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Carmina Anacreontea 1-20: Text, Translation, and Commentary

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Introduction

The *Carmina Anacreontea* (*CA*) are a substantial body of later Greek lyric poetry that provide insight into the engagement of later poets with archaic and Hellenistic predecessors, genre building, and versification. Taking their name and inspiration from the archaic poet Anacreon, the collection consists of around 60 short poems in iambic lyric meters by anonymous authors from the late Hellenistic age through the Byzantine era. Lighthearted in tone, these poems are exemplified by the gods who appear frequently in their verses: Eros, Dionysus, and Aphrodite. Sharing the stage alongside them, elevated to an almost divine status, is the poet Anacreon, the model for the creation of sympotic poetry.

In this commentary, I attempt to provide an aid both to those students and to scholars who wish to read the *Anacreontea* and incorporate knowledge of them into their framework of ancient literature. It is my hope that scholars already familiar with the *CA* can also benefit from the notes in this edition. Despite the increase in scholarship on these poems in recent years, the poems themselves are rarely read even by scholars of Greek lyric poetry and imperial Greek literature. In addition, the syntax and vocabulary of these poems is relatively simple compared to archaic lyric, making them ideal texts for students who are beginning to learn how to read Greek poetry.

This commentary contains the first twenty poems of the *CA*. Metrical and other structural divisions within the collection create a distinct structural unit out of poems 1-20 within the full collection, making this a relatively unobtrusive cut-off point.

I print West's text with some exceptions, described in the notes. While all ancient texts received through a manuscript tradition contain multiple versions of themselves through the process of scribal transmission, in this text in particular the "original" form of any given poem is

hard to isolate. The poems are found primarily in a single manuscript, the manuscript contains poems by a broad range of anonymous authors over the course of a broad span of time, and there were likely various editors who compiled the collection(s) in addition to the scribes who copied these compilations. Therefore, I am less concerned with restoring individual poems to an "original" form and more concerned with editing the collection as it appears in the manuscript and indicating in my notes potential motivations behind later interpolations and modifications, where they appear. I am overall skeptical on individual attribution and do not attempt to attribute any of the poems to the same author.

Beside the Greek text of each poem is a facing translation designed to facilitate understanding of the poems. Translations do not conform to any English verse form but are divided into lines to mirror the Greek as much as possible without impeding proper English sense. The text and translations are followed by a description of the meter of the poem, the title of the poem in the manuscript, and then an introduction to the poem as a whole and line by line notes. The introductions are especially concerned with the positioning of the poem within the collection as a whole.[1]

1.1 The Text

The *CA* are a collection of 60 poems found in an appendix of the same famous 10th century manuscript that contains the *Greek Anthology*. The original manuscript has been divided into two parts: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Codex Palatinus graecus 23, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Supplément grec 384.[2] The *CA* is found in the latter. The collection

[1] For the methodology of analyzing the thematic coherence and structure of a collection of poetry, cf. especially Gutzwiller 2005 and Krevans 2005.

[2] https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec23, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc24643g.

follows the "picture poems" (A.P. 15. 21-27), and is followed by epigrams by Gregory Nazianzenus, Anastius Balbus, Ignatius, Aethas, Theophanes, and Cometas.

The entire the collection is titled Ἀνακρέοντος Τηΐου συμποσιακὰ ἡμιάμβια. It contains 59 numbered poems (now variously divided by different scholars) across 8 folios, ending with the subscript τέλος τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος συμποσιακῶν. The collection appears to have been compiled out of multiple earlier sylloges in a manner similar to the *Greek Anthology* with which it shares a manuscript (see 1.2 Dating below).

In the modern age, the *CA* was first published by Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus) (1554). Stephanus's *editio princeps* contained 55 of the 60 poems of the manuscript, 31 of which he attributes to Anacreon. The remainder he includes in a section of doubtful attribution along with other lyric fragments, including genuine Anacreon. The collection also contains epigrams attributed to Anacreon and Alcaeus, as well as one poem of Sappho. Poems such as *CA* 1, in which the archaic Anacreon passes on his garland to the anacreontic poet, are redacted from Stephanus's collection in support of his attribution to Anacreon himself. This attribution to Anacreon was a subject of scholarly debate for centuries. In 1843, Theodor Bergk published a lyric collection that included separate sections for the lyrics of Anacreon and the *CA*, and in 1868 Valentin Rose released his Teubner of all 60 poems of the *CA* in manuscript order alone.[3]

Current complete editions include West's 1984 Teubner, revised in 1993, Campbell's 1988 Loeb, and Brioso Sánchez's 1981 text and commentary. The editing practices of West and Brioso Sánchez differ, with Brioso Sánchez adhering more faithfully to the manuscript reading

[3] For further discussion of the history of the publication of the *CA*, see Rosenmeyer 1992 3-8 and Baumann 1974.

and West offering many more emendations and suggestions.[4] Guichard (2012) generally follows the text of Brioso Sánchez, while Zotou (2014) follows West.

1.2 Dating

The dating of the individual poems of the *CA* is difficult and almost entirely based on internal evidence. Aulus Gellius (fl. *c.* 180 CE) quotes a version of *CA* 4 in *Attic Nights* 19.9, giving a *terminus ante quem* for that poem.[5] Certain other poems appear in other collections (the Palatine, Planudean, and Parisian Anthologies), but no others are directly quoted by any ancient source.[6] Gellius sets his quotation at a party thrown by a young equestrian Asian man and introduces it with the following:

> Ac posteaquam introducti pueri puellaeque sunt, iucundum in modum Ἀνακρεόντεια pleraque et Sapphica et poetarum quoque recentium ἐλεγεῖα quaedam erotica dulcia et venusta cecinerunt. Oblectati autem sumus praeter multa alia versiculis lepidissimis Anacreontis senis, quos equidem scripsi, ut interea labor hic vigiliarum et inquies suavitate paulisper vocum atque modulorum adquiesceret:
>
> And after the boys and girls were brought in, they sang many anacreontics and Sapphics and some sweet and charming elegies of recent poets as well. But we most especially enjoyed some very charming verses of the old Anacreon, which indeed I have written down, so that sometimes this work and restlessness of mine can find a bit of rest in the sweetness of poetry.[7]

It appears at first glance that Gellius attributes this poem to Anacreon himself, raising the question of whether he was aware of a later anacreontic genre. His juxtaposition of Ἀνακρεόντεια and *Sapphica* with *poetarum quoque recentium* implies that he places those poems in an ancient, not contemporary, category. However, *Anacreontis senis* does not itself have to refer to the actual Anacreon but could indicate an anacreontic poet/speaker who takes on the

[4] See also Giangrande 1975 for an endorsement of adherence to the manuscript.
[5] For more details on the various extant versions of *CA* 4, see commentary below.
[6] For a complete listing of alternate sourcing for individual poems, see West 1993 ix-xi.
[7] Latin text from the Loeb, translations my own. Henceforth translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

identity of Anacreon self-consciously, including the stereotypical old age that is present in this collection (e.g. *CA* 7 in which the speaker is Anacreon and is called old).[8] It's likely that Gellius' story reflects a broader practice of writing anacreontic poetry, both in the explicit voice of Anacreon and in his meters and styles that was already developing or developed at the time of Gellius's writing.[9]

Relative and absolute dating of the various poems within the collection is determined internally primarily by considerations of style, metrics, syntax, word choice, and the allusive relationships between particular poems. Comprehensive theories of dating have been proposed by Hanssen 1882, Sitzler 1913, Edmonds 1931, Brioso Sánchez 1970, and West 1993.[10]

Hanssen outlines two means by which dating can be determined: through the ordering of the poems within the collection, assuming that the final editor did not do a systematic rearranging, and through the evolution of the interaction between ictus and accent. In addition to the ordering of poems, he pays close attention to the content of the poems in his argumentation. The accentual/metrical line of inquiry is taken up by Edmonds and Brioso Sánchez, all three scholars looking especially at the coincidence of ictus and accent at the penultimate syllable of the line when compared with other hemiambics from Anacreon through the Byzantine era. As Campbell rightly notes, Brioso Sánchez's numbers are most reliable. He combines his metrical examination with a study of vocabulary and syntax, and divides the poems into two groups, the

[8] cf. Lütkenhaus 2014, 162

[9] Intertexts and allusions are another potential external basis for determining dating of the *CA*, though one that can only be attempted with extreme caution. While editions and commentaries, including this one, point out similarities in phrasing and thematic content between the *CA* and Hellenistic and Latin poetry, it is generally not possible to determine either the presence of direct influence, or the direction of influence when present. Recently, Veronika Lütkenhaus has conducted a study into the influence of Anacreon and the *Anacreontea* in the poetry of Horace and argues for several instances where Horace engagement with Anacreon is enhanced by a familiarity with the Anacreontic genre.

[10] Their conclusions are helpfully summarized by Campbell 1988, 16-18.

earlier (c. 100-400 CE), and the later (c. 400-600 CE). Edmonds argues for a date of 50 BCE-50 CE for the earliest poems, with some perhaps from the 2nd century BCE as well. While West does not assign specific dates for his earlier groups, he describes a sylloge of *CA* 1-20 as Hellenistic in spirit (and mostly conforming to classical prosody). All scholars generally agree that the majority of the first 30 poems are earlier, and the majority of the last 30 later, based primarily on metrical distinctions and vocabulary analysis.

1.3 Metrics

This section will focus primarily on the metrics of the twenty poems contained within this commentary.

The dominant meters of the *CA* are the iambic dimeter catalectic, or hemiambic, and the anacreontic.

The basic form of the hemiambic is:

X – ∪ – ∪ – X

And the basic form of the anacreontic:

∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – X

CA 1, 4, 6-15 are in hemiambics, and *CA* 2, 3, 16-18 are in anacreontics. Occasional anaclasis is found throughout both meters.

When it comes to interpreting the more metrically variable poems, there are two major schools of thought. On the one hand, the variability can be viewed as a failure to adhere to classical forms of prosody due to the loss of vowel lengths in later Greek and poor skill on the

part of the poet. This is the view evident in West's description of his divisions of the poems.[11] On the other hand, these poems can be analyzed as deliberate compositions that conform to alternative schemes, such as the metrically complex works found in the archaic and classical age, or metrical innovations of the Byzantine era. This is the point of view taken by Irene Weiss in her dissertation analyzing the metrics of the *CA*.[12]

CA 5 is the most metrically variable of the first 20 poems and is an illustrative example of these metrical controversies. It has been analyzed as a hemiambic with frequent anaclasis and intrusion of other verse types (West), as late "isosyllabic" verse (Edmonds), as the Byzantine form "political" verse (Hanssen), or as a metrically complex poem in an archaic/classical style (Weiss).[13]

Here I provide a complete scansion of *CA* 5 with metrical analysis following Weiss 1988.

Καλλιτέχνα, τόρευσον		– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪	pheracratean OR
		– ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪	cr+ion a mi
ἔαρος κύπελλον ἤδη·		∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –	anacreontic
τὰ πρῶτ' ἡμῖν τὰ τερπνά		∪ – – – ∪ – ∪	ba+tr OR
		– – – – ∪ – ∪	mol+ tr (ion a mi)
ῥόδα φέρουσαν ὥρην.		∪∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	cr+ba (ith) OR
		∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	paeo^4+ba
ἀργύρεον δ' ἁπλώσας	5	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	cor+ba (arist)
ποτὸν ποίει μοι τερπνόν·		∪ – ∪ – – – –	ia+mol
τῶν τελετῶν, παραινῶ,		– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	cho+ba
μὴ ξένον μοι τορεύσηις,		– ∪ – – ∪ – –	tr+ba OR
		– ∪ – – ∪ – –	cr+tr

[11] Cf. West 1993 xvii.
[12] Weiss 1988.
[13] For a complete summary of the various proposals for the metrical analysis of *CA* 5, see Weiss 1988 121-145.

μὴ φευκτὸν ἱστόρημα·		– – ∪ – ∪ – ∪	hemiambic
μᾶλλον ποίει Διὸς γόνον,	10	– – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	iambic dimeter
Βάκχον Εὔιον ἡμῖν.		– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –	pherecratean OR
		– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –	cr+ion a mi
μύστις νάματος ἦι Κύπρις		– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	glyconic
ὑμεναίους κροτοῦσα·		∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪	ion a mi+ba OR
		∪∪ ∪– – ∪ – ∪	cr+ba (ith)
χάρασσ’ Ἔρωτας ἀνόπλους		∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –	ia+ion a mi
καὶ Χάριτας γελώσας	15	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	cho+ba (arist)
ὑπ’ ἄμπελον εὐπέταλον		∪ – ∪∪ – ∪ ∪ –	ba+cho(2 cho)
εὐβότρυον κομῶσαν·		– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪	cho+ba (arist) OR
		– – ∪ – ∪ – ∪	ia+ba
σύναπτε κούρους εὐπρεπεῖς		∪ – ∪ – – – ∪ –	iambic dimeter
†ἀν μη† Φοῖβος ἀθύρηι.		– – – ∪ ∪ – –	mol+ion a mi(?) (=pher)

CA 19 and 20 are each metrically unique. For scansion and analysis of individual irregular lines in all poems, and for the scansion and analysis of the meters of CA 19-20, see commentary.

1.4 Structure

Beginning in the Hellenistic era we see Greek poets and/or editors arranging shorter poems into poetry collections that are then published as poetry books.[14] A key early example of this phenomenon is the Milan Papyrus of the late 3rd century (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309) which contains around 112 epigrams attributed to Posidippus of Pella divided into sections based on their content matter. The *Greek Anthology*, found in the same manuscript as the *CA*, also represents a massive epigram collection born out of the compilation of other collections, most notably the

[14] For an overview on form and evolution of the poetry book, see Hutchinson 2008, 1-41.

Stephanos of Meleager (1st c. BCE). Meleager began his collection with a poetic statement about his editorial principals in an epigram comparing the authors contained within his anthology to different flowers, woven together into a complete garland. He organized the epigrams within the collection alphabetically by the first letter of each poem. The *Greek Anthology* found in the Palatine manuscript is divided into books based on subject matter.

The poetry book as a form was used also by Latin poets. When a poem does not stand alone but is placed beside other poems, the organizational structure becomes another tool for building meaning within the text. Much work has been done on the structure Vergil's *Eclogues*, a collection of ten hexameter poems published together as a book, as well as the poetry collections of the elegists Tibullus and Propertius and the lyric poet Catullus. Such analysis involves grouping poems together in consecutive groups or symmetrical parallels, looking for verbal and content-based parallels between poems throughout the collections, and looking for evolutions across the collection as a whole. [15] Study of the structure of poetry books acts a necessary counterpart to study of individual poems, as the meaning of individual poems can be affected by their place within a broader structure.

Throughout this commentary, I assume that at various points in the history of the compilation of the *CA* there were editors who made deliberate choices about arrangement of individual poems based on literary considerations. In this commentary I do not attempt a complete speculative analysis of each stage of collection. When I refer to the "editor," I am

[15] Steenkamp 2011 provides an overview of several of the major models of structural analysis of the *Eclogues*, with a summary on p. 117. For Catullus, see especially Dettmer 1997 who argues that Catullus arranged the collection himself, as well as Skinner 1981 who argues that same for the polymetric poems. For Tibullus, see especially Dettmer 1980 and Littlewood 1970, and for Propertius's *monobiblos* arrangement see Petersmann 1980. Also relevant is Hutchinson 2008 which contains chapters on structure in Callimachus, Posidippus, Catullus, Horace and Ovid and attempts to draw out connections between the Hellenistic Greek poetry book and the Latin poetry book.

referring in general to the editor who created the final arrangement of these 60 poems which eventually were copied by the copyist of the Palatine manuscript. It is likely that some of these choices in arrangement were iterative (and not purposeful) as the collection was modified by multiple hands throughout its history, but for the purposes of this commentary these stages are occasionally collapsed in service of analyzing the structure of the collection as it stands.

I will focus my discussion here on the first 20 poems of the collection included in this commentary. Besides metrics (on which see 1.3 Metrics above), there are several literary considerations that create internal structure within this portion of the collection. The collection begins with a set of programmatic openers, the first establishing the collection's connection to the archaic Anacreon and the second introducing the theme of the symposium and providing a *recusatio* contrasting anacreontic poetry with Homeric epic. There are several distinct groupings of poems that break up the following set of 18. The clearest of these are the ekphrasis poems: *CA* 3-5 which describe sympotic scenes and *CA* 16-17 which describe paintings of a male and female beloved. *CA* 15 parallels *CA* 1 as an introduction of a set of ekphrases which offers another version of reception of the poetic mantle of Anacreon in the form of the messenger dove who drinks from Anacreon's cup. While *CA* 18 is not an ekphrasis, its description of Bathyllos following an ekphrasis of Bathyllos and the *locus amoenus* parallelling *CA* 5 align it with the second group of ekphrasis poems, creating two groups of three. This part of the collection then closes with two poems of unique meters which parallel the two opening poems, with *CA* 20 naming Anacreon once again as a poetic predecessor. Additional structural symmetry is found within the ten poems between *CA* 5-16, as *CA* 9 and 12, both about madness and linked by repeated lines, are each found three poems away from an ekphrasis section.

In addition to these broader points of layout, individual poems often look back to specific phrases or themes from the poem preceding them so there is a clear sense of continuity as the reader moves from poem to poem. Many of these instances are remarked upon in the notes to individual poems in the commentary below. While I have argued for these first 20 poems to be a somewhat closed unit with the ring composition notes above and in the commentary notes, an example of a smooth transition between individual poems can also be seen between *CA* 20 and 21. While 20 describes drinking a cup full of poetry, closing on the word ἐκπιεῖν, 21 is revolves around describing how everything in the world drinks, beginning ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει. *CA* 1 and *CA* 60 are also clearly paralleled in a number of ways, especially in the closing exhortation τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ found near the close of *CA* 60. The meaning created by juxtapositions between individual poems throughout the collection is analyzed throughout the notes in this commentary, especially with regards to *CA* 16 and 17.

1.5 Relation to Anacreon

The CA are unique in representing a literary genre based on the work and persona of a single poet. The history of the reception of Anacreon extends back into his own time. Anacreon's popularity in Athens during the classical period is known from the performance of his poetry at symposia, his appearances in vase art, and his influence on later literature.[16] In the Hellenistic period, a particular stereotyped image of Anacreon began to strongly emerge most evident in the epigrams about Anacreon.[17] Take as one example A.P. 9.599 describing a statue of Anacreon:

> Θᾶσαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον, ὦ ξένε,
> σπουδᾷ, καὶ λέγ' ἐπὴν ἐς οἶκον ἔνθῃς·

[16] Bernsdorff 2020, 31f.

[17] For more on the epigrams about Anacreon, see Barbantani 1993, Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007, Bing 1988, and Chirico 1981. For the relationship between Hellenistic epigram and Anacreon/Anacreontea in general see Gutzwiller 2014. See also *CA* 18 n.15-17 below

"Ἀνακρέοντος εἰκόν' εἶδον ἐν Τέῳ
τῶν πρόσθ' εἴ τι περισσὸν ᾠδοποιῶν."
προσθεὶς δὲ χὤτι τοῖς νέοισιν ἄδετο,
ἐρεῖς ἀτρεκέως ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα.

Look at this statue, stranger,
carefully, and say, when you arrive at home:
"I saw the image of Anacreon in Teos,
the most preeminent of the ancient bards."
And when you add that he enjoyed young boys,
you will have described the whole man accurately.

Anacreon is reduced entirely to a few characteristics: he is from Teos, he is a preeminent poet, and he is a pederastic lover. The Anacreontea pick up these characteristics, along his other stereotypical associations with old age and drunkenness. The actual anacreontic corpus contains also fierce iambic invective, which is entirely excluded from the *CA*.

Anacreon is named in 5 poems of the *CA*. In *CA* 1, Anacreon appears to the poet in a dream and passes on his garland. In *CA* 7, a group of women address the speaker, calling him Anacreon, and telling him that he is old. In *CA* 15, the speaker encounters a dove owned by Anacreon delivering messages to Bathyllos, his boyfriend. In *CA* 20, the speaker calls the poetry of Anacreon sweet, alongside Sappho and Pindar, and in the final poem, *CA* 60, the speaker exhorts his audience to imitate Anacreon (τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα μιμοῦ). In addition, *CA* 4, 10, 15, 17, and 18 all mention Bathyllos.[18]

Bathyllos was a beloved of Anacreon's, though the evidence for that comes mostly from the *CA* itself. His mention in *CA* 15 as a beloved of Anacreon makes that association explicit, leading the audience to associate the speaker with the persona of Anacreon when he mentions

[18] Notably, all of the poems mentioning either Anacreon or Bathyllos (with the exception of *CA* 60) are found within the first 20 poems. This is one of the criteria used in identifying these poems as a singular cohesive unit. Cf. West 1993 xvif.

Bathyllos as his beloved. Maximus of Tyre twice mentions Bathyllos in connection with Anacreon (*Diss.* 18.9.42 μεστὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ᾄσματα τῆς Σμέρδιος κόμης καὶ τῶν Κλεοβούλου ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ **τῆς Βαθύλλου ὥρας** "and his [Anacreon's] songs are full of the hair of Smerdies and the eyes of Cleobolos and the **youth of Bathyllos**;" 37.5.28 [Anac. PMG 471] οὕτω καὶ Ἀνακρέων Σαμίοις Πολυκράτην ἡμέρωσεν, κεράσας τῇ τυραννίδι ἔρωτα Σμερδίου καὶ Κλεοβούλου κόμην καὶ **κάλλος Βαθύλλου** καὶ ᾠδὴν Ἰωνικήν "So too Anacreon tamed Polycrates for the Samians, softening his tyranny with the love of Smerdies and the hair of Cleobolos and the **beauty of Bathyllos** and his Ionian music"), and Horace once in his epodes (14.9-10 *non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo/ Anacreonta Teium* "They say that Teian Anacreon burned similarly for Samian Bathyllos).[19] The frequent mentions of Bathyllos within the CA are a representative example of how the poets fixated on specific aspects of Anacreon's work and persona and then replicated them throughout their anacreontic poetry.[20]

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[19] For more on the of Bathyllos and his relation to Polycrates and the court of Samos, see also *CA* 15 commentary below.

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Text, Translation, and Commentary

CA 1

Ἀνακρέων ἰδών με		Anacreon saw me,
ὁ Τήϊος μελῳδός		the Teian singer,
ὄναρ λέγων προσεῖπεν·		speaking in a dream he addressed me;
κἀγὼ δραμὼν πρὸς αὐτόν		And I ran to him
περιπλάκην φιλήσας.	5	and embraced and kissed him.
γέρων μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ,		He was an old man, but beautiful,
καλὸς δὲ καὶ φίλευνος·		beautiful and lusty;
τὸ χεῖλος ὦζεν οἴνου·		his lips smelled of wine;
τρέμοντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἤδη		since he was trembling already
Ἔρως ἐχειραγώγει.	10	Eros led him by the hand.
ὁ δ’ ἐξελὼν καρήνου		And he took from his head
ἐμοὶ στέφος δίδωσι·		the garland and gave it to me;
τὸ δ’ ᾦζ’ Ἀνακρέοντος.		and it smelled of Anacreon.
ἐγὼ δ’ ὁ μωρὸς ἄρας		And I, the fool, lifting it
ἐδησάμην μετώπῳ·	15	bound it to my brow;
καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν		and from that point until even now
ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι.		I have not left off from love.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title above the text in the manuscript is ἀνακρέοντος τηΐου συμποσιακὰ καὶ ἡμιάμβια, "the sympotics and hemiambics of Anacreon of Teos." There is no title for this individual poem.

This opening poem of the collection is a programmatic statement chosen by the editor to define the poetic project of the collection. In it, the archaic Anacreon appears to the anacreontic poet in a dream and passes down the mantle of his poetry in the form of his garland. This poem contains all of the main elements that will feature throughout the rest of the collection: wine, Eros, and Anacreon, coming together to make a portrait of the symposium. The figure of Anacreon in this poem very closely conforms with the Anacreon depicted in Hellenistic poetry and in earlier reception. He is old (v. 6), but still lusty (v. 7), smells of wine (v. 8), and wears the symposiast's garland (v. 12). The meter is hemiambic (iambic dimeter catalectic), as are poems 4, 6-15 of this part of the collection. In addition to providing a programmatic beginning to the collection, *CA* 1 corresponds to *CA* 60b in several places, giving the full collection a ring composition.

1 **Ἀνακρέων**: The first word of the collection serves as a useful title that defines the project of the poet and editor. These poems revolve around Anacreon and define themselves through Anacreon. However, they are not *by* Anacreon, and most of them don't pretend to be. By making Anacreon the central figure in the first poem, but also as a third person character in the poem, rather than the speaker, the poet reflects the character of the collection as a whole. Propertius's poetry collection also begins with the name of an individual: Cynthia, the love object of his elegy. Anacreon too is eroticized throughout the poem.[21]

[21] See v. 5 below.

2 Τήϊος: Anacreon is commonly identified by his birthplace of Teos in poetry that describes him. (cf. AP 7.24.3, 7.30.1, 9.239.3, 16.308.2). While the epithet here is informationally unnecessary, it establishes this Anacreon as *the* archaic Anacreon and it nods to the reception of Anacreon in other forms by conforming to the Hellenistic standard of citing his birthplace.[22]

2 **μελῳδός:** This is an uncommon word in non-Christian Greek. In classical texts, it is more commonly used to describe sounds or animals than people.

The choice of this word in place of a more regular term for singer adds three potential additional layers of meaning: 1) the association with a bird, or swan (cf. Eur. *IT.* 1104-5, *Hel.* 1109; Ps. Luc. *Halc.* 8.8.; Babrius *Myth.Aes.* 2.214.10), which is fitting, as Anacreon is called a swan (alongside a Teian) in two of the epigrams mentioned above (7.30.1, 16.308.2); 2) the association with the Muse (cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 351, 393), appropriate since Anacreon is taking the place of a Muse or other divinity as the conferrer of poetic inspiration; and 3) a reduction of the person of Anacreon down into a symbol of his poetry (cf. Eur. *IA.* 1045, Aristox. *Rhythm.* 2.20.8, Sopater fr. 7.2, 10.4, where the term is used an adjective to describe sounds.) Rosenmeyer translates as "the melodious man," which captures the general use of this adjective to describe musicality.[23] This full line ὁ Τήϊος μελῳδός parallels the line in *CA* 60 where Anacreon is called τὸν ἀοίδιμον μελιστήν (*CA* 60.31).

μελῳδός later becomes a common descriptor of King David in his role as psalmist in Christian writings, as well as being applied to other hymnographers, such as Romanos the Melodist.

[22] Cf. Rosenmeyer 1992, 65, and Most 2014, 156.
[23] Rosenmeyer 1992, 239.

3 **ὄναρ λέγων:** λέγων is the reading found in the manuscript. Baxter (1695) amends to (ὄναρ λέγω), which West accepts on the grounds that ἰδών...λέγων "involves redundancy and an awkward oscillation between aorist and present, but also that, while ὄναρ can be used adverbially, ἰδών με... ὄναρ would naturally mean 'seeing me in *his* dream', not 'in *my* dream'."[24] There is little issue, however, with either an overuse of participles or with the switch in tenses, as the separation of a whole line between the two participles in addition to the meaning of the verbs leads one to take λέγων closely with προσεῖπεν. This pairing of a present participle speaking verb with a main speaking verb is quite common in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 1.502 λισσομένη προσέειπε, 3.437 Τὴν δὲ Πάρις μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε·, etc.). West argues further that "the parenthesis [ὄναρ λέγω] comes in just where it is needed, after line 2 has confirmed that the Anacreon in question really is the old poet, whom this poet could obviously never have met in real life."[25] It is not actually the goal of the anacreontic poet to establish a plausible scenario where it is clear that the archaic Anacreon is dead and that the current poet is simply recounting a dream sequence with no bearing on reality. The adverbial ὄναρ helps establish the dreamy quality of what is occurring, while also reinforcing the boundary blurring between then and now, and archaic Anacreon and the anacreontic poet.[26] Rosenmeyer accepts Baxter/West and translates "(I am relating a dream)"[27]; Campbell prints the manuscript reading.

Dream appearances as a vehicle for passing down poetic inspiration are a literary *topos* in both Greek and Latin poetry. This trope perhaps begins in the *Theogony* with the visitation of Hesiod by Muses (*Theog.* 22-34). Although this does not occur in a dream, it represents a

[24] West 1993, 206.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Cf. Rudolph 2014, 134, and *passim*.
[27] Rosenmeyer 1992, 239.

visitation of a mortal poet by a divine symbol of inspiration, adapted into dream appearances such as its reworking by Callimachus (fr. 2 Pfeiffer). Anacreon here takes the role of the deity.

Matching this case more exactly is the dream of Herodas where the figure appearing in the dream is a poetic predecessor and old man, often identified by scholars as Hipponax, credited with originating the genre of iambics.[28] Relevant here too is the dream of Ennius in which Homer appears to inform Ennius that he is Homer's soul reborn. This notion of asking the reader to accept that Ennius has become Homer and therefore that his Homerisms are natural and inevitable[29] resonates strongly with the project of the anacreontics in which the poet strives to imitate Anacreon so closely that in some poems he takes on his persona entirely.[30]

3 **προσεῖπεν**: This verb (especially alongside the preceding participle, evoking the Homeric examples referenced above) expects some quotation to follow. Instead, the reader is left frustrated. Not only do we not hear Anacreon's word here, we also don't hear them for the entirety of the poem. Any new words of this particular archaic dream-Anacreon are not relevant because the anacreontic poet (and audience) has everything they need from Anacreon in his surviving poetry and reception. Anacreon appears and inspires, but it is the anacreontic poet's turn to compose.

5 **περιπλάκην φιλήσας**: περιπλάκην is the epic form of the aorist passive of περπλέκω. The passive of this verb is typically used with a middle/active sense. φιλήσας following δραμὼν is another case of a preponderance of participles (cf. vv. 1-3), not uncommon throughout the

[28] On the connection between Herodas and Hipponax, see Cazzato 2015. On the relationship to this poem, see Zotou 2014, 25, where she also discusses Callimachus, citing Walde 2001.
[29] Aicher 1989, 229f.
[30] Most 2014, 135: "This is because the Anacreontic poet is representing Anacreon before an audience, persuading them momentarily by a kind of quasi-dramatic *mimesis* that he *is* Anacreon."

collection. The relationship between mentor and student takes on a pederastic and erotic form, which is suitably anacreontic.[31]

6 **γέρων**: Anacreon is usually depicted as an old man in his reception. This begins with his own poetry on age (cf. PMG 395, 418, 420) and continues throughout the classical age and into the Hellenistic age in statuary, paintings, and literary descriptions.[32] By continuing to use known descriptors of Anacreon, the poet is embedding himself within a tradition of Anacreontic reception as well as foreshadowing which aspects of Anacreontic poetry will be relevant to this collection. Old age will return as a theme in *CA* 39, 47, 51, and 53, as well as in *CA* 7, which is the only poem that identifies the speaker as Anacreon himself.

καλὸς δὲ...καλὸς δὲ: Repetition is a very frequent device throughout the collection.[33] It contributes to the sense of informality and carelessness cultivated about the songs. Including this feature in this initial poem sets the stage for its inclusion and development in poems to come.

7 **φίλευνος**: This a *hapax legomenon* constructed from φίλος + εὐνή, lit. "fond of the (marriage) bed." Here there must be no connotation of marriage, only of sex.

9 **τρέμοντα**: Either from drunkenness, old age, or both.

10 **Ἔρως**: As mentioned above, it is more common for the scene of poetic inspiration to involve a god appearing to the poet and providing divine inspiration. Not only is Anacreon elevated into that position in this poem, but Eros is subordinated to Anacreon, acting almost as his slave (compare, for example, the slave who leads Tiresias in *Oedipus Rex* [Soph. *OT.* 444). Eros will

[31] Most 2014, 153.
[32] For a much more in-depth analysis of the reception of Anacreon from the archaic through Hellenistic ages, see both Rosenmeyer 1992, 12-49, and Bernsdorrf 2020, 31-45.
[33] For a complete catalogue of instances of repetition, see Rosenmeyer Appendix A.

appear continuously, both in the dream realm (e.g. *CA* 30) and in the waking realm (e.g. *CA* 13, 19, 31) throughout this collection, but more often in a position of complete domination over the speaker.

12 **στέφος**: The garland is a common metaphor for poetry, especially fitting for edited collections of poetry. The paradigmatic example is the *Stephanos* of Meleager, whose use of the garland metaphor in the organization and presentation on his collection is analyzed by Gutzwiller.[34] What is distinct about this collection when compared to various Hellenistic epigram collections is that while it is clearly an assemblage of poems from various authors and times, the editor never explicitly discusses the interweaving of sources within the collection itself, nor are any authors named in the manuscript, aside from Anacreon.[35] Nevertheless, the garland image alludes to this process of organization and invites us to analyze the collection as an edited poetry book.

The garland is also the symbol of the symposiarch, stressing again the sympotic subject matter of the collection to come. Most considers it likely that these poems, while composed in writing, were performed in a sympotic context, and that this reference to the garland could easily be accompanied by the performer donning a real garland.[36] Regardless of the reality of the performance context, the poems evoke the symposium constantly through their references to garlands, myrrh, drinking, dancing, and the performance of music.

στέφος is generally the poetic form for a garland, though στέφος and στέφανος are both used interchangeably throughout this collection.

[34] Gutzwiller 1997.
[35] cf. the first poem of the *Stephanos* of Meleager (A.P. 4.1) in which Meleager names himself as editor and describes his collection as an interweave of poems, naming and describing the various authors found within.
[36] Most 2014, 153.

δίδωσι: The tense here shifts from aorist to present. It is significant that the one moment of the dream in the present tense is the action of Anacreon handing over the garland (representative of his poetry) to the speaker. This moment is frozen and reenacted continuously throughout time as each anacreontic poet takes up pen or lyre.

13 **τὸ δ' ὦζ' Ἀνακρέοντος**: This line echoes line 8 (τὸ χεῖλος ὦζεν οἴνου). Typically objects in Greek do not smell of individual people, but of substances (myrrh, oils), or sometimes of gods (Venus, Eros), as metonymy for the domain or aspects of the god. [37] Once again, Anacreon is being moved into the sphere of the divine, but this time it is as a representative of a particular sphere or existence: the anacreontic.

14 **ὁ μωρὸς**: The speaker, looking back, regrets his actions. The theme of the miserable, wretched lover is known from earlier Greek poetry (e.g. Anac. PMG 398, 400), and will be more fully developed in Latin love elegy. The poet is right to feel regret, perhaps, as Eros continues to torment speakers throughout the collection.[38]

17 **ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι**: For the genitive, LSJ s.v. παύω I.2. The Anacreontic poet, having received the garland and scent of Anacreon, is now fully destined not just for love, but for love poetry. This identification with one particular genre will be matched by the expected *recusatio* of other genres in the following poem.

[37] E.g. Ar. *Nub.* 398 Κρονίων ὄζων for object smelling old, and cf. *CA* 41.7-8 ἀπαλὴν παῖδα κατέχων/ Κύπριν ὅλην πνέουσαν.
[38] Cf. *CA* 11 where the speaker threatens Eros to set him on fire with love.

CA 2

δότε μοι λύρην Ὁμήρου		Give me Homer's lyre
φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς·		without the bloody string;
φέρε μοι κύπελλα θεσμῶν,		bring me goblets of statutes
φέρε μοι νόμους κεράσσας,		bring them to me, having mixed in customs,
μεθύων ὅπως χορεύσω,	5	so that I may sing and dance drunkenly,
ὑπὸ σώφρονος δὲ λύσσης		under a sane madness,
μετὰ βαρβίτων ἀείδων		and singing along to the barbitoi
τὸ παροίνιον βοήσω·		shout out the drinking song;
δότε μοι λύρην Ὁμήρου		give me Homer's lyre
φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς.	10	without the bloody string.

Meter: ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – X (anacreontic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is τ⟨οῦ⟩ αυτου βασιλι⟨κον⟩, "a *basilikon* by the same." βασιλικός does not have a clear established meaning as a descriptor of a song. Here it probably indicates that this song is imagined as, or is, an opening song for a symposiarch, the person in charge of setting the standards of drink and song for the symposium.[39] The content of the poem and its location within the collection bear out this description. It comes at the top of the collection, involves a call for the lyre and goblets to be brought in, and describes what sort of activity should go on in the following revels.

[39] Campbell 1988, 165.

This poem is generally considered to be of a later date than its surrounding poems, interpolated next to *CA* 1 to offer an alternate or second programmatic opener. Whatever its "original" position in an earlier sylloge, it provides a very suitable counterpart to the first poem. Having defined anacreontic poetry as the poetry of Eros, wine, the symposium, and Anacreon, the singer now provides a customary *recusatio* relating his relationship with the poetry of Homer. This connects very well with the closing poem of this section of the collection, *CA* 20, which answers the question of "what is Homer without the blood?"[40] in the form of Anacreon, Pindar, and Sappho. While the first poem is in hemiambics (as *CA* 6-15, 22-27), this poem is in anacreontics, the other most common meter of the collection (as *CA* 3, 28-34). Where the first poem took place in a suspended reality dream state where Eros and other gods walk the world and fantastical images abound (as *CA* 6, 13, 15, 19, etc.), this poem represents a realistic sympotic setting (as in *CA* 8, 9, 14, 21, etc.). The first poem contained some mild repetition, but this poem contains, in addition to repeated phrases (φέρε μοι... φέρε μοι...), entire repeated lines (as in *CA* 9, 45, etc.). In form and in its close association with the symposium it provides a nearly comprehensive introduction to the rest of the collection.

Despite that, much of the content of the middle of this short poem is puzzling. The idea of a well-ordered symposium based not just on wine (which is not itself named), but on laws and rules and "sane madness" seems against the ethos of the drunken and lovesick poet. There is some resonance with *CA* 9, which contrasts the madness of drunkenness with violent and destructive mythological madnesses.

[40] Rosenmeyer 1992, 97: "But can one still be Homeric without the intrinsic bloody chord...?"

1 **λύρην Ὁμήρου**: Homer's lyre stands in for Homer's poetry. In the Hellenistic era, language describing poetic production within poems shifted from the domain of the musical to the domain of the book. Poets often identify themselves as writers and identify their products as physical books.[41] The Anacreontea tend not to follow this trend, but consistently speak in musical language, as here, invoking both the archaic songs of Anacreon (and Homer) and the sympotic live performance context.[42]

2 **φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς**: The lyre metaphor continues. The "bloody string" here refers to the warlike and serious content of epic poetry, especially the *Iliad*. The first programmatic poem (*CA* 1) positively defined the subject of the collection. Here the subject matter is defined negatively, through the use of a *recusatio.* The refusal to take up the serious themes of epic poetry is developed over time and has parallels both in archaic and Hellenistic Greek poetry and within the Anacreontea. Anacreon writes that he doesn't like a symposiast who talks of νείκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυόεντα (fr. eleg. 2 W).[43] Callimachus becomes the model for later poets when he rejects traditional epic in the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 1.21-34 Pfeiffer). Horace uses very similar language to this poem in his *recusatio* in *Odes* 1.6 with his *inbellis lyrae* and in 2.12.1-4 with his refusal to join his lyre to spilled blood (*nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae/nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare/Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus/ aptari citharae modis*.)

There are many other places within the *Anacreontea* where the poets distinguish between their subject matter and those of epic and tragedy.[44] *CA* 23 is the closest parallel to this poem,

[41] Bing 2008, 35.
[42] As argued further by Most 2014.
[43] Xenophanes similarly condemns the practice in the third person, I.22. Sappho does something similar in poem 16, though not explicitly mentioning the subject of speech/song. (Rosenmeyer, 98).
[44] *CA* 4 features a dismissal of silverwork depicting the constellations featured on the shield of Achilles in favor of scenes of Aphrodite and Bacchus. *CA* 9 contrasts desirable wine-madness with the madnesses of Orestes, Herakles, and Ajax, and *CA* 12 does similarly with Attis.

with some notable contrasts. In it, the poet states that he *wants* to sing of the Atreidae and Cadmus but the barbitos, even after switching out all the strings (χορδαῖς), will only sing of Eros. In *CA* 2 the poet chooses to leave behind epic, and in *CA* 23 the poet is forced to, but the end result is the same. The lyre is the symbol of poetry, and the anacreontic lyre is dedicated to the erotic and sympotic, in contrast to the epic and tragic.

3 **φέρε μοι**: Cf. Anac. PMG 396 φέρ' ὕδωρ φέρ' οἶνον ὦ παῖ φέρε <δ'> ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμὶν/ στεφάνους "bring water, bring wine, boy, and bring us flowering garlands." See also *CA* 18 below.

κύπελλα θεσμῶν: It's unclear exactly what the meaning of θεσμῶν is here, or what the symbolism of the cups of θεσμῶν indicates. This may be an allusion to the orderly symposia described and recommended by several archaic poets (e.g. Xenophanes 1, Anacreon PMG 356a-b). This would fit well with the reading of this poem as a song of the symposiarch, suggested by the title in the manuscript (βασιλικον). θεσμῶν may also refer to the rites of Bacchus or Aphrodite, similar to *CA* 5 in which an ekphrasis of a ritual scene (τῶν τελετῶν) is described, with Aphrodite as the μύστις of the drinking.[45]

4 **νόμους κεράσσας**: κεράσσας again invokes the role of the symposiarch, determining the ratio of the mixed wine, here standing in also for the ratio of order to unrestrained mirth. νόμους echoes θεσμῶν but also puns on the musical meaning of νόμος as a type of melody or music-piece (cf. *CA* 20, in which the poet pours a cup full of Anacreon, Sappho, and Pindar). The mention of νόμους continues to be in keeping with the idea of this poem as an opener setting the rules of engagement for the symposium (imagined or real) to come, as well as the poetry to

[45] Zotou 2014, 31. See also Gutzwiller 2014, 64f. on Dionysian rites in the *CA*.

come. It also looks forward to the νόμους φιλούντων mentioned in the following poem (*CA* 3.8). The normal meaning of "laws" bolstered by θεσμῶν in the following line is subverted as the audience becomes familiar with the "rules" of the anacreontic world and of anacreontic poetry.

5 **μεθύων ὅπως χορεύσω**: Whatever else the κύπελλα are full of, metaphorically speaking, they are also full of wine, resulting in the drunkenness of the speaker.

6 **ὑπὸ σώφρονος δὲ λύσσης**: Madness is a frequent theme in the Anacreontea (cf. *CA* 9, 12, 53, 57, 60), but the regular word for it throughout is μαίνομαι. The terms can be interchangeable, as for example λύσσα is used of Orestes in Euripides (Eur. *Or.* 254), and *CA* 9 uses ἐμαίνετ' to describe Orestes. Like μαίνομαι throughout, λύσσα here is associated with drunkenness and the influence of Dionysus. Here the first mention of drunken madness is tempered by the qualifier σώφρονος which frames the reception of madness in all of the poems to come. Anacreontic madness is moderate, and therefore every time in the future the poet describes being mad or wanting to be mad (*CA* 9, *CA* 12), the audience can rest assured that it is not a truly out-of-control madness, but a reasonable one.

7 **βαρβίτων**: Technically speaking, the *barbitos* (or barbiton) is a type of lyre with longer arms, producing deeper notes. Athenaeus credits Anacreon and Terpander with the invention of the barbitos, and it is frequently seen in vase paintings depicting symposiasts, including the so-called "Anacreontic scenes".[46] However, βάρβιτος and λύρα are used interchangeably throughout the collection, with 6 total appearances of βάρβιτος and 10 of λύρα. It's tempting to see a distinction between the metaphorical lyre of Homer and the real barbitos of the symposiast here, but *CA* 23 uses both words to refer to the same instrument. It is common across Greek literature to use the

[46] Price 1990.

various words for the instruments of the lyre family interchangeably and would be the exception to see a specific distinction made on a technical level. The different metrical shapes of the two words likely help determine which one is used in any given circumstance. Apart from a single appearance of *kithara* in the final poem (ἱερὸν γάρ ἐστι Φοίβου/ κιθάρη δάφνη τρίπους τε. *CA* 60.12f), these are the only two terms used for the instrument.

8 **τὸ παροίνιον**: παροίνιος is typically used as an adjective, often agreeing with ᾠδη or μέλη so its meaning here of drinking song is not unusual, though its appearance in this form is not common. Once again, the language is sympotic, and although the cups are said to be full of metaphors, the use of μεθύων and παροίνιον confirm the presence and importance of wine in this poem.

CA 3

Ἄγε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε,		Come, best of painters,
λυρικῆς ἄκουε Μούσης		listen to the lyric Muse:
γράφε τὰς πόλεις τὸ πρῶτον	5	first paint the cities
ἱλαράς τε καὶ γελώσας·	6	joyous and laughing;
ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύναιτο,	7	and if the wax is able,
γράφε καὶ νόμους φιλούντων.	8	paint also the customs of lovers.
φιλοπαίγμονες δὲ Βάκχαι	3	And playful Bacchants
ἑτεροπνόους ἐναύλους	4	the double-blown aulos

Meter: ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – X (anacreontic)

In the manuscript, these lines are included as part of *CA* 2, although the content and structure of the two poems indicate that they belong separately. *CA* 2 is bookended by two identical lines, marking it as one unit. The speaker of *CA* 2 addresses some plural group of people, requesting a lyre, while *CA* 3 addresses a singular artist. There are 8 lines in this poem, and 8 lines between the starting and ending refrain of the previous poem, so it's possible that an editor or copyist mistakenly took this as a second stanza of the previous poem despite the shift in topic.

The text of *CA* 3 is otherwise corrupt and difficult to recover. Several reorderings of the lines have been suggested; I print West's version here, with the printed line numbers corresponding to the line numbers in the manuscript.

This poem starts a run of three ekphrastic poems that describe instructions to an artist. *CA* 16 and 17 are another set of consecutive poems describing instructions to artists. The arrangement of these two sets of ekphrastic poems offers insight into organization principles of the collection as a whole. As the first two programmatic poems also demonstrate, there is a tendency to group similar poems together. However, not all of the ekphrastic poems are placed in a row, differentiating this anthology from epigram collections like that of Posidippus (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309) with titled books/sections containing all of the poems of a certain type. This particular poem is tied into the previous poem by its mention of νόμους φιλόυντων, echoing the νόμους mixed into the cups of *CA* 2. It also begins with an exhortation (ἄγε), as does *CA* 2 (δότε).

CA 2 can easily be read as taking place at a symposium with little necessary suspension of disbelief. Here, and in the following poems, if the exhortation to the painter is read literally, one must imagine a different setting. However this poem is not addressed to a painter in reality, but to its literary (or live) audience, and "consequently, a reader who takes the request made of the painter in *CA* 3.2, λυρικῆς ἄκουε Μούσης ('listen to the lyric Muse'), to be to some extent directed at himself can easily write a poem of the same kind and thus claim his place among the anacreontic poets."[47]

1 **ἄγε ζωγράφων ἄριστε**: *CA* 16 begins with this same line, followed by γράφε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε, perhaps a variation on the same opener which mistakenly made it into the poem. Starting the two sets of ekphrasis poems with the exact same line is a structuring technique which helps the reader to see them as two units and to recall the first one when they reach the second.

[47] Baumann 2014, 117.

2 **λυρικῆς... Μούσης**: This is the only appearance of this phrase in literary texts. Its next use is in the Suda, describing one of the areas of instruction of Linos, lyre-teacher of Heracles (*Suda* Λ 568). The adjective λυρικός itself is also quite rare, and in addition to genre, it can also just mean "related to the lyre," as it does in the case of Linos above.

This is the first explicit mention of a Muse in the collection, and the first mention of a god aside from Eros. As discussed above, in *CA* 1 it is Anacreon himself who takes over the role of the deity in inspiring poetic production, and the command here (ἄκουε) is reminiscent of the command to imitate Anacreon (τὸν Ανακρέοντα μιμοῦ, *CA* 60b.7) closing the collection. The "lyric Muse" is therefore associated with Anacreonand the sort of artwork inspired by it will be anacreontic. [48] The resulting erotic (νόμους φιλούντων) and sympotic/Bacchic (φιλοπαίγμονες δὲ Βάκχαι) content fits that profile. The word λυρικῆς also echoes the repeated λύρην of the previous poem and perhaps also served to link the two poems mistakenly in the manuscript.

5 **γράφε τὰς πόλεις τὸ πρῶτον**: τὸ πρῶτον indicates that this line is meant to come before the other γράφε line. The cities mentioned are vague, though they may allude to the cities of men described on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.490ff), which will be treated more explicitly in the following poem. The images evoked in this poem are not clear, though it's hard to know how much is intentional and how much is due to the state of the text.

7 **ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύναιτο**: This line is repeated almost verbatim at *CA* 16.8 (ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύνηται). Once again, the first poems of each of the ekphrasis sections are connected with close verbal ties. The wax referenced is used for the creation of encaustic paintings. To create an

[48] Cf. note on μελῳδός *CA* 1.2.

encaustic painting, the artist mixes pigments into hot wax and applies the molten mixture to a surface such as wood. Not much difference is felt here between the optative and the subjunctive, as supported by the slippage between the two in the different versions of the line.

8 **νόμους φιλόντων**: νόμους echoes the previous poem and lends erotic flavor to the previous use. Once again, the possibility of a musical pun is available, given the potential reference to aulos playing within the poem. Neither the "customs" of lovers nor the songs of lovers are easy for an artist to depict in reality. The nonspecific nature of these descriptions stands in contrast to the more detailed descriptions of the subsequent poems, inviting the reader to use their imagination to do something other than picture an actual visual work of art. Rather, combined with the exhortation to listen to the lyric Muse, this poem puts out the metapoetic call to the reader to create their own Anacreontic art.[49]

3 **φιλοπαίγμονες δὲ Βάκχαι**: The grammar breaks down here. Barnes emended to φιλοπαίγμονάς τε Βάκχας and placed this line after 6, taking it as another object of γράφε. In its original position in the manuscript after line 2, it would be possible grammatically to take it as a second vocative. However, all the commands throughout the poem are singular and there is no reason to imagine Bacchants as painters. Likely the Bacchants are also intended to be part of the artwork, but we are missing some text with a verb that explains both their actions and the accusative of the following line.

4 **ἑτεροπνόους ἐναύλους**: ἑτεροπνόους, if the correct reading, is a *hapax legomenon*, though its meaning of "double-blown" is clearly understandable in reference to the aulos (if that is indeed what is meant by ἐναύλους). The margin of the manuscript has a note here reading ἑτεροπόρους,

[49] Baumann 2014, 117.

which is also not an otherwise attested word. ἔναυλος, in addition to referring to aulos music, can mean a riverbed or stream, which could match a meaning of "double-bridged" for ἑτεροπόρους and connect to the earlier mention of the cities.

CA 4

τὸν ἄργυρον τορεύων		Working the silver,
Ἥφαιστέ μοι ποίησον		Hephaestus, make for me
πανοπλίαν μὲν οὐχί·		not a suit of armor –
τί γὰρ μάχαισι κἀμοί;		what do I have to do with battles? –
ποτήριον δὲ κοῖλον	5	but a hollow drinking cup,
ὅσον δύνῃ βάθυνον.		as deep as you can.
ποίει δέ μοι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ		Carve on it for me
μήτ᾽ ἄστρα μήτ᾽ Ἅμαξαν,		not the stars nor the Wain,
μὴ στυγνὸν Ὡρίωνα.		nor gloomy Orion.
τί Πλειάδων μέλει μοι,	10	What do I care about the Pleiades,
τί γὰρ καλοῦ Βοώτου;		or about the pretty Ploughman?
ποίησον ἀμπέλους μοι		Make vines for me
καὶ βότρυας κατ᾽ αὐτῶν		and bunches of grapes on them
καὶ μαινάδας τρυγώσας,		and Maenads picking them,
ποίει δὲ ληνὸν οἴνου,	15	and make a winepress,
ληνοβάτας πατοῦντας,		treaders trampling,
τοὺς σατύρους γελῶντας		laughing satyrs
καὶ χρυσοῦς τοὺς Ἔρωτας		and golden Loves
καὶ Κυθέρην γελῶσαν		and laughing Cytherea
ὁμοῦ καλῷ Λυαίῳ,	20	alongside beautiful Bacchus,
Ἔρωτα κἀφροδίτην.		Eros and Aphrodite.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title in the manuscript for this poem is τοῦ αυτ⟨ου⟩ εις ποτήρι⟨ον⟩ ἀργυροῦν, "by the same, to a silver goblet."

This poem is a unique case in this collection in that several additional versions are passed down in the manuscript tradition. Three versions survive based on the anthology of Cephalas, transmitted in the *Palatine Anthology* (A.P. 11.47-8), in the *Planudean Anthology* (IIa 47.17-8), and in the *Parisian Anthology* (Paris. supp. gr. 352, Paris. gr. 1630 [B]).[50] A separate version is passed down in Aulus Gellius.[51] Gellius' version (*Noctes Atticae* 19.9.6) is 15 lines, ending with ὁμοῦ καλῷ Λυαίῳ/Ἔρωτα καὶ Βάθυλλον,[52] and West takes it as the "sincerissima forma carminis." The version in the *Palatine Anthology* is shorter and ends at σὺν τῷ καλῷ Λυαίῳ.

The text printed here is West's 3.iii, the version found in the manuscript. This is the longest version, and the final lines are redundant and contain metrical variation not found in the other versions, marking it as a later expansion of an earlier version of the poem.

This second instruction poem is not addressed to a mortal artist, but directly to Hephaestus. It contains a lengthy *recusatio* in the form of a priamel which, like *CA* 2, rejects the martial themes of Homeric epic. The poem is a direct response to the description of the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18. First the form of armor is rejected. Then the list of constellations almost exactly corresponds to those mentioned in the *Iliad*, with the substitution of the Ploughman for the Hyades. The "lyric Muse" of the collection continues to be fleshed out in contrast to Epic.

[50] West 199, ix.
[51] For discussion of the significance of the Gellius version to the dating and attribution of the *Anacreontea*, see Introduction 1.2: Dating.
[52] For more on the Gellius poem, see Introduction 1.2: Dating. For Bathyllos, see Introduction 1.5: Relation to Anacreon.

Also relevant is Theocritus *Idyll* 1, which contains an ekphrasis of a decorated cup (κισσύβιον) at lines 29-56. Theocritus describes a vineyard, though otherwise the images he depicts are different from those requested here by the speaker. In Theocritus, as here, the scene on the cup mirrors the world of the poem, depicting bucolic scenes in Theocritus's bucolic poetry, vs. the sympotic/erotic tableau of the anacreontic example.

1 **τορεύων**: Both other versions read τορεύσας.

2 **Ἥφαιστέ**: Instead of a mortal artist, as in the other ekphrastic poems, the poet calls upon Hephaestus, the divine craftsman. The invocation of Hephaestus is natural given the reliance on the shield of Achilles as a model, but it also brings this poem out of the realm of the plausible actual sympotic context and back into the realm of fantasy, where the speaker is able to interact with the gods.

μοι: μοι appears five times throughout this poem. The constant use of the personal pronoun strengthens the self-definition present in this poem. Like the previous poem, the goal is not just to have the audience imagine a complete piece of artwork, but to define the scope of anacreontic poetry and the project of the poet.

3 **πανοπλίαν μὲν οὐχί·**: Before learning what it is that the speaker wants, we cover what he is rejecting. This reverses the order of *CA* 2 which starts with the acceptance of Homer's lyre, followed by the rejection of its bloody aspect. Gellius has πανοπλίας.

4 **τί γὰρ μάχαισι κἀμοί;**: "What do I have to do with battles?" or "what do battles have to do with me?" τί and two datives to represent interest, see LSJ s.v. τίς B.I.8.c. This line does not appear in the versions based on Cephalas.

This is not only a rejection of the poetic theme of battles, but a reflection of the changing cultural landscape producing this poetry. Archaic and classical lyric poets and authors would typically have firsthand experience with military service, or at least have their lives directly touched by it. By the Hellenistic period, it was quite easy to be an elite poet who did not ever engage in actual warfare. Still, there is no direct response to a specific socio-political moment, as with Latin elegists in their rejection of military service (e.g. Tibullus 1.1, Propertius 1.6).

ποίει: The poet alternates between the aorist and present imperative (2, 12: ποίησον; 7, 15: ποίει) for no evident reason beyond *variatio* and metrical convenience.

8-11 Cf. Hom. *Il.*18.485-9:

> ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ᾽ οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται,
> Πληιάδας θ᾽ Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος
> Ἄρκτον θ᾽, ἣν καὶ Ἅμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,
> ἥ τ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ᾽ Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει,
> οἴη δ᾽ ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.
>
> And on it [he fashioned] all of the constellations which crown the heavens,
> The Pleiades and the Hyades and the strength of Orion
> and the Bear, which is also called the Wain,
> and which circles itself and watched over Orion
> and alone has no share in the baths of Ocean.

9 **μὴ στυγνὸν Ὠρίωνα**: Gellius omits this line, as well as line 15, which West sees as a sign of the "purity" of his form of the poem. However, there is its inclusion parallels the Homeric text and is no clumsier or more out of place than the lines surrounding it.

στυγνὸν: In contrast to the scenes of mirth in both this poem and the previous, as well as his σθένος which describes him in the *Iliad*.

10 **τί Πλειάδων μέλει μοι**: This form of rejection ("what do I care for/I don't care for") appears again in CA 8 (οὐ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω) and 45 (τί μοι μέλει μεριμνῶν;).

11 **τί γὰρ καλοῦ Βοώτου;**: Gellius has τί δ' ἀστέρος Βοώτεω, and neither this line nor the previous appear in the other versions. It's a little unexpected to have καλοῦ be the chosen adjective for something rejected within this collection, given the focus on erotic enjoyment. Here we perhaps can see the beauty of something remote (a star, a constellation) rejected in favor of tangible beauties and joys.

14 **καὶ μαινάδας τρυγώσας**: Omitted in the other versions.

16 **ληνοβάτας πατοῦντας**: Line is omitted in the other versions, and ληνοβάτης is a late word, not appearing outside of this collection until the 2nd century CE.

18-19 **σατύρους… Ἔρωτας**: The satyrs and Erotes could either be additional objects that the artist should add to the scene, or they could be in apposition to ληνοβάτας in the previous line, serving as the wine-treaders.

20-21 Here is the clearest evidence of later expansion and where that expansion is the least artful. Ἔρωτα κἀφροδίτην of the final line is redundant with the Erotes and Cytherea mentioned directly before and should likely be removed. It's interesting that while Gellius' version here refers to Bathyllus, a beloved of Anacreon, the version here only includes gods and other unnamed figures. Bathyllus will appear later in this collection.

CA 5

Καλλιτέχνα, τόρευσον		Beautiful artist, carve
ἔαρος κύπελλον ἤδη,		a cup of springtime now;
τὰ πρῶτ’ ἡμῖν τὰ τερπνά		make the season bringing us
ῥόδα φέρουσαν ὥρην.		the first lovely roses.
ἀργύρεον δ’ ἁπλώσας	5	And beating thin your silver
ποτὸν ποίει μοι τερπνόν·		make my drinking lovely;
τῶν τελετῶν, παραινῶ,		concerning the rites, I advise,
μὴ ξένον μοι τορεύσηις,		don’t make something foreign,
μὴ φευκτὸν ἱστόρημα·		don’t make a horrible tableau;
μᾶλλον ποίει Διὸς γόνον,	10	but rather make the child of Zeus,
Βάκχον Εὔιον ἡμῖν.		Bacchus Evius for us.
μύστις νάματος ἦι Κύπρις		Let Cypris be the initiator of the flow
ὑμεναίους κροτοῦσα·		clapping out the hymenaeus;
χάρασσ’ Ἔρωτας ἀνόπλους		carve Loves unarmed
καὶ Χάριτας γελώσας	15	and laughing Graces
ὑπ’ ἄμπελον εὐπέταλον		under a vine blooming
εὐβότρυον κομῶσαν·		with many leaves and grapes;
σύναπτε κούρους εὐπρεπεῖς		add on some comely girls
†ἀν μη† Φοῖβος ἀθύρηι.		†unless† Phoebus is playing.

Meter: See Introduction 1.3: Metrics.

The title of this poem in the manuscript is ἄλλο εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ποτήριον: τοῦ αὐτ⟨οῦ⟩ ἀνακρέοντος, "another to the same drinking cup: by the same Anacreon."

This poem is a variation on the theme of the previous two poems, but lengthier and more extravagant than the previous two. It offers a fitting close to this ekphrastic setting, dwelling on all of the expected anacreontic set dressings. In addition, it offers yet another *recusatio*, rejecting all that is ξένον and φευκτὸν while embracing Dionysus and Aphrodite. The metrical uniqueness of this poem makes it likely that it did not originally belong to this spot, as it interrupts the regular hemiambics of most of this section of the collection.

1 **Καλλιτέχνα, τόρευσον**: Echoing the opener of the previous poem (τὸν ἄργυρον τορεύων). καλλιτέχνης is a *hapax legomenon*, though the form καλλιτέχνεις appears in one epigram (*Epigr. Gr*. 796). In contrast to the previous poem, the identity of the artist is not made any more explicit than this appellation, so it's unclear if the compound should be read as the artist himself being beautiful, or an artist producing beautiful works.[53]

2 **ἔαρος κύπελλον**: Not a cup full of spring, but a cup in some way associated with the spring, probably because of the decorations on it. Still, the wording is reminiscent of the also difficult κύπελλα θεσμῶν (*CA* 2.3). When seasonality is discussed in sympotic poetry, normally it is the heat of the summer that is referenced (e.g. Alc. 347, *CA* 18). The language of springtime, its

[53] Rosenmeyer translates "Master craftsman"; Campbell, "Fine craftsman."

season (ὥρην), and its flowers are reminiscent of Mimnermus 2,[54] which adds a *carpe diem* overtone which will be more explicit in future poems in the collection.[55]

4 **ῥόδα**: Roses are a common feature in the *CA*, associated with springtime, the Graces, beauty, and Aphrodite/Eros. See especially *CA* 55, an ode to the rose.

φέρουσαν ὥρην: The grammar here is unclear. The accusatives must be taken as another object of τόρευσον in apposition to the ἔαρος κύπελλον. Bergk emends φέρουσιν Ὧραι.

6 **ποτὸν ποίει μοι τερπνόν**: ποτὸν stands in for the act of drinking which the artist is beautifying by decorating the cup. τερπνόν echoes τερπνά above.

7 **τῶν τελετῶν**: "Concerning the rites," see Smyth §1381.

8-9 **ξένον...φευκτὸν**: Not necessarily foreign to Greek culture in general, but foreign to the world of the Anacreontea. The rites that should be depicted, described below, involve the realms of Dionysus and Aphrodite. Athena here would likely be as foreign and detestable as the Magna Mater. This phrase should be taken as another reflection of the *recusatio* against epic themes that has been developing throughout all the poems up to this point.

ἱστόρημα: This is a very rare word, appearing for the first time in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.61.3.2). It is not a term one would expect to find describing a visual scene. Like the previous two poems, the artist's instructions can be read metapoetically as a call to create more Anacreontic poetry, in which case a word for stories is generally appropriate.

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[54] 2.1-4, ἡμεῖς δ', οἷά τε φύλλα φύει πολυάνθεμος ὥρη/ ἔαρος, ὅτ' αἶψ' αὐγῆις αὔξεται ἠελίου,/ τοῖς ἴκελοι πήχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄνθεσιν ἥβης/ τερπόμεθα, "We are like the leaves brought forth by the flowery season/ of spring, when they grow quickly under the rays of the sun./ Like those we delight in the flowers of youth for just a short amount of time."

[55] E.g. *CA* 32.

12 **νάματος**: "Stream," or "flow," here referring to the flow of drink, continuing to situate this poem in a sympotic context. There may also be a nod to sacred springs (cf. *CA* 12).

13 **ὑμεναίους κροτοῦσα·**: Beating out the rhythm is a common action in scenes of singing and dancing. Here Aphrodite is imagined as either clapping with her hands or using a *krotalon* (clapper) to keep time. A *krotalon* was a handheld device of two pieces which were clapped together by closing the hand and used to keep time alongside other instruments, singing or dancing.[56]

14 **Ἔρωτας ἀνόπλους**: Another rejection of military themes, but also a reflection of the peaceful nature of the scene imaged here. The wishful imagination of the poet includes safe Erotes, while poems that recount short stories about Eros as a character will display Eros' weapons and martial prowess.[57]

16-17 **ἄμπελον εὐπέταλον/ εὐβότρυον κομῶσαν**: This proliferation of uncoordinated adjectives is unusual both in Greek in general and in this collection. It lends an overexaggerated sense of overabundance to these two lines. The image of being underneath a bountiful vine is reminiscent of several of the Hellenistic epigrams about Anacreon's tomb (A.P. 7.23, 7.24, and 7.31) which pray that grapevines or ivy grow around the spot. νάματος above also resonates with these epigrams which call for streams of wine or milk to burst up from the ground. Cf. also CA 18.

19 **†ἀν μη† Φοῖβος ἀθύρηι.**: The meaning of this line and its connection to the previous line is unclear. Either something has fallen out, or in place of the nonsensical ἀν μη of the manuscript there was a connector including Apollo in the described scene.

[56] Cf. West 1992, 124f., 133f.

[57] Cf. especially *CA* 13 wherein Eros summons the poet to battle, the two fight with armor and weapons, and Eros, once out of arrows, uses himself as a missile.

CA 6

Στέφος πλέκων ποτ’ εὗρον		While weaving a garland once I found
ἐν τοῖς ῥόδοις Ἔρωτα,		an Eros in the roses,
καὶ τῶν πτερῶν κατασχών		and taking hold of his wings
ἐβάπτισ’ εἰς τὸν οἶνον,		I dunked him into my wine,
λαβὼν δ’ ἔπιον αὐτόν·	5	and taking it, I drank him down;
καὶ νῦν ἔσω μελῶν μου		and now within my limbs
πτεροῖσι γαργαλίζει.		he tickles me with his feathers.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔρωτα, “by the same, to Eros.”

This short and fanciful poem imagines the speaker consuming a miniature Eros and paints a similar image to CA 25 which imagines Erotes as nesting birds live inside the heart of the speaker. Although the exact imagery of swallowing Eros does not have earlier parallels, the idea of Eros as an internalized force acting physically on its target is common. Cf. also *CA* 13, in which Eros transforms himself into a missile and sinks into the body of the speaker.

This poem also appears in the Planudean Anthology (A. Pl. 388) under the heading Ἰουλι(α)ν(οῦ). It is later imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus as a segment in his novel, where he identifies Eros as in the guise of a gnat (κώνωψ) (*De Dros*. 3.139-145).

1 **στέφος**: Another mention of the garland, cf. *CA* 1.12.

2 **τοῖς ῥόδοις**: Cf. *CA* 5.4.

3 **κατασχών**: κατέχω with the genitive typically means to gain control of or cling to. Here it seems to have the simple meaning of holding fast, likely out of an expansion either of the genitive use of this verb, or the use of the genitive with other verbs of touching.

4 **ἐβάπτισ' εἰς τὸν οἶνον**: Just as the garland woven of roses is a symbol both of the symposiast and of the lover, here the poet once again blends together the sympotic and erotic by dunking Eros into his wine in order to consume him.

5 **ἔπιον αὐτόν**: For drinking love, Campbell cites Anac. PMG 450, a two-word fragment reading ἔρωτα πίνων.[58] There is an unattributed epigram (A.P. 5.306) containing a similar sentiment, though without necessarily an imagining of a capital-E Eros:

> Κούρη τίς μ' ἐφίλησεν ὑφέσπερα χείλεσιν ὑγροῖς.
> νέκταρ ἦην τὸ φίλημα, τὸ γὰρ στόμα νέκταρος ἔπνει·
> καὶ **μεθύω τὸ φίλημα**, **πολὺν τὸν ἔρωτα πεπωκώς**.
>
> A girl kissed me in the evening with moist lips.
> Her kiss was nectar, her mouth breathed nectar;
> and I **am drunk on her kiss, have drunk much eros.**

Anac. PMG 376 also mentions love-drunkenness (μεθύων ἔρωτι). The use here of this image is a natural combination of this poem's blending of the sympotic and erotic, mentioned above, and of the common imagery of Eros infiltrating the body. Cf. also *CA* 20, in which the speaker imagines the consumption of poetry.

[58] Campbell 1988, 169.

6 **καὶ νῦν ἔσω μελῶν μου**: Eros commonly affects the limb. E.g. the λυσιμελής Eros of Sappho 130, Hes. *The.* 911, Archil. 196. Here he is not dissolving the limbs, but "tickling," as discussed below.

πτεροῖσι γαργαλίζει.: γαργαλίζω means to tickle or excite, but literally and metaphorically, and is used both of pleasant and unpleasant sensations. It appears relatively often in the Aristotelian corpus generally as a literal description of the phenomenon we know as tickling (e.g. *Problemata* 965a.11 Διὰ τί αὐτὸς αὑτὸν οὐθεὶς γαργαλίζει; "Why can nobody tickle himself?"). It also appears many times in Plutarch, though usually in a metaphorical sense, especially of the words and actions of flatterers. This poem is likely drawing on a section in Plato's *Phaedrus* describing the soul growing wings: ζεῖ τε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ γαργαλίζεται φύουσα τὰ πτερά. (251c.5). In both cases a center of emotion inside the body is envisioned as a being with wings that tickle.[59]

As in the first poem, when the speaker takes the garland, Eros is here taken on voluntarily, not forced upon the speaker. The καὶ νῦν here parallels the penultimate line of *CA* 1, juxtaposing the various consequences of acceptance: on the one hand ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι, and on the other πτεροῖσι γαργαλίζει. In the first poem, we would not know if being unable to cease from love was negative without the ὁ μῶρος of line 14. Here, there is some overtone of discomfort in the meaning of γαργαλίζω, but where other uses of this verb and other descriptions of the effects of Eros use strong terms of pain or discomfort, here the tone is mild and lighthearted. There is no expressed regret or desperation, but rather a light, comic poem explaining why the poet now is moved by love. If we read a musical pun in μελῶν, which means not only limbs of the body, but strains of song,[60] the ending takes on a metapoetic meaning as

[59] Rosenmeyer 1992, 206f.
[60] Zotou 2014, 52-3.

well. Ever since the poet took up the anacreontic mantle, Eros tickles the listener/reader from within the lyrics.

CA 7

Λέγουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες·		The women say:
‘Ἀνάκρεον, γέρων εἶ·		“Anacreon, you’re old;
λαβὼν ἔσοπτρον ἄθρει		pick up a mirror and look,
κόμας μὲν οὐκέτ’ οὔσας,		you no longer have hair,
ψιλὸν δέ σευ μέτωπον.’	5	and your brow is bare.”
ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς κόμας μέν,		But whether my hair
εἴτ’ εἰσὶν εἴτ’ ἀπῆλθον,		still exists, or has gone,
οὐκ οἶδα· τοῦτο δ’ οἶδα,		I don’t know; this I know:
ὡς τῶι γέροντι μᾶλλον		that it’s more fitting
πρέπει τὸ τερπνὰ παίζειν,	10	for an old man to play delightfully
ὅσωι πέλας τὰ Μοίρης.		the closer death is to him.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is ἄλλο εἰς ἑαυτόν, “another to himself.”

This is one of the few poems that actually assumes the persona of Anacreon himself. This is the only poem that explicitly names Anacreon as the speaker within the text of the poem, though others describe the speaker as having characteristic so of Anacreon such as old age or a relationship with Bathyllos.

The last poem began with ποτ’ and past tense verbs, situating the narrative of the poem at some unspecified past time in the life of the speaker or singer. This poem is in the present tense, and the subject is old age. *CA* 1 also told a story from the past, but in that poem, Anacreon was

explicitly a separate figure from the poet, whereas here they are merged. The intervening poems (which took on the task of creating Anacreontic art) have developed a speaker who has fully assumed the mantle of Anacreon for the time being. Retrospectively, one gets the sense that it is Anacreon who at some younger age imbibed Eros and now cannot stop being erotically (and poetically) stimulated, even up until his old age.

Old age is a common motif in the poetry of the archaic Anacreon. He used the first-person point-of-view of the erotic old man somewhat subversively by both playing into the strongly negative views about old age reflected in Mimnermus, but also questioning their validity in several places.[61] This poem, and others in the *CA*, do not engage with subtle subversion, but directly reject the idea that an old man is or should be diminished in his appetites and attitudes. This poem is reminiscent of Anac. PMG 395:

> πολιοὶ μὲν ἡμὶν ἤδη
> κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν,
> χαρίεσσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἥβη
> πάρα, γηραλέοι δ' ὀδόντες,
> γλυκεροῦ δ' οὐκέτι πολλὸς
> βιότου χρόνος λέλειπται·
> διὰ ταῦτ' ἀνασταλύζω
> θαμὰ Τάρταρον δεδοικώς·
> Ἀίδεω γάρ ἐστι δεινὸς
> μυχός, ἀργαλῆ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν
> κάτοδος· καὶ γὰρ ἑτοῖμον
> καταβάντι μὴ ἀναβῆναι.
>
> Already my temples are grey and my hair white, and lovely youth no longer is beside me, and my teeth are aged and there is no longer much time left for me in sweet life. Because of that I often cry in fear of Tartarus; for Hades is a dread chamber, and the road down to it is grievous; for it is certain that whoever goes down will not come back up.

[61] Falkner 1995, 142ff.

In this poem it is the speaker himself who details the shortcomings of his appearance and then expresses fear at dying. In *CA* 7, by contrast, it is the women who tell Anacreon about the physical signs of his aging. In turn, he completely refuses to look, in essence rejecting, or overwriting, this part of the corpus of Anacreon. While the threat of death is still present at the end of the poem, no fear is actually expressed, and instead the poet focuses on how fitting it is for an old man to rejoice as death nears.

Also closely parallel to this poem is A.P. 11.54:

Γηραλέον με γυναῖκες ἀποσκώπτουσι, λέγουσαι
εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον ὁρᾶν λείψανον ἡλικίης.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἰ λευκὰς φορέω τρίχας εἴτε μελαίνας,
οὐκ ἀλέγω βιότου πρὸς τέλος ἐρχόμενος.
εὐόδμοις δὲ μύροισι καὶ εὐπετάλοις στεφάνοισι
καὶ Βρομίῳ παύω φροντίδας ἀργαλέας.

The women make fun of me for being old, saying
that I see in the mirror the remnants of my youth.
But I don't care if I have white hair or black,
as I approach the end of life.
With sweet-smelling perfumes and flowery garlands
and wine I keep my mind from pain.

Rosenmeyer posits a common source for the two poems,[62] while Zotou proposes direct influence of one on the other.[63] This epigram contains the same rejection of the negative implications of aging, but it does not go as far as the anacreontic in claiming that it is actually more appropriate for an old man to celebrate than a young one.

A final parallel is Anac. PMG 394b μνᾶται δηὖτε φαλακρὸς Ἄλεξις ("once again bald Alexis goes wooing," tr. Campbell 1988). The *CA* generally ignore Anacreon's invective in favor

[62] Rosenmeyer 1992, 180.
[63] Zotou 2014, 55.

of sympotic and erotic content. Here we see a possible echo of his invective content, but turned in on the speaker, Anacreon, losing its teeth in the process.

1 **αἱ γυναῖκες**: Cf. *CA* 18 where the speaker asks a group of unspecified women to bring him wine. Because the speaker himself will reject the need to dwell on age, it is a group of external viewers who bring the subject to his attention. This stands in contrast to the age poems of Anacreon, such as PMG 395, cited above, or PMG 358. In Anac. PMG 358 the speaker claims that it is the girl who is judging his white hair, but the punchline of the poem undermines this assertion,[64] and it is the speaker himself who brings up the fact of his age in the first person.

3 **ἄθρει**: In forms other than the imperative, this is a poetic term for looking, found especially in Euripides, but also the other dramatists and Homer. This imperative is also used relatively often by Plato, in the more metaphorical sense of examining, vs. the literal sense of looking. Here both meanings are present: there is the literal looking into the mirror, but also the need for "Anacreon" to assess the situation of his old age, given what he sees.

5 **σευ**: This form appears more often in the *CA* than σου (appears just once, at *CA* 58.21). The adjective σός is used twice, when the possessive is separated from its noun by other words.

8 **τοῦτο**: τόδε would be more expected in this context.

10 **πρέπει τὸ τερπνὰ παίζειν**: πρέπει with the articular infinitive is not as common as without the article, but is more common a) in later Greek, and b) when the verb is modified.

[64] Falkner 1995, 145f.

παίζειν is an especially multivalent word that can imply playing games, dancing, playing at love, playing a musical instrument, and more. In this context, all meanings associated with sympotic/anacreontic activities are likely present. Cf. *CA* 40.7-10 πρὶν ἐμὲ φθάσηι τὸ τέλος/ παίξω, γελάσω, χορεύσω/ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Λυαίου. The erotic valence is also strengthened by the association with the poems of Anacreon mentioned above which treat the appearance of old age as an impediment to erotic conquest.

τερπνὰ here is acting adverbially, or as a cognate accusative.

CA 8

Οὔ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω		I don't care about the wealth of Gyges
τοῦ Σαρδίων ἄνακτος,		lord of Sardis,
οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος,		nor does jealousy ever seize me
οὐδὲ φθονῶ τυράννοις.		nor envy for tyrants.
ἐμοὶ μέλει μύροισιν	5	I care about soaking
καταβρέχειν ὑπήνην,		my mustache with myrrh,
ἐμοὶ μέλει ῥόδοισιν		I care about garlanding
καταστέφειν κάρηνα·		my head with roses.
τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι,		I care about today,
τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν;	10	who knows tomorrow?
ὡς οὖν ἔτ' εὖδι' ἔστιν,		So while the weather is fair,
καὶ πῖνε καὶ κύβευε		drink and gamble
καὶ σπένδε τῶι Λυαίωι,		and pour libations to Lyaeus,
μὴ νοῦσος, ἤν τις ἔλθηι,		lest some sickness comes
λέγηι σε μηδὲ πίνειν.	15	and says that you can't drink anymore.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is εἰς τὸ ἀφθόνως ζῆν, "to the life free from envy."

This poem directly picks up an Archilochus fragment:

> οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει,
> οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι
> θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος·

ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν.

I don't care about the wealth of gold-rich Gyges,
nor has jealousy ever seized me, nor do I envy
the works of the gods, and I don't desire great tyrrany;
for these things are far from my gaze.
(fr. 19)

The original poem is in iambic trimeters which are easily adapted to the iambic anacreontic meter whose lines are each approximately half a trimeter. This adaptation contains a mix of direct quotation (line 3), rearrangement (line 1), and paraphrase (lines 2 and 4). The existence of this poem suggests a possibility of other embedded quotations within the *CA* whose originals do not survive for us. This poem directly follows a poem whose speaker was named as Anacreon. Directly quoting an archaic poet keeps the audience for the moment in the archaic world created by evoking Anacreon in the previous poem. The expansion on the Archilochus is paradigmatically anacreontic. Wealth is not rejected because of any idealization of the rough or simple life. Instead, ambition and jealousy are rejected in favor of living at ease in the moment.

This poem is very internally structured in a way that foreshadows stanzas in later poems in the collection, including the following poem. The first 4 lines rephrase the Archilochus and are linked by οὔ... οὐδ'... οὐδὲ. The next four have an ABAB structure with ἔμοι μέλει + dative lines as A and infinitive + object lines as B. 9-10 make a unit connected by sense and τὸ σήμερον... τὸ δ' αὔριον, and repetition of καὶ connects lines 12-13.

1 **οὔ μοι μέλει**: Cf. *CA* 1.10 τί Πλειάδων μέλει μοι; and 45.4 τί μοι μέλει μεριμνῶν;

2 **τοῦ Σαρδίων ἄνακτος**: There is not enough left of the original line to fill an entire anacreontic second line, so a new epithet is found for Gyges.

7 **ῥόδοισιν**: The rose is the Anacreontic flower for garlands, and always carries the connotation of Eros alongside the sympotic/Bacchic connotation of the garland itself. Cf. especially *CA* 6, 44.

10 **τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν;**: Cf. *CA* 38.19 πόθεν οἴδαμεν τὸ μέλλον; This is a common sentiment in Greek and Latin literature, stretching back at least to Euripides (κοὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται/ τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται·, *Alc.*783-4). The most famous example is perhaps Horace *Carm*. 1.11, though instead of outright denying the ability of mortals to know the future, he exhorts us not to try.[65]

14-15 **μὴ νοῦσος, ἤν τις ἔλθηι,/ λέγηι σε μηδὲ πίνειν**: The inserted conditional here is slightly awkward. λέγω here means "command," and in that meaning the expected negative is μή. μηδὲ here is emphatic. For an inanimate subject of λέγω as command, cf. Dem. 22.20 ὡς ὁ νόμος λέγει.

In Greek and Roman medicine, wine was viewed ambivalently as a potential source of harm and benefit to the body and mind. There are examples of doctors advising a full abstention of wine is the case of certain illnesses in the medical corpora.[66] Martial humorously describes a particular incident in Epigram 6.78 where a man is told by his doctor that if he drinks wine, he will go blind.

[65] Likewise in *Carm*. 1.9.13, cf. C.4.17-18 quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae/ tempora di superi?
[66] Jacques 2012, 182.

CA 9

Ἄφες με, τοὺς θεούς σοι,	Allow me, by the gods,
πιεῖν, πιεῖν ἀμυστί·	to drink, to drink deeply;
θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι.	I want, I want to go mad.
ἐμαίνετ’ Ἀλκμέων τε	Alcmaeon went mad,
χὠ λευκόπους Ὀρέστης	and white-footed Orestes,
τὰς μητέρας κτανόντες·	after they killed their mothers;
ἐγὼ δὲ μηδένα κτάς,	but I have killed nobody,
πιὼν δ’ ἐρυθρὸν οἶνον	but drinking red wine
θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι.	I want, I want to go mad.
ἐμαίνετ’ Ἡρακλῆς πρίν,	Heracles once went mad,
δεινὴν κλονῶν φαρέτρην	wielding his horrible quiver
καὶ τόξον Ἰφίτειον·	and the bow of Iphitus;
ἐμαίνετο πρὶν Αἴας,	Ajax once went mad,
μετ’ ἀσπίδος κραδαίνων	brandishing alongside his shield
τὴν Ἕκτορος μάχαιραν·	the sword of Hector;
ἐγὼ δ’ ἔχων κύπελλον	but I hold a goblet
καὶ στέμμα τοῦτο χαίτης	and this fillet for my hair

{οὐ τόξον, οὐ μάχαιραν,}	not a bow, not a sword,
θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι.	I want, I want to go mad.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεμεθυσμένον, "to himself, winedrunk."

This poem is divided into stanzas based on meaning and the repetition of the line θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι. It is the most structured of the poem so far, though it follows closely on the heels of another quite structured poem. *CA* 12, 20, 22, 27, 30, 38, 42, 49, and 50 can all also be divided into stanzas based on internal structure (or meter, in the case of 20). *CA* 12 is a variation on the same theme as 9, also describing several mythological exempla for madness and ending with a plea to go mad as well in a sympotic context closed by θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι. This, like the ekphrastic poems, is another example of the editor distributing poems on the same theme throughout the collection. Although the two poems overlap strongly, they have distinct categories of exempla. Each story in *CA* 9 is a violent madness imposed on a human by a god as a punishment. In *CA* 12, the madnesses are forms of prophetic inspiration taken on by the human practitioner.

The contrast between the epic/tragic mythical exempla used in this poem and the speaker's desire to just drink at the symposium corresponds to some of the other *recusatio* poems in this collection. In *CA* 23, the speaker claims θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας,/ θέλω δὲ Κάδμον ἄιδειν, (*CA* 23.1f.), but goes on to say that his lyre will only play love songs. Similarly, *CA* 2 asked for λύρην Ὁμήρου/ φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς· (*CA* 2.1f.) whose sentiment is echoed here at greater length. The singer is using very violent examples but contrasting them with the harmless and

joyful “madness” of the anacreontic symposium. The absence of a direct mention of Bacchus haunts this poem: although the madness of wine is presented as the harmless alternative to the murderous madness of heroes, the poet could have included the equally murderous madness of Bacchants. One must assume that instead the desired madness is the σώφρων λύσση of *CA* 2.

1 **ἄφες με**: “Allow me” LSJ s.v. IV. It is not clear who exactly the speaker is addressing. At the start of CA 18 we find δότε μοι, δότ’ ὦ γυναῖκες/ Βρομίου πιεῖν ἀμυστί, so perhaps here too we should imagine some server of wine whose “allowance” is nothing more than pouring the wine. Cf. Anac. PMG 356a ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμὶν ὦ παῖ/ κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν/ προπίω, which corresponds closely to the first three lines of this poem.

τοὺς θεούς: “By the gods,” an exclamatory accusative without νά/μή

σοι: This dative is perhaps the dative of person indirect object of an implied verb of entreaty.

2 **πιεῖν, πιεῖν**: Echoed in θέλω, θέλω directly below. The repetitions in this poem lend a recitative feel and are reminiscent of tragic lyric (as is the subject matter); e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 140 ἔγειρ', ἔγειρε, Soph. *Phil.* 175, 687 πῶς ποτε, πῶς, Eur. *El.* 137 ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ.

4 **Ἀλκμέων τε χὠ λευκόπους Ὀρέστης**: Alcmaeon was the son of Amphiarus and Eriphyle and killed his mother in revenge after her actions led to Amphiarus’s death among the Seven against Thebes. After he kills his mother, he is driven to madness by Furies. Orestes was the son of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon who killed his mother in revenge for her involvement with Aegisthus in the killing of Agamemnon. He is also driven mad by furies. Because of the close correspondence of their stories, they are often mentioned in the same breath, as here, as examples of mother-killers, or mad victims of the furies, e. g. Cass. Dio 9.4, [Pl.] *Alc. II* 143c, Dio Chrys.

Or. 64.2. Here the two too are joined very closely with a τε καὶ. The story of Orestes is best known from Aeschylus's *Oresteia,* as well as its frequent mentions in the *Odyssey*. The story of Alcmaeon is told by Pindar (*Pyth.* 8 40ff.), Thucydides (2.102), Pausanias (8.24), and Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.7), among others.

λευκόπους: This is a rare epithet. Euripides applies it to the Bacchants (*Cyc.* 72), and Aristophanes uses it humorously for his chorus of old men as they strip in *Lysistrata* (664). In both cases, the meaning seems to be primarily "barefoot." In Aescylus's *Choephoroe*, one of the "tokens" by which Electra recognizes Orestes is by the print of his foot by Agamemnon's tomb. What this means about Orestes's footwear throughout the play has been a subject of debate.[67] The use of this epithet here lends support to the theory that one of the iconic images of Orestes was a barefoot Orestes. The association with the Bacchants through Euripides is also appropriate in the context of a poem about wine-madness.

7 **ἐγὼ δὲ μηδένα κτάς**: This would not be taken for granted for an archaic poet. While Anacreon's poetry does not discuss war, Archilochus, for example, is famous for calling himself θεράπων Ἐνυαλίοιο and the category of "civilian man" was slim or nonexistent in many places. Cf. *CA* 4.4.

8 **ἐρυθρὸν οἶνον**: A reversal of a common Homeric line ending (οἶνος/ν ἐρυθρός/ν). Specifying the red color of the wine also evokes blood, especially alongside the violence of the rest of the poem.

10 **Ἡρακλῆς**; Heracles was driven mad by Hera and murdered his family with his bow.

[67] See Phillippo 2018 for an overview of the scholarly debate, as well as evidence, both literary and material/visual, for a "barefoot" Orestes.

11 **κλονῶν**: This is the only instance where this verb is used for the action of wielding or using a weapon. While grammatically it takes the quiver and bow as its objects, in its sense it describes the effect Heracles has on the people around him through his weapons.

12 **Ἰφίτειον**: The mythology here is slightly confused. In a separate fit of madness, Heracles kills Iphitus. In addition, Iphitus does have a famous bow, which he gifts to Odysseus before his death and which is later used by Odysseus to kill the suitors in Ithaca. However, Heracles is not otherwise said to have gained possession of Iphitus' bow. For the story of Iphitus, see Apollod. Bibl. 2.6, Diod. Sic. 4.31

13 **Αἴας**: Ajax loses a verbal contest over the arms of Achilles to Odysseus. He grows enraged, and Athena drives him mad so that he vents his fury on animals, thinking they are Odysseus and the other Greek commanders. Afterwards, he is ashamed and kills himself. The story is recounted in Sophocles' *Ajax*, among others.

14 **ἀσπίδος**: Ajax is famous for his huge shield. Cf. Hom. *Il.*7.219-23.

15 **τὴν Ἕκτορος μάχαιραν**: In book 7 of the *Iliad*, Ajax is chosen by lot to duel Hector in single combat. The duel is called at a draw, and Hector and Ajax exchange gifts. Ajax receives Hector's sword, which he later uses to slaughter animals in his madness, and ultimately to kill himself.

15 **ἐγὼ δ' ἔχων κύπελλον**: As above, where κτὰς echoes κτανόντες, here ἔχων echoes κλονῶν and κραδαίνων, contrasting the held goblet with the wielded weapons.

17 **στέμμα**: Here equivalent to στέφος and στεφάνος, both off which occur more frequently in the collection.

18 **{οὐ τόξον, οὐ μάχαιραν,}**: West brackets this line as a likely later interpolation. When it is removed, the poem is divided into stanzas of equal length. In addition, without this verse the third and final stanzas follow a similar pattern of one line contrasting with the previous examples ("but I have killed nobody," and "but I hold a goblet [not a weapon]"), a second line describing further sympotic activity, and the third line θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι.

While it is highly plausible that this line was added later, in light of these factors and other examples of seeming interpolation in the collection (cf. *CA* 4.20-21), this additional line has literary merit. By increasing the length of the final stanza, the poet contributes to a crescendo already begun by the use of first one stanza of exempla, and then two. In addition, this line emphasizes the theme of nonviolence, strengthening the explicit contrast between the actions of heroes and those of symposiasts.

CA 10

Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω,		What shall I do with you,
τί σοι, λάλη χελιδόν;		what, chattering swallow?
τὰ ταρσά σευ τὰ κοῦφα		Would you like me to seize and clip
θέλεις λαβὼν ψαλίξω,		your nimble wings?
ἢ μᾶλλον ἔνδοθέν σευ	5	Or would you prefer I rip
τὴν γλῶσσαν, ὡς ὁ Τηρεύς		your tongue out of you
ἐκεῖνος, ἐκθερίξω;		like famous Tereus did?
τί μευ καλῶν ὀνείρων		Why have you snatched Bathyllus
ὑπορθρίαισι φωναῖς		from my beautiful dreams
ἀφήρπασας Βάθυλλον;	10	with your morning singing?

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς χελιδόνα, "by the same, to a swallow."

This is another poem whose content implies an archaic setting. Although Anacreon is not named as the speaker, Bathyllos, the subject of the speaker's dreams, is a beloved of Anacreon's.[68]

Bathyllus stands in for the beloved of an anacreontic poet, and as in the Latin elegists, the beloved can stand in for the poetry as well. On one level we have a love poem spoken by the archaic Anacreon, and on another we have the anacreontic singer dreaming of anacreontic poetry.

[68] Cf. *CA* 15 in which both Anacreon and Bathyllos are present as figures separate from the speaker. See also note on v. 10 below.

Like the previous poem, this poem injects a more somber note into the lighthearted whole. The suggested punishments for the swallow are quite violent, as is the exemplum used to enforce them. They are made more disturbing by the almost sadistic way the speaker phrases his threats as requests from the swallow about what she wants him to do to her.

1 **τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω**: For ἐθέλω with the subjunctive, LSJ s.v. A.7. τί σοι θέλεις δῆτ' εἰκάθω Soph. *OT*. 651.

2 **λάλη**: The manuscript here reads λάλευ. Stephanus suggests λάλη or λάλ' ᾦ. An adjective of "chattery" or "talkative" I certainly very fitting in this context.

χελιδόν: The choice of bird foreshadows the suggested punishment in lines 5-7. Philomela, daughter of Pandion, was transformed into a swallow after being raped and having her tongue torn out by her sister's husband Tereus. This myth will be referenced again in *CA* 22 as an example of a metamorphosis. The swallow is mentioned twice in the fragments of Anacreon where it is referred to as chattering (κωτίλη χελιδών, 108) but also lovely and sweet-singing (ἡδυμελὲς χαρίεσσα χελιδοῖ, 49a).

This bird who so rudely interrupts dreams of Bathyllus stands in contrast to the Ἐρασμίη πέλεια of *CA* 15 who dutifully attends to Anacreon and delivers letters to Bathyllus.

4 **ψαλίξω**: Formed from the noun ψαλίς (scissors). This is a very rare word, otherwise occurring mostly in a medical context (once in Galen, and 8 times in Oribasius) for surgery/amputation. It is used in a fable of Aesop for sheep shears (*Fabulae* 322). Both of these comparanda are suitable here, as what is being contemplated is an amputation of part of an animal.

6 **ὁ Τηρεύς**: See note on v. 2 above.

7 **ἐκθερίξω**: This is also an uncommon verb, and in all other cases it means to reap or mow crops. θερίζω, while also primarily having the same meaning, also can be used to mean "cut." This form then is likely influenced by analogy to mean "to cut out."

10 **Βάθυλλον**: For Bathyllos, see Introduction 1.5: Relation to Anacreon. His inclusion here connects the speaker with Anacreon, but the absence of the name Anacreon in the text also allows one to read Bathyllos as a paradigmatic anacreontic beloved and a suitable pseudonym for the beloved of any anacreontic poet, not just Anacreon himself.

This poem holds the reader in suspense until the very end. The musings over the swallow are unexplained, and when it comes time for the explanation in the final three lines, the syntax is drawn out longer than usual and it is not until the very last word that the audience understands the motivation behind this poem.

CA 11

Ἔρωτα κήρινόν τις	Some boy was selling
νεηνίης ἐπώλει·	a wax Eros;
ἐγὼ δέ οἱ παραστάς	And I stood next him
‘πόσου θέλεις’ ἔφην ‘σοι	and said “how much
τὸ τυχθὲν ἐκπρίωμαι;’	should I pay you for the figurine?”
ὃ δ’ εἶπε δωριάζων	And he replied in Doric,
‘λάβ’ αὐτὸν ὁππόσου λῆις.	“Have it for however much you want.
ὅπως <δ’> ἂν ἐκμάθηις πᾶν,	But so that you have the whole story:
οὐκ εἰμὶ κηροτέχνας,	I’m not a wax sculptor,
ἀλλ’ οὐ θέλω συνοικεῖν	I just don’t want to live with
Ἔρωτι παντορέκται.’	Eros the all-desiring.”
‘δὸς οὖν, δὸς αὐτὸν ἡμῖν	“Give it then, give him to me
δραχμῆς, καλὸν σύνευνον.’	for a drachma, that beautiful bedfellow.”
Ἔρως, σὺ δ’ εὐθέως με	Eros, set me on fire
πύρωσον· εἰ δὲ μή, σύ	right away! And if you don’t,
κατὰ φλογὸς τακήσηι.	you’ll melt in the flames.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἔρωτα κήρινον, “by the same, to a wax Eros.”

This poem belongs to a category of poems telling short stories about Eros, along with *CA* 6 and 19, as well as 28, 30, 31, 33, and 35. This poem stands out in several regards. First, there is the explicit mention of dialect. Throughout the *CA*, a number of features from various Ionic, Doric, and Attic dialects are used alongside each other. In general, the first half of the collection uses predominantly Ionic forms (as does the poetry of Anacreon), whereas the latter half uses more Doric forms.[69] This is the only poem to bring up dialect explicitly, by claiming that the figurine seller spoke Doric, while the speaker uses Ionic. Sens argues that the transfer of Eros from a Doric speaker to an Ionic speaker represents a metapoetic commentary on the transfer of the erotic poetry from the bucolic Doricizing poets such Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, to the Ionic poets of the Anacreontic tradition.[70]

A second point of interest is the aggressive treatment of Eros within the poem. The speaker threatens Eros that if he does not follow his commands, he will melt the figurine representing him in a fire. The bold treatment of Eros is somewhat reminiscent of Hellenistic poems that treat Eros as a runaway slave, such as Moschus' "runaway Love" poem (A.P. 9.440.1-5). The interaction also draws on erotic magic, both real and literary. It is common to find in love spells and their literary depictions the request to inflame the beloved until they come to the one casting the spell.[71] That request can be paired with a sympathetic link, such as when Simaetha melts wax as part of her spell (Theoc. *Id.* 228f.).[72] Here there is a double reversal: Eros should inflame the speaker, not a target, and it is Eros who may feel the heat of the fire. Directly threatening a god through a sympathetic link to their figurine is out of the ordinary, but there are

[69] West 1993: xi-xii. See Sens 2014, 97-99 for more on dialectical forms in the *Anacreontea* and the issues of regularization in transmission.
[70] Sens 2014, 111.
[71] E.g. *PGM* VII.981-93, XXXIIa 1-10, CI. 32-3, and *passim*.
[72] ὡς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, /ὣς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις. This type of sympathetic link appears also in real surviving spells, such as *PGM* XXXVI 333-60 over burnt myrrh.

spells that call for the caster to threaten the intermediary spirits/daimones who they are exhorting to carry out their bidding. For example, PGM CI. 10-15: "But if you disobey and do not quickly/ carry out what I tell you, the sun will not set under the earth… But if you do not carry out for me what I tell you, / the EŌNEBYŌTH shall burn you."[73]

2 **νεηνίης**: The Ionic form, foreshadowing the dialectical distinction between the two figures that will be mentioned in v. 6.

4 **θέλεις...ἐκπρίωμαι**: For θέλεις with the subjunctive, cf. *CA* 10.1.

5 **τὸ τυχθὲν**: The sense of "the made thing" i.e. "the figurine" is clear, but this particular form (vs. τευχθέν) is unique and the use is rare.

6 **δοριάζων**: The regular verb for "to speak Doric" is δωρίζω (Dor. δορίσδω) seen in authors such as Theocritus (**Δωρίσδειν** δ' ἔξεστι, *Id.*15.93), Plutarch (ἔφη **δωρίζων** ἐκεῖνος, *Philop.*2.4.), Dio Chrystostom (νομίζεις τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἀττικίζειν ἢ **δωρίζειν**; *O.*10.23), and others. δωριάζω is found once in Anacreon (ἐκδῦσα κιθῶνα **δωριάζειν**, fr. 54), where it means to dress in a Doric style. The Anacreon fragment is preserved by various lexicographers in service of defining the mode of dress associated with the verb. It appears with the same meaning in Philostratus as well.[74] It seems likely that the Anacreontic poet took the verb from Anacreon but used it as an alternate form of δωρίζω. The chance to directly allude to Anacreon is attractive, and δωρίζω would of course be a very difficult verb to fit into an anacreontic meter.

7 **λῇς**: A Doric word for "wish."

[73] Dieter Betz, 1986, 308. See also *PGM* XII. 50ff., XII. 141ff.
[74] *Vit. Soph.* 529.23.

9 **κηροτέχνας**: With a Doric ending. Rosenmeyer argues that the statement of the seller's dialect alongside the fact that he did not himself sculpt the Eros portrays him as rustic and uneducated.[75] Sens argues that the fact that the seller is not the sculptor is an accurate representation of the erotic poetic tradition being discussed: it began with the archaic poets (especially Anacreon), was passed through the Hellenistic Doric poets, and now is being handed to the Anacreontic poet.[76]

10 **θέλω**: Cf. λῇς v.7. The poet is not consistent with his Doricisms.

11 **παντορέκται**: This word is not otherwise attested until the 4th century C.E. and is not otherwise ascribed to Eros. LSJ gives two possible etymologies. The first from the verb ῥέζω, through which it connects this adjective to πανοῦργος "cunning, wicked." The second is from the verb ὀρέγομαι, from which we get the meaning "all-desiring, insatiable." Either sense is possible here and both would apply to a troublesome Eros.

12 **δὸς οὖν, δὸς**: Cf. *CA* 18.1.

14 **εὐθέως**: It is very common in spell formulae to command the *daimon* to act swiftly and immediately in bringing about the effects of the spell. εὐθέως appears frequently in the *PGM*, and many spells end with the formula ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχύ, ταχύ ("immediately, immediately, swiftly, swiftly").

[75] Rosenmeyer 1992, 170.
[76] Sens 2014, 112.

CA 12

Οἱ μὲν καλὴν Κυβήβην		Some say half-girl Attis
τὸν ἡμίθηλυν Ἄττιν		went mad
ἐν οὔρεσιν βοῶντα		shouting in the hills
λέγουσιν ἐκμανῆναι·		to beautiful Cybebe.
οἱ δὲ Κλάρου παρ’ ὄχθαις	5	Others, by the banks of Claros
δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου		drinking the babbling water
λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ		of laurel-crowned Phoebus,
μεμηνότες βοῶσιν·		shout in their madness.
ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ Λυαίου		But I, filled up with
καὶ τοῦ μύρου κορεσθείς	10	wine and perfume
καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἑταίρης		and my girl,
θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι.		I want, I want to go mad.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

This poem has two titles in the manuscript. Within the columns of text, it is labeled εἰς ἄττιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, “to Attis, by the same.” In the margins next to that line is εἰς ἄττιν, “to Attis.”

This poem is on a similar theme to *CA* 9. Both describe instances of madness contrasted with the poet’s own desire to become mad in a sympotic context. Like *CA* 9, it is divided into even stanzas. The first two provide mythological and religious examples of madness, and the third

describes the sympotic madness, and closes with the line θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι, also found at the beginning and end of *CA* 9. The repetition of the line between these two poems suggest that either there is influence of one on the other, or they both look back at an earlier source. It's possible that the same author penned both of these on the same theme. The editor chooses not to put them right after each other, but to leave the theme for a poem and then return to it, displaying their preference for *variatio* in arrangement.

The exempla chosen for this poem are of a different tone than those in *CA* 9. In *CA* 9, each example was of a mythical man who committed great violence in his madness or was driven mad after an act of violence. The first example here, the story of Attis, alludes to an act of self-violence, but does not mention it directly in the poem. The second example of the priests of Apollo is not mythical at all, but a description of the actual rituals of this particular cult. This evolution of examples is brought out in the οἱ μὲν... οἱ δὲ in which the οἱ μὲν describes a group recounting a story ("some say…"), but the οἱ δὲ breaks the expectation of a matching set of tellers and instead refers to the people going mad ("others… shout in their madness). Whereas in *CA* 9 a strong contrast is built between the destructive madness of mythical heroes and the benign madness of the symposium, here the subject is religious madness, and the progression of the poem leads us to feel that the madness of the speaker is not entirely different. This contributes to an association of the *CA* with the rites of Dionysus which is developed further in other poems.[77]

[77] For more on the Dionysian madness of the *Anacreontea*, see Gutzwiller 2014, 64-5.

1-4 The syntax here is not entirely clear, and there is greater hyperbaton than is typical of the collection. καλὴν Κυβήβην must be taken as the direct object of either βοῶντα or ἐκμανῆναι. βοῶντα seems more likely as it is nearer, ἐκμανῆναι does not usually take an accusative object, and μανῆναι is always used absolutely elsewhere in the collection (including in this poem). However, it is also tempting to see βῶντα as directly parallel to βοῶσιν (v.8), which is used absolutely.

καλὴν Κυβήβην: Cybele (also Cybebe) is a Phrygian mother goddess. She was worshipped broadly across the Mediterranean from the archaic period on and appears by various names in both Greek and Latin literature.[78] In Rome, there was a temple to her on the Palatine and a class of castrated priests called the Galli (see note below). Beauty is not normally an emphasized feature of the goddess Cybele, though it is a fitting attribute to stress in an erotic context and a common attribute for goddesses in general.

2 **τὸν ἡμίθηλυν Ἄττιν**: Attis is a mythical divinized priest(ess) of Cybele who castrated themself. In some versions of the story, they were driven mad by the goddess in punishment for infidelity to her. The story is found famously in Catullus 63, as well as twice in Ovid, at *Metamorphoses* 10.103 ff. and *Fasti* 4.222 ff. The madness associated with Attis and Cybele is aligned much more with maenadic madness than the following Apollonian example. Cybele is mentioned in Euripides' *Bacchae* (78), and Catullus' *gallae* are a group of wild women accompanied by the instruments associated also with Dionysian worship.[79]

5 **Κλάρου**: Claros was a river and city on the coast of Ionia which was the site of a sanctuary to Apollo. Like Delphi and Didyma, it was an oracular center with a founding myth tying it to the

[78] For more on the Greek worship of Cybele and appearances in Greek literature, see Robertson, 1996.
[79] Takács 1996, 378f.

descendants of Tiresias.[80] A description of the power of the water there is found in Pliny the Elder (*Colophone in Apollinis Clarii specu lacuna est, cuius potu mira redduntur oracula, bibentium breviore vita*. "There is a lake in a cave of Apollo Clarius at Colophon. Drinking from it delivers marvelous oracles, at the cost of a shorter life for the drinkers." *HN* 2.232.5). Pliny does not specify, but according to Tacitus, it is the priests who drink the water and then prophesize (*Ann.* 2.54).

7 **λάλον... ὕδωρ**: this phrase does not appear in texts definitely earlier than this poem, but it is paralleled in a description of a Delphic oracle by Philostorgios, a late antique church historian, which prophesies the end of the oracular power of Apollo (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 7, fr. 1c: Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ· χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά./Οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,/Οὐ **παγὰν λαλέουσαν**, ἀπέσβετο καὶ **λάλον ὕδωρ**. "Say to the king: the well-wrought court has fallen to the ground. Phoebus no longer holds this shrine, nor the mantic laurel, nor the chattering spring, the babbling water has also died out."). The phrase also appears in Nonnus (*Dion.* 41.223 Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνι **λάλον** πεφυλαγμένον **ὕδωρ**) around the same era. Cf. also *CA* 10.2 in which the swallow is referred to as λάλη. The connotations of the adjective's use seem quite distinct between the two poems (worldly and negative in *CA* 10, mystical and ambivalent in *CA* 12), while the verbal echo creates a throughline between these poems.

9 **τοῦ Λυαίου**: Given the examples of divine inspiration above, this should not be taken just as metonymy for wine and drunkenness, but also as a true reference to the god Bacchus.

11 **τῆς ἐμῆς ἑταίρης**: This word is used in two other instances within the collection: at *CA* 16.5 where the speaker asks a painter to paint his absent *hetaira*, and at *CA* 32.15 where the speaker

[80] Paus. 9.33.

orders somebody to call a *hetaira*. The reference at *CA* 32.15 (κάλει δ' ἑταίρην) most naturally reads as a reference to a sex worker being called to a symposium, but here and at 16.5 where the *hetaira* is called "mine," the meaning seems closer to "girlfriend." Callimachus uses it throughout his poetry to mean "female companion" with no reference to sex work, as does Moschus, but both are referring to female companion to other women, not to men.[81] This is the use also seen in literature up to Herodotus.[82] Rebecca Futo Kennedy argues for a redefinition of *hetaira* in the classical period to refer to women who were "wealthy, educated, and distinguished or famous, and associated with modeling and performance at times, but… not prostitutes or even courtesans."[83] While this poem does not speak directly to the conceptualization of the category in the classical era, the uses of *hetaira* do seem to support the claim that as a sexual terms it does not need to be read as describing a sex worker.

We have seen the use of γυναῖκες to describe groups of women in the collection (*CA* 7.1, and also *CA* 14.13, 18.1). Girls in the second half of the collection are also referred to in the singular and plural as *kourai* (*CA* 43.4, 44.14, 50.19, 60.16a). A feminine παῖδα occurs at *CA* 41.8.

[81] e.g. Callim. *In lavacrum Palladis* 58, 69, 95, 120, *Aet.* fr. 75.42, *Hymn* 3.185; Moschus *Europa* 28, 102, 111.
[82] e.g. Sappho fr. 126, 142, Pind. *Pyth.* 3.18, 9.19.
[83] Kennedy 2014, 71.

CA 13

{θέλω, θέλω φιλῆσαι.}		I want, I want to love.
Ἔπειθ’ Ἔρως φιλεῖν με·		Eros was persuading me to love;
ἐγὼ δ’ ἔχων νόημα		but I had a thoughtless
ἄβουλον οὐκ ἐπείσθην.		mind and I refused.
ὁ δ’ εὐθὺ τόξον ἄρας	5	He immediately lifted his bow
καὶ χρυσέην φαρέτρην		and his golden quiver
μάχηι με προυκαλεῖτο·		and called me forth to battle;
κἀγὼ λαβὼν ἐπ’ ὤμων		I took up upon my shoulders
θώρηχ’ ὅπως Ἀχιλλεύς		a breastplate like Achilles
καὶ δοῦρα καὶ βοείην	10	and a spear and a shield
ἐμαρνάμην Ἔρωτι.		and did battle with Eros.
ἔβαλλ’, ἐγὼ δ’ ἔφευγον·		He shot, I fled.
ὡς δ’ οὐκέτ’ εἶχ’ ὀιστούς,		And when he no longer had any arrows,
ἤσχαλλεν, εἶτ’ ἑαυτόν		he was upset, then he hurled
ἀφῆκεν εἰς βέλεμνον·	15	himself as a missile;
μέσος δὲ καρδίης μευ		he sank into the middle of
ἔδυνε καί μ’ ἔλυσεν.		my heart and dissolved me.
μάτην δ’ ἔχω βοείην·		I hold a shield in vain;
τί γὰρ βάλωμεν ἔξω,		for why should I fight on the outside
μάχης ἔσω μ’ ἐχούσης;	20	when the battle is inside me?

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

This poem has two titles in the manuscript. Within the columns of text, it is labeled τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔρωτα, "by the same, to Eros". In the margins next to that line is εἰς ἔρωτα, "to Eros."

In earlier poems, the speaker has voluntarily taken Eros upon himself, leading to mild consequences. In those cases (e.g. *CA* 1, 6), it is easy to read the acceptance of Eros also as the acceptance of the tradition of love poetry. Here instead we have a case where Eros is unwillingly forced upon the speaker. Whereas before we had rejections of military and epic motifs, here we have a subversion where the language of war is applied to the erotic context. The concept of *militia amoris* is explored by the Hellenistic Greek poets as well as the Latin love elegists. For example, Posidippus, A.P. 12. 120.1f. Εὐοπλῶ καὶ πρὸς σὲ μαχήσομαι, οὐδ' ἀπεροῦμαι/ θνητὸς ἐών. Here we see the theme of arming, also present in *CA* 13. In Latin elegy, Ovid portrays Eros as a conquering general in *Amores* 1.2 and describes how Eros shoots the speaker with an arrow in 1.1 (cf. also 1.9). Propertius and Tibullus also both portray a militarized Eros/the battlefield of love (e.g. Propert. 2.14, Tibull. 2.3, 6, etc.).[84]

1 **θέλω, θέλω φιλῆσαι**: This line expresses a sentiment that will be directly contradicted throughout the rest of the poem. It follows θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι at the close of the previous poem, and is likely an interpolation here based on the previous poem. If it belongs, it expresses a level of irony not seen elsewhere in the collection, as the first line would directly contradict the story that follows.

[84] Murgatroyd 1975 traces the various *militia amoris* motifs from archaic Greek lyric through the Latin elegists (though he does not mention the *CA*).

2 **ἔπειθ'**: "Was persuading me," evidently unsuccessfully.

3 **νόημα ἄβουλον**: The speaker does not acknowledge here that to love is desirable (as he does implicitly in *CA* 11, for example), but rather that it is more reasonable to acquiesce to Love's persuasion before he is forced to use more extreme force. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.2.9-16.

5 **τόξον**: The traditional weapon of Eros, even outside of martial-themed poems.

6 **χρυσέην φαρέτρην**: Golden, as befitting a god. Apollo and Artemis are more frequently described as carrying a golden bow or quiver, e.g. χρυσοτόξον Pind. *Ol.* 14.10.

7 **μάχῃ με προυκαλεῖτο**: Cf. Anac. PMG 358 συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται. The use of the same verb emphasizes the differences between these scenarios. In Anacreon's poem, love is a game, albeit perhaps a cruel one. In this anacreontic, love is a battlefield. This verb is used in Homer to call forth an opponent to battle, cf. *Il.* 7.50, 13.809, *Od.* 8.142.

8-11 A miniature Homeric arming scene, marked by the comparison to Achilles, but also in the language used for the weapons. Cf. *Il.* 3.328ff., 11. 15ff., 16.130ff., 19.364ff.

14 **ἤσχαλλεν**: This verb is found frequently in Homer in the form of ἀσχαλάω.

15 **εἰς βέλεμνον**: A strange prepositional use. Either εἰς is being used instrumentally, or it is adverbial and βέλεμνον stands on its own in apposition to ἑαυτὸν.

16 **μέσος**: The meaning must be that Eros sank into the middle of the heart, but the syntax is strange. This may be a locative use, with ἔδυνε being read as semi-factitive. There are not exact Greek parallels to the nominative being used in this way with a verb of motion. The difficulty can be removed by emending to μέσον. A close verbal parallel is found at *Od.* 12.93 μέσση μέν τε κατὰ σπείους κοίλοιο δέδυκεν, referring to Scylla, but μέσση is typically taken as referring

there to the middle of her body. This construction does exist in Latin, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 10. 379 *haec ait, et medius densos prorumpit in hostis*.

17 **ἔλυσεν**: Cf. *CA* 6.6.

18 **μάτην δ' ἔχω βοείην**: The narrative of the poem up to this point is a fantasy wherein Eros is a physical being outside of the speaker with whom it makes sense to do battle. But the poem closes with a humorous twist on the setup where the audience is asked to imagine the speaker holding a useless shield to defend against the feeling of love that resides within the chest. This line is also an inversion of Archilochus fr. 5 in which the speaker recounts abandoning his ἀμώμητον shield on the battlefield to save himself.

19-20 Achilles Tatius in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* has Charmides describe his attraction to Leucippe in similar terms: ἔνδον μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλλος πόλεμος κάθηται. στρατιώτης με πορθεῖ τόξον ἔχων, βέλος ἔχων· νενίκημαι, πεπλήρωμαι βελῶν· "Within my soul is another war. A soldier is besieging me with a bow, with an arrow. I am defeated, I am stuck full of arrows." (4.7.3). This poem's ending has a sententious feel, which is paralleled especially later in the collection, e.g. *CA* 7.8-11, 29, 32.11-12. Cf. also *CA* 27.7-8: ἔχουσι γάρ τι λεπτόν/ψυχῆς ἔσω χάραγμα.

These lines provide another rejection of military themes and actions, similar to *CA* 9 where stories of mythical violence are appropriated into wine drunkenness and sympotic joy, as here Homeric military language is appropriated for erotic storytelling.

CA 14

Εἰ φύλλα πάντα δένδρων		If you understood how to reckon
ἐπίστασαι κατειπεῖν,		the leaves of every tree,
εἰ κύματ’ οἶδας εὑρεῖν		if you knew how to count the waves
τὰ τῆς ὅλης θαλάσσης,		of the entire ocean,
σὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρώτων	5	then I would make you
μόνον ποῶ λογιστήν.		the only accountant of my loves.
πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν		First out of Athens
ἔρωτας εἴκοσιν θές		set down twenty loves
καὶ πεντεκαίδεκ’ ἄλλους.		and fifteen others,
ἔπειτα δ’ ἐκ Κορίνθου	10	and then from Corinth
θὲς ὁρμαθοὺς ἐρώτων·		set down a whole chain of loves;
Ἀχαΐης γάρ ἐστιν,		for Achaea is where
ὅπου καλαὶ γυναῖκες.		the pretty women are.
τίθει δὲ Λεσβίους μοι		Set down my Lesbians
καὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἰώνων	15	and as far as the Ionians,
καὶ Καρίης Ῥόδου τε		and from Caria and Rhodes
δισχιλίους ἔρωτας.		two thousand loves.
τί φήις; ἄγει καρωθείς;		What? Have you fallen asleep?
οὔπω Σύρους ἔλεξα,		You haven’t yet named the Syrians
οὔπω πόθους Κανώβου,	20	or my passions from Canopus,
οὐ τῆς ἅπαντ’ ἐχούσης		or the ones from Crete, which
Κρήτης, ὅπου πόλεσσιν		has everything, where Eros

Ἔρως ἐποργιάζει.		revels in the cities.
τί δ’ οὐ θέλεις ἀριθμεῖν		Why don’t you want to count
καὶ τοὺς Γαδείρων ἐκτός,	25	also the loves of my heart
τῶν Βακτρίων τε κἰνδῶν		beyond Gadeira,
ψυχῆς ἐμῆς ἔρωτας;		and Bactria and India?

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

This poem has two titles in the manuscript. Within the columns of text, it is labeled ἄλλο τοῦ αὐτοῦ, “another by the same”. In the margins next to that line is τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα, “by the same, to Eros.”

This poem is a geographic catalogue counting up the lovers of the poet. The catalogue as a poetic device begins with Homer’s “catalogue of ships” (*Il.* 2.494–759) which lists the forces of the Argives by the location of origin of each fleet.[85] The organization and geography of the Homeric catalogue was of great interest to Hellenistic poets. Apollonius of Rhodes includes a catalogue of heroes in the *Argonautica* (1.23-233). This is structured in a geographic circle by the region of origin of each hero, beginning and ending in the same place, and tacking on two additional figures at the end who fall outside of the geographic ring.[86] Although this poem does not end precisely at the same location as it begins, it follows a remarkably similar structure as Apollonius. The named geographic locations begin in central Greece, with Athens, Corinth, and

[85] Allen’s 1921 commentary on the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* offers a useful introduction to the genre of the catalogue, overview of the issues with the Homeric catalogue of ships, and helpful notes on each location.
[86] cf. Clauss 1993, 28. For Apollonius’s geography, broadly speaking, see Meyer 2008.

Achaea, move east to the Ionian coast and travel southward along it down to Syria, circle back west through Egypt, ending on Crete, most of the way back northwest towards Athens. At the end, three additional far-flung regions are tacked on that are far outside this circle (Gadeira, Bactria, India).

Hesiod also provides a model of a catalogue, in the fragmentary *Catalogue of Women*, a lengthy poem describing various mythical heroines (mostly mothers of heroes). Catalogues of women were perhaps their own genre, and we also see examples of lists of women in Homer (Zeus' lovers at *Il.* 14.315-28, and women of the underworld at *Od.* 11.225-329).[87] A similar erotic geographic catalogue is found in Philostratus *Letters* 5, in which the speaker rhetorically asks a boy where he is from and proceeds to offer potential answers along with exemplary homosexual lovers from each locale.[88]

In addition to being a geographical catalogue, this poem is similar to Hellenistic "math" poems. Many of these poems are collected in Book 14 of the *Greek Anthology* and present simple algebraic problems in meter, often based on mythological concepts. One of the most famous examples of this category is the *Cattle Problem* of Archimedes, a math problem in elegiac couplets that instructs the reader in calculating the number of cattle of the sun. This is one of several poems whose calculations "dazzle and overwhelm with their complexity and the size of their solutions."[89] This poem too aligns with the "fascination with size" noted by Netz, [90] counting up first a modest 35 lovers (vv. 8-9), but later naming a full 2,000 (v. 17). The addressee

[87] Karanika 2020, 109.
[88] The location and lover pairs are Sparta and Hyacinthus, Thessaly and Achilles, Athens and Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Ionia and the Branchuses and Claruses of Apollo. He adds on Crete, on which see below, v. 22.
[89] Benson 2014, 170. The smallest possible solution to the cattle problem is 206,545 digits and not computed for the first until 1965 (Williams et al. 1965). For a list of some of the massive numbers produced by these Hellenistic math problems, see Netz 2009, 58.
[90] Netz 2009, 54ff.

is told at the beginning that they are only fit for the job of counting loves if they can count other stereotypical uncountable numbers (cf. another Archimedes problem, *Sand Reckoner,* counting the number of grains of sand to fill the universe).

1-4: Apollonius Rhodius uses these same images for countless numbers in the *Argonautica* (4.214ff. ὅσσα τε πόντου/ κύματα χειμερίοιο κορύσσεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο,/ ἢ ὅσα φύλλα χαμᾶζε περικλαδέος πέσεν ὕλης/ φυλλοχόῳ ἐνὶ μηνί—τίς ἂν τάδε τεκμήραιτο;), as does Theocritus (κύματα μετρεῖν, *Id.*16.60). Another common metaphor is grains of sand, e.g. in the Pythian oracle recounted by Herodotus: Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, 1.47.12, or Pindar *O*. 2.98 ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν. Cf. also Catullus 7 which uses sand and stars as an uncountable number of kisses.

2 **κατειπεῖν**: "Enumerate," as a precise sense only found here. The precedent of using these particular images of leaves and sand to refer to situations of counting makes the meaning of the verb clear.

3 **εὑρεῖν**: "To count up, to reckon" as an extended meaning from "to find out." See above.

6 **ποῶ**: The Attic form. The iota is preserved in every instance of this verb in the *CA* except for here and in *CA* 28.4 (ἐπόει). It is common across dialects and genres to see the iota dropped to indicate that the omicron is scanned short. However, this is not seen consistently throughout this manuscript, as several of the instances where the iota is seen the omicron must scan short, and in the remaining instances the syllable stands at an anceps and could scan short.

8 **θές**: To reckon, count, LSJ s.v. II.9.b.

7 **Ἀθηνῶν**: The beginning of a catalogue is a marked spot of some importance. Homer begins his catalogue of ships in Boeotia and scholars since ancient times have debated the significance of starting there.[91] The most expected place for an erotic Anacreontic catalogue to begin would be somewhere in Ionia, perhaps in Teos itself, the birthplace of Anacreon. Instead, the poet begins with Athens. Athens is mentioned once in Homer's catalogue of ships, and its inclusion is also a subject of scholarly debate as a suspected Athenian interpolation.[92] It's possible that the poet is responding to that Homeric debate by highlighting Athens in their own catalogue.

Though Anacreon is associated most with his hometown of Teos, and sometimes with his alleged time in Samos under the auspices of the tyrant Polycrates, he did reportedly travel to Athens after the murder of Polycrates and stayed for many years under the patronage of the tyrant Hipparchus.[93] He was quite popular in Athens, so perhaps this centering of Athens here does not fully neglect the primacy of Anacreontic reference.

9 **ἄλλους**: The gender(s) of the beloveds in this poem are not clear. The noun ἔρως is masculine and the masculine pronouns seem to agree with the noun's gender. However, in the next lines, we see a reference to pretty women, implying that these beloveds are female. It's possible that the group is intended to be mixed gender. Though most poems that mention objects of attraction concern either boys or girls, *CA* 37, 38, and 43 do mention both boys and girls within a single poem with eroticized adjectives applying to each. Still, it is most likely that these loves are women being described by masculine nouns.

[91] For an overview of the arguments, see Evans 2020, 317.
[92] See Allen 1921, 142ff. and passim. He is quite critical against the argument for Athenian interpolation, but his constant engagement on the subject is representative of the centrality of the debate.
[93] Bernsdorff 2021, 9f.

12 **Ἀχαΐης**: Corinth was a member of the Achaean Confederacy starting in the mid-3rd c. BCE, and was a center of resistance against Rome until its destruction in 146 BCE. In 44 BCE it was reestablished as a Roman colony and became the capital of the Roman province of Achaea. However, Achaea was already the ancient name for the region, and given the Homeric context of this line (see below), there is not necessarily any contemporary political dimension to mentioning Achaea. Without knowing when this poem was written, it is hard to say what the associations would be with Achaea and Corinth.

Ἀχαΐης γάρ ἐστιν,/ὅπου καλαὶ γυναῖκες: Cf. *Il.* 3.75, 258 Ἀχαιΐδα καλλιγύναικα.

14 **Λεσβίους**: Lesbos was the birthplace of the poet Sappho and often identifies her in later reception (e.g. Catullus's "Lesbia" as a Sapphic allusion). This may also be one association in Anac. PMG 358 in which the speaker is spurned by a girl from Lesbos who pursues another girl.

15 **μέχρι τῶν Ἰώνων**: "As far as Ionia," the preposition is being used with its regular locational meaning, but the place of this phrase in the sentence is a little awkward. The poem continues to move around the Mediterranean, traveling along the coast of Asia Minor from north to south.

17 **δισχιλίους**: The numbering goes from fanciful to outlandish.

18 **ἄγει καρωθείς**: This is an emendation by West (ἄγει) and Stephanus (καρωθείς). The manuscript reads ἀει κηρωθεις "you have grown pale" (cf. Mart. 1.72.6 *cerussata*). This particular line and emendation have been the subject of fierce debate. The manuscript reading has been questioned on the basis of the appropriateness of ἀεί with the aorist participle here, on the intended meaning of the verb, and on the metrics of the line. For an overview of the different positions, see Brioso Sánchez 1992.

19 **ἔλεξα**: With its primary meaning of "count." This form is common throughout archaic and classical prose and poetry.

20 **Κανώβου**: Canopus is a city at the mouth of a western branch of the Nile very near to Alexandria. Its mention here is likely meant to evoke Alexandria by another name. Cf. Catull. 66.58.

21 **τῆς ἅπαντ' ἐχούσης/ Κρήτης**: Crete's mythical founder was Minos who was known to have amassed great wealth and wonders in his city. Thucydides describes Minos as the creator of the first naval empire, enriching the profit of his city and many Greek cities by defeating pirates and colonizing widely (Thuc. 1.4, 8). Minos famously detained for many years the inventor Daedalus who created great and infamous wonders for him, such as the labyrinth of the minotaur.

There is a small cross above the word Κρήτης in the manuscript which appears to correspond to a note in the far margins with read ῥώμης. It is not clear why the copyist glosses Crete as Rome here. The lack of references to Rome in the main text of the poem is consistent with the complete lack of references to Rome throughout the rest of the collection, and indeed to any contemporary political realities.

22 **ὅπου πόλεσσιν/ Ἔρως ἐποργιάζει**: cf. Philostratus *Letters* 5 ἀλλ' ἐκ Κρήτης, ὅπου πλεῖστος ὁ Ἔρως ὁ τὰς ἑκατὸν πόλεις πειπολῶν ("Or from Crete, where Eros is most great, Eros who roams its hundred cities?").[94] ἐποργιάζω is a *hapax.*

25 **Γαδείρων... Βακτρίων... κἰνδῶν**: These final places are tacked on at the end and take the poem far afield of the geographical circuit it has been traveling along. Bactria and India are close neighbors and their connection with a τε καὶ within one line renders them basically

[94] Text and translation Benner & Fobes 1949.

synonymous.[95] They represent the eastern edge of the known world, while Gadeira, located right at the Pillars of Heracles (Straight of Gibraltar) represents the western boundary.[96] The end of the poem extends fantastically even beyond (ἐκτός) the edges of the world. There is an affinity with the large-number math poems mentioned above, but also an element of parody in this uncountable mass.

[95] cf. Hdt. 8.113, 9.31, Xen. *Cyr.* 1.1.4, Strabo 17.1.46, 3.24.
[96] For more on the construction of the boundaries of the Greek world, see Romm 1992, Chapter 1.

CA 15

Ἐρασμίη πέλεια,	Lovely dove,
πόθεν, πόθεν πέτασαι;	where, where are you flying from?
πόθεν μύρων τοσούτων	where are you speeding from
ἐπ’ ἠέρος θέουσα	dripping and drizzling
πνέεις τε καὶ ψεκάζεις;	so much perfume through the air?
τίς εἶ, τί σοι μέλει δέ;	Who are you, what’s your business?
‘Ἀνακρέων μ’ ἔπεμψε	“Anacreon sent me
πρὸς παῖδα, πρὸς Βάθυλλον	to his boy, to Bathyllos,
τὸν ἄρτι τῶν ἁπάντων	who is lately ruler
κρατοῦντα καὶ τυράννον.	and lord of everybody.
πέπρακέ μ’ ἡ Κυθήρη	Aphrodite sold me,
λαβοῦσα μικρὸν ὕμνον	getting in a return a little hymn,
ἐγὼ δ’ Ἀνακρέοντι	and I serve Anacreon
διακονῶ τοσαῦτα·	in such tasks.
καὶ νῦν, ὁρᾶις, ἐκείνου	And now, you see, I am
ἐπιστολὰς κομίζω.	carrying his letter.
καί φησιν εὐθέως με	And he says that he will
ἐλευθέρην ποιήσειν·	straightaway set me free;
ἐγὼ δέ, κἢν ἀφῇι με,	but I, even if he frees me,
δούλη μενῶ παρ’ αὐτῶι.	shall remain his slave.
τί γάρ με δεῖ πέτασθαι	Why should I fly
ὄρη τε καὶ κατ’ ἀγρούς	over the hills and fields

καὶ δένδρεσιν καθίζειν		and perch on trees
φαγοῦσαν ἄγριόν τι;		eating some wild fare?
τὰ νῦν ἔδω μὲν ἄρτον		Right now I eat
ἀφαρπάσασα χειρῶν	25	bread that I snatch from the hands
Ἀνακρέοντος αὐτοῦ,		of Anacreon himself,
πιεῖν δέ μοι δίδωσι		and he gives me wine to drink
τὸν οἶνον ὃν προπίνει,		that he has already drunken from,
πιοῦσα δ’ ἀγχορεύω		and after I drink I dance for him
καὶ δεσπότην κρέκοντα	30	and while my master plays his lyre
πτεροῖσι συγκαλύπτω·		I shade him with my wings.
κοιμωμένου δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῶι		And once he goes to sleep
τῶι βαρβίτωι καθεύδω.		I sleep on his lyre.
ἔχεις ἅπαντ’· ἄπελθε·		You know it all, go away.
λαλιστέραν μ’ ἔθηκας,	35	You’ve made me more chatty,
ἄνθρωπε, καὶ κορώνης.’		man, than a crow.

Meter: X – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

This poem has two titles in the manuscript. Within the columns of text, it is labeled τ(ου) αὐτοῦ εἰς περιστεράν “by the same, to a dove.” In the margins next to that line is εἰς περιστεράν, “to a dove.”

In this poem, the speaker has a conversation with a dove who belongs to Anacreon. Alongside *CA* 1, this is the second poem to mention Anacreon as a character distinct from the speaker (cf. *CA* 7 where the speaker is identified as Anacreon). In *CA* 1, Anacreon was elevated to near-

divine status through his role as a dream figure providing poetic inspiration. Here too he seems to dwell in a space between the mortal and divine, since he is able to buy the dove off of Aphrodite herself. The role of Aphrodite is much more personal here than in other poems within the collection. She is presented as a sort of patron for the archaic Anacreon, while the dove can be read as a symbol of the Anacreontic poet. It is her privilege to eat food right out of Anacreon's hand and to drink wine that he has drunken from before. Sharing in Anacreon's inspiration is viewed as a sort of intimacy, and a slavery that is preferable to freedom. Here is yet another subtle *recusatio*, where the poet rejects the appeal of writing any sort of poetry that is not imitative of Anacreon.

The conversation with the dove stands in contrast to *CA* 10, in which the speaker addresses a swallow, but only to threaten it, and the bird never replies. Both poems contain mentions of Bathyllos. *CA* 10 and 15 then bookend a miniature section within the collection before the following two lengthy ekphrastic poems that look back to *CA* 3-5. At 35 lines, *CA* 15 is one of the longest poems in the first half of the collection and is the longest of the narrative poems. Cf. *CA* 28 and 31 for other lengthy narrative poems.

1 **Ἐρασμίη πέλεια**: Doves are one of the birds associated with Aphrodite. In addition, doves were seen as intermediaries or messengers, which is the task of this bird (cf. vv.14-15).

2 **πόθεν, πόθεν**: Cf. θέλω, θέλω, *CA* 9, 12, 13.

3 **μύρων τοσούτων**: Genitive with πνέεις below. Perfume is a common motif in the *Anacreontea* and represents eroticism and the luxury of the symposium.

4 **ἐπ' ἠέρος θέουσα**: Reminiscent of Sappho fr. 1.9ff. The genitive ἠέρος is the Homeric form.

5 **ψεκάζεις**: A rare verb meaning to drizzle or lightly rain. The more normal form is ψακάζω. E.g. Ar. *Nub.* 580 ψακάζομεν, though most uses of the verb are late.

7 **παῖδα**: With the expected erotic meaning here of *eromenos.*

Βάθυλλον: For Bathyllos, see Introduction 1.5: Relation to Anacreon.

9 **κρατοῦντα καὶ τυράννον**: West conjectures τυράννων, with an intended meaning of the lines "ruling over everybody, even tyrants." This is possibly a reference to the tradition that Bathyllos was a Samian beloved of Polycrates the tyrant. With the manuscript reading, he is being called ruler and tyrant by virtue of his erotic power, which matters much more in the context of this collection than political power (cf. *CA* 8). However, the literary tradition is not very clear on the figure of Bathyllos. Our references to him as the beloved of Polycrates come indirectly from Horace *Ep.* 14 which calls him a Samian, and Apuleius *Flo.* 15.1 which describes a statue of Bathyllos dedicated by Polycrates.

10f **πέπαρακέ μ' ἡ Κυθήρη/ λαβοῦσα μικρὸν ὕμνον**: As Rosenmeyer writes, "We are meant to understand here that even a brief poem by the great Anacreon has solid market value, and that Anacreon as lover and poet not only surpasses tyrants but is also an object of desire among the gods – he can do business with Aphrodite herself." (Rosenmeyer 1992, 145). Because the anacreontic poet accepts Anacreon as master and model, the task of aggrandizing their poetry is accomplished not through claiming novelty, but through bolstering the reputation of Anacreon himself.

14 **ἐκείνου**: Perhaps of Bathyllos, and the dove is on her way back to Anacreon now, but more likely the pronoun refers to Anacreon as his name was mentioned most recently, and he is the subject of φησιν below.

19 **δούλη μενῶ παρ' αὐτῷ**: Cf. *CA* 19.7-9, where Eros chooses to remain as a slave to Beauty.

CA 16

Ἄγε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε,		Come on, best of painters,
{γράφε, ζωγράφων ἄριστε,}		paint, best of painters,
Ῥοδίης κοίρανε τέχνης,		lord of the Rhodian art,
ἀπεοῦσαν, ὡς ἂν εἴπω,		paint my absent
γράφε τὴν ἐμὴν ἑταίρην.	5	girlfriend l as I will instruct you.
γράφε μοι τρίχας τὸ πρῶτον		First paint for me her hair
ἁπαλάς τε καὶ μελαίνας·		soft and black;
ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύνηται,		and if the wax is able,
γράφε καὶ μύρου πνεούσας.		paint it smelling of perfume.
γράφε δ’ ἐξ ὅλης παρειῆς	10	And paint up from her whole cheek
ὑπὸ πορφυραῖσι χαίταις		under her purple-dark hair
ἐλεφάντινον μέτωπον.		her ivory brow.
τὸ μεσόφρυον δὲ μή μοι		Don’t have her eyebrows
διάκοπτε μήτε μίσγε,		separated or mixed together,
ἐχέτω δ’, ὅπως ἐκείνη,	15	but let her have, as she does,
τὸ λεληθότως σύνοφρυν		the dark arch of her eyebrows
βλεφάρων ἴτυν κελαινήν.		meeting imperceptibly.
τὸ δὲ βλέμμα νῦν ἀληθῶς		Now make her gaze
ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ποίησον,		truly out of fire,
ἅμα γλαυκὸν ὡς Ἀθήνης,	20	both gleaming like Athena’s
ἅμα δ’ ὑγρὸν ὡς Κυθήρης.		and dewy like Aphrodite’s.
γράφε ῥῖνα καὶ παρειάς		Paint her nose and cheeks

ῥόδα τῶι γάλακτι μίξας·		mixing the rose-pink with milk-white;
γράφε χεῖλος οἷα Πειθοῦς,		paint her lips like Persuasion's,
προκαλούμενον φίλημα.	25	calling forth a kiss.
τρυφεροῦ δ' ἔσω γενείου		And underneath her dainty chin
περὶ λυγδίνωι τραχήλωι		about her marble-white neck
Χάριτες πέτοιντο πᾶσαι.		let all the Graces fly.
στόλισον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτήν		Adorn the rest of her
ὑποπορφύροισι πέπλοις,	30	with a purplish dress,
διαφαινέτω δὲ σαρκῶν		and let a bit of flesh show through,
ὀλίγον, τὸ σῶμ' ἐλέγχον.		proof of her body.
ἀπέχει· βλέπω γὰρ αὐτήν·		That's enough; I'm looking at her!
τάχα, κηρὲ, καὶ λαλήσεις.		Soon, wax, you will speak as well.

Meter: ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – X (anacreontic)

The title of this poem in the manuscript is τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς κόρην, repeated both in the column of the text and beside the poem in the margins.

This ekphrastic poem looks back to the earlier collection of ekphrases at *CA* 3-5 as well as forward to *CA* 17. In both sets, the speaker tells an artist to depict an erotic piece of art. In *CA* 16 and 17, the poet asks the artist to paint a picture of his beloved. In *CA* 16, the beloved is an unnamed woman who is currently away. In *CA* 17 it is Bathyllos, the beloved of Anacreon. *CA* 16 is shorter and more simplistic than its counterpart. The woman is described from the bust up and each of her features is imbued with stereotypical feminine beauty, including comparisons to beautiful and erotic goddesses. If 16 and 17 were not written by one author, there was direct

influence of one over the other, or they were both drawing on an earlier source that provided the theme.

At this point in the collection, there is a transition from the iambic dimeter catalectic back to the anacreontic meter. *CA* 16-18 are anacreontic, and 19-20 are both metrically unique. The paired poems of 16-17 and the shift in meter creates structure within this part of the collection.

1 cf. *CA* 3.1

2 West brackets this line, though repetition of this sort is not out of place in the *CA*. Possibly this was the true first line, and line 1, which is identical to the first line of *CA* 3, was added later to link the two poems more closely.

3 **Ῥοδίης... τέχνης**: Rhodes was famous in the Hellenistic period for producing master sculptors such as Agesander and his sons Polydorus and Athenodorus who may have created the famous Laocoön found in the baths of Titus according to Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36.37f.). This reference to the Rhodian art in conjunction with painting is unique to this and the following poem, but the other language of the poem makes it clear that it is a painting being created. Likely what is being evoked in not skill in the medium of painting, but general artistic skill in making impressive and realistic human figures.

κοίρανε: A poetic term with especially Homeric flavor. ζωγράφων ἄριστε above contributes to this noble, Homeric coloring by evoking titles like ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν.

4 **ἀπεοῦσαν**: The prolepsis here gives this adjective especial prominence. This is perhaps a hint towards the elegiac theme of the absent *puella*. More directly, it establishes the excuse for the

poem itself, as the speaker must describe his girl in exact detail since she is not there to sit for the picture.

ὡς ἂν εἴπω: A poetic/Homeric construction (cf. *Il.*2.139, 9.26, 9.704, *Od.* 12.213, 13.179, etc.). The meaning is future.

5 **ἐμὴν ἑταίρην**: Cf. *CA* 12.11.

6 **τρίχας τὸ πρῶτον**: The speaker moves from the top of the head downwards.

8 **ὁ δὲ κηρὸς ἂν δύνηται**: Cf. *CA* 3.7.

9 **μύρου πνεούσας**: Myrrh appears throughout this collection in connection with the luxury of the symposium and erotic attraction. Cf. *CA* 15.3, 41.7f.

10 **ἐξ ὅλης παρειῆς**: Probably referring to drawing in profile. Cf. the use of ἐκ with numbers for measurement, LSJ s.v. III.9.d.

11 **πορφυραῖσι**: This color term can refer to the color of the sea, of blood, of dyed purple textiles, and of the red flush of skin (cf. Anac. PMG 357 πορφυρῆ τ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη). The hair was referred to as black above, so here the adjective indicates a shining darkness. The color imagery here parallels the contrast below between the pink cheeks and white skin (v. 23) and looks ahead to v. 30 which describes the girl's clothing as ὑποπορφύροισι.

13-17 The description of the brow is quite lengthy and involves a complicated pileup of similar words. This enhances the effect that Baumann describes as stimulating the imagination of the

reader by describing individual body parts in extreme detail while not providing a description of the entire body as a whole.[97]

15 **ἐχέτω**: The subject is τὸ μεσόφρυον above.

ὅπως ἐκείνη: Understand an ἔχει. ἐκείνη is the actual woman under discussion.

16 **τὸ λεληθότως**: τὸ belongs only to the adverb. cf. v. 6 above.

17 **βλεφάρων ἴτυν**: βλέφαρον is strictly speaking the eyelid, and sometimes the eyes/gaze themselves, but here the entire phrase means the arch of the eyebrow.

18f. **ἀληθῶς/ ἀπο τοῦ πυρὸς**: Another request which is sensually evocative but not actually possible for the painter to achieve. At this point, "increasingly, we move from purely physical features, which even a casual viewer might well perceive, to what the poet-lover conceives in his mind's eye."[98]

20 **γλαυκὸν ὡς Ἀθήνης**: Athena in Homer is often γλαυκῶπις, understood as gleaming, or in a color similar to the sea or olives. Athena appears in only one other place in the *CA*, at 55.33. There too she is contrasted with Aphrodite, as the poem describes Aphrodite's birth from the seafoam and Athena's birth from Zeus' head. The reference here predicts *CA* 17 which will spend more lines contrasting beauty and power in the form of divine and mythical comparisons when describing the appearance of Bathyllos.

21 **ὑγρὸν ὡς Κυθήρης**: For the wet gaze, Zotou brings up Agathon's speech in the symposium which describes Eros as ὑγρὸς τὸ εἶδος in his ability to infiltrate the souls of anybody.[99] The

[97] Baumann 2014, 122.
[98] Flaschenriem 1992, 90.
[99] Pl. *Symp.* 196a, Zotou 2014, 112.

watery gaze can also be associated in a more medical context with drunkenness or feebleness. Here though it is best taken as referring to the "melting" power of Eros and Aphrodite.

For the combination of Athena and Aphrodite, cf. *CA* 17.14 below.

23 **ῥόδα τῷ γάλακτι μίξας**: For roses, cf. *CA* 5.4, 6.2, 8.7, and 55. The mixing of the red roses with the white "milk" of the skin can be compared to *CA* 51 in which the speaker compares his graying hair to a mixture of roses and lilies in a garland.

24 **Πειθοῦς**: The divinized aspect of erotic persuasion. She appears in the collection just in *CA* 16, 17, and 18, creating another link between these three poems.

27 **λυγδινῳ τραχήλῳ**: Marble skin is a common erotic metaphor in Hellenistic poetry. The image of black hair and brows and pure white skin is the beauty standard also reflected in the Latin elegists.[100] There is an added layer of wordplay as well since the woman being described is a work of art (although a painting, not a statue). Cf. v. 33-4 and the myth of Pygmalion.

28 **Χάριτες**: The image is now fully in the realm of the metaphorical or imagined; we should not imagine the artist actually painting goddesses flying around the head of the woman. The Graces commonly attend to Aphrodite, cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 61.

29-32 The poem begins to draw to a relatively abrupt close. While the face is described in detail, the rest of the body is dispensed with quite quickly. This stands in contrast to *CA* 17 in which the body of the boy is described in extreme and erotic detail. The gendered differences between *CA* 16 and 17 will be analyzed further in the commentary to *CA* 17 below.

30 **ὑποπορφύροισι**: Cf. ὑπὸ πορφυραῖσι v.11.

[100] Flaschenriem 1992, 88.

32 **τὸ σῶμ' ἐλέγχον**: ἐλέγχον is the neuter participle agreeing with ὀλίγον, τὸ σῶμα is its object. There is a suggestion of body and oblique sexuality, contrasted with the explicit bodily descriptions of the following poem.

33 **ἀπέχει**: The artist is cut off right on the brink of venturing into more explicit sexuality. The poem also is somewhat truncated, in anticipation of the longer poem to come. Metapoetically, "the omission in *CA* 16 of a description of the whole image challenges the reader to picture an aesthetic *totum* himself."[101]

34 The addressee in the final line shifts from the artist to the painting itself. Cf. Herod. 4.32f. εἴ τι μὴ λίθος, τοὔργον, /ἐρεῖς, λαλήσει, "if it weren't stone, you would say that the work would speak."

[101] Baumann 2014, 121.

CA 17

Γράφε μοι Βάθυλλον οὕτω		Paint Bathyllos for me,
τὸν ἑταῖρον ὡς διδάσκω·		my boyfriend, just as I instruct:
λιπαρὰς κόμας ποίησον,		Make his hair oiled,
τὰ μὲν ἔνδοθεν μελαίνας,		the inner hairs dark
τὰ δ’ ἐς ἄκρον ἡλιώσας·	5	but the ones at the top sun-bleached;
ἕλικας δ’ ἐλευθέρους μοι		and place some free locks
πλοκάμων ἄτακτα συνθείς		of hair, disordered,
ἄφες ὡς θέλωσι κεῖσθαι.		let them lie as they wish.
ἁπαλὸν δὲ καὶ δροσῶδες		Let his brow,
στεφέτω μέτωπον ὀφρῦς	10	darker than serpents,
κυανωτέρη δρακόντων.		wreathe his soft and dewy forehead.
μέλαν ὄμμα γοργὸν ἔστω,		Let him have a fierce dark gaze,
κεκερασμένον γαλήνηι,		mixed with calmness,
τὸ μὲν ἐξ Ἄρηος ἕλκον,		the fierceness taken from Ares
τὸ δὲ τῆς καλῆς Κυθήρης,	15	and the calmness from Aphrodite,
ἵνα τις τὸ μὲν φοβῆται,		so that one would fear the former
τὸ δ’ ἀπ’ ἐλπίδος κρεμᾶται.		but hang his hopes on the latter.
ῥοδέην δ’ ὁποῖα μῆλον		Make his downy cheek
χνοΐην ποίει παρειήν·		rosy like an apple;
ἐρύθημα δ’ ὡς ἂν Αἰδοῦς	20	and if you can, make
δύνασ’ εἰ βαλεῖν, ποίησον.		a blush like Modesty’s.
τὸ δὲ χεῖλος οὐκέτ’ οἶδα		As for his lips, I don’t know

τίνι μοι τρόπωι ποιήσεις
ἁπαλόν, γέμον τε Πειθοῦς·
τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ κηρὸς αὐτός
ἐχέτω λαλῶν σιωπῆι.
μετὰ δὲ πρόσωπον ἔστω
τὸν Ἀδώνιδος παρελθών
ἐλεφάντινος τράχηλος.
μεταμάζιον δὲ ποίει
διδύμας τε χεῖρας Ἑρμοῦ,
Πολυδεύκεος δὲ μηρούς,
Διονυσίην δὲ νηδύν·
ἁπαλῶν δ’ ὕπερθε μηρῶν,
μαλερὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐχόντων,
ἀφελῆ ποίησον αἰδῶ
Παφίην θέλουσαν ἤδη.
φθονερὴν ἔχεις δὲ τέχνην,
ὅτι μὴ τὰ νῶτα δεῖξαι
δύνασαι· τὰ δ’ ἦν ἀμείνω.
τί με δεῖ πόδας διδάσκειν;
λάβε μισθὸν ὅσσον εἶπηις,
τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ τοῦτον
καθελὼν ποίει Βάθυλλον·
ἢν δ’ ἐς Σάμον ποτ’ ἔλθηις,

how you will make them
tender, and full of Persuasion;
In all, let the wax itself speak,
although it is silent.
And under his face let there be
an ivory neck
surpassing that of Adonis.
And make his chest
thick, and the hands of Hermes,
and the thighs of Polydeuces,
and the stomach of Dionysus.
And above his soft thighs
which have a raging fire,
make a simple penis
already desiring the Paphian.
You have a grudging art,
since you can’t show
his back; that would be better.
Why should I talk about his feet?
Take the payment you requested,
and having destroyed this
Apollo, make Bathyllos;
And if you ever go to Samos,

γράφε Φοῖβον ἐκ Βαθύλλου. paint Phoebus off of Bathyllus.

Meter: ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – X (anacreontic), excepting v. 43, scanned ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – X (anaclasis), and 45, scanned – – ∪ – ∪ – X (hemiambic)

CA 17 expands on the theme of 16, using Bathyllos as the beloved instead of an unnamed woman. This poem is both longer and more complex than 16. The two poems make a close unit that looks backward to the ekphrastic poems of *CA* 3-5 as well as forwards to *CA* 18 which also describes Bathyllos, and *CA* 54 and 57, the final two ekphrastic poems of the collection. The juxtaposition of 16 and 17 draw the reader's attention both to the metapoetic process of writing imitative poetry and to the artistic differences in describing men and women.[102]

2 **τὸν ἑταῖρον**: This phrase stands parallel to the woman of *CA* 16 who is called τὴν ἐμὴν ἑταίρην. Its use to mean beloved is innovative, and this parallel use lends credence to reading ἑταίρα as denoting purely the erotic/romantic relationship between the man and woman, and not the woman's social status.

5 **τὰ δ' ἐς ἄκρον ἡλιώσας**: As befitting a boy who spends time outdoors, especially in athletic activities.

6-8 Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 455-6. Long and curled hair was a mark both of femininity and sexuality. The wildness of the arrangement of his hair stands in contrast to the constrained beauty of the woman of *CA* 16.[103]

[102] For the former, see Baumann 2014. For the latter, Flaschenriem 1992
[103] Flaschenriem 1992, 95.

9 **δροσῶδες**: An uncommon word, typically meaning literally wet (applied to things like water). Here we should imagine that he is oiled, or perhaps sweaty from exercise. Moistness is continuously eroticized; cf. the watery gaze of *CA* 16.21.

11 **κυανωτέρη δρακόντων**: κυάνεος here refers of course to a dark color, but the phrase together lends a quite fierce and masculine tone to this descriptor. Agamemnon's breastplate in the *Iliad* is described as having six κυάνεοι… δράκοντες (*Il.*26) depicted on it, along with other frightening images such as the Gorgon. This martial association is strengthened by the mention of Ares in v. 14, as the description of his gaze as γοργὸν (v. 12). The fearsome snakes sent by Hera to attack baby Heracles in Theocritus *Idyll* 24 are also κυανέαις...δράκοντας (14.14). When compared to the section on the brow in *CA* 16 (vv. 13-17), the masculinity of this description is even more pronounced.

13 **κεκαρασμένον**: κεράννυμι is a verb for mixing wine with water at the symposium. The gaze of Bathyllos joins the ranks of metaphorical drinks of wine found throughout the collection. Cf. *CA* 2.4 and *CA* 20.

14 **Ἄρηος... Κυθήρης**: A direct parallel to *CA* 16.20-1, where the gaze of the woman is described as having aspects of Athena and Aphrodite (Ἀθήνης...Κυθήρης). One the one hand, the image is masculinized, with the male war-god Ares taking the place of his female counterpart, Athena. The use of Ares also brings out the martial aspects of Athena in *CA* 16. On the other hand, the use of Aphrodite to describe the gaze of a man does have an extreme tempering quality, as suggested by the verb of wine diluting. The pairing of Aphrodite and Ares is in itself erotic through their relationship to one another (cf. *CA* 28).

The careful parallelism between *CA* 16 and 17 throughout is evidence for the fact that the author of *CA* 17 was directly responding to *CA* 16 or vice versa and that the two poems are best read in conversation with one another.

15-16 These two lines seem to suggest, as Flaschenriem argues, that the relationship between the speaker and Bathyllos is one of a seduction in progress, not an established relationship. The boy's affections must be won, and so his gaze must be scrutinized for signs that he is falling for the attempt or resisting it.

κρεμᾶται is a later form, vs. the expected κρέμηται. The τὸ δ' should not be taken as a direct object (as the τὸ μὲν is), but an accusative of respect. The verb is passive; the speaker is hanging in suspense on account of the calm in the boy's gaze.

19 **χνοΐην**: χνόος can mean both the fuzz on a fruit and the down on a boy's cheeks. Cf. *CA* 18.12 where a similar horticultural double meaning is exploited through χαίτας.

20 **δύνασ' εἰ βαλεῖν**: Cf. *CA* 3.7, 16.8.

22-3 The eroticism of the boy is drawn out and heightened by the speaker claiming that his beauty is too much to be accurately captured in a work of art. There is an implicit comparison here between the poet as artist and the imaginary artists he is dictating to. While the poet doubts the artist's ability to depict the boy's lips, he has no trouble himself in describing them. Cf. vv. 38ff. where the artist is unable to depict both the front and back of the boy at once, while of course the poet has no trouble.

24 **γέμον τε Πειθοῦς**·: Cf. *CA* 16.24.

25-26 Cf. *CA* 16.34. This notion of the painting itself speaking comes at the very end of *CA* 16. Its appearance here near the half-point of the poem draws attention to the fact that this version is an expansion on *CA* 16. Baumann 2014 argues that this pair of poems gives the reader a model for the creation of their own imitative anacreontic poetry. This is accomplished not only through the stimulation of the imagination through description, but also through modeling the relationship that two poems on the same theme can have to one another.

28 **τὸν Ἀδώνιδος**: Adonis was (and is) the model for intense youthful beauty, a beloved of Aphrodite's killed while hunting at a young age.[104] The association with Aphrodite is of course fitting here. At this point there is increased departure from the descriptions of the woman in *CA* 16. Whereas earlier Aphrodite, Persuasion, and Modesty were all evoked, all of the referenced figures are now masculine models.

παρελθών: He not only shares the characteristics of his mythical models, here he even surpasses them. However, at this point the model he surpasses is only a mortal, not a god. The poem will continue to build Bathyllos up towards a divine model until its close when he himself becomes the model for a god (vv. 45f.)

29 **ἐλεφάντινος τράχηλος**: Cf. *CA* 16. 28

30-34 Hermes and Polydeuces are both depicted traditionally as exemplary athletic figures. Dionysus is more ambiguous of a model since he can also be depicted as relatively feminine or androgynous (cf. e.g. Eur. *Bacch.*).

34-37 This is the most striking of the differences between *CA* 17 and 16. With the description of the woman, the existence of the flesh of her body is teased with the description of her see-

[104] For Adonis, see for example Bion's "Lament for Adonis."

through clothing allowing just a peek. In the case of Bathyllos, he is painted naked and his body is described in detail, down to his genitals. This is the closest the entire *CA* gets to discussing sex explicitly. And though the poem continues for another 9 lines, this is the last detailed description of the body before the speaker cuts himself off.

35 **μαλερὸν τὸ πῦρ**: Cf. *CA* 16.19. The raging fire makes another set of feminine/masculine contrast with ἀπαλῶν... μηρῶν above. The image of the thighs containing a raging fire evokes glowing skin, as well as an eagerness for athletic activity, alluded to in the previous set of body parts, and sexual activity, alluded to below.

36 **ἀφελῆ**: This adjective can mean "simple," "artless," but also in some cases "bold," or "daring." Flaschenriem prefers the meaning "artless": "Here, it is almost as if the artless style of anacreontic poetry has found a visual and erotic equivalent in the painted features of Bathyllus." (Flaschenriem 1992, 100). Rosenmeyer translates as "bold." While I am not inclined to agree with Flaschenriem's characterization of the artlessness of the *Anacreontea*, I translate as "simple" since it evokes another set of contrasts between the youthful inexperience of the boy on the one hand, and his readiness and desire for sexuality on the other (v. 37). The "artlessness" stands in contrast also to the extreme *artfulness* of this poem which both describes the creation of a work of art, and highlights through its gaps the ability of the poet to describe beyond the abilities of a visual artist.

37 **Παφίην θέλουσαν ἤδη**: Paphie is a cult name for Aphrodite associated with her cult on the island of Paphos. It is used also in *CA* 20. This phrase indicates that Bathyllos is sexually mature, and possibly even erect. The speaker seems to be projecting his own fantasies and desires into his description, especially here.

38-40 The poet calls attention to the shortcomings of the medium of painting (cf. vv. 22-3). By doing so, he is able to mention the body parts that are not to be included in the painting.

43-46 Campbell 1988 suggests that these lines are added later, based on their metrical irregularity and slight shift in topic. However, as Müller (2010, 279) points out, the anaclasis of v. 43 is not an issue, and the metrical issues of v. 45 are not extreme enough to necessitate a removal of the section. These final lines are an appropriate closing for the rest of the poem. In them, the speaker reveals first that the artist must paint over an old portrait of Apollo to create his Bathyllos, and then says that an image of Bathyllos can itself serve as model if the artist wishes to paint Apollo.

As mentioned about (v. 28), Bathyllos evolves throughout the course of the poem from just a mortal beloved to a figure who is himself a model for gods. (v. 46). Cf. *CA* 15. 10-11 where Anacreon's poetry is a desirable product to Aphrodite. There may also be an allusion to the story about Anacreon found in a scholia to Pindar in which he states "boys are my gods."[105] The reference to Samos seems to be an allusion of a famous piece of art of Bathyllos already standing. This could be the statue of Bathyllos mentioned by Apuleius (*Flo.* 15.1) as dedicated by Polycrates. While it has seemed for the majority of this poem that the speaker is describing his own beloved, allowing us to even read the speaker as Anacreon, this reference at the end to a preexisting artwork of Bathyllos at Samos hints at the layers of imitation. The true model is the archaic Anacreon and his archaic Bathyllos.

[105] Schol. Pind. *Isthm*. 2, 1b (III 213, 18 ff. Drachmann) ταῦτα δὲ τείνει (scil. ὁ Πίνδαρος) καὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκαῖον καὶ Ἴβυκον καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσι περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ ἠσχολῆσθαι· οὗτοι γὰρ παλαιότεροι Πινδάρου· Ἀνακρέοντα γοῦν ἐρωτηθέντα, φασί, διατί οὐκ εἰς θεοὺς ἀλλ' εἰς παῖδας γράφεις τοὺς ὕμνους; εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὗτοι ἡμῶν θεοί εἰσιν.
Pindar refers this to Alcaeus and Ibycus and Anacreon and anyone else before him who may have devoted his attention to his favourite boy: for these writers were older than Pindar. They say that when Anacreon was asked why he did not write hymns to gods but to boys, he replied, "Because they are my gods" (tr. D.A. Campbell).

CA 18

Δότε μοι, δότ', ὦ γυναῖκες		Let me, let me, oh women,
Βρομίου πιεῖν ἀμυστί·		drink wine deeply;
ἀπὸ καύματος γὰρ ἤδη		for having been betrayed already
προδοθεὶς ἀναστενάζω·		by the heat I groan aloud;
δότε δ' ἀνθέων, ἑλίνου·	5	give me some flowers, some ivy;
στεφάνους δότ' οἷς πυκάζω		give me garlands to cover
τὰ μέτωπά μου, 'πικαίει.		my brow, it's hot!
τὸ δὲ καῦμα τῶν ἐρώτων,		But how shall I keep off,
κραδίη, τίνι σκεπάζω;		my heart, the heat of loves?
παρὰ τὴν σκιὴν Βαθύλλου	10	I will sit beneath the shade of
καθίσω· καλὸν τὸ δένδρον,		Bathyllos; the tree is beautiful,
ἁπαλὰς δ' ἔσεισε χαίτας		and it shakes its gentle locks
μαλακωτάτωι κλαδίσκωι·		on the softest branches;
παρὰ δ' αὐτὸ νέρθε ῥοιζεῖ		beside it from below gurgles
πηγὴ ῥέουσα Πειθοῦς.	15	a stream, flowing with Persuasion.
τίς ἂν οὖν ὁρῶν παρέλθοι		Who would pass by seeing
καταγώγιον τοιοῦτο;		such a resting place?

Meter: ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – X (anacreontic), with the exception of v. 15 which scans – – ∪ – ∪ – X

This poem picks up the theme of describing Bathyllos from the previous poem, but transitions away from the direct ekphrases that precede it. Instead, it begins like a drinking song and uses the trope of the thirsty dog days of summer (from early July to mid-August).

1 **δότε μοι, δότ, ὦ γυναῖκες,/ Βρομίου πιεῖν ἀμυστί**: Cf. *CA* 2.1 for beginning a poem with δότε, and *CA* 7 n.1 for γυναῖκες. Cf. *CA* 9.1-2 for the same sentiment and for ἀμυστί.

3 **ἀπὸ καύματος**: Heat is a common theme in drinking songs. Hesiod in *Works and Days* marks the time when the dog-star rises to be the time when wine is best (587-9, ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει, αὐαλέος δέ τε χρὼς ὑπὸ καύματος· ἀλλὰ τότ' ἤδη εἴη …βίβλινος οἶνος, "… when Sirius parches the head and limbs, and skin is parched from the heat; then let there be… fine wine"). See also Alcaeus fr. 347a, τέγγε πλεύμονας οἴνωι, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται, ἀ δ' ὥρα χαλέπα, πάντα δὲ δίψαισ' ὑπὰ καύματος, "wet your throat with wine, for the star is turning, the season is harsh and everything is parched by the heat." καῦμα, as in these examples, can be the heat of the sun, but it can also be the feverish heat of true sickness or of lovesickness, a meaning which will be explicitly evoked in v. 8.

ἀπό is being used in place of ὑπό for an impersonal subject of the passive participle, LSJ s.v. III.4.

4 **προδοθεὶς**: The manuscript has πυρωθεὶς (inflamed) with προδο written above the line. While πυρωθεὶς fits more clearly with the basic sense of the sun's heat, προδοθεὶς brings out more of the sense of "lovesickness" in καῦματος,

ἀναστενάζω: A fairly extreme expression of negativity for the lighthearted Anacreontea. It stands in contrast to the extreme relief that will come not just from drinking, but from enjoying the company of Bathyllos.

5 **ἀνθέων, ἑλίνου**: Partitive genitives. The manuscript reads ἐκείνου for ἑλίνου (West's emendation) which Guichard takes as referring back to Βρομίου.[106]

7 **'πικαίει**: "It's hot," used impersonally.

8 **καῦμα τῶν ἐρώτων**: The speaker shifts from the heat of the sun to the heat of *eros.* The question here of how he will shade his heart from love is rhetorical and answered in the following lines.

9 **κραδίη**: This is the Ionic/epic form. For καρδία as the location of erotic or romantic feelings, see also *CA* 13.16. Either the speaker addresses his own heart, or he uses "heart" as a pet name for addressing his lover.

10 After line 9, the manuscript indicates a break in poems. The title of the following poem in the manuscript is ἄλλο εἰς τὸ(ν) αὐτόν. I follow West in treating the following section as continuation of poem 18. The first lines appear to directly answer the question posed in vv. 8-9, and the poem goes on to speak about shade, just as the first half of the poem does.

10-15 The beautiful tree and flowing stream turn the boy himself into a *locus amoenus*, heightening the delicate eroticism of the entire poem.

Βαθύλλου: From here until the end of the poem, Bathyllos himself is compared to shade-giving tree. Cf. *Odyssey* 6.162-5 where Odysseus compares Nausicaa to a young palm tree. There is also a sort of metamorphoses evoked here. Cyparissus (among others) is transformed into a tree in Ovid *Met.* 10.126-140, a transformation which occurs in the heat of noon and also focuses especially on the change from hair to foliage.

[106] Guichard 2012, 75.

12 **χαίτας**: This term's original meaning is flowing hair, but metaphorically it also becomes a term for foliage, seen especially in Hellenistic poetry.[107] Bathyllos as boy and tree is blended by the choice of words.

13 **μαλακωτάτῳ κλαδίσκῳ**: Both the branches of the tree, and the graceful neck of the boy.

14 **παρὰ δ' αὐτὸ νέρθε ῥοιζεῖ**: The manuscript reads αὐτὸν ἐρεθίζει. Brioso Sánchez prints αὐτόν μ' ἐρεθίζει, accepting Brunck's emendation. The original line is unmetrical, but if read as αὐτῶν, it forms an Ionic *a minore* (∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – –) which is known to alternate with the anacreontic in other poems of the *Anacreontea* and Anacreon himself.[108] ῥοιζέω refers to a rushing or whistling sound and can be used of streams in later literature. ἐρεθίζει here can be read as inciting erotic attraction or curiosity.

15-17 Bathyllos is imagined as a tree, and his charms are compared to a spring. The image of the spring finds parallels in the Hellenistic epigrams that describe the grave of Anacreon. A.P. 7.23 (Antipater) calls for πηγαὶ of milk and wine to pour out of the ground, and 7.31 (Dioscorides) calls for κρῆναι of unmixed wine. The final lines of this poem also evoke sepulchral epigrams. Often the (real or imagined) tombstones call out for a passerby to linger a moment at the tomb,[109] just as here the poet asserts that nobody could pass by such a lovely spot as Bathyllos. Though the sepulchral associations may seem out of place in an otherwise fully erotic/sympotic poem (and collection), the *CA* themselves are in one sense commemorative of Anacreon (and Bathyllos), especially in the poems that mention the two by name. In addition, the sepulchral epigram is another genre in which the dead can speak again in their own first-person voice, even

[107] E.g. Theoc. *Id.* 6.16, Callim. *Hymn.* 4.81.
[108] E.g. PMG 356a, b.
[109] Cf. Garson 1980, 111.

as the audience recognizes that it cannot be the dead person speaking. This is the same literary conceit as the *CA* that speak in the voice of Anacreon.

CA 19

Αἱ Μοῦσαι τὸν Ἔρωτα		The Muses bound
δήσασαι στεφάνοισι		Eros with garlands
τῶι Κάλλει παρέδωκαν·		and handed him over to Beauty;
καὶ νῦν ἡ Κυθέρεια		And now Aphrodite
ζητεῖ λύτρα φέρουσα	5	bearing a ransom seeks
λύσασθαι τὸν Ἔρωτα.		to ransom Eros.
κἂν λύσηι δέ τις αὐτόν,		But even if someone frees him,
οὐκ ἔξεισι, μενεῖ δέ·		he will not leave, but will stay:
δουλεύειν δεδίδακται.		He has been taught to be a slave.

Meter: X X – ∪ ∪ – X (pheracratean)

This poem tells a short story of Eros being captured by Muses and given to Beauty. It ends with him choosing to remain a slave to Beauty. It is easy to read both allegorically and metapoetically. Eros' capture by the Muses has been represented quite thoroughly by this poetry collection (not to mention the erotic lyric poetry that came before). He is the chief subject of many of the poems in this work. His surrender to Beauty is also natural – in Greek poetry, and literature and society

in general, Eros dwells among beautiful things and the erotic poet is as much devoted to beauty as they are to love itself.[110]

The story of this poem with Eros as a slave and Aphrodite ransoming him is similar to an epigram of Moschus (A.P. 9.440.1-5)

> Ἀ Κύπρις τὸν Ἔρωτα τὸν υἱέα μακρὸν ἐβώστρει·
> "Εἴ τίς ἐνὶ τριόδοισι πλανώμενον εἶδεν Ἔρωτα,
> δραπετίδας ἐμός ἐστιν· ὁ μανυτὰς γέρας ἐξεῖ.
> μισθός τοι τὸ φίλαμα τὸ Κύπριδος· ἢν δ᾽ ἀγάγης νιν,
> οὐ γυμνὸν τὸ φίλαμα, τὺ δ᾽, ὦ ξένε, καὶ πλέον ἐξεῖς.
>
> Cypris called out loudly for her son Eros:
> "If anybody has seen Eros wandering at the crossroads,
> he is my fugitive; the informer will get a prize,
> the payment will be a kiss from Cypris; and if you lead him back,
> you'll get not just a bare kiss, stranger, but something greater."

In both poems, Eros is pictured as a fugitive and Aphrodite is in the process of attempting to ransom him. However, in the epigram the implication is that Eros is off engaging in his typical actions of causing mortals to fall in love. The punchline involves the paradox of the promise of an extremely erotic reward if Eros is surrendered. In *CA* 19, mortals and the reader are entirely absent. Instead, the focus is on the allegorical relationship between Eros, the Muses, and Beauty.

Metrically, this poem forms a pair with *CA* 20. Both are in Aeolic meters not seen elsewhere in the collection. Although the poem is not divided into metrical stanzas, it does fit into three sections of three lines each focusing on the past (1-3), the present (4-6), and the future (7-9).[111]

[110] The association of Eros with beauty is explored in the speech of Socrates/Diotima in Plato's *Symposium*, where Socrates begins to define Eros as a desire for the beautiful, rather than the ugly or shameful. Here also there is an exploration of the servile nature of Eros, described in v.9.
[111] Zotou 2014, 129.

Like *CA* 6, this poem is later closely imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus (2.227-237).

2 **στεφανοίσι**: See *CA* 1.13.

7-8 Cf. *CA* 15.18-19. Just as the dove is happy to remain a slave to Anacreon, so too Eros has learned to be a slave to Beauty. This close connection between these two sets of lines invites the audience to identify Eros with the anacreontic poet, just as the dove is identified with the poet.

CA 20

Ἡδυμελὴς Ἀνακρέων,		Sweet-singing is Anacreon,
ἡδυμελὴς δὲ Σαπφώ·		and sweet-singing is Sappho;
Πινδαρικὸν δ’ ἔτι μοι μέλος		Mix in a Pindaric song
συγκεράσας τις ἐγχέοι.		and pour them into my cup.
τὰ τρία ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ	5	I think if Dionysus came,
καὶ Διόνυσος ἐλθών		and the sleek-skinned Paphian
καὶ Παφίη λιπαρόχροος		and Eros himself,
καὐτὸς Ἔρως ἂν ἐκπιεῖν.		they would drink down these three.

Meter: Two matching stanzas each with the metrical form

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ X
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – X
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ X
– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ X

CA 20 is generally believed to mark the end of an initial smaller collection later combined with other collections to form the complete *Carmina Anacreontea*. In this poem, the speaker explicitly names three of the archaic poetic inspirations for their work. Form matches content: the poem is in two matching stanzas of an Aeolic meter, evoking Sappho and Pindar alongside the mentions of their names. Anacreon takes first mention, as befits this collection, and the three gods mentioned are the recurring gods of this collection. As in *CA* 15 where Anacreon buys a dove off of Aphrodite for a hymn, Aphrodite, Dionysus, and Eros are all depicted as enjoying the poetry of these mortal poets.

As this poem closes out the mini collection within the broader *Anacreontea*, it looks back to *CA* 2 in which the speaker requests λύρην Ὁμήρου/ φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς (2.1f.). While that poem attempts to transform something Homeric into something anacreontic, in this poem Homer and epic are fully absent. The three poets referenced by name are erotic and sympotic poets and are described as sweet. The gods are the gods of the *Anacreontea*, and they arrive just to engage in the activities of the symposium by enjoying their drinks of wine/poetry.

1 **ἡδυμελὴς**: This adjective appears in Anacreon, Pindar, and Sappho, all three of the poets mentioned here in conjunction with it. The Anacreontic poet uses Anacreon's Ionic in lieu of the Aeolic/Doric form of ἁδυμελής. Like the μελῳδός of *CA* 1.2, this word is not typically applied to a human singer, but rather to birds (Anac. fr.49a ἡδυμελὲς χαρίεσσα χελιδοῖ, A. *Av.* 659 τὴν δ' ἡδυμελῆ... ἀηδόνα), instruments (Sappho 44.24 αὖλος ἁδυμέλης, Pindar *Ol.* 7.11f. ἁδυμελεῖ...φόρμιγγι. Athenaeus 14.40.20 ξόαν' ἡδυμελῆ), or musical sounds (Pindar *Pyth*. 8.70 κώμῳ μὲν ἁδυμελεῖ, *Nem.* 2.25 ἁδυμελεῖ...φωνᾷ, *Isth.*7.20 ἁδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ).

2 **Ἀνακρέων**: While the name is not the first word of the poem, it stands in the first line, recalling again *CA* 1 which began with Ἀνακρέων. This portion of the collection starts and ends with identifying Anacreon as the chief inspiration for the work, while also explicitly naming his as a separate figure to the anacreontic poet.

3 **Σαπφώ**: The archaic Greek lyric poet Sappho is one of the nine Alexandrian "canonical" lyric poets and was one of the most renowned lyric poets from her time through the imperial period and beyond. She was known for her beautiful and erotic poetry, such as fragment 1, often called the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. In addition, Hellenistic writers were focused on her biographical details, and writing biographies and other works attempting to explain the figures found in her poetry

was common. The content of her poetry as well as her status as a figure makes her a very fitting poet to place beside Anacreon as inspiration for this collection. It seems likely that Sappho provided metrical inspiration for this particular poem. The lines are built around the choriamb and dodrans and the poem is organized into stanzas, both features common in Aeolic metrics.

The pairing of Anacreon and Sappho specifically is not uncommon. In Plato's *Phaedrus,* Socrates tries to recall something he has heard from ἤ που Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ (235c3). In Plutarch's *Table-Talk*, Philip speaks of listening respectfully to songs of Sappho's or Anacreon's (711d6), and in Dio Chrysostom *Orations 2*, Alexander the Great says that it is not becoming for a king to sing the ἐρωτικὰ μέλη of the pair (28.4). Pausanias describes Anacreon as the first poet after Sappho to devote himself to love songs (Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας, *Graecie descriptio* 1.25.1). When erotic poetry is the subject at hand, Sappho and Anacreon are the natural pairing.

3 **Πινδαρικὸν**: Conversely, Pindar seems like an unnatural intrusion at this point in the collection. He is not often mentioned in conjunction with Sappho or Anacreon as means of comparison, though occasionally as contrast (the Plutarch quote above has Alexander go on to say that Pindaric odes would be more appropriate). Although Pindar is most known for his choral odes for public occasions, presumably his inclusion here is a reference to his erotic or sympotic poetry. As mentioned above in note 1, Pindar does use the key adjective of this poem multiple times throughout his surviving work, so in that way his incorporation with this poem goes deeper than just his naming. Like Sappho, he also wrote in variable meters and in stanzas/strophes, as reflected in this poem. Guichard here sees some ironic humor, with the poet calling his very short poem "Pindaric."[112]

[112] Guichard 2012, 78.

4 **συγκεράσας τις ἐγχέοι**: Cf. *CA* 2. 3-4 (φέρε μοι κύπελλα θεσμῶν,/φέρε μοι νόμους κεράσσας). "Pouring" song is not uncommon in Greek poetry. For example, Sappho 101A.2 κακχέει λιγύραν ἀοίδαν, as well as several examples in Pindar.[113] The metaphor is not usually as specifically developed as it is here to be a reference to drinking wine.

6 **Διόνυσος**: A testament to the primacy of this "drink" is that the god of wine himself would enjoy it.

ἐλθών: With conditional sense.

7 **λιπαρόχροος**: This word is only otherwise attested in Theocritus *Idyll* 2.118, referring to Simaitha's beloved. In that case, the oily skin is a product of the masculine activities of gymnastic exercise. Here it must instead refer to feminine perfumes.

8 **καὐτὸς Ἔρως**: Eros is emphasized with αὐτός and chiastically paralleled to Anacreon at the position of supreme honor at the end of this poem.

ἐκπιεῖν: The image of the gods drinking the poetry associates this "drink" with a libation or offering to the gods. Cf. *CA* 15.10f. where Anacreon buys Aphrodite's dove for the price of a hymn. For the imagery of drinking songs, cf. *CA* 2.

[113] For a full listing of examples of this metaphor, see Nünlist 1998, 180–205.

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