried, but with a continuing sentience and ability to respond to the living. In Dioscorides AP 7.31, Anacreon is to receive libations of wine from nature and the preserving effects of nectar from the gods.²³ Although in Antipater AP 7.29 Anacreon sleeps among the dead, a parallel prayer in 7.27 that he dwell among the blessed ones opens the possibility that Anacreon's sleep is not just the irrevocable nothingness of death. Certainly other famous poets of the archaic and classical ages received honors as heroes. The best attested of these hero cults is that for Archilochus, whose shrine on Paros, existing from at least the 5th century, has preserved inscriptions presenting his biography and his initiating encounter with the Muses. Solid evidence exists for cult honors granted to Homer, Hesiod, and Sappho, and less certain evidence for Aeschylus and Sophocles, as well as other poets and wise men.²⁴ In his so-called *sphragis* poem (118 AB), Posidippus hints at the possibility of heroic honors by asking that the Macedonians and their allies "honor" (τιμήσωσι, 15) him by setting up his statue holding a bookroll in his hometown of Pella;²⁵ this is followed by a lacunose reference to the Parian cult of Archilochus and a final revelation of Posidippus' initiation into Dionysiac

23 Cf. Dioscorides AP 7.407 = HE 18 where a divinized Sappho is honored by Helicon as a Muse, joins Hymen in his duties at marriages, and gazes upon the sacred grove of the blessed gods as she mourns Adonis with Aphrodite.

24 Evidence for hero cults for poets, especially that for Archilochus on Paros, is collected by Clay (2004); see too the summary of the more certain examples in Jones (2010: 41-45).

25 For a similar reading of the lines, see Hollis (1996: 60-62), who posits, on the basis of Prop. 3.1.1 (*Coi sacra Philetæe*; cf. 3.9.46, *meque deum clament et mihi sacra ferant*) that the Coan Philitas also requested heroic honors in his poetry (for Philitas' statue, see Posidippus 63 AB).

mysteries with a promise of a happy afterlife.²⁶ Although there is no clear evidence of heroic cult for Anacreon, he certainly did receive public honors, in Athens through the statue on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.25.1) and in his native Teos. The Teans issued coins with his image,²⁷ and Theocritus' ephrastic epigram, although it should not be read as an actual inscription, points to the existence of an honorary statue there. Importantly, Dell'Oro's study of a Hellenistic inscription, in this volume, raises the real possibility that a statue of Anacreon stood in or near a temple of Aphrodite in Cyzicus, where, I suggest, the poet may have been a heroic σύνναος,²⁸

In the *Epitaph for Bion* ascribed to Moschus, Anacreon is listed among famed poets mourned in their homelands (90), and an epitaph attributed to "Simonides" (AP 7.25 = 4 HE) explicitly places his tomb in Teos.²⁹ That epigram opens with a couplet in which the deceased Anacreon is graced with the epithet "immortal":

οὗτος Ἀνακρείοντα, τὸν ἄφθιτον εἵνεκα Μουσέων
 ὕμνοπόλον, πάτρης τύμβος ἔδεκτο Τέω.
 ὃς Χαρίτων πνειόντα μέλη, πνειόντα δ' Ἐρώτων
 τὸν γλυκὺν ἐς παίδων ἴμερον ἠρμόσατο.
 μῦνον δ' εἰν Ἀχέρωντι βαρύνεται, οὐχ ὅτι λείπων 5
 ἠέλιον Λήθης ἐνθάδ' ἔκυρσε δόμων,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν χαρίεντα μετ' ἠιθέοισι Μεγιστέα
 καὶ τὸν Σμερδίεω Θρηῖκα λέλοιπε πόθον.
 μολπῆς δ' οὐ λήγει μελιτερπέος, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκείνον
 βάρβιτον οὐδὲ θανῶν εὔνασεν εἰν Αἴδη. 10

This tomb, of his Tean homeland, has received Anacreon, that singer immortal because of the Muses, who set the sweet desirability of boys to songs that breathe the scent of the Graces and the Erotes. His only sorrow in Acheron is, not that he left the sun to occupy here the house of Forgetfulness, but that he left behind the lovely Megistes in the crowd of youths and his desire for Thracian Smerdies. Nor does he cease his honeyed song, and even dead he still has not put to sleep his famed lyre in Hades.

The continuation of the epitaph suggests that Anacreon's immortality is not just poetic but rather that he, like cult heroes, retains the power of tangibly affecting the world above. His songs breathe the scent of the Graces and of the Erotes (3),

26 Bergmann (2007: 260-262) argues that statues of philosophers and poets (including an unnamed "Ionic" poet holding a cithara) were placed in the Sarapieion at Memphis, likely in the 3rd cent. BCE, because that precinct was considered an entrance to Hades where they lived a blessed existence.

27 Schefold (1997: 410, Abb. 287-288); Clay (2004: 62, 169 n. 148).

28 Cf. Theocr. *Id.* 17.45-52 on Berenice I housed in Aphrodite's temple as a helpmate for mortals in the affairs of love; Plut. 753f on Belestiche, the mistress of Ptolemy II, as Eros' σύνναος. See too n. 26 above.

29 Burial in Teos is implied in the related epigram, "Sim." AP 7.24.3.

and in Acheron he has not ceased his honeyed song nor, though dead, has he yet put to sleep his lyre (10). In a complementary epigram (“Sim.” AP 7.24 = 3 HE),³⁰ the soft lips of the deceased Anacreon sweetly breathe the moist dew of wine (λαρότερον μαλακῶν ἔπνεεν ἐκ στομάτων, 10). The poet, I therefore suggest, is depicted as a heroized figure in at least some of these sepulchral epigrams, and whether or not in reality he ever received cult honors, the perception developed that Anacreon, now a resident of Hades, was not completely separate from the world of the living.

We turn now to considering how this Hellenistic concept of Anacreon, as one who survives not just in his poetry but also in a spiritual form that can be made manifest to the senses, is developed in the Anacreontic poems of the imperial age.

2 The Anacreontic Poet

The *Anacreontea* share some of the same concern with continuing access to Anacreon that we found in the Hellenistic sepulchral and dedicatory epigrams about him. They are not, however, literary descendants of these epigrams in terms of genre, so that their focus is not on a reader who activates the effects of having read the poet while viewing his statue or visiting his tomb. The *Anacreontea* are rather defined by the pervasive voice of a poetic persona, a lyric “I”, who imitates Anacreon (τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ, 60.30), not by pretending to be Anacreon but by some internalization of the Anacreontic spirit.³¹ Anacreon is not now distant across the barrier of the grave nor deceptively present in a lifelike statue, but rather he returns through various images of sensual and spiritual presence to promote the poetic performance of the Anacreontic philosophy of life.

The adoption of a poetic persona that bears a specific generic marker, here imitation of Anacreon, has roots in the Hellenistic age, as in bucolic poetry, where the poet presents himself as a cowherd, modeled on the mythical singer Daphnis or on his poetic descendant Theocritus. Other markers of what it means to be an Anacreontic poet – wine as inspiration for versifying, the garland as a symbol of composition and collection, the alleviation of love longing through drink – also have precedents in Hellenistic poetry, especially in the erotic epigrams composed

30 Gow/Page (1965: 2.518) rightly associate AP 7.24 and 7.25 as paired epigrams by the same Simonidean imitator, but oddly state that “III deals principally with Anacreon’s tomb, IV with his poetry”. Both epigrams are clearly focused on the tomb. Barbantani (1993: 49) attributes the pair to a Simonidean imitator whose epigrams appeared in a sylloge of epigrams ascribed to Simonides that was made in the 4th/3rd cent. BCE. In my view, these two epigrams were more likely composed somewhat later in the Hellenistic period.

31 Scholars have often pointed out that only the erotic/sympotic themes of the Anacreontic corpus are imitated, and not the satiric/political themes, so that the Anacreontic poet reflects select aspects of his model; for instance, Rosenmeyer (1992: 72-73), Müller (2010: 119-120).

and collected by Meleager.³² The *Anacreontea* avow their choice of models in the canonical poetry of the archaic and classical periods by overt rejection of epic themes and acceptance of lyric models. Arguably, however, Hellenistic poetry, both the epigrams on Anacreon and amatory poetry more generally, provides an equally formative influence, one that remains unacknowledged in the collection. It is not uncommon for the imitation of canonical Greek literature by imperial authors to be filtered through the lens of the Hellenistic reception, and the composers of the *Anacreontea*, created over centuries of time, may have felt no need to acknowledge a debt to Hellenistic adaptation of Anacreon, if that was conceived as the beginning of a process continued by their own imitative mode. Due to the limited scope of this study, only select examples of the influence of Hellenistic erotic poetry can here be explored.

The first poem in the Anacreontic collection is a programmatic *Dichterweihe*, or poetic investiture of the speaker in the mold of Anacreon. The initial interaction between Anacreon and the Anacreontic “I” is a meaningful one: Anacreon just happens to see the speaker and addresses him, while the speaker responds by running toward Anacreon, embracing him, and kissing him. It appears that Anacreon recognizes the speaker’s capacity to become his imitator, and the speaker’s response – an entangling embrace and kiss (περιπλάκην φιλήσας, 1.5)³³ – may indicate an eager desire to assume this role, to physically assimilate to Anacreon. When kissed, Anacreon’s lips give off the scent of wine (τὸ χεῖλος ὄζειν οἴνου, 8), so that by implication the Anacreontic poet acquires wine-scented breath, that is, the capacity to sing of wine. Anacreon then gives the speaker a garland from his head, and it bears Anacreon’s scent (τὸ δ’ ὄζει Ἀνακρέοντος, 13). While this act descends from the archetype for all poetic initiations, the opening of the *Theogony* where the Muses give Hesiod a laurel staff and breathe (ἐνέπνευσαν, 31) into him a divine voice, by the late Hellenistic period the choice of the garland as a initiatory gift carries an accumulation of multiple significances. Here it most simply signifies the life enjoyed by wreathed symposiasts, of whom the “I” of the *Anacreontea* is one. Given, however, the importance of Meleager’s *Garland* for later Greek erotic poetry and the adoption of the symbol in Philip’s *Garland* and elsewhere, the wreath should also be read as Anacreon’s gift of a poetic tradition to his initiate. Foolishly (ὁ μωρός, 14) accepting the garland and binding it on his head, the speaker completes his willing investiture, thus acquiring the constant erotic desire that fuels Anacreontic

32 The literary sources for the *Anacreontea* are numerous and still not thoroughly studied; for the Hellenistic period, see Rosenmeyer (1992: 170-190), Bartol (1993) on poem 1, and West (²1993), who inserts a fair number of parallels in the apparatus to his edition, with additions on p. 66.

33 The verb περιπλέκω implies an entanglement that goes beyond a simple embrace; in this introductory poem, it has programmatic implications. The compound can refer to intricate language (LSJ s.v. II.2), and in texts on literary criticism the simple form πλέκω is used of the arrangement of sounds and words; see Gutzwiller (2010b: 353-354).

song.³⁴ The *Anacreontea*, however, despite the deceptive simplicity of their form, carry with them a complex inheritance, since they descend from performed symposiastic poetry but are also shaped and enriched by all the later book poetry that adapted Anacreon and his themes. The speaker's recognition that accepting the garland offered by Anacreon is a foolish act that will entangle him in the pains of love reveals that he speaks from the knowledge he gained later of what it means to be an Anacreontic poet, thus foreshadowing the end of the collection and release from love (see on poem 60b below).

The speaker in this introductory poem is quick to point out that Anacreon's appearance took place in a dream.³⁵ In the dream appearances of earlier Greek literature, the visitors are either gods or mortals who return from the grave. Here Anacreon is neither presented as a deity nor does he have the aura of the underworld. In his casual meeting with the speaker, he is more like the figure of Lycidas in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7, who is also a poetic initiator, with an ambivalent status as human or divine.³⁶ Bion fr. 10 is another likely a model; there a "cowherd" dreams that Aphrodite brings Eros to be his pupil in music, but instead the boy god becomes the educator of the poet in matters of love. Bion's poem connects to the first of the *Anacreontea* through the similar treatment of Eros in each: as Bion's Aphrodite leads the young Eros by the hand (ἐκ χειρὸς ἄγοισα, fr. 10.2), so in poem 1, with reversal of Eros' role, the god of love leads the elderly Anacreon by the hand (Ἔρωσ ἐχειραγώγει, 1.10). Clearly, then, earlier poetic initiations, such as Hesiod's in the *Theogony* or that of Archilochus preserved in inscriptional form on Paros, are interpreted by the Anacreontic poet through the filter of the Hellenistic adaptations.

The investiture motif in the first poem of the *Anacreontea* has also undergone remodeling under the influence of certain erotic epigrams from the *Garland*. As Anacreon happens to see the speaker (ἰδὼν με, 1) and be embraced by him, so in an epigram by Rhianus (AP 12.121 = HE 4), the Charites happen to chance upon a youth (κίοντι / [...] ἤντησαν [...] Χάριτες, 1-2) and embrace him, so granting him charming qualities. In its *Garland* sequence, this poem is followed by Meleager's variation (AP 12.122 = HE 85), in which the Charites catch sight of a beautiful boy (ὦ Χάριτες, τὸν καλὸν [...] ἐσιδοῦσαι, 1) and encircle him with their arms. Both Rhianus' epigram and Meleager's variation close with a wish to be kept far from the boy for fear of the power of his attraction, just as the introductory poem in the *Anacreontea* ends with a regretful confession to foolish acceptance of the erotically binding garland offered by the dream version of Anacreon. Clearly, the two epigrams and the first of the *Anacreontea* have a

34 For this use of μωρός with special application to erotic passion, see Eur. *Hipp.* 966, where Theseus attributes the characteristic of τὸ μῶρον (Attic accent) to women and to youths, both of whom are easily shaken by the Cyprian. As Hesychius makes clear (μ 2070), μωρόν refers to foolish exertion.

35 For justification of ὄναρ λέγω as a parenthesis in CA 1.3, adopting Baxter's correction of λέγων in the manuscript, see West (1984b: 206).

36 Bartol (1993: 66-67) also compares Anacreon in poem 1 to Lycidas.

strong general similarity, with the difference that in the epigrams the gift of the Charites makes a boy into an object of desire, whereas in the Anacreontic poem the garland presented by the old poet accompanied by Eros infuses a force of desire that turns the “I” speaker into a lover and, so necessarily, a poet. As a result, the tradition of poetic investiture is made over to suit Anacreontic poetry by adapting, partially *in oppositione*, motifs found in the Hellenistic genre of erotic epigram. Another epigram, in which Meleager has dreamed that Eros placed beside him in bed a youth of eighteen (ἐνύπνιον [...] / παιδὸς [...] / ἤγαγ’ Ἔρωσ ὑπὸ χλαῖναν, AP 12.125.1-3 = HE 117.1-3), also likely influenced poem 1 of the *Anacreontea*. The role of Eros in leading a dream figure to the dreamer repeats here, but the more important similarity is the effect of the vision. As the Anacreontic poet has not ever since his dream encounter (ἄχρι καὶ νῦν, 1.16) rested from love (ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι, 1.17), so Meleager still now (ἔτι νῦν, 5) longs for the youth, and ends the epigram by begging his soul to cease (παῦσαί, 7) being warmed in dreams by mere shadows of beauty. As these examples illustrate, the reception of Anacreon in the *Anacreontea* is multi-leveled, since direct imitations of his poetry are supplemented by allusions to later Hellenistic poetry, which often itself breathed the spirit of Anacreon.³⁷

Meleager’s emphasis on the effects of Eros on the soul was most likely a major influence on the psychology of love as presented in the *Anacreontea*.³⁸ In several of Meleager’s epigrams, his rational self berates his ψυχή (AP 12.80 = HE 17, 12.132 = HE 21-22) or his θυμός (AP 12.117 = HE 19), that is, his emotional self, because of failure to resist desire. Metaphors for the physical effects of love on the body abound. For instance, Eros sharpens Heliodora’s fingernail so that its scratch plunges to the heart (δύνει κνίσμα καὶ ἐς κραδίην, AP 5.157.2 = HE 49.2), or the god himself lightly scratches the heart with his nail’s tip (AP 12.126 = HE 87). Elsewhere Eros molds “sweet-speaking” (εὐλαλον) Heliodora in the lover’s heart (AP 5.155 = HE 48), or a boy dwells in Eros’ shrine, fashioned within the poet’s soul (AP 12.57 = HE 111). Likewise in the *Anacreontea*, the theme of the constancy of love, introduced in the first poem, plays itself out, in sections of the collection deemed both earlier and later, through images that involve the internalization of Eros in the poet’s body or soul. The well-worn image of Eros’ arrow is enlivened as a narrative vignette in poem 33 where the boy god lodges his dart in the poet’s liver and consequently causes pain in his heart (σὺ δὲ καρδίαν πονήσεις, 32). In poem 13 the motif is modified and energized when Eros, with his arrows exhausted, hurls himself as a javelin to penetrate the heart (μέσος δὲ καρδῆς μεν / ἔδυνε, 16-17; cf. Mel. AP 5.157 above).

37 Noteworthy is Meleager’s adaptation of Anacreon’s ball-playing poem (PMG 358) in AP 5.214 = HE 53, where the ball becomes the lover’s own quivering heart (“Ἔρωσ] βάλλει τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ παλλομένην κραδίην, 2); see Pretagostini (1990: 230-232). For select other examples, see Acosta-Hughes/Barbantani (2007: 455-457).

38 For the soul in Meleager’s epigrams, see Garrison (1978: 71-93), Gutzwiller (2010c: 86-91).

In other Anacreontic poems, this imagery of the internal effect of love suggests a stimulus to poetic creativity. In poem 27 the Anacreontic poet claims to recognize lovers because they have “some faint brand on the soul within” (τι λεπτόν / ψυχῆς ἔσω χάραγμα, 7-8). In general, the motif recalls the pair AP 12.56 = HE 110 and 12.57 = HE 111, where Meleager claims, in the first, that Eros has fashioned within him a statue of a boy named Praxiteles and, in the second, that the boy has sculpted within him an impression of Eros (τύπος). In AP 5.212 = HE 10 Meleager complains that as the sound of Eros forever penetrates his ears (αἰεῖ μοι δύνει [...] ἐν οὐασιν ἦχος Ἔρωτος, 1), from the god’s love-charms a “known impression” (γνωστός [...] τύπος, 4) resides always in his heart. In Hellenistic philosophical thought, the word τύπος refers to a stamp or impression made on the soul by sensory objects; it can also mean an artist’s mold or a sculptured form, as in Meleager’s two Praxiteles epigrams. As Longinus makes clear (*Subl.* 15.1), an impression resident within the soul is generative of speech, and so may result in poetry. Similarly, the word χάραγμα in the Anacreontic poem, here understood as an image for branding, can in fact signify any light impression made with sharp lines; as result, the reader could envision this lover’s “brand” as any number of objects impressed onto the soul, including an outline for a painting, an engraved image, or even – a common meaning – written words.³⁹ Like Meleager’s τύπος, then, the χάραγμα that betrays the lover’s condition can be read as an internal impression of desire/Eros that finds external expression through either artistic imagery or poetic composition.⁴⁰

Poem 15, which recounts the poet’s meeting with a dove enslaved to Anacreon, also makes allegorical reference to the process of poetic composition. The form of the poem derives from dramatized conversations involving a slave sent to deliver a message, of which there are several serial examples in Meleager’s *Garland*.⁴¹ When questioned by the Anacreontic “I”, the dove explains that, purchased by Anacreon from Aphrodite for a song, she now delivers the poet’s letters to Bathyllus. Though enslaved, she cherishes her life with Anacreon, sipping the wine with which he toasts his boy loves, eating his bread, dancing, and sleeping on his lyre. The dove clearly functions as a metaphorical intermediary between the earth and some other realm of existence, where, as it seems, dwells a quasi-divinized Anacreon, not now just a famous dead poet but a sentient figure who amusingly has commercial interactions with the goddess Aphrodite and acquires as his own property one of her traditional

39 For use of the related verb for outlining in painting, see Antiphilus AP 16.136 = GP 48 (ἦθεα δισσὰ χαράξῃ, 3), Antiochus AP 11.412.1, Arabius AP 16.148.3, Leontius AP 16.32.1; for chiseling, see Alpheus AP 7.237.1 = GP 6.1, CA 5.14 and 57.6; for both chiseling (as a metaphor for refined poetry) and writing, see Dioscorides AP 7.411 = HE 21, of Aeschylus (ὁ μὴ σμιλευτὰ χαράξας / γράμματα, 3-4).

40 On the interrelationship of poetic and artistic imagery in Hellenistic epigram, see Gutzwiller (2010c).

41 Asclepiades AP 5.181 = HE 25, 5.185 = HE 26; Posidippus AP 5.183 = HE 10; Mel. AP 5.182 = HE 71, 5.187 = HE 58; cf. Theoc. *Id.* 2.94-102.

symbols in the form of the dove. Anacreon is not here presented in the mold of the heroized poets of an earlier age, who were tied to a place of burial and a cult (cf. the epigrams discussed above), but rather remade as a kind of communicator, like the dove, between heaven and earth, human and divine. The transmission of Anacreontic inspiration that she effects is signaled in the opening lines when the poet perceives the scent and drizzle of perfume as she flies past. The perfume is of course symbolic of the hedonistic and erotic aspects of the symposium, as the setting for performance of Anacreon's own poetry. The direct connection between these sentient reminders of the absent Anacreon and the resulting poetic composition becomes clear at the end when the dove complains that the Anacreontic poet has made "me more talkative than a crow" (λαλιστέραν μ' ἔθηκας / [...] καὶ κορώνης, 36-37), which may be an allusion to the famous talking crow in Callimachus' *Hecale* (fr. 260). The metapoetic suggestion is that the dove's reports of her life with Anacreon are made possible only through the Anacreontic "I", who senses the presence of the dove in the sky, elicits her story of Anacreon, and shapes her loquaciousness into poetry.⁴²

Poem 25 gives another example. There winged Eros weaves a nest in the poet's heart and continually produces offspring in the form of little Pothoi.⁴³ The reference to the poet's never-ending desire for one love after another is clear, but more subtle is the suggestion that this nest, which is "woven" (πλέκει, 6), is a locus for, or even a symbol of, Anacreontic poetry, itself woven from various intertextual sources and plaited into collections (cf. περιπλάκην, 1.5).⁴⁴ Forms of the verb πλέκω are used by Meleager to describe the interweaving of his symbolic garlands, composed of the boys he celebrates (AP 12.165 = HE 98, 12.256 = HE 78) or, more grandly, of the epigrammatic poets intertwined to form his epigram anthology (AP 4.1 = HE 1). The Pothoi that Eros continually produces – one fledged, one still an egg, one partially hatched – represent the internal forces of desire that erupt as Anacreontic poems. The hapax ἡμίλεπτος, meaning both "half shelled" and "partially refined," makes clear the stylistic associations to Callimachean λεπτότης for these fledgling poems, born as creative forms of longing in the poet's heart where the nest of his poetic resources and stylistic skills produces winged song (cf. Theognis 237-243 on the wings of song).

In poem 6 as well, garland making can be read as an image for the composition of Anacreontic poetry, or even the making of an Anacreontic collection. When the poet was weaving a garland (στέφος πλέκων, 1), he found Eros among the roses, grabbed his wings to dip him in wine, and then drank him down. The effect of this internalization of love in the medium of wine is that the

42 Cf. Meleager's "sweet-speaking" Heliadora (AP 5.155), molded in his heart as a source of his poetry.

43 Images of Erotes in a nest are found in two Pompeian paintings and in minor arts; see LIMC III.1 (1986) s.v. "Eros/Amor, Cupido", nos. 48-53.

44 In CA 30.7-8 the poet speaks of having been "entangled in many loves" (πολλοῖς / ἐν ἔρωσί με πλακέντα).

god's wings now "tickle" (γαργαλίζει, 7) the poet's limbs (μέλη, 6). The image descends from Plato's *Phaedrus* where the lover's soul feels a tickling sensation (γαργαλίζεται, 251c) as it grows wings, and the word later becomes a technical term in Hellenistic poetic criticism for the physical effects of poetic sound.⁴⁵ The noun μέλη also contributes to the metapoetic meaning, since it signifies both "limbs" and "songs": by stimulating the poet's body, Eros also stimulates his poetry.⁴⁶ This image of the little Eros, found among roses, dipped in the wine, and fluttering inside the poet to arouse both desire and poetry is an amazingly concise and successful version of what it means to internalize Anacreon – as a poet of love and wine and as an advocate of sensual living.

The cup of wine is a key image throughout the *Anacreontea*, because consuming wine is an obvious method of possessing bodily the spirit of Anacreon. This simple meaning appears in poem 49 where Bacchus enters the poet's heart and teaches him to dance: ὁ Βάκχος, / (...) ὅταν εἰς φρένας τὰς ἐμάς / εἰσέλθῃ (...), / διδάσκει με χορεύειν, 1-5. Elsewhere the cup of wine stands for poetry, particularly an intertextual *mixis* of poetry, as in poem 20 where the poet asks for a cup of lyric song, mixed (συγκεράσας, 4) of "sweet-singing" Anacreon, of "sweet-singing" Sappho, and of Pindar.⁴⁷ The image of poetry as wine may derive from Anacreon himself; certainly suggestive are the metaphorical associations of love and wine in ἔρωτα πίνων (PMG 450) and μεθύων ἔρωτι (PMG 376.2). It is present in the 5th cent. elegist Dionysius Chalcus (ὕμνος οἰνοχοεῖν, fr. 4.1 West [1989-1992]), and the 3rd cent. epigrammatist Posidippus fashions his poetry as a mixed (συγκέρασον, 3) cup of earlier poets (AP 12.168 = HE 9). Meleager adapts the image to amatory poetry, by mixing the name of his beloved Heliodora into his cup (εἰπέ, σὺν ἀκρήτῳ τὸ γλυκὸν μίση' ὄνομα, AP 5.136.2 = HE 42.2; οὔνομ' ἐν ἀκρήτῳ **συγκεράσας** πίομαι, 5.137.4 = HE 43.4), with the implication that by internalizing her name as an ingredient in his wine he can truly possess her as subject of his song.⁴⁸ Clearly, then, Hellenistic epigram, as an intermediary source for the figure of poetry as a cup of wine, contributed to the *Anacreontea* the developed form of the concept in which poetic inspiration, like wine, acts as a physical possession.

Of the *Anacreontea* on ecphrastic topics, two poems, meaningfully placed near the opening of the collection, concern silver cups decorated with Dionysiac themes.⁴⁹ In poem 4, which survives in three versions,⁵⁰ the poet asks Hephaestus

45 Philodemus, *On Poetry* Book 1, col. 49.7, 160.19-20, 208.16 Janko (2000); cf. Lucr. 1.643-644.

46 Cf. Müller (2010: 210).

47 While Anacreon and Sappho seem better suited than Pindar as models for Anacreontic poetry, Pindar is included for his preeminent place in critical tradition about lyric poetry. Pindaric allusions do occur elsewhere in the collection, clustering in poem 60; see Rosenmeyer (1992: 133-137). On the significance of poem 20 in the collection, see Müller (2010: 133-134).

48 Gutzwiller (1997: 175-177); Höschele (2010: 197-204).

49 On the ecphrastic *Anacreontea*, see Müller (2010: 267-283), Baumann in this volume.

to make a cup adorned with vines, grape clusters, and Dionysus (plus other divine figures in the longer version), while in poem 5, a complementary poem apparently composed considerably later, an unnamed artist is commanded to create a “cup of spring” with similar Bacchic themes. In other words, the cups are to bear visual images that portend their use as vessels for wine. By calling upon Hephaestus as fashioner but rejecting the constellations as possible adornments, the lyric voice in 4 encourages a reading of the cup like that applied by allegorical interpreters of the *Iliad* to Achilles’ shield and to the cup of Nestor. Decorated with constellations (*Il.* 18.485-489) and organized to show select segments of human society, the shield came to be viewed as an ecphrastic equivalent of the universe. Likewise, it seems that Crates of Mallos, a 2nd cent. BCE stoicizing critic and scholar, interpreted the doves used as supports on Nestor’s cup (*Il.* 11.634-635) as the constellation of the Pleiades, and so explained the circular shape of the cup as an emblem of the universe, encoded by the wise Homer in a mythical narrative (*Ath.* 11.490e).⁵¹ In poem 4 the specific rejection of these universalizing adornments, exemplary of epic, in favor of figures pertaining to wine, eroticism, and festivity, which emblemize the thematic ingredients of Anacreontic song, encourages an allegorical reading of the metapoetic kind. The Anacreontic universe can be reduced to the symposium (often directly opposed to war in archaic poetry)⁵² as the real and metaphorical place where the pleasures of wine and Eros are the sole human focus. The cups that are to be “made” (ποίησον in 4.2, ποίει in 5.2, and elsewhere in the poems) are “made things”, as are “poems” (ποιήματα), and thus the ecphrastic equivalent of Anacreontic song. Cups coalesce with the poetry that describes them as models for living the Anacreontic life in the world.

The clearest identification of Anacreontic poetry with the wine cup appears in poem 60b, which I accept as a separate poem and the final one in the Anacreontic collection, although perhaps incomplete.⁵³ Addressing his θυμός, the poet begins by asking why he has gone mad, maddened by the best madness of all (μέμηνας / μανίην μανείς ἀρίστην, 1-2). The address of rational self to irrational self is reminiscent of Meleager’s similar addresses to self mentioned above (AP 12.80,

50 These are: (1) from Aulus Gellius 19.9.6; (2) from the Cephalan archetype of Palatinus Heid.gr. 23 (vol. 1 of the Palatine Anthology), Marc. gr. 481 (Planudes’ Anthology), and Cod. Paris. Suppl. 352 (Sylloge S); and (3) from Paris. Suppl. gr. 384 (vol. 2 of the Palatine Anthology). West (²1993) prints all three versions. The presence of this poem in Gellius dates it to the 2nd cent. CE or earlier, and the variants suggest popular recitation resulting in different versions of the poem.

51 Athenaeus extensively quotes Asclepiades of Myrlea (1st cent. BCE) as his source for this interpretation; see Pagani (2004), Gutzwiller (2010b: 356-357).

52 E.g., Xenophanes B 1.19-24 West (1989-1992).

53 West (²1993) prints 60 as a single poem with lacunae, and it is interpreted as a unit by Rosenmeyer (1992: 129-137); however, I follow the division made by Bergk, as printed in Brioso Sánchez (1981) and Campbell (1988). See too Most in this volume (pp. 145-150), who argues for the completeness of 60b as a separate poem and discusses its role as the concluding poem of the collection.

12.117, 12.132), while the redundant emphasis on madness clues the reader to an allusion to Plato's *Phaedrus*, where Socrates names four forms of madness – “the mantic breath of Apollo, the initiatory madness of Dionysus, the poetic madness of the Muses, and the madness of Aphrodite and Eros” – and declares that the best of these is erotic madness (265b).⁵⁴ It is this madness from Aphrodite that the poet now aims to escape by expending the barbs of his song and departing from poetry (3-6), thus reversing the programmatic beginning of the collection (ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι, 1.17). His method of ending erotic madness is to imitate the famous Anacreon (τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ, 7) by offering a toast to boys, that is, by draining “a lovely cup of words” (φιάλην λόγων ἐραννήν, 10). As shown above, the image of wine as poetry may reflect both Anacreon's own imagery and, more certainly, the imagery of epigrams by Posidippus and Meleager included in the *Garland*. This last Anacreontic poem of the collection also directly recalls a pair of epigrams in which Meleager seeks a release from love and the compulsion to write poetry that accompanies it (AP 7.195 = HE 12, 7.196 = HE 13). At the beginning of the first, Meleager calls the grasshopper “a soothing comfort of sleep” (παραμύθιον ὕπνου, 1) and ends the second by asking the cicada, drunk on dew, to sing a rustic song so that he can escape Eros (φυγῶν τὸν Ἔρωτα, 7) by finding midday sleep under a plane tree (μεσημβρινὸν ὕπνον ἀγρεύσω, 7). Similarly, the final lines of 60b call for “a draught of nectar” (11) from which the poet (and his companions or readers) will acquire comfort (παραμύθιον, 12) and escape (φυγόντες, 13) the flaming dogstar, a reference to the heat of erotic passion. Here, as in Dioscorides' epitaph for Anacreon, the draught of nectar (νέκταρος ποτοῖο, 11) at the end of poem 60b can be read not only as wine, but also as a trope for poetic immortality. That the nectar image was attached to Anacreon in his reception tradition is further evidenced in the proem to Meleager's *Garland*, where Anacreon, as lyric poet, is identified as “that sweet song of nectar” (τὸ [...] γλυκὸ κείνο μέλισμα / νέκταρος, AP 4.1.35-36 = HE 1.35-36).

The redundancy of madness at the opening of this poem suggests that in the imperial period the Anacreontic poet, who composes through madness or possession in order to communicate the meaning of Bacchic existence, could easily be assimilated to the Dionysiac initiate, who gains purification and a happier afterlife through rites involving madness. Support for such a reading comes from the Christian writer Hippolytus (*Refutatio omnium haeresium* 5.8.6-7), who uniquely cites the “cup of Anacreon” (τὸ τοῦ Ἀνακρέοντος ποτήριον) as one of the pagan mysteries, quoting the following Anacreontic lines (fr. 2 in West [21993]):

54 See Rosenmeyer (1992: 198-199, 204), who also discusses the different division of madness in poem 12 and its relationship to another passage in the *Phaedrus* (244a-245b).

φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον ὦ παῖ,
 μέθυσόν με καὶ κάρωσον·
 τὸ ποτήριον λέγει μου
 ποδαπὸν με δεῖ γενέσθαι.

Bring water, boy, bring wine. Make me drunk and stupefy me. My cup tells me what must become of me.

Calling this cup an “ineffable mystery” (μυστήριον ἄρρητον), Hippolytus further reports that, in one of Anacreon’s poems, the cup tells the poet in silent speech what will happen to him, namely that he will become spirit rather than flesh (πνευματικόν, οὐ σαρκικόν). Hippolytus of course speaks here from a Christian perspective, apparently associating Anacreon’s cup with the eucharist; even so, he seems yet to offer evidence for a mystic atmosphere around Anacreon and Anacreontic poetry not clearly articulated in other sources. The word ποτήριον occurs in the *Anacreontea* only for the chased cup adorned with Dionysiac figures in poem 4 (in all three versions), and so it was perhaps this popular poem, with its allegory of a world dominated by Dionysus, that provided Hippolytus a model for “Anacreon’s cup”. The little poem quoted by Hippolytus also appears to have circulated widely. Its first line is found in Demetrius in *On Style* (5), who claims it contains the proper rhythm for a drunk old man, in contrast to a hero in battle. In addition, a poem by Anacreon with this opening is preserved in Athenaeus (PMG 396 = Ath. 11.782A), and the same poem appears on a mosaic from Autun (2nd/3rd cent. CE) inscribed beside a figure of Anacreon seated and holding a lyre.⁵⁵ In Hippolytus’ Christian interpretation of the poem, death is rewritten as spiritual survival, and, as we have seen, in certain of the *Anacreontea* (especially 1 and 15) Anacreon’s earthly life is given some continuation in another form. We should not discount the possibility that the Dionysiac mysteries, which became increasingly popular throughout pagan antiquity, partly as a parallel and alternative to Christianity,⁵⁶ gave support to the phenomenon of Anacreontic poetry and influenced its long production. Both Dionysiac initiation and Anacreon’s *philosophie de vie* promised happiness (εὐφροσύνη) as obtained by banqueting and drinking wine, one in the afterlife and one in the world of the living.

55 Blanchard/Blanchard (1973), with illustration of the mosaic before removal and damage (pl. XI a). In the restoration, illustrated in color on the cover of Lambin (2002), the back of the chair has been reworked to look more like a scarf or mantle. A seated Anacreon holding a lyre appears also on one type of Tean coin produced between about 90 and 250 CE (Richter [1965: 1.77, figs. 294-295]; Scheffold [1997: 410, Abb. 287]), and Blanchard/Blanchard (1973: 272) suggest that the image of Anacreon sitting on a chair originated in the early imperial period. However, the singer who plays the lyre “by the feet” of Polycrates on the tyrant’s signet ring in Posidippus’ epigram (9 AB, as plausibly supplemented), may indicate an earlier manifestation of the seated Anacreon.

56 A good overview of Dionysus as the great god of late pagan antiquity in Bowersock (1990: 41-53).

In conclusion, I suggest that the character of the Anacreontic persona links not only to the old concept of poetic composition through inspiration, as of the Muses, but also to theories of literary imitation circulating in the imperial age. In poem 60b, as we have seen, the poet introduces his withdrawal from Anacreontic poetry by alluding to Plato's fourfold division of madness into the prophetic, Dionysiac, poetic, and erotic. In *On the Sublime* (13.2) Longinus adapts the idea of poetic madness to theorize a method of inhabiting the spirit of a sublime author, long dead. In practicing zealous imitation, he says, many obtain divine inspiration from the breath of great writers (θεοφοροῦνται πνεύματι), just as the Pythia at Delphi is impregnated with vapors exhaled (ἀναπνέον) from the earth and so is empowered to utter prophecies through that inspiration (κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν). Anacreontic poetry is certainly not to be classed as sublime,⁵⁷ but the Anacreontic poet not only finds his creativity in draining the wine cup but also draws inspiration directly from the breath of Anacreon, a theme found in both Hellenistic epigrams and the *Anacreontea*. In the "Simonides" epigrams, Anacreon's poems have the scent of the Graces and Erotes (Χαρίτων πνειόντα μέλη, πνειόντα δ' Ἐρώτων, AP 7.25.3), and Anacreon sweetly breathes (ἔπνεεν, AP 7.24.10) wine's dew – dew that is often a symbol of poetry (as in Callim. fr. 1.33-34, Mel. AP 7.196.1). In poem 1 of the *Anacreontea*, it is the dream act of kissing Anacreon, his breath smelling of wine (ὠζεν οἴνου, 8), that initiates the imitating poet with the deathless spirit of his model, and in poem 15 it is the scent of perfume and its (dewy) drizzle (μύρων / [...] / πνέεις τε καὶ ψεκάζεις, 3-5) that alerts the poet to the passing dove who serves as Anacreon's messenger.⁵⁸ Throughout the *Anacreontea*, as in Longinus' treatise, we find a method of imitation through sentient contact with a quasi-divine source, which contrasts sharply with the more plodding forms of imitation, learned through set principles of composition. The opposition between the two forms of composition, one tediously formulaic and one pleurably inspired, underlies the contrast in poem 52 (in West [²1993]; 52a in Brioso Sánchez [1981] and Campbell [1988]): "Why do you teach me the rules and requirements of the rhetoricians? What good is that useless speech to me? Teach me instead to drink the gentle potion of Lyaeus, teach me instead to play with golden Aphrodite."

57 In some poems of the collection, the poet even seems hostile toward Apollo, as a rival of Dionysus (CA 5.18-19, 12.5-8, 17.43-46, and perhaps 60.11a-23).

58 Scent is a method of crossing boundaries elsewhere in the collection as well. For instance, in poem 16 a painter, who clearly figures the poet, is to "paint" (γράφει) his absent mistress's hair delicate and black, and if the wax has the capacity, to also paint it redolent of perfume (μύρου πνεούσας, 9). In 43 where a delicate-haired boy sings to the lyre from "sweet-smelling lips" (στομάτων ἄδῃ πνεόντων, 9), the sweetness of the scent belongs to both the boy and his song.

“Anacreon, the Connoisseur of Desires”
An Anacreontic Reading of Menecrates’ Sepulchral Epigram
(*IKyzikos* 18, 520 = Merkelbach/Stauber 08/01/47 *Kyzikos*)*

FRANCESCA DELL’ORO

1 Introduction

The sepulchral metrical inscription for Menecrates *IKyzikos* 18, 520 (= Merkelbach/Stauber 08/01/47 *Kyzikos*), which is today likely lost,¹ constitutes a little known² case in the reception of Anacreon’s persona.³ This Hellenistic epigram offers a unique occasion to explore the reception of Anacreon’s persona from the point of view of the inscriptional material and, from there, to look for connections with the reception of Anacreon’s persona in the literary tradition, in particular, that of the Hellenistic epigrams and the *Carmina Anacreontea*. In this paper it is my aim to suggest some improvements for the reading of the inscription on the basis of its squeeze, to provide a commentary of each line and to explore different possibilities of interpretation.

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- 1 Notwithstanding many efforts, I could not identify where the inscription – if still extant – is kept today.
- 2 As far as I know, the inscription is cited in relation to Anacreon’s study exclusively by Wilamowitz (1913: 110-111), Campbell (1988: 31 n. 2) and Ridgway (1998: 724). No mention of the inscription, which could be an attestation of a statue of Anacreon, was made by Richter/Smith (1984: 83), Schefold (1943: 64 and 204) or Schefold (1997: 102 and 491).
- 3 In this paper with the phrase “the reception of Anacreon’s persona” I mean the image of Anacreon as an object of reception. In this case Anacreon’s persona does not coincide (necessarily) with his *poetic persona*.

Sadly enough, not only was Menecrates' epigram found in partial form and outside of its original context, but the remains are also extremely difficult to interpret. Only a squeeze and two transcriptions of the text remain, while the relief that accompanied the inscription, and which can be considered as the key of the interpretation of the epigram,⁴ have been lost. Different possibilities for interpretation will be explored in the commentary, drawing upon the reception of Anacreon's persona in the Hellenistic epigrams and, in particular, in the *Carmina Anacreontea*.⁵ Certainly, such an 'Anacreontic reading' can only give limited insight into the interpretation of Menecrates' epigram and perhaps even result in other important issues being marginalized. Given the defective condition of the text and the lack of information about the context of the inscription, this attempt to find parallels with other texts, where the reception of Anacreon's persona is also implied, could shed new light on the interpretation of Menecrates' epigram. In turn, this process could also shed new light on the Anacreontic tradition, whose development is represented later by the *Carmina Anacreontea*.

In the epigram, the poet Anacreon is explicitly named and defined as ὁ πόθων ἰδρις "the connoisseur of desires" (l. 2). Moreover, the text seems to be – at least partially – constructed through a differentiation between Menecrates and Anacreon. If the mention of Anacreon could therefore be an important signal for understanding the epigram, the reception of Anacreon's persona also acquires significance for the interpretation of the text. As shown by Bing in this volume, the imitation of Anacreon began very early, plausibly when the poet was still alive. Between Anacreon's lifetime and the composition of the earlier poems among the *Carmina Anacreontea* in the late Hellenistic age,⁶ Anacreon's persona evolved into a strongly stereotyped character. Literary evidence for such a development comes from some Hellenistic epigrams, whose subject is Anacreon's statue or tomb. Their portraits of Anacreon anticipate features found later in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, as shown by Gutzwiller in this volume. The epigraphic evidence, to which the next section of this paper is dedicated, has not yet been thoroughly investigated.⁷ As will become apparent, Menecrates' epigram is noteworthy among the epigraphic material, since there the name of Anacreon is usually no more than a label accompanying the poet's representation.

4 On the possible relationship between sepulchral epigrams and reliefs, cf., e.g., Nollé (1985).

5 Certainly Menecrates, if he is the author of the epigram, or his poet could also have been influenced by the production of Anacreon himself. Given the fragmentary condition of Anacreon's work it is very difficult to precisely define such an influence. Where possible, the extant fragments of Anacreon will also be taken into account, even if not systematically.

6 The sylloge of the *Carmina Anacreontea* gathers short poems, which were composed by different (anonymous) authors in different periods (e.g. West [1993: xvi-xviii]).

7 Cf., for a partial analysis of the inscriptional material, Bing in this volume.

2 The Poet Anacreon in the Extant Inscriptional Material⁸

Inscriptions containing the name of the Teian poet⁹ can be encountered in different places of the ancient Greek and Roman world. They are usually nothing more than labels accompanying Anacreon’s image. Such inscriptional attestations, therefore, are, for the most part, closely related to Anacreon’s iconographic tradition.¹⁰ In addition to the inscriptions on red-figure vases presented by Bing in this volume,¹¹ the following attestations are known. Anacreon’s name appears on a headless herm from Athens (Ἀνακρέων, SEG XVI 167,¹² beginning of the 2nd cent. CE). Moreover, on two herms from Rome he is on one occasion qualified as λυρικός “lyrist” (IGUR 1499,¹³ date uncertain) and on another as Σκυ[θίνου] Τή[ος] “son of Skythinos, from Teos” (IG XIV 1133,¹⁴ unknown date). Anacreon was represented together with other Greek poets on lost wall paintings in the cryptoporticus of a Roman villa in Tivoli and his image was accompanied by the label Ἀνακρέων [Τήϊος] (SEG LVII 977, D, ca. 125 CE). An image of Anacreon could have also appeared¹⁵ in a mosaic from Gerasa. The label [Ἀνακρ]έων is a conjecture¹⁶ (SEG LIII 1889, D1, ca. 150 CE), just as on another mosaic inscription from Sparta ([Ἀνα]κρέων, SEG XXIX 388, ca. 300 CE). Anacreon was

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- 8 The term ‘inscription’ is intended here in its largest sense. The search for the inscribed material containing Anacreon’s name was conducted using the *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>), the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (searchable online at www.brillonline.nl) and *The Beazley Archive* (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm).
- 9 Anacreon was not a widespread proper name. According to the LGPN, it is attested once in Kition on Cyprus (Michaelidou-Nicolaou [1976: A 32, 3rd cent. BCE]) and at least twice on Delos for a father and his son (IG XI 2, 162A.33, 278 BCE; perhaps the son is the same person who appears in IG XI 2, 287A.184 and IG XI 2, 289.14, 280 BCE). Another attestation from the region of Cyzicus is uncertain ([Ἀνα]κρέων Δημοφίλου *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1456.96, late Hellenistic).
- 10 For an overview, cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 22-36).
- 11 I am referring to the kylix from Vulci by Oltos (ca. 515 BCE, British Museum E 18), the lekythos from Gela by the Gales Painter (ca. 490 BCE, National Museum of Syracuse 26967) and the krater by the Kleophrades Painter (ca. 500 BCE, National Museum of Copenhagen MN 13365). For a photo of the first two inscriptions, cf. Richter (1965: respectively fig. 292 and fig. 291 – where, unfortunately, the inscriptions are not legible), for one of the last, cf. p. 30 in this volume. For a drawing of all the inscriptions, cf. Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague (1990: 237-238). For the representation of Anacreon on these vases, cf. also Yatromanolakis 2001.
- 12 Cf. Richter (1965: 77 with fig. 273).
- 13 Ἀνακρέων/λυρικός (= IG XIV 1132). There is a photograph in Moretti’s IGUR and in Richter (1965: 76, n° I.1 with figg. 271-272 and 274).
- 14 Ἀνακρ[έων] Σκυ[θίνου] Τή[ος]. Headless. The current location is unknown. Cf. Richter (1965: 77, n° I.10).
- 15 Nothing of the alleged image of Anacreon remains in the mosaic, as the drawing (Joyce 1980: 313) shows very clearly. If the missing image is really that of Anacreon, then it might have been associated with the muse Terpsichore (Joyce [1980: 313]).
- 16 Joyce (1980: 308).

so popular that he was even represented on the coins of his hometown, Teos (Ἀνακρέων Τητίων, Roman imperial times).¹⁷ Only in two documents does Anacreon's name appear without any image accompanying it and there it is part of a longer text. The first document is a chronicle from the surroundings of Rome,¹⁸ in which Anacreon is mentioned together with Ibycus (ἦν¹⁹ δὲ καὶ Ἀνακρέων ὁ μηλοποιὸς κα<ι> Ἴβυκος ὁ Ῥηγείνος, SEG XXXIII 802, IIB 21-22, early 1st cent. CE).²⁰ The second document is the sepulchral metrical inscription from the surroundings of Cyzicus,²¹ which is central to this study.

3 Menecrates' Sepulchral Epigram

Menecrates' sepulchral epigram was published for the first time in 1880 by Aristarchis. His edition was based on an anonymous transcription (which I will refer to as 'A') made by a person who had seen the inscription in the wall of a church.²² In spite of the negative judgement of Mordtmann (1882: 255), who would shortly afterwards publish another transcription (which I will call 'M'), the anonymous person transcribed the text accurately, as the comparison with the squeeze reveals. Not only does A correspond for the most part with M, in some cases it also presents a better reading. Unfortunately, Aristarchis did not respect the text of A and introduced arbitrary integrations that contributed to invalidating the reliability of the anonymous transcription. As they stand, both copies are useful for the reconstruction of the epigram's text. Indeed, among the editors and commentators of the inscription, Mordtmann is the only one who had seen it autoptically. The archaeologist also made a squeeze that was lost for awhile,²³ but has fortunately reappeared at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. On the basis of Mordtmann's squeeze (Fig. 1), an improvement of the previous readings will be attempted here.²⁴

17 Cf. Richter (1965: 77, n° IIB with fig. 296).

18 Burstein (1984).

19 In the online version of SEG, the reading ἦν is an error. Nu is clearly legible in the photograph of the stone (cf. Burstein [1984: fig. 1b]).

20 In this chronicle of European and Asian history the mention of the two poets contextualizes the period after the death of Cyrus and the succession of Cambyses.

21 In the mosaic from Autun the name of Anacreon does not appear but the poet is easily identifiable by the presence of lines of two of his poems. For an interpretation, in particular for the connection to the *Carmina Anacreontea*, cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 33-36).

22 This anonymous person saw the inscription in the church of the Holy Trinity (ἁγία Τριὰς) in Muhania at the Western extremity of the Cyzicus peninsula (Aristarchis [1880: 18], cf. also Mordtmann [1882: 255]). The church was destroyed probably between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. It is not known what happened to the inscription.

23 According to Wilamowitz (1913: 110 n. 1) it was lost.

24 The text edited by Cougny (1927: 594, n° IL.367b) is based on Aristarchis' reading. Wilamowitz based his work on a copy of Mordtmann's transcription. The text presented by

Inscription on a marble slab, which was found enwalled. Length: 0.59 m (*apud* Aristarchis). According to the reconstruction of the lines as iambic trimeters (cf. below), three to four letters are missing on the left. This could mean that the stone underwent damage or was purposely reshaped in order to be reused. It is less likely that the text began on another stone.

Lettering: the text presents a stichic disposition and *scriptio continua*. Dimensions of the letters: ca. 0.9-1.5 cm. The dimension of the letters is not consistent. The letters show apices. According to the transcriptions by the anonymous person and Mordtmann, alpha has a broken internal stroke, but on the squeeze the stroke seems curved rather than broken. Epsilon presents a slightly shorter middle stroke. Theta shows an internal dot. The second vertical stroke of pi is still much shorter than the first one. The round letters are slightly smaller than the other ones (ca. 0.9-1.1 cm).

Dating: on the basis of the letters' shape, the inscription can be dated to the Hellenistic age.²⁵ Previous attempts at dating (3rd cent. BCE according to Vollgraff [1951: 359], “aus der Zeit des Aristarch” according to Wilamowitz [1913: 110]) were based on alpha's shape with a broken internal stroke, which does not appear on the squeeze. Merkelbach/Stauber (08/01/47 Kyzikos) date the inscription to the Hellenistic age on the basis of the metre (about metrics, cf. below).

Peek (1955: 536, n° 1792), Peek (1960: 148, n° 232), Karusos (1962: 121), Schwertheim (1980, *IKyzikos* 18, 520), Merkelbach/Stauber (2001, 08/01/47 Kyzikos) is based on Wilamowitz's reading. Vollgraff (1951: 360) was not aware of Wilamowitz's contribution.

25 Cf. Guarducci (1967: 370-377).



Fig. 1: Mordtmann's squeeze, *Archiv Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Photograph (retouched) by the author.

Transcription: the following transcription represents what I could read on the squeeze. The squeeze presents some folds and holes.

- 1 ΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣΝΑΟΣΕΣΤΙΜΕΥΠΕΛΑΣ
- 2 ΝΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΑΤΟΝΠΟΘΩΝΙΔΡΙΝ
- 3 ΔΕΠΑΙΔΕΡΩΣΙΝΟΥΚΕΤΕΡΠΟΜΑΝ
- 4 ΑΣΠΙΛΕΝΝΕΟΙΣΙΝΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ
- 5 ΝΤΙΜΙΜΟΤΥΜΒΟΣΕΥΧΑΡΑΚΤΕΧΕΙ
- 6 ΚΝΙΣΕΙΜΕΜΩΜΟΣΑΝΤΙΣ ^{ca. 3}ΤΑΙ
- 7 ΛΕΝΝΕΠΩΝΕΠΑΙΝΟΣ ^{ca. 1}Λ ^{ca. 4}ΡΕΠ
- 8 ΜΑΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΟΥΘΡΙΣ ^{ca. 4}ΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΝ

Description of the transcriptions (Figs. 2 and 3): they differ at ll. 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8.

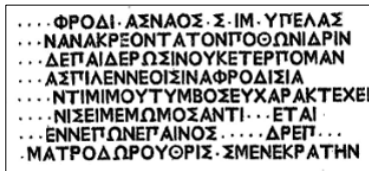


Fig. 2: Transcription by an anonymous person (Aristarchis [1880: 18]).



Fig. 3: Transcription by Mordtmann (1882: 255).

L. 1: ΦΡΟΔΙ . ΑΣΝΑΟΣ . Σ . ΙΜ . ΥΠΕΛΑΣ Α : Φ Ρ Ο Δ Ι Τ Α Σ Ν Α Ο Σ Ε Σ Τ Ι // Ε Υ Π Ε Λ Α Μ; Sigma at the end of the line is legible on the squeeze.

L. 2: the two copies only differ in the final letter. In the anonymous copy, N is given as legible, while Mordtmann simply wrote I. However, nu is legible on the squeeze.

L. 6: ΝΙΣΕΙΜΕΜΩΜΟΣΑΝΤΙ . . . ΕΤΑΙ Α : Κ Ν Ι Σ Ε Ι Μ Ε Μ Ω Μ Ο Σ Α Ν Τ Ι // Τ Α Ι Μ. In this case as well, the two copies only differ in one letter (the third epsilon), which is not seen by Mordtmann. The letter is not visible on the squeeze. After ANTI a letter seems to appear, but it is difficult to define which one.

L. 7: . . . ΕΝΝΕΠΩΝΕΠΑΙΝΟΣ ΔΡΕΠ . . . Α : \ Ε Ν Ν Ε Π Ω Ν Ε Π Α Ι Ν Ο Σ // Λ Ρ Ε Π Μ.

L. 8: . ΜΑΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΘΡΙΣ . ΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΝ Α : Μ Α Τ Ρ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ Δ Ο Υ Θ Ρ Ι Σ // Μ Ε Ν Ε Κ Ρ Α Τ Η Ν Μ. Once again the two copies only differ in one letter (the second sigma), which is not seen by Mordtmann.

Text and supplements:²⁶

- 1 [2-3 A]φροδίτας ναός ἐστὶ μεν πέλας
 2 [.3-4.]ν Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν πόθων ἴδριν
 3 [.3-4.] δὲ παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἔτερπόμαν
 4 [.3-4.] ἄσπιλ' ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια
 5 [.3-4.]ντίμιμ' ὁ τύμβος εὐχάρακτ' ἔχει
 6 [.3-4.] κνίσει με Μῶμος, ἀντι.[2-3]εται
 7 [.3-4.]λ' ἐννέπων Ἑπαινος [.]Δ[.3-4.]Δ²ρέπ[. .²]
 8 [.3-4.] Ματροδώρου δ' οὐ θρίσ[ει]ς Μενεκράτην.

The supplements: suggestions as supplements for the missing parts of the text were made by Aristarchis (= Ar), Wilamowitz (= W) and Vollgraff (= V). The different possibilities will be discussed in the commentary.

L. 1. Σός, Α]φροδί[τ]α, ναός [ἐ]σ[τ]ί [μ]ε[ν] πέλας Ar : [τᾶς Α]φροδίτας ναός ἐστὶ [μ]ε[ν] πέλας W : ὧδ' Α]φροδίτας ναός ἐστὶ μ[ε]ν πέλα[ς] V.

L. 2. [Ποθῶ]ν Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν πόθων ἴδριν Ar : [ἔχω]ν Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν πόθων ἴδριν W : [τίω]ν Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν πόθων ἴδρι[ν] V.

L. 3. [ἐγῶ] Ar, W, V.

L. 4. [τὰ δ'] Ar, V : [ἀλλ'] W.

L. 5. [Σεῦ ἄ] Ar : [ῶν ἄ] W : [ὄδ' ἄ] V.

L. 6. [Ἄμα κ]νίσει με μῶμος, ἀντι[τάσσει]ται Ar : [εἰ δὲ] κνίσει με μῶμος, ἀντι[τάξει]ται W : [εἰ δὲ] κνίσει με Μῶμος, ἀντι[κείσει]ται (ἀντι[βήσει]ται, ἀντι[λήψει]ται) V. After ANTI it seems possible that something similar to the remains of a sigma could be read. However, this is very uncertain and I could not find a supplement which fits the missing part between ANTIΣ and ΕΤΑΙ. A supplement such as ἀντισ[τήσ]εται seems too long. Previously suggested supplements such as ἀντιτάξεται²⁷ or ἀντικείσεται are acceptable. Epsilon is not legible on the squeeze before the final letters TAI on the line, but A reported it. Since the transcription of A usually seems reliable, it is possible that epsilon was legible on the inscription.

L. 7. [Κάλ'] ἐννέπων ἔπαινος, [οἶον ἐ]δρεπ[εν] Ar : [πόλ]λ' ἐννέπων ἔπαινος [οὐ πά]ραρ' ἔπ[η] W : [κά]λ' ἐννέπων Ἑπαινος [ἄνθε' ἄ]δρεπ[ον] V. None of the proposed supplements at l. 7 seem acceptable. After sigma, the final letter of

26 I follow the Leiden conventions, cf. Dow (1969).

27 The present (ἀντι[τάσσει]ται) proposed by Aristarchis does not fit very well.

ἔπαινος, there is space for one or perhaps two letters and then two converging oblique lines (a lambda?) appear. On the squeeze nothing is recognizable before the *rho*. The anonymous copist read an alpha, while Mordtmann transcribed two converging oblique lines. Perhaps this is a mistake and both put the letter visible after sigma just before the following rho (ΛΡΕΠ instead of - Λ ---- ΡΕΠ?). Certainly it sounds strange that both the anonymous person and Mordtmann made the same mistake. However, two converging lines are clearly visible on the squeeze between the final sigma of ἔπαινος and the letter read by the anonymous person and Mordtmann.

L. 8. Ὁ] Ματροδώρου [ᾗ]θ[λο]ς [ἔ]ς Μενεκράτην Ar : [τὸν] Ματροδώρου δ' οὐ θρίσ[ει] Μενεκράτην. W, V. The anonymous copist read a sigma before the mu of the proper name Menecrates. On the squeeze there is enough space for a supplement such as θρίσ[ει]ς.

Translation: “Near to me (there) is the temple of Aphrodite [...] (the statue of?) Anacreon, the connoisseur of desires [...] but I did not enjoy myself with the love of boys [...] stainless pleasures amidst youth [...] (my) grave has well-carved imitating (images) [...] (if?) Momos will scratch me, Epainos will oppose saying [...] «you will not harvest Menecrates, the son of Metrodoros».”²⁸

Metre: the verse used in the epigram is iambic trimeter.²⁹ Up until the Imperial Period the choice of the iambic trimeter is not common for inscriptions,³⁰

28 Cougny’s translation (1927: 594, n° II.367b): *Tuum, Venus, fanum est prope a me / cupiens Anacreontem cupidinum scientem; / ego autem puerorum-amoribus non delectabar; / intemerataque in juvenes Venerea / tuū aemula tumulus bene-notata habet: / simul radet me vituperatio, obsistit / pulcra dicens laudatio, qualem decerpsit / Matrodori certamen cum Menecrate.*

Peek’s translation (1960: 149): *Aphrodites Tempel steht in meiner Nähe mit einer Statue Anakreons, des Sängers der Liebe. Ich habe Knabenliebschaften nie gehuldigt; allein, kein Makel haftet in der Jugend an den Liebesfreuden, deren schön eingravierte Abbilder auf dem Grabe hier zu sehen sind. Wenn aber der Tadel sich an mir reiben will, so wird Lobrede dem entgegentreten und viel Treffendes über mich zu melden wissen: Menekrates, des Matrodoros Sohn, wird er nicht erledigen.*

Merkelbach/Stauber’s translation (2001: 08/01/47 Kyzikos): *In meiner Nähe ist ein Tempel der Aphrodite mit einer Statue des Anakreon, des Kenners der Liebessehnsucht. Ich aber habe mich nicht mit Knabenliebe vergnügt, sondern mit Liebesfreuden, die für die Jungen ohne Flecken sind, und davon hat mein Grab schön eingemeisselte Nachbilder. Aber falls der Tadel mich beißen sollte, wird sich ihm das Lob entgegenstellen und viele Worte sprechen, die nicht danebentreffen. Er (der Tadel) wird mich, Menekrates, den Sohn des Matrodoros, nicht treffen (abschneiden).*

29 A *brevis in longo* can be found at the end of line 4 (ἀρροδισῶ). There is no resolution. The poet often uses elision. With the exception of ῖδριν (l. 2), plosive + liquid clusters are heterosyllabic. On the structure of the iambic trimeter in Greek inscriptions, cf. Allen (1885-1886: 65-66).

although the use of iambic meters is attested at an early age,³¹ perhaps already in the first line of Nestor's cup (CEG 454). One reason for the choice of the iambic trimeter could have been the prosodic structure of the proper names Μενεκράτης and, more in particular, Μᾶτρόδωρος, in which the sequence - υ - is unavoidable. Such an explanation is only one of many. This metrical choice may have been suggested to the poet by Anacreon's iambic production or perhaps be connected to the diffusion of this metre among the Hellenistic epigrammatists.³²

Language, style and structure of the text:³³ in the epigram the literary Ionic forms such as μεν (l. 1) and νέουσιν (l. 3) are balanced by a non-Ionic colouring. All the original long alphas are maintained: Ἀφροδίτᾱ and νᾱός³⁴ (l. 1), ἔτερπόμᾱν (l. 3), Μᾶτρόδωρος (l. 8). This last form is not enough to state a non-Ionic origin of Menecrates' family, since even the father's name could have undergone the same process.³⁵ The mixing of elements from different dialectal (literary) traditions is not an infrequent feature of metrical inscriptions.³⁶

As regards the vocabulary, the poet chose poetic or rare words, such as respectively ἴδρις (l. 2) and ἄσπιλος (l. 4). The adjective εὐχάρακτος (l. 5) is only attested in later texts. The adverb πέλας, which is not only characteristic of poetry (Hom. +), but can also appear in prose (Hdt. +), sounds elevated. An aesthetic accuracy may be recognized in the poet's work, e.g., in his use of alliteration. In line 7 the alliteration underlines the role of Epainos and of his spoken word (ἐννέπων, ἔπαινος l. 7). As will be discussed below, παιδέρωσ can be understood here as 'boy's love' and not necessarily in the meaning of 'lover of boys' given by, e.g., LSJ. The two verbs κνίζω (l. 6) and θρίζω (l. 8), which is usually explained as a poetic syncopated form of θερίζω,³⁷ are used metaphorically. The

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- 30 West (1982: 183 and 1987: 24). According to the old study of Allen (1885-1886: 44), "a long epitaph in iambic trimeter was not possible before the Macedonian epoch".
- 31 For the Archaic and Classical ages, cf. Bowie's table (2010: 378-384).
- 32 The iambic trimeter is used in one of the epigrams Leonidas dedicated to a sculpture of Anacreon (AP 16.307 = HE 90). In this very epigram non-Ionic long alphas appear (ἐκ μέθας l. 1, τάν l. 5) accompanied by forms such as θάτερος (l. 4) and μελίσδετα (l. 5). Additionally, Doric features appear in the other epigram Leonidas dedicated to the old and drunk Anacreon (AP 16.306 = HE 31): l. 1 χύδαν, l. 2 θάεο, l. 4 ἀμπεχόναν, ll. 5 and 8 τάν. Gow/Page (1965: 308) put Leonidas' *floruit* in the middle of the 3rd cent. BCE or later.
- 33 I do not consider the supplements here since they could be misleading. A thorough analysis of each line is given in the commentary below.
- 34 Νᾱός could have also been the current form (alongside νεός) in the Hellenistic age (LSJ s.v.).
- 35 Cf. e.g. CEG 108. In this case the names of both the Aeginetan Mnesitheos and his mother, Timarete, present an Ionic form.
- 36 In CEG 108 there is a mixing as well. A fitting parallel – probably from Cyzicus and from the Hellenistic age as well – is Merkelbach/Stauber 08/01/53. There is not just one explanation for the use of dialect mixing in the inscriptions, since the reasons could be disparate. Cf. also Sens in this volume.
- 37 Cf. e.g. LSJ s.v. θρίζω.

second one is an amplification (‘harvest’) of the action expressed by the first (‘scratch, gash’).

The first half of the epigram (ll. 1-4) opens and closes with the name of Aphrodite (τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας l. 1 and ἀφροδίσεια l. 4).³⁸ In the second half (ll. 5-8) there is a moment of strong tension when Momos is imagined to attack Menecrates. This is underlined by the *enjambement* between line 6 and line 7, since it delays the name of Menecrates’ helper. In the second half of the epigram the opposition between Momos’ attack and Epainos’ victorious defence (ll. 6-8) is evident. There also seems to be a kind of opposition (or rather differentiation) in the first part of the epigram between Anacreon and Menecrates (cf. l. 3: οὐκ ἐτερπόμεν), but it is not clear on what this opposition could have been based (e.g., Anacreon’s homosexual and Menecrates’ heterosexual love? Or rather an old Anacreon and a young Menecrates?). In the epigram a temporal opposition can also be detected. In the first half the present tense (which could be identified with Menecrates’ condition of being dead and therefore with his grave, ἐστί, l. 1) is opposed to the past tense (that is to Menecrates’ lifetime, οὐκ ἐτερπόμεν, l. 3). In the second half the present tense (ὁ τύμβος [...] ἔχει l. 5) is opposed, three times, to the future tense (κνίσσει and likely ἀντι [...] ἔγεται l. 6, θρίσεις l. 8). The future here represents the hope that Menecrates’ good reputation will be preserved after his death.

4 Commentary

1. [2-3 Ἀ]φροδίτας ναός ἐστὶ μευ πέλας

The epigram begins with the name of Aphrodite. As regards the suggested supplements, Aristarchis’ σός surely has to be rejected, because the squeeze after the lacuna shows the genitive Ἀ]φροδίτας, not a vocative. On the contrary, both supplements [τᾶς Ἀ]φροδίτας (W) and ὧδ’ Ἀ]φροδίτας (V) are admissible: “(here) near to me (there) is the temple of Aphrodite”.

It is not possible to ascertain whether a temple of Aphrodite actually existed near Menecrates’ grave or whether its mention in the epigram is a literary device. As far as I know, there are no remains of a temple dedicated to the goddess in Cyzicus or its surroundings. Nevertheless, there is another inscription which possibly mentions a temple of Aphrodite ([ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς] / Ἀφροδείτης IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1435, 73, Hamamlı, 2nd quarter of the 1st cent. CE), according to the supplement proposed by Schwertheim (1978: 215). Moreover, there are other inscriptions which attest a cult of Aphrodite.³⁹ If Menecrates was buried in the

38 Both Anacreon and the *paideros* – e.g. as a plant (Paus. 2.10.4-6) – are connected with Aphrodite.

39 Aphrodite was worshipped as a maritime goddess with the epithet of Pontia (Ἀφροδείτη Ποντία IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1539.18, Belkız, 1st cent. BCE) and a priest is mentioned in

sacred area of the temple of Aphrodite, this could mean that he was in some way particularly bound to Aphrodite or to her temple (perhaps as a benefactor?). Vollgraff (1951), who studied the custom of burial in sacred land, defines Menecrates as “un original”.⁴⁰ In the absence of the context to which the inscription belonged and given that the text is not explicit about this point, it is not certain that Menecrates was buried in a sacred area. However, the presence of the name of Aphrodite at the beginning of the epigram is certainly significant for the interpretation of the text. Moreover, Aphrodite’s name is echoed some lines further in the adjective ἀφροδίσιος “belonging to the goddess of love” (LSJ).

As far as it is possible to assess from the extant fragments, the goddess of love had a role in Anacreon’s poetic work (cf. fr. eleg. 2.3 West; fr. 1,4.8 (Κύπρις); 1,4.6; 12.3 Page). In the *Carmina Anacreontea* Aphrodite is a recurring presence.⁴¹ Among these, CA 15 is particularly interesting: a lovely dove says that the goddess (ἡ Κυθήρη, l. 11) has sold it to the poet Anacreon, who is characterized as being the lover of the young Bathyllus (l. 8).⁴²

2. [3^a-4.]ν Ανακρέοντα τὸν πόθων ἴδριν

Among the suggested supplements (ποθῶν “desiring, missing”, τίων “which honours”), that of Wilamowitz (ἔχων “which holds”) fits the syntax of the text best. Nevertheless, it implies the – perhaps only fictive – presence of a statue of Anacreon, for which there is no other evidence.

In the Hellenist epigrammatic tradition the description of a statue of Anacreon had become a literary *topos* (cf. Gutzwiller in this volume). Leonidas (AP 16.306 [= HE 31] and 307 [= HE 90]), Theocritus (AP 9.599 = HE 15) and Eugenēs (AP 16.308 = FGE 1, pp. 110-111) wrote at least four epigrams on the subject. There Anacreon’s gesture is described in a vivid way. To the contrary, in Menecrates’ epigram none of the concrete elements which the text mentions (the temple of Aphrodite, the statue of Anacreon nor the images on the grave) are described in a way which suggests their shape to the reader (cf. below). Perhaps this is because the passer-by could see them.

Ἀνακρέων is called σοφός (sc. τὰ ἐρωτικά) already by Plato (*Phaedr.* 235c), who has a positive attitude towards Anacreon’s love poetry and his knowledge of

an inscription (ιερεὺς Ἀφροδείτης IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1464.I.32, Belkız, 117-138 CE). She was also called Drusilla (Ἀφροδείτης Δρουσίλλης IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1439.12, Çarik Köy, 37 CE) and was worshipped as Artacia (or Artacene) in Artace (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρτάκη).

40 “Un original a tenu à se faire ensevelir à l’ombre du temple de la divinité dont il avait savouré les bienfaits, Aphrodite” (Vollgraff [1951: 358]).

41 Cf. CA 4 (iii).19, 21 (*versus delendus*), CA 5.12, CA 15.11, CA 41.8, CA 43.14, CA 44.9, CA 49.9, CA 50.20, CA 52.8, CA 55.8, 22, 31, CA 57.6, 20, CA 60.23, 28.

42 The dove, even though it could be free and no longer Anacreon’s servant (ll. 19-34), prefers – not surprisingly – to stay with him.

love. On the one hand, in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, this feature of Anacreon’s persona has already undergone a strong process of stereotyping. At the very beginning of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, Anacreon⁴³ is described as a handsome, good lover (lit. “fond of bed”): (CA 1.6-7) γέρων μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ, / καλὸς δὲ καὶ φίλευνος. “He was old, but still handsome; / handsome, and a good lover too.”⁴⁴ On the other hand, the Anacreontic poet appears to know the different faces of love. In CA 14 a light-hearted poet is looking for someone who could number all the countless loves of his life: (5-6) σὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρώτων / μόνον ποῶ λογιστὴν “I will make you alone / the accountant of all my loves”. Love can be a persistent tickle: (CA 6.6-7) καὶ νῦν ἔσω μελῶν μου / πτεροῖσι γαργαλίζει “And now inside my limbs / he (sc. Eros) tickles me with his wings”. But the Anacreontic poet also feels the struggle of love inside his heart: (CA 13.18-20) μάτην δ’ ἔχω βοεῖην· / τί γὰρ βάλωμεν ἔξω, / μάχης ἔσω μ’ ἐχούσης; “In vain I hold up my shield – / for what use is it to fight outside / when the battle rages within me?”

After the praise of Anacreon as the “connoisseur of the desires of Aphrodite”, the next line of the epigram confronts the reader with the fact that Menecrates refused what is probably the most typical characteristic of the stereotyped image of the poet: Anacreon’s love for young boys.

3. [3.4.] δὲ παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἑτερπόμεν

The personal pronoun ἐγὼ seems to be the best supplement here. It underlines the opposition that the text seems to establish between Anacreon and Menecrates: “(but) I, for my part, did not take pleasure in the love of boys (sc. as Anacreon did instead)”. The common interpretation, which goes back to Wilamowitz, is that Menecrates took pleasure in the love of women (which would be ἄσπιλα ἀφροδίσια, cf. the commentary of the following line), while Anacreon enjoyed the love of boys. This interpretation remains perhaps the most likely, but the relation between Anacreon and Menecrates could have been elaborated in a more complex way. I will come back to this point after having discussed the word παιδέρως.

Above I interpreted the word παιδέρως as an endocentric nominal compound with the meaning “love for the boys” (cf. the type πατράδελφος ‘father’s brother’), while LSJ suggests that παιδέρως is an equivalent of the word παιδεραστής and, therefore, has the meaning ‘who loves boys’.⁴⁵ Even though παιδέρως is certainly not a verbal compound, παιδέρως could be intended as a possessive (therefore exocentric) nominal compound with the meaning ‘whose

43 Anacreon is well present in the *Carmina Anacreontea*: CA 1.1, 13; CA 7.2; CA 15.7, 13, 27; CA 20.1; CA 60.30.

44 All translations of the *Carmina Anacreontea* are by Rosenmeyer (1992: 239-266).

45 This was also Aristarchis’ interpretation of the word. This explanation is accepted by Merkelbach/Stauber.

love is (a) boy' (cf. the type ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'rosy-fingered') and therefore be understood as "who loves boys".⁴⁶ Linguistically, both interpretations are possible in the unclear context of Menecrates' epigram. Moreover, it should be taken into account that we do not know how the compound was interpreted by the Greeks. This would be a crucial element in order to understand the epigram.⁴⁷ In any case, it seems odd that Menecrates stated: "but I, for my part, did not enjoy myself with paederasts (sc. such as Anacreon)". Even if he died at a younger age than Anacreon, he was probably not an ἐρώμενος (roughly between 12 and 16 years old).⁴⁸ In order to better understand the meaning and function of the word παιδέρως in the epigram, it is worthwhile to look more closely at its uses.

Παιδέρως usually refers to non-animate entities, such as plants (holm-oak, acanthus, chervil)⁴⁹ or stones (a kind of opal).⁵⁰ In Menecrates' epigram the word is used in its (perhaps merely folk) etymological meaning. Besides Menecrates' epigram the only other known exception is that of a fragmentary verse attributed to the comic poet Teleclides (fr. 52 KA), on which the explanation of the entry in LSJ is based. Indeed, the 5th cent. comic poet characterizes Zeus as παιδέρως. This use can be easily explained as a pun: more or less 'Zeus, love-of-boys--tree'.⁵¹ On the one hand, it is clear that Teleclides was referring to Zeus' passion for young boys and therefore to his being παιδεραστής. On the other hand, this fact does not imply that in Menecrates' epigram παιδέρως has to be interpreted in the same way. Indeed, there is some evidence that the plant name could be – at least synchronically – interpreted as an endocentric compound. This is revealed by a passage by Nicander, in which the poet separates, for metrical reasons, the name of the plant into two words: παιδὸς ἔρωτες (fr. 74.55 Gow/Scholfield) 'acanthus'.⁵²

46 Cf. Schwyzer (1939: 428-429).

47 We do not know how the name was primarily interpreted. As the noun παῖς can be used for both boys and girls, παιδέρως could mean "children's love" as well as "who or that has the love of children". A thorough study of the compounds in -ερος, which are a small and badly attested category, as well as a study of their relation with the adjectives in -ερος would be useful. Cf. Buck/Peterson (1944: 454).

48 Concerning the age of the ἐρώμενος and that of the ἐραστής, cf. Lear/Cantarella (2008: 2-6).

49 The word does not appear in Strömberg's collection of plants' names (1940), which attests the plant names παιδοβάτιον (1940: 35) and φιλόπαις (1940: 119). Carnoy (1959: 203) claims that the oak's bark was used to cure different problems typical of babies. It could be interesting to note that in Spanish plants of the genus Tradescantia are called 'amor de hombre' ('love of man').

50 It can also mean 'rouge' or 'dye of purple hue' (LSJ s.v.).

51 As already noted by Ruck (1975: 16), Zeus was associated with the oak and the word παιδέρως could mean a kind of oak as well.

52 Cf. also fr. 87 Gow/Scholfield: μῆλον ὃ κόκκυγος καλέουσι 'The fruit they call the cuckoo's' (κοκκύμηλον 'plum'). A similar use is also attested by Theocritus, even though he uses exocentric compounds, e.g. δρυὸς ἄκρα = ἀκρόδρυα 'fruits with shell or rind' (15.112).

Certainly to Greek ears the name παιδέρως evoked beauty and delicacy. According to an Orphic text (*Orph., Lithica kerygmata* 38.2), the opal could be called παιδέρως because of its beauty (διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν).⁵³ Pliny (*NH* 22.76.4-5) attests that there are two types of acanthus: one thorny and crimped, the other smooth. The latter is called *paederos*. Παίδερως was used as a proper name as well.⁵⁴ On the whole the word should have been diffuse. The use of the compound παιδέρως in Menecrates’ epigram is also a subtle way to introduce ἔρωσ, which (love) or who (the god Eros) is a pervading presence in the *Carmina Anacreontea*.⁵⁵ Certainly ἔρωσ also had an important role in Anacreon’s poetic work.⁵⁶

Anacreon is a model for Menecrates since the poet is “the connoisseur of desires”, the authority in matters of any kind of love. Menecrates did not take pleasure in the love of boys, an attitude for which Anacreon was well-known. The statement of Menecrates is not necessarily polemic: Menecrates is perhaps only recognizing his limits rather than stating the superiority of one kind of love over the other.⁵⁷ Criticism towards Anacreon is particularly implied if the adjective ἄσπιλος “stainless” refers to Menecrates’ (heterosexual) ἀφροδίσια in contrast to Anacreon’s (homosexual) ἀφροδίσια, but I think there are also other ways to interpret the phrase ἄσπιλα ἀφροδίσια (cf. the commentary of the following line). Moreover, the differentiation between Anacreon and Menecrates could have been played also on another ground. Here one should bear in mind that among the stereotypical characteristics of Anacreon there was his old age, as already seen above. There could then have been a differentiation (or perhaps even a process of narrowing the gap) between Anacreon and Menecrates: (1) Anacreon was wiser in matters of love than Menecrates, (as) Menecrates did not know the love of boys, Anacreon died as an old man, while Menecrates was still a young man; (2) Anacreon was wiser in matters of love than Menecrates, (since) Menecrates did not know the love of boys, both Anacreon and Menecrates died as old men, still loving respectively boys and women. What I am trying to suggest here is that a key to understanding the epigram and the relationship between Menecrates and Anacreon is the stereotypical image of Anacreon as an old lover of boys.

53 Cf. also Plinius *NH* 37.84.2.

54 There are at least 37 attestations in inscriptions and a further attestation appears in Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.13.177 (LGNP).

55 CA 1.10, 17, CA 4 (i).21, (iii).18, 21 (*versus delendus*), CA 6.2, CA 11.1, 11, 14, CA 13.11, CA 14.5, 8, 11, 17, 23, 27, CA 18.8, CA 19.1, 6, CA 20.8, CA 23.4, 9, 12, CA 25.6, 13, 19, CA 28.3, 7, 10, 11, 17, CA 29A.1, CA 30.3, 8, CA 31.2, 9, CA 32.4, 16, CA 33.6, 10, CA 35.1, 16, CA 38.5, CA 43.12, CA 44.1, 9, CA 55.7, 15, CA 58.12 (ἔρωτικᾶς), 24, CA 59.20; CA fr. 1.1.

56 Cf. Frr. 1.4.4, 12.1, 10-11, 13.2, 31.2, 33.2, 51.2, 53.1, 55.2, 57b.1, 68.1, 105.1, 114.1, 115.1 Page.

57 About the polemic on the two kinds of love, cf., e.g., Hubbard (2003: 271, 443-447). Cf. also Most in this volume.

The stereotypical image of Anacreon as the lover of boys is well-known from Anacreon's own work,⁵⁸ from the Hellenistic epigrams and from the *Carmina Anacreontea*, as well as from other sources.⁵⁹ From the Hellenistic epigrams dedicated to Anacreon, Theocritus' verses can be recalled here: προσθεις δὲ χῶτι τοῖς νέοισιν ἄδετο, / ἐρεῖς ἀτρεκέως ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα "and if you add that he took delight in young men, / you will have exactly described the whole man"⁶⁰ (AP 9.599.5-6 = HE 15). Furthermore, in another epigram an adjective used to describe Anacreon's lyre is φιλόπαις "loving boys"⁶¹ (Ps.-Simonides AP 7.24.6). In the *Carmina Anacreontea* the love for young boys is characteristic of both Anacreon and the Anacreontic poet.⁶² In particular, this love is represented by Bathyllus: cf. CA 4 (i).21 (Ἔρῳτα καὶ Βάθυλλον "Eros and Bathyllus"), CA 10.10 (ἀφίρπασας Βάθυλλον; "(why) have you snatched away Bathyllus?"), CA 18.10 (παρὰ τὴν σκιὴν Βαθύλλου "by the shade of Bathyllus") or the already mentioned *carmen* 15 (l. 8: πρὸς παῖδα, πρὸς Βάθυλλον "to his beloved boy, to Bathyllus"), as well as CA 17.1-2, 44, 46, where the Anacreontic poet asks an artist to represent the young boy.⁶³ However, in Anacreon's poetic work as well as in the *Carmina Anacreontea* and in the Hellenistic epigrams, there are also references to heterosexual love.⁶⁴

Above I hinted at the possibility that in Menecrates' epigram the differentiation between Anacreon and Menecrates could also be based on the difference between their ages. While nothing is explicitly stated about Anacreon being old, there could be a clue to the opposite case in the phrase ἐν νέοισιν 'among youth'. This phrase, which appears on the following line, seems to give some importance to the fact of being young, especially if this is a condition for the ἀφροδίσια being (considered as) ἄσπιλα. Therefore it seems possible that Menecrates could have counted himself among the young, even though this is only one of the possibilities for interpreting the epigram. Perhaps Anacreon and Menecrates were both (imagined as) old men and to be among youth could be understood as an Anacreontic precept (cf. the commentary below).

As regards old age, Anacreon's poetic persona is already represented as old in Anacreon's work: (fr. 13.6-7 Page) τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμη, / λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται "(she) finds fault with my hair because it is white",⁶⁵ (fr. 50.1-6 Page) πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἤδη / κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν, / χαρίεσσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦβη / πάρα, γηραλέοι δ' ὀδόντες, / γλυκεροῦ δ' οὐκέτι πολλὸς / βιότου χρόνος

58 Cf. Fr. 2,1; 12; 14; 15; 29; 57c; 62 Page.

59 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 17-18) and Bernsdorff's paper in this volume.

60 Translation by Rosenmeyer (1992: 24).

61 Moreover, similar to παιδέρως, φιλόπαις could be the name of a plant (horehound, *Marrubium vulgare*).

62 Concerning Anacreon and the Anacreontic poet as lovers of boys, cf. also Most's paper in this volume.

63 Cf. also Baumann in this volume.

64 Cf. fr. eleg. 5 West; fr. 28, 72 Page.

65 Translation by Campbell (1988).

λέλειπται. “My temples are already grey and my head is white; graceful youth is no more with me, my teeth are old, and no long span of sweet life remains now”.⁶⁶ Anacreon’s old age also became a *topos* in the reception of his persona, which could have influenced Menecrates (or his poet). We have already seen this, e.g., in one of the two epigrams Leonidas dedicated to the old Anacreon (AP 16.307).⁶⁷ Both epigrams AP 16.306 and 16.307 open with the image of the πρέσβυς Ἀνακρέων (l. 1), who is drunk and sings on his lyre about the boys Bathyllus and Megistes. It is interesting that in AP 16.306, l. 8, Anacreon’s lyre is said to be δυσέρως “love-sick”, an adjective which is – like παιδέρως – built on ἔρωσ. As seen above, in the *Carmina Anacreontea* the first poem is dedicated to the old but still handsome Anacreon. In CA 7.2 the women address Anacreon saying Ἀνάκρεον, γέρων εἶ “Anacreon, you are old”. The Anacreontic poet himself is old: cf. (CA 51.2) τὰν πολιὰν ἔθειραν “my white hair”, (52A.1) πολιὰι στέρουσι κάραν “Grey hair wreathes my head”, (CA 53.4) ὁ γέρων ἐγὼ “I, an old man”, (l. 7) πολιὸν δὲ γῆρας ἐκδύς “shedding my white old age”, (l. 11) γέροντος ἀλκίην “the strength of an old man”. Old age can also be represented by flowers: cf. (again CA 51.6-8) ὄρα, κὰν στεφάνοισιν / ὅπως πρέπει τὰ λευκὰ / ῥόδοις κρίνα πλακέντα “Look, even in garlands, / how the white flowers shine forth, / lilies woven in with roses” and (CA 55.27-28) χαρίεν ῥόδων δὲ γῆρας / νεότητος ἔσχεν ὁδμήν “For the graceful old age of the rose / has the smell of youth”.

4. [3⁴.] ἄσπιλ’ ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια

With his supplement [ἀλλ’] Wilamowitz suggests a neat opposition between the third and the fourth lines, i.e., – according to his interpretation – between Anacreon’s homosexual and Menecrates’ heterosexual attitude to love. On the contrary, the supplement [τὰ δ’] suggested by Aristarchis and Vollgraaf allows one to read the fourth verse without necessarily implying a syntactic connection with the previous line or at least a neat opposition between line 3 and line 4: [ἐγὼ] δὲ παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἔτερπόμαν. / [τὰ δ’] ἄσπιλ’ ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια / [ὁδ’ ἀ]ντίμιμ’ ὁ τύμβος εὐχάρακτ’ ἔχει (or perhaps [ἐγὼ] δὲ παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἔτερπόμαν, / [τὰ δ’] ἄσπιλ’ ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια / [. . . ἀ]ντίμιμ’ ὁ τύμβος εὐχάρακτ’ ἔχει). Moreover, the neuter plural ἀφροδίσια is usually encountered with the article (LSJ s.v.).⁶⁸ Line 4 and line 5 could, therefore, belong to the same period and constitute the center of the epigram: the description of the grave-monument between Menecrates’ desires during life and Menecrates’ hope of a good reputation after his death.

66 Translation by Campbell (1988). Cf. also fr. 73 Page. The poetic persona is not yet old in fr. 75 Page.

67 Cf. n. 32 above. Cf. also AP 16.308 (by Eugenēs) and AP 16.309 (anonymous).

68 Perhaps [τοῖ] “such/so very (perfect pleasures amidst youth)” (LSJ s.v. τοῖος I.1 and III) could also be a possible conjecture here.

The rare adjective ἄσπιλος is formed with *alpha privativum* on the noun σπίλος which means “spot, fleck, blemish” as well as “stain (of impurity or vice)” (LSJ s.v. σπίλος B). It is important to note that the first attestations are with concrete objects such as stones⁶⁹ and an apple.⁷⁰ A metaphorical and moral connotation appears in the Christian authors (LSJ s.v., Lampe [1961, s.v.]).

Ἄσπιλα refers to the neuter plural ἀφροδίσια on the same line. The interpretation of ἀφροδίσια as “sexual pleasures” is triggered by the mention of Anacreon as ὁ πόθων ἴδρις (l. 2) and by the phrase παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἑτερπόμεν (l. 3). In the term ἀφροδίσια there is no distinction between hetero- or homosexual intercourse,⁷¹ so ἀφροδίσια is not necessarily in opposition to the phrase παιδέρωσιν ἑτερπόμεν of the third line. Explaining why ἄσπιλα is related to ἀφροδίσια is likely the key to the interpretation of this epigram. It is likely that ἄσπιλος not only has a metaphorical and moral connotation in the epigram, but also a concrete meaning and it refers to both the images of the ἀφροδίσια, just as ἀντίμιμος and εὐχάρακτος on the following line (concrete meaning [1]), and the ἀφροδίσια themselves (metaphorical meaning [2]). As regards the metaphorical and moral connotation of the adjective (2), the lack of knowledge about the original context of the inscription, the defective condition of the text, and perhaps the loss of the relief make it very difficult to suggest a precise reason why ἀφροδίσια are ἄσπιλα. Moreover, the arrival of Momos is difficult to explain if it has to be seen in relation to the ἄσπιλα ἀφροδίσια or to their images (cf. below). Generally speaking, we could say that the ἄσπιλα ἀφροδίσια are ἀφροδίσια which do not cause reproach (2a).⁷²

According to the interpretation given by Wilamowitz, ἄσπιλα ἀφροδίσια would refer to heterosexual intercourse as opposed to homosexual (2b), but perhaps it is not – once again – a matter of a neat opposition.

In line 4 the phrase ἐν νέοισιν is placed between ἄσπιλα and ἀφροδίσια. If such wording has to be considered as significant, then we can hypothesize that ἀφροδίσια are ἄσπιλα as they are among youth (2c). If we look at the *Carmina Anacreontea* the presence of young boys and girls, even if Anacreon or the Anacreontic poet are already old, is a fundamental element of the Anacreontic

69 Cf. IG II2 1066, A1.35, 49, 65, 83, 97-98, B1.5, 19, 25 (Attica, 356/355-353/352 BCE). The adjective ἄσπιλος could have been a technical term from Greek architecture (cf. Hellmann [1988: 244]). This fact strengthens my hypothesis that ἄσπιλα should be understood in the first instance as having a concrete meaning just as ἀντίμιμος and εὐχάρακτος. Cf. below.

70 Cf. AP 6.252 = GPh 2 (Antiphilus).

71 Cf. Dover (²1989: 63-65).

72 If this interpretation is correct, i.e., if the ἀφροδίσια can be defined as ἄσπιλα, are there ἀφροδίσια which could cause blemish (σπίλος)? This is attested in Ps.-Lucian, *Erotes*, 15-16, a passage which tells the story of a youth who fell in love with the statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus and tried to have sexual intercourse with it. Cf., in particular, 16.27-28: καὶ τὸν σπῖλον εἶχεν ἢ θεὸς ὧν ἔπαθεν ἔλεγχον “and the goddess had that blemish to prove what she’d suffered” (Translation by Macleod [1967]). Also here both a concrete and a metaphorical meaning are present.

symposium. In CA 53, it is enough for the old Anacreontic poet to see a group of young people to gain back his own youth: ὅτ' ἐγὼ 'ς νέων ὄμιλον / ἔσορῶ, πάρεστιν ἦβα “whenever I look upon a crowd of young boys, / my youth returns” (ll. 1-2) and then (l. 8) νέος ἐν νέοις χορεύσω “I shall dance, a youth among youths”. Either Menecrates died young or old, this verse ([τὰ δ'] ἄσπιλ' ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια) with its clear reference to the necessary presence of youth would have certainly met the approval of Anacreon and of the Anacreontic poet.⁷³

In the second part of the epigram Menecrates speaks explicitly about the (perhaps only) possible arrival of Reproach and the help Menecrates will receive by Praise. At the end of the poem we know that Praise is victorious and Menecrates is therefore beyond reproach. Does this have something to do with the differentiation he had constructed between himself and Anacreon in the first part of the poem (i.e., would Anacreon reproach him because Menecrates did not follow the poet of love entirely)? Or does this necessity to defend himself rather have something to do with the images Menecrates (or someone else) wanted for his tomb (i.e., will people reproach Menecrates for his lifestyle)? This question brings us to the analysis of the following line.

5. [3⁴.]ντίμιμ' ὁ τύμβος εὐχάρακτ' ἔχει

Aristarchis' conjecture [Σεῦ ἄ] is not admissible for the same reason given for line 1 for σός, i.e., Menecrates is not speaking to Aphrodite. The supplement [ὄν ἄ] suggested by Wilamowitz makes it likely that line 4 is syntactically related to line 3, i.e., the accusative phrase ἄσπιλ' ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια depends on ἐτερπόμεν like the dative παιδέωσιν. Through a predicative deictic construction, ὄδε (...) ὁ τύμβος “this tomb here”, Vollgraff restores a syntactically simpler text and gives vivacity to Menecrates' speech.

Menecrates' grave bore images, which were “closely imitating” (ἀντίμιμα), “well-carved” (εὐχάρακτα) and also, if our interpretation of ἄσπιλα as having both a concrete (1) and a metaphorical meaning (2c) is correct, “perfect”. The use of the adjective εὐχάρακτος is uncommon. Except for Menecrates' epigram, it is known from a papyrus of the 4th cent. CE (PLips. 13.10), where it refers to “clearly stamped” (LSJ) coins, and from late authors, such as Proclus (*Homilia in Crucifixionem* 6.29.2, 5th cent. CE),⁷⁴ where it also refers to a coin.⁷⁵ According to

73 Another hypothesis (2d), which I find less likely, is that the phrase ἄσπιλα ἀφροδίσια refers to non-sexual intercourse. Cf. for a later (possible) parallel the novel of Daphnis and Chloe. Their love could be considered as a model of pure, unstained love. I do not think that this is the case for Menecrates. If he states that he did not take pleasure in the love of boys, this does not mean that he did not take (sexual) pleasure at all. Isn't Menecrates in his epigram rather like Dorkon, one “who knew both the name and the deeds of love” (1.15.1, translation by Morgan [2004])?

74 Cf. also Ps.-Dion. Areopagita (*De divinis nominibus* 129.16, 5th-6th cent. CE).

75 However, other compounds in ὄχρακτος are attested earlier.

Karusos (1962: 122), the adjective εὐχάρακτος can refer both to ‘carved’ and ‘painted images’. However, the other attestations of the adjective hint at the action of minting and the verb χαράσσω, from which the adjective is derived, contains the ideas of ‘sharpening, cutting, carving’ and even that of ‘sketching, drawing’ (LSJ, cf., e.g., CA 57.5: ἀπαλὰν χάραξε Κύπριν ‘etched the delicate Cypris [on a cup]’),⁷⁶ but not properly that of “painting”. Such being the case, it seems likelier that Menecrates is referring to carved images, i.e., to a relief.

Exactly as the marble stone on which the inscription was carved was later employed to construct the wall of a church, the relief could also have undergone the same fate and have subsequently been reused in some (other) construction.⁷⁷ At some point the inscription and the images were separated. Their subject seems to have been the ἄσπιλ’ ἐν νέοισιν ἀφοροδίσια, with which the adjectives ἀντίμιμα and εὐχάρακτα agree. There are also two other possibilities – which I personally find less likely. The first one is that the fifth line was syntactically isolated and that there were no hints at all to the content of the images in the epigram, as these could readily be seen by passers-by. The second one is that the images represented the fight between Momos and Epainos, as described in the last lines of the epigram (cf. the commentary on the last three lines).

Although the representation of sexual pleasures in a sepulchral context does not remain unattested (cf. below), I could not find a parallel that fits with Menecrates’ epigram for both its Asiatic origin and its Hellenistic dating. An aspect that should be taken into consideration is that we do not know the attitude through which the ἀφοροδίσια were approached in the relief: should we think of sensual images or rather of more explicit scenes? I do not think that the introduction of Momos’ attack in the following lines is a sufficient reason to imagine very explicit scenes.⁷⁸

Wilamowitz (1913: 110) suggested that a parallel could be found in the relief from Naples known as “Alcibiades among hetaerae”, but Karusos (1962: 122-123) dismissed this hypothesis, even if unconvincingly.⁷⁹ He claimed to have found a parallel in a relief from Kos of the late Archaic Age (ca. 510 BCE), which

76 Adaptation of Rosenmeyer’s translation.

77 There is also another hypothesis which is not possible to dismiss entirely: the carved images could have been – as perhaps Anacreon’s statue and Aphrodite’s temple – simply literary imagination. I find this hypothesis unlikely.

78 It could be interesting to recall that an epigram from the *Anthologia Latina* (Shackleton Bailey 314) attacks a certain Balbus, who had erotic images made for his grave. Another problem which remains unsolved is the context in which the ἀφοροδίσια were collocated: an Anacreontic context would surely have been the symposium. The interpretation of the epigram is too uncertain to make any definitive statement.

79 Karusos (1962: 122-123): “(...) es ist ein Relief von fragwürdiger Erfreulichkeit, welches in ziemlich unbeschwingter Weise den Beschauer in eine abgekühlte, aus vorgespiegelter musikalischer Verträumtheit und Sinnlichkeit zustandegebrachte “Intimität” zu versetzen trachtet; daher scheint dieses schon klassisierende Werk, vermutlich aus dem vorgeschrittenen ersten Jahrhundert v.Chr., wenig geeignet, ein kleinasiatisches Werk der schaffensfreudigen und -sicheren Jahre um 200, oder wenig später, zu veranschaulichen.”

bears symposiastic love scenes dominated by frenzied disorder. That this relief belonged to a grave was already hypothesized by the first editor (Laurenzi [1938: 73]). Nevertheless, the relief on Menecrates’ monument needs not to have represented orgiastic scenes to be reproached. Even more ‘modest’ love scenes could have triggered reproach in some parts of the society (e.g., politicians, philosophers). Another – perhaps better – parallel adduced by Karusos (1962: 124) is that of a gravestone relief representing sensual female dancers (Contoléon [1947]), a scene in the symposium. The relief is accompanied by a fragmentary epigram (πολλὰ ἐ[—] / χλιδῆς [— τ?]- / ἄφρον ἐ[—]), in which the word χλιδῆ ‘delicacy’ stands out. Vollgraff (1951: 363 n. 1) also refers to this relief, as well as to a Greek tombstone with obscene reliefs and inscriptions seen by Cumont (1940 = IGUR III 1341) in Rome. Although the immodest tombstone was conceived and realized in Rome, the dead person came from the city of Germe Hieria, which was located – as was Cyzicus – in Mysia. Since Menecrates’ epigram was found outside of its original context and the tombstone from Rome is lost and, moreover, was never dated, it is not possible to establish a solid parallel between the two works. The reliefs on this monument could not be more explicit: five rows of feminine *pudenda* and what Cumont (1940: 5), who never published a photograph or a drawing of such a monument, describes as “une scène érotique, dont l’acteur fait preuve d’une virilité démesurée”. Such images illustrated the accompanying inscriptions. Above the erotic scene the following was written: τοῦτο μόνον ζῶν ἐκέρδησα “During my life this was the only gain!” The other inscription said: Γέρμης ἐξ Ἱερῆς Τελεσίστρατος ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις κεῖμαι· ἔτι τῶνδε χρέος ποθέω “From Germe Hieria I, Telesistratos, repose in the Isles of the Blessed; I want to use these things again!” It is not difficult to see that in the works mentioned one can find interesting as well as misleading possible parallels.

Ἀφροδίσια among youths would not have caused the reproach of Anacreon nor of the Anacreontic poet. Life’s pleasures have to be enjoyed before death. This is, amongst others, a motto of the Anacreontic poet: τοῦτο δ’ οἶδα, / ὡς τῶι γέροντι μᾶλλον / πρέπει τὸ τερνὰ παίζειν / ὅσῳ πέλας τὰ Μοίρης. “This I do know: / that for an old man, / it is even more appropriate / to enjoy life’s pleasures / the closer one is to Fate” (CA 7.8-11). If Menecrates followed a lifestyle similar to that attributed to Anacreon and, therefore, similar to that of the Anacreontic poet, we could perhaps even read some passages from the *Carmina Anacreontea* as describing his attitude during his lifetime. Particularly significant is CA 36.10-16: θανεῖν γὰρ εἰ πέπτωται / τί χρυσὸς ὠφελεῖ με; / ἐμοὶ γένοιτο πίνειν, / πίνοντι δ’ οἶνον ἠδύν / ἐμοῖς φίλοις συνεῖναι, / ἐν δ’ ἀπαλαῖσι κοίταις / τελεῖν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν. “for if I am doomed to die, / what use to me is gold? / Let me drink / and then drinking down sweet wine, / let me be with my friends / and then on soft couches, / let me accomplish the rites of Aphrodites.”⁸⁰ In this symptomatic context

80 Cf. also: (CA 40.7-9) πρὶν ἐμὲ φθάσῃ τὸ τέλος. / παίζω, γελᾶσω, χορεύσω / μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Λυαίου. “before the end overtakes me, / I will play, laugh, and dance, / along with

the poet is together with his friends. He is drinking wine and fulfilling the rites of Aphrodite. It is also interesting that this attitude is triggered by the inevitable presence of death. The effect of him being with youths is that the poet goes crazy and revels in it: (CA 53.5) παραμαίνομαι, κυβηβῶ. It is then very interesting that the Anacreontic poet at the end of the poem defends his own skilfulness and gracefulness against a possible reproach:⁸¹ (ll. 11-14) ἴν' ἴδη γέροντος ἀλκίην / δεδαηκότης μὲν εἰπεῖν, / δεδαηκότης δὲ πίνειν / χαριέντως τε μανῆναι “in order that he may see the strength of an old man, / one who knows how to speak, / and who knows how to drink, / and gracefully to be mad”.⁸²

6. [3-4.] κνίσει με Μῶμος, ἀντι [.]εται

Wilamowitz and Vollgraff suggest beginning line 6 as a protasis: [εἰ δὲ]. [ἄμα] suggested by Aristarchus underlines the rapid intervention of Epainos to protect Menecrates: “No sooner will Momos scratch me than Epainos oppose (ἀντι[τάσσει]ται)”.⁸³ For the last verb many supplements have been suggested – such as ἀντιτάσσεται (Wilamowitz) and ἀντικείσεται (Vollgraff, also ἀντι[βήσσει]ται, ἀντι[λήψει]ται) – which evoke the battlefield.

If Momos attacks Menecrates because of the ἀφροδίσια represented on his gravestone or because he did not accept the love of boys, the choice of the verb κνίζω would be even more interesting since the verb could have an erotic

beautiful Lyaios”; (CA 48.9-10) μεθύοντα γάρ με κείσθαι / πολὺ κρεῖσσον ἢ θανόντα. “for it is a much better thing / for me to lie here drunk than dead”; (CA 50.25-28) ὅτ' ἐγὼ πῖω τὸν οἶνον, / τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ μόνωι τὸ κέρδος, / τοῦτ' ἐγὼ λαβῶν ἀποίσω / τὸ θανεῖν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων. “When I drink my wine, / this to me alone is a profit; / taking this, I will carry it off with me, / for death comes along with everything”; (CA 52A) Πολλὰι στέφουσι κάραν- / δὸς ὕδωρ, βάλ' οἶνον ὃ παῖ / τὴν ψυχὴν μου κάρωσον. / βραχὺ με ζῶντα καλύπτεις / ὁ θανὼν οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ. “Grey hair wreathes my head; / Bring water, bring wine, boy. / Plunge my soul into slumber. / You cover me while I still live for a short time; / but the dead man has no desires.”

81 Cf. also Anacreon's fragment 11b Page: ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω / πατάγωι τε κάλαλητῶι / Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνωι / μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς / ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις “Come again, let us no longer practise Scythian drinking with clatter and shouting over our wine, but drink moderately amid beautiful songs of praise” (translation by Campbell [1988]); and fr. eleg. 2 West: οὐ φιλέω, ὃς κρητῆρι παρὰ πλέωι οἰνοποτάζων / νεῖκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυσέοντα λέγει, / ἀλλ' ὅστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης / συμμίσγων ἐρατῆς μνήσκειται εὐφροσύνης “I do not like the man who while drinking his wine beside the full mixing-bowl talks of strife and tearful war: I like him who by mingling the splendid gifts of the Muses and Aphrodite remembers the loveliness of the feast” (translation by Campbell [1988]).

82 On the contrary, in CA 9 no adverb alleviates the μανία of the Anacreontic poet: (ll. 1-3) Ἄφες με, τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, πειν, πειν ἀμυστί· θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι. “Allow me, by the gods, I ask you, / to drink, to drink without stopping for breath. / I want, I want to be mad.”

83 Another possible supplement could be [μάτην], which would emphasize that Momos' action is in vain.

connotation (LSJ).⁸⁴ The verb can also refer to abstract entities, such as ἔρωρ or κόρος, which seize a person’s mind or body.

Μῶμος means “blame, reproach, disgrace” (LSJ). It has been attested since the *Odyssey* (β 86) and the *Theogony* (214), although it is not a frequently used term. Μῶμος being an abstract concept, its presence and action can be explained by a personification: cf., e.g., Semon. 7.84: κείνη γὰρ οἴη μῶμος οὐ προσιζάνει “to that (woman) to whom the blame does not sit by”. The characterization of the concept of μῶμος appears to have been seen in a negative light very early and μῶμος was connected with φθόνος ‘envy’ early: cf., e.g., Pi. *O.* 6.74 μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέματα φθονεόντων “But blame coming from others who are envious hangs over”⁸⁵ or Bakchyl. 13.162-165: [E]ἰ μή τινα θερσι[ε]πῆς φθόνος βιάται, αἰνεῖτω σοφὸν ἄνδρα σὺν δίκᾳ. Βροτῶν δὲ μῶμος πάντεσσι μὲν ἔστιν ἐπ’ ἔργοι[ς] “If a man is not over-mastered by envy, bold of tongue, let him justly praise the man of skill. Mortal men find fault with all achievement.”⁸⁶

As a god, Momos is one of the children of Nyx (Hes. *Theog.* 214) and is the deified personification of censoriousness.⁸⁷ Even as a god, he does not seem to have been (seen as) a positive character. According to a D-scholion to *Iliad* A 5, in the *Cypria* Momos is the one who suggests to Zeus (how) to start the Trojan War.⁸⁸ The sentence attested in Pl. *R.* 6.487a, οὐδ’ ἄν ὁ Μῶμος[ε], ἔφη, τό γε τοιοῦτον μέμψαιτο “Momus himself could find no flaw in it”,⁸⁹ looks like an ancient saying,⁹⁰ which well illustrates the proclivity of the god to find fault.⁹¹

Momos’ figure is better attested since the Hellenistic age. He is the malicious fault-finder and Callimachus identifies his poetic enemies with him (*Ap.* 2.113; fr. 393 Pfeiffer).⁹² A characteristic element of his description are the teeth in his open mouth: he is grinding them.

84 Cf., e.g., Theoc. 4.59: τήναν τὰν κύννοφρον ἐρωτίδα τᾶς ποκ’ ἐκνίσθη “that dark-browed sweetie for whom he once had the itch” (translation by Hunter [1999]).

85 Translation by Race (1997).

86 Translation by McDevitt (2009).

87 About Momos, cf. Walde (2000: 351), Simon (1992) and Kroll (1935: 42).

88 About Momos and the D-scholion, cf. Barker (2008).

89 Translation by MacDonald Cornford (1941).

90 Tümpel (1897: 3118), followed by Simon (1992: 649).

91 According to Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 49, Jebb page 397), since Momos cannot find anything to reproach Aphrodite with, he finds fault with her shoe (cf. also Iulianus, *Ep.* 82.121-124). In the *Deorum Concilium* of Lucian Momos and his skill in speaking play a relevant role.

92 Among the epigrams of the *Anthologia Palatina* in which Momos appears (AP 1.103, 9.356, 613, 11.321, 16.7, 262, 265, 266), 16.265 and 266 might describe real statues of him. Simon (1992) could identify only one relatively certain representation of Momos on a vase.

7. [.3:4.]λ’ ἐννέπων Ἔπαινος [.]Δ[.3:4.]Δ[?]ρέπ[. .[?]]

The instrument Epainos uses to win over Momos is his speech (cf. below). He will say beautiful [κά]λ’ (Aristarchis, Vollgraff) or many [πόλ]λ’ (Wilamowitz) words. [πόλ]λ’ seems a better supplement at the beginning of the line, since [κά]λ’ is too short in comparison with the supplements of the other lines.⁹³ It could well be that there are many reasons why Epainos should praise Menecrates. As regards the second part of the line, all suggested supplements seem to rely on a wrong transcription. Moreover, Aristarchis’ supplement is based upon a false reading of the following line (cf. below). Vollgraff’s supplement [ἄνθε’ ἄ]δρεπ[ον] “the flowers which I plucked (in my life)” could be fitting if the transcription previously suggested is correct. As regards the supplement suggested by Wilamowitz, the conjecture of the adjective παρήγορος appears highly speculative. Since Epainos will use his words (ἐννέπων) in order to defend Menecrates against Momos, it is tempting to suppose that there is a word like ἔπος (ἔπη) at the end of the line. A participle such as δρέπων (or another form beginning with δρεπ-) could also be possible.

If Μῶμος is not a well-attested mythological character, Ἔπαινος does not seem to be attested as such. Nevertheless, personifications of Epainos are known from other metrical inscriptions, such as IG II² 10998 (Attica, from the 4th cent. BCE)⁹⁴ and IG XII 9, 1195 (Euboea, Oreus, not before the 3rd cent. BCE)⁹⁵, both sepulchral epigrams: (l. 1) “Ares as well as Epainos loved the good”, (l. 1) “Epainos glorified you very much in the flower of your youth”.

In Menecrates’ epigram Epainos and Momos do not exclude one another. They could cooperate in a kind of discussion of Menecrates’ grave (with its relief) and life. The existence of aspects, which can be considered as both positive and negative, at the same time and in the same person recall Anacreon himself and his reception. The reader of Menecrates’ epigram is invited to choose between praise

93 This could be true only if the initial letters of all the lines were written one under another and no line began before or later than the others.

94 IG II² 10998:

- 1 τὸς ἀγαθὸς ἔστερξεν Ἄρης, ἐφίλησε δ’ ἔπαινος
- 2 καὶ γήραι νεότης οὐ παρέδωχ’ ὑβρίσαι·
- 3 ὄγ και Γ[λ]αυκιάδης δηῖος ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἔργων
- 4 ἦλθ’ ἐπὶ πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον.

95 Cf. also l. 7. IG XII 9, 1195:

- 1 πολλά σε ἔπαινος ἐπευκλείσειν νεότητος ἐν ἀκμῇ
- 2 παῖδα μὲν ὄντα νέ[ω]ν κοσμιότητι τρόπων,
- 3 ἦβη δ’ αὐξηθέντα νόμων πατρίων θεραπεία,
- 4 ἐν συνόδοις ὄ[τ’] Ἄρης ἀντιπάλους συνάγοι,
- 5 ἵππομαχο[ῦ]τα· ἀρετῇ γὰρ ἐτόλμησας στεφανῶσαι
- 6 πατρίδα καὶ προγόνους· μνήμα δὲ σῆς ἀρετῆς
- 7 στή[η]σε πατήρ Θεο[κλ]ῆς, ἀειμνήστοις[ι] δὲ ἔπαινοις
- 8 κόσμησε ἦδε πόλις καὶ κατὰ γῆς φθίμενον.

and reproach towards Menecrates, his gravestone and his life. To him is suggested the example of Anacreon, who not only during his lifetime but even more so during the time of his enduring reception garnered both praise and reproach (cf. also below).⁹⁶ In the last line the epigram suggests which one the reader should favor. Indeed, in the case of Menecrates’ epigram it is not just a metaphor to say that Epainos has the last word.

8. [3.4.] Ματροδώρου δ’ οὐ θρίσ[ει]ς Μενεκράτην

The conjectures of Aristarchis are surely wrong since his reading is based upon a wrong reading of the anonymous person who simplified the sequence ΟΥΔΟΥ to ΟΥ. The independent conjectures of Wilamowitz and Vollgraff [τὸν] Ματροδώρου δ’ οὐ θρίσ[ει] Μενεκράτην seem to be the most likely. Since the anonymous person read a sigma before the mu of Menecrates and there is enough place in the lacuna, it would be better to read the second person θρίσ[ει]ς instead of the third person θρίσ[ει].⁹⁷

In the last line of the epigram Epainos then speaks directly to Momos. He has the final, victorious word against him: Momos’ action against Menecrates will be unsuccessful.

The epigram reveals the name of the person for whom the epigram was written (or who wrote the epigram) only at the end of the composition: Menecrates the son of Metrodoros.

5 Conclusion

Having discussed the text and meaning of the lines of the epigram, I suggest restoring the following text, even though there remains some uncertainty.

- 1 [τᾶς Ἀ] or [ᾧδ’ Ἀ]φροδίτας ναός ἐστί μευ πέλας
- 2 [ἔχω]ν Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν πόθων ἴδριν,
- 3 [ἐγὼ] δὲ παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἔτερπόμεν.
- 4 [τὰ δ’] ἄσπιλ’ ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια
- 5 [ὄδ’ ἀ]ντίμιμ’ ὁ τύμβος εὐχάρακτ’ ἔχει.
- 6 [εἰ δέ] κνίσει με Μῶμος, ἀντι . [.]εται
- 7 [πολ’]λ’ ἐννέπων Ἐπαινος [.]Ἀ[. .]ρέπ[. .]:
- 8 “[τὸν] Ματροδώρου δ’ οὐ θρίσ[ει]ς Μενεκράτην.”

“Near to me (there) is the temple of Aphrodite with a statue of Anacreon, the connoisseur of desires, but I did not enjoy myself with the love of boys! (My)

96 Cf., e.g., Gentili (1985: XIV), Rosenmeyer (1992: 15-22).

97 For the meaning of the verb, cf., e.g., Aischyl. *Supp.* 637.

grave has well-carved, imitating, perfect images of pleasures amidst youth. If Momos will scratch me, Epainos will oppose saying many (words of praise) (?) [...]: «You will not harvest Menecrates, the son of Metrodoros».”

In the commentary possible lines of interpretation of the epigram have been suggested, in particular, in light of the reception of Anacreon's persona as it is represented in the *Carmina Anacreontea*. The *Carmina Anacreontea*, along with the Hellenistic epigrams on Anacreon, confirm the image of Anacreon as a connoisseur of desires (l. 2) and as one fond of young boys (l. 3), even though not exclusively. Moreover, the Anacreontic poet is a devotee of Aphrodite and Eros like Menecrates in the epigram (l. 1 and l. 4). Both appreciate youth or at least the company of young people (l. 4). Other characteristics of Anacreon or of the Anacreontic poet have been used to explore different interpretative hypotheses. Even though Anacreon's old age is not mentioned in the epigram, in Anacreon's own work his poetic persona is already described as an old man and this characteristic is echoed in the Hellenistic epigrams as well as in the *Carmina Anacreontea* for both Anacreon and the Anacreontic poet. Perhaps such an image of Anacreon is also implied in Menecrates' epigram. Moreover, the Anacreontic poet knows that life's pleasures have to be enjoyed before death and this knowledge could perhaps also be applied to Menecrates' attitude to life.

In the conclusion of this paper, I would like to stress that it is not necessary to see a neat opposition between Anacreon (as the lover of boys) and Menecrates (as the lover of women) in the epigram. Rather than a polemic opposition to homosexual love, the epigram seems to suggest a complex and multifaceted interpretation of the relationship between Menecrates and Anacreon: Anacreon is the best connoisseur of any kind of love (Ἀνακρέων ὁ πόθων ἴδρις), while Menecrates is not so wise in matters of love, because he didn't know the love of young boys (ἐγὼ δὲ παιδέρωσιν οὐκ ἐτερπόμεν). Even though he is not as wise as Anacreon, he is also an expert in love: like Anacreon and the Anacreontic poet he knows that love is perfect only among – and perhaps even only for – young people (τὰ δ' ἄσπιλ' ἐν νέοισιν ἀφροδίσια). Menecrates' lifestyle together with the images on his grave are likely to cause reproach and Menecrates feels the need to defend himself. If Momos comes, Epainos will defend Menecrates and be victorious.

Many questions still await an answer. Who are the people against whom Menecrates has to defend himself? The people who knew his life and everyone who looked at the images on his grave? Or Anacreon himself? Anacreon could reproach Menecrates for not having accepted the love of young boys.⁹⁸ In other words, Anacreon could reproach him for having refused to gain knowledge of this kind of love. Indeed, without this knowledge Menecrates is not the perfect Anacreontic poet. In any case, Menecrates knows perfect pleasures among youth and the passer-by knows that, in the end, Epainos will win against Momos.

98 On the importance of loving boys for the Anacreontic poet, cf. Most in this volume.

At first sight it seems that Menecrates or his poet chose the image of Anacreon as the perfect lover. While this is true, I think that there is also another reason for this, which can bring us to a better understanding of the epigram. Menecrates and Anacreon were both people who could trigger reproach. For Menecrates the only attestation is the epigram itself with the explicit arrival of Momos in line 6. As regards Anacreon, it is necessary to recall that the attitude towards, e.g., the homosexual characteristics of Anacreon’s persona and of his poetry was not always positive and the poems that celebrated paederastic love were condemned (cf., e.g., the attitude of the Stoics, who thought that this kind of poetry could damage and corrupt the youth). More generally, there are also other aspects in Anacreon’s persona which could have been seen as problematic in given contexts. Shapiro (2012) recently discussed some in relation to the representation of the poet: in addition to his connotation as the “model *erastes*”, his connection with the institution of tyranny (Polycrates in Samos, Peisistratos in Athens) and his Eastern-Greek origins could have been seen as problematic in the context of democratic Athens.⁹⁹ Perhaps the fact that the Anacreontic poet claims to be able to behave with skillfulness and grace during the symposium should be seen as a defensive reaction: (Il. 11-14) ἴν’ ἴδιη γέροντος ἀλκίην / δεδαηκότος μὲν εἰπεῖν, / δεδαηκότος δὲ πίνειν / χαριέντως τε μανῆναι “in order that he may see the strength of an old man, one who knows how to speak, and knows how to drink, and gracefully to be mad”. For the Anacreontic poet, to be old means to be skillful and graceful. If such a problematic persona such as that of Anacreon could still garner both praise and reproach centuries after his death, who better to be a symbol of the condition of Menecrates than Anacreon himself? And if, in the end, Anacreon continued to be not only praised, but even imitated – as we can see in the late *Carmina Anacreontea* –, why should Menecrates, who did not reach so vast a knowledge of love, not be praised?

In conclusion, Menecrates’ epigram is not only an interesting attestation of the widespread fame reached by Anacreon as an expert in matters of love, but also one of the problematic nature of his persona throughout the centuries. Therefore, this text is a worthy ‘missing link’ in the reception of Anacreon’s persona between the Hellenistic age and the later time of the *Carmina Anacreontea*.

99 Cf., in particular, Shapiro (2012: 20-21). It is irrelevant for the goal of the present study to establish whether the so-called Anacreon Borghese (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 491) is a copy of Anacreon’s statue on the Athenian acropolis or not. Shapiro describes in a very vivid way the problematic nature of Anacreon’s persona. It is clear that the problems connected with Anacreon’s reception change according to the different circumstances, but still it remains a fact that there could have been problematic aspects in the reception of Anacreon’s persona.

CHAPTER II

Poiesis

Language and Poetology in the *Carmina Anacreontea*

Dialect in the *Anacreontea*

ALEXANDER SENS

1 Introduction

Like the epigrams of the Greek Anthology with which they are preserved in the 'Palatine' Anthology (Paris. supp. gr. 384 + Palatinus gr. 23), the *Anacreontea* raise complicated questions of dialect. Like those epigrams, the Anacreontic carmina were composed over many centuries by different authors with different goals and, inevitably, conceptions of the form. Moreover, they seem to have reached the manuscripts in which they are ultimately preserved via a series of now-lost syllogae organized according to different editorial practices and goals,¹ and there are objective grounds for suspecting that some aspects of their dialectal coloring has been altered in the course of transmission. The dialectal difficulties posed by epigram thus elucidate those raised by the *Anacreontea*.

The epigrams that have survived in the Anthology and on papyrus make it clear that individual authors not only composed poems in a range of dialects, but also sometimes combined forms from different dialects within a single poem. The Milan Posidippus papyrus (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309), for example, contains a number of epigrams in which forms from different dialects stand side by side, and there is strong reason for suspecting that in at least some of these cases the inconsistency is the product of deliberate dialectal mixing by the author (cf., e.g., in a different genre, Callimachus' defense of dialect mixing in fr. 203) rather than an accident of transmission.² It thus follows that some of the dialectal variation found within poems preserved in manuscripts may also be intentional.

Unfortunately, the realities of transmission complicate the assessment of dialect coloring in any given instance. For the poems of the Anthology, it has long been recognized that P is an unreliable witness on matters of dialect, even if it paints a less uniform and thus probably more accurate dialectal picture than the Planudean manuscript (PI), in which regularization to Attic is common.³ For numerous epigrams, the witnesses disagree on whether an individual word has an Attic/Ionic or a Doric coloring. Indeed, studies of the papyrological and manuscript evidence for both Hellenistic epigrams and the bucolic corpus, and in parti-

1 For discussion, see West (1984a: xvi-xviii).

2 Cf. Sens (2004).

3 Cf. Sens (2011: lxx-lxvi).

cular work on the use of Doric forms in these genres, have shown clearly the extent to which the dialect of individual poems tends to be altered in transmission.⁴ Two competing trends are in evidence: in some cases, Doric forms are eliminated in place of epic/Ionic or Attic equivalents; on the other hand, the force of analogy sometimes leads to a tendency to regularize the dialect coloring of a given poem to the extent that real or apparent inconsistency is eliminated. The process may be seen in operation at an early stage in Posidipp. 87.3 AB, where the form [πο]λυθρύλητον originally written by the scribe and correct in Doric has been altered in the papyrus to produce the false hyper-Doricism [πο]λυθρύλατον; conversely, in 65 AB, the Milan Posidippus papyrus retains a Doric coloring that has been wholly lost in the secondary tradition in which it also survives. All of this means that for poems transmitted via P, dialect of any given word within an individual poem, and even the prevailing dialect of entire poems, must be treated with some degree of skepticism.

The *Anacreontea* raise similar difficulties, and the absence of witnesses other than P for the majority of the collection imposes the need for tremendous caution in assessing the authenticity of any individual form. Viewed as a whole, the language of the *Anacreontea* is a *Kunstsprache* that includes forms that originated in a range of dialectal (and generic) contexts (cf. West [1984a: xi-xii]) and that reflects the Hellenistic poetic *koine* characteristic of a great deal of Hellenistic epigram.⁵ Scholars have, however, recognized that from the standpoint of dialect, the collection falls into two distinct parts (cf. West [1984a: xi-xii, xvi-xvii]). In the first part, comprising the first thirty-four poems as enumerated by West (with CA 4 treated as three distinct versions of the same poem), there is no manuscript evidence of any features that could be marked specifically as Doric, except for one poem (CA 11) in which the voice of a Doric speaker is explicitly at issue (see below). In these poems, the few instances of α rather than η as the reflex of inherited */a:/ follow ρ or τ (there are no examples following ϵ) and may thus be understood as Atticisms rather than Doricisms. In the second part, on the other hand, poems in Ionic are intermixed with others for which the manuscript transmits forms in α either consistently or partially. These poems and the problems of dialect they present will be discussed in further detail below, but for now we may note (with West) that the absence of similar features in the first section of the corpus both lessens the plausibility of seeing these forms as simple scribal errors where they do occur in the second half of the corpus, and lends support to West's observation that the clustering of poems with Doric characteristics at the end of the corpus is not accidental – in other words, that it reflects the character of the individual collections from which the *Anacreontea* are derived.⁶

4 E.g. Molinos Tejada (1990); Sens (2004).

5 Cf. Magnelli (2007: 177-178); Sens (2011: lxvii-lxix).

6 West (1984a: xi).

Indeed, as West has observed, the difference between the dialect of the first part of the collection and that of the second part seems likely to be due to the fact that the *Anacreontea* as we have them appear to comprise several different syllogae. Dialect, like meter, was an important marker of both genre and literary affiliation, and Anacreon's authentic poems were composed in Ionic (cf. *Suda* α 1916), with the occasional admixture of non-Ionic forms for literary effect (e.g. Aeolicisms at PMG 358 ποικιλοσαμβάλω, PMG 379 χρυσοφαέννων); in the occasional places where α has been transmitted in the witnesses (cf. PMG 348.2, where Hephaestion transmits ξανθά), editors have emended to equivalent Ionic forms.⁷ It is thus not surprising that poems appropriating the voice of Anacreon would adopt a largely Ionic dialect coloring as a means of asserting their affiliation to the Teian poet. The generally Ionic coloring of the first thirty-four poems dovetails neatly with the relative regularity of their meter, and it is thus reasonable to conclude that they represent an early phase of the development of the *Anacreontea* as a literary form, with the authors of the individual compositions using dialect as a means of establishing a concrete link to the voice of Anacreon.⁸ On this view, the second half of the corpus, in which Doric and Ionic coexist, derives from syllogae including poems that reflect a later stage of generic development at which the thematic conventions of the form had already been established, and at which Ionic coloring was perceived as a less essential feature of the genre.⁹

2 Dialect and Literary Affiliation

Because dialect was historically an important marker of genre and thus of literary affiliation, it served as a powerful tool with which poets could create meaning. The use of a basic Ionic dialectal coloring is an important vehicle by which the poets of the *Anacreontea* engage with other lyric poetry, and with other literary forms. A number of the *Anacreontea* have as their basic literary model lyric compositions by authors other than Anacreon. Although we cannot know the precise means by which these individual *Anacreontea* came to be associated with the

7 For an account of Anacreon's Ionic, cf. Garzón Diaz (1990-1991: 60-61).

8 West (1984a: xvi-xvii) treats CA 1-34 as stemming from two distinct syllogae, the first comprising 1-20 and the second 21-34. Several of the first twenty poems appropriate the voice of Anacreon either explicitly (CA 7) or by implication via reference to Bathyllus (CA 10.10; 17; 18); none of the poems in the next group does so.

9 Literary epigram shows an (imperfectly) analogous development, with the earliest examples regularly retaining some formal and thematic connections to their inscriptional ancestors, even when they depart from them in other respects, whereas these same features are less essential to the genre in later periods; see Sens (2011: xxxvii-xlii). In the case of the *Anacreontea*, the possibility that the linguistic and metrical regularity of the first group is an attempt to (re)establish an affiliation with Anacreon at a later date cannot be absolutely excluded but is far less likely.

Teian poet, their inclusion in a collection explicitly attributed to him in P may be understood as the product either of misattribution by an editor or misrepresentation by an author or authors. In such a context, the use of Anacreon's dialect in the rewriting of poems by other melic poets forms part of a tendentious assertion about Anacreon's place in literary history.

Most obviously, when the author of CA 60 enjoins his audience to “imitate Anacreon” (30 τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ) in the context of a poem whose primary models are Pindaric,¹⁰ his use of the Ionic rather than Doric dialect implicitly contributes to a tendentious blurring of Pindaric and Anacreontic models (cf. also CA 20). In other words, the poem as a whole takes over Pindaric models and treats them as if they were Anacreontic; and in this context, the Ionic dialect corresponds to the cooptation of the Pindaric voice for Anacreon. A more complex engagement of this sort may be found in CA 26, in which a Sapphic model is reframed in terms of direct engagement with the language and themes of epic:

σὺ μὲν λέγεις τὰ Θήβης,
 ὃ δ' αὖ Φρυγῶν ἀντάς,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐμὰς ἀλώσεις,
 οὐχ ἵππος ὄλεσέν με,
 οὐ πέζος, οὐχὶ νῆες, 5
 στρατὸς δὲ καινὸς ἄλλος
 ἀπ' ὀμμάτων με βάλλον.

You tell the stories of Thebes, / while he in turn speaks of the war-cries of the Phrygians, / but I speak of my own downfalls. / For I was undone not by a horse, / nor infantry, nor ships, / but by another, novel army, / shooting me from its eyes.

Here, the poet explicitly locates himself in a dialogue with the epic tradition. His addressee and the anonymous third person mentioned in verse 2 are represented as epic poets, who “speak” (λέγεις) the two major narrative strands of that tradition, the Theban (1) and Trojan (2) cycles respectively. The narrator himself, by contrast, tells of his own personal destruction (3). As has been widely recognized, the engagement with epic is mediated by the working of a lyric model, since the central verses of the poem evoke the priamel of Sappho fr. 16.1-4 LP, where foot soldiers and ships also serve as a foil for the experience of the lover:

οἱ μὲν ἰππῶν στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων
 οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
 ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
 τω τις ἔραται.

10 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 166-168).

Some say an army of horsemen is the most beautiful thing on the black earth, others [an army] of infantry, and others [an armada] of ships, but I say it is whatever [...] someone loves.

Against this backdrop, the speaker's insistence that he is experiencing the onslaught of another "new" (καινός) army – desire, which traditionally emanates from the eyes of one person and enters those of another (ἀπ' ὀμμάτων με βάλλων) – is programmatically loaded, in that the narrator lays claim to an originality that is belied by the poem's actual literary ancestry. In this context, the Ionic dialect coloring, and in particular the pointedly epic νῆες, is significant: the poem recasts the priamel of the Sapphic model in the linguistic terms of the epic tradition to which the Sapphic poem, in its use of martial display as a foil for *eros*, itself directly responds. In this sense, the Anacreontic poem reinvents the Sapphic interrogation of epic priorities in the authoritative terms of the epic genre itself.

The influence of literary models on the dialect of the *Anacreontea* is manifest in other ways as well. Even in the first, more consistently Ionic half of the corpus, there are relatively few specific features of epic/Ionic other than the use of η instead of α (as in Attic) as the reflex of inherited /a:/ even after ρ, ι, and ε, except in the context of allusions to epic texts.¹¹ Other features of Ionic, like the use of μεν and σευ as opposed to μου and σου as the genitive of the first- and second-person personal pronouns, are occasionally in evidence. Although contraction of nominal and verbal forms is the norm, as in Attic, the corpus does have a number of examples in which contraction does not occur (as is typical for epic/Ionic).¹² These occur throughout the corpus and are not always obviously marked, but some at least may be explained as evocations of specific passages of epic. Thus, for example, the phrase θυρέων ἔκοπτ' ὀχῆας (CA 33.7), in a passage describing Eros's arrival at the narrator's home, constitutes a specific engagement with the Odyssean passage in which Penelope opens the door of the storage room to retrieve Odysseus' bow: αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἦ γ' ἰμάντα θεῶς ἀπέλυσε κορώνης, / ἐν δὲ κληῖδ' ἦκε, θυρέων δ' ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας / ἄντα τιτυσκομένη (*Od.* 21.46-48 "Quickly she freed the strap from the handle, and inserted the key and knocked the bolt of the doors up, thrusting the key in").¹³

The allusion to this scene sets up the poem's broader engagement, rightly noted by West and Rosenmeyer (though neither observes the complementary allusion in 47),¹⁴ with the description of Odysseus' killing of the suitors later in *Odyssey* 21 and 22 (CA 33.24-29 looks to *Od.* 21.393-395; 33.30 to *Od.* 22.2-4). Thus, in this case, the absence of contraction is both a feature and a marker of the poem's reuse of epic and of its association of Eros with the vengeful hero.

11 Ionic features of the poems are catalogued by West (1984a: xi-xii).

12 Cf. West (1984a: xi).

13 Cf. A.R. 4.41. There is a different version of the phrase at *Il.* 24.566-567 ὀχῆα (...) θυράων ἡμετεράων.

14 West (1984a: 25); Rosenmeyer (1992: 103-104).

The collocation of uncontracted forms also contributes to the creation of an epic ‘flavor’ in CA 31.4-5:

διὰ δ’ ὀξέων μ’ ἀναύρων
 ξυλόχων τε καὶ φαράγγων
 τροχάοντα τεῖρεν ἰδρώς

Through swift torrents / and thickets and cliffs sweat / distressed me as I ran
 (tr. Rosenmeyer [1992: 103])

As scholars have observed, the passage is a reworking of *Il.* 21.51-52, where Lycaon grows exhausted as he flees from the Scamander: τεῖρε γὰρ ἰδρώς / φεύγοντ’ ἐκ ποταμοῦ, κάματος δ’ ὑπὸ γούνατ’ ἐδάμνα (“sweat wore him down as he fled from the river, and exhaustion tamed his knees below”).¹⁵ In this case, neither ὀξέων nor τροχάοντα occurs in the Homeric model. Instead, the uncontracted forms, by suggesting the characteristics of epic language, help to activate the verbal allusion constituted by τεῖρεν ἰδρώς.

Several other specifically Ionic features also have an intertextual explanation. For instance, both of the Ionic genitives in -εω in the corpus occur in passages where specific literary models are being evoked. In one of these passages, the Ionic genitive Γύγεω in the opening priamel of CA 8 (οὔ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω, / τοῦ Σαρδίων ἄνακτος, / οὐδ’ εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος / οὐ δὲ φθονῶ τυράννοις “I have no care for the possessions of Gyges, / lord of Sardis, / nor has envy ever caught me, / and I do not envy tyrants”) forms part of an almost verbatim reworking of a passage of Archilochus (fr. 19.1 οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, / οὐδ’ εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ’ ἀγαιομαι / θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ’ οὐκ ἔρέω τυραννίδος “I have no care for the possessions of Gyges rich in gold, / nor has envy ever caught me, / nor do I feel envious of the works of the gods, / and and have no yearning for a great tyranny”).¹⁶ The other case is both more complex and more revealing. CA 4 comprises three versions of what is essentially the same poem, in which the speaker requests that Hephaestus engrave not weapons but a drinking cup. The first version is preserved by Aulus Gellius and thus must have been composed before the end of the 170s CE.¹⁷ The second, a slightly abbreviated form of the poem, is preserved in witnesses to Cephalas’ collection of epigrams: the Palatine Anthology (P), Planudes’ anthology (PI), and the Sylloge Parisiana (S). The last, a slightly expanded form of the theme, is preserved in P alone. The three versions differ from one another not only in small details of language and content, but also in their basic conception, for the speaker of the first refers to Bathyllus, with

15 The phrase τεῖρεν ἰδρώς also has a parallel in *Il.* 5.796, though the theme of movement activates a more specific reminiscence of *Il.* 21.51 (τροχάοντα ~ φεύγοντ(α)). Giangrande (1975: 191-192) recognizes the allusion but argues for retaining P’s πείρεν.

16 The Ionic coloring of Σαρδίων, which is printed by West (1984a: 6) for P’s Σάρδεων, would, if correct, also be a feature of a broader literary reminiscence.

17 Holford-Strevens (1988: 9-19).

whom Anacreon himself was allegedly enamored (cf. PMG 471; Watson [2003: 449] on Hor. *Ep.* 14.9) and who is mentioned several times elsewhere in the early *Anacreontea* (CA 10.10; 15.8; 17.1, 44, 46; 18.10). The reference to Bathyllus, then, thus openly manufactures an Anacreontic voice. The others, by contrast, omit mention of Bathyllus, and are thus less specifically directed and less generically marked, and may have been composed as variations of (i) (or a poem like it) by writers who wished to avoid any explicit connection to a particular poetic voice (cf. similar variations among epigrams in the Greek Anthology).

The basic point of these poems is that Hephaestus should not make for the poet what he had made for Achilles at *Il.* 18.478-613, a passage that the poet draws on directly in lines 8-9 (9 is not found in Gellius' text, but can plausibly be restored to it from the other versions). The passage, in its representation of the celestial bodies, is an amalgamation of epic passages, conflating the description of the artistic universe constructed by Hephaestus in *Iliad* 18 with the description of the heavens as Odysseus constructs his raft in *Od.* 5.271-275, where the heavenly phenomena mentioned in the poem occur within close compass: οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε / Πληιάδας τ' ἔσορῶντι καὶ ὠπὲ δύνοντα Βοώτην / Ἄρκτον θ', ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσιν, / ἢ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὀρίωνα δοκεύει, / οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο ("nor did sleep fall on his eyelids / as he looked to the Pleiades and late-setting Bootes, / and the Bear, which they also call Wagon, / which turns in place and looks to Orion, / and alone has no part in the baths of Ocean"). In this context, the form Βοώτew is particularly telling. Although this form of the genitive of the noun is attested first in Aratus (96 with Kidd [1996: 216 ad loc.]; 136), it has a background in such Homeric forms as *Od.* 14.459 συβώτew, where the final syllable is, as here, in synizesis. The appearance of the Ionic genitive in this context thus forms part of a larger engagement with Homeric epic in the poem: the poet draws on a form that looks and sounds Homeric by way of creating an epicizing coloring.

The description of the heavens is abbreviated in the version surviving in PPIS, and there is no mention of Bootes there. In the longer version preserved in P alone, however, the word appears in the standard 'koine' genitive singular Βοώτου (4.iii.11). The variation suggests that the Ur-version of these poems (reflected in 4.i) had Βοώτew, and that it was regularized to -ου in subsequent versions either by a poet or by a later scribe; that a copyist introduced the form in -ew into an original that had -ου in order to produce a more 'authentic' Homeric flavor seems less likely.¹⁸

18 For another dialectal variation among the versions see below, pp. 107-108.

3 Doric

With the exception of CA 11 (discussed below, pp. 109-112), the first part of the corpus, perhaps representing the two oldest of the syllogae that constitute the collection,¹⁹ has an Ionic coloring with the occasional admixture of Attic. The latter part of the corpus, by contrast, contains a number of poems in which the dialect coloring is either wholly or partly marked as non-Ionic in the sense that it contains forms in which α is used in place of η in the endings of nouns and adjectives. Such coloring is most obviously a characteristic of Doric, and though it is also a feature of Aeolic, it is, in the absence of Aeolic features, most easily understood as evoking the long tradition of Doric lyric. Other marked features of the literary Doric tradition like $-\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ as the ending of the 3rd-person plural indicative and $-\omicron\sigma\alpha$ as the feminine participle (also a feature of Aeolic) are absent, and although it seems fair to assume that the authors of these wholly or partially non-Ionic poems conceived of forms in long- α as Doric, it is also clear that they were not interested in (or capable of?) generating local Doric characteristics. The Doric personal pronoun $\nu\upsilon\nu$ occurs only at CA 57.9, whereas epic/Ionic $\mu\upsilon\nu$ appears in a Doric context at CA 58.5 ($\mu\eta\nu$ P, corr. Stephanus), 17.²⁰ The modal particle is always $\alpha\upsilon\nu$, as is the case throughout the entire corpus. Nor are there markers of ‘Doric severior’ (in which the ω and η rather than $\omicron\nu$ and $\epsilon\iota$ are the forms of secondarily lengthened o and e) or other local Doric dialect features or glosses. There is at least one case of hyper-Doricism, in which the poet falsely uses α (properly the reflex of inherited /a:/) as the reflex of inherited /e:/, for which the reflex in both Attic/Ionic and Doric is properly η . At CA 58.26, where $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ is written where $\phi\iota\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ would be the ‘proper’ Doric form, the hyper-Doricism has antecedents in the manuscripts of ‘Theocritus’ ([27].4 with Gow [1952: ii.486]) and Bion (*Ad.* 12.13), and might thus have been perceived to have ‘ancient’ authority.

As West has recognized, the use of non-Ionic forms in these poems coincides with other metrical and linguistic features that may point to a later date of composition than that of poems appearing earlier in the collection. At a basic level, the authors of the individual ‘Doric’ poems (whatever their chronology) did not treat dialect as a defining feature of the literary form in which they were working. For them, the ‘Anacreontic’ voice was the product of theme and meter rather than dialect, which could therefore be altered; in that sense, they thus represent a secondary development of the form, in which an Anacreontic generic code had already been established and could be played with around the margins.

In some cases, the use of Doric is a reflection of an individual poem’s engagement with a particular literary model. Thus, in CA 35, the Doric coloring seems likely to be due to the reworking of [Theoc.] 19, a brief poem on a similar

19 West (1984a: xvi-xviii).

20 On these forms in the Doric poems of Theocritus, cf. Gow (1952: ii.11).

theme in which the dialect is wholly Doric.²¹ Elsewhere, by contrast, the effect created by the use of Doric is to establish a departure from rather than a continuation of the literary tradition. Thus CA 51 may be read as narrative extension of Anacreon PMG 358, where the speaker describes how a Lesbian girl rejects him and looks to another because his “hair is white” – here, the speaker urges his addressee not to reject his white hair – but makes his speech Doric rather than Ionic, thus distinguishing the speaker from the poem that lies behind the representation of Anacreon as an old man in later verse.

A particular difficulty is posed by the several poems that combine Doric and Attic/Ionic features. In many cases, it is impossible to know whether the inconsistency was produced by the author or was the product of errors in transmission, but certain patterns are worth noting. First, a number of the inconsistencies in the latter part of the corpus may be explained by virtue of the fact, observed by West,²² that two important and common words, *λύρη* and *Κυθήρη*, seem to retain an Ionic coloring even when they occur in the context of an otherwise Doric poem (e.g. CA 38.6; 43.14). Although the sample is small, an important corollary seems to be that adjectives and pronouns associated with these nouns are attracted to Ionic. Thus, in CA 43, one finds a predominantly Doric coloring (4 *κούρα*, 8 *ἀβροχαίτας*, 9 *ἀδύ*, 11 *λίγειαν ὀμφάν*, 12 *χρυσοχαίτας*), but Ionic in verse 14 *τῆς καλῆς Κυθήρης*.²³ Similarly in CA 35, the dialect coloring is predominantly Doric (see below, on Attic *ττ*), except for the isolated Ionic accusative *κοιμωμένην* (2) and the phrase *τὴν καλὴν Κυθήρην* (7). In the phrase *λύρης δ' ἐμῆς αἰοιδάν* at CA 58.29, the juxtaposition of Ionic and Doric dialectal forms strikingly illustrates the point. Indeed, the consistently Ionic flavor of *λύρη* carries over to the compound adjective *λυροκτύπη* (CA 58.33), which occurs along with various Ionic forms of *λύρη* (CA 58.11, 18, 21, 25, 29) in an otherwise Doric poem (CA 58.1, 15 *δραπέτας*, 8 *δραπέτα*, 20 *μάταν* [*μετ' ἄν P*, corr. Bergk], 26 *φιλαμάτων*, 35 *ἄχάν*, 36 *αἴγλαν*). The consistency of the MSS on the dialect of these words seems unlikely to be accidental. Although the precise motivation for the regularity with which these words are treated as Ionic is impossible to pin down, in the case of *λύρη*, at least, it is worth observing that the word serves in the corpus as a symbol

21 The date of the pseudo-Theocritean poem is not determinable, and could be relatively late, but the very fact that its Doric is consistent and that that of the Anacreontic poem is not speaks for its priority.

22 West (1984a: xi n. 2).

23 In the latter phrase, *Κυθήρης* is Stephanus' correction of P's *Κυθερείας*. The manuscript reading is defended by Giangrande (1975: 199) on the ground that both 14 and 16 are isosyllabic (i.e. produced with a view only to the number of syllables without respect to quantity), though the claim for 16 is dependent on preserving the semantically awkward *κῶμον μεθήησι* (*μέτεισι* Stephanus), and in that verse the ease with which meter and sense are simultaneously improved cautions against Giangrande's conservatism about 14. If *Κυθερείας* is correct, its long *α* is most readily be explained as an Atticism in the context of the phrase.

of Anacreontic poetry, and as such its Ionic coloring befits an ‘Anacreontic’ voice.

The regularity with which Κυθήρη appears with Ionic coloring stands in contrast to the prevalence of the Doric form Ἀφροδίτα throughout the corpus.²⁴ Of the relatively few times that the goddess of love is called “Aphrodite”, the majority are in Doric, and in two cases Ἀφροδίτα is the only Doric form among other forms in Ionic. Indeed, the only passage in which the name of the goddess appears in Ionic (4.iii.21 Ἐρωτα κάφροδίτην, is an ungrammatical intrusion), the name appears in the conventional epic collocation χρυσοῖς (...) Ἀφροδίτης at CA 52.8 (cf. *Il.* 22.47, *Od.* 4.414, etc.), and might there be understood as a deliberate Homerism along the lines of Ionic phrases mentioned above. By contrast, at CA 36.16 τὰν Ἀφροδίταν is an isolated Doricism in an otherwise Ionic poem. In CA 55.20-23 ῥοδοδάκτυλος μὲν Ἡώς / ῥοδοπῆχες δὲ Νύμφαι / ῥοδόχρους δὲ κάφροδίτα / παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν καλεῖται (“Dawn is called ‘rosy-fingered’, / the nymphs ‘rosy-armed’, / and Aphrodite ‘rosy-skinned’ / by the wise”), the word σοφοί (23) clearly refers to poets, since the first two elements in this series evoke well-attested epic usage: in the first case, the poet adverts to the common Homeric clausula ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς, while in the second he alludes to the commonplace epic description of young women and goddesses as ῥοδόπηγος (cf. Hes. *Th.* 246, 251, of the Nereids Eunice and Hipponoe). In this context, ῥοδόχρους (...) Ἀφροδίτα may well be a reference to the actual description of the goddess in a poem now lost; Aphrodite is nowhere so described in extant Greek.²⁵

In some cases, dialectal inconsistency seems to be due to the tendency for the coloring of epic phrases to be retained even in a Doric context. CA 57, for example, has a base dialectal coloring of Doric (2 τέχνα, 6 ἀπαλάν, 8 ἀρχάν, etc.), but in two places where the poet has adopted a Homeric phrase, the transmitted coloring is the Ionic of the original. In CA 57.8 φύσιος may (pace West [1984a: xi], who seems to treat it as an Ionicism) be understood as a feature of Doric (cf. Pindar *O.* 7.90 ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν), but in verse 18 the Ionic coloring of ἀπαλῆς ἐνερθε δειρῆς is due to the influence of the Homeric background of the collocation (e.g. *Il.* 3.371 ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν, 13.202 ἀπαλῆς ἀπὸ δειρῆς); by contrast, verse 6 has a Doric form of the adjective ἀπαλάν. So too, in verse 4, ἐπὶ νῶτα τῆς θαλάττης recalls and varies the common Homeric formula ἐπ’ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης (for Attic ττ in place of σσ, see below). Although the possibility cannot be excluded that the Ionic coloring in these passage is the product of erroneous ‘correction’ by a copyist, it seems more likely that these cases reflect the work of an author who took no care to adapt (or had no interest in adapting) the dialect of a model to the larger context of the poem in which he was reusing a

24 Κυθήρα occurs very rarely in literature: Bion *Ep. Ad.* 35.

25 The first attestation of the adjective in literature is in the ‘Doris severior’ of Theocritus 18.31 ῥοδόχρως. That ῥοδόχρος is used by the lexicographers (e.g. Hsch. p 402) to gloss the epic adjective ῥοδοδάκτυλος seems to lie behind Nonnus’ ῥοδόχροα δάκτυλα (*D.* 7.257, 11.418).

Homeric phrase. In this sense, the author was unlike poets like Pindar and Theocritus, who regularly converted Homeric phrases to Doric.

Other cases show what appears to be deliberate disregard for dialectal consistency. In CA 38.7-10, the switch from Attic/Ionic to Doric is part of an elaborate system of rhyme:

δι' ὃν ἡ Μέθη λοχεύθη,
 δι' ὃν ἡ Χάρις ἐτέχθη,
 δι' ὃν ἀμπαύεται Λύπα,
 δι' ὃν εὐνάζετ' Ἀνία.

Through whom Drink was birthed, / through whom Grace was born, / through whom Pain stops, / through whom Woe sleeps.

Here the alternation between η in 7-8 and α in 9-10 seems merely a product of phonetic caprice with no regard for dialectal consistency. Elsewhere, the poem has a Doric coloring (e.g. 3 τὸν ἐφευρετᾶν χορείας) except for Κυθήρης in the immediately preceding verse (6). The goddess' name in itself might have prompted a brief switch to Ionic forms in the immediately ensuing lines, though it seems at least as likely that the poet was attracted by the internal rhyme created by Ionic ἦ before the line-ending aorist passives in 7-8. Whichever the case, the author treats dialect as merely a phonetic phenomenon that can be manipulated for sonic effect without regard for other literary resonance thus created.

In some other cases, there seems to be even less reason behind dialectal shifts. Thus in CA 53, ἦβα and ῥοῦν (the latter of which may be understood as an Atticism) coexist with χορείην, ὀπώρης, and ἄλκην. If the text is correct as transmitted, such variation seems to reflect authorial inattention to consistency rather than any desire for a special effect. Similarly, the Ionic accusative participle in CA 35.2 is at odds with the overall coloring of that poem (on which see above), and is hard to explain on even superficial contextual grounds. By contrast, it is at least conceivable that the variation between CA 42.2 φιλοπαίγμονος χορείας and CA 42.11 φιλολοιδόροιο (-οισι P, corr. Stephanus) γλώττης was due to the poet's sense that -οιο was an epic ending and therefore should be accompanied by an epic termination (though ττ is in any case an unepic feature).

4 Atticisms

Alongside Ionic and West Greek forms, the corpus also includes morphological features inherited from Attic.²⁶ Most particularly, there are several cases in which α appears after ρ or ι (there are no cases involving ε) and ττ rather than σσ in

26 For the regularity with which nouns and verbs are contracted, as is typical of Attic, see above p. 101. But contraction is also a feature of literary Doric.

words like φυλάττω and θάλαττα. Attic quantitative metathesis occurs at CA 60.18 φύσεως.

Attic α after ρ and ι occurs a handful of times in the ('Ionic') first half of the corpus. The most telling of these occurs in two of the three versions of CA 4, a poem that has been discussed above. In all forms of this poem, the first three lines are virtually identical, except that the poem preserved by Gellius has the accusative plural πανοπλίας where the others have the singular πανοπλίαν. In this case, the plural is dialectally unmarked, whereas the singular must in context be interpreted as a pointedly un-epic form in an epic context, and in a poem from the first half of the corpus, where there is no ground for suspecting that such forms are Doricisms, the use of α rather than η after ρ, ι, ε should be interpreted as an Atticism. Apart from this example, however, such cases are, in fact, quite rare in the first thirty-four poems of the corpus and must be considered textually fragile: in CA 15, λαλιστέραν (36) occurs alongside ἐλευθέρην (18), while in CA 33 καρδίαν (32)²⁷ coexists with νευρή (26) and φαρέτρην (18). In both CA 15.36 and CA 33.32 scribal error under the influence of the Attic *koine*, a phenomenon common in the case of the Greek Anthology, must be considered a possibility. There is thus some ground for suspecting that the Ur-form of 4.3 had πανοπλίας, which subsequent versions converted to the singular by altering one letter, thus introducing an Attic form into an epic context; that the singular might seem more appropriate to the single panoply made by Hephaestus in the Homeric model may have helped motivate the alteration.

The appearance of Attic ττ rather than Doric/Ionic σσ even where such forms seem out of place is equally problematic. Thus, in its reworking of the Homeric phrase νῶτα θαλάσσης, CA 57.4 has νῶτα θαλάττης (cf. Herodicus *SH* 494.1-2 as it is transmitted by Athenaeus: φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάττης / Ἑλλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος), while CA 35.2 uses μέλιτταν rather than μέλισσαν in a largely Doric context (in the latter case, the noun first appears in the poem conjoined with the Attic/Ionic participle κοιμωμένην; the first unambiguous Doricism in the poem is τᾶς in 5). Perhaps significantly, most instances of ττ are clustered in the latter part of the corpus, in which the use of dialect is generally less consistent. The only example of ττ for σσ in the first thirty-four poems is CA 25.12 νεοττῶν (later in the corpus at CA 35.2, 12, 14, 36.3, 42.11, 55.30, 56.9, 57.4). By contrast, σσ is more common in the first, Ionic part of the corpus (CA 10.6, 14.4, 21.4; later, 48.10, 54.9). This pattern cautions against seeing ττ merely as a product of transmission and argues for its being a product of relatively late Atticizing authors unconcerned with its inappropriateness in epic and Doric contexts.²⁸

27 P preserves forms of κραδίη throughout the *Anacreontea*, but meter demands καρδ- at CA 13.16 and 25.7; contrast CA 18.9, 31.7.

28 For Atticism in Greek of the Roman and Byzantine periods, see Horrocks (1997: 79-86, 151-153).

5 *Anacreontea* 11

One poem in the corpus treats dialectal difference as an explicit issue. CA 11 is a narrative placed in the mouth of an Ionic-speaking narrator, who describes his encounter with a young salesman:

Ἔρωτα κήρινόν τις
 νεηνίης ἐπώλει·
 ἐγὼ δέ οἱ παραστάς
 ἴπσου θέλεις; ἔφην ἴσοι
 τὸ τυχθὲν ἐκπρίωμαι; 5
 ὃ δ' εἶπε δωριάζων
 ἴλαβ' αὐτὸν ὀππῶσον λῆς.
 ὅπως <δ> ἄν ἐκμάθῃς πᾶν,
 οὐκ εἰμὶ κηροτέχνας,
 ἀλλ' οὐ θέλω συνοικεῖν 10
 Ἔρωτι παντορέκτα.
 ἴδος οὖν, δὸς αὐτὸν ἡμῖν
 δραχμῆς, καλὸν σύνευνον.
 Ἔρωτος, σὺ δ' εὐθέως με
 πύρωσον· εἰ δὲ μή, σὺ 15
 κατὰ φλογὸς τακῆση.

A certain young man / was selling a waxen Eros. / And I standing close / said, “How much do you want from me / for the work?” / And he, speaking Doric, / said, “take it for what you want. / So that you might know the whole story / I’m not a wax-maker, / but I don’t want to live / with criminal Eros.” / “Give him to me / for a drachma, a beautiful bed-mate.” / Eros, straight away / set me on fire. Otherwise, / you will melt over a flame.

The form νεηνίης is pointedly epic and Ionic, and the poem thus represents the encounter as a transaction between speakers from two distinct linguistic traditions. In her discussion of the poem, Patricia Rosenmeyer argues that the Doric reflects the seller’s rusticity, which stands in contrast to the greater sophistication of the urban narrator (1992: 170). On this reading, the use of Doric would find a parallel in the representation of, for example, non-Attic rustics in Greek comedy (e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 729-835),²⁹ but it is hard to find concrete evidence within the poem that the salesman’s Doric is designed to underscore a lack of sophistication, except insofar as he denies being the maker of the artifact. The poem’s marked emphasis on dialect thus warrants further consideration against the backdrop of its broader literary strategies.

29 At Theoc. 15.87-88 Doric seems to be treated as marking a lack of sophistication, though the issue complicated by the fact that the critique itself is placed in the mouth of a Doric speaker; for discussion, cf. Hunter (1996: 122-123).

The poem (which draws on a number of literary traditions, including amatory and epiphastic epigram and fable, as well as perhaps comedy and mime)³⁰ brings together two strands that run through the early poems of the *Anacreontea*.³¹ On the one hand, in several of the initial poems in the collection the speaker says that he wants to be maddened by alcohol, *eros*, or both, or describes the moment at which he was so affected (CA 2.3-8; 6; 9; 12; 13); these poems explicitly or implicitly connect the speaker's lovesickness or drunkenness with his poetry, and in this sense the effects of wine and love are treated in them as analogues of poetic inspiration (e.g. wine, e.g. CA 2.3-8; *eros* and wine: 6).³² On the other hand, several early poems comment on the creation of artifacts.³³ In these poems, as in other epiphastic poetry, the content also clearly stands as an analogue to and reflection of the poet's own literary concerns, in that the narrator urges the artist (Hephaestus in some cases, anonymous craftsmen in others) to represent scenes of drinking and love making: the connection between poem and embedded artifact is especially clear in CA 3.1-2, where the speaker urges the craftsman to heed the lyric Muse (ἄγε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε / λυρικῆς ἄκουε Μούσης).

Taken as a group, the metaliterary strategies of these poems suggest that CA 11 might be understood as a self-referential comment on artistic production, and thus on the poet's own project. Its narrator purchases a waxen image of Eros and urges it to inflame him with love (otherwise, the speaker says, the god himself will be subjected to a different sort of burning – a play on the dual identity of Eros in the poem as a god and as the representation of one). In the sense that the speaker appeals to the influence of an external force, the poem resembles others in the corpus in which the speaker expresses a desire to be drunk (e.g. CA 2, 8, 9, 12).³⁴ Since in such poems the demand for external influence must be read as a broadly self-referential request for poetic inspiration, it follows that in CA 11 the speaker's wish for amatory burning may be read in its context as the desire to become a love poet.

In this sense, the poem resembles other scenes of poetic initiation in the corpus. Most obviously, in the *Dichterweihe* of the opening poem, the speaker accepts a garland from Anacreon, who has been led to him by Eros; thenceforth, he claims, he has been continuously affected by desire (CA 1.16-17 καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν / ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι). The act of putting on the garland and falling under the sway of *eros* thus marks the speaker's initiation as composer of love

30 Apart from its thematic resemblance to Meleager HE 4200-4209 (AP 5.178), in which the speaker demands that Eros be sold, and Babrius 30, on the sale of a statue of Hermes (playing on the various uses of such objects), the poem takes up *topoi* from epiphastic epigram (e.g. Meleager's epigrams on the creation of a statue of *eros*) and erotic epigram (in which *eros*' incorrigibility and his capacity to inflame are frequently addressed).

31 The date of the poem is not certain, though παντορέκτης is not otherwise found before the 3rd cent. CE (Porph. 1.42.27, Eus. *Dem.Ev.* 3.5.69, Adamantius *Physiogn.* 1.16, 2.41).

32 See Gutzwiller, this volume.

33 See Baumann, this volume.

34 See Gutzwiller, this volume.

poetry. Similarly, in CA 6, the speaker claims to have swallowed Eros with a draught of wine, so that he “even now tickles me with his wing in my limbs” (καὶ νῦν ἔσω μελῶν μου / περοῖσι γαργαλίζει),³⁵ where μελῶν is pointedly ambiguous, comprising both the narrator’s body and the songs inspired by the god he has consumed. Moreover, the commercial transaction depicted in CA 11 finds a striking parallel in CA 15, where the dove interrogated by the speaker reports that she belongs to Anacreon, having been sold to him by Aphrodite herself (11 πέπρακέ μ’ ἠ Κυθήρη) in exchange for a small hymn (12 λαβοῦσα μικρὸν ὕμνον).³⁶ Although Rosenmeyer (1992: 145) expresses uncertainty about the type of poem received by the goddess in exchange, the choice of ὕμνος as the word to represent Aphrodite’s price is highly marked. The poem reframes the traditional reciprocal relationship between the divine recipient of the hymn and its singer, who asks the god to be pleased and to provide him a blessing in exchange (cf., e.g., Bundy [1972]), as an explicitly commercial transaction; in this sense, the poem makes explicit the underlying economics of the relationship between hymnists and their honorands. Against the background of such passages, the dove sold by Aphrodite is a mark of her divine favor for Anacreon’s song (for explicit reference to blessings upon the singer’s song, e.g. *hh.* 10.4-5, 25.6 χαίρετε τέκνα Διὸς καὶ ἐμὴν τιμήσατ’ ἀοιδήν), and a mark of Aphrodite’s endorsement, and perhaps inspiration, of Anacreon’s love poetry.

The commercial transaction of CA 15 thus casts light on that of CA 11, and, when taken together with other poems in which the onset of love represents the inspiration to compose amatory poetry, invites understanding the transference of a figurine of Eros to the speaker’s house and the request that Eros inflame the speaker with passion as a self-referential representation of the speaker’s poetic initiation. If so, then the transference of the statuette from a speaker of Doric to the Ionic-speaking narrator seems likely to have a larger metapoetical significance.

At the most basic level, the movement of the Eros figurine from a Doric speaker to the Ionic-speaking narrator suggests the poet’s inheritance of a Doric tradition in his own compositions. So interpreted, the poem constructs for itself a literary past that includes a tradition of love poetry written in Doric. Such a tradition is most obviously identifiable with later bucolic, whose authors treated Eros as one of the central themes of the genre they had inherited from Theocritus. Indeed, a number of the themes found in the *Anacreontea* have close parallels in post-Theocritean bucolic. The nature of the relationship between the *Anacreontea* and these later bucolic poems is rarely secure, but even if one grants that some of the oldest *Anacreontea* preceded writers like Bion and Moschus, it seems highly likely that the short stories about love found in these bucolic poets influenced other elements of the *Anacreontea*.³⁷ Marco Fantuzzi (1994) has, for example,

35 For the poem’s engagement with Plato, cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 206).

36 I am grateful to Dr. Robin Greene for alerting me to the relevance of this passage.

37 Rosenmeyer (1992: 170-178).

cogently demonstrated that the meter of CA 19 reflects its dependence on Bion fr. 9. One particularly important feature of this late Doric poetry, indeed, is the role Eros plays as an inspirer of poetry. In Bion fr. 10, for example, the speaker reports how he taught Eros, who had been entrusted to him by Aphrodite, to sing about a range of bucolic *aetia*, while Eros sang about erotic subjects and taught him “the desires of mortals and immortals and the deeds of his mother”.³⁸ According to the narrator, he thenceforth forgot all his previous material and remembered only what Eros taught him. The narrative thus constitutes a *Dichterweihe* in which the narrator describes how he was initiated as a love poet by Eros (cf. Fantuzzi/Hunter [2004: 174-176]).

Such bucolic references to Eros as the inspirer of love poetry lend metapoetic significance to the transfer of the figurine of Eros from a Doric to an Ionic speaker in CA 11. There, it is important to note, the salesman insists that he has not actually created the image, and is thus merely a link in a chain of possession tracing from the unknown creator to the speaker. In representing the ‘Eros’ who will inspire the speaker as having been created by an anonymous artisan in the unspecified past and having passed through the possession of a Doric speaker before making its way to him, the poem self-referentially comments on its place in a literary tradition. It does so with a fair degree of literary-historical accuracy: the poem is heir to a tradition of Ionic amatory lyric mediated by its reception in the Doric compositions of later bucolic writers, who stand with Anacreon among the poem’s multiple influences.

38 The passage thus plays on the *Dichterweihe* of Hesiod’s *Theogony* while simultaneously evoking both the traditional phrase ἔργ’ Ἀφροδίτης and the Hesiodic *Erga*.

“Come now, best of painters, paint my lover” The Poetics of Ecphrasis in the *Anacreontea**

MARIO BAUMANN

There are seven ecphrastic poems in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, each of which describes a work of art in a very different way. CA 3 deals with a painting containing anacreontic motifs, CA 4 and 5 are about silver cups with similar images: wine, Dionysos and his companions, Aphrodite and Eros, and cheerful, laughing people. CA 16 and 17 concentrate on the question of depicting a loved one in painting. CA 54 describes a picture of Zeus as a bull and Europa, while CA 57 is the ecphrasis of a metal plate which shows Aphrodite and her entourage crossing the sea. This article will analyse these anacreontic ecphrasises by focussing on three aspects: The first, and main part addresses the poems’ paradigmatic structure, i.e. which different kinds of ecphrasises are used and in what ways. This is followed by two shorter parts: the ecphrasises’ syntagmatic structure will be analysed as to the way they are organised within the *Carmina Anacreontea*; finally, the poems’ metapoetic function will be examined and shown to be a major aspect of all anacreontic ecphrasises.

1

It is necessary to begin by looking at the ecphrasises’ paradigmatic structure. In the poems mentioned, a variety of speech acts are performed. In that respect, there is a marked difference between CA 3, 4, 5, 16 and 17 as against 54 and 57. In the former, the speaker commissions a piece of art and gives the artist more or less clear instructions what to do, whereas the speaker in CA 54 and 57 responds to existing pictures, describes and interprets them. Moreover, there are significant differences between the five poems containing instructions on how to make a visual piece of art; these can be used to juxtapose the groups of neighbouring ecphrasises. Unlike CA 16 and 17, the speaker in CA 3, 4 and 5 merely gives instructions but does not mention if and how they are met, i.e. whether they result in a piece of art, which features it has and whether they meet the speaker’s expectations. The speaker in CA 16 notes that his demands have successfully

* I would like to thank Christine Netzler who translated this article into English and Ursula Rothe who gave me helpful advice concerning the language used in the final version.

been met as his initial request for a painting of his absent lover¹ and the subsequent instructions are followed by the statement ἀπέχει· βλέπω γὰρ αὐτήν· / τάχα κηρὲ καὶ λαλήσεις (“Stop now – for I see her; / soon, image of wax, you will even begin to speak”, vv. 33-34) – so the painting is already finished and has obviously achieved its aim, which is visualising the absent lover (βλέπω [...] αὐτήν). Beyond mere visualisation, the painting even seems to be capable of bringing her to life (τάχα κηρὲ καὶ λαλήσεις). Things are quite the opposite in CA 17: apparently the desired painting of the speaker’s beloved Bathyllus is yet unfinished, for at the end of the poem he insists that the painter create it.² However, according to the speaker even the finished painting will inevitably be deficient as it cannot show Bathyllus completely, only from the front. Since the speaker has instructed him to depict Bathyllus’ chest, belly and pubic area, i.e. the full front view,³ the artist cannot include the back view: φθονερὴν ἔχεις δὲ τέχνην, / ὅτι μὴ τὰ νῶτα δεῖξαι / δύνασαι· τὰ δ’ ἦν ἀμείνω (“But you have a grudging skill, / that you are unable to show his back. / That would have been better”, vv. 38-40). The speaker does not just state that the painting of Bathyllus will lack a quality which seems important to him, he also points out general faults and limitations of mimesis via painting. By doing so, the speaker in CA 17 raises questions about the ecphrastic *logos* and its mimetic qualities, an aspect to which I shall return later. For now, it is only necessary to note that the speech act performed in this poem is more than just instructions to the painter, unlike the illocutionary speech acts in CA 3-5.

Given these general differences and similarities between the poems’ speech acts the ecphraseis call for a more thorough analysis of their paradigmatic structure. I shall begin by contrasting CA 3-5 with 16-17, and then examine 54 and 57.

The two groups of poems in which a piece of art is commissioned can be categorised by assessing their level of openness or closure.⁴ As we have seen, CA

1 Ἄγε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε, / {γράφε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε,} / Ῥοδῆς κοίρανε τέχνης, / ἀπεοῦσαν, ὡς ἂν εἶπω, γράφε τὴν ἐμὴν ἐταίρην (“Come now, best of painters, / {paint for me, best of painters,} / master of the Rhodian craft, / as I describe her to you, / paint my absent lover”, CA 16.1-5). – Quotes are taken from West’s Teubner edition (²1993) and Rosenmeyer’s translation (1992).

2 λάβε μισθὸν ὅσον εἴπηις, / τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ τοῦτον / καθελὼν ποίει Βάθυλλον (“Take this fee, as much as you request / and taking down that Apollo / make this Bathyllus”, CA 17.42-44).

3 μεταμάζιον δὲ ποίει / διδύμας τε χεῖρας Ἑρμοῦ, / Πολυδεύκεος δὲ μηρούς, / Διονυσίην δὲ νηδὺν· / ἀπαλῶν δ’ ὕπερθε μηρῶν, / μαλερὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐχόντων, / ἀφελῆ ποίησον αἰδῶ / Παφίην θέλουσαν ἦδη (“And give him the chest / and the two hands of Hermes, / and the thighs of Polydeukes, / and the belly of Dionysus. / But above the tender thighs / which have in them ravenous fire, / shape a bold member / already desiring the Paphian”, CA 17.30-37).

4 For a definition of the term ‘closure’, the senses in which it can be used in literary criticism and the way these are connected, see Fowler (1989: 78-79); cf. also Fowler (1997).

3-5 do not mention the realisation of the speaker’s instructions, whether, or to what extent the speech act was successful, and therefore remain open-ended. CA 16 and 17, in contrast, create a greater sense of closure as they show that the illocutionary speech act of commissioning a painting was successful, and both have a clear ending. The speaker’s instructions to the painter in CA 16 end (rather abruptly) with the word ἀπέχει (“stop now”) in marked position at the beginning of the final verses, followed by the witty remark that the painting will even start talking soon (vv. 33-34). Similarly, CA 17 ends with an emphatic address to the painter (note the hyperbolic ending), τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ τοῦτον / καθελὼν ποιεῖ Βάθυλλον· / ἦν δ’ ἐξ Σάμου ποτ’ ἔλθῃς, / γράφει Φοῖβον ἐκ Βαθύλλου (“and taking down that Apollo / make this Bathyllus. / And if you ever come to Samos / paint Phoebus from my Bathyllus”, vv. 43-46). There are no such witticisms or any stress on the ending in CA 3-5.

The poems also differ in terms of their structure and method: in CA 16 and 17, instructions and the description of the painting likewise are structured and delivered according to a clear principle. The subject is described from top to bottom, or rather (at least in Bathyllus’ case) from head to toe. Thus, all elements have a fixed position within the ecphrasis and cannot not be rearranged without disturbing the whole order. Another factor adding to this is what Patricia A. Rosenmeyer fittingly calls a “sense of completeness”:⁵ the speaker in CA 16 and 17 appears to list all the elements that are required to create the piece of art successfully. Each ecphrasis is thorough and detailed; none of the important features of the subject seem to be missing. CA 3-5, by contrast, do name some of the subjects’ features, yet still retain a sense of openness. For one thing, these ecphrasis do not follow a clear pattern. The subject of CA 16 and 17 lends itself to a top-down description, yet neither this nor any other pattern can be applied to the painting in CA 3 and the cups in CA 4 and 5 as they show different images or scenes which do not depict a single body or form a coherent whole. Consequently, the subjects of ecphrasis in CA 3-5 render the poems less consistent than the single objects in CA 16 and 17. Moreover, it seems as if CA 3-5 are not even meant to describe the whole subject, or at least we cannot be certain whether they are: unlike the human bodies described in CA 16 and 17, the subjects of CA 3-5 do not naturally have consistent features, therefore no criteria can be established by which their completeness can be gauged. Two aspects of the textual transmission nicely illustrate the lack of closure in CA 3-5: first, editors have ample reasons to believe that the verse order of CA 3 is corrupt, or rather that verses are missing, yet emendation is impossible. Still, the reading of the poem does not change substantially when the verse order is altered.⁶ Second, three different versions of CA 4, which differ in length, have survived.⁷ The way

5 Rosenmeyer (1992: 88).

6 For possible conjectures cf. the critical apparatus *ad locum* in West (²1993).

7 The version West records as 4(i) [15 verses] is the one transmitted by Gellius (19.9.6); 4(ii) [11 verses] occurs in the Palatine (AP 11.48) and the Planudean and Paris antho-

in which the speech act is performed remains the same in all of them, so the ecphrasis' openness presumably allows for short and long variants – I shall elaborate on this aspect later.

But first let us finish considering the poems' level of openness or closure and examine the extent to which they guide the reader's imagination. What is striking is the fact that there are few concrete clues to guide the reader's imagination in CA 3-5 as they only list the graphic elements, but do not go into detail describing their visual or perceivable features. If certain parts are qualified by the use of adjectives or other complements at all, these do not directly refer to the object's aesthetic features⁸ but merely state the existence of some qualities.⁹ CA 5.14-19 is by far the most graphic passage in the three poems, but its potential for visualisation is rather negligible.¹⁰ This becomes obvious when juxtaposing it with CA 16 and 17 in which the aesthetic, perceivable qualities of each item are described meticulously, including colours, textures and shape,¹¹ as well as smell¹² and the arrangement of single elements.¹³ Thus, they guide the reader's imagination much more strongly than CA 3-5, especially as the two poems provide the reader with a familiar, universal principle of composition to which he can correlate the descriptions: the human body. There is no such frame of reference in CA 3-5 or, if there is, it remains intangible. For instance, the fact that the pictures in CA 4 and 5 are engraved on a cup could provide some frame of

logies; 4(iii) [21 verses] is the version transmitted in the *Anacreontea*. For details cf. West (²1993: ix).

- 8 E.g. CA 3, vv. 5-8 and 3-4 (verse order according to West [²1993]): γράφε τὰς πόλεις τὸ πρῶτον / ἰλαράς τε καὶ γελώσας· / ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύναίτο, / γράφε καὶ νόμους φιλοῦντων. / φιλοπαιγμονες δὲ Βάκχαι / ἕτεροπνόους ἐναύλους <*****> (“Paint the cities first of all, / cheerful and laughing ones; / but if the wax is able, / paint also the customs of lovers. / The maenads, fond of play, / with their double pipes <*****>”).
- 9 E.g. ὁμοῦ καλῶι Λυαίοι (“together with lovely Lyaios”, CA 4.20) and σύναπτε κούρους εὐπρεπεῖς (“add to that well-formed boys”, 5.18).
- 10 CA 5.14-19: χάρασσ’ Ἐρωτας ἀνόπλους / καὶ Χάριτας γελώσας / ὑπ’ ἄμπελον εὐπέταλον / εὐβότρυον κομῶσαν· / σύναπτε κούρους εὐπρεπεῖς / † ἂν μὴ † Φοῖβος ἀθύρη (“Carve out unarmed erotes / and laughing Graces, / under a vine flourishing / with lovely leaves and rich grape clusters; / add to that well-formed boys, / † unless † Phoebus plays there”).
- 11 Cf. the beginning of CA 17: λιπαρὰς κόμας ποιήσον, / τὰ μὲν ἔνδοθεν μελαίνας, / τὰ δ’ ἐς ἄκρον ἠλιώσας· / ἔλικας δ’ ἐλευθέρους μοι / πλοκάμων ἄτακτα συνθεῖς / ἄφες ὡς θέλωσι κείσθαι. / ἀπαλὸν δὲ καὶ δροσῶδες / στεφέτω μέτωπον ὄφρῦς / κυανωτέρη δρακόντων (“Make his hair glisten, / the parts below dark, / but the ones on the top sun-bleached; / place there for me wild, curling / locks in disorder, / and allow them to fall as they wish. / And let a soft and dew-moist forehead / be crowned by eyebrows / a darker shade than snakes”, vv. 3-11).
- 12 E.g. in CA 16.6-9: γράφε μοι τρίχας τὸ πρῶτον / ἀπαλάς τε καὶ μελαίνας· / ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύνηται, / γράφε καὶ γύρου πνεούσας (“First paint for me her hair, / soft and dark; / and if the wax can do it, / paint it even fragrant with myrrh”).
- 13 Cf. CA 16.13-17: τὸ μεσόφρυον δὲ μὴ μοι / διάκοπτε μήτε μίσιγε, / ἐχέτω δ’ ὅπως ἐκείνη, / τὸ λεληθότως σύνοφρυον / βλεφάρων ἴτυν κελαινῆν (“As to the space between her eyebrows, / neither divide it nor run it together, / but please let it be, just as she is, / her eyebrows meeting imperceptibly / the dark arch of the eyelids”).

reference, but the poems are not organised accordingly; the reader does not know in which order the pictures are arranged on the cup.

Taking this analysis as a basis, we can now, as this last observation suggests, take the reader and his response to the text as a starting point to find out how the concept of openness and closure adds to our understanding of the poems. With regard to CA 3-5, I suggest that what happened through the textual transmission is in perfect accordance with their original design as it allows rearranging of verses, adding to or even abridging the text. One can even go so far as to claim that these ecphrasais invite the reader to respond to them creatively, i.e. become a poet and create variants or a completely new poem in the same style. The fact that there are three poems which are so similar strongly suggests that the latter is plausible. They may differ in single aspects, yet similarities prevail as the communication situation, the speech act and the choice of motifs remain the same. For one, it is the elements of openness examined before which invite the reader to compose such an ecphrasis himself: as the poems are not particularly graphic, trying to imagine the pictures described is hardly worthwhile, whereas their very openness is conducive to a creative response. What adds to this is the ecphrasais’ topicality: wine, Dionysian followers, gayness, frolicking, Eros and related characters as well as the rejection of other things which do not fit that context¹⁴ are key motifs of anacreontics.¹⁵ Consequently, a reader who takes the request made of the painter in CA 3.2, λυρικῆς ἄκουε Μούσης (“listen to the lyric Muse”), to be to some extent directed at himself can easily write a poem of the same kind and thus claim his place among the anacreontic poets. To put things in a nutshell: CA 3-5 are not supposed to make the reader imagine the pictures described in them, they are to make him commission his own anacreontic piece of art.

At this point, a closer look at the concept of the active reader is in order, which I have taken as a basis for interpretation so far and shall continue to use. This active reader is what Umberto Eco calls the “Model Reader”: a reader who fully actualises a text’s potential and whose activity the writer already anticipates and includes during his writing process as a strategy.¹⁶ “Strategy” is the appropriate expression as it names a key aspect of the cultural context in which this active reception of the anacreontics is situated: the symposium, to which anacreontic poetry frequently refers, and the ways in which literature is performed there, with the symposiasts responding to one another’s performances with a

14 Cf. CA 4 in particular: the speaker rejects the Homeric ecphrasis of Achilles’ shield. He first addresses Hephaistos, then declares that weapons are no suitable objects for his artist and refuses to have elements of Achilles’ shield included: CA 4.7-11 ↔ *Il.* 18.485-489, cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 89-90). For the use of *recusatio* in the *Anacreontea* see also *ibid.*, 96-106.

15 For themes and motifs of the *Anacreontea* cf. Labarbe (1982: 165-169); Danielewicz (1986: 45-49); Rosenmeyer (1992: 94-114).

16 Cf. Eco (1979a: 50-66) and (1979b: 7-11).

performance of their own. Derek Collins researched this response pattern and referred to it as “capping”, which he defined as follows:¹⁷

Usually between two but sometimes more speakers or singers, one participant sets a topic or theme in speech or verse to which another responds by varying, punning, riddling, or cleverly modifying that topic or theme. Sometimes antithesis of thought and/or diction results, sometimes complementarity and continuation.

Regardless of what the responses look like, the first performance can always be considered a challenge that calls for a response – it need not be antithetical, but the rules of the game (which these interactions can be considered) require that there be a response. Although the players can choose different strategies, they are in constant interaction.

The most common form of this game are the *skolia*. Even ancient sources do not clearly define this term:¹⁸ different kinds of songs, both pre-composed and improvised ones, are called *skolia*, and the different kinds of performance recorded point to a wide range.¹⁹ The key feature of *skolia*, though, is turn-taking: one symposiast starts off the game by performing a song, either in full or part of it, and another symposiast has to continue or add a new song.²⁰ The 25 Attic *skolia* transmitted in Athenaeus (15.694c-695f) have features that clearly point to this manner of performance: there are variations on a theme, e.g. the *skolia* on Harmodius and Aristogeiton (10-13 Fabbro = 893-896 Page), in which phrases or verses are frequently repeated, which can convincingly be explained as “performance options or variations”.²¹ What is also remarkable is that the *skolia* 15 and 16, and 17 and 18 (= 898-901 Page) are antithetical pairs of songs referring to each other:²² *skolion* 15 is a praise of Ajax whereas 16 points out that

17 Collins (2004: ix).

18 Fabbro (1995: 3-15) has collected the testimonies. For discussion see Reitzenstein (1893: 3-13, 24-44); cf. also Vetta (1995) and Collins (2004: 84-98) with further references.

19 For a comprehensive summary see Collins (2004: 91-92).

20 A good example of ‘capping’ during the performance of *skolia* can be found in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1217-1249, where Bdelykleon tries to teach his father Philokleon how to perform *skolia*: he prompts his father with a verse and Philokleon has to “take it up” (δέχεσθαι), i.e. respond with another verse or poem. Cf. Reitzenstein (1893: 24-29); Vetta (1995: 121-131); Collins (2004: 99-110).

21 Collins (2004: 112-114). See also Lambin (1992: 274-277).

22 *Skolion* 15: Παῖ Τελαμῶνος Αἴαν αἰχμητά, λέγουσί σε / ἐς Τροῖαν ἄριστον ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ’ Ἀχιλλέα. *Skolion* 16: τὸν Τελαμῶνα πρῶτον, Αἴαντα δὲ δεῦτερον / ἐς Τροῖαν λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν καὶ Ἀχιλλέα. *Skolion* 17: Εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνη / καὶ με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροισιν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν. *Skolion* 18: Εἴθ’ ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοίμην μέγα χρυσίον / καὶ με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροῖ καθερὸν θεμένη νόον. (15: “Son of Telamon, spearman Ajax, they say that / next to Achilles thou wast the bravest of all the Danaans who went to Troyland.” 16: “Telamon, they say, was the first of the Danaans / to go to Troyland, then came Ajax, and Achilles.” 17: “Would that I might become a lovely ivory lyre, / and that lovely lads might take me to join the chorus of Dionysus.” 18: “Would that

his father Telamon went to Troy before him.²³ *Skolia* 17 and 18 “project personae with contrasting desires”,²⁴ the first apparently homosexual and the second heterosexual in nature.²⁵ These antitheses also refer to symposiasts’ performance, as the second song can successfully be performed in response to the first.

There are several parallels between the *skolia* and the *Anacreontea*, the ecphraseis analysed in this article in particular: both the authors of the anacreontics and the *skolia* are anonymous. What is most striking are the similarities concerning the relation between the single poems: the variants of CA 4, the similarities between CA 3-5, the antithetical relation of CA 16 to 17 (which will be looked at later) and the fact that the anacreontic ecphraseis show the wide range of options that exist within the genre’s tight boundaries are all in accordance with what has been said about the *skolia* and can be explained using the idea of ‘capping’ as a performative response pattern.

Does that mean that recitation at the symposium was one of or even *the* predominant mode of the anacreontics’ performance and reception? This is precisely the view Katarina Ladianou takes when she claims that “[a]nacreontic poetry was probably read or performed exclusively at symposia”.²⁶ This cannot be proven, however, and putting it this way does not allow for the possibility of literature fictionalising events and contexts. Yet it is plausible that the anacreontics were also performed at symposia, among other contexts or modes of performance and reception, as Gellius, who transmits CA 4(i), describes a performance of this poem at a *convivium* (19.9.1-6).²⁷ What adds to this is the fact that the very context repeatedly invoked in the anacreontics is the symposium,²⁸ so the genre situates itself in this context, and that is the point from which an interpretation has to start. Alexander Rudolph’s article in this volume elaborates on how the anacreontics refer to the social practice of the symposium even and especially when there are signs of fictionality, so fictionalisation does not transgress contextualisation but is embedded into the poems’ pragmatics.²⁹ The specific way in which literature was performed at the symposium constitutes one element of reference to this context, thus the anacreontics evoke the response pattern outlined above.

I might become some large new lovely golden jewel, / and that a lovely woman, whose heart is pure, might wear me.” – I quote Fabbro’s edition (1995) and, except for *skolion* 16, Gulick’s translation (1961).

23 Cf. Reitzenstein (1893: 21).

24 Collins (2004: 123).

25 According to Van der Valk (1974: 13-14) and Liapis (1996: 112-114). Collins is sceptical of this; cf. Collins (2004: 125-126).

26 Ladianou (2005: 56).

27 For a reading of the CA as poems performed at symposia see Glenn W. Most’s article in this volume.

28 For the respective anacreontic subjects and motifs, see n. 14. See also West (1990).

29 Cf. Rudolph in this volume, esp. 131-134.

When looking at CA 16 and 17 from this perspective, some differences to CA 3-5 become visible. It is plausible that one of the ecphraseis, 16 or 17, is a creative response to the other.³⁰ Rather, however, than pursuing the fruitless question as to how exactly these two poems relate to one other in terms of when and how they were written, let us consider what possibilities a reader has if he wants to respond to them with a poem. Rearranging verses, shortening or adding additional material are hardly options because of the poems' closure, 'sense of completeness' and the order of the items described. The only remaining option is to write a completely new poem.

The inspiration a reader-poet can draw from these texts differs greatly from that given in CA 3-5. If we assume that the groups of poems already point to and exemplify possibilities for a reader's poetic response, the marked contrast between CA 16 and 17 and the similarities in CA 3-5 cannot be a mere coincidence. Three differences in CA 16 and 17 are particularly striking: first, CA 16 is about the picture of a woman, CA 17 about that of a man. While the woman's body is covered in a robe, the man's is not, which results in a thorough description of even more body parts, especially the pubic area (CA 17.34-37).³¹ More importantly though, in the first poem the commissioned painting, which is a successful visualisation of the object, is finished in the course of the poem, whereas the painting in CA 17 is still to be finished and its mimetic capacities are considered limited. The poems' level of closure calls for a contrary, maybe even polemic response; in other words, it challenges the reader to emulate them.³² By contrast, CA 3-5 invite the reader to become a part of the sequence of open-ended ecphraseis without prompting him to take a stance against them; therefore, the three poems are not related through *aemulatio*.³³

30 Many believe that CA 17 was designed as a response to CA 16, for that strand of argument cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 140-141); Lambin (2002: 274-275). Müller is justified in criticising Lambin's approach and his harsh judgment of CA 17 ("le poème no 17 est trop inférieur au précédent, trop peu original [...] pour être le modèle"); Müller (2010: 276 n. 866). If we assume, as is logical, that there is some link between CA 16 and 17, it is by no means certain that CA 17 actually refers back to 16; it might equally be the other way around. Müller himself introduces the idea that both ecphraseis were written by the same author, "der mit diesen beiden Gedichten die Möglichkeiten dieses Gedichttypus aufzeigen wollte" (ibid., 280), yet he admits that there are no further clues to this (cf. ibid., 273). In any case, a reader who reads the existing version of the *Anacreontea* will establish a link between the poems especially since they are adjacent to each other.

31 For gender-related differences between CA 16 and 17 cf. Flaschenriem (1992: 86-102).

32 Both CA 16 and 17 can be taken to be *aemulationes* of each other: CA 16 anticipates the successful realisation of the piece of art commissioned, whereas CA 17 illustrates the possibilities and limitations of painting.

33 In the sequence of anacreontics – either the ones given in the *Anacreontea* or the ones created by their readers – these three poems are linked in a way similar to what Rosenmeyer considers characteristic of the *Anacreontea*'s relation to poetry and Anacreon: "[T]he anacreontic poet would never 'break a lance' on Anacreon – his model is for imitation, not emulation. (...) [A]nacreontic imitation, contrary to the ancient literary tradition of an agonistic relationship between authors, sets as its goal the continuous

Not only do CA 16 and 17 give the reader the chance to respond to them with a poem of his own, let me stress that they also strongly stimulate his imagination, as mentioned before. Unlike CA 3-5, they actually enable the reader to imagine the painting since they thoroughly describe many details that do not just trigger his imagination, but even provide him with specific information. Even though they channel the reader’s focus, both poems leave a significant gap: they only show single features or body parts, yet never explicitly portray the whole body. The texts let us catch several glances, but never allow us to see the whole picture. Imagining a long shot of the bodies is simply out of the question and both poems point this out very clearly: when the speaker in CA 16 breaks off by saying, ἀπέχει· βλέπω γὰρ αὐτήν· / τάχα κηρὲ καὶ λαλήσεις (“Stop now – for I see her; / soon, image of wax, you will even begin to speak”, vv. 33-34), the reader is left to wonder whether he too can actually see the woman, whether he thinks she has been visualised successfully and whether the painting really comes alive for him and ‘speaks’ to him. The latter is rather unlikely, for up to now the reader has only been presented with a bunch of close-ups simultaneously which, on top of that, are depicted as static. The lover is motionless, even passive; her body appears to be a mere object for artistic mimesis. It is not until the final verse that she is considered capable of action. It is not as if the reader could not fully picture the speaker’s lover and that she had to remain silent, but it is up to the reader’s imagination to combine the details, imagine the whole picture and make her come alive; the text will not help him here. In other words, the omission in CA 16 of a description of the whole image challenges the reader to picture an aesthetic *totum* himself.

The same effect is achieved by slightly different means in CA 17. When the speaker points out that the painting cannot possibly show Bathyllus’ back (vv. 38-40), this leaves a similar gap. The painting cannot show all of Bathyllus, yet neither does the text try to do so since his back is only mentioned, but not described; by the way, the same is true for Bathyllus’ feet which are mentioned in the ensuing *praeteritio* without actually being the object of ecphrasis (v. 41). Again, it is the reader’s turn to use his imagination; only by doing so can he put together the pieces of information, form a complete picture of Bathyllus and include his back and feet.

Before concluding the analysis of CA 16 and 17 for the time being, there are still two more aspects to be considered. First, the fact that the aforementioned gaps are highlighted in these poems suggests that besides challenging the reader’s imagination they also give him an opportunity to reflect. After all, they virtually force him to ponder the question as to what the relationship between single parts and the whole is. In my opinion, the full effect of this is achieved if CA 16 and 17 are read in context with other anacreontics, particularly those in the present

cooperation of imitator and model, in which both sides work for the greater glory of Anacreon” (Rosenmeyer [1992: 71-72]). – CA 16 and 17 show that this model cannot be generalised and applied to all links between anacreontics.

anthology. Doing so calls for a metapoetic reading in which these considerations of the relationship between single parts and the whole are applied to the anthology and its single poems. I shall pick up on that aspect at the end of this article and for now confine myself to pointing out that the poems leave room for reflection.

Second, we need to look at a question raised above and discuss the capacity for mimesis the ecphrastic text claims to have, compared to the art of painting which is supposedly deficient (CA 17.38-40; v.s. p. 114). Considering that the text leaves out the very parts the painting cannot show, we have to note that CA 17 does not claim to outdo the art of painting when it comes to mimesis. Moreover, the text, as shown before, only provides the reader with single pieces of description whereas a painting can depict the object *in toto*. In that respect too, the text does not outperform the painting. So this is not about the two media competing with each other since the poem's focus is not on the relationship between text and painting but on the genuinely literary aspects of ecphrasis and particularly its potential for inciting the reader's imagination.³⁴

I shall now turn to CA 54 and 57, the two ecphraseis in the *Anacreontea* dealing with pieces of art which are already finished. CA 54 describes a picture of Europa and Zeus turned into a bull – although 'describe' is hardly the word for what the poem does. The poem is not actually a description of the picture; it does not even mention the medium, whether it is a painting or something else. The reader gets very little information about the picture itself: the two figures and the setting are touched upon but there is no detailed description;³⁵ hence the lack of visualisation in the whole ecphrasis. Instead, the poem focuses on the speech act performed in it: the speaker directly addresses a *παῖς* (v. 1) and describes the picture to him. The poem itself consists of the interpretation provided by the speaker. We can tell that he is interpreting the picture by the phrase *δοκεῖ μοι* (v. 2) and the particle *γάρ* (v. 3) which he uses to explain why he thinks the bull is Zeus, and by vv. 7-10, in which he elaborates on how he arrived at this conclusion – a bull away from his herd and swimming in the sea can only be Zeus.³⁶ In that respect, CA 54 strongly resembles Philostratus' ecphraseis as the *Imagines* too are

34 Müller's reading of this section of CA 17 is different. He calls vv. 38-40 a "scherzhafte (...) Reflexion über die Fähigkeit verschiedener Künste, deren Ergebnis dahingehend ausfällt, daß die Dichtkunst im Gegensatz zur Malerei in der Lage ist, in der Phantasie des Lesers dreidimensionale Gemälde entstehen zu lassen" (Müller [2010: 279]). This reading does not take into account that the text too does not describe Bathyllus' back and is based on the problematic assumption that a painting cannot stimulate the viewer to imagine more than what is in the painting.

35 Ὁ ταῦρος οὗτος ὃ παῖ / δοκεῖ τις εἶναι μοι Ζεὺς / φέρει γὰρ ἀμφὶ νότοις / Σιδωνίαν γυναῖκα· / περὰι δὲ πόντον εὐρύν, / τέμνει δὲ κύμα χηλαῖς ("This bull here, my boy, / seems to me to be an image of Zeus, / for he carries on his back / the Sidonian woman; / he traverses the wide sea, / and cuts the waves with his hoofs", CA 54.1-6).

36 οὐκ ἄν δὲ ταῦρος ἄλλος / ἐξ ἀγέλης ἐλασθεῖς / ἐπλευσε τὴν θάλασσαν, / εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐκεῖνος ("No other bull, / driven away from the herd, / would float across the ocean, / if he were not that one alone", CA 54.7-10).

addressed to a *παῖς* and their speaker always appropriates and interprets the pictures; this process takes centre stage and practically overshadows the ‘plain’ description of the paintings.³⁷ Consequently, the phrases and patterns of argumentation outlined before can frequently be found in Philostratus’ work as well.³⁸

When wondering what the reader’s reaction to CA 54 may be, two points need to be stressed: on the one hand, the speech act determines the poem’s closure, so there is hardly any potential for an immediate response short of writing another poem; on the other hand, it provides the very starting-point for such a creative response. Let us first look at the aspect of closure: As there is hardly any visualisation in CA 54, there is little to incite the reader’s imagination and neither are there any gaps to do so, like there are in CA 16 and 17. Although the reader does get the minimum amount of information one would expect on Zeus and Europa, and can, of course, imagine them in greater detail, CA 54 does not challenge him to transgress the boundaries of that description. We also need to note that the speaker’s interpretation is obviously correct. The reader has neither reason nor opportunity to question whether it is correct or to modify it. The text as it comes at first merely requires the reader to take it as it is. So if we apply the categories of openness and closure established before, CA 54 has an even stronger sense of closure than 16 and 17, as the role of the speaker, setting (speaker and *παῖς* look at the picture together) and the apt interpretation make the poem seem practically self-contained.

With regard to these aspects there also are certain parallels between CA 54 and Philostratus’ *Imagines*. The speaker of the *Imagines* appears to be a virtuoso who knows his hermeneutics to appropriate the pictures successfully and creates unique, even incommensurable ecphraseis which always keep the reader at a

37 Cf. my analysis in Baumann (2011: 17-35). – By referring to the parallels between CA 54 and Philostratus’ *Imagines* I am not implying any particular chronological relation; it is uncertain whether CA 54 was written before or after the *Imagines*.

38 I shall confine myself to two examples: First, the beginning of the ecphrasis describing a painting of Menoeceus: *Θηβῶν μὲν ἡ πολιορκία, τὸ γὰρ τεῖχος ἐπτὰ πύλων, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ Πολυνείκης ὁ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος· οἱ γὰρ λόγοι ἐπτά* (“This is the siege of Thebes, for the wall has seven gates; and the army is the army of Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, for the companies are seven in number”, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.4.1); second, the description of a detail in a painting which shows several islands, *Imag.* 2.17.4: *αἱ δ’ ἐχόμενα τούτων νῆσοι δύο μία μὲν ἄμφω ποτὲ ἦσαν, ῥαγεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πελάγους μέση ποταμοῦ εὗρος ἑαυτῆς ἀπηνέχθη. τουτὶ δ’ ἔστι σοι καὶ παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς, ὃ παῖ, γινώσκεις· τὰ γὰρ ἐσχισμένα τῆς νήσου παραπλήσια που ὄρας καὶ ἀλλήλοις ζύμμετρα καὶ οἷα ἐναρμόσαι κοῖλα ἐκκειμένοις* (“The two islands next to these were formerly both joined in one; but having been broken apart in the middle by the sea its two parts have become separated by the width of a river. This you might know from the painting, my boy; for you doubtless see that the two severed portions of the island are similar, and correspond to each other, and are so shaped that concave parts fit those that project”). – I quote Fairbanks’ translation (1979).

distance; he can never quite catch up with the virtuoso.³⁹ Nevertheless, the *Imagines* offer the reader a variety of opportunities to interact with the text: they are a long sequence of ecphraseis all of which invite the reader to compare them, detect the manifold variation, ponder the recurring antitheses etc.⁴⁰ CA 54 too has much more to offer a reader who takes into account its syntagmatic features, i.e. establishes a connection with other anacreontics, particularly the other ecphraseis in the anthology, instead of just looking at the poem in isolation. After all, this poem is a peculiar kind of ecphrasis and greatly differs from CA 3-5, 16-17 and, as is to be shown, CA 57. The reader is therefore faced with a diversity that invites him to juxtapose these poems. The very fact that CA 54 by itself at first provides hardly any potential for interaction can induce readers to review the ecphrastic anacreontics at the syntagmatic level. The important thing to note is that by means of their diversity these ecphraseis pick up on and deal with significant aspects of anacreontic poetics. Therefore, I would suggest that a significant potential of CA 54 lies in its metapoetic features and the poem should be read accordingly. I shall elaborate on this aspect later on and for now return to the paradigmatic analysis.

One final aspect must be considered when looking at CA 54, namely that of the reader as a potential poet. As mentioned before, there is one specific starting-point for this: the discrepancy between the role established for the speaker in the poem and his interpretations, or rather the topic or subject he chooses. The speaker presents himself as a superior connoisseur of art who instructs the *παῖς*, but identifying Zeus and Europa in a picture (which is all the speaker does and all the picture seems to require) does not call for a master of interpretation; it is a rather simple task that the speaker chooses to perform. In that respect, another comparison with Philostratus proves to be rather insightful: not only are the pictures described in the *Imagines* much more complex than the one given in CA 54, but their speaker performs much more difficult and subtle interpretative tasks, e.g. when solving the *αἰνίγματα*, “riddles”, posed by allegorical elements in the pictures.⁴¹ CA 54 differs greatly from this, which provides the reader with an excellent starting-point for creating a poem of his own and surpassing the speaker of CA 54. This discrepancy in CA 54 almost compels a model reader as described above to write a poem of his own, according to the response pattern of ‘capping’. A new poem could either retain the communication situation of CA 54 and outdo the original in terms of content (with the interpreter describing a piece of art which allows for a complex hermeneutic analysis), or the writer could, given CA 54’s closure, choose a completely different communicative situation.

39 This is due to the way the speaker keeps changing his focus to unforeseen strands of argument and merging opposing views and approaches. Cf. Baumann (2011: particularly 1-15 and 145-158).

40 Cf. my analysis in Baumann (2011: 127-145).

41 E.g. Philostr. *Imag.* 1.28.1, where the speaker interprets the pig hunt as an allegory of the love the companions of the main figure feel towards him.

Such a different kind of ecphrasis could look like CA 57. There is no traceable, direct connection between CA 57 and 54, yet while both poems differ greatly, there is one significant similarity: both deal with the speakers’ response to a finished piece of art. What is different is the way they do this. While the speaker in CA 54 delivers an explanation addressed to a *παῖς* and the process of interpretation takes up the whole poem, CA 57 is a proper, thorough description in the true sense. It starts off with a number of questions which, like the whole poem, do not address anyone in particular. They introduce the essential themes and motifs (the ocean, waves, Aphrodite above them), provide information on the object the scene is on (a metal *δίσκος*, probably some kind of plate), and the technique used (the picture has been chased: *τόρευσε* [v. 1] or rather engraved: *χάραξε* [v. 6] on the metal).⁴² This is followed by a more detailed description: first we get Aphrodite herself wandering over the sea (vv. 9-22), then her entourage (Eros, Himeros and a fish choir, vv. 23-30). Complex as this scene might be because it shows a cast of characters as well as the sea and its waves, the reader is enabled to picture it clearly. Notably, this graphic description does not only include these details, the picture’s composition is outlined as well. The way in which Aphrodite and the sea are linked in the picture is illustrated particularly scrupulously and the topic of the sea recurs throughout the description of Aphrodite (vv. 9-22).

Unlike in CA 54, no interpretation is made; the figures are identified immediately without any explanation of how the speaker arrives at this conclusion. The fact that the speaker is hardly tangible in CA 57 is another striking contrast: there are no references to a speaking ‘I’, no instructions or lecture, and there is no direct addressee. In that respect, the poem is an exception among all the ecphraseis in the *Anacreontea*. There is another important difference in the way CA 57 proceeds in contrast to CA 16 and 17. The ecphrasis of Aphrodite is more than just a graphic description of details, it also outlines how the elements are arranged in the picture. At the beginning of the poem, for instance, there is a short overview of the scene (*ἄρα τίς ὕπερθε λευκάν / ἀπαλὸν χάραξε Κύπριν* [vv. 5-6]), and there is a strong graphic simile to describe Aphrodite’s position in the picture and its effect on the viewer: *μέσον αὐλακος δὲ Κύπρις / κρίνον ὧς ἴοις ἐλιχθέν / διαφαίνεται γαλήνας* (“and in the middle of the furrow, / like a lily mixed in with violets, / she shines forth from the calm sea”, vv. 20-22). In other words, the picture as a whole is a core topic of the ecphrasis and the text itself is designed to convey that sense of totality.

Perspicuity and coherence are distinctive features of this ecphrasis, especially considering that CA 57 and the much more loosely connected CA 3-5 evoke

42 Ἄρα τίς τόρευσε πόντον; / ἄρα τίς μανείσα τέχνα / ἀνέχευε κῦμα δίσκῳ; / ἐπὶ νῶτα τῆς θαλάττης / ἄρα τίς ὕπερθε λευκάν / ἀπαλὸν χάραξε Κύπριν / νόος ἐς θεοῦς ἀερθεῖς, / μακάρων φύσιος ἀρχάν; (“Who now depicted the ocean? / And what frenzied craft / has poured out a wave on a cup? / On the back of the sea / who now has etched upon it, / raising his mind to the gods, / the fair and delicate Cypris, / the origin of the gods’ nature?”, CA 57.1-8).

extremely different impressions of the picture's structure. In terms of the reader's response, the poem stimulates the reader's imagination above all else. CA 57 suggests, or rather invites the reader to engage himself in the detailed description, take the numerous visual stimuli as a basis and picture the whole scene. Neither is the reader faced with the lack of potential for interaction with which CA 54 at first presents the reader, nor does the poem itself activate him as much as the gaps in CA 16 and 17 or the openness of CA 3-5 which positively invites variation and imitation. Of course, the reader may respond to CA 57 by writing a poem of his own, but this ecphrasis does not readily provide him with a particular starting point for a poetic response (unlike the mentioned discrepancy in CA 54). In this respect, the strategy of CA 57 differs from the other anacreontic ecphrasises: a reader willing to 'cap' this poem has to find on his own a suitable 'point of attack'.

2

In this next section, I shall examine the ecphrasises' syntagmatic structure. First, I will look at the way the poems are arranged in the *Anacreontea*, and then in the final part analyse their aforementioned metapoetic function.

If we want to analyse the way the ecphrasises are arranged in the *Anacreontea* we must assume that this anthology is a corpus of poems, the sequence of which was, at least to some extent, designed, and should not view it as a string of older collections simply placed side by side. This assumption is justified as recent attempts at determining the ages of single anacreontics⁴³ show that the poems which were placed adjacent to each other in the anthology cannot with certainty be referred to the same chronological strata, and in some cases it is even probable that adjacent poems were written in different periods and are therefore likely to come from different collections. What is significant for my analysis is that the ecphrasises CA 3-5 are just such a case as outlined by West,⁴⁴ who concludes: *sylloge tota ut nunc est non sine consilio coacervata est.*⁴⁵

If we consider the ecphrastic anacreontics from this perspective, the following structure is evident: the ecphrasises are arranged in two groups of poems which immediately follow each other (CA 3-5, 16-17) and a more loosely connected group of poems not adjacent to each other (CA 54, 57). The poems in each group share a fundamental common feature as the same kind of speech act is performed in each of the poems, but there are significant differences between the three groups. This has been stated before, but I shall recapitulate the essential points

43 Cf. Brioso Sánchez (1970); West (²1993: xvi-xviii). For a concise overview of earlier attempts at determining the poems' ages see Campbell (1988: 10-18).

44 West argues that the poems CA 3 and 5 were only later arranged alongside the earlier poem CA 4 (West [²1993: xvii]).

45 West (²1993: xvii).

briefly: the speaker in CA 3-5 performs an open-ended speech act by commissioning a piece of art, but the finished work or whether the instructions have been followed is not mentioned. CA 16 and 17 contain the same speech act, but these ecphraseis also deal with the result of the speaker's instructions. CA 54 and 57 describe pictures that already exist.

When looking at the groups of poems more closely, two things become obvious: first, the poems in each group relate to each other in completely different ways. As we have seen before, CA 3-5 share the same kind of speech act and motifs, and can be considered variants of the same idea. CA 16-17 have a similar communication situation and structure, but differ in one aspect: in the first poem, the painting of the lover is finished by the end of the poem whereas the painting in the second poem is not and will still be deficient once it is finished, according to the speaker. In contrast, CA 54 and 57 complement each other: the only aspect they have in common is that they deal with already existent pieces of art. Apart from that, they are both composed differently, yet are not supposed to be in direct opposition, like CA 16 and 17, they simply juxtapose two different approaches to describing a finished picture.

Second, if we look at the ecphraseis in the *Anacreontea* in the order they have been arranged in, a logical sequence emerges: the poems in the beginning of the collection are about initiating the artistic process of manufacturing a picture without looking at the result. The following poems contain instructions to artists and the speakers' reactions to their work; these are followed by poems dealing with reactions to pictures that are already finished. Thus, the ecphraseis gradually shift their focus from the mere creation towards the reception of pieces of art.

Which conclusions can be drawn from this? First of all, let us note that the ecphraseis' syntagmatic structure, i.e. the way they have been divided into groups and positioned throughout the anthology, has been employed in order to achieve certain effects. This needs to be stressed as it suggests that we need to broaden the view Rosenmeyer proposes in her analysis of the anthology and its structure, which is the most comprehensive study on this aspect in recent research. According to her, there are no "obvious organizational strategies" except for recurring themes or structures, and she argues:

The anacreontic anthology, I would propose, is by definition random and 'un-organized'. Each poem carries with it a larger definition of the whole anacreontic ethos, so there is no need to seek a progression or connections which build on each other to create a larger meaning. (...) We have defined the genre as inherently circular, with a new beginning for each new anacreontic poet, and no clear end. Small wonder, then, that the organization remains opaque.⁴⁶

The present analysis of the ecphraseis shows that there is in fact an organising principle in the *Anacreontea* which goes beyond loosely connected motifs and the

46 Rosenmeyer (1992: 141-142).

like. This is not to say that Rosenmeyer's analysis is incorrect. She is right to point out that there is no organising principle that encompasses the whole *Anacreontea*; there are no narrative principles, such as the speaker undergoing some development in the course of the anthology, nor are there any obvious patterns which serve its overall structure. This is true for the ecphraseis' syntagmatic features, too: they do not form a very detailed or all-encompassing structure. But on the other hand, they have more than just a random or faint structure, which is why I would propose to differentiate more carefully.

Secondly, these poems work in two ways. They serve to create diversity, a key concept mentioned before. The groups of ecphrastic poems show different ways in which to establish a thematic link between single poems, ranging from similarity to contrast and complementarity; it seems as if these different options have been tried out. When we consider the order of the poems, a logical pattern emerges which applies solely to the ecphraseis. It is merely the result of these poems' position, not other parts or features of the anthology, and the logical principle at work here obviously cannot be applied to other groups of anacreontics: from the creation of art to its reception – this pattern cannot be found anywhere else in the anthology.

The two aspects mentioned before, syntagmatic diversity and a unique structure, lead us to the third aspect: the reader and his reaction. This is relevant as the ecphraseis' syntagmatic structure contains potential for reader response which requires much more interaction on the reader's part than would other organising strategies. Since these poems are not presented as a continuous sequence or edited to make up one book of a larger collection, the reader has to put them together and establish connections. There actually are cues to make him do this in that the genre of ecphrasis can easily be identified, the relevant groups of poems stand out and the links between the ecphraseis are not hard to establish. Furthermore, once a reader has found these syntagmatic features, they might serve to provide a starting point to look for syntagmatic connections between other poems. The reader will not be able to establish the overall structure of the *Anacreontea*, but he should not have expected to be able to do so in the first place, given the specific organisation of the ecphraseis. What the reader can do is scan the anthology for a recurring motif, a particular kind of text, e.g. catalogues, or a name, e.g. Bathyllus, then look at the poems which have this feature, compare them, observe how motifs are varied etc. – the *Anacreontea* provide him with numerous opportunities for this.⁴⁷ We can see the ecphraseis' full potential if we combine the opportunities given to the reader by their syntagmatic organisation and the way they invite the reader to become a poet himself. The reader is not just enabled to find possible syntagmatic connections, but can participate in designing them, be

47 The same is true for the collections of epigrams. Recent analyses elaborate on the complex readings which are possible when epigrams are connected to each other in a book and readers are invited to trace these connections; cf. particularly Höschele (2010: 10-26).

the co-author of the existent structures and become an active part of the tradition as he modifies and adds to or inverts them and makes contributions of his own.

To sum up, the anacreontics are not self-contained in that they have little or nothing that makes them more than a collection of separate, paradigmatic poems. Our analysis of the anacreontic ecphraseis has shown that their syntagmatic structure is significant and serves a purpose. These observations remind us that each writer of anacreontics does not take up Anacreon's legacy alone, he also claims his part within the anacreontics. In view of that, I would like to deviate from Rosenmeyer who claims that it is a distinctive feature of the genre that there is a "new beginning for each anacreontic poet".⁴⁸ As there is a reduced, or rather selected set of motifs and forms which constitute the genre, and due to their openness and variability, it is easy to write anacreontics. However, that does not mean that each new anacreontic poet starts from scratch. He builds on and becomes a part of the existent tradition, an aspect which the ecphraseis analysed before make use of.

3

To finish this analysis, let us look at the aforementioned metapoetics of the anacreontic ecphraseis; a closer look at them can help us to tie up some loose ends. Looking at the ecphraseis' characteristic and noteworthy diversity, it is obvious that they do not represent or outline a fixed poetic program; the poems are much too varied or even contrary. My hypothesis is that certain dynamics that are essential to anacreontic poetics are used deliberately in the ecphraseis.

A theme and its variations is one factor contributing to these dynamics and it is tied to the final observations in the preceding paragraph: How does an anacreontic poet cope with the fact that the genre he chose is characterised by a limited set of features and that he is faced with a large number of previous poems? In the anacreontic ecphraseis, some of the writer's different options to deal with this are demonstrated. His options range from taking up motifs or the communication situation to different degrees of variation, from composing a counter-poem to composing a complementary poem. If we consider this to be a key concept in the *Anacreontea's* metapoetics, as I suggest we should, an anacreontic poet can naturally claim that it is precisely within such a limited frame of genre features that he can create diversity.

As a result of the dynamics variations on a theme bring with them, the ecphraseis can trigger a wide range of responses by the reader. Some simply let the reader enjoy the graphic descriptions and use his imagination, while others have little to offer in that respect, like CA 3-5. Due to the level of openness in these three poems, however, the reader is invited to respond by writing a poem himself, whereas CA 57 does not work the same way. CA 54, however, has strong

48 Rosenmeyer (1992: 142).

elements of closure as well as giving the reader a stimulus for writing a response poem. Apparently, diversity is the characteristic feature both the production (theme and variation) and reception of these poems are based on; the content of the ecphraseis mirrors this as they deal with the manufacturing and reception of a piece of art. As we have seen, these two themes form the basis for the organisation of the ecphraseis in the *Anacreontea* which signals to the reader that these poems are to be taken as programmatic, i.e. metapoetic.

When discussing how the link between the single parts and the whole picture is dealt with in CA 16 and 17, we clearly saw that some of the ecphraseis' content also has metapoetic implications. This dynamic is significant for the poetics of the *Anacreontea* as a whole, too: on the one hand, a pivotal feature of anacreontics is that new authors constantly write new poems of this kind, and thus continuously produce new, individual anacreontics. In that respect, openness is a programmatic feature of anacreontic poetry.⁴⁹ On the other hand, all anacreontics have certain fixed points of reference, such as Anacreon and certain standard topics. On top of that, there is the anthology itself which comprises anacreontics, organises them and thus establishes links between them – yet without imposing an overall structure on them. Thus, a certain tension is created in the anacreontic ecphraseis as they display both diversity on the paradigmatic level and some organising principle on the syntagmatic level. There is no definite message; the reader is faced with questions instead, cf. CA 16 and 17 in which only the reader can create a complete picture – if anyone can do so at all. These questions are particularly aimed at a reader who might become another anacreontic poet: What is the *totum* in anacreontic poetry? Can a single anacreontic poet grasp it, or does the work of all anacreontic poets constitute 'the whole'? Is compiling an anthology an adequate way of dealing with 'the whole'? What could that mean for future anacreontic poets? These are the questions the ecphraseis leave the reader to answer.

49 Cf. the final poem in the anthology (CA 60) in which, as Rosenmeyer (1992: 129-137) has shown, the author deliberately chose not to create a sense of closure: "the concluding poem is yet another beginning" (ibid., p. 137). Cf. also Most's analysis of CA 1 and 60 in this volume, pp. 145-153.

The Problem of Self-Thematization in the *Carmina Anacreontea* 1, 6 and 32

ALEXANDER RUDOLPH

1

Recent research stresses the fact that a productive encounter of classical literature and modern literary theory becomes more and more important.¹ If one takes this encounter as a mutual one and does not stick one-sidedly to the universalisation of those theorems which modern texts provide, then the probably biggest challenge this project has to face lies in the barely sufficiently explained relationship of literaricity and alterity. Literaricity represents the number of categories needed to distinguish literary from other forms of discourse. It implies that such criteria can be identified both after and before the modern institutionalisation of the literary system. Alterity, on the other hand, aims at exactly this distinction. It underscores the fact that constitutive differences concerning the possibility of literary production and reception in the modern as well as the premodern period² lead to a different positioning, different status and thus a different referentiality of literary discourse. Hence, it is deemed impossible to apply newer literary theory to older texts without any modification.³ As a result, when

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- 1 It is especially German research which argues in that kind of way. Cf. paradigmatically Schmitz (2006) as well as the enormous and mostly positive number of reviews, which see Schmitz's work as central for the fulfilment of a long-standing *desideratum* of research. Belonging to these are for example Häfner (2004); Heimann-Seelbach (2002); Kuch (2004); Kurmann (2003); Landfester (2004); Möller (2004); Theodorakopoulos (2005); Winter (2003). Also cf. Radke (2003: 316-323), who critically treats the application of modern literary theory to ancient texts.
 - 2 The term 'premodern period' is quite problematic as it too easily conflates the Middle Ages and antiquity. It might serve as a negative foil to phenomena which are specifically modern. Still, it should not be used to designate different epochs as the Middle Ages and antiquity require numerous differentiations.
 - 3 If alterity is understood in this way, it does, conversely, not make the premodern period more exotic: "Sie [=Alterität] zielt vielmehr auf das Moment des Nicht-Verfügbaren, die grundsätzliche Fremdheit und Künstlichkeit des sprachlich-literarischen Weltentwurfs, die vielfältig abgeschattete und abgestufte Distanz zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, der im einzelnen Werk ein komplexes Bündel von Gleichzeitigem und Ungleichzeitigem korrespondiert. Nicht also Unterstellung, historische Kontinuität sei nur Illusion des am Verlässlichkeitsmangel der Wirklichkeit leidenden Europäers, wohl aber Erinnerung daran,

working with modern as well as ‘premodern’ texts, there are two different ways to think about literary theory: On the one hand, there is at least the implicit claim to observe a continuity of the literary. On the other hand, discontinuities which have to be reflected upon methodically are set between the historical character of the text and the historical character of its reading, which differs from it. Indeed, this does not have anything to do with a dichotomy or even categorical exclusion of both aspects.

This problem becomes especially evident in connection to the controversial question of self-thematisation in ancient Greek (lyric) poetry. In this context, the status of I-statements in the poems thereby is paradigmatic for the question of how to understand the relationship between text and context. There is still dissent among scholars of Ancient Greek literature. On the one hand, some claim that every interpretation should take its starting point from the paradigmatic conditions of the songs. This context-oriented reading stresses the performativity as well as the event-binding of the texts, which is followed by a high referentiality of the I-statements: They are attributed a ‘real’ and thus mostly autobiographic character. For this phenomenon German researchers have coined the term ‘pragmatic interpretation’,⁴ and it is self-explanatory that they use the alterity of ancient (lyric) poetry as their maxim. On the other hand, during the last decades more and more theoretic approaches were developed, which can be described as ‘literary interpretations’.⁵ They claim that texts can be received even beyond their primary context, of which often, after all, only little is known. Most notably two conclusions are usually drawn from this. The first one argues that ‘pragmatic interpretation’ limits texts too much to their historical character and thus neglects their literary status. The second claims that the latter was immanent and thus has to be searched for independently from specific contexts. Due to this, I-statements, in the sense of modern literary studies, are assessed as primarily fictive statements of a ‘lyrical I’.

It is my hypothesis that the reading of the *Anacreontea* defies both positions in their radicality. By way of example I will show that, in this context, self-reflection neither only refers to one specific subject, nor can it thoroughly be detached from it. The central aspect for this claim is not the extratextual context of the songs but their innertextual contextualisation, i.e. the question of where and how a text localizes itself, and which implications this has for its I-statements.

daß Verstehensprozesse immer auch zur Auslöschung des Unverständlichen, zur Marginalisierung von Diskontinuitäten neigen.” (Kiening [2003: 12]). Also confer Kiening’s criticism towards Hans-Robert Jauss’ construction of alterity (*ibid.* 10-12).

4 In German research it is especially Wolfgang Rösler who pushed this position forward (Rösler 1980a, 1980b, 1983, 1984, 1990). This, albeit its modifications, must be understood as a continuation of the context-bound interpretations of prior researchers (Wilamowitz, Schadewaldt, Page et al.).

5 Latacz (1982, 1984, 1985, 1986); Schmitz (2002, 2006); Radke (2005) et al.

2

To begin with, it is important to differentiate between the static phenomenon of ‘context’ as well as the dynamic process of ‘contextualization’ because the difficulties of self-reflection in ancient Greek (lyric) poetry become prominent in the context of the *Anacreontea*. In their analyses of I-statements scholars of Greek (lyric) poetry primarily concentrate on archaic lyric poetry. Despite various controversies it is considered as a *communis opinio* that this poetry was recited orally and that it needed a distinct social framework to be performed. This is not equally true for the corpus of the *Carmina Anacreontea*.⁶ Here, the poems both in form and content show the imitation or the constitution of an Anacreontic style.⁷ As successive works pointing to an archaic poet they belong to a secondary literary phase which is characterized by intertextuality. As a consequence, their genesis cannot be traced back to a specific author or an epoch.⁸ Hence, it is much more difficult to locate these texts in specific contexts than it was the case with archaic lyric poetry. Even though as compilations they already show some kind of development and reception, they still include forms and aspects of performance which can be found in the symposion.⁹ Furthermore, it is unclear whether such a framework itself is already staged or not, i.e. if the authors *de facto* made use of Anacreonticism while being participants of the symposion, or if they invoked and reflected upon sympotic forms via Anacreonticism (or both).¹⁰ While self-expressions as part of archaic lyric poetry still often stage a single author-subject, which sometimes even calls itself by name,¹¹ within a situative framework, the referentiality of the I-statement in the *Anacreontea* seems to get lost due to genre conventions or the way how the poet Anacreon, whose lyric poetry they try to imitate,¹² is staged.

Thus, scholars face a dilemma; while, by referring to the symposion, the corpus establishes a clear contextual framework for itself, which already was

6 In the following I am going to use this edition for citations: *Carmina Anacreontea* (West²1993). All translations of the *Carmina Anacreontea* are by Rosenmeyer (1992).

7 Cf. Danielewicz (1986) concerning the question if the *Anacreontea* should be understood as a genre of their own.

8 Müller (2010: 121-3).

9 Even its title marks the corpus of the *Anacreontea* as sympotic: *ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΥΙΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΑΚΑ ΗΜΙΑΜΒΙΑ*. Confer more extensively West (1990).

10 West (1990: 273) argues that the poems “show us something of real-life festivity in the Roman or early Byzantine period”, “not least because the group of poems which is the most sympotic in outlook is also the least learned and literary in character. It contains no mentions of Anacreon, and no apparent attempts to recall the world of Archaic Greece.” Still, this does not make clear if such a context was staged or indeed existed.

11 Cf. Schmitz (2002: 57) who quotes Sappho’s Fr. 94 V. in order to criticise the ‘pragmatic’ interpretation which reads remarks like this in an autobiographical way.

12 Rosenmeyer (1992: 63) pointedly phrases this: “The *Anacreontea* define themselves as derivative poems, and thus claim a place in the literary tradition that has very little to do with originality or individuality.”

central for archaic lyric poetry, its referentiality is as insecure as the I-statements it contains. Instead of a ‘real’ context, processes of contextualisation come into being: From the recipient’s point of view it is not its framework which constitutes the text, but the text itself.¹³ Especially as the controversy about the ‘pragmatic’ or ‘literary’ character of ancient lyric poetry concerns itself with the question if the I-statements due to or even despite their obligation to their context must be understood as real or fictive, it offers a vast opportunity of different readings. Reduced to the text as such, in the *Anacreontea* we have to carefully observe the referentiality which the texts themselves attribute to their I-statements. It is our task to gain an understanding of the different way in which these poems construct their own contexts, and the role attributed to the I-statements in this context.

3

As it is impossible to provide a thorough analysis of the self-thematizations in the *Carmina Anacreontea* in this context, I will concentrate on their central localization in the symposion.¹⁴ I choose the reading of three concise examples¹⁵ as a starting point and begin with CA 6:

Στέφος πλέκων ποτ’ εὔρον
 ἐν τοῖς ῥόδοις Ἔρωτα,
 καὶ τῶν περῶν κατασχόν
 ἐβάπτισ’ εἰς τὸν οἶνον,
 λαβῶν δ’ ἐπιὼν αὐτόν· 5
 καὶ νῦν ἔσω μελῶν μου
 περοῖσι γαργαλίζει¹⁶.

While plaiting a garland once I found
 among the roses Eros.
 And picking him up by the wings
 I dipped him in the wine,
 raised the cup, and drank him down. 5
 And now inside my limbs
 he tickles me with his wings.

It seems to be obvious that this song deals with the narration of a fictional event. The singer’s claim that he met Eros “among the roses” while twining a wreath

13 Concerning the context of contextualisation cf. Cook-Gumperz/Gumperz (1976). Peter Auer was the first one to adapt this concept to German linguistics (Auer [1986]).

14 Concerning the localization cf. Most in this volume (p. 150).

15 My readings are not entitled to be conclusive interpretations of the songs; rather, they concentrate on the aspect of self-thematisation.

16 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 206-207) concerning the reference to Plato’s *Phaedrus*.

bears a little ‘true’ as his assertion to have dipped him into wine. The same applies to the swallowing in the following verse. All these aspects can be read as signals for fictionality,¹⁷ which leads to the conclusion that the text is literary or even poetological. Its twist is the ambiguity of μέλη, which, as a consequence of the swallowing, both expresses bodily, sexual arousal and becomes a stimulus to singing.

As soon as the focus is shifted to the condition of a possible self-reflection, it also becomes evident to what extent the elements of this fictive narration are connected to the potentially real factors of their performance: the I, out of its own perspective, explicitly emerges as the singer in the end. During a performance of the song this would suggest that the innertextual, the singing and probably even the author-I become one. Furthermore, the drinking of the wine names one of the central elements of the symposion, which serves as context. Without further ado we can imagine how the text was occasionally performed as a toast or something similar. Finally, it is also possible, in the context of symposion, that a singer narrates how he, captured by love, feels inspired to sing, which recognizes the song as a figurative elevation of a real event.

Does the text, then, provide us with a double structure? Does the self-thematisation contain fictive as well as real elements? Is this a kind of literature which *already* knows fictive elements but *still* develops them by starting from a real framework? Does the I-statement, which expresses how the wine makes the singer feel sexually aroused and also excited to sing, both have to be understood as real and authentic as well as fictive due to the text’s signs of fictionality? Is the self-thematisation both an individual as well as a general feature, for example for other singers of the same song?

In order to answer these questions it might be helpful to look at the possible alternatives of self-thematisation offered by a traditional perspectivisation of the texts, which proposes an oppositional relationship between ‘real’ and ‘fictive’. Insisting on the real character of the self-statements, which the poetological ending of the text implies, means assigning them a subjective-authentic referentiality. Denying this degree of reality leads to a sharp split between the inner-textual singing and the biographical I in the sense of modern criticism, which especially Roland Barthes¹⁸ and Michel Foucault¹⁹ brought forward concerning the concept of the author. Furthermore, one could think of multiple possibilities of how to fill the role of the I. As a consequence, the authentic expressions of a poet are faced with the ‘lyrical I’, which does not even change if, as recent research has shown,²⁰ both positions are no longer understood as dichotomies but as two

17 This is stressed by the fact that the narration is innovative, as the image of swallowing Eros has not been transmitted anywhere else. Cf. Müller (2010: 209).

18 Barthes (2000).

19 Foucault (1988).

20 Cf. especially Deufert (2004); Slings (1990a).

different poles between which the singer as the ‘performer’ is located.²¹ Here, too, an oppositional, binary understanding of reality and fictionality is assumed, which is furthermore based on the assumption that ancient lyric poetry developed from the real to the fictive in a linear way.²²

In contrast to this claim it is necessary to scrutinize what legitimized the ‘tacit knowledge’²³ of an opposition of real aspects, i.e. those which can be attributed to reality, and fictive ones, i.e. those which can be attributed to literature. Such an assumption takes as its basis the modern idea that literaricity emerges as soon as textual contents transgress the frame of the real towards the fictive. The influential works of Wolfgang Iser²⁴ have shown that in more recent texts fictionality can be observed in non-literary contexts, too,²⁵ and that not all criteria of literaricity can be derived from fictionality. Iser observes that literary texts also engage constitutively with the real, „denn offensichtlich gibt es im fiktionalen Text sehr viel Realität, die nicht nur eine solche identifizierbarer sozialer Wirklichkeit sein muss, sondern ebenso eine solche der Gefühle und Empfindungen sein kann“²⁶. Instead of opposing the real and fictive he suggests a triad of the real, fictive and imaginary. This leads to the claim that fiction as the combining mode of the real and the imaginary becomes literary as soon as it “exposes itself” as such, as soon as the text’s reality is no longer real, but instead emerges as a kind of “as if” reality.

However, this claim must be modified with regard to premodern literature, especially as Iser develops his theory for modern literature only. The decisive difference between modern and premodern literature is the fact that modern literature is usually not restricted to specific events. The game of the self-exposure of fictionality is played in an institutionalized framework of literature, which cannot, at least not in the same way, be applied to ancient lyric poetry as it is embedded in different socio-cultural experiences. This has consequences for its status of fictionality.

I would like to further explore this aspect, which leads towards my central hypothesis, by following an approach developed by Jan-Dirk Müller for research on minnesong.²⁷ Müller’s starting point is a scholarly discussion in the field of

21 It was Slings who developed the pattern of the ‘performer’ (1990b).

22 Cf. Slings (1990b: 28).

23 Iser (1993: 18).

24 Cf. especially Iser (1993, 2004).

25 Cf. for example Stempel (1983).

26 Iser (1993: 19): “[...]because obviously fictional texts provide lots of that kind of reality which not only has to belong to an identifiable social reality but also can belong to a reality of feelings and sensations.”

27 Müller (2004). From my point of view it is legitimate to refer to an essay from the field of medieval studies because the subject matters of medieval studies yearn for a differentiation which is similar to that of ancient Greek lyric poetry. Here, too, we are concerned with texts which came into being *before* an independent literary system developed. Thus, we have to admit their functional relationship to a different social-cultural practice. They are

medieval studies, which connects to the conflict between a ‘pragmatic’ and ‘literary’ interpretation of ancient lyric poetry. The discussion focuses on the question of whether I-statements in minnesong have to be understood as authentic²⁸ or as parts of a role²⁹. Müller shows that premodern societies did not distinguish between individual-biographical self-thematisations and fictional ones which are part of a role. It is claimed that “this common model of ‘role’ and ‘individual’” could be deduced from the “modern relationship between individuals and society”.³⁰ According some critics from sociology one thus had to declare that “[...] das vormoderne Individuum [...] keineswegs an einer individuellen Besonderheit, sondern an einem Allgemeinen orientiert [war]. Es galt, die gesellschaftlich vorgeschriebenen Muster möglichst vollkommen zu verkörpern. Jede Besonderheit galt als eine eher negativ konnotierte Besonderheit”.³¹

This leads to the following conclusion: If we assume that the I-statement in an ancient poem was individual and authentic, it could still be generalized as the speaker understands himself as part of a common social class, practice or norm. However, if we postulate that the I-statement was staged as part of a role, the speaker adheres to those general conventions and speaks as ‘himself’.³² I would like to use CA 6 as an example to demonstrate this claim. Even if the singer’s statement to be sexually aroused by drinking wine was in fact ‘untrue’, it would still somehow become a statement that is uttered within the social framework of the symposium, where the combination of drinking wine and sexual arousal can be regarded as a collective understanding of a distinct social practice. Thus, the scope of self-thematisation is not decided on by looking at how real or fictive it might have been. Instead, it must constitutively be seen in the context of how the I-statement is related to the ideas of a collective universality to which the I-statement is directed and by which it is guided. Especially if lyric poetry is

bound to performance and have to be localised on the verge of orality to scripturality. Many issues that researchers on Greek lyric poetry bring forward (i.e. questions concerning the text’s deixis, pragmatics, contextual contingency or discursive localisation, pretextual horizons of expectation, or, not least, questions concerning the representation of singer or author in the “I” are strikingly similar to those that research on medieval minnesong is concerned with. It is even more striking how restrainedly researchers during previous years and decades addressed approaches to an interdisciplinary discussion of theory. As an example the collection of essays “Text und Handeln” (Hausmann [2004]) may serve, which was published in 2004. While its subtitle programmatically suggests a dialogue of the disciplines („Zum kommunikativen Ort von Minnesang und antiker Lyrik“), this dialogue could not be achieved due to the imbalance of eight essays in the field of medieval studies to only one in the field of Classics.

28 In recent research this has again been suggested by Haferland (2000).

29 My central point of reference for this hypothesis is Grubmüller (1986).

30 Müller (2004: 50).

31 Bohn/Hahn (1999: 40): “[...] pre-modern individuals were not guided by individual peculiarities but by general structures. It was regarded as important to embody those patterns that society prescribed thoroughly. Any peculiarity was considered as a rather negatively connoted peculiarity”.

32 Cf. Müller (2004: 50).

oriented to such a contextual framework there is no longer only space for that which is *apriori* and *realiter* ‘true’ or for the fictive aspects that go beyond it, but there is also space for social practice, which is placed inbetween in a constitutive way.

The latter, however, as Müller argues, drawing on Wolfgang Iser and Arnold Gehlen,³³ is itself characterised by fictions or so called “institutional fictions”, which are specific “ways of imagination and behaviour” within a specific social practice, for example a normative order of events, limited horizons of expectations, symbolic gestures and actions, obligations in regards to social rank and so on.³⁴ Any such “obligatory fiction is a reality of its own”³⁵, and the everyday act of making fiction within it “impliziert ungeachtet seines Fiktionscharakters die für literarische Texte typische ‚Suspension‘ eines pragmatischen Geltungsanspruchs gerade nicht, sondern lässt sie bestenfalls als eine Möglichkeit zu”³⁶. Thus, if the literary text is located in a specific social space, we are concerned with two levels of fiction. On the one hand, there are (first-degree) fictions of this social space,³⁷ which in this case include, among others, collectively binding practices, ideas and attitudes of those who participate in the symposion. They are normative, real and obligatory; within them fictionality cannot ‘expose itself’ as they lay a pragmatic claim to validity. On the other hand, there are (second-degree) fictions of the literary text, which by exposing themselves are, to a certain degree, able to detach themselves from immediate pragmatism. Nevertheless, as long as the literary discourse is part of a social framework, they have to stay connected to it in order to not lose their claim to validity or their condition of possibility.³⁸ As a consequence, the singer as a literary figure always participates in social practices: he is bound to their conditions, and should not be understood as an individual who is detached from society. Furthermore, in order to deal with the latter in an affirmative or critical way, the ‘I’ can only develop its ‘lyrical’ character in a song if he belongs to a social framework: “Es handelt sich [...] um eine Sprechsituation, in der die Ich-Aussage der Rede zwar dem gerade vortragenden Ich zugerechnet werden könnte, aber nicht unbedingt zugerechnet werden muss, weil dieses Ich nie nur für sich selbst spricht.”³⁹

This leads to the following hypothesis: if the ‘I’, like the one in CA 6, thematises himself as a singer by contextualising the symposion, this does not

33 Cf. Müller (2004: 52) and Gehlen (1986: 205-216).

34 In this context Cornelius Castoriadis’ term “the imaginary of society” is also important as it plays a central role in Iser’s concept of the imaginary, cf. Castoriadis (1990) and Iser (1993: 350-377).

35 Gehlen (1986: 210).

36 Müller (2004: 52).

37 Cf., more extensively, Müller (2004: 53-60).

38 This leads to different grades of the ‘as if’. Cf., more extensively, Strohschneider (1996) and Warning (1983).

39 Müller (2004: 59).

mean that the individual singer with respect to others can make use of a fictional narration. It also does not mean that he reflects upon whether this narration is the figurative statement of a real or fictive perception. Instead, the literary fiction of swallowing Amor stays bound to the ‘institutional fiction’ of the symposion while the singer speaks, or presents himself, as a fictive participant in this practice (and no more or less). He thematizes himself both ‘by himself’ and ‘not by himself’. As a consequence, the literaricity of the text does not emancipate itself from its contextualisation but rather unfolds itself in it. The literary is not to be found in a realm beyond any ‘reality’ but happens within it, as it itself is pervaded by (first-degree) fictionality.

4

I would like to stress this fact by giving two more examples, the first of which is the ‘appointment of the poet’ which opens the *Carmina Anacreontea*.⁴⁰

Ανακρέων ἰδὼν με	
ὁ Τήϊος μελωιδός	
(ὄναρ λέγω) προσεῖπεν·	
κάγῳ δραμῶν πρὸς αὐτόν	
περιπλάκην φιλήσας.	5
γέρων μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ,	
καλὸς δὲ καὶ φίλευνος·	
τὸ χεῖλος ὤζεν οἴνου·	
τρέμοντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἦδη	
Ἔρωσ ἐχειραγώγει.	10
ὃ δ’ ἐξελὼν καρήνου	
ἐμοὶ στέφος δίδωσι·	
τὸ δ’ ὥς Ἀνακρέοντος.	
ἐγὼ δ’ ὁ μωρὸς ἄρας	
ἐδησάμην μετώπῳ·	15
καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν	
ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι.	

Anacreon caught sight of me
that melodious man from Teos
(I am relating a dream) and he spoke

40 In my interpretation I confine myself to those aspects which are of importance for my argumentation. Thus, I do not focus on the ‘appointment of the poet’ and its intertexts. Also cf. Most’s essay in this volume concerning this text.

and I, running towards him,
 threw my arms around him, kissed him. 5
 He was old, but still handsome;
 handsome, and a good lover too.
 His lips reeked of wine;
 he was trembling by then
 as Eros led him on by the hand.⁴¹ 10
 Taking off from his head a wreath,
 he gave it to me
 and it reeked of Anacreon himself.
 But I, foolish one, picked it up
 and bound it around my head, 15
 and from that time even up till now
 I have never ceased to love.

Placed at the beginning of the *Carmina Anacreontea* the poem can be understood as a metaphorical description of the possibility conditions of Anacreonticism. If it was actually designed as such or whether it was assigned this function by later tradition is an open question. In any case, its position suggests that it is programmatic with regard to the I-statements of the whole corpus.

The singer narrates how he met Anacreon, the figure of reference for the *Carmina Anacrontea*, in a dream.⁴² The fact that later he receives the wreath, which can be understood as a metonymy for the poet (v. 12), becomes a poetological legitimation for being allowed to use Anacreonticism from this point onwards: The wreath transfers the constitutive trait of being seized by Eros from the established poet to the speaker who refers to himself as being naïve.⁴³ On the one hand, this shifts the moment of inspiration and medialisation of the singer, which topically refers to the Muses, to the founder of the genre, Anacreon. On the other hand, such a programmatic narration which opens a corpus gains a strong written character. Both aspects point to a high degree of staging concerning the content of the song and also put the self-thematisation into the range of the fictive.⁴⁴

Still, it is striking how much the characteristic constituents of Anacreon, which are transferred to the speaker and give him the ability to sing, correspond to our observations in CA 6. Anacreon smells of wine (v. 8) and is sexually

41 Verbatim: “led him by the hand” – Nevertheless, I also read this passage metaphorically (cf. n. 43).

42 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 63-64, 68-69) who compares this poetic inspiration to other ones.

43 Most (in this volume: p. 153) relates the shivering (v. 9) to Anacreon’s old age and his insobriety. Still, to me it seems as if there was also an inherent physical arousal which is indicated by coming in contact with Eros.

44 Rosenmeyer calls this “highly literary” (1992: 69).

aroused (v. 9f.).⁴⁵ While this again stressed the necessity to contextualise the practices described, it becomes obvious that it is not only the poet from Teos who inspires others to sing in an anacreontic fashion (second-degree fiction), but also the social framework of the symposion (first-degree fiction). Even though Anacreon might be no more than a foil in the course of the programmatic opening of the corpus we can argue that he as a figure of reference gains his features from this opening while the singer, inspired by Anacreon, adapts them. Thus, the I-statements of the text must both be understood as staged ones and as being connected to the realm of social practice.⁴⁶ The self-thematisation does not become 'lyric' by transgressing the framework of the real. Instead, within the framework of social practice it can be understood as a subject's staged statement about himself.⁴⁷ Still, especially as it stays connected to this framework, the statement's relevance goes beyond the narrating subject.

As much as this phenomenon could generally be examined for examples of archaic lyric poetry, it gains programmatic importance for the Anacreontea. While Anacreon represents archaic lyric poetry in the 'appointment of the poet' and thus can specifically be referred to, the narrating I stays unspecific and stages itself as a paradigm for Anacreonticism.⁴⁸ By doing this it becomes highly adaptable and takes on distinct role traits.⁴⁹ This role, however, is clearly contextualised: as the 'I' receives the wreath by Anacreon within a sympotic framework, its localization is as specific as its character is unspecific. If we argue that by its statements the 'I' both thematizes and un-thematizes itself, we have to apply this notion in a double sense: on the one hand, it stands for the ability of Anacreonticism to be adapted as a literary practice. On the other hand, Anacreonticism virtually becomes the literary voice of a social practice because here an individual singer is given the opportunity to write poetry in the collective realm of the symposion.⁵⁰

45 The wreath can also be understood as an authorization to the symposiarch, cf. Most in this volume, p. 153.

46 Thus, it seems to be a one-sided endeavour to only refer to a "lyrical I" as Müller and Rosenmeyer consequently do. Cf. Müller (2010: 124-130); Rosenmeyer (1992: 64-70).

47 We have to remind ourselves that from an ancient point of view fictionality might have a different starting point than it does from a modern perspective (for example during the encounter with Eros).

48 Concerning the paradigmatics cf. Most in this volume: p. 149.

49 To put it differently, Anacreon himself makes it a role into which the narrating I now slips. Concerning this cf. Most in this volume: p. 153-154.

50 In this volume (p. 151), Most argues in a similar way by stating that it is neither his own interest nor for the sake of remembrance that a follower of Anacreon starts to write poetry. Rather, the wish to partake in a lifestyle of drinking, singing and desiring – all of which are activities that belong to the symposion – makes him do so.

5

Finally, the assumptions made above suggest the need to further explore the literaricity of the self-thematisations that are included in those songs within the *Carmina Anacreontea* (esp. 32, 38, 43), which do not only contextualise themselves in the symposium by referring to wine in a metonymical way but also explicitly describe this context. CA 32 shall serve as an example:

Ἐπὶ μυρσίναις τερεΐναις
 ἐπὶ λωτίναις τε ποίαις
 στορέσας θέλω προπίνειν·
 ὁ δ' Ἔρωσ χιτῶνα δήσας
 ὑπὲρ ἀγένοσ παπύρωι 5
 μέθυ μοι διακονεΐτω.
 τροχὸς ἄρματος γὰρ οἷα
 βίωτοσ τρέχει κυλισθεΐσ,
 ὀλίγη δὲ κεισόμεσθα
 κόνις ὀστέων λυθέντων. 10
 τί σε δεΐ λίθον μυρίζειν;
 τί δὲ γῆι χέειν μάταια;
 ἐμὲ μᾶλλον, ὡσ ἔτι ζῶ,
 μύρισον, ῥόδοις δὲ κρᾶτα
 πύκασον, κάλει δ' ἑταΐρην· 15
 πρὶν, Ἔρωσ, ἐκεῖ μ' ἀπελθεῖν
 ὑπὸ νερτέρων χορείας,
 σκεδάσαι θέλω μερίμνας.

On tender myrtles
 and on lotus grasses,
 I wish to spread my couch and drink toasts.
 And let Eros, fastening his tunic
 with a cord below his neck, 5
 act as my wine steward.
 For just like the wheel of a chariot
 life runs rolling along,
 and we shall soon lie,
 a bit of dust from crumbling bones. 10
 What use is it to shower myrrh on a stone?
 What use to pour libations in vain to the earth?
 For me, rather, while I am still alive,
 give me myrrh, crown my head with roses,
 and call forth a girl. 15
 Before going down there, Eros,

to join the choruses of the dead,
I wish to banish my cares.

While the invocation and salutation of Eros might count as signals for fictionality, the narrating subject also plastically evokes a sympotic contextualisation. The topical figure of *carpe diem* in the last stanza generates itself from the previous two stanzas, which contrast an equivalent posture of lying down. While the participants of the symposion are now surrounded by sweetly smelling flowers, they will ultimately turn to dust. The I-statement expresses the need to engage with worldly aspects like love and the joys of the symposion instead of focussing on practices directed to another world such as the unction of tombstones (v. 11)⁵¹ and libations (v. 12). Here again the text uses a device, which situatively differentiates things from their equivalents. It is not the tombstone that should receive an unction but one's own head (v. 13). Dances are important in the here and now of the symposion, but not among the dead in the underworld (v. 15ff.). It seems as if this passage expresses the sorrows (v. 18) of a single individual, who, in addition, by naming twice the word *θέλω* (v. 3 and 18), seems to state his 'own' will. This contextualisation in the context of the symposion, which is much more obvious than that in CA 1 and CA 6, seems to give the I-statement a stronger sense of reality.

However, there is also a different reading offered by the text: What is positively connoted and thus contrasted to personal concerns about vanity is the social practice of the symposion, which does not only refer to the text. Instead of using the I-statement concerning the speaker's pleasures as a means of distracting readers from personal sorrows, the text suggests a more general legitimation for the question of which purpose the sympotic practice actually serves. Drinking wine, adorning oneself with roses, being accompanied by hetaeras and other things become affirmative reflections concerning the negative foil of concerns about vanity. Thus, the text contains a moment of identification for other participants of the symposion⁵² while the self-thematisation seems to become applicable to them. Still, this does neither alienate it from its binding to reality nor does it stage it in the area of fiction. Rather, social practice as well as the ideas and modes of behaviour make it possible to understand the self-thematisation as both a referential and generalisable I-statement. Independent from the number of signals of fictionality which a song is endowed with the character of self-thematisation remains ambivalent. As long as the literary fiction is based on the fiction of social practice, I-statements must be understood as authentic-referential as well as staged statements which point to a specific role. This also means that I-statements are sometimes more real and less fictive. Furthermore, they are in a real way fictive as well as fictively real.

51 I follow Müller's (2010: 238) interpretation which reads the stone as a tombstone.

52 From my point of view the text does not provide a hint to West's assumption that the speaker seems to be alone during the symposion, cf. West (1990: 274).

6

My reflections are not meant to conclude the discussion concerning the self-thematisations which are part of the *Carmina Anacreontea*. As I illustrated, however, a modern approach to this central paradigm of ancient lyric poetry, which is based on literary studies, will not suffice to describe I-statements as literarily staged ones as soon as they dissolve from a real referentiality. Instead, it is necessary to qualify the underlying premise of the real and the fictive as opposite categories. This is not only the case with the *Carmina Anacreontea* but with many other premodern lyric poems, which, due to their constitutive localisation in a different social practice, yearn for a pattern that relates processes of making fiction to this practice. Literaricity and alterity can only become one if we understand these poems as parts of a social practice in which they are bound to a certain degree of pragmaticity within which they unfold different degrees of fictionality. The self-thematisation I focussed on should not be understood as either an authentic or a staged one. Instead, by being authentic it is staged, and by being staged it is authentic. Reality and fiction do not exclude each other: they are closely intertwined within the realm of social practice.

Τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ Imitation and Enactment in the *Anacreontics**

GLENN W. MOST

1 Imitating Anacreon

In the manuscript that preserves most of the transmitted *Anacreontics* (Paris. Suppl. gr. 384; saec. X, ca. 930-950),¹ the last poem (60[b]) seems to have been designed, by its language, form, position, and themes, to provide a fitting closure and culmination for this whole collection of lyric verse.² This is not a self-evident feature: most of the poems in the compendium itself are characterized not by a very high degree of verbal finish nor by the manifest evidence of thoughtful formal organization but precisely by their opposites – the carefully contrived appearance of a relatively careless, easy, almost spontaneous composition: art (not necessarily of the highest level) disguising itself as nature (not necessarily of the most sober variety). And if, as will be argued here, the last poem displays the unmistakable traces of specific inter-textual relations to earlier masterworks of Greek literature, especially of the Classical and Hellenistic periods,³ then it differs strikingly in this regard as well from most of the poems in the collection, whose relations to earlier texts are for the most part vaguer and more superficial. It is very tempting to assign this last poem hypothetically to the hand of a somewhat

* My thanks to the members of my research seminar at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, to the editors of the present volume, and to the two anonymous referees, for their generous suggestions and criticisms, which have helped me to render my conception and expression sharper and more precise. I use the term ‘Anacreontics’ in this article to refer to the poets responsible for the Anacreontic corpus and ‘*Anacreontics*’ to the corpus itself.

1 The fact that the *Anacreontics* are transmitted for the most part together with the epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology* suggests that at least someone, at some phase in the course of their transmission, most likely in late antiquity or during the Middle Ages, recognized their generic link with the symposium.

2 After CA 60.36 (60[b].13) the manuscript transmits, presumably erroneously, CA 58.23-36 (these lines were transferred to the end of CA 58 by Barnes); after the last line we find the indication, τέλος τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος συμποσιακῶν, and a final asterisk. This neither proves nor disproves that the same poet wrote this poem as any (let alone all) of the preceding ones. For the problematic nature of the personal identity of the individual poet in the Anacreontic tradition, see below.

3 See the discussions, below, of Plato’s *Phaedrus* (on lines 1-2), of Meleager (on lines 5-6), and of Hesiod’s *Works and Days* and Alcaeus (on lines 11-13).

more sophisticated poet than the ones responsible for the earlier poems – to someone who treats the poems collected together here not as a congeries, but rather as a corpus, upon which he can reflect with a relatively refined meta-literary taste. That is, he seems to be imitating the genre not so much from within as from outside and above. Might he not himself have been not only an author, but also the collector and editor of at least some, or perhaps even of all, of these poems?

In exactly the middle verse of this final poem's thirteen verses, and exactly in the middle word of that middle verse, its author places the name of Anacreon himself:⁴

ἄγε, θυμέ, πῆι μέμηνας
 μανίην μανεῖς ἀρίστην;
 τὸ βέλος φέρε κράτυνον,
 σκοπὸν ὡς βαλῶν ἀπέλθεις,
 τὸ δὲ τόξον Ἀφροδίτης 5
 ἄφες, ὦι⁵ θεοῦς ἐνίκα.
 τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ,
 τὸν ἀοιδίμον μελιστήν.
 φιάλην πρόπινε παισίν,
 φιάλην λόγων ἐραννήν· 10
 ἀπὸ νέκταρος ποτοῖο
 παραμύθιον λαβόντες
 φλογερὸν φύγωμεν ἄστρον. (CA 60[b])

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- 4 West (²1993: 47 ad loc.), following the manuscript, does not divide this poem from the preceding one; but in that case its link to what precedes is extremely unclear, and most other scholars, rightly on my view, take 60(a) and 60(b) to be two separate poems. Moreover, some scholars, beginning with Barnes (1734: ad loc.), have suggested that this poem might not be complete as it is transmitted, see West (²1993: 48 ad loc.). This is, to be sure, not impossible; and indeed a possible lack of closure might well be suitable for the ending of a collection that was designed to continue to be reused and re-elaborated, see below. But it would be a remarkable coincidence indeed if Anacreon's name happened by pure chance to have come to be located in the exact center of a defective text; it is probably better to accept Mehlhorn's φύγωμεν in line 13.
- 5 ὦι is Portus' easy emendation of the transmitted ὡς; the manuscript reading is printed by West (²1993: 47 ad loc.). While ἄφες can certainly mean "shoot" (LSJ s.v. A I), suggesting the poet should shoot his own missile in the same way as Aphrodite shot hers, that would require that it take a direct object indicating the missile that is shot; but in the singular, τόξον indicates not the arrows, nor the bow and arrows together, but only the bow alone (LSJ s.v. A vs. II). So ἄφες here more likely means "reject, set aside" (LSJ s.v. A II.2, III), and the two references to weapons are to be understood as being in contrast with, not in parallel to, one another: it is not "do with your missile, just as Aphrodite did with hers" but instead "do with your missile not as Aphrodite did with hers."

Come, my heart, why are you mad with the best madness of all? Come, throw your weapon strongly, that you may hit the target and depart; give up the bow of Aphrodite with which she overcame the gods. Imitate Anacreon, the famous singer. Drain your cup to the boys, your lovely cup of words. Let us take comfort from a draught of nectar and avoid the flaming dogstar. (trans. Campbell [1988: 245])

To understand why the poet has chosen to make such a conspicuous central reference to Anacreon, we must recognize its function within the structure of his poem. The poem begins with a riddle: the speaker is insane with the best kind of insanity – but what exactly is that kind and what makes it the best kind? The speaker's emphatic repetition of three etymologically connected words for madness in immediate sequence (μέμνηνας, μανίην, μανείς) proclaims his insanity as an indisputable fact; but neither does he tell us just which is the best kind of insanity that is his nor does he at first reveal an answer to his opening question, in what way or to what end (πῆτι) he is mad. Of course, the riddle is not hard to solve for the kind of moderately well educated man who has composed this poem and whom the poet presupposes as its listeners and readers (the very easiness of the solution flatters his recipients and builds a bridge of shared cultural values between them and him): the comparison of kinds of madness and the distinction of a best one immediately recalls Plato's *Phaedrus* and the definition, according to a celebrated passage in that dialogue, of erotic madness as the best kind of madness.⁶ So the answer to the opening riddle is that the speaker is experiencing the best kind of madness because it is as a lover that he is mad.

But there are many kinds of erotic madness: which is or should be his? The speaker urges himself to hit the mark with the strong shaft of his poetic and erotic missile (3-4);⁷ but in the immediately following lines he goes on to qualify any possible implication of excess or violence by explicitly rejecting the weapons of Aphrodite with which she defeated the gods (5-6).⁸ Not only is the speaker conscious that he is a mere mortal and cannot vie with a goddess; moreover, he does not imagine he can subdue the gods as she was able to do – this would mean an aspiration to a superhuman degree of power quite alien to the typically modest and limited ambitions of the *Anacreontics*. The name of Anacreon puts the seal then upon this generic definition (7-8): Anacreon is the paradigmatic singer

6 Plato, *Phaedrus* 265b: so West (²1993: 47 ad loc.). Campbell (1988: 245 n. 1) cites this same passage but, oddly, explains the best kind of madness meant here as that of poetic inspiration. For other possible cases of allusions to Plato or the Platonic tradition in the *Anacreontics* see Rosenmeyer (1992: 190-208).

7 Campbell (1988: 245 n. 2) interprets this line in one-sidedly poetological terms with reference to a well attested, especially Pindaric metaphor; but is it only to a modern sensibility that the image used here seems inescapably to have phallic connotations as well?

8 The image of the armed Aphrodite does not seem to occur otherwise in the *Anacreontics* (elsewhere it is Eros who uses the bow, CA 13 and CA 33); it is Hellenistic in inspiration.

(μελιστήν 8)⁹ but at the same time he is much sung (ᾠοίδιμον 8) – not only in the usual sense of the adjective that there are many songs about him, that he is much sung of and hence is celebrated or renowned, but also in the different and much rarer sense that his own songs are often sung, that his own compositions are much sung and hence are often performed.¹⁰

The name of Anacreon closes off the first movement of the poem, which had been focused upon images of erotic missiles, and marks the beginning of its second movement, which is focused instead upon images of drinking (9-13). By imitating Anacreon, by composing and performing moderately erotic songs, the speaker will derive solace by means of his drink (11-12) and he will avoid the blazing heat of the star (13). There can be little doubt that this reference to the Dog Star is not merely astronomical nor calendrical in its import: it also denotes a withering intensity of passion which the speaker of this poem prefers, perhaps not unreasonably, to shun. The allusion to the sympotic poetry of Alcaeus is unmistakable;¹¹ but the underlying warning against the dangers posed to men by parching desire at the season of the Dog Star ultimately goes back to a famous passage in Hesiod's *Works and Days*.¹²

And yet in fact what the Hesiodic passage warns men against is specifically female desire; and if we bear this in mind, perhaps we can interpret in a different way the specific form of the speaker's madness in this poem. For surely at least some of the recipients who recognized the Platonic allusion in the first two lines will also have been reminded of the well-established Platonic preference for love of men for boys over love of men for women:¹³ in the Platonic tradition, it is this madness that is most truly the noblest one. So perhaps an answer to the speaker's initial question might be that if his erotic desire is indeed of the best kind, this can only be because it is, or should be, directed towards boys, and not women. If so, then the speaker might be urging himself in the following lines to set aside the bow of Aphrodite (5-6) not only as a *topos* of modesty but also because Aphrodite's arrows could be understood, at least occasionally, as a symbol of specifically heterosexual love.¹⁴ That is, the speaker, rather than engaging in love for

9 The form is rare and perhaps unparalleled (LSJ s.v. μελιστής), though its meaning and etymology (< μελίζω) are evident. The speaker displays his poetic skill by applying a recherché noun to Anacreon (and also by using the adjective ᾠοίδιμον in a novel way, see the following note): he thereby demonstrates himself to be a worthy follower of the great poet. On the paradigmatic status of Anacreon see also Rudolph pp. 140-141 in the present volume.

10 LSJ s.v. ᾠοίδιμος A.

11 Alcaeus fr. 347(a), 352 Voigt.

12 Hesiod, *Works and Days* 582-588.

13 Cf. for a general discussion Dover (1978: 153-168).

14 Dover (1978: 63) writes: "the notion that the female deity [scil. Aphrodite] inspires heterosexual passion and the male deity [scil. Eros] homosexual appears (...) as a Hellenistic conceit, in Meleagros 18"; on this poem (AP 12.41) see Gow/Page (1965: 2.658). But of course it should be noted that elsewhere the Anacreontics can direct their desires to women too (e.g., CA 16, contrasted with CA 17; and CA 22, 24, 51), and that

women, should devote himself to love for boys: it is to them alone (παισίην) that he should drink his toast (9); and it is only if he does so that he will manage to indulge in gentler, less painful pleasures (scil. than heterosexual poets can expect to experience).

Whether or not we decide to adopt this interpretation in terms of the opposition between heterosexual and homosexual desire, in any case one thing is certain: if the Dog Star is being invoked in the closing words of this collection, as stars so often have been, not only as a celestial body but also as a symbol for certain kinds of human emotions and actions, so too is the drink which is said here to be capable of providing a refuge from it. For this is a drink consisting not only of wine but also of words (λόγων) and of desire (ἐραννήν 10). Evidently, the three fundamental Anacreontic activities – drinking, loving, and singing – are being thought of here as being so closely inter-connected with one another that they can all come to form a single imagistic complex, in such a way that all three kinds of actions can blend metonymically into one another, by a kind of symbolic συγκρᾶσις much like the actual blending of wine and water typical of the Greek symposium, so that each one can take on at least some of the features of the other two and therefore can by itself connote both of them. This literary figure of a specifically symposiastic blending runs throughout the whole collection of *Anacreontics* as a foundational leitmotif; in one particularly brief poem it achieves a programmatic incisiveness, at the same time broadening the canon of sympotic love poetry to include Sappho and Pindar.¹⁵

Ἡδυμελῆς Ἀνακρέων,
 ἠδυμελῆς δὲ Σαπφώ·
 Πινδαρικὸν δ' ἔτι μοι μέλος
 συγκεράσας τις ἐγγέοι.
 τὰ τρία ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ
 καὶ Διόνυσος ἐλθὼν
 καὶ Παφίη λιπαρόχροος
 καὐτὸς Ἔρωσ ἄν ἐκπιεῖν. (CA 20)

5

Anacreon is a sweet singer, Sappho a sweet singer; let them be mixed with song of Pindar and poured in my cup. I think that if Dionysus came and the Paphian with her gleaming skin and Love himself, they would drink down this trio. (trans. Campbell [1988: 191])

To return to the final poem of the collection, with which we began: Anacreon, the much-sung singer (CA 60[b].7-8) functions as a kind of label for precisely this mixture of moderate desire, drinking, and poetry. By imitating him, the speaker will be able to achieve success and, having done so, go away (3-4). Go away from

elsewhere Aphrodite's domain often includes homosexual desire. On Aphrodite as responsible for heterosexual desire, see Dell'Oro in this volume.

15 Presumably it is above all Pindar's sympotic poetry that is meant, on which see van Groningen (1960).

what? The verb ἀπέλθεις is studiously vague. Bearing in mind the athletic metaphors, we might think of leaving a sports competition as victor; but for this meaning we would seem to require the participle νικῶν or a similar word.¹⁶ Alternatively, we might think of that favored symposiastic game, the κότταβος, which the speaker might leave after having won the competition to toss drops of wine lees most accurately – though the phrasing of line 3 certainly seems far too massive and military to bear such a playful meaning. But perhaps another meaning for line 4 can be suggested: recalling that this is the last poem and concludes this collection, we might take the verb to mean “so that you can go away successfully [scil. from these very poems], so that you can close off with success this collection of *Anacreontics*.” And given that in these poems drinking, singing, and desiring are metonymically interchangeable, it is not difficult to see that what the speaker is hoping to leave with success is not only a collection of poems but also the specific social situation of drinking, singing, and desiring that is intrinsically bound up with these poems – the symposium.¹⁷ With this last poem, the symposium constituted by this whole collection of *Anacreontics* is proclaimed to have come to a successful conclusion – both the imaginary symposium we readers and listeners have been enacting in our fantasy in the course of attending to these poems, and also – why not? – the real symposia at which these poems and ones like them were sung over and over in the course of antiquity. After all, the questions at just what point, and in just what condition, one should best take leave of one’s fellow symposiasts and depart for home from the drinking party, much occupied ancient theoreticians of the symposium and was often discussed:¹⁸ evidently, the risk of an unsuccessful departure from the symposium was something that many Greeks worried about. All the more reason for the speaker to try to avoid this risk by choosing to imitate Anacreon.

But what does it mean to “imitate” Anacreon? *Mimesis* is of course one of the fundamental structures and techniques of ancient Greek culture, as of those other cultures influenced deeply by it;¹⁹ but the kind of *mimesis* directed by the *Anacreontics* towards Anacreon seems to be almost unparalleled elsewhere in Greece. In general, when the Greeks imitate Greek heroes, they attempt to make the pattern of their behavior correspond to that of their model; but when they imitate Greek poets, they copy or imitate not larger or smaller actions or modes of conduct, but instead larger or smaller passages and stylistic features of their literary texts. Thus when they imitate Achilles they try to attain a high level of military prowess in their action but they do not emulate his speeches (let alone the songs he sang when he sulked in his encampment); when they imitate Homer or Sappho they strive to remind readers of specific or more general aspects of their

16 LSJ s.v. ἀπέρχομαι A 4.

17 On the Anacreontic symposium, see also Rudolph, pp. 133-139, in this volume.

18 So already Heraclitus B117 D.-K.; Xenophanes 1.17-18 West.

19 Conte/Most (2012: 727-728) with bibliography, to which add at least Curtius (1948); Koller (1954); Leeman (1963); and Norden (1898).

famous poems, but they do not at all pretend to be blind bards or Lesbian women.²⁰ In short, Greek *mimesis* is almost always directed either ethically towards a way of life in the case of non-literary figures, or discursively towards a set of texts in the case of literary ones; when it is a question of *mimesis* of a poet, this is naturally directed towards his poems.

What then of the imitation of Anacreon in this Anacreontic lyric? The Anacreon it imitates is a singer of poems (8) and the imitation it recommends takes the form of composing and singing poetry that possesses some of the very same features for which Anacreon himself was celebrated (9-10). But the speaker is not interested in composing poetry for its own sake or simply reminding his readers of Anacreon; rather, he seems to want to partake of an Anacreontic way of life consisting of a certain kind of drinking, singing, and desiring, one for which these activities are forms of expression and means to an end. That is, he wants not only to write like Anacreon, but also to live like Anacreon, and he writes like Anacreon only in order to live like Anacreon: his discursive *mimesis* is a means in the service of what can be called, in a loose sense, an ethical *mimesis*. The speaker seems to consider Anacreon not so much as a poet who produced certain texts but rather as a heroic exponent of a particular way of life (call it 'Anacreontic') that was (also but not only) manifested in certain kinds of texts; for this later poet, imitating those texts now is instrumental towards his participating in that Anacreontic way of life.²¹ In other words, this is not so much a literary kind of *mimesis* for its own sake but instead an ethical kind of *mimesis* to which the literary mode is instrumentally subordinated.²²

But if that is so, then the Anacreontic poet's injunction, τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ, must be understood as an exhortation to himself to imitate Anacreon not only in the sense of copying the features of his poetry, but also in that of modeling his behavior upon the poet's. How can we specify more precisely the relationship that the Anacreontic poet aims for with regard to Anacreon? Perhaps we can turn to CA 1 for help. For as we have seen, CA 60(b) closes the collection of Anacreontic lyrics by bringing to a conclusion the (real or putative) symposium at which they were performed. So it will not be surprising to see that the very first

20 Among the titles of lost plays of Old Comedy are Cratinus' *Archilochoi* and Telecleides' *Hesiodoi*. Did these plays show people imitating Archilochus and Hesiod, and if so in what way and to what effect? Unfortunately, far too little survives of these plays to provide even hypothetical answers to these intriguing questions.

21 This must be distinguished sharply from the recommendation found in various ancient poetological texts that the poet should himself feel the emotions he represents if he is to convey them effectively (Aristotle, *Poetics* 17.1455a30-34; Horace, *Ars Poetica* 102-105): for in such texts what is involved is an ethical *mimesis* for the sake of a literary one, while in the *Anacreontics* exactly the reverse seems to be happening. Different modes of *mimesis* are considered, sometimes critically, in a number of the *Anacreontics*, for example CA 2 and CA 13. On modes of *mimesis* of the heroic life of Anacreon, see Bing and Gutzwiller in this volume.

22 The closest parallel to this Anacreontic conception of *mimesis* is the comic figure of Agathon in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 148-167.

poem, CA 1, corresponds precisely to CA 60(b): it opens the collection by initiating a (real or putative) symposium – one in which, by a typically Anacreontic σύγκρασις, wine, song, and desire are intimately connected with one another – and thereby, in an evident ring-composition with CA 60, names Anacreon in its very first word, as a kind of title.²³

Ἀνακρέων ἰδὼν με
 ὁ Τήιος μελωιδος
 (ὄναρ λέγω)²⁴ προσεῖπεν·
 κάγω δραμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 περιπλάκην φιλήσας. 5
 γέρων μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ,
 καλὸς δὲ καὶ φίλευνος·
 τὸ χεῖλος ὄζεν οἴνου·
 τρέμοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἦδη
 Ἔρως ἐχειραγώγει. 10
 ὃ δ' ἐξελὼν καρῆνου
 ἐμοὶ στέφος δίδωσι·
 τὸ δ' ὄζ' Ἀνακρέοντος.
 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ μωρὸς ἄρας
 ἐδησάμην μετώπῳι· 15
 καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν
 ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι. (CA 1)

Anacreon, the singer from Teos, saw me and spoke to me in a dream: and I ran to him and kissed him and embraced him. He was an old man but handsome, handsome and amorous; his lips smelled of wine, and since he was now shaky Love was leading him by the hand. He took the garland from his head and gave it to me, and it smelled of Anacreon. Fool that I was, I held it up and fastened it on my brow – and to this very day I have not ceased to be in love. (trans. Campbell [1988: 163])²⁵

As has frequently been noted, the Anacreontic speaker stages here a familiar kind of self-legitimizing poetic investiture: Anacreon singles him out, addresses a greeting to him, and gives him a physical token of the poetic vocation which he assigns to him. From Hesiod and Archilochus through Callimachus and the Roman poets, such scenes lend dignity to the later poet – here, to be sure, the seriousness is attenuated by a deftly light, almost comic touch appropriate to this genre – and justify his claim to our attention (if this new poet is good enough for

23 No cogent evidence is available that could decisively support or refute the possibility that it was the same poet who wrote both CA 1 and CA 60b.

24 This is Baxter's emendation of the transmitted λέγων; while it is not strictly necessary, the accumulation of participles in the manuscript's version of the text is clumsy and unattractive. West (²1993: 1 ad loc.), accepts the conjecture; Campbell (1988: 162 ad loc.) does not.

25 On this poem see Bartol (1993); and Bing, and Rudolph, pp. 139-141, in the present volume.

Anacreon, surely he will be good enough for us).²⁶ But the relationship between the older poet and the younger one is not merely professional and collegial in nature: Anacreon figures as the aged and bibulous but still lusty ἐραστής to the naively enthusiastic and evidently much younger speaker-ἐρώμενος – younger above all because he was born centuries after Anacreon (though this does not in the least prevent him in other Anacreontic poems from playing the older ἐραστής himself to still younger ἐρώμενοι, who will eventually go on themselves to become Anacreontics in their turn for even younger boys). As soon as the speaker sees the older poet, he runs in boyish eagerness to kiss and hug him, while Anacreon trembles with age (and wine) and needs a slave boy (here figured as Eros himself) to guide his tottering steps.²⁷

So the scene is not only a poetic initiation but also an erotic encounter – fittingly, given that this is a kind of poetry that is characterized as being essentially erotic. But Anacreontic poetry is also essentially symposiatic: so it is also fitting that this scene is characterized as belonging to a symposium. The garland that Anacreon takes off of his head and gives the speaker to place on his own is the conventional attribute of the symposiast; here the speaker's authoritative role makes him the symposiarch who will go on in this and the following poems (especially in the immediately following CA 2) to perform the usual functions of the master of ceremonies, determining the strength of the wine to be drunk, deciding the events of the evening to be performed, and defining the topics of the songs to be sung – with this one conspicuous defect, that his own infatuation with Anacreon makes him quite incapable of singing about anything other than love. In symposiastic terms, CA 1 announces a series of convivial drinking songs that, as in all drinking-parties, presuppose wine and sociability, but that in this one, unusually, do not move through a variety of entertaining topics but instead are directed to only a single subject matter, love. The (imagined or real) symposium of the *Anacreontics* is thus an exact counterpart, even if in verse and not in prose (and perhaps also at a rather lower level of artistic and conceptual refinement) of Plato's *Symposium*.

2 Enacting Anacreon

What exactly does it mean to imitate Anacreon? The more one reflects upon this question, the more complex it becomes. My suggestion is that, within the poetic context and the social reality of the Anacreontic lyric genre, the Anacreontic poet seems to have imagined himself, and seems to have been taken by his listeners, to be in some sense no longer only the person who he actually happened to be and with whom his fellow symposiasts were acquainted outside of the symposiastic

26 See in general Kambylis (1965).

27 See Rudolph p. 140, n. 43 in the present volume: Rudolph sees the trembling as a symptom of erotic excitement but I prefer to stress the poet's weakness, old age, and drunkenness.

context – but also, in a certain specifiable sense, had become, at least to a certain degree, Anacreon himself. For the Anacreontic poet, Anacreon seems to be not only a historical person to be recalled or the author of a set of texts to be imitated but also a role to be enacted. By composing Anacreontic verses and engaging in an Anacreontic way of life, by desiring and drinking and singing, the later poet could be thought to be not only imitating the earlier one, in such a way that the differences between the two persons involved (the ancient dead poet and the contemporary living symposiast) remained visible, but also enacting him, performing him in a quasi-dramatic manner – and, in a certain sense, ultimately almost becoming him, so that the line of division between the two persons could blur and in the end even become virtually effaced. The central line in the final poem of the collection, τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μμοῦ (CA 60[b].7), now turns out to have a deeper and more programmatic sense even than at first suspected: for it suggests that the Anacreontic poet is being urged to represent or impersonate Anacreon in a quasi-theatrical dimension.

To be sure, it is important to keep in mind that this is only a *quasi*-dramatic or *quasi*-theatrical feature. I am not suggesting that the Anacreontic poet dressed up in a costume and wore a mask so that he would look like Anacreon or that he engaged in any kind of full-fledged theatrical comedy with a fictional plot in which Anacreon, as played by himself, would have been one of the principal characters.²⁸ Surely the only props that were available to the Anacreontic poet were the cup of wine in his hand and the garland around his head – indeed, he names these himself: ἐγὼ δ' ἔχων κύπελλον / καὶ στέμμα τοῦτο χაίτης (CA 9.16-17), “I have my cup and this garland on my hair” (trans. Campbell [1988: 173]). But by the same token no other props were necessary. Just as every lovely boy present at the symposium or prominent in the speaker’s mind could be figured as Bathyllus (CA 4(i).21; 10.10; 15.8; 17.1, 44, 46; 18.10) – and not as being merely *like* Anacreon’s Bathyllus or being *as beautiful as* Bathyllus was or being *reminiscent of* Bathyllus but as being *Bathyllus himself* – so too the speaker, by singing poems reminiscent of Anacreon’s own poetry, could take on the role of Anacreon himself. He could become, for the present symposium, as effective a blend of poetry, wine, and desire, as Anacreon himself had once been for symposia in ancient times. In the world of the *Anacreontics*, every attractive slave boy can be Eros himself (CA 1, 32, 43), the members of the symposium can be the god Dionysus (CA 40.8-9, 42.1-2, 43), a lovely girl can be Aphrodite herself

28 Though I would hesitate to exclude on principal that something like this might ever have happened in the ancient world. No limits can be set to bad taste. It is controversial whether the so-called Anacreontic vases, which were astonishingly popular in Athens from the last decades of the 6th century until the mid-5th century, reflected sympotic or theatrical practices, or both, or neither: see e.g. Price (1990) and Bing, pp. 27-34 in the present volume. But in any case no direct line of continuity could possibly have connected these practices with the much later and non-Athenian *Anacreontics*.

(CA 43) – and so too the Anacreontic poet himself is not just like Anacreon, he is in a certain sense Anacreon *redivivus*.²⁹

The specific case of the dramatized enactment of Anacreon by the Anacreontics must be understood within the context of the general phenomenon of quasi-theatrical spectacle in the ancient Greek symposium, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods. This is the specifically Anacreontic version of a fundamental feature of the institution of the symposium that has occasionally been recognized but deserves further exploration.³⁰ There is of course no doubt that dramatic arias and speeches from comedies and tragedies were often recited at Greek symposia;³¹ and it is attested that hired actors sometimes performed mimes for the entertainment of the symposiasts.³² But the former are simply recitations of recent or celebrated verses not necessarily different in kind from the lyric or elegiac poetry so often quoted in performance at Greek symposia, while the latter are genuinely dramatic spectacles performed by outsiders. The Anacreontic poet is not doing either of these. Instead, by singing Anacreontic poems, he is pretending to *be* Anacreon; and at least to a certain extent he seems to be convincing himself and his fellows that he *was* Anacreon (for if he had failed to convince anyone, these poems would not be so many, and they would not have been transmitted).

As West has pointed out, the Anacreontic singer is almost always alone, in the sense not that he is drinking by himself, but that he presents himself to others, addresses them in the singular or plural, but rarely if ever engages in concerted actions together with them.³³ Indeed, the collection contains far more second person singulars and plurals than first person plurals. This is because the Anacreontic poet is representing Anacreon before an audience, persuading them momentarily by a kind of quasi-dramatic *mimesis* that he *is* Anacreon. To risk oversimplifying a highly delicate and complex psychological process, we might speculate that the Anacreontic singer, like the rhapsode at a recitation of Homer, seems to take on certain aspects of the personality of the characters whose words he pronounces, thereby making those words more effective and transmitting to his audience emotions that are truer, precisely because they have been more successfully fictionalized.³⁴ To be sure, when the rhapsode dramatized the words of Achilles or Hector by declaiming them in character, the spectators, if asked, could

29 Or, at least once, Silenus: CA 47.4-5.

30 There are some helpful observations on the Anacreontics and the symposium in Ladianou (2005). For further important recent general studies of the symposium, some of which consider this specific phenomenon at least to a certain extent, see Cameron (1995); Catoni (2010); Hobden (2013); Lissarrague (1987); Murray (1990); Musti (2001); Nagy (2004); Vetta (1983). Rossi (1983) provides less help in this connection than its title would lead one to expect.

31 An excellent survey and discussion of the material above all on comedy (but also on tragedy) at the symposium can be found in Mastromarco (2006). See also Corbato (1991).

32 See Puppini (1986).

33 West (1990: 275).

34 Plato, *Ion* 535b.

doubtless recognize that it was the rhapsode they saw, not the Homeric warrior. But in the moment of performance, to the extent that the rhapsode was convincing, no one will have asked them and they will not have asked themselves: instead, they will have imagined, at least to a certain extent, that what they saw before themselves was indeed the ancient hero. And how much likelier was it that such a dramatic illusion would be successful if it was being performed not in the light of day at a public recitation, but instead late in the day at a private symposium, where both the singer and his audience were becoming increasingly befuddled by wine and less and less capable of making such nice discriminations!

Perhaps these considerations can help us to understand what would otherwise seem a very odd feature in the opening poem of the collection. Why does the speaker characterize Anacreon in the second line of this poem as “the singer from Teos” (CA 1.2)? At first glance, this might seem to be nothing more than a piece of superfluous pedantry, the proud ostentation to his audience by some middle-brow poet of a fact that is being displayed as though it were a triumph of erudition but which is instead a rather rudimentary item of literary culture.³⁵ But the line can be read differently, and more interestingly, as specifying the one Anacreon whom the speaker saw in his dream – that one, namely, who came from Teos – and differentiating him from all the other Anacreons who did not come from Teos and whom he did not see. In other words, the Anacreon that the speaker saw in the dream was the “real” one, the one we call Anacreon, who came from Teos and lived in the 6th cent. BCE, a contemporary of Polycrates and Hipparchus; and it was this genuine Anacreon himself who legitimated the poem’s speaker as his erotic beloved and poetic successor. But if this is true, it can only mean that for the speaker and his audience there could be many Anacreons, and that this particular speaker was claiming that he had been granted the very great good fortune to be vouchsafed a vision of the only real one.

If we view the *Anacreontics* in this light, it is easy to identify in them a number of features that could have made some contribution to this quasi-dramatic dimension:

Often the poet addresses in the second person singular people or other beings who could not have been (or were not likely to have been) physically present at the symposium: a painter (CA 3, 16, 17), Hephaestus (CA 4), a silversmith (CA 5), a swallow (CA 10, 25), a woman (CA 22, 51), a cicada (CA 34), a teacher of rhetoric (CA 52[a]), gold (CA 58). By invoking an absent and hence imagined interlocutor, the poet exercises his own fantasy and that of his listeners, who must all create in their imaginations a highly specific dramatic situation in which the words sung by the poet might actually have been uttered. Thereby the Anacreontic poet opens up a fictional dramatic space for the entertainment of himself and of his audience.

35 Thus Rosenmeyer (1992: 65) complains, understandably, that “the poem” is “unnecessarily (in purely informational terms, that is) adding ‘the Teian poet’”.

The next step is actual dialogue reported within an Anacreontic poem (CA 15, 28, 33): now the poet takes on both voices and stages a conversation between himself and some other character so that his listeners seem to be witnessing a dramatic representation of a scene of verbal interchange. Particularly striking in this regard is CA 7, in which women are quoted who accuse Anacreon of being old, and the speaker responds that what matters is not whether or not he is old but rather the fact that the closer he is to death the more appropriate it is that he enjoy himself. For here the identification of the Anacreontic speaker with Anacreon himself is explicit. When these women accuse an Anacreon of being old they are not referring to the ancient Anacreon who was long dead, nor is the Anacreontic poet thinking of women in those ancient times who were contemporaries of the famous Anacreon; instead, he surely means himself, and the women mean him too – but in both cases he is designated not as being merely some Anacreontic poet but as being Anacreon ‘himself’.

Besides these quasi-dramatically represented scenes of imagined verbal exchange there are other fantasized episodes in which an absent, imaginary situation is called to the attention of the listeners present at the symposium: for example, the poet sitting under Bathyllus like a shady tree with a nearby spring (CA 18); scenes of nature in the springtime (CA 46); Zeus as a bull carrying off Europa, perhaps on a painting (CA 54); a silversmith’s portrayal of the birth of Aphrodite (CA 57); a grape harvest (CA 59). Or the scene represented can be absent because it belongs not to a different space but to a different time, the more or less remote past, in which an episode once happened that is now being reported and that must be imagined dramatically by the listeners (CA 6, 11, 13, 15, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 37).

Even the meters of the *Anacreontics* tend to have a quasi-theatrical coloring. For the meter these poems use most often, the hemiambus, is in fact identical with an iambic trimeter in which the hepthemimeral caesura (a frequent one in drama) now becomes the end of the line and can therefore be *brevis in longo*; while the so-called Anacreontic meter, which is used in a number of other poems and is named after Anacreon himself, is this very same verse, simply modified slightly by being preceded now by another short (which provides as it were a running start to the verse).³⁶ But what is even more striking than the meters favored by the *Anacreontics* is the fact that these poets almost always use them stichically rather than grouping them in stanzas as do most Greek lyric poets (and almost all Greek lyric poets of the Archaic and Classical ages).³⁷ Anacreon himself, to be sure, sometimes uses these meters, and occasionally (at least to judge from the frag-

36 For details of the meters of the *Anacreontics*, see West (²1993: xiv-xvi).

37 The only possible exceptions are CA 9 and 50; but in the former poem a final three-line stanza can be created only by deleting a line, while in the latter one a first four-line stanza may be postulated but can only be created by major editorial supplementation.

mentary evidence) seems to have composed stichically.³⁸ But within the heterogeneous and highly diverse panorama of the many meters Anacreon used, these semi-iambic ones are not especially conspicuous; and of his surviving fragments, most are non-stichic. As with Anacreon's themes and motifs, so too with his meters: the *Anacreontics* seem to have made a drastically simplifying selection out of his own rich variety and concentrated upon only a few elements adapted to their own social and literary setting. In the case of his metrical forms, their selection favors a verse form in which every line, one after another, begins more or less like the iambic trimeter familiar from tragedy and comedy. The *Anacreontics* are the only corpus of Greek lyric that as a whole is versified entirely or almost entirely *κατὰ στίχον*.³⁹

The *Anacreontics* are simple not only in their meters and subject matters. The fact that their syntax tends to be very uncomplicated and that very many of the lines are end-stopped⁴⁰ means that they could be expanded or shortened at will. We can easily imagine that one Anacreontic poet, endowed with a vaguer memory, or one somewhat more clouded by wine, could sing an even shorter version of these poems (which are short enough to begin with); and that another Anacreontic poet, one with greater ambitions, or a clearer mind, could easily expand a transmitted poem by applying his own inventiveness or transferring parts of some other one to it. Any confidence in the wholeness and integrity of most of these poems is clearly quite misplaced; it is not accidental that when these poems happen to be transmitted by different sources (CA 4, 8) there tend to be considerable differences in text and length among the various versions.⁴¹ The festive atmosphere of alcoholic inebriation doubtless blurred the boundaries between one poem and another and between one version of a poem and another – and it was this same atmosphere that also permitted the Anacreontic poet to be, at least briefly, for himself and for others, both Anacreon and himself. It is appropriate that the *Anacreontics* are always cited in antiquity as the works of Anacreon and not as the product of some follower of his – not necessarily because the authors in question are making an elementary historical mistake by assigning to the earlier poet works by his later imitators, but perhaps because, for the *Anacreontics*, it does not really matter. All of them are playing at being Anacreon, and are deliber-

38 For details of the meters of Anacreon, see Gentili (1958: 109-111) and West (1982: 56-59).

39 Hellenistic poetry typically makes stichic use of earlier non-stichic lyric meters; cf. West (1982: 149-152), as do later Latin and Christian poets, like Seneca in the choral odes of his tragedies and Boethius in the verses of his *Consolatio Philosophiae*. See on this phenomenon Fassino/Prauscello (2001), here especially p. 12 n. 9 (with further bibliography); and more generally Prauscello (2006).

40 This is noted by Labarbe (1982: 169).

41 For the details, see West (²1993: ix-xi). So too, in a number of cases the manuscript presents as continuous poems groups of lines that modern scholars tend to separate into different texts: CA 26/27, 28/29, 52a/b, 60a/b. On rewriting and elaborating of earlier *Anacreontics* by later Anacreontics, see Baumann in the present volume.

ately blurring the boundaries between Anacreon and themselves. After all, is not Dionysus, the god of wine, also the god of the theater?⁴²

I conclude with three brief hypothetical reflections. First, can we be entirely certain after all that the *Anacreontics* were in fact as unparalleled a case of ethical imitation of a poet's way of life as they seem to us to have been? Might not similar sympotic practices have flourished in the Hellenistic and Imperial Greek world and imitated not Anacreon but some other archaic Greek poet or poets? And might therefore our impression of the uniqueness of the *Anacreontics* be merely an optical illusion deriving from the fact that only in this case has a corpus of such poems been transmitted, while other such corpora might have been composed but lost? Of course this is not impossible: but the fact that we do not ever hear anything about such practices directed in antiquity to other poets, whereas there are various surviving testimonia referring to the *Anacreontics* apart from the direct transmission of the poems themselves, suggests that these poems and the practices they reflect probably were unique after all. Second, if indeed Anacreon was unique (or even if he was only especially popular), what was it about him that made him so attractive to later Greek symposiasts, and more attractive than other archaic or classical Greek sympotic poets? Presumably the answer lies in the extraordinary popularity Anacreon enjoyed already during the 6th and 5th centuries in Athens: even if later Greek symposiasts knew nothing of the Anacreontic vases (see above, n. 28), anyone who knew anything about Athenian poetry and comedy of the 5th century will have been cognizant of the fact that Anacreon was the heroic paradigm of the Athenian symposium at its height. For later Greeks who idealized the Classical period of Athens as the most glorious moment in their national history, the aura shed by 5th century Athens upon all its cultural institutions must inevitably have rendered the symposia of that century, and Anacreon in particular as their most celebrated participant, objects of irresistible veneration and emulation. So the later Anacreontics, in imitating Anacreon, are taking part *après la lettre*, as far as is possible for them, in the Golden Age of Athens. And third, if the Anacreontics wanted to imitate Anacreon, why did they not simply sing Anacreon's own genuine poetry rather than going to the trouble of composing their own pseudo-Anacreontic verses? But perhaps if a later symposiast sang Anacreon's own poetry he would be thought to be merely performing that classical author's celebrated verses rather than imitating the behavior of that author by composing and performing his own creations: he would be citing Anacreon, not enacting Anacreon. If so, then this was a form of mimesis which, strangely enough, depended precisely upon avoiding any direct verbal replication of the imitated texts. Perhaps the only way a later poet could imitate Anacreon's way of life was not by quoting Anacreon's own poetry but by creating his own *Anacreontics*.

42 On blurring boundaries in enacting, see Rudolph in this volume.

CHAPTER III

Poetic Inspiration

The Reception of the *Carmina Anacreontea*

Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry Its Shape(s) and Its Significance *

STEFAN TILG

1 Introduction: the Rediscovery of CA and a New Poetics

As a basis for my further discussion it will be convenient to recall some facts concerning the discovery, the publication, and the initial literary appreciation of the *Carmina Anacreontea* (CA) in mid-16th cent. France.¹ I shall put an emphasis on the enthusiasm of critics and poets about a new stylistic possibility opened up by CA. To some extent, this enthusiasm also accounts for the later creative imitations and adaptations in Neo-Latin poetry.

Before Henri Estienne's editio princeps of 1554, Anacreon was mainly known through ancient testimonies and two poems² found in the *Anthologia Planudea*.³ Although these poems were transmitted anonymously, the fact that Gellius (NA 19.9) had quoted one of them (17 [4]) in full as a work of Anacreon (*Anacreontis senis*) seemed to put the question of authorship beyond reasonable doubt.⁴ When Estienne hit upon these poems in the manuscript collection of CA,⁵

* I use translations of Latin and Greek quotations in this paper sparingly for several reasons: my focus is often on formal nuances (metre, style, language) which cannot be adequately rendered in a translation. Moreover, as far as CA is concerned, I often repeat the same passages in different versions. Translations would be tedious here (and they are easy at hand anyway, cf. e.g. Campbell [1988] and Rosenmeyer [1992: 239-266]). In other cases short paraphrases are just as useful and save space. On my terminology distinguishing between 'Anacreontea', 'Anacreontics' and 'Anacreontic poetry' see section 2 below.

1 Cf. esp. O'Brien (1995); Rosenmeyer (2002).

2 The poems in question are nos. 15 and 17 in Estienne's edition, corresponding to nos. 8 and 4 in today's numeration of CA as found e.g. in the editions of West (²1993) and Campbell (1988). Estienne's numeration was standard until well into the 19th century. Since my study stops in the 18th century, I shall always refer to Estienne's numbers first, followed by the corresponding modern numbers in brackets. A concordance can be found in O'Brien (1995: 247-249). The text of CA, however, follows West (²1993).

3 The *Anthologia Planudea* was published by Janus Lascaris in 1494 and enjoyed wide circulation among Renaissance humanists. The manuscript *Anthologia Palatina*, though used by Estienne and possibly being his only source for CA (see below n. 5), eluded most scholars of the 16th century and was not finally published until the 19th century.

4 A third Anacreontic poem following upon the two anonymous ones is credited in the *Anthologia Planudea* to one Julian. Even though Estienne read it in the collection of CA published by him, he did not consider it for his edition. It was missing also in most sub-

he must have genuinely believed that he had rediscovered the long lost works of Anacreon himself. For his audience, the fact that he dropped CA 1 (which distinguishes between Anacreon and the speaking I), and added some other transmitted verse of Anacreon (a practice continued in later early modern editions) increased the sense of authenticity even further.⁶ Estienne's edition was hailed as a historic moment which redefined modern ways of relating to classical literature. Its impact was multiplied by the eager reception of the *Anacreontea* in the French Pléiade. Estienne was a friend of this progressive literary group, whose undisputed, if unofficial, leader, Pierre de Ronsard, thanked him for the edition of 'Anacreon' in one of his poems.⁷ Ronsard himself on the one hand translated a number of pieces of CA, on the other hand recreated and adapted their style in portions of his poetic production following upon Estiennes editio princeps.⁸ It was probably also Ronsard who inspired Rémy Belleau to his French translation of CA of 1556. In his introductory poem to this translation, Ronsard compliments Belleau on his achievement and admits him as the seventh member of the – now complete – Pléiade (p. 7).

The enthusiasm of the Pléiade and its followers for the new 'Anacreon' can be accounted for in terms of authority and creativity in a particular moment of intellectual history. The rediscovery of ancient models in Renaissance humanism did both confirm their authority and inspire new ways of literary expression based on their examples. The Greek classics, in many cases unknown to the mediaeval period, were particularly novel and much appreciated in the Pléiade, whose core members had been students of the famous Hellenist Jean Dorat. Before the rediscovery of CA, the most authoritative and most imitated Greek lyric poet was Pindar, whose epinicia saw their first edition in 1513.⁹ Apart from Pindar's intrinsic literary qualities, the sheer fact that he was the only Greek lyric poet to survive with substantial portions of his work and the availability of an edition were obvious reasons for his popularity among Renaissance poets. Against this background, it is clear that the edition of another substantial, yet quite different,

sequent early modern editions, translations and imitations. In modern editions it is found as CA 6.

- 5 On Estienne's somewhat mysterious discovery of the manuscript(s) and his editorial approach cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 8-15); Rosenmeyer (1992: 1-6); O'Brien (1995: 13-22). The main issue is that Estienne speaks of two manuscripts without naming them, and while it is clear that one of them was the *Anthologia Palatina*, there is no trace of the other.
- 6 Cf. the beginning of section 4 below.
- 7 Cf. *Odelette a Corydon*, lines 27-30: "Je vois boire à Henry Estienne, / Qui des enfers nous a rendu / Du viel Anacreon perdu / La douce Lyre Teïenne" (ed. Laumonier [1930: 175-176]).
- 8 Ronsard's main publications containing Anacreontic material are *Bocage* (1554), *Meslanges* (1555), *Continuations des Amours* (1555), and *Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* (1556). Generally for his reception of the *Anacreontea* cf. O'Brien (1995: 155-199).
- 9 Cf. e.g. Schmitz (1993); generally for the respective receptions of Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho in the early modern period Michelakis (2009).

corpus of Greek lyric poetry provided an exciting alternative for imitating and surpassing antiquity: CA quickly became an authoritative model for a new style of writing neatly opposed to Pindar. The antithesis between Pindar and Anacreon, or rather the poetic styles they are standing for, is clearly expressed in Estienne's Greek preface to his edition of 1554, where he credits Pindar with difficulty, harshness, and obscurity, Anacreon with simplicity, sweetness, and clarity. The relevance of this antithesis for contemporaneous poetics is confirmed by Ronsard himself, who explicitly contrasts the difficult Pindar and the "sweet" Anacreon in his dedicatory poem to Belleau's French translation of CA.¹⁰

2 Neo-Latin Anacreontea and Anacreontics: Methodological Issues

The general outlines of the astonishing *Nachleben* of CA in the early modern period (and partly beyond) are well known and it is unnecessary to re-trace them here.¹¹ However, some strains of CA-inspired poetry and poetics have been given more attention than others, and while we have studies for the major European vernaculars (English, French, German, Spanish, Italian), there is not much on the Neo-Latin tradition. Surely this is undeserved from a literary historical perspective. Neo-Latin literature developed a rich Anacreontic tradition until ca. 1700 and ripples of it can be felt until well into the 18th century. Jozef IJsewijn and Dirk Sacré's *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, the Neo-Latinist's handbook of reference, has just half a page on Anacreontics (1990-1998, II, 96-97). There is an excellent section on Neo-Latin Anacreontic literature in Zeman (1972: 16-32), and some helpful observations can be found in O'Brien (1995). To my knowledge, Kühlmann's (1987) has been the only paper focussing on Neo-Latin Anacreontics so far. Of course I am indebted to all of these accounts, but much remains to be said about Neo-Latin Anacreontics. In particular, I think the creativity, flexibility and various uses of Neo-Latin Anacreontics in different contexts and periods have been undervalued and sometimes even misjudged. A more accurate picture of the diversity within the unity of the Anacreontic form is needed.

Such a project encounters difficulties characteristic of Neo-Latin studies in general: not only is there a relative lack of scholarly work, the material itself is vast, not usually available in modern editions, and scattered in libraries across Europe. Today's various digitization projects are a great help, but often it still proves challenging to obtain the relevant primary texts. Once the texts are acquired, the next challenge is often to make sense of them in the absence of commentaries and secondary literature. Given these conditions, the present paper

10 "Me loue qui voudra les repliz recourbez / Des torrens de Pindare en profond enbourbez, / Obscurs, rudes, facheux, & ses chansons congnes, / (...) / Anacreon me plaist, le doux Anacreon!" (in Belleau [1556: 9]).

11 Cf. e.g. the survey of Zeman (1999) and the studies of Rubió y Lluch (1879); Michelangeli (1922); Zeman (1972); Baumann (1974); O'Brien (1995).

cannot be more than a first and sometimes even amateurish attempt to trace the shape and uses of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry. I hope to compensate for this by a number of fresh insights and by pointing out some new and promising avenues for future research.

Before I start my analysis of the Neo-Latin Anacreontic ‘form’ I should discuss some terminological issues and account for a peculiarity of this ‘form’. I consider two related but different things in this paper: on the one hand, Latin translations of CA, and on the other hand creative adaptations and transformations of that model. I shall refer to translations as ‘Anacreontea’ and to adaptations and transformations as ‘Anacreontics’, as opposed to the ancient collection of CA. By ‘Anacreontic poetry’ I refer to all kinds of CA-inspired literature, including translations. Both Anacreontea and Anacreontics occur also in the vernaculars, but there is a significant difference here which makes the study of the Neo-Latin Anacreontic form much more coherent and consistent. With very few exceptions – although I will discuss a highly significant example further below –¹² the vernacular translations and adaptations always broke up the ancient form of CA in favour of different metres and rhyme, thought to be more suitable for the respective target languages. A few examples will be enough to illustrate the point – we should keep in mind, however, that the actual variance in vernacular Anacreontic poetry is much greater. When Belleau, for instance, translates CA 1 (23) into French (cf. Belleau [1556: 11]), he uses rhyming couplets of heptasyllables lacking ‘Anacreon’s’ iambic rhythm:

Volontier ie chanterois
 Les faitz guerriers de noz Rois,
 Mais ma lyre ne s’accorde
 Qu’a mignarder une corde (...).

Abraham Cowley, probably the most influential English translator of CA, prefers catalectic iambic dimeters (as opposed to ‘Anacreon’s’ catalectic ones) and rhymes stretching over three or two lines:¹³

I’ll sing of Heroes, and of Kings;
 In mighty Numbers, mighty things,
 Begin, my Muse; but lo, the strings,
 To my great Song rebellious prove;
 The strings will sound of nought but Love (...).

12 Cf. section 4 at the end. Another interesting, if less consequential, exception is Manuel de Villegas’ two Anacreontic books in the first part of his collection *Eróticas* of 1618 (ed. Alonso Cortés [1913: 188-250 and 251-323]).

13 Cf. Cowley (1656: 31); the example also gives an impression of Cowley’s rhetorically amplifying approach in line with the poetics of English classicism. On Cowley’s partial translation of CA cf. esp. Baumann (1974: 73-79).

Sometimes longer lines were used, such as Ronsard's alexandrines in some of his imitations.¹⁴ Often stanzas were created on a variety of models such as sonnets, madrigals or popular songs.

Little of this changeability affects Latin Anacreontic poetry. As a rule (with exceptions especially in the earliest stages), it remains true to the Greek form, characterized by the hemiambic or anacastic metres, rhymeless lines and the absence of (obvious) stanzaic divisions. This makes a study of Latin Anacreontic poetry, and in particular Anacreontics, comparatively easy and consistent. In the vernaculars there is a considerable fringe of love poetry and drinking songs which shares a number of motifs with CA, but is impossible to trace back to that model.¹⁵ Latin Anacreontics can undergo the most utter transformations in content and spirit and will still be easily recognizable as Anacreontics.

3 Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry Before Estienne's Edition, and the Special Case of Scaliger

In fact, the history of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry begins a number of decades before Estienne's editio princeps of CA. The two Anacreontic poems contained in the *Anthologia Planudea* inspired some humanists to both translations and creative use of the form for their own poetry. Clearly, this early reception was a trickle compared with the torrent of Anacreontic poetry following upon Estienne's edition and it must be seen in the context of the influence of the Planudean Anthology rather than of CA. But there are two interesting observations to make.

First, what I have described as consistent Anacreontic form in Neo-Latin poetry emerges only after the edition of the full corpus of CA, arguably because only then was the body of poems substantial enough to command respect for its formal pattern. Before that, various metres are used for rendering the models, in a similar fashion to what we usually see in vernacular Anacreontic poetry. Suffice it

14 Cf. the imitation of CA 2 (24) in *Bocage* (1554), ed. Laumonier (1930: 115): "La Nature a donné des cornes aus toreaus / Et la crampe du pié pour armes aus chevaus, / Aus poissons le nouer, & aux aigles l'adresse / De bien voler par l'aer, aus lievre la vitesse (...)". Alexandrines became a popular choice for French and German 17th cent. poets. A prominent German example is Martin Opitz' imitation of CA 19 (21) in his *Buch von der Deutschen Poetery* (1624), cf. ed. Alewyn (1966: 35): "Die Erde trinckt für sich, die Bäume trincken erden / Vom Meere pflegt die luft auch zue getrucken werden / Die Sonne trinckt das Meer, der Monde trinckt die Sonnen; / Wolt dann, jhr freunde, mir das trincken nicht vergonnen?"

15 Michelangeli (1922) struggles with this issue, since the Italian tradition of Anacreontic poetry is particularly free and there is no substantial core of clearly CA-inspired texts. Baumann (1974) deals only with translations and close imitations. Zeman (1972) succeeds not least because his main focus, 18th cent. German Anacreontic poetry, is characterized by an unusually close adherence to the ancient form.

to adduce the two most prominent early Latin imitators: Thomas More (1478-1535), as far as we know the first to translate the Planudean Anacreontic poems into Latin, casts his version into glyconic lines, which creates a somewhat Horatian atmosphere.¹⁶ Johannes Secundus (1511-1536) imitates the same poems in the hexameter.¹⁷ Significantly, both More and Secundus publish their versions in collections of epigrams, and given the original context of the models in the *Anthologia Planudea* it was difficult to see them as anything else than epigrams.¹⁸ This explains why their form was easily assimilated to other standards of epigrammatic composition: More experiments more often with short lines (we have hypercatalectic iambic dimeters on pp. 223-227 and acatalectic iambic dimeters on pp. 250-252 of the 1518 edition), and Secundus uses hexameters for many of his epigrams.

My second observation concerns a wedding of Catullus and CA, which also bears on the later tradition of Anacreontic poetry. While Secundus did not use the hemiambs of the Planudean pieces in his translation, he did so in an original composition which we could dub the first Latin Anacreontic. I am referring to the eighth piece of Secundus' extremely popular collection of playful kiss-poems, the *Basia* (posthumously published in 1539; ed. Ellinger [1899: 6-7]):

*Quis te furor, Neaera
inepta, quis iubebat
Sic involare nostram,
Sic vellicare linguam (...).*

What madness, foolish Neera, what madness made you attack my tongue like that and nip it like that (...).

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- 16 Cf. More (1518: 206-207): *Non est cura mihi Gygis, / Qui rex Sardibus imperat. / Aurum non ego persequor. / Reges non miser aemulor (...)*. The title wrongly describes these lines as "choriambicum". Prompted by a confusing layout in the editio princeps of the *Anthologia Planudea*, More mistook CA 15 (8) and 17 (4) for a single poem and translated it as such. This mistake repeated itself a number of times until Estienne established the correct division of the two poems in his edition.
- 17 Cf. Secundus (1541: 148): *Non est cura Gygis mihi, qui rex imperat agris / Sardiniis, non me argentum, non gemma nec aurum / Detentat, non invideo sua regna tyrannis (...)*. Zeman (1972: 9) erroneously speaks of elegiac couplets.
- 18 The conception of single Anacreontic poems as epigrams remained an option even after Estienne's edition. Johannes Sambucus, for instance used a Latin translation of CA 2 (24) – by then in hemiambs – as an epigrammatic subscription in his famous book of emblems; Sambucus (1564: 144): *Natura cornua add[id]it / Tauro, ungulas equisve, / Cursu lepus perennis, / Dentes patent Leonis (...)*; generally cf. Zeman (1972: 25-26). Of course, the very transmission of the Anacreontea in the context of collections of epigrams (the *Anthologia Planudea* and *Anthologia Palatina*) is not a coincidence, but suggests shared ground in brevity, clarity and pointedness.

It is interesting to see that Secundus in this poem anticipates a number of stylistic devices characteristic of later Neo-Latin (sometimes also vernacular) translations and imitations of CA. The most striking are anaphora, often combined with slightly varied parallelisms (cf. apart from lines 3-4 above e.g. 13-15 *Quo saepe sole primo, / Quo saepe sole sero, / Quo per diesque longas*) and playful diminutives (e.g. 20-24: *Quae tortiles capillos, / Quae paetulos ocellos, / Quae lacteas papillas, / Quae colla mollicella / Venustulae Neareae*). Some of these features, as the anaphoric constructions, are well-known from CA,¹⁹ and passages like CA 15 (8).3-7 (οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, / οὐδὲ φθονῶ τυράννοις. / ἔμοι μέλει μύροισιν / [...] / ἔμοι μέλει ῥόδοισιν) could have been an inspiration to Secundus. However, the anaphora in the pieces from CA known at that time is fairly mild compared with other examples of the collection (e.g. CA 29 Χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ φιλήσαι, / χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ φιλήσαι. / χαλεπώτερον δὲ πάντων / ἀποτυγχάνειν φιλοῦντα), and diminutives are not a striking characteristic of CA at all. It seems rather that Secundus created his Anacreontic by using elements familiar from a playful strain of Roman love poetry in which Catullus deserves pride of place.²⁰ This strain was vigorously revived by Italian Neo-Latin poets of the late 15th and early 16th centuries and very popular at Secundus' time – in fact, Secundus' whole collection of *Basia* was an expanded variation on Catullus' own kiss poems (*Carm.* 5 and 7).²¹ Two nicely fitting examples²² by other authors are epigrams addressed – just as Secundus' *Basium* 8 – to a certain Neaera²³ and probably known to Secundus. The first one, by Michele Marullo (1458-1500), is redolent of Catullus starting from its metre, the hendecasyllabus. The fame of this epigram was such that Julius Caesar Scaliger dedicated an extended (dismissive) discussion to it in his *Poetice* (297b; ed. Vogt-Spira/Deitz [1994-2011: V, 58-62]). The parallels in style with Secundus' Anacreontic clearly emerge from the first four lines (*Epigrammata* 1.2; first published in 1489; ed. Perosa [1951: 3]):

*Salve, nequitiae meae, Neaera,
Mi passercule, mi albe turturille,*

19 Generally on techniques of expression in CA cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 77-93).

20 For anaphora in Catullus cf. e.g. his kiss-poem *Carm.* 5.7-9 (*da mi basia mille, deinde centum, / dein mille altera, dein secunda centum, / deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum / dein, cum milia multa fecerimus [...]*) and the refrain in *Carm.* 52 (*Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori? [...] Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?*). Further examples can be found in Ross (1969: 97-99). For Catullus' preference for diminutives cf. *ibid.* (22-26).

21 For a comprehensive account of the Renaissance Catullus cf. Haig Gaisser (1993); individual aspects are dealt with in Ludwig (1989) and Schäfer (2004).

22 Cf. a number of other names and examples in Zeman (1972: 17-18).

23 "Neaera", recalling the famous hetaera of the 4th cent. BCE, was used as a generic name for a mistress from Hor. *Epod.* 15.11 (cf. e.g. Watson [2003: 472] ad loc.) and [Tib.] 3.1.6 onwards. In this function, she made an impressive career in Neo-Latin love poetry, perhaps beginning with the examples adduced above.

*Meum mel, mea suavitas, meum cor,
Meum suaviolum, mei lepores (...).*

Welcome, Neaera, my wantonness, my little sparrow, my little white turtle dove, my honey, my sweetness, my heart, my little kiss, my charm (...).

The other example, in acatalectic iambic dimeters, was penned by Pietro Crinito (1465-1504) and first published posthumously in his *Poemata* (2.32) of 1508.²⁴ It is an adaptation of a kiss-epigram to an anonymous boy which was ascribed to Plato and is transmitted in Gellius' *Attic Nights*.²⁵ The fact that Crinito replaces the boy with a girl (*Dum te, Neaera, suavior [...]*), precisely Neaera, is reminiscent of later Anacreontic poetry from which homosexual love is banned (in all Anacreontics known to me) or minimized (in some translations). Compared with the ancient epigram, Crinito brings a number of playful diminutives to the poem (5-6 *Tum mi labella pressula / Tenello amore saucia*); in addition to the Catullan model, his line *Animula mea misellula* (21) is a clear allusion to Hadrian's *Animula vagula blandula* (*SHA Hadr.* 25.9) and confirms the preference for the stylistic device of the diminutive.

Now, the fusion of Catullan and Anacreontic poetry would not be so interesting if it had disappeared after Estienne's edition, but this is not the case.²⁶ The continuing influence of Secundus' formula can be felt first and foremost in the continuity of stylistic devices, but to a lesser extent also in the motif of the kiss: from time to time, writers of Neo-Latin Anacreontics will pay homage to Secundus by slipping in some variations on his *Basia*. In some authors we can even see a comeback of Neaera. This is particularly impressive in the most prolific writer of Latin Anacreontics ever, Caspar Barth, in whose *Amphitheatrum Gratiarum* of 1613 Neaera is the poet's principal mistress over 15 (!) books. The model of Secundus is clearly referred to in 3.4.1-4, where the poet says to Neaera that he follows "your Secundus, the preacher of elegance, the mystic of Venus, and the high-priest of charm" (*Vatem Elegantiarum / Veneris, Neaera, mystam / Antistitem Leporum, / Sequimur tuum Secundum*). The integration of this model into the overarching Anacreontic framework could not be expressed more neatly than by the image of Anacreon, the kisser, who surpasses even Apollo's art with

24 Modern edition in Mastrogianni (2002: 142); the poem is also reprinted in Ellinger (1899: 21-22).

25 Cf. Gell. *NA* 1.19.11: *Dum semihulco savio / meum puellum savior / dulcemque florem spiritus / duco ex aperto tramite, / † anima aegra et saucia / cucurrit ad labeas mihi, / rictumque in oris pervium / et labra pueri mollia, / rimata itineri transitus, / ut transiliret, nititur* ("While with half-wide open kiss I kiss my little boy, and I take the sweet flower of his breath from the open streamway, my soul, lovesick and wounded, has run to my lips, and into the crossable gape of my mouth and the soft lips of my boy burrowing a cross-passage for her journey, she struggles to leap across."). The epigram can also be found in Macrob. *Sat.* 2.2.14.

26 It is therefore understandable that IJsewijn/Sacré (1990-1998: II, 95-97) discuss Catullan and CA-inspired poetry under a single heading.

an effortless smooch (1.12.16-19: *Apollo quod nequivit, / Currensque cantitansque, / Anacreon sine omni / Queat ambitu osculando*).

It remains to discuss another striking instance of Latin Anacreontics potentially written before Estienne's edition, the *Anacreontica* of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558). With 122 pieces ranging between 5-92 lines (most of them average out at ca. 15 lines) this is one of the most extensive collections of Anacreontics. Its date is difficult to assess. The work was posthumously published in 1574 in Scaliger's *Poemata*, edited by Julius Caesar's son Joseph Justus. Its dedication to Ronsard points to the years of Ronsard's greatest enthusiasm for CA, just before and after Estienne's edition. More precisely, the dedicatory poem to Ronsard flatters the latter on the subject of his imitations of 'Anacreon'.²⁷ No such imitations are known before 1553. In this year Ronsard published a French paraphrase of CA 15 (8), which he read in the *Anthologia Planudea*.²⁸

However, in a poem *De suis Anacreonticis* (!),²⁹ dedicated to his friend Guy de Galard de Brassac in Bordeaux, Scaliger thanks Brassac for sending him a book (*libellorum [...] supellex*) containing the "honeyed Muse of the playful old man" (*mellita iocosi Musa senis*) – this must be Estienne's edition. Scaliger then reminisces about how more or less 20 (!) years ago his "Erato" engaged in similar jokes (*lusus*);³⁰ although he was too embarrassed to publish them earlier, the delightful present of his friend makes him now feel obliged to do so. If this account were true, Scaliger would have written his *Anacreontica* in the 1530s, based only on the Anacreontic poems of the *Anthologia Planudea* and some bits and pieces that Scaliger believed to be from Anacreon.³¹ A sentence at the end of the *Anacreontica* omitted by Joseph Justus in his 1574 edition seems to confirm this early date and pin it down to 1534: *Coepta Anacreontica et perfecta biduo minus horis quindecim 1534 Cal. Martii* ("Began the *Anacreontica* and completed them in less than two days, i.e. fifteen hours, on 1 March 1534").³² Fred Nichols argued that Scaliger's claim was unfounded and was just meant to play up his originality, but given that potential points of dependence on CA are rare and Scaliger clearly picks up on the epigrammatic and Catullan tradition, his remarks might be more right than wrong.³³ The most probable scenario seems to be that Scaliger did write at least part of his Anacreontics before Estienne's edition and that the latter inspired him to complete his Anacreontic juvenilia and prepare

27 Cf. Scaliger (1574: I, 473): *Illum [sc. Anacreonta] luce tua flammeus obruis*, "Flamingly, you eclipse Anacreon with your light".

28 Cf. *Livret de Folastries* (1553), ed. Laumonier (1928: 79-80).

29 Cf. Scaliger (1574: I, 39-40).

30 Scaliger (1574: I, 40): *Viginti lapsi sunt paulo plus minus anni, / Lusibus his similes Erato mea luserat olim, / Mollia lascivo delumbans paegnia flexu*.

31 Cf. Magnien (1984: 405).

32 This sentence was first published by Grafton (1985-1988: 503); however, it is suggestive of the uncertainty about the date of the *Anacreontica* that Grafton adds "[recte 1554]" after Scaliger's "1534".

33 Cf. Nichols (1967: 50); generally on this issue Magnien (1984: 405-406).

them for the press. Or else, Scaliger did not even mean this body of poems to be ‘Anacreontic’ in the beginning and only later reworked it in Anacreontic fashion under Estienne’s influence.

Be this as it may, there is another significant aspect that links Scaliger’s Anacreontics with the pre-Estienne Anacreontic tradition, that is the variability in form. Here, it manifests itself in highly irregular metre. This bizarre form has not been duly assessed to date and would merit an analysis of its own (which I hope to give in another place).³⁴ In the context of this paper I can just describe its outlines: Scaliger writes short lines of 7-13 syllables. The shorter ones, of 7-8 syllables, seem inspired by the hemiambs and anaclasts³⁵ characteristic of CA, and in fact strings of correctly scanned hemiambs and anaclasts occur throughout the collection (with a particular emphasis on the beginning). But the liberties in prosody and metre taken otherwise are such that the impression on the reader is that of free verse. The intriguing thing about this form is that it is not due to ignorance or negligence, but bound up with a bold metaliterary idea, stated in Scaliger’s first Anacreontic (which follows upon the dedicatory poem to Ronsard): the freedom and joy that the poet finds in love, wine, and song cannot be restricted by the boundaries of metre; the latter must be shaken off to give expression to his tumultuous emotions.³⁶ In the very first lines this idea is given authority by Horace’s well-known reference to Anacreon’s unpolished metre (*Epod.* 14.12 *non elaboratum ad pedem*):

*Quis Anacreonta blandum
Mihi quis senem elegantem
Suscitabit ad choreas
Non elaboratum ad pedem? (...)*

Who will stir up for me the pleasant Anacreon, the elegant old man, to a dance according to a not worked out foot.

34 The only sizable accounts of Scaliger’s *Anacreontica* are Magnien (1984) and Kühlmann (1987: 168-171). Neither of them is aware of metrical irregularities. Cf. Bradner (1940: 102-110) for Scaliger’s general boldness in metre and for other Neo-Latin experiments with irregular verse; also see Maddison (1960: 331-335).

35 This could be taken as suggestive of a later date, since the Anacreontic poems contained in the *Anthologia Planudea* are in hemiambs.

36 I can only speculate about potential explanations of Scaliger’s peculiar verse beyond his account ‘from within’. As is clear from his *Poetice* (cf. index s.v. Anacreon), he knew a number of fragments of the real Anacreon from Hephaestion’s *Handbook of Metre*, but none of the metres occurring there are reminiscent of the *Anacreontica*. There is nothing of interest for our context in Dunn (1979).

Interestingly, Estienne cites the same line from Horace in his comment on CA 11 (7), where he makes an excursus on Anacreon's ἀφέλεια,³⁷ the famed “simplicity” of style (1554: 68): *Mira est ἀφέλεια τοῦ λόγου in hoc poeta (...). Unde et Horatius vere de ipso pronunciauit “Qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem / Non elaboratum ad pedem.”* (“There is an amazing simplicity of expression in this poet [...]. Which is why Horace rightly said about him: ‘Who frequently cried about his love with the hollow tortoise-shell, tuned to a not worked out foot.’”) Scaliger’s programmatic quotation of Horace, then, *could* imply a cross-reference to Estienne’s commentary (which would in turn suggest that Scaliger wrote at least the initial poem of his collection in reaction to Estienne), but it does not need to. Horace’s dictum was surely one of the most celebrated pieces of information on Anacreon and could have come easily to any scholar dealing with Anacreontic matters.³⁸ Moreover, Scaliger interprets Horace’s line differently from Estienne. While Estienne takes it as evidence of Anacreon’s ἀφέλεια (reading *non elaboratum ad pedem* as something like “uncomplicated metre”), Scaliger reads it as a hint at Anacreon’s lack of metrical rigour (understanding “negligent metre”) – in fact, the two 16th cent. scholars thus anticipate today’s two main interpretative approaches to Horace’s line.³⁹

Now, in Scaliger, the whole initial poem can be read as an extravagant variation on Horace’s *Epode* 14: Horace explains to Maecenas that he cannot finish (*ad umbilicum adducere*) his epodes (*iambi*) because he has madly fallen in love. To illustrate this point he adduces the example of Anacreon (9-12):

*non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teium,
qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
non elaboratum ad pedem.*

Not otherwise, they say, did burn with love for Samian Bathyllus the Teian Anacreon, who frequently cried about his love with the hollow tortoise-shell, tuned to a not worked out foot.

Horace’s comparison is bewilderingly inconsequential in its details,⁴⁰ but the general idea on which Scaliger picks up is clear enough: the overwhelming emotion of love affects and redirects the process of writing; there is a direct link

37 On the ancient stylistic quality of ἀφέλεια cf. e.g. Bernecker (1992); Rutherford (1998: *passim*). Anacreon is named as an example of ἀφέλεια in Hermogenes of Tarsus’ treatise on types of style (Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.3 [Spengel 322.16; 323.22]). Cf. e.g. Patterson (1970) for Hermogenes’ celebrity in the Renaissance since his editio princeps in 1508.

38 It is also cited, for instance, in Jacob Pontanus’ discussion of Anacreon in his *Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres* (1594: 141-142).

39 Cf. Watson (2003: 447-448), without reference to Estienne or Scaliger. There is some common ground between these two approaches, but their thrust is clearly different. Pontanus (cf. n. 38) is in line with Estienne’s reading.

40 Cf. Watson (2003: 447-449).

between the inner turmoil of feelings and the form of literary expression. Scaliger borrows this idea and pushes it to new limits: he asks the wine-god Lyaeus, the “Solver”, to liberate the Camenae of their yoke and to repeat with free love the age-old rites of singing. No “foot” should restrict the rhythm. It is enough that the mind is “bound” by the heat of Lyaeus. The gloomy Muse should go away. It is the poet’s joy to “limp” and to speak with a “staggering gait”. Enough of servitude, it is now time to play, to sing, to drink, and to kiss (note the bow to Securus). Freedom is priceless.⁴¹

Wilhelm Kühlmann has argued that lines like these suggest the liberating potential of Anacreontic poetry with regard to stifling political and social conventions.⁴² This may be a further implication, but it is not the primary focus of our programmatic poem which is first and foremost a poetics of liberated emotional expression. When Scaliger emphasizes “freedom” he mainly refers to freedom from constraints of language. This point is programmatically made for metre, but the *lusus* extends to bold linguistic creativity in general. We find countless unusual words and neologisms in the *Anacreontica*, from diminutives in the Catullan tradition (e.g. p. 506 *Geminilla papillulae*, / *Eburneola colostella*, / *Lacteola marmorilla* [...]) to daring compounds (e.g. p. 499 *ululocapiterotator*, said of Bacchus). Significantly, Mario Costanzo in his investigation of Scaliger’s linguistic innovations takes his examples chiefly from the *Anacreontica*.⁴³ Scaliger’s playful use of language in this work could also be read against the background of his theory of the epigram as laid out in his *Poetics*: not only can the whole range of language be used in this genre, it is acceptable to break rules and create new words that might even look wrong from a grammatical point of view; such neologisms, soloecisms and barbarisms will stimulate laughter and admiration in the reader.⁴⁴ The example then cited by Scaliger, *domicenium* (“dinner at home”, Mart. 5.78.1) is very similar to many funny compounds found in the *Anacreontica*. Scaliger’s theory of the epigram is all the more pertinent considering that Anacreontic poetry, as discussed above, was often regarded as an epigrammatic form and that Scaliger’s own *Anacreontica* further reinforced this impression with its reflective and pointed style.

41 Cf. Scaliger (1574: I, 473): *Age comites Lyaei / Solvite iugum Camoenis, / Ut amore liberali / Repetamus illa prisca / Concinendi mysteria: / Nec pes cohibeat modos / Qui citatur ad choreas. / Satis inclyti Lyaei est / Animus calore vinctus. / Tetrica hinc facesse Musa. / Claudicare mi iucundum / Titubante gressu fari. / Sat servivimus, sed non sat / Lusimus, ludamus ergo, / Cantillemus et bibamus / Basiemus basiemur. / Precio libertas nullo / Venditur (...).*

42 Cf. Kühlmann (1987: 168-171).

43 Cf. Costanzo (1961); Costanzo parallels Scaliger’s innovations in Latin with those of the Pléiade in French.

44 Cf. *Poetice* 170a, ed. Vogt-Spira/Deitz (1994-2011: III, 206): *Quin etiam non solum nova licet fingere, verum etiam soloecismos aliquando aut barbarismos admittere. Novitas illa vel inoffensa vel interdum distorta excitat vel risum vel admirationem.*

Finally, Scaliger's appetite for innovation also concerns his general approach and the spirit of his *Anacreontica*. Further below I will read later Anacreontics as a series of creative transpositions of the original concept of CA. If Scaliger was somehow dependent on the latter, his *Anacreontica* would certainly qualify for such a creative transposition and it may even be that his re-interpretation encouraged later poets to write their own (and again different) collections of Anacreontics. True, Scaliger's *Anacreontica* revolves around "Bacchus, Venus, Musa, Cupido" (p. 482), but his approach is far from CA in a number of ways. There is a distinct element of Roman elegy or even Petrarchism in the poet's unsuccessful and torturing wooing of his mistresses, who go by the names of Pasicompsa (19 poems; the name recalls the hetaera in Plautus' *Mercator*), Panthea (12 poems), Pasithea (5 poems) and – Neaera (3 poems). Eventually love is always frustrating (e.g. p. 504 *Ecquid miserius vides [...] Pallidulo lucifuga amante?*) and wine never the ultimate solution. Death is constantly on the poet's mind and leads to reflection and despair rather than to enjoying the here and now. In connection with some personal notes on old age and illness this is sometimes reminiscent of existentialist pessimism: on pp. 505-506, for instance, the poet begins with an attack on the "bad commodity, foul old age; the bad thing, transitory life" (*Mala merx, putris senectus / Mala res caduca vita*); he then seems to acknowledge the consolation that is the Muse, but ends with the sardonic questions: "Good Muse, good goddess, why do you yourself cover my worries with your kindness? Why do you paint in green what tomorrow – and even before tomorrow, soon – will be black and bleak?" (*Bona Musa, bona Dea, / Quid teipsa mala nostra / Hac tegis benignitate? / Quid viriditate pingis / Quod cras et ante cras, mox, / Atrum et aridum est futurum?*). It turns out that the powerful emotions that the poet set out to sing without constraints are in fact as painful as joyful. Scaliger loses the easiness of 'Anacreon's' touch, but at the same time includes new and darker registers of human experience. Combined with the relaxed verse the aesthetic effect is sometimes arrestingly close to modern poetry.

4 Estienne's Edition and Early Latin Verse Translations of CA

In my introduction I have singled out just one of Estienne's achievements, the discovery and publication of the Greek CA themselves. Strictly speaking, however, Estienne's merits are twofold, for in addition to the Greek text he also published a Latin translation of 32 pieces which he deemed the most elegant, complete and authentic ones of the collection.⁴⁵ Although some translators of the

45 Cf. Estienne's prefatory letter in his 1556 edition of the Greek bucolic poets, in which he accounts for his partial translation of the *Anacreontica*: *non omnes quidem (...) sed eas tantummodo, quae ut integerrimae, ita etiam elegantissimae videbantur, et e quarum plurimis apud aliquem antiquum auctorem deprompta testimonia reperiebantur.* (Quoted according to O'Brien [1995: 13]) In West's (2013) numeration the poems translated by

Planudean Anacreontea have used hemiambs before him, it was only Estienne's large-scale translation that consistently applied this metre – interestingly even at the cost of the anaclasts which in CA occur almost as frequent as the hemiambs. Perhaps the model of the Planudean Anacreontea (all in hemiambs) was still authoritative enough to influence Estienne's metrical choice. Later translators such as André (1555) and Lubinus (1597), in principle, attempt to render hemiambic poems in hemiambs and anaclastic ones in anaclasts, even if they mix the two metres here and there for convenience.

Estienne's translation lent to CA a distinct Latin look and feel in that he used numerous words and phrases known from Roman poetry.⁴⁶ Often this is unsurprising and simply a side-effect of translating into a time-honoured language in which every word may tell an intertextual story. There are some more remarkable Latin appropriations, however, and Estienne's decision to open the collection with what is now counted as CA 23 is one of the most striking ones:

*Cantem libens Atridas,
Cantem libensque Cadmum:
Sed barbati mihi unum
Nervi sonant amorem (...).*

I would like to sing of Atreus' sons, and I would like to sing of Cadmus, but the strings of my lyre resound only love.

In his commentary, Estienne parallels this *recusatio* with Ovid's programmatic first elegy of the *Amores*, where the poet sets out to sing of war but is prevented by Cupid who steals a "foot" from his metre.⁴⁷ Here, the Ovidian intertext seems to account for the order and for the whole literary programme of Estienne's Anacreontea. True, before the reference to Ovid, Estienne says that his alleged second manuscript (beside the *Anthologia Palatina*) starts with the Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδης poem, but even granted that this can be trusted,⁴⁸ the Ovidian intertext is likely to have influenced Estienne's preference for that order. In addition, the same poem also provides an example of how Latin contexts may come into play even if the translation is pretty verbatim. In his commentary on lines 10-11

Estienne are 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 54, 55. A particular preference can be seen for one of four sources of CA suggested by West, namely source two containing poems 21-34: they are mainly about love, but do not mention Anacreon or Bathyllus. In West's view, they are written with less charm than the first group (1-20), the remaining poems of the third (35-53) and fourth (54-60) source being later and inferior in quality to the first two groups.

46 Cf. O'Brien (1995: 91-124) for a detailed analysis.

47 Cf. Estienne (1554: 65): *Cui non dissimile est a quo primum Amorum librum exorsus est Ovidius. Ut enim hic in lyram suam, ita ille in Cupidinem culpam reiicit ubi ait "Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam / Aedere" etc.* One could argue that the hemiambs are missing part of an (iambic) foot as well, but Estienne does not say this.

48 Cf. above n. 5.

(χαίρουτε λοιπὸν ἡμῖν, / ἦρωες, “as for me, henceforth farewell you heroes”), Estienne compares a similar context of *recusatio* in Ovid’s *Amores* 2.1.35-36 ([...] *heroum clara valete / nomina*, “farewell, famous names of heroes”). Compare this with his rendering of the Greek lines: *Heroes ergo longum / Mihi valete*.⁴⁹ We cannot take for granted that Estienne’s translation is actually influenced by Ovid, but since he explicitly cites the Ovidian passage, it was clearly present in his mind and the link was established for later readers. Through Estienne’s translation, then, CA became part of the larger tradition of Latin poetry. As such, it was a seminal text for subsequent Latin translations and adaptations.

The first full translation of CA was again in Latin. It was published by the humanist Elie André (1509-1587) from Bordeaux, who was friendly with the Parisian circle around the Pléiade. André’s translation appeared less than a year after Estienne’s edition and comprised the Latin translation only, without the Greek text. In a way, this can be taken as a signal that the Latin tradition was coming into its own. Accordingly, André makes some bolder choices in his translation,⁵⁰ which already shows in his first lines (1555: Aii^r):

*Cantare nunc Atridas,
Nunc expetesso Cadmum:
Testudo vero nervis
Solum refert Amorem (...).*

In classical Latin, the verb *expetessere* is used only by Plautus (and it is extremely rare in postclassical Latin). This brings a somewhat odd ring of comedy to the poem. Here, and in a number of other places, the translator wishes to strike his readers with an unusual turn of phrase or by some sort of amplification. He does not just imitate ‘Anacreon’, but also competes with him (as arguably with Estienne’s translation). André’s willingness to adapt the original text shows also in a certain moralistic tendency not otherwise seen in Latin translations. On the one hand, he openly and avowedly changes the text when it comes to unequivocal references to homosexuality:⁵¹ in CA 12 (10).8-10 (τί μεν καλῶν ὀνείρων [...] ἀφήρπασας Βάθυλλον; “Why from my sweet dreams [...] have you snatched away Bathyllus?”), for instance, he replaces Bathyllus with a *puella* (*Cur mane somnianti / Ista loquacitate / Mihi eripis puellam?*), similarly to what Crinito did in his epigram cited above; in CA 29 (17).1-2 (Γράφε μοι Βάθυλλον οὖτω / τὸν ἑταῖρον ὡς διδάσκω, “Paint for me thus Bathyllus, my lover, just as I instruct you”) he simply suppresses the word ἑταῖρον, “lover” (*Mihi pinge sic Bathyllum /*

49 Cf. O’Brien (1995: 95-98).

50 Cf. O’Brien (1995: 125-154) for a detailed analysis.

51 Cf. André’s preface to Pierre Mondoré, the librarian of the royal library (1v): *Duobus aut tribus omnino in locis obscenitatis tegendae gratia pusillum quiddam immutavi, aut praeterii.*

Veluti docebo, pictor; Estienne's translation is: *Meos Bathyllum amores, / Ut te docebo pinge*). Here, André proceeds in a way similar to the original Neo-Latin Anacreontics, in which homosexual love simply does not occur.

On the other hand, André makes generous use of a metatextual element which is less conspicuous than his changes, but is even more extensive and significant. He includes a considerable number of passages in quotation marks and thus identifies them as sort of *sententiae*. In CA 4 (32), for instance, lines 1-6 describe how the poet wishes to lie down on myrtles, drink, and have Eros as his wine steward. This description of a specific setting is followed by some more general lines about the brevity of life, which André includes in quotation marks (lines 7-10): "*Cita nanque currit aetas, / Rota ceu voluta currus. / Sed et ossibus solutis / Iaceam cinis necesse est*" ("For hurried life runs along just like a rolling wheel, but I shall soon lie, a bit of dust from crumbling bones").⁵² The focus of this quotation technique is on lines concerned with the transitory nature of life, the uncertainty of tomorrow, and the futility of riches. By marking out such lines as *sententiae*, André distinguishes Anacreon the philosopher from Anacreon the drinker and lover and contributes to a larger discourse about the morality of the poet and his poems. While opinions in antiquity were often critical of Anacreon's morals,⁵³ 'Anacreon's' large flock of modern imitators was united to defend their hero's virtue. From Estienne's preface onwards they usually referred to Plato's *Phaedrus* 235c, where Socrates calls Anacreon "wise" (σοφός) in matters concerned with Eros. In the 18th century, Anacreon, the philosopher, could even turn into a key-image of enlightened discourses.⁵⁴ André's identification of *sententiae* in 'Anacreon' prepared for this development and could have had a direct influence on it since his translation was widely read until well into the 18th century.

The Latin translations of Estienne and André soon became classics in themselves and were the most successful ones in the early modern period.⁵⁵ Still, a third Latin translation, published in 1597 by the Rostock based humanist and professor Eilhard Lubinus (Eilhard Lübben; 1565-1621), also proved influential because of its wedding of poetic form and literal translation. Lubinus dedicates his translation to Bogislaw XIV (1580-1637) and George II (1582-1617), two sons of Bogislaw XIII, Duke of Pomerania (1544-1606). They were then 17 and 15 years old respectively, and Greek was part of their educational curriculum. In his dedicatory letter, Lubinus refers to this fact and argues that his translation will be particularly useful for the young princes – as for all students of CA – because it renders the original text word for word and line by line. In fact, Lubinus draws

52 Cf. CA 4 (32).7-10: τροχός ἄρματος γὰρ οἷα / βίωτος τρέχει κυλισθεῖς, / ὀλίγη δὲ κεισόμεσθα / κόνις ὁστέων λυθέντων.

53 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 15-22).

54 Cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 83-89); Beetz/Kertscher (2007).

55 Large parts of them were reprinted for their own sake in Jan Gruter's collection of contemporary Latin poets from France; cf. for André Gruter (1609: I, 75-89); for Estienne ibid. (III, 890-909). For examples of later receptions until the 18th century cf. further below in the present section.

attention to this characteristic of his translation as early as the title page (*ut versus versui, & verbum verbo paene respondeat*). In this way, readers would be able to compare the Greek and the Latin text (which are printed side by side) and get a better idea of the work. Lubinus is aware that his effort at a literal translation falls behind the charm of the original Greek, but he argues that not even the freer translations of Estienne and André could compete with that.⁵⁶ Clearly, Lubinus privileges the source language over the target language and moves away from the idea that the translation could speak for itself. He could be seen as a forerunner of later, more scholarly and philological, approaches to CA. It is important to keep in mind, however, that Lubinus' translation is still in verse and provides a quite attractive, simple and unpretentious, rendering of the Greek text (1597: two pages after A3r):

*Volo sonare Atridas,
Volo sonare Cadmum,
Sed barbatus mihi unum
Nervis refert amorem (...).*

Precisely because of this plain elegance Lubinus' translation was widely read and arguably even influenced the stylistic debate revolving around Anacreontic "simplicity" in later periods (on which I shall say more below).

As far as I can see, Lubinus' is the last Latin verse translation of CA which made a real difference in literary history.⁵⁷ After that, we find a number of prose translations in editions made for scholarly purposes only. Friedrich Hermann Flayder (1596-1640) seems to be the first in this series. In the preface of his 1622 edition, he wonders that 'Anacreon' has not received more academic attention after Estienne's editio princeps. To remedy this shortcoming, he provides not only a Greek text but also critical analects from a number of scholars such as Scaliger, Casaubon, and Heinsius. The literal Latin prose translation (*versio pedestris ad verbum*) facing the Greek text is part of this critical project. The fact that Flayder also reprints the translations of Estienne and André confirms their lasting authority,⁵⁸ but is here motivated by an attempt to collect all relevant materials

56 Cf. Lubinus (1597: A2r-v): *At vero illorum [sc. Anacreontis poematorum] ingeniosam elegantiam et dulcedinem mirificam quod minus feliciter secutus et assecutus sim, veniam meo iure promereor, cum Henrico Stephano, Eliae Andraeae aliisque longissimo intervallo me doctoribus illud fuerit negatum.*

57 I do not know of any Latin verse translations of CA for the next 100 years (cf. n. 58 below for what seems to be the next example). Later Latin verse translations (e.g. Maittaire [1725]; Trapp [1742]) remained inconsequential.

58 Cf. also Triller (1698), who reprints the translations of Estienne, André, and Lubinus. In addition, Triller's title seems to refer to a Latin translation of his own in *genere Sapphico* (Sapphic stanzas?). I have not yet been able to see this book. Only one copy seems to have survived. It can be found in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, but its poor condition does not allow any form of reproduction. Zeman (1972: 54) declared Triller's volume lost, and there is practically no information on it in secondary literature.

rather than by drawing attention to Latin verse translations as poetry. Later major editions like Baxter (1695) and Barnes (1705) do not reprint any earlier Latin translations and just provide a prose translation facing the Greek text.

Now, what can be said about the function and impact of these Latin translations? On a first level, they served to introduce CA to a large international audience not always capable of or willing to read the Greek text. Very few were as entrenched in Greek studies as Estienne⁵⁹ and some of his friends of the Pléiade. There are many examples of vernacular Anacreontic poets, especially in the 17th century, who based their imitations and adaptations on Latin translations (sometimes alongside French ones).⁶⁰ Many more have used Latin translations in addition to the Greek text and/or other vernacular translations, as has been argued for the *Anacreontiques* of Cowley.⁶¹ This function of Latin translations as an easily accessible intermediary between the Greek text and the vernaculars (or simply as classic versions among others) is significant but also fairly obvious, and it does not need to be discussed here in any detail.

A less manifest but more intriguing function of Latin verse translations is their potential stylistic impact on vernacular translations and adaptations. A detailed analysis of this impact on a comprehensive textual basis would be too big a topic for this paper. I would like, rather, to focus on a particularly striking example. It emerged at a moment when the elementary form of Latin Anacreontic poetry, its metre and its rhymeless verse, inspired in some critics ideas about a new literary style. This moment occurred in early 18th cent. Germany and in the context of larger ambitions to free German literature of what was seen as mannered and stifling baroque poetics. Writers aimed at a new simplicity, and often the imitation of the ancient classics was seen as a way to realize this goal (there is shared ground here with the literary programme of the Pléiade in 16th cent. France). As far as ‘Anacreon’ is concerned, the first to discuss him in this context was the classicist Johann Friedrich Christ (1701-1756), at the time an academic teacher in Halle (Saale).⁶² The professed intention of his essay *Veneres Anacreonticae carmine Latino elegiaco expressae* (*The Charms of Anacreon expressed in Latin elegiacs*) of 1727 was to promote the simple grace of

59 Estienne’s prefatory letter of 1556 (cf. above, n. 45) demonstrates that he himself thought of the Greekless among his audience: *Ut autem etiam Graecae linguae ignaris commodarem, easdem [sc. Anacreontis odas] Latinas factas cum Graecis copulavi.*

60 Cf. e.g. for England Baumann (1974: 31 and 41 [general picture], 43 [Barnabe Barnes], 50 [Barton Holyday], 55-56 [Robert Herrick]); for Italy Michelangeli (1922: 182-185 [Michelangelo Torcigliani; Francesco Antonio Cappone; Bartolommeo Corsini], 196 [Paolo Rolli], 239 [Andrea Maffei]); for Germany Zeman (1972: 51 [August Augspurger]). In Germany we have the special situation that popular Latin Anacreontics like Friedrich Taubmann’s (see below) started a tradition of their own and often eclipsed Latin translations of CA.

61 Cf. Revard (1991).

62 Cf. Zeman (1972: 84 and 89-92); for his programmatic imitation of the classics cf. Christ (1727: 159): *Discimus inde profecto veram eloquentiam, veram sermonis concinnitatem, cum antiquos imitamur, ut ex Anacreonte veros sales, veram epigrammatis venerem.*

‘Anacreon’ as a stylistic model, especially in contrast with the rhetorically overloaded form of bucolic poetry which held much of the 17th century under its spell.⁶³ Quite paradoxically, however, Christ first praises the rather laboured French verse translation by Antoine de la Fosse (*Traduction nouvelle des odes d’Anacréon*, Paris 1704), popular with contemporaries, and tries his own hand at an amplifying Latin paraphrase of some pieces of CA in elegiac couplets (announced in the title of the essay).⁶⁴ Clearly, these examples defeat Christ’s own purpose. The really interesting part for my point is his postscriptum. Only after he had finished his essay, he claims, did he come across the Latin translations of Estienne and André. Christ is fascinated by their way of translating in the original form and gives this procedure his preference over both de la Fosse and his own attempts.⁶⁵ The only fault he finds with Estienne and André is that their translations are too close to the Greek text as to render its “loveliness” (*venustas*). Christ therefore goes on to provide a specimen of an adequate Latin paraphrase in the original form:

*Canam libens Atridas,
Canam repente Cadmum.
Sed accinunt amorem
Toni lyrae rebelles (...).*

Christ manages to combine a comparatively free and playful translation with the original metre. But the truly remarkable thing about this translation is that it is written as a model for German writing contemporary poets (*nostrates poetae*).⁶⁶ Both the liberty in recreating Anacreon’s charm and the respect for his form will

63 Cf. Christ (1727: 140): *Bene factum erit, si sentiant inde nostrates poetae Anacreontici carminis veram pulchritudinem, probam antiquorum ingenuam et expolitam Venerem, ne sectentur ultra prae urbanitate hirtam illam suam et silvestrem generis hircini, quae undique aculeata tum demum placet illis hominibus, si pupugerit. Sic enim volunt argutam et acuminis plenam poesin, cassa veri crepundia. Illam contra, cui nobilis ea simplicitas et veritas constat, frigidam putant atque nullius pretii (...).* For the enthusiasm for bucolic poetry in 17th cent. Germany cf. e.g. the activities of the ‘Pegnesischer Blumenorden’, whose members (including prominent poets such as Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Johann Klaj, and Sigmund von Birken) assumed the names of shepherds and were also called ‘Pegnitzschäfer’ (cf. e.g. Jürgensen [1994]).

64 Cf. the first lines of the translation of de Fosse: “De Cadmus et de fils d’Atrée / En vain je veux chanter les noms. / Ma lyre aux Amours consacrée / Ne me rend que d’amoureux sons (...);” and Christ’s imitation of the same lines in elegiac couplets: *Cantarem Cadmum, cantarem Agamemnona saevum, / Ni chelys a querulo suesset amante teri. / Asperiora ciens, nervos licet arte retentem, / Alcidasque canam fortia facta trucis: / Lene tamen chelys obstrepit, et mihi reddit amorem (...).*

65 Cf. Christ (1727: 151-152): *Utraque (sc. versio) nostros quidem lusus, ut et Fossaei, in eo haud dubie vincit, quod ad severas perfectae interpretationis leges maiore adcuracione exacta est. Anacreontis dicta exhibens non modo eodem metro, atque tot quot ille versibus, sed pene tot verbis atque syllabis.*

66 Cf. n. 63 above.

be seen later in the – equally Halle based – German Anacreontic poets of the 18th century.⁶⁷ Given the local proximity and the shared interest in Anacreon it is very likely that they knew Christ's essay. If they did not, they surely would have known the leading literary theorist of the time, Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766).

When Gottsched published his *Versuch einer Übersetzung Anacreons in reimlose Verse* (*Attempt at a translation of Anacreon in rhymeless verse*, 1733) he did not acknowledge his debt to Christ. This debt is clear, however, from the way in which Gottsched cites material quoted in Christ's essay.⁶⁸ Gottsched also shares the same basic tenet that the natural simplicity ("natürliche Einfalt", p. 159) of 'Anacreon's' verse provides an excellent case to help shape a new style in German poetry by imitating the classics. The focus of attention, however, has shifted away from 'Anacreon's' "loveliness" and "charm" towards formal aspects like metre and rhyme. The question of rhyme, a hotly debated issue in German literary theory of the time, is a new aspect that Gottsched brings to the discussion.⁶⁹ While Gottsched had made some general advances against rhyme in German poetry before, he now felt that CA was particularly suited to pointing out the advantages of rhymeless verse. He argues that both the use of completely different metres and of rhyme have distorted the verse of Anacreon's followers in various languages; close imitation is the condition for an adequate understanding of Anacreon's spirit.⁷⁰ And indeed, Gottsched's sample translations of the first three pieces of CA (23, 24, 33) were the closest German equivalent to the Anacreontic form up to that point (p. 160):

Ich will zwar die Atriden
 Ich will den Cadmus preisen:
 Doch meiner Leyer Seyten
 Ertönen nur von Liebe (...).

Critics then and now have been pleased by the aesthetic effect of Gottsched's German Anacreontea. Their success inspired in their author a brief spell of further rhymeless poetry⁷¹ and their influence on the later German Anacreontic poetry,

67 Cf. the contribution of R. Höschele in this volume.

68 Cf. Zeman (1972: 95); generally on Gottsched's *Versuch* *ibid.* (92-96).

69 Cf. e.g. Schuppenhauer (1970); on Gottsched's opinions about rhyme *ibid.* (140-152).

70 Cf. Gottsched (1733: 163): "Es trägt nemlich dieser äusserliche Wohlklang sehr viel zu der Artigkeit eines solchen Stückes bey, und drücket die Gemüthsart des Urhebers viel genauer aus, als alle übrige Gattungen der Verse." Gottsched renders hemiambs in an identical German metrical pattern; as the closest and, at the same time, most natural equivalent of anacalsts he prefers German trochaic dimeters (which can, in fact, be read as if they were anacalsts). The same metres are then predominantly used in subsequent German Anacreontic poetry (cf. Koch [1893: 498]).

71 Cf. Schuppenhauer (1970: 149-150); among other things, Gottsched translated also CA 4-6 (32, 44, 43) in the same style. He (re-)published all his translations of CA in Gottsched (1736: 639-644).

which bloomed around the middle of the century, is acknowledged in the seminal full translation *Die Oden Anakreons in reimlosen Versen (The Odes of Anacreon in Rhymeless Verse, 1746)* by Johann Nikolaus Götz and Johann Peter Uz.⁷² It is little known, however, that Gottsched himself probably modelled his German Anacreontea on Lubinus' Latin translation. As with Christ on a theoretical level, Gottsched does not acknowledge the practical model of Lubinus, but Zeman's argument here is convincing.⁷³ Not only does Gottsched's translation match Lubinus' quite closely, Gottsched himself draws attention to Lubinus in the following number of his *Beyträge* (6 [1733]: 363-364). There, he claims that an anonymous friend – in paratextual contexts such friends are often enough invented – has pointed him later to Lubinus' translation, of which he now prints the first three pieces. This version of the story is difficult to believe, not least because there is a pattern in Gottsched's *Versuch* of covering up his sources to maximize his originality. The choice of Lubinus seems to have been suggested by the fact that Christ was referring only to Estienne and André, which left the third widely read Latin translation, Lubinus', available for stealthy exploitation. It was a very fitting choice, however, because Lubinus' literal yet elegant translation anticipated in Latin Gottsched's ideas about the close imitation of 'Anacreon' in German.

The upshot relevant to my discussion is implied in Zeman's argument, but it is worth making it explicit here: Latin translations of CA could serve as a model of appropriation, as the first and exemplary imitation that helped to shape the form and spirit of further imitations. The attempts of Christ and Gottsched to promote a new style in German poetry on the model of Latin translations of CA is an outstanding example because their advances met with huge success. While it is unclear to what extent Latin models were immediately relevant to the later German Anacreontic poets, the latter's production may have looked different without those models because they had already conditioned the then modern and progressive technique of imitating CA.

72 Cf. Götz and Uz' preface (unpaginated): "Damit nun diesen Liedern oder vielmehr diesen anmuthigen Gemälden im Nachbilde ihr Glantz, ihr zärtliches und lachendes Wesen, ihr sanftes und beynahe göttliches Feuer nicht benommen werden möchte, sondern ihre allgemeine Macht auf das menschliche Hertz so viel möglich ungeschwächt bliebe, hat man sich das Joch des Reimes vom Hals geschüttelt, wie der Herr Professor Gottsched zuerst gethan hat, in dessen Verdeutschung einiger Oden Anakreons die Jonischen Gratien ihren Dichter nicht verlassen haben." Götz and Uz' translation itself is indebted to Gottsched's, cf. e.g. their first four lines with Gottsched's translation quoted above: "Ich möchte die Atriden, / Ich möcht auch Cadmum preisen. / Doch meiner Leyer Saiten / Erthönen bloß von Liebe." Cf. furthermore Koch (1893: 496-502).

73 Cf. Zeman (1972: 94-95).

5 Neo-Latin Anacreontics: A Series of Transpositions and Inversions

My last section is dedicated to original Latin Anacreontics written after the publication of Estienne's edition. As I said above, the uncertain date of Scaliger's *Anacreontica* leaves open whether they, too, could be discussed under this heading. In any case they are the first body of original Latin Anacreontics and they share with later Anacreontics a basic technique of filling the traditional form with new content. However, the further tradition is not necessarily dependent on Scaliger, at least not always or to a large extent. The first substantial collection of Anacreontics after Scaliger, Johannes Aurbach's *Anacreonticorum Odae* of 1570, was published four years before the actual publication of Scaliger's *Anacreontica*. No Latin Anacreontic poet after Estienne played with metre as Scaliger did, and the whole approach of later Anacreontics is widely different from Scaliger's lament of a lonely lyric voice.

By contrast, a good part of the Anacreontics after Scaliger is characterized by its *Sitz im Leben* and the fact that individual poems are addressed to persons known to the writer. This is also very much in contrast with the ancient CA, whose fictional world beyond any particular time and space has been well described by Patricia Rosenmeyer.⁷⁴ One could say that the more or less monologic exploration of personal happiness in CA springs to new dialogic life in many Neo-Latin Anacreontics.⁷⁵ These innovations can be traced back to the Catullan and epigrammatic traditions which were thriving in the decades before Estienne's edition and had a long-lasting influence on style and content of Anacreontics even afterwards. The poems of humanists like More, Marullo, or Crinito are full of small and cheerful compositions, often in short lines like the acatalectic iambic dimeter, addressed to their relatives, friends and patrons. Against this background, it is not surprising that the kindred form of CA was adapted for similar uses in a network of friendship diplomacy. The first known instances of this transformation are two Anacreontics published just one year after Estienne's edition in a collection of poems of Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584).⁷⁶ In the first one, addressed to the Venetian printer and humanist Paulus Manutius, Sambucus gives fresh heart to his friend who was ill at the time and unable to work on a planned publication of a certain work dealing with Roman history, probably the *Antiqui-*

74 Cf. e.g. Rosenmeyer (1992: 109-111 and 233); for potential performative contexts in antiquity cf. *ibid.* (125 with n. 40).

75 Intriguingly, this characteristic is shared by a number of Byzantine Anacreontics (cf. Nissen [1940]; a modern commented edition of some pieces can be found in Ciccolella [2000], cf. there esp. the examples of Leo Magister, John of Gaza, and George the Grammarian). There is no evidence, however, that Byzantine Anacreontics were known to the Neo-Latin poets who shaped the further Anacreontic tradition. This may be somewhat different with Christian Neo-Latin Anacreontics, which emerge in the 17th century (cf. further below).

76 Cf. Sambucus (1555: 22v-23r and 23v-24r).

tatum Romanarum liber de legibus (Venice 1557).⁷⁷ In the second Anacreontic poem, Sambucus invites another friend, the German mathematician and cartographer Philipp Apian, to Padua where Sambucus was attending university at the time.

The first post-Estienne collection of Anacreontics as a work in its own right is Johannes Aurpach's (1531-1582) *Anacreonticorum Odae* of 1570.⁷⁸ Perhaps it is significant that Aurpach was a fellow student of Sambucus in Padua. In any case he was steeped in the humanist tradition of epigrammatic and Catullan poetry, as two collections of his poems show.⁷⁹ But his 33 Anacreontic poems cannot be accounted for just by a combination of that humanist tradition and CA. They differ from anything written before in the Anacreontic form because of their variety in subject and their character of a poetic diary: the individual poems are like snapshots of Aurpach's life and their collection results in a sort of Anacreontic autobiography, at least for the few years in which these pieces were written. In addition, some of the pieces, particularly those on family members are unusually intimate: Aurpach advises one of his sons about his future education (2; with the ironic conclusion that the son should go for the quick money), thanks his wife for all the help and support she has given to him (3: [...] *Es anchora, atque firma, / Qua fulcior, columna, / Quaque anchora, et columna / Si debeam carere, / Hac decidam repente / Sub sarcina, necesse est*), laments the death of his toddler daughter (7: [...] *Iam noverat parentes / Suos, suas sorores, / Iam mille gaudiorum / Matri suae ferebat, / Ac per suos tenella / Nutus mihi innuebat, / Cum fata acerba nobis / Haec omnia abstulerunt*), and asks the Muses to take care of a newly-born son (9). Other addressees are a number of friends (who are, for instance, collectively invited to the poet's birthday party in 12, and reminded of their well-wishing in 23), patrons (e.g. the dedicatee of the whole collection and at the same time Aurpach's employer, the Prince-Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, in 1 and 7), and the Muses (25 and 33, the latter poem being a goodbye to them because the poet returns to more serious *negotia*: *Dulces valete Musae, / Valete Anacreontis / Modi venustiores [...]*). There is also a poem addressed to himself (27, giving a medical indication for his preference for wine over water) and a number of pieces on types (e.g. 19, on the miserly and those lacking appreciation for the arts). The only poem which would *not* surprise us in CA is a witty amatory ode to one Megilla (15: *Formose candidarum / Flos virginum Megilla, / [...] Quid est papaveratis / Ut vestibus tegare, / Cum proprio, Megilla, / Sat fulgeas nitore*, "Beautiful Megilla, flower of the white maidens [...] Why do you cover yourself with poppy-white clothes, Megilla, when you shine

77 Cf. Sambucus (1555: 22v): *Aldum febris sodalem / Urit meum, perennes / Ergo dolet labores / Non posse perpolire (...)*. Paulus is called "Aldus" because of his father, Aldus Manutius, and because of the Aldine Press which the family was running.

78 On Aurpach cf. e.g. Ellinger (1929-1933: II, 210-224); Zeman (1972: 23-25); commented selection of texts in Kühlmann/Seidel/Wiegand (1997: 653-677 and 1336-1350).

79 Cf. Aurpach (1554) and (1557).

enough with your own splendor”). Still, the debt to ‘Anacreon’ is always made clear, by the metrical form, by explicit references to Anacreon (cf. in addition to the last, valedictory, poem 33 e.g. the first one which refers to the “lovely rhythms of the Teian”, *Teii venustos [...] modos*), and even by variation of well-known motifs, like the painter specialized in erotic subjects (cf. CA 28 [16], 29 [17], 49 [3]): in 13, the poet asks his servant to call for a painter so he could be portrayed together with his beloved (whoever that may be: *Cupio meos amores, / Et me simul capaci / Depingier tabella [...]*).

Aurpach’s autobiographical approach to Anacreontic poetry is innovative and his poems’ *Sitz im Leben* was arguably an inspiration for the subsequent tradition of occasional Anacreontics. But how was he able to reinvent the form in the way he did? Some hints can be gathered from his dedicatory letter to Prince-Bishop Urban. Aurpach refers to the “sweetness” and “elegance” of Anacreon. Both qualities fascinate him to the point that Anacreon (or rather an edition of Anacreon) has been his constant companion when on travels and away from his library, namely the periods when his poems were written.⁸⁰ Their publication is also meant to encourage further poets to imitate this kind of writing, not least because it will exercise their linguistic range: for if one tries to express one’s mind vigorously in those short lines, it will always be challenging and instructive to find the appropriate words.⁸¹ The idea that the Anacreontic form prompts linguistic creativity – a point that can safely be extended to the poetics of all Neo-Latin Anacreontics – is not totally different from Scaliger’s *lusus*, even if the respective realizations are. Perhaps more importantly, both poets try to give dynamic expression to their mind and thus anticipate a fairly modern looking poetics. Aurpach desires that Anacreontic poetry directly reflect the mind of the writer (*mentis suae intentionem*) with a certain “vigour” (*energia*).⁸² Add to this the “sweetness” and “elegance” such personal expression can find in the Anacreontic form and this goes at least some way to explaining Aurpach’s individual approach.

The influence of Aurpach on later Anacreontic poets is difficult to judge. His work must have enjoyed a certain success, as can be seen from the fact that Johann Engerd (1546-1587), a contemporary professor of poetry at the University

80 Aurpach (1570: A2r): (...) *ad imitationem Anacreontis Teii, antiquissimi poetae Graeci, odas hasce sum meditatus, cum quod eius autoris lectione et ob carminis genus suavissimum et dictionis praecipue puritatem ac elegantiam tantopere oblectarer, ut perpetuum eum comitem mecum habuerim, tum etiam ut eius temporis, quo abs libris meis abesse oportuit, vel mediocre saltem fructum caperem (...)*.

81 Cf. Aurpach (1570: A3r): *Nec erit haec exercitatio nullius omnino frugis, cum ad hoc, ut mentis suae intentionem quis tam minutis Versiculis eleganter, et cum energia quadam exprimat, et Graecae et Latinae linguae penetralia subeat, ac exquisita ad eam concinnitatem vocabula, quae alias forte observasset nunquam, conquirat, ac sibi familiaria reddat, necesse est.*

82 For ἐνέργεια / *energia* as stylistic quality (“vigour”) cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1411b28, followed by Demetr. *Eloc.* 81; furthermore Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.89; Porphyrio (p. 154, 22) on Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.11; id. (p. 199, 25) on *Epod.* 7.15.

of Ingolstadt, translated it into German.⁸³ But again, as with Scaliger, it cannot be said that Aurbach shaped a tradition. No-one repeated Aurbach's particular autobiographic approach, and we must keep in mind that the Anacreontic form always remained open to individual re-invention, sometimes closer to and sometimes farther removed from CA. Only two years after Aurbach, for instance, Michael Haslob, then professor of poetry at the University of Frankfurt (Oder), included a number of very different Anacreontics in a collection of poems called *Hortus vernus*.⁸⁴ They are comparatively elevated, lyrical, impressions of nature in spring, without a particular situational context.⁸⁵ It could be argued, however, that Aurbach made the very idea of collections of Latin Anacreontics more familiar, at least in Germany, the only country where a substantial amount of such collections was produced after Scaliger.⁸⁶

Still, the most influential poet (even if not the most interesting from a literary perspective) in the further development of Latin Anacreontics was not Aurbach but the professor of poetry in Wittenberg, Friedrich Taubmann (1565-1613).⁸⁷ His collection *Anacreon Latinus* was published twice in larger collections of his poetry: first in the *Melodaesia sive epulum musaeum* (1597: 123-142; with reprints in 1604 and 1615); then, with a number of new pieces, in the *Schediasmata poetica innovata* (1619: 482-522). To account for the impact of this collection it is important to know that Taubmann was a brilliant teacher and a social sensation on account of his notorious humour. Anecdotes from and about him circulated during the whole 17th century; they were published in 1703 as *Taubmanniana* and saw numerous new editions in the following decades; a re-worked edition came out as late as 1831.⁸⁸ Taubmann was close to and supported by the elector of Saxony, at whose court he was a frequent guest and entertainer. He was known at court by the semi-official title of "merry counselor" ("kurzweiliger Rat"), and modern studies often compare his 'office' to that of a

83 This was the only contemporary German translation of any Neo-Latin collection of poetry. It was planned as a practical illustration to Engerd's (lost) treatise on German metrics. Consequently, Engerd translates Aurbach's poems into a great variety of metres (cf. Englert [1902]). According to Jantz (1966: 408-409) Engerd's translations are also the first examples of German lyric poetry as purely literary form emancipated from music.

84 Cf. Zeman (1972: 27-29); generally on Haslob Ellinger (1929-1933: II, 320-336); on the *Hortus vernus* *ibid.* (328-330).

85 Cf. e.g. Haslob (1572: A3r-v): *Cadunt nives, et imber / Recedit, at sub orbem / Redit serenus aer (...)*, with a certain echo of CA 37 (46).

86 Another factor in this geographical focus may be that the use of Latin as a literary language held up longer in the German speaking countries than in most other Western European areas (cf. the figures in Waquet [1998: 102-106]). For a rare example of a collection of Latin Anacreontics from England cf. Leech (1620).

87 On Taubmann and his 'school' cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 29-31); generally Ebeling (1883).

88 Cf. *Taubmanniana* (1703); Oertel (1831).

court jester or even court fool.⁸⁹ Clearly, Taubmann's persona was looming large in Saxony and beyond, and this no doubt helped to spread his poetry. Most of the more significant Latin and German Anacreontic poets of the following decades were in some form part of a network of his students or students of his students.⁹⁰ The intrinsic literary quality of Taubmann's Anacreontics can hardly live up to this fame, but there are some interesting pieces among them and perhaps they should not be judged by literary standards alone. All of them are occasional poems and addressed to friends and patrons. The focus is on Anacreontic epithalamia, a genre that Taubmann may have introduced to Neo-Latin Anacreontics and which in any case became a real fad after him.⁹¹ Suffice it to touch on two remarkable examples:⁹²

The first one is the epithalamium to one Georg Müller, perhaps Taubmann's former printer in Leipzig of the same name, with whom he published a collection of poems entitled *Columbae poeticae* (1594; *columbae* being a play on Taubmann's name, "dove-man"). The poem is addressed to a *puella*, told to come to the bedroom, and is divided in parts by the refrain *Sic flagitat Cupido, / Sic imperat Cythere / Sic exigunt poetae* ("This demands Cupid, this commands Cythera, this exact the poets"). The self-conscious reference to the "poets" could have made readers aware that this poem is a joke on the conventionality of (Anacreontic) love poetry. The same impression could be given by the accumulation of bizarre attributes characterizing the beauty of the *puella* (although similar things can be read in much of 17th cent. 'baroque' poetry): *O succiplena virgo, / O virgo succiplena. / Cui sacchar ex ocellis, / Et nectar e labellis, / Et ros it e papillis* ("O sappy virgin, o virgin sappy; sugar flows from your little eyes, and nectar from your little lips, and dew from your nipples"). The repetition of the same line with a simple inversion of noun and attribute, as in the first two lines here, is a favourite device of Taubmann, but it is often unclear whether this is just

89 Ebeling's (1883) still unsurpassed monograph on Taubmann appeared as part of a multi-volume project *Zur Geschichte der Hofnarren*. Midelfort (1999: 270-275) discusses Taubmann as an "artificial fool" in a chapter on "Court fools and their folly".

90 Cf. for this 'Taubmann connection' Zeman (1972: 39, 42, 52-53, 321 n. 48). Two of the most prominent Anacreontic poets among Taubmann's students were Caspar Barth (on whom I say more below) and August Buchner (who wrote in German). It is also indicative of Taubmann's influence that his title *Anacreon Latinus* is picked up by a number of following Anacreontic poets, e.g. Meibom (1600); Alard (1613); Hudemann (1625: 121-142); Zuber (1627: 591).

91 Cf. Zeman (1972: 31, 321-322 n. 58, 371). Taubmann may have known one of Claudian's epithalamia (*Carm.* 12 = *Fesc.* 2) whose stanzas are composed by three anacreontics and a tetrameter choriambic. Claudian, however, does not refer to Anacreon or show any awareness of being part of a distinctly Anacreontic tradition. Note also that some 18th and 19th cent. editions of CA contain an Anacreontic epithalamium (θεάων ἄνασσα, Κύπρι [...]) in their appendix. Of course this is not a genuine part of CA. The epithalamium comes from Theodorus Prodromus' dialogue Ἀμάροντος ἢ Γέροντος ἔρωτες, first edited in 1625.

92 Cf. Taubmann (1597: 125-142). These poems are reprinted by Ebeling (1883: 256-291) as part of a larger selection of Taubmann's playful Latin poems (ibid. pp. 221-331).

boring or a parody of boring verse. Bad taste seems at its height when it comes to the countless Christian children (literally “six-hundred sons and six-hundred daughters”) that the bride is supposed to give birth to: *Exclude copiosae / Mihi germinilla prolis, / Sexcenta filiorum, / Sexcenta filiarum: / Ut Christiana plebes, / Subinde masculino, / Subinde feminino / Multiplicetur auctu*. For a modern reader this epithalamium, like other pieces of Taubmann, constantly verges on the ridiculous, and the poet’s personality nourishes doubts about its serious intentions. Perhaps Kühlmann is right in pointing to the larger tradition of impudent jokes made at social events like weddings.⁹³ Such jokes in the tradition of the Roman *versus fescennini* were even recommended by Scaliger for the genre of the epithalamium (*Poetice* 150b, ed. Vogt-Spira/Deitz [1994-2011: III, 66]: *Intermiscetur vero etiam ioci petulantiores, quae ab antiquis Fescennina carmina dicebantur*). If the embarrassment of the couple was the real goal of Taubmann’s Anacreontic epithalamia – for instance at a performance of them at the event – they were surely a success.

The Anacreontic poem for which Taubmann was most remembered is his epithalamium to Paul Schede Melissus (1539-1602), then almost universally regarded as the *princeps* of German poets.⁹⁴ Although Melissus did not himself compose Anacreontic poetry to any noticeable extent, he knew it very well,⁹⁵ shared some of its poetics, and helped spread it in Germany. He will have been pleased when Taubmann presented to him an Anacreontic epithalamium for his late wedding with the 18 years old Emilie Jordan in 1593. The characteristic of this poem which springs to the eye is its length. In the edition of 1597, it fills 14 pages. This is partly due to a narrative frame containing a parody of the motif of *Dichterweihe*: the poet finds himself in a locus amoenus, when Venus approaches him and asks him to sing of Melissus’ wedding in Anacreon’s short lines (p. 130: *Minusculosque versus / Blanda minutularum / Connexione vocum, / Adaemulare prisca / Anacreontis, ausu / Laboriosiori*). The poet refuses to do so in a *recusatio*, and instead of convincing him, Venus herself takes initiative and dictates the epithalamium. The second reason why this piece grows so long is that it plays excessively with repetitive linguistic devices such as asyndetic enumerations, anaphora, tautological phrases, and *adnominatio*:⁹⁶ while series of such devices had been seen in short passages before Taubmann, he stretches them over a quarter to a full page (cf. e.g. part of a longer series about the beauty of the bride,

93 Cf. Kühlmann (1987: 172 n. 20).

94 Younger poets like Matthaeus Zuber (1570-1623) were keen on being crowned by Melissus and calling themselves *poeta laureatus Melisseus* (cf. e.g. Zuber [1613], which also contains an Anacreontic poem).

95 Melissus was also a personal friend of Ronsard and other members of the Pléiade, cf. e.g. de Nolhac (1923).

96 The relevant devices are well described in Conrady (1962: 128-165). They are a general option for Latin poetry of the time, but realized in an extreme form in the Anacreontic poetry of Taubmann and some of his followers such as Caspar Barth, cf. *ibid.* (pp. 130, 152-153, 156, 160, 164).

p. 136: [...] *Argenteum labellum / Corallinum labellum, / Sapphirinum labellum, / Beryllinum labellum, / Topazinum labellum, / Hiacinthinum labellum, / Smaragdinum labellum, / Labellulumque bellum*). This obsession with repetition can also be seen in many of Taubmann's followers,⁹⁷ most prominently his student Caspar Barth. It is usually characterized as a dead end in the history of Neo-Latin poetry,⁹⁸ and as long as we talk about literature as such little can be objected to this assessment. Again, however, to do full justice to Taubmann it may be important to consider a potential performative context in which the endless and bizarre praise of the persons referred to might have resulted in laughter and merriment. A certain learned pleasure could also be found in the unusual phrases and neologisms stimulated by the extensive use of repetitive devices (e.g. p. 138: *Furunculum vocabo? / Vocabis hercle. Quin et / Praedonculum vocabis [...]*). We may have shared ground with Scaliger's⁹⁹ and Aurlach's ideas that the Anacreontic form helps to generate playful and *recherché* language (although in Aurlach's Anacreontics this does not manifest itself in any obtrusive way).

It would be impossible here to discuss the Anacreontics of Caspar Barth (1587-1658) in any detail.¹⁰⁰ Barth's first collection of Anacreontics of 1612 comprised 4 books. The following year saw the publication of the greatly extended and definite collection in 15 books. With that, Barth wrote the largest corpus of Latin Anacreontics ever, just short of 200 pages (and not counting his *Anacreon philosophus*, on which I say something further below). Close studies of this corpus are lacking, and in the context of this survey I can just provide a few outlines. Some aspects have been anticipated above, and many stylistic characteristics discussed in Taubmann go for his student, Barth, as well. Barth is even able to outdo his teacher in linguistic extravagance, for instance when he fills whole pages with lines consisting exclusively of *recherché* diminutives (cf. e.g. 3.16.26-35, the description of a "countless" chorus of maidens: *Sine nomine absque lege, / Numero, modoque turba, / Placentiuncularum, / Lubentiuncularum, / Vexatiuncularum, / Digriritiuncularum, / Pedepressiuncularum, / Tativulsiuncularum, / Contentiuncularum, / Rixatiuncularum [...]* [the list goes on like this until line 86]).

Even more strongly than in Taubmann, one is reminded of Scaliger's linguistic *lusus* and Aurlach's recommendation of Anacreontic poetry for linguistic creativity. As with Scaliger, Kühlmann has here argued for a socially

97 Zeman (1972: 30) cites the impressive example of an anonymous *Anacreon ad Rosillam suam*, written ca. 1600 and running to 2300 lines. This is achieved to a large extent by abundant repetitions.

98 Cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 30); IJsewijn/Sacré (1990-1998: I, 82-83; II, 96-97).

99 Note that the bride in Taubmann's epithalamium is given the name *Pasicompsa*, which is also the name of Scaliger's main mistress in his *Anacreontica*. But there remains the possibility that Taubmann borrowed this name directly from Plautus' *Mercator* (Taubmann published an edition of Plautus in 1605).

100 On Barth cf. Schroeter (1909: 267-325); Kühlmann (1987: 171-177); commented selection of texts in Kühlmann/Seidel/Wiegand (1997: 863-903 and 1484-1527).

relevant, liberating potential of language let loose. To support this idea, Kühlmann points to Barth's proven aversion to school humanism and academic structures (Barth himself was rich enough to live as an independent scholar).¹⁰¹ This link may be there, but it is difficult to prove. Again, the primary focus on formal literary imitation and competition should not be forgotten.

But it would not be fair to see in Barth just a *Taubmannus auctus*. Many of his pieces are free from extreme linguistic and stylistic mannerisms, and it is clear from a glance at his Anacreontics that their basic idea is different from the occasional compositions of Taubmann and most of his followers. Barth's Anacreontics do not have addressees and are not written for certain events and occasions; they are literature for its own sake. As I mentioned in my discussion of Secundus and the Catullan tradition, the *Basia* of Secundus is an important text of reference, as is Roman elegy. Just like an elegiac lover, the poet, under the sobriquet "Rosillus"¹⁰² sings of his love for "Neaera" (some other, less important, mistresses apart), and their romance is the main thread running through his 15 books of Anacreontics. The focus on love as opposed to other subjects typical of CA (e.g. drinking, old age) may be another debt to the Catullan and elegiac traditions. In contrast with Roman elegy, however, Rosillus usually remains true to the optimism and easiness of CA. This is also a significant difference from Scaliger's *Anacreontica*. Rosillus' message throughout is to enjoy love and life and not care about any spoilsports (cf. e.g. 3.27 [...] *Zenona quis vetantem / Moratur, & boantem, / Anacreon ubi hac stat? / Salta, puella, salta, / Inebriare saltu. / Catona quis veretur / Ubi Rosillus hac stat?*). This message is developed by a series of sometimes brilliant epigrammatic ideas and witty scenes. I have referred to the clever metaliterary image of the kissing Anacreon above (1.12). Another example would be Rosillus' description of the underworld in 3.10: Rosillus assures Neaera that he has seen with his own eyes how girls dismissive about love suffer in the underworld, and he paints an elaborate picture of their tortures; this long description is then abruptly followed by three concluding lines which self-ironically make clear his agenda: *Quid caetera eloquar? sunt / Horrenda, vita, dictu. / Tu mitis esto nobis* ("What more shall I say? It's horrible, my love. You be gentle with me!").

There is a considerable number of further Latin Anacreontics which in one way or another pick up on the authors discussed so far (mostly Taubmann). It would not make much sense to run through them in this study focussed on general outlines and representative examples. As a final point I would like, rather, to illustrate my argument that the Anacreontic form was, in principle, open to all kinds of appropriations. I shall do this by adducing two extreme examples, one better known, religious, and one less known, political.

101 Cf. Kühlmann (1987: 177).

102 The name recalls the anonymous *Anacreon ad Rosillam suam* (cf. n. 97), but the connection (if any) is unclear.

For an example of Christian Anacreontics¹⁰³ we can stay a little longer with Barth, who made a remarkable spiritual turn in his later life. As a result, he published an *Anacreon Philosophus* ten years after he preached unconditional wordly love. In a later edition, the same work was published under the even more fitting title *Anacreon Theologus*.¹⁰⁴ It is an extensive and continuous lament concerning the transience of life ([1623: 113]: *Quid est nitere forma? / Quid esse quem disertum? / Quid fortem et eruditum? / Quid ditem et impotentem?*), the necessity of pain (p. 114: *Unus bonae magister / Dolor est fuitque vitae, / Eritque porro semper, / Immobilis tyrannus*), and Christianity as the only way to salvation (p. 133: *Hoc quippe munus unum est / Cui condititi vigemus, / Ut rebus a caducis / Pia vota separemus*). At the beginning, the Anacreontic poet renounces the former activity of his “plectrum used for unmanly charm” (p. 110: *Adsueta plectra dudum / Male masculo lepori / Tandem exsecrantur atrae / Genium sonare noctis*), and thus draws attention to his technique of Christian inversion of the form. At the end he declares himself and all poets prophets of God (p. 157: *Nos inclyti poetae / Dei sumus prophetae [...]*) and wishes nothing but to die (p. 164: *O Trinitas beata / Absolve nil morantem / Et in suum cubile / Reduc tuum poetam!*).

Of course, Christian Anacreontics were not a new phenomenon. The form of CA was used in Christian poetry since Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389), and in Byzantium the tradition of Christian Anacreontics lasted throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁵ It is very likely that this tradition inspired Christian Neo-Latin poets, but the development has not been sufficiently analyzed. Studies so far have established the *Turmae Sacrae sive Anacreon Latinus* (1613) by Wilhelm Alard, another student of Taubmann, as the beginning of Christian Latin Anacreontics *tout court*. If this were true, the case would be settled because Alard refers in his title to his imitation of the Fathers of the Church (*Ad S.S. Patrum imitationem*). But in fact, the earliest piece of Neo-Latin Christian Anacreontic poetry known to me is George Buchanan’s translation of psalm 131 (*Si spiritu impotenti, / Si lumine insolenti / Elatus ambulavi ...*), published in the first full edition of his celebrated *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica* (*Poetic Paraphrase of the*

103 Cf. Zeman (1976: 404-407); Kühlmann (1987: 177-181).

104 The *Anacreon Philosophus* can be found in Barth (1623: 109-166); the *Anacreon Theologus* in Barth (1655: II, 1001-1021) (printed in two columns and in smaller letters). In both editions it is this piece which concludes the larger work.

105 Cf. the references given above, n. 75. While the Anacreontic metre is sometimes also used by Latin late antique and mediaeval Christian authors (e.g. Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 6), they do not establish an evident link to the content and spirit of the *Anacreontea*. The inversion of the form referred to above is anticipated, however, in Boethius’ short anacreontic poem *Cons.* 3.7: *Habet hoc voluptas omnis, / stimulis agit fruentes / apiumque par volantum, / ubi grata mella fudit, / fugit et nimis tenaci / ferit icta corda morsu* (“This is common to all pleasure: it torments those who pursue its sweetness like hovering bees. Once it pours its pleasing honey, it goes away and pangs the beaten heart with its tenacious sting”). But even considering that Boethius was often regarded Christian, his influence on Neo-Latin Christian Anacreontics remains speculative.

Psalms of David, 1566).¹⁰⁶ Moreover, it is very likely that the editor of CA, Henri Estienne himself, had some influence on this metrical choice: not only was Estienne the publisher of Buchanan's psalm translation, he also composed Greek psalm translations in the Anacreontic metre which were published first in 1556, in the appendix to a partial edition of Buchanan's psalms, and then, from 1566 onwards, in various editions of Buchanan's *Poetic Paraphrase*.¹⁰⁷ In 1568, Estienne even published a large collection of Anacreontic Greek psalms, accompanied by a programmatic piece of Christian Anacreontic poetry in Latin (pp. 3-4 *Anacreontis olim / Modos dedi iocosos: / Anacreonticam nunc / Sed nil Anacreontis / Dabo lyram sonantem*) at the beginning and a Latin Anacreontic translation of psalm 137 at the end (pp. 162-174).¹⁰⁸

Hence, Buchanan's psalm 131 and Estiennes similar pieces may be the starting point for a larger, if elusive, tradition of Neo-Latin Christian Anacreontics in the second half of the 16th century. Some clues as to such a tradition can be adduced. There is a somewhat ambivalent statement in Jacob Pontanus' *Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres* of 1594, when Pontanus is talking about the stylistic devices used by Anacreon (p. 141): *Quae si studiosi imitabuntur, argumenta ipsa detestabuntur, ut item in Propertio, Horatio et aliis recte et Christiane fecerint* ("If the learned imitate these [devices], they will despise the subjects, as they did in Propertius, Horace and others rightly and in a Christian way"). Does this allude to a preceding tradition of Christian Anacreontic poetry on the model, for instance, of a Christian Horace,¹⁰⁹ or does Pontanus' conditional precisely deny that such a tradition already existed at that point? There is another lead in Taubmann's *Anacreon Latinus* of 1597. In a piece addressed to the theologist Christoph Pelargus (1565-1633), Taubmann credits Pelargus with the authorship of Christian Greek Anacreontics (p. 125: *Graecos Anacreontes / Ad Spiritum Iehovae / Abs te, Pelarge, legi [...]*) and thinks that a Latin imitation would be worthwhile.

After that, a link with the older Greek tradition is strongly suggested by the collection of original Greek Christian Anacreontics that Maximus Margunius (1549-1602) published in Augsburg in 1601.¹¹⁰ It is hardly possible that the

106 Buchanan (1566); for a modern edition see Green (2011), who also describes the complicated publication history of Buchanan's psalm translation (pp. 13-33) and provides a helpful list of early editions (pp. 99-100).

107 Cf. Buchanan et al. (1556: 79-81 [psalm 3] and 85-87 [psalm 43]); Buchanan (1566: appendix 9-11 [psalm 3] and 24-25 [psalm 43]). In the (separately paginated) appendix to Buchanan (1566) there are further Greek Anacreontic psalm translations by Federicus Jamotius (pp. 20-21 and 38) and Florent Chrestien (pp. 41-42).

108 Cf. Estienne (1568: 3-4 and 162-174). In this volume, Estienne includes Latin translations for all his Anacreontic (and Sapphic) Greek psalms, but except for psalm 137 they are not metrical.

109 For Christianizations of Horace in the 16th century cf. e.g. Schäfer (1973); I am not aware of a contemporaneous *Propertius Christianus*.

110 Cf. Margunius (1601); reprinted in Roverius (1614: II, 192-210). In Roverius' edition, Margunius' Anacreontic hymns are preceded by the (partially also Anacreontic) hymns of

Cretan Margunius, bishop of Cythera and teacher at the Greek school in Venice, was not familiar with the older Christian Greek Anacreontics. The fact that his own Christian Anacreontics of 1602 were accompanied by a metrical Latin translation by Konrad Rittershausen (1560-1613) surely helped their circulation. On current evidence, then, Rittershausen's translation is the first extant example of an extended collection of Christian Neo-Latin Anacreontics. At least from that point onwards German humanists interested in Anacreontic poetry will have been familiar with Christian inversions of the form and it was just a matter of time before original Latin compositions in this manner began to emerge. If, on balance, Christian Neo-Latin Anacreontics do not seem to be a spontaneous development from within Neo-Latin poetry, it should be kept in mind that the motif of the transience of life in CA, a natural starting point for later Christian inversions, had been played up in Neo-Latin Anacreontics before, for instance in André's *sententiae* and in Scaliger's *Anacreontica*. With hindsight, it may be said that Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry carried the seed of its religious negation from its very beginning.

The second extreme transformation of the original idea of 'Anacreon' is Anacreontic political panegyrics. Nothing seems to be farther removed from the private, hedonistic, world of CA than politics, and it is questionable if the biographical information about the real Anacreon's protection by powerful figures like Polycrates and Hipparchus¹¹¹ alone could have inspired political Anacreontic poetry. Rather, its potential in Neo-Latin poetry stems from the humanist Catullan tradition in which powerful patrons are addressed as part of a network of friendship diplomacy. It is only natural that this practice was sooner or later extended to more distant 'friends'. The Anacreontics of Johannes Aurpach are a good example: while Prince-Bishop Urban (addressed in 1 and 7) and the imperial counsellor, Robert von Stotzingen (addressed in 10) were close to Aurpach and part of his normal life, the same cannot be said of pope Pius V. (addressed in 6), who is praised as saviour of the church (e.g. lines 52-60: *O quanta sempiterni / Bonitas patris, quod iustum / Ecclesiae patronum / Statuit suae, suoque / Ita consulens ovili / Triplicem tibi coronam / Amplissimosque honores / Summo obtulit favore*). Similar panegyric pieces are an option in the occasional concept of Latin Anacreontics from their beginning in the 16th until their end in the early 18th century.

Considering the explicit rejection of military subjects in CA,¹¹² the most striking instances of such panegyrics are on military leaders.¹¹³ So far I have

Synesius of Cyrene and Gregory of Nazianzus (with a facing Latin prose translation). Roverius also reprints CA with Estienne's Latin translation, supplemented by André's (*ibid.*, pp. 100-119).

111 Cf. e.g. Rosenmeyer (1992: 13-14).

112 Cf. CA 1 (23): *Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας, / θέλω δὲ Κάδμον ἄδειν, / ὁ βάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς / ἔρωτα μούνον ἤξει (...)*; 48 (2): *Δότε μοι λύρην Ὀμήρου / φονίης ἀνευθε χορδῆς (...)*.

113 Cf. the contribution of R. Höschele in this volume for German Anacreontic poetry in military contexts.

found two, if late and – in terms of literary history – comparatively inconsequential examples. The first is connected with the wedding of the Habsburg Emperor Joseph I. and Wilhelmine Amalia of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1699. When the bride, on her way to Vienna, was passing through Innsbruck, the University of Innsbruck presented her with the occasional composition *Helicon Oenipontanus* (1699).¹¹⁴ This praise of Wilhelmine Amalia is not itself an Anacreontic and the Anacreontic verse contained in it meets just half of my formal criteria set out above: instead of hemiambs or anaclasses we have here couplets of acatalectic iambic dimeters plus catalactic dimeters, arguably due to the influence of earlier German Anacreontic poetry in which such couplets were a familiar choice. However, the Anacreontic descent could not be made any clearer since the relevant lines, about half of the whole work, are spoken by a *geminus Anacreon*, one coming from “Ausonia”, another from “Alemannia” (B1v) – this seems to allude to the fact that the Anacreon speaking in the text is indeed bilingual and presents both Latin and German verse. Now, my point for our context is that this Anacreon not only praises Wilhelmine Amalia’s origin, beauty, and her social charity, but also extensively dwells on her Amazon-like qualities as a warrior. He graphically anticipates the military success of her children in future battles against the French and the Turks, the major enemies of the Holy Roman Empire at the time, and predicts the triumph of the Empire over the whole world (e.g. E1r: *Totus pavebit occidens / ortusque contremescet. / Iam cerno gentes supplices / et dexteram levantes [...]*).

My second example is from the scholarly influential Anacreon edition of Joshua Barnes (first Cambridge 1705, then again Cambridge 1721 and London 1734). Its dedication to Duke John Churchill of Marlborough and the related martial Anacreontic poem bear the stamp of its time in that they refer to Marlborough’s triumphs in the War of the Spanish Succession.¹¹⁵ The main focus is on the decisive Battle of Blenheim (1704), in which the alliance of the Holy Roman Empire under Marlborough’s military leadership secured an overwhelming victory against the troops of France and Bavaria. Now, the obvious incompatibility between the images of Anacreon and Marlborough was clear to Barnes, but in his dedicatory letter to the Duke he makes a serious (if not very consistent) attempt to discuss it away: he refers to the mighty politicians Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens, who held Anacreon in high esteem; a fortiori, Marlborough will be pleased with Anacreon, because Britain is much nobler than Samos, and Cambridge at least as excellent as Athens. Anacreon’s peaceful world fits the peacemaker Marlborough. Now that Anacreon meets Marlborough in

114 Cf. Kofler/Schaffner/Tilg (2008).

115 Duke Marlborough was the subject of a real avalanche of panegyrics and related literary material, cf. Horn (1975), with some remarks on our piece on pp. 131-132. Not surprisingly, the Duke’s reception of “Anacreon” was rather cool. At Barnes’ visit he is reported to have said to his Secretary of War: “Dear Harry, here’s a man comes to me and talks to me about one Anna Creon, and I know nothing of Creon, but Creon on the play of Oedipus, prithee do you speak to the man.” (Quoted according to Horn [1975: 132]).

person, however, he cannot resist singing of war. This is the point where Barnes announces his panegyric poem in honour of Marlborough. What follows is an Anacreontic of 80 lines in both Greek and Latin (I here refer to the Latin version only), perfectly traditional in form but utterly transformed in content. The first lines (1-8) lay out the poetics of inversion in that they take back the *recusatio* of CA 48 (2; cf. lines 1-2: Δότε μοι λύρην Ὀμήρου / φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς) and dismiss the omnipresence of love expressed in CA 1 (23; cf. line 4: ἔρωτα μούνον ἦγγεῖ): *Lyricus poeta Teius, / Ut ad alta tecta venit / Ducis ille Marlboraei, / Resonabat ore laetus: / “Date mi chelyn Homeri, / Licet huic cruenta chorda; / Venerisque mollis echo / Procul hinc facessat almae”* (“The Teian poet, when he came to the high abode of Duke Marlborough, resounded gladly: ‘Give me Homer’s lyre, even if its strings are stained with blood; you go far away, soft echo of indulgent Venus’”). Anacreon wishes to sing of “murderous cries” (*Homicida clamor*), the “groans of the French” (*Gemitusque Gallicorum*), and the “flight of the Bavarians” (*Bavarum [...] fuga*). With poetical enthusiasm he imagines himself in the thick of the Battle of Blenheim, describes the heated atmosphere on the battlefield,¹¹⁶ and reports Marlborough’s glorious strategic moves until his final success. The poem concludes with the image of the Turks stunned by the impending rule of England over the world.

6 A Brief Conclusion

My paper has drawn attention not to one but to many uses of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry. In the shape of translations it has boosted the circulation of CA and served at the same time as a stylistic model for imitation and adaptation in the vernaculars – in my example from 18th cent. Germany I have argued that the search for the appropriate German Anacreontic form was heavily influenced by Latin models. In the shape of original compositions, the history of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry can be read as a series of re-creations and re-interpretations, partly prompted by the impact of other literary strains such as the epigrammatic tradition of the *Anthologia Planudea*, Catullan love poetry, or late antique Christian writing; partly by the personality of the respective authors and their addressees. It seems that CA almost provoked Latin experiments with the form, and we may ask about the reasons for this. One answer could be similar to Patricia Rosenmeyer’s for the lasting success of CA in general:¹¹⁷ it is a slim, accessible and well defined corpus of poetry, which nonetheless lacks a clear context and is therefore easy to appropriate for one’s own purposes. For Neo-

116 Cf. the sounds of war in lines 37-46: *Sed et ipse clamat aer, / Reboante Machinarum / Strepitu, fragore magno, / Nebulam ignis evomentum. / Quibus adde Tympanorum / Cybeleium tumultum, / Querulam tubaeque vocem, / Fremitum simulque equorum, / Hominumque decidentum / Superantiumque bello.*

117 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 234).

Latin Anacreontics we could add that the consistency of the metrical form (with few partial exceptions) opened up a tradition of variety in unity unknown to the vernaculars. There was a constant challenge for poets to fill the traditional form with a new style and spirit, which proved very productive and led to an unusually complex Anacreontic tradition. In the process, some authors even developed intriguing and quite modern looking poetics of individual expression. It remains for further studies to shed more light on details and individual authors. At the end of this survey, however, it can surely be said that Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry was an exciting and progressive literary playground of the early modern period.

„Er fing an zu singen, und sang lauter Mägdchen“ Johann Wolfgang Ludwig Gleim, The German Anacreon

REGINA HÖSCHELE

1 Reenacting Anacreon

When Francis Scott Key witnessed the futile bombardment of an American fortress by British troops in 1814, he wrote a poem on the “Defense of Fort McHenry”, which was to become the “Star-Spangled Banner”, the future national anthem of the United States. In composing this poem, Key had a particular melody in mind. It was not, as one might assume, a military tune to which the lyrics were set, but a popular drinking song originally composed for the so-called “Anacreontic Society”, a gentleman’s club in 18th cent. London, whose members used to open their bi-weekly meetings by intoning the society’s theme song, “To Anacreon in Heaven”.¹ From a literary perspective, the appropriation of this ode for the purpose of glorifying a victory in battle is deeply ironic, reversing, as it does, the typically Anacreontic *recusatio*,² which proclaims the poet’s incapacity to sing of war and heroes, such as we encounter it, for instance, in CA 23: “I wish to speak of Atreus’ sons, / and I wish to sing of Cadmus, / but my lyre with its strings / sings back only love”³ (Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας, / θέλω δὲ Κάδμῳ ἄδειν, / ὁ βάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς / ἔρωτα μούνον ἤχεῖ, 1-4). Figuratively speaking, the American patriot re-attached the “bloody chords” of Homer to the Anacreontic lyre,⁴ a lyre which by this point had indeed resounded “love” innumerable times and in many different tongues.

After Henri Estienne’s publication of the *Carmina Anacreontea* in 1554 people all over Europe, starting with France,⁵ were inspired to translate the newly

1 For an account of the club and its use of the ode, cf. *The Gentleman’s Magazine* vol. 50 (1790: 224-225). On Anacreon and drinking culture in 17th cent. England, see Achilleos (2004).

2 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 96-106).

3 Translations of the CA are taken from Rosenmeyer (1992).

4 Cf. CA 2.1-2: δότε μοι λύρην Ὀμήρου / φωνῆς ἀνευθε χορδῆς.

5 On Estienne’s edition, cf. Zeman (1972: 8-15), O’Brien (1995: 5-48) and Tilg pp. 163-165 in this volume. Ronsard, one of the first to write French Anacreontics, pays the following homage to Estienne in a toast (*Odes* 5.15): “Verse donc et reverse encor / dedans ceste grand’ coupe d’or / je vay boire à Henry Estienne / qui des enfers nous a rendu / du vieil Anacreon perdu / la douce lyre teienne.”

discovered songs and to compose Anacreontic verse of their own,⁶ slipping again and again into the role of the Teian bard, who had come to stand for a poetic tradition primarily concerned with wine, love, and music. Just as the speaker of the collection's opening poem, who was initiated into the art of Anacreontic writing by the master himself, could never stop loving thereafter (καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν / ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι, CA 1.16-17),⁷ so the reappearance of this corpus, thought by many to contain the authentic production of the Archaic poet, threw European readers into a rapture of love that would last several centuries, generating a virtually endless series of Anacreontic rewritings. The intrinsically repetitive nature of individual odes – refrains and anaphora are favored rhetorical devices – is mirrored in the continuous repetition of the same themes and motifs within the Greek collection,⁸ whose reception throughout Europe led to further re-enactments of the Anacreontic spirit in Neolatin⁹ and the vernacular languages.

The *Anacreontea* lend themselves particularly well to this sort of perpetual mimesis due to their entirely paradigmatic character, their timelessness and universal applicability:¹⁰ the Anacreontic poet experiences love not as passion for a specific individual to whom he swears eternal faithfulness, but as a general state of longing that is never satisfied and can easily be transferred from one girl (or boy) to another.¹¹ Identification with the speaker is facilitated precisely by the fact that he does *not* focus on one distinct beloved;¹² for this indeterminacy allows the reader to imagine whomsoever he wishes as the object of desire referred to in the text. Such erotic catholicity is essential to the Anacreontic world, and we may view the famous catalogue presented in CA 14, which gives a list of female loves impossible to count and scattered all over the world, as the perfect emblem for this concept of universal passion. Anacreon is prone to desire anyone, and anyone – following the final poem's prompting τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ (CA 60.30) – can

6 Cf. O'Brien (1995) on translations of the CA in 16th cent. France; Michelangeli (1922) on the Italian reception; Baumann (1974) on English translations; Ausfeld (1907), Pick (1907), Lees (1911), Warde (1978) and Zeman (1972) on German Anacreonticism; on Anacreon's reception in Antiquity and the modern age, cf. Rubio y Lluch (1879), Galiano (1972) and Labarbe (1982).

7 Rosenmeyer (1992: 62-73) shows how this poem stages the transferal of the poetic tradition from Anacreon to his followers. Cf. also Müller (2010: 124-130) as well as Bing p. 25, Gutzwiller pp. 57-59, Rudolph pp. 139-141 and Most pp. 152-153 in this volume.

8 Similarly Rosenmeyer (1992: 80): "the whole anacreontic corpus is tautologous in that it borrows the "same thing" from Anacreon and says it in many different ways".

9 On Neolatin *Anacreontea* cf. Zeman (1972: 16-32), O'Brien (1995: 91-154) and Tilg in this volume.

10 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 233): "no temporality, no topicality binds it to a particular occasion".

11 A similar concept of love pervades Strato's *Boyish Muse*; cf. Höschele (2010: 230-271).

12 Bathyllus, who is repeatedly named in the CA as the poet's beloved, functions as an archetype of the Anacreontic *eromenos*; cf. p. 217 below.

put himself into his role, forever adding to the list of loves, not only across space but also across time.¹³

2 The German Anacreon

In this paper I would like to take a closer look at one of Anacreon's later reincarnations, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803), whose poetic output I shall consider vis-à-vis the general 'Anacreomania'¹⁴ that took hold of Germany in the mid-18th century, somewhat later than other European countries. Praised by his contemporaries as *der deutsche Anakreon*, Gleim composed several books of Anacreontic verse and cultivated close friendships with like-minded writers.¹⁵ My analysis will be concerned in particular with Gleim's first collection, his *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*, which was published in two books in 1744/1745, and the ways in which his life – or rather the conscious *staging* of his life – was colored by the Anacreontic discourse. It is particularly interesting to observe how the tautology inherent in the Greek collection, its constant reuse of certain motifs that are emblematic of the Anacreontean *ethos*, is taken to extremes by Gleim in a manner unparalleled by the CA. More remarkably still, Gleim enacts the role of Anacreon not only in his poetry (like the poets of the *Anacreontea*), but also in his correspondence and in his dealings with friends, whereby the boundaries between reality and fiction are easily blurred. In one case he even had to ward off the amatory advances of a woman (the German *Sappho*, no less!), who, it seems, had developed real feelings for him and thus disrupted what was meant as purely literary play – but more on this below.

Whereas we know nothing about the anonymous authors of the *Anacreontea* and cannot tell whether the role-play performed in their poetry ever went beyond the written page,¹⁶ a good deal can be said about the background of German *Anakreontik*, which, when situated in its cultural context, turns out to be much

13 It is interesting to note that P, in CA 14.22, offers the reading Πώμηξ instead of Κρήτης *in margine*: could this reflect a conscious rewriting on the part of a Roman reader who wished to include his own world into the Anacreontic universe? It would, at any rate, be perfectly in line with Anacreontic poetics to thus expand or modify the list.

14 As Abraham Gotthelf Kästner ironically put it, "Haben Sie wohl jemals gehört, daß die Gabe anakreontisch zu dichten ansteckt, wie die Elektrizität oder wie die Pest?" (quoted after *Abraham Gotthelf Kästner's gesammelte poetische und prosaische schönwissenschaftliche Werke, Erster Theil*, Berlin 1841: 12 n. 1). For his parody of monotonous Anacreontic verse, cf. Zeman (1972: 163).

15 On critical reactions to Gleim's Anacreontic poetry, cf. Perels (1974: 84-108).

16 Anacreon in all likelihood had a significant impact on the symposiastic culture of the 5th cent. BCE; cf. Bing's discussion of the Booner Vases in this volume. Even if the Anacreontic discourse itself calls for an ethic, not just a poetic *imitatio* of Anacreon (cf. Most in this volume), however, the universe of the CA, in which this mimesis takes place, is intrinsically *literary*.

more than an exclusively literary phenomenon.¹⁷ As several studies have shown, it is closely linked with the concept of *Geselligkeit*, the ideal of conviviality and shared leisure that was promoted with particular emphasis during the Enlightenment.¹⁸ One can easily see how the Anacreontic calls to drink and enjoy life would seem appealing to readers in search of such society, how these readers would be inspired to transfer songs once performed at Greek symposia (be they imaginary or real) into their own here and now. In fact, the “64. Stück” of *Der Gesellige*, a moral weekly edited by Georg Friedrich Meier and Samuel Gotthold Lange,¹⁹ defines the *anacreontische Dichter* as the “most sociable” of poets:

Unter allen Arten der Dichtkunst erfordert die anacreontische Ode den geselligsten Dichter. Ein anacreontischer Dichter ist ein freudiger Mensch, der beständig aufgeräumt ist, und daher geschickt ist, die Vergnügungen der Gesellschaft zu geniessen. Die Liebe und der Wein haben eine vortrefliche Wirkung auf die Geselligkeit, und auf einen Anacreon (...).²⁰

As it happens, hardly anyone cultivated *Geselligkeit* and celebrated friendship more enthusiastically than Gleim himself.²¹ In his Halberstadt home (Gleim moved there from Berlin when he was appointed as *Domsekretär* in 1747) he even created a “Temple to Friendship” – it can still be seen *in situ* in what is now known as the *Gleimhaus*, the literary museum into which his residence was turned already in 1862.²² The *Freundschaftstempel*, a room filled with portraits of the poet’s friends collected over several decades, served, *inter alia*, as setting for social gatherings. Gleim would read letters sent by friends under their respective portrait or recite them to a circle of attendant friends and relatives;²³ he himself wrote countless letters to his acquaintances – many of them facing him directly from one of the walls –, while seated on a chair specifically designed for this purpose (the *Gleimstuhl* can be seen in the background on the picture below).

17 Cholevius (1854: 469) notes on the reception of Anacreon in the mid-18th century: “solche Einflüsse, die weit über das eigentliche Kunstgebiet hinaus in dem geselligen Verkehr, den Sitten, den moralischen Principien und in der religiösen Überzeugung einen völligen Umschwung veranlaßten, hatte man bis dahin einem antiken Dichter niemals in diesem Grade zugestanden.”

18 For the 18th century as “das gesellige Jahrhundert”, cf. Im Hof (1982); see also Perels (1974: 138-155), Richter (1974), Mauser (1990), Adam (1998) and (2000).

19 On the concept of *Geselligkeit* reflected in this *Wochenschrift*, cf. Martens (1993).

20 Quoted from *Der Gesellige, eine moralische Wochenschrift. Erster Band, Neue Auflage*, Halle 1764: 361. On this passage, cf. Adam (1998: 38-39).

21 On friendship in the 18th century, cf. Rasch (1936), Mauser/Becker-Cantarino (1991); on friendship in the Gleim circle, cf. Hanselmann (1989), Wappler (1998-2000) and Pott (2004a).

22 Gleim himself laid the foundations for a literary museum by systematically collecting portraits, letters and manuscripts of his contemporaries; cf. Pott (2004b).

23 Cf. Adam (2000: 25).



Fig. 1: *Freundschaftstempel* in the *Gleimhaus Halberstadt*
 Photo Copyright: Gleimhaus Halberstadt (Photo: Ulrich Schrader, Halberstadt)

3 Roses and Kisses à la Anacreon

Not only is Anacreon repeatedly evoked in his correspondence, but it also seems as though Gleim liked to indulge in Anacreontic festivities. This, at least, is suggested by an anecdote related in Körte's 1811 *Life of Gleim* (pp. 57-58). During the summer of 1750 the poet, Körte tells us, enjoyed the company of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock and his cousin Johann Christoph Schmidt, who were visiting him in Halberstadt. The three used to spend their evenings bathing and drinking, their cups and heads – to the great surprise of the innkeeper – crowned with roses, the very emblem of Anacreontic poetry.²⁴ One night, however, the friends went even further in their evocation of Anacreontic scenery:

Einst aber, es war eine mondlichte Juninacht, und die Rosen standen in voller Blüthe, da kamen, vom Baden erfrischt, die Freunde zum gewohnten Wirth. Alter Rheinwein

24 The significance of the rose as an erotic symbol within the Anacreontic universe is reflected most vividly in CA 44 and the hymn-like CA 55, which extol the flower's virtues. The CA also repeatedly feature the rose as an integral element in sympotic festivities (cf. CA 8.7-8: ἐμοὶ μέλει ῥόδοισιν / καταστέφειν κάρηνα; CA 32.14-15: ῥόδοις δὲ κῤῥᾶτα / πύκασον; CA 44.3-4: τὸ ῥόδον τὸ καλλίφυλλον / κροτάφοισιν ἀρμόσαντες, and 15-16: ῥοδινοῖσι στεφανίσκοις / πεπυκασμένος χορεύσω). Eros, moreover, is imagined as lying between roses (cf. CA 6.2 and 35.1). On roses in the CA see Rosenmeyer (1992: 211-212).

blinkte bald auf dem blanken Marmortische, und die duftenden Rosen erweckten in den Dichtern anakreontische Lust! Gleim, der Undurstigste unter den dreien, gab dem Wirthe verheißende Winke, und alle Rosen wurden gepflückt, der Tisch und der Saal damit bedeckt. Die Flasche stand halb, die Becher ganz unter Rosen. Da nun be rauschte der Duft die Dichter, und es erscholl hell Gesang und Rede, und lauter und lauter, je höher der Mond stieg.

Whether or not this night of revelry really took place in the way described, it is certainly remarkable that Körte would portray his great-uncle as someone who did not simply write lighthearted verse, but also *lived* the Anacreontic experience – Anacreonticism in this sense clearly is more than just poetry: it is a lifestyle.

The excessive use of roses, which tops anything one might find in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, is nicely paralleled by Gleim's osculatory excesses.²⁵ In his correspondence with Johann Georg Jacobi (1740-1814), which was published in 1768 under the title *Briefe von den Herren Gleim und Jacobi*, no less than 13,242 kisses and 260,022 embraces are exchanged between the two men.²⁶ Kisses as tokens of male friendship were, it appears, nothing unusual in the 18th century and, although one cannot deny a distinct erotic component,²⁷ they need not be understood as an expression of homosexual desire.²⁸ At any rate, the epistolary staging of this friendship²⁹ is remarkable for its emphatic, indeed hyperbolic display of affection and its explicit casting of Gleim in the role of Anacreon. Striking, for instance, is the note that Jacobi writes to Amor, urging the god of love to remind *his* (i.e. Amor's) Anacreon of the friend who is desperately waiting to hear from him. By asking the deity to convey his message through word and image, Jacobi encourages Amor to engage in artistic activities, to which the god normally inspires the Anacreontic lovers ("An den ältesten der Liebesgötter, im Dienste des deutschen Anakreons", *Briefe* 1768: 72-75):

25 On the kiss as an Anacreontic gesture, cf. Luserke-Jaqui (2005: 26): "Der Kuß wird das gleichermaßen literarisch inszenierte wie kulturgeschichtlich-anthropologisch definierte Emblem der Anakreontik."

26 Cf. Hanselmann (1989: 13).

27 Note, for instance, Gleim's fantasy about being kissed by Jacobi's spirit: "Auf einmal stand ich unter dem Baume mit den roten Aepfeln, und da, mein lieber Freund, da gab ein Geist mir einen Kuß; der Genius meines Jacobi war es, oder er selbst. Er küßte völlig so wie mein Jacobi küßt. So, wie seine Verse von allen andern Versen, so unterscheid' ich seine Küsse von allen andern Küssen" (*Briefe* 1768: 54).

28 Thus Wilson (2008). The *osculum amicitiae* even appears in Zedler's *Universalexicon*: "ein Freundschaftskuß ist, wenn zwey gute Freunde aus sonderlicher Gewogenheit und recht hertzlichem Vertrauen einer des andern Lippen berühren"; cf. Wilson (2008: 770).

29 On the construction of epistolary identities in the 18th century, cf. Reinlein (2003).

(...) und hört er noch nicht, so nimm die Feder ihm weg, so greife nach der Leyer, und drohe sie zu verstimmen: biß er voll Ungeduld dir zu sprechen erlaubt. Dann, Amor, dann nenne mit traurigem Tone meinen Nahmen (...). Mahl ihm, dem Bette gegenüber, das Bildniß seines Freundes, in trauriger Stellung, mit den Zügen einer verlassenen Geliebte, damit er bey dem Erwachen es sehe, damit er fühle, wie unglücklich ich bin!

In a way, the liaison between Gleim and Jacobi, which is thus portrayed as one of love and longing, recalls that between Anacreon and the speaker of CA 1, who runs towards the old master to kiss and embrace him – the close combination of these two acts in the Greek poem (περιπλάκην φιλήσας, 1.5), indeed, may be said to prefigure the kisses and embraces repeated over and over again throughout the correspondence of our two friends. Gleim, incidentally, was about 20 years older than Jacobi, so their constellation also reflects the age difference between Anacreon and his admirer, which, within the Anacreontic corpus, serves as an image for the literary relationship of model and follower.³⁰ Looking at Gleim's life as a whole, one might in fact say that he gradually morphed from a youthful disciple of Anacreon into an Anacreon-like figure with disciples of his own, as he spent his later years supporting younger poets and came to be known widely as *Vater Gleim*.

4 Gleim and the German Sappho

After reading this correspondence, Johann Peter Uz (1720-1796) enthusiastically exclaimed in a letter to Gleim, dating from 28 June 1768: "Ich habe es mehr verschlungen, als gelesen. Ich habe geglaubt, in Anacreons und der Musen und der Grazien Gesellschaft zu seyn (...)." ³¹ The kiss orgies presented in this work did not, however, remain without criticism and mockery.³² One person showing herself anything but pleased with the *Briefe von den Herren Gleim und Jacobi* was Anna Louisa Karsch (1722-1791), who explicitly condemned the tenderness displayed in their letters ("es werden zu viel Küße dabey außgetheilet").³³ Her reaction, it seems, was driven by jealousy and hurt feelings. During the early phase of their correspondence, which started in 1761, Karsch had expressed her desire for Gleim in both letters and poems. While having nothing against *writing* songs of love, as long as they are not more than that, Gleim would not tolerate any earnest professions of feeling and repeatedly urged his "Schwester in

30 On this literary "Generationenverhältnis", cf. Müller (2010). On the appearance of CA 1 in early printed editions, cf. n. 69.

31 Nr. 134, p. 382 in Schüddekopf's 1899 edition. For Uz cf. Warde (1978) and Rohmer/Verweyen (1998).

32 For negative reactions, cf. Reinlein (2003: 157 n. 141).

33 18 July 1768, BW 1, Nr. 223, p. 312 (in Nörtemann's 1996 edition). On Karsch's reaction, see Nörtemann (1992: 91-92), Pott (1998: 46-48), Wilson (2008: 775-776).

Apoll³⁴ to stick to the rules of this literary game, while Karsch persistently refused to distinguish between art and life.³⁵ The role-play enacted by the two is an extremely complex one, in which we hear the voices of both writers and their poetic/epistolary *alter egos* defining themselves against each other.³⁶

Fascinating a topic though this is, here is not the place to analyze their mutual negotiation of reality and fiction in greater detail.³⁷ What I would like to point out, however, is Karsch's absorption into the Anacreontic discourse through her role as Sappho,³⁸ a title which was presumably conferred on her by none other than Gleim³⁹ and decisively shaped her understanding of herself as poet and woman. Anacreon and Sappho were closely linked in the ancient and modern imagination. It is, for instance, no coincidence that the two poets appear in two successive, identically structured lines as ingredients of a poetic cocktail in CA 20, both of them characterized by the same adjective as "sweet-singing".⁴⁰ According to some ancient biographies they even were lovers (chronologically impossible though such a relationship would have been).⁴¹ This tradition is, for

34 Gleim called her thus in a letter to Ramler (22 April 1761), marking their relationship from the beginning as non-erotic, cf. Nörtemann (1992: 82).

35 On Gleim's attempts to keep the proper distance, cf. Nörtemann (1992).

36 Gleim, for instance, insists that it is all right for Karsch to sing of her love to his poetic *alter ego* Thyrsis, but not to him (23 November 1761, BW 1, Nr. 30, p. 45): "Wo, meine I. Sapho, wo habe ich Ihnen verbothen dem Thyrsis keine Lieder mehr zu singen. O er hört sie allzu gern, die fürtrefflichen lieder seiner Sapho, als daß er nur einen Schein eines Verbothes sich hätte können entwischen laßen. Nein, in den liedern kan er die ernsthafte gramvolle melancholische liebe nur alzu wohl leiden [über gestr.: vertragen], aber in den Augen, nein in den Augen kan Er keinen Gram, keine saphische Ode sehen, er will, daß seine Freundin immer aufgeräumt sey." On this passage, see Nörtemann (1992: 88). Even 20 years later, when Karsch and Gleim discuss an edition of her *Sapphische Lieder*, the poet still maintains that her poems must have been written in jest – he even consulted his *alter ego* on the issue (13 April 1783, BW 2, Nr. 324, pp. 181-182): "Und Ihre Schmach wird offenbahrt! Und ihre Schmach? Und welche? Daß Sapho gescherzt hat. Ich habe mit Thyrsis gesprochen darüber; er ließ nicht an sich kommen daß er kalt gewesen sey; er hätte, sagt' er den Scherz so weit getrieben, als er, um Scherz zu bleiben, sich hätte wollen treiben laßen." On this editorial project, which was never realized, and Karsch's insistence that she truly felt what she wrote, cf. Pott (1998: 79-84).

37 On Gleim's and Karsch's self-representation and their differing views on the topic of love vs. poetry, cf. Nörtemann (1992), Pott (1998), Kitsch (2002), Reinlein (2003: 123-139).

38 On Karsch as Sappho, cf. also Baldwin (2004).

39 According to Nörtemann (1996: II, 527-528) we have no written evidence for the name's first occurrence, but Gleim is repeatedly evoked as its inventor. Karsch starts to sign her letters with "Sappho" during Gleim's stay in Berlin (May/June 1761), but puts an end to this habit over their argument about Gleim's correspondence with Jacobi; cf. Nörtemann (1992: 92).

40 Cf. ἠδυμελής Ανακρέων / ἠδυμελής δὲ Σαπφώ (CA 20.1-2).

41 Hermesianax fr. 7.47-54 Powell presents Alcaeus and Anacreon as rivals in love for Sappho. This was recognized as a chronological impossibility already by Athenaeus (13.599c-d), who concludes that Hermesianax must have been joking. All the same, according to Chamaeleon's treatise *On Sappho*, there were people who regarded Anacreon's

instance, reflected in contemporary interpretations of a 1754 painting by Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder, who, it should be noted, also belonged to Gleim's correspondents and was represented by a self-portrait in his *Freundschaftstempel*.



Fig. 2: *Die Verspottung des Anakreon* (Johann Heinrich Tischbein d. Ältere, 1754)

The work shows a young, seductively clad woman warding off Anacreon's erotic advances. Even if the artist may not have had the Lesbian poetess in mind when depicting this scene, Tischbein's painting came to be known under the title of *Anakreon und Sappho* during his own lifetime, which suggests that 18th cent. viewers readily associated the two and that he himself did not object to this identification.⁴²

poem σφαίρη δηῖτέ με πορφυρῆ (302 Page) as an expression of his desire for the poetess from Lesbos.

42 The title *Anakreon und Sappho* first appears in a catalogue of 1783, put together by Simon Causid; in an earlier inventory from 1775 the painting is simply featured under the title *Die*

It is, moreover, telling that Estienne's *editio princeps* of the *Anacreontea* (1554) also included the extant lyrics of Sappho. The juxtaposition of the two poets in this highly influential edition no doubt gave further fuel to the association. The German Anacreon, then, had a German Sappho by his side, and, no matter how much Gleim tried to distance his true self from that of the Anacreontic poet, their respective identification with these roles obviously had an impact on their real-life relationship.

5 Life vs. Poetry

In a letter to Jacobi, Gleim expressed his concept of poetic fiction thus: "Die wahren Empfindungen nicht, sondern die angenommenen machen den Dichter" (*Briefe* 1768: 249). He likewise stresses the distinction between art and life through the mouth of his fictional beloved Doris (more on her below) in the preface to the second book of his *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*:

Schliesset niemals aus den Schriften der Dichter auf die Sitten derselben. Ihr werdet euch betrogen; denn sie schreiben nur, ihren Witz zu zeigen, und solten sie auch dadurch ihre Tugend in Verdacht setzen. Sie characterisiren sich nicht, wie sie sind, sondern wie es die Art der Gedichte erfordert, und sie nehmen das Systema am liebsten an, welches am meisten Gelegenheit giebt, witzig zu seyn.⁴³

The two statements are fundamental for the poetics of Anacreontic writing,⁴⁴ which conceived itself as *Scherz* and *Tändelei*, jesting and amorous banter, in the tradition of ancient *nugae* or *paegnia*.⁴⁵ In separating themselves from the content of their *Musa iocosa* (a phrase taken over from Ovid),⁴⁶ Rococo authors, indeed, follow a trope already established in Antiquity: *nam castum esse decet pium*

Historie vom Anakreon. For a more detailed description and further references, cf. the online *Bestandskatalog* of the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, which entitles the work *Die Verspottung des Anakreon* (<http://malerei18jh.museum-kassel.de/malerei18jh/28515/0/0/0/s49/0/0/objekt.html>).

43 Quoted from the 1964 edition by Anger, p. 71.

44 Anger (1963: 8) characterizes them as the most important "Rokoko-zitat[e]". Koschorke (1994: 256) summarizes the principle as follows: "Nur unter der Bedingung, daß er nicht ist, wie er schreibt, verfaßt der Dichter sinnenfrohe und freizügige Verse. Die evozierte Erotik hält sich in den Grenzen eines sprachlichen Spiels, während außerhalb der Poesie die bürgerlichen Tugendgebote fortgelten."

45 As Verweyen (1975: 281) notes, the term *Tändelei*, with which Rococo poets characterize their own work, came to acquire a negative meaning and was used by subsequent critics to denigrate the genre. On erotic poetry of the age, cf. Schläffer (1971); on sexuality in Rococo lyric, cf. Richter (2005).

46 *Tr.* 2.353-356: *crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostro: / vita verecunda est, Musa iocosa mihi; / magnaue pars mendax operum est et ficta meorum / plus sibi permisit compositore suo.*

poetam / ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est, Catullus famously declares (“for it is fitting for the dutiful poet to be chaste himself, / his verses need not be so” c. 16.5-6); *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba*, asserts Martial (“my page is frivolous, my life pure”, 1.4.8).⁴⁷ The authors of Anacreontic verse are, I submit, in an excellent position to perform this separation persuasively. For whereas the poets of the CA aspire to actually *become* Anacreon by fully imbibing his spirit, later imitators may insist on the fact that they are speaking in someone else’s voice, that they put on the mask of the ancient poet only in the realm of their verse. This explicitly signaled role-play allows them to write in a way that might otherwise not have been considered proper. Thus declares Houdar de La Motte (1672-1731) about his Anacreontic odes⁴⁸:

C’est ainsi que je tâche de ressembler à Anacréon: j’ai imité même jusqu’à sa morale & à ses passions que je désavoüe. J’avertis que dans ces Odes Anacréontiques, **je parle toujours pour un autre**, & que je ne fais qu’y jouer le personnage d’un Auteur, dont j’envierois beaucoup plus le tour & et les expressions que les sentimens.

“Speaking for another” – that’s exactly what the authors of the CA did, and our poets follow in their footsteps, even if, ironically, some of them at least might have believed in the authenticity and sincerity of the poems presented in the Anacreontic corpus. Such a distinction between life and poetry also stands in ironic contrast to the perceived equation of the two in the case of Anacreon himself. Indeed, we may assume that his immense and long-lasting success as a model was due not least to the fact that later readers considered Anacreon’s poetry a direct reflection of his life and character.⁴⁹ As we have seen above, Gleim himself went beyond mere poetic imitation in his mimesis of Anacreontic revelry, but he persistently denied the genuineness of his feelings expressed for the German Sappho. Be that as it may, Gleim’s take on the collection’s authenticity is worthy of note: in response to the edition and commentary by Cornelius de Pauw, one of the first to systematically argue against Anacreon’s authorship,⁵⁰ he writes to Peter Uz (22 November 1746):

47 On the *Scherz*-character of Rococo lyric, cf. Schüsseler (1990) and Schläffer (1971: 132-142); on the appropriation of ancient apologetic strategies, see also Perels (1974: 162-178).

48 Cf. “Discours sur la Poésie en general, & sur l’Ode en particulier”, quoted from *Œuvres de Monsieur Houdar de la Motte, L’un des Quarantes de l’Académie Française. Tome Premier. Première Partie*, Paris 1754: 43-44 (my emphasis).

49 On the afterlife of Anacreon in Hellenistic poetry and the quasi-heroic honors bestowed on him, cf. Gutzwiller in this volume.

50 *Anacreontis Teii Odae et Fragmenta, Graece et Latine, cum Notis Joannis Cornelii de Pauw. Trajecti ad Rhenum*, Apud Guilielmum Kroon, Bibliop. 1732. According to Zeman (1972: 101), Gleim possessed all the important editions of the *Anacreontea* available in his time (i.e. Stephanus, Andreas, Dacier, Barnes, Baxter, Longepierre, Pauw, Gaçon and de la Fosse). Of these only Barnes and Baxter are still to be found in the archive of the Gleimhaus, which, however, preserves various other editions and commentaries, including those by Flayder (Tübingen 1622), Degen (Erlangen 1781) and Brieger (Leipzig 1787).

Nach seiner Meinung sind sehr wenige Oden, oder vielleicht gar keine, von dem wahren Anacreon (...). Aber das wäre noch zu untersuchen; und was mich anbetrifft, so ist der Verfaßer der Oden, die wir haben oder die Verfaßer zusammengenommen, mein Anacreon; und in denselben ist die Uebereinstimmung der Erfindungen, des Ausdrucks, und der naïvité so groß, daß es mir fast nicht möglich scheint, daß sie verschiedene Verfaßer haben solten.⁵¹

As this statement suggests, it did not matter to Gleim who in fact had authored the poems – it is *his* Anacreon, his *idea* of Anacreon, that he sees reflected in the texts.⁵²

Together with Uz, to whom these lines are addressed, and Johann Nikolaus Götz (1721-1781) Gleim founded the so-called *Zweite Hallesche Dichterkreis*,⁵³ while the three of them were studying in Halle around the year 1739. In distinct opposition to the Pietist spirit of the time,⁵⁴ they dedicated themselves to reviving the Anacreontic tradition. Where Gleim sought to compose Anacreontic songs of his own, Uz and Götz put their efforts into “teaching Anacreon German” (cf. Götz to Gleim on 1 November 1741: “Der ehrwürdige Alte [...] hat noch nicht Deutsch gelernt”)⁵⁵ – a project that Gleim, no doubt, deemed as worthy as his own creative imitations. “Wie unsterblich würden wir uns machen”, he would one day write to Ramler (28 December 1749), “wenn wir durch die Uebersetzung der Alten, unserm Vaterlande, Roms und Athens, Geist und Geschmack, schencken könnten”. Without the knowledge of Uz, who had moved back to his native Ansbach, the joint translation was published in 1746 under the title *Die Oden Anacreons in reimlosen Versen, Nebst einigen andern Gedichten*, in an edition full of misprints, which led Gleim to lament to Uz in a letter of 30 June 1746: “Mein Mädchen ist mit dem schlechten Druck und der Gesellschaft, in welcher die Lieder ihres liebsten Dichters erschienen sind, gar nicht zufrieden”.⁵⁶ Here as elsewhere,

51 Nr. 29, pp. 135-136 Schüddekopf.

52 Cf. Zeman (1972: 87) on this passage: “Die Gestalt Anacreons wird mit fortschreitenden Jahren immer mehr – von biographischer Wirklichkeit losgelöst – zu einer literarischen Vorstellung.”

53 For a selection of texts issuing from this circle, cf. Kertscher (1993). On literature and culture in 18th cent. Halle, cf. Kertscher (2007), with a chapter on Anacreontic poetry pp. 119-132.

54 Cf. Baer (1924). While Pietists strongly opposed the so-called *adiaphora* (i.e. morally indifferent things such as dance, drink or music that are characterized as neither bad nor good by the bible), Anacreontic poets embraced precisely these worldly pleasures, cf. Verweyen (1975: 297-303). On Halle as the center of pietism and the cradle of Anacreonticism, see also Verweyen (1989). On Pietist and other criticism of Rococo lyric, cf. Perels (1974: 123-138).

55 On their translation and Gleim’s own attempts to render Anacreon into German, cf. Zeman (1972: 97-108); on the literary background and significance of Anacreon translations from 1746-1760, cf. Zeman (1972: 109-139); on Gleim as translator, see also Koch (1904).

56 Nr. 25, p. 116 Schüddekopf. An improved edition came out in 1760 under the title *Die Gedichte Anacreons und der Sappho Oden. Aus dem Griechischen übersetzt und mit*

Gleim's fictional beloved is treated as though real (she *saw* the published volume and was *shocked* by its bad quality!). Intriguingly, then, Doris appears as the companion of the German Anacreon even outside of his poetry!

6 Doris and the Edition of Gleim's *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*

In the preface to the first book of his anonymously published *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*,⁵⁷ Gleim addresses "his angel", his "kleine Brunette", as the one who had first encouraged his art. She was, he recalls, angry when he hesitated, despite her positive judgment, to bring out his songs. While eventually printing the texts that she did not consider too "heilig", he imagines how Doris would have reacted had he also included the rest ("Ach! wie böse würdest du kleines Ding nicht geworden seyn"),⁵⁸ thus arousing the reader's curiosity and teasing him with the idea that he is holding back further compositions more intimate in nature. Significantly, the preface to Book 2 presents us Doris herself as publishing recent poems against *his* will.⁵⁹ After emphasizing the praise given to Gleim's earlier output and thus indirectly to herself,⁶⁰ Doris reveals that she is publishing further songs behind her lover's back while he is away at war (in 1744 Gleim indeed participated in the Second Silesian War as secretary to Prince Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Schwedt). Despite the war – a most un-Anacreontic experience – our poet is still able to write *scherzhafte Lieder*,⁶¹ which Doris feels deserve a wider audience, even though he explicitly forbade publication. She also compliments the female readership⁶² for their appreciation of Gleim's verses,

Anmerkungen begleitet (Karlsruhe). Note that here, too, Anacreon's poems are presented together with those of Sappho.

57 On the implications of this anonymity, cf. Perels (1974: 73-74). Significantly, the book takes its motto from Martial (13.2.8: *nos haec novimus esse nihil*); the poems' characterization as "nothings" is replicated in the Voltairian motto of Book 2: "Ah! que j'aime ces vers badins, / Ces riens naïfs & pleins de grace". On these two motti, cf. Perels (1974: 74).

58 "An +++ Mein Engel", Anger (1964: 3).

59 Cf. Perels (1974: 75): "Das Hin und Her zwischen Nichtveröffentlichung, Teilveröffentlichung und fortgesetzter Veröffentlichung stellt sich dar als ein Hin und Her zwischen Liebe, Zorn und Versöhnung." On the two prefaces, cf. Perels (1974: 74-78).

60 "Du hast die freien Lieder, die mein scherzhafter Liebhaber nach der Natur und nach dem Anakreon gedichtet, deines Beifalls werth gehalten. Du hast sie nach kritischer Einsicht gebilliget: mir haben sie aus Zärtlichkeit gegen den Verfasser, und wenn ich sagen darf, aus einer kleinen Eitelkeit gefallen. Die meisten enthalten mein geheimes Lob. Gewisse verräterische Züge malen dir die Doris." ("Mein Leser", Anger [1964: 61]).

61 "Allein der Krieg hat seiner scherzhaften Muse keinen Zug ihrer lächelnden Minen verrückket, und er hat mir mit iedem Briefe neue Scherze überschicket." ("Mein Leser", Anger [1964: 63]).

62 Even if this passage represents a staged reader response, we do have evidence for the reception of Gleim's poetry by contemporary women; cf. Perels (1974: 109-113).

whose rhymelessness corresponds to Anacreon's own style,⁶³ thereafter giving an account of the Greek poet's biography following the one provided in Mme. Dacier's famous translation.⁶⁴ Particularly remarkable is the way in which Doris likens the tyrants Polycrates and Hipparchus, at whose courts Anacreon had lived, to contemporary counts, calling them "erlauchte Fürsten" and asserting that their very integrity can be taken as guarantee of the poet's own moral value.⁶⁵ The preface, at any rate, dramatically ends with the news of Gleim's return and Doris' realization that she must speed up the publication process:

Himmel, eben höre ich, daß mein Geliebter von dem Feldzuge zurück gekommen ist – – – und meine Vorrede ist noch nicht gedruckt. Wie leicht könnte er mich überraschen! Ich fürchte sein Verbot. Entschuldigt mich, liebenswürdige Freundinnen. Ich muß ihn umarmen. Lebt wohl.⁶⁶

The literary fiction, easily transparent as such, is marvelous in itself (Perels [1974: 74] fittingly dubs the two prefaces "Anakreontik in Prosa"), but its reception gives that fiction a further amusing twist: in response to the book's publication, Uz writes to Gleim pretending that Doris' editorship has made him doubt her fictionality, of which he had been convinced before (27 June 1745).⁶⁷ While appearing to cast doubt on his previous (and correct) assessment of Doris, Uz gives a perfect definition of her emblematic character:

(...) ich glaube, es ist Ihnen mit Ihrer Doris wohl gar Ernst? Sie giebt ihre Schrifften ja sogar heraus. Ich habe bißhero immer geglaubt, daß dieße schöne Doris nichts anders sey, als die vielen Mädgens in einem Ihrer Lieder, welche Sie durch eine poetische Dichtung zu einer einigen Person gemacht und Doris genennt haben.⁶⁸

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- 63 "Ihr habt sie gehöret, ohne dabei den Reichthum eines Reimregisters zu wünschen, und ihr habt dadurch bewiesen, daß der schöne Geschmakk des griechischen Frauenzimmers, welches Anakreon besang, der eurige sei. Wie wenig Ehre würde dasselbe noch ietzo davon haben, wenn es seine Lieder in Reime übersetzt hätte!" ("Mein Leser", Anger [1964: 69]). The composition of rhymeless Anacreontic verse seems to have been inspired by Johann Christoph Gottsched's 1733 *Versuch einer Uebersetzung Anacreons in reimlose Verse*, cf. Zeman (1972: 93-96).
- 64 *Les Poësies d'Anacreon et de Sapho, traduites en François, avec des Remarques, par Madame Dacier. Nouvelle Edition, augmentée des Notes Latines de Mr. le Fevre, & de la Traduction en vers François de Mr. de la Fosse*. A Amsterdam, Chez la Veuve de Paul Maurret, 1716. Interestingly, Gleim wrote out by hand Houdard de la Motte's poem "À Madame Dacier sur son Anacréon" into one of his copies of *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*. Presenting her translation as directly inspired by Amor, the poem ends with the remarkable lines: "Comme on imite ce qu'on aime / J'ose l'imiter à mon tour; / Mais je n'ai pas trouvé de même / L'ouvrage tout fait par l'amour."
- 65 "Können die Lieblinge ruhmwürdiger Prinzen lasterhaft seyn? Und kan ein Dichter, allein mit der Wissenschaft der Trinklieder und der Liebesbriefe, die Gnade erlauchter Fürsten verdienen?" ("Mein Leser", Anger [1964: 71]).
- 66 "Mein Leser", Anger (1964: 73).
- 67 On contemporary speculations regarding Doris' identity, cf. Perels (1974: 75).
- 68 Nr. 19, p. 77 Schüddekopf.

7 An Anacreontic Career

What sort of work was it, then, the *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*, in which this mysterious Doris plays so integral a role? In what follows I would like to take a look at some poems of this collection, investigating on the basis of select examples how Gleim inscribes himself in the Anacreontic tradition and appropriates motifs of the Greek original. The first book, which contains 51 poems, starts with an introductory piece, written in catalectic iambic dimeters (the same meter as CA 1), that programmatically characterizes the speaker as a disciple of Anacreon and lists typical Anacreontic themes (1.1). The student-teacher relation between Anacreon and Gleim parallels, I submit, the relationship between Anacreon and his ancient follower that is emblemized in the dream encounter of CA 1:⁶⁹

Anakreon

Anakreon, mein Lehrer,	
Singt nur von Wein und Liebe;	
Er salbt den Bart mit Salben,	
Und singt von Wein und Liebe;	
Er krönt sein Haupt mit Rosen,	5
Und singt von Wein und Liebe;	
Er paaret sich im Garten,	
Und singt von Wein und Liebe;	
Er wird beim Trunk ein König,	
Und singt von Wein und Liebe;	10
Er spielt mit seinen Göttern,	
Er lacht mit seinen Freunden,	
Vertreibt sich Gram und Sorgen,	
Verschmäht den reichen Pöbel,	
Verwirft das Lob der Helden,	15
Und singt von Wein und Liebe;	
Soll denn sein treuer Schüler	
Von Haß und Wasser singen?	

By repeating the sentence “Singt nur von Wein und Liebe” (2) – with slight variation – five times in 18 lines (“Und singt von Wein und Liebe”: 4, 6, 8, 10 and 16), Gleim makes use of a rhetorical device frequently found in the CA, and underlines, right from the start, the intrinsic repetitiveness of Anacreontic poetry, which no matter what motifs it evokes (be it unguents, roses, sexual pleasures,

69 As Stefan Tilg points out to me, the first to print CA 1 at the collection’s beginning was Mehlhorn (*Anacreontea quae dicuntur*, Glogaviae 1825). The poem, however, did appear in appendices to various other editions, including that by Mme Dacier (1716: 228), and was evidently known to Uz and Götz (cf. “Eines Ungenannten an Anakreon” in *Die Gedichte des Anakreons und der Sappho Oden*, 1760: 224-228).

gods, friends, the rejection of riches or heroic themes) always comes down to “wine, love and song” (as implied by the verb *singt*).⁷⁰ The combination of these three elements, no doubt, goes back to the stereotyped image of Anacreon that we encounter already in Hellenistic representations of the Archaic poet (cf., for instance, Antipater of Sidon AP 7.27.9-10 = 15.9-10 HE: τρισσοῖς γάρ, Μούσαισι, Διονύσω καὶ Ἔρωτι, / πρέσβυ, κατεσπείσθη πᾶς ὁ τεδὸς βίωτος, “For you, old man, have poured your entire life as a libation to three divinities: the Muses, Dionysus and Eros”).⁷¹ While in the first four cases the refrain is followed by a single verse, each dedicated to a different Anacreontic motif, five lines are inserted between the refrain’s fifth and sixth occurrence, breaking through the monotonous structure and offering a breathless, crescendo-like enumeration of further Anacreontic themes (the effect of breathlessness is strengthened by the asyndetic sequence of two phrases starting with “er” and three starting with the syllable “ver-”). As Zeman notes, the verses inserted between the lines of the refrain recall specific Anacreontic odes,⁷² giving the reader an idea of the activities described in the Greek collection. Gleim pointedly marks his continuation of this tradition in the last two lines by posing the rhetorical question whether a loyal disciple of Anacreon could possibly act otherwise and sing of “Haß und Wasser”.

Another form of teacher-student relationship is featured in the next text, where the speaker’s father tries to instruct him in arithmetics. In this case, however, he is anything but a willing pupil, as he does not care at all about counting money – all he is concerned with is, of course, counting girls (1.2):

Der Rechenschüler

Mein Vater lehrt mich rechnen,	
Er zälet Pfund und Taler;	
Ich aber zäle Mädchen.	
Er sagt: Es sollen zwanzig	
Sich in zwei tausend teilen,	5
Gieb jedem seine Winspel;	
Ich aber teile Mädchen,	
Und gebe jedem hundert.	
Ein Centner gilt zwei Gulden,	
Er fragt: Was gelten zwanzig?	10
Und meinest immer Centner;	
Ich aber meine Mädchen.	
Er fragt mich: Wenn du zwanzig	
Mit Zwanzigen vermehrest,	
Wie viel beträgt die Summe?	15

70 Cf. Zeman (1972: 194): “Mit der fortwährenden repetitio des Verses «Und singt von Wein und Liebe» erinnert er an das Grundthema und den Tenor der griechischen Gedichte.”

71 On Anacreon in Hellenistic epigram, cf. Gutzwiller in this volume.

72 Zeman (1974: 195): “Vers drei bezieht sich auf die 15., Vers fünf vor allem auf die 4. (daneben u.a. auch auf die 5., 6., 15.), Vers sieben auf die 52. Ode usw.”

Und wenn er mich so fräget,
 So denk ich ans Vermehren
 Der Schwestern und der Brüder
 Und lache, wenn ich rechne.

Rewriting CA 14, whose speaker is looking for an accountant of his loves (τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρώτων / [...] λογίστην, 14.5-6), Gleim has transferred the speech act of his model into the bourgeois milieu of his own century. His poem, too, has a programmatic function, as it evokes a multiplicity of girls and characterizes them as something that can be added up and distributed among lovers. Appearing in the role of a silly schoolboy, the poetic *ego* giggles while doing his homework, since he associates multiplication with physical reproduction. While the *Anacreontea* typically present Anacreon as a lusty old man, Gleim deviates from this practice by fashioning for himself a very young persona, who daydreams about possible liaisons with the single-mindedness of an adolescent (CA 14, by way of contrast, is notably retrospective: its speaker sounds like an aging sailor giving a tally of the girls he's had in every port).

The collection as a whole does not systematically present us with an amorous *curriculum vitae*, tracing in detail the *éducation sentimentale* of the German Anacreon from juvenile schoolboy to experienced lover (many poems seem to be 'timeless' and could be spoken by a male of any age), but it is remarkable that he repeatedly appears in the role of a youth opposing the strictness of old age and reminding his elders of how they themselves once used to enjoy life (e.g. in *Die Jugendlust*, 1.49, *An die Alten*, 2.8, and *An einen Vater*, 2.20).⁷³ Although most poems work on a paradigmatic level, offering variations on typically Anacreontic themes, we may also observe a certain syntagmatic development insofar as the final poems of Book 2 feature the speaker as participant of a military campaign, which, in a way, foreshadows Gleim's later transformation into a composer of Prussian *Kriegslieder*⁷⁴ (more on this finale below). Within the first book we also see the poetic *ego* turn from the *Rechenschüler* of poem 2 into a student of law: recalling his parents' attempts to make him take up a serious profession, which were destined to fail due to his Anacreontic inclinations, the speaker warns fathers not to force their children to learn things they do not wish to learn (1.18, *An die Eltern*). After refusing to become a priest or a doctor, he was sent to study with a lawyer, but the only cases he is able to handle are the disputes of lovers: "(...) Und mein Lehrer konnt es merken, / Daß ich nichts erlernen würde, / Als die Händel der Verliebten; / Drum verschafft er mir vom Richter / Lauter Händel der Verliebten (...)" (1.18.41-45).

73 Addressing a father with whose daughter he is fooling around, the speaker, for instance, remarks: "Alter, denk an deine Jugend! / Fühle noch einmal die Wollust, / Die du in den Adern fühltest, / Damals, als du Vater wurdest" (*An den Vater*, 2.20.1-4).

74 Cf. *Preußische Kriegslieder in den Feldzügen 1756 und 1757 von einem Grenadier. Mit Melodien*, Berlin 1758: Christian Friedrich Voß.

His very expertise is invoked – with an explicit reference to this poem – in the final text of Book 1, where Gleim is asked to settle a quarrel between blondes and brunettes (1.51, *Kaffee und Thee*). The argument breaks out when the speaker offends the blondes by claiming that he drinks coffee in honor of the brunettes: “Komm! sprach ein loses Mädchen, / Und winkte mit dem Fächer, / Du hast ja einst gesungen, / Du könntest Händel schlichten; / Nun schlicht auch unsre Händel” (12-16). He reestablishes peace between the two squabbling parties by asserting that, while drinking his afternoon coffee in honor of brown-haired girls, he honors those with blonde hair by having tea in the morning.⁷⁵ It is worthy of note that this dispute, which functions as conclusion to Book 1, is mirrored by the military conflicts evoked at the end of Book 2. Most importantly, the equality of all girls, dark and fair, that is proclaimed here is constitutive for the Anacreontic universe as a whole, where any female is bound to arouse desire.

The speaker’s general obsession with girls manifests itself in a variety of texts throughout the collection: he dreams of nothing but girls (“Und immer, wenn ich träume, / Traum’ ich von nichts als Mädchen”, *Geschäfte*, 1.7.2-3), he would carve, sculpt or weave nothing but girls if only he had the ability (*An Doris*, 1.11), he would paint nothing but girls if only he could paint (“Könnt ich malen, wie Apelles, / Lauter Mädchens wollt ich malen”, *Die Wahl*, 1.14.1-2), through a telescope he sees girls even on the moon (*Der Sternseher*, 1.30), he loves all beauties (*Die Revüe*, 2.11), he wishes to create a universe full of girls (“Ich versprech euch, liebste Götter, / Nichts, als Mädchen, zu erschaffen, / Nichts, als allerliebste Mädchen. / Laßt mich nur so viel erschaffen, / Daß der Raum, bis an den Himmel, / Überall von Mädchen wimmelt [...]”, *Der Schöpfer*, 2.36.11-16).

It is precisely this excessive girl-craziness (there’s nothing quite like it in the CA!) that Christoph Otto Freiherr von Schönaiach mocks in the account of a dream inserted into his polemical treatise *Die ganze Ästhetik in einer Nuß oder Neologisches Wörterbuch* (1754). While the speaker of CA 1 relates an oneiric encounter between himself and Anacreon, Schönaiach tells us how a dream had turned him into the gatekeeper of Trophonius’ Cave, at whose entrance he witnessed a meeting between Gleim and his model (1754: 281):

(...) so kam ein kleines Männchen; er hüpfte; er sprang und wackelte, wie das Möpschen mit dem Schwanze wackelte, das er unter dem linken Arme trug; da der rechte mit einem Seherohre gerüstet war. Er sah nach den Sternen, und sah lauter Mägdchen; Er fing an zu singen, und sang lauter Mägdchen; er fing an zu schaffen, und schuf lauter Mägdchen: er liebte nichts als Schönen:

75 “Den braunen Trank der Türken / Trink ich des Nachmittages / zur Ehre der Brunetten; / den weissen Trank der Seren, / den Thee, trink ich des Morgens / zur Ehre der Blondinen” (1.51.44-49).

Er liebte die Helenen,
 Die Hannchen und die Fiekchen,
 Die Lieschen und die Miekchen.⁷⁶

Kurz! er war jungferntoll; und nannte sich der deutsche Anacreon.

The German Anacreon is next led into the cave by his Greek counterpart, thus disappearing from the speaker's (and our) view. Whatever happened inside, he comes out in a rather despondent mood, confessing that his true name is Gleim and that he failed to do justice to Anacreon's moral teachings by imitating only the playful and whimsical elements of his poetry. However, he recovers his good spirits in no time and once again turns to hunting girls, even where there are none:

(...) so sah auch uns Gleim für ein Mägdchen an, und wollte gaukelnd, wahrhaftig!
 wahrhaftig! uns küssen; ob wir gleich mit einem gräßlichen Capuzinerbarte versehen
 waren.

8 Variations on the 'Instructions-to-a-Painter' Motif

Gleim clearly sees girls everywhere, and his concept of love, corresponding to that of the *Carmina Anacreontea*, is one of universal passion. Like Bathyllus in the Greek original, Doris is (as Uz already observed) not an individual but an emblematic character: she is the very archetype of Anacreontic darlings. Her programmatic role is particularly palpable in a poem entitled *An Doris* (1.42), which offers an interesting variation on the 'Instructions-to-a-Painter' motif known to us from CA 16 and 17, whose speaker gives advice to a painter on how to fashion portraits of his mistress (16) and of Bathyllus (17).⁷⁷ Instead of asking a painter to represent his beloved, Gleim asks Doris to embroider images of boys, including one of himself, from pictures that he himself had drawn (note that, like its models, Gleim's text is written in the Anacreontic metrum: $\cup\cup-\cup-\cup-\cup-\cup$):

An Doris

Künstlerinn! wir künsteln beide,
 Du kannst stikken, ich kann malen.
 Aber stikkst du denn nur Blumen?
 Kannst du nicht mit goldnen Faden
 Knaben oder Mädchens stikken?
 Wag' es nur, es wird schon gehen.
 Aber erstlich stikke Knaben.

5

76 This passage evokes multiple poems by Gleim: *Das Möpschen* (1.9), *Der Sternseher* (1.30), *Der Schöpfer* (2.36) and *Die Revüe* (2.11, turning vv. 2-4 from first person to third person account).

77 On these poems, cf. Baumann in this volume; on the reception of the motif, cf. Osborne (1949).

typically female activity). In either case we would be dealing with a wonderfully complex entanglement of model and imitation – be it a third-degree mimesis (Doris replicating in her needlework the image of an image) or a form of *mise-en-abyme* (Doris stitching the image of the poet stitching a rose to be worn on her bosom). Following the latter reading one might be reminded of the relationship between speech and painting in CA 16, where the poet evokes the image of his beloved through words, from which the painter is to fashion a portrait, which in turn is envisioned as speaking.⁷⁸ The text, at any rate, seems to be deliberately ambiguous, blurring the boundaries between reality and image, even as it blurs the respective roles of poet and beloved: it becomes increasingly hard to tell who is representing whom on the basis of what model!

Another Gleim-specific variation on the ‘Instructions-to-a-Painter’ motif is offered by the ode *An Herrn Pesne* (2.3), in which the poet asks the Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne (1683-1757) to fashion portraits of his friends (“Maler, male meine Freunde”, 1). One is instantly reminded of the picture gallery in Gleim’s *Freundschaftstempel*, and we may, indeed, regard this text as its verbal equivalent, or rather a verbal foreshadowing, as Gleim only established his temple after being separated from his Berlin circle of friends when moving to Halberstadt in 1747. The list of friends culminates in the mention of Peter Uz, who, Gleim suggests, resembles the wax image ordered by Anacreon (a reference to the image of Bathyllus in CA 17) and is to be painted after precisely this model – Gleim could not have marked his poetic debt more clearly! Not only does his request to paint Uz after Bathyllus point to the poem’s dependence on its textual model, it also imitates an act evoked in the Greek poem itself, which concludes with the speaker’s challenge that, should the painter ever come to Samos, he paint Phoebus after Bathyllus (ἦν δ’ ἐς Σάμῳ ποτ’ ἔλθῃς / γράφε Φοῖβον ἐκ Βαθύλλου, CA 17.45-46):

Uz, wie laß ich dich doch malen?
 Siehst du nicht dem WachsBild ähnlich,
 Das Anakreon bestellte?
 Maler, mal ihn nach dem Bilde:
 Mal ihn, hinter Rosenbüschen, 45
 An dem Ufer eines Teiches.
 Laß ihn lauschen, laß ihn sehen,
 Wie sich eine Venus badet.

The reference to a bathing Venus, at whom Uz is pictured as gazing, possibly contains a hidden joke, as it might invite the reader familiar with the Greek original to envision Uz endowed, like Bathyllus, with a “bold member (...) already desiring Paphia” (ἀφελῆ ποίησον αἰδῶ / Παφίην θέλουσαν ἤδη, CA 17.36-37). This is not something that Gleim would have written explicitly, but I would not

78 The poem concludes with the line: τάχα κηρὲ καὶ λαλήσεις (CA 16.34).

exclude that Gleim, by transforming the metonymy of Paphia into the concrete image of a bathing Venus, also jestingly evoked Uz/Bathyllus' physical reaction to such a sight. At the same time, however, he prudishly hides his friend's erection behind a rosebush – just as the genitalia of ancient statues would be covered with a fig-leave to make them socially acceptable.⁷⁹ On a metapoetic level, the instruction to paint Uz behind rosebushes (2.3.45) may point to the way in which Gleim hides sexual allusions such as this beneath his 'rosy' poetry. If the passage can indeed be understood in this sense, then it is particularly amusing to encounter Uz's moral outrage at Götz's all too faithful translation of CA 17 in a letter from 5 December 1746: "Wie unanständig aber ist es nicht, daß er in dem Liede vom Bathyll seiner Scham gedenkt! Was hat Doris gesagt, als sie diese Stelle gelesen?"⁸⁰

After thus concluding his list of friends, Gleim wishes himself to be portrayed as kissing them ("Maler, dis sind meine Freunde, / Male mich, daß ich sie küsse", 2.3.49-50) – are we to envision an image of the poet as he presses kisses on the other images (and could this be something Gleim would later have done for real in his *Freundschaftstempel*)? He moreover commissions a portrait of his father "daß er meine Freunde siehet" (54), which similarly suggests the idea of a picture beholding other pictures. Once again the boundaries between image and reality are blurred. Is the painting of the father, whose "Redlichkeit" (57) should serve as an incentive to virtue for Gleim & Co., to be hung on a wall opposite the other portraits? Are the friends themselves invited to look at this painting and to follow his example, while their own images permanently face that of Gleim's father? Be that as it may, the speaker concludes his instructions by ordering another set of portraits depicting the female companions of his friends (64-68) so as to make the painted Anacreontic community complete.

9 Love and War

We have seen how Gleim rewrites certain poems of the Greek corpus, how he created a poetic universe that is timelessly Anacreontic, while also reflecting the circumstances of his own here and now. The limited scope of this essay does not permit me to provide a more detailed analysis, revealing further verbal and thematic parallels between Gleim's *Scherzhafte Lieder* and the *Carmina Anacreontea*. What I would like to highlight at this point, however, is the way in which our

79 I owe this last observation to Peter Bing, who also raised the possibility of an additional joke: could Gleim insinuate that Uz has a lot to hide, since a leaf (or a branch, as in the case of Odysseus) was not enough to cover him?

80 Nr. 30, p. 145 Schüddekopf. On 22 December 1746, Gleim responds (Nr. 31, p. 148 Schüddekopf): "Ich habe es meinem Mädchen noch nicht in die Hände gegeben, um des Bathyls Willen" (this, of course, contradicts his earlier assertion, dating from June 1746, that Doris had been shocked at the book's bad quality).

poet seems to turn his back to the Anacreontic lyre as he goes off to war in the final sequence of poems – only to return from his military exploits under the guidance of Amor in the last text. In general, Gleim’s persona rejects heroic themes just as the Greek followers of the Teian bard had done. Book 2 is, in fact, opened by a programmatic *recusatio*, which *inter alia* takes up the image of the “bloodless chords” from CA 2 (“Meine Saiten / Sind nicht blutig”, *Die Anfrage*, 2.1.12-13 ~ φωνίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς, CA 2.2) – hence Doris’ (and our) surprise when the poet joins a troupe of soldiers in 2.44 (*Antworten auf die Fragen der Doris*): “Warum ziehst du doch mit Kriegern?” she asks (1). “Ich will Heldenthaten sehen”, is his reply (2).

However, it soon turns out that the heroic deeds of which he wishes to sing are not of the ordinary kind; they are, so to speak, anacreonticized.⁸¹ If meeting the enemy face to face, Gleim plans to “smile at them, to joke and tell of Doris”.⁸² In *Der Plünderer* (2.46), he comforts a mother and daughter, who have been the victims of pillagers, only to become the girl’s “Plünderer” himself. How is one to create peace in Germany? Our poet has the answer: “Drum, o Deutschland, / Wilst du Frieden? / Wein und Liebe / Kan ihn stiften” (*Der Friedensstifter*, 2.48.7-10). He advises Prague to surrender immediately⁸³ – but should it be necessary to besiege the city, he has one special request: “Ach, möchtet, ihr Kanonen, / Die Mädchen nur verschonen!” (2.49.29-30). Where his prince conquers lands, he, of course, conquers girls.⁸⁴

As should be clear from these examples, Gleim thinks in Anacreontic terms even in the context of war and remains true to his Anacreontic principles even in the field. It has to be noted that the historic Gleim did indeed fight against Austria on the Prussian side during the Second Silesian War; he indeed stood before Prague, which capitulated on 16 September 1744. During this siege his master, Prince Wilhelm von Brandenburg-Schwedt, was killed, and he accompanied the corpse back to Berlin, where he stayed on and composed his *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*. What is notable here is that Gleim absorbed this biographic circumstance into the Anacreontic discourse of his collection entirely, managing to incorporate the element of war, which, by definition, ought to be excluded from this genre.

81 It should be noted that Gleim’s inclusion of “war songs” into his collection of Anacreontic verse was criticized by Christian Nikolaus Naumann (*Der Liebhaber der schönen Wissenschaft*, vol. 1, 1746: 64): “Man sieht leichtlich, wie wenig sich Anakreon und die Helden zusammenpaaren, und daß die zärtlichen Musen des erstern mit dem rauschenden Lärmen des letztern nicht allzu gerne Gemeinschaft haben”; cf. Perels (1974: 91).

82 “Laß mich nur die Feinde fangen / Wenn sie feindlich trotzen wollen, / O so will ich freundlich lächeln, / Und geschwinde will ich scherzen, / Ich will was von dir erzählen” (2.44.20-24).

83 “Ach Prag, ich will dir rathen, / Verspare deine Thaten. / Ergib dich an uns Preussen, / Eh wir die Bomben schmeißen” (*An die Stadt Prag*, 2.49.1-4).

84 *An den Kriegesgott* (2.51.11-14): „Nein, wisse meine Thaten, / Nein, wiß es, Gott der Krieger: / Mein Prinz erobert Länder, / und ich erobre Mädchen.“

As mentioned above, Gleim ends his second book by envisioning how Amor leads (or rather chases) him out of the camp (2.54):

Die Flucht aus dem Lager vor Prag

Als ein Heer die letzten Kräfte
 Auf dem Ziskaberge wagte,
 Und noch Bomben oder Kugeln
 In dem nahen Lager tobten;
 Als ich noch der Kugel fluchte, 5
 Die mir meinen Prinzen raubte,
 Kam, mit schnellen Taubenflügeln,
 Amor in mein Zelt geflogen.
 Dreister, sprach der Gott der Liebe,
 Dreister, kanst du hier verweilen? 10
 Hier, wo die verwegnen Menschen
 Tödteten, und sich tödten lassen;
 Hier, wo die erzürnten Götter,
 Auch die besten Helden tödten?
 Ist dein Prinz nicht schon getödtet? 15
 Falscher, geh, dein Mädchen weinet,
 Geh, eh dich die Kugeln tödten,
 Geh, was machst du bei den Helden,
 Geh, ich kan nicht länger sehen,
 Wie dein armes Mädchen weinet! 20
 Liebster, sprach ich, lieber Amor,
 Kömst du ietzt von meinem Mädchen?
 Aber er verschwieg die Antwort,
 Und ergrif den Stab im Zelte,
 Der die Leinwand unterstützet, 25
 Und der Stab ward weis wie Silber,
 Und das Zelt fing an zu fallen,
 Und er trieb mich, mit dem Stabe,
 Aus dem Zelt und aus dem Lager.
 Hätten Krieger zugesehen, 30
 Als mich Amor mit dem Stabe,
 Zornig aus dem Lager iagte;
 O wie hätten sie gelachtet!
 Doch, es läßt der Gott der Liebe
 Sich von keinem Krieger sehen. 35

With his prince dead and his girl crying, it is high time to get away! Amor thus admonishes Gleim, grabs the pole of his tent, which turns into a silver rod (the German uses the word *Stab* in both instances), and chases the poet through the camp – a spectacle that would have made everyone laugh, if it weren't for the fact that the god of love is invisible to soldiers (30-35). Amor's pursuit of Gleim clearly evokes CA 31, whose speaker is likewise forced into compliance by Eros'

rod (Υακινθίνη με ῥάβδωι / χαλεπῶς Ἔρωσ ῥαπίζων / ἐκέλευε συντροχάζειν, CA 31.1-3). At the same time, however, the image of a god guiding someone through a military camp unseen by others recalls, I submit, Hermes guiding Priam's way to Achilles' tent (note, in particular how the rod taken up by Eros, 24-28, might suggest Hermes' standard attribute). Gleim's distinctly anti-epic collection thus ends with an allusion to the last book of the *Iliad*, turning the sublime ending of Homer's epic into a farcical scene modeled on an Anacreontic song. Where the Homeric heroes were besieging Troy, the Prussian army is beleaguering Prague – even if Gleim does not find himself within the besieged city, but on the side of the attackers, the parallel is obvious⁸⁵ (one might also wonder whether Amor's *Zorn* at the poet-soldier is supposed to mirror and to a certain extent reverse the μῆνις-motif of the *Iliad*: while Achilles stops fighting due to his wrath, Amor is angry at Gleim for continuing the fight).

I would even go a step further and argue that a biographical detail, though not explicitly evoked in the poem, might form part of this allusive game. For if such poetic reminiscences are activated here, and if the contemporary reader knew that, historically, Gleim left the camp in order to escort the corpse of Prinz Wilhelm back to Berlin, then this act might be seen to constitute a further parallel between him and Priam, who goes to Achilles in order to ransom the body of his son Hector and bring it back to his city. To be sure, the poem itself does not make mention of this fact, but it does show the poet mourning for his prince (5-8). Gleim suppresses this element of his own story and presents his flight from war as inspired by Love: the concluding poem thus stands in telling counterpoint to the biographical episode, and yet the latter seems to lurk allusively in the background.

Be that as it may, the finale of Book 2 with its portrayal of the poet going AWOL leads us right back to its preface, where Doris learns of her lover's return from war and rushes off to publish his poems (cf. p. 209). It also brings us back to the beginning of this paper, which took its start from the curious appropriation of an Anacreontic melody for a military ode: by presenting the experiences of a soldier à la Anacreon, Gleim's poetry likewise offers a fascinating example of love's entanglement with war. As mentioned above, our poet later turned to the composition of genuine *Kriegslieder*, but his reputation as the German Anacreon would persist throughout his lifetime. So great indeed was his literary fame that Anacreon himself desired to make his acquaintance! That, at least, is the fiction of a hitherto unknown Anacreontic song composed – in Greek – by the Alsatian philologist Richard François Philippe Brunck (1729-1803),⁸⁶ which I had the good fortune of discovering during a visit to the Gleimhaus in Halberstadt. The poem is written by hand on three pages at the beginning of Brunck's 1778

85 We may observe a similar reversal in the fact that Amor leads Gleim *out of* his tent, while Hermes guides Priam on his way *to* Achilles' tent.

86 For a brief survey of Brunck's life and scholarly work, cf. Sandys (1908: 395-396).

Anacreon edition⁸⁷ and evidently served as his dedication to the German poet. I would like to conclude my essay by taking a look at how this newly found text envisions Anacreon filled with desire for his German re-incarnation.

10 ΑΝΑΚΡΕΩΝ ΓΛΕΙΜΙΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ An Unknown Anacreontic Song

Starting with a (non-metrical) epistolary greeting (Ανακρέων Γλειμίω χαίρειν), the piece intriguingly portrays Anacreon as one of Gleim's correspondents. The ancient poet appears as the composer of a 42-line song in Anacreontic meter, which functions as a cover letter of sorts to Brunck's edition of Anacreon's own verse. Here is the text together with an English translation and some notes on Brunck's usage of Greek:⁸⁸

<p>Ανακρέων Γλειμίω χαίρειν. Ανακρέων, ὃν οἶδας, ἰδοῦ, σὺν χιλίοισι χειλῶν φιλημάτεσσι, τὸ βιβλίον τὸ μικρὸν Ανακρέοντι πέμπει 5 Γερμανίας, ἅπασι θεοῖς θεαῖς τ' ἑταίρω, τῷ Γλειμίω κρατίστῳ. ἔν δ' ἴσθι· μακρὸν ἤδη χρόνον τοῖς ὀμμάτεσσιν 10 ἔμοῖς βλέπειν ποθοῦμαι τόν μοι μάλιστ' ὄμοιον. ἔάν⁸⁹ δέ σευ κρατῆσαι μάκαρες θεοὶ μ' ἔπεμψαν, (θεοὶ με γὰρ φιλοῦντες 15 σοὶ δαίμιον' ἐξέλεξαν, πρὶν ἂν⁹⁰ πρὸς οἶκον ἦλθον,</p>	<p>Anacreon gives greetings to Gleim. Anacreon, whom you know, look! – along with thousands of kisses from his lips sends this small book to Germany's Anacreon, companion of all gods and goddesses, the mighty Gleim. Know this one thing: already for a long time have I been craving to see you with my own eyes, you who most resemble me. But when the blessed gods sent me to take hold of you (for the gods who love me chose me as your daimon), before I'd even reached the house</p>
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87 ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΩΔΑΙ. *Anacreontis carmina. E MSS. Codd. & doctorum Virorum conjecturis emendata.* Argentorati. Excud. J.H. Heitz Acad. Typ., 1778. Besides the *Carmina Anacreontea* and Anacreon's poems, the edition contains erotic and sympotic verse by a variety of other authors, including Sappho.

88 I have transcribed the text as it appears in Brunck's handwriting; he did not put any rough or soft breathings before majuscule vowels.

89 ἔάν coupled with aor. ind. is clearly wrong. Was Brunck simply careless in transcribing his own poem? As David Sider suggests to me, the text could easily be emended by reading ἐπεὶ instead of ἔάν.

90 The construction πρὶν ἂν + aor. ind. is hardly correct. In Attic prose, πρὶν (in the meaning of "until") can be coupled with ἂν and *subjunctive* – after a *negated* principle clause – to denote an expected future action or a repeated action in the present or future (cf. K-G II.2

ὄν οἰκέεις, τοσούτων φίλων ὡς ἠκόεισαν ⁹¹		in which you live, upon hearing the lamentations and prayers
θρήνους τε καὶ δεήσεις	20	of so many friends,
τάχιστα μὲν κέλευον ἀναστρέφειν ἴοντα.		they at once bade me turn back from my journey.
Ἀλλ', ὦ φίλων κάλλιστε,		But, fairest of friends,
ἔγωγέ σευ πρόσωπον ναὶ μήποτ' οὐχ ὀρθῶμαι.	25	perhaps I am never indeed to see your face.
θεῶν ὀλυμπιῶν ⁹² δὲ σεβαστέον θέλημα.		The will of the Olympian gods must be respected.
Προαγγελῶ δέ σοι νῦν πιστὸν θεῶν θέλημα.		But I shall now proclaim to you the sure will of the gods.
Ἀνακρέοντος αὐτοῦ,	30	Even though Anacreon himself lived three generations,
κᾶν ⁹³ τρεῖς γενεὰς ζῴοντος, γεραίτερος γενήσῃ,		you shall grow older than him, you shall taste the grapes,
τῶν βοτρύων τε γεύσῃ, φίλων τ' ἀριθμὸν ἔξεις		you shall have friends numbering
ἀπ' ἠόος πυλῶν μὲν	35	from the gates of dawn to evening's chamber.
θάλαμον πρὸς ἑσπέριοιο. μελῶν ὁ μισθὸς οὗτος.		This is the reward for your songs.
γηρῶντι δ', ὡς ἐμοίγε, θεοὶ προσεμβалоῦσι		As you grow old, the gods shall, as they did with me, instill
καὶ σοι, φίλων κάλλιστε,	40	in you too, fairest of friends, a cheerful spirit and joy
νοῦν εὐθυμον χαράν τε τὴν αἰὲν αὐξάνουσαν.		ever-growing.

The idea of Anacreon sending this little book⁹⁴ to his German counterpart (Ἀνακρέοντι πέμπει / Γερμανιάς, 5-6) clearly evokes CA 15, in which Anacreon dispatches a dove (Ἀνακρέων μ' ἐπεμψε, CA 15.7) carrying a message to Bathyllus (ἐπιστολὰς κομίζω, CA 15.16).⁹⁵ While the act of letter-writing is thus prefigured in the *Carmina Anacreontea*, the image gains special poignancy in the light of 18th cent. *Briefkultur* and Gleim's own prominence as a letter-writer: the poet's ancient model is, so to speak, absorbed into the epistolary discourse of his own era. One might say that the book functions as a substitute for the Teian bard,

§568 b). In a case where the action described did not in fact occur and the conjunction is coupled with an affirmative main clause one would rather expect πρὶν (in the meaning of "before") + infinitive (cf. K-G II.2 §568 d): πρὶν με πρὸς οἶκον ἔλθεῖν.

91 Presumably for ἠκηκόεισαν, a later Greek variant of the 3rd prs. pluperf. ind. form ἠκηκόεσαν (cf. Phrynichus, *Eclogai* CXXVI Rutherford).

92 It should be accented Ὀλυμπίων.

93 While κᾶν is regularly used as a conjunction in concessive sentences, one would rather expect καὶ or καίπερ for the concessive coloring of a participle (K-G II.2 §486.4 Anm. 8).

94 The edition's characterization as τὸ βιβλίον τὸ μικρόν is apt, as the book's format is indeed very small.

95 It is no coincidence that line 30 of Brunck's poem (Ἀνακρέοντος αὐτοῦ) is a verbatim quotation of CA 15.27.

whom the gods had sent (μάκαρες θεοὶ μ' ἔπεμψαν, 14) to lead Gleim into their midst for apotheosis. Yearning to finally meet his successor face-to-face (the verb ποθοῦμαι is appropriately erotic and Anacreontic!), Anacreon set out on his journey, but the gods called him back when they realized how sad Gleim's friends would be in the face of his premature departure from earth. Therefore, they decreed for him an exceedingly long life – a life longer even than that of Anacreon, who was famed for his longevity.

We do well to remember that Gleim was almost 60 years old when these lines were penned to him. And Anacreon's prophecy would prove to be true: the German poet did in fact reach a ripe old age, dying over 20 years later in 1803. The evocation of Gleim's friends, who are presented as beseeching the gods not to take him away from them, is a further reflection of 18th cent. culture in general and Gleim's personal elevation of the cult of friendship in particular. It is, at any rate, rather comical to imagine a chorus of *so many friends* (τοσούτων φίλων, 18-19) crying and begging the gods to let him stay. What strikes me as most fascinating about this poem, though, is its fiction that Anacreon himself longs to behold his most successful impersonator (ὁμιάτεσσιν / ἔμοιζ βλεπεῖν ποθοῦμαι / τὸν μοι μάλιστ' ὄμοιον, 10-12) – a wish that remains unfulfilled, at least for the time being. The poem thus envisions a scenario that reverses, I submit, the episode described in CA 1, where Anacreon *sees* his literary heir (Ἀνακρέων ἰδὼν με) and subsequently initiates him in the art of writing.⁹⁶ In this case, Anacreon is not to set eyes upon Gleim; instead, Gleim will see only his textual embodiment, his book of poems (note how ἰδοῦ at the beginning of line 2 recalls the participle ἰδὼν in CA 1.1). And is there a better way to pay homage to the German Anacreon than to present him with this corpus of Anacreontic verse autographed, as it were, by the master himself?⁹⁷

96 The poem is presented on pp. 66-67 in Brunck's edition under the name of Basilios.

97 I would like to thank Ute Pott and Annegret Loose, from the Gleimhaus in Halberstadt, for their kind help in granting me access to Gleim's *Anacreontea* editions and the poet's personal copies of his *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*. My heartfelt thanks go to Peter Bing for inspiring me to visit the Gleimhaus and accompanying me on a memorable trip. In addition, I am very grateful to him, Niklas Holzberg, David Sider and Claudia Wiener for their stimulating input on Brunck's *anacreontium*. Last but not least I would like to thank Manuel Baumbach and Nicola Dümmler for their generous comments on this essay.

Tschernikovsky's *Songs of Anacreon* A Curious Literary Phenomenon

PATRICIA A. ROSENMEYER

1 Introduction

Imagine for a moment that you are participating in a grand social experiment in which you have the opportunity to establish a new country. The Ministry of Education has asked you to compose a list of authors, a literary canon that will form the common cultural core of your new educational system. Would you include the Anacreontics in that canon?

This scenario actually played out in history in the early 20th century, as growing numbers of European Jews, exhausted by poverty, pogroms, and prejudice, began constructing a long-imagined home for themselves in which they would speak their own language and articulate their own national culture. This study situates the reception of the Anacreontics against the background of this social and political experiment, and explores one poet's enthusiasm for, as Jules Labarbe puts it, the "curious literary phenomenon" of the Anacreontics.¹ We will investigate the role Anacreontic verse played in the articulation of the modern Hebrew poetic canon, and the relationship of that canon with Greek and Roman antiquity.

In 1920, the Anacreontics were translated into Hebrew by Shaul Tschernikovsky (1875-1943), a Russian Jewish poet who had been educated in Odessa, Heidelberg, and Lausanne, lived for many years in Berlin, and eventually emigrated to Palestine. Tschernikovsky is considered the most important poet after Chaim Nachman Bialik (1873-1934) in the generation of Hebrew writers active around the turn of the 20th century, and his literary career was marked by a desire to embrace Western literature and transfuse it into Hebrew poetry.² His Anacreontic translations were part of a larger literary project undertaken by the publisher Avraham Stybel, who commissioned from Tschernikovsky translations of Homer, Aeschylus, Shakespeare, and Goethe, among others.³ Tschernikovsky's trans-

1 Labarbe (1982: 146-181).

2 Burnshaw et al. (2003: 43). For general background on Tschernikovsky and his influence, see also Dykman's excellent entry on the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research's website: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Tchernichowsky_Shaul.

3 For the wider context of Tschernikovsky's activity in Stybel's publishing company, see Amichay-Michlin (2000).

lations were originally intended to be part of the educational curriculum for school children in Palestine in the 1920s and 30s.

The most surprising thing for us today, I suspect, is to find the Anacreontics sharing the same table with such august company as Homer and Shakespeare. But for Tschernikovsky and his contemporaries, the Anacreontics represented a kind of universal mark of high culture and civilization. In the introduction to his translation *Shirei Anakreon* (Warsaw: Stybel, 1920), Tschernikovsky writes: “It is impossible to find a cultured nation whose body of literature does not include those poems that are known as the ‘Anacreontics’.”⁴ A few years later, another Hebrew poet, Uri Zvi Greenberg, would publish “Anacreon at the Pole of Sadness” (1928), in which ‘Anacreon’ represents the happiness of a charmed youth in Berlin.⁵ What was it about the Anacreontics that attracted these publishers and poets? How did the Anacreontics function as a passport to high culture? How did the poet go about translating the Greek verses into a language that was precariously balanced between an overdetermined written past – the language of the Bible –, and an imaginary spoken future – the modern Hebrew of a Zionist homeland?

2 Translation as Cultural Strategy

In order to begin to answer some of these questions, we need to take a quick detour through Russian-Jewish cultural politics in the early 20th century, when Jewish authors were divided between allegiance to Yiddish or Hebrew as the language of their future, and the Zionist movement was just beginning to gain momentum.

Writing in 1917, a few weeks before the Russian Revolution began in earnest, a Moscow Hebrew newspaper, *Ha-am*, published an article by the journalist and cultural critic Aaron Litai, calling for the creation of a publicly-funded program to translate “the famous works of the great figures of the nations of the world” into Hebrew.⁶ The same year saw the founding of a publishing house in Moscow by

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- 4 See *Appendix 1* at the conclusion of this paper for a full text of Tschernikovsky’s introduction.
 - 5 On Uri Zvi Greenberg’s “Anacreon at the Pole of Sadness” (Tel Aviv 1928), see Ben-Porat (1990: 257-281), esp. p. 260 and notes 9-12. For Greenberg and Tschernikovsky, among others, ‘Anacreon’ seemed to offer a glimpse into a happier world; see, in this volume, Höschele’s (pp. 199-226) discussion of Anacreonticism as a lifestyle for the German poet Gleim, who imagined living an Anacreontic life centered on friendship, wine, and roses.
 - 6 Litai (1917), translated in Moss (2007: 196). On the idea of ‘great figures’, see also K. Gutzwiller, in this volume, who discusses the reception in the Hellenistic period of Anacreon as a hero or figurehead, although in that context, poets insisted on the genuine historical Anacreon as their model, while Tschernikovsky, as we will see below, explicitly rejected the centrality of authenticity for his translation project. See also the comments of G. Most in this volume (p. 151): poets imitated Anacreon “not so much as a poet who

the patron of the arts and literary enthusiast Avraham Stybel (1885-1946).⁷ Stybel's vision, representative of the general cultural atmosphere of the time, was for a new cosmopolitan Hebrew culture centering on humanistic conceptions of art, and integrated into a fully European cultural tradition that did not distinguish sharply between Jewish and non-Jewish literature.⁸ In the words of the historian Kenneth Moss, this was Jewish high culture in an idealized European mold: "humanistic, historicist, essentially secular, shot through with Romantic conceptions of language and nationhood, and predicated above all on the ideal of Art as the highest end of human individual and collective expression."⁹ Or, in the words of M. Ben-Eliezer, speaking in the language of economics, "world literature in translation was 'spiritual capital' that the young peoples take on credit from their older neighbors", capital that then served "as the basis for the building of their national literature".¹⁰

Stybel's press, and other Hebrew and Yiddish publishing houses like his, saw themselves less as businesses, and more as shapers of Jewish culture.¹¹ Their intention, echoing the earlier aspirations of the 18th-century German Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelsohn during the period of the Jewish Enlightenment, was to create a Jewish secular literature, and remake Jewish culture as a branch of a multilingual, universal European culture. Where Jewish society would find a physical home was a subject of great debate; the first meeting of Theodor Herzl's World Zionist Organization, in Basel in 1897, addressed that very question. But whatever the geographical solution, the cultural affiliation of the new Zionist state was clear: it would cleave unwaveringly to the European canon as defined by late 19th-century Romanticism.

The Stybel Press published hundreds of translations, including works originally in English, French, German, Russian, and Polish, as well as original Hebrew literary pieces.¹² Its translations were particularly popular among the Hebrew-speaking residents in Palestine; some would say that the availability of such

produced certain texts but rather as a heroic exponent of a particular way of life (call it 'Anacreontic')."

7 Also involved were the journalist Bentsiyon Katz, and, as editor-in-chief, the literary critic David Frischmann; see the YIVO website: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Stybel.

8 See the YIVO website: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Stybel.

9 Moss (2007: 197).

10 Ben-Eliezer (1917: 319), translated in Moss (2007: 209). While this language sounds Marxist at heart, it also echoes the language of the traditional Jewish prayerbook in a passage recited before daily prayers: see, for example, the wording in the *siddur* (Harlow [1985: 9]): "These are the deeds which yield immediate fruit and continue to yield fruit in time to come [*keren kayemet*]."

11 See Moss (2007: 199) for other names of Yiddish and Hebrew publishing houses. In fact, the Stybel Press as a business could be said to have been a failure, as it collapsed (and re-invented itself) several times (and in several cities) between 1917 (Moscow) and 1938 (Warsaw).

12 A partial list can be found on the back of the 1918 volume of *Ha-tekufah*; see Moss (2007: 206).

translations to the growing immigrant community (*yishuv*) was Stybel's greatest legacy.¹³ Stybel himself firmly believed that Hebrew culture would command the loyalty of younger generations only if world culture were readily available in Hebrew translation.¹⁴

Tschernikovsky, and his more famous fellow poet Bialik, were well prepared to participate in this ambitious translation project. Tschernikovsky was born in 1875 in the village of Michaelovka, in the Crimea. He grew up speaking Russian, but began his formal Hebrew education with his father at age 7. In 1890, he began studying at a private school in Odessa, and two years later, on December 9th, 1892 had his poetic debut: "In My Dream" (*Ba-Khalomi*) was published in the American Hebrew weekly *The Peak (Ha-Pisgah)*, based in Baltimore.¹⁵ From 1893-1896, he studied at a government school, learning English, German, Italian, and French, and trying his hand as a translator with poems by Shelley, Burns, and Longfellow. At this time he also began learning Latin and Greek in anticipation of taking entrance exams for university.

In 1898 Tschernikovsky published his first volume of poems: *Visions and Melodies (Hezyonot u-manginot, Warsaw 1898)*, which included a poem (actually composed in 1894) entitled "In the Footsteps of Anacreon" (*Be-Ikvot Anakreon*).¹⁶ A critical review of the volume appeared in the literary journal *Ha-Shiloach* the following year (1899): "most of them describe springtime, the loveliness of flowers (almost always roses), the chirping of birds (almost always the nightingale and the swallow), the eyes of the beloved and the fire of desire."¹⁷ This review sounds suspiciously like a prescription for the Greek Anacreontics.

The next six years found Tschernikovsky abroad, pursuing an education where the admissions quotas for Jews at university were not so strict. From 1899-1903 he studied medicine at the University of Heidelberg; from 1903-1905 he studied and practiced medicine in Lausanne. While at Heidelberg, he attended lectures on philosophy and on Goethe's *Faust*, and translated into Hebrew

13 See the YIVO website entry on Stybel: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Stybel.

14 See the YIVO website entry on Stybel: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Stybel. Note the comparable project in Russia: Maxim Gorky's world literature project was established in 1918 to create a foundational library of 1500 American, European, and Eastern literary works in Russian translation, with full support of the Soviet state, and involvement of Russia's finest writers and scholars; Vladimir Jabotinsky held it up as a model for a national translation program in the *yishuv*. See Moss (2007: 235 and n. 63).

15 The poem received a positive review from Re'euven Brainin; see the relevant YIVO website entry by Dykman: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Tchernichowsky_Shaul and Silberschlag (1968: 10).

16 *Visions and Melodies (Hezyonot u-manginot [Warsaw 1898]: 42-43)*. A rough translation of the poem is printed as *Appendix 3* at the end of this study.

17 The review, by Yehoshua Ravnitsky, appeared in *Ha-Shiloach* VI (Berlin 1899: 260-261); this passage is translated by Silberschlag (1968: 14). The volume included an effusively complimentary preface by Brainin; see the relevant YIVO web-site entry by Dykman: www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Tchernichowsky_Shaul.

Goethe's 'Anacreontic' ode "Über allen Gipfeln / ist Ruh".¹⁸ Even more interesting for our purposes, it was at Heidelberg that he wrote two of his early poems in Hebrew expressing a clear allegiance to a romanticized version of ancient Greece. The first was "Deianira", a long panegyric in dactylic hexameter praising olive groves, marble temples, and Greek gods. The second, more famous poem was "Before a Statue of Apollo" (*Le-Nokhah Pesel Apollo*), composed in 1899, in which Tschernikovsky, presumably under the influence of Nietzsche, celebrates the power and spirit of the pagan god. Tschernikovsky, for better or for worse, wholeheartedly accepted a Hellenism that signified joy and affirmation of life, eternal spring and blissful love.¹⁹

Unable to make a living as a doctor abroad, in 1906 Tschernikovsky returned to Russia to practice medicine in the Ukraine and in St. Petersburg. At the outbreak of WWI he worked as a military doctor in Minsk and then as an officer of the Russian Red Cross; at the same time, towards the end of the hostilities, he began translating Homer's *Iliad*.

Stybel and his colleague David Frischmann, the poet and critic who became the first editor of the influential Hebrew literary quarterly *Ha-Tekufah*, had commissioned Tschernikovsky, who by now was himself an accomplished poet, to translate the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from the original Greek.²⁰ Frischmann planned to publish the first book of the *Iliad* in Tschernikovsky's translation in the first issue of his magazine. When the proofs were sent back to the poet, however, he sent an angry telegram to Frischmann refusing to allow them to be published. Apparently Frischmann, who did not know Greek, had edited the translations based on the 1793 German version of the *Iliad* by Johann Heinrich Voss. Frischmann went ahead anyway and published the verses under his own name. Tschernikovsky finished the full translation about four years later, in 1922, but never forgave Frischmann.²¹

By 1920 Tschernikovsky had begun working on translations of Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*; the same year his *Songs of Anacreon* come out in print with Stybel, now based in Warsaw. Later, during his Berlin years (1923-1930), he would turn to the *Odyssey* and Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*; later still, he would settle in Palestine (1931-1943), continuing to translate – a Latin-English-Hebrew

18 Silberschlag (1968: 16).

19 Silberschlag (1968: 48-49) points out that at the end of the 19th century, it was fashionable to popularize Greek civilization as a "fount of perpetual gaiety"; see Croiset (1928: 17-19). For a discussion of what 'Anacreon' meant to Uri Zvi Greenberg in 1928, see Shoham (2003: 212-214): the world of Anacreon is "a lost world in which it is still possible to hear 'distant musicians playing (...); a few Anacreons still sing there' ('At the Gate' / *Bash'ar* 1990 I: 151)".

20 It is worth mentioning that in 1913, Max Weinreich had translated *Iliad* 9 into Yiddish; the work was hailed by the critic Moyshe Kulbak as proof that Yiddish had become a mature literary language, "presumably because of the common assumption that the Homeric tradition was the very antithesis of classical Jewish literary expression"; see Moss (2007: 203-204) for this information and further details on the translation itself.

21 Silberschlag (1968: 24).

dictionary of medical terms – and compose his own poetry. But for our purposes, the year 1920 is the critical date. It is unclear whether the Anacreontic translations were commissioned specifically by Stybel or Frischmann, or whether Tschernikovsky was simply encouraged to translate a Greek “classic” and chose the collection himself. But the poems clearly spoke to his romanticizing tendencies.²² The hedonism expressed in the Anacreontics resonated with both his disdain for what he perceived as the stagnant Jewish culture of the Eastern European diaspora and his admiration of Hellenic beauty and paganism already expressed in “Before a Statue to Apollo”.²³ For many of his generation, the distant culture of Greece represented vitality and joy.²⁴ On a more specific level, the Greek poems offered an escape from the reminders of the grim world around him: the atrocities he had seen as a field doctor in WWI, the vicious pogroms that had killed close to 200,000 Jews in the Ukraine.²⁵ The Anacreontics seemed to serve as a counterbalance to the reality around him, a way to stave off despair.

3 Tschernikovsky’s Anacreontics

We can get a good sense of Tschernikovsky’s response as a poet and as a philologist to the Anacreontics if we read selections from his introduction to the translation, *Shirei Anacreon* (printed in full at the end of this chapter as *Appendix 1*).

It is impossible to find a cultured nation whose body of literature does not include those poems that are known as the ‘Anacreontics’. This genre includes the translations of Anacreon’s poetry, or the poems that are written in the spirit of that poet of merry Greece. These poems, poems of life’s pleasures – whatever they may be – are absent only from our literature. It is clear that several factors have caused this, but it is a fact that of all of Anacreon’s poems, only two have thus far been translated into our language, and even these were translated only casually/for other purposes, and not for their own sake.

Of course, it is not the charm and tenderness that suffuse Anacreon’s poems, not the sweet joyfulness or innocent emptiness, nor the gentle and light joking that is connected to them – it is not these aspects that captured the hearts of numerous poets

22 While much of Tschernikovsky’s early lyric output fits into the general romanticizing tendencies of late 19th- and early 20th-century European literature, his translations of Greek epic and tragedy show a sensitivity to the different generic expectations involved with extended narrative.

23 *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971: 882).

24 Abramson (1990: 237-255, esp. p. 239).

25 See Silberschlag (1968: 19-20) for Tschernikovsky’s response in a letter to his friend Klausner as to why he did not write about current events: “the mire of the world, the stress and strain of poverty, make us forget the poetry and drown the soul in a sea (...) of evil.” See also the discussion by Tilg, in this volume (pp. 161-194), of Kuhlmann’s (1987: 168-171) arguments for the liberating potential of Anacreontic poetry with regard to oppressive political or social conventions.

such as Plato, Ovid, Cicero, and Horace, up through our times ... No, rather, their hearts felt the vast depths of emotion that overcame all inhibitions, the fullness of life and joy of being that were gloriously and fully expressed in these small poems.

Although there are many who doubt whether most of these poems should be attributed to Anacreon, there is universal agreement that this poetry captures the essence of the spirit of the wise and merry Greece on which a bitter drop of the pessimistic philosophy had been thrown, the same Greece which drinks from the cup of Eden and that longs to continue drinking for as long as it is able, the Greece that has nothing in this world but the pleasure in which lie beauty and adornment. For this reason, the poetry draws away from extremes, lest it should cross the border of what is appropriate and pleasant. And the poetry found for itself no better virtue than moderation.

(...)

Regarding my own translations, I must note that I tried to the best of my ability to be a faithful translator of the spirit, content, form, and meter of Anacreon's poems, and I allowed myself only slightly to impose upon them the restrictive bonds of rhyme.

To a classical philologist, the most intriguing sentence in this introduction is the admission that there is some doubt about the authenticity of the original Greek collection: "Although there are many who doubt whether most of these poems should be attributed to Anacreon, there is universal agreement that this poetry captures the essence of the spirit of the wise and merry Greece (...)." With this phrasing, Tschernikovsky cleverly avoids stating his own opinion on the debate.²⁶ Yet already by the mid-1800s, classical scholarship on the Anacreontics generally agreed on the post-classical origins of the texts. In 1834, T. Bergk published a text of Anacreon without the Anacreontics (*Anacreontis carminum reliquia* [Leipzig 1834]); in 1845, F.G. Welcker argued that the Anacreontics be given their own distinct generic identity as "Nachahmungen des Anakreon";²⁷ and finally in 1868, V. Rose published a Teubner volume of the Anacreontics alone (*Anacreontis Teii quae vocantur symposiaca hemiambia* [Leipzig, 1868]). Rose's Teubner broke with the long tradition of joint presentation of Anacreon and the Anacreontics going back to Stephanus' original 1554 Paris edition (*Anacreontis Teii Odae, ab Henrico Stephano luce et latinitate nunc primum donatae* [Paris, 1554]). At this point, and especially after Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's condemnation, in 1907, of the poor literary quality of the verses, the poems seemed destined for literary obscurity.²⁸ Yet Tschernikovsky insists on the intrinsic quality of the poetry, and chooses to translate them as representative of

26 Höschele, in this volume, points out that the German Anacreontic poet Gleim similarly did not concern himself with the authenticity of the source poems: "it is *his* Anacreon, his *idea* of Anacreon, that he sees reflected in the texts." (p. 210)

27 Welcker (1845: [vol. 2] 369).

28 See von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1907: 27) on the appeal (or lack thereof) of the Anacreontics: "Wem diese Matte Limonade nicht unausstehlich ist, der soll nicht nach dem Hellenischen Weine greifen."

the glorious Greek past that continues to enlighten and inspire European civilization.

While Tschernikovsky the poet may have chosen the Anacreontics for their “spirit”, he was also well trained in philology and linguistics, and probably had several editions, translations, and commentaries to work with. His own volume contains a preface (pp. 3-6), 58 Anacreontics, including some by Anacreon himself (pp. 7-87), an appendix of six more poems (pp. 88-89), and brief notes (pp. 90-96).²⁹ Based on his own selection and format, as well as the approximate time of composition (1918-1920), can we pin down which Greek edition he might have used?

4 The Question of Sources

We should remember that Tschernikovsky must already have read some Anacreon, whether in Greek or in Russian translation, by 1898, when he published his poem “In the Footsteps of Anacreon”. The Anacreontics were enormously popular in Europe in the latter half of the 19th century. Between 1848 and 1920, numerous Greek or bilingual editions were published by French, German, and Italian scholars.³⁰ In addition, during the same period, dissertations were being written on the Anacreontics: some in Germany but others in universities as far afield as Sweden and Spain.³¹

To complicate matters further, while Tschernikovsky no doubt had access to various Greek editions during his studies in Odessa and Heidelberg, he was also most likely influenced by previous translations of the Anacreontics into other modern European languages such as Russian and German. The Israeli scholar Aminadav Dykman has convincingly identified Lev Mey’s 1884 Russian version of the Anacreontics as one of the sources used by Tschernikovsky.³² And Tschernikovsky himself, in his preface (see my *Appendix 1*), calls attention to two previous scholar-poets: Elisaveta Kulman (1805-1825), the Russian wunderkind

29 The poems in the appendix appear to be a mixture of Anacreon and selections from the *Greek Anthology*, including two verses on Myron’s cow. Cf. Dykman (2003: 276), who attributes them all to Anacreon.

30 Bergk 1848, 1853, 1867, 1882; Rose 1868, 1876; Michelangeli 1882; Hanssen 1884; Crusius 1897, 1907, 1913; Sitzler 1898, 1909; Preisendanz 1912.

31 Germany: 1884, Tzenos, Jena; 1885, Holly, Erlangen. Sweden: 1851, Linder, Uppsala. Spain: 1879, Rubioy Lluh, Barcelona.

32 Dykman (2003: 273-294); quoted from the English abstract. My argument differs from Dykman’s in particular concerning the purpose of the translation, as Dykman understands Tschernikovsky to be writing primarily for Russian Jews in Europe, and therefore emphasizing the Russian anacreontic translation traditions. In contrast, I argue that Tschernikovsky’s translation project is part of the larger Stybel plan for a future Hebrew-speaking audience outside Europe. For ‘original’ Russian anacreontics from an earlier generation, see Schenk (1972).

from St. Petersburg who translated Anacreon into several languages, including Russian and German; and the Trappist monk Armand Jean Le Bouthilier de Rance (1626-1700), who edited the poems of Anacreon while still a very young man. It is highly probable that the literary influences on the development of Tschernikovskij's Anacreontic translations were so intertwined that we will never be able to pin down what is directly from the Greek original and what is mediated by other translations.³³ We can conclude, however, from the anecdote related earlier about Tschernikovskij's *Iliad* translation, that the poet firmly believed in basing his work on the original language rather than depending primarily on intermediary translations.³⁴

Perhaps the best approach to this question is to begin with Tschernikovskij's organization, as it is most likely that he followed the order of the collection based on a scholarly edition (or a complete translation).³⁵ We can eliminate a few options. First, since Tschernikovskij does not begin his collection with West 1 ("Anacreon appeared to me"), he was clearly not using any modern edition that chose to rehabilitate the opening poem after Stephanus had denied it credibility (e.g. Mehlhorn [1825]; Rose [1868], Preisendanz [1912]).³⁶ It should be noted, however, that while scholarly editions after Mehlhorn followed his lead in using our conventional 'modern' order of the poems, many translations throughout the 19th century continued to use the older order established by Stephanus. Second, since Tschernikovskij includes a preface as well as scholarly notes, we might postulate a similar format in his model text. There are further important clues: Tschernikovskij begins with Stephanus 1/West 23 ("I wish to sing of Atrous' sons") and ends with Stephanus 55/West 27 ("horses on their hooves"), before turning to selections from Anacreon and the *Greek Anthology*.³⁷ In his notes at the end of the volume, Tschernikovskij explains his choice to begin with this poem as motivated by convention (p. 90): "People are accustomed to put this poem at the beginning of all Anacreon's poems because in it we see the essence of his poetry, that he chose songs of love and despised songs of epic poetry."

33 This is the gist of the argument by Dykman, who cites Yaakov Shavit's 1996 thesis in which he speaks of the double nature of the literary influences on the development of Hebrew Literature in general: for example, Hebrew translations of Shakespeare were based on Russian translations as well as on the original English. See Dykman (2003: 286-288).

34 Dykman (2003: 293) also agrees with this conclusion.

35 On this topic I respectfully part ways with Dykman (2003), who argues for Mey's 1884 edition as a source for Tschernikovskij because of, among other things, comparable order of poems and general organization of the volume. While Mey may indeed be a model for some aspects of rhyme and meter, the order of poems and general organization seem to me to follow closely in the footsteps of Stephanus' 1554 edition.

36 I select these volumes as *comparanda* partly because they are all housed in the Heidelberg University Classics Library, and presumably would have been available to Tschernikovskij when he was there as a student.

37 Stephanus (1554) does not actually number his poems, but the numbering I use throughout follows the poems of the *editio princeps* in order.

I suggest that Tschernikovsky based his collection on Stephanus' 1554 *editio princeps* possibly in combination with modern language translations, such as Lev Mey's 1884 Russian version, as argued above by Aminadav Dykman, or the German version by the Romantic poet Eduard Mörike, *Anakreon und die sogenannten Anacreontischen Lieder* (Stuttgart 1864). Mörike's translation similarly begins with Stephanus 1 and ends with Stephanus 55. Mörike in turn probably organized his translation on C.B. Stark's *Quaestionum Anacreonticarum libri duo* (Leipzig 1846), which discussed authenticity and probable time of composition. But the closest parallel for the consecutive numbering of Tschernikovsky's anacreontics 1-51 remains Stephanus' own first edition. Tschernikovsky omits four of Stephanus' first 55 selections: Stephanus 21 (West 18.1-9: "give me, give me, you women, / the wine of Bacchus to drink"), 48 (West 2: "give me the lyre of Homer, / without the bloody chord"), 49 (West 3: "come now best of painters, / listen to the lyric Muse"), and 52 (West 59: "the men are carrying in baskets / the dark-skinned grape clusters"). I have been unable to draw any conclusions about the reasons for the omission of these particular poems. But other than these exceptions, Tschernikovsky's order of composition is identical to that of Stephanus in his 1554 *editio princeps*.

There are further reasons to look to Stephanus' volume as a primary model for the Hebrew translations. After page 80 of the Hebrew collection, with its translation of poem 51 (= Stephanus 55; West 27), Tschernikovsky strikes out in a different direction, including both genuine Anacreon selections and epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* (pp. 81-89) before concluding the entire volume with scholarly notes on individual poems (pp. 90-96). He still had a precedent of sorts in Stephanus for this editorial decision, although not always for the specific choice of texts. Stephanus had concluded his main presentation of Anacreontics on page 51 of his edition, with Anacreontic poem 55 (= West 27), the same poem that concludes Tschernikovsky's Anacreontics. Stephanus next included a mixture of Anacreontics and genuine Anacreon (pp. 52-58), as well as some *skolia* (pp. 58-59) and epigrams (pp. 59-60). Next Stephanus printed verses of Alkaios and Sappho (pp. 60-64), but then returned to his focus on the anacreontics with notes and observations on individual poems (pp. 65-84: *Observationes in Anacreontis carmina*); the edition ended with Latin translations of selected Anacreontics (pp. 85-110).

So while Tschernikovsky could have chosen to follow more recent editions of the Anacreontics that did not include 'extraneous' material, he seems to have imitated Stephanus' scheme of including at the end, as if in an appendix, non-Anacreontic poems related in theme and style. Unlike Stephanus, however, he does not mark these poems as different in any way, so the unwary reader might have understood all of them to be equally Anacreontic. Among the first group of poems, including those attributed to Anacreon himself, occur the following (pp. 81-87):

- 52 = Anacreon 395 (“my temples are grey”)
 53 = Anacreon 356 (“ten cups of water to five of wine”)
 54 = “For I will sing of delicate love” / ἔρωτα γὰρ τὸν ἀβρὸν μέλλομαι
 a short (5-line) Anacreontic also in Stephanus’ appendix (p. 57)
 55 = Anacreon 417 (“Thracian filly”) – also in Stephanus’ appendix (pp. 57-58)
 56 = “queen of goddesses, Kypris” / θεάων ἄνασσα Κύπρι
 a 17-line Anacreontic epithalamium not in Stephanus
 57 = Anacreon 348 (“to Artemis”) – also in Stephanus’ appendix (p. 57)
 58 = Anacreon eleg. 2 (“I hate the man who [...]”) = Athen. 11.463a.

Of these poems, Tschernikovsky’s poem 56 is obviously an anomaly: neither genuinely Anacreon nor printed in Stephanus. This poem, however, while not in Stephanus’ *editio princeps*, was printed in many other early editions of Anacreon, including those of Dacier (1716), Barnes (1734), and Brunck (1785).³⁸ The source of the poem, unfortunately, remains obscure. According to one early 19th century classical scholar, the poem first appeared in Theodorus Prodrimos’ dialogue Ἀμάραντος ἢ γέροντος ἔρωτες, as a song performed by a comic character named Chaerephon at the wedding of an old man and a young girl; the song is introduced as being “of Anacreon’s Muse”, and thence most likely made its way into later editions of the Anacreontics.³⁹ With reference to the other poems, it is reasonable to assume that Tschernikovsky selected 54, 55, and 57 specifically because Stephanus had also included them in his appendix. The remaining selections, poems 52, 53, and 58, are all genuine Anacreon.

Tschernikovsky’s next entry (pp. 88-89), which he numbers as poem 59, is in fact a series of six separate short poems, only the first three of which can be actually connected to Anacreon. The first is an epigram from the *Palatine Anthology* attributed to Anacreon on the dedication of a shield to Athena (AP 6.141); the second is the lyric fragment “like a new-born sucking fawn who is frightened” (Anacreon fr. 408); and the third is an epigram from the *Planudean Anthology* attributed to Anacreon on the heroism of Timocritos (AP 7.160). The next two texts are mentioned in Tschernikovsky’s notes as being written by Anacreon himself, but both these epigrams on the famous statue of Myron’s cow are clearly Hellenistic in date or later: Tschernikovsky includes AP 9.716 (“this heifer, which was never struck in the mold”), and 715 (“herdsman, graze your herd far from here”).⁴⁰ Finally, the last text is rather obscure; it reads in literal translation from the Hebrew as follows:

For our drinking, there are three wreaths on the head of each and every man:
 two of them flowers (roses, lilies), one of lotus, the gracious one.

38 Dacier (1716: 214); Barnes (1734: 182-187); and Brunck (1785: 116).

39 E.g. Henrichsen (1839: 37). I thank Regina Höschele for helping me to track down this reference.

40 On the dating of these epigrams, see Gutzwiller (1998: 245-250) and Squire (2010).

In terms of sources for Tschernikovsky's final selections, it is possible that he might have been using, alongside the Stephanus volume, Madame Dacier's 1716 edition (*Les Poësies d'Anacréon et de Sapho* [Amsterdam 1716]), which included both Anacreon fr. 408 (Dacier *Ode* 69 of Anacreon, on her p. 212), and the "three wreaths" poem (labeled by Dacier as *Ode* 68 of Anacreon, on her p. 210: στεφάνους δ' ἀνήρ τρεῖς).⁴¹ They may have also appeared in other early modern editions of the anacreontics, as Dacier's authority carried some weight among her contemporaries. Stephanus printed seven selections in his epigram section (pp. 59-60), including the two poems on Myron's cow as well as the epigram on Timocritus, all three also reprinted and translated by Tschernikovsky. But the remaining four epigrams in Stephanus' *editio princeps* do not correspond to anything else in Tschernikovsky's volume.⁴²

5 Tschernikovsky's Anacreontic Program: CA 23 (West)

Although the identity of Tschernikovsky's main source for his translation project remains conjectural, we may turn now to his methods of translation. As stated earlier, Tschernikovsky opens his collection with what M.L. West's Teubner (²1993) identifies as CA 23, a programmatic statement of poetic intent.⁴³

CA 23 (West)

Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας, θέλω δὲ Κάδμον αἰδεῖν, ὁ βάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς ἔρωτα μόνον ἤχεῖ. ἤμειψα νεῦρα πρόην	5	I wish to speak of Atreus' sons, and I wish to sing of Cadmus, but my lyre with its strings sings back only love. Just now I changed the strings,
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41 I am grateful to Stefan Tilg for assistance in locating the "three wreaths" poem in Dacier's 1716 edition.

42 While I have argued here for Stephanus' 1554 edition as Tschernikovsky's primary sourcebook, and acknowledged that other editions and translations indubitably influenced his final versions, it may in the end not matter, at least in terms of our understanding of the translations themselves, whether we can answer the question of sources with complete certainty. I hope, however, in future work, to explore the archival data relevant to the question (e.g. Tschernikovsky's personal library, records from libraries in Odessa in the early 1900s, etc.), which I have not been able to do given my current resources.

43 Tschernikovsky excerpts CA 23 in his introduction, where he changes line 11 from "my harp is holy" to "Anacreon's harp is holy". While it makes sense to be more specific in the introduction, where he quotes only a few lines out of context, he uses the first-person pronoun elsewhere in his introductory sections with no apparent discomfort. In the original Greek, there is no personal pronoun at all, just a definite article: "the lyre sings back only love" (23.11-12). Here, and throughout the paper, the Greek text of the Anacreontics is from West's second edition Teubner (1993), while all translations of the Greek and Hebrew verses are my own.

καὶ τὴν λύρην ἅπασαν·		and even the whole lyre;
κάγω μὲν ἤιδον ἄθλους		and I then tried to sing the feats
Ἡρακλέους, λύρη δὲ		of Heracles, but the lyre
ἔρωτας ἀντεφώνει.		spoke back of loves.
χαίροιτε λοιπὸν ἡμῖν,	10	As for me, henceforth farewell
ἦρωες· ἡ λύρη γάρ		you heroes. For my lyre
μόνους ἔρωτας ἄδει.		sings only of loves.

Tscher nikovsky 1

I will sing about the sons of Atreus
and Cadmus – this will be the subject of my singing;
but my harp’s (*nevel*) strings will produce
a melody for Eros.

Now this is my problem: my strings 5
and also my lyre (*kinor*).

I will tell all the mighty deeds
of Heracles in my song (*mizmor*).

Again, my harp (*nevel*) trembles at Eros.

Farewell my mighty men, 10

For my harp (*nevel*) is holy (*kodesh*) to Eros

And its strings to Love (*ahava*).

This opening poem sets out some of the issues in translation that will inform the entire collection. The translator is continually torn between two linguistic registers: the Greek of the Anacreontic poet, and the Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible. The poem opens with references to Atreus and Cadmus – the Greek alphabetic sounds directly transferred to comparable Hebrew lettering. But in line 3, the appearance of the word used to translate the Greek *barbitos*, the Hebrew *nevel*, repeated twice more in the poem (lines 9, 11), as well as the word *kinor* used once for the Greek *lyre*, point the reader towards *Psalms* 150, with its list of musical instruments.⁴⁴ *Psalms* 150.3 reads: “praise him with the sound of the trumpet; praise him with the harp (*nevel*) and the lyre (*kinor*).” In line 9, Tscher nikovsky seems to imagine that the *nevel* trembles at Eros. The verb for trembling, *yara*, occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible (*Isaiah* 15.4), so it seems here that Tscher nikovsky coined an original term for the harp’s sound.⁴⁵ The Greek

44 On the terminology for musical instruments, see Ben-Porat (1990: 269-272) on Greenberg’s “Anacreon at the Pole of Sadness”.

45 The *JPS* translation of *Isaiah* 15.4 reads “the shock troops of Moab shout”, with the footnote “Change of vocalization yields, “the loins of Moab are trembling””. The concordance entries suggest that *nevel* is not typically used with a verb of trembling, hence the need for Tscher nikovsky’s coinage. What is at stake here is an issue of interpolation: the Hebrew consonants are not vocalized, so readers must decide between imagining the poet’s harp „trembling (*yara*) at Eros“ or „shouting (*yira*) out in joy to Eros“, the second option being a verb form that plays on the sound the shofar (a wind instrument) makes at

verbs in question are ἰχθεῖ (4) and ἀντεφώνει (9), neither of which Tschernikovsky chooses to imitate. I suspect that the idea of “trembling at Eros” came to the poet from CA 1, in which Eros is presented leading a trembling Anacreon by the hand in a scene of poetic initiation (CA 1.9: *tremonta*).

But what might impress a contemporary reader most forcefully in this programmatic poem is the collocation of divine and pagan that will reappear in many of the poet’s verses. Consider just the two words *mizmor* (8) and *kodesh* (11). Tschernikovsky introduces the pagan deeds of Heracles with the word *mizmor*. This word, part of the phrase *mizmor shir l’yom ha Shabbat*, “a song for the day of Shabbat”, begins the familiar Friday night service in synagogue; it is the word used for psalm, as in *mizmor l’David*, a “psalm attributed to David”. The *mizmor* of Hercules, conjured up by the poet as part of his larger attempt, as he claims in his introduction, to “use the language of our ancestors at that time when they were closest to Greek culture” (see *Appendix 1*), must have struck some of Tschernikovsky’s readers as dangerously close to blasphemy.

A similar reaction is evoked when the reader encounters the anacreontic harp called *kodesh* to Eros. The word *kodesh*, “holy”, appears prominently in the Saturday evening Havdalah service that marks the division between holy – Shabbat – and ordinary – the remaining six days of the week. It was also famously inscribed on the golden headband worn by the high priest in the days of the Second Temple: he, as a priest, was “holy” to the Lord he served.⁴⁶ A harp holy to Eros definitely does not belong in the constellation of holiness in the Hebrew Bible.

Let us consider, as we now turn to closer textual readings, some of the challenges Tschernikovsky faced as he rendered the Greek Anacreontics into Hebrew verse, trying, as he claimed in his introduction, to be “a faithful translator of the spirit, content, form, and meter of Anacreon’s poems” (see *Appendix 1*). In Tschernikovsky’s opening poem, as mentioned above, the names are often transliterated: Atreus, Cadmus, Eros. On occasion, such transliteration can produce results that could never have been imagined by the Greek poet. In Tschernikovsky 40 (= West 38), for example, the poem ends (lines 27-28) with:

Let us drink wine and be merry,
let us sing a song of praise to *Bacchus*.

Rosh Hashanah. I have argued for the former, but the latter is closer to the Greek original; one could make a solid argument for either reading.

46 *Exodus* 28.36-38: “You shall make a frontlet of pure gold and engrave on it the seal inscription: ‘holy [*kodesh*] to the Lord’. Suspend it on a cord of blue, so that it may remain on the headdress; it shall remain on the front of the headdress. It shall be on Aaron’s forehead, that Aaron may take away any sin arising from the holy things that the Israelites consecrate, from any of their sacred donations; it shall be on his forehead at all times, to win acceptance for them before the Lord.”

In Hebrew, the undeclined and transliterated “*Bacchus*”, pronounced “*Vakchos*”, contains within its last syllable the word “*chos*” or “*cos*”, which means “wine cup”. So with this one linguistic turn, Tschernikovsky evokes the god of wine more effectively than did the Anacreontic poet himself.

6 Contextualization

While transliteration retains the force and foreignness of the original sound of the Greek, at times Tschernikovsky may have worried that his audience would not be able to grasp all the nuances, or even the basic first-level meaning, of the Anacreontic verse. In the next example, the Anacreontic poet had already anticipated a later readership that might be unfamiliar with the archaic Greek historical context, and thus contextualized the name of Gyges, adding “the king of the people of Sardis” in the manner of a gloss:⁴⁷

CA 8.1-2 (West)

Οὐ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω
τοῦ Σαρδίων ἄνακτος.

I don't care about the wealth of Gyges,
king of the people of Sardis.

But Tschernikovsky contextualizes differently, keeping Gyges but replacing “the people of Sardis” with a reference to “the people of Shushan”, best known from the biblical *Book of Esther*:

Tschernikovsky 15.1-2

What do I have in common with King Gyges
that the Shushanites admired?

For any Jewish reader with a rudimentary cultural or religious background, reference to Shushan calls up the story of Queen Vashti who refused to dance for King Ahasuerus and his court at the feast, as well as all the revelry and drunkenness of the holiday Purim. Shushan, or Susa, the capitol of Persia in the 6th century BCE, works as a kind of shorthand for sensuality, drinking, and general indulgence in pleasure.⁴⁸

Sometimes Tschernikovsky contextualizes or “judaizes” the Anacreontic line to such a degree that it is barely recognizable from the Greek. Here we can look to Tschernikovsky 32 (= 25 West). The Greek version stars a rotating cast of baby

47 I discuss this in Rosenmeyer (1992: 159-161).

48 The question will keep recurring: does Tschernikovsky intend to alienate or estrange his readership into looking at the poetry with fresh eyes (Brechtian estrangement, or the Russian Formalists' defamiliarization, *ostranenie*), or is this a kind of cultural accommodation?

Love-chicks, nesting in the narrator's heart and driving him to distraction.⁴⁹ The poem ends thus:

CA 25.17-19 (West)

τί μῆχος οἶν γένηται;
οὐ γὰρ σθένω τοσοῦτους
Ἔρωτας ἐκσοβῆσαι.

So what remedy (*mechos*) can there be?
For I don't have the strength to
Chase out all these Loves.

The Hebrew version turns to divine invocation, with a distinctive name for God:

Tschernikovsky 32.17-19

Rock of my salvation (*tzur yishi*), to you I will turn,
For from the many sons of Eros,
You will save my soul.

Greek resignation to being overwhelmed by love is transformed into an active turning toward God, who is sure to save the speaker from destruction.⁵⁰ The exact phrase *tzur yishi* appears in 2 *Samuel* 22.47. Scripture and prayerbook have a number of similar phrases using *tzur* as a distinctive name for God. This would have been as obvious an epithet as calling Achilles "swift-footed". It is a far stretch in vocabulary and *mentalité* from μῆχος to *tzur yishi*.

Here is another example of Tschernikovsky's use of Hebrew words for contextualization and effect, although in this case we will find that the Hebrew diction brings along with it a whole new level of complexity. Among the 58 Anacreontics translated in his 1920 edition, the poet includes several genuine poems by Anacreon. In Tschernikovsky 52 (= Anacreon 395), in the second half of the poem that mourns white hair and approaching old age, Tschernikovsky writes (lines 9-12):

For Sheol is terrifying in its depths;
the circles of Sheol are soaked with tears,
and the gates are not locked,
yet none who enter will return.

49 It may be worth noting *Deuteronomy* 22.6-7: "If, along the road, you chance upon a bird's nest, in any tree or on the ground, with fledglings [chicks = *efrohim*], or eggs and the mother sitting over the fledglings or on the eggs, do not take the mother together with her young. Let the mother go, and take only the young, in order that you may fare well and have a long life."

50 The verb used in 32.17 for turning to God for help (*ohila*) also occurs in Micah 7.7: "Yet I will look to the Lord; I will wait for God who saves me. My God will hear me." This phrase is recited at a solemn moment in the Rosh Hashanah service.

The original Anacreon text speaks of fearing Tartaros and Hades:

Anacreon 395.7-12

διὰ ταῦτ' ἀνασταλύζω
θαμὰ Τάρταρον δεδοικώς·
Αἶδεω γάρ ἐστι δεινός
μυχός, ἀργαλέη δ' ἐς αὐτόν
κάτοδος· καὶ γὰρ ἐτοῖμον
καταβάντι μὴ ἀναβῆναι.

Therefore I groan often
fearing Tartaros;
for the deepest corner of Hades
is grim, and harsh is the road leading
down there; and it is certain that
whoever goes down never comes back up.

At first glance, it appears that the poet is trying to turn references to Tartaros and Hades into something more culturally relevant for his Jewish readers. He transfers the act of weeping from the singular poet's voice to the multitude of lamenting dead, and replaces the Greek place-names with the Biblical *Sheol*, literally "abyss", which is translated in the *Septuagint* as *Hades* or *thanatos*. Tschernikovsky had already used the word *Sheol* in his introduction to the volume, with a brief reference to the Biblical *Song of Songs* 8.6: "love is as strong as death, jealousy is as hard as the grave [*Sheol*]." (see *Appendix 1*) He also imports the image of gates swinging shut, not in the Greek original, to signify the finality of death.

But on reading further, we realize that Tschernikovsky has saturated the last stanza with references to the metaphors of the Yom Kippur afternoon services, called *Neilah*, from the verb *na'al*, meaning to lock or close. The two main metaphors of *Neilah* are of the closing of the Book of Life, in which all one's deeds of the previous year have been inscribed, and the parallel closing of the Gates of Repentance (*Sha'arei t'shuvah*). The synagogue liturgy of Yom Kippur, the Day of Repentance, encourages worshippers to imagine themselves scrambling through the Gates of Repentance before being closed off from God's mercy. All these images coalesce in the language the poet chooses for his translation. The gates of Sheol echo the gates of repentance; the act of locking or closing recalls the name of the Yom Kippur service; and the reference to none returning points to the verb that means both return and repent. Italics mark the relevant Hebrew words in question below:

For Sheol is terrifying in its depths;
the circles of Sheol are soaked with tears,
and *its gates are not locked*,
yet none who enter *will return*.

oushaareiha – "and its gates"
ninalim → *na'al* = to be locked
yashouvou – "[they] will return"
(*t'shuvah* = repentance)

While I have noted the way Tschernikovsky here chooses words familiar from a Jewish religious context to replace the standard Greek references (*Tartaros*, *Hades*), I am not as confident that we can judge his motivations here without thinking more about his intended audiences. His educated readers would have been able to decode the poetic impact of Hades and Tartaros with no difficulty; so

the contextualizing is not an issue of accommodation. On the other hand, the hypothetical schoolchildren of the Zionist homeland, another intended audience for this project, might indeed have benefited from the cultural transposition. But it may be that an equally important target audience was other Hebrew readers with cultural backgrounds similar to Tschernikovsky's. The coded language of synagogue observance and the Hebrew Bible interwoven into the texture of the ancient Greek poem speaks, I think, to an attempt to make the Greek material part of the Jewish inheritance: it is less a transgression and more a kind of mark of knowledge or shared culture, perhaps comparable to the medieval French *Ovide moralisé* or English translations of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* that transform the Spartan dialect into broad Scots. But hints of transgression linger, and some readers must have felt (and still do feel) a kind of modernist *frisson* at Tschernikovsky's most radical linguistic transpositions.⁵¹

By far the most interesting mode of translation in Tschernikovsky's Anacreontic collection is one in which the poet juxtaposes Hebrew and Greek, Jewish and pagan, in the same frame in such a way as to create two concurrent yet non-intersecting narratives, two parallel universes. I find this mode similar to Herrick's wonderful fantasy of finding Anacreon in Heaven singing songs by Herrick ("The Apparition of his Mistress calling him to Elysium"):

He bring thee Herrick to Anacreon
Quaffing his full-crown'd bowles of burning Wine,
And in his Raptures speaking Lines of Thine (...).⁵²

So let me conclude this section of close readings with one particularly rich example, namely Tschernikovsky 6 (= West 43), in which Tschernikovsky translates the Anacreontics in such a way as to suggest that an Anacreontic muse dwells in the pages of the Hebrew Bible.

CA 43 (West)

Στεφάνους μὲν κροτάφοισι ῥοδίνους συναρμόσαντες μεθύωμεν ἄβρᾶ γελῶντες. ὑπὸ βαρβίτῳ δὲ κούρα κατακίσσοισι βρέμοντας 5 πλοκάμοις φέρουσα θύρσους	Having bound together rosy crowns on our temples, let us get drunk, softly laughing. The girl carrying a thyrsus which clashes with ivy-wreathed curls, dances with elegant ankles
--	---

51 As pointed out to me by Alex Dressler in conversation, while modernism is agonistic and confrontational (e.g. "Before a Statue of Apollo"), and nationalism/universalism more conciliatory and integrationist, both -isms entail the poet taking a position outside of his own immediate and most natural view through a kind of defamiliarization in the middle of innovation. The nationalist poet occludes his defamiliarization in view of a higher purpose, while the modernist poet brandishes his defamiliarization (e.g. Pound, Brecht) and is potentially more radical.

52 Martin (1956: 206).

χλιδανόσφυρος χορεύει·		to the sound of the lyre.
ἀβροχαίτας δ' ἄμα κοῦρος		With her, a soft-haired boy,
στομάτων ἀδῦ πνεόντων		breathing sweetly from his mouth,
κατὰ πηκτίδων ἄθῦρει	10	plays on the lyre,
προχέων λίγειαν ὀμφάν.		pouring forth a clear-toned voice.
ὁ δ' Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοχαίτας		But Eros with his golden locks,
μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Λυαίου		along with beautiful Lyaïos
καὶ τῆς καλῆς Κυθήρης		and the beautiful Cytherea,
τὸν ἐπήρατον γεραιοῖς	15	will join happily in the revelry,
κῶμον μέτεισι χαίρων.		a pleasure for old men.

Tschernikovsky 6

Let a border of roses crown us
at the drinking party, as our hearts rejoice
let the occasion fill our mouths with laughter.
A lovely young woman will dance to the sound of our harps –
Look, how beautiful are her dance steps, 5
And a *thyrsos*, garlanded with ivy leaves,
Fresh and green, in her hands.
A young man with lovely locks,
Comes piping on a shepherd's flute,
And delights our feast of love. 10
Here is Eros with locks of gold,
Merry he comes, and his steps are skipping;
With him travel the divine visitors,
Dionysus with the Cytherean [Aphrodite],
To the drinking party, and to the feast. 15

The poem opens with a reference to a wreath: in Greek the word is *stephanos*, in Hebrew *zer*. This is a logical choice for the circlet of flowers (in this case, roses) that binds the head of the ancient Greek symposiast. But the Hebrew *zer* is also the word for the border of gold around the box or ark holding the Ten Commandments described in *Exodus* 25.11. And the verb used for crown or wreath, as in “let a border of roses crown us”, is *atar* in Hebrew – the same verb used in the daily prayer for the Lord crowning Israel with glory.⁵³ In the second line, the phrase “our hearts rejoice” directly recalls the *Book of Esther*, with its focus on tipsiness at the feasts (Greek *komos*; Hebrew *hakara*) when the Persian king asks Vashti to dance. Line three, “let the occasion fill our mouths with laughter”, recalls *Psalms* 126, which is recited before the grace after meals on Shabbat and holidays: “When God restores the fortunes of Zion (...), then our mouths will be filled with laughter and our tongues with songs of joy.”

53 As a man utters the daily prayer, he points to his forehead and touches the *tefillin* bound there. Note that *atara* (“crown”, “diadem”, “fringe”) also can mean *glans* or *coronis*, Latin medical terms that Tschernikovsky must have been familiar with as a doctor (or even possibly invented?).

As the poem proceeds, Tschernikovsky gradually transplants his symposiasts to a celebration of the Jewish harvest festival of Sukkot, when observant Jews build temporary structures or huts (*sukkot*) for seven days and nights of sleeping and dining, in commemoration of the forty years of exile experienced by the Jews after leaving Egypt. First, one of the central requirements of the festival is to shake a *lulav*, a fresh, green bunch of branches, specifically palm, willow, and myrtle bound together; Tschernikovsky simply borrows the Dionysiac *thyrsos* for this requirement. Second, according to tradition, on each night of Sukkot, a Hebrew worthy, such as Abraham, Isaac, or Moses, comes to visit and share a meal in the hut (*sukkah*). These are the divine visitors, the *ushpizin*. Tschernikovsky cleverly puts the Anacreontic holy trinity of Eros, Aphrodite, and Dionysus in the place of the Hebrew worthies:

with him [Eros] travel the *ushpizin*,
Dionysus with the Cytherean [Aphrodite],
to the drinking party, and to the feast.

The third detail pointing to the festival of Sukkot is the reference to the flute, *halil*. Tschernikovsky deviates from the Greek, which reads, “a soft-haired boy, / breathing sweetly from his mouth, / plays on the lyre [*pektis*], / pouring forth a clear-toned voice”, and turns instead to a scene of flute-playing. He may have misunderstood the Greek, in which a boy sings, “breathing sweetly from his mouth”; but I suspect he had a specific agenda in mind, namely to add yet one more detail from the ancient Jewish festival. In the Rabbinic sources (Mishna), we read that during Sukkot, “the flute playing was sometimes five days, sometimes six”; it accompanied a water-drawing ritual, and it apparently contributed greatly to the festive atmosphere.⁵⁴ It was a part of the original Temple ritual that was not continued in later synagogue liturgy. With the *ushpizin*, the crown, the flute, and the feasting, Tschernikovsky brilliantly blends the lost Jewish celebration of Greco-Roman times with the later Rabbinic celebration of Sukkot, and points, with his fresh, green *thyrsos*, at the most ancient pagan part of the holiday, the *lulav*.⁵⁵

With these few examples from Tschernikovsky’s volume, I have tried to offer a brief glimpse into the complexity and brilliance, not to mention humor, of the poet’s Hebrew translations. Further discussion of the details of the poet’s translation practices would require more space than is provided here, but I hope to return to the project in greater detail in the future.

54 *Masekhet Sukkah (Tractate Sukkah)* chapter 5 Mishna 1, on the flute of Bet Shoevah: “they say that anyone who didn’t see the celebration of Bet Shoevah never saw a celebration in all his days.”

55 In this poem, Tschernikovsky seems to imagine the early pagan or Canaanite rituals that eventually led to the festival of Sukkot moving straight into a Hellenized version, bypassing the Biblical period altogether.

7 Conclusions

At the beginning of this paper, I asked three questions, which have now, I hope been answered. The Anacreontics attracted Tschernikovsky and his patron Stybel because they were thought to represent the high status of the Western classical tradition: they offered universal paradigms rather than being narrowly confined to Jewish tradition; and they provided a positive counterbalance to the grim social realities of war, poverty, and anti-Semitism. The Anacreontics functioned as a passport to high culture in that they offered a language and style that was far removed from ancient Hebrew, and were uniquely pan-European – we recall Tschernikovsky's assertion in his introduction that “almost all cultures except ours” had already translated the anacreontics into their vernaculars (see *Appendix 1*).

The issue of the actual translation tactics is one I have been able to discuss here only in a very abbreviated way. Through a brilliant amalgamation of classical and Biblical references and allusions, Tschernikovsky took on the challenge of fitting the Greek Anacreontics into the language of the Hebrew Bible and in the process helped change the future of modern Hebrew poetry.⁵⁶ The historian Kenneth Moss speaks of Tschernikovsky's attempt to “insert belated foundation stones beneath the rising edifice” of modern Hebrew literary languages.⁵⁷ Yet Tschernikovsky was at times attacked for being too pagan, too hellenophile, and thus implicitly critical of his own cultural and religious system.⁵⁸ But the

56 “An artist who designs to write in Hebrew in the modern period rightfully can and must relate to the sacral literature of the past as his legitimate, exclusive, and treasured cultural possession. But at the same time, because it is a *sacral* literature, it must of necessity constitute a problem for him”; see Diamond (1983: 82), and Abramson (1990: 240).

57 Moss (2007: 204). See also Litvakov, on the similar approach of translation into Yiddish: “should the future and even present Yiddish writer cleave spiritually and psychically to this wonder-world of great artworks, if he should reforge them in the flame of his intuition, our literature's ‘Pale of Settlement’ will be perforce abolished”. See Litvakov, “Di system fun iberzetsungen II”, 38, translated by Moss (2007: 205). This commitment to the full inclusion of translations from other languages by great poets in a given national literature was not unique to Jewish writers. Consider the following statement by the Russian critic Tomalevsky, writing in 1928 about translations from French and German into Russian. Tomalevskij (1928: 237): “L'assimilation d'éléments étrangers est essentiellement un act d'adaption préalable. La littérature des traductions doit donc être étudiée comme un élément constitutif de la littérature de chaque nation. A côté du Béranger français et du Heine allemand il a existé un Béranger et un Heine russes qui répondaient aux besoins de la littérature russe et qui, sans doute, étaient assez loin de leurs homonymes d'Occident.” See the discussion in Baumann (1974: 187 n. 1).

58 See Kahn (1975: 13); Silberschlag (1968: 41-51); Abramson (1990: 238-239). While in Heidelberg, the poet wrote an essay (“The Roses”) in which he contrasted the difficult fate of the Jewish people with his own capabilities for happiness, described in a tellingly Anacreontic fashion as “chains of roses”: “I was entangled in chains of roses, thousands of blossoms in all their riot of color and beauty were opening in my heart (...)”; see Kahn

Anacreontics, as well as his other translations from Greek and Latin, allowed him to create a canon of secular Hebrew poetic translations that would survive two world wars and permanent exile from Europe.

But what of the Hebrew Anacreontics? Did Tschernikovsky's Anacreontics manage to evade the censorship of early 20th-century German philology as epitomized by Wilamowitz's harsh condemnation mentioned above, and find a new lease on life in their new homeland? Are the Anacreontics still read in Israel today?

There is some encouraging evidence. Anacreon himself, in the lines of Uri Zvi Greenberg's "Anacreon at the Pole of Sadness", appeared to be alive and well in Israel as recently as 1977, as we read in an introductory essay to his poem aimed at Israeli high school students: "He was born to be an Anacreon, but the cruel fate of his human and Jewish generation led him to the Pole of Sadness."⁵⁹ In the 1980s and 1990s, in the Classics Department at Tel Aviv, selected Greek Anacreontics turned up as examples in 'samizdat' manuals on Greek and Latin meter, or were translated in literary reviews.⁶⁰ More recently, in 1996, several professors from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem published new translations into Hebrew of nineteen Anacreontic poems in *Helicon: Anthological Journal of Contemporary Poetry*.⁶¹ Finally, in 2000, the eminent scholar Benjamin Harshav, Professor of Comparative Literature at Yale, published an anthology entitled *Hebrew Renaissance Poetry: A Historical-Critical Anthology*. The first volume includes almost two hundred pages of Tschernikovsky's verses, of which approximately one quarter are given over to Tschernikovsky's translations. Because of the size limits intrinsic to the anthology format, Harshav restricted himself to shorter translated works such as the lyrics of Heine and Goethe, rather than, for example, Tschernikovsky's versions of the Greek epics, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Anacreontics lead off the section, filling up fifteen pages, staking their claim to canonical status in the development of modern Hebrew poetry, and presumably being read seriously by at least a few graduate students in literature seminars.

But the sad reality is that, in the 21st century, Tschernikovsky's Anacreontics are no longer part of the Israeli general educational curriculum.⁶² If students today read Tschernikovsky at all, they read his translations of Homer, or, more likely,

(1975: 15). For the similar role of roses in Gleim's Anacreonticism, see Höschele in this volume, pp. 203-205.

59 She-Levan (1977: 21), translated in Ben-Porat (1990: 260).

60 *Per litteras*, Aminadav Dykman, Professor of Comparative Literature, Hebrew University: the metrical manual was prepared by David Weissert for seminars in Greek and Roman meter; the literary review, *Proza*, was edited by Ahuvia Kahane and Aminadav Dykman, and the translations published in it were done by Rachel Tselnik.

61 See Dykman et al. (1996: 92-104). Thanks to Aminadav Dykman for pointing this reference out to me *per litteras*.

62 Students today may read his Homer, but the shift in spoken dialect from an Ashkenazic to a Sephardic pronunciation has made his hexameters harder to appreciate; *per litteras*, Deborah Gera, Professor of Classics, Hebrew University. On the politics of the changes in modern Hebrew pronunciation in general, see Segal (2010).

some of his more popular original Hebrew verses. There have been no new complete editions of Tschernikovsky's Hebrew Anacreontics since their first publication with Stybel in 1920. It was a curious literary phenomenon that did not survive its brief historical time and place. Put into the context of the massive destruction of Jewish culture in the first half of the 20th century, the loss of the Hebrew Anacreontics may seem insignificant. But I would argue that, for that brief moment when European Jewish intellectuals imagined that they could create a canon of Hebrew literature as part of a universal European literary culture, and that such a canon could sustain them wherever they ended up finding a home, the Anacreontics were the perfect choice. Reading the Anacreontics in Hebrew allowed German and Russian Jews to identify themselves as citizens of Europe. If, in the end, they had to abandon certain aspects of that identity, along with their European homes, because of the "cruel fate" of their particular generation, it does not lessen the historical importance of the Anacreontics in the development of modern Hebrew poetry.⁶³

Appendix 1: Tschernikovsky's Introduction to Shirei Anacreon
(Stybel: Warsaw, 1920) pp. 3-6

It is impossible to find a cultured nation whose body of literature does not include those poems that are known as the 'Anacreontics'. This genre includes the translations of Anacreon's poetry, or the poems that are written in the spirit of that poet of merry Greece. These poems, poems of life's pleasures – whatever they may be – are absent only from our literature. It is clear that several factors have caused this, but it is a fact that of all of Anacreon's poems, only two have thus far been translated into our language, and even these were translated only casually/ for other purposes, and not for their own sake.

Of course, it is not the charm and tenderness that suffuse Anacreon's poems, not the sweet joyfulness or innocent emptiness, nor the gentle and light joking that is connected to them – it is not these aspects that captured the hearts of numerous poets such as Plato, Ovid, Cicero, and Horace, up through our times; nor did these [aspects] attract the heart of a dreaming girl, a 15-year-old dying all too young on the gray waves of the Neva River (Elisaveta Kulman) and the hardened heart of the founder of the monastic order which took a vow of silence (the Trappists). No,

63 I am very grateful to the following colleagues who provided invaluable assistance with interpretation and translation, as well as encouragement to a colleague working outside of her usual field of specialization: Robert Alter, Rachel Brenner, Alex Dressler, Aminidav Dykman, David Fishelov, Lewis Freedman, Philip Hollander, Kenneth Katz, Vered Lev Kenaan, Kenneth Moss, and Parthy Schachter. I also benefitted from the helpful comments of the participants in the original conference in Zurich, as well as additional suggestions from Nicola Dümmler, Manuel Baumbach, and the anonymous reader for de Gruyter.

rather, their hearts felt the vast depths of emotion that overcame all inhibitions, the fullness of life and joy of being that were gloriously and fully expressed in these small poems.

Although there are many who doubt whether most of these poems should be attributed to Anacreon, there is universal agreement that this poetry captures the essence of the spirit of the wise and merry Greece on which a bitter drop of the pessimistic philosophy had been thrown, the same Greece which drinks from the cup of Eden and that longs to continue drinking for as long as it is able, the Greece that has nothing in this world but the pleasure in which lie beauty and adornment. For this reason, the poetry draws away from extremes, lest it should cross the border of what is appropriate and pleasant. And the poetry found for itself no better virtue than moderation.

Moderation is a mark of beauty: a person drinks wine based on a calculation:

*Take ten cups of water,
And splitting the wine in half, mix it in.* Anacreon 356(b) / T 53.3-4

At the banquet they were sitting, adorned:

*A wreath of roses will crown us.
When we are merry, drinking wine.* CA 43 / T 6.1-2

Not only for aesthetic reasons, but rather because they believed that that moderation would prevent intoxication:

*Not like foolish Scythians shall we drink
In the midst of tumult and noise.* Anacreon 356(b) / T 53.7-8

He who deals with politics will end up nervous and irritated, losing his sense of balance. But the lover of beauty will distance himself from politics. As Anacreon says,

*What do I have in common with King Gyges
That the Shushanites admired?* CA 8 / T 15.1-2

And in his poem “How I love to go dancing with Dionysus” he adds,

*For I despise fighting,
Argument, and confrontation over a glass of wine.* CA 42 / T 41.13-14

Moderation is a mark of the beauty of pleasure. And among Anacreon’s life’s pleasures, love and wine occupy first place:

*Anacreon’s harp is dedicated / holy to Eros
And its strings, to love.* CA 23 / T 1.11-12

Yet here as well [if he were to go beyond moderation], extremism would ruin the line.

From the mountains of the leopards came the Shulamite, the “black and comely”, the most lovely flower in the entire world at the peak of its beauty; and just as it is ready to open up, it soaks up the Judaeen sun and surrenders unknowingly to the foundation of the world that orders it to fulfill its duty in life. For her, the “black and comely”, love is a tragedy, for she knows that “love is as strong as death, jealousy is as hard as the grave [*Sheol*]”. (*Song of Songs*)

Anacreon is not thus. While he also complains,

Eros has tortured me with his hyacinth staff, CA 31 / T 7.1-2

and speaks of someone who loves young women whose numbers you would find,

*If you can find the number of leaves on the trees
And count the waves,* CA 14 / T 31.1-3

or of someone who prays,

*Rock of my salvation [God], to you I will dedicate my soul,
For you will save it from the many sons of Eros,* CA 25 / T 32.17-19

nevertheless, he will not say that the yoke of the god of love is difficult. This man knows only the pleasures of love.

The [experiences of] beautiful love and a beautiful woman open up Anacreon's mind. Some of his songs are nothing but pleasant compliments toward the woman:

Nature was graceful to its [female] creations; CA 24 / T 2.1
You remind me of the power of Nature. CA 26 / T 16

Pleasant objects also open up the mind of Anacreon, and he delights in them:

Hephaestus, wise smith, please make for me in silver; CA 4 / T 17
Wise smith, please make for me – a holy goblet in honor of spring. CA 5 / T 18

As he loves the roses,

Let us collect together the rose of Eros as one with Dionysus, CA 44 / T 5.1-2

the blooming young trees,

How much I desire this pleasant tree – Bathyllus, CA 18 / T 21.1-2

and the wonderful spring in Greece ...

Behold, when spring comes.

CA 46 / T 36

And as he observes his own waning strength,

White hair sprinkles my temples,

And my hair is turning silver

Anacreon 395 / T 52.1-2

and he understands,

For Sheol is terrible in its depths,

The circles of Sheol are soaked with tears,

And the gates are not locked,

Yet none who enter will return,

Anacreon 395 / T 52.9-12

his healthy emotions win out, when living is no longer a blessing but becomes instead a decree impossible to fight. Then he turns again toward [the joys of] life and eases his sorrows in water-diluted wine:

For joy is suitable for an old man,

since his day [of death] is near.

CA 7 / T 11

Our knowledge of Anacreon's life is limited. He was born in the city of Teos in Ionia, in Asia Minor, in the days of Cyrus (530-490 BCE). When Cyrus conquered the land, Anacreon was exiled to the city of Abdera, and thence to the island of Samos. He later lived in Athens. The tyrants who governed these cities, Polycrates and Hipparchus, respected him greatly; after the death of the latter, he returned to Abdera, and according to tradition died there at the age of 85, choking on a grape pip stuck in his throat.

Regarding my own translations, I must note that I tried to the best of my ability to be a faithful translator of the spirit, content, form, and meter of Anacreon's poems, and I allowed myself only slightly to impose upon them the restrictive bonds of rhyme.

Should the reader find in my translation an inclination at all toward Talmudic vocabulary, while I could have used the language of the Hebrew Bible, [know that] I did this deliberately, in order to use the language of our ancestors at that time when they were closest to Greek culture.

Shaul Tschernikovsky

Appendix 2: Order of the Poems

Tschernikovsky	Stephanus (1554)	West (² 1993)
1	1	23
2	2	24
3	3	33
4	4	32
5	5	44
6	6	43
7	7	31
8	8	37
9	9	15
10	10	11
11	11	7
12	12	10
13	13	12
14	14	13
15	15	8
16	16	26
17	17	4
18	18	5
19	19	21
20	20	22
21	22	18.10-17
22	23	36
23	24	40
24	25	45
25	26	48
26	27	49
27	28	16
28	29	17
29	30	19
30	31	9
31	32	14
32	33	25
33	34	51
34	35	54
35	36	52, 52A
36	37	46
37	38	47
38	39	50
39	40	35

40	41	38
41	42	42
42	43	34
43	44	30
44	45	28
45	46	29, 29A
46	47	39
47	50	56
48	51	57
49	53	55
50	54	53
51	55	27

Appendix 3: “In the Footsteps of Anacreon”

Behold – the time of the nightingale has just arrived,
garden and field are covered with flowers.

Behold – the sea calms down quietly,
And the waves have fallen asleep.

Behold – ducklings dive down into the water,
and black owls fly up.

Behold – a hero will appear on high,
and his chariot will shine brightly.

The clouds are dispersed,
the period of rain has turned its back,
The deeds of mankind will make the eye proud
among the plowed fields.

Between her breasts Gaia has nourished
the seeds of pleasures.

The fig has just begun to bear its fruits,
and buds have appeared.

On the grapevines of Bacchus, enthusiastic god,
a vine leaf has just sprouted,
and all the lovely fruit begins to ripen,
as the new grapes send forth a lovely scent.

Abstracts

Contributors in Alphabetical Order

BAUMANN, MARIO

“Come now, best of painters, paint my lover”. The Poetics of Ecphrasis in the *Anacreontea*

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This article focuses on the seven ecphrastic poems in the CA (3, 4, 5, 16, 17, 54, 57). First, the paradigmatic structures of these poems are examined, i.e. the different ways in which the single anacreontics realise an ecphrasis. A wide range of speech acts is performed in these poems: Some instruct an artist to manufacture a certain (not yet existing) piece of art; CA 17 challenges the painter’s ability to represent the object of his art adequately (as he is unable to show Bathyllus’ back); in CA 54 and 57, the speaker responds to images that already exist and interprets them. This diversity involves a varying relationship between text and image as well as a spectrum of roles adopted by the respective lyrical speakers.

The paper then turns to the syntagmatic structures of these poems: they are arranged in groups of related texts. The nature of the interaction within these groups varies: e.g. CA 3, 4, 5 complement each other, whereas 17 contrasts with 16 (16: artistic representation succeeds, 17: it fails, cf. supra). As a whole, the ecphrastic poems show a logical sequence: they move from initiating artistic production to discussing its limits and further on to the reception of finished works of art.

Finally, the paper considers to what extent and in which specific form these poems are to be regarded as metapoetic. On the one hand, ecphrasis is just one of many aspects of the CA. On the other hand, the ecphrastic poems highlight precisely the tension of individual parts vs. a whole (cf. CA 16 and 17), of theme vs. variation, of paradigmatic diversity vs. syntagmatic coherence. By acting out these contrasting dynamics – rather than by defining a fixed *poetologisches Programm* –, they significantly contribute to the poetics of the CA.

BERNSDORFF, HANS
 Anacreon's Palinode

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Recent scholarship has revealed more and more the iambographic part of Anacreon's poetry, an aspect of his oeuvre that seems to have been completely ignored in the *Carmina Anacreontea* as well as in the later biographical tradition on Anacreon. The present paper draws attention to a possible exception in an anecdote, reported by Maximus of Tyre, which presents Anacreon berating the baby Cleobulus and his wet-nurse. Cleobulus later became one of the poet's beloved boys and a famous subject of his homoerotic poetry. According to the interpretation proposed here, the anecdote, which may have had its origin in a comedy, is an attempt to explain the presence of iambic insult and lyric praise in Anacreon's poetry. Since the palinode motif, obviously borrowed from Stesichorus, is central to the story, an earlier version of it may have influenced Horace, who also describes his transformation from iambographer to lyric poet using the palinode motif.

BING, PETER

Anacreontea avant la lettre: Euripides' *Cyclops* 495-518

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In a memorable scene at Euripides' *Cyclops* 488ff., the wildly intoxicated Polyphemus emerges from his cave to go on what both he and the satyr chorus describe as a komos, or revel. Their following duet (vv. 495-518) is unique in dramatic literature: it is a monostrophikon typical of the Ionic tradition, in anacreontic meter, using Ionic dialect rather than the standard Doric of a stasimon, and awash in themes of wine and sex. Euripides reaches here beyond the theatrical tradition to evoke a different genre, namely drinking songs in the manner of Anacreon. As can be shown through 6th and 5th cent. vase-painting, literature and scholia, Anacreon enjoyed the status of a musical superstar in Athens almost from the moment he arrived there around 522 BCE, remaining hugely popular throughout the 5th century. Cued in by the surprising monostrophic form, meter, dialect, and subject matter, the audience of the *Cyclops* would have spotted the reference at once. By the latter part of the 5th cent. BCE, then, we see that such songs would already have been familiar not simply from authentic compositions of Anacreon but as an immediately recognizable generic type: *Anacreontea*.

DELL'ORO, FRANCESCA

“Anacreon, the Connoisseur of Desires”: An Anacreontic Reading of Menecrates' Sepulchral Epigram (*IKyzikos* 18, 520 = Merkelbach/Stauber 08/01/47 *Kyzikos*)

(Universität Zürich – francesca.delloro@klphs.uzh.ch)

The sepulchral metrical inscription for Menecrates (*IKyzikos* 18, 520) constitutes a little known case in the reception of Anacreon's persona. The lack of knowledge about its original context, the defective condition of the text, and perhaps the loss of the gravestone relief make it very difficult to offer a clear-cut interpretation. In this paper some improvements for the reading of the text are suggested. Moreover, in the commentary different possibilities of interpretation are explored, in light of the reception of Anacreon's persona as it is represented in the Hellenistic epigrams and, in particular, in the *Carmina Anacreontea*. It is argued that the epigram is not only an interesting attestation of the widespread fame achieved by Anacreon as an expert in matters of love, but also of the problematic nature of his persona throughout the centuries. Therefore, this text fills in one of the gaps in the reception of Anacreon's persona between the Hellenistic age and the later time of the *Carmina Anacreontea*.

GUTZWILLER, KATHRYN

Anacreon, Hellenistic Epigram and the Anacreontic Poet

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In the Hellenistic era, critics establish for Anacreon a place within literary history, and the poets of the age come to illustrate their own aesthetic principles through reference to Anacreon as a canonical figure of the past. A number of Hellenistic epigrams feature the paradox of a long dead Anacreon who yet survives in spirit through the character of his poetry. The distinctive reanimation of Anacreon that later appears in the *Anacreontea* is, in part, a development from these poems, with a debt owed as well to Hellenistic erotic epigram. Differently from the epigrams, the persona speaking in the *Anacreontea* is empowered to create linguistically an image of the Dionysiac life through assimilation to or internalization of Anacreon and the themes of his poetry. The various images of this internalization – the touch and scent of Anacreon in dream, the visualization of Bacchantes and beloveds in paintings or on chased cups, the tickle of Eros swallowed in the wine – offer us a model of poetic reanimation through physical possession that contrasts strongly with imitation learned through set principles of composition.

HÖSCHELE, REGINA

„Er fing an zu singen, und sang lauter Mägdchen“: Johann Wolfgang Ludwig Gleim, The German Anacreon

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The paper investigates the poetic output of the ‘German Anacreon’ Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803) vis-à-vis the general ‘Anacreomania’ that took hold of Germany in the mid-18th century. It is concerned in particular with Gleim’s first collection, his *Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern* (1744/1745), and the ways in which his life – or rather the conscious *staging* of his life – was colored by the Anacreontic discourse: Gleim enacts the role of Anacreon not only in his poetry (like the poets of the *Anacreontea*), but also in his correspondence and in his dealings with friends, whereby the boundaries between reality and fiction are easily blurred. The essay concludes with the edition and interpretation of a hitherto unknown Anacreontic song, penned by the Alsatian philologist Brunck, who dedicated his 1778 Anacreon edition to Gleim in the voice of the ancient poet.

MOST, GLENN W.

Τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦδ. Imitation and Enactment in the *Anacreontics*

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This article examines some of the ways in which the Anacreontic poets imitate Anacreon. Beginning with an interpretation of the final poem in the collection, it considers the interrelation between wine, desire, and song as constitutive elements of the poetic symposium. For the Anacreontic poet, Anacreon seems to be not only a historical person to be recalled or the author of a set of texts to be imitated but also a role to be enacted. By composing Anacreontic verses and engaging in an Anacreontic way of life, by desiring and drinking and singing, the later poet could be thought to be not only imitating the earlier one, in such a way that the differences between the two persons involved (the ancient dead poet and the contemporary living symposiast) remained visible, but also enacting him, performing him in a quasi-dramatic manner – and, in a certain sense, ultimately almost becoming him, so that the line of division between the two persons could blur and in the end even become virtually effaced.

ROSENMEYER, PATRICIA A.

Tschernikovsky's *Songs of Anacreon*: A Curious Literary Phenomenon

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In 1920, the Anacreontic corpus was translated into modern Hebrew by the Russian Jewish poet Shaul Tschernikovsky (1875-1943). This paper argues that the Anacreontics attracted Tschernikovsky because they were thought at that time to represent the high status of the Western classical tradition, alongside Homer and the tragedians: they offered universal paradigms rather than being narrowly confined to Jewish tradition; and they provided a positive counterbalance to the grim social realities of war, poverty, and anti-Semitism. For Tschernikovsky and his readers, the Anacreontics functioned as a passport to high culture in that they offered a language and style that was far removed from ancient Hebrew, and were uniquely pan-European. Through a brilliant and original amalgamation of classical and Biblical references and allusions, Tschernikovsky took on the challenge of translating the Greek Anacreontics, and in the process helped change the future of modern Hebrew poetry.

RUDOLPH, ALEXANDER

The Problem of Self-Thematization in the *Carmina Anacreontea* 1, 6 und 32

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The question of self-thematization in ancient Greek poetry remains controversial. There is one side that believes in a 'pragmatic' interpretation that is geared to the context of the song, understanding the song's I-statements as 'real', often autobiographical ones. The other side postulates a 'literary' interpretation that focuses on the text itself and that emphasizes the 'fictitious', 'literary' character of the I-statements. The present essay argues that in case of the *Anacreontea*, both positions have to be dismissed. On the one hand, the songs, representing imitations and extrapolations of Anacreon can neither be traced back to specific authors nor time of origin, supporting its poeticity. On the other, they contextualize themselves constitutively in the social practice of the symposium, militating in favor of its pragmaticity. The thesis of this essay therefore is, that the I-statements in the *Anacreontea* have a double character. They are neither *still* the authentic statements originating from a single participant of the symposium, nor are they *already* the statements of a 'poetic I', but they are *both concurrently*: The literary practice remains to be anchored in the social practice; in it the singer thematizes 'himself' as well as 'not himself'.

SENS, ALEXANDER

Dialect in the *Anacreontea*

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The study of the dialect of *Anacreontea* faces many of the same textual and interpretative difficulties that are raised by the epigrams of the Greek Anthology. Insofar as it is possible to tell given the instability of the manuscript in which they are primarily preserved, many of the poems have a broadly Ionic character, and thus approximate to the voice of Anacreon's genuine poetry. In this respect, their dialect contributes to the way individual poems engage with other texts, including compositions in other dialects (e.g. by Sappho, Archilochus, and Pindar) and the Homeric epics. The latter half of the corpus also contains a number of poems in Doric. These probably reflect a literary-historical moment at which the thematic conventions of the *Anacreontea* were already established and could thus be manipulated; the Doric in these poems is sometimes manifestly significant, but difficult to explain in some other instances. In CA 11, however, the mixture of Doric and Ionic forms should be understood as a self-referential comment on the poet's own inheritance of a tradition of Doric love poetry, probably that represented by the later bucolic tradition.

TILG, STEFAN

Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry: Its Shape(s) and Its Significance

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This paper gives a survey of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry, by which I mean both Latin translations of the ancient *Carmina Anacreontea* (CA) and original Latin compositions on the model of that corpus. I start with a brief introduction to the rediscovery of CA and the aesthetical issues involved. After a preliminary discussion of methodology and terminology, I then look at Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry written before H. Estienne's first edition of CA in 1554. After that, I examine forms and functions of Latin verse translations of CA in the wake of Estienne's own translation accompanying the Greek text of his edition. I then discuss a number of examples of original Latin Anacreontic compositions and emphasize the flexibility and variety of the form – which remains recognizable, however, through its characteristic metre. Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry is characterized by that diversity in unity, which prompted a series of exciting literary experiments.

Abbreviations

AB	<i>Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia</i> , ed. by C. Austin and G. Bastianini, Milan 2002.
CA	<i>Carmina Anacreontea</i> ed. by M. L. West, Stuttgart/Leipzig ² 1993
CEG	<i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , ed. by P. A. Hansen, Berlin, 1983 (I), 1989 (II).
FGE	<i>Further Greek Epigrams: Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other Sources, not included in 'Hellenistic Epigrams' or 'The Garland of Philip'</i> , ed. by D. L. Page, R. D. Dawe, J. Diggle, Cambridge 1981.
GP/GPh	<i>The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip, and Some Contemporary Epigrams</i> , ed. by A. S. F. Gow, D. L. Page, 2 vols., Cambridge 1968.
HE	<i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> , ed. by A. S. F. Gow, D. L. Page, 2 vols., Cambridge 1965.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873-.
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , curavit L. Moretti, 4 vols., Rome 1968-1990.
IKyzikos 18	Schwertheim, E. (Ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung. Teil I: Grabtexte</i> , Bonn 1980.
IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ	M. Barth/J. Stauber (Eds.), <i>Inschriften Mysia & Troas (Kyzikene, Kapu Dağ)</i> , Version of 25.8.1993 (Ibycus), Packard Humanities Institute CD #7, 1996.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zürich, 1981-2009.
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , with a Supplement, by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the Assistance of Roderick McKenzie, Oxford 1978 (reprint of the 9th edition 1940).
PMG	<i>Poetae melici Graeci</i> , edited by D. L. Page, Oxford 1962.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , vol. III, ed. by S. Radt, Göttingen ² 2009.

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Index of Names

- Abraham 246
Achilles 63; 103; 117n.14; 118n.22;
150; 156; 223; 223n.85; 242
Adonis 54n.23
Aelius Aristides 89n.91
Aeschylus 23; 26-27; 27n.8; 40n.37;
43n.48; 53n.20; 54; 60n.39; 227
Aesop 16
Agamemnon 181n.64
Agathon 23; 29; 32n.23, 151n.22
Ahasuerus 241
Ajax 118; 118n.22
Alard 188n.90 ; 192
Alcaeus 11; 29; 35n.25; 36; 52;
145n.3; 148; 148n.11; 206n.41; 236
Alcibiades 86
Alcidamas 18
Amor s. Eros
André, Elie 176; 177; 179n.58; 179;
181; 183; 194; 194n.110
Antipater of Sidon 25n.2; 49; 49n.8;
49n.11; 50-51; 53-54; 214
Antonia 48 ; 48n.5 ; 48n.6
Aphrodite (Cytherea) 53-55; 54n.23;
55n.28; 58; 60; 64; 66; 75; 75n.28; 77;
77n.38; 77n.39; 77n.40 ;78-79;
84n.72; 85; 86n.77; 87-88; 88n.81;
89n.91; 91- 92; 106; 111-113; 125;
146n.5; 147; 147n.8; 148; 148n.14;
154; 157; 170; 175; 189; 196; 219-
220; 245-246
Apian, Philipp 185
Apoll (Phoebus) 64; 66n.57; 114n.2;
115; 116n.10; 170-171; 219; 231-232;
244n.51
Aratus 103
Archilochus 12n.7; 12n.9; 16; 16n.16;
18; 19n.30; 23; 54; 54n.24; 58; 102,
151n.20; 152
Arete 16n.17
Aristarchus of Samos 2; 71
Aristogeiton 118
Aristophanes 18; 23; 29; 32n.23; 36;
44; 53n.20; 118n.20; 151n.22; 244
Aristophanes of Byzantium 48n.5
Aristotle 17-18; 151n.21
Asclepiades of Myrlea 63
Athenaeus 2; 27; 29; 63n.51; 65; 108;
118; 206n.41
Atreus 176; 181n.64; 199; 235; 238-
240
Aurpach, Johann 184-187; 190; 194
Babrius 110n.30
Bacchus (cf. Dionysus) 39; 50-51; 54;
62; 174-175; 236; 240-241; 254
Balbus 86n.78
Barnes, Joshua 180; 195
Barth, Caspar 170; 188n.90; 189n.96;
190-192; 192n.104
Bathyllus 21; 45n.52; 53; 60; 78; 82-
83; 99n.8; 103; 114-115; 114n.2; 121;
122n.34; 128; 154; 157; 173; 176n.45;
177-178; 200n.12; 217; 219-220;
225; 251
Baxter, William 180
Bet Shoevah 246n.54
Bialik, Chaim Nachman 227
Bion 55; 58; 104; 106n.24; 111-112
Boethius 158n.39; 192n.105
Bogislaw XIII 178
Bogislaw XIV 178
Buchanan, Georg 192-193 ;
193n.106 ; 193n.107
Buchner, August 188n.90
Cadmus 176; 181n.64; 182; 183n.72;
199; 238-240

- Callimachus 51; 61; 89; 97; 152
 Cambyses 70n.20
 Canidia 19-20; 19n.33
 Casaubon 179
 Castor 20
 Catullus 168; 169n.20; 168-171;
 169n.20; 169n.21; 170n.26; 174; 184-
 185; 191; 194; 196; 209
 Celeus 16
 Charites (Graces) 44; 48; 55; 58-59;
 66; 116n.10
 Chloe 85n.73
 Choeroboscus 13; 15; 17; 22n.44
 Christ, Johann Friedrich 180-181;
 181n.64
 Cicero 233; 249
 Cinesias 23
 Claudian 188n.91
 Cleobulus 13n.11; 14-15; 17-20;
 17n.21; 22-23; 24n.51; 37n.30
 Crates of Mallos 63
 Cratinus 151n.20
 Creon 195n.115
 Crinagoras 48; 48n.6
 Crinito, Pietro 170; 177; 184
 Critias 26-27; 27n.6; 29; 36; 36n.29;
 37; 37n.29; 43-44; 43n.48
 Cupido (s. Eros)
 Curtius, Ludwig 31; 32
 Cypris 86; 125n.42
 Cyrus 70n.20; 252
 Cytherea s. Aphrodite

 Daphnis 56; 85n.73
 Demeter 12; 12n.7; 15-16
 Dionysius Chalcos 62
 Dionysus (cf. Bacchus) 12n.7 ; 34;
 40n.33; 41; 50; 53; 63-66 ; 88n.80 ;
 113; 114n.3; 116n.9 ; 118n.22; 149;
 154; 159; 174 ; 214; 245-246; 250-251
 Dioscorides 52-54; 54n.23; 60n.39; 64
 Diphilus 23; 23n.47
 Doris 208; 211-213; 211n.60;
 212n.67; 216-221; 220n.80; 223-224

 Dorkon 85n.73
 Dropides 27n.6
 Duke of Pomerania 178

 Engerd, Johann 186
 Epainos 75-77; 86; 88; 90-92
 Erato 171; 171n.30
 Eros (Amor, Cupido) 14-15; 42n.43,
 55n.28; 58-64; 61n.43; 79; 81-82; 92;
 101; 109-112; 110n.30; 117; 125; 134;
 135n.17; 139-140; 140n.43; 141n.47;
 142-143 ; 147n.8; 148n.14; 153-154;
 175-176; 176n.47; 178; 188; 203n.24 ;
 204-205; 212n.64; 214; 221-223;
 223n.85; 240; 239n.45; 240 ; 242;
 245-246; 250-251
 Erotes 55, 61n.43; 66; 113; 116n.10
 Eubule 12n.7
 Eubuleus 12
 Eugenius 17n.22; 50; 78; 83n.67
 Eunice 106
 Euripides 5; 23; 26-27; 37; 39-40;
 40n.33; 42n.45; 42n.46; 43n.48; 44;
 45n.53; 53n.20
 Europa 113; 122-124; 157
 Euryppyle 53

 Flayder, Friedrich Hermann 179
 Florent Chrestien 193n.107
 Fosse, Antoine de la 181n.64
 Fredericus Jamotius 193n.107
 Frischmann, David 231-232

 Galard de Brassac, Guy de 171
 Gellius 3; 4n.8; 47n.2; 63n.50; 102-
 103; 108; 115n.7; 119; 163; 170
 Georg II 178
 Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig 4;7;
 199-226; 233; 248
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 227;
 230-231; 248
 Gottsched, Johann Christoph 182-183;
 183n.72; 212n.63

- Götz, Johann Niklas 183; 183n.72;
210; 220
- Gregory of Nazianzus 192; 194n.110
- Gyges 102; 168n.16; 168n.17; 241;
250
- Hades (s. Tartaros)
- Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp 181n.63
- Hector 156; 223
- Heine, Christian Johann Heinrich
247n.57; 248
- Heinsius 179
- Helen 13-14; 18; 20-21
- Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne)
3; 105n.23; 107; 163-165; 167;
168n.16; 170-173; 175-181; 179;
179n.58; 180n.59; 183-185; 192;
193n.108; 199n.5; 208; 233; 235n.35;
235n.37; 236-238; 253
- Hephaestion 15; 40n.35; 99; 172n.36
- Hephaestus 62-63; 102-103; 108; 110;
117n.14; 156; 251
- Heracles 239-240
- Heraclitus 150n.18
- Hermes 110n.30; 114n.3; 223;
223n.85
- Herodas 12n.7
- Hesiod 54; 57-58; 112n.38; 145n.3;
148; 151n.20; 152
- Himeros 125
- Hipparchus 2; 26; 29; 156; 194-195;
212; 252
- Hippolytus 64-65
- Hipponax 13; 15-17; 16n.17; 22-23
- Hipponoe 106
- Homer 18n.28; 37; 39; 40n.33; 52;
52n.18; 54; 63; 102-103; 106-108;
117n.14; 150; 155-156; 196; 199; 223;
227-228; 231; 231n.20; 236; 248;
248n.62
- Horace 13; 19; 19n.30; 19n.32; 20-22;
21n.39; 24; 151n.21; 168; 172-173;
193; 193n.109; 233; 249
- Iambe 12-13; 12n.6; 15-17; 17n.19; 22
- Isaac 246
- Jacobi, Johann Georg 204-205;
206n.39; 208
- Jagger, Mike 35
- Jordan, Emilie 189
- Joseph I. 195
- Klaj, Johann 181n.63
- Kleophrades Painter 28n.10; 30-31;
69n.11
- Koritto 12n.7
- Leonidas of Tarentum 17n.22; 50-51;
50n.12; 51n.13; 76n.32
- Lubinus, Eilhard 176; 178-179;
179n.56; 179n.58; 183
- Lucian 89n.91
- Lyaeus (s. Dionysus)
- Lycaon 102
- Lycidas 58; 58n.36
- Maecenas 21; 173
- Manutius, Paulus 184; 185n.77
- Marlborough, John Churchill of 195-
196
- Martial 209; 211n.57
- Marullo, Michele 169; 184
- Matrodorus 75; 75n.28; 92
- Maximus Margunius 193
- Maximus of Tyre 5; 13-17;
13n.11; 16n.18; 19-20; 22; 24
- Megilla 185
- Megistes 55; 83
- Meibom, Heinrich 188n.90
- Meleager 51; 52n.17; 57-64; 59n.37;
61n.42; 110n.30; 145n.3; 148n.14
- Menecrates 5; 67-68; 68n.5; 70; 75-
83; 75n.28; 85-93; 85n.73
- Menoceus 123n.38
- Mnesitheos 76n.35
- Mörke, Eduard 236

- Momos 75; 77; 84; 86; 88; 88n.83;
 89-93; 89n.91; 89n.92
 Morus, Thomas 168; 184
 Moschus 55; 111
 Moses 246
 Moses Mendelsohn 229
 Motte, Houdar de La 209
 Müller, Georg 188
 Muse(s) 16; 41n.38; 53-55; 54n.23;
 57; 64; 66; 69n.12; 88n.81; 110; 117;
 140; 166; 171; 174-175; 185; 208;
 214; 236-237; 244
 Myron 234n.29; 237-238
 Myrrhine 23

 Neera 168-170; 169n.23; 175; 191
 Nestor 63
 Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm 1 ; 231
 Nyx 89

 Odysseus 16n.17; 37; 39; 39n.32; 40;
 101; 103; 220n.79
 Oedipus 123n.38; 195n.115
 Ovid 176-177; 176n.47; 208; 233; 249

 Panthea 175
 Pasicompsa 175; 190n.99
 Pasithea 175
 Patroclus 52
 Pausanias 27; 50n.12
 Pauw, Cornelius de 209
 Peisistratos 93
 Pelargus, Christoph 193
 Pericles 27
 Philitas 49n.10; 54n.25
 Philly 45
 Philostratus 32n.23 ; 122-124;
 123n.37
 Phoebus (s. Apoll)
 Pindar 29; 35n.25; 43n.49; 62;
 62n.47; 100; 106-107; 147n.7; 149;
 149n.15; 164-164; 164n.9; 165n.10
 Pius V. 194

 Plato 7; 13; 15; 62; 64; 66; 78;
 111n.35; 134n.16; 145n.3; 147-148;
 147n.6; 153; 170; 178; 213-233; 235;
 249
 Plautus 175; 177; 190n.99
 Plutarch 36
 Polycrates 2; 26; 48n.6; 93; 156; 194-
 195; 212; 252
 Polydeukes 114n.3
 Polyneices 123n.38
 Polyphemus 37; 39-43; 39n.32;
 41n.40; 42n.43; 42n.46; 44n.51
 Pontanus, Jacob 173n.38; 193
 Posidippus 48n.6; 54; 62; 64; 65n.55;
 97-98
 Pratinus 41
 Praxiteles 60
 Presley, Elvis 35; 36
 Priam 223; 223n.85
 Propertius Christianus 193n.109
 Pythia 66

 Rhianus 58
 Rittershausen, Konrad 194
 Ronsard 171-172; 189n.95; 199n.5
 Rosillus 191
 Roverius 193n.110

 Sambucus, Johannes 168n.18; 184-
 185
 Sappho 2; 11; 11n.3; 23; 23n.47; 29;
 35n.25; 36; 44; 48; 54; 54n.23; 62;
 62n.47; 100-101; 133n.11; 149;
 164n.9; 193n.108; 201; 205-206;
 206n.36; 206n.38; 206n.41; 208-209;
 211n.56; 224n.87; 236
 Scaliger, Joseph Justus 171
 Scaliger, Julius Caesar 169; 171-175;
 172n.34; 173n.39; 174n.43; 179; 184;
 186-187; 189-191; 190n.99; 194
 Schede Melissus, Paul 189
 Secundus, Johannes 168-170; 191
 Seneca 158n.39

- Shakespeare, William 227-228;
235n.33
- Sigmund von Birken 181n.63
- Silenus 27n.9; 39n.32; 41n.41;
42n.45; 44; 44n.51; 45n.53; 155n.29
- Simonides 35n.25; 48; 51n.14; 55;
56n.30; 66
- Skirtos 41n.38
- Smerdies 55
- Socrates 64; 81n.54; 178
- Solon 27n.6
- Sophocles 54; 231
- Sosithus 41n.38
- Stesichorus 13-15; 18; 18n.26;
19n.28; 19n.30; 20-22; 24; 24n.51
- Stotzingen, Robert von 194
- Stybel, Avraham 227-232
- Suetonius 19
- Synesius of Cyrene 194n.110
- Tanaquil Faber 3
- Tartarus 53-55; 55n.26; 56; 242-243
- Taubmann, Friedrich 180n.60;
185n.97; 188n.92; 187-190
- Telamon 118n.22
- Telecleides 80; 151n.20
- Tellis 12n.7
- Terpander 29
- Theocritus 43n.49; 49; 49n.9; 54-56;
58; 78; 80n.52; 82; 104; 104n.20;
105n.21; 106n.25; 107; 111
- Theodorus Prodromus 188n.91; 237
- Thetis 52
- Thyrsis 206n.36
- Timarete 76n.35
- Timocritus 237
- Tschernikovsky, Shaul 227-254
- Tyndareus 18n.28
- Urban von Trennbach 185-186; 194
- Uz, Johann Peter 183; 183n.72; 205;
209-210; 212; 219-220
- Vashti 241; 245
- Venus (s. Aphrodite)
- Voltaire 211n.57
- Xanthippus 27
- Xenocrates 52n.16
- Xenophanes 150n.18
- Zeno of Citium 52n.16; 191
- Zeus 40n.33; 80; 80n.51; 89; 113;
122; 122n.35; 123-124; 157
- Zuber, Matthaeus 188n.90; 189n.94

Index of Passages Cited

Adamantius			Anacreon		
<i>Physiognomonica</i>			<i>Elegiae</i>		
1.16	110n.31		2	237	
2.41	110n.31		fr. 2.3 West	78	
			fr. 5 West	82n.64	
Aelianus			<i>Lyrice</i>		
<i>Varia Historia</i>			PMG 302	207n.41	
8.2	2		PMG 346	12; 18n.27 ; 22n.45 ; 78	
Aelius Aristides			PMG 347	11 ; 82n.58	
<i>Orationes</i>			PMG 348	99 ; 237	
49 (Jebb)	89n.91		PMG 351	11	
Aeschylus			PMG 354	11	
<i>Eumenides</i>			PMG 356	42; 43n.46; 40 ; 88n.81 ; 237 ; 250	
969-970	40n.37		PMG 357	17n.21 ; 37n.30 ; 78 ; 82n.58	
<i>Fragmenta</i>			PMG 358	12n.9; 30; 82 ; 99; 105	
<i>TrGFIII 47a 802-820</i>	27n.9		PMG 359	17n.21; 82n.58	
<i>Prometheus Vincetus</i>			PMG 360	82n.58	
128	27		PMG 363	11	
<i>Scholia</i>			PMG 366	12n.5; 18	
M. Aesch. PV 128	26n.5		PMG 372	11; 24n.51	
<i>Supplices</i>			PMG 373	82n.64	
637	91n.97		PMG 374	82n.58	
Alcaeus			PMG 376	42n.45; 45n.53; 62	
fr. 347(a) Voigt	145n.3; 148n.11		PMG 379	30; 99	
fr. 352 Voigt	145n.3; 148n.11		PMG 381(b)	11	
			PMG 387	11	
Alexis			PMG 388	11; 24n.50; 29	
fr. 112 KA	16n.18		PMG 390	22n.45	
Amipsias			PMG 394(b)	11	
fr. 15	23n.47		PMG 395	30; 40-41; 43n.46; 82; 237; 242-243; 252	
test. 2	23n.47		PMG 396	41-42; 43n.46; 65	
Amphis			PMG 402	17n.21; 48; 82n.58	
fr. 32	23n.47		PMG 403	41n.41	
			PMG 407	82n.58	
			PMG 408	237-238	
			PMG 417	45; 82n.64; 237	
			PMG 419	11	
			PMG 420	11; 30	
			PMG 421	11	
			PMG 423	11	
			PMG 424	11	
			PMG 425	11	

PMG 427	12	7.454	51
PMG 431	11	7.634	51
PMG 432	11	7.707	41n.38
PMG 450	62	9.184	2; 48
PMG 458	44	9.239	48
PMG 471	103	9.356	89n.92
PMG 500.4	27; 29; 43	9.571	2
		9.599	49; 54; 78; 82
André, Elie		9.613	89n.92
1555: Aii ^f	177	9.715	237
		9.716	237
<i>Anthologia Latina</i>		11.48	115n.7
314	86n.78	11.321	89n.92
		11.412	60n.39
<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>		12.41	145n.3; 148n.14
1.103	89n.92	12.56	60
4.1	52n.17; 61; 64	12.57	59-60
5.136	62	12.80	59; 63
5.137	62	12.117	59; 64
5.155	59; 61n.42	12.121	58
5.157	59	12.122	58
5.181	60n.41	12.125	59
5.182	60n.41	12.126	59
5.183	60n.41	12.132	64
5.185	60n.41	12.165	61
5.187	60n.41	12.168	62
5.212	60	12.256	61
5.214	59n.37	16.7	89n.92
6.141	237	16.32	60n.39
6.252	84n.70	16.136	60n.39
6.352	49n.10	16.148	60n.39
7.1	52	16.262	89n.92
7.23	53	16.265	89n.92
7.24	51n.14; 55n.29; 56; 66; 82	16.266	89n.92
		16.306	17n.22; 50-51; 76n.32; 78; 83
7.25	18n.27; 55; 56n.30; 66		
7.26	49; 53	16.307	17n.22; 50-51; 76n.32; 78; 83
7.27	18n.27; 25n.2; 52n.17; 53-54; 214	16.308	17n.22; 50-51; 78; 83n.67
7.28	49-51		
7.29	18n.27; 52-54	16.309	83n.67
7.30	53		
7.31	18n.27; 52; 54	Antiphanes	
7.37	41n.38	fr. 194	23n.47
7.160	237-238		
7.195	64	Aratus	
7.196	64; 66	96	103
7.237	60n.39	136	103
7.407	54n.23		
7.411	60n.39	Archilochus	
7.422	51	fr. 19.1	102
7.427	51	fr. 19.1-3	12n.9
7.428	51		

fr. 120 (West)	19n.30	Aurpach, Johannes	
fr. 322 (West)	12n.7	<i>Anacreonticorum Odae</i>	
Aristophanes		1	185; 194
<i>Acharnenses</i>		2	185
729-835	109	3	185
<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>		6	194
663-664	16n.18	7	185; 194
847	19n.29	9	185
<i>Fragmenta</i>		10	194
235KA	36	12	185
277KA	18n.29	13	186
<i>Pax</i>		15	185
59	18n.29	19	185
1330-1331	43	23	185
		25	185
		27	185
		33	185; 186
<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>		Bacchylides	
137-138	29	<i>Epinicia</i>	
148-167	29; 151n.22	13.162-165	89
608-609	23n.46	Barnes, Joshua	
760	18n.29	<i>Panegyric Poem in Honor of Marlborough</i>	
<i>Vespae</i>		1-8	196
1217-1249	118n.20	37-46	196n.116
Aristoteles		Barth, Caspar	
<i>Poetica</i>		<i>Amphitheatrum Gratiarum</i>	
1448b30-34	19	1.12	171; 191
1449a26-27	17n.20	3.4.1-4	170
1455a30-34	151n.21	3.10	191
<i>Rhetorica</i>		3.16	190
1398b10-12	18	3.27	191
1411b28	186n.82	Anacreon <i>Philosophus</i>	
Athenaeus		1623: 109-166	192n.104
<i>Deipnosophistae</i>		1623: 110	192
11.463a	239	1623: 113	192
11.490e	63	1623: 114	192
12.540d	2	1623: 133	192
13.599c-d	2; 206n.41	1623: 157	192
13.600d-e	27	1623: 164	192
Aulus Gellius		Belleau, Rémy	
<i>Noctes Atticae</i>		1556: 11	166
1.19.11	170n.25	Babrius	
19.9	3; 47n.2; 63n.50; 115n.7; 119; 163	<i>Mythiambi Aesopici</i>	
		30	110n.30

Bion		CA 1.9-10	140-142
<i>Epitaphius Adonis</i>		CA 1.12	140
12.13	104	CA 1.13	79n.43
35	106n.24	CA 1.14	25
		CA 1.16-17	25; 110; 200
<i>fragmenta</i>		CA 2	52; 110; 151n.21; 153; 194n.112; 221; 236
fr. 9	112	CA 2.1-2	196; 199n.4
fr. 10	58; 112	CA 2.2	221
Boethius		CA 2.3-8	110
<i>consolatio philosophiae</i>		CA 3	113; 115; 116n.8; 126n.44; 156; 186; 236
3.7	192n.105		
Brunck, Richard François Philippe		CA 3.1-2	110
Ἀνακρέων Γλειμίῳ χαίρειν		CA 3.2	117
1-42	224-225	CA 3.3-4	116n.8
2	226	CA 3.5-8	116n.8
5-6	225	CA 3-5	114-117; 119-121; 124-127; 129
10-12	226		
14	226	CA 4	3; 52; 63; 98; 102; 108; 113; 115; 116; 117n.14; 119; 126n.44; 156; 158; 163; 163n.2; 167; 168; 168n.16; 171; 172n.35; 176; 176n.45; 214n.72; 251
18-19	226		
30	225n.95		
Callimachus			
<i>Aetia</i>			
fr. 1.33-34	66		
<i>Epigrammatum Fragmenta</i>		CA 4.i	115n.7; 119
fr. 393 Pfeiffer	89	CA 4.i.3	108
<i>Hecale</i>		CA 4.i.7-11	117n.14
fr. 260	61	CA 4.i.20	116n.9
		CA 4.i.21	82; 154
<i>Hymnus in Apollinem</i>		CA 4.ii	115n.7
2.113	89	CA 4.iii	116n.7
		CA 4.iii.21	106
<i>Iambi</i>		CA 5	3; 63; 113; 115; 126n.44; 156; 214n.72; 251
fr. 203	98		
fr. 380	22n.44	CA 5.2	42n.42
<i>Carmina Anacreontea</i>		CA 5.14-19	60n.39; 116; 116n.10
CA 1-34	99	CA 5.18	66n.57; 116n.9
CA 1-20	99; 176n.45	CA 6	61-62; 110-111; 131; 134-140; 143; 157; 164n.4; 214n.72
CA 1	3-4; 7; 57-59; 64; 66; 79n.43; 130-131; 139; 143; 151-154; 164; 205; 213; 216; 226; 235, 240	CA 6.2	203n.24
CA 1.1	226	CA 6.6-7	79
CA 1.2	156	CA 7	99; 157; 173; 176n.45; 252
CA 1.5	205	CA 7.2	79n.43; 83
CA 1.6-7	79	CA 7.8-11	87
CA 1.8	140	CA 8	102; 110; 158; 163; 163n.2; 167-168; 171; 172n.35; 176; 250

- CA 8.1-2 241
CA 8.3-7 169
CA 8.7-8 203n.24
CA 9 7; 88n.82; 110;
157n.37; 176n.45
CA 9.1 1
CA 9.16-17 154
CA 10 156; 176n.45
CA 10.6 108
CA 10.8-10 177
CA 10.10 82; 99; 103; 154
CA 11 98; 104; 109-112; 157
CA 12 7; 64n.54; 66n.57; 110
CA 13 7; 59; 110; 147n.8;
151n.21; 157; 176n.45
CA 13.16 108n.27
CA 13.18-20 79
CA 14 79; 200; 215; 251
CA 14.4 108
CA 14.5-6 215
CA 14.22 201n.13
CA 15 60-61; 66; 78; 108;
111; 157; 176n.45;
214n.72; 226
CA 15.7 79n.43; 226
CA 15.8 103; 154
CA 15.11 111
CA 15.12 111
CA 15.13 79n.43
CA 15.16 226
CA 15.18 108
CA 15.27 79n.43; 226n.95
CA 15.36 108
CA 16-17 114; 124; 126-127
CA 16 66n.58; 113; 115-116;
119-121; 123; 125-
127; 130; 148n.14;
156; 176n.45; 186;
217; 219
CA 16.1-5 114n.1
CA 16.6-9 116n.12
CA 16.13-17 116n.13
CA 16.33-34 114-115; 121
CA 16.34 219n.78
CA 17 66n.57; 99; 113-116;
119-127; 130;
148n.14; 156;
176n.45; 186; 217;
219-220
CA 17.1-2 82; 177
CA 17.1 103; 154
CA 17.3-11 116n.11
CA 17.5-6 125
CA 17.20-22 125
CA 17.30-37 114n.3
CA 17.34-37 120
CA 17.36-37 45n.52; 219
CA 17.38-40 114; 121-122
CA 17.41 121
CA 17.42-44 114n.2
CA 17.43-46 115
CA 17.44 82; 103; 154
CA 17.45-46 219
CA 17.46 82; 103; 154
CA 18 99; 157; 251
CA 18.1-9 236
CA 18.9 108n.27
CA 18.10 82; 103; 154
CA 19 3; 112
CA 20 3; 100; 149; 206
CA 20.1-2 79n.43; 206n.40
CA 21-34 99; 176n.45
CA 21 167n.14; 176n.45
CA 21.4 108
CA 22 148n.14; 156; 176n.45
CA 23 52; 166; 176; 182;
194n.112; 199; 235;
238; 250
CA 23.1-4 199
CA 23.4 196
CA 23.11-12 248n.43
CA 24 148n.14; 167n.14;
176n.45; 182; 251
CA 25 61; 156; 176n.45; 243;
251
CA 25.7 108n.27
CA 25.12 108
CA 25.17-19 242
CA 26 52; 100; 158n.41;
176n.45; 253
CA 27 3; 60; 158n.41;
176n.45; 235-236
CA 28 157; 158n.41; 176n.45
CA 29 158n.41; 169; 176n.45
CA 30 61n.44; 157; 176n.45
CA 31 12n.9; 157; 222; 251
CA 31.1-3 223
CA 31.4-5 102
CA 31.7 108n.27
CA 32 131; 142; 154;
176n.45; 178; 182n.71
CA 32.1-6 178
CA 32.3 143
CA 32.7-10 178
CA 32.11-13 143
CA 32.14-15 203n.24

- CA 32.15 143
 CA 32.18 143
 CA 33 59; 108; 147n.8; 157;
 176n.45; 182
 CA 33.7 101
 CA 33.18 108
 CA 33.24-29 101
 CA 33.26 108
 CA 33.30 101
 CA 33.32 108
 CA 34 156; 176n.45
 CA 35-53 176n.45
 CA 35 104-105; 157; 176n.45
 CA 35.1 203n.24
 CA 35.2 105; 107-108
 CA 35.5 108
 CA 35.7 105
 CA 35.12 108
 CA 35.14 108
 CA 36 176n.45
 CA 36.3 108
 CA 36.10-16 87
 CA 36.16 106
 CA 37 157
 CA 38 142, 240
 CA 38.3 107
 CA 38.6 105; 107
 CA 38.7-10 107
 CA 38.7-8 107
 CA 38.9-10 107
 CA 39 176n.45
 CA 40.7-9 87n.80
 CA 40.8-9 154
 CA 42 250
 CA 42.1-2 154
 CA 42.2 107
 CA 42.11 107-108
 CA 43 66n.58; 105; 142;
 154-155; 176n.45;
 182n.71; 244, 250
 CA 43.4 105
 CA 43.8-9 105
 CA 43.11-12 105
 CA 43.14 105
 CA 43.16 105n.23
 CA 44 176n.45; 182n.71;
 203n.24; 251
 CA 44.3-4 203n.24
 CA 44.7 42n.42
 CA 44.15-16 203n.24
 CA 46 157; 176n.45;
 187n.85; 252
 CA 46.1 42n.42
 CA 47.4-5 155n.29
 CA 47.11-13 45n.53
 CA 48 176n.45
 CA 48.9-10 88n.80;
 108
 CA 49 62
 CA 50 157n.37
 CA 50.20-23 106
 CA 50.25-28 88n.80
 CA 51 105; 148n.14; 156;
 176n.45
 CA 51.2 83
 CA 51.6-8 83
 CA 52 66; 156; 158n.41;
 214n.72
 CA 52.1 42n.43
 CA 52.8 106
 CA 52A 88n.80
 CA 52A.1 83
 CA 53 85; 107
 CA 53.4 83
 CA 53.5 88
 CA 54 113-114; 122-127;
 129; 157; 176n.45
 CA 54.1-3 122
 CA 54.7-10 122
 CA 54.9 108
 CA 55 176n.45; 203n.24
 CA 55.1 42n.42
 CA 55.27-28 83
 CA 55.30 108
 CA 56.9 108
 CA 57 106; 108; 113-114;
 122; 124-127; 129;
 157
 CA 57.1-8 125n.42
 CA 57.1 125
 CA 57.2 106
 CA 57.4 106; 108
 CA 57.5 86
 CA 57.6 60n.39; 106; 125
 CA 57.8 106
 CA 57.9-12 125
 CA 57.9 104
 CA 57.18 106
 CA 57.23-30 125
 CA 58 104-105; 145n.2; 156
 157; 237
 CA 59 6; 62n.47; 63-64; 66;
 100; 130n.49; 152
 CA 60.1-23 146n.4; 158n.41
 CA 60.18 108

CA 60.24-36	145-146; 151-152; 158n.41	Demetrius	
CA 60.26-27	147; 149-140	<i>De Elocutione</i>	
CA 60.28-29	145n.3; 147-148	5	65
CA 60.30-31	147; 149	81	186n.82
CA 60.30	4-5; 25; 32; 41; 56; 79n.43; 154; 200	Demosthenes	
CA 60.31	148; 151	<i>or.</i> 54	16n.18
CA 60.32-36	145n.3; 146n.4; 148- 149; 151	<i>Phil.</i> 3.69	17n.19
Catullus		Diogenes Laertius	
<i>carmina</i>		4.14-15	52n.16
5	169	7.31	52n.16
5.7-9	169n.20	(Ps.-)Dionysius Areopagita	
7	169	<i>De Divinis Nominibus</i>	
16.5-6	209	129.16	85
52	169n.20	Dionysius Chalcos	
CE		fr. 4.1	62
P.Lips. 13.10	85	Dionysius Halicarnassensis	
CEG		<i>De Compositione Verborum</i>	
108	76n.35 u. 36	23	48
454	76	<i>De Demosthene</i>	
Choeroboscus		40	48
<i>Schol. in Hephaestionem</i>		Diphilus	
3	15-17	fr. 70-71	23n.47
Christ, Johann Friedrich		Ephippus	
<i>Veneres Anacreonticae carmine Latino</i>		fr. 20	23n.47
<i>elegiaco expressae</i>		Eupolis	
1727: 140	181n.63	fr. 247.4KA	18n.29
1727: 151-152	181n.65	Euripides	
1727: 159	180n.62	<i>Cyclops</i>	
Claudianus		37-40	44
<i>carmina</i>		63-67	40n.33
12	188n.91	123-124	40n.33
Cowley, Abraham		139-140	40n.33
1656: 31	166n.13	166-167	42n.45; 45n.53
Crinito, Pietro		171	16n.19
<i>poemata</i>		204-205	40n.33
2.32	170; 177	425-426	40
Critias		445-446	37
fr. 1	36-37	495-518	25-45
		581	44
		678	42n.43
		<i>Hippolytus</i>	
		966	58n.34

Eusebius <i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i> 3.5.69 110n.31	Hephaestio <i>Poëm</i> IV 2 40n.35
Eustathius <i>Commentarius ad Od.</i> 1542.47 18	Heraclitus B117 D.-K. 150n.18
Gellius (see Aulus Gellius)	Hermesianax fr. 7.47-54 206n.41
Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig <i>Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern</i> 1.1 213 1.2 214; 215 1.3 214n.72 1.4 213 1.5 214n.72 1.6 214 1.7 214n.72 ; 216 1.8 213 1.9 217n.76 1.10 214 1.11 216 1.14 216 1.16 213 1.18 215 1.30 216; 217n.76 1.42 217-219 1.49 215 1.51 216 2.1 221 2.3 219-220 2.8 215 2.11 216; 217n.76 2.20 215 2.36 216; 217n.76 2.44 221 2.46 221 2.48 221 2.49 221 2.51 221n.84 2.54 222-224	Hermogenes <i>ideae</i> 2.3 173n.37
	Herodicus <i>SH</i> 494.1-2 108
	Herodotus 2.31-36 16n.18 3.121-125 2
	Hesiodus <i>Opera et Dies</i> 582-588 145n.3; 148n.12
	<i>Theogonia</i> 31 57 214 89 246 106 251 106
	Himerius <i>Orationes</i> 39.2 27
	Hippolytus <i>Refutatio Omnium Haeresium</i> 5.8.6-7 64
	Hipponax fr. 39.4 (West) 12n.6 fr. 139 (West) 18n.29 fr. 155 (West) 19 test. 21 (Degani) 15-17
Gottsched, Johann Christoph <i>Versuch einer Übersetzung Anacreons in reimlose Verse</i> 1733: 160 182	Homerus <i>Ilias</i> 3.37 106 5.796 102 11.634-635 63 13.202 106 18 103 18.478-613 103
Haslob, Michael <i>Hortus vernus</i> 1572: A3r-v 187n.85	

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 18.485-489 | 63; 117n.14 | II 2 1066.A1.65 | 84n.69 |
| 19.38-39 | 52 | II 2 1066.A1.83 | 84n.69 |
| 21.51-52 | 102 | II 2 1066.A1.97-98 | 84n.69 |
| 21.51 | 102 | II 2 1066.B1.5 | 84n.69 |
| 22.47 | 106 | II 2 1066.B1.19 | 84n.69 |
| 24 | 223 | II 2 1066.B1.25 | 84n.69 |
| 24.566-567 | 101n.13 | II 2 10998 | 90; 90n.94 |
| | | 7.9.1195 | 90; 90n.95 |
| <i>Odyssea</i> | | 9/2.162A.33 | 69n.9 |
| 2.86 | 89 | 9/2.287A.184 | 69n.9 |
| 4.414 | 106 | 9/2.289.14 | 69n.9 |
| 5.271-275 | 103 | 14.1132 | 69n.13 |
| 14.459 | 103 | 14.1133 | 69 |
| 20.149 | 18n.28 | | |
| 21 | 101 | IGUR | |
| 21.46-48 | 101 | III 1341 | 87 |
| 21.393-395 | 101 | | |
| 22 | 101 | <i>Ikyzikos</i> | |
| 22.2-4 | 101 | 18.520 | 67 |
| | | Julianus | |
| <i>Scholia in Homeri Iliadem D</i> | | <i>Epistulae</i> | |
| 1.5 | 89 | 82.121-124 | 89n.91 |
| Horatius | | Longinus | |
| <i>ars poetica</i> | | 13.2 | 66 |
| 102-105 | 151n.21 | 15.1 | 60 |
| <i>carmina</i> | | Lubinus, Eilhard | |
| 1.16 | 19n.30; 22 | 1597: A2r-v | 179n.56 |
| 1.34 | 18n.26; 19n.30 | 1597: two pp. after A3 ^r | 179 |
| 4.11.11 | 186n.82 | (Ps.-)Lucianus | |
| <i>epistula</i> | | <i>Amores</i> | |
| 14.9 | 103 | 16.27-28 | 84n.72 |
| <i>epodes</i> | | Lucretius | |
| 3.19-22 | 19 | 1.643-644 | 62n.45 |
| 4 | 24n.50 | Macrobius | |
| 5 | 19; 20n.34 | <i>Saturnalia</i> | |
| 7.15 | 186n.82 | 2.2.14 | 170n.25 |
| 14 | 21; 173 | Martialis | |
| 14.9-12 | 172-173 | <i>epigrammata</i> | |
| 15.11 | 169n.23 | 1.4.8 | 209 |
| 17 | 18n.26; 19-22 | 5.78.1 | 174 |
| <i>Hymni Homerici</i> | | 13.2.8 | 211n.57 |
| 10.4-5 | 111 | Marullo, Michele | |
| 25.6 | 111 | <i>epigrammata</i> | |
| IG | | 1.2 | 169-170 |
| II 2 1066.A1.35 | 84n.69 | | |
| II 2 1066.A1.49 | 84n.69 | | |

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Maximus Tyrius | | | Philostratus | |
| 18.9 | 18n.27; 19n.30 | | <i>imagines</i> | |
| 20.1 | 18n.27 | | 1.2.298 | 32n.23; 44n.50 |
| 21.1-2 | 13-15 | | 1.4.1 | 123n.38 |
| <i>Masekhet Sukkah</i> | | | 1.28.1 | 124n.41 |
| 1.5 | 246n.54 | | 2.17.4 | 123n.38 |
| Morus, Thomas | | | Phrynichus | |
| 1518: 206-207 | 168n.16 | | <i>Eclogae</i> | |
| 1518: 223-227 | 168 | | 126 Rutherford | 226n.91 |
| 1518: 250-252 | 168 | | Pindarus | |
| Nicander | | | <i>fr.</i> 124d-126 | 29 |
| <i>fr.</i> 74.55 Gow/Sholfield | 80 | | <i>Olympia</i> | |
| <i>fr.</i> 87 Gow/Sholfield | 80n.52 | | 2.68-77 | 53n.20 |
| Nonnus | | | 6.74 | 89 |
| <i>Dionysiaca</i> | | | 7.90 | 106 |
| 7.257 | 106n.25 | | <i>Pythia</i> | |
| 11.418 | 106n.25 | | 3.16-19 | 43n.49 |
| Opitz, Martin | | | Plato | |
| <i>Buch von der Deutschen Poetery</i> | | | <i>Axiochus</i> | |
| Alewyn 1966: 35 | 167n.14 | | 371b-e | 53n.20 |
| Orphica | | | <i>Charmides</i> | |
| <i>Lithica</i> | | | 157e | 26 |
| 38.2 | 81 | | <i>Hipparchus</i> | |
| Ovidius | | | 228b-c | 2; 26 |
| <i>Amores</i> | | | <i>Ion</i> | |
| 1.1 | 176 | | 535b | 155n.34 |
| 2.1.35-36 | 177 | | <i>Phaedrus</i> | |
| <i>Tristiae</i> | | | 235c | 15; 78; 178 |
| 2.353-356 | 208n.46 | | 243a-b | 15 |
| Papyri | | | 244a-245b | 64n.54 |
| <i>P. Oxy.</i> 3722 | 11-12 | | 251c | 62 |
| <i>P. Oxy.</i> 4454 | 18n.27 | | 265b | 64; 145n.3; 147n.6 |
| Pausanias | | | <i>Respublica</i> | |
| 1.25.1 | 2; 27; 50n.12; 55 | | 487a6 | 89 |
| 2.10.4-6 | 77n.38 | | Platonius | |
| 10.28.3 | 12n.7 | | <i>De differentia Comoediarum</i> | |
| Philodemus | | | II 1 | 18 |
| <i>Peri poematon</i> | | | Plinius | |
| 1.col49.7 | 62 | | <i>Naturalis Historia</i> | |
| | | | 22.76.4-5 | 81 |
| | | | 37.84.2 | 81n.53 |

Plutarchus		1555: 22v	185n.77
<i>Moralia</i>		1555: 23v-24r	184n.76
711d	36	1564: 144	168n.18
753f	55n.28		
Pontanus, Jacob		Sappho	
<i>Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres</i>		fr. 16.1-4	100
1594: 141-142	173n.38	fr. 30.1-5	43
1594: 141	193	fr. 94 V	133
		fr. 111	43
		fr. 112	43
Porphyrius		fr. 115	43
<i>De abstinentia</i>		fr. 116	43
1.42.27	110n.31	fr. 176	29
Posidippus		Scaliger, Julius Caesar	
<i>epigrammata</i>		<i>De suis Anacreonticis</i>	
9 AB	48n.6; 65n.55	1574: I.39-40	171n.29
63 AB	49n.10; 54n.25	1574: I.40	171n.30
65 AB	98	1574: I.473	171n.27; 174n.41
87.3 AB	98	1574: I.482	175
118 AB	54	1574: I.499	174
		1574: I.504	175
Proclus		1574: I.505-506	175
<i>Homilia in Crucifixionem</i>		1574: I.506	174
6.29.2	85		
Propertius		<i>Poetice</i>	
3.1.1	54n.25	150b	189
3.9.46	54n.25	170a	174n.44
Prudentius		<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae (SHA)</i>	
<i>Cathemerinon</i>		<i>Hadrianus</i>	
6	192n.105	25.9	170
Quintilianus		Secundus, Johannes	
<i>institutio oratoria</i>		<i>Basia</i>	
8.3.89	186n.82	8	169
		8.1-4	168
Ronsard, Pierre de		8.3-4	169
<i>Belleau</i> 1556		8.13-15	169
9	165n.10	8.20-24	169
<i>Bocage</i> 1554		SEG	
Laumonier 1930:115	167n.14	15.517	16n.16
		16.167	69
<i>Odelette a Corydon</i>		29.388	69
27-30	164n.7	33.802	70
		53.1889	69
<i>Odes</i>		57.977	69
5.15	199n.5	Semonides	
		<i>Iambi</i>	
Sambucus, Johannes		7.84	89
1555: 22v-23r	184n.76		

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|--|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Septuaginta | | | Timocles | |
| <i>Exodus</i> | | | fr. 32 23n.47 | |
| 25.11 | 245 | | | |
| 28.36-38 | 240n.46 | | Tschernikovsky, Shaul | |
| <i>Isaiah</i> | | | <i>Deuteronomy</i> | |
| 15.4 | 239 | | 22.6-7 | 242n.49 |
| <i>Micah</i> | | | <i>Shirei Anacreon</i> | |
| 7.7 | 242n.50 | | 1-51 | 236 |
| <i>Psalmen</i> | | | 1 | 239 |
| 150 | 239 | | 1.11-12 | 250 |
| 150.3 | 239 | | 2.1 | 252 |
| <i>2 Samuel</i> | | | 5.1-2 | 252 |
| 22.47 | 242 | | 6 | 244, 245 |
| <i>Song of Songs</i> | | | 6.1-2 | 250 |
| 8.6 | 243 | | 7.1-2 | 252 |
| <i>Strabo</i> | | | 11 | 252 |
| 14.644 | 2 | | 15.1-2 | 241; 250 |
| Taubmann, Friedrich | | | 16 | 251 |
| 1597: 125-142 | 188n.92 | | 17 | 251 |
| 1597: 125 | 193 | | 18 | 251 |
| 1597: 130 | 189 | | 21.1-2 | 251 |
| 1597: 136 | 190 | | 31.1-3 | 251 |
| 1597: 138 | 190 | | 32 | 241 |
| Teleclides | | | 32.17-19 | 242; 251 |
| fr. 52KA | 80 | | 32.17 | 242n.50 |
| Theocritus | | | 36 | 252 |
| <i>Idyllia</i> | | | 40 | 240 |
| 2.94-102 | 60n.41 | | 41.13-14 | 250 |
| 4.59 | 89n.84 | | 52 | 236-237; 242 |
| 7 | 58 | | 52.1-2 | 252 |
| 15.87-88 | 109n.29 | | 52.9-12 | 252 |
| 15.112 | 80n.52 | | 53 | 237 |
| 17.45-52 | 55n.28 | | 53.3-4 | 250 |
| 18.9-14 | 43n.49 | | 53.7-8 | 250 |
| 18.27 | 43n.49 | | 54 | 237 |
| 18.31 | 106n.25 | | 55 | 237 |
| 19 | 104 | | 56 | 237 |
| | | | 57 | 237 |
| | | | 58 | 237 |
| | | | 59 | 237 |
| Theognis | | | University of Innsbruck | |
| 237-243 | 61 | | <i>Helicon Oenipontanus</i> | |
| Tibullus | | | B1v | 195 |
| <i>elegiae</i> | | | E1r | 195 |
| 3.1.6 | 169n.23 | | Valerius Maximus | |
| | | | 9.12ext.8 | 2; 51n.16 |
| | | | Xenophanes | |
| | | | 1.17-18 (West) | 150n.18 |
| | | | 1.19-24 (West) | 63n.52 |

