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GREEK LYRIC
ANACREON
ANACREONTEA
EARLY CHORAL LYRIC



Edited and Translated by
DAVID A. CAMPBELL

GREEK LYRIC

II

ANACREON, ANACREONTIC
CHORAL LYRICS
FROM OLYMPUS TO ALCMAN

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DAVID A. CAMPBELL



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In memory of
F. J.
and George

πρὸ γόων δὲ μνάστις

PREFACE

This volume contains the fragments of Anacreon, the third great composer of solo song, Sappho and Alcaeus having occupied volume I. The *Anacreontea* are added as an appendage, although they were not composed until several centuries after Anacreon; and since little has been written about them in English in recent years I have supplied a comparatively full introduction to them. Volume II continues with the earliest writers of choral poetry, notably Terpander and Alcman; the other choral poets will follow in volumes III and IV.

Again, I am happy to acknowledge my gratitude for Research Grants awarded by the University of Victoria and Leave Fellowships granted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which allowed me to enjoy six months of Study Leave in 1979, 1983 and 1986. I wish to thank my Research Assistants, Dr. Caroline A. Overman, Miss Vicki R. Cameron, Mr. J. Bruce McKinnon and Mr. John J. Koval for their help, the Librarian and staff of the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, for obtaining rare books and periodicals, Mrs.

PREFACE

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**ANACREON
AND THE
ANACREONTEA**

INTRODUCTION

Solo song: Anacreon

Anacreon was born in the Ionian city of Teos in Asia Minor. When Harpagus, Cyrus' general, attacked the Greek coastal cities, the population of Teos, Anacreon among them, sailed to Thrace, where they founded Abdera c. 540 B.C. Anacreon is next heard of at the court of Polycrates of Samos, whose tyranny is dated to 533–522 (test. 1 n. 2). Fr. 493 suggests that he went there not directly from Abdera but from Athens. After the murder of Polycrates Anacreon was taken to Athens by Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, who during the tyranny of his brother Hippias (527–510 B.C.) was responsible for cultural affairs. Anacreon may have lived on in Athens after the murder of Hipparchus in 514 B.C., or he may have gone to Thessaly: epigrams written for the Thessalian ruler Echekratidas and his wife Dyseris are attributed to him (frr. 107, 108D.). If he did visit Thessaly, he must have returned to Athens and may have spent much of his later life there: he is said to have sung the praises of Critias, grandfather of the Athenian politician of that name (fr. 495: cf. 500), and to have known and enjoyed the poetry of Aeschylus, who staged his first play between c. 499 and 496 B.C. and won his first victory in 484 (see fr. 412).

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His statue was seen on the Acropolis by Pausanias (test. 10). He is said to have lived 85 years (test. 8), and Eusebius says that he 'was well-known' in 536/5 (test. 2): he may have been born c. 570 and died c. 485.

Most of his poetry was concerned with love and wine: Maximus of Tyre summed up its content as 'the hair of Smerdies and Cleobulus, the pipes of Bathyllus and Ionian song' (Anacr. fr. 471), and according to Cicero it was all erotic (test. 20). The symposium must have provided the occasion for its performance: Critias indeed called him 'the excitement of the drinking-party' (Anacr. fr. 500). Samian politics appear twice: see frs. 348, 353. Critias referred to his choral poetry (Anacr. fr. 500), but apart from one dubious fragment of his Maiden-songs (501) it is lost.

References survive to Books 1, 2 and 3 of his works, but it seems that there were five books in all (test. 13). His poetry was probably edited first by Aristophanes of Byzantium c. 200 B.C. and 40 or 50 years later by Aristarchus (ib. n. 2). Scholarly work had begun in the 4th century with Heraclides Ponticus and Chamaeleon (see fr. 372), and Alexandrians from Zenodotus, the first librarian, to the 1st century B.C. Didymus devoted attention to him.

The Anacreontea

The manuscript

The *Anacreontea* are preserved in the 10th century manuscript¹ which contains the *Palatine Antho-*

¹ See Alan Cameron, *G.R.B.S.* 11 (1970) 339 ff. A. Diller in *Serta Turyniana* (1974) 520 f. says the scribe J worked c. 930–950.

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logy. This manuscript had an eventful history²: it was seen by Salmasius in the library at Heidelberg in 1607, but how or when it came there is uncertain. It was already in two parts,³ the first volume containing Books 1–13 of the *Anthology*, the second and smaller volume Books 14 and 15, the *Anacreontea* (ff. 675–90) and other material. In 1623 after the sack of Heidelberg it was given to Pope Gregory XV. In 1797 Napoleon took it, recently rebound in its two volumes, from the Vatican to Paris. After 1815 both volumes should have been returned to Heidelberg: the larger volume is now there (Cod. Gr. 23), but the other was overlooked by the Heidelberg librarian and never left Paris. It is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cod. Gr. Suppl. 384).

The poems, however, were first edited in Paris in 1554 by Stephanus (Henri Estienne), who had copied the text from 'an old manuscript' he had seen three years earlier in Louvain; whether this was our Palatine manuscript has been disputed,⁴ but it is likely that it was,⁵ since Stephanus' apograph, which sur-

² See the prefaces to C. Preisendanz, *Carmina Anacreontea* (which has a photograph of the first page of the *Anacreontea*) and *Anthologia Palatina* (facsimile), Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* xxxiii ff.

³ Preisendanz, pref. to *A.P.* col. viii.

⁴ E.g. Rose, pref. to his edition iii ff., Preisendanz, pref. v ff.

⁵ West, pref. vii f.

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vives in the University of Leyden, and his editions agree so closely with its text.⁶

Content of the poems

The poem which stands first in the collection refers symbolically to the influence of Anacreon: the writer accepts a garland from Anacreon's head and places it on his own; the consequence stated explicitly is that he has been in love ever since; but the poem may be read as an introductory piece in which the poet acknowledges that he writes of love and wine in the manner of Anacreon. Similarly in 60(b), the last of the Palatine collection, we find, 'Imitate Anacreon, the famous singer. Drain your cup to the boys, your lovely cup of words', where the last phrase shows that the writer has poetry in mind as well as erotic conviviality. The author of 7 adopts the persona of Anacreon, but in 15 and 20 the references to him are in the third person. Lines of Anacreon are quoted or alluded to in 47. 8 f. and 52(b) (cf. 60B. 1) and there are many verbal echoes. Bathyllus, the boy whose good looks and pipe-playing were themes of Anacreon's poetry (see test. 11 n. 5, fr. 471), figures also in the *Anacreontea*: his home is still in Samos (17. 45 f.), but he has no further identity, being simply the ideal boy of the poet's fantasies and dreams.

⁶ For the influence of the poems on European lyric from the 16th c. onwards see Michael Baumann, *Die Anakreonteen in englischen Übersetzungen* (Heidelberg 1974), James Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1946), L. A. Michelangeli, *Anacreonte e la sua fortuna nei secoli* (Bologna 1922), Herbert Zeman, *Die deutsche anakreontische Dichtung* (Stuttgart 1972).

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Poem 5, in which the writer gives instructions to a silversmith for the creation of a cup, lists in fact the subjects which occupy the writers of the *Anacreon-tea*: spring, the rose, wine, Bacchus, Cyprian Aphrodite, the Loves, the Graces, the vine, handsome boys; if one adds poems inspired by or giving orders for works of art, the list is almost complete. Love is the commonest subject, wine not far behind; and the two are often united, beautiful Lyaeus keeping company with beautiful Cythere (43. 13 f.), Dionysus with the Paphian (20. 6 f., 49. 1 ff.) or the Loves (44. 1 f.). The pieces on works of art (3, 4, 5, 16, 17, 54, 57) form another important group; there are addresses to the cicada (34) and the rose (55) and a piece on gold and the poet's lyre (58). All these subjects are favourites also of the poets of the *Anthology*. In 60(a) the writer toys briefly with a mythological subject, the love of Apollo for Daphne; the picture described in 54 is of Europa and the bull; and the address to the rose (55) ends with a mock-heroic account of the flower's birth. For the most part, however, the poets are happy to abjure epic themes in favour of lighter material (2, 23, 26; symbolically in 4). They will occasionally nod in Homer's direction with an allusion to the *Iliad* (4. 1-11, 14. 12 f., 33. 2 f.), but their echoes of the lyric poets are more frequent.⁷

Metres

The poems are written in hemiambs (catalectic iambic dimeters) or in anaclasts (ionic dimeters with

⁷ E.g. Archilochus, 8. 1 ff.; Alcaeus, 60(b). 11 ff.; Ibycus, 25. 1 ff., 44. 6 ff.; Theognis, 29. 5 ff., 32. 9 ff.; even Pindar, 43. 11 f., 60(b). 3 f.; and also the *Bacchae* of Euripides, 41. 5, 43. 5 f.

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anacclasis) or, in the case of 19 and 20, in metres which may have been regarded as legitimate forms of these. Both rhythms are often called 'anacreontic'. They are rarely mixed: our text of 48 gives 7 hemiambs followed by 3 anacclasts; in 49 the first 4 lines are probably intended for anacclasts (or ionic dimeters: 2, 4), the last 6 for hemiambs; both poems are probably late; see also Anacreon 505(d), where Baxter inserted *τὸν* before *Ἐρωτα* to make the hemiamb into an anacclast.

(1) The hemiamb or iambic dimeter catalectic, a seven-syllable line of the pattern $\cup-\cup-|\cup--$, is found in Anacreon 429, 430. In a few late poems hemiambs are found in company with acatalectic dimeters $\cup-\cup-|\cup-\cup-$, for which see Anacreon 427, 428. In 45 vv. 3-6 fall into couplets of alternating acatalectics and catalectics; 5 begins with 9 lines of fumbling hemiambs and continues with a similar alternation, also fumbling (vv. 10 and 18 are recognisable acatalectics)⁸; 58 introduces acatalectics in pairs (15 f., 32 f.) and in a group of three (23 ff.); 20 (which has a choriamb for the first iambic metron: see below) has 2 catalectics (2, 6) among acatalectics.

Writers introduced variety in two ways⁹:

(a) by substituting a choriamb for the first iambic metron, $-\cup\cup-|\cup--$: examples at 4. 16, 17, 19 (i.e. in the latest version of the poem), 20. 2, 6 (see above),

⁸ See M. Brioso Sánchez, *Anacreontea: Un ensayo para su datación* 20 f.

⁹ For 47. 7, 9, 11 ($\cup---|\cup--$) see next note: they might perhaps have found justification in the text of Anacreon; 58. 2, 5, 8 ($\cup-\cup-|---$) are hard to accept, 49. 6 ($\cup-\cup\cup---$) impossible.

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36. 15, 39. 3 (perhaps also 5), 47. 6, 12, 51. 1–5 (4 is acatalectic), 54. 8. Hadrian, writing a Latin epitaph on his horse in the first half of the 2nd century A.D., used equal numbers of this line and hemiambs, mostly in alternation (Bücheler ii 2 no. 1522);

(b) by a sort of anacalasis which produced the pherecratean, $\cup - | - \cup \cup - | -$: so 5. 19 (cf. 5. 1, 11), 21. 2, 36. 6, 16, 47. 3 (doubtful), 49. 4, 5, 51. 6. Poem 19 is written entirely in the rhythm $--- \cup \cup ---$.

(2) Anacalasts, eight-syllable lines of the pattern $\cup \cup - \cup - \cup ---$, are ionic dimeters ($\cup \cup --- | \cup \cup ---$) with anacalasis (reversal: lit. 'bending back') of the 4th and 5th syllables. Pure ionics were admitted by Anacreon in 356(a). 5, (b). 5, 395. 5, 11, and are common in the *Anacreontea*.

The following variations are found ¹⁰:

(a) $--- \cup - \cup ---$ (resulting in a hemiambs) by contraction of the first two short syllables: see 17. 45, 18. 15, 42. 12, 43. 14, 16, 52(a). 2, 4, 5, 7, and cf. 52(b). 3;

(b) $\cup \cup - \cup \cup \cup \cup ---$ by resolution of the 5th syllable: see 42. 15, 43. 3, 46. 6;

(c) $--- \cup \cup \cup \cup ---$ by a combination of (a) and (b): see 44. 5, and cf. the catalectic ionic tetrameters of Callimachus (fr. 761 Pfeiffer);

(d) $- \cup \cup \cup - \cup ---$ with substitution of $- \cup \cup$ for $\cup \cup -$ at the beginning of the line: see 34. 7, 49. 1, 59. 1;

¹⁰ Even 50. 6, 16, 22 ($\cup \cup --- - \cup ---$) and 40. 6 (cf. 40. 8), 52(b). 3 ($----- \cup ---$), which one might tend to regard as unacceptable variations, gain support from Anacr. 346 (2). 3. In 41 v. 1 and perhaps vv. 5 and 6 show $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup ---$. In late poems scansion of lines is uncertain when we cannot tell what system of prosody was acceptable to the poet: stress accent plays an increasingly important role.

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(e) -∪-∪-∪-- , an anaclast with long first syllable: see 38. 16, 40. 4, 50. 26, 27, 60. 9.

Pure ionic dimeters produced the following variation:

(f) ---|∪∪-- by contraction of the first two short syllables: see 44. 2; poem 19 is written entirely in this rhythm: see 1(b) above.

Although the two 'anacreontic' metres have different origins, their aesthetic effect is exactly alike. They are suited for frivolity rather than profundity of thought. Sentences tend to be short: when they are long, as in 56 or 59. 1 ff., the shortness of the sub-units of the sentence keeps the thought clear. Parataxis, as in Anacreon 395, is common: see e.g. poem 25.

Date of the poems

It is astonishing that for three centuries after Stephanus' edition scholars should have been reluctant to abandon the attribution to Anacreon. Language, prosody and the treatment of the subject-matter should have shown beyond doubt that the poems were not composed before the Hellenistic period, most of them perhaps not until the Roman and Byzantine eras. The Alexandrian scholars who quoted from the poetry of Anacreon made no mention of the *Anacreontea*.

Few poems give any clue to the date of their composition: contemporary allusions do not belong to amatory and convivial verse. Edmonds tried to date 14 by the absence of Rome in the catalogue of love-affairs; but a Greek poet using a Greek poet as his model would avoid mention of Rome: the list of places begins (at home?) with Athens, moves to