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

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1 Introduction: the Rediscovery of CA and a New Poetics

As a basis for my further discussion it will be convenient to recall some facts concerning the discovery, the publication, and the initial literary appreciation of the *Carmina Anacreontea* (CA) in mid-16th cent. France.[1] I shall put an emphasis on the enthusiasm of critics and poets about a new stylistic possibility opened up by CA. To some extent, this enthusiasm also accounts for the later creative imitations and adaptions in Neo-Latin poetry.

Before Henri Estienne's editio princeps of 1554, Anacreon was mainly known through ancient testimonies and two poems[2] found in the *Anthologia Planudea*.[3] Although these poems were transmitted anonymously, the fact that Gellius (*NA* 19.9) had quoted one of them (17 [4]) in full as a work of Anacreon (*Anacreontis senis*) seemed to put the question of authorship beyond reasonable doubt.[4] When Estienne hit upon these poems in the manuscript collection of CA,[5]

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* I use translations of Latin and Greek quotations in this paper sparingly for several reasons: my focus is often on formal nuances (metre, style, language) which cannot be adequately rendered in a translation. Moreover, as far as CA is concerned, I often repeat the same passages in different versions. Translations would be tedious here (and they are easy at hand anyway, cf. e.g. Campbell [1988] and Rosenmeyer [1992: 239-266]). In other cases short paraphrases are just as useful and save space. On my terminology distinguishing between 'Anacreontea', 'Anacreontics' and 'Anacreontic poetry' see section 2 below.

1 Cf. esp. O'Brien (1995); Rosenmeyer (2002).

2 The poems in question are nos. 15 and 17 in Estienne's edition, corresponding to nos. 8 and 4 in today's numeration of CA as found e.g. in the editions of West (^{2}1993) and Campbell (1988). Estienne's numeration was standard until well into the 19th century. Since my study stops in the 18th century, I shall always refer to Estienne's numbers first, followed by the corresponding modern numbers in brackets. A concordance can be found in O'Brien (1995: 247-249). The text of CA, however, follows West (^{2}1993).

3 The *Anthologia Planudea* was published by Janus Lascaris in 1494 and enjoyed wide circulation among Renaissance humanists. The manuscript *Anthologia Palatina*, though used by Estienne and possibly being his only source for CA (see below n. 5), eluded most scholars of the 16th century and was not finally published until the 19th century.

4 A third Anacreontic poem following upon the two anonymous ones is credited in the *Anthologia Planudea* to one Julian. Even though Estienne read it in the collection of CA published by him, he did not consider it for his edition. It was missing also in most sub-

he must have genuinely believed that he had rediscovered the long lost works of Anacreon himself. For his audience, the fact that he dropped CA 1 (which distinguishes between Anacreon and the speaking I), and added some other transmitted verse of Anacreon (a practice continued in later early modern editions) increased the sense of authenticity even further.[6] Estienne's edition was hailed as a historic moment which redefined modern ways of relating to classical literature. Its impact was multiplied by the eager reception of the *Anacreontea* in the French Pléiade. Estienne was a friend of this progressive literary group, whose undisputed, if unofficial, leader, Pierre de Ronsard, thanked him for the edition of 'Anacreon' in one of his poems.[7] Ronsard himself on the one hand translated a number of pieces of CA, on the other hand recreated and adapted their style in portions of his poetic production following upon Estiennes editio princeps.[8] It was probably also Ronsard who inspired Rémy Belleau to his French translation of CA of 1556. In his introductory poem to this translation, Ronsard compliments Belleau on his achievement and admits him as the seventh member of the – now complete – Pléiade (p. 7).

The enthusiasm of the Pléiade and its followers for the new 'Anacreon' can be accounted for in terms of authority and creativity in a particular moment of intellectual history. The rediscovery of ancient models in Renaissance humanism did both confirm their authority and inspire new ways of literary expression based on their examples. The Greek classics, in many cases unknown to the mediaeval period, were particulary novel and much appreciated in the Pléiade, whose core members had been students of the famous Hellenist Jean Dorat. Before the rediscovery of CA, the most authoritative and most imitated Greek lyric poet was Pindar, whose epinicia saw their first edition in 1513.[9] Apart from Pindar's intrinsic literary qualities, the sheer fact that he was the only Greek lyric poet to survive with substantial portions of his work and the availability of an edition were obvious reasons for his popularity among Renaissance poets. Against this background, it is clear that the edition of another substantial, yet quite different,

sequent early modern editions, translations and imitations. In modern editions it is found as CA 6.

5 On Estienne's somewhat mysterious discovery of the manuscript(s) and his editorial approach cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 8-15); Rosenmeyer (1992: 1-6); O'Brien (1995: 13-22). The main issue is that Estienne speaks of two manuscripts without naming them, and while it is clear that one of them was the *Anthologia Palatina*, there is no trace of the other.

6 Cf. the beginning of section 4 below.

7 Cf. *Odelette a Corydon*, lines 27-30: "Je vois boire à Henry Estienne, / Qui des enfers nous a rendu / Du viel Anacreon perdu / La douce Lyre Teiënne" (ed. Laumonier [1930: 175-176]).

8 Ronsard's main publications containing Anacreontic material are *Bocage* (1554), *Meslanges* (1555), *Continuations des Amours* (1555), and *Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* (1556). Generally for his reception of the *Anacreontea* cf. O'Brien (1995: 155-199).

9 Cf. e.g. Schmitz (1993); generally for the respective receptions of Pindar, Anacreon and Sappho in the early modern period Michelakis (2009).

corpus of Greek lyric poetry provided an exciting alternative for imitating and surpassing antiquity: CA quickly became an authoritative model for a new style of writing neatly opposed to Pindar. The antithesis between Pindar and Anacreon, or rather the poetic styles they are standing for, is clearly expressed in Estienne's Greek preface to his edition of 1554, where he credits Pindar with difficulty, harshness, and obscurity, Anacreon with simplicity, sweetness, and clarity. The relevance of this antithesis for contemporaneous poetics is confirmed by Ronsard himself, who explicitly contrasts the difficult Pindar and the "sweet" Anacreon in his dedicatory poem to Belleau's French translation of CA.[10]

2 Neo-Latin Anacreontea and Anacreontics: Methodological Issues

The general outlines of the astonishing *Nachleben* of CA in the early modern period (and partly beyond) are well known and it is unnecessary to re-trace them here.[11] However, some strains of CA-inspired poetry and poetics have been given more attention than others, and while we have studies for the major European vernaculars (English, French, German, Spanish, Italian), there is not much on the Neo-Latin tradition. Surely this is undeserved from a literary historical perspective. Neo-Latin literature developed a rich Anacreontic tradition until ca. 1700 and ripples of it can be felt until well into the 18th century. Jozef IJsewijn and Dirk Sacré's *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, the Neo-Latinist's handbook of reference, has just half a page on Anacreontics (1990-1998, II, 96-97). There is an excellent section on Neo-Latin Anacreontic literature in Zeman (1972: 16-32), and some helpful observations can be found in O'Brien (1995). To my knowledge, Kühlmann's (1987) has been the only paper focussing on Neo-Latin Anacreontics so far. Of course I am indebted to all of these accounts, but much remains to be said about Neo-Latin Anacreontics. In particular, I think the creativity, flexibility and various uses of Neo-Latin Anacreontics in different contexts and periods have been undervalued and sometimes even misjudged. A more accurate picture of the diversity within the unity of the Anacreontic form is needed.

Such a project encounters difficulties characteristic of Neo-Latin studies in general: not only is there a relative lack of scholarly work, the material itself is vast, not usually available in modern editions, and scattered in libraries across Europe. Today's various digitization projects are a great help, but often it still proves challenging to obtain the relevant primary texts. Once the texts are acquired, the next challenge is often to make sense of them in the absence of commentaries and secondary literature. Given these conditions, the present paper

10 "Me loue qui voudra les repliz recourbez / Des torrens de Pindare en profond enbourbez, / Obscurs, rudes, facheux, & ses chansons congnues, / (…) / Anacreon me plaist, le doux Anacreon!" (in Belleau [1556: 9]).

11 Cf. e.g. the survey of Zeman (1999) and the studies of Rubió y Lluch (1879); Michelangeli (1922); Zeman (1972); Baumann (1974); O'Brien (1995).

cannot be more than a first and sometimes even amateurish attempt to trace the shape and uses of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry. I hope to compensate for this by a number of fresh insights and by pointing out some new and promising avenues for future research.

Before I start my analysis of the Neo-Latin Anacreontic 'form' I should discuss some terminological issues and account for a peculiarity of this 'form'. I consider two related but different things in this paper: on the one hand, Latin translations of CA, and on the other hand creative adaptations and transformations of that model. I shall refer to translations as 'Anacreontea' and to adaptations and transformations as 'Anacreontics', as opposed to the ancient collection of CA. By 'Anacreontic poetry' I refer to all kinds of CA-inspired literature, including translations. Both Anacreontea and Anacreontics occur also in the vernaculars, but there is a significant difference here which makes the study of the Neo-Latin Anacreontic form much more coherent and consistent. With very few exceptions – although I will discuss a highly significant example further below –[12] the vernacular translations and adaptations always broke up the ancient form of CA in favour of different metres and rhyme, thought to be more suitable for the respective target languages. A few examples will be enough to illustrate the point – we should keep in mind, however, that the actual variance in vernacular Anacreontic poetry is much greater. When Belleau, for instance, translates CA 1 (23) into French (cf. Belleau [1556: 11]), he uses rhyming couplets of heptasyllables lacking 'Anacreon's' iambic rhythm:

> Volontier ie chanterois
> Les faictz guerriers de noz Rois,
> Mais ma lyre ne s'accorde
> Qu'a mignarder une corde (…).

Abraham Cowley, probably the most influential English translator of CA, prefers acatalectic iambic dimeters (as opposed to 'Anacreon's' catalectic ones) and rhymes stretching over three or two lines:[13]

> I'll sing of Heroes, and of Kings;
> In mighty Numbers, mighty things,
> Begin, my Muse; but lo, the strings,
> To my great Song rebellious prove;
> The strings will sound of nought but Love (…).

12 Cf. section 4 at the end. Another interesting, if less consequential, exception is Manuel de Villegas' two Anacreontic books in the first part of his collection *Eróticas* of 1618 (ed. Alonso Cortés [1913: 188-250 and 251-323]).

13 Cf. Cowley (1656: 31); the example also gives an impression of Cowley's rhetorically amplifying approach in line with the poetics of English classicism. On Cowley's partial translation of CA cf. esp. Baumann (1974: 73-79).

Sometimes longer lines were used, such as Ronsard's alexandrines in some of his imitations.[14] Often stanzas were created on a variety of models such as sonnets, madrigals or popular songs.

Little of this changeability affects Latin Anacreontic poetry. As a rule (with exceptions especially in the earliest stages), it remains true to the Greek form, characterized by the hemiambic or anaclastic metres, rhymeless lines and the absence of (obvious) stanzaic divisions. This makes a study of Latin Anacreontic poetry, and in particular Anacreontics, comparatively easy and consistent. In the vernaculars there is a considerable fringe of love poetry and drinking songs which shares a number of motifs with CA, but is impossible to trace back to that model.[15] Latin Anacreontics can undergo the most utter transformations in content and spirit and will still be easily recognizable as Anacreontics.

3 Neo-Latin Anacreontic Poetry Before Estienne's Edition, and the Special Case of Scaliger

In fact, the history of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry begins a number of decades before Estienne's editio princeps of CA. The two Anacreontic poems contained in the *Anthologia Planudea* inspired some humanists to both translations and creative use of the form for their own poetry. Clearly, this early reception was a trickle compared with the torrent of Anacreontic poetry following upon Estienne's edition and it must be seen in the context of the influence of the Planudean Anthology rather than of CA. But there are two interesting observations to make.

First, what I have described as consistent Anacreontic form in Neo-Latin poetry emerges only after the edition of the full corpus of CA, arguably because only then was the body of poems substantial enough to command respect for its formal pattern. Before that, various metres are used for rendering the models, in a similar fashion to what we usually see in vernacular Anacreontic poetry. Suffice it

14 Cf. the imitation of CA 2 (24) in *Bocage* (1554), ed. Laumonier (1930: 115): "La Nature a donné des cornes aus toreaus / Et la crampe du pié pour armes aus chevaus, / Aus poissons le nouer, & aux aigles l'adresse / De bien voler par l'aer, aus lievre la vitesse (…)". Alexandrines became a popular choice for French and German 17th cent. poets. A prominent German example is Martin Opitz' imitation of CA 19 (21) in his *Buch von der Deutschen Poetery* (1624), cf. ed. Alewyn (1966: 35): "Die Erde trinckt für sich, die Bäwme trincken erden / Vom Meere pflegt die lufft auch zue getrucken werden / Die Sonne trinckt das Meer, der Monde trinckt die Sonnen; / Wolt dann, jhr freunde, mir das trincken nicht vergonnen?"

15 Michelangeli (1922) struggles with this issue, since the Italian tradition of Anacreontic poetry is particularly free and there is no substantial core of clearly CA-inspired texts. Baumann (1974) deals only with translations and close imitations. Zeman (1972) succeeds not least because his main focus, 18th cent. German Anacreontic poetry, is characterized by an unusually close adherence to the ancient form.

to adduce the two most prominent early Latin imitators: Thomas More (1478-1535), as far as we know the first to translate the Planudean Anacreontic poems into Latin, casts his version into glyconic lines, which creates a somewhat Horatian atmosphere.[16] Johannes Secundus (1511-1536) imitates the same poems in the hexameter.[17] Significantly, both More and Secundus publish their versions in collections of epigrams, and given the original context of the models in the *Anthologia Planudea* it was difficult to see them as anything else than epigrams.[18] This explains why their form was easily assimilated to other standards of epigrammatic composition: More experiments more often with short lines (we have hypercatalectic iambic dimeters on pp. 223-227 and acatalectic iambic dimeters on pp. 250-252 of the 1518 edition), and Secundus uses hexameters for many of his epigrams.

My second observation concerns a wedding of Catullus and CA, which also bears on the later tradition of Anacreontic poetry. While Secundus did not use the hemiambics of the Planudean pieces in his translation, he did so in an original composition which we could dub the first Latin Anacreontic. I am referring to the eighth piece of Secundus' extremely popular collection of playful kiss-poems, the *Basia* (posthumously published in 1539; ed. Ellinger [1899: 6-7]):

> *Quis te furor, Neaera*
> *inepta, quis iubebat*
> *Sic involare nostram,*
> *Sic vellicare linguam (…).*
>
> What madness, foolish Neara, what madness made you attack my tongue like that and nip it like that (…).

16 Cf. More (1518: 206-207): *Non est cura mihi Gygis, / Qui rex Sardibus imperat. / Aurum non ego persequor. / Reges non miser aemulor (…).* The title wrongly describes these lines as "choriambicum". Prompted by a confusing layout in the editio princeps of the *Anthologia Planudea*, More mistook CA 15 (8) and 17 (4) for a single poem and translated it as such. This mistake repeated itself a number of times until Estienne established the correct division of the two poems in his edition.

17 Cf. Secundus (1541: 148): *Non est cura Gygis mihi, qui rex imperat agris / Sardiniis, non me argentum, non gemma nec aurum / Detentat, non invideo sua regna tyrannis (…).* Zeman (1972: 9) erroneously speaks of elegiac couplets.

18 The conception of single Anacreontic poems as epigrams remained an option even after Estienne's edition. Johannes Sambucus, for instance used a Latin translation of CA 2 (24) – by then in hemiambics – as an epigrammatic subscription in his famous book of emblems; Sambucus (1564: 144): *Natura cornua add[id]it / Tauro, ungulas equisve, / Cursu lepus perennis, / Dentes patent Leonis (…)*; generally cf. Zeman (1972: 25-26). Of course, the very transmission of the Anacreontea in the context of collections of epigrams (the *Anthologia Planudea* and *Anthologia Palatina*) is not a coincidence, but suggests shared ground in brevity, clarity and pointedness.

It is interesting to see that Secundus in this poem anticipates a number of stylistic devices characteristic of later Neo-Latin (sometimes also vernacular) translations and imitations of CA. The most striking are anaphora, often combined with slightly varied parallelisms (cf. apart from lines 3-4 above e.g. 13-15 *Quo saepe sole primo, / Quo saepe sole sero, / Quo per diesque longas*) and playful diminutives (e.g. 20-24: *Quae tortiles capillos, / Quae paetulos ocellos, / Quae lacteas papillas, / Quae colla mollicella / Venustulae Neareae*). Some of these features, as the anaphoric constructions, are well-known from CA,[19] and passages like CA 15 (8).3-7 (οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, / οὐδὲ φθονῶ τυράννοις. / ἐμοὶ μέλει μύροισιν / […] / ἐμοὶ μέλει ῥόδοισιν) could have been an inspiration to Secundus. However, the anaphora in the pieces from CA known at that time is fairly mild compared with other examples of the collection (e.g. CA 29 Χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ φιλῆσαι, / χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ φιλῆσαι· / χαλεπώτερον δὲ πάντων / ἀποτυγχάνειν φιλοῦντα), and diminutives are not a striking characteristic of CA at all. It seems rather that Secundus created his Anacreontic by using elements familiar from a playful strain of Roman love poetry in which Catullus deserves pride of place.[20] This strain was vigorously revived by Italian Neo-Latin poets of the late 15th and early 16th centuries and very popular at Secundus' time – in fact, Secundus' whole collection of *Basia* was an expanded variation on Catullus' own kiss poems (*Carm*. 5 and 7).[21] Two nicely fitting examples[22] by other authors are epigrams addressed – just as Secundus' *Basium* 8 – to a certain Neaera[23] and probably known to Secundus. The first one, by Michele Marullo (1458-1500), is redolent of Catullus starting from its metre, the hendecasyllabus. The fame of this epigram was such that Julius Caesar Scaliger dedicated an extended (dismissive) discussion to it in his *Poetice* (297b; ed. Vogt-Spira/Deitz [1994-2011: V, 58-62]). The parallels in style with Secundus' Anacreontic clearly emerge from the first four lines (*Epigrammata* 1.2; first published in 1489; ed. Perosa [1951: 3]):

Salve, nequitiae meae, Neaera,
Mi passercule, mi albe turturille,

19 Generally on techniques of expression in CA cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 77-93).

20 For anaphora in Catullus cf. e.g. his kiss-poem *Carm*. 5.7-9 (*da mi basia mille, deinde centum, / dein mille altera, dein secunda centum, / deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum / dein, cum milia multa fecerimus […]*) and the refrain in *Carm*. 52 (*Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori? […] Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?*). Further examples can be found in Ross (1969: 97-99). For Catullus' preference for diminutives cf. ibid. (22-26).

21 For a comprehensive account of the Renaissance Catullus cf. Haig Gaisser (1993); individual aspects are dealt with in Ludwig (1989) and Schäfer (2004).

22 Cf. a number of other names and examples in Zeman (1972: 17-18).

23 "Neaera", recalling the famous hetaera of the 4th cent. BCE, was used as a generic name for a mistress from Hor. *Epod.* 15.11 (cf. e.g. Watson [2003: 472] ad loc.) and [Tib.] 3.1.6 onwards. In this function, she made an impressive career in Neo-Latin love poetry, perhaps beginning with the examples adduced above.

Meum mel, mea suavitas, meum cor,
Meum suaviolum, mei lepores (…).

Welcome, Neaera, my wantonness, my little sparrow, my little white turtle dove, my honey, my sweetness, my heart, my little kiss, my charm (…).

The other example, in acatalectic iambic dimeters, was penned by Pietro Crinito (1465-1504) and first published posthumously in his *Poemata* (2.32) of 1508.[24] It is an adaptation of a kiss-epigram to an anonymous boy which was ascribed to Plato and is transmitted in Gellius' *Attic Nights*.[25] The fact that Crinito replaces the boy with a girl (*Dum te, Neaera, suavior […]*), precisely Neaera, is reminiscent of later Anacreontic poetry from which homosexual love is banned (in all Anacreontics known to me) or minimized (in some translations). Compared with the ancient epigram, Crinito brings a number of playful diminutives to the poem (5-6 *Tum mi labella pressula / Tenello amore saucia*); in addition to the Catullan model, his line *Animula mea misellula* (21) is a clear allusion to Hadrian's *Animula vagula blandula* (*SHA Hadr*. 25.9) and confirms the preference for the stylistic device of the diminutive.

Now, the fusion of Catullan and Anacreontic poetry would not be so interesting if it had disappeared after Estienne's edition, but this is not the case.[26] The continuing influence of Secundus' formula can be felt first and foremost in the continuity of stylistic devices, but to a lesser extent also in the motif of the kiss: from time to time, writers of Neo-Latin Anacreontics will pay homage to Secundus by slipping in some variations on his *Basia*. In some authors we can even see a comeback of Neaera. This is particularly impressive in the most prolific writer of Latin Anacreontics ever, Caspar Barth, in whose *Amphitheatrum Gratiarum* of 1613 Neaera is the poet's principal mistress over 15 (!) books. The model of Secundus is clearly referred to in 3.4.1-4, where the poet says to Neaera that he follows "your Secundus, the preacher of elegance, the mystic of Venus, and the high-priest of charm" (*Vatem Elegantiarum / Veneris, Neaera, mystam / Antistitem Leporum, / Sequimur tuum Secundum*). The integration of this model into the overarching Anacreontic framework could not be expressed more neatly than by the image of Anacreon, the kisser, who surpasses even Apollo's art with

24 Modern edition in Mastrogianni (2002: 142); the poem is also reprinted in Ellinger (1899: 21-22).

25 Cf. Gell. *NA* 1.19.11: *Dum semihiulco savio / meum puellum savior / dulcemque florem spiritus / duco ex aperto tramite, / † anima aegra et saucia / cucurrit ad labeas mihi, / rictumque in oris pervium / et labra pueri mollia, / rimata itineri transitus, / ut transiliret, nititur* ("While with half-wide open kiss I kiss my little boy, and I take the sweet flower of his breath from the open streamway, my soul, lovesick and wounded, has run to my lips, and into the crossable gape of my mouth and the soft lips of my boy burrowing a cross-passage for her journey, she struggles to leap across."). The epigram can also be found in Macrob. *Sat*. 2.2.14.

26 It is therefore understandable that IJsewijn/Sacré (1990-1998: II, 95-97) discuss Catullan and CA-inspired poetry under a single heading.

an effortless smooch (1.12.16-19: *Apollo quod nequivit, / Currensque cantitansque, / Anacreon sine omni / Queat ambitu osculando*).

It remains to discuss another striking instance of Latin Anacreontics potentially written before Estienne's edition, the *Anacreontica* of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558). With 122 pieces ranging between 5-92 lines (most of them average out at ca. 15 lines) this is one of the most extensive collections of Anacreontics. Its date is difficult to assess. The work was posthumously published in 1574 in Scaliger's *Poemata*, edited by Julius Caesar's son Joseph Justus. Its dedication to Ronsard points to the years of Ronsard's greatest enthusiasm for CA, just before and after Estienne's edition. More precisely, the dedicatory poem to Ronsard flatters the latter on the subject of his imitations of 'Anacreon'.[27] No such imitations are known before 1553. In this year Ronsard published a French paraphrase of CA 15 (8), which he read in the *Anthologia Planudea*.[28]

However, in a poem *De suis Anacreanticis* (!),[29] dedicated to his friend Guy de Galard de Brassac in Bordeaux, Scaliger thanks Brassac for sending him a book (*libellorum […] supellex*) containing the "honeyed Muse of the playful old man" (*mellita iocosi Musa senis*) – this must be Estienne's edition. Scaliger then reminisces about how more or less 20 (!) years ago his "Erato" engaged in similar jokes (*lusus*);[30] although he was too embarrassed to publish them earlier, the delightful present of his friend makes him now feel obliged to do so. If this account were true, Scaliger would have written his *Anacreontica* in the 1530s, based only on the Anacreontic poems of the *Anthologia Planudea* and some bits and pieces that Scaliger believed to be from Anacreon.[31] A sentence at the end of the *Anacreontica* omitted by Joseph Justus in his 1574 edition seems to confirm this early date and pin it down to 1534: *Coepta Anacreontica et perfecta biduo minus horis quindecim 1534 Cal. Martii* ("Began the *Anacreontica* and completed them in less than two days, i.e. fifteen hours, on 1 March 1534").[32] Fred Nichols argued that Scaliger's claim was unfounded and was just meant to play up his originality, but given that potential points of dependence on CA are rare and Scaliger clearly picks up on the epigrammatic and Catullan tradition, his remarks might be more right than wrong.[33] The most probable scenario seems to be that Scaliger did write at least part of his Anacreontics before Estienne's edition and that the latter inspired him to complete his Anacreontic juvenilia and prepare

27 Cf. Scaliger (1574: I, 473): *Illum [sc. Anacreonta] luce tua flammeus obruis,* "Flamingly, you eclipse Anacreon with your light".

28 Cf. *Livret de Folastries* (1553), ed. Laumonier (1928: 79-80).

29 Cf. Scaliger (1574: I, 39-40).

30 Scaliger (1574: I, 40): *Viginti lapsi sunt paulo plus minus anni, / Lusibus his similes Erato mea luserat olim, / Mollia lascivo delumbans paegnia flexu.*

31 Cf. Magnien (1984: 405).

32 This sentence was first published by Grafton (1985-1988: 503); however, it is suggestive of the uncertainty about the date of the *Anacreontica* that Grafton adds "[recte 1554]" after Scaliger's "1534".

33 Cf. Nichols (1967: 50); generally on this issue Magnien (1984: 405-406).

them for the press. Or else, Scaliger did not even mean this body of poems to be 'Anacreontic' in the beginning and only later reworked it in Anacreontic fashion under Estienne's influence.

Be this as it may, there is another significant aspect that links Scaliger's Anacreontics with the pre-Estienne Anacreontic tradition, that is the variability in form. Here, it manifests itself in highly irregular metre. This bizarre form has not been duly assessed to date and would merit an analysis of its own (which I hope to give in another place).[34] In the context of this paper I can just describe its outlines: Scaliger writes short lines of 7-13 syllables. The shorter ones, of 7-8 syllables, seem inspired by the hemiambics and anaclasts[35] characteristic of CA, and in fact strings of correctly scanned hemiambics and anaclasts occur throughout the collection (with a particular emphasis on the beginning). But the liberties in prosody and metre taken otherwise are such that the impression on the reader is that of free verse. The intriguing thing about this form is that it is not due to ignorance or negligence, but bound up with a bold metaliterary idea, stated in Scaliger's first Anacreontic (which follows upon the dedicatory poem to Ronsard): the freedom and joy that the poet finds in love, wine, and song cannot be restricted by the boundaries of metre; the latter must be shaken off to give expression to his tumultuous emotions.[36] In the very first lines this idea is given authority by Horace's well-known reference to Anacreon's unpolished metre (*Epod*. 14.12 *non elaboratum ad pedem*):

> *Quis Anacreonta blandum*
> *Mihi quis senem elegantem*
> *Suscitabit ad choreas*
> *Non elaboratum ad pedem? (…)*
>
> Who will stir up for me the pleasant Anacreon, the elegant old man, to a dance according to a not worked out foot.

34 The only sizable accounts of Scaliger's *Anacreontica* are Magnien (1984) and Kühlmann (1987: 168-171). Neither of them is aware of metrical irregularities. Cf. Bradner (1940: 102-110) for Scaliger's general boldness in metre and for other Neo-Latin experiments with irregular verse; also see Maddison (1960: 331-335).

35 This could be taken as suggestive of a later date, since the Anacreontic poems contained in the *Anthologia Planudea* are in hemiambics.

36 I can only speculate about potential explanations of Scaliger's peculiar verse beyond his account 'from within'. As is clear from his *Poetice* (cf. index s.v. Anacreon), he knew a number of fragments of the real Anacreon from Hephaestion's *Handbook of Metre*, but none of the metres occurring there are reminiscent of the *Anacreontica*. There is nothing of interest for our context in Dunn (1979).

Interestingly, Estienne cites the same line from Horace in his comment on CA 11 (7), where he makes an excursus on Anacreon's ἀφέλεια,[37] the famed "simplicity" of style (1554: 68): *Mira est ἀφέλεια τοῦ λόγου in hoc poeta (…). Unde et Horatius vere de ipso pronunciavit "Qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem / Non elaboratum ad pedem.*" ("There is an amazing simplicty of expression in this poet […]. Which is why Horace rightly said about him: 'Who frequently cried about his love with the hollow tortoise-shell, tuned to a not worked out foot.'") Scaliger's programmatic quotation of Horace, then, *could* imply a cross-reference to Estienne's commentary (which would in turn suggest that Scaliger wrote at least the initial poem of his collection in reaction to Estienne), but it does not need to. Horace's dictum was surely one of the most celebrated pieces of information on Anacreon and could have come easily to any scholar dealing with Anacreontic matters.[38] Moreover, Scaliger interprets Horace's line differently from Estienne. While Estienne takes it as evidence of Anacreon's ἀφέλεια (reading *non elaboratum ad pedem* as something like "uncomplicated metre"), Scaliger reads it as a hint at Anacreon's lack of metrical rigour (understanding "negligent metre") – in fact, the two 16th cent. scholars thus anticipate today's two main interpretative approaches to Horace's line.[39]

Now, in Scaliger, the whole initial poem can be read as an extravagant variation on Horace's *Epode* 14: Horace explains to Maecenas that he cannot finish (*ad umbilicum adducere*) his epodes (*iambi*) because he has madly fallen in love. To illustrate this point he adduces the example of Anacreon (9-12):

> *non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo*
> *Anacreonta Teium,*
> *qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem*
> *non elaboratum ad pedem.*
>
> Not otherwise, they say, did burn with love for Samian Bathyllus the Teian Anacreon, who frequently cried about his love with the hollow tortoise-shell, tuned to a not worked out foot.

Horace's comparison is bewilderingly inconsequential in its details,[40] but the general idea on which Scaliger picks up is clear enough: the overwhelming emotion of love affects and redirects the process of writing; there is a direct link

37 On the ancient stylistic quality of ἀφέλεια cf. e.g. Bernecker (1992); Rutherford (1998: *passim*). Anacreon is named as an example of ἀφέλεια in Hermogenes of Tarsus' treatise on types of style (Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2.3 [Spengel 322.16; 323.22]). Cf. e.g. Patterson (1970) for Hermogenes' celebrity in the Renaissance since his editio princeps in 1508.

38 It is also cited, for instance, in Jacob Pontanus' discussion of Anacreon in his *Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres* (1594: 141-142).

39 Cf. Watson (2003: 447-448), without reference to Estienne or Scaliger. There is some common ground between these two approaches, but their thrust is clearly different. Pontanus (cf. n. 38) is in line with Estienne's reading.

40 Cf. Watson (2003: 447-449).

between the inner turmoil of feelings and the form of literary expression. Scaliger borrows this idea and pushes it to new limits: he asks the wine-god Lyaeus, the "Solver", to liberate the Camenae of their yoke and to repeat with free love the age-old rites of singing. No "foot" should restrict the rhythm. It is enough that the mind is "bound" by the heat of Lyaeus. The gloomy Muse should go away. It is the poet's joy to "limp" and to speak with a "staggering gait". Enough of servitude, it is now time to play, to sing, to drink, and to kiss (note the bow to Secundus). Freedom is priceless.[41]

Wilhelm Kühlmann has argued that lines like these suggest the liberating potential of Anacreontic poetry with regard to stifling political and social conventions.[42] This may be a further implication, but it is not the primary focus of our programmatic poem which is first and foremost a poetics of liberated emotional expression. When Scaliger emphasizes "freedom" he mainly refers to freedom from constraints of language. This point is programmatically made for metre, but the *lusus* extends to bold linguistic creativity in general. We find countless unusual words and neologisms in the *Anacreontica*, from diminutives in the Catullan tradition (e.g. p. 506 *Geminilla papillulae, / Eburneola colostella, / Lacteola marmorilla […]*) to daring compounds (e.g. p. 499 *ululocapiterotator*, said of Bacchus). Significantly, Mario Costanzo in his investigation of Scaliger's linguistic innovations takes his examples chiefly from the *Anacreontica*.[43] Scaliger's playful use of language in this work could also be read against the background of his theory of the epigram as laid out in his *Poetics*: not only can the whole range of language be used in this genre, it is acceptable to break rules and create new words that might even look wrong from a grammatical point of view; such neologisms, soloecisms and barbarisms will stimulate laughter and admiration in the reader.[44] The example then cited by Scaliger, *domicenium* ("dinner at home", Mart. 5.78.1) is very similar to many funny compounds found in the *Anacreontica*. Scaliger's theory of the epigram is all the more pertinent considering that Anacreontic poetry, as discussed above, was often regarded as an epigrammatic form and that Scaliger's own *Anacreontica* further reinforced this impression with its reflective and pointed style.

41 Cf. Scaliger (1574: I, 473): *Age comites Lyaei / Solvite iugum Camoenis, / Ut amore liberali / Repetamus illa prisca / Concinendi mysteria: / Nec pes cohibeat modos / Qui citatur ad choreas. / Satis inclyti Lyaei est / Animus calore vinctus. / Tetrica hinc facesse Musa. / Claudicare mi iucundum / Titubante gressu fari. / Sat servivimus, sed non sat / Lusimus, ludamus ergo, / Cantillemus et bibamus / Basiemus basiemur. / Precio libertas nullo / Venditur (…).*

42 Cf. Kühlmann (1987: 168-171).

43 Cf. Costanzo (1961); Costanzo parallels Scaliger's innovations in Latin with those of the Pléiade in French.

44 Cf. *Poetice* 170a, ed. Vogt-Spira/Deitz (1994-2011: III, 206): *Quin etiam non solum nova licet fingere, verum etiam soloecismos aliquando aut barbarismos admittere. Novitas illa vel inoffensa vel interdum distorta excitat vel risum vel admirationem.*

Finally, Scaliger's appetite for innovation also concerns his general approach and the spirit of his *Anacreontica*. Further below I will read later Anacreontics as a series of creative transpositions of the original concept of CA. If Scaliger was somehow dependent on the latter, his *Anacreontica* would certainly qualify for such a creative transposition and it may even be that his re-interpretation encouraged later poets to write their own (and again different) collections of Anacreontics. True, Scaliger's *Anacreontica* revolves around "Bacchus, Venus, Musa, Cupido" (p. 482), but his approach is far from CA in a number of ways. There is a distinct element of Roman elegy or even Petrarchism in the poet's unsuccessful and torturing wooing of his mistresses, who go by the names of Pasicompsa (19 poems; the name recalls the hetaera in Plautus' *Mercator*), Panthea (12 poems), Pasithea (5 poems) and – Neaera (3 poems). Eventually love is always frustrating (e.g. p. 504 *Ecquid miserius vides […] Pallidulo lucifuga amante?*) and wine never the ultimate solution. Death is constantly on the poet's mind and leads to reflection and despair rather than to enjoying the here and now. In connection with some personal notes on old age and illness this is sometimes reminiscent of existentialist pessimism: on pp. 505-506, for instance, the poet begins with an attack on the "bad commodity, foul old age; the bad thing, transitory life" (*Mala merx, putris senectus / Mala res caduca vita*); he then seems to acknowledge the consolation that is the Muse, but ends with the sardonic questions: "Good Muse, good goddess, why do you yourself cover my worries with your kindness? Why do you paint in green what tomorrow – and even before tomorrow, soon – will be black and bleak?" (*Bona Musa, bona Dea, / Quid teipsa mala nostra / Hac tegis benignitate? / Quid viriditate pingis / Quod cras et ante cras, mox, / Atrum et aridum est futurum?*). It turns out that the powerful emotions that the poet set out to sing without constraints are in fact as painful as joyful. Scaliger loses the easiness of 'Anacreon's' touch, but at the same time includes new and darker registers of human experience. Combined with the relaxed verse the aesthetic effect is sometimes arrestingly close to modern poetry.

4 Estienne's Edition and Early Latin Verse Translations of CA

In my introduction I have singled out just one of Estienne's achievements, the discovery and publication of the Greek CA themselves. Strictly speaking, however, Estienne's merits are twofold, for in addition to the Greek text he also published a Latin translation of 32 pieces which he deemed the most elegant, complete and authentic ones of the collection.[45] Although some translators of the

45 Cf. Estienne's prefatory letter in his 1556 edition of the Greek bucolic poets, in which he accounts for his partial translation of the Anacreontica: *non omnes quidem (…) sed eas tantummodo, quae ut integerrimae, ita etiam elegantissimae videbantur, et e quarum plurimis apud aliquem antiquum auctorem deprompta testimonia reperiebantur*. (Quoted according to O'Brien [1995: 13]) In West's (^{2}1993) numeration the poems translated by

Planudean Anacreontea have used hemiambics before him, it was only Estienne's large-scale translation that consistently applied this metre – interestingly even at the cost of the anaclasts which in CA occur almost as frequent as the hemiambics. Perhaps the model of the Planudean Anacreontea (all in hemiambics) was still authoritative enough to influence Estienne's metrical choice. Later translators such as André (1555) and Lubinus (1597), in principle, attempt to render hemiambic poems in hemiambics and anaclastic ones in anaclasts, even if they mix the two metres here and there for convenience.

Estienne's translation lent to CA a distinct Latin look and feel in that he used numerous words and phrases known from Roman poetry.[46] Often this is unsurprising and simply a side-effect of translating into a time-honoured language in which every word may tell an intertextual story. There are some more remarkable Latin appropriations, however, and Estienne's decision to open the collection with what is now counted as CA 23 is one of the most striking ones:

> *Cantem libens Atridas,*
> *Cantem libensque Cadmum:*
> *Sed barbiti mihi unum*
> *Nervi sonant amorem (…).*
>
> I would like to sing of Atreus' sons, and I would like to sing of Cadmus, but the strings of my lyre resound only love.

In his commentary, Estienne parallels this *recusatio* with Ovid's programmatic first elegy of the *Amores*, where the poet sets out to sing of war but is prevented by Cupid who steals a "foot" from his metre.[47] Here, the Ovidian intertext seems to account for the order and for the whole literary programme of Estienne's Anacreontea. True, before the reference to Ovid, Estienne says that his alleged second manuscript (beside the *Anthologia Palatina*) starts with the Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας poem, but even granted that this can be trusted,[48] the Ovidian intertext is likely to have influenced Estiennes' preference for that order. In addition, the same poem also provides an example of how Latin contexts may come into play even if the translation is pretty verbatim. In his commentary on lines 10-11

Estienne are 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 54, 55. A particular preference can be seen for one of four sources of CA suggested by West, namely source two containing poems 21-34: they are mainly about love, but do not mention Anacreon or Bathyllus. In West's view, they are written with less charm than the first group (1-20), the remaining poems of the third (35-53) and fourth (54-60) source being later and inferior in quality to the first two groups.

46 Cf. O'Brien (1995: 91-124) for a detailed analysis.

47 Cf. Estienne (1554: 65): *Cui non dissimile est a quo primum Amorum librum exorsus est Ovidius. Ut enim hic in lyram suam, ita ille in Cupidinem culpam reiicit ubi ait "Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam / Aedere" etc.* One could argue that the hemiambics are missing part of an (iambic) foot as well, but Estienne does not say this.

48 Cf. above n. 5.

(χαίροιτε λοιπὸν ἡμῖν, / ἥρωες, "as for me, henceforth farewell you heroes"), Estienne compares a similar context of *recusatio* in Ovid's *Amores* 2.1.35-36 (*[…] heroum clara valete / nomina*, "farewell, famous names of heroes"). Compare this with his rendering of the Greek lines: *Heroes ergo longum / Mihi valete*.[49] We cannot take for granted that Estienne's translation is actually influenced by Ovid, but since he explicitly cites the Ovidian passage, it was clearly present in his mind and the link was established for later readers. Through Estienne's translation, then, CA became part of the larger tradition of Latin poetry. As such, it was a seminal text for subsequent Latin translations and adaptations.

The first full translation of CA was again in Latin. It was published by the humanist Elie André (1509-1587) from Bordeaux, who was friendly with the Parisian circle around the Pléiade. André's translation appeared less than a year after Estienne's edition and comprised the Latin translation only, without the Greek text. In a way, this can be taken as a signal that the Latin tradition was coming into its own. Accordingly, André makes some bolder choices in his translation,[50] which already shows in his first lines (1555: Aii^{r}):

Cantare nunc Atridas,
Nunc expetesso Cadmum:
Testudo vero nervis
Solum refert Amorem (…).

In classical Latin, the verb *expetessere* is used only by Plautus (and it is extremely rare in postclassical Latin). This brings a somewhat odd ring of comedy to the poem. Here, and in a number of other places, the translator wishes to strike his readers with an unusual turn of phrase or by some sort of amplification. He does not just imitate 'Anacreon', but also competes with him (as arguably with Estienne's translation). André's willingness to adapt the original text shows also in a certain moralistic tendency not otherwise seen in Latin translations. On the one hand, he openly and avowedly changes the text when it comes to unequivocal references to homosexuality:[51] in CA 12 (10).8-10 (τί μευ καλῶν ὀνείρων […] ἀφήρπασας Βάθυλλον; "Why from my sweet dreams […] have you snatched away Bathyllus?"), for instance, he replaces Bathyllus with a *puella* (*Cur mane somnianti / Ista loquacitate / Mihi eripis puellam?*), similarly to what Crinito did in his epigram cited above; in CA 29 (17).1-2 (Γράφε μοι Βάθυλλον οὕτω / τὸν ἑταῖρον ὡς διδάσκω, "Paint for me thus Bathyllus, my lover, just as I instruct you") he simply suppresses the word ἑταῖρον, "lover" (*Mihi pinge sic Bathyllum /*

49 Cf. O'Brien (1995: 95-98).

50 Cf. O'Brien (1995: 125-154) for a detailed analysis.

51 Cf. André's preface to Pierre Mondoré, the librarian of the royal library (1v): *Duobus aut tribus omnino in locis obscoenitatis tegendae gratia pusillum quiddam immutavi, aut praeterii*.

Veluti docebo, pictor; Estienne's translation is: *Meos Bathyllum amores, / Ut te docebo pinge*). Here, André proceeds in a way similar to the original Neo-Latin Anacreontics, in which homosexual love simply does not occur.

On the other hand, André makes generous use of a metatextual element which is less conspicuous than his changes, but is even more extensive and significant. He includes a considerable number of passages in quotation marks and thus identifies them as sort of *sententiae*. In CA 4 (32), for instance, lines 1-6 describe how the poet wishes to lie down on myrtles, drink, and have Eros as his wine steward. This description of a specific setting is followed by some more general lines about the brevity of life, which André includes in quotation marks (lines 7-10): *"Cita nanque currit aetas, / Rota ceu voluta currus. / Sed et ossibus solutis / Iaceam cinis necesse est"* ("For hurried life runs along just like a rolling wheel, but I shall soon lie, a bit of dust from crumbling bones").[52] The focus of this quotation technique is on lines concerned with the transitory nature of life, the uncertainness of tomorrow, and the futility of riches. By marking out such lines as *sententiae*, André distinguishes Anacreon the philosopher from Anacreon the drinker and lover and contributes to a larger discourse about the morality of the poet and his poems. While opinions in antiquity were often critical of Anacreon's morals,[53] 'Anacreon's' large flock of modern imitators was united to defend their hero's virtue. From Estienne's preface onwards they usually referred to Plato's *Phaedrus* 235c, where Socrates calls Anacreon "wise" (σοφός) in matters concerned with Eros. In the 18th century, Anacreon, the philosopher, could even turn into a key-image of enligthened discourses.[54] André's identification of *sententiae* in 'Anacreon' prepared for this development and could have had a direct influence on it since his translation was widely read until well into the 18th century.

The Latin translations of Estienne and André soon became classics in themselves and were the most successful ones in the early modern period.[55] Still, a third Latin translation, published in 1597 by the Rostock based humanist and professor Eilhard Lubinus (Eilhard Lübben; 1565-1621), also proved influential because of its wedding of poetic form and literal translation. Lubinus dedicates his translation to Bogislaw XIV (1580-1637) and George II (1582-1617), two sons of Bogislaw XIII, Duke of Pomerania (1544-1606). They were then 17 and 15 years old respectively, and Greek was part of their educational curriculum. In his dedicatory letter, Lubinus refers to this fact and argues that his translation will be particularly useful for the young princes – as for all students of CA – because it renders the original text word for word and line by line. In fact, Lubinus draws

52 Cf. CA 4 (32).7-10: τροχὸς ἅρματος γὰρ οἷα / βίοτος τρέχει κυλισθείς, / ὀλίγη δὲ κεισόμεσθα / κόνις ὀστέων λυθέντων.

53 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 15-22).

54 Cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 83-89); Beetz/Kertscher (2007).

55 Large parts of them were reprinted for their own sake in Jan Gruter's collection of contemporary Latin poets from France; cf. for André Gruter (1609: I, 75-89); for Estienne ibid. (III, 890-909). For examples of later receptions until the 18th century cf. further below in the present section.

attention to this characteristic of his translation as early as the title page (*ut versus versui, & verbum verbo paene respondeat*). In this way, readers would be able to compare the Greek and the Latin text (which are printed side by side) and get a better idea of the work. Lubinus is aware that his effort at a literal translation falls behind the charm of the original Greek, but he argues that not even the freer translations of Estienne and André could compete with that.[56] Clearly, Lubinus privileges the source language over the target language and moves away from the idea that the translation could speak for itself. He could be seen as a forerunner of later, more scholarly and philological, approaches to CA. It is important to keep in mind, however, that Lubinus' translation is still in verse and provides a quite attractive, simple and unpretentious, rendering of the Greek text (1597: two pages after A3r):

Volo sonare Atridas,
Volo sonare Cadmum,
Sed barbitus mihi unum
Nervis refert amorem (…).

Precisely because of this plain elegance Lubinus' translation was widely read and arguably even influenced the stylistic debate revolving around Anacreontic "simplicity" in later periods (on which I shall say more below).

As far as I can see, Lubinus' is the last Latin verse translation of CA which made a real difference in literary history.[57] After that, we find a number of prose translations in editions made for scholarly purposes only. Friedrich Hermann Flayder (1596-1640) seems to be the first in this series. In the preface of his 1622 edition, he wonders that 'Anacreon' has not received more academic attention after Estienne's editio princeps. To remedy this shortcoming, he provides not only a Greek text but also critical analects from a number of scholars such as Scaliger, Casaubon, and Heinsius. The literal Latin prose translation (*versio pedestris ad verbum*) facing the Greek text is part of this critical project. The fact that Flayder also reprints the translations of Estienne and André confirms their lasting authority,[58] but is here motivated by an attempt to collect all relevant materials

56 Cf. Lubinus (1597: A2r-v): *At vero illorum [sc. Anacreontis poematorum] ingeniosam elegantiam et dulcedinem mirificam quod minus feliciter secutus et assecutus sim, veniam meo iure promereor, cum Henrico Stephano, Eliae Andraeae aliisque longissimo intervallo me doctoribus illud fuerit negatum.*

57 I do not know of any Latin verse translations of CA for the next 100 years (cf. n. 58 below for what seems to be the next example). Later Latin verse translations (e.g. Maittaire [1725]; Trapp [1742]) remained inconsequential.

58 Cf. also Triller (1698), who reprints the translations of Estienne, André, and Lubinus. In addition, Triller's title seems to refer to a Latin translation of his own in *genere Sapphico* (Sapphic stanzas?). I have not yet been able to see this book. Only one copy seems to have survived. It can be found in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, but its poor condition does not allow any form of reproduction. Zeman (1972: 54) declared Triller's volume lost, and there is practically no information on it in secondary literature.

rather than by drawing attention to Latin verse translations as poetry. Later major editions like Baxter (1695) and Barnes (1705) do not reprint any earlier Latin translations and just provide a prose translation facing the Greek text.

Now, what can be said about the function and impact of these Latin translations? On a first level, they served to introduce CA to a large international audience not always capable of or willing to read the Greek text. Very few were as entrenched in Greek studies as Estienne[59] and some of his friends of the Pléiade. There are many examples of vernacular Anacreontic poets, especially in the 17th century, who based their imitations and adaptations on Latin translations (sometimes alongside French ones).[60] Many more have used Latin translations in addition to the Greek text and/or other vernacular translations, as has been argued for the *Anacreontiques* of Cowley.[61] This function of Latin translations as an easily accessible intermediary between the Greek text and the vernaculars (or simply as classic versions among others) is significant but also fairly obvious, and it does not need to be discussed here in any detail.

A less manifest but more intriguing function of Latin verse translations is their potential stylistic impact on vernacular translations and adaptations. A detailed analysis of this impact on a comprehensive textual basis would be too big a topic for this paper. I would like, rather, to focus on a particularly striking example. It emerged at a moment when the elementary form of Latin Anacreontic poetry, its metre and its rhymeless verse, inspired in some critics ideas about a new literary style. This moment occurred in early 18th cent. Germany and in the context of larger ambitions to free German literature of what was seen as mannered and stifling baroque poetics. Writers aimed at a new simplicity, and often the imitation of the ancient classics was seen as a way to realize this goal (there is shared ground here with the literary programme of the Pléiade in 16th cent. France). As far as 'Anacreon' is concerned, the first to discuss him in this context was the classicist Johann Friedrich Christ (1701-1756), at the time an academic teacher in Halle (Saale).[62] The professed intention of his essay *Veneres Anacreonticae carmine Latino elegiaco expressae* (*The Charms of Anacreon expressed in Latin elegiacs*) of 1727 was to promote the simple grace of

59 Estienne's prefatory letter of 1556 (cf. above, n. 45) demonstrates that he himself thought of the Greekless among his audience: *Ut autem etiam Graecae linguae ignaris commodarem, easdem [sc. Anacreontis odas] Latinas factas cum Graecis copulavi*.

60 Cf. e.g. for England Baumann (1974: 31 and 41 [general picture], 43 [Barnabe Barnes], 50 [Barton Holyday], 55-56 [Robert Herrick]); for Italy Michelangeli (1922: 182-185 [Michelangelo Torcigliani; Francesco Antonio Cappone; Bartolommeo Corsini], 196 [Paolo Rolli], 239 [Andrea Maffei]); for Germany Zeman (1972: 51 [August Augspurger]). In Germany we have the special situation that popular Latin Anacreontics like Friedrich Taubmann's (see below) started a tradition of their own and often eclipsed Latin translations of CA.

61 Cf. Revard (1991).

62 Cf. Zeman (1972: 84 and 89-92); for his programmatic imitation of the classics cf. Christ (1727: 159): *Discimus inde profecto veram eloquentiam, veram sermonis concinnitatem, cum antiquos imitamur, ut ex Anacreonte veros sales, veram epigrammatis venerem*.

'Anacreon' as a stylistic model, especially in contrast with the rhetorically overloaded form of bucolic poetry which held much of the 17th century under its spell.[63] Quite paradoxically, however, Christ first praises the rather laboured French verse translation by Antoine de la Fosse (*Traduction nouvelle des odes d'Anacréon*, Paris 1704), popular with contemporaries, and tries his own hand at an amplifying Latin paraphrase of some pieces of CA in elegiac couplets (announced in the title of the essay).[64] Clearly, these examples defeat Christ's own purpose. The really interesting part for my point is his postscriptum. Only after he had finished his essay, he claims, did he come across the Latin translations of Estienne and André. Christ is fascinated by their way of translating in the original form and gives this procedure his preference over both de la Fosse and his own attempts.[65] The only fault he finds with Estienne and André is that their translations are too close to the Greek text as to render its "loveliness" (*venustas*). Christ therefore goes on to provide a specimen of an adequate Latin paraphrase in the original form:

Canam libens Atridas,
Canam repente Cadmum.
Sed accinunt amorem
Toni lyrae rebelles (…).

Christ manages to combine a comparatively free and playful translation with the original metre. But the truly remarkable thing about this translation is that it is written as a model for German writing contemporary poets (*nostrates poetae*).[66] Both the liberty in recreating Anacreon's charm and the respect for his form will

63 Cf. Christ (1727: 140): *Bene factum erit, si sentiant inde nostrates poetae Anacreontici carminis veram pulchritudinem, probam antiquorum ingenuam et expolitam Venerem, ne sectentur ultra prae urbanitate hirtam illam suam et silvestrem generis hircini, quae undique aculeata tum demum placet illis hominibus, si pupugerit. Sic enim volunt argutam et acuminis plenam poesin, cassa veri crepundia. Illam contra, cui nobilis ea simplicitas et veritas constat, frigidam putant atque nullius pretii (…).* For the enthusiasm for bucolic poetry in 17th cent. Germany cf. e.g. the activities of the 'Pegnesischer Blumenorden', whose members (including prominent poets such as Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Johann Klaj, and Sigmund von Birken) assumed the names of shepherds and were also called 'Pegnitzschäfer' (cf. e.g. Jürgensen [1994]).

64 Cf. the first lines of the translation of de Fosse: "De Cadmus et de fils d'Atrée / En vain je veux chanter les noms. / Ma lyre aux Amours consacrée / Ne me rend que d'amoureux sons (…)"; and Christ's imitation of the same lines in elegiac couplets: *Cantarem Cadmum, cantarem Agamemnona saevum, / Ni chelys a querulo suesset amante teri. / Asperiora ciens, nervos licet arte retentem, / Alcidasque canam fortia facta trucis: / Lene tamen chelys obstrepit, et mihi reddit amorem (…).*

65 Cf. Christ (1727: 151-152): *Utraque (sc. versio) nostros quidem lusus, ut et Fossaei, in eo haud dubie vincit, quod ad severas perfectae interpretationis leges maiore adcuratione exacta est. Anacreontis dicta exhibens non modo eodem metro, atque tot quot ille versibus, sed pene tot verbis atque syllabis.*

66 Cf. n. 63 above.

be seen later in the – equally Halle based – German Anacreontic poets of the 18th century.[67] Given the local proximity and the shared interest in Anacreon it is very likely that they knew Christ's essay. If they did not, they surely would have known the leading literary theorist of the time, Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766).

When Gottsched published his *Versuch einer Übersetzung Anacreons in reimlose Verse* (*Attempt at a translation of Anacreon in rhymeless verse*, 1733) he did not acknowledge his debt to Christ. This debt is clear, however, from the way in which Gottsched cites material quoted in Christ's essay.[68] Gottsched also shares the same basic tenet that the natural simplicity ("natürliche Einfalt", p. 159) of 'Anacreon's' verse provides an excellent case to help shape a new style in German poetry by imitating the classics. The focus of attention, however, has shifted away from 'Anacreon's' "loveliness" and "charm" towards formal aspects like metre and rhyme. The question of rhyme, a hotly debated issue in German literary theory of the time, is a new aspect that Gottsched brings to the discussion.[69] While Gottsched had made some general advances against rhyme in German poetry before, he now felt that CA was particularly suited to pointing out the advantages of rhymeless verse. He argues that both the use of completely different metres and of rhyme have distorted the verse of Anacreon's followers in various languages; close imitation is the condition for an adequate understanding of Anacreon's spirit.[70] And indeed, Gottsched's sample translations of the first three pieces of CA (23, 24, 33) were the closest German equivalent to the Anacreontic form up to that point (p. 160):

> Ich will zwar die Atriden
> Ich will den Cadmus preisen:
> Doch meiner Leyer Seyten
> Ertönen nur von Liebe (…).

Critics then and now have been pleased by the aesthetic effect of Gottsched's German Anacreontea. Their success inspired in their author a brief spell of further rhymeless poetry[71] and their influence on the later German Anacreontic poetry,

67 Cf. the contribution of R. Höschele in this volume.

68 Cf. Zeman (1972: 95); generally on Gottsched's *Versuch* ibid. (92-96).

69 Cf. e.g. Schuppenhauer (1970); on Gottsched's opinions about rhyme ibid. (140-152).

70 Cf. Gottsched (1733: 163): "Es trägt nemlich dieser äusserliche Wohlklang sehr viel zu der Artigkeit eines solchen Stückes bey, und drücket die Gemüthsart des Urhebers viel genauer aus, als alle übrige Gattungen der Verse." Gottsched renders hemiambics in an identical German metrical pattern; as the closest and, at the same time, most natural equivalent of anaclasts he prefers German trochaic dimeters (which can, in fact, be read as if they were anaclasts). The same metres are then predominantly used in subsequent German Anacreontic poetry (cf. Koch [1893: 498]).

71 Cf. Schuppenhauer (1970: 149-150); among other things, Gottsched translated also CA 4-6 (32, 44, 43) in the same style. He (re-)published all his translations of CA in Gottsched (1736: 639-644).

which bloomed around the middle of the century, is acknowledged in the seminal full translation *Die Oden Anakreons in reimlosen Versen (The Odes of Anacreon in Rhymeless Verse,* 1746) by Johann Nikolaus Götz and Johann Peter Uz.[72] It is little known, however, that Gottsched himself probably modelled his German Anacreontea on Lubinus' Latin translation. As with Christ on a theoretical level, Gottsched does not acknowledge the practical model of Lubinus, but Zeman's argument here is convincing.[73] Not only does Gottsched's translation match Lubinus' quite closely, Gottsched himself draws attention to Lubinus in the following number of his *Beyträge* (6 [1733]: 363-364). There, he claims that an anonymous friend – in paratextual contexts such friends are often enough invented – has pointed him later to Lubinus' translation, of which he now prints the first three pieces. This version of the story is difficult to believe, not least because there is a pattern in Gottsched's *Versuch* of covering up his sources to maximize his originality. The choice of Lubinus seems to have been suggested by the fact that Christ was referring only to Estienne and André, which left the third widely read Latin translation, Lubinus', available for stealthy exploitation. It was a very fitting choice, however, because Lubinus' literal yet elegant translation anticipated in Latin Gottsched's ideas about the close imitation of 'Anacreon' in German.

The upshot relevant to my discussion is implied in Zeman's argument, but it is worth making it explicit here: Latin translations of CA could serve as a model of appropriation, as the first and exemplary imitation that helped to shape the form and spirit of further imitations. The attempts of Christ and Gottsched to promote a new style in German poetry on the model of Latin translations of CA is an outstanding example because their advances met with huge success. While it is unclear to what extent Latin models were immediately relevant to the later German Anacreontic poets, the latter's production may have looked different without those models because they had already conditioned the then modern and progressive technique of imitating CA.

72 Cf. Götz and Uz' preface (unpaginated): "Damit nun diesen Liedern oder vielmehr diesen anmuthigen Gemählden im Nachbilde ihr Glantz, ihr zärtliches und lachendes Wesen, ihr sanftes und beynahe göttliches Feuer nicht benommen werden möchte, sondern ihre allgemeine Macht auf das menschliche Hertz so viel möglich ungeschwächt bliebe, hat man sich das Joch des Reimes vom Hals geschüttelt, wie der Herr Professor Gottsched zuerst gethan hat, in dessen Verdeutschung einiger Oden Anakreons die Jonischen Gratien ihren Dichter nicht verlassen haben." Götz and Uz' translation itself is indebted to Gottsched's, cf. e.g. their first four lines with Gottsched's translation quoted above: "Ich möchte die Atriden, / Ich möcht auch Cadmum preisen. / Doch meiner Leyer Saiten / Erthönen bloß von Liebe." Cf. furthermore Koch (1893: 496-502).

73 Cf. Zeman (1972: 94-95).

5 Neo-Latin Anacreontics: A Series of Transpositions and Inversions

My last section is dedicated to original Latin Anacreontics written after the publication of Estienne's edition. As I said above, the uncertain date of Scaliger's *Anacreontica* leaves open whether they, too, could be discussed under this heading. In any case they are the first body of original Latin Anacreontics and they share with later Anacreontics a basic technique of filling the traditional form with new content. However, the further tradition is not necessarily dependend on Scaliger, at least not always or to a large extent. The first substantial collection of Anacreontics after Scaliger, Johannes Aurpach's *Anacreonticorum Odae* of 1570, was published four years before the actual publication of Scaliger's *Anacreontica*. No Latin Anacreontic poet after Estienne played with metre as Scaliger did, and the whole approach of later Anacreontics is widely different from Scaliger's lament of a lonely lyric voice.

By contrast, a good part of the Anacreontics after Scaliger is characterized by its *Sitz im Leben* and the fact that individual poems are addressed to persons known to the writer. This is also very much in contrast with the ancient CA, whose fictional world beyond any particular time and space has been well described by Patricia Rosenmeyer.[74] One could say that the more or less monologic exploration of personal happiness in CA springs to new dialogic life in many Neo-Latin Anacreontics.[75] These innovations can be traced back to the Catullan and epigrammatic traditions which were thriving in the decades before Estienne's edition and had a long-lasting influence on style and content of Anacreontics even afterwards. The poems of humanists like More, Marullo, or Crinito are full of small and cheerful compositions, often in short lines like the acatalectic iambic dimeter, addressed to their relatives, friends and patrons. Against this background, it is not surprising that the kindred form of CA was adapted for similar uses in a network of friendship diplomacy. The first known instances of this transformation are two Anacreontics published just one year after Estienne's edition in a collection of poems of Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584).[76] In the first one, addressed to the Venetian printer and humanist Paulus Manutius, Sambucus gives fresh heart to his friend who was ill at the time and unable to work on a planned publication of a certain work dealing with Roman history, probably the *Antiqui-*

74 Cf. e.g. Rosenmeyer (1992: 109-111 and 233); for potential performative contexts in antiquity cf. ibid. (125 with n. 40).

75 Intriguingly, this characteristic is shared by a number of Byzantine Anacreontics (cf. Nissen [1940]; a modern commented edition of some pieces can be found in Ciccolella [2000], cf. there esp. the examples of Leo Magister, John of Gaza, and George the Grammarian). There is no evidence, however, that Byzantine Anacreontics were known to the Neo-Latin poets who shaped the further Anacreontic tradition. This may be somewhat different with Christian Neo-Latin Anacreontics, which emerge in the 17th century (cf. further below).

76 Cf. Sambucus (1555: 22v-23r and 23v-24r).

tatum Romanarum liber de legibus (Venice 1557).[77] In the second Anacreontic poem, Sambucus invites another friend, the German mathematician and cartographer Philipp Apian, to Padua where Sambucus was attending university at the time.

The first post-Estienne collection of Anacreontics as a work in its own right is Johannes Aurpach's (1531-1582) *Anacreonticorum Odae* of 1570.[78] Perhaps it is significant that Aurpach was a fellow student of Sambucus in Padua. In any case he was steeped in the humanist tradition of epigrammatic and Catullan poetry, as two collections of his poems show.[79] But his 33 Anacreontic poems cannot be accounted for just by a combination of that humanist tradition and CA. They differ from anything written before in the Anacreontic form because of their variety in subject and their character of a poetic diary: the individual poems are like snapshots of Aurpach's life and their collection results in a sort of Anacreontic autobiography, at least for the few years in which these pieces were written. In addition, some of the pieces, particularly those on family members are unusually intimate: Aurpach advises one of his sons about his future education (2; with the ironic conclusion that the son should go for the quick money), thanks his wife for all the help and support she has given to him (3: *[…] Es anchora, atque firma, / Qua fulcior, columna, / Quaque anchora, et columna / Si debeam carere, / Hac decidam repente / Sub sarcina, necesse est*), laments the death of his toddler daughter (7: *[…] Iam noverat parentes / Suos, suas sorores, / Iam mille gaudiorum / Matri suae ferebat, / Ac per suos tenella / Nutus mihi innuebat, / Cum fata acerba nobis / Haec omnia abstulerunt*), and asks the Muses to take care of a newly-born son (9). Other addressees are a number of friends (who are, for instance, collectively invited to the poet's birthday party in 12, and reminded of their well-wishing in 23), patrons (e.g. the dedicatee of the whole collection and at the same time Aurpach's employer, the Prince-Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, in 1 and 7), and the Muses (25 and 33, the latter poem being a goodbye to them because the poet returns to more serious *negotia*: *Dulces valete Musae, / Valete Anacreontis / Modi venustiores […]*). There is also a poem addressed to himself (27, giving a medical indication for his preference for wine over water) and a number of pieces on types (e.g. 19, on the miserly and those lacking appreciation for the arts). The only poem which would *not* surprise us in CA is a witty amatory ode to one Megilla (15: *Formose candidarum / Flos virginum Megilla, / […] Quid est papaveratis / Ut vestibus tegare, / Cum proprio, Megilla, / Sat fulgeas nitore*, "Beautiful Megilla, flower of the white maidens […] Why do you cover yourself with poppy-white clothes, Megilla, when you shine

77 Cf. Sambucus (1555: 22v): *Aldum febris sodalem / Urit meum, perennes / Ergo dolet labores / Non posse perpolire (…).* Paulus is called "Aldus" because of his father, Aldus Manutius, and because of the Aldine Press which the family was running.

78 On Aurpach cf. e.g. Ellinger (1929-1933: II, 210-224); Zeman (1972: 23-25); commented selection of texts in Kühlmann/Seidel/Wiegand (1997: 653-677 and 1336-1350).

79 Cf. Aurpach (1554) and (1557).

enough with your own splendor"). Still, the debt to 'Anacreon' is always made clear, by the metrical form, by explicit references to Anacreon (cf. in addition to the last, valedictory, poem 33 e.g. the first one which refers to the "lovely rhythms of the Teian", *Teii venustos […] modos*), and even by variation of well-known motifs, like the painter specialized in erotic subjects (cf. CA 28 [16], 29 [17], 49 [3]): in 13, the poet asks his servant to call for a painter so he could be portrayed together with his beloved (whoever that may be: *Cupio meos amores, / Et me simul capaci / Depingier tabella […]*).

Aurpach's autobiographical approach to Anacreontic poetry is innovative and his poems' *Sitz im Leben* was arguably an inspiration for the subsequent tradition of occasional Anacreontics. But how was he able to reinvent the form in the way he did? Some hints can be gathered from his dedicatory letter to Prince-Bishop Urban. Aurpach refers to the "sweetness" and "elegance" of Anacreon. Both qualities fascinate him to the point that Anacreon (or rather an edition of Anacreon) has been his constant companion when on travels and away from his library, namely the periods when his poems were written.[80] Their publication is also meant to encourage further poets to imitate this kind of writing, not least because it will exercise their linguistic range: for if one tries to express one's mind vigorously in those short lines, it will always be challenging and instructive to find the appropriate words.[81] The idea that the Anacreontic form prompts linguistic creativity – a point that can safely be extended to the poetics of all Neo-Latin Anacreontics – is not totally different from Scaliger's *lusus*, even if the respective realizations are. Perhaps more importantly, both poets try to give dynamic expression to their mind and thus anticipate a fairly modern looking poetics. Aurpach desires that Anacreontic poetry directly reflect the mind of the writer (*mentis suae intentionem*) with a certain "vigour" (*energia*).[82] Add to this the "sweetness" and "elegance" such personal expression can find in the Anacreontic form and this goes at least some way to explaining Aurpach's individual approach.

The influence of Aurpach on later Anacreontic poets is difficult to judge. His work must have enjoyed a certain success, as can be seen from the fact that Johann Engerd (1546-1587), a contemporary professor of poetry at the University

80 Aurpach (1570: A2r): *(…) ad imitationem Anacreontis Teii, antiquissimi poetae Graeci, odas hasce sum meditatus, cum quod eius autoris lectione et ob carminis genus suavissimus et dictionis praecipue puritatem ac elegantiam tantopere oblectarer, ut perpetuum eum comitem mecum habuerim, tum etiam ut eius temporis, quo abs libris me meis abesse oportuit, vel mediocrem saltem fructum caperem (…).*

81 Cf. Aurpach (1570: A3r): *Nec erit haec exercitatio nullius omnino frugis, cum ad hoc, ut mentis suae intentionem quis tam minutis Versiculis eleganter, et cum energia quadam exprimat, et Graecae et Latinae linguae penetralia subeat, ac exquisita ad eam concinnitatem vocabula, quae alias forte observasset nunquam, conquirat, ac sibi familiaria reddat, necesse est.*

82 For ἐνέργεια / *energia* as stylistic quality ("vigour") cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1411b28, followed by Demetr. *Eloc.* 81; furthermore Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.89; Porphyrio (p. 154, 22) on Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.11; id. (p. 199, 25) on *Epod.* 7.15.

of Ingolstadt, translated it into German.[83] But again, as with Scaliger, it cannot be said that Aurpach shaped a tradition. No-one repeated Aurpach's particular autobiographic approach, and we must keep in mind that the Anacreontic form always remained open to individual re-invention, sometimes closer to and sometimes farther removed from CA. Only two years after Aurpach, for instance, Michael Haslob, then professor of poetry at the University of Frankfurt (Oder), included a number of very different Anacreontics in a collection of poems called *Hortus vernus*.[84] They are comparatively elevated, lyrical, impressions of nature in spring, without a particular situational context.[85] It could be argued, however, that Aurpach made the very idea of collections of Latin Anacreontics more familiar, at least in Germany, the only country where a substantial amount of such collections was produced after Scaliger.[86]

Still, the most influential poet (even if not the most interesting from a literary perspective) in the further development of Latin Anacreontics was not Aurpach but the professor of poetry in Wittenberg, Friedrich Taubmann (1565-1613).[87] His collection *Anacreon Latinus* was published twice in larger collections of his poetry: first in the *Melodaesia sive epulum musaeum* (1597: 123-142; with reprints in 1604 and 1615); then, with a number of new pieces, in the *Schediasmata poetica innovata* (1619: 482-522). To account for the impact of this collection it is important to know that Taubmann was a brilliant teacher and a social sensation on account of his notorious humour. Anecdotes from and about him circulated during the whole 17th century; they were published in 1703 as *Taubmanniana* and saw numerous new editions in the following decades; a reworked edition came out as late as 1831.[88] Taubmann was close to and supported by the elector of Saxony, at whose court he was a frequent guest and entertainer. He was known at court by the semi-official title of "merry counselor" ("kurzweiliger Rat"), and modern studies often compare his 'office' to that of a

83 This was the only contemporary German translation of any Neo-Latin collection of poetry. It was planned as a practical illustration to Engerd's (lost) treatise on German metrics. Consequently, Engerd translates Aurpach's poems into a great variety of metres (cf. Englert [1902]). According to Jantz (1966: 408-409) Engerd's translations are also the first examples of German lyric poetry as purely literary form emancipated from music.

84 Cf. Zeman (1972: 27-29); generally on Haslob Ellinger (1929-1933: II, 320-336); on the *Hortus vernus* ibid. (328-330).

85 Cf. e.g. Haslob (1572: A3r-v): *Cadunt nives, et imber / Recedit, at sub orbem / Redit serenus aer (…)*, with a certain echo of CA 37 (46).

86 Another factor in this geographical focus may be that the use of Latin as a literary language held up longer in the German speaking countries than in most other Western European areas (cf. the figures in Waquet [1998: 102-106]). For a rare example of a collection of Latin Anacreontics from England cf. Leech (1620).

87 On Taubmann and his 'school' cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 29-31); generally Ebeling (1883).

88 Cf. *Taubmanniana* (1703); Oertel (1831).

court jester or even court fool.[89] Clearly, Taubmann's persona was looming large in Saxony and beyond, and this no doubt helped to spread his poetry. Most of the more significant Latin and German Anacreontic poets of the following decades were in some form part of a network of his students or students of his students.[90] The intrinsic literary quality of Taubmann's Anacreontics can hardly live up to this fame, but there are some interesting pieces among them and perhaps they should not be judged by literary standards alone. All of them are occasional poems and addressed to friends and patrons. The focus is on Anacreontic epithalamia, a genre that Taubmann may have introduced to Neo-Latin Anacreontics and which in any case became a real fad after him.[91] Suffice it to touch on two remarkable examples:[92]

The first one is the epithalamium to one Georg Müller, perhaps Taubmann's former printer in Leipzig of the same name, with whom he published a collection of poems entitled *Columbae poeticae* (1594; *columbae* being a play on Taubmann's name, "dove-man"). The poem is addressed to a *puella*, told to come to the bedroom, and is divided in parts by the refrain *Sic flagitat Cupido, / Sic imperat Cythere / Sic exigunt poetae* ("This demands Cupid, this commands Cythera, this exact the poets"). The self-conscious reference to the "poets" could have made readers aware that this poem is a joke on the conventionality of (Anacreontic) love poetry. The same impression could be given by the accumulation of bizarre attributes characterizing the beauty of the *puella* (although similar things can be read in much of 17th cent. 'baroque' poetry): *O succiplena virgo, / O virgo succiplena. / Cui sacchar ex ocellis, / Et nectar e labellis, / Et ros it e papillis* ("O sappy virgin, o virgin sappy; sugar flows from your little eyes, and nectar from your little lips, and dew from your nipples"). The repetition of the same line with a simple inversion of noun and attribute, as in the first two lines here, is a favourite device of Taubmann, but it is often unclear whether this is just

89 Ebeling's (1883) still unsurpassed monograph on Taubmann appeared as part of a multivolume project *Zur Geschichte der Hofnarren*. Midelfort (1999: 270-275) discusses Taubmann as an "artifical fool" in a chapter on "Court fools and their folly".

90 Cf. for this 'Taubmann connection' Zeman (1972: 39, 42, 52-53, 321 n. 48). Two of the most prominent Anacreontic poets among Taubmann's students were Caspar Barth (on whom I say more below) and August Buchner (who wrote in German). It is also indicative of Taubmann's influence that his title *Anacreon Latinus* is picked up by a number of following Anacreontic poets, e.g. Meibom (1600); Alard (1613); Hudemann (1625: 121-142); Zuber (1627: 591).

91 Cf. Zeman (1972: 31, 321-322 n. 58, 371). Taubmann may have known one of Claudian's epithalamia (*Carm*. 12 = *Fesc*. 2) whose stanzas are composed by three anacreontics and a tetrameter choriambic. Claudian, however, does not refer to Anacreon or show any awareness of being part of a distinctly Anacreontic tradition. Note also that some 18th and 19th cent. editions of CA contain an Anacreontic epithalamium (θεάων ἄνασσα, Κύπρι […]) in their appendix. Of course this is not a genuine part of CA. The epithalamium comes from Theodorus Prodromus' dialogue Ἀμάροντος ἢ Γέροντος ἔρωτες, first edited in 1625.

92 Cf. Taubmann (1597: 125-142). These poems are reprinted by Ebeling (1883: 256-291) as part of a larger selection of Taubmann's playful Latin poems (ibid. pp. 221-331).

boring or a parody of boring verse. Bad taste seems at its height when it comes to the countless Christian children (literally "six-hundred sons and six-hundred daughters") that the bride is supposed to give birth to: *Exclude copiosae / Mihi germinilla prolis, / Sexcenta filiorum, / Sexcenta filiarum: / Ut Christiana plebes, / Subinde masculino, / Subinde feminino / Multiplicetur auctu*. For a modern reader this epithalamium, like other pieces of Taubmann, constantly verges on the ridiculous, and the poet's personality nourishes doubts about its serious intentions. Perhaps Kühlmann is right in pointing to the larger tradition of impudent jokes made at social events like weddings.[93] Such jokes in the tradition of the Roman *versus fescennini* were even recommended by Scaliger for the genre of the epithalamium (*Poetice* 150b, ed. Vogt-Spira/Deitz [1994-2011: III, 66]: *Intermiscentur vero etiam ioci petulantiores, quae ab antiquis Fescennina carmina dicebantur*). If the embarrassment of the couple was the real goal of Taubmann's Anacreontic eptithalamia – for instance at a performance of them at the event – they were surely a success.

The Anacreontic poem for which Taubmann was most remembered is his epithalamium to Paul Schede Melissus (1539-1602), then almost universally regarded as the *princeps* of German poets.[94] Although Melissus did not himself compose Anacreontic poetry to any noticeable extent, he knew it very well,[95] shared some of its poetics, and helped spread it in Germany. He will have been pleased when Taubmann presented to him an Anacreontic epithalamium for his late wedding with the 18 years old Emilie Jordan in 1593. The characteristic of this poem which springs to the eye is its length. In the edition of 1597, it fills 14 pages. This is partly due to a narrative frame containing a parody of the motif of *Dichterweihe*: the poet finds himself in a locus amoenus, when Venus approaches him and asks him to sing of Melissus' wedding in Anacreon's short lines (p. 130: *Minusculosque versus / Blanda minutularum / Connexione vocum, / Adaemulare prisci / Anacreontis, ausu / Laboriosiori*). The poet refuses to do so in a *recusatio*, and instead of convincing him, Venus herself takes initiative and dictates the epithalamium. The second reason why this piece grows so long is that it plays excessively with repetitive linguistic devices such as asyndetic enumerations, anaphora, tautological phrases, and *adnominatio*:[96] while series of such devices had been seen in short passages before Taubmann, he stretches them over a quarter to a full page (cf. e.g. part of a longer series about the beauty of the bride,

93 Cf. Kühlmann (1987: 172 n. 20).

94 Younger poets like Matthaeus Zuber (1570-1623) were keen on being crowned by Melissus and calling themselves *poeta laureatus Melisseus* (cf. e.g. Zuber [1613], which also contains an Anacreontic poem).

95 Melissus was also a personal friend of Ronsard and other members of the Pléiade, cf. e.g. de Nolhac (1923).

96 The relevant devices are well described in Conrady (1962: 128-165). They are a general option for Latin poetry of the time, but realized in an extreme form in the Anacreontic poetry of Taubmann and some of his followers such as Caspar Barth, cf. ibid. (pp. 130, 152-153, 156, 160, 164).

p. 136: *[…] Argenteum labellum / Corallinum labellum, / Sapphirinum labellum, / Beryllinum labellum, / Topazinum labellum, / Hiacinthinum labellum, / Smaragdinum labellum, / Labellulumque bellum*). This obsession with repetion can also be seen in many of Taubmann's followers,[97] most prominently his student Caspar Barth. It is usually characterized as a dead end in the history of Neo-Latin poetry,[98] and as long as we talk about literature as such little can be objected to this assessment. Again, however, to do full justice to Taubmann it may be important to consider a potential performative context in which the endless and bizarre praise of the persons referred to might have resulted in laughter and merriment. A certain learned pleasure could also be found in the unusual phrases and neologisms stimulated by the extensive use of repetitive devices (e.g. p. 138: *Furunculum vocabo? / Vocabis hercle. Quin et / Praedonculum vocabis […]*). We may have shared ground with Scaliger's[99] and Aurpach's ideas that the Anacreontic form helps to generate playful and recherché language (although in Aurpach's Anacreontics this does not manifest itself in any obtrusive way).

It would be impossible here to discuss the Anacreontics of Caspar Barth (1587-1658) in any detail.[100] Barth's first collection of Anacreontics of 1612 comprised 4 books. The following year saw the publication of the greatly extended and definite collection in 15 books. With that, Barth wrote the largest corpus of Latin Anacreontics ever, just short of 200 pages (and not counting his *Anacreon philosophus*, on which I say something further below). Close studies of this corpus are lacking, and in the context of this survey I can just provide a few outlines. Some aspects have been anticipated above, and many stylistic characteristics discussed in Taubmann go for his student, Barth, as well. Barth is even able to outdo his teacher in linguistic extravagance, for instance when he fills whole pages with lines consisting exclusively of recherché diminutives (cf. e.g. 3.16.26-35, the description of a "countless" chorus of maidens: *Sine nomine absque lege, / Numero, modoque turba, / Placentiuncularum, / Lubentiuncularum, / Vexatiuncularum, / Digitritiuncularum, / Pedepressiuncularum, / Tativulsiuncularum, / Contentiuncularum, / Rixatiuncularum […]* [the list goes on like this until line 86]).

Even more strongly than in Taubmann, one is reminded of Scaliger's linguistic *lusus* and Aurpachs's recommendation of Anacreontic poetry for linguistic creativity. As with Scaliger, Kühlmann has here argued for a socially

97 Zeman (1972: 30) cites the impressive example of an anonymous *Anacreon ad Rosillam suam*, written ca. 1600 and running to 2300 lines. This is achieved to a large extent by abundant repetitions.

98 Cf. e.g. Zeman (1972: 30); IJsewijn/Sacré (1990-1998: I, 82-83; II, 96-97).

99 Note that the bride in Taubmann's epithalamium is given the name Pasicompsa, which is also the name of Scaligers's main mistress in his *Anacreontica*. But there remains the possibility that Taubmann borrowed this name directly from Plautus' *Mercator* (Taubmann published an edition of Plautus in 1605).

100 On Barth cf. Schroeter (1909: 267-325); Kühlmann (1987: 171-177); commented selection of texts in Kühlmann/Seidel/Wiegand (1997: 863-903 and 1484-1527).

relevant, liberating potential of language let loose. To support this idea, Kühlmann points to Barth's proven aversion to school humanism and academic structures (Barth himself was rich enough to live as an independent scholar).[101] This link may be there, but it is difficult to prove. Again, the primary focus on formal literary imitation and competition should not be forgotten.

But it would not be fair to see in Barth just a *Taubmannus auctus*. Many of his pieces are free from extreme linguistic and stylistic mannerisms, and it is clear from a glance at his Ancreontics that their basic idea is different from the occasional compositions of Taubmann and most of his followers. Barth's Anacreontics do not have addressees and are not written for certain events and occasions; they are literature for its own sake. As I mentioned in my discussion of Secundus and the Catullan tradition, the *Basia* of Secundus is an important text of reference, as is Roman elegy. Just like an elegiac lover, the poet, under the sobriquet "Rosillus"[102] sings of his love for "Neaera" (some other, less important, mistresses apart), and their romance is the main thread running through his 15 books of Anacreontics. The focus on love as opposed to other subjects typical of CA (e.g. drinking, old age) may be another debt to the Catullan and elegiac traditions. In contrast with Roman elegy, however, Rosillus usually remains true to the optimism and easiness of CA. This is also a significant difference from Scaliger's *Ancreontica*. Rosillus' message throughout is to enjoy love and life and not care about any spoilsports (cf. e.g 3.27 *[…] Zenona quis vetantem / Moratur, & boantem, / Anacreon ubi hac stat? / Salta, puella, salta, / Inebriare saltu. / Catona quis veretur / Ubi Rosillus hac stat?*). This message is developed by a series of sometimes brilliant epigrammatic ideas and witty scenes. I have referred to the clever metaliterary image of the kissing Anacreon above (1.12). Another example would be Rosillus' description of the underworld in 3.10: Rosillus assures Neaera that he has seen with his own eyes how girls dismissive about love suffer in the underworld, and he paints an elaborate picture of their tortures; this long description is then abruptly followed by three concluding lines which self-ironically make clear his agenda: *Quid caetera eloquar? sunt / Horrenda, vita, dictu. / Tu mitis esto nobis* ("What more shall I say? It's horrible, my love. You be gentle with me!").

There is a considerable number of further Latin Anacreontics which in one way or another pick up on the authors discussed so far (mostly Taubmann). It would not make much sense to run though them in this study focussed on general outlines and representative examples. As a final point I would like, rather, to illustrate my argument that the Anacreontic form was, in principle, open to all kinds of appropriations. I shall do this by adducing two extreme examples, one better known, religious, and one less known, political.

101 Cf. Kühlmann (1987: 177).

102 The name recalls the anonymous *Anacreon ad Rosillam suam* (cf. n. 97), but the connection (if any) is unclear.

For an example of Christian Anacreontics[103] we can stay a little longer with Barth, who made a remarkable spiritual turn in his later life. As a result, he published an *Anacreon Philosophus* ten years after he preached unconditional wordly love. In a later edition, the same work was published under the even more fitting title *Anacreon Theologus*.[104] It is an extensive and continuous lament concerning the transience of life ([1623: 113]: *Quid est nitere forma? / Quid esse quem disertum? / Quid fortem et eruditum? / Quid ditem et impotentem?*), the necessity of pain (p. 114: *Unus bonae magister / Dolor est fuitque vitae, / Eritque porro semper, / Immobilis tyrannus*), and Christianity as the only way to salvation (p. 133: *Hoc quippe munus unum est / Cui condititi vigemus, / Ut rebus a caducis / Pia vota separemus*). At the beginning, the Anacreontic poet renounces the former activity of his "plectrum used for unmanly charm" (p. 110: *Adsueta plectra dudum / Male masculo lepori / Tandem exsecrantur atrae / Genium sonare noctis*), and thus draws attention to his technique of Christian inversion of the form. At the end he declares himself and all poets prophets of God (p. 157: *Nos inclyti poetae / Dei sumus prophetae […]*) and wishes nothing but to die (p. 164: *O Trinitas beata / Absolve nil morantem / Et in suum cubile / Reduc tuum poetam!*).

Of course, Christian Anacreontics were not a new phenomenon. The form of CA was used in Christian poetry since Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389), and in Byzantium the tradition of Christian Anacreontics lasted throughout the Middle Ages.[105] It is very likely that this tradition inspired Christian Neo-Latin poets, but the development has not been sufficiently analyzed. Studies so far have established the *Turmae Sacrae sive Anacreon Latinus* (1613) by Wilhelm Alard, another student of Taubmann, as the beginning of Christian Latin Anacreontics *tout court*. If this were true, the case would be settled because Alard refers in his title to his imitation of the Fathers of the Church (*Ad S.S. Patrum imitationem*). But in fact, the earliest piece of Neo-Latin Christian Anacreontic poetry known to me is George Buchanan's translation of psalm 131 (*Si spiritu impotenti, / Si lumine insolenti / Elatus ambulavi …*), published in the first full edition of his celebrated *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica* (*Poetic Paraphrase of the*

103 Cf. Zeman (1976: 404-407); Kühlmann (1987: 177-181).

104 The *Anacreon Philosophus* can be found in Barth (1623: 109-166); the *Anacreon Theologus* in Barth (1655: II, 1001-1021) (printed in two columns and in smaller letters). In both editions it is this piece which concludes the larger work.

105 Cf. the references given above, n. 75. While the Anacreontic metre is sometimes also used by Latin late antique and mediaeval Christian authors (e.g. Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 6), they do not establish an evident link to the content and spirit of the *Anacreontea*. The inversion of the form referred to above is anticipated, however, in Boethius' short anacreontic poem *Cons.* 3.7: *Habet hoc voluptas omnis, / stimulis agit fruentes / apiumque par volantum, / ubi grata mella fudit, / fugit et nimis tenaci / ferit icta corda morsu* ("This is common to all pleasure: it torments those who pursue its sweetness like hovering bees. Once it pours its pleasing honey, it goes away and pangs the beaten heart with its tenacious sting"). But even considering that Boethius was often regarded Christian, his influence on Neo-Latin Christian Anacreontics remains speculative.

Psalms of David, 1566).[106] Moreover, it is very likely that the editor of CA, Henri Estienne himself, had some influence on this metrical choice: not only was Estienne the publisher of Buchanan's psalm translation, he also composed Greek psalm translations in the Anacreontic metre which were published first in 1556, in the appendix to a partial edition of Buchanan's psalms, and then, from 1566 onwards, in various editions of Buchanan's *Poetic Paraphrase*.[107] In 1568, Estienne even published a large collection of Anacreontic Greek psalms, accompanied by a programmatic piece of Christian Ancreontic poetry in Latin (pp. 3-4 *Anacreontis olim / Modos dedi iocosos: / Anacreonticam nunc / Sed nil Anacreontis / Dabo lyram sonantem*) at the beginning and a Latin Anacreontic translation of psalm 137 at the end (pp. 162-174).[108]

Hence, Buchanan's psalm 131 and Estiennes similar pieces may be the starting point for a larger, if elusive, tradition of Neo-Latin Christian Anacreontics in the second half of the 16th century. Some clues as to such a tradition can be adduced. There is a somewhat ambivalent statement in Jacob Pontanus' *Poeticarum Institutionum libri tres* of 1594, when Pontanus is talking about the stylistic devices used by Anacreon (p. 141): *Quae si studiosi imitabuntur, argumenta ipsa detestabuntur, ut item in Propertio, Horatio et aliis recte et Christiane fecerint* ("If the learned imitate these [devices], they will despise the subjects, as they did in Propertius, Horace and others rightly and in a Christian way"). Does this allude to a preceding tradition of Christian Anacreontic poetry on the model, for instance, of a Christian Horace,[109] or does Pontanus' conditional precisely deny that such a tradition already existed at that point? There is another lead in Taubmann's *Anacreon Latinus* of 1597. In a piece addressed to the theologist Christoph Pelargus (1565-1633), Taubmann credits Pelargus with the authorship of Christian Greek Anacreontics (p. 125: *Graecos Anacreontes / Ad Spiritum Iehovae / Abs te, Pelarge, legi […]*) and thinks that a Latin imitation would be worthwhile.

After that, a link with the older Greek tradition is strongly suggested by the collection of original Greek Christian Anacreontics that Maximus Margunius (1549-1602) published in Augsburg in 1601.[110] It is hardly possible that the

106 Buchanan (1566); for a modern edition see Green (2011), who also describes the complicated publication history of Buchanan's psalm translation (pp. 13-33) and provides a helpful list of early editions (pp. 99-100).

107 Cf. Buchanan et al. (1556: 79-81 [psalm 3] and 85-87 [psalm 43]); Buchanan (1566: appendix 9-11 [psalm 3] and 24-25 [psalm 43]). In the (separately paginated) appendix to Buchanan (1566) there are further Greek Anacreontic psalm translations by Federicus Jamotius (pp. 20-21 and 38) and Florent Chrestien (pp. 41-42).

108 Cf. Estienne (1568: 3-4 and 162-174). In this volume, Estienne includes Latin translations for all his Anacreontic (and Sapphic) Greek psalms, but except for psalm 137 they are not metrical.

109 For Christianizations of Horace in the 16th century cf. e.g. Schäfer (1973); I am not aware of a contemporaneous *Propertius Christianus*.

110 Cf. Margunius (1601); reprinted in Roverius (1614: II, 192-210). In Roverius' edition, Margunius' Anacreontic hymns are preceded by the (partially also Anacreontic) hymns of

Cretan Margunius, bishop of Cythera and teacher at the Greek school in Venice, was not familiar with the older Christian Greek Anacreontics. The fact that his own Christian Anacreontics of 1602 were accompanied by a metrical Latin translation by Konrad Rittershausen (1560-1613) surely helped their circulation. On current evidence, then, Rittershausen's translation is the first extant example of an extended collection of Christian Neo-Latin Anacreontics. At least from that point onwards German humanists interested in Anacreontic poetry will have been familiar with Christian inversions of the form and it was just a matter of time before original Latin compositions in this manner began to emerge. If, on balance, Christian Neo-Latin Anacreontics do not seem to be a spontaneous development from within Neo-Latin poetry, it should be kept in mind that the motif of the transience of life in CA, a natural starting point for later Christian inversions, had been played up in Neo-Latin Anacreontics before, for instance in André's *sententiae* and in Scaliger's *Anacreontica*. With hindsight, it may be said that Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry carried the seed of its religious negation from its very beginning.

The second extreme transformation of the original idea of 'Anacreon' is Anacreontic political panegyrics. Nothing seems to be farther removed from the private, hedonistic, world of CA than politics, and it is questionable if the biographical information about the real Anacreon's protection by powerful figures like Polycrates and Hipparchus[111] alone could have inspired political Anacreontic poetry. Rather, its potential in Neo-Latin poetry stems from the humanist Catullan tradition in which powerful patrons are addressed as part of a network of friendship diplomacy. It is only natural that this practice was sooner or later extended to more distant 'friends'. The Anacreontics of Johannes Aurpach are a good example: while Prince-Bishop Urban (addressed in 1 and 7) and the imperial counsellor, Robert von Stotzingen (addressed in 10) were close to Aurpach and part of his normal life, the same cannot be said of pope Pius V. (addressed in 6), who is praised as saviour of the church (e.g. lines 52-60: *O quanta sempiterni / Bonitas patris, quod iustum / Ecclesiae patronum / Statuit suae, suoque / Ita consulens ovili / Triplicem tibi coronam / Amplissimosque honores / Summo obtulit favore)*. Similar panegyrical pieces are an option in the occasional concept of Latin Anacreontics from their beginning in the 16th until their end in the early 18th century.

Considering the explicit rejection of military subjects in CA,[112] the most striking instances of such panegyrics are on military leaders.[113] So far I have

Synesius of Cyrene and Gregory of Nazianzus (with a facing Latin prose translation). Roverius also reprints CA with Estienne's Latin translation, supplemented by André's (ibid., pp. 100-119).

111 Cf. e.g. Rosenmeyer (1992: 13-14).

112 Cf. CA 1 (23): Θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας, / θέλω δὲ Κάδμον ἄιδειν, / ὁ βάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς / ἔρωτα μοῦνον ἠχεῖ (…); 48 (2): Δότε μοι λύρην Ὁμήρου / φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς (…).

113 Cf. the contribution of R. Höschele in this volume for German Anacreontic poetry in military contexts.

found two, if late and – in terms of literary history – comparatively inconsequential examples. The first is connected with the wedding of the Habsburg Emperor Joseph I. and Wilhelmine Amalia of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1699. When the bride, on her way to Vienna, was passing through Innsbruck, the University of Innsbruck presented her with the occasional composition *Helicon Oenipontanus* (1699).[114] This praise of Wilhelmine Amalia is not itself an Anacreontic and the Anacreontic verse contained in it meets just half of my formal criteria set out above: instead of hemiambics or anaclasts we have here couplets of acatelectic iambic dimeters plus catalactic dimeters, arguably due to the influence of earlier German Anacreontic poetry in which such couplets were a familiar choice. However, the Anacreontic descent could not be made any clearer since the relevant lines, about half of the whole work, are spoken by a *geminus Anacreon*, one coming from "Ausonia", another from "Alemannia" (B1v) – this seems to allude to the fact that the Anacreon speaking in the text is indeed bilingual and presents both Latin and German verse. Now, my point for our context is that this Anacreon not only praises Wilhelmine Amalia's origin, beauty, and her social charity, but also extensively dwells on her Amazon-like qualities as a warrior. He graphically anticipates the military success of her children in future battles against the French and the Turks, the major enemies of the Holy Roman Empire at the time, and predicts the triumph of the Empire over the whole world (e.g. E1r: *Totus pavebit occidens / ortusque contremescet. / Iam cerno gentes supplices / et dexteram levantes […]*).

My second example is from the scholarly influential Anacreon edition of Joshua Barnes (first Cambridge 1705, then again Cambridge 1721 and London 1734). Its dedication to Duke John Churchill of Marlborough and the related martial Anacreontic poem bear the stamp of its time in that they refer to Marlborough's triumphs in the War of the Spanish Succession.[115] The main focus is on the decisive Battle of Blenheim (1704), in which the alliance of the Holy Roman Empire under Marlborough's military leadership secured an overwhelming victory against the troops of France and Bavaria. Now, the obvious incompatibility between the images of Anacreon and Marlborough was clear to Barnes, but in his dedicatory letter to the Duke he makes a serious (if not very consistent) attempt to discuss it away: he refers to the mighty politicians Polycrates of Samus and Hipparchus of Athens, who held Anacreon in high esteem; a fortiori, Marlborough will be pleased with Anacreon, because Britain is much nobler than Samus, and Cambridge at least as excellent as Athens. Anacreon's peaceful world fits the peacemaker Marlborough. Now that Anacreon meets Marlborough in

114 Cf. Kofler/Schaffenrath/Tilg (2008).

115 Duke Marlborough was the subject of a real avalanche of panegyrics and related literary material, cf. Horn (1975), with some remarks on our piece on pp. 131-132. Not surprisingly, the Duke's reception of "Anacreon" was rather cool. At Barnes' visit he is reported to have said to his Secretary of War: "Dear Harry, here's a man comes to me and talks to me about one Anna Creon, and I know nothing of Creon, but Creon on the play of Oedipus, prithee do you speak to the man." (Quoted according to Horn [1975: 132]).

person, however, he cannot resist singing of war. This is the point where Barnes announces his panegyrical poem in honour of Marlborough. What follows is an Anacreontic of 80 lines in both Greek and Latin (I here refer to the Latin version only), perfectly traditional in form but utterly transformed in content. The first lines (1-8) lay out the poetics of inversion in that they take back the *recusatio* of CA 48 (2; cf. lines 1-2: Δότε μοι λύρην Ὁμήρου / φονίης ἄνευθε χορδῆς) and dismiss the omnipresence of love expressed in CA 1 (23; cf. line 4: ἔρωτα μοῦνον ἠχεῖ): *Lyricus poeta Teius, / Ut ad alta tecta venit / Ducis ille Marlboraei, / Resonabat ore laetus: / "Date mi chelyn Homeri, / Licet huic cruenta chorda; / Venerisque mollis echo / Procul hinc facessat almae*" ("The Teian poet, when he came to the high abode of Duke Marlborough, resounded gladly: 'Give me Homer's lyre, even if its strings are stained with blood; you go far away, soft echo of indulgent Venus'"). Anacreon wishes to sing of "murderous cries" (*Homicida clamor*), the "groans of the French" (*Gemitusque Gallicorum*), and the "flight of the Bavarians" (*Bavarum […] fuga*). With poetical enthusiasm he imagines himself in the thick of the Battle of Blenheim, describes the heated atmosphere on the battlefield,[116] and reports Marlborough's glorious strategic moves until his final success. The poem concludes with the image of the Turks stunned by the impending rule of England over the world.

6 A Brief Conclusion

My paper has drawn attention not to one but to many uses of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry. In the shape of translations it has boosted the circulation of CA and served at the same time as a stylistic model for imitation and adaptation in the vernaculars – in my example from 18th cent. Germany I have argued that the search for the appropriate German Anacreontic form was heavily influenced by Latin models. In the shape of original compositions, the history of Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry can be read as a series of re-creations and re-interpretations, partly prompted by the impact of other literary strains such as the epigrammatic tradition of the *Anthologia Planudea*, Catullan love poetry, or late antique Christian writing; partly by the personality of the respective authors and their addressees. It seems that CA almost provoked Latin experiments with the form, and we may ask about the reasons for this. One answer could be similar to Patricia Rosenmeyer's for the lasting success of CA in general:[117] it is a slim, accessible and well defined corpus of poetry, which nonetheless lacks a clear context and is therefore easy to appropriate for one's own purposes. For Neo-

116 Cf. the sounds of war in lines 37-46: *Sed et ipse clamat aer, / Reboante Machinarum / Strepitu, fragore magno, / Nebulam ignis evomentum. / Quibus adde Tympanorum / Cybeleium tumultum, / Querulam tubaeque vocem, / Fremitum simulque equorum, / Hominumque decidentum / Superantiumque bello.*

117 Cf. Rosenmeyer (1992: 234).

Latin Anacreontics we could add that the consistency of the metrical form (with few partial exceptions) opened up a tradition of variety in unity unknown to the vernaculars. There was a constant challenge for poets to fill the traditional form with a new style and spirit, which proved very productive and led to an unusually complex Anacreontic tradition. In the process, some authors even developed intriguing and quite modern looking poetics of individual expression. It remains for further studies to shed more light on details and individual authors. At the end of this survey, however, it can surely be said that Neo-Latin Anacreontic poetry was an exciting and progressive literary playground of the early modern period.