


STUDIES IN THE ANACREONTEA


by

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ABSTRACT

Supervisor: Professor David A. Campbell

The goal of this thesis is to examine in detail important aspects of the Anacreontea, a collection of poems dated to the post-classical era, whose widespread popularity has not been sufficiently matched by scholarly attention. My investigation focuses on three main objectives: to analyze features of metre and text; to trace out salient thematic currents, paralleling similar elements in other Greek as well as Latin poetry in order to discover genre trends; and to demonstrate that the Anacreontea, despite their title, give only a partial reflection of the work of Anacreon, the sixth century poet from Teos.

The Introduction provides information regarding the manuscript and sources of the Anacreontea. Precise dating is shown to be a problematic issue. General comments concerning content and manner of composition are given; recurring themes and stylistic approaches are highlighted. A concise historical summary of the important editions of the Anacreontea shows that scholars, even up to as late as the eighteenth century, were reluctant to consider the Anacreontea unauthentic. Another section is devoted to the literary heritage of the collection. Finally, a brief outline of the metres used in the Anacreontea is presented.

Chapter One contains a biography of Anacreon and a survey of his work. The fragmentary condition of the extant poems proves to be the greatest impediment to gaining a complete understanding of the poet. It is essential that the differences between the Anacreontea and Anacreon's poetry be made clear.

In Chapter Two, a translation of the Anacreontea, based on Campbell's text, is given, together with a critical commentary on metrical and textual matters. The text of the Anacreontea has undergone extensive alteration at the hands of various editors over the centuries, primarily because of a fervent desire to establish lines whose metre conforms to the standards of classical prosody. There are numerous cruxes which are examined individually. Points of divergence between the texts of Campbell and West are noted and analyzed.

The third chapter focuses upon Anacreontea 1. This poem is unique, serving as the introduction to the whole collection, and deserves particular attention. The opening poem indicates that the Anacreontea are far removed from the archaic Anacreon.

In Chapter Four, those Anacreontea which concern the theme of poetry are explored. The first section examines the use of the recusatio motif, a stylistic device whereby a poet asserts his refusal to compose one kind of poetry in favour of another. One of the cornerstones of the genre of lyric poetry is the application of the recusatio to communicate a poet's preference to compose lyric rather than epic poetry. The motif was most typically used by the Augustan poets, an observation which strongly suggests that the authors of the Anacreontea were well-acquainted with Latin literature. The second section of this chapter looks at the connection between poetry and wine in the Anacreontea. Wine has symbolic applications not only as a medium for poetic inspiration but also as a representation of poetry itself. There are abundant literary parallels for this symbolic usage of wine. The final section

concentrates on Anacreontea 34, a well-composed poem about a cicada. The author of this poem has attempted to represent the insect as a poet in miniature. The poem fits in with the general theme of poetry discussed in the rest of the chapter.

The final chapter looks at the various amatory poems in the collection. Several parallels are drawn from Anacreon, the Greek Anthology and the Roman poets. The Anacreontea incorporate a broad spectrum of literary influences. This attests to the scholarly erudition of the authors. It is a mistake to measure these poems solely in comparison to Anacreon. The Anacreontea must be accorded their own merit.

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For Professor Campbell

ἀγαθὴ φίλη

INTRODUCTION

The Anacreontea are preserved in the tenth century Codex Palatinus, from which the Palatine Anthology takes its name.¹ This manuscript was based to a large extent upon the Anthology of Cephalas, dated to the late ninth century,² the main sources of which were the Garland of Meleager (c.90 B.C.), the Garland of Philip (c.A.D. 40) and the Cycle of Agathias (c.A.D. 658). The Anacreontea, however, appear to have had a different origin. The collection forms a separate section after the miscellanea of Book 15 and bears its own title: 'Ανακρέοντος Τηίου συμποσιακά ἡμιᾶμβια, 'Convivial Hemiambics of Anacreon of Teos'. The last poem is followed by the words τέλος τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος συμποσιακῶν, 'End of the Convivial Poems of Anacreon'. Two of the Anacreontea, 4 and 8, are found with slight variation in Book 11 (poems 48 and 47) of the Anthology. These poems, perhaps among the oldest and best-known of the Anacreontea, may have been included in the Garland of Philip since poems 23-46 and 49-50 of Book 11 were obtained from that source.³

Some of the poems in the Anacreontea adhere to the rules of classical prosody, while others tend to follow the metrical principles of much later poetry. This discrepancy has prompted scholars to conclude that the Anacreontea were compiled from more than one source, perhaps dated centuries apart. West⁴ postulates that there may have originally been four different collections:

1. The oldest source was known by Aulus Gellius (19.9.4ff.) in the second century A.D. and contained poems 1, 4, 6-20. The prosody of these poems is secure. They are grouped according to metre: hemiambics (1.4.6-15), anacreontics (16-18) and acceptable variations of these metres (19-20). The hemiambic group is interrupted by two anacreontic poems (2 and 3) and a prosodically erratic hemiambic poem (5). These may have been later insertions. The compiler probably endeavoured to group together the epigrammatic poems (3, 4, 5). Poem 2 was perhaps the proemium to another collection.

2. A second source, not much later than the first, contained interpolated versions of some of the Anacreontea in the earlier collection (e.g. 4, 8, 9, 14) and also poems 21-27 (hemiambs) and 28-34 (anacreontics). Poem 3, modeled on 16, may have been included here.
- 3, 4. Two later sources, dated to the fifth or sixth centuries, provided poems 35-60. These pieces follow no metrical arrangement and demonstrate substantial inconsistencies in prosody. Poem 5 was possibly obtained from these sources.

The arrangement of the poems in the Anacreontea seems to reflect the chronological order of the sources; with the exception of Anacreontea 5, those poems with the greatest prosodical anomalies, and therefore presumably of latest date, occur in the second half of the collection.⁵

The dating of the Anacreontea is a problematic issue. The most important consideration is prosody. There are three main features of versification evident in some of the Anacreontea pointing to a date of c.A.D. 400 or later:⁶ the loss of distinction in vowel quantities, the use of accented syllables at points of metrical stress and the regular positioning of accents in a line, especially on the penultimate syllable. Brioso Sánchez⁷ has pointed out that certain features of vocabulary and syntax in the Anacreontea may be found in the prose of the Septuagint and New Testament and in poetry of the second century B.C. and later. In his final conclusions, however, he places no poem before the first century A.D. West⁸ has also indicated late features in certain poems; he suggests, nonetheless, that the Anacreontea began to be composed in the second or first centuries B.C.⁹ Edmonds¹⁰ agrees that the earliest poems may belong to the second century B.C. but considers that the years 50 B.C. to A.D. 50 are more probable. According to Campbell,¹¹ no poem can be fixed with certainty to a date before the birth of Christ although such an early dating cannot be ruled out for some poems.

It is significant that the Anacreontea are included in the manuscript from

which most of the poems in the Greek Anthology are obtained, for there are notable similarities in style and content. The scribe, identified as J,¹² who copied parts of Books 9 and 15 of the Palatine Anthology, also wrote out the Anacreontea. Some of the poems in the Greek Anthology have been ascribed to pre-Hellenistic poets but the majority were composed in the period from the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. down to the late Roman Empire. The Anacreontea also originate within this time period, but it is impossible to arrive at an exact date of composition for any single poem in the collection.

Style and Content

In several of the Anacreontea, the authors endeavour to use the voice of Anacreon. In poem 7, Anacreon is clearly the persona; he may also be the old man who speaks elsewhere (47, 51, 52(b), 53). Similarly, Anacreontea 39 and 43, with their references to old age, may have been written in his persona. Those convivial poems which concern the swift passage of time or the uncertainty of the future (8, 32, 36, 38, 40, 45, 48, 50) could conceivably be intended to represent the thoughts of the aged poet. Anacreon may be imagined as the lyre-player who sings in poems 42 and 44. The persona of poems 10, 17 and 18 must be Anacreon, the admirer of Bathyllus. The voice of Anacreon heard speaking in the Anacreontea, however, is not that of the sixth century poet but rather of the altered likeness which superseded him in posterity. In four of the Anacreontea (1, 15, 20, 60(b)) Anacreon is referred to in the third person.

The subjects of the Anacreontea have much in common with the poems of the Greek Anthology. The convivial topics of love and wine, together with the pervasive carpe diem message, are popular in both. Often the thematic parallels are very close:¹³ the early morning songs of birds which disrupt the dreams of lovers; the disdain of wealth; money and love; Love, the warrior in battle;

the capture of Love; the delights of springtime. Kirkwood¹⁴ comments that the Anacreontea were included in the Palatine Anthology because of their epigrammatic quality, a typical characteristic of the poems in the Anthology. The longer poems in the Anacreontea (e.g. 15, 16, 17, 33, 55, 57, 58) break from this tradition yet maintain epigrammatic conciseness in the shortness of lines and paratactic construction.

The authors of the Anacreontea demonstrate a preference for certain stylistic approaches:

1. Ecphrasis. The description of a work of art was a favourite practice of poets in the Hellenistic period and later. The earliest example is Homer's description of Achilles' shield (Iliad 18.478ff.). There are numerous examples scattered throughout the Palatine Anthology, and the Planudean Anthology contains even more. In the Anacreontea there are descriptions of paintings (3, 16, 17) and of silver engravings (4, 5, 57). The author of poem 54 is describing to his companion a picture of Europa and the bull. Anacreontea 59 could be a harvest scene depicted on a painting or a silver cup (cf. Anacreontea 4.12ff.).
2. Anecdotes. Several of the love poems take the form of brief, allegorical tales. Anacreontea 13 concerns the author's battle with Love, the warrior. In Anacreontea 31, Love is characterized as a pernicious creature which beats and chases his victim. Anacreontea 33 describes a surrealist episode in which Love, disguised as a lost child, deceives his kindly host by striking him with an arrow. A story about the manufacturing of Love's weapons (Anacreontea 28) is set in a mythological context involving Cythere (Aphrodite), the mother of Eros, and her husband Hephaistos. Cythere appears again as a character in Anacreontea 35 and 19, two more examples of narratives. Anacreontea 6 also has an anecdotal quality as indicated by the adverb ποτ', 'once' (l.1), common in storytelling (cf. Anacreontea 28.8; 33.1; 35.1).
3. Dreams. Anacreontea 30 and 37 are accounts of dreams reflecting the agony of love. Anacreontea 31, imitative of 30, and Anacreontea 33, set in the middle of the night, could also be regarded as descriptions of dreams. The importance of the dream motif is established in the first poem of the collection (cf. Anacreontea 10, an aubade about dreams (l.8) shattered by the swallow's morning song).
4. Convivial Songs. A number of poems, especially in the second

half of the collection, may be classed as συμπροσιακά, 'songs for the banquet': 2, 9, 12, 18, 21, 32, 36, 38, 42-45, 47-50, 52(b), 53, 60(b).

Some of the Anacreontea are meditative in style: Anacreontea 24, 26, 27 and 29 all concern the theme of love; the author of poem 39 makes a brief comment on old age; Anacreontea 40 is a reflection on mortality. Two poems (41 and 46) focus upon the beauty of spring. The authors also make reference to their own art of poetic composition (e.g. 2, 4, 23, cf. Chap. 4).

Mythological subjects are touched on in several poems. Dionysus and his followers, the Bacchantes, are often mentioned, as is Aphrodite, called Cythere. Hephaistos, the husband of Aphrodite, is depicted in his role as a craftsman of metal in Anacreontea 4 and 28. Apollo and the Muses, divinities of poetry and music, are mentioned in the poem on the cicada (34). The love story of Europa and Zeus, who disguised himself as a bull, is the subject of Anacreontea 54. In poem 55, the creation of the rose is paralleled to the divine births of Aphrodite and Athena. The silver engraving described in great detail by the author of Anacreontea 57 depicts Aphrodite's birth from the sea. The theme of poem 60 (b) is Apollo's love for Daphne, the maiden who was transformed into a laurel tree as she ran from the god.

Tales from mythology are used as paradeigmata in a few poems. In Anacreontea 9, the author refers to four mythological characters associated with madness: Alcmaeon, who killed his mother Eriphyle; Orestes, the murderer of Clytemnestra, his mother; Heracles, slayer of wife and children; and Ajax, the epic hero who ended his life with his own sword when he was denied possession of Achilles' armour. Anacreontea 12, which imitates the style and content of poem 9, provides further mythological exempla of madness: Attis, who was driven mad by the jealous, Cybebe (Cybele), and the prophets of Apollo, who

enter into a trance by drinking sacred water. In Anacreontea 22, the author illustrates his thoughts by referring to two instances of metamorphosis from mythological lore: the transformation of Niobe into stone and of Philomela into a swallow. The story of Philomela and Tereus is also alluded to in Anacreontea 10.

There are a number of Anacreontea which seem to have been included in the collection primarily on account of their metre rather than their subject matter: 34 (anacreontic), on the cicada; 55 (anacreontic), a hymn to the rose; 57 (anacreontic), an obscure ecphrastic poem about a silver engraving; 58 (hem-iambic), a rhetorical poem on the evils of money; and 60(a) (anacreontic), concerning the love story of Apollo and Daphne. Anacreontea 55, 57 and 58 are remarkably long and, together with 60(a), demonstrate a more sophisticated manner of composition than the rest of the poems. Some of the Anacreontea may have been composed by aspiring poets and students as scholarly metrical exercises.¹⁵

Important Editions of the *Anacreontea*

The Anacreontea were first edited in 1554 by Henri Éstienne (Stephanus). It is possible that he had access to the original text in the Palatine Anthology through contact in Belgium with John Clement, whose academic patron had been Sir Thomas More.¹⁶ Stephanus believed that the poems were the genuine work of Anacreon. He included fifty-five Anacreontea in his collection, omitting those poems in which Anacreon was mentioned in the third person or which were known from other sources. Latin translations from Stephanus' own hand were included with several of the poems. Stephanus produced a second edition in 1560 following that of his father Robert and Morelius, published in 1556. The next important edition appeared a century later, the work of the French scholar,

Tanaquil Faber. The subsequent editions of his daughter, Mme. Dacier, (1681, 1693, 1699, 1714, 1716) had a great scholarly influence.¹⁷

The Anacreontea were edited in England by Baxter (1695, 1710) and Barnes (1705, 1721, 1734, 1742). There were now one hundred and eighty-five poems and fragments¹⁸ attributed to the archaic poet, Anacreon. A Dutch scholar, however, Jan Cornelius de Pauw, stirred up a "storm of indignation"¹⁹ in 1732 by suggesting that the Anacreontea were not genuine. It was not until 1843, with the appearance of Bergk's first edition, that the Anacreontea were separated from the original works of Anacreon.

The Palatine manuscript was kept in Italy from 1623 to 1797, during which time the Anacreontea came to the attention of Giuseppe Spalletti,²⁰ a talented scholar at the Vatican library. He copied out the complete collection by hand and added an original apograph. Spalletti himself paid for the publication of his work in 1781. A special type setting was devised expressly for the book and each poem was accompanied by illustrations.

The development of German scholarly interest was paralleled by the manifest popularity of the anacreontic style among the lyric poets of Germany. Most significant is the work of Mehlhorn (1825), followed by Bergk (1843, 1853, 1867, 1882), Rose (1868, 1876 [Teubner]) and Crusius (1897). Preisendanz published a photographed copy of the entire Palatine manuscript in 1911 and edited a new Teubner edition (1912). Friedländer, like Spalletti, endeavoured to make his edition of 1924 pleasing to the eye.

The text was subsequently re-edited by Edmonds and printed, together with his verse translations, for the Loeb Classical Library (1931). No significant study of the Anacreontea followed until 1970 when M. Brioso Sánchez produced an important monograph on the dating of the Anacreontea. He published further articles on metre and stanza division. His edition of the Anacreontea appeared

in Spain in 1981. Meanwhile, Giangrande presented some textual comments on certain poems (1975). He demonstrates a great reluctance to emend the text, especially for the sake of metrical consistency. Giangrande describes the Anacreontea as "a singularly challenging and fascinating text".²¹

The Teubner edition of West (1984), with its informative Preface and impressive collection of loci similes, has given a firmer foundation for an understanding of the Anacreontea. He admits many emendations to his text; only a handful of poems are left untouched. He includes several of his own, often bold, conjectures. West follows Mehlhorn²² and Brioso Sánchez²³ in dividing some of the poems into stanzas according to the metrical arrangement of lines, repetitions of lines or phrases, and contextual sense. In order to preserve the stanza pattern in certain poems, West brackets lines which he regards as late interpolations in the text. The division into stanzas helps to illustrate the meticulous balance of rhythm and diction characterizing the Anacreontea.

Campbell's text, forthcoming in publication for the Loeb Classical Library, stands midway between that of West, with its many new emendations, and the work of Giangrande, where few changes are accepted. It provides a sensible approach to the proper study of the Anacreontea. An excellent summary of recent scholarship on the dating of the collection is included in the Preface.

The Literary Heritage of the *Anacreontea*

The Anacreontea have held an important position in literary history for many centuries. Their popularity must ultimately be traced back to Anacreon himself whose poetry was renowned from the sixth century B.C. onward. A great injustice has been committed, however, in that the authors of the Anacreontea do not reflect the true genius and versatility of the authentic Anacreon.

The genre of anacreontic poetry was well established by the second century A.D.; besides the reference in Aulus Gellius (19.9.4ff.), Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus quote Anacreontea which are not included in the Palatine collection.²⁴ In the Byzantine era and later, the anacreontic metre was popular among such poets as Gregory of Nazianzus (4th C.), Synesius (4th-5th C.), Sophronius (7th C.), Elias Syncellus (8th C.) and Christopher of Mytilene (11th C.). The Codex Barberinus, compiled in the eleventh century, contains a collection of poems which imitate the Anacreontea of the Palatine manuscript.²⁵ The authors of these imitations include John of Gaza (6th C.), George the Grammarian (6th C.), Leo Magister (9th C.) and Constantine of Sicily (10th C.). Several anonymous pieces are also included. In the twelfth century Nicetas Eugenianus imitated some of the Anacreontea (6, 19, 22, 24, 25, 29, 35). Gregory of Corinth, also from the twelfth century, cites anacreontic poems not in the Palatine collection.²⁶

The publication of Stephanus' edition of the Anacreontea in Paris (1554) had an immediate impact on French literature. The poets of the Pléiade, who under the leadership of Ronsard (1524-1585) endeavoured to cultivate classical literature in the French language, were attracted by the chansonette quality of the Anacreontea. Ronsard, together with Belleau (1528-1577), Baïf (1532-1589) and many others, established the tradition of translating or imitating the Anacreontea, a trend which remained popular in France through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁷

The anacreontic tradition developed in England also in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Robert Herrick (1591-1633) became known as the "English Anacreon".²⁸ The Anacreontea were translated or imitated by such poets as Abraham Cowley (1618-1667), Richard Lovelace (1618-1657), Thomas Stanley (1625-1678), Francis Fawkes (1720-1770) and Thomas More (1779-1852).

The German poet Hagedorn (1708-1754) initiated the anacreontic movement in

Germany through his imitations of Horace and Anacreon.²⁹ Gleim (1719-1803) was the most important of the anacreontic poets. He set a precedent for Uz (1720-1796) and Götz (1721-1781). In his early years at Leipzig, Goethe (1749-1832) practised his artistic skill through translations of the Anacreontea.

The influence of the Anacreontea was far-reaching throughout Europe. The anacreontic style appears in the literature of Spain, Italy, Poland, Russia and the Netherlands.³⁰ In America, the Anacreontea were rendered into English verse by Thoreau (1817-1862), who was intrigued by the simplicity and durability of the poems.³¹ The anacreontic tradition has left its mark upon the twentieth century through the English translations of, among others, Irving (1902), Davidson (1915) and Pope (1956). For nearly twenty centuries, therefore, the sentiment of Anacreontea 60(b).7-8 has been echoed:

τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ,
τὸν ἀοίδιμον μελιστήν.

Imitate Anacreon,
the poet famous in song.

Metre of the *Anacreontea*

In the poetry of Anacreon, there are a few examples of trochaics (e.g. 417, 419) and iambics (e.g. 388), but his preference was for combinations of glyconics and pherecrateans, in the Aeolic manner, or for his native ionics. Although his metres are not elaborate in arrangement (cf. Horace, Epodes 14.12 non elaboratum ad pedem), his use of rhythm is skilful and precise. He was an innovator in developing an anaclastic form of ionic dimeter known as the anacreontic.

The Anacreontea reflect only a part of Anacreon's handling of verse. They are written almost exclusively in two metres:

1. anacreontic uu - u - u -- (ionic dimeter anaclastic)
2. hemiambic u - u - u - u (iambic dimeter catalectic)

These two meters are very similar; the name ἡμιάμβια referred to in the title of the collection encompasses both hemiambics and anacreontics.³² There are sixteen pure hemiambic poems and eleven pure anacreontic poems, all within the first part of the collection. More than half of the Anacreontea, therefore, demonstrate some kind of metrical variation, often accompanied by violations of classical prosody. West³³ has divided the poems into three groups based on the condition of their prosody:

1. Poems 1-4, 7-36, 39, 42-44, 46, 48, 51, 52(b), 53, 55, 56, 59-60. This group follows classical rules with only a few exceptions.
2. Poems 6, 37, 38, 47, 50, 52(b), 54, 57, 58. The prosody of these poems is often irregular. There are difficulties with lengths of vowels and diphthongs.
3. Poems 5, 40, 41, 45, 49. The poems in this group demonstrate the greatest anomalies in prosody.

The various prosodical difficulties are discussed individually in the notes to the poems.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. The manuscript was kept at the Palatine library in Heidelberg where it was observed by Salmasius in 1606/7. After the city was captured during the Thirty Years' War (1623), the manuscript was handed over to Pope Gregory XV. It remained at the Vatican until 1797 when, according to the terms of the Treaty of Tolento, Pope Pius VI was obliged to return the manuscript to France. In 1816, the Palatine codex was returned to Heidelberg except for a section containing Books 14, 15, the Anacreontea and other material, which remains in Paris to this day. The Palatine Anthology comprises the largest part of the corpus of Greek poems collectively known as the Greek Anthology.
2. Cf. West (1985), IX. Cephalas was Πρωτοπαπᾶς of the Palace at Constanti-
nople in A.D. 917 (cf. Gow and Page [1968], I, xviii).
3. As Campbell (Preface to Anacreontea) points out, there is only a possibi-
lity that Anacreontea 4 and 8 belonged to the Garland of Philip since poems
23-46 of Book 11 in the Palatine Anthology comprise a closed alphabetical
sequence, arranged in reverse order (cf. Gow and Page [1968], II, xii). If
the ascription is accepted, however, an important clue for dating these
poems is provided: the Garland of Philip was intended to be a collection
of epigrams composed since the time of Meleager's Garland, that is, between
c.90 B.C. and c.A.D. 40. Anacreontea 4 and 8 are also preserved in the
Planudean Anthology (IIa 47.17-18), compiled c.1299. This anthology con-
tains Anacreontea 6 as well (VII 185 = Appendix Planudea ('Anth. Pal. 16')
388). The poem was ascribed to a certain Julianus, who in the Aldine
edition of the Greek Anthology (c.1503) is identified as the 'ex-prefect
of Egypt' whose epigrams, dating from the 6th c.A.D., were collected in the
Cycle of Agathias. This is the only poem in the whole of the Anacreontea
to which a name may be linked. West (1985, IX) and Campbell (loc. cit.)
both regard the identification as spurious.
4. West (1985), XVI-XVIII.
5. Crusius (RE 1, pt. 2 cols. 2047-48) attempted to show that the Anacreontea
were compiled from six different sources, dating from around the birth of
Christ to the Byzantine era, arranged in chronological succession.
6. Cf. Maas (1962), 19ff.
7. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 14ff.
8. West (1985), XII.
9. West GM, 152.
10. Edmonds (1931), Preface to Anacreontea, 15f.
11. Campbell, Preface to Anacreontea.
12. Cf. Gow (1958), 10f.

13. E.g. Anacreontea 10 (an aubade about the swallow's early morning song) and A.P. 12.136 = H.E. 3690 (Anon.), A.P. 12.137 = H.E. 4636 (Meleager), A.P. 5.3 (Antipater of Thessalonica), A.P. 9.286 (Marcus Argentarius); Anacreontea 8, 29, 36, 58 (concerning the disdain of wealth) and A.P. 9.43 = G.P. 2592 (Parmenion), A.P. 9.110 = G.P. 3532 (Alpheius of Mytilene), A.P. 9.234 = G.P. 2053 (Crinagoras), A.P. 10.113 (Anon.), A.P. 11.58 (Macedonius); Anacreontea 29, 58 (about money and love) and A.P. 5.217 = G.P. 349 (Paul Silentiarius), A.P. 11.416 (Anon.), three poems from Antipater of Thessalonica - A.P. 5.30 = G.P. 103, A.P. 5.31 = G.P. 705, A.P. 5.109 = G.P. 359; Anacreontea 13, 28, 33 (depicting Love as a warrior) and A.P. 5.124 = G.P. 3314 (Philodemus), A.P. 5.180 = H.E. 4038 (Meleager), A.P. 5.188 = H.E. 2529 (Leonidas of Tarentum), A.P. 5.268 (Paul Silentiarius); Anacreontea 6, 19 (on the capture of Love) and A.P. 1.195 = FGE 347 (Satyrus), A.P. 1.196 = H.E. 122 (Alcaeus of Messene), A.P. 1.197 = G.P. 573 (Antipater of Sidon), A.P. 1.198 = G.P. 2536 (Maccius), A.P. 1.199 = G.P. 2062 (Crinagoras), A.P. 12.112 = H.E. 3710 (Anon.); Anacreontea 41, 46 (describing the season of spring) and A.P. 9.668 (Paul Silentiarius), A.P. 10.5 = FGE 372 (Thyillus), A.P. 10.6 = FGE 329 (Satyrus).
14. Kirkwood (1974), 151. He traces the development of the epigram back to the poetic style of Anacreon.
15. Crusius, RE 1, pt. 2, col. 2049.
16. For the association between Clement and More, cf. Rose (1876), Preface to Anacreontea, Viff. and especially notes 19 and 20 (pp. XVf.). In his anthology of epigrams published in 1566, Stephanus acknowledges that he saw an ancient manuscript which Clement, an English doctor, had brought to Louvain. The question whether this was the original Palatine manuscript has been much disputed. The issue is clouded by the unknown whereabouts of the Palatine manuscript prior to its discovery at Heidelberg (1606/7). Preisendanz ([1912] Preface to Anacreontea, viii) concludes that Clement only had a close copy of the original. West (1985, VIIff.), however, agreeing with Rose (loc. cit. iiiff.), believes that the manuscript was the original; he demonstrates that Clement may have obtained the text from Erasmus, another member of More's academic circle, who had brought it from Italy to England. It is possible that Clement himself brought the manuscript back from Italy at the end of his visit there in 1525 (cf. Hutton [1935], 31). There is no proof, however, that the Palatine manuscript was in Italy at that time (cf. Hutton [loc. cit.], 1, 10, 31).
17. Cf. Browning (1978), 94; Baumann (1974), 101.
18. Cf. Baumann (1974), 14.
19. Ibid.
20. Cf. Hutton (1935), 414-15.
21. Giangrande (1975), 209.
22. Mehlhorn's edition of the Anacreontea was published in 1825. Bergk⁴ makes

note of Mehlhorn's suggestions on stanza division.

23. Cf. Brioso Sánchez (1972).
24. The piece of anacreontic poetry quoted by Clement of Alexandria (West fr. 1) is included in the fragments attributed to Anacreon (505(d)). West follows Bergk⁴ (pp. 272-273 [Anac. fr. 65]) in ascribing the poem to the Anacreontea. For anacreontic lines cited by Hippolytus, v. Campbell 60B (= West fr. 2).
25. The collection of anacreontic poems in the Barberini manuscript is recorded as an Appendix Anacreonteorum in Bergk⁴ (337ff.).
26. Cf. Campbell 62B (= West fr. 3).
27. For an excellent collection of French poems in the anacreontic style, cf. Achille Delboulle, Anacréon et les Poèmes Anacréontiques Geneva, 1970; cf. also Hutton (1946), 37, 103, 110, etc.
28. Cf. Baumann (1975), 53ff.; also Browning (1978), 92-102.
29. Robertson (1970), 216.
30. Cf. Herbert Zeman, Die deutsche anakreontische Dichtung (Stuttgart, 1972), 32ff.; Manuel F. Galiano, "Anacrëonte, ayer y hoy", Atlantida Revista del Pensamiento Actual (Madrid) vol. 7, no. 42, 570-591; W.J.H.F. Kegel, "Anacreon en de Anacreontea: een merkwaardige receptiegeschiedenis", Lampas 13 (1950), 372-388; E. Bazzarelli, "Anacreonte in Russia", Acme 23 (1970), 29-40; Jules Labarbe (1982).
31. Cf. Baumann (1974), 164-65.
32. An ancient table of contents mentions that 'trimeters' [iambic trimeters?] were also included in the collection (cf. West [1985] V, where they are explained as Byzantine ionic trimeters; Campbell app. crit. ad Anacreontea 1).
33. West (1985), XIII-XIV.

Life and Work of Anacreon

Anacreon was born in the Ionian city of Teos c.570 B.C.¹ The fourth century A.D. rhetorician Himerius, from whom a substantial amount of information about Anacreon may be gleaned, writes that the poet adorned his native city with song (Or. 27.27 = Anac. 490). Unfortunately no example survives; the fragmentary condition of Anacreon's works in fact proves to be the greatest impediment to a full and truthful understanding of the poet. One fragment (391) which speaks about the crown of the city being destroyed may refer to the capture of Teos by the Persians.²

It is presumed that Anacreon was amongst the Teians who fled to the coast of Thrace when the Persian invasion grew imminent and there founded the colony of Abdera c.540 B.C.³ The exposure to war left its mark upon the poet. Anacreon describes the god of war with characteristic poignancy (393):

ὄροδλοπος μὲν Ἄρης φιλεῖ μεναίχμην

Eager for war, Ares loves the staunch fighter.

Another isolated phrase, which has a Homeric ring,⁴ touches on deeper emotion (382):

δακρυδέσσάν τ' ἐφίλησεν αἰχμῆν

and he fell in love with the tearful spearpoint.

Anacreon's reference to "throwing down a shield by the banks of the fair-flowing river" (381b) may be an indication of his own military involvement.⁵

An epitaph commemorating Agathon, a soldier who died fighting for Abdera, has been ascribed to Anacreon in the Greek Anthology.⁶

During the period in Abdera, the fame of Anacreon began to spread far and wide, for he was soon summoned to the court of the tyrant Polycrates at Samos, an island just south of his native Teos. It was here that the poet enjoyed his

greatest artistic success, thanks to the patronage of the ambitious tyrant.⁷

In addition to his political and military pursuits, Polycrates also concentrated his efforts on establishing his royal court at Samos as a centre for culture and luxury. Poets and musicians were hired to provide entertainment at the elaborate banquets and symposia. Among the commissioned poets were Ibycus, a master of choral poetry from Rhegium in southern Italy, and Anacreon, the skilled monodist. The elegant and graceful style which marks the works of both these poets, especially their amatory poems, no doubt reflects the preference of the tyrant Polycrates himself.

Anacreon's poetry was apparently filled with references to Polycrates.⁸ There is some evidence to suggest that a few of the poems were concerned with contemporary political issues. In the partially extant hymn to Artemis Leucophryene (348), the goddess is asked to protect the citizens of Magnesia, located on the Ionian mainland, who are "bold-hearted" and "not savage". In the city was a residence of the Persian satrap of Sardis, Oroetes, with whom Polycrates had attempted to form an alliance.⁹ Anacreon emphasizes the civilized Hellenic identity of the Magnesians as opposed to the hated barbarism of their Persian captors.

Another political reference may be detected in a fragment of a poem addressed to an individual named Megistes (353):

$\mu\theta\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$
 δ' ἀνὰ νῆσον ὧ Μειγιστῆ
 διέπουσιν ἱρὸν ἄστυ

... in the island, Megistes,
 the chatterers hold sway over the holy city.

The $\mu\theta\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ were part of a rebellious faction opposed to the tyranny of Polycrates.¹⁰ It appears that Megistes may have himself become involved with a seditious group at Samos and thereby severed his ties of friendship with Anacreon.

Megistes seems to be mentioned with some degree of scorn in two other passages.¹¹

In one fragment Anacreon speaks of the former glory of the people of Miletus (426):

πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι

Once long ago were the Milesians courageous.

Polycrates carried out a brutal attack against Miletus, defeating and capturing the opposing naval detachment sent from Lesbos.¹² Podlecki regards Anacreon's tone in this line as 'caustic';¹³ the poem may have continued in an ironic vein. A faint suggestion of pity for the Milesians is detectable, however.

Anacreon's primary role at Samos was to compose poetry which suited the convivial atmosphere of the royal court. There are several sympotic references. The festive tone of his songs is often carried along by lilting metre as in the following anacreontic couplet (396):

φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ, φέρε <δ'> ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμῖν
στεφάνους· ἔνεικον, ὅς δὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτα πυκτιλίζω

Bring water, bring wine, boy; bring us garlands
of flowers. Fetch them, so that I may box against Love.

Anacreon depicts the symposia as formal, aristocratic gatherings where decorum is expected in every aspect of behaviour (356b):

ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὕτω
πατάγω τε κἀλαλητῶ
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνω
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις

Come then, let us no longer
practise drinking in Scythian fashion like this
with shouting and clamour over the wine
but drink in moderation
to the accompaniment of lovely hymns.

The finest examples of Anacreon's poetic genius are found in his numerous amatory poems. The combination of vivid imagery and meticulous diction is consistently skilful and elegant. In one couplet, love is personified as a

blacksmith (413):

μεγάλῳ δηῦτέ μ' Ἔρως ἔκοψεν ὥστε χαλκεύς
πελέκει, χειμερίῳ δ' ἔλουσεν ἐν χαράδρῳ

Once again Eros struck me with a great hammer like a blacksmith
and dipped me into the wintry torrent.

The alliteration of the letter χ and the thrice repeated consonant κ create a rasping effect which corresponds to the harshness of the conceit. The word δηῦτε, a 'catchword' of Greek love poetry,¹⁴ emphasizes the recurrent agony of love.

Anacreon's approach to the love experience was varied, ranging from the whimsical to the passionate. He could laugh at the antagonism of the love triangle in which his admiration for the Thracian Smerdies was thwarted by the mutual affection of the tyrant Polycrates.¹⁵ In one poem (388), Love is depicted as a gentle, golden-haired creature who plays with a purple ball. The romantic situation into which Love leads the poet, however, results in failure. Anacreon's occasionally humorous or trivial touch, described by Labarbe¹⁶ as "le clin d'oeil amusé", reflects both an element of cynicism as well as an earnest desire not to take the world too seriously. This carefree attitude is greatly exaggerated in the Anacreontea.

At other times, Anacreon is more intense and profound in his expressions about love: he speaks of being carried over hidden reefs (403) and prays for death as a release from troubles (411a). The poems from which these fragments were obtained most probably concerned the poet's own experience of love. In his characteristic terse wittiness, Anacreon comments (398):

ἀστραγάλοι δ' Ἔρωτος εἰσιν
μηνίαι τε καὶ κούσιμοί

The dice of Eros are
madness and uproar.

The image of leaping off a cliff in despair over love is particularly

vivid (376):

ἀρθεῖς δηῦτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος
πέτρης ἐς πολιὸν κύμα κολυμβῶ μεθύων ἔρωτι.

Once again leaping off the Leucadian cliff
I plunge into the white wave, drunk with love.

According to legend, Sappho killed herself in sorrow over Phaon by jumping off the cliffs on the island of Leucas.¹⁷ Anacreon, like Sappho, composed monodic poetry which dealt primarily with the theme of love. The association between intoxication and love remained a common metaphor throughout later Greek poetry.

An individual named Cleobulus stirred Anacreon's passions deeply (359):

Κλεοβούλου μὲν ἔγωγ' ἐρέω,
Κλεοβούλω δ' ἐπιμαίνομαι,
Κλεόβουλον δὲ διοσκέω.

With Cleobulus I am in love,
For Cleobulus I am stricken with madness,
Upon Cleobulus I fix my gaze.

In this poem, Anacreon demonstrates his skill with the literary device of polyptoton, in which a word is repeated in different cases. The frustration of the poet is the focus of another well-balanced couplet where madness and love are once again placed side by side (428):

ἐρέω τε δηῦτε κοῦκ ἐρέω
καὶ μαίνομαι κοῦ μαίνομαι

Once again I love and do not love,
I am mad and am not mad.

Anacreon's hymn to Dionysus (357), unlike the hymn to Artemis, clearly serves a personal purpose; the poet asks Dionysus to make Cleobulus fall in love with him. Cleobulus may perhaps have been the charioteer who unknowingly has grips on the reins of Anacreon's soul (360).

Equestrian imagery recurs in a gracefully composed poem about a Thracian filly (417):

πῶλε θρηκίη, τί δὴ με λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα
 νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ μ' οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
 ἔσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἂν τοι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
 ἡνίας δ' ἔχων στρέφοιμί σ' ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου.
 νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκειαι κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις.
 δεξιὸν γὰρ ἵπποπείρην οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.

Thracian filly, why then, looking at me sideways,
 do you mercilessly run away, and imagine that I am without skill?
 Rest assured, I could easily throw a bridle on you
 and grasping the reins lead you around the turning-post of the course;
 but as it is now, you feed in the meadows and play, leaping lightly,
 for you have no rider experienced in horsemanship.

The trochaic metre seems to illustrate the prancing filly. There is a subtly suggestive element in the imagery, a feature which is detectable in a few of Anacreon's amatory poems.

The penchant for irony and invective demonstrated by Anacreon contrasts sharply with his image as a gentle love poet. His satire is marked with stylistic wit, especially punning. The reasons behind the long mockery of Artemon (388) remain obscure;¹⁸ Anacreon finds fault with his past and present habits, ridiculing his outlandish dress with painstaking detail. The contexts of other fragments where certain individuals are mentioned, such as bald Alexis (394) or wily Gastrodora (427), are sorely lacking.

Polycrates was captured and crucified in Magnesia through the deception of the satrap Oroetes c.522 B.C.¹⁹ By virtue of his fame, Anacreon was taken to Athens on a pentekonter sent by Hipparchus,²⁰ the son of Pisistratus and chief aid to his brother Hippias, the new tyrant. Hipparchus presented himself as a true patron of the arts, having the same literary tastes as Polycrates.²¹

Anacreon carried on his role as a court poet in the company of other noted artists including Simonides of Ceos. The author of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue Hipparchus (288C) flatters Anacreon in saying that the poet was brought to Athens to educate the citizens in becoming loyal citizens and men of wisdom.

Hipparchus was murdered c.514 B.C. and Hippias expelled c.510 B.C. It is

possible that Anacreon traveled briefly to Thessaly.²² The remainder of his life was spent in Athens where he is reported to have enjoyed the company of leading citizens including Xanthippus, the father of Pericles.²³

In his later years, Anacreon drew attention to his old age. One poem, perhaps a hymn to a goddess, contains the line (418):

κλῦθί μεο γέροντος, εδέθειρα χρυσόπεπλε κοῦρα

Give ear to me, an old man, fair-haired maiden with the golden robe.

Another fragment refers to white hairs mingling with black (420). The girl from Lesbos scorns Anacreon in part because of his white hair (358.6-7).²⁴ The poet may be reproaching himself for behaving in a youthful manner when he says (363):

τί μὲν πέτεαι
 συρίγγων κοιλώτερα
 στήθεα χρυσάμενος μύρω;

Why are you in a flutter
 anointing your breast with perfume
 when it is hollower than panpipes?

Himerius notes that Anacreon was ill but recovered sufficiently to resume playing the lyre (Or. 69.35 = Anac. 494). It is impossible to determine when the illness occurred. One fragment contains the single phrase "youth and health" (404); perhaps this is what Anacreon longed for most of all near the end of his life.²⁵ A poem on the finality of death gives insight into a serious side of the poet as it is nowhere else revealed (395):

πολιοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἤδη
 κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν,
 χαρίεσσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἤδη
 πάρα, γηραλέοι δ' ὀδόντες,
 γλυκεροῦ δ' οὐκέτι πολλὸς
 βιότου χρόνος λέλειπται.

διὰ ταῦτ' ἀνασταλύζω
 θαμὰ Τάρταρον δεδοικώς.
 'Αἶδεω γάρ ἐστι δεινὸς

μυχός, ἀργαλή δ' ἔς αὐτὸν
 κάτοδος· καὶ γὰρ ἐποῖμον
 καταβάντι μὴ ἀναβῆναι.

My temples are grey now
 and my head is white;
 graceful youth is here no more,
 my teeth are old
 and there is not much time left
 any more of sweet life.

Therefore I often weep
 in fear of Tartarus;
 for the innermost chamber of Hades
 is horrifying and the way down to it
 is grievous. Indeed, for certain
 the one who goes down does not come back up.

Anacreon lived long enough to enjoy the lyrics of Aeschylus.²⁶ He was
 eulogized in a poem by the fifth century Athenian politician Critias,²⁷ whose
 grandfather was one of his associates:²⁸

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ὄδας
 ἠδὺν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν,
 συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπευμα,
 ἀλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἠδὺν, ἄλυπον.
 οὔποτε σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανεῖται,
 ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι
 παῖς διαπομπεύῃ προπόσεις ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν,
 παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
 πλάστιγξ θ' ἡ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι καθίζῃ
 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου ψακάδεσσιν.

The one who once wove songs for women's melodies
 Teos brought to Greece, sweet Anacreon,
 excitement of the banquet, deceiver of women,
 rival of pipes, lover of the lyre, sweet one, causing no pain.
 Never shall love for you grow old or perish,
 so long as the boy brings around water mixed with wine
 for goblets, distributing the toasts from left to right,
 so long as choirs²⁹ of girls perform the night-long celebrations,
 and so long as the scale-pan, offspring of bronze, sits upon
 the top of the cottabus³⁰ to catch the drops of the Bromian.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. The date is determined by calculation based on an entry in the Suda (s.v. 'Ανακρέων) stating that Anacreon 'flourished' (γέγονε) during the tyranny of Polycrates of Samos (c.533-522 B.C.). Eusebius notes that Anacreon was well-known (agnoscitur) in the second year of the sixty-second Olympiad (531 B.C.).
2. Bowra (1961), 269.
3. Strabo 14.1.30; Suda s.v. 'Ανακρέων.
4. E.g. Il. 16.436 ... μάχης ... δακρυοέσης, 'of tearful war'; Il. 5.658 ... αἶχμή ... ἀλεγεινή, 'grievous spearpoint'.

5. The actual loss of the shield may be entirely fictitious; Anacreon is possibly alluding to a veritable poetic topos. The trend originated with Archilochus who claimed to have lost his shield while fighting the Saians of Thrace (5 West):

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνῳ,
 ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπὸν οὐκ ἐθέλων.
 αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπίς ἐκείνη;
 ἐρρέτω· ἐξαυτίς κτήσομαι οὐ κακίῳ.

One of the Saians is exulting in my shield,
 a blameless weapon which I unwillingly left beside a bush;
 but I saved myself. What does that shield matter to me?

Let it be gone. I will get another one again no worse.

Herodotus (5.94) notes that Alcaeus composed a poem about the loss of his weapons at Sigeum. A few lines are quoted by Strabo (13.1.38 = Alc. 428 L-P) but the text is faulty; Alcaeus seems to have said that he managed to keep himself safe but his weapons were taken and hung up in the temple of Athena. In a poem addressed to Pompey, Horace refers to the ignoble loss of his shield at the disastrous battle of Philippi (Odes 2.7.9-12):

tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
 sensi relicta non bene parmula,
 cum fracta Virtus et minaces
 turpe solum tetigere mento.

With you I experienced Philippi and hasty rout,
 my shield disgracefully left behind,
 when Valour was crushed and threatening men
 touched the shameless ground with their chin.

It is possible that Horace was reminded of the shield imagery because he was engaged in battle near the coast of Thrace where Archilochus had fought (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard [1978], 113). The geographical association may have also been relevant to Anacreon. The exact context of Anacreon's reference to the shield is unknown. He may be using the image as a metaphor of escaping from love (cf. Gentili [1958], 201). Farnell ([1891], 195) sets the fragment in an amatory context by linking it together with Anac. 437, where the poet mentions his bird-like flight from a girl. There is no evidence to verify that Anacreon was referring to the abandonment of his

own shield. Brown ([1983], 4), who detects a pervasive element of invective in Anacreon's poetry, suggests that the poet may be upbraiding someone for cowardice.

6. A.P. 7.226 = F.G.E. 484. There is no evidence to prove that this poem was used as an inscriptional epitaph. Anacreon's authorship of epigrams in the Greek Anthology cannot be verified (cf. Page [1981], 123-4, 133-4).
7. Cf. Herodotus 3.40ff.; 122. Once Polycrates obtained absolute power, he proved himself to be a man of enormous drive, amassing great wealth and power. He was noted for building a powerful navy and for carrying out plundering raids of piracy. Several of the neighbouring islands as well as areas on the Ionian mainland came under his control. An alliance with Amasis, the Egyptian pharaoh who shared in the concern over Persian aggression, proved to be a lucrative step for the tyrant. Much of the wealth which Polycrates acquired throughout his reign was used to improve Samos. A huge tunnel for water was dug through the base of a mountain and a mole was constructed to protect the main harbour. The Samian architect Rhoikos was commissioned to build the great temple to Hera, the largest of all known Greek temples according to Herodotus. Himerius (Or. 28.2 = Anac. 483a) writes that "Anacreon sang the praises of Polycrates when the Samians were making offering to the goddess", a possible reference to the worship of Hera at her temple. In the words of Herodotus, "All of Polycrates' campaigns were victorious, his every venture a triumph."
8. Strabo 14.1.16 (= Anac. 483b).
9. Herodotus 3.120ff.
10. This fragment of Anacreon's poem (353) is quoted by a scholiast on Odyssey 21.71 to illustrate the usage of the word μῦθου ('word, tale') to mean 'rebellion' (στάσεως). (Cf. LSJ s.v. μῦθος III). Anacreon apparently used μυθιῆται, 'chatterers', in the sense of στασιασταί, 'rebels'. The scholiast also says that the members of this faction were fishermen at Samos. The leader of the group was called Herostratus according to Antigonus (cf. Lobel [1927], 50-51). Herodotus (3.44) writes that Polycrates attempted to remove the seditious element at Samos by sending men he knew to be rebels on a suicidal mission. The tyrant was foiled in his deceit, however.
11. In one poem (352) Anacreon writes that the good-natured Megistes has been in a festive mood for ten months, wearing a garland of willow and drinking honey-sweet must. The tone of the passage has been taken as ironic mockery by Page ([1966], 27) and by Harvey ([1957], 222 n.1). Podlecki ([1980], 379) finds this interpretation unjustified. The truth seems to hinge upon the exact meaning of another poem addressed to Megistes (416):

ἐγὼ δὲ μισέω
πάντας ὄσοι χθονίους ἔχουσι ῥυσμούς
καὶ χαλεπούς· μεμάθηκά σ', ὦ Μεγιστῆ,
τῶν ἀβακίζομένων.

... but I hate
 all who have underground and difficult ways.
 I have learned that you, Megistes,
 are one of the quiet ones.

These lines are quoted in an etymological lexicon (Etymologicum Magnum) to demonstrate the cognates of the adjective ἀβακῆς ('without speech, quiet'). The participle ἀβακίζομένων used by Anacreon is defined by the lexicographer as meaning 'peaceful and not clamorous' (ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ἡσυχίων καὶ μὴ θορυβῶδων). One immediately draws a connection to the noisy 'chatterers' (Anac. 453), the seditious group mentioned by Anacreon to which the 'quiet' Megistes clearly does not belong (cf. Podlecki [1980], 379; Bowra [1961], 277). It has been suggested by Page ([1966], 31-2), however, that the asyndeton between the two sentences in fragment 416 shows that Anacreon is not making a distinction between men who are underground or difficult and Megistes, the quiet one; the poet may in fact be using Megistes as an example of precisely such individuals. If this is the case, the participle ἀβακίζομένων might be better translated with a negative connotation such as 'sullen' or 'brooding'. Had Anacreon included the particle δέ, for example, between the two sentences, the contrast would be more obvious. The context seems to be political rather than personal since Anacreon made reference to the subversive μωθῆτῶν in his other poem to Megistes (453). Posterity nonetheless remembered Megistes as one of Anacreon's admirers (cf. A.P. 7.27.5 = H.E. 264 [Antipater of Sidon]; Himerius Or. 31.4).

12. Herodotus 3.39. The captives from Lesbos were chained together and forced to dig a moat around the main citadel at Samos.
13. Podlecki (1980), 379.
14. Campbell (1983), 21.
15. Cf. Athenaeus 12.540e (= Anac. 414a). In order to spite Anacreon, Polycrates cut off some of Smerdies' hair. The poet showed great self-control and prudence, however, in not blaming the tyrant but Smerdies himself (cf. Aelian N.H. 9.4 = Anac. 414c). Anacreon's poetic lament over the loss of Smerdies' hair (347 fr. 1), with its overt mock-heroic colouring, appears like an archaic prototype for Alexander Pope's Rape of the Lock.
16. Labarbe (1982), 159.
17. Cf. Strabo 10.2.9. The image of leaping from the Leucadian cliffs developed into a popular topos of amatory poetry.
18. The motive may have been jealousy; in one fragment (372) Anacreon writes that "the fair-haired Eurypyle is in love with the litter-rider Artemon" (cf. Smyth [1963], 290; Gerber [1970], 233). Eurypyle is memorialized as one of Anacreon's lovers (A.P. 7.27.5 = H.E. 264 [Antipater of Sidon]; A.P. 7.31.10 = H.E. 1584 [Dioscorides]). Perhaps Anacreon found fault with the extravagance of Artemon as a young upstart who shot from poverty to luxury (cf. Athenaeus 12.533f). Mockery of such individuals may have been a satiric topos (cf. Horace Epode 4; Juvenal 1.27, 4.24). Slater (1978) attempted to show that Anacreon and Artemon may have belonged to the same

Dionysiac cult in which outlandish dress and mutual teasing were common practice. His view has been categorically denied by Davies (1981). Brown (1983) points out that although the exact context is unknown, the poem about Artemon testifies to Anacreon's role as an established writer of satire.

19. Herodotus 3.120ff. The historian mentions that Anacreon was with Polycrates at table in the hall when a messenger from Oroetes arrived. The fact that the tyrant completely ignored this messenger may have provoked the subsequent wrath of Oroetes.
20. [Plato] Hipparchus 228b; Aelian V.H. 8.2.
21. Cf. Aristotle Athen. Const. 18.
22. The observation is inferred from the ascription to Anacreon of two epigrams commemorating the dedications of the Thessalian lord Echekratidas (A.P. 6.142 = F.G.E. 516) and his wife Dyseris (A.P. 6.136 = F.G.E. 504).
23. Himerius Or. 39.11 (= Anac. 493).
24. The girl of course scorns the male Anacreon precisely because she comes from Lesbos, a detail the poet skilfully delays until the very end of the poem. Podlecki ([1980], 379) speculates on whether there may be a political issue at stake since Polycrates was hostile toward Lesbos (cf. Herodotus 3.39).
25. Cf. Anacreontea 7, where the author expresses his hopes to enjoy life before he is stopped by some disease. The healthiness of mind and body is mentioned in Anacreontea 56, echoing Juvenal's famous phrase: mens sana in corpore sano, 'healthy mind in healthy body' (10.356).
26. Scholiast on Aeschylus Prometheus Bound 128. The first dramatic production of Aeschylus was presented at Athens c.499 B.C. Anacreon is said to have died in his eighty-fifth year. ([Lucian] Macrobi 26.)
27. The poem is preserved by Athenaeus (13.600 = Anac. 500).
28. Plato Charmides 157e (= Anac. 495).
29. None of Anacreon's choral poetry, if he indeed composed any, is extant.
30. The author is referring to a game which was played at symposia; cf. Athenaeus 10.427d (= Anac. 415) where a fragment of Anacreon is quoted in which the cottabus is mentioned.

CHAPTER TWO

Anacreontea 1

Anacreon, the lyric poet from Teos,
 saw me and addressed me,
 speaking in a dream;
 and I ran to him,
 embraced and kissed him.
 Although he was old he was attractive,
 attractive and amorous;
 his lips had the fragrance of wine,
 and since he was unsteady now
 Eros was leading him by the hand.
 He removed the garland from his head
 and gave it to me;
 it had the fragrance of Anacreon.
 I, fool that I am, lifted it up
 and tied it on my forehead;
 and truly, right up to now,
 I have not rested from love.

Metre: hemíambic

Line 3: ms ὄναρ λέγων. West¹ prefers Baxter's emendation ὄναρ λέγω,
 'I am recounting a dream' (cf. Plato Rep. 563d τὸ ἐμὸν γ', ἔφη, ἐμοὶ λέγεις
 ὄναρ. "You are telling me my dream", he said.), finding stylistic and gram-
 matical fault with the two successive participles ἰδών (l.1) and λέγων. The
 ms text does make sense, however, if ὄναρ is taken closely with λέγων,
 "speaking as a dream-vision" (i.e. in a dream), (cf. Aesch. Eum. 116 ὄναρ γὰρ
 ὁμᾶς νῦν, Κλυταίμηστρα, καλῶ, "For I, a dream-vision, Klytemnestra, am calling
 you") and not with ἰδών as in West's translation, "seeing me in his dream".
 The change of tense between the aorist ἰδών and the present λέγων shows the
 difference in aspect. As for the stylistic redundancy which West sees in
 keeping the participle, it is evident that participles in succession are
 typical and economical in the Anacreontea (cf. lines 4 and 5 in this poem).

Anacreontea 2

Give me the lyre of Homer
 without the string of bloodshed;
 bring me goblets of laws,

bring them to me; I will mix in customs,
 so that I may dance in drunkenness,
 and in controlled madness
 singing to the accompaniment of lyres
 may raise the drinking song.
 Give me the lyre of Homer
 without the string of bloodshed.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 4: ms φέρε μοι νόμους κεράσω. West² proposes a minor change from κεράσω to κεράσας. He notes that the verb κεράννυμι (κεράσω is an epic future form) would be technically incorrect in the context of mixing 'customs' into cups because the verb refers specifically to the mixture of wine and water in a crater (cf. Iliad 4.260; 9.203). With the change to the aorist participle, the action is moved further into the past so that the 'customs' are mixed in, presumably with the water and the wine in a crater, before the liquid is poured into the cups. This is a logical and cogent correction.

The verb κεράννυμι works effectively in a metaphorical sense in this poem. Water is mixed with wine in order to make it less potent. The poet wishes to temper the violent themes of epic in his poetry just as water tempers wine.

Anacreontea 3

Come, finest of painters,
 give ear to the lyric Muse;
 5 paint the cities first
 6 cheerful and laughing,
 3 and fun-loving Bacchantes
 4 †to the accompaniment of twin auloi†
 and if the wax is able,
 paint also the customs of lovers.

The ms text is not complete; lacunae can be detected after lines 2 and 4. Scaliger proposed the line order given here which restores the sense. West³ keeps lines 5-8 in succession, finding a close parallel at Anacreontea 16.6-9, and places lines 3 and 4 after line 8 with the lacunae indicated. For the

missing passage following line 2, West conjectures that the poet may have stated what type of scene he wanted the painter to depict; a grape harvest, for example:

γράφε μοι καλήν ὄπωρην
Διονυσίας ἐν ὥραις

Paint for me the fair harvest-time
in the season of Dionysus.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 1: The vowel ε remains short before initial ζ.⁴

Lines 3-4: ms φιλοπαίγμονες δὲ βάκχαι
ἑτεροπνόους ἑναύλους

The scribe indicated within the lines and in the margin that he was uncertain of the text. Barnes emended the nominative forms in line 3 to accusative which seems sensible if the poet is giving a list of items to be painted by the artist. The translation of lines 3 and 4 together poses the greatest difficulty. It is common for Bacchantes to inhabit ἑναυλοῖ, 'haunts' (e.g. Eur. Bac. 122), but if this is to be the meaning of ἑναύλους then the adjective ἑτεροπνόους, an example of ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, probably referring to 'double-blowing auloi', does not fit. It thus seems more logical for ἑναύλους to mean 'to the accompaniment of the pipe'. The correction ἑτεροπόρους, 'with various pathways' (?), written in the margin of the text could describe haunts or dens. Faber suggested ἑτεροπνόους ἐν ἀόλοῖς (l.4) to which Hiller added the supplement <ἀναμιξ βοᾶς ἕεντων>:

Let fun-loving Bacchantes
send forth mingled cries
with twin-piped auloi.

It is an impossible task to arrive at any clear understanding of the text, yet the existing words hint at the expressive imagery of the original.

Anacreontea 4

As you work your silver,
 Hephaistos, make
 no suit of armour for me.
 For what are battles to me?
 Carve out rather a hollow wine cup
 as deep as possible.
 Engrave upon it
 neither stars nor Wain
 nor hateful Orion --
 what do the Pleiades matter to me,
 what does the fine Ploughman?
 Engrave vines for me
 and grape bunches on them
 and Maenads harvesting them;
 engrave a wine press
 grape-treaders,
 the laughing Satyrs
 and golden Loves
 and Cythere laughing
 along with beautiful Lyaeus,
 (Love and Aphrodite.)

This is the translation of the version in the Anacreontea. A shorter version is found in the Greek Anthology (A.P. 11.48) and yet another in the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius (19.9.6).

Metre: hemiambic

Lines 16, 17 and 19: anaclastic (-uu-u--) with choriamb in first metron.

Line 18: ms καὶ χρυσοῦς τοῦς Ἐρωτας

There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be short. Pauw's correction to χρυσέους, which is accepted by West, is supported by line 14 of the version given by Aulus Gellius. The metrical and textual variations at the end of this poem may indicate that the lines are additions to an original text.⁵

Line 21: Bracketed by West. The line seems superfluous since mention has already been made of the Loves (l.18) and Cythere (l.19).

Anacreontea 5

Fine craftsman, fashion
 a goblet for spring now;
 the Seasons are producing for us
 the first charming roses.
 Pound out the silver
 and make a pleasant drink for me.
 Concerning mystic rites, I ask you
 to depict neither a bizarre
 nor an offensive tale;
 instead, engrave the son of Zeus,
 Bacchus Evius, for us.
 The Cyprian one is to be the initiator of the drinking,
 clapping to the wedding songs.
 Engrave unarmed Loves
 and laughing Graces;
 beneath a leafy vine
 abounding in grape bunches;
 include fine-looking youths,
 unless Phoebus is sporting about.

Metre: hemiambic (irregular)

The prosody of this poem is chaotic. Edmonds calls the poem 'isosyllabic'⁶ and West classifies it with those which are most prosodically degenerate (Group 3). Bergk uses the description semibarbaro carmine.⁷ The words of Sitzler also seem appropriate: "... das ganz ohne Metrum ist".⁸ Brioso Sanchez comments that the poem "seems to run away at once from the whole class of pre-conceived ideas".⁹ There is a random mixture of anaclastic lines together with altered quantities of vowels.

Line 1: Pherecratean (-u-uu--).

Line 2: Anacreontic.

Line 3: Hemiambic with long third syllable (u---u--) (cf. 47.7, 9 [s.v. 1], 11).

Line 4: Hemiambic with choriamb in first metron -uu-u--. Prosodic error: ῥόδα. Bergk³ altered the ms φέρουσαν ὄρην to φέρουσαν ὄραι, explaining that the poet is not giving the artist instructions to portray 'the season producing roses' but is merely noting the advent of spring.¹⁰ West prefers to retain

the ms text and regards ὄρη as being in apposition to the words ἕαρος κόπελλον in line 2.¹¹

Line 5: Hemiambic with choriamb in first metron.

Line 6: Hemiambic. Prosodic error: μῶι (cf. μῶι 5.8, τοῖοῦτό 18.17; 14.25n.).

Line 7: Hemiambic with choriamb in first metron.

Line 8: Pherecratean. Prosodic error: μῶι (cf. line 6).

Line 9: Hemiambic.

Line 10: Acatalectic Iambic Dimeter.

Line 11: Pherecratean.

Line 12: Glyconic (---uu-u-). West reads ῆ (3rd pers. sing. pres., subjunctive of εἰμί), following De la Fosse and Pauw, 'let her be', for the ms ἦ, since 'ellipse of ἔστω is abnormal'.¹²

Line 13: Hemiambic with anaclysis of second and third syllables (uu--u--).

Line 14: Metre faulty. Perhaps iambic dimeter with anaclysis in second metron (u-u-uu--). If the prosodic error ἀνόπλους is admitted in the sixth syllable, the line may be construed as pure iambic dimeter.

Line 15: Hemiambic with choriamb in first metron.

Line 16: Metre faulty. The scheme u-uu-u- seems impossible. If the prosodic error ἄμπελον̄ is admitted in the fourth syllable (cf. 50.23n), then the iambic metre (-u-u) is restored in the first metron.

Line 17: Hemiambic.

Line 18: Acatalectic Iambic Dimeter.

Line 19: Pherecratean. This line has been variously emended to achieve better sense: e.g. Edmonds οἷς ἀν φοῖβος δῶθροι 'with whom Phoebus may play'. West proposes αἷς μὴ φοῖβος δῶθρη and translates the passage: "Join good-

looking lads to the ones (fem.) Phoebus is not dallying with".¹³ This does not seem clear, however, since the relative pronoun αἷς (fem. dat. pl.) has no antecedent. It cannot refer to κούρους (masc. acc. pl.). The antecedent may be concealed in αἷς.

Anacreontea 6

While weaving a garland once
 I found Love in amongst the roses,
 and pinning him down by his wings
 I dropped him into my wine,
 took it and drank him up,
 and now, inside my body,
 he is tickling me with his wings.

Metre: hemiambic

Line 5: ms λαβῶν δ' ἔπιον αὐτόν. There is a metrical fault in the fourth syllable which should be long. The vowel ε is short in the aorist ἔπιον. Most editors accept Barnes' emendation ἔπιον where the vowel is long. West, however, retains the ms text and includes this poem with those that show false vowel quantities (Group 2). This would be the only prosodic error in the poem. (Cf. Anacreontea 45.1n and 59.4n for similar problems with the verb πίνω.)

Anacreontea 7

The women are saying,
 "Anacreon, you are an old man;
 get a mirror and have a look--
 your hair is not there any more
 and your head is balding."
 But as for me, I do not know
 whether my hair is there or not;
 but this I do know,
 that it is all the more appropriate
 for an old man to have fun
 the nearer Fate comes.

Metre: hemiambic

Anacreontea 8

I care not for the wealth of Gyges,
 lord of Sardis;
 jealousy has not yet taken hold of me
 and I am not envious of tyrants.
 I do care about soaking
 my beard with perfumes,
 I do care about crowning
 my head with roses.
 Today is what I care about;
 who knows about tomorrow?
 So, therefore, while there is yet fine weather,
 drink, play games of dice
 and offer libation to Lyaeus,
 in case some illness come
 and say, "You must not drink".

Metre: hemiambic

Line 1: Γύγεω̄ synizesis of Ionic genitive singular ending (cf. Il.

1.1 Πηληιάδεω̄).

Line 3: The vowel ε remains short before initial ζ (cf. 3.1n).

Line 15: ms λέγγ σε μή δεῖ πίνειν. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be short. West adopts Stephanus' emendation μηδὲ restoring the correct metre. This metrical problem may be an indication that the last part of the poem is a late addition. The version in the Greek Anthology (A.P. 11.47) ends with line 10. The usage of ὡς to mean 'while' is only found in later Greek.¹⁴

Anacreontea 9

Let me, by the gods,
 drink, drink without breath;
 I want, I want to be mad.
 Alcmaeon was mad and
 also white-footed Orestes
 having killed their mothers;
 but I, having killed no one,
 by drinking red wine
 I want, I want to be mad.
 Herakles was mad once
 brandishing his frightening quiver

and the bow of Iphitus.
 Ajax was mad once
 brandishing the sword of Hector
 together with his shield;
 but as for me, I have my goblet
 and this garland for my hair,
 no bow, no sword--
 I want, I want to be mad.

Metre: hemiambic

The poem may be divided into six stanzas of three lines each.

Line 4: ms Ἄλκμαίων. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable of the line which should be short. West adopts the reading of Bergk³, Ἄλκμέων.

Line 18: West following Mehlhorn brackets this line because it disrupts the pattern of stanza division. Bergk speculated that the line may have been an addition.¹⁵

Anacreontea 10

What do you want me to do with you,
 what, chatty swallow?
 Do you want me to take and clip
 your light wings,
 or rather should I cut out
 your tongue from inside
 as Tereus did?
 Why did you steal away
 Bathyllus from my beautiful dreams
 with your songs of the dawn?

Metre: hemiambic

Line 2: ms λάλεε χελιδόν. Stephanus emended the text to λάλη χελιδόν. The adjective λάλος has only two terminations. This instance of λάλη, however, may be taken as an exceptional feminine singular form.¹⁶ It is possible that the scribe intended to write λάλει, 'speak!', but copied -εε from the word σεε in the next line. The word χελιδόν may be an alternative vocative form (cf. 25.1).¹⁷

Anacreontea 11

A certain youth was selling
 a Love made from wax.
 I went and stood beside him
 and asked, "How much do you want
 me to pay for the craft you have made?"
 He answered in Doric,
 "Have him for as much as you want
 so that you can become acquainted with him.
 I do not work with wax;
 I just do not wish to live with
 Love, the conniver."
 "Well then, hand it over;
 give it to me for a drachma,
 a good bed-mate."
 You, Love, set me aflame right now;
 if not, you are the one
 who will melt away in a flame.

Metre: hemiambic

Line 3: δέ οἱ hiatus (cf. 24.9; 31.7).

Anacreontea 12

There are some who claim
 that the half-woman Attis
 went insane as he was calling for
 beautiful Cybebe in the mountains.
 There are others who by drinking
 the babbling water
 of Phoebus, bearer of laurels,
 near the hills of Claros
 cry out in madness.
 But as for me, having had my fill
 of Lyaeus and of perfume
 and of my girlfriend
 I want, I want to be mad.

Metre: hemiambic

The poem may be divided into three quatrains.

Line 7: ὕδωρ (cf. 33.22). The vowel υ in ὕδωρ is short by nature. The occurrence of long υ in the nominative form here may be paralleled to that found frequently at line-endings in Homer (e.g. I1. 2.307; 17.54; Od. 1.110; 3.300). At Alcaeus 45.8 the line ends ὕδωρ. In later epic, ὕδωρ becomes

more common in any line position.¹⁸ (E.g. in the second half of the first foot 'Homer' Batrachomyomachia 97; 'Homer' Hymn to Dem. 381; Apoll. Rhod. 4.290; in the first half of the second foot Apoll. Rhod. 4.601.) (Cf. 37.3 and 5 where short vowel u must be scanned long.)¹⁹

Anacreontea 13

I want, I want to love.
 Love kept on inducing me to love,
 but I, without thinking,
 was not induced.
 He immediately picked up his bow
 and golden quiver
 and challenged me to fight.
 I, taking my breastplate
 upon my shoulders, just like Achilles,
 and my spear and ox-hide shield
 proceeded to do battle with Love.
 He fired, I fled.
 But when he ran out of arrows,
 he was upset; so then he let fly
 himself as a javelin.
 He landed in the middle
 of my heart and made me collapse.
 In vain do I bear my ox-hide shield;
 for why should I take shots on the outside
 when the battle is happening inside me?

Metre: hemiambic

Line 1: Bracketed by West. Perhaps dittography of Anacreontea 12.12.

Line 6: The ms reads χρυσίην, an aeolic form. The scribe seems to have frequently confused ι and ε which prompted Stephanus to alter the reading to χρυσέην, accepted by West. Stephanus' further correction to the epic χρυσεῖην in his Apograph, however, presents a metrical problem since a short syllable is required here. It would be difficult to admit such an inconsistency in an otherwise metrically sound poem.

Anacreontea 14

If you know how to count up
 all the leaves of the trees,
 to find the waves
 of the whole sea,
 I make you the sole bookkeeper
 of my love affairs.
 First mark down
 twenty loves from Athens
 and fifteen more;
 next, from Corinth,
 record strings of loves,
 for it is in Achaëa where
 the girls are beautiful.
 Mark down for me from Lesbos
 and up to Ionia
 and Caria and Rhodes
 two thousand loves.
 What do you mean? Are you flabbergasted?
 Not yet have I noted the ones from Syria,
 nor my desires from Canobus
 nor from Crete which has it all,
 where Love revels in the cities.
 Why do you want me to enumerate for you
 the loves of my soul
 beyond Cadiz, in Bactria, and in India?

Metre: hemiambic

Lines 3-4: ms εἰ κυματώδεις εὐρεῖν
 τὸ τῆς ὅλης θαλάσσης

The adjective κυματώδης, 'where the waves break', is commonly used with the noun γῆ to mean 'beach' (e.g. Arist. Probl. 934b1).²⁰ The neuter form seems to be used substantively here to imply 'the grains of sand upon the beach', an unparalleled usage. Davis proposed

εἰ κύματ' οἶδας εὐρεῖν
 τὰ τῆς ὅλης θαλάσσης

which West accepts. (For the 'counting of waves' cf. Ap.Rh. 4.214; Theoc. 16.60; Luc. Amor. 49.2). Edmonds suggests κυματωγῆς (i.e. κυματοαγῆς, 'breaking like waves') which he translates 'sands'.²¹

Line 18: ms τί φῆς δεῖ κηρωθεῖς. The text has been marked ÷ to denote uncertainty. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be

short. The exact meaning of δεῑ κηρωθεῖς (from κηρούμαι 'be waxed over') is also difficult. This verb may be regarded as a synonym for κηριόμαι 'be terrified', according to Giangrande.²² He accepts the ms text, calling the line isosyllabic, and translates, "What do you say? Have you gone permanently pale?" (i.e. like wax). His rendering of 'permanently' for δεῑ seems unsatisfactory. Bergk proposed τί φῆς; ἐκηριώθης; which alleviates the metrical and syntactical problems. West adopts Stephanus' emendation κηρωθεῖς, 'benumbed' (cf. 52(b).3 and 60B.2 κάρωσον) and changes the "incongruous" δεῑ to ἄγει, translating the line, "What's that you say? You are being carried away by torpor?"²³

Line 24: ms τί σοι θέλεις ἀριθμεῖν. West alters the text to τί δ'οὐ θέλεις ἀριθμεῖν, "Why do you not want me to count out", explaining that the listener would be more reluctant than desirous of hearing more about the poet's multitudinous love affairs.²⁴ The scribe may have been confused with 10.1 τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω, on which grounds Scaliger emended ἀριθμεῖν to ἀριθμῶ.

Line 25: ms καὶ τοὺς Γαδείρων ἔκτος. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be short. Stephanus offered τοὺς ἔκτος αὖ Γαδείρων which solves the metrical problem but the omission of καὶ at the beginning of the line is unacceptable with τε in line 26. Bergk²⁵ proposes two suggestions: καὶ τάκτος αὖ Γαδείρων, a variant of Stephanus' emendation, and καὶ τοὺς πέρα Γαδείρων, accepted by Edmonds. Most editors, however, keep the ms reading and admit the unique metrical inconsistency Γαδείρων in the poem. West points out that long final syllables (mostly unaccented) frequently have a short quantity in the Anacreontea, e.g.²⁶ 38.9 ἄμπαθεται; 47.9 παρέστω (s.v.1); 50.6 ἀπορίπτονται; 50.24 τέρπομαι; 52(b).3 μου; 54.2 εἶναι; 58.2 φεύγη; 58.5 διώκω; 58.8 τῷ; 58.18 γένωμαι. All of these examples are taken from poems which show degenerate prosody throughout (West's Group 2). It is

surprising that such an error should occur in poem 14 which is otherwise perfectly regular in metre.

Anacreontea 15

Lovely pigeon,
 from where, from where have you flown?
 From where did you get such perfumes
 which you give off and drip
 as you fly through the air?
 Who are you? What is your purpose?
 "Anacreon sent me
 to a boy, to Bathyllus,
 the one who just now
 is master and ruler of all.
 Cythere sold me,
 taking a little song in exchange;
 I provide such services to Anacreon.
 Even now what letters
 I am dispatching for him!
 he says that he will
 set me free at once.
 But I for my part, even if he does let me go,
 will remain as a servant beside him.
 For why do I have to fly
 over mountains and fields
 and perch upon trees
 having eaten something wild?
 As things are, I get to eat bread
 which I have snatched
 from Anacreon's own hands.
 He gives me the wine to drink
 which he uses to make his toasts,
 and when I have had my drink
 I start to dance
 and as my master plays his lyre
 I cover him with my wings.
 When I sleep, I lie down
 on the lyre itself.
 You have the whole story. Go away;
 Sir, you made me
 more chatty than even a crow."

Metre: hemiambic

Line 2: ms πρόεν, πρόεν πέταου. There is a metrical fault in the sixth syllable which should be long. Pauw proposed πετᾶου, second person singular present of πετάομαι, which does not alter the meaning of the line. West keeps

the ms text and admits that the long vowel α is exceptional in this instance.²⁷
Giangrande considers the line isosyllabic.²⁸

Line 5: ms πνίεις. Stephanus emended this word to πνέεις which West accepts, pointing out the confusion often made by the scribe between ι and ε. Rose proposed the equally acceptable epic form πνείεις.

Line 6: ms τίς ἔστι σοι μέλει δέ. Sitzler proposed the emendation τίς εἶς; τί σοι μέλει δή which makes logical sense from the text and also alleviates the problem of the particle δέ falling at the end of the line. West prefers Brunk's reading τίς εἶ, τί σοι μέλει δέ and notes that the particle δέ frequently falls in the third position in a sentence (e.g. 2.6; 17.38),²⁹ an example of poetic licence (cf. 19.8 where δέ is at the end of the line).

Line 10: ms κρατοῦντα καὶ τύραννον. West proposes a minor change to τυράννων since he knows no "parallel for τύραννος used of someone to whose charms everyone is enslaved."³⁰ The translation of the passage would then be: '[Bathyllus], who just now is ruler of all, even of kings'.

Line 15: ms καὶ νῦν οὔας ἐκείνου. There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be short. Most editors adopt Stephanus' emendation ὀρᾶς. West also suggests ὄλας³¹ ('and now I am dispatching all letters for him'). The possibility of a short οι diphthong is not precluded here however (cf. ποιεῖν passim, τοιοῦτό 18.17; 40.6n).

Line 18: ποιήσειν.

Line 33: ms κοιμωμένη. West accepts the reading of Bergk⁴ κοιμωμένου. Perhaps it is redundant to have κοιμωμένη and καθεύδω referring to the same person. The distinction is slight; κοιμάω, in the middle, can mean 'fall asleep' and καθεύδω, 'be in a state of sleep'.

Anacreontea 16

Come, best of painters,
 paint, best of painters,
 master of Rhodian art,
 while she is away, paint my girlfriend
 just as I say.
 Paint for me her hair first of all
 soft and black;
 and if the wax can do it,
 paint it with the fragrance of perfume too.
 Above her full cheeks
 beneath her dark hair
 paint a forehead white as ivory.
 Do not divide or join, for me,
 the space between her eyebrows,
 but let her have, just as she does,
 an imperceptible meeting of eyebrows,
 the black rim of her eyes.
 Now, as to her eyes, make them,
 just as in reality, from fire
 at the same time sparkling, like Athena's,
 and moist, like Cythere's.
 Paint her nose and cheeks
 with a mixture of roses and milk;
 paint her lips just like those of Persuasion's,
 inviting kisses.
 Beneath her delicate chin
 around her neck of marble-white
 let all the Graces flutter.
 Dress the rest of her
 in purplish robes
 but let a little skin show through
 proof of her shape.
 That will do. I actually see her;
 Soon, wax, you will even speak.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 1 and 2: The vowel ϵ remains short before initial ζ (cf. 3.1n).

Line 2: Bracketed by West. Bergk comments that the line is an unnecessary addition.³²

Line 3: Ionic Dimeter (uu--uu--). This is the only such line in the whole poem. Edmonds suggests that it may be an addition.³³ Brunck accepted the emendation of Lennep, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon$, 'chief', which does not alter the meaning and retains the anacreontic metre. The ionic dimeter, which is the base of

the anacreontic, is often used by Anacreon (e.g. 356(a)5, (b)5; 395.5, 11).

Anacreontea 17

Paint Bathyllus, my boyfriend,
 for me as follows, just as I instruct:
 make shining hair,
 black underneath
 but bleached on top;
 put on for me loose curls
 of hair in disarray
 letting them lie where they may.
 Let his eyebrows
 darker than snakes
 ring his soft, dewy forehead.
 Let his dark eyes contain a mixture
 of gorgon-like fierceness and the calm of the sea,
 deriving the former from Ares
 and the latter from beautiful Cythere,
 so that anyone might be filled with terror
 yet suspended in anticipation at the same time.
 Make his downy cheek
 rosy like an apple;
 make a blush like Modesty's
 if you are able to do so.
 As to his lips, I am not sure yet
 in what manner you should depict them--
 soft and imbued with Persuasion.
 Let the wax itself
 have completeness, speaking inaudibly.
 Next after his face,
 let him have a neck white as ivory
 surpassing that of Adonis.
 Give him the chest
 and two hands of Hermes,
 thighs of Polydeuces,
 and abdomen of Dionysus.
 Above his supple thighs,
 thighs possessing fire,
 paint his simple manhood
 already desiring the Paphian.
 But you have a stingy art
 in that you are unable to show his back;
 It would be much better like that.
 Why must I give instructions regarding his feet?
 Accept your wages, as much as you say.
 Remove this Apollo
 and make Bathyllus;
 if you come to Samos some day,
 paint Phoebus using Bathyllus as your model.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 21: ms δύνασαι. Rose's emendation to δύνασ'εἰ clarifies the syntax. Bergk suggested δύνασαι γάρ, ἐμποίησον. West retains the ms text.

Line 35: --u-u-- The first two short syllables have been contracted into one long syllable (cf. line 45). The scribe placed two dots over the word ἰηρῶν signifying that he had reason to doubt the text. Stephanus noted in his Apograph: μαλερὸν sunt qui hic legant.³⁴ West accepts this emendation which keeps the line anacreontic. It is conceivable that the scribe repeated the last word in line 34 by accident (dittography). Such a repetition of words, however, may be used for emphasis (cf. 1.6-7 ... καλὸς δέ / καλὸς δέ ...).

Line 43: Ionic Dimeter.

Line 45: --u-u-- There has been contraction of the two short syllables at the beginning of the line (cf. line 35).

Anacreontea 18

Give me, give me, ladies,
 a drink of the Bromian to quaff down without breath,
 for I am groaning aloud,
 already a victim because of the heat.
 Give me his garlands of flowers,
 give them so that I may cover
 my burnt forehead.
 But what should I use to keep away
 the blaze of the Loves, dear heart?
 Beside the shade of Bathyllus
 will I take my seat; that is a beautiful tree,
 it rustles its soft leaves
 with the gentlest shoot;
 next to it a stream
 flowing with Persuasion
 makes provocation.
 Who, then, seeing such a resting-place,
 could pass it by?

Metre: anacreontic

Line 5: ms ἐκείνου. The word must refer to the Bromian (l.2). West conjectures ἐλίνου, 'of the vine-tendrill', as an alternative.

Lines 6-7: ms στεφάνους δ'οἴους πυκάζω
τὰ μέτωπά μου 'πικαίει.

The verb πυκάζω has τὰ μέτωπα as its direct object. The reference to garlands would make better sense in the dative as in the reading of Bergk¹ στεφάνους δοτ'οἴς πυκάζω, which West adopts. The further refinement of Bergk⁴ to στεφάνους, δόθ', ὡς πυκάζω, 'give me garlands so that I may cover' is even clearer. Edmonds proposed 'πίκαυτα 'burnt' for the ms 'πικαίει 'is burning'. West retains the ms text. The passage as he presents it may be translated

Give me garlands with which I may cover
my brow -- it is on fire.

The intransitive usage of ἐπικαίω desired here is unprecedented.

Line 14: ms παρὰ δ'αὐτὸν ἐρεθίζει. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be long. Bergk offered ψιθυρίζει 'whispers' and also quotes another possibility κελάρδζει 'murmurs', which give ionic dimeters.³⁵ Edmonds proposed ἡρεμίζει 'goes by peacefully' which is metrically correct but difficult to construe from the text. West introduces a new emendation:³⁶

παρὰ δ'αὐτὸ νέρθε ροιζει
πηγή ῥέουσα πειθοῦς

Beside it [the tree] at its base there rushes by
a spring flowing with Temptation.

The pronoun αὐτὸν in the ms text was first changed to dative by Stephanus followed by Barnes, then to genitive by Rose and to feminine accusative by Mehlhorn. West's preference for the neuter singular follows the reading of Bergk⁴. Giangrande is ready to accept the text as it stands, correctly translating ἐρεθίζει as 'provokes to love' and finds no difficulty with the metre since he believes the poems are consistently isosyllabic.³⁷

Line 15: --u-u-- The first two short syllables have been contracted into one long syllable.

Line 17: τοῖοῦτό.

Anacreontea 19

The Muses tied up
 Love with garlands
 and bound him over
 to Beauty;
 and now Cythereia,
 bearing ransom, seeks
 that Love be set free.
 But even if someone does set him free
 he will not go away but stay;
 he has been taught servitude.

Metre: pherecratean

The poem may be divided into three stanzas of three lines each.

This poem, along with poem 20, is unusual in that the metre is neither hemiamdic nor anacreontic. However, a pherecratean in the form ---uu--, which is found in every line of this poem, can be construed as an ionic dimeter (uu--uu--) with a contracted biceps in the first metron. It thus appears to be quite similar to an anacreontic (uu-u-u--) which is ionic dimeter with anac-
 clasis of the fourth and fifth feet. The pherecratean may be an acceptable variation on the anacreontic. Pherecrateans can be found elsewhere in the Anacreontea (e.g. 5.1, 11; 36.6.16) as well as in the poems of Anacreon (e.g. 348.3, 8; 357.3, 8, 11), where they round off sequences of glyconics.

Anacreontea 20

Sweet-singing is Anacreon,
 Sweet-singing is Sappho;
 Someone mix in for me
 a song from Pindar and brim my cup.
 It seems to me that
 if Dionysus came
 and the glowing-skinned Paphian
 and Love himself,
 they would drink up these three.

Metre:

The metrical arrangement of this poem is unlike that of any other in the Anacreontea. Brioso Sánchez points out that it belongs to the collection only

because of its thematic similarities with other poems, e.g. Anacreon, Dionysus, the Paphian, and Eros.³⁸ It is possible to divide the poem into two quatrains with identical metrical pattern.³⁹

Lines 1 and 5: -uu-u-u- Acatalectic Iambic Dimeter with choriamb in first metron.

Lines 2 and 6: -uu-u-- Catalectic Iambic Dimeter with choriamb in first metron.

Lines 3 and 7: -uu-uu-u - These two nine-syllable lines are surprising.

In line 3, Bergk proposed δὲ for τόδε, a word which does not seem correct syntactically, thereby creating a line with the same metre as lines 1 and 4. West keeps the nine syllables in the line but changes τόδε to δ'ἔτι, 'moreover'. The text in line 7 is problematic. The last word reads παρόχροος (vox nihili) and has been emended in the line and margin to λιπαρόχροος (marked +) which gives the line nine syllables as in line 3. In light of the metrical pattern evident in the other lines, it is consistent that these two lines also have the same metre. The nine-syllable line is an unexpected variant, however.

Lines 4 and 8: -uu-u-u- Acatalectic Iambic Dimeter with choriamb in first metron (cf. lines 1 and 5).

Anacreontea 21

The black earth drinks
and trees drink her.
The sea drinks the mountain-torrents,
the sun the sea
and the moon the sun;
why do you oppose me, friends,
when I also want to drink?

Metre: hemiambic

Line 2: ms πίνει δένδρα δ'αύτην. There is a metrical problem in the third syllable. If the text is accepted, this is the only pherecratean line

(---uu--) in the poem. Stephanus proposed πίνει δὲ δένδρε' αὐτήν which keeps the metre hemiambic but simultaneously creates hiatus between the fifth and sixth syllables. The emendation seems reasonable, however, since the scribe could have easily omitted the particle δέ' before the word δένδρεα which begins with the same two letters (haplography). Edmonds chose to emend lines 1 and 2 radically but he retains the hiatus:

Πηγὴν μὲν αἶα πίνει
 πίνει δὲ δένδρε' αἶαν.

The epic form αἶα is not found elsewhere in the Anacreontea. In light of the fact that hiatus occurs three times in the collection (11.3; 24.9; 28.1) and also that the rest of the lines in this poem are hemiambic, the emendation given by Stephanus is justified. Bergk¹ emended the ms αὐτήν at the end of line 2 to αὐτὴν which West accepts. The repetition of the word γῆ (l.1) in the accusative γῆν follows the pattern of θάλασσ' (l.3) and θάλασσαν (l.4).

Anacreontea 22

The daughter of Tantalus once stood
 as stone on the Phrygian mountains;
 once, too, the daughter of Pandion
 flew, a bird, a swallow.
 I wish I were a mirror,
 so that you would always look at me;
 I wish I could become a cloak,
 so that you would always wear me.
 I wish to become water,
 so that I could cleanse your flesh;
 I wish I were perfume, my lady,
 so that I could anoint you;
 I wish I could become
 a band for your breast,
 a pearl for your neck,
 a sandal for your foot---
 only walk upon me.

Metre: hemiambic

The poem may be divided into four quatrains.

Anacreontea 23

I want to speak about the sons of Atreus
 and I want to sing about Cadmus,
 but my lyre sings only
 of love with its chords.
 I recently changed the strings,
 even the whole lyre;
 and I began to sing of the labours
 of Herakles, but my lyre
 answered back about loves.
 Farewell from here on,
 heroes; you see, my lyre
 sings of loves alone.

Metre: hemiambic

Line 11: ms ἔρωτες. Stephanus changed this word to ἤρωες so that the passage means 'Farewell, heroes'. The ms text is not inconceivable, however, and could be translated, 'Greetings, loves'.

Anacreontea 24

Nature presented horns to bulls,
 hooves to horses,
 fleet-footedness to hares,
 to lions a gaping mouth of teeth,
 to fish swimming,
 to birds flight,
 to men the ability to reason,
 for women she had nothing left.
 So then what? She gave beauty
 as good as every shield,
 as good as every spear;
 she even conquers sword
 and fire, a woman who is beautiful.

Metre: hemiambic

Line 9: hiatus τί οὐν (cf. 11.3, 28.1).

Anacreontea 25

You, dear swallow,
 come year after year
 in summer and weave your nest;
 but in winter you disappear
 to the Nile or to Memphis.

But Love is forever weaving
 a nest in my heart;
 this Desire is a fledgling,
 that one is just an egg,
 another one is already half out of its shell;
 Screeching always comes
 from the chicks with their gaping mouths;
 the older ones feed
 the little young Loves;
 those which are grown up immediately
 beget others again.
 So what could there be as a cure?
 For I am not strong enough
 to shoo away so many Loves with shouting.

Metre: hemiambic

Lines 19: ms Ἐρωτας ἐκβοῦσαι. The exact meaning of the text is not clear. The implication is that the poet cannot chase the Loves away by 'shouting aloud'. According to Bergk, there is no doubt that the text is corrupt.⁴⁰ Pauw proposed ἐκκοβῆσαι, 'scare away', which West adopts, and Scaliger ἐκποῦσαι, 'give out' or 'put up for adoption', which the imitator Nicetas Eugenianus seems to have followed.⁴¹ Bergk conjectures ἐκχυῖσαι, 'bring forth, sprout'.⁴²

Anacreontea 26

You talk about the happenings in Thebes,
 that man about the battle-cries of the Phrygians,
 but I about my own capture.
 Cavalry did not ruin me,
 nor infantry nor fleet
 but another strange army
 shooting at me from its eyes.

Metre: hemiambic

Anacreontea 27

Upon their haunches horses
 have the imprint of fire,
 and one recognizes
 the Parthians by their tiaras.
 But I can spot lovers

immediately at sight;
for they have a certain faint
imprint inside the soul.

Metre: hemiambic

The poem may be divided into two quatrains.

Anacreontea 28

The husband of Cythere
took steel and was making
arrows for the Loves.
at the forge in Lemnos.
The Cyprian one took sweet honey
and was dipping in the points;
Love was mixing in gall.
Ares, after a battle once,
brandishing his mighty spear,
was scoffing at Love's arrow.
Love said, "This one is
the heavy one. You will find out if you give it a try."
Ares took the arrow.
The Cyprian one smiled to herself.
Ares gave a loud groan
and said, "This is heavy. Take it away."
But Love said, "Keep it".

Metre: anacreontic

Line 1: ms 'Ο δνῆρ. The occurrence of hiatus at the very beginning of the first line is striking. Bergk finds that either δνῆρ or δνῆρ would be suitable and accuses the scribe of carelessness. Such emendations, however, would create a metrically irregular line in an otherwise regular poem.

Edmonds begins his text 'Οτ'δνῆρ, 'When the husband ...', and deletes the particle δ' from line 5.

Line 13: The word Ἄρης has long vowel α (cf. Il. 5.31, Soph. Ant. 139). In lines 8 and 15 the more usual short α is found.

Anacreontea 29 (29 + 29A West)

It is difficult not to love,
 it is difficult to love,
 but it is most difficult of all
 if a lover fails.
 Ancestry means nothing to love;
 wisdom, character are walked over;
 only money do they notice.
 May the very one who
 was the first to love money perish!
 Because of it, no brother,
 because of it, no parents;
 wars, murders happen because of it.
 Even worse -- we perish
 because of it, we who are lovers.

Metre: anacreontic

West, following Mehlhorn and Bergk⁴, distinguishes two separate poems:
 29, lines 1-4 and 29A, lines 5-14. The imitator Nicetas Eugenianus refers
 only to the first four lines which seem to form an independent quatrain.⁴³
 The remaining ten lines may be divided into two five-line stanzas.

Anacreontea 30

In a dream I imagined I was running,
 with wings attached to my shoulders;
 Love, although he had lead weights
 on his dainty little feet,
 kept on chasing me and was catching up.
 What is this dream supposed to mean?
 I, for my part, believe it means
 that although I have been entangled
 and then slipped out of other affairs,
 I am knotted up in this one alone.

Metre: anacreontic

The poem may be divided into two five-line stanzas.

Anacreontea 31

While beating me severely
 with his rod of hyacinth,
 Love kept on commanding me
 to run along with him.

Sweat was bothering me
 from racing through raging mountain-torrents
 and thickets and ravines;
 my heart rose up all the way to my nose
 and I could have been snuffed out.
 But Love †fanning† my forehead
 with his delicate wings said
 "Well, are not you able to love?"

Metre: anacreontic

Lines 9-10: ms ὁ δ' Ἔρως μέτωπα σεΐων
 ἀπαλοῖς πτεροῖσιν εἶπεν

The particle σεΐων has been the focus of some dispute. The usual meaning 'shaking (violently)' seems out of place because, according to the context, Eros is appearing to relent from harassing his victim (lines 1-8) in order to tell him something (line 11). It is also incongruous that Eros should carry out such an action with 'delicate wings'. Bergk suspected that the line was faulty.⁴⁴ Brunck suggested σαίνων 'fawning', which can take a dative of instrument (ἀπαλοῖς πτεροῖσιν) (cf. Aristoph. Knights 1031 ... κέρκῳ σαίνωνσ' ... 'fawning upon you by wagging his tail') but is difficult to construe with μέτωπα. West finds this emendation impossible and supports, rather, Edmonds' solution παίων, 'hitting', with the further alteration in the line μ' ἐς ὄπα or μ' ἐπ' ὄτα,⁴⁵ 'hitting me in the face' or 'ears'. This image is very similar to that found in the poetry of Anacreon where the poet describes how he boxes with love (e.g. Anac. 346(2), 358, 396). West makes the qualification, however, that the blow would be nothing more than a 'petulant cuff', an observation which suits the context and diction. Although there is no parallel, it is possible to translate σεΐων as 'fanning'. Giangrande⁴⁶ finds defence for this in Xen. Cyr. 3.4 ἀκρὰ τῆ ὀβρῆ σεΐουσιν, '(dogs) wag the tip of their tail', where the variant σαίνουσιν can also be found, leading him to conclude that σεΐω is used synonymously with σαίνω. Such a conclusion requires more evidence, however. Since Eros has been depicted as being very cruel in this poem (e.g. line 2 χαλεπῶς ...

ῥαπίζων 'beating cruelly'), it would not be out of character for Eros to continue in his violent vein and shake his victim's head (metonymy from μέτωπα, 'brow'). The 'delicate' wings remain puzzling, however. This may be the intentional oxymoron. The image of Eros beating his victim severely with a rod made of the hyacinth flower (l.1) seems equally oxymoronic.

Anacreontea 32

I want to make a couch
 on soft myrtle leaves
 and lotus greenery
 and drink toasts.
 Let Love, having bundled up his tunic
 at his neck with a string of papyrus,
 serve out the wine to me;
 for life races along
 spinning like the wheel of a chariot,
 and we will lie as a mere bit
 of dust, after our bones have been loosened.
 Why should you anoint stone with perfume?
 Why pour upon the ground to no purpose?
 Anoint me while I am still alive instead,
 wreath my head with roses,
 call my girlfriend;
 Love, before I go away there
 to the dances of the dead,
 I want to disperse my worries.

Metre: anacreontic

The poem may be divided into three six-line stanzas.

Anacreontea 33

Once, during the midnight hour,
 when the Bear is already turning
 past the hand of the Ploughman
 and all the races of mortal men
 lie overcome by fatigue,
 at that hour, Love came up
 and began to knock on my locked door.
 "Who is it that knocks on the door," I asked,
 "and has cut off my dreams?"
 Love said, "Open up.
 I am a baby; have no fear.
 I am soaking wet and I have been traipsing about
 all through this moonless night."

Upon hearing this I felt compassion
 and lighting my lamp at once
 I opened the door and beheld
 a winged baby carrying
 a bow and quiver.
 After I seated him beside my hearth
 I proceeded to warm up his hands
 in my palms and to wring out
 the dripping water from his hair.
 But he, when the cold let up,
 said, "Come on, let us give this bow
 a try in case the string has received
 any damage from getting soaked."
 He stretched it out and shot me
 in the middle of my heart just like the sting of a gadfly.
 He jumped up laughing loudly
 and said, "Stranger, laugh along with me;
 my bow is unhurt
 but you will feel an ache in your heart."

Metre: anacreontic

Line 22: ὕδωρ cf. 12.7n.

Line 31: ms κέρασ ἀβλαβὲς μὲν ἐμῶν. There is a metrical fault in the
 seventh syllable which should be long. Bergk's⁴ emendation μὲν ἡμῶν corrects
 the problem. West accepts μένει μοι, 'my bow remains undamaged', as proposed
 by Michelangeli.

Anacreontea 34

We deem you blessed, cicada,
 when upon the treetops
 after you have sipped a little dew
 you sing like a king.
 For everything is yours,
 all that you see in the fields
 and all that the forests produce.
 You have friendship for farmers
 stealing from no one at all;
 you are honoured by mortals,
 sweet harbinger of summer;
 the Muses love you
 and Phoebus himself loves you
 and gave the gift of clear-toned song;
 old age does not waste you away,
 skilful, earth-born, lover of song;
 free from pain, with bloodless flesh,
 you are just about like the gods.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 7: ms κοπόσα φέρουσιν ὕλαι. The word κοπόσα must be incorrect. The letter κ probably represents κ(αῖ) and the vowel ο should have been transcribed as ὦ through crasis as Crusius' emendation χόποσα demonstrates. With this correction, the line begins with a dactyl rather than an anapaest (cf. 49.1n, 59.1). The emendations given by Rose ὀπόσ'αῦ and Bergk⁴ ὀπόσα τρέφουσιν keep the regular anacreontic metre (cf. 57.10n where Stephanus altered the ms χόσα to ὄσα at the beginning of the line).

Line 8: ms σὺ δὲ φιλία γεωργῶν. There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be long. The word φιλία also poses linguistic problems since it seems to mean the same as φίλος 'friendly; a friend' in this context which is an unparalleled usage.⁴⁷ Barnes proposed σὺ γὰρ εἶ φίλος γεωργοῖς correcting the linguistic and metrical problems. Bergk introduced a new possibility⁴⁸ with φαίνεαι, 'you appear' which can be deduced quite easily from the ms text (ΦΑΙΝΕΑΙ from ΦΙΛΙΑ).⁴⁹ West's proposal φείδεαι,⁵⁰ 'you spare', follows the same pattern and fits in well with the context (cf. line 9). Although the uncontracted Ionic second person singular ending -εαι can be found nowhere else in the Anacreontea, there are other Ionic or Homeric features present (e.g. 8.1 Γύγεω, 12.6 δαφνηφόροιο) as West correctly points out.

Line 9: ms ἀπὸ μηδενός τι βλάπτων. Perhaps there is tmesis of ἀποβλάπτω in this line (cf. Soph. Ajax 941: τοιοῦδ' ἀποβλαφθεῖσαν ἀρτίως φίλου, 'robbed just now of such a friend'). Dihle understands ἀπὸ μηδενός as an adverbial phrase, 'by no means'.⁵¹

Anacreontea 35

Once Love was unaware
that there was a bee sleeping
amongst the roses and was injured.

Stung in the finger
of his hand, he gave a yelp.
He ran and flew
to beautiful Cythere
and cried, "I am dead, mother,
I am dead and perishing.
A snake bit me, a little
winged one, which the farmers
call a bee."
But she said, "If the sting
of the bee hurts,
how much do you imagine those hurt,
Love, whom you sting?"

Metre: hemiambic

Line 14: ms πονεῖ. West accepts Pauw's emendation πονεῖς, with the resulting translation of the passage: "If you are distressed at the sting of the bee, how much do you imagine those hurt, Love, whom you sting?"

Anacreontea 36

If the wealth from gold
afforded life to mortals
I would persevere in hoarding it,
so that if death approached
it would pocket a bit and move on.
However, because it is not possible
for mortals to buy life,
why do I groan to no avail?
Why do I utter sighs?
For if death is fated,
how does gold help me?
Let it be that I may drink,
and, after I have drunk sweet wine,
be together with my friends
and upon soft couches
fulfil Aphrodite.

Metre: hemiambic

The poem may be divided into three stanzas of five lines each, if line 9 is removed as an interpolation (cf. l.8n).

Line 4: ms ἔν' ἀσθενεῖν ἐπέλη. Stephanus emended the text to ἔν' ἄν θανεῖν ἐπέλη 'so that if Death should come', the infinitive θανεῖν being used substantively for 'Death'. West,⁵² however, argues that a deus fatalis

is needed here, such as θάνατος (unmetrical), who might 'accept the money and travel on' (line 5). Edmonds' proposal ἕν, δὲν Πόρος προσέλθη, 'so that if Fate approached', follows the thought but is difficult to derive from the text. West conjectures ἕν' δὲν Σθενώ μ' ἐπέλθη, 'so that if Stheno should come to me'. Stheno is one of the Gorgons (cf. Hes. Theog. 276, Ap.Rh. 2.4.2.7), the mere sight of whom could cause death (cf. Od. 11.634f.). West gives two other alternatives:⁵³ ἕν' Αἴσ' ἕμ' ἣν ἐπέλθη ('Destiny') and ἕν' δὲν Νοῦσός ἐπέλθη ('Disease' cf. 8.14). The latter suggestion is not very close to the ms text. Giangrande accepts the ms text explaining that "the infinitive ἀσθενεῖν is here substantivized."⁵⁴ The inclusion of δὲν, however, makes better sense syntactically. West's argument is convincing; any of his suggestions would create a vivid image.

Line 6: pherecratean ---uu--.

Line 8: ms τί καὶ μάτην στενάζω. West proposes στεγάζω, 'I hoard' for στενάζω, 'I groan', which he maintains is more logical in sense.⁵⁵ It also removes the redundancy with line 9, 'why even utter sighs'. However, if line 9, bracketed by West, is to be deleted, as Mehlhorn proposed, in order to keep the five-line stanza pattern consistent, then it is not necessary to alter the text in line 8.

Line 15: Anacletic -uu-u-- (choriamb in first metron).

Line 16: pherecratean u--uu--.

Anacreontea 37

During the night, asleep
 upon throws of sea-purple,
 content thanks to Lyaeus,
 I imagined that I was running
 a swift race on the tips of my toes
 playing with maidens,
 but some boys more tender

than Lyaeus were mocking me
 hurling heart-wrenching insults at me
 because of those beautiful girls.
 Indeed I desired to kiss them
 but they fled out of my dream, all of them;
 abandoned in solitude, I, the unfortunate one,
 yearned to fall asleep once more.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 3: ms γεγανυμένος Λυαίῳ. There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be long. Because of the dichronic nature of the vowel υ, however, the syllable may have been considered long.⁵⁶

Line 5: ms δρόμον ὠκὺν ἔκτανόειν. There is a metrical fault in the seventh syllable which should be long. The vowel υ may have been considered long in this instance also (cf. line 3).

Lines 11 and 12: ms ἐθέλοντι δὲ φιλησάι
 φύγον ἐξ ὕπνου μοι πάντες

As the text stands there is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable of line 11, which should be long, and in the sixth syllable of line 12, where a short syllable is needed. Stephanus' emendation ἐθέλοντα ... με alleviates the problem in line 12 and Zeune's replacement of δὲ by δὴ solves line 11. West, however, keeps the ms text as written and admits the two prosodic errors δ̄ε and μοῦι in these lines. The metrical licence taken with the vowel υ in lines 3 and 5 no doubt influenced his decision. He places this poem in that group which demonstrates some prosodical difficulties (Group 2).

Anacreontea 38

Let us drink wine with good cheer,
 we shall begin a hymn to Bacchus,
 the inventor of the dance,
 the one desiring all song,
 who has the same character as the Loves,
 the beloved of Cythere;
 through whom drunkenness was created,
 through whom the Grace was begotten,

through whom pain is assuaged,
 through whom grief is lulled to sleep.
 So tender youths
 are bringing the drink mixed with water,
 and aching has fled away, swirled up
 in a storm fed by winds.
 So let us take our drink
 and let go our worries;
 for how does it help you
 if you torture yourself with worries?
 Where do we get to know about the future?
 Life for mortals is uncertain.
 I want to dance in drunkenness
 and have a good time, anointed with perfume, ...

and in company with beautiful women.
 Let it be a concern only to those who so desire,
 how much worry there is.
 Let us drink wine with good cheer,
 we shall begin a hymn to Bacchus.

Metre: anacreontic

The poem may be divided into six quatrains with a couplet at the beginning and the end, if a lacuna is posited after line 23 (cf. l.23n).

Line 5: ms τὸν ὀμότροπον ἑρώτων. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be long (cf. 40.2 τρίβον̄; 50.23n). West places this poem in that group which demonstrates irregular vowel quantities (Group 2).

Line 8: ms δι'ὄν ἡ χάρις ἐτέχθη. There is again a metrical fault in the fifth syllable. Bergk was willing to accept Barnes' emendation χάρις τ' but admitted that the metrical offence was insubstantial.⁵⁷ Because both vowels in the word χάρις are dichronic, West offers two possibilities:⁵⁸ χάρις̄, as needed for the anacreontic metre, or χάρις̄ which gives an ionic dimeter line.

Line 9: ms δι'ὄν ἀμπαύεται Λύπα. The metre is ionic dimeter with a metrical fault in the sixth syllable which should be short. The short diphthong -αι is supported by several similar instances in the Anacreontea where final syllables with long vowels or diphthongs are scanned short (cf. 14.25n).

Lines 10, 11, 15: Ionic Dimeter.

Line 16: -u-u-u-u The first syllable is long (cf. 44.12; 50.26, 27; 60.9).

Line 22: West replaces the ms δὲ with τε, thereby linking this line with line 21 and creating a complete quatrain. The next quatrain would begin with the line missing after 22.

Line 23: Barnes detected the lacuna at this point and conjectured μετὰ τῶν καλῶν ἐφήβων, 'together with handsome youths'. Such a conjecture, however, could not be used if the pattern of stanza division is followed.

Anacreontea 39

I love a charming old man,
I love a young man who dances;
but when an old man dances,
by his hair he is old
but in his heart he is young.

Metre: hemiambic

Lines 3 and 5: anaclastic -uu-u-- (choriamb in first metron).

Anacreontea 40

Since I was created a mortal
to travel on the road of life,
I am aware of how much time has gone by
but as to what I have yet to run, I am not sure.
Release me, worries;
let there be nothing between you and me.
Before the end overtakes me,
I will have fun, I will laugh, I will dance
with beautiful Lyaeus.

Metre: anacreontic (irregular)

The metre of this poem is problematic. Edmonds considers it isosyllabic.⁵⁹ Brioso Sánchez points out that both 40 and 41 fail to abide by the customary rules of metre⁶⁰ and quotes Sitzler's comment regarding these poems, "sind ganz unregelmässig".⁶¹ This poem is included in that group which West regards

as prosodically corrupt (Group 3). There is a marked disregard for normal vowel quantities.

Line 1: Acatalectic Ionic Dimeter with anaclasis in first metron (u--u|uu--). The line scans perfectly as an anacreontic if all accented syllables are counted long and the others short. This is a feature which can be found in Byzantine poetry.⁶² Another characteristic of late poetry is the accent on the penultimate syllable of the line which is evident throughout this poem.

Line 2: Anacreontic. Prosodic error: τρίβον (cf. 50.23n).

Line 3: Anacreontic. Prosodic error: ἔγνων, or
Ionic Dimeter. Prosodic error: ὄν παρ-

Line 4: -u-u-u-- (cf. 38.16n). Prosodic error: οὐκ (cf. 58.21n; ὄπου 41.2, 3).

Line 5: ms μέθετέ με φροντίδες. The line is textually and metrically faulty.

Line 6: ms μηδέν μοι καὶ ὑμῖν ἔστω. The line has been marked */ by the scribe. There are too many long syllables to make any metrical sense. West proposes a hemiambic line:⁶³ μηδέν μοι χῦμιν ἔστω. This shows a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be short. Short οι diphthong seems acceptable at times, however: cf. ποιεῖν passim, τοῖοῦτο 18.17, μοῖ 5.3, 6, 8.

Line 7: ms πρὶν ἐμὲ φθάσῃ τὸ τέλος. There is a metrical fault in the seventh syllable which should be long (cf. 37.11 δῆ [ms and West], 41.7 κατέχων). The placing of the accent, however, may have some influence in lengthening the vowel (cf. 2.1n).

Line 8: --uu-u-- (cf. 44.13 and 46.1 where the same metre occurs but with a resolved syllable at the beginning uu-uu-u--).

Anacreontea 41

It is pleasant to stroll
 where meadows are verdant,
 where Zephyr blows
 the sweetest gentle breeze,
 to look upon the vine-branch of Bacchus
 and to slip under the leaves
 cuddling a delicate girl,
 all fragrant with the Cyprian.

Metre: anacreontic

This poem is as metrically corrupt as that which precedes it. It is isosyllabic according to Edmonds⁶⁴ and forms part of West's Group 3. Bergk describes the poem as semibarbara cantilena.⁶⁵

Line 1: ms $\tau\acute{\iota}$ καλὸν ἐστὶ βαδίζειν. If the second syllable of καλὸν may be scanned long, the line is an ionic dimeter. The accented $\tau\acute{\iota}$ at the beginning of the line is difficult to explain. An interrogative pronoun seems out of place, and an indefinite pronoun at the beginning of a line would be rare.⁶⁶ West⁶⁷ conjectures that $\tau\acute{\iota}$ is 'an uncial corruption' of $\tilde{\eta}$ ($H \rightarrow TI$).⁶⁸ He also supports his emendation by referring to two epigrams from the Greek Anthology which begin $\tilde{\eta}$ καλὸν, Satyrus A.P. 10.19 = F.G.E. 341 and Marianus A.P. 9.668. Since there is an evident problem with accuracy of accents in the Anacreontea (for example, in this line the ms καλὸν was corrected to καλόν), it seems reasonable to assume that the scribe may have unintentionally put the accent on $\tau\acute{\iota}$. The metre which results from West's emendation (-uu-uu--) is the same as that found in lines 5 (s.v.l.) and 6,⁶⁹ and can be regarded as an anaclastic.

Line 2: ms ὄπου λειμῶνες κομῶσιν. There are metrical problems in the second syllable, which should be short, and in the fourth, where a short syllable is needed. The short diphthong needed in ὄπου is found elsewhere in the Anacreontea (cf. 40.4n).

Line 3: ms ὄπου λεπτήν ἡδυτάτην. The metrical faults are once again in the

second and fourth syllables. The long vowel α needed in the seventh syllable may be accepted because of the placement of the accent (cf. 40.1n). For ὄποι, cf. line 2. West adopts Barnes' emendation λεπτός, which agrees with Ζέφυρος in line 4, correcting the metre in the fourth syllable.

Line 4: ms ἀναπνεῖ Ζέφυρος δῶρον. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable. The vowel υ in Ζέφυρος is always short but may have been considered long in this instance because of its dichronic nature (cf. 37.3, 5).

Line 5: ms κλήμα τὸ βάκχειον εἶδεν. Stephanus emended the illogical εἶδεν to ἴδεν. This gives a choriambic dimeter line (-uu--uu-), not found elsewhere in the Anacreontea. West accepts the alternative βάκχιον, offered by the scribe in the text. If ἴδεν is scanned with long vowel ι, then there is an ionic (uu--) in the second metron. The metre -uu-uu-- can be found in line 1 and 6 of this poem.

Line 6: ms χόπὸ τὰ πέταλα δῶνάι. A metrical difficulty is posed by the word πετάλα. The impulse is to consider the vowel ε long (cf. 37.11; 40.7n) which would give the same metre as in lines 1 and possibly 5, -uu-uu--.

Another possibility is to count the first vowel α long, giving the metre -uuu-u-- which is found in other poems (cf. 34.7n). Bergk⁴ comments that the scribe intended to write πέτηλα.

Line 7: Ionic Dimeter. The long vowel ε needed in the seventh syllable may be acceptable because of the placement of the accent (cf. 40.1n, 7).

Line 8: Catalectic Iambic Dimeter (hemiambic) with choriamb in the first metron -uu-u--.

Anacreontea 42

I yearn for the dances
of fun-loving Dionysus,
and I find pleasure whenever
I play my lyre in the company of a young drinking-mate.

But most of all I love
 to wreath my temples
 with garlands of hyacinths
 and play with maidens.
 My heart does not know malice.
 I do not know murderous malice.
 I run from the lightweight darts
 of the insult-loving tongue;
 I despise drunken brawls.
 At banquets with much merry-making
 in the company of fresh, young maidens
 dancing to the lyre
 may I enjoy a peaceful existence.

Metre: anacreontic

The metrical arrangement suggests four quatrains, each consisting of an ionic dimeter line followed by three anacreontic lines. Such a scheme involves the deletion of one line (cf. $\lambda.10n$).

Lines 1, 5, 9 and 14: Ionic Dimeters.

Line 3: ὄτᾶν. Long vowel α in this word is evident only in later Greek poetry.⁷⁰ There is a similar occurrence at Anacreontea 48.1 and possibly also at 49.3 (cf. note).

Line 10: This line bears a very close resemblance to line 9 and may be an example of dittography. Bergk⁷¹ brackets line 9 while West feels that line 10 should be deleted. The removal of one line is necessary if the division into quatrains is retained. The word δαΐκτόν ($\lambda.10$) is indeed questionable. It is difficult to see how a scribe could have inserted this word through mistranscription of the adjacent lines. As an adjective modifying φθόνον, δαΐκτόν would have the passive meaning 'to be slain' which does not seem suitable in this context. Pauw suggested the noun δαΐκτήν, a unique usage with a meaning equivalent to ὁ δαΐκτῆρ, 'murderer', which would be in apposition to φθόνον and have an adjectival force in the sense of 'heartrending malice'.⁷² (Cf. a similar adjectival force of ὁ δαΐκτῆρ at Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes 916 ... δαΐκτῆρ γόος, 'heartrending wailing'.) The translation

'murderous' seems to be more exact than 'heartrending' in both of these adjectival usages.

Line 12: The ms reads ἔφειυγε which Stephanus corrected to φεύγω. The resulting metre is hemiambic through contraction of the initial two short syllables (cf. 17.35, 45). Rose proposed ἔφουγον which regularizes the metre but seems out of place as the only aorist verb in the whole poem.

Line 15: uu-uuuu-- The fifth syllable of the anacreontic has been resolved (cf. 43.3; 46.6). Bergk commented that such metrical licence is acceptable in the Anacreontea.⁷³

Anacreontea 43

Having tied garlands of roses
 around our temples
 let us get drunk, laughing gently.
 To the accompaniment of the lyre
 let a girl with delicate ankles dance,
 carrying a thyrsus teeming
 with ivy-wreathed tresses.
 At the same time, let a boy with luscious hair,
 a breath of sweetness coming from his mouth,
 play upon the lyre
 pouring forth clear-toned song.
 Love, the golden-haired,
 together with beautiful Lyaeus
 and beautiful Cythere
 will take part in the revel,
 charming for old men, with joy.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 3: uu-uuuu-- The fifth syllable has been resolved (cf. 42.15n).

Line 5: Ionic Dimeter. Barnes suggested βρόντας, 'teeming', instead of the ms βρέμοντας, 'booming'. West retains the ms text, citing as a parallel⁷⁴ John of Gaza 6.7 (Venus) ζαθέω βρέμουσα κέντρῳ, 'booming with the sacred goad'. Although this verb is often associated with Dionysus and his festivities (e.g. ὁ βρόμιος 'the booming one', for Dionysus; Eur. Bac. 160-1 λωτὸς ... βρέμη, 'the pipe booms'), the description of a thyrsus as 'booming'

is questionable.

Lines 14 and 16: --u-u-- The first two short syllables have been contracted into one long syllable.

Anacreontea 44

Let us mingle the rose
of the Loves with Dionysus;
after we have tied
the lovely-petalled rose around our temples
let us drink, laughing gently.
Rose, the best flower,
rose, darling of spring,
roses, delightful to the gods as well,
rose, with which the child of Cythere
decorates the fine, youthful down of his cheeks
dancing along with the Graces;
garland me, and playing my lyre
in your shrine, Dionysus,
in the company of a deep-bosomed girl,
having crowned myself
with garlands of roses,
I will dance.

Metre: anacreontic

Edmonds regards this ode as isosyllabic.⁷⁵ The poem may be divided into three five-line stanzas, if line 8 is excised (cf. note).

Line 2: Ionic Dimeter with contracted biceps in first metron ---|uu--.

Line 5: --uuuu-- The first two syllables have been contracted and the fifth resolved.

Line 8: Bracketed by West and Bergk in order to maintain stanza pattern.

Line 12: ms στῆψον οὖν με, καὶ λυρίξω. According to the ms text, which West accepts, the metre is -u-u-u-- (cf. 38.16), with long first syllable.

Sitzler's emendation στεφάνου regularizes the metre. Rose's στέφε νῦν με also seems reasonable. In light of the other metrical irregularities in this poem, however (lines 2, 5 and 13), it does not seem essential to arrive at metrical perfection here either. If the pattern of stanza division is followed, though,

then perhaps this line should conform to the pure anacreontic metre which the first lines of the other stanzas (lines 1 and 6) have.

Line 13: uu-uu-u-- (cf. 40.8n). Briosos Sánchez mentions the possibility of synizesis in the word $\Delta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$ (so also of $\xi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ at 46.1)⁷⁶ but describes this as a 'curious phenomenon'. (The only acceptable instance of synizesis in the Anacreontea seems to be in the Ionic genitive ending $-\epsilon\omega$ 8.1 $\Gamma\acute{\omicron}\gamma\epsilon\omega$).

Line 14: Ionic Dimeter.

Anacreontea 45

Whenever I drink wine
my worries fall asleep.
What are troubles to me?
What are laments to me?
What do I care about worries?
I have to die even if I do not want to.
Why should I be confused about life?
So then, let us drink wine,
that of beautiful Lyaeus.
For through my drinking
my worries fall asleep.

Metre: The poem demonstrates a variety of metre, mainly hemiambs and iambic dimeters. It belongs to West's Group 3 of prosodically degenerate poems.

Hemiambs: Lines 2, 4, 7, 8 and 10.

Line 1: The word $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ is metrically difficult. Short vowel ι also seems to be needed at Anacreontea 6.5 and 59.4.

Line 9: Prosodic error: $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (cf. 49.3n $\epsilon\iota\varsigma?$).

Acatalectic Iambic Dimeters: Lines 3 and 5.

Anacreontic: Line 6.

Anacreontea 46

Look, how the Graces are making
the roses bloom since spring has come;

look, how the waves of the sea
 are quieted in the calm;
 look, how the duck takes a dive;
 look, how the crane travels about.
 Titan has shone out with force,
 the shadows of the clouds are shaken about,
 the fields of men are bright,
 †[the earth †buds with fruit]
 the olive-tree buckles from its fruit;
 the flowing juice of Bromius fills out,
 leaf by leaf, branch by branch.
 the picked fruit abounds ...†

Metre: anacreontic

Line 1: uu-uu-u-- (cf. 40.8n).

Lines 3 and 5: Ionic Dimeter.

Line 6: uu-uuuu-- The fifth syllable has been resolved.

Line 7: ms ἀφελῶς. West keeps the ms text ἀφελῶς, 'simply'. Bergk proposed ζαφελῶς, 'harshly' which seems more appropriate to Titan, the Sun-God.

Lines 10-14: ms καρποῖσι γαῖα προκίπτει
 καρπὸς ἐλαίας προκίπτει
 βρομίου στέφεται νᾶμα
 κατὰ φύλλον κατακλόνον
 καθειλὼν ἤνθησε καρπός.

These lines have been variously emended. Lines 10 and 11 are unmetrical and appear to be miscopied through dittography. Line 12 is also unmetrical and the meaning is unclear. Stephanus' emendation κατὰ κλώνια at the end of line 13 seems correct. In line 14, καθειλὼν, 'destroying', was emended to θαλέθων 'blooming' by Hermann and ἤνθησε was corrected to ἤνθισε 'bloomed' by Barnes. West gives the following conjectures on this troubled passage:⁷⁷

Line 10: 'καρποῖσι γαῖα χαίρει 'the earth rejoices with fruit' (contraction of first two syllables --u-u--).

Line 11: θαλλὸς νέον προκίπτει 'the young shoot peeps out anew' (contraction of first two syllables). West supposes that καρπὸς ἐλαίας was a gloss on the word θαλλὸς (Hesych., Suda θαλλὸς· κλάδος ἐλαίας κτλ.) which was incorporated

into the text (adscript).

Line 12: West offers three alternatives: (1) Βρομίου σφριγγῶ τὸ νᾶμα, 'the juice of Bromius is bursting'. (2) Βρομίου τρέφεται νᾶμα, 'the juice of Bromius is growing'. The metre is faulty here. If τρέφεται is admitted, the line may be regarded as an ionic dimeter. The acute accent on the vowel ε could have a lengthening effect. (3) Βρόμιος τρέφει τὸ νᾶμα, 'Bromius nurtures the juice'.

Lines 13-14: κατὰ φύλλον, καθ' ἔλινον,
κατὰ κλῶν, ἤνθησε καρπός

Upon leaf, upon vine-tendril,
upon branch, fruit strews flowers

But the ms ἤνθησε, 'flowers', makes better sense than Barnes' emendation ἤνθησε, 'strews with flowers'.

Anacreontea 47

Although I am old,
I drink more than youths;
and when I must dance,
I will dance in the middle
imitating Silenus
holding my wine-skin as my stick;
my cane is worthless,
If there is someone who wants to fight
let him come up and fight.
My cup, boy,
mix the honey-sweet wine
and bring it to me.
Although I am old,
I drink more than youths.

Metre: hemiambic

Line 3: ms κᾶν δεήσῃ με χορεύειν. This is the only eight-syllable line in the poem. Its metre -u--uu-- is very close to ionic dimeter which seems incongruous with the iambic-based metre in the rest of the poem. Hermann's emendation κᾶν μὲν δέῃ χορεύειν corrects the problem. West suggests either κᾶν με δέῃ or κᾶν δέῃ με in his apparatus criticus as two other possibilities but prints the ms reading in his text. He groups this poem with those which

demonstrate metrical difficulties (Group 2).

Line 6: -uu-u-- choriamb in first metron.

Line 7: u---u-- The third syllable is long (cf. lines 9 and 11).

Line 9: ms παρέστω καὶ μαχέσθω. There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be short (cf. 14.25 n for shortened long final syllables). West emends the line to παρέστω γάρ, μαχέσθω which is identical to Anacreon 429.2. With this logical alteration, the line becomes a pure hemiambic. However, the line may be correct since lines 7 and 11 also have a long third syllable.

Line 11: ms μελίχρουν οἶνον ἠδὸν. The third syllable is long (cf. lines 7 and 9). West follows Stephanus' emendation μελιχρὸν (cf. Anacreon 383 μελιχρὸν οἶνον).

Line 12: -uu-u-- choriamb in first metron.

Line 14: Bergk² repeated line 2 to complete the couplet. West⁷⁸ proposes a new line order for this poem yielding three five-lined stanzas. In West's arrangement, the first stanza consists of lines 1, 2, 6 and 7 with a lacuna after line 2, the second stanza, lines 8 to 12 and the third stanza, lines 13, 14, 3, 4 and 5. The translation of the text he presents is:

Although I am old,
I drink more than youths

* * *

holding my wine-skin as my stick;
my cane is worthless.

If there is someone who wants to fight,
let him fight, for it is possible.

My cup, boy,
mix the honey-sweet wine
and bring it to me.

Although I am old,
I drink more than youths;
and when I must dance
I will dance in the middle
imitating Silenus.

Anacreontea 48

Whenever Bacchus comes,
 worries fall asleep;
 I imagine that I own the wealth of Croesus;
 I want to sing beautifully;
 I lie crowned with ivy
 and I stamp out all my troubles in my heart.
 Make the preparations so I may drink.
 Bring me my cup, boy;
 for it would be far better
 to lie drunk than dead.

Metre: hemiambic - lines 1-7

anacreontic - lines 8-10

Line 1: ὄτρυν (cf. 42.3n).

Anacreontea 49

Whenever Bacchus, the child of Zeus,
 the one who lets worries go, Lyaeus,
 comes into my heart, the wine-giver,
 he teaches me to dance.
 But I have a further delight
 although I love wine;
 besides the beat of the dance, besides the song,
 Aphrodite delights me,
 I want to dance again.

Metre: hemiambic and anacreontic

The metre is difficult. Campbell distinguishes two sections: lines 1-4, anacletic anacreontics or Ionic Dimeters and lines 5-10, hemiambics.⁷⁹ Brioso Sánchez describes the poem as containing 'a series of difficulties and criminal substitutions'.⁸⁰ It is included in that group of poems the prosody of which West considers most degenerate (Group 3).

Line 1: -uuu-u-- The first two syllables have been contracted and the third resolved (dactyl for anapaest cf. 34.7). West speculates on the possibility of τού Διός⁸¹ (for short ou diphthong cf. 40.4n). Edmonds suggests that there is an 'incorporated gloss' (adscript) in the line, which should therefore be deleted.⁸²

Line 2: The metre is ionic dimeter, either pure, with a prosodic error in the second syllable (λυσίφρων cf. 37.3, 5 for variable quantity of vowel υ), or anaclastic in the first metron (u-u-uu--). Barnes wished to remove the second article ὁ, thereby creating a hemiambic line.

Line 3: One difficulty lies in the incorrect quantity of the vowel α in ὄταν. Elsewhere in the Anacreontea a long vowel is found (cf. 42.3n). Therefore, West raises the possibility that the line is acatalectic iambic dimeter (u-u-u-u-) with prosodic errors in the third syllable (εἰς cf. 45.9 πίνειν) and fourth and fifth syllables (φρένας).⁸³ With short vowel α, however, the line may be considered anacreontic, which solves the metrical problems in the third, fourth and fifth syllables but reveals faults in the sixth (τὰς) and seventh (ἑμάς). Baxter conjectured the hemiambic line ὄταν φρένας τὰς ἀμάς, with vowel α long by position in ὄταν, but the prosodic error τὰς remains uncorrected.

Line 4: ---uu-- Ionic Dimeter with contracted biceps in first metron. (Pherecratean: cf. poem 19; 44.2).

Line 5: Pherecratean u--uu- (cf. 36.16). Brioso Sánchez suggests that the first syllable might be considered long, since the vowel ι is dichronic, noting that the poet was seeking to imitate the metre of line 4.⁸⁴

Line 6: Some prosodical licence must be permitted here. Campbell calls the metre u-uu--- 'impossible'.⁸⁵ Perhaps the line could be hemiambic with prosodical errors in the fourth syllable τῖ^γ (cf. 57.5 τῖς 57.9 νῖν) and fifth syllable καὶ (cf. 14.25n).

Lines 7-10: pure hemiambics.

Anacreontea 50

Whenever I drink wine
then indeed my heart warms up
...
begins to sing a clear-toned song of the Muses.

Whenever I drink wine
 worries are cast away
 and mind-troubling decisions
 to the gales roaring on the sea.

Whenever I drink wine
 then Bacchus, who brings freedom to enjoy fun,
 rocks me with breezes filled with flower scents,
 bringing good cheer with wine.

Whenever I drink wine
 weaving garlands of flowers
 and placing them on my head,
 I celebrate the calmness of life.

Whenever I drink wine
 anointing my body with aromatic perfume
 and cuddling a girl in my arms
 I sing about the Cyprian.

Whenever I drink wine
 baring my soul
 through the aid of the curved cups
 I take delight in the band of youths.

Whenever I drink wine
 this is my only gain,
 this I shall take and carry off;
 for death is shared by everyone.

Metre: anacreontic

The poem is composed of seven quatrains, each beginning with the same line. It belongs to that group which West considers metrically difficult (Group 2).

Line 2: It seems logical to accept Rose's emendation $\mu\eta\gamma$ for the ms $\mu\epsilon\nu$ so that the line becomes a pure ionic dimeter. The reading of Bergk⁴ $\tau\acute{o}\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\delta\upsilon\nu$, which West adopts, shows a prosodic error in the third syllable of the line ($\acute{\epsilon}\mu\delta\upsilon\nu$) (cf. 38.5).

Lines 3 and 4: As Brioso Sánchez correctly points out,⁸⁶ it is possible to sense that there is a lacuna in the text at this point because of the pattern of quatrains evident in the rest of the poem. The text of line 4 is unmetrical and clearly corrupt. West arrives at the following restoration of

the text: <μέλος> ἀρχεται λιγαίνειν
 <ἀναβάλλεται δε> Μούσας
 [my heart] begins to make song
 and strikes up a song of the Muses.

His emendation is based on loci similes.⁸⁷

Line 6: ms. ἀπὸ ρίπτανται μεριμναι (corr. Stephanus). The line may be an ionic dimeter with prosodic error in the fifth syllable (-αι) (cf. 14.25n). The same inconsistency occurs at line 24 (cf. note). Otherwise, the metre is uu---u--- (also at 50.16 and 21) which, as Campbell points out,⁸⁸ has justification in Anacreon 346(2).3, ...ωι πολλήν ὀφείλω. The impulse to resolve the line to an ionic dimeter is strong, however, considering that the second line of each stanza except the last may be an ionic dimeter. There are metrical discrepancies in each case, however, except for line 14 which belongs to the fourth quatrain in the poem.

Line 18: ms μύρω εὐώδει τέγξας Ionic Dimeter. There is a metrical fault in the second syllable which should be short (cf. 14.25 for shortened long vowels of final syllables), unless corruption is admitted in this instance.

Line 22: ms ὑπὸ κυρτοῖς δὲ κυπέλλοις Ionic Dimeter. Since the second line of every other quatrain in this poem except the last may be construed as an ionic dimeter, it seems reasonable to maintain that rhythm here also. The particle δὲ, however, causes an unnecessary break in sense. West accepts Brunck's κυρτοῖσι as a suitable reading.

Line 23: ms τὸν ἐμὸν νόον ἀπλώσας. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be long. Bergk comments that there is a serious fault in this line.⁸⁹ The lengthened second syllable of νόον needed here may be parallel to 38.5 ὀμότροπ̄ον, 41.1 καλὸν and 50.2 ἐμ̄ον.

Line 24: ms θιάσῳ τέρπομαι κούρων. The difficulty lies in the vowel quantities in the word τέρπομαι. If the line is anacreontic (as every fourth line of each quatrain is except the last) then there are three prosodic errors,

τέρπωμα^ν (cf. 14.25 for short diphthongs in final syllables).

Line 26 and 27: -u-u-u-- The first syllable is long (cf. 38.16).

Line 28: ms τὸ θανεῖν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων Ionic Dimeter. The last line of every other quatrain in the poem is anacreontic.

Anacreontea 51

Do not run away from me at the sight of
my grey hair;
do not, because you are
in the bloom of youth, scorn
my affection, dear,
Look, in garlands also
how becoming it is when white lilies
are interwoven with roses.

Metre: hemiambic

Lines 1-3: anaclastic -uu-u--: choriamb in first metron.

Lines 4-5: ms ἄνθος ἀκμαῖόν τὰς ἐμὰς
ἄρα τὰ φίλτρα διώξεις

The main problems with the ms text as it stands are that these lines have eight syllables, whereas the other lines have seven (accepting Stephanus' logical emendation κᾶν for the ms κᾶν ἐν in line 6), that τὰς ἐμὰς has no noun to modify, and that διώξεις makes better sense in the subjunctive διώξης (cf. φύγης in line 1). Stephanus offered the emendation:

ἄνθος ἀκμαῖόν ἄρας
τάμα φίλτρα διώξης.

The change at the end of line 4 and beginning of line 5 seems radical. Many editors have proposed various alternatives. Those which retain the hemiambic metre, as for example the emendation given by Crusius ἄνθος ἀκμαῖον τᾶμα/
φίλτρα, φίλα, διώξης, are most acceptable in this poem. West, however, keeps the eight-syllable line of the ms text in line 4, since other hemiambic poems in the Anacreontea admit some acatalectic dimeters (e.g. 45.3, 5), but devises a hemiambic for line 5:⁹⁰

ἄνθος ἀκμαῖον, τᾶς ἐμαῖς
 ὥρας φίλτρα διώξης.

He translates this passage, "And do not, because you still have the flower of your prime, spurn the charms of my season." The single eight-syllable line in West's version seems out of place, nevertheless.

Line 6: pherecratean u--uū--.

Anacreontea 52(a) (52 West)

Why do you instruct me in the laws
 and restrictions of orators?
 What are all these arguments to me
 which bring no benefit?
 Instead, instruct me in drinking
 the delicate drink of Lyaeus;
 instead, instruct me in playing
 with golden Aphrodite.

Metre: anacreontic

Both metre and content suggest a division into two quatrains.

Lines 2, 4, 5, 7: -u-u-u-- The first two short syllables have been contracted (hemiambic).

Lines 6 and 8: Ionic Dimeters.

Anacreontea 52(b) (52A West)

Grey hairs are the garland for my head;
 bring water, pour in the wine, boy;
 numb my soul.
 Shortly you will bury me when I am no longer alive;
 the one who is dead feels no desire.

Metre: anacreontic

Edmonds considers this poem isosyllabic.⁹¹ West includes it in the group of prosodically degenerate poems (Group 2).

Line 1: There is a metrical problem in the seventh syllable $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$. This accusative form of $\tau\acute{o}$ (η) $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ is found only in late Greek.⁹² The same confusion over the quantity of the first vowel in a word can also be seen in the noun

χάρις at 38.8 (cf. note). The accent may have a lengthening effect (cf. 40.1n).

Line 3: Ionic Dimeter. The first two short syllables have been contracted into one long syllable. A prosodic error arises at the fourth syllable however, μου (cf. 40.4n). If the line is regarded as an anacreontic, the error shifts to the third syllable: ψυχῆν.

Lines 4 and 5: Ionic Dimeter.

Anacreontea 53

When I observe you amongst
 a group of youths, I feel young.
 Then indeed, then I fly to the dance,
 even though I am an old man.
 I am out of my mind, Cybebe;
 Give me a garland; I want to be garlanded.
 Grey old age is far away;
 I will dance among youths as a youth,
 and let someone bring me
 the juice of the fruit of Dionysus,
 so that he might behold the fortitude of an old man,
 one who has learned to speak,
 one who has learned to drink
 and to go mad with decorum.

Metre: anacreontic

Lines 1-2: ms Ὅτ' ἐγὼ σὲ νέοις ὀμίλου
 ἔσορων παρέστιν ἦβα

The text as it stands makes neither metrical nor syntactic sense. The sign '/. has been placed both within the lines and in the margin. There has also been an attempt to cross out the pronoun σε. Stephanus emended the text to:

Ὅτ' ἐγὼ νέων ὀμιλον
 ἔσορῶ, παρέστιν ἦβα.

West adopts and improves on Stephanus' reading, invalidating any emendation that tries to restore the pronoun σε because "the poem has no addressee", as, for example, Preisendanz's Ὅτ' ἐγὼ νέοις σ' ὀμιλοῦν<τ> which would also give the only example of synapheia in the Anacreontea.⁹³ In a few other poems, however, there is an addressee. A boy is asked to bring wine at Anacreontea 48.8 and 60B.1 (fr. 2.1 West). In poem 54, the poet is showing a painting to a boy and

addresses him ὦ παῖ (l.1). West also conjectures that the pronoun σε originated in the text through a misunderstanding of 'ς, the preposition ἐς with prodelision (cf. 18.7 and 25.5).

Line 5: ms περιμεινόν με κυθήβα. Salmasius deciphered the first word to read παραμείνομαι, 'I am out of my mind'. West finds difficulty in keeping the vocative form κυθήβα since the poet is speaking to his friends and not to Cybele. He proposes κυθηβῶ, 'I am frantic'. It is possible that the poet might call out to Cybele since he is experiencing the same madness as she once felt (cf. 12.1).

Line 7: ms πολιὸν δὲ γῆρας ἐκάς (ἐκάς corr.). There is a metrical fault in the seventh syllable which should be long. The change in word order proposed by Bothe πολιὸν δ' ἐκάς τὸ γῆρας alleviates the problem. West accepts Bergk's solution πολιὸν δε γῆρας ἐκδύς, 'having shed old age'.

Line 14: Ionic dimeter.

Anacreontea 54

This bull, boy,
 appears to me to be Zeus;
 for he is carrying a woman
 of Sidon upon his back;
 he is travelling across the wide sea
 and is cleaving the wave with his hooves.
 Any other bull would not have
 separated from its herd
 and travelled on the sea,
 except that one alone.

Metre: hemiambic

West includes this poem with those which demonstrate metrical problems (Group 2).

Line 2: εἶνάτ' (cf. 38.9n).

Line 8: The line may be considered anaclastic with a choriamb in the first metron (cf. e.g. 4.16, 17). Since there are two other prosodic errors

in the poem, West speculates on the possibility of ἀγέλης for a regular hemiambic line.⁹⁴

Line 10: There is a metrical problem in the fourth syllable μόνος (cf. 50.23n). Stephanus proposed μόνος γ' and Bergk⁴ the Ionic form μούνος (cf. 34.8n) either of which removes the difficulty.

Anacreontea 55

Besides garland-bringing spring,
 I am fond of raising clear-tone song
 about its companion, the delicate rose.
 For it is the breath of the gods
 and it is the delight of mortals,
 and the Graces' glory in spring,
 and joy of Aphrodite
 and of the flower-decked Loves;
 it is also a theme for poetry
 and the exquisite plant of the Muses;
 it is also sweet for the one who makes an attempt
 upon thorny pathways,
 and sweet also to pick and knead soft
 in hands which are supple and gentle,
 drawing near to the flower of Love.
 How would it be at parties and banquets
 and festivals of Dionysus
 if there were no rose?
 Rosy-fingered Dawn,
 rosy-armed Nymphs,
 rosy-skinned Aphrodite, too--
 these are the names given by the poets.
 The pleasure is the same for the non-poet;
 it gives help to the sick,
 it defends the dead,
 it outwits time;
 old age is lovely for roses,
 maintaining the perfume of its youth.
 Come then, let us mention its origin;
 when the sea brought forth
 Cythere, bedewed with foam,
 from its blue-grey depths
 and Zeus revealed Athena, who raises the din of war,
 from his head, an awesome sight for Olympus,
 at that time also the earth blossomed forth
 with the wondrous new burgeon of roses,
 a creatively-wrought offspring;
 and so that the rose might be
 just like the blessed gods,
 by moistening it with nectar,
 from the thorn Lyaeus brought forth a new sprout,
 a proud, immortal plant.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 3: The ms $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ is metrically faulty and gives no sense. Hermann's emendation $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\xi\delta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ seems logical. West innovatively suggests⁹⁵ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ (or $\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$, 'with tender buds', but this is difficult to understand syntactically.

Line 5: ms $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}\ \beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \chi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha$. The scribe has marked the last word with the sign \prime . One syllable seems to be missing. Bergk⁴ rejected Salmasius' invention $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ and accepted the emendation of Stephanus, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha$ despite the redundancy of $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\ \dots\ \tau\acute{\omicron}$. West adopts Bothe's proposal $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}\ \beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha$ which is close to the text. Perhaps the scribe copied the genitive plural ending of $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ from line 4.

Line 11. ms $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\ \overset{\tau}{\pi}\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$. The scribe has abbreviated the third word (suspension) (cf. line 13). An accusative ending would be expected but Baxter's interpretation as the dative achieves clearer meaning, 'It is also sweet for the one who makes ...'. West sees greater corruption⁹⁶ (the line is marked \prime .) and conjectures $\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, '(It is also sweet) to gather while toiling on thorny paths'.

Line 13: ms $\overset{\tau}{\lambda}\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$ cf. line 11. West reads $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$.

Line 14: ms $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma$. West proposes $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\phi\omicron\nu$ agreeing with $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ (l.15). This alleviates the absence of connection in $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota\ \dots\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (probably written through dittography).

Line 15: ms $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\prime$. This must be a mistranscription of $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\prime$ yet the exact implication of the verb here is uncertain. 'Drawing near' is a possible translation. West offers the explanation that the fragrance of the rose would be brought out by warming the petals in one's hands. He suggests $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\prime$ so that the passage would mean, "drawing forth (the fragrance of) the delicate rose". This is a novel idea.

Line 16: ms ὠσοφῶ τὸ δ'αὐτῷ τερπνόν. The first word is an enigma.

Bothe proposed the emendation ἀσοφῶ τὸδ' αὐτὸ τερπνόν which seems possible if the line is moved, as Preisandanz suggested, to follow line 23 where the word σοφῶν is found. Bergk⁴ keeps the normal line order and conjectures: τί δὲ φῶ; τί δ'ἂν τὸ τερπνόν ..., 'What can I say? What delight would there be ... (without the rose)?'. West also keeps the line in place, devising: ἀπορῶ τὸδ' αὖ, τί τερπνόν, which he translates, 'And then again, I don't know what pleasure there would be in feasting ... without the rose'.⁹⁷

Line 41: Ionic Dimeter.

Anacreontea 56

The god who brings
fortitude to the one in difficulties,
fearlessness to the youth in love,
beauty to the one who dances in drunkenness
has come down, bearing
a delicate love-charm to mortals,
a drink alleviating sighs,
offspring of the vine -- it is wine;
he keeps it locked up
in the fruit of the vine,
so that, wherever they snip off a bunch
all may remain healthy,
healthy with a good-looking body
and healthy with a sweet disposition
until the appearance of another year.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 6: Stephanus wrote πότον, 'drink', which the Corrector of the text changed to πόθον, 'desire'. West accepts this correction; the line would then be translated, "(bearing) desire without sadness". The context is better suited to Stephanus' reading, however, since wine is clearly the focus in the last ten lines of the poem.

Line 8: ms πεπεδημένον ὀπώραις. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be long. Bergk⁴ switched the words in lines 8 and 9 which

restored the metre and retained the sense. West keeps the ms text as it stands. This would be the only metrical error in the poem (cf. 50.23 n for $\bar{\omega}$).

Anacreontea 57

Who crafted the sea?
 What skill of inspired madness
 poured out the wave on a dish?
 Who engraved lovely, white Cypris
 upon the back of the sea,
 exalted in his mind to the gods,
 the beginning of the nature of the blessed ones?
 He displayed her naked
 hiding with waves only that
 which must not be seen.
 Wandering upon them like seaweed,
 Moving her soft-skinned body
 in a voyage through the calm sea,
 she drags a wake along her track.
 Above her rosy breasts,
 below her soft neck
 a great wave divides her skin.
 In the middle of the furrow, Cypris
 comes into view in the calm sea
 like a lily woven among violets.
 Overtop the silver,
 upon dancing dolphins,
 Love, deceiving the mind of mortals,
 and Desire are carried, laughing,
 and the circular chorus of fishes
 diving in the waves
 also play about the body of the Paphian
 where she swims, laughing.

Metre: anacreontic

West includes this poem in that group which shows altered vowel quantities and other prosodical errors (Group 2).

Line 5: ms ἄρα τίς ὑπερθε λευκάν. There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be long. The vowel ι is dichronic and the syllable may thus be considered long in this instance (cf. 57.9, 49.6?).

Line 7: ms νόος ἐς θεοῦς ἀερθείς. This line, as well as line 8, is difficult to understand. Bergk explains that the poet is saying, 'qui Venerem

caelari, eius animus in coelum elatus est ibique vidit principium generis deorum', "The mind of the man who engraved Venus was raised up to heaven and there he saw the origin of the race of the gods". West accepts the ms text: 'what mind raised to the gods?'.⁹⁸ Barnes' emendation νόον (accusative of respect, 'raised as to his mind') perhaps is more acceptable syntactically. Such a profound line seems enigmatic in the Anacreontea.

Line 9: ms ὁ δέ νιν ἔδειξε γυμνά. There is a metrical fault in the third syllable which should be long. Because the vowel ι is dichronic, however, it may be considered long here (cf. line 5).

Line 16: ms ῥόθιον παροθεν ἔλκει. West keeps the ms text which perhaps means, "draws along a wave before her". Sitzler's emendation παρ'οἴμον 'beside (along) her track' makes somewhat clearer sense. Edmonds' reading ὀπισθεν 'behind' is perfect in sense, yet it is unmetrical, and the corruption is difficult to explain.

Line 19: μέγα κύμα πρῶτα τέμνει. West retains the ms text, 'a great wave makes a cut first'. Sitzler's emendation χρῶτα is elliptic, perhaps taken to mean 'a great wave ... divides her skin'.

Line 23: ms ὑπέρ ἀργύρω. As West points out, the preposition ὑπέρ rarely takes the dative.⁹⁹ He conjectures the compound ὑπεραργύροις or possibly περιαργύροις, both of which connote composition from silver, agreeing with δελφῖσι 'dolphins' in line 24. He finds three literary parallels for dolphins crafted in silver: [Hes.] Sc. 2.12f., Quintus of Smyrna 5.95f., Virgil, Aen. 8.673f.).

Lines 25-26: ms δολερὸν νόον μερόπων
 Ἔρωσ Ἰμερος γελῶτες [Barnes Ἔρος]

West offers the following conjecture as a clarification of these difficult

lines: δολερὸν νόον μετοίσων
 Ἔρος, Ἰμερος γελῶν τε

Eros, about to change his tricky mind
and laughing Desire.

The positioning of $\tau\epsilon$ at the end of the line may be compared to that of the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (cf. 15.6n).

Anacreontea 58

Whenever runaway gold
flees away from me on swift,
wind-swift feet
(and he always does, he always flees away from me)
I do not chase after him. For who
wants to hunt after something he hates?
But immediately when I am separated
from runaway gold
I cast the troubles of my heart
to the breezes to carry off
and taking my lyre I sing
love songs.
However, when my heart has taught me
to scorn him
all of a sudden the runaway
sneaks back
bringing to me an intoxication of my wits
so that by seizing him I may become
negligent of my sweet lyre.
Untrustworthy, untrustworthy gold,
in vain do you charm me with your tricks;
the strings of my lyre please
the Desires more than gold, believe me.
For you instilled in men a lust
for deception and coveting, you indeed;
but my lyre mixes cups of desires
which cause no pain to marriage chambers
and chaste kisses.
Whenever you want, you flee away,
but I would not abandon
the song of my lyre even for a little.
Instead of the Muses
you please strangers who are conniving and untrustworthy,
but for me, the one who plays the lyre,
the Muse dwells in my heart.
†May you stir up your clamour,
may you shine up your sparkle†

Metre: hemiambic

Edmonds considers this poem isosyllabic.¹⁰⁰ It belongs to that group
which West regards as somewhat prosodically degenerate (Group 2).

Line 2: ms ὅταν με φεόγη κραίπνοϊς. The metre u-u---- is 'hard to accept' according to Campbell.¹⁰¹ West suggests that there is a prosodic error in the fifth syllable. The same metrical problem of a long vowel instead of a short one in the fifth syllable is present in line 5 (διώκω) and line 8 (τῷ).

Line 6: West accepts A. le Fèvre's emendation μισοῦν for the ms μισῶν: "Who hunts after something which hates?". The ms text seems to make better sense as it stands, however.

Lines 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 33: Acatalectic Iambic Dimeter.

Line 18: ms λύρης γένωμαι λαρόν. There is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable which should be short. (Cf. 14.25 for shortened final long diphthongs).

Lines 21-22: ms πλέον χρυσοῦ νεῦρα
πόθους κεκλυῖ αδεις

These lines have been marked */. by the scribe. West proposes a new conjecture,¹⁰² which keeps remarkably close to the ms reading:

πλέον λύρης σου νεῦρα
πόθους κέκευθεν ἀδεις.

The strings of my lyre contain
sweet desires more than you do.

In line 21, according to West's text, there is a metrical fault in the fifth syllable. He explains that the diphthong may be short here (cf. lines 2, 5 and 8 for long vowels in the fifth syllable where short is needed; cf. also 40.4n οὐκ).

Lines 35-36: ms ἀχανδέας ὀρίνεϊς
ἀγλαν τε λαμπριώχαν / ἀγλαν τελάμπρυνους

The text of these lines is corrupt and has been so indicated by the scribe. The word ἀχανδέας may be a dubious adjective meaning the same as ἀχανέας, 'empty', but it has no noun to modify. The two versions of line 36 are lacking one syllable. Preisendanz proposed:

ἀχᾶν τέαν ὀρίνοις,
αἴγλαν τεᾶν λαμπρύνοις,

May you stir up your clamour,
may you shine up your sparkle.

The abrupt change to addressing the money directly, however, is surprising. West conjectures ἀχᾶν θεᾶ δ'ὀρίνοις for line 35, "May you stir up your clamour, goddess", referring, most likely, to the Muse mentioned in line 34. The crux remains unsolved.

Anacreontea 59

Men along with maidens
carry dark-skinned grape clusters
in baskets upon their shoulders,
and when they have thrown them into the wine-vat
only the men trample
the grapes, letting out the wine,
applauding the god loudly
to the songs of the wine-press
as they watch lovely Bacchus
bubbling up anew in the jars.
Whenever an old man drinks this,
he dances with his trembling feet
shaking his grey hair.
The charming youth having waited
for the maiden ...
... crouched ...
her soft body sprawled
under shady leaves,
heavy with sleep.
Love casting an untimely spell
...
to become a traitor to her marriage.
But the one who has not made her comply through words
holds her tight although she is unwilling.
For Bacchus, drunk, is sporting about
with youths in a disorderly fashion.

Metre: anacreontic

Line 1: -uuu-u-- The first two syllables have been contracted and the second resolved (dactyl for anapaest) (cf. 34.7). Bothe proposes μελαινόχρωτα, 'black-coloured' and the removal of the article τὸν which gives a hemiambic line.

Line 2: ms φέροντες. Stephanus offered the emendation φέρουσιν since there is no finite verb until the fifth line of the text. West speculates that a line is missing after line 3, perhaps one similar to λιγυρὰν χέουσιν ὀμφάν, 'pour forth a clear-toned sound',¹⁰³ which would contain a finite verb.

Line 4: Ionic Dimeter. Bothe rejected this line. Edmonds gives the conjecture κατὰ ληνὸν ἱμβαλόντες, "casting into the wine-press". West prefers the genitive ληνοῦ following the preposition κατὰ, translating, "when they have cast the clusters down into the vat".¹⁰⁴ The only other metrically variant line, perhaps, is line 11.

Line 11: The verb πίνῃ poses the same metrical problem of short vowel ι as at Anacreontea 6.5 and 45.1.

Lines 15-16: Bergk senses lacunae in these lines and offered the conjecture:¹⁰⁵

ἐρατὸς νέος προσέρπει
καταλαμβάνει τ' ἔλυσθεῖς.

... a handsome youth creeps forward
and having crouched down takes hold ...

West proposes the following:

ἐρατὸς νέος πιέζει
περιβάλλεται τ' ἔλυσθεῖς.

... a handsome youth squeezes tight
and embraces [the maiden], having crouched down.

Giangrande¹⁰⁶ regards the ms text as complete, calling line 15 isosyllabic:

ἐρατὸς νέος ἔλυσθεῖς
ἀπαλὸν δέμας χυθεῖσάν.

He translates the passage: "The handsome youth, crouching in order to escape her notice (ἐλυσθεῖς), has ambushed (λοχῆσας) the girl...." The absence of a finite verb (cf. l.2), however, causes difficulty in translating the text as it stands.¹⁰⁷

Line 18: ms ὑπερθε. Bergk proposed ὑπαιθα, 'under' for the ms ὑπερθε,

'above' which seems a necessary correction. Pauw suggested ἔνερθε, 'below', adopted by Edmonds. West retains the ms text, the translation of which, "above shady leaves", makes little sense in context.

Anacreontea 60(a)

I will rouse my lyre;
 there is no prize at stake
 but practice is the part of everyone
 who has achieved the best poetry.
 Picking a clear-toned song
 with my ivory plectrum
 I will shout aloud in Phrygian rhythm,
 just like a swan of the Cayster
 singing an intricate song with its wings
 in harmony with the whistle of the wind.
 You, muse, dance along;
 for the cithara is sacred
 to Phoebus, the laurel and tripod too.
 I tell of the love of Phoebus,
 the futile passion;
 for the girl is chaste;
 she escaped from his goad
 by altering her natural form
 and became planted as a flourishing tree;
 but Phoebus came, Phoebus,
 supposing that he had mastery over the girl,
 and plucking a green leaf
 he thought he was fulfilling Aphrodite.

Metre: anacreontic

Lines 3-4: Stephanus emended the ms πάντα (l.3) to παντί and the ms λαχῶν (l.4) to λαχόντ(ι). West considers the elision of the dative singular ending in λαχόντ', 'of a harshness unparalleled in the collection or indeed anywhere in post-Hellenistic verse'.¹⁰⁸ (Cf. 55.1n and 13n where West reads accusative also.) The text (lines 1-4) he presents runs as follows:

Ἄνὰ βάρβιτον δονήσω
 (ἄεθλος μὲν οὐ πρόκειται
 μελέτη δ' ἔπεισι) πάντα
 σοφίης λαχῶν ἅτων.

I will rouse my lyre
 (there is no prize at stake;
 this is practice) in every way
 having achieved the best poetry.

Line 9: -u-u-u-- The first syllable is long, cf. 38.16.

Lines 12-18: West, like Bergk⁴, detects major textual problems in this passage and proposes several changes.¹⁰⁹ He conjectures a line such as ἔρῳ Δάφνης τὸν οἶτον to follow after line 11 since line 12 appears to be a 'non sequitur'. After line 13, he senses that a passage concerning 'the power of Eros' is missing and offers a fragment of Anacreon's poetry (505(d)) as a possible solution:

<τὸν> Ἔρωτα γὰρ τὸν ἀβρόν
 μέλομαι βρύοντα μέτραις
 πολυανθέμοις ἀείδειν.
 ὄδε καὶ θεῶν δυναστής,
 ὄδε καὶ βροτοῦς δαμάζει

Next, he inserts line 17 as it is written in the ms text (except for Rose's emendation τοῦ for ms τὸν) τοῦ μὲν ἐκπέφευγα κέντρα. Lines 14 and 15 follow without alteration. For the problematic line 16, ms σαόφρων γὰρ ἔστ' ἀκούσας, West follows Bergk's lead in expanding the text to include the mention of a divinity who gives assistance to Daphne. He conjectures:

σαόφρων γὰρ ἔστ' ἐνάξεν
 θεὸν οὐ θέλουσα κόρη
 γαμέτην ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς
 ἔλεησ' ἄπωθ' ἀκούσας.

In line 18, which comes next, West accepts Stephanus' emendation to ἄμειψε explaining that the scribe wrote ἄμειψα through dittography of ἐκπέφευγα in line 17. This passage, according to the text presented by West, may be

translated: I will tell of the fate of Daphne
 For the cithara is sacred to Phoebus,
 the daphne and the tripod too.
 For I am eager to sing of
 graceful Love,
 abounding with flowery garlands.
 He is the master of the gods
 and he subdues mortals as well.
 His goads have I escaped
 by telling of the love of Phoebus,
 the futile passion.

The chaste girl groaned aloud
 not wishing to have the god
 as her husband. Zeus
 had pity on her, hearing her from afar,
 and changed her natural form...

Anacreontea 60 (b)

Well, heart, how is it that you are in a state of madness,
 mad in the finest madness?
 Come on, get control of your weapon
 so that having hit the mark you may get away.
 Relinquish the bow of Aphrodite
 with which she defeated the gods;
 imitate Anacreon
 the singer famous in song.
 Drink the cup to the boys,
 the lovely cup of words.
 Receiving encouragement
 from the drink of nectar
 let us flee the fiery dogstar.

Metre: anacreontic

Bergk separated 60(a) from 60(b) sensing that the first poem was complete in itself.¹¹⁰ An abrupt change in subject is evident at the point of division and the separation seems correct. Rose disagreed with Bergk.¹¹¹ West keeps the poem intact.

Line 6: ms ὄς. Portus emended the text to ὄ. West retains the ms reading as does Giangrande, who translates the passage, "but leave the bow of Aphrodite alone, because it vanquished gods".¹¹²

Line 13: ms φυγόντες. Mehlhorn provided the emendation φύγωμεν which enables the poem to come to a conclusion. West keeps the ms reading since, as Barnes suspected, the poem may be incomplete.

Anacreontea 60B (West Fr. 2)

Bring water, bring wine boy,
 inebriate and numb me;
 My wine-cup tells
 what I must become,

Metre: anacreontic

Anacreontea 61B (West Fr. 4)

Why do you flee me, the old man?

Metre: anacreontic with fault in fourth syllable or ionic dimeter with fault
in fifth syllable.

Anacreontea 62B (West Fr. 3)

For this woman seems to hear
if anyone wants to speak.

Metre: anacreontic

West Fr. 1 (Anacr. PMG 505 (a), cf. 60.14ff. West).

For I am eager to sing
about graceful Love
abounding with flowery garlands.
He is the master of the gods
and he subdues mortals as well.

Metre: anacreontic

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. West Pr. 206.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 206-7
4. West GM 17. This feature is typical of late Greek. The letter ζ developed into a single consonantal sound (z) at the beginning of words, thereby losing its lengthening force.
5. Since lines 16, 17 and 19 all have a choriamb (-uu-) in the first metron, perhaps line 18 should be considered the same to keep the metrical pattern. Maas (1962 p.83) points out that χρύσεος may have short or long vowel u in Pindar and other poets. (Cf. LSJ s.v. χρύσεος for short u used by lyric poets.)
6. Edmonds (1931), 10.
7. Bergk⁴, 300.
8. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 20.
9. Ibid.
10. Bergk⁴, 300.
11. West Pr. 208.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. LSJ s.v. δς.
15. Bergk⁴, 302.
16. LSJ Suppl. s.v. λάλος.
17. LSJ s.v. χελιδών.
18. LSJ s.v. ὕδωρ.
19. Cf. Maas (1962), 83. The quantities of the vowels α, ι, υ and of the diphthongs αι, οι may be ambiguous when they precede another vowel in the same word. Maas cites ὕδωρ and χρύσεος (cf. my n.5) as examples.
20. Giangrande (1975), p.179) supports the ms text, explaining that the adjective κυματώδης denoted 'a sea-shore consisting of sand' in late Greek. The passages he cites as references, however, (Lucian. Hermot. 8.4; Timot. 56; Longin. 3.28.) are textually variant.

21. Edmonds (1931), 35.
22. Giangrande (1975), 179-180.
23. West Pr. 209. Regarding West's conjecture ἀγει παρωθείς, cf. the periphrastic constructions with ἀγω, e.g. ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν = ἡσυχάζειν, 'be silent', (Xen. Anab. 3.1.14); cf. also perfect periphrastic with ἔχω, e.g. θαυμάσας ἔχω, 'I am in a state of madness' (Soph. Phil. 1326).
24. Ibid. 209-210.
25. Bergk⁴, 305.
26. West Pr. 209 n.3; cf. Maas (1962), 13ff.; West GM 162ff. In late Greek poetry, the distinction between long and short vowels was gradually abandoned.
27. West (1984), 15.2 ap. crit. The defence West finds (loc. cit.) in Theocritus 1.78 ἔρασσι requires comment. The word ἔρασσι (also ἔρατα at Theoc. 2.149), from ἔραμαι, 'I love', occurs in the last foot of the hexameter line, the first syllable of which should be long. Unless there has been some confusion of accent in the manuscripts, the occurrence of ἔραμαι is unprecedented; Gow (Theocritus [Cambridge 1965] vol. II, p.19) concedes that there is "serious difficulty" and considers the form eccentric. Willamowitz (cit. Ibid.) believed that Theocritus had made an error. Thus, the reference from Theocritus cannot be used for verification of πέτῃσαι. A late poet may have, nonetheless, been influenced by Theocritus and based πέτῃσαι upon his text.
28. Giangrande (1975), 180; cf. Maas (1962), 14. In late Greek poetry, dichronic vowels (α, ι, υ) were "treated ... with almost unrestricted freedom."
29. West (1984) XII.
30. West Pr. 210.
31. West (1984) c.15.15 app. crit.
32. Bergk⁴, 306.
33. Edmonds (1931) c.16.3 app. crit.
34. West (1984) c.17.35 app. crit.
35. Bergk⁴, 309.
36. West Pr. 210-211.
37. Giangrande (1975), 186.
38. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 28.

39. Brioso Sánchez (1972), 433.
40. Bergk⁴, 312.
41. Ibid. cf. Nic. Eug. 5.141.
42. Ibid.
43. West (1984) XI.
44. Bergk⁴, 314.
45. West Pr. 211.
46. Giangrande (1975), 192.
47. Giangrande ([1975], 196) believes that φιλία here means 'object of love' and equates the usages of ἐλπίς = 'object of my hopes', ἔχθος = 'object of hatred', and ἔρωσ = 'object of love'. There is no such parallel for φιλία.
48. Bergk⁴, 316.
49. Hall (1913), 158, 184.
50. West Pr. 211.
51. Dihle (1966), 109.
52. West Pr. 211-212.
53. West (1984) c.36.4 app. crit.
54. Giangrande (1975), 198.
55. West Pr. 212.
56. Cf. Maas (1962), 14.
57. Bergk⁴, 319.
58. West (1984) XIV.
59. Edmonds (1931), 10.
60. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 28.
61. J. Sitzler, "Zu den Anakreonten", Wochenschrift f. Klass. Philologie (1913), 855 as quoted in Brioso Sánchez (1970), 28.
62. West (1984) XV; cf. West GM 162-63; Maas (1962), 15.
63. West Pr. 212-213.
64. Edmonds (1931), 10.

65. Bergk⁴, 320.
66. LSJ s.v. τὺς III.2.a.
67. West Pr. 213.
68. Hall (1913), 158.
69. This metre may be regarded as a variation of the anacreontic (uu-u-u--) through contraction (syllables 1 and 2), resolution (syllable 3) and anaclasis (syllables 3 and 4).
70. LSJ s.v. ὄταν.
71. Bergk⁴, 321.
72. LSJ s.v. ὁ δαϊκτής.
73. Bergk⁴, 321.
74. West (1984), 43.5 app. crit.
75. Edmonds (1931), 10.
76. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 25-26.
77. West Pr. 213-214.
78. Ibid. 214-215.
79. Campbell, Preface to Anacreontea.
80. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 22.
81. West GM 166.
82. Edmonds (1931), 49.1 app. crit.
83. West (1984) XIV.
84. Brioso Sánchez (1970), 22.
85. Campbell, Preface to Anacreontea.
86. Brioso Sánchez (1972), 434.
87. E.g. Sophronius 17.24 πόθεν ἄρξομαι λιγαίνειν; John of Gaza 4.14 (Bergk⁴, 345) μέλος ὄρνεον λιγαίνει; 1.34 σὺν ἑμοῦ μέλος λιγαίνου.
88. Campbell, Preface to Anacreontea.
89. Bergk⁴, 326.

90. West Pr. 215.
91. Edmonds (1931), 10.
92. LSJ s.v. τὸ κάρα.
93. West Pr. 216.
94. West (1984), XIII.
95. West (1984), 55.3 app. crit.
96. West Pr. 216-217.
97. Ibid. 217.
98. Bergk⁴, 331.
99. West Pr. 217-218.
100. Edmonds (1931), 10.
101. Campbell, Preface to the Anacreontea.
102. West Pr. 218.
103. West (1984), 59.2 app. crit.
104. West Pr. 218.
105. Bergk⁴, 336.
106. Giangrande (1975), 205.
107. Giangrande regards the participle as 'having the same function' as the indicative and does not search for a finite verb. At 60(b).13 he is opposed to changing the ms φυγόντες to φύγωμεν, as suggested by Mehlhorn, because he sees the participle as having the force of an imperative on its own. Giangrande describes this latter feature as being typical of colloquial Greek. (For participles in the Anacreontea, cf. 1.3n above.)
108. West Pr. 219
109. Ibid. 219-211.
110. Bergk⁴, 336.
111. Rose (1876) 60.24 app. crit.
112. Giangrande (1975), 208.

CHAPTER THREE

Anacreontea 1 - The Proem

The first poem of the Anacreontea has the important role of serving as the introduction to the whole collection. There are several distinctive features which suggest that the poem was designed expressly for the purpose of an introduction. It is believed that the poem was placed at the beginning of the oldest of those groups of poems from which the Anacreontea were collected.¹ This position at the front of the collection was justifiably retained by the compiler of the Anacreontea.

The author of the poem recounts how Anacreon, whose name is placed emphatically at the beginning of the first line, came to him in a dream and handed over the garland from his head. In this visionary encounter, the author acknowledges Anacreon as the source of his inspiration. The garland of Anacreon represents poetic inspiration;² it is a manifest symbol of the convivial poetry for which he was renowned. Anacreon was equally famous as a composer of love poems and, thus, when the author ties the garland on his head he is overcome by a feeling of being in love,³ which may be interpreted in this context as a symbol for receiving the inspiration to become a love poet. In censuring himself as a fool (ὁ μωρός 2.14) for accepting the garland, the author expresses the agony he feels in being a constant victim of love, an experience which Anacreon often described with great emotion in his amatory poems. The dream, the garland and the ensuing feeling of love are deliberately chosen as symbols of poetic inspiration which the author uses to show the influence of Anacreon upon the convivial and amatory poems he is composing.

The dream motif which is found in the poem may be paralleled to the common literary convention of a poet claiming to have experienced a vision or a dream

before composing poetry. The context of such a dream is most often religious, however, involving the visitation of the gods, especially the Muses, the divinities of poetic inspiration. Hesiod opens his Theogony (ll.22-34) by recounting a dream he had, while tending his sheep on Mt. Helicon, in which the Muses visited him. The goddesses inspired Hesiod by breathing the power of song into him and also through the gift of a blooming laurel branch. Similarly, Anacreon gives his garland to the author who will imitate him as a token of poetic inspiration. Propertius (3.3) dreamt that he was resting in the soft shade of Mt. Helicon, a mountain sacred to the Muses, and conversed with Apollo and the Muse Calliope who set him on the proper course of a lyric poet. Archilochus also, according to legend, had encountered the Muses and was thus inspired to embark on his career as a poet.⁴ In the first poem of the Anacreontea, therefore, an attempt is being made to create a formal opening, based on literary convention, to the collection.

The appearance of Anacreon in a dream proves to be a valuable and unique opportunity for a description of the poet. This characterization remains as a backdrop for the rest of the poems in the Anacreontea. However, the portrayal of Anacreon is neither entirely realistic nor comprehensive; it is evident that only those attributes which are relevant to the context of the Anacreontea are considered of any importance. Throughout the Anacreontea, it is possible to trace the outlines of the character of Anacreon, not as he really was, but as posterity remembered him on the basis of the poetry which he composed.

Anacreon is first of all described as 'the singer from Teos' (l.2), a traditional means of identifying the poet,⁵ even though his career developed outside of Teos, the city of his birth. He is said to be an old man (l.6), being assisted by Eros since his legs are shaky with age (ll.9-10). Anacreon apparently lived to the age of eighty-five and wrote frequently about his old

age.⁶ As a consequence, old age became part of his persona. Anacreon is commonly referred to as an old man in literary sources, especially in the Greek Anthology.⁷ In the Anacreontea, the poet is portrayed as an elderly man who longs for the ease and joy of youth. Anacreon himself was prone to despondency in his later years.⁸ In the Anacreontea, however, the attitude toward old age is less morose, with the message being constantly reiterated that the old are entitled to the same joys as the young.⁹

The description of Anacreon as καλός (ll.6-7), 'good-looking', is imaginative in this context. The adjective is used extensively in the Anacreontea, often of Dionysus or Aphrodite,¹⁰ and only refers to physical beauty in the poems. Its application to Anacreon is typical of the descriptive style found in the Anacreontea.

The adjective φίλευνος (l.7), 'amorous', a word with only one other attested reference,¹¹ concerns Anacreon's role as a love poet. The scent of wine said to be on his lips (l.8) serves as a reminder of the sympotic poetry which he composed. These two facets of the poet's work, the convivial and the amatory poems, are the primary concerns of the Anacreontea; the satirical and political poems are completely overlooked.

Although the representation of Anacreon in the Anacreontea does not do justice either to his true identity or to his work as a poet, the portrayal is nonetheless complimentary. On other occasions, the character of Anacreon was the target for unfair ridicule. Pausanias (1.25.1) mentions a statue of Anacreon, which stood on the Acropolis between the statues of Pericles and Xanthippus, depicting the poet "in a drunken pose". The poets of the Greek Anthology, most notably Leonidas of Tarentum, described this statue with much exaggeration.¹² Wilamowitz comments that the statue, so described, made Anacreon appear either as "an elegant rake" or "an Ionic Falstaff".¹³

The distortion of Anacreon's true character seems to have been generated by the element of unseriousness found in his convivial poetry. During his lifetime, however, Anacreon was in great demand primarily because he was a talented composer of precisely this kind of light poetry. The environment in which he was commissioned to work, in the courts of Polycrates and Hipparchus, for example, demanded poetic compositions with festive and light-hearted themes. Anacreon fulfilled his role as a court poet nobly, as is evidenced by the widespread fame which brought him to Samos and Athens. His poetry is skilful and meticulous in composition but his convivial poems were never intended to be overtly profound in content. Those poems in the Anacreontea which concern themes of a convivial nature contribute to the mistaken notion that Anacreon wrote only poetry of this kind.

From the scraps of the original works of Anacreon which have survived, it is possible to detect a noticeable tendency toward seriousness. This is especially true of those poems which deal with the agony of love,¹⁴ for example, or the frustrations of old age.¹⁵ The acceptance of the reality of fate and death has a profoundly sobering effect on the general tone of the poems; an element which may also be detected to some extent in the Anacreontea.¹⁶ Anacreon was an advocate of moderation in drinking and decorous behaviour at the symposium.¹⁷ A similar kind of σωφροσύνη ('moderation') is present in the Anacreontea.¹⁸

It is evident from the first poem that the Anacreontea give only a limited reflection of the poet Anacreon and his work. Some of the main themes which recur throughout the collection, including old age, love and wine, are introduced in Anacreontea 1. These themes are also the most obvious, yet not the only, topoi found in the poetry of Anacreon. One can also discern in this first poem several of the stylistic features which mark the Anacreontea. The

manner of composition aims at conciseness and precision. The shortness of the lines dictates exact and economical diction. Descriptive material is restricted for the most part, and adjectives are chosen carefully for aptness. When a word is repeated, as is the adjective καλός in lines 6 and 7, the effect is marked and emphatic. The repetition of Anacreon's name in lines 1 and 13 is particularly significant in this introductory poem. Although the content and especially the metre of the poems are reminiscent of Anacreon, the artistry and vigour of the poet himself are noticeably absent, being replaced by a less skilful style which focuses on directness and simplicity.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. West (1984), XVI. The last thirteen lines of the final poem in the Anacreon-tea, which Bergk regarded as a separate poem, could also have served as an excellent introduction to the collection. Here are found the words, "Imitate Anacreon, the poet famous in song", which would have been more suited to a preface than to a conclusion.
2. Cf. Horace, Odes 3.25.20 where the poet writes of crowning his temples with a garland in recognition of Bacchus as his poetic mentor. The garland itself may be interpreted as a symbol for poetic inspiration (cf. Quinn, The Odes of Horace (1980), 286-7).
3. A similar image can be found in an epigram of the 6th c. A.D. poet, Paulus Silentiarius (A.P. 5.288):

Ever since Chariclo, who was playing together
with me as I drank,
secretly placed her garland on me,
a murderous fire has been consuming me; for
her garland as it seems,
possessed that element which burnt up Glauce, the
daughter of Creon.
4. The Monumentum Archilochium (Diehl, Anth. Lyr. Graec. [1949], Archil. fr. 51) records the story of how Archilochus, while en route to sell his father's cow, met a group of women who were interested in buying the animal. As soon as Archilochus agreed to the sale, however, both the woman and the cow vanished. There was only a lyre left in their place. Soon thereafter the poet realized that he had encountered the Muses and that the lyre was their gift to him (cf. Anne Pippin Burnett, Three Archaic Poets [1983], 17-18). For other examples of divine epiphanies leading to poetic or prophetic inspiration cf. [Oppian] Cyn. 1.17ff.; Quintus of Smyrna 12.310; Isaiah 6.1ff.; Jeremiah 1.9; Ezekiel 1-2.
5. E.g. in the Greek Anthology: A.P. 16.308.2 = F.G.E. 451 (Eugenes); A.P. 7.30.1 = H.E. 276 (Antipater of Sidon); A.P. 7.24.3 = H.E. 3316 (Simonides); A.P. 9.599.3 = H.E. 3442 (Theocritus). Cf. also Horace, Odes 1.17.18; Epodes 14.10. Anacreon is often identified simply as 'the Teian'.
6. E.g. Anacreon 358, 379, 395, 420.
7. E.g. A.P. 7.24.9 = H.E. 3322 (Simonides); A.P. 7.27.10 = H.E. 269 (Antipater of Sidon); A.P. 16.306.1, 3 = H.E. 2151, 2153 (Leonidas of Tarentum); A.P. 16.306.8 = F.G.E. 457 (Eugenes).
8. Cf. Anacreon 395.
9. E.g. Anacreontea 7; 39; 43; 47; 51; 53.

10. E.g. of Lyaeus (Dionysus): Anacreontea 4.20; 40.9; 43.13; 45.8; of Cythere (Aphrodite): 17.15; 35.7; 43.14.
11. L.S.J. Suppl. s.v. φίλευνος: F.A. Hooper, Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou (1961), no. 112. Some editors have endeavoured to emend the text. Brossius proposed φίλωνος, 'fond of wine', and Bergk φίλυμνος, 'fond of song'. Rose deleted the whole line.
12. Leonidas of Tarentum (A.P. 16.306 = H.E. 2151):
 Behold old Anacreon, utterly besotted with wine,
 hunched over upon the rounded base;
 how the old man with bloodshot, lustful eyes
 drags the robe that reaches down to his ankles.
 He is missing one of his two shoes;
 his shrivelled foot is stuck in the other.
 He sings either of Bathyllus or Megistes,
 holding up his lovesick lyre.
 Protect him, father Dionysus; for it is not fitting
 that a servant of Bacchus should fall at the hand of Bacchus.
 For other similar descriptions of Anacreon's statue in the Greek Anthology
 cf. A.P. 16.307 = H.E. 2514; A.P. 16.308 = F.G.E. 450; A.P. 16.309.
13. Wilamowitz (1913), 105. He also comments that Pausanias, writing in the second century A.D., was strongly influenced by the literary tradition concerning the statue as revealed in the Greek Anthology, and for that reason noted that Anacreon was depicted in a drunken pose.
14. E.g. Anacreon 376, 378, 400, 411, 413, 428.
15. E.g. Anacreon 395.
16. E.g. Anacreontea 36, 40, 45.
17. Anacreon 356, 402(c).
18. Anacreontea 2.6 ('controlled madness' referring to moderation in drinking); 53.14 ('graceful madness' referring to decorous behaviour.)

CHAPTER FOUR

The Poems on Poetry

In several poems of the Anacreontea, the poets refer to their own art of poetry. These references are not by any means profoundly analytical or didactic; the theme of poetry merely seems to be a suitable and popular subject to write about. The exploration of the creative process through which poetry is composed as well as of the art itself is a typical feature of Greek and Latin lyric poetry in general.

I. The Recusatio Motif and the Nature of Lyric Poetry

The authors of the Anacreontea profess to be true lyric poets, often drawing a sharp contrast between the genre in which they are working and epic poetry which, in most respects, is antithetical to lyric poetry. The motif of the recusatio ('refusal') is therefore used freely as a means by which the authors can openly declare their allegiance to lyric poetry. The recusatio is a stylistic device whereby a poet formally declares his preference for writing a certain kind of poetry: he first of all lists various poetic themes and styles which he could discuss but categorically rejects them as being inappropriate to his own poetic purposes. The recusatio is typically used by lyric poets as a means of differentiating between the genres of lyric poetry, in which they are working, and of epic poetry, which they find entirely unsuitable to their poetic purposes.

The Hellenistic scholar and poet Callimachus (c.305-240 B.C.) provided the model upon which subsequent poets styled the recusatio. His preference for short, polished poems as opposed to epic brought him into bitter controversy with the traditionalists who regarded Homer as the epitome of perfection and the most worthy to be imitated.¹ As a preface to his works, and in particular

to the Aetia, Callimachus composed an apologetic proemium addressed to his literary detractors, whom he called the Telchines,² in which he defended his approach to poetry:

- 1 I know that the Telchines mutter at my poetry
 (they are ignorant and no friends of the Muse)
 because I did not compose one continuous poem
 ... about kings ... or heroes with thousands of lines
 but I roll out short poetry like a child ...
- 17 Be gone, hateful race of Envy. From here on
 judge poetry by skill, not by the Persian measure;³
 do not expect a long booming poem to be born from me;
 thunder does not belong to me but to Zeus ...
 For when I first put a writing-tablet
 on my knees, Lycian Apollo said to me:
 "... poet, make the sacrifice as fat as possible
 but the Muse slender, my friend.
 I advise this also: tread where carriages do not go,
 do not drive your chariot upon the tracks common to others
 nor upon the broad path, but rather on paths
 untravelled, even though your course be narrower.
 For we sing with those who love the clear-toned song
 of cicadas ... not the braying of donkeys."
 Let another bray like the long-eared donkey
 but I would be the tiny, winged one....

Callimachus was determined not to continue in the epic tradition.⁴ The best kind of poetry, according to him, was short yet refined and precise (λεπταλέην, 'slender, fine', as the Muse is called by Apollo (l.24)).⁵ Besides the Aetia, an elegiac poem dealing with a variety of aetiological legends, Callimachus wrote numerous other poems in iambic and diverse lyric metres.⁶ He was undoubtedly an iconoclast; he advocated originality in poetry (cf. ll.25-28), being himself an innovator in developing the aetiological poem, and he consistently applied his knowledge of a wide range of scholarly subjects to his poetry.⁷

The recusatio became the trademark of the Augustan poets in Rome, especially Horace, Propertius and Ovid. These poets were ready to admit that their purpose was not to compose epic poetry but rather lyric poetry, in which they sang most often about their experiences of love.⁸ The first poem in the second book of

Ovid's Amores serves as a perfect example. Ovid's attempts at epic poetry were unappealing to his girlfriend, who walked out in mid-recitation. He therefore changed his tune to singing of her and of love instead, with Amor dictating the poems to him (l.38), which resulted in far greater success.

The Augustan poets also used the recusatio to say that political themes, as a substitution for epic themes, were unsuited to the type of poetry they were writing.⁹ For example, Propertius (2.10) longs to praise Augustus and his conquests in song but feels inadequate to do so because he is a composer of erotic verse. In the course of this type of recusatio, however, the poets often ended up singing the praises of Augustus and his supporters, such as Maecenas, upon whose patronage they relied for survival and success, simply by listing the victories and accomplishments they would write about if they had the ability.

The fact that the recusatio was so popular among the Roman poets¹⁰ might suggest that the authors of the Anacreontea were acquainted with the technique through their knowledge of Latin poetry. This would imply that the recusatio-poems in the Anacreontea may have been composed when the tradition of using the recusatio as a literary device had become well-established, that is, during the first century A.D. and later.¹¹ The various loci similes which West has compiled for each poem in the Anacreontea testify to the depth of literary awareness which the poets demonstrated. It is not inconceivable that a scholarly poet working in the early centuries after the birth of Christ should write a poem in Greek based on Latin literary models.

It is also possible, however, that the occurrence of recusatio in the Anacreontea may be one of the earliest in literary history. Nisbet and Hubbard in their commentary on the Odes of Horace suggest that this is the case, going even so far as to date the recusationes in the Anacreontea before Callimachus, with the comment that the recusatio "may be quite an old literary motif".¹²

The influence of the Callimachean apology, however, was far more important, as these commentators point out.¹³ Their observation situates some of the poems in the Anacreontea at a much earlier time than could be established from any other available chronological evidence. They claim that Horace was directly influenced by and indebted to the Anacreontea, which he would have considered as the original works of Anacreon.¹⁴ There is no doubt that Horace leaned heavily upon the Greek lyric poets, including Sappho, Alcaeus and Anacreon. Whether any of the Anacreontea were in existence during Horace's time, however, is difficult to prove, although equally there is nothing to prove that some of those poems which demonstrate sound prosody might not have been composed in the first century B.C. In any case, it seems highly unlikely that Anacreon himself could have either devised or made use of the recusatio: early Greek lyric is less self-conscious than Alexandrian poetry. More to the point is the fact that the Augustan poets were the ones who developed the Callimachean apology as a defence for composing lyric love poetry instead of epic poetry, which is precisely how the recusationes in the Anacreontea are used. The germ of the recusatio may be seen developing in ancient Greek lyric poetry where for the first time poets made an earnest attempt to compose subjective poems dealing with their own feelings, as opposed to the self-effacing style of epic. It was Callimachus, however, who succeeded in formulating an authoritative statement on the value of non-epic poetry, a statement which subsequently became the backbone for Roman lyric poetry.

* * * * *

The second poem of the Anacreontea begins and ends with the same two lines, which form a neat framework for the poem. These lines are in essence a recusatio:

Give me the lyre of Homer
but without the string of murder.

The poet of this poem declares that he wishes to emulate Homer¹⁶ but he does not wish to write about the violent exploits of heroes traditionally glorified in epic such as the Iliad. In other words, he does not wish to compose epic poetry but lyric poetry. Nisbet and Hubbard draw a comparison between this poem and Horace, Odes 1.6 where an image of the 'lyre of peace' is also found.¹⁷ In this Ode, Horace politely declines to praise the general Agrippa in his poem as well as to compose epic poetry on the following grounds (ll.9-12):

... dum pudor
 imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
 laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
 culpa deterere ingeni

... While modesty
 and the Muse presiding over the peaceful lyre forbid
 me to detract from the glories of noble Caesar and yours
 through the fault of my talent.

The desire to avoid themes of violence returns in many other poems in the Anacreontea, usually in the context of the recusatio. In the fourth poem, the poet asks the silversmith Hephaistos not to make a suit of armour for him out of the silver but rather a drinking goblet, asking the rhetorical question, "What have I to do with battles?" (l.4). This whole poem is firmly based on the scene from the Iliad (18.368-616) in which Hephaistos fashions a new suit of armour for Achilles after the death of Patroklos who was killed while wearing the hero's old armour (Iliad 16.130ff.; 783ff.). Homer provides the famous description of the new shield (Iliad 18.478ff.), upon which a variety of scenes are engraved, including the heavens and the constellations¹⁸ (ll.485-491):

He engraved upon it the earth, the heavens, the sea,
 the untiring sun and waxing moon
 and all the constellations, those which crown heaven,
 the Pleiades and the Hyades and the might of Orion
 and the Bear, which they also call the Wagon
 which revolves in one place and watches Orion,
 and alone is unwashed by the Ocean.

In the poem from the Anacreontea, the poet makes a specific request that the

same craftsman, Hephaistos, depict no constellations on the goblet (4.7-11):

Engrave upon it for me
neither stars nor the Chariot,
nor hateful Orion.
What do the Pleiades matter to me,
What does the fine Ploughman?

This is a cryptic recusatio. The scenes which the poet commissions for the goblet represent some of the poetic images common in the Anacreontea: a harvest scene (l.12ff.; cf. Anacreontea 49), the Loves (l.18), Cythere (l.19) and Lyaeus (l.20). The poet wants nothing to do with epic, which is symbolized by the constellations as found upon the shield of Achilles. The adjective στυγνόν (l.9), 'hateful', has perhaps been chosen to describe Orion not so much because of his actions or character in myth¹⁹ but simply because the constellation bearing his name is engraved on the shield of Achilles and is 'hateful' because of its association with the epic. In the fifth poem of the Anacreontea, an apparent late imitation of the fourth poem,²⁰ the author asks the craftsman to engrave 'no loathsome, foreign tale' (ll.8-9) upon the goblet; this may be another allusion to epic.

The epic tales of vengeance and violence appear to be entirely inappropriate to the symposium, where the atmosphere is congenial and festive. Anacreon himself emphasizes this very point in one of his elegiac poems (2) which is quoted by Athenaeus (11.463a) as an example of proper behaviour at the symposium:

οὐ φιλέω ὅς κρητῆρι παρὰ πλέω οἴνοποτάζων
νεΐκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυόεντα λέγει,
ἀλλ' ὅστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης
συμμίσγων ἔρατῆς μνήσκεται εὐφροσύνης.

I do not like the man who speaks of strife and tearful war
as he drinks his wine beside the full mixing-bowl,
rather the one who mixes together the splendid gifts of
the Muses and of Aphrodite and bears the lovely merriment in mind.

The ideal song for the symposium, according to Anacreon, the accomplished love

poet, was a song about love. In rejecting 'the man who speaks of strife and tearful war', it is possible that Anacreon had not only epic in mind but also the convivial poems of Alcaeus, in which the theme of the political turmoil on the island of Lesbos was frequently raised.²¹ The poet Xenophanes, in his detailed description of the model symposium, expresses a similar sentiment regarding the kind of song which is suitable for the party; he states that the performer should not discuss the battles of Titans, Giants or Centaurs, or violent political revolutions since there is no goodness in this (1.21-23).

The εὐφροσύνη ('merriment, festivity'; cf. Anacreon Eleg. 2.4) of the symposium seems to have been almost sacrosanct. Solon complains that the Athenian citizens have lost all grasp of civility, even at the feast (3.9-10):

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσας
εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡρυσίῃ.

They do not know how to put a stop to their insolence
or how to organize the available delights of the feast in peace.

The symposium was an occasion for pleasing conversation²² and delightful song.

Pindar describes its pleasantness in one of his victory odes (Nem. 9.48-50):

ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλῆς δ' ἀύξεται
μαλθακῆ νικαφορία σὺν αἰδοῦ.
θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.

But peace loves the banquet; new-born victory
grows strong through gentle song
and the voice becomes confident beside the mixing-bowl.

Wine appears to have an inspirational effect on the poet, whose songs are such an important part of the symposium. This notion is mentioned in several of the Anacreontea.

In Anacreontea 42, a poem which is strongly reminiscent of Anacreon (Elegy 2), the symposium is described as a place where enjoyment and peace may be found. The persona seems to be none other than Anacreon, the poet who is noted for creating an atmosphere of happiness and festivity with his convivial

songs.²³ In lines 11 and 12 of the poem, the imagery is striking:

φιλολοιδόροιο γλώττης
φεύγω βέλεμνα κοῦφα

I run from the lightweight darts
of the insult-loving tongue.

This image may in all probability refer to epic poetry, which the author feels is not suitable to the symposium. The hurling of a weapon, such as the 'lightweight darts' mentioned in line 12, is used as a common metaphor for poetic composition by Pindar.²⁴ A similar image may be found in Anacreontea 60(b).3-4:

τὸ βέλος φέρε κράτυνον
σκοπὸν ὡς βαλῶν ἀπέλθης

Come on, get control of your weapon
so that having hit the mark you may get away.

The "insult-loving tongue" may be interpreted as being that of an epic poet who recites tales of quarrel and strife. There seems to be a hidden recusatio in this poem.

Lyric poetry is often characterized by an overwhelming interest in personal experience. Anacreontea 26 is a perfect example of the lyric poet at work; he bypasses the epic subjects of Thebes and Troy in preference to telling his own story which is of primary importance:

You speak about the affairs of Thebes,
that man about the war-cries of the Phrygians,
but I care about my own capture.
Cavalry did not destroy me,
nor infantry, nor fleet,
but another strange army
striking at me with its eyes.

The stylistic device of the priamel²⁵ is used effectively here. A very close echo of this poem may be found in Ovid's Amores (3.12.15-16):

cum Thebae, cum Troia foret, cum Caesaris acta,
ingenium movit sola Corinna meum.

Although there were Thebes, Troy, Caesar's accomplishments,
only Corinna has stirred my mind.

Propertius²⁶ also uses a similar expression (2.1.9-21):

non ego Titanas canerem, non Ossan Olympo
 impositam, ut caeli Pelion esset iter,
 nec veteres Thebas, nec Pergama nomen Homeri....

I would not sing about the Titans,
 nor Ossa piled up on Olympus
 so that Pelion would be a way to heaven,
 nor old Thebes nor Pergamum, the glory of Homer.

Both Ovid and Propertius as well as the author of this poem from the Anacreontea clearly differentiate themselves from those poets who compose epic poetry and then proceed to describe their own experiences of love as only lyric poetry can allow them to do.

A further example of recusatio in the Anacreontea may be detected in poem 23:

I want to speak about the sons of Atreus,
 and I want to sing about Cadmus,
 but my lyre only sings
 of love with its chords.
 I recently changed the strings,
 even the whole lyre
 and I began to sing of the labours
 of Herakles, but my lyre
 only answered back about loves.
 Farewell from here on,
 heroes; you see, my lyre
 sings of loves alone.

Despite all heartfelt intentions, the author is unable to compose epic because he is a love poet. The power of love has ultimate control over his poetry.

The humorous touch of first changing the strings of the lyre and then the whole lyre itself in an attempt to become an epic poet is not unlike the whimsical approach Ovid uses in the recusationes in his Amores.²⁷ For example, Ovid explains in the first poem of the first book that he originally embarked upon a composition of epic poetry but was stopped by Cupid who shot him with one of his unerring arrows (ll.26-27):

me miserum, certas habuit puer ille sagittas.

uror et in vacuo pectore regnat Amor.

Alas, poor me! That boy has arrows which never miss their mark.
I am on fire and Love holds sway in my empty heart.

The epic hexameter was thus displaced by the elegiac couplet. Ovid states near the end of his poem (l.28):

ferrea cum vestris bella valete modis

Farewell, iron wars with your epic metre,

a line which is remarkably close to lines 10-12 of Anacreontea 23.

The stylistic device of the recusatio is used primarily in love poetry. Propertius, who was told in his dream by the Muse Calliope to sing 'of garlanded lovers' (3.3.47), declines to write epic and hopes rather that his poems will inspire maidens and youths to fall in love (3.9.45). Horace (Odes 2.12) admits to his patron Maecenas that political themes are unsuited to the 'soft measures of the lyre' (ll.3-4) and thus he will rather sing of his love for the lady Licymnia. So also in the Anacreontea the recusatio is used most often in the context of love.

Many of the Anacreontea are typical lyric poems in that the central focus is on personal experience. The scope of the content is far narrower than in epic. Horace admits that his themes are restricted because he is writing as a lyric poet (Odes 1.6.16-20):

nos convivia, nos proelia virginum
sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
cantamus, vacui, sive quid urimur,
non praeter solitum leves.

I sing about drinking-parties, I sing about
the fights of fierce maidens scratching their boyfriends
with sharpened fingernails, whether fancy-free
or even if I am on fire,
trivial as usual.

The Roman lyric poets make a scholarly joke out of replacing the tales of battles between heroes described in epic poetry with scenes of petty quarrels

between lovers.²⁸ In the Anacreontea, the same interests in light themes, as opposed to the serious and noble strains of epic, is evident. The poet Anacreon clearly took the same approach in his poetic compositions.

The Anacreontea contain many of the commonest elements found in the genre of lyric poetry. The poems for the most part²⁹ are relatively short, written in a style that is consistently succinct and concise. There is a deliberate distinction made between epic and lyric poetry, especially through the use of the recusatio motif. The personal experience of the poet is always the main focus as opposed to the objective description of traditional epic subjects. The themes are intentionally chosen for lightness, even for triviality. The topic of love, whether a sweet or a bitter experience, is common throughout the Anacreontea as in most lyric poetry.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR (PART I)

1. Callimachus was a highly controversial figure in his own day. The biting invective he uses to criticize his literary opponents (e.g. fr. 191, 192, 203, 215, 393 Pfeiffer) would suggest that the debate was acrimonious. Ferguson (1980, p.162) describes Callimachus as being "in a state of alienation ... walking by himself." The main point of contention was that as a poet Callimachus refused to have any part in or show any respect for the epic tradition which by his day had become hackneyed. The scholiast on Callimachus' Prologue "Against the Telchines" (Scholia Florentina, Pfeiffer [1949], I, p.3) quotes the names of certain individuals who were part of the opposing faction. He includes the names of Asclepiades, a third century B.C. writer of love epigrams (cf. H.E. 812-1034), Posidippus, another epigrammatist included in the Greek Anthology (cf. H.E. 3054-3199) and Praxiphanes, a peripatetic Hellenistic philosopher whom Callimachus denounced in one of his poems (fr. 460 Pfeiffer). Asclepiades seems to have been one of several poets who admired the 5th-4th century B.C. epic writer Antimachus (cf. A.P. 9.63 = H.E. 958). Callimachus (fr. 398 Pfeiffer = H.E. 1340) calls Asclepiades' elegy, the 'Lyde', which concerned a girl from Lydia, παχύ ('thick'), an adjective denoting prolixity of style. This no doubt referred to the poetic style of Antimachus whom Asclepiades emulated. Catullus (95.10) uses the adjective tumidus ('puffed up') to describe Antimachus.

The most significant controversy, however, may have been between Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes, who was a pupil of Callimachus at Alexandria where the two held posts in the library. Their feud, famous for being the "archetypal literary dispute" (Bulloch, Camb. Hist. of Class. Lit., I, p.586), is clouded by lack of certain evidence, however. Apollonius composed narrative epics, of which the Argonautica is extant. He was willing to continue in the epic tradition which Callimachus rebuffed. Apollonius' exile to Rhodes is generally believed to have resulted in part from his clash with Callimachus. The 'Ibis' (fr. 381-2 Pfeiffer) appears to have been written by Callimachus in order to mock Apollonius. Klein (1975), however, attempts to prove that Apollonius was in fact a devoted follower of Callimachus and that his epic has a greater affinity in style to the aetiological poem which Callimachus invented and admired than to Homeric epic. F. Vian, in his sound inquiry into this controversy (Apollonios, Budé (1974), Intro., XIII-XXI), cautions that although Callimachus does not explicitly refer to Apollonius in his extant works, one cannot deny the existence of the quarrel in light of the circumstantial evidence.

2. Strabo (14.2.7) provides a detailed description of the Telchines. They were inhabitants of Rhodes, having migrated there from Crete and Cyprus. Their main profession was metalworking. The Telchines acquired a bad reputation, however, perhaps because they were such excellent craftsmen and were maligned by those who envied their success, as Strabo speculates. They became associated with black magic and sorcery; for example, they were said to destroy animals and plants by means of a toxic mixture containing sulphur and water from the river Styx. The name Telchines came to be used to mean 'spiteful individuals' or 'backbiters' (LSJ s.v. Τελχίς). Callimachus, who probably composed the prologue at a late date following

much harassment (Webster [1964], 105), found an appropriate likeness for his literary opponents in the evil-working Telchines.

3. Callimachus uses the phrase $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ Περσίδι, 'Persian measure', to mean a long poem. The $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, literally 'rush' or 'reed', was a technical term denoting a large measure of land.
4. In one of his epigrams (A.P. 12.43.1-4 = H.E. 1041-1044) Callimachus writes:

I abhor the cyclic poem and I do not
like a road which takes many people this way and that.
I also hate the wandering lover, and I do not
drink from the public fountain. I loathe everything that is common.

The cyclic poem (τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν) refers to that type of epic poetry which succeeded Homer (i.e. 7th-6th c. B.C.). Aristotle (Poetics 8; 23) professed his intense dislike for this kind of poetry because, unlike Homeric epic, it lacked organic unity.

In this epigram, which even seems to contain a mockery of love poetry (ℓ.3), Callimachus expresses his attitude toward poetry in general. The dislike for the well-travelled road (ℓ.2) is echoed in his Prologue (ℓℓ.25-28). The phrase 'I loathe everything that is common' (ℓ.4) summarizes Callimachus' whole approach to poetic composition. He is an iconoclast and an innovator. It is worthwhile to compare the similarity of feelings in Horace (Odes 3.1.1-4):

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo;
favete linguis. carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
virginibus puerisque canto.

I hate and I ward off the impious crowd.
Keep silent. I, the priest of the Muses,
sing songs not heard before
for maidens and youths.

5. Cf. also Callimachus frs. 11, 32; Epigram 29. At the end of his 'Hymn to Apollo' (ℓℓ.105-109), Callimachus once again voices his preference for the short poem instead of the long:

Envy spoke secretly into the ear of Apollo:
"I do not admire the poet who does not sing songs as great as the sea."
Apollo kicked Envy with his foot and spoke thus,
"The stream of the Assyrian river is great, but it drags
much filth from the earth and much refuse in its water..."

Williams (1978, p.89) explains that the Assyrian river (the Euphrates) represents:

... the imitation of traditional epic, a genre which in its
lengthy course has lost all its vitality and has been invoked
to serve unworthy purposes....

Callimachus continues the passage with the image of a 'pure and undefiled trickling stream' (ℓℓ.111-112) which no doubt symbolizes his own kind of poetry. In this curious epilogue to a religious hymn, Callimachus seems to be returning to the literary controversy which plagued him. It is Envy (Φθόνος ℓ.105) who speaks into Apollo's ear, like Jealousy (Βασκανίη) that 'hateful race' which Callimachus refers to in his Prologue (ℓ.17). Callimachus regarded the hostility as stemming from the jealousy which his

rivals felt at his poetic successes.

In simplest terms, Callimachus seems to be saying that he prefers the short poem to the long poem. Athenaeus (3.729) wrote that Callimachus equated a big book with a great evil: ὁ Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικός τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. But Callimachus may not just have been referring to physical size in his condemnation of τὸ μέγα βιβλίον. His own poem, the Aetia, consisted of four books, each containing more than one thousand lines, with a total of seven thousand lines. Klein (1975) puts forward the argument that Callimachus was referring not to size but to style, explaining that Callimachus disapproved of the 'self-important stance' and 'high-flown style' in poetry, especially epic, and preferred instead a 'light, terse treatment of miscellaneous or various elements'. This did not necessarily imply that a good poem had to be short. The various epigrams and other pieces of short poetry which Callimachus composed, however, attest to his liking for the short poem as well.

6. As an experimenter in various lyric metres, Callimachus was promoting the genre of lyric poetry. Regarding the lyrical element (in Callimachus), Ferguson (1980, p.27) remarks how the poet 'espouses Hesiod as a model rather than Homer, and brings a strong lyrical impulse....' Lines 21ff. of the Aetia are modelled upon Hesiod, Theogony 22-34 where the poet imagines that he is being visited by the Muses on Mt. Helicon.
7. Callimachus was first and foremost a scholar (γραμματικός). He compiled a huge catalogue of Greek literature at the Alexandrian library. He appears to have been unable to restrain the impulse to include as much scholarly knowledge as he could in his poetry. Webster (1964, p.103) comments that 'the fascination of Kallimachos is the struggle between the scholar and the poet, a struggle which with ironical humour he makes no attempts to conceal'.
8. E.g. Horace Odes 1.6, 1.19; 2.1, 2.12. Propertius 1.7; 2.1, 2.10; 3.9. Ovid Amores 1.1; 3.1.
9. E.g. Horace Odes 1.26; 2.1, 2.11, 2.12; 3.8, 3.29. Propertius 2.1, 2.10; 4.1, 4.1a.
10. There does not appear to be a technical equivalent for the literary term recusatio in the Greek language. The concept is firmly rooted in the tradition of Latin literature.
11. Ovid died in A.D. 17. The recusatio motif may be regarded as being most typical of the Augustan poets.
12. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), Introduction to Odes, I, xiii.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 215.
15. In one of the poems of Ibycus (282a), a poet who thrived at the court of Polycrates at Samos together with Anacreon, it is possible to find what appears to be a recusatio. The poet states that he will not sing about

epic themes, which he lists in detail, such as the sack of Troy, the seduction of Helen, and the misfortune of Cassandra, because he believes that "no living mortal man could tell every detail" (ll.25-26). Unfortunately the end of the poem has not remained intact, but it is probable that the poet continued by saying that he would rather sing about the beauty of Polycrates which would have been pleasing to the ear of the tyrant to whom the poem is addressed (l.47). Ibycus is here openly admitting his departure from the epic tradition. The same may be said of Sappho who obliquely voices her dislike for epic themes when she says (16.1-4):

Some say a host of cavalrymen, others of infantrymen,
and others of ships is the finest thing upon
the black earth, but as for me
it is what a person loves.

For Alcman (141), playing the lyre well is as mighty as the sword, a statement which may also be an allusion to his preference for lyric poetry as opposed to epic. The Greek lyric poets are noted for writing in the first person and for dealing with their personal experiences in their poetry.

16. The influence of Homer surfaces from time to time in the Anacreontea. Examples include the following:

Poem 4: craftsman Hephaistos (l.2) suit of armour (l.3) constellations (ll.8-11) grape harvest scene (ll.12-20)	<u>Iliad</u> 18.368-616: Hephaistos fashions a new suit of armour for Achilles; upon the shield he engraves the constellations (ll.485-489; cf. <u>Od.</u> 5.282ff.) and a grape harvest scene (ll.561-572).
Poem 9: the shield of Ajax (l.14) the sword of Hektor (l.15)	<u>Iliad</u> 7.219-223: description of the mighty shield of Ajax. <u>Iliad</u> 7.299ff.: Hektor gives Ajax his sword after they have fought each other.
Poem 14: 'For it is in Achaia where the women are beautiful (ll.12-13)	e.g. <u>Iliad</u> 3.75, 258: 'Αχαΐδα καλλιγύναικα, 'Achaia with its beautiful women'.
Poem 23: the sons of Atreus (l.1)	e.g. <u>Iliad</u> passim. Agamemnon and Menelaus.
Poem 26: the war-cries of the Phrygians (l.2)	e.g. <u>Iliad</u> 2.862: a Phrygian contin- gent came to assist the Trojans.
Poem 32: ... ὀστέων λυθέντων (l.10) 'when our bones have been loosened'	e.g. <u>Iliad</u> 21.114, 425: ... λύτο γούνατα, 'limbs loosened' (in death).
Poem 33: Bear and Ploughman (ll.2-3)	<u>Iliad</u> 18.485-489: constellations on shield of Achilles. <u>Odyssey</u> 5.282-286: Odysseus steers his ship by the stars - the Pleiades, Ploughman, Great Bear (Wain), Orion.

- Poem 34: on the cicada. Iliad 3.150-2: simile about cicadas.
- Poem 55: the rose protects the dead (l.25). Iliad 23.185-6: Aphrodite anoints the corpse of Hector with 'the ambrosial oil of roses' (... ῥοδοέντι...ἐλαίῳ...ἀμβροσίῳ). This protects the corpse from being mutilated by dogs and from being injured when dragged about by Achilles.
- Poem 59: grape-harvest scene (cf. poem 4 and 5)
-grapes are collected in baskets (l.2)
-vintage-songs (l.8) Iliad 18.561-572: The scene of a grape-harvest is depicted on Achilles' shield. The grapes are collected into baskets by men and women. Songs for the wine harvest are being sung.
- Poem 60(a): the swan of the Cayster river (l.8) Iliad 2.459-463: simile about swans on the Caystrian waters.

17. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), I, 86.
18. In the article 'Imago Mundi: Cosmological and Ideological Aspects of the Shield of Achilles' (JHS 105 [1985] 11-31), P.R. Hardie discusses the reasons why the constellations are engraved upon the shield of Achilles. Heroes and their armour are often compared to heavenly bodies in Homer: e.g. Iliad 5.4-8, Athene makes the shield and helmet of Diomedes blaze like a bright star; Iliad 6.513, Priam shines in his armour like the sun; Iliad 11.61-63, Hektor's shield shines like a star through the clouds. Such comparisons are especially relevant to the new armour which Hephaistos makes for Achilles: the shield glimmers with a great light like that of the moon or a star (Iliad 19.374ff.); the helmet shines like a star (Iliad 18.382); Achilles, dressed in his panoply, is compared to the sun crossing the heavens (Iliad 19.398). The moon, stars and sun represent the might and glory of the epic hero. Hardie also presents artistic evidence that stars were often depicted on shields (e.g. the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum). The heavens and the celestial bodies are also part of the whole natural world which is depicted in the various scenes engraved upon the shield.
19. Orion was a hunter who loved Merope, the daughter of the king of the island of Chios. According to one legend, Orion killed all the animals on Chios for the king in order to win his daughter. Somehow Orion offended the king who made him drunk and then blinded him. In another tale, Orion is said to have insulted Artemis who killed him in revenge. Homer speaks of the 'might (σθένος) of Orion' (Il. 18.486), an expression also found in Hesiod (Works and Days 615). The adjective στυγνόν, 'hateful' (Anacreon-tea 4.9), by contrast, seems to have an incriminating force.
20. West (1984) XVI-XVII.
21. Campbell (1983), 39.
22. Cf. Phocylides 14 Diehl; Theognis 763.

23. Maximus of Tyre (37.5 = Anacreon 471) comments:
 ... Anacreon softened the tyrannical rule
 of Polycrates over the people of Samos by mixing
 it with the hair of Smerdies and Cleobulus,
 the pipes of Bathyllus and Ionian song.
24. E.g. Pindar, Olympian 2.83-85; 13.93-95.
25. The priamel is a stylistic device in which a poet gives a list of what other individuals do or how they think and then states how he acts or thinks instead. A good example can be seen in a poem of Sappho (16.1-4) in which she says that other people are impressed by the battle array but she believes that what a person loves is "the most beautiful thing". Horace uses the priamel in the first poem of the first book of his Odes, saying that some men are athletes, some are politicians, others are merchants, others soldiers, but he is a lyric poet. The priamel may also be seen employed in Horace, Odes 1.7 and Propertius 2.1.43ff., for example; so also in Anacreontea 26, the author states that some poets write about the battles of Troy and Thebes, as in epic poetry, but he is going to write an account of his own personal struggle on the battlefield of love.
26. The image of 'being wounded by a glance' (Anacreontea 26.7) can also be found at the beginning of the first book of Propertius' elegies (1.1-2):
 Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis,
 contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.
 Cynthia was the first who captured me with her eyes;
 previously I was untouched by desire.
 It is highly probable that Propertius derived his inspiration from an epigram of Meleager (A.P. 12.101 = H.E. 4530; cf. comments by Gow/Page (1968) II, p.661) which begins: "Myiscus shot at me under the breast with the eyes although I was invulnerable to desire". Compare Aeschylus Agamemnon 742: "the gentle weapon of the eyes".
27. Cf. Ovid, Amores 2.1.
28. Cf. Horace 1.6.17; Propertius 2.1.45; 3.5.2; Ovid, Amores 1.9; Tibullus 1.3.63.
29. Anacreontea 17 is the longest poem in the collection with 46 lines. Anacreontea 55 has 43 lines. Poems 15, 16, 33 and 58 are all over 30 lines long. If poem 60 is kept as one complete poem then it too is more than 40 lines long. The rest of the poems range from 5 lines (poem 39) to roughly 20 lines.

II. Poetry and Wine in the *Anacreontea*

Wine is one of the most popular subjects of the Anacreontea. The great interest in the topic had its origins in the poetry of Anacreon, much of which consisted of material suitable for the symposium or formal drinking-party. Posterity memorialized him as a poet primarily of this sort,¹ a biased image which is supported to a large degree by the Anacreontea. Some of the poems in the collection may be interpreted as being the imagined compositions of Anacreon, performed by the poet himself as he plays his lyre for the guests at the symposium. The expressiveness and skilfulness of the original poems of Anacreon, however, are noticeably lacking in the Anacreontea.

The context in which wine is mentioned in the Anacreontea is characteristically one of festivity and merriment, at the grape harvest (4, 59), for example, or at pleasant gatherings of friends at a party (e.g. 36, 42, 43). Elsewhere, however, the tone tends to be more serious, particularly in those poems which have as their central focus the notion that inebriation is an effective means of escaping from the troubles of life (e.g. 38, 45, 48, 50, 52(b)). In Anacreontea 21, drinking wine is likened to the natural process by which trees obtain moisture from the ground (l.2), a necessity for survival.²

Dionysus, the god of wine, is an object of unceasing praise (cf. 38; 50; 56). He is called *Λυαῖος*³ (e.g. 4.20; 8.13, etc.), "the Releaser", the one who offers release from anxious worries (ὁ λυσίφρων 49.2) and brings freedom to enjoy pleasures (λυσιπαίγμων 50.10 s.v. 1.). The means by which this release may be obtained is through the drinking of wine, "a drink alleviating sighs" (πότον ἄστονον 56.6).⁴ Dionysus himself is described as being "fun-loving" (φιλοπαίγμωνος 42.2) and the one who brings good cheer through wine

(50.12), a characterization which is far different from the powerful, spell-binding god depicted in Euripides' Bacchae.⁵

The effects of wine are pleasurable and relaxing. In Anacreontea 50, an extended hymn of praise to wine and Dionysus, the drinking of wine is said to remove not only worries but inhibitions as well (ll.21-24):

Whenever I drink wine
 baring my soul
 through the aid of the curved cups
 I take delight in the band of youths.

The theme of wine as possessing a force which opens up the inner self is familiar among the lyric poets. Alcaeus (333) devises a unique and perceptive statement to describe wine:

οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δίοπτρον
 Wine is a spyglass into a man.

Theognis sums up the effects of wine in a concise phrase (500):

... ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον
 ... wine shows up the mind of a man.

When thoughts are opened up through the effects of wine and speech flows freely, the desire to sing seems to be a natural impulse (cf. Anacreontea 48.4; 50.19). Wine and song are often presented as conventional partners.

In the Anacreontea, many of which would serve as suitable drinking songs, the association between wine and song is brought to the fore. Dionysus is extolled not only as the traditional giver of wine (49.4) but also as 'the one who desires all song' (38.4). In Anacreontea 20, the fanciful image is presented of Dionysus, together with Aphrodite and Eros, drinking from a cup containing the songs of Anacreon, Sappho and Pindar, poets who stand at the pinnacle of Greek lyric poetry. The author of Anacreontea 44 wishes to play his lyre in the precinct of Dionysus (l.12ff.), a place which, in the context of the

Anacreontea, seems entirely appropriate to lyre-playing and graceful dancing. In these examples, it is evident that a deliberate attempt is being made to link together the god Dionysus and lyric poetry.

Dionysus was worshipped in part as a divinity of music and poetry, similar to the more ancient god Apollo. His cult titles included Αὐλωνεὺς, "god of Pipe Music", Μελπόμενος, "Singer", and Μουσαγέτης, a title given most often to Apollo, meaning "Leader of the Muses".⁶ Music played an important role in Dionysiac religion. The powerful choruses in the Bacchae of Euripides give a taste of the kind of impassioned music which accompanied Bacchic worship. The Maenads describe how the Corybantes on the island of Crete dance to the drum and sweet-sounding auloi (λλ.126-129). In another stirring ode, they sing of Dionysus who urges on their song, to the accompaniment of loud-booming drums and the holy, melodious pipe (λλ.151-165). The chorus hymns Dionysus as the one who brings "laughter to the accompaniment of the aulos" (λ.380). The pounding drums and shrill toned pipes, as well as their own cries, spur on the frenzied madness and dances of the Maenads who are filled with the god (ἔνθεοι). A similar kind of Bacchic madness is mentioned in a few of the Anacreontea (9, 12, 53), where the drinking of wine elicits a state of μανία ('madness'). This is at direct odds with the experience of the Maenads in the Bacchae, however, since they are driven to madness by the sheer force of the god Dionysus through the aid of hypnotic music, and not by wine.⁷

Specific musical forms, such as the dithyramb and songs for the κῶμος ('revel'), were associated with Bacchic festivities.⁸ There were special songs for the harvest of the grape, as mentioned in Anacreontea 59, where the harvesters dance and clap to the vintage-songs (ἐπιληνυόισιν ὕμνοις λ.8).⁹ The drinking of wine was a traditional occasion for song especially at the symposium. The celebrations began with the pouring of libations and the singing of

a religious hymn. While the guests enjoyed their wine and engaged in conversation, entertainment was provided by pipe-players, dancers and singers.¹⁰ The familiar songs of the lyric poets, especially of Alcaeus and Anacreon, were frequently performed.¹¹ The guests themselves participated by singing *οκόλια* 'drinking songs', in succession around the table.¹²

The symposium is described in several of the Anacreontea; mention is made of garlands, perfume, boys serving wine, dancing and lyre-playing. In Anacreontea 42, it is easy to picture Anacreon himself playing the lyre and performing his own compositions at a drinking party. Many of the Anacreontea, which imitate, to some extent, the sympotic type of poetry which Anacreon composed, may be regarded as conventional *συμπροσιακά*, especially those poems in which instructions are given as to the mixing of wine and water (e.g. 2, 47, 48), or requests are made for drinking and singing (e.g. 38, 43).¹³

Aulus Gellius (Attic Nights 19.9.1-6)¹⁴ gives an account of a dinner party held in celebration of the birthday of Antonius Julianus, a man "well-acquainted with ancient literature", where boys and girls entertained the guests by singing several *Ἀνακρεόντεα* and songs by Sappho. According to Gellius, the most delightful pieces performed on that occasion were 'the most charming songs of aged Anacreon' (... versiculis lepidissimis Anacreontis senis ...), an example of which he quotes. The poem he chooses is a slightly altered and shorter version of Anacreontea 4,¹⁵ lines about a wine goblet which are most appropriate for a drinking party. It is significant that Gellius uses the term *Ἀνακρεόντεα* ("[songs] of Anacreon"), implying that he was familiar with a corpus of songs which he, like everyone else, considered to be the original work of Anacreon. Since the poem quoted by Gellius is included, with slight variations, in the Anacreontea, however, it is highly probable that the work is an imitation as the rest of the poems in the collection most likely are. In fact, the version which

Gellius records, being metrically and textually sound, could be the model upon which Anacreontea 4, with its metrical faults, was based. The festive atmosphere of the symposium perpetuated the tradition of singing songs in the manner of Anacreon. Some of the sympotic poems in the Anacreontea may have originated in precisely such a surrounding.

The connection between wine and song in the Anacreontea is further emphasized by the representation of wine as a form of musical or poetic inspiration. The drinking of wine is often said to precede the utterance of song. In Anacreontea 48, the author states that whenever Bacchus comes, 'I want to sing beautifully' (θέλω καλῶς δεῖδειν λ.4). The personification of wine as Bacchus, in the common poetic device of metonymy,¹⁶ intimates that the wine possesses a divine element which enters into the person who drinks it.¹⁷ Thus, Dionysus plays a direct role in the inspiration of the poet who is filled with the god (ἔνθεος). Horace (Odes 3.25) acknowledges the inspiration of Bacchus as he is led to ponder various poetic topics at the compulsion of the god. In Odes 2.19.1-4, he uses the ingenious image of Bacchus teaching nymphs how to sing upon the mountain crags. The poet Callimachus (A.P. 9.566.3 = H.E. 1307) speaks of Dionysus 'breathing into a poet' as a form of inspiration. Plato links together Dionysus with the Muses and Apollo, whose primary roles concern poetic inspiration, when he says that these divinities have been given to mortals as patrons for feasts (Laws 653D). In Euripides' Bacchae, the chorus begs Dionysus to lead the way to Pieria (λ.409), the birthplace of the Muses, a place where it is right (θέμις) for the Bacchantes to worship their god (λ.416). Pieria is considered μάκαρ, 'blessed' (λ.565), by the Maenads because it is honoured by Dionysus himself (λ.566).¹⁸

In Anacreontea 50, wine appears to evoke song. When the poet drinks, he 'begins to sing a clear-toned song of the Muses' (λ.4). He also sings of

Cyprian Aphrodite (l.20) while he holds his girl in his arms. Similarly, in Anacreontea 2, the poet asks for wine so that he may "sing to the accompaniment of lyres and raise the drinking song" (l.7-8) in drunkenness (l.6).

Wine appears to have some effect on the power of speech according to Anacreontea 53. The persona of this poem, an old man who no doubt is intended to represent Anacreon, asks someone to bring wine so that he may see an old man "who has learned to speak" (δεδαηκόςτος μὲν εἰπεῖν l.12). Since the subject of the poem is the poet Anacreon, it appears that reference is being made not merely to ordinary speech but to the utterance of poetry. There is a reminiscence here of one of the poems of Anacreon where he discusses his own poetic art (402(c)):

ἐμὲ γὰρ †λόγων† εἴνεκα παῖδες ἄν φιλέουεν·
χαρίεντα μὲν γὰρ ᾄδω, χαρίεντα δ'οἶδα λέξαι.

For youths love me on account of my words;
for I sing graceful songs and I know how to speak graceful words.

The poetry of Anacreon may be best described as stylistically graceful.¹⁹

An awareness of the skilful knowledge and practised art with which Anacreon composed his 'graceful poems' may be subtly implied in Anacreontea 53.12 with the participle δεδαηκόςτος, 'one who has learned'. The adverb χαριέντως, 'gracefully', is in fact found in the last line of the poem modifying μανῆνάι. The idea of 'graceful madness', however, seems at first glance as paradoxical as the 'sane madness' mentioned in Anacreontea 2 (l.6). The madness which is spoken of in the Anacreontea (2; 9; 12; 53; 60(b)) may be interpreted as referring to the revelry of a drinking party.²⁰ There is a remote element of Bacchic μανία as well, but of a weak nature, since the Dionysus of the Anacreontea is depicted as a gentle and unfrighting god. In Anacreontea 53, the madness may play a part in the transformation of the old man into a young man, a phenomenon which is part of the Bacchic experience.²¹ It is appropriate that

Anacreon, the one who advocates decorous behaviour at the drinking party and whose poetry embodies the element of gracefulness, should himself enjoy the convivial celebrations in a graceful manner. Thus, 'graceful madness', an ingenious contradiction in terms, makes perfect sense when applied to the poet Anacreon.

The notion that wine was a form of poetic inspiration was very popular in classical antiquity. Archilochus acknowledges the power of wine when he boasts (120):

ὡς Διωνύσου' ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνω συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας

since I know how to begin the beautiful song of lord Dionysus,
the dithyramb, when I am struck as by a thunderbolt in my
senses with wine.

According to Athenaeus, there were several poets who composed under the influence of wine, including Alcaeus and Aristophanes (Athen. 10.429a). Anacreon, however, "who made wine the subject of all his poetry", merely "pretended to be drunk" because he was of good character (ἀγαθος) (Athen. 10.429b). Anacreon himself speaks of wine and music in the same breath (373):

ἤριστῆσα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ μικρὸν ἀποκλάς,
οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον κάδον· νῦν δ' ἀβρῶς ἐρόεσσαν
ψάλλω πηκτίδα τῆ φιλῆ κωμάζων παιδί ἀβροῖτ'.

I ate a small piece of light honey cake which I broke off
and I drank a jug of wine. Now I gently pluck
my lovely lyre and serenade my pretty girlfriend.

Simonides, Anacreon's younger contemporary in Athens, is quoted by Athenaeus as ascribing the same origin (ἀρχὴν) to wine and music (Athen. 12.40a = Sim. 647). The Augustan epigrammatist Antipater of Thessalonica was an outspoken supporter of poets who were οἰνοπόται, "wine-drinkers", as opposed to those who drank only water.²² Horace adopted the same position.²³ Propertius and Ovid also freely recognize the influence of wine upon the poet.²⁴

In the Anacreontea, wine not only appears to have the power to inspire song in a poet but may also represent, symbolically, poetry itself. This is one of the most distinctive images in the poems. In Anacreontea 20, the songs of Anacreon, Sappho and Pindar are said to be mixed together in a drink, just like wine and water, ready for Dionysus or Aphrodite or Love to come and drink. The mention of Pindar in this combination of "sweet-singing" (ἡδυμελής 20.1, 2) poets is significant because Pindar frequently uses the image of wine or some liquid to symbolize poetry. The third Nemean Ode, dedicated to Aristocleides of Aegina, draws to its close with the following image (ll.76-79):

... χαῖρε, φίλος· ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
πέμπω, μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῷ
σὺν γάλακτι, κίρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει,
πόμ' ἀοιδίμων Αἰολῆσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν ἀλῶν....

... Farewell, friend. I send this drink of song
to you, mixed with honey and white
milk, crowned with foam from the mixing,
to the accompaniment of Aeolian pipes....

Pindar speaks of his thirst for song (Pythian 9.103-104) and of the Muses' songs mixed in a wine crater (Isthmian 6.2). The image works successfully because wine and poetry, especially lyric poetry, are so closely connected; wine, like love, is one of the most popular subjects for lyric poets.

Anacreontea 2 has the form of a typical drinking song in which goblets of wine are requested (l.6) and instructions are given as to the mixing of the wine (l.4). The lemmatist has added to this poem the title βασιλικ(όν), 'a royal song', signifying that it was addressed to the συμποσίαρχος,²⁵ also called βασιλεύς,²⁶ who was in charge of mixing the wine and water at the symposium. However, the author of this poem does not speak of water being added to the wine but rather θεσμῶν, 'laws' (l.3) and νόμους, 'customs' (l.4). The exact implication of this passage is not clear. The author may be referring to moderation in drinking, with the 'laws' and 'customs' representing certain

codes of behaviour which should be followed at the party. In line 6, the paradoxical phrase ὑπὸ σάφρονος δὲ λύσσης, "in controlled madness", may further emphasize the point of regulated drinking. Anacreon himself uses similar diction in one of his sympotic poems (356):

ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμῖν ὄ παῖ
 κελέβην, ὅπως ἄμυστιν
 προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγγέας
 ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου
 κυάθους ὡς ἀνυβρίστως
 ἀνά δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

Come, then, boy, bring us
 a bowl, so that I may drink
 without breath. Pour in ten ladles
 of water and five of wine
 in order that I may once again
 be mad in Bacchic frenzy without insolence.

There may be another viable interpretation of Anacreontea 2, however. The whole poem revolves around the theme of poetry. It begins and ends with a denunciation of epic poetry in preference for lyric poetry (ll.1-2 and 9-10), and wine once again appears to have the power to elicit song, leading to that state of drunkenness in which the poet sings (ll.5, 7-8). Perhaps the 'laws' and 'customs' refer to the rules and regulations of poetic composition, such as those regarding metre, to which a poet must adhere. These rules are combined with the wine which could represent poetry itself. With the assumption that the symbolism concerns the poetic process, the imagery becomes more logical. It may be unwise, however, to impart such abstruse symbolism to any poem in the Anacreontea. The poem remains enigmatic in the collection.

In the fourth poem of the Anacreontea, and also in the fifth, which imitates it in style and content, the author gives specific instructions regarding the engraving on a wine goblet. The poem is in essence a refusal to compose epic poetry (recusatio) since epic tales are not to be engraved. Instead, those scenes and characters which figure prominently in the Anacreontea are to

be depicted, including a harvest scene, the Loves, the Graces, Aphrodite and Dionysus. The goblet, therefore, must be intended to have some metaphoric connection with poetry. More precisely, it is the wine inside the goblet which has the greater association with poetry.

It is illustrative to compare one of the similes used by Pindar, involving a wine, a container for the wine and poetry (Olympian 7.1-10):

Φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλὼν
 ἕνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζοισαν δρόσῳ
 δωρήσεται
 νεανία γαμβρῶ προπίνων οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον
 κορυφᾶν κτεάνων,
 συμποσίου τε χάριν κᾶδος τε τιμάσαις ἐόν, ἐν δὲ φίλων
 παρεόντων θῆκῃ νιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς·
 καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτὸν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἀεθλοφόροις
 ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός,
 ἰλάσκομαι,
 Οὐλυμπία Πυθοῖ τε νικῶντεσσιν·

As when a man takes in his hand a bowl
 bubbling inside with the dew of the vine
 and gives it
 to his young son-in-law, offering a toast from home to home,
 all-gold prize of his possessions,
 delight of the banquet and honouring his new relative
 and makes him envied by his friends on account of his
 harmonious marriage,
 so I too send a drink of nectar, gift of the Muses,
 sweet fruit of my mind, to the prize-winning man,
 victorious at Olympia and Pytho
 and give him honour.

In this elaborate simile, Pindar likens his poem, which he calls "nectar", to the bowl and also to the wine in the bowl. As a container for the wine, which represents poetry, the bowl appears to have a symbolic significance of its own. Bowra interprets the symbolism in literal terms, explaining that the bowl is "the actual form of the song" and that the wine inside represents the contents of the song.²⁷ The same interpretation may also be logically applied to Anacreontea 4 and 5 as well. The goblets which are engraved with lyric themes, as found commonly throughout the Anacreontea, could represent the form or mold

of a lyric poem while the wine inside the cup is the poem itself.

In Anacreontea 60(b) the image of poetry as a drink of wine is found once again (ll.9-10):

Drink the cup to the boys,
the lovely cup of words.

The whole poem has a strong Pindaric flavour, both in the symbolism of wine as poetry and in the image of the hurling of a weapon (ll.3-4), a metaphor for poetic composition which is commonly used by Pindar. The phrase νέκταρος ποτοῖο, 'drink of nectar', (l.11) is also borrowed from Pindar.²⁸ The madness mentioned in the second line of the poem may refer to the μανία ('madness') of a poet, a notion explored in some depth by Plato.²⁹ He theorized that poets are overtaken by a divine madness when they compose poetry and that this experience is essential to the success of a poet. It is possible that a similar kind of furor poeticus is implied in Anacreontea 2, where the author wishes to sing in a state of madness (l.6).

Wine as a symbol for poetry is used with particular reference to love poetry in Anacreontea 58. In this poem, a long tirade on the evils of wealth, the author speaks of the consolation he finds in playing his lyre, a constant friend, when he is troubled by financial problems. The argument is presented that the music of the lyre is far more conducive to true love than gold, which is fleeting and deceptive. The poet addresses gold, saying (ll.23-27):

For you instilled in men a lust
for deception and coveting, you indeed;
but my lyre mixes cups of desires
which cause no pain to marriage chambers
and chaste kisses.

The image of 'the lyre mixing cups of desires' refers to the composition of love poetry. The mention of wine cups (κύπελλα, l.27) serves as another example of wine being directly associated with poetry. Horace uses a similar approach

when he boasts that he knows how to mix drinks of desire with his amatory poems (desiderique temperare pocula [Ep. 17.80]). John of Gaza, writing in the sixth century A.D., a date when some of the later Anacreontea might have been composed, also employs the same imagery (3.11):

δότε μοι πόθου κύπελλον

give me a drink of desire.

The symbol of wine as poetry is one of the most effective stylistic features in the Anacreontea.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR (PART II)

1. The descriptions of Anacreon's statue in the Greek Anthology focus on the drunken state of the poet (A.P. 16.306 = H.E. 2151; 307 = H.E. 2514; 308 = F.G.E. 450; 309). The epigrammatists are far more complimentary regarding the tomb of Anacreon where grape vines abound and wine bubbles forth from the ground (A.P. 7.23 = H.E. 246; 24 = F.G.E. 956; 31 = H.E. 1575). Those who pass by the tomb are invited to pour wine upon the ashes of Anacreon (A.P. 26 = H.E. 252), the old man whose whole life was poured out as an offering to the Muses, Dionysus and Love (A.P. 27.9-10 = H.E. 268-269).
2. Anacreontea 21 was imitated by Abraham Cowley (1618-1667). His version, written in lilting iambs, has twenty lines, whereas the poem in the Anacreontea has only seven.
3. The word Λυαῖος, from λύω, 'release', is used for Dionysus in the Anacreontea far more frequently than Διόνυσος or Βάκχος. The Latin Lyaeus is a direct borrowing. The release from worries which Dionysus brings is one of the main currents in Dionysiac religion (cf. Eur. Bac. 280ff.; 381; Farnell, Cults, vol. 5 p.120).
4. West keeps the ms reading πόθον ἄστονον, 'desire without sighs', and does not accept Stephanus' emendation (cf. my note on 56.6).
5. Dodds (Eur. Bacchae, Oxford [1960] xii) points out that such a representation of Dionysus as found in the Anacreontea was typical of post-Classical thinking and does not reflect the true nature of the god: "... It was the Alexandrines, and above all the Romans -- with their tidy functionalism and their cheerful obtuseness in all matters of the spirit -- who departmentalized Dionysus as 'jolly Bacchus' the wine-god with his riotous crew of nymphs and satyrs ... If we are to understand the Bacchae, our first step is to unthink all this: to forget the pictures of Titian and Rubens, to forget Keats and his 'god of breathless cups and chirping mirth', to remember ... that βακχεύειν is not to 'revel' but to have a particular kind of religious experience...."
6. Dionysus Αύλωνεύς: I.G. 3.193, 197; Μελπόμενος: Paus. 1.25; 1.31.6; I.G. 3.20; Μουσαγέτης: on an inscription at Naxos from Roman times (cf. Farnell, Cults, V, 145 and 307).
7. Pentheus imagines that the Maenads are drunk (Eur. Bac. 260ff.) but he is told by the messenger who has observed them that they are actually sober (l.686).
8. The dithyramb is exciting and ecstatic in tone (cf. Pindar), being directly connected with Dionysus, who is himself called Λιθύραμβος (e.g. Eur. Bac. 526; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, Oxford (1962) p.1ff.).

The κῶμος, 'revel', is frequently depicted on Greek vases. The figures are shown drinking wine, dancing and singing (cf. [Hesiod] Shield 281-282 ... νέου κῶμαζον ὑπ' αὐλοῦ, / ... ὑπ' ὀρχηθῆσσι καὶ δοιδῆσσι, '... youths

enjoying the revel to the accompaniment of the pipe / ... dance and song'). The word κῶμος came to mean 'a song which is sung at a revel' (cf. Pindar Nemean 3.5; Aristophanes, Banqueters 104, 988).

9. In the grape-harvest scene depicted on the shield of Achilles (Iliad 18. 561ff.), a boy plays his lyre in the midst of the harvesters and sings 'the lovely Linos-song' (l.570). The workers dance to this song as they gather the grapes. The Linos-song was a dirge, bewailing the death of a youth named Linos; it was commonly sung at the harvest perhaps in lament of the passing summer (cf. Farnell [1891] 13). Hesiod writes that the song was also sung at feasts and dances (fr. 1).
10. Cf. Xenophon, Symposium 2.1; Xenophanes 12.
11. Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae 161.
12. Cf. Aristophanes, Wasps 1216ff. Athenaeus (15.693f.-695f.) provides a collection of σκόλια, literally, 'crooked songs', so called because the order of the singers followed a zig-zag pattern at the table. He refers to Anacreon as one of the composers of such songs. The σκόλια were primarily associated with Athens (hence 'Ἀττικὰ σκόλια, Athen. 693f.).
13. The same features characterize most sympotic poetry, especially that of Anacreon (cf. 356, 396, 406).
14. The fact that a version of Anacreontea 4 has been preserved by Aulus Gellius is an invaluable help in the difficult problem of dating the Anacreontea. Gellius lived c.A.D. 130-c.180 and it is believed that his work, the Attic Nights, was published a short time before A.D. 180. The poem was therefore known, in some version, in the second century A.D.
15. Version of Anacreontea 4 as presented by Aulus Gellius (Attic Nights 19.9.6):

Τὸν ἄργυρον τορεύσας
 ἤφαιστέ μοι ποιήσον
 πανοπλίας μὲν οὐχί·
 τί γὰρ μάχαισι κάμοί;
 ποτήριον δὲ κοῖλον
 ὅσον δύνῃ βάθυνον.
 καὶ μὴ ποίει κατ' αὐτό
 μήτ' ἄστρά μήτ' Ἀμάξας,
 μὴ στυγνὸν Ἰρῖωνα·
 τί Πλειάδων μέλει μοι,
 τί δ' ἀστέρος Βοώτεω;
 ποιήσον ἀμπέλους μοι,
 καὶ βότρυας κατ' αὐτῶν,
 ποίει δὲ ληνὸν οἴνου,
 καὶ χρυσέους πατοῦντας
 ὁμοῦ καλῶ Λυαίῳ
 Ἔρωτα καὶ Βάθυλλον.

As you work your silver,
 Hephaistos, make
 no suit of armour for me.
 For what are battles to me?
 Carve out rather a hollow wine cup
 as deep as possible.
 Engrave upon it
 neither stars nor Wain,
 nor hateful Orion.
 What do the Pleiades matter to me,
 what does the fine Ploughman?
 Engrave vines for me
 and grape bunches on them,
 engrave a wine press
 and Love and Bathyllus
 in gold as wine-treaders
 together with beautiful Lyaeus.

16. E.g. Βάκχος = wine, Euripides, Iphigenia at Aulis 1061; Lyaeus = wine, Horace, Odes 1.22; Epodes 9.37; Vergil, Aeneid 1.686.
17. At Euripides' Bacchae ll.284, wine is equated with the god Dionysus, who is poured out in libation. Dionysus was believed to inhabit wine, "the most potent ... vehicle of Bacchic possession or divine communion, being the quintessence of that god-life that moved in the juices and sap of the earth" (Farnell, Cults, vol. 5, p.122).
18. Dionysus is traditionally said to have visited Pieria (Delphic Paeon 54f. Cf. Dodds' note on Bacchae, ll.409-411).
19. Cf. Bowra (1961), 282. The superlative lepidissimi, 'most charming', which Aulus Gellius uses to describe Anacreon (Attic Nights 19.96) is an appropriate choice. Athenaeus calls Anacreon χαρίεις 'graceful' (11.463a).
20. Horace also refers to the revelry of a drinking party as madness, an experience which he professes to enjoy (e.g. Odes, 3.19.18 insanire iuvat 'It is a delight to go mad'; cf. also Odes 2.7.27-8; 4.12.28).
21. In Euripides' Bacchae, old Teiresias and Cadmus join in the Bacchic rituals despite their age believing that Dionysus expects honour from all mankind (ll.208). Cadmus says that he has forgotten his old age (ll.188-189) and Teiresias admits to feeling young enough to dance (ll.189-190).
22. E.g. Antipater of Thessalonica A.P. 9.305 = G.P. 267; A.P. 11.20 = G.P. 185; A.P. 11.24 = G.P. 87; A.P. 11.31 = G.P. 273. In A.P. 11.23.5-6 (= G.P. 281-282), Antipater uses the image of 'wine as being a swift horse to a poet'. The fifth century B.C. comic poet Cratinus seems to have been the originator of this image. Nicaenetus, a Hellenistic epigrammatist, quotes Cratinus more fully (A.P. 13.29.1-2 = H.E. 2711-12):
 Οἴνος τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ποιεῖν
 ὕδαρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἄν τέκοις σοφόν.

Wine is a swift horse to the graceful poet
but by drinking water you will produce nothing skilful.

23. Horace, Epistles 1.19.1-3.
24. Propertius acknowledges Dionysus as his patron for poetic inspiration (e.g. 2.30.38; 3.2.9; 3.17.20; 4.1.62). Ovid also speaks of Bacchus as his companion (Amores 1.3.11) and mentions wine as inspiring song (... carmina vino / ingonium faciente canunt ... Met. 7.432-3).
25. Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis 6.1.30.
26. LSJ s.v. βασιλεύς V; cf. Plutarch, Mor. 622a.
27. Bowra, Pindar (Oxford, 1964), 25.
28. Pindar, Olympian 7.7, νέκταρ χυτόν.
29. Cf. Plato, Phaedrus 245A; Ion 534B, 536B; Apology 22C; Meno 99D. Democritus proposed the same hypothesis, stating that the best poets were filled with divine madness (fr. 17, 18). Dodds (The Greeks and the Irrational, Berkeley 1971, p.82) comments that the notion of the frenzied poet was 'a by-product of the Dionysiac movement with its emphasis on the value of abnormal mental states'. Plato (Ion 536B) says the madness of poets is just like that of the Corybantes.

West, however, notes in his apparatus criticus to Anacreontea 60 that since the madness mentioned in the poem is qualified as 'the finest madness' (μανίην μανεῖς ἀρίστην 60(b).2 = West 60.31) it must refer to erotic madness which Plato calls the finest kind (Phaedrus 265b). Such an understanding of the text seems acceptable if the poem is not split in two (cf. my note on Anacreontea 60), since the first section deals with the love story of Phoebus and Apollo. The main theme of Anacreontea 60(b), however, as a poem standing on its own, appears to be poetry itself and not love. Thus, the madness would more logically refer to poetic madness, despite Plato's comment.

III. Anacreontea 34: The Cicada Metaphor

Anacreontea 34 is one of the most famous poems in the collection. It was a popular model for imitation among those poets who perpetuated the tradition of anacreontic poetry, including Ronsard, Belleau, Cowley and Lovelace.¹ The version by Goethe, 'An Die Cicade', is particularly expressive and faithful to the original.² The appeal of the poem lies not only in the skilfulness of its composition but also in the potential applications of the image of the dew-fed cicada to the poet-singer. The cicada came to be a frequent poetic topos chiefly because the chirping of the insect was admired in antiquity for its musicality. Of all the many references to the cicada in both Greek and Latin literature, Anacreontea 34 stands out as the locus classicus in which traditional and innovative elements are brought together.

The cicada appears as common poetic image as early as Homer, who compares the flowing speech of the eloquent Trojan elders to the song of the cicada (Iliad 3.150-152):

... ἀγορηταὶ
ἔσθλοί, τεττίγεσσαν ἐοικότες, οἳ τε καθ' ὕλην
δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειριόεσσαν ἰεῖσιν.

... noble
speakers, seeming like cicadas, who throughout the forest
sit upon trees and pour forth their lily-like voice.³

The emergence of the cicada with its distinctive chirping is traditionally regarded as an indication of summer's arrival, an association readily acknowledged by poets. For example, in the pseudo-Hesiodic Shield of Heracles, Cycnus and Heracles fight in the heat of summer, the season when the cicada is in song (393-397, 401):

ἦμος δὲ χλοερῷ κυανόπτερος ἠχέτα τέττιξ
ὄζω ἐφεζόμενος θέρος ἀνθρώποισιν ἀείδειν
ἄρχεται, ᾗ τε πόσις καὶ βρῶσις θῆλυς ἔέρση,

καί τε πανημέριός τε καὶ ἥϊός χέει αὐδὴν
 ἕδει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ ...
 τὴν ὥρην μάρναντο, πολὺς δ' ὄρουμαγδὸς ὀρώρει.

When the dark-winged, shrill cicada
 sitting upon a green shoot begins to sing
 of summer to men -- its food and drink are delicate dew --
 and from dawn through the whole day pours forth
 its voice in the most torrid heat ...
 at that season they fought and great clamour arose.

The cicada is commonly described as shrill-voiced and sitting upon the branches of the trees in the heat of the sun.⁴ The dew-diet of the cicada is a popular notion, frequently alluded to in poetic contexts and also recognized by the naturalists of antiquity including Aristotle, Pliny and Aelianus.⁵ Another example of the association between summer and the cicada may be found in Hesiod's Works and Days (582-584), where the insect is described as producing his shrill song "in the season of wearisome heat." This passage evidently served as the inspiration for one of the convivial songs of Alcaeus (347 L-P). Vergil's use of alliteration is striking as he describes a typical summer scene (Georg. 3.328):

... et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae

... and plaintive cicadas will rend the forest with song.

For Juvenal, the words expectate cicadas, 'wait for the cicadas' (9.69) are sufficient to express his anticipation of summer. In Anacreontea 34, the cicada, perched upon the treetops and drinking dew, is called 'the sweet harbinger of summer' (l.11).

The appeal of the cicada's song and the intriguing habits of the insect itself, with its supposed dew-diet and self-rejuvenating powers, accounted for the widespread popularity of cicada-imagery in poetry. Such a detailed and isolated treatment of the image as is found in Anacreontea 34, however, is unprecedented. The poem may be a reflection of the surge of interest in

nature and living creatures which arose during the Hellenistic period, especially in the pastoral poems of Theocritus, and which remained constant for the next few centuries as revealed in the Greek Anthology.⁶ A few other poems in the Anacreontea appear to have been composed with a similar approach, such as 10 and 25, which are addressed to swallows, 15, directed to a pigeon, and 35, where a bee is mentioned. The inclusion of poem 34 in the Anacreontea must clearly have been determined upon the basis of its metre; an extended poem on the topic of the insect is completely alien to the style and content of the original poetry of Anacreon.

In many respects, Anacreontea 34 bears resemblance to a religious hymn or psalm. This is entirely appropriate to the main theme of the poem, the semi-divine nature of the cicada. The opening salutation, *Μαχαρίζομεν*, 'We deem you blessed', is overtly religious in tone, recalling the familiar Homeric description of the gods as *μάκαρες*, 'the blessed ones'.⁷ The cicada shares in the glory of the gods by being honoured by mortals (ℓ.10). The gods are believed to have no blood in their veins, but rather ichor, because they do not consume mortal food.⁸ Similarly, the cicada is called *ἀναμύδοσάρκε*, 'with bloodless flesh' (ℓ.17), a word which occurs only here,⁹ and it is said to feed on dew, an ethereal substance, not unlike the nectar of the gods, with divine associations of its own.¹⁰

The cicada is regarded as being unaffected by old age (ℓ.15) because of the manner in which it sheds its skin after emerging from the larva deposited in the earth. Moreover, the cicada only survives for a few months in its existence above ground and therefore avoids old age altogether. The cicada thus appears as ageless as the immortal gods.

The story is told in mythology of Tithonus, the beloved of Eos, goddess of the dawn, who was granted immortal life but without eternal youth, which was

foolishly overlooked in the request. As Tithonus shrank and decayed with old age, Eos locked him into a chamber where he continued to deteriorate with age and babbled without ceasing. According to some accounts,¹¹ he was turned into a cicada, having only the power of speech left, but being able to rejuvenate himself by shedding his old skin. Like the cicada, which feeds on dew, Tithonus is given ambrosia to drink.¹² The metamorphosis of Tithonus into a cicada is entirely appropriate in the light of the immortal qualities traditionally associated with the insect.

The adjective ἀπαθής, 'free from suffering' (ℓ.17), also seems to be related to the divine nature of the cicada. According to Epicurean philosophy, the gods were incapable of feeling pain and enjoyed a peaceful existence completely removed from the affairs of mortals.¹³ The cicada, however, does demonstrate some concern in being benevolent to farmers (ℓℓ.8-9) by not destroying crops as locusts do. Dihle¹⁴ understands the cicada as representing the ideal Stoic sage who is immune to emotional pain (ἀπαθής) because of the lack of blood, the conduit for feeling and emotions according to Stoic philosophy. It is evident that the adjective ἀπαθής helps to convey the overall message that the cicada is an extraordinary creature whose existence is untouched by mortal suffering. This supernatural quality is further emphasized by the belief that the cicada defies the laws of nature in being earthborn (ℓ.16).¹⁵

The metaphorical association between cicadas and poets emerges as a central theme in Anacreontea 34. The cicada is said to have received from Apollo the gift of the clear-toned song (λιγυρήν δ' ἔδωκεν οὔμην ℓ.14). There appears to be a close verbal echo here of Homer who says that Demodocus, the blind bard at the court of King Alcinous of Phaeacia, was taught to sing by the Muse (οὔμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Od. 8.481). The dew which the cicada drinks appears to

be a medium for poetic inspiration, similar to wine, the traditional drink of poets.¹⁶ The cicada first drinks the dew (ℓ.3) and then breaks forth into song (ℓ.4). Antipater of Thessalonica (first century B.C.) draws an obvious connection between wine and dew in one of his epigrams about a cicada (A.P. 9.92.1-2 = G.P. 81-82):¹⁷

ἀρκεῖ τέττιγος μεθύσει δρόσος, ἀλλὰ πλόντες
δείδειν κύκνων εἰσὶ γεγωνότεροι.

Dew is enough to make cicadas drunk. But having drunk it they are able to sing louder than swans.

In this passage, the cicada represents the poet himself who continues to say that he will memorialize his patron through poetry even though little payment has been given.

There has traditionally been a strong association between dew and the Muses, the goddesses of poetic inspiration by whom the cicadas are loved (ℓ.12). According to Hesiod's Theogony (80ff.), the Muses touch the lips of kings, while yet in infancy, with dew. As a result, the kings mature into eloquent speakers, with "honeyed words flowing from their mouths," and are consequently honoured by men as gods. It is significant that the author of Anacreontea 34 writes that the cicada sings like a king (ℓ.4) and is also honoured by mortals (ℓ.10). Borthwick¹⁸ suggests that this is an intentional and "learned allusion" to the Hesiodic passage. The association between kings and Muses is further explained by Plutarch (Mor. 801E), who notes that it was common for kings who wished to be good speakers to pay special honour to the Muse Calliope. Plutarch cites Hesiod's Theogony as a parallel reference. The comparison of the cicada to a king, despite all relevant connections with dew and the Muses, is a striking oxymoron; there is a humorous contrast between the tiny insect who drinks droplets of dew and the potentate who has possession of everything in the fields and the forests (ℓℓ.5-7).

Cicadas are often directly associated with the Muses, a fact which is important to the understanding of the insect in the contexts of both divinity and poetry. The poets of the Greek Anthology, who demonstrate a particular fascination with the cicada and its amazing musical abilities,¹⁹ frequently represent the insect as being especially blessed by the Muses. For example, the cicada is addressed as "the one who calls with the voice of the Muse" (A.P. 9.372.6 = F.G.E. 2067 Tiberius Ilus). In a curious epigram of Posidippus (third century B.C.), the poet, who is tormented by love, likens himself to a "cicada of the Muses" which has been captured by Love and is tortured with fire upon a bed of thorns (A.P. 12.98 = H.E. 3074). The theme of music is central in an epigram of Leonidas in which a cicada admits to loving Athena, the inventress of the aulos, as much as the insect itself is loved by the Muses (A.P. 6.120 = H.E. 2521). It is also significant that Homer's phrase ὄπα λειριόεσσαν, 'lily-like voice' (Il. 3.152), describing the cicada's song, is the same as Hesiod's ὄπῃ λειριόεσση (Theog. 41) used of the Muses' voice.

The origin of the association between Muses and cicadas is explained in an aetiological myth told by Socrates (Plato, Phaedrus 259cff.). He is reminded of the story as he hears the cicadas while walking outside with his companion, Phaedrus. The philosopher explains that when the Muses first offered the power of song to mortals, some individuals were so carried away with singing that they neglected to eat and perished. From these emerged the race of cicadas who, according to Socrates, have need of no food at all and sing until they die. After their death, the cicadas are to report to the Muses which men have been paying the goddesses honour. With this tale, Socrates encourages Phaedrus to continue in philosophical discussion with him and not to rest, since the cicadas are listening and will make report to Calliope and Urania, the Muses of Philosophy.

Socrates refers to the cicadas as 'the spokesmen of the Muses' (οἱ τῶν Μουσῶν προφήται Plato, Phaedrus 262d). There may be a subtle allusion to this statement in Anacreontea 34.11 where the cicada is called προφήτης, in the sense of a 'harbinger' of the summer season.²⁰ The word προφήτης, however, seems to be double-edged. Since the cicada is so closely associated with the Muses and with song, the insect appears to be a suitable metaphor for a poet. It is not uncommon for poets to refer to themselves as προφήται in recognition of the divine force through which they are able to compose poetry and thereby take on the role of 'interpreters' or 'prophets' of the gods. Bacchylides (8.3) calls himself "the sacred spokesman of the violet-eyed Muses" (Μουσῶν ... ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφάτας). Pindar, a close contemporary and rival of Bacchylides, expresses the identical sentiment in a paean addressed to the people of Delphi (Paeon 6.6), referring to himself as 'the spokesman of the Pierians in song' (ἀοιδίμον Πιερίδων προφάταν). Since Delphi was regarded as the prophetic centre of the earth, it seems entirely appropriate for Pindar to have called himself a prophet in this paean.²¹

Poets have frequently identified themselves with the cicada, a direct result of the traditional association between cicadas and Muses. Lucian (Pseudologista I) describes how Archilochus on being insulted likened himself to "a cicada caught by its wing" (Fr. 223 West). Plutarch (Mor. 560E) recounts the story of Callontes, nicknamed Corax ('crow'), who was accused of killing Archilochus in battle. As expiation for this crime, he was commanded in an enigmatic oracle from Apollo to search out the birthplace of the cicada and there appease the soul of the slain poet who was sacred to the Muses.

The poet Callimachus found a soulmate in the cicada whose song embodies the qualities of clarity and simplicity, the ideals of Callimachaeon poetry (Aetia fr. 1.29-36):

τεττίγων ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ αἰδομεν οἷ λίγυν ἦχον
 θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων."
 θηρὶ μὲν οὐατόεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκήσαιτο
 ἄλλος, ἐγὼ δ' εἴην οὐλαχὺς, ὁ πτερόεις,
 ἄ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν αἰδῶ
 προίκιο]ν ἐκ δίης ἡέρος εἶδαρ ἕδων,
 αὐθι τὸ δ' ἐκδύοιμι, τό μοι βάρος ὅσσον ἔπεστι
 τριγλῶχιν ὀλοῶ νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδω.

For we sing with those who love the clear-toned voice of cicadas
 ... not the clamour of donkeys.
 Let another bray just like the long-eared beast,
 but I would be the delicate winged one,
 indeed yes, so that I may sing, eating dew,
 free food from the divine air,
 and may shed old age which is a heavy weight upon me
 as the three-pointed island upon deadly Enceladus.

In this passage, Callimachus recognizes the heavenly origin of the dew which the cicada drinks and desires to partake of the same divine food. There may also be a subtle yearning for immortality in his wish to cast off old age as the cicada sheds its skin.²² The cicada appears to be the choice symbol for both immortality and for poetic perfection.

In the Idylls of Theocritus, the cicada is frequently mentioned; not so much because the poet is keenly interested in the natural environment but on account of the musical qualities associated with the insect.²³ The rustic characters of the poems often compare their musical talents to those of the cicadas whose songs flow from the surrounding trees. For example, the goatherd tells the shepherd, Thyrsis, that his singing is better than that of the cicada (1.148). In another poem (5.29), the goatherd Comatas boasts that his song is like that of the cicada, while the efforts of his competitor, the shepherd Lacon, can be equated merely to the buzzing of a wasp.

The association between the cicada and poetry is further emphasized in Anacreontea 34 by the mention of Apollo (l.13), the patron god of music and poetry. Like the Muses, Apollo dispenses musical inspiration and is singled out as the one who gives the cicada its clear-toned song. One of the epigrams

in the Greek Anthology (A.P. 6.54)²⁴ commemorates the dedication of a bronze cicada to Apollo, given by Eunomus who played the lyre, an instrument sacred to the god. The poem describes how during mid-performance at a musical contest, one of the strings on the lyre upon which Eunomus was playing broke. He was able to continue playing, however, thanks to a cicada which landed on the lyre and sang on key in place of the broken string.

The cicada was mentioned in a Hymn to Apollo composed by Alcaeus, as can be deduced from the paraphrase provided by Himerius (Orat. 48.10-11 = Alc. 307[c]). Alcaeus described how nightingales, swallows and cicadas burst into songs of praises to Apollo as the god arrived in Delphi during the season of summer. In this response from nature, Apollo is recognized in his dual role as both a musical and a pastoral deity.²⁵

Another way in which the cicada is connected with music and poetry in Anacreontea 34 is in the description of the insect as σοφέ, 'wise one', (ℓ.16). The adjective σοφός, as well as its cognates, often has specific application to the skilfulness of a musician or a poet. For example, Apollo is celebrated as being skilled in playing the lyre (ἐν κιθάρῃ σοφόν, Eur. IT 1238). The word σοφία ('wisdom') may apply to both the art of music, as in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes (483, 511), and poetry, as in Solon (1.52) and Theognis (e.g. 790, 942). Pindar stands out as being most conscious of the relationship between wisdom and poetry. He frequently uses the adjective σοφός as a substantive for a poet (e.g. Pyth. 3.113), and similarly the noun σοφία for poetic art itself (e.g. Pyth. 4.248). The 'song-loving' (ℓ.16) cicada thus appears to be represented as a poet in miniature.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR (PART III)

1. Cf. D.C. Allen, Image and Meaning (Baltimore, 1960, 80-92) for a detailed analysis of Richard Lovelace's 'The Grasse-Hopper', a poem based upon Anacreontea 34 but filled with 17th century political overtones. Allen also provides an important summary of cicada-imagery throughout Greek literature, pointing out some of the popular metaphorical associations between the cicada and a poet.

2.

AN DIE CICADE

nach dem Anakreon

Selig bist du, liebe Kleine,
 Die du auf der Bäume Zweigen,
 Von geringem Trank begeistert,
 Singend, wie ein König lebest!
 Dir gehöret eigen alles,
 Was du auf den Feldern siehest,
 Alles, was die Stunden bringen;
 Lebest unter Ackersleuten,
 Ihre Freundin, unbeschädigt,
 Du den Sterblichen Verehrte,
 Süßen Frühlings süßer Bote!
 Ja, dich lieben alle Musen,
 Phoebus selber muß dich lieben,
 Gaben dir die Silberstimme,
 Dich ergreift nie das Alter,
 Weise, Zarte, Dichterfreundin,
 Ohne Fleisch und Blut Geborne,
 Leidenlose Erdentochter,
 Fast den Göttern zu vergleichen.

-- Goethe (1749-1832)

Blessed are you, dear little one
 who upon the tree branches,
 by a small draught inspired,
 singing, live like a king!
 All is your very own
 that which you see in the fields,
 all that the seasons bring;
 you live among farmers,
 their friend, uninjured,
 you who are honoured by mortals
 sweet herald of sweet spring!
 Indeed, all the Muses love you,
 Phoebus himself must also love you,
 they who gave you the silver voice;
 age never overtakes you,
 wise, delicate, friend of poets,
 born without flesh and blood,
 free from suffering, daughter of the earth,
 almost like the gods in comparison.

3. The adjective *λεριόεσσαν*, 'lily-like', which Homer applies to the voice of the cicada, is puzzling. Kirk (1985) 283-4, finds the implication of the 'clatter of cicadas' as being delicate, like a lily, surprising, yet perhaps not an impossible association for the Greeks who enjoyed the sound. Kirk also notes that there may be a 'touch of affectionate irony' in comparing the unending chatter of the Trojan elders to the equally limitless chirping of the 'lily-like' cicada. Stanford (1969) 3-8, draws three significant parallels in this context: the song of the cicada is even and continuous like the outline of a lily; the chirping is free from roughness and irregularity as is the texture of the lily; and the voice of the cicada is as distinct as the lily is bright in its whiteness. The choice of the adjective appears to be a compliment to the cicada's voice since lilies are commonly associated with beauty.
4. E.g. Theoc. 16.94; A.P. 6.120 = H.E. 2521 (Leonidas); Verg. Ec. 2.13.
5. Cf. [Hes.] Shield, 395; Theoc. 4.16; Arist. Clouds 1360; Call. Aet. fr. 1.33; A.P. 6.120 = H.E. 2521 (Leonidas); A.P. 7.196 = H.E. 4066 (Meleager); A.P. 9.92 = G.P. 81 (Antipater of Thessalonica); A.P. 9.373 = F.G.E. 2068 (Tiberius Ilus); Verg. Ec. 5.77; Anacreont. 34.3; Aristotle H.A. 532b; Plutarch Mor. 660F; Pliny N.H. 11.32, 92ff.; Aelianus 1.20.
6. Many of the poems in the Greek Anthology are concerned with all manner of animals and insects (cf. Norman Douglas, Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology, London, 1929). Dihle (1966), who regards Anacreontea 34 as a learned philosophical allegory, puts the date of composition as late as between A.D. 350 and 580.
7. E.g. Od. 5.7; 10.299. It is interesting to compare a passage from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius (7.11), written in the 2nd century A.D., in which cicadas are called μακάριοι ('blessed') and σοφοί ('skilled', cf. Anacreont. 34.16).
8. Cf. Iliad 5.340, 416.
9. Cf. A.P. 9.264.6 = G.P. 1228 (Apollonides) where the cicada is said to be δσάρκου, "fleshless". Aristotle (De. Resp. 474b33) writes that all insects are bloodless, and Pliny (N.H. 11.2.8) notes that the cicada, in particular, is without blood. It was commonly believed that food was transformed into blood (Aristot. P.A. 651a.14-15), which accounted for the reasoning that the dew-eating cicada was bloodless.
10. Dew was considered to be of heavenly origin (cf. Pliny N.H. 11.30-1; Call. Aet. fr. 1.34). Zeus is characteristically associated with dew (cf. Cook [1940] 261-277), especially because his fertility is often represented through images of water and, in particular, dew (cf. Boedeker [1984] 17ff.). The Muses, daughters of Zeus, dispense dew according to Hesiod (Theog. 81ff.). Dew is traditionally recognized as a pure and ethereal substance.
11. Cf. Scholia on Lycophron Alexandra 18 and on Iliad 11.1. According to Eustathius (Iliad 11.1), one version of the myth describes how Tithonus

begged Eos to turn him into a cicada so that she could at least hear his voice. Eustathius explains that Tithonus becomes a cicada because he is physically cold in his old age like the insect and also because his persistent pleas to Eos are as ceaseless as the songs of cicadas. The metamorphosis of Tithonus into a cicada is not explicitly stated according to the account given in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (218-238) (cf. King [1986] 19-35).

12. Hymn to Aphrodite 232.
13. Cf. Lucretius 2.646ff.
14. Dihle (1966) 110. His conclusions are well-supported, yet I cannot regard them as convincing.
15. The eggs of the cicada are laid in small vines or twigs from which they fall into the ground. Lucretius (5.803-4) uses the example of the cicada to prove that the earth is the primary procreative force in the world. The Athenians, who regarded themselves as autochthonous (cf. Thuc. 1.2.5; Eur. Ion 29; Aristoph. Wasps 1076), adopted the cicada as a national symbol. The insect was engraved upon hair ornaments (cf. Thuc. 1.6.3), jewellery and coins (cf. Cook [1940] 252-6 for a detailed description of such items).
16. The word δρόσος, 'dew', may in fact be found in close association with wine. In Euripides, Ion (1194) the water which is added to wine in a mixing bowl is called 'dew'. Pindar (Ol.7.2) refers to the 'dew of the vine' which bubbles up in the mixing-bowl. The image is intended to be symbolic of poetry.
17. Cf. A.P. 7.196 = H.E. 4066 (Meleager), where the cicada is said to be 'drunk with dew drops', filling the wilderness with its song.
18. Borthwick (1966) 104. Dihle (1966) 110 understands the kingship of the cicada in the context of the Stoic sage, represented by the insect, who regards himself as a king (cf. Lucian, Hermotimus 16). It is equally valid, however, to compare Plato's idea of a philosopher-king (cf. Rep. 473 C-D), since in Anacreontea 34 the cicada is likened to both a king (l.4) and also to a wise philosopher (σφῆ 2.16).
19. Cicadas are frequently mentioned in the poems of the Greek Anthology. Examples include: A.P. 6.54 (Paulus Silentiarius); A.P. 6.120 = H.E. 2521 (Leonidas); A.P. 7.190 = H.E. 742 (Anyte); A.P. 7.196 = H.E. 4066 (Meleager); A.P. 7.201 = H.E. 2839 (Pamphilus); A.P. 9.71 = G.P. 985 (Antiphilus); A.P. 9.92 = G.P. 81 (Antipater of Thessalonica); A.P. 9.122 = G.P. 2318 (Euenus); A.P. 9.264 = G.P. 1223 (Apollonides); A.P. 9.273 = G.P. 1707 (Bianor); A.P. 9.372 = F.G.E. 2062 (Tiberius Illus); A.P. 9.373 = F.G.E. 2068 (Tiberius Illus); A.P. 12.98 = H.E. 3074 (Posidippus).
20. Dihle (1966) 109.
21. Cf. Pindar fr. 150, where the poet asks for an oracle from the Muse so

that he may interpret it (προφατεύω).

22. The noun γῆρας ('old age') in fact has the secondary meaning of "a skin which is cast off", such as that of a snake (LSJ s.v. γῆρας).
23. Cf. Rosenmeyer (1969) 132-135. Instances of cicada-imagery in Theocritus include Idylls 1.148; 4.16; 5.29, 110; 7.138, 142; 16.94.
24. Cf. A.P. 9.584 (Anon.), an epigram which describes the statue of Eunomus who is holding a lyre with a cicada perched upon it. This statue is also mentioned by Strabo (6.1.9).
25. Cf. Page (1955) 248.

The Amatory Poems

Anacreon's proficiency in composing amatory verse brought him his greatest fame. Pausanias (1.25.1) notes that Anacreon was the first poet after Sappho to write mostly about love. Similarly Athenaeus (13.600d = Anac. 500) comments on the popularity of "wise"¹ Anacreon, "the poet on everyone's lips", who hymned the god of love in his songs. Cicero's statement, Nam Anacreontis quidem tota poesis est amatoria (Tusc. Disp. 4.71), is clearly an exaggeration, however.² Horace draws a parallel between himself and the poet Anacreon (Epodes 14.9-12):

non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
 Anacreonta Teium,
 qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
 non elaboratum ad pedem.

Not otherwise do they say for Bathyllus of Samos
 did Anacreon of Teos burn,
 who often wept for love with his hollow lyre
 in simple measures.

Such widespread fame in this respect was not unmerited. Anacreon's finest poetic skills, especially in the art of imagery, were displayed in his amatory poems.

It is natural that the theme of love should appear as a main current in the Anacreontea. The author of poem 23 asserts that despite all efforts to compose epic, he can only produce love poems. In the first poem, the claim is made by the author that he has been in love ever since he accepted the garland from Anacreon, that is, ever since he took on the task of writing poetry in the manner of the poet. This recognition of Anacreon's influence, however, comes close to a mere formality. Although his amatory poetry is used as a stepping-stone on some occasions in the Anacreontea, the poems, for the most part, show a marked divergence from Anacreon, especially through the synthesis of later poetic traditions. Moreover, the authors of the Anacreontea do not demonstrate

the same finesse of style as Anacreon.

One motif which the authors of the Anacreontea borrow directly from Anacreon is the contrast between old age and youth, especially in an amatory context. In his poem about the girl from Lesbos (358), Anacreon suggests that he has been shunned on account of his white hair.³ This reference clearly served as the inspiration for Anacreontea 51:

Do not run away from me at the sight of
my grey hair;
do not, because you are
in the bloom of youth, scorn
my affection, dear.
Look, in garlands also
how becoming it is when white lilies
are interwoven with roses.

In this brief poem, there is an effective progression of thought and imagery from "the bloom of youth" mentioned in line 4 to the lilies and roses of garlands (ll.6-8).⁴ The situation is similar in Anacreontea 7, where the author, in the persona of the aged Anacreon, is faced with rejection. In a manner that typifies the Anacreontea rather than Anacreon, however, the author reasons that the old are all the more entitled to youthful happiness. In Anacreontea 52(b), by contrast, the author is horrified at the prospect of approaching death and earnestly wishes to escape his troubles. This tone of desperation follows Anacreon's own despondency at growing old (395).

The loss of youth and of all its associations with love and hopefulness was one of the most important concerns to the Greek lyric poets in general. Semonides, in a didactic poem (1) about the folly of hope (ἐλπίς), uses the poignant adjective ἀζηλον, "unenviable" (l.11), to describe old age "which overtakes a man before he reaches his goal" (ll.11-12). The solution offered by Semonides (1.22ff.), that man should not dwell on his miseries, is similar to the message echoed throughout the Anacreontea (e.g. 38, 40, 45). By contrast, Mimnermus

leaves no room for optimism in old age, especially with respect to love (1):

τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσαῖης Ἀφροδίτης;
 τεθναίην, ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτά μέλοι,
 κρυπταδίη φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή,
 οὔτ' ἤβης ἄνθεα γίνεται ἀρπαλέα
 ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναῖξιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ὀδυνηρὸν ἐπέλθῃ
 γῆρας, ὃ τ' αἰσχρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα τιθεῖ,
 αἰεὶ μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακὰ τεύρουσι μέριμναι,
 οὐδ' ἀγάς προσορῶν τέρπεται ἡελίου,
 ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸς μὲν παισίν, ἀτίμαστος δὲ γυναῖξιν·
 οὕτως ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἔθηκε θεός.

What is life, what is happiness without golden Aphrodite?
 May I perish, when I no longer care about these things:
 secret friendship, kind gifts, and love-making,
 such are the flowers of youth, alluring
 to men and women; but when painful old age
 approaches, that makes a man both ugly and mean,
 miserable worries always rub away at him in his heart--
 he does not even enjoy looking at sunbeams;
 he is hateful to boys, dishonoured by women;
 so distressing did god make old age.

The conciseness of Theognis' statement appropriately illustrates his view on the swiftness of time (984):

αἶψα γὰρ ὥστε νόημα παρέρχεται ἀγλαὸς ἤβη.

For shining youth passes by quickly like a thought.

Horace, the master poet who coined the phrase carpe diem, "pluck the day," (Odes 1.11.8), followed in the footsteps of his Greek predecessors. He is reminded by the gloom of winter that sweet love and dances should not be neglected in youth (Odes 1.9.15-16). Nisbet and Hubbard⁵ draw a comparison between the Anacreontea (e.g. 7 and 30) and Odes 2.11 where Horace writes (ll.5-8):

... fugit retro
 levis iuventas et decor, arida
 pellente lascivos amores
 canitie facilemque somnum.

... smooth-skinned youth
 and beauty flee away behind, while
 parched old age banishes playful
 loves and easy sleep.

In a poem addressed to his former love, Lyce, (Odes 4.13), Horace describes how

Cupid flies past her disdainfully because of her wrinkled skin and white hair (ll.9-12). The imagery is striking in its vividness and in its cruelty.

The idealization of youth continues to be an important topos for the poets of the Greek Anthology. The visible signs of old age are called αἱ διαλυσίφιλοι, "the dissolvers of love" (A.P. 5.21.2 [Rufinus]). An epigram by Paulus Silentiarius (A.P. 5.264) focuses on the theme of old age and lost love with an approach similar to that found in Anacreontea 51 and 52(b). The fourth century A.D. epigrammatist Palladas imitated Anacreontea 7 almost word for word (A.P. 11.54). With such significant similarities between the Greek Anthology and the Anacreontea, it becomes difficult to distinguish what is original from what is imitation.

From the remaining fragments of Anacreon's work, it is evident that he employed military imagery in love poems. For example, Himerius (Or. 48.4 = Anac. 445) quotes a couplet from Anacreon in which the Loves are reproached:

ὕβρισται καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες
ἐφ' οὓς τὰ βέλη κυκλωσέσθε.

Insolent and reckless, you are not aware
against whom you will hurl your weapons.

In the Hymn to Dionysus (357), Love is given the epithet δαμάλης, "subduer" (l.1).⁶ Anacreon's image of boxing with Love (346(2); 396) is more facetious than violent, however. Archilochus, the poet from whom Anacreon borrowed the image of the abandoned shield (Anac. 381(b); Archil. 5W), also used battle imagery to communicate the pain of love (193):

δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθῳ
ἄψυχος, χαλεπήσι θεῶν ὀδυνῆσιν ἔκητι
πεπαρμένος δι' ὀστέων

Miserable, I am wrapped in longing,
lifeless, pierced through my bones
with painful suffering at the hand of the gods.

The Greek lyric poets found the most vivid images to express the emotional

turmoil of the love experience in terms of physical suffering.

The juxtaposition of war and love, however, presents an immediate paradox: they are in effect polar opposites. The analogy nevertheless remained popular throughout classical literature, providing the poets with abundant imagery. In the Hellenistic era, it became customary to depict Love as a cunning archer whose bow and quiver were standard attributes. Propertius, who imagined himself as a combatant in the unceasing battle of love, employed the popular imagery with sensitivity and pathos.⁷ In Ovid, however, it is possible to see how the characterization of love as a child-like toxophilite⁸ only served to trivialize what was once an effective symbolic approach for the archaic poets.

Anacreontea 13, 28 and 33 have been strongly influenced by Hellenistic tradition. All three poems, written in a straightforward anecdotal manner, depict Love as an armed trickster. Anacreontea 28 is the least successful of this group; the style is unpolished and the imagery unclear. Poem 13, by contrast, is neatly composed with epic allusions cleverly woven in to heighten the dramatization of the author's battle with Love. He dons his breastplate "like Achilles" (l.9) preparing to meet the Trojans.⁹ Love himself, armed with bow and golden quiver, stands like an epic hero challenging his opponent to fight. When Love inflicts the final blow, mysteriously hurling himself like an arrow, the victim is weakened by loosened limbs (ἐλυσεν, l.17), an image commonly used by Homer at the point of a warrior's death.¹⁰ The occurrence of this imagery in an amatory context is significant. Hesiod (Theog. 121) describes the god Eros as λυσιμελής, "loosener of limbs". Similarly Sappho, with her richness of diction, writes (130):

Ἔρος δηῦτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμελής δόνει,
γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον.

Once again Love, the limb-loosener, shakes me,
bitter-sweet, impossible creature.

Archilochus uses the same epithet of passionate desire (196):

ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυσιμελής, ὃ 'ταῖρε, δάμναται πόθος.

But, my friend, limb-loosening desire overpowers me.

The imagery of Anacreontea 33 is especially noteworthy. A surprisingly elaborate opening is created by the reference to the constellations (λλ.2-3).¹¹ For the remainder of the poem, descriptive material is given only sparingly, as is typical of the anacreontic style. The remarkable image of the kindly host wringing out rain-water from Love's hair (λλ.20-22), a serene vignette, has been skilfully positioned so that the impact of the subsequent attack by Love (λλ.37ff.) is all the more sudden and shocking. In line 29, the rasping sound of the participle καχάζων ('chuckling') emphasizes the mocking tone of Love's laughter.

Military imagery also appears in Anacreontea 24 where a woman's beauty is said to be as strong as shield (λ.10) or sword (λ.11). The style of this poem is not paralleled elsewhere in the Anacreontea and it is one of the few instances where an author has chosen not to write in the first person. The poem opens with a list of attributes with which Nature has endowed living creatures for the purpose of self-protection. This is an unmistakeable echo of a passage in the Platonic dialogue Protagoras (320d-321d). There, the story is told of how Epimetheus distributed various defensive qualities to animals but had nothing remaining to give to humans. His brother Prometheus, the fore-thinker, was responsible for bestowing upon man the knowledge of fire and wisdom (cf. φρόνημα, Anacreontea 24.7). The main focus of Anacreontea 24, however, is not revealed until line 8 with the word γυναιξίν. The last five lines all concentrate on the power of female beauty. The symmetry of diction and the cleverness of thought account for the success of this poem.

Anacreon often endeavoured to express the agony of love in vivid terms.

He used the image of being carried over reefs (403) and spoke of searching for an escape from love (400, 411(a)), even to the point of leaping from the Leucadian cliff (376). The amatory poems in the Anacreontea do not reflect this intensity of emotion. There are some dramatic passages, however. In Anacreontea 30 and 31, Love is characterized as a brutal creature which chases and harasses its victims. The author of Anacreontea 18, speaking in the persona of Anacreon, searches for release from the heat of the Loves. Anacreontea 27 finishes with a startling image: lovers are distinguished by a delicate mark inside the soul (ℓ.8). The noun χάραγμα denotes an engraving of some kind, such as an inscription on stone, an imprint on a coin, or a brand on a horse, as mentioned in Anacreontea 27 (ℓ.2). The process by which such a mark could be left on the soul suggests pain and torture. The poet Maccius (c. first century A.D.) described Eros as "an unseen wound in the soul" (ψυχᾶς τραῦμ' ἄδορατον A. Pl. 198.4 = G.P. 2539). Vergil had similarly spoken of Dido's love for Aeneas as a wound which consumes from within (Aeneid 4.68-69):

At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

But the queen, long since afflicted with grievous pain
nourishes the wound with her life-blood and is consumed by invisible
fire.

The first four lines of Anacreontea 29, perhaps forming a complete poem on their own, describe the plight of the lover:

Χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ φιλῆσαι,
χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ φιλῆσαι.
χαλεπώτερον δὲ πάντων
ἀποτυγχάνειν φιλοῦντα.

It is difficult not to love,
It is difficult to love,
but it is most difficult of all
if a lover fails.

The repetition of χαλεπὸν followed by χαλεπώτερον recalls the polyptoton of the

name Cleobulus in one of Anacreon's poems (359). The symmetry and epigrammatic quality of these lines also seem reminiscent of another amatory poem from Anacreon (428):

ἔρέω τε δηῦτε κοῦκ ἔρέω
καὶ μαινόμεαι κοῦ μαινόμεαι

Once again I love and do not love,
I am mad and am not mad.

The vacillation of a lover's inner emotions may also be seen in Catullus' famous cry Odi et amo, "I hate and I love" (85.1).

The recognition that money is essential for success in love is a popular topos of amatory poetry. Tibullus (2.4.27ff.) laments the powerlessness of his own poetry as he realizes that in order to win his love he must obtain more tangible gifts for her. Propertius, having been rejected (exclusus amator) because he bears no gift save his poetry, hears his mistress saying (4.5.53-54):

aurum spectato, non quae manus afferat aurum!
versibus auditis quid nisi verba feres?

Watch for the gold, not for the hand which offers gold!
If you listen to his poetry, what will you get except words?

According to Ovid, the expert on courtship, gifts are far more effective than poems (Ars. Am. 2.277).

In Anacreontea 29, love is said to be oblivious to everything except money. Moreover, money is the cause of familial strife, wars and murders (λλ.6-9). The greatest hardship of all, however, is suffered by lovers. The venality of love is a common theme in the Greek Anthology.¹² Antipater of Thessalonica (A.P. 5.30.1 = G.P. 101) comments that Homer's truest statement of all was in calling Aphrodite "golden" (e.g. Il. 3.64 ... χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης).

Anacreontea 58, a unique piece in the collection, is solely concerned with the financial plight of the love poet. The author contrasts the deceptiveness of gold, 'the runaway', with the sincerity of his own love poems. The issue is

not so much that money is coming between the poet and his love but rather that it is coming between him and his poetry; the enticement to pursue wealth causes the poet to neglect his art. Gold is represented as a faithless lover (*ἄπιστ', ἄπιστε χρυσέ, λ.19*), while the poet, who honours the sanctity of the marriage vow with his poems (25ff.), strives to be constant in his devotion to the Muse. Crinagoras voices a similar condemnation of wealth in the commitment to his poetic art (A.P. 9.234 = G.P. 2054).

The disdain of wealth was a common sentiment among the lyric poets. The contempt for riches expressed by the authors of the Anacreontea (8, 29, 36, 58) may have originated with Anacreon himself who wrote (361):

ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἄν Ἀμαλθείης
βουλοίμην κέρας οὐτ' ἕτα
πεντήκοντά τε κάκατὸν
Ταρτησοῦ βασιλεῦσαι.

I would wish neither for the horn
of Amalthea nor to be king
of Tartessus¹³ for one hundred
and fifty years.

The horn of Amalthea, the goat who nursed Zeus in his infancy, became a symbol for abundance (cf. cornu copiae 'horn of plenty') since it flowed with nectar and ambrosia.¹⁴ Archilochus (19.1-3), recalled by Anacreontea 8 (λλ.1-4), similarly denounced wealth and kingly power. Another fragment of Anacreon's poetry (384) is pertinent:

οὐδ' ἀργυρῆ ἔτι τότε Πειθῶ

and at that time Persuasion did not yet shine silver,

This line is quoted by a scholiast on Pindar, Isthmian 2.13. Here, Pindar speaks of a former time when poets spoke from the heart without thought of payment. He identifies himself with those poets in order to stress the sincerity of his feelings in the ode. The Pindaric scholiast notes that Anacreon refused payment when it was offered to him. Perhaps Anacreon was alluding not only to

the venality of poets but also of love, since *παιθῶ* is usually associated with the enticing charms of Eros.¹⁵ Solon (7ff., 74ff.) warns of the danger of becoming infatuated with pursuing wealth. Horace, too, preaches moderation to the rich (*Odes* 2.2) and contentment with one's position in life (*Odes* 3.16). Like the author of *Anacreontea* 29, Horace describes the destructive power of money (*Odes* 3.16.9-11):

aurum per medios ire satellites
et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
ictu fulmineo ...

Gold loves to march through the midst of guards
and break through rock, for it is stronger
than a bolt of thunder....

Propertius (3.7.1) pinpoints money as the source of worry in life.

Anacreontea 10 represents one of the most enduring forms in the genre of love poetry: the aubade or "dawn-song".¹⁶ In such a piece, a poet/lover voices his complaint at the arrival of morning. The poets of the *Greek Anthology* are especially fond of aubades; they raise their laments most often at the rising sun or at the early-morning songs of birds.¹⁷ Agathias (*A.P.* 5.237) has a poem similar to *Anacreontea* 10 in which he reproaches the noisy swallow for disturbing his dreams. One fragment of Anacreon (453) mentions the "chattering swallow" (*κατ'ίλη χελιδόν*),¹⁸ but it is impossible to determine whether these words may have been part of an aubade.

A comic touch may be seen in *Anacreontea* 14 where the author provides a geographical catalogue of his numerous loves. The image of counting all the leaves of the trees and the waves of the ocean (ll.1-4) recalls the amatory poems of Catullus (7) and Martial (6.34). *Anacreontea* 25 also depends on humour and exaggeration.

The well-known love story of Daphne and Apollo is recounted in *Anacreontea* 60(a). The poem begins with an elaborate introduction. The poet appears to

have no set topic in mind at first. After invoking the Muse for assistance (l.11), he is reminded of Apollo by his lyre, the instrument sacred to the god, and subsequently settles upon the theme of Phoebus' love for Daphne (l.14). The style of this poem is elevated and sophisticated. The author may well have been acquainted with Ovid's account of the tale (Met. 1.452-567). In line 15, Apollo's love for Daphne is described as ἀνεμώλιον τὸν οἴστρον, "the futile passion". Similarly Ovid writes that Apollo "nourished his futile love through hope", ... sterilem sperando nutrit amorem (l.496). The chasteness of Daphne, mentioned in line 16 of Anacreontea 60(a), is central in the Ovidian passage (480ff.). Both poets describe how, after the maiden has been transformed, Apollo affectionately touches the tree as he would have touched Daphne (Anacreontea 60(a).22-23; Ovid Met. 1.553ff.).

Amatory poems form a significant part of the Anacreontea. The theme of love is touched on, directly or indirectly, in nearly all the poems, from the ephrastic pieces (3, 4, 5, 16, 17) to the convivial songs (e.g. 18, 20, 32, 49). The author of poem 58 speaks on behalf of all the love poets of the Anacreontea when he says (ll.9-12):

ἐμῶν φρενῶν μὲν αὔραις
 φέρειν ἔδωκα λύρας,
 λύρην δ' ἔλῶν ἀεῖδω
 ἐρωτικᾶς δοιδάς.

I cast away the troubles of my heart
 to the breezes to carry off,
 and taking my lyre I sing
 songs of love.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Athenaeus compliments Anacreon by calling him σοφός, recognizing the skillfulness of his poetic art. The same adjective is used of Anacreon by Plato (Phaedrus 235C), surely without the negative connotations of "cunning sophistry" he elsewhere associates with the word.
2. Is it possible that Cicero had the Anacreontea in mind when he made this statement, rather than the original works of Anacreon? Some of the Anacreontea may have been in existence in the first century B.C. (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard [1970], Introduction to Odes, xiii; 215). Cicero, like Horace, would have attributed the poems directly to Anacreon.
3. Two other fragments, Anac. 379 (greying beard) and 420 (white hairs mingled with black), may have originated from poems which similarly emphasized the dichotomy between youth and old age.
4. Flower imagery is prevalent throughout the Anacreontea. The convivial garland consists of flowers (18.5; 50.14), in specific, roses (8.7; 32.14; 43.2; 44.1, 12, 15) and hyacinths (42.5). In Anacreontea 31 (l.1), Love carries a rod entwined with hyacinths. Anacreon himself speaks of "the fields of hyacinth", where Aphrodite keeps her horses (346 [1].7). The author of Anacreontea 57, in his description of a silver engraving depicting Aphrodite's birth from the sea, compares the ivory-skinned goddess emerging from the dark waves as "a lily woven among violets" (l.21).

The flower which is most often mentioned in the Anacreontea, however, is the rose. One of the indications of the season of spring is the 'delightful rose' (5.4; 46.2). The rose has conventionally been regarded as a symbol for love and affection. It is only natural that the god Eros should be found in the rose garden (6.2; cf. 35.1). In Anacreontea 16, the artist is asked to mix "roses and cream" (l.23) in his portrait of a girl. The amatory associations of the rose are further described in Anacreontea 55, an intriguing hymn of praise in honour of the flower (ll. 7, 15, 22). The author of this poem has brought together many of the commonest literary references to the rose; he effectively uses the format of a poem to illustrate that the rose is a popular subject for poetry (l.9, 23). Sappho was particularly fond of mentioning the rose in her love poems: the temple of Aphrodite overshadowed with roses (2.6); garlands of roses (94.12); the rosy-fingered moon spreading its light over a meadow blooming with roses (96.8, 13) (cf. also Sappho, test. 43). The flower is also said to transcend the poetic sphere in its medicinal applications according to the anacreontic author (l.24). The protection which the rose provides for the dead (l.25) is evidenced in the Iliad (23.184-7) where Aphrodite, the goddess of love, appropriately uses a "rosy, ambrosial oil" to anoint the corpse of Hector. She thereby delivers the body from being mangled by dogs at night and hinders the process of physical decay. The fact that the rose defies time through the perpetuation of its fragrance (ll.26-28) seems especially relevant to the Anacreontea where the swift passage of mortal existence is often lamented. The rose, like the cicada (34.15, 18), is elevated to ageless immortality. Anacreontea 44 also contains laudatory lines concerning the rose. (For a summary of rose-imagery in Greek literature, cf. Eleanor Irwin, "The Crocus and the Rose", Greek Poetry and Philology. Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury [Chico, California 1984], 161ff..)

5. Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), 169.
6. In a fragment spuriously ascribed to Anacreon (505(d).5), Eros is described as "the one who subdues mortals" (ὄδε καὶ βροτοὺς δαμάζει). West includes the lines with the Anacreontea (Fr.1).
7. Cf. Prop. 1.6.29-30; 2.1.45, 9.38-39, 12.1-16, 13.1-2; 3.5.2, 8.33-34; 20.20. Cf. also Horace Odes 3.26; Epodes 11.1-4.
8. E.g. Ovid, Amores 1.2.10; 2.1.18.
9. Cf. Iliad 19.371-72.
10. E.g. Iliad 4.469 (Elephenor killed by Agenor); 22.337 (the dying Hector).
11. Cf. Ovid Met. 10.446ff. (a passage remarkably similar to Anacreontea 33.2-3):
Tempus erat, quo cuncta silent, interque triones
flexerat obliquo plaustrum temone Bootes.

It was the time when all was at rest and between the Bears
Bootes had turned his wagon with down-turned pole.
12. E.g. A.P. 11.416 (Anon.); A.P. 5.30 = G.P. 103 (Antipater of Thessalonica); A.P. 5.217 (Paulus Silentarius); A.P. 5.240 (Macedonius Consul).
13. Cf. Hdt. 1.163. Arganthonius was king of Tartessus in Spain during Anacreon's lifetime. He ruled for eighty years (not one hundred and fifty as exaggerated by Anacreon) and lived to his one hundred and twentieth year.
14. Cf. Schol. Callim. Hymn. 1.49; Campbell (1983), 227.
15. Cf. Bowra (1961), 296. The noun πελθῶ occurs three times in the Anacreontea (16.24, 17.24, 18.15).
16. The aubade has remained popular throughout the ages, from Ovid (Amores 1.13) to John Donne ("The Sun Rising").
17. On the sun: A.P. 5.172 = H.E. 4136 (Meleager); A.P. 5.283 (Paulus Silentarius); A.P. 5.223 (Macedonius Consul); on the song of birds: A.P. 12.137 = H.E. 4636 (Meleager), A.P. 12.136 = H.E. 3690 (Anon.); A.P. 5.3 = G.P. 109 (Antipater of Thessalonica).
18. Cf. Anac. 394(a) ἡδυμελὲς χαρίεσσα χελιδοῦ, "sweet-singing, graceful swallow". (Cf. Anacreontea 20.1-2 for the use of the adjective ἡδυμελής.)

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