

THE ANACREONTEA IN ENGLAND TO 1683

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is based on a first-line catalogue of versions of the Greek Anacreontea in Latin, French and Italian from 1469 to 1605 (55 poets) and in England from 1518 to 1683 (59 poets). Texts are given of the principal versions of the six most popular Anacreontic poems: these are the two recusationes (Poems 1 and 16 in Stephanus), "The Beggar Cupid" (Poem 3), a drinking song (19), "Cupid and the Bee" (40), and the cicada-poem (43). After a review of modern critical theory of the quality, dating and authorship of the Anacreontea, it is shown how the poems became famous as the work of Anacreon in France in the 1550s, through the efforts of Estienne, Dorat and Ronsard: one unpublished poem may have been known earlier by Joannes Secundus. All the versions of the six poems listed above are compared in detail: particular attention is paid to the sources and tone of the English translations. Some account is given of all other English poets and dramatists of the period who made use of the Anacreontea. Included are imitations by Watson, Barnes, and other Elizabethan

sonneteers: scholarly versions by A. W. and Thomas Stanley: and the "paraphrastic" translations of Cowley, Willis and Wood. There are detailed discussions of Spenser's "Anacreontics" in Amoretti, of Holyday's play Technogamia, of Lovelace's "The Grasse-hopper", and of emblems by Whitney and Ayres: also included are versions by Berkenhead, Brome, Cotton, Drayton, Thomas Forde, Greene, Greville, Herrick, Richard James, Jonson, Kendall, Leech, Lodge, Oldham, Randolph, Rochester, Shakespeare, Sherburne, Shirley, Sidney, Soowthern, Spelman, Suckling, Thomas Tomkis and Mary Wroth. The conclusion summarises contemporary translation theory, and delineates three main phases of translation in England. There is a special discussion of poems entitled "Anacreontics", and a list of seventeenth-century musical settings.

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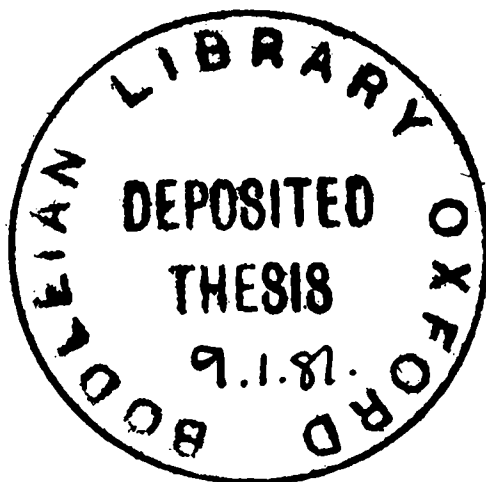
by

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Addition

There is one addition to be made to the list of musical settings on p. 366 of Volume 1:

1666 Anon

Forbes' Cantus  
(2)

DYER

Preface: Aims and Method

The aim of this thesis is to estimate the extent and nature of the influence of the Greek Anacreontea on English verse written up to the year 1683. This was the year in which the second complete English translation of the poems was published at Oxford. The Anacreontea have been strictly defined as the 61 poems on pp. 676 - 691 of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Cod. Gr. Suppl. 384. The dates of the first publication of these poems will be found at the beginning of Volume 2, and a table of comparative numeration begins each volume. Only poems derived from the Anacreontea in some detail of wording or structure have been included: excluded are other poems which modern critics sometimes loosely call "Anacreontic", such as brief stories about Cupid, or drinking songs: included, however, is a discussion of poems which English seventeenth-century writers themselves entitled "Anacreontic". More flexibility has been shown with the other key words in the title, "England" and "1683": a few poems written after this date have been included, as have a few Scottish writers and British writers published abroad.

The method adopted is that of a detailed linguistic comparison of all the available versions of six of the most popular poems. Early in the study, it became apparent that such comparisons could not be properly

made if continental versions were excluded, since many of the English poems derive from sixteenth-century originals in French or Latin, a few from Italian. Two first-line catalogues have therefore been compiled - the first intended to be complete for continental versions up to those of Chiabrera (1605), the second for English versions to 1683. Poems have been included in the catalogue wherever they present prima facie evidence of being derived from the Anacreontea, whether this applies to the whole poem or to some small details: in a very few cases the detailed discussions may reveal no direct connection - as in the passage from Thomas Tomkis' play Albumazar discussed in Chapter 5.

The catalogued poems represent as complete a picture as can today be obtained of the sources available to the English translators: the detailed discussions include a few references to continental seventeenth-century versions where appropriate, but there is very little evidence that they influenced English translators of the time. The Universities and schools may well have produced many other versions which are lost or untraceable today: but it is doubtful whether knowledge of these would significantly change the pattern of the source material here presented. With a few striking exceptions, the poets based their versions on well-known published sources: in only a very few cases has it proved impossible to identify a translator's sources.

The detailed discussions in Chapters 3 - 8 include all the relevant texts from both catalogues, including poems only loosely derived from the Greek. Before writing the five major studies every translation in the chapter was carefully compared, word for word, with all of the earlier poems, and all significant resemblances noted down. The conclusions presented amply justify this close attention to the texts: the method not only clearly reveals every poet's sources, but also shows how much of each poem is new and different from previous versions.

The texts have been used as the main source of information for these studies: information from outside the poems, such as the notes on sources provided by Thomas Stanley in his Excitations, has been used only to measure and support conclusions already drawn from the texts. Neither have theories about methods of translation been introduced into these chapters, for the methods used can be deduced from the poems themselves: the concluding chapter assesses the methods used in relation to published theories. Chapters 3 - 7 have been written entirely independently of each other: it has not been assumed, for example, that because A. W. used the Greek for his translation of Anacreontea 1, that he must necessarily have used it for his translation of Anacreontea 3. However, the briefer accounts in Chapter 9 do use information from earlier chapters: and

Chapter 10 draws general conclusions from the evidence taken as a whole.

The detailed comparisons do not themselves sufficiently explain the Greek poems themselves, nor their sudden initial popularity upon publication in Paris in 1554. Two introductory chapters have therefore been included, the first summarising the most modern critical views of the Anacreontea, the second discussing some of the main areas of scholarly controversy surrounding the poems' initial publication and popularity.

The principal texts used for the detailed studies of Chapters 3 - 8 have been included in Volume 2. Although some of these are easily obtainable, others are extremely rare, and there is no anthology of the English poems: and the discussions can only properly be followed by a reader who has the texts before him.

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Table of Comparative Numeration

This thesis follows the order of the poems as in the editio princeps of 1554, since this is the only order in which the poems were known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The manuscript contains 59 poems, two of which were divided into two by Estienne, making a total of 61. The poems numbered here 56, 57 and 58 form the first three poems of the appendix in the 1554 edition. The three poems omitted in 1554 have been designated X, Y and Z for the purposes of this thesis.

ESTIENNE - Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554.

BERGK - Poetae Lyrici Graeci, Vol. 3, Poetae Melici, ed. T. Bergk, 1914. This is the numeration followed in Liddell-Scott-Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, 1940.

EDMONDS - The Anacreontea, in Vol. 2 of Elegy and Iambus, ed. J.M. Edmonds, 1931.

<u>ESTIENNE/HILTON</u>	<u>BERGK</u>	<u>EDMONDS</u>
1	23	23
2	24	24
3	31	33
4	30	32
5	42	44
6	41	43

ESTIENNE/HILTONBERGKEDMONDS

7	29	31
8	35	37
9	14	15
10	10	11
11	6	7
12	9	10
13	11	12
14	12	13
15	7	8
16	26A	26
17	3	4
18	4	5
19	21	21
20	22	22
21	17	18A
22	18	18B
23	34	36
24	38	40
25	43	45
26	46	48
27	47	49
28	15	16
29	16	17
30	19	19
31	8	9
32	13	14

<u>ESTIENNE/HILTON</u>	<u>BERGK</u>	<u>EDMONDS</u>
33	25	25
34	49	51
35	52	54
36	50	52A, B
37	44	46
38	45	47
39	48	50
40	33	35
41	36	38
42	40	42
43	32	34
44	28	30
45	27A	28
46	27B, C	29
47	37	39
48	2	2
49	2B	3
50	54	56
51	55	57
52	57	59
53	53	55
54	51	53
55	26B	27
56	56, lines 1-21	58, lines 1-21
57	58, 59, rest of 56	60A, B, rest of 58
58	39	41
X )	5	6
Y ) HILTON	1	1
Z ) only	20	20

Abbreviations

M. Brioso Sanchez, 1970.

M. Brioso Sanchez, Anacreontea: Un Ensayo  
para su Datacion, 1970.

Giangrande, 1975.

G. Giangrande, "On the Text of the Anacreontea",  
Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica 19,  
1975, pp. 177-210.

Hutton, Bee, 1941.

J. Hutton, "Cupid and the Bee", P.M.L.A.,  
Vol. 56, Dec. 1941, pp. 1036-1057.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ANACREONTEA

The catalogue in the second volume of this thesis bears witness to the astonishing popularity of the Anacreontea in Renaissance Europe. Over 150 poets are represented, writing in 5 different languages. From Paris, where the poems were published in 1554, knowledge of the poems spread across France and across Europe, to Venice, to Rome, to Madrid, to London and to Edinburgh. Among the Greek poets, only Homer was better known. Among the Pléiade, even the great Pindar was for a time overshadowed by the popularity of the "ode légère", the light Anacreontic poem with its brittle philosophy of the joys of love and wine, of living only for today. In Britain, the influence of the Anacreontics can be discerned in the Elizabethan sonnet, in Jacobean drama, in Cavalier and Restoration lyric poets: Cowley's Anacreontiques (1656) assured their popularity throughout the eighteenth century, and Thomas Moore's Odes of Anacreon (1800) throughout the nineteenth. And yet today, though many of these translations and imitations are still well known, the original Greek poems which inspired them lie forgotten by all but a few scholars, their authorship discredited, their literary reputation in ruins.

Once it became clear that these poems could not be the work of Anacreon himself, editors and classical scholars concerned themselves only with the authorship and dating of the collection, rather than its literary merit. It is no coincidence that Ambroise Firmin Didot,

the last editor to take it for granted that the poems were the work of Anacreon, was also the last to give a comprehensive literary appraisal. And with the decline in the poems' reputation, their popularity has declined as well. Only one edition of the Greek text has been published in Britain this century<sup>1</sup>: this is a marked difference from the time when three independent full-scale editions appeared in a space of thirty years!<sup>2</sup> And as the poems themselves have been all but forgotten, so has their significance in the Renaissance. The most recent work to appear on the subject of the Classics in English Renaissance poetry has no mention of the Anacreontea, not even in the list of Classical authors.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of this brief introductory chapter is to assess the current state of scholarship on the problems posed by the Anacreontea - the literary merit of the poems, their date and authorship.

No scholar today considers the poems to be the work of Anacreon: the style, content, language and metre of all the poems puts them firmly in the post-Classical age. No modern critic, however, has discussed the problem of whether any of the poems is based on an original by

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1. The Anacreontea, in Elegy and Iambus, ed. J.M. Edmonds, Vol. 2, 1931.
  2. Those of W. Baxter (1695), J. Barnes (1705), and M. Mattaire (1725).
  3. I. Rivers, Classical and Christian Ideas in English Renaissance Poetry, 1979.

Anacreon rewritten in a later style: this question has been left open because it is impossible even to begin to provide an answer. We possess only a few fragments of Anacreon's original six books of poems: and thus we can have no way of telling what might have been included. All we can say now is that modern scholarship is beginning to reveal that very many of the poems reflect in their content the interests and preoccupations of a much later era than that of Anacreon.

For example Albrecht Dihle<sup>1</sup> has seen in the poem on the cicada, Number 43, a picture of the Stoic doctrine of the sage; he defines the chief Stoic virtue as ἀπάθεια (cf. line 17 of the poem, where the cicada is described as ἀπαθής ). Maximo Brioso<sup>2</sup> has cogently disputed this theory of Stoicism, but he says nothing to undermine Dihle's conclusion that "the structure and coloring of the poem depend entirely on its point, which is, in fact, a fairly scholarly joke." Brioso's disagreement concerns the nature of the joke. These arguments are discussed more fully in Chapter 7 below on the cicada poem: they are mentioned here because they reveal the beginnings of a new critical idea about the Anacreontic collection. For the past century the poems

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1. A. Dihle, "The Poem on the Cicada", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 71, 1966, pp. 107-113.

2. M. Brioso, "Estoicos y Anacreonticas", Emerita 38, 1970, pp. 311-324.

have been considered merely as pretty trifles, worthy of interest principally because of their past popularity: now Dihle and Brioso have begun to see in them a reflection of the learning of the time they were written.

This idea has been taken up by G. Giangrande<sup>1</sup> in an important article. Giangrande's work is based round the discussion of specific textual problems: but he considers the main cruxes in the light of one fundamental principle: his concern is to defend many of the manuscript readings against emendations made by Estienne and later scholars in order to make the lines scan in a traditional fashion: these emendations were unnecessary, since the poems were not written according to the traditional quantitative metres. In his attempts to make sense of many of the readings, Giangrande reasserts the subtle learning and the knowledge of conventional literary τόποι shown by the different poets.

For example, in the first line of Poem 19, Giangrande defends the traditional reading Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει as an absolute use of the verb πίνω. The poet, he writes, calls the earth black because he wishes to display his knowledge in the field of natural science - ancient natural science believing that the earth was by nature white, and that it became black as a result of its

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1. G. Giangrande, "On the Text of the Anacreontea", Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica 19, 1975, pp. 177-210.

having imbibed water. The word μέλαινα is thus in a predicate sense - if it were not drinking, it would not be black. Elsewhere Giangrande sees in the Anacreontea such τόποι as an apology for cultivating erotic and not epic poetry (Poem 1), the adynaton of counting the sand grains of the sea (Poem 32), and the idea that the song of cicadas and insects produced sleep (Poem 34, line 16).

The finding of traditional themes and motifs in the poems is the main achievement of today's re-evaluation of the Anacreontea as a literary text, and it does not matter that many of these themes are very obvious ones: because the poems are now dated many centuries later than that of Anacreon, they are considered more learned, conventional and allusive than they once were: they are poems deliberately written in the manner of a previous age by those who were familiar with such verse. But there is far more to be found in the poems than simply literary archaisms. Giangrande has not only pointed to archaisms and poeticisms in the language of the poems, but also many colloquialisms, such as participles with imperative force (Poem 57, lines 26 and 50). He concludes that the critic "must be familiar with developments in peculiarities of language and in literary conventions extending over many centuries."<sup>1</sup> But his work shows too that it is necessary also to have an

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1. Giangrande, 1975, p. 209.

awareness of the very different registers of language to be found often side by side in the same poem. One reason why there has been so little literary evaluation of the text in the last fifty years is that critics have become aware that the poems are by no means a homogeneous collection: so any evaluation requires us to form an idea of the literary conventions on which each separate poem is based, and the contemporary audience for whom it was written.

For instance, one tendency sometimes seen in the poems is an apparent movement from the imaginary to the real: the poet begins by describing a work of art or a traditional theme and then gradually changes his point of view, as if the scene were coming to life before his eyes. Poems 28, 29 and 52 are of this type. In Poems 28 and 29 the poet begins by giving instructions to a painter for a picture to be painted, but at the end of the poem the painting seems to be already complete. Poem 28 gives instructions for the painting of the poet's mistress (Line 5 τὴν ἐμὴν ἑταίρην): the description begins conventionally enough with her dark hair, but then the poet strangely asks the painter to include her perfume too (line 9); and a further indication that the poet is not thinking only of a painting is given by the phrase Προκαλούμενον φίλημα in line 25 ("inviting a kiss"). In Poem 29 the poet gives instructions for the painting of Bathyllus - towards the end of the poem (lines 38 - 9) he accuses the poet of having a "jealous

art" (Φθονερὴν ... τέχνην ) because he cannot show Bathyllus' front and back views at the same time. We must assume that the supposed painting is now well under way. Poem 52 begins with a conventional scene of young men and women bringing home grapes from the harvest for pressing, but continues with an unusual account of a young man ambushing a girl who is not yet married (so Giangrande's<sup>1</sup> interpretation of ἄωρα in line 19). At the beginning of the poem the language is highly poetic (μελανόχρωτα ), even occasionally Homeric ( βότρυν and Ταλάροις ), but when we reach the episode with the boy and the girl the language has become more colloquial - Giangrande has pointed to the participles λοχήσας and θέλων (lines 14 and 19) which are used as indicatives. It may be that the poet is using conventional poetic language for the scene he draws from the Greek literary or artistic tradition, and the language of his time for a scene which has parallels in contemporary life.

A true evaluation of the poems would require us to separate more clearly the conventional elements from the original, not just in this one poem, but throughout the collection. In the absence of most of the Greek lyric poetry on which the Anacreontea are based, in the absence of any knowledge of the authors of the collection

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1. Giangrande, 1975, p. 205.

or where they lived, such a task is clearly impossible. Giangrande's discussion of the different poetic registers offers only some tiny clues as to which parts of the poems might be most traditional: but he only discusses some specific textual cruxes, and, as he says, "A new commentary is urgently needed: Mehlhorn's dates from 1825".<sup>1</sup> It is no part of my purpose to try to supply such a commentary, nor to attempt to give any literary evaluation of the collection as a whole: for to do this it would be necessary to consider the long span of time over which the poems were written, and the different language registers they use, as well as the many different literary allusions they employ. A thesis of this type, which is primarily concerned with translations of the poems, could only fully evaluate the originals by forcing upon them a homogeneity which they simply do not possess, as M. Baumann<sup>2</sup> has done: "Alle Gedichte variieren letztlich nur ein Thema: den heiteren, unbeschwerten Lebensgenuss." In fact the poems vary widely in theme, the only restriction being that imposed on them by their brief compass and their tripping metres, which exclude the philosophical, the solemn or the didactic. The only feature most of them have in common is an element of satire - the narratives about Cupid are mock heroic,

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1. Giangrande, 1975, p. 209. More recent is Michelangeli's commentary of 1882.

2. M. Baumann, Die Anakreonten in Englischer Übersetzung, 1974, p. 28.

while the drinking songs and descriptions of works of art parody earlier and more famous poems on these themes. Many of the detailed discussions below will point out parodic elements in the poems: it is something which is easy to understand once we realise the poems are late imitations: but it was not so immediately obvious to the poets whose translations are discussed in this thesis. Nevertheless, the discussions will reveal how the most perceptive translators and imitators of the Renaissance perceived and made use of "Anacreon's" satirical style. In quality too the poems vary widely, ranging from some of the most popular short poems in the whole canon of Classical Greek literature to some of the most banal. Many of them, it is true, are intentionally composed in the manner of Anacreon, with his grey hairs, his wine, and his Bathyllus: but some of the most famous, such as "The Beggar Cupid" (Poem 3) may derive from quite different traditions. Their apparent homogeneity derives more from our knowledge of their translations than of the originals: for most of the translations are the work of a single hand, and disguise the differences of tone and language of the original Greek. It is to be hoped that in this evaluation of the translations we do not lose sight of the fact that critics cannot yet fully evaluate the originals.

So far we have discussed the literary criticism of the collection: but the greatest efforts of today's

scholars have gone towards contributing some understanding of the dates when the poems were composed. In the most comprehensive modern study of the dating of the poems, Brioso<sup>1</sup> has analysed the contributions made by various scholars over the past hundred years: he goes on to propose his own arguments and present his own solutions. Brioso does not base his work on the content of the poems, nor on the literary traditions which lie behind their composition, but entirely on the language and metre of the poems. Finding little conclusive evidence of date in the vocabulary and syntax of the poems, he turns his attention to metre and prosody, and decides that there is much to be learned by comparing the growth of accentual rhythms in the Anacreontea with the known dates of accentual evolution. Previous work on the collection carried out by this method is invalid, since the poems had been divided into groups of stylistic grounds before metrical testing was carried out: Brioso prefers to consider each poem separately. He considers that the decisive factor in dating the poems is paroxytonesis, which he defines as accentuation on the penultimate syllable of a line of verse. Paroxytonesis had a random distribution in Classical Greek, but later increased gradually, until it reached 90 - 100% in about

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1. M. Brioso Sanchez, Anacreontea: Un Ensayo para su Datacion, 1970.

the sixth century A.D.: the date varies according to the type of metre employed. Brioso<sup>1</sup> has drawn up a table giving the percentage of paroxytonesis in each of the poems in the collection, and has dated them accordingly. He concludes that most of the poems were written before the fifth century and that very few, if any, are later than the sixth century.

Brioso's dating of the poems unfortunately suffers from many limitations. Firstly, paroxytonesis can only be considered a decisive factor when the amount of it is very high - approximately 70% or more. Only 25 of the Anacreontea reach this figure: for the rest it can only be stated that they are earlier than the fifth century. Brioso gives the earliest possible date for any of the poems as the first century A.D., but he does not state clearly his reasoning for this.

Secondly, the proportion of paroxytonesis can alter according to the text used. In a short poem, an emendation could make a significant difference. For example, if Brioso had followed Edmonds'<sup>2</sup> emendation in the second line of Poem 19 it would have increased the paroxytonesis from 57.1% to 71.4% - enough to give the poem a much later date. Fortunately there are few

1. M. Brioso Sanchez, 1970, pp. 42-43.

2. The Anacreontea, in Elegy and Iambus, ed. J.M. Edmonds, Vol. 2, 1931, p. 48.

textual emendations which have actually altered the paroxytonesis, but it is a pity that Brioso did not have the advantage of Giangrande's<sup>1</sup> discussion of the text, in which he rejects many emendations made in order to improve the metre. Also problematical are emendations which actually alter the total number of lines in a poem, since these will alter also the percentage of paroxytone lines. Here again Brioso has followed a fairly traditional text, rejecting little that is in the manuscript.

Thirdly, the brevity of many of the poems makes the value of many of Brioso's conclusions very suspect. Brioso gives to Poem 3, for example, a paroxytonesis of 68.7% - but if one considers only the first 9 lines of the poem the figure is 100%, since all these lines are paroxytone. It would be absurd to deduce that these lines are later than the rest of the poem on the basis of this evidence alone, so it must be that paroxytonesis is of little value as a guide if less than 10 lines are taken together. In 17 cases Brioso dates by paroxytonesis a unit of 10 lines or less, and many of these poems fall towards one end or other of his table - with abnormally high or abnormally low paroxytonesis. This suggests that it is only their brevity which makes them unusual. In Poem 46 Brioso actually does suggest that

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1. G. Giangrande, "On the Text of the Anacreontea", Quaderni Ubrinati di Cultura Classica 19, 1975, pp. 177-210.

the first 4 lines are later than the rest because they are all paroxytone, the figure for the rest of the poem being only 40%. Poem 36, which has been divided into two separate poems by many editors, also has 100% paroxytonesis in the first part and only 40% in the remainder. Such statistics drawn from so few lines should be treated with extreme caution.

Another limitation of Brioso's work is that his method of dating does not let him allow for the possibility that some parts of a poem might be later than others. This is because it is clearly impossible to date individual lines of verse by means of paroxytonesis, and very difficult to date small groups of lines. A poem with later additions, if treated as an integral whole, would give a date which is correct neither for the original nor for the additions. The two poems mentioned above, 46 and 36, would give figures of 57.1% and 66.6% paroxytonesis respectively if treated as single units. Another example is Poem 15, where Brioso dates separately the first 10 lines (which are found in the Greek Anthology) and the last 5. Lines 1 - 10 are 50% paroxytone, and lines 11 - 15 80%. If the poem were treated as a unit the figure would be 60%.

Occasionally paroxytonesis leads Brioso to a conclusion which is contradicted by other evidence. Poem 7, for example, has a very strange metre and a precise strophic correspondence - which suggest it is

among the latest of the poems. Brioso<sup>1</sup> himself suggests that it is extraneous to the collection, and introduced only in order to cite the names. But only 3 of the 8 lines are paroxytone, one of the smallest percentages (37.5%) in the whole Anacreontea: consideration of this fact alone would place <sup>it</sup> among the earliest group of poems.

It is thus clear that Brioso's work is not a definitive answer to the problems of dating the Anacreontea: all he has been able to establish is that many of the poems date from the fourth or fifth centuries of our era, and that the collection was not composed at one time, but over several centuries. Nor, unfortunately, does it seem likely that in the foreseeable future scholars will be able to improve upon Brioso's findings. Giangrande has told me<sup>2</sup> that he considers that no living person is sufficiently qualified to undertake the task of preparing a new critical edition, since no scholar knows enough about the complex changes in the Greek language over the centuries. He is convinced too that it is impossible to date such artificial texts by metrical analysis, since the poems were composed by scholars who deliberately used various archaisms, and could write in what metre they pleased.

Currently, then, the poems attract the attention of few Classical scholars because of the sheer difficulty

1. M. Brioso Sanchez, 1970, p. 28.

2. Personal communication, 1978.

of the problems they pose. On occasion, they still interest English verse translators, most notably P.M. Pope<sup>1</sup>, whose version was published in 1955. But even the translators' interest seems to reflect more an appreciation of the poems' former fame than a love of their intrinsic merits. The chief interest of the poems today lies solely in their popularity in Renaissance times, and it is this subject with which the present thesis deals.

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1. P.M. Pope, The Anacreonta, 1955.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RENAISSANCE OF ANACREON

Nec, siquid olim lusit Anacreon, delevit aetas

This quotation from Horace (Carmina 4. 9. 9-10) stands at the centre of the title page of many of the sixteenth and seventeenth century editions of the Anacreontea. It bears witness to the ancient reputation of the poet whose works, it was thought, had now been rediscovered. Even before the poems were first printed in 1554, Anacreon's reputation as a poet was well known. In ancient times Ovid and Cicero, as well as Horace, had spoken highly of him: stories about his life had been preserved by Strabo and Valerius Maximus: and a little of his verse was known from Athenaeus and Stobaeus, as well as from the Planudean manuscript of the Greek Anthology, published in 1494. In the first half of the sixteenth century, verse from the Anacreontea attracted the attention of the finest neo-Latin poets of the day: particularly popular was Anacreontea 15 and 17, which are linked into one poem in the Planudean Anthology. Those who translated this poem into Latin verse included Thomas More (1518), Andrea Alciati (1529), Salmon Macrin (1530) and Joannes Secundus (1541).<sup>1</sup> The reputation of Anacreon

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1. Full bibliographical information on the first published texts from the Anacreontea, and on these early translations, can be found in the catalogue.

was such that in 1550 Ronsard could link his name with that of his beloved Pindar and other famous Greek lyric poets in the following lines:<sup>1</sup>

Mon grand Pindare vit encore,  
Et Simonide, & Stesicore,  
Si-non en vers, aumoins par nom,  
Et de cela que sus sa lire  
Anacreon a voulu dire  
Le tens n'efface le renom.

Small wonder, then, that Estienne's new volume of poems was eagerly awaited - small wonder that its publication should have been met with eager cries of delight from Ronsard and his contemporaries. The facts about the first publication of the Anacreontea and its influence on the Pléiade poets have been several times retold in this century - most recently by Laumonier, by Eckhardt, by Chamard, and by Silver.<sup>2</sup> But their accounts overlook the fact that it was by no means inevitable that the 1554 volume should have come to be accepted as the work of Anacreon. Even less was it inevitable that these light lyrics became one of the most popular Classical works right across Europe, attracting the attention of 15 French imitators and translators by the year 1600, and a further 35 writers in English by the year 1650. This chapter aims to give an account of how the initial popularity of the poems came about.

1. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 1, 1914, p. 140 (Premiers liures des Odes, Book 1, Ode 15, lines 37-42).
2. P. Laumonier, Ronsard Poète Lyrique, 1909; A. Eckhardt, Remy Belleau, 1917; H. Chamard, Histoire de La Pléiade, 2 Vols., 1961; I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, Vol. 2, 1973.

It is highly probable that Estienne's editio princeps of the Anacreontea<sup>1</sup> derives from one manuscript only, at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>2</sup> which is still the only manuscript from which the text of the poems is known. It is indeed one of the most famous of all Greek manuscripts, because it also contains the Anthologia Palatina (mainly in the larger part of the manuscript now in the Vatican Library). But the discovery that the manuscript contains the epigrams of the Anthology was not made until 1606, and the Anthologia Palatina as we know it was not printed in full until F. Jacobs' edition of 1794 - 1814. How did Henri Estienne come to overlook such a treasure and concentrate on a small group of poems headed ἄνακρέοντος τηΐου συμποσιακὰ ἠμιαμβία:?

The most likely explanation which has been proposed is that Estienne did not in fact see the whole manuscript. Preisendanz<sup>3</sup> has put forward the theory that the manuscript was split into two parts in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the first volume containing pages 1 - 614, and the second part containing only pages 615 - 709. It was this second part, suggests Preisendanz, which Estienne saw at Louvain in 1549 or 1550 in the hands of the Englishman, John Clement: and from this derives

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1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554.

2. Codex Palatinus 23: B. N. Cod. Gr. Suppl. 384: facsimile ed. J. Spalletti, 1781.

3. Carmina Anacreontea, ed. C. Preisendanz, 1912.

Estienne's surviving apograph, which formed the basis of his edition of the Anacreontea. Thus Estienne never saw most of the poems in the Palatine collection:

Anthology poems from the second part of the manuscript are included in the apograph, and from this copy Estienne included various ἐπιγραμμάτα γριφώδη from the Palatine collection in his 1566 edition of the Planudean Anthology. Of these additional poems Estienne says in a footnote:<sup>1</sup>

illa quoque \_ γριφώδη , pag. 535, ex vetere codice epigramatum descripsi, quod Louanii habebat Iohannes Clemens Anglus.

This quotation shows that Estienne had seen at least part of the Palatine manuscript, but was not aware of its full significance.

The Palatine manuscript was probably brought to Italy from the East by Giovanni Aurispa in the early<sup>2</sup> fifteenth century: but what happened to it subsequently, and how it came into Clement's hands (and even whether he had it at all) has been the subject of considerable dispute: the reader is referred to Preisendanz<sup>3</sup> for a full account. What none of the scholars seem to have noticed, however, is that the manuscript's text of Anacreontea 17 may have been known to Joannes Secundus in

1. Florilegium diuersorum epigrammatum veterum, ed. H. Stephanus, 1566, sig. ss2r.

2. R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850, 1976, p. 48: Callimachus, ed. R. Pfeiffer, Vol. 2, 1953, p. xciii.

3. Carmina Anacreontea, ed. C. Preisendanz, 1912.

1532-3. Secundus' translation into Latin of Anacreontea 15 and 17 has already been mentioned: it is the last poem in his Epigrammata of 1541, and it ends with the lines:<sup>1</sup>

Non hunc crudelis, non ambiat udus Orion,  
Sed uiteis mihi fac uirideis, ipsumque Lyeum,  
Et Charites, blandam & Venerem, Venerisque puellum.

Now the Greek text of the Planudean version of the Anthology,<sup>2</sup> which Secundus is supposed to have been following, ends with the mention of Lyaeus, and has nothing corresponding to Secundus' final line. However, Secundus could have been following another version of Anacreontea 17 in the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius (19.9), which was first published in 1469. In Gellius' version the poem ends:<sup>3</sup>

καὶ χρυσέους πατοῦντας  
ομοῦ καλῶ Λυαίῳ  
Ἔρωτα καὶ Βάθυλλον

This was the text used by Estienne in his Anacreontea of

1. From Ioannis Secvndi Hagiensis Opera, 1541, sig. K7v - K8r.

2. ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ, 1494, sig. N5r - v.

3. The Aldine text, Avli Gellii Noctium Atticarum, 1515, sig. M1r. However, the editio princeps [untitled], Rome, 1469, fol. 174 r, ends the poem:

ομου κακως λυαιω.  
ερωτα και βαθυνον.

The Latin translation by Theodore Gaza, given on the same page, ends the poem:

Amoremque profundum simul.

Gaza was responsible for the Greek type and readings in this work: see S. Palmer, The General History of Printing, 1732, pp. 126-127.

1554, rather than the version given in the Palatine manuscript, which ends:<sup>1</sup>

καὶ χρουσοῦς τοὺς Ἔρωτας  
καὶ Κυθήρην γελῶσαν  
ὁμοῦ καλῶ Λυαίῳ  
Ἔρωτα κ' Ἀφροδίτην

Thus Secundus' final line could be taken only from the Anacreontic text in the Palatine manuscript: "blandam ... Venerem" is equivalent to Κυθήρην γελῶσαν ; "Venerisque puellum" is taken from Ἔρωτα κ' Ἀφροδίτην<sup>2</sup>; while "Charites" is little different from the Anacreontic Ἔρωτας . The Graces had early appeared as attendants of Venus (cf. Iliad 5. 338) in places where a Hellenistic or Alexandrian poet would have substituted putti. The obvious conclusion is, then, that in his translation of an epigram from the Planudean Anthology Secundus drew on the Anacreontic version for his final line.

If the manuscript of the Anacreontea was still in Italy at this time, which seems likely, the only way that Secundus could have known about it would have been through his teacher at Bourges in the year 1532-3, the great Italian jurist and emblem writer, Andrea Alciati. D. Crane writes:<sup>3</sup>

To his university year are probably attributable a good many of Secundus' epigrams, both the original poems and the translations

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1. The Anacreontea in Elegy and Iambus, ed. J.M. Edmonds, Vol. 2, 1931, footnote p. 22.

2. As if he read Ἔρωτα κ' Ἀφροδίτης . I am indebted to Dr. James Hutton of Cornell University for this suggestion.

3. D. Crane, Johannes Secundus, 1931, pp. 15-16.

from the Greek Anthology. Of these latter, five or six are poems of which Alciati had published verse translations four years previously.

Alciati's version of the epigram under discussion had appeared in Janus Cornarius' Selecta Epigrammata, 1529. Its ending is clearly translated from an edition of Gellius with the reading ἔρωτα καὶ βάθυνον in the final line:<sup>1</sup>

Et ebrios racemos  
Fac, cum leui Lyaeo  
Amoreque profundo.

There is no mention of Venus. The Anacreontic text is found only in Secundus' translation. How he knew it remains a mystery, and the question deserves fuller investigation.

The theory that Estienne had seen only part of the Palatine manuscript has one important implication for the history of the Anacreontea. It means that Estienne did not see the full title of the Anacreontic collection given elsewhere in the manuscript:<sup>2</sup>

ἀνακρέοντος τηΐου συμποσιακὰ ἡμιάμβια καὶ ἀνακρεόντια καὶ τρίμετρα.

It is from this full title that the designation Anacreontea (used as the title for the collection today) comes. The full title could mean that the collection contains three types of συμποσιακὰ by Anacreon - those in hemiambs, those in the anacreontic metre, and those in trimeters.

1. Selecta Epigrammata Latine Versa, 1529, sig. P8r.

2. Carmina Anacreontea, ed. C. Preisendanz, 1912, p. 1.

But the word ἀνακρεόντια could also mean "imitations of Anacreon" - the sense in which the word is now used. So the full title could mean that the collection contains poems in the anacreontic metre or in the style of Anacreon in addition to poems by Anacreon. This interpretation of the title casts doubt on the assumption that all the poems in the collection are by Anacreon.

Estienne probably had no knowledge of the title ἀνακρεόντια : but the manuscript contains other evidence that not all the poems are by Anacreon: and this evidence Estienne deliberately chose to ignore. For example, the very first poem in the manuscript, Poem Y, begins with the words:<sup>1</sup>

Ἀνακρέων ἰδὼν με  
ὁ Τηΐος μελωδὸς  
ὄναρ λέγων προσεῖπεν.

In this lyric the poet in his dream takes the garland from Anacreon's head and puts it on his own - a very obvious symbol that he intends to write poems in the manner of Anacreon. Anacreon is also mentioned in the third person in two other poems - Anacreontea 9 and Z.

In preparing his edition Estienne discarded Poems Y and Z, reordered the remaining poems so as to place first a more suitable introduction, retitled the

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1. First published in Pindari ... Caeterorum Octo Lyricorum carmina, ed. H. Stephanus, 1560, Vol. 2, sig. CC3v - CC4v.

collection ΑΝΑΚΡΕΪΝΤΟΣ Τηϊου μέλη Anacreontis

Teij odae, and gave each poem a title in the manner of an Ode<sup>1</sup> (e.g. Εἰς λύραν, Εἰς ἑαυτόν, Εἰς ἔρωτα ).

There was no need to discard Poem 9 because the reference to Anacreon there is put into the mouth of a dove, and is not that of the poet.

Everything about Estienne's edition sets out to justify the bold assumption made on the title page that the book contains

ANACREONTIS Teij odae. AB HENRICO STEPHANO  
luce & Latinitate nunc primùm donatae.

There are three poems by Estienne in praise of Anacreon. There is a preface, written in fluent Classical Greek, in which the editor points out the benefits to all lovers of the muses springing from this unexpected discovery of the works of Anacreon, and praises his clear and simple style. There are Latin translations of 31 of the "Odes", and copious notes explaining difficult readings and quoting parallel passages. There are supplements giving epigrams by Anacreon known from other sources, and poems by Alcaeus and Sappho. The quarto volume was printed on fine paper in the finest Garamond Greek type, and contains (so far as I am aware) not a single misprint.<sup>2</sup> When presented with such a volume,

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1. For the Ode see the note appended to Chapter 8 below.

2. Except for two corrected in an addendum at the end of the book.

who could doubt that the new poems were really the work of Anacreon?

In one respect, however, the young editor went too far. This was the first book he published under his own imprint,<sup>1</sup> and Estienne was keen to establish his reputation. In a letter to the Italian scholar Pier Vettori, who in 1553 had published a Greek text of Anacreontea 11 which he had from Estienne, Henri says that his edition will be based on two manuscripts, one of which he oddly says is written on the bark of a tree. The passage is in an open letter of dedication published in Henri's edition of a minor work of Dionysius Halicarnassus, 1554:<sup>2</sup>

Haec igitur me Victori nunc accipe, dum me ad Anacreontis Teij editionem comparo: ... Proferam autem, ut spero, propediē: & iam protulissem, nisi me uana spes tenuisset, fore ut ad duo eius exemplaria, quae diuersis in locis nō sine immenso labore inuenire mihi contigit, certium accederet. Nam ex duobus his alterum in membranis, alterum in cortice arboris scriptum erat: illud, confusum, & alicubi non satis emendatum: hoc, adeò antiquum, ut in singulis uerbis litera aliqua oculus fugeret. ut taceam, adeò diuersam fuisse elementorū formam à nostris, ut prius an posset legi, cogitandū fuerit, quàm an posset intelligi.

This second manuscript reappears in a note on the first line of the first poem in Estienne's edition of "Anacreon":<sup>3</sup>

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1. See A.A. Renouard, Annales de l'Imprimerie des Estienne, 1843.
  2. Dionysii Halicarnassei responsio ad Gn. Pompeij epistolam, Paris, 1554, sig. \*6r - v.
  3. Anacreontis ... Odae, ed. H. Stephanus, 1556, sig. E4r. The reason why Estienne chose Anacreontea 1 to head the collection is discussed at the beginning of Chapter 3 below. Estienne's notes are throughout quoted from the 1556 octavo edition, this being the reprint from which they were most frequently read. But for Estienne's Greek text and Latin translation, the definitive 1554 text has been used.

In altero exemplarium, nimirum in eo quod in libro, id est cortice, scriptum reperi, primū locum occupat haec oda: & rectè, meo quidem iudicio. Proponit enim in hac versuum suorum argumentum: ...

Now Estienne's apograph of the latter part of the Palatine manuscript is extant (at Leiden): and we can be sure from his readings that his text was based on this apograph alone. All his emendations can be justified by an attempt to correct for semantic or metrical reasons the readings of the Palatine manuscript: nowhere is there any suggestion of a reading taken from any other manuscript. In Estienne's edition the "cortex" appears once more, in a note on Anacreontea 2,<sup>1</sup> but after that we hear no more of it. So we can be reasonably certain that it never existed at all, and that Estienne invented it, firstly in order to give an air of antiquity to the text, and secondly to justify his own reordering of the poems. If Estienne had really found Anacreontea 1 as the first poem in an ancient manuscript, would he have needed to argue at length that it was a most suitable poem to begin the collection? Estienne went to such great lengths to convince his readers that this really was the first poem, because the first poem in the manuscript cannot be by Anacreon. The invention of the second manuscript was quite deliberately fraudulent.

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1. Anacreontis ... Odae, ed. H. Stephanus, 1556, sig. E4v.

Amid the universal cries of approval at the publication of the first edition of "Anacreon", one voice of dissent alone was heard. It was that of the caustic Italian scholar Francesco Robortello, writing in his De arte siue ratione corrigendi antiquorum libros, Disputatio (first published at Padua in 1557). Concluding his discussion of the use and importance of palimpsests, Robortello wrote:<sup>1</sup>

Haec ego de generibus chartarum dicere volui, vt intelligatis omnem illarum vsum, & antiquitatem. Quare perridiculus est is, qui nuperrime editis quibusdā insulsi hominis Greci lusibus, Anacreontis odas esse scribit, hoc vtens argumento, q' in cortice essent descripti, vt hac ratione scilicet nobis imponeret.

Robortello alone was right. Estienne had no real reason to believe he had discovered the true Odes of Anacreon - and it was his fictitious "cortex" which made Robortello suspicious. But so eagerly awaited was Estienne's edition, so magnificent its publication, so persuasive his arguments, that not another dissenting voice was raised for 200 years. Apart from Estienne himself, not a single one of the French, Italian or English poets whose translations are discussed in this thesis had any idea at all of the different order and title of the poems in the Palatine manuscript - Estienne's edition was simply accepted as containing Anacreontis Teij odae.

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1. From Lampas, sive Fax Artivm Liberalivm, ed. J. Gruter, Vol. 2, 1604, sig. B1r.

So far the impression has been given that Henri Estienne was alone responsible for the reputation of the Anacreontea. But it is possible that another scholar may have had a hand not only in making the poems popular, but in the preparation of the 1554 edition itself. That man's name was Jean Dorat.

Dorat's reputation and importance in the history of Renaissance learning has been reassessed by several scholars in recent years. In his book, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850 (1976), Rudolf Pfeiffer explains how his importance has long been ignored because he confined his activities to lecturing and teaching, but did not write down and publish his own studies.<sup>1</sup> His name first came to my attention in connection with the Anacreontea because of a suggestion that he was responsible for the Latin translation of 31 of the Anacreontic poems which appears in the 1554 edition. The evidence for this comes from the seventeenth century scholar, Paul Colomiès (Colomesius), writing in 1665:<sup>2</sup>

M. Vossius ... m'a dit qu'il avoit possédé un Anacreon, où Scaliger avoit marqué de sa main, qu' Henry Estienne n'estoit pas l'Autheur de la version Latine des Odes de ce Poëte, mais Jehan Dorat.

Unfortunately it is not now possible to trace the copy of "Anacreon" mentioned in this quotation - it is not

1. p. 103 ff.

2. Pauli Colomesii Opuscula, 1669, sig. E7r.

among the principal collections of Scaliger's annotated books in Cambridge, Leiden, London and Oxford. But I have been able to trace independent confirmation of the book's existence in 1609: for it appears on sig. Elv of the published auction catalogue of books sold on Scaliger's death.<sup>1</sup> The entry reads:

\*Anacreon graecol. Morellij. 56.

i.e. the 1556 octavo edition of Estienne's "Anacreon". The asterisk "Significat aliquid in eisdem libris ab Illustrissimo Scaligero notatum esse." No less than 16 of the volumes in the catalogue were sold to Gerard Vos - the father of the Isaac Vos (1618 - 1689) referred to by Colomiès. The information about the sale of Scaliger's books comes from a photocopy of the 1609 catalogue in the Library of the University of Leiden: the photocopy is of the former Kiel University Library copy, which was destroyed in 1942, and contains a number of notes concerning buyers and prices.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately there is no confirmation that Gerard Vos purchased Scaliger's "Anacreon": the name of the buyer is not mentioned in the Leiden photocopy - only the price (1 guilder and 13 stuivers).<sup>3</sup>

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1. Catalogvs Librorvm Bibliothecae Illus. viri Iosephi Scaligeri, 1609: facsimile edition published as The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger, ed. H.J. de Jonge, 1977.

2. Ibid., Introduction, p. 5 ff.

3. I am indebted to R. Breugelmans, Keeper of Western Printed Books, Leiden University Library, for this information.

On the death of Gerard Vos, Isaac sold all his father's books to Queen Christina of Sweden, only to purchase many of them back a few years later.<sup>1</sup> After his death the remains of his library were sold to Leiden University, but their purchase did not include any copy of "Anacreon", and the library has pointed out to me that Vos sold many of his books long before he died.<sup>2</sup> Vos may well not have had the book at the time he made his remark to Colomiès ("avoit possédé"). There is, however, a known and independent connection between Dorat, Scaliger, and Vos. Arthur Tilley has explained<sup>3</sup> how Dorat's emendations of the text of Aeschylus were preserved by being noted down by Scaliger in the margins of his copy of the text, a book which later passed to Gerard Vos, then to his son Isaac, and which is now in the Leiden Library. The copy of Aeschylus turns out to be that published by Henri Estienne in 1557.<sup>4</sup> It seems from this that Colomiès could hardly have quoted a better authority for his remark about Dorat and the

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1. F.F. Blok, Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius's Library, 1974.
  2. I am indebted to R. Breugelmans, Keeper of Western Printed Books, Leiden University Library, for this information.
  3. A. Tilley, Studies in the French Renaissance, 1922, pp. 219-221.
  4. It is interesting to note that Henri Estienne's apograph of the Anacreontea, discussed above, is also among the Vos collection at Leiden (cod. Voss. gr.A.18).

Anacreontea, and that we must take a careful note of what he says.

There are several factors to be taken into consideration when trying to decide whether Colomiès was correct. The most important is a poem written by Dorat to another prospective translator of "Anacreon", Daniel d'Auge, a Professor at the Collège Royal. This poem was first published by Nolhac in 1921, and I give his text of the poem in full on the following page. Nothing else is known of d'Auge's Latin translation: it is unlikely that it was ever completed.

It is not necessary to take seriously Dorat's suggestion that the Anacreontic poems need to be censored or made less licentious. When Belleau's French translation was published in 1556, the book contained dedicatory verses by Dorat praising the faithfulness of his translation:<sup>1</sup>

docebat hanc sonare  
Gallus tam patrio madens lepore,  
Quam Graecus madet Attico lepore.

Yet Belleau had restored to his text two or three short passages excised for reasons of propriety by André in his Latin version published the previous year. So Dorat's suggestion that the Odes should be made purer and thus more acceptable to public taste is either a polite fiction of a kind often found in dedicatory poems, or

*[text continues on p. 35]*

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1. Remy Belleau, Les Odes d'Anacreon Teien, 1556, sig. A5r.

Ad Danielelem Augentium Io. Auratus.

Quis non, quis probet illius laborem,  
 Quisquis primus Anacreontis hymnos  
 Impuros, malè sobrios, profanos,  
 Puros reddere sobrios, piosque  
 5 Tentavit? neque passus et iuventae  
 Mores colloquiis probos proteruis  
 Corrumpti. Tuus est sed et probandus  
 Augenti labor, exprimentis illa  
 Nobis cantica canticis Latinis.  
 10 Et pro parte mea iuvenem libenter:  
 Tentatum mihi saepe nec negabo  
 Versus reddere versibus sed iisdem,  
 Atque eodem numero, laboriosum,  
 Et quod non habeat parem leporem  
 15 Graecis, Musa quibus rotundiore  
 Quam nobis dedit ore personare.  
 At tu, quâ potes et licet, labora:  
 Forsan quod mihi durior negavit,  
 Indulgens tibi Musa non negabit.  
 20 Pro quo suscipis hunc pium laborem,  
 Ut de virgine facta iam meretrix  
 Rursus de meretrice virgo fiat.

From P. de Nolhac, Ronsard et l'Humanisme,  
1921, p. 113.

else a joke with a hidden meaning - it is after all impossible to turn a "meretrix" back into a "virgo" (lines 21 - 22). But "impure" poems can be improved in another way - the text can be made pure by emendation, and purged of its misreadings.

Now in 1560 Estienne reprinted his text of the Anacreontea, and the Latin translation, in a pocket (16<sup>o</sup>) edition of Pindar and other lyric poets.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the volume Estienne gives a list of possible emendations to the text of "Anacreon" which he has not incorporated into his printed Greek text. In a note Estienne indicates that the 31 poems chosen for translation are those with the purest text: these translations, he says, included various emendations not incorporated into the Greek text - hence the need for a list. It is thus clear that whoever was responsible for making these translations was very concerned with the establishing of a correct Greek text, and must also have been responsible for some of the emendations given in the notes of the 1554 edition.

If Dorat was the author of the 1554 translation, it may well be this translation to which he refers in lines 11 - 16 of the above poem, where he speaks of his own attempts to turn Greek verse, possibly "Anacreon's"

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1. Pindari ... Caeterorum Octo Lyricorum carmina, ed. H. Stephanus, 1560, Vol. 2, sig. DD6r - DD7v.

verse, into Latin. In introducing this poem to his readers, Nolhac states that Dorat's translation was abandoned:<sup>1</sup> but in the poem Dorat does not specifically say that his version was never completed: it may be that he calls it an "attempt" ("Tentatum", line 11), because he did not regard his translation as a success. And the description given by Dorat is by no means incompatible with the Latin version published in Estienne's edition. There we find a line-by-line translation<sup>2</sup> ("versibus ... iisdem"), but a version which is at times overliteral ("laboriosum"), and which often does not have the elegance of the Greek (cf. lines 14 - 15 of Dorat's poem).

It follows from our discussion of the way in which the text was emended that if Dorat contributed the translation to the editio princeps, he must also have collaborated with Estienne on the preparation of his notes. On this point Pfeiffer makes some interesting remarks. He states it as certain that Dorat lectured on "Anacreon" before 1554, and he says further that in the editio princeps Estienne "quoted unpublished readings of Dorat with moving devotion."<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately Pfeiffer does not give any sources for these remarks, and there is

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1. P. de Nolhac, Ronsard et l'Humanisme, 1921, p. 113.

2. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. L3r - O3v.

3. R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850, 1976, p. 106.

no mention of this in other modern writers on Dorat: and all my attempts to trace Pfeiffer's sources have proved fruitless. So it is possible that Pfeiffer is mistaken here, since he mentions "Anacreon" only briefly in the midst of a more general account of Dorat's work. It is certain that Estienne does not mention Dorat's name in his edition: In his notes on the poems he introduces alternative readings by remarks such as "Vide num legendū", "Legitur &", "Non dubito quin hic legendum sit", or "Legere potes &".<sup>1</sup>

But here we have to take into account Dorat's notorious secretiveness. He was a scholar who published little on his own account, and left many papers which are still unpublished. Most of his conjectural emendations of Greek texts have been handed down to us in the notes and editions of others. Pfeiffer writes:<sup>2</sup>

Dorat exercised his stupendous influence not through writing, but through the spoken word. What he said was immediately taken up by his pupils, and through them passed on as oral tradition to at least two further generations.

So some of his conjectural emendations must have passed into other editors' texts without being attributed to Dorat's name: and this could have happened to his conjectures on the Anacreontea.

1. Anacreontis ... Odae, ed. H. Stephanus, 1556, sig. Glv - G2r.

2. R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850, 1976, p. 106.

However, here a further difficulty presents itself. If Dorat collaborated with Estienne to emend the text of "Anacreon", must he not have seen the apograph, with the doubts which it casts on the authenticity of the poems? And must he not have been aware that Estienne's second manuscript, the "cortex", was a fabrication? Dorat was not likely to put forward his own emendations without access to all the extant manuscripts: for he was a man who<sup>1</sup>

took immense trouble to collect and examine the variant readings in Greek manuscripts and to recognize the special characteristics of poetic language and style.

Unlike Estienne, Dorat was not trying to make his reputation by his work on "Anacreon" - so he must have had less reason than Estienne to assume the poems to be genuine.

But even if Dorat had seen the apograph, he may still not have detected the truth about the poems. As explained in Chapter 1 above, modern scholarship is able to prove that the poems are much later than the time of Anacreon because close verbal analysis has made it possible for us to distinguish between the dialects, style, imagery and metre of Greek verse composed in different ages. But we have no reason to suppose that Dorat was any better at this than the other scholars of his time. On the contrary, it is known to have been

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1. R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850, 1976, p. 106.

one of the hallmarks of Dorat's teaching that he lectured about late and obscure authors such as Aratus, Lycophron and Nicander alongside the established classics.<sup>1</sup>

In the 1556 octavo edition of his "Anacreon" Estienne heads the Latin translation with the words "ANACREONTIS ALIQVOT ODAE AB HENRI-co Stephano eodem carmine expressae."<sup>2</sup> But in 1554 this heading had read simply "ANACREONTIS Odae eodem carmine expressae"<sup>3</sup>, with no indication of author. On the title page and in a Latin introduction to the notes<sup>4</sup> Estienne says that he is the author of the translation.

But, as we have seen, it is not always easy to take Estienne at his word. In comparison with his invention of an ancient manuscript containing his own re-ordering of the Greek text of "Anacreon", laying claim to Dorat's Latin translation would seem to be but a minor fraud. Furthermore, in two places<sup>5</sup> Estienne refers to a translation into French he has himself made of the poems,

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1. A. Tilley, Studies in the French Renaissance, 1922, p. 223: H. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, Vol. 1, 1961, p. 109.

2. Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. G3r.

3. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. L3r.

4. Ibid., sig. H4v.

5. In the Latin introduction to his notes mentioned in the preceding paragraph (Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. H4v): and in his letter to Pier Vettori published in Dionysii Halicarnassei responsio ad Gn. Pompeij epistolam, Paris, 1554, sig. \*6v (quoted in part on p. 27 above).

which, if it ever existed, has vanished along with the "cortex". Why should we believe him when he says he made the Latin translation himself?

It is known that Dorat was an extraordinarily prolific poet: It is estimated that he wrote more than fifty thousand lines of verse.<sup>1</sup> Much of this has been published anonymously in various collections, and still more has never been printed at all. It is known that Dorat wrote his own Greek imitations of "Anacreon", two of which were translated into French by Baïf.<sup>2</sup> He does not seem to have been particularly concerned to claim authorship of his own poetry: he published only one volume of Latin verse under his own name.<sup>3</sup> Dorat's reputation is still being reassessed: only recently his edition of Aeschylus' Prometheus Vincetus has at last come to light.<sup>4</sup> It is in the last resort impossible to prove that he was responsible for the 1554 Latin version of the Anacreontea. In the absence of any conclusive evidence, we must continue to refer to it as Estienne's translation, as he alone publicly claimed authorship of it.

Whether or not Jean Dorat played any part in the preparation of the editio princeps, he played another

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1. P. de Nolhac, Ronsard et l'Humanisme, 1921, p. 113.
  2. Included among Baïf's translations in the catalogue.
  3. Jean Dorat, Poëmatia, 1586.
  4. M. Mund-Dopchie, "Le premier travail français sur Eschyle: le Prométhée enchaîné de Jean Dorat", Les Lettres Romanes, Tome XXX, 1976, pp. 261-274.

important role in the history of the Anacreontea. For Dorat was the principal teacher of the Pléiade poets, whose translations and imitations made "Anacreon's" odes popular throughout Europe.

It was in 1544<sup>1</sup> that the young Ronsard and Jean Antoine de Baïf first became pupils of Dorat's in the house of Baïf's father Lazare. After 1547 these studies continued at the Collège de Coqueret, of which Dorat was by this time the Principal: here the students were joined by Joachim Du Bellay. Silver writes as follows of the relationship between Dorat and Ronsard:<sup>2</sup>

The benefits beyond price that resulted from this relationship flowed to a large extent from the unusual qualities, both philological and personal, of the master who kindled in so many of his students his own inextinguishable ardor for Greek literature.

Arthur Tilley, whose essay "Dorat and the Pléiade" is one of the classic studies in this field, has written:<sup>3</sup>

That the Pléiade had its origin in Dorat's lecture-room is no more than the literal truth.

With Ronsard in particular Dorat exercised a lifelong influence - his poetic tributes to his early teacher continue right through to his latest verse. To Dorat can be attributed Ronsard's knowledge and love of Pindar which contributed so much to his verse in the early 1550s.

1. I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 34 ff.

2. Ibid., p. 36.

3. A. Tilley, Studies in the French Renaissance, 1922, p. 219.

We must now consider the question of whether or not Dorat was responsible also for introducing Ronsard to the Anacreontea.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that Ronsard knew about the Anacreontea in advance of its publication by Estienne in March 1554: for the sestet of Ronsard's sonnet "Ces liens d'or, ceste bouche vermeille", which appeared in Les Amours of 1552,<sup>2</sup> is clearly based on Anacreontea 33; and there are a few phrases in the description of the poet's beloved which opens the sonnet which may come from Anacreontea 28. The names of three scholars have been put forward who may have shown Ronsard the text of the new poet: Dorat, Estienne, and Marc-Antoine de Muret.

Muret was a relation of Dorat's and a contemporary of Ronsard's who was already a distinguished scholar by the year 1551, when he went to live in Paris.<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that it was he who introduced Ronsard to

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1. The principal studies of this subject are: A.E. Egger, L'Hellenisme en France, 1869, I, pp. 358-360; P. Laumonier, Ronsard Poète Lyrique, 1909, p. 120 ff, and Ronsard's Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, pp. vii-viii; P. de Nolhac, Ronsard et L'Humanisme, 1921, pp. 36-53, 107-109; H. Chamard, Histoire de La Pléiade, Vol. 2, 1961, p. 50 ff.; I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, pp. 110-117.
  2. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 4, 1925, pp. 10-11.
  3. I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 64 ff.

the Anacreontea is based on four lines in Ronsard's poem "Les Isles fortunées à Marc Antoine de Muret", published in 1553:<sup>1</sup>

Divin Muret, tu nous liras Catulle,  
Ovide, Galle, & Properce, & Tibulle,  
Ou tu joindras au Sistre Teïen  
Le vers mignard du harpeur Lesbien:

In his note Laumonier paraphrases the last two lines as:<sup>2</sup> "tu composeras des poésies anacréontiques ... en strophes alcaïques". This cannot refer specifically to poems based on the Anacreontea, of which I have been able to trace none in Muret's works. It should be noted that included in the above list is the name of Cornelius Gallus, of whom only one line of verse survives: but his reputation was well known from Virgil's tenth Eclogue.<sup>3</sup> So these lines do not describe exactly the substance of Muret's teaching of Ronsard: rather they give an account of what Ronsard would like Muret to read to him in an ideal world, in "Les Isles fortunées". Anacreon is included simply as a well-known Greek lyric poet, as in Ronsard's lines of 1550 quoted on p. 19 above.

Much more convincing is the evidence that it was not Muret who told Ronsard about the text of Anacreontea 33. For Muret's commentary on Ronsard's Amours of 1553

1. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 5, 1928, p. 188.

2. Ibid., footnote.

3. G. Luck, The Latin Love Elegy, 1959, p. 43 ff.

included this note on Ronsard's sonnet:<sup>1</sup>

La fiction de ce Sonnet, comme l'Autheur  
mesme m'a dit, est prinse d'une Ode  
d'Anacreon encores non imprimee

Muret's words "comme l'Autheur mesme m'a dit" show that it was not through him that Ronsard knew of the Anacreontic.

In a long and rather complex argument, Silver has developed the hypothesis that Ronsard knew of the Anacreontea directly from Estienne.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately there is little evidence to substantiate this theory. Silver quotes Estienne's words given in the introduction to his notes on "Anacreon":<sup>3</sup>

Iam verò extrema manu operi imposita, quum  
eò rem deductam viderem, vt quae meis intimis  
dicaueram, cum externis etiam communicanda  
forent:

Commenting on the words "quae meis intimis dicaueram", Silver quotes Nolhac's comment, "Parmi les 'intimes,' on peut, je crois, compter Ronsard".<sup>4</sup> However, Silver has earlier argued at some length that Estienne and Ronsard were not close friends, for "their opposing religious allegiances made any general harmony of opinion impossible."<sup>5</sup> I take Estienne's remark to mean no more

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1. Quoted from the 1587 text given in Les Oeuvres de Pierre de Ronsard, ed. I. Silver, Vol. 1, 1966, p. 77. I have not seen the 1553 text, but Silver indicates that it was worded identically to that quoted (I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 82).

2. I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, pp. 110-117.

3. This text from Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. E3v.

4. P. de Nolhac, Ronsard et L'Humanisme, 1921, p. 109.

5. I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 94.

than that a few of his fellow-scholars had some prior knowledge of texts from the Anacreontea, such as Pier Vettori, who had published the Greek text of Anacreontea 11 in 1553, and possibly Jean Dorat. The young poet Ronsard was not an eminent Classical scholar and there was no reason why Estienne should have shown him his texts.

There remains the possibility that Ronsard knew of the Anacreontea from Jean Dorat. Here we are on no firmer ground. All we have to go on is Pfeiffer's unsubstantiated assertion that Dorat's "treatment of the late Anacreontics ... anticipated Henri Étienne's editio princeps"<sup>1</sup> together with the other evidence discussed above. We know that he was Ronsard's principal teacher: and it is possible that he worked with Estienne on "Anacreon". These facts must make him the most likely person to have introduced Ronsard to the Anacreontea in 1552. It is not possible to reach any more definite conclusion.

So far this discussion has overlooked the fact that all but one of Ronsard's poems based on the Anacreontea were composed after the publication of the 1554 edition. "Anacreon" was published in March of that year:<sup>2</sup> and six poems which show knowledge of the Anacreontea appeared in

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1. R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850, 1976, p. 104.

2. P. Laumonier, Ronsard Poète Lyrique, 1909, p. 121.

Le Bocage in November.<sup>1</sup> Most of Ronsard's Anacreontics were published the following year, 1555. Dorat may well have encouraged Ronsard to write many of these poems. For Silver prints evidence to show that Dorat used translation from Greek into Latin as a means of teaching proficiency in both languages.<sup>2</sup> And Professor I.D. McFarlane has suggested<sup>3</sup> that many of the translations made from Greek in France at this time may have originated as exercises designed to improve the translators' knowledge of Greek. But even if the poems were inspired by Dorat, it is important to emphasise that most of Ronsard's versions were probably based on the text published in March 1554.

There is no need to include here a general discussion of the methods Ronsard used to write his own imitations of the Anacreontic poems: for the versions discussed in detail in the following chapters will serve as sufficient examples. The reader is referred to the catalogue for a full list of the many translations, imitations and other poems based on the Anacreontea which were published in sixteenth-century France: many of the poems by

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1. For the date see Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 6.
  2. I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1964, pp. 40-41.
  3. "Introduction to Neo-Latin Poetry in Renaissance France", unpublished lectures, Oxford, 1977.

the lesser known poets will also be discussed in detail in the following pages. But it was Ronsard's versions above all which made the poems popular. Many of the later French versions are based on his: and it was through his verse that the Anacreontea first came to be known in England. This chapter has shown that the initial popularity of the poems was by no means inevitable, nor was it accidental: it came through the work of three men - the ambition of Estienne, the scholarship of Dorat and the poetry of Ronsard.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE ANACREONTIC RECUSATIO

#### VERSIONS OF ANACREONTEA 1 AND 16

A catalogue of poems cannot by itself trace the growth and course of a literary tradition. The history of the translations of the Anacreontea is by no means a linear progression, with each poet drawing on the resources of all his predecessors. Some poets translated directly from the Greek text, others used the Latin of Estienne or André to help them: other poems may be based solely on a loose imitation by Ronsard, with no direct reference to the original: others again stem from a variety of sources, often in several different languages - and all the poets have added much from their own invention and from other sources. In order to show how this works, a large part of this thesis is devoted to close analysis of all the available versions of selected poems from the Anacreontea. In addition to all English versions up to 1683, I have included all available versions published in France to 1600, and any other later continental versions likely to have been known in England in the seventeenth century. Inevitably this means the inclusion of more poems in Latin and in French than in English, but this is necessary if we are to obtain anything approaching a complete view of the literary history of these poems. But even this method, which is far more comprehensive than any research on the Anacreontea undertaken before, may not give a complete picture. Some poets may have been influenced by unpublished versions of which we have no knowledge: other

versions are no longer extant: and there are a few versions of which I have been unable to trace copies (see the catalogue).

In most cases the poems are discussed in the chronological order of their publication. It must be stressed that this does not necessarily indicate the chronological order of their composition. But it is notoriously difficult to date short lyric poems accurately, and so it is safest to use the dates on which the poems became known to the world, unless other evidence is available. Texts of the Greek poems of the Anacreontea are taken directly from Estienne's editio princeps of 1554, as are the texts of his Latin translations: but for Estienne's introductory matter and notes, I have preferred the text of the 1556 octavo reprint, since this was the edition most often consulted. For the few poems which are especially difficult to date, either because they are unpublished, or because they were not published until long after the author's death, I have used the date of death of the author, unless other evidence is available for the date of composition. Complete texts of all the poems discussed in detail are given in the second volume of this thesis. Texts are taken from the most modern critical edition, where one is available, and in other cases from the earliest printed text I have been able to consult. The terms "version", "translation" and "imitation",

frequently used in the following chapters, are used in the senses defined in Chapter 10 below, p. 381.

## ANACREONTEA 1 AND 16

It seems almost a coincidence that Anacreontea 1, θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας, became one of the most popular poems of the Anacreontic collection. Its popularity was no doubt due to Estienne's placing it at the head of his 1554 edition: and, as we have seen (Chapter 2 above, p. 25), he rearranged the order simply because the first poem in the manuscript was evidently not the work of Anacreon. What is the reason that he chose this particular poem to stand first?

In his notes Estienne argues that it is fitting that this poem should stand first for the following reason:<sup>1</sup>

Proponit enim in hac versuum suorum argumentum: ἰδque, lepido vtens commento, quo se quodammodo excusare velle uidetur. Cui non dissimile illud est à quo primum Amorum librum exorsus est Ouidius, vt enim hic in lyram suam, ita ille in Cupidinem culpam reiicit: vbi ait, Arma graui numero, violentáque bella parabam Edere, &c.

Estienne is in effect saying that in this introductory poem "Anacreon" deals with the themes which he considers appropriate for his verse: and, like Ovid, he rejects the epic in favour of love poetry. A poem which is written in order to reject alternative themes (there are several other Classical examples) is called by modern Classical scholars a recusatio.

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1. Anacreontis ... Odae, ed. H. Stephanus, 1556, sig. E4r.

The recusatio is supposed to derive from the Alexandrine dispute between Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius, a dispute which concerned the form as well as the content of poetry: should poets write long epics about the heroes and gods, or shorter lyrics and elegies about love? The debate was taken up by the Roman elegists Tibullus and Propertius, as well as Ovid, and by Horace. Connected with this debate in ancient times was the problem of the extent to which the poet must depend on conscious artifice or on god-given inspiration. The theme of the present poem seems to favour the latter, but the manner in which that theme is presented, and the fact that we now know the poem to have been written to imitate the style of Anacreon, both suggest a conscious artifice. In short, the poet seeks to praise spontaneity in poetry, but uses a very artificial, conventional allusion, and a conventional extended metaphor, in order to do so. It is this dichotomy which any successful translation or imitation must seek to represent.

The note by Estienne quoted above concludes with these words:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreon quoque Atridas quū dicit, Troiana  
 bella: quum Cadmū, Thebana intelligit, nam  
 respōdent hi duo primi uersus illis,      Σὺ μὲν  
 λέγεις τὰ Θήβης, Ὁ δ' αὖ Φρυγῶν αὐτάς.

The two verses quoted are the first two lines of Anacreontea

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1. Anacreontis ... Odae, ed. H. Stephanus, 1556, sig. E4r.

16. This latter is another recusatio, shorter and simpler than Poem 1, but unmistakably on the same theme. The only real difference is that while Poem 1 uses the imagery of music in order to put across the message that the poet intends to concentrate on love poetry, Poem 16 uses the imagery of warfare. Both may in fact be based in part on the first poem in Ovid's Amores,<sup>1</sup> which uses both themes.

These two poems are in fact so closely connected in theme that it is not possible to separate completely the literary traditions which spring from them: as we shall see, Tasso and others wrote poems which use in combination themes drawn both from Anacreontea 1 and from Anacreontea 16. This chapter will therefore consider together versions of both poems. The main line of argument will follow the history of Poem 1, and references to versions of Poem 16 will be introduced where appropriate.

Estienne's translation of Poem 1 into Latin, published with the editio princeps of the Anacreontea, shows how close it is possible to keep to the tone, words and spirit of the original, even in a verse translation. He omits no word of the Greek, nor does he add anything significant: he has made only a few changes of syntax.  $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  , (line 1) becomes "Cantem libens", with "sing" rather than "wish" as the main verb: and  $\text{Ἡμεῖς}$  (line 5) is turned into a passive "Mutata à me". By the use of the artificial device of

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1. See P. Ovidi Nasonis, Amores etc., ed. E.J. Kenney, 1961, pp. 5-6.

repetition, Estienne manages to make his translation, paradoxically, sound more spontaneous than the original: what he does is to translate two synonymous sentences of the Greek into the same Latin sentence (lines 12 - 13 are identical to lines 3 - 4), thus making the poem appear to move to a natural and spontaneous close.

The power of the gods over the poet - which is the poet's theme - is thus felt more clearly than in the original, and the dichotomy between form and content underlined. None of the other translators copies this successful device of Estienne. The man who chose the poem to stand at the head of the Anacreontic collection had obviously thought very carefully about its theme.

André's Latin version (1555) is also very closely based on the original Greek. The following words or phrases indicate that his poem is based on the Greek, rather than on Estienne's version: in lines 1 - 2 "Cantare ... expetesso" follows the Greek syntax "I wish to ..." rather than Estienne's "I would willingly ...": line 3, "Testudo verò neruis", follows the word order of the Greek Ἄ βάρβυτος δὲ χορδαῖς: in line 5 André's "fila" is closer to the Greek νεῦρα than Estienne's "fides": and André's last two lines are taken from the Greek, rather than Estienne's repetition of lines 3 - 4. On the other hand, André's use of the phrase "valete posthac" (line 10), which is also used by Estienne, shows that he may well have read Estienne's version.

Taken as a whole, André's poem gives a less pleasing impression than Estienne's slightly less literal version: in his striving to follow closely both the metre and the sense of the original, André is forced to use words in senses by no means common in Classical Latin verse ("expetesso" in line 2, and "refert" in line 4).

Ronsard used Anacreontea 1 as the basis of his recusatio "A Sa Lyre", which stands at the head of his collection known as Les Meslanges 1555 (Although dated 1555, the volume was printed in November 1554)<sup>1</sup>. The poem is a fascinating example of how a poet of genius could use the imitation of an ancient model in order to create a poem applicable to his own situation. In 1554, Ronsard was hoping to be invited by King Henri II of France to write an epic Franciade - he had in fact published an outline of the projected poem in 1550.<sup>2</sup> Earlier in 1554, in a mood full of hope and expectation, Ronsard had spoken of the King in these words:<sup>3</sup>

C'est lui qui veut qu'en trompette j'échange  
Mon Luc, afin d'entonner sa louange,  
Non de lui seul, mais de tous ses aïeux  
Qui sont issus de la race des Dieux.

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1. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 132.
  2. I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 1, 1969, pp. 308-309.
  3. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 57.

In these lines, which are from the "Elegie a Cassandre" (lines 5 - 8), Ronsard uses the idea from Anacreontea 1 of "changing the lyre" (like many of the Renaissance poets he substitutes the modern "lute"), but reverses it - instead of changing his subject matter from the heroes to love, Ronsard will stop singing of Cassandra and write instead of the heroic Kings of France. If the allusion to Anacreontea 1 is recognised, it helps the reader to identify Henri II with the Atrides, Cadmus, and the heroes of old.

But Ronsard's hopes were disappointed: the King did not, after all, offer him the expected patronage. Ronsard would have to continue to confine himself to love poetry. How could he express his disappointment better than by composing an imitation of "Anacreon's" first poem? Thus was born "A Sa Lyre".

Although the poem is an imitation and expansion, rather than a translation, of the Anacreontic, the general outline of the Greek poem can nevertheless be clearly discerned in Ronsard's palinode. In the first stanza the lute wishes to sing only of love and Cassandra, although the poet wants to write of Francus. The second stanza is a new idea, providing a reason for the subsequent change of the lute's strings - the "cordes" can only sing of love "par long usage" (line 9). The third stanza recounts the change of the lute's strings but its continuing on the theme of love: in this stanza Ronsard

avoids the illogicality of the Greek original, where both the strings and the lyre are changed. In the last stanza Ronsard bids farewell to his ancient heroes, but without returning once more to the theme of love, as the Anacreontic does. Instead, Ronsard complains that the King has refused him a bishopric - this is, at any rate, Laumonier's interpretation of the closing words "Lyre crossée".<sup>1</sup>

Ronsard's source for this imitation is undoubtedly the original Greek text: this is proved by his first line "chanter je voulois", where Estienne has the different construction "Cantem libens ..."

In choosing this Anacreontic as the basis of his recusatio, Ronsard may well have been influenced by what Estienne says about the poem in the Latin notes to his edition. Estienne makes the point that in using the words *Ἀτρείδας* and *Κάδμῳ* the poet is speaking of epic themes and war: this may have given Ronsard the idea of applying the poem to his own particular epic themes. Estienne's note may also have helped Ronsard to link in his own mind Anacreontea 1 with other ancient examples of the recusatio. Ronsard's modern recusatio differs in an interesting way from the way the genre was used in Augustan Rome. Horace and the Latin elegists used the recusatio in order to reject official

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1. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 134, note 4.

requests that they should turn their attention to the glories of Rome, instead of to love poetry<sup>1</sup>: but Ronsard's request to write a Franciade has met an official rejection. An understanding of the way in which Ronsard has deliberately reversed the ancient theme makes his poem seem especially poignant.

I have already discussed (Chapter 2 above, p. 47) how the popularity of Ronsard's verse makes him a crucial figure in the history of the Anacreontea. In the case of this particular poem, Ronsard passed on to later French and English poets not simply a particular way of translating Anacreontea 1, but the whole idea of using this Anacreontic in order to create a modern recusatio.

In Remy Belleau's version of this poem (1556) we find the work of a skilful and learned poet who probably had some knowledge of all the earlier translations. Like Ronsard, Belleau substitutes "nos Rois" for the Greek heroes of the original. The construction of Belleau's line 15 ("Adieu Mars, adieu ton ire") may also show a knowledge of Ronsard's poem ("adieu doncq', pauvre Francus, Ta gloire" - lines 19 - 20). It is probable that Belleau's "Ie changé" (line 7) is translated directly from the Greek ἡμεῖψα, since all the earlier translators have changed the phrasing here (e.g. Estienne

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1. E. Fraenkel, Horace, 1957, p. 219 ff.

"Mutata", André "Mutanda ... Curo"). From Estienne Belleau has borrowed the syntax of his first line, "Volontiers ie chanterois", which is exactly parallel to "Cantem libens Atridas". In line 8 "commençois" may be taken from André's "ordior" (line 8). Belleau's French version is necessarily somewhat longer than the Greek and its Latin translations, but Belleau adds three lines (9, 11 and 18) which are purely expansions, and do not appear in the original.

Like Ronsard, Jean Doublet uses the imitation of Anacreontea 1 in order to write a modern recusatio rejecting the exploits of King Henri (line 8) as his poetic theme. There is, however, little in the phrasing of Doublet's version which seems to be drawn directly from Ronsard's poem, perhaps only "glores" (line 12) from Ronsard's "Ta gloire" (line 21), "Adieu donques" (Doublet line 11, cf. Ronsard line 19), and the substitution of lute for lyre (line 4 of Doublet's poem). But Doublet's version is much closer to the original than Ronsard's in length and form, and in this respect reminds one of Belleau's translation. But there is almost no verbal similarity between Doublet and Belleau - only "dire" (Doublet line 1, Belleau line 8), and Doublet's "Guerres" (line 12, cf. Belleau "faits guerriers" in line 2). These similarities are not close enough to show conclusively that Belleau's version had been read by Doublet. There is much more evidence to suggest that Doublet has

used the original Greek text. The fifth line of his poem, "Changé l'ai de façon toute," is much closer to ἡμεῖψα ... τὴν λύρην ἅπασαν than any of the earlier translations: "nerfs" (line 6) is reminiscent of the Greek νεῦρα, and "Amouretes" (line 10) of the Greek Ἔρωτας (but cf. André "Amores"). So it is probable that Doublet's version is taken directly from the Greek text, with a little help from Ronsard.

A copy of the 1556 octavo edition of Estienne's Anacreontis ... Odae in the British Library<sup>1</sup> contains several sixteenth century versions written in the margin. Three of these (Poem 46, and parts of Poems 1 and 31) are attributed to Lambinus, i.e. Denys Lambin (1516 - 1572), who was Professor of Greek at Paris from 1561. Lambin is probably best remembered today for his massive edition of Horace<sup>2</sup>, which was first published in 1561, but for our purposes it is more interesting to note that he probably played a part in inducing Ronsard to study Greek, when at the Collège de Coqueret in the late 1540s and early 1550s. The main evidence for this comes from the dedication to Ronsard of the second book of Lambin's edition of Lucretius (first published in 1563), in which he praises Ronsard as France's first poet, and mentions his imitations of Anacreon:<sup>3</sup>

1. Shelf mark 1067 *l.* 1.

2. Q. Horatius Flaccus, 1561.

3. T. Lucretii Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex, 1565, sig. C5 r-v.

Deinde quemadmodum noster Lucretius Latinorum primus naturam rerum, & philosophiam ... Latinis versibus, iisque ornatissimis, ac politissimus illustravit: ita tu per amoenissima omnium poëtarum Graecorum, ac Latinorum nemora diu peruagatus, atque ex eorum liquidissimis, & purissimis fontibus, infinita rerum nostris hominibus inauditarū vbertate hausta, ea poëmata sermone Gallico in vulgus edidisti, quae Homeri, Hesiodi, Pindari, Anacreontis, ... & ceterorum ληκύθως, & μυροθήκια redolerent. Huc accedit, quod ego paullo te natu grandior te adolescētem (vt probe meminisse potes) ad Graecarum litterarum studia, quamuis currentem, incitavi: tibi et iam (vt ipse praedicare soles) in scriptoribus Grecis ac Latinis versanti, quasi lumen saepe praetuli. Deinde tu me elegantissimo quodam, & prope diuino carmine, quod immortale cum ceteris tuis scriptis, futurum esse confido, amplissimè ornasti, memoriaeque sempiternae cōmendasti.

In view of the connection with Ronsard, it is especially interesting to have discovered some Latin versions from the Anacreontea by Lambin: but unfortunately I have been unable to trace any fuller or printed text of the poems. Two of the manuscript poems have headings which look like possible references to Horace ("Lambinus i.6 ode" for Anacreontea 1, and "Lambinus, epod. ii." for Anacreontea 46), but there is none of Lambin's own verse in his edition of Horace. Nor does he appear to have published any poetry at all under his own name.

Lambin's translation of Anacreontea 1, lines 1 - 4, is in itself of little interest. It is a close line by line version of the Greek, which is clearly heavily indebted to Estienne's translation. Like Estienne, Lambin repeats the same verb in the first two lines, where the Greek original has two different ones

( λέγειν and ᾄδειν ): and "resonat Amorē" (line 4) is reminiscent of Estienne's "sonant amorem."

Let us turn now to consider early versions of the other Anacreontic recusatio, Poem 16. In this poem the ostensible contrast is not simply between the theme of love and the theme of war, the subject matter of lyric or of epic, but more specifically between the work of "Anacreon" and that of the other poets of his time: They may write their epics, but he will deal with his own defeats. The theme of love is also dealt with in more specific terms in this poem: Στρατὸς δὲ καινὸς ἄλλος, Ἀπ' ὀμμάτων βαλὼν με. It is in fact unusual in the Anacreontea for a specific object of love to be mentioned, even in such oblique terms as this. We cannot, however, be sure whether the poet's beloved is a woman, as in Poem 28, or a boy, as in Poem 29.

The most interesting fact about Estienne's version of Anacreontea 16 is that he makes the poet's beloved specifically a mistress, whose eyes send out arrows, as if Cupid is shooting from inside them: "Dominae insidens ocellis, Et inde tela mittens." (lines 7 - 8). There can be no doubt that this expansion of the original had an effect on later interpretations of this poem. Apart from this, Estienne's translation is a very literal one: he makes only a few explanatory alterations: "Thebana bella" for τὰ Θήβης, "Troiana" for Φρυγῶν, and (as in Poem 1) "cantas" for λέγεις.

André's translation of this poem is heavily indebted to Estienne's: lines 3, 4, 5, and 6 are virtually identical. André's ending, however, is quite different: he leaves it unclear whether the object of love is a woman or a boy, and he turns the specific but metaphorical word βαλών into the more literal but vaguer phrase "petens ... Et fascinans."

Ronsard's version of Poem 16 is much closer to the original than his imitations of "Anacreon" usually are: in fact it was actually headed "Imitation D'Anacreon" when it was published in 1555. Ronsard expands slightly on the implications of the Greek in the phrases "murailles De Thebe", "les batailles De Troye", and "Ny nef, pieton, ny chevalier". But in this version also the most interesting part is the ending. Ronsard has taken the ideas of the mistress and the darts from Estienne's translation, and made them even more vivid: "Un nouveau scadron furieus D'amoureux, armé des beaux yeus De ma Dame, a causé ma prise." The reader is at once swept from the world of the classical recusatio to that of the Renaissance love sonnet: once again, Ronsard has taken the Anacreontic and applied it to his own world of Amours.

Remy Belleau's debt to the recently published imitations of "Anacreon" by Ronsard is unusually clear in his translation of Poem 16: the phrases "L'vn ... l'autre" (lines 1 - 2), "comme ie fu pris" (line 4), "vn escadron nouveau" (line 8), and "la cause de ma prise"

(line 10) are all taken directly from Ronsard's poem. But we can be sure that Belleau's version is not based entirely on Ronsard's, for Belleau follows the Greek order of "cheualier ... soldat ... galere", which, although retained in the two Latin translations, is altered by Ronsard; and Belleau's verb "chantera" (line 1) may be taken from Estienne's "cantas". In lines 5 - 7 Belleau expands on the idea of the three instruments of warfare, ἵππος ... πεζὸς ... νῆες. The ending of Belleau's poem is based on Ronsard's, but its effect is rather different. While retaining Ronsard's idea of an "escadron", Belleau has dropped the references to the "amoureux" and to the poet's mistress, neither of which appear in the Greek original. Belleau's ending is in fact rather vaguer than the Greek, which with its use of the word βαλὼν carries a connotation of Cupid's darts: in Belleau the poet is not overcome by any weapons of war, but simply by the glance of his beloved's eyes.

Torquato Tasso's sonnet, "Stavasi Amor quasi in suo regno assiso", first published in 1567, was probably composed in about 1563-4.<sup>1</sup> At first sight the poem may appear to have no connection with the Anacreontea, but Tasso's use of the two Anacreontic recusationes has been

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1. Le Rime di Torquato Tasso, ed. A. Solerti, Vol. 2, 1898, pp. 57-58.

pointed out by Ferrari<sup>1</sup> and Solerti.<sup>2</sup> The god Amor of Tasso's sonnet seems to have nothing in common with the playful boy of the Anacreontea, nor with the blind tyrant often found in Renaissance sonnets. He seems rather to be derived from the mediaeval conception of Cupid as a god of exalted love - connected with what the East had done to the Platonic concept of love, transforming it to a divine αγάπη or caritas.<sup>3</sup> The songs of love which this god inspires are described as "ricche e care salme" (line 6) - and he enjoins Tasso to sing "come i cori e l'alme" (line 7). Amor here is a subtle combination of the pagan, the Platonic and the Christian notions of love. For example, Amor is introduced as "in suo regno assiso Nel seren di due luci ardenti ed alme", but this is described in the argument in more secular terms as "ne gli occhi de la sua donna".

The connection with the Anacreontic poems becomes clear in the sestet, where Amor tells the poet not to sing of war, but of the poet's slavery to his mistress. Here also Tasso gives the theme of Love a much more exalted status than "Anacreon" - "l'alta e chiara

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1. S. Ferrari, "Di Alcune Imitazioni ... delle 'Anacreontee' in Italia nel Sec. XVI", Giornale Storico 20, 1892, p. 409.
  2. Le Rime di Torquato Tasso, ed. A. Solerti, Vol. 2, 1898, pp. 57-58.
  3. E. Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, 1939, p. 99.

gloria E i divin pregi nostri ..." It is not possible to work out which versions of the two Anacreontics Tasso is likely to have used, since his use of the theme is such a vague one - but it seems likely that he had seen at least one of the versions of Anacreontea 16 in which the poet's mistress is mentioned. The most likely source would seem to be Estienne's version, since he places Love "Dominae insidens ocellis", just as Tasso does in line 2. As for Anacreontea 1, there does not seem to me to be any need to conclude that Tasso had read this poem at all, since all the ideas he uses, of the importance of the theme of love and its superiority to the theme of war, can be found in Anacreontea 16.

Claude Turrin's version of Anacreontea 1 (1572) has as its chief source Belleau's version. The words and phrases "volontier" (line 1), "Mais ma lire" (line 3), "& de corde, & de lire" (line 6), "ie commençois a dire" (line 8), are all borrowed from Belleau. But Turrin's poem cannot be based entirely on Belleau, for there are several places in which he is more literal than Belleau. Turrin's title suggests that he has used the Greek text itself, and Turrin has also taken from the Greek or from one of the early literal Latin versions "Cadme", "les enfans d'Atrèe" (line 2) and "Princes" (line 10, cf. Greek Ἡρώες). Line 7, which brings in the theme of Love immediately after the changing of the lyre and the strings, may be from Ronsard (lines 16 - 18). Turrin's

version is thus drawn from a variety of sources: the only words he has added on his own account all seem to be for the sake of the rhyme ("vanter", line 1, "demesurée", line 4, and the final word "bruire").

Claude de Morenne's imitation of Anacreontea 1 is rather more original than Turrin's. The way in which Morenne approaches his imitation suggests that his poem may be based only on the first 4 lines of Anacreontea 1: for he says nothing about changing the strings and the lyre, about attempting to sing of Hercules, and of bidding farewell to epic. Indeed, it would seem likely that Morenne's poem was based on the shorter Anacreontea 16 were it not for the phrases "changeant de son" (line 1), "Je voulois" (line 2), and "Je fus contraint de me taire" (line 7), all of which suggest Poem 1, and are not found in Poem 16. The only discernible echo of any previous version is in lines 1 - 2, where the words "Naguere ... Je voulois" are from Ronsard's version. Ronsard, however, changes the Greek epic themes to French ones, so Morenne must have had at least one other source. The earlier versions of Poem 1 which mention the themes of Greek epic, apart from the Greek text itself, are those by Estienne, André, Lambin and Turrin. In all these versions the reference to the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, is only indirectly a reference to Troy: all the versions of Anacreontea 16, however, mention Troy by name. Of these versions it is once again that

of Ronsard which is most likely to have influenced Morenne, since there are two other possible echoes of this poem in Morenne's version - the references to the mistress' eyes (Morenne line 12, cf. Ronsard line 9) and to prison: this is introduced by Ronsard in a literal sense ("Ne m'ont point rendu prisonnier" - line 6) and taken up by Morenne in a metaphorical way - "celle qui detenoit Dedans sa prison mon ame" (lines 9 - 10). Morenne's reference to the arrows of Achilles may be a similar sort of substitution for the darts from the beloved's eyes of Anacreontea 16. Finally, it should be noted that a detailed description of the poet's mistress can be found in Anacreontea 28, also imitated by Ronsard<sup>1</sup>, although there are no direct echoes of this in Morenne's description (lines 12 - 15).

Jean de La Jessée's version of Anacreontea 16 (1583) claims to be a translation of the Greek: but it is in fact an imitation based on Estienne's Latin translation. The following points in La Jessée's version show the influence of Estienne's translation, in places which differ from the Greek text: line 1, "la guerre Thebaine" ("Thebana bella"); line 2, "L'autre" ("alter") and "de Troye" ("Troiana"); line 9, "yeus de ma Dame" ("Dominae ... ocellis"); and line 12 "ses sagettes" ("inde tela"). It will be remembered that on these last

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1. "Elegie à Janet", Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, pp. 152-160.

two points in particular the Greek is much vaguer than Estienne's translation. La Jessée does not introduce any "amoureux" like Ronsard or Belleau - as in Estienne the arrows come directly from the mistress' eyes. The lines on warfare have been expanded by La Jessée (lines 4 - 7), and given a more contemporary flavour.

After so many fine French versions it seems an anticlimax to reach our first English poet, John Soowthern, whose Pandora was published in 1584. His importance here lies not in his poetic merit, but solely in the fact that he was the first English poet to make extensive use of the Anacreontea. If proof be needed that the recusatio had become an easily recognisable type of poem among Renaissance love poets by the 1580s, that proof can be found in Soowthern's "Sonnet to the Reader": for here, from the pen of this most unoriginal of poets, we have a typical recusatio. In this poem it is clear that the general form is that of Anacreontea 1: but the words seem almost completely different: and this is not surprising, since it seems unlikely, in spite of his extravagant comparisons of his own work to that of Anacreon<sup>1</sup>, that he had ever read the Anacreontea itself. There is however one verbal echo of Anacreontea 1 in this sonnet, in

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1. Apart from the two poems discussed here, see Sonnet 2, "The Greeke Poet to whom Bathill was the guide", Pandora, 1584, sig Blr; and the Ode, "Come, come Simonid, and Anacreon", sig. D2v.

line 11 "And amore alone I must strike on my Leer".

This could easily be taken from Ronsard's imitation of this poem.

More closely connected with the Anacreontea is Soowthern's "Odellet" beginning "Some will sing the great feates of Armes ..." The beginning of this poem is taken directly from Belleau's version of Anacreontea 16, "L'vn chantera les grands faits d'armes De Thebes, l'autre les allarmes ..." Only the names of the places have been altered round by Soowthern. But, strangely, instead of saying it is better to write of love, Soowthern says it is better to drink than to fight: and in so altering the comparison Soowthern misses the point of the original comparison between the war of battles and the war of love.

There is no need to consider Soowthern's poems in more detail: the important point to note is that in 1584 the Anacreontea had reached England not from the Greek, nor from an early Latin version, but from the French versions and praise of Anacreon by Ronsard and Belleau. Soowthern's poems in praise of Anacreon are in fact the earliest known criticism of the Anacreontea to appear in English. Five years later, in George Puttenham's The Arte of English Poesie we find, in Puttenham's strictures on Soowthern, the earliest English literary criticism of versions of the Anacreontea:<sup>1</sup>

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1. Reprinted and ed. G.D. Willcock and A. Walker, 1936, pp. 252-253. For the identification of this passage with Soowthern, see A.H. Upham, The French Influence in English Literature, 1908, p. 112, footnote.

Another of reasonable good facilitie in translation finding certaine of the hymnes of Pyndarus and of Anacreons odes, and other Lirickes among the Greekes very well translated by Rounsard the French Poet, & applied to the honour of a great Prince in France, comes our minion and translates the same out of French into English, and applieth them to the honour of a great noble man in England (wherein I commend his reuerent minde and duetie) but doth so impudently robbe the French Poet both of his prayse and also of his French termes, that I cannot so much pitie him as be angry with him for his iniurious dealing, our sayd maker not being ashamed to vse these French wordes freddon, egar, superbous, filanding, celest, calabrois, thebanois and a number of others, for English wordes, which haue no maner of conformitie with our language either by custome or deriuation which may make them tollerable. . . . this man deserues to be endited of pety larceny for pilfering other mens diuises from them & conuerting them to his owne vse, for in deede as I would wish euery inuētour which is the very Poet to receaue the prayses of his inuention, so would I not haue a trāslatour to be ashamed to be acknoven of his translation.

Puttenham's criticism of Soowthern is extraordinarily interesting for its insight into the nature of originality in Elizabethan poetry. Puttenham makes a distinction between a translator of the poetry of another, and an "inuētour which is the very Poet", who ought not to steal the words and devices of others. And yet many fine poems by Ronsard, such as his imitation of Anacreontea 1, are in fact unacknowledged imitations of the works of others, but he is not accused by Puttenham of "pety larceny". The distinction surely is this, that, unlike Ronsard, Soowthern has failed properly to convert his models for his own use: rather he has lifted words and

phrases directly from his sources, as in his use of Belleau's version of Anacreontea 16. The more skilful a poet, the less easy it is to spot the way in which he uses his sources, because they have been adapted to something completely new: but in Soowthern, who has nothing new to say, he adapts nothing, but merely steals the words of others.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Bicarton's Latin version of Anacreontea 16, published in 1588, shows an early link between the Anacreontea and Scotland. Born at St. Andrews, Bicarton eventually became Professor of Poetry and Rhetoric at the College of Puygarreau, at Poitiers, and it was here that his poems were published: Bicarton never returned to his native land. What Bicarton has done in this poem is to take Estienne's version of Anacreontea 16, and to rework it into elegiacs. The influence of Estienne's version can be seen in the following words: "cantat" (line 1), "clades" (line 2), "perdidit" (line 4), "dominae" and "ocellis" (line 5), "Agmina" and "telis" (line 6). Bicarton's phrase, "praelia Troiae" (line 1) is probably taken directly from the Greek Φρυγῶν αὔτας. The various additions which Bicarton makes in his pentameters are all in keeping with the tone and spirit of the original as interpreted by Estienne, and the "flamiger ...

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1. The distinction between translation, imitation and plagiarism is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 10 below, pp. 380-397.

Amor" of line 6 has counterparts in mediaeval and Renaissance art.

Sir Philip Sidney's use of the Anacreontea is particularly hard to discern, because he always adapts what he has read so skilfully that in very many instances it is no longer possible to trace his sources. An excellent example of the difficulty can be seen in the way in which Sidney has adapted Anacreontea 16 in a poem in the Old Arcadia (first published 1593), "My muse what ails this ardour". The theme of the poem is love-sickness, and it is introduced by Sidney with these words:<sup>1</sup>

Cleophila seeing nobody offer to fill  
the stage, as if her long-restrained conceits  
did now burst out of prison, she thus (desiring  
her voice should be accorded to nothing but  
to Philoclea's ears) threw down the burden of  
her mind in Anacreon's kind of verses:

The meaning of the phrase "Anacreon's kind of verses" is explained in Chapter 8 below, p. 292. It is a metrical term, and does not necessarily imply that the content of the poem has any connection with the Anacreontea. However, the third stanza of the poem, lines 19 - 29, read as follows:<sup>2</sup>

My muse what ails this ardour?  
20 If that to sing thou art bent,  
Go sing the fall of old Thebes,  
The wars of ugly centaurs,

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1. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. J. Robertson, 1973, p. 163.

2. Ibid., pp. 163-164.

The life, the death, of Hector,  
 So may thy song be famous;  
 25 Or if to love thou art bent,  
 Recount the rape of Europe,  
 Adonis' end, Venus' net,  
 The sleepy kiss the moon stale;  
 So may thy song be pleasant.

The meaning of this, that it would be better for Cleophila to sing of Thebes and the rest instead of her own passion, is a sort of reversal of Anacreontea 16. But taken as a whole, the poem puts forward the philosophy that "The life we lead is all love" (line 52), so it is meaningless for Cleophila to try any other theme. This message is the same as that of Anacreontea 1. Sidney has used the two Anacreontic poems and other sources in order to construct his own recusatio, in which the content is almost entirely different from that found in "Anacreon".

The two Anacreontic recusationes, and similar poems written by Ovid and the other Roman elegists, form the background to the use of the recusatio in the Elizabethan sonnet sequence. The first example of this type, Soowthern's "Sonnet to the Reader", has already been discussed. A much more elegant example is the third sonnet of Sidney's "Astrophil and Stella"<sup>1</sup>, first published in 1591, "Let daintie wits crie on the Sisters nine". On this poem Ringler notes:<sup>2</sup>

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1. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. W.A. Ringler, 1962, p. 166.

2. Ibid., p. 460.

Sidney here reviews the chief literary movements of his time, both on the continent and in England ... in order to reiterate that he needs no art when he has Stella as his subject.

The contrast here, then, is not between the theme of love and the theme of war, but between Sidney's love poems and those of other sonneteers. True poetic invention, says Sidney here and in the other opening sonnets of his sequence, cannot come only from turning the leaves of others. The same sort of thought can be found behind Anacreontea 1, but Sidney makes the point far more effectively. For the Anacreontic, as pointed out above (p. 53) uses very conventional devices to praise spontaneity in poetry: but Sidney uses poetic invention in a much more subtle and original way.

A recusatio more closely linked to the themes of the Anacreontea is Sonnet 60 of Barnabe Barnes's sequence, Parthenophil and Parthenophe. The opening line, "Whilst some, the Trojan wars in verse recount" is clearly taken from Anacreontea 16, but unlike any previous version of this particular poem, Barnes goes on to recount many other epic themes used by Renaissance poets. Barnes's immediate source for his use of the Anacreontea is unclear. The phrase "Trojan wars" is closest to Bicartron's "praelia Troiae": but the way the theme is developed is more like that of Soowthern (who alone mentions Rome), and Barnes had also probably seen some of the versions of Anacreontea 1 which bring in contemporary themes

as subjects for epic (Ronsard, Belleau, Doublet). Blind Cupid (line 11) is not Anacreontic: but the wound which he causes may well be an inference from Estienne's line "inde tela mittens" (line 8), which was also used by La Jessée. The only previous poem discussed which brings in Cupid directly is that of Tasso, but this is completely different from Barnes's sonnet. The "men in golden arms" who attend Cupid (line 13) recall the "amoureux" of Ronsard's version of Anacreontea 16. The Anacreontic background to Barnes's sonnet is thus a very complex one.

The idea of Cupid residing in the poet's mistress's eyes is a very common motif both in Classical and in Renaissance love poetry. We have already seen how it was introduced into the Anacreontea in line 7 of Estienne's version of Poem 16, "Dominae insidens ocellis", where the Greek mentions the eyes but does not stipulate the sex of the beloved. Now it would clearly be absurd to attribute all the many passages in Elizabethan sonnets where Cupid resides in the beloved's eyes to the influence of Anacreontea 16: but there probably is some connection between the Anacreontic and those passages where Cupid actually shoots arrows from the mistress's eyes. This motif can twice be found in the most Anacreontic of Elizabethan sonnetteers, Barnabe Barnes:<sup>1</sup>

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1. "Parthenophil and Parthenophe" in Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, Vol. 1, 1904, pp. 184 and 209.

WHEN lovely wrath, my Mistress' heart assaileth,  
 LOVE's golden darts take aim from her bright eyes;  
 (Sonnet 26, lines 1 - 2)

IF CUPID keep his quiver in thine eye,  
 And shoot at over-daring gazers' hearts!  
 (Sonnet 67, lines 1 - 2)

This last sonnet ends with a comparison between the arrows of Cupid and those of Mars:

This difference left 'twixt MARS his field, and  
 LOVE's;  
 That CUPID's soldier shot, more torture proves!  
 (Sonnet 67, lines 13 - 14)

This idea, though connected with the love-war comparison of Anacreontea 1 and 16, is probably taken from the comparison of the arrows of Mars and Cupid in Anacreontea 45.

A second recusatio in Barnes's collection is his Ode 7, "WHEN I did think to write of war".<sup>1</sup> In spite of the similarity of the opening of this Ode to the beginning of Anacreontea 1, the remainder of the poem is derived not from the Anacreontic recusationes, but from another famous Classical example of the genre, the first poem of Ovid's Amores. Barnes's poem is of particular interest for his rejection of the theme of the praise of the Queen (in the second stanza, beginning "ELIZA's praises were too high!"). This is precisely parallel to the Roman poets' rejection of the theme of the praise of Augustus Caesar: as in their verse, Barnes's recusatio enables him to introduce incidental sentiments of praise into his sequence of love poems.

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1. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, Vol. 1, 1904, p. 282.

With the end of the sixteenth century, we come to the end of examples of the use of Anacreontea 1 and 16 as recusationes in English sonnet sequences. Before discussing English seventeenth century translations, it is necessary to consider briefly the continental versions of the turn of the century, by Paul Estienne, Eilhard Lubin and Giambattista Marino.

Paul Estienne's versions in Latin elegiacs of Anacreontea 1 - 3, were first published in 1593, according to Gail.<sup>1</sup> They were printed again in the 1600 reprint of Paul's father's 16<sup>o</sup> edition of the Greek lyric poets, including "Anacreon".<sup>2</sup> In the version of Anacreontea 1 there is an unusual lack of echoes of previous versions: Paul Estienne has translated directly from the Greek text. He has, however, made his translation considerably longer than his original by various periphrases, such as "Atridas geminos" (line 1) for Ἀτρείδας ; "fortia Cadmi Facta (lines 1 - 2) for Κάδμῳ ; and "Herculis aggressus fortia facta" (line 4) for ἄθλους Ἡρακλέους : and by the additions of "Impatiens" (line 5) and the whole of line 6. These

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1. Odes d'Anacréon, ed. J.B. Gail, Vol. 2, 1800, p. 78, gives the first publication as Epigramm. ex Antholog. Graecorum petitis, latine redditis, Lugdun. 1593. I have not seen this book. The title given by A.A. Renouard, Annales de L'Imprimerie des Estienne, 1843, p. 195, is probably more accurate: PAULI Stephani versiones Epigrammatum Graecorum Anthologiae Latinis versibus. Ejusdem Juvenilia. Lyons and Geneva, 1593.
  2. Pindari Olympia ... Caetororum Octo Lyricorum carmina, 1600.

alterations have the effect of explaining the meaning of the poem clearly without any important changes of content. Paul has followed his father Henri's version (as have Lambin and Lubin) in translating the Greek by the Latin "vnus" (lines 2 and 8) rather than with the word "solus" preferred by André.

Eilhard Lubin's Latin translation of the Anacreontea was published in 1597. The first line of the version of Anacreontea 1 shows that it is taken directly from the Greek θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας ("Volo sonare Atridas", cf. Estienne "Cantem libens Atridas", and André "Cantare nunc Atridas"). The only previous translator to come closer to the Greek here than Lubin is Lambin ("Volo referre Atridas"). Lubin has also used the versions of Henri Estienne and André: lines 3 - 4 are taken from Estienne, and line 7 from André. But in spite of these borrowings, Lubin's version remains more faithful to the Greek than either of the other two: see for example Lubin's use of "Nobis" in line 11, and "Lyra" in line 12. In his version of Anacreontea 16, Lubin has succeeded in retaining the 7 lines of the Greek original, where Estienne and André expand to 8: but he does this by introducing the verb "vibrat" (line 7) which does not really correspond to the Greek βαλὼν. Here again, Lubin has borrowed extensively from Estienne and André ("cantas", line 1, from Estienne; "alter", line 2, from Estienne; line 3 from

both; the verb "perdidit", line 4, from both; the phrase "Quoddam novum sed agmen", line 6, from André). In this version, Lubin does not succeed in remaining more true to the Greek original than his two predecessors.

It is interesting to compare the recusatio in the Elizabethan sonnet with a late Italian example of the same genre, dating from 1602. This is the first poem in Giambattista Marino's "Rime Amoroze". Marino professed himself a disciple of Ovid, but, according to Mirollo<sup>1</sup>, left behind him little evidence of any woman's influence except that of his mother. Bearing this in mind, it seems likely that the idea of beginning his sonnets with a recusatio comes from Ovid's Amores, with its theme of the "war of love". There are, however, three details which show that Marino has made use of Anacreontea 16 - the idea that other poets sing of war (line 1), that Marino, by contrast, sings of love (line 5), and the mention of the beloved's eyes (line 9). Marino's opening words, "ALTRI canti", recall Estienne's "cantat alter" (line 2). Marino has several echoes of the Tasso sonnet discussed above, "Stavasi Amor ...". The most striking equivalents are Tasso's mention of the two shining eyes, "due luci ardenti" (line 2), the arms of Mars, (Marino line 1, Tasso line 9) and the wearisome

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1. J.V. Mirollo, The Poet of the Marvelous, 1963, Introduction.

story of their loves (Marino line 8, Tasso line 14). But Marino's knowledge of the Anacreontea cannot be drawn entirely from Tasso, because the general shape of his recusatio is much closer to Anacreontea 16 than Tasso's. There are no direct echoes of the English sonnets in Marino's poem, in spite of the fact that he has used the recusatio in such a similar way.

Marino's La Lira of 1614 begins with a very skilful imitation of Anacreontea 1. The manner in which the poem is elaborated recalls Ronsard and Tasso, but again the general pattern indicates knowledge of a more literal translation. The source may well be Estienne, because Marino's echo of "TEMPRO ... temprando" in lines 1 and 13 is reminiscent of the repetition of two lines in Estienne's version. This is not a direct verbal echo, but in both cases the repetition serves to emphasise the power of the gods over the poet: Marino's repetition of the verb brings out the metaphor of the poem, since in line 1 it is applied to the lyre, and in line 13 to "Lo Dio guerrier".

In other respects also Marino's sonnet seems designed to explain fully the meaning of the Anacreontic. The wars of the Atrides and Cadmus are now simply "Marte" (line 2) - his personification in the poem balances the portrayals of Cupid and Venus. Lines 5 - 8 are devoted entirely to the effect of Love's influence upon the poet: but the mention of Love's weapons in line 8 (recalling

Anacreontea 16) prepares the way for the discords of war which the reader encounters in line 9. These dominate the movement of the poem until the god of war falls asleep in Cytherea's lap at the end of the sonnet. By emphasising the opposing themes of love and war in different parts of the sonnet, Marino is making effective use of the architecture of his chosen form: the difficult restrictions of the sonnet have here given the poet an opportunity to heighten the symbolism of the original Anacreontic, and the recusatio serves its true purpose of exploring the different themes available for his verse.

Nine years after the publication of Paul Estienne's elegiac versions, an English translation of the same three Anacreontics was published in A Poetical Rhapsody (1602). These translations are attributed in an extant manuscript list to a poet whose initials are given as A. W.<sup>1</sup>: but his identity has never been discovered. All three of A.W.'s versions are skilful and successful poems in their own right - but they also contain many possible echoes of earlier translations. The most important echoes in his version of Anacreontea 1 are as follows. In lines 1 - 2 A. W. uses the two verbs "write ... sing." This is directly parallel to the Greek λέγειν ... ᾄδειν . Of previous translators, Estienne, André, Lambin, Turrin, Lubin and Paul

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1. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602, ed. H.E. Rollins, Vol. 2, 1931, pp. 53-71.

Estienne all use one verb to cover both phrases: only Doublet has used two separate verbs "dire ... chanter." A. W.'s phrase "faine would I" (line 1) is also close to Doublet's "ie veus" and Lubin's "Volo", all being close translations of the Greek θέλω: other translators are less precise (e.g. Estienne "libens", André "expetesso"). In line 3 A. W. is following Doublet in substituting the modern "lute" for the ancient lyre. In line 5 "I alt'red quite" is reminiscent of Doublet's "de façon toute": in line 6 "Both frets and strings" could be based on Doublet's "De nerfs, de table & de coute": and "for tunes aboue" is reminiscent of Belleau's "D'vn haut stile". In line 7 "Alcides might" echoes Belleau's phrase "la grandeur D'Hercule".

From these echoes we can conclude that A. W. has certainly used the Greek text, that he has probably used Doublet's version, and that he had possibly also read Belleau's translation. There is nothing to suggest that he has made use of any of the Latin versions of the poem.

The conciseness of A.W.'s translation has not prevented him from introducing some original touches of his own. Line 4, for example, introduces a new concept into the poem, that of harmony. The idea seems to be that the full resources of the poet's lute can only be exploited by the delicate textures of love poetry. Here A. W. is slightly changing the emphasis of the poem from

the content to the form of poetry; the same interpretation is evident in the phrase "fierce Alcides might" (line 7), which has rather a different tone from the neutral ἄθλους: in this version it is not simply that the poet's inspiration leads him to want to write of love, but rather that the rhythms and metres which he feels are available to him are those conducive to "Loues delight" - his "tune" is that of love (line 8). This motif could be derived from Belleau's version, in which the poet seems particularly sensitive to the tune his instrument is playing ("mignarder", "D'vn haut stile", "contresonne"). It is interesting to note that the use of the recusatio to discuss poetic form goes back to the original Classical use of such poems, where they formed one side of the debate between the relative merits of the short lyric and the long epic poem.

A. W.'s poem contains one other interesting departure from previous versions - the "worthies" of line 9. The Nine Worthies mentioned by Caxton in his preface to Malory<sup>1</sup> and by Shakespeare in Love's Labour's Lost<sup>2</sup> were a mediaeval invention, and did not generally include either/<sup>the</sup>Atrides or Cadmus, although Caxton mentions Hector of Troy. "Anacreon" had in mind, as Estienne points out in his note on line 1 - 2, the normal subjects

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1. Malory, Works, ed. E. Vinaver, 2nd edn., 1971, p. xiii.

2. Act 5, Scene 1, line 107 ff.

for epic poetry: but A. W. seems to go further, and reject any form of historical narrative poem. He thus succeeds in giving a contemporary flavour to his translation, while at the same time giving a fairly concise literal version which is true to the original concept of the recusatio.

The Latin poems by the Scotsman John Leech, Musae Priores, published in 1620, included two books of Anacreontica. In the introductory poem to the first of these books<sup>1</sup> Leech writes a sort of recusatio - but one which is not based specifically on the wording of the two Anacreontic poems. In his poem, entitled "De Se", Leech discusses the influences which various different poets have had on his work, and concludes:<sup>2</sup>

Sed Amor potens, Amor me  
Grauibus vocauit ausis;  
Pronaque mi ingenii vim  
Sua castra ad vsque duxit.  
Vbi me rosae, atque myrti  
Sertis, comas reuinctu,  
Madidas comas Lyaeo,  
Iubet esse Anacreonta.

The theme of these lines is undoubtedly indebted to Anacreontea 1 and 16.

The poems which remain to be discussed are all English verse translations of Anacreontea 1 and 16 dating from the 1650s to 1680s, that is to say, poems exactly 100 years later than the initial phase of French translations.

1. Ioannis Leochaei Scoti, Musae Priores, 1620, sig. D2v - D3r.

2. Ibid., sig. D3r.

The English translators of the second half of the seventeenth century were no longer dealing with a new and exciting discovery, but with an old established classic. Accordingly the text is treated with slightly greater respect than in the past. We do not find at this period attempts to modernise the Classical references in the poems, or to use them as the basis for modern recusationes: all these six poems are acknowledged versions of "Anacreon". On the other hand, the style of translation of the time was a fairly free one, providing plenty of scope for innovations by the poet.

The three versions of Anacreontea 1 dating from this period are by Thomas Stanley, John Berkenhead, and Abraham Cowley, and were all published during the 1650s. Thomas Stanley's version (1651) is based principally on the Greek text, but he has also kept a close eye on Estienne's notes: in fact he repeats some of the passages which Estienne cites in his own "Excitations", together with other parallel texts from Bion, Tibullus and Horace. The passage cited from Bion's Idyll IV clearly shows that Stanley regards the poet's dispute with his lute as a convenient metaphor for a conflict in his own mind:<sup>1</sup>

This witness the disorder of my tongue,  
When God or Man is subject of my song,  
But love and Lycidas: what I compose  
Of them, in streams of verse untroubled flows.

Like A. W.'s version, Stanley's is remarkable for its economy of expression - nothing of substance is added to

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1. Anacreon, Bion, and Moschus, [ed. Sir E. Brydges], 1815, p. 134.

the original except for "wandring" (line 2), "strains" (line 10), and the whole of line 7, "But my pains I fruitless found". Like Ronsard, Stanley omits completely the phrase *καὶ τὴν λύρην ἅπασαν*, thus avoiding the illogicality of changing both the lute and the strings. Apart from these touches, the only other alterations Stanley makes are for the sake of the English rhymes. Each of the five rhymes is brought about by a departure from the original - "King" is an explanation of *Κάδμον*: "prove" is added in order to translate the imperfect tense *ἔπειθε*, and "essay" for the imperfect *ἔπειθε*: line 7 is Stanley's addition, and the word "mute" is a deduction from the sense of the final sentence. It is a mark of Stanley's skill as a translator that none of these rhymes appears out of place in his finished version, although none derives from his original.

There are few echoes of previous versions in Stanley's translation. The only possible echoes of Estienne are the use of the verb "sing" to cover both the first 2 lines, and "labours" in line 6 (cf. Estienne "labores") - but both these points occur in several other versions. In changing the lyre to a lute Stanley is following Ronsard, Doublet and A. W. The phrase "would sound" (lines 4 and 8) may also be taken from A. W. It is also possible that Stanley's last line is a deliberate reversal of A. W.'s "No tune but Loue my Lute can tell," and "onely Loue sounds eu'ry string"

(A. W., line 4). In the Elizabethan poet, epic themes sound some of the strings of the lute, but not all, whereas Stanley makes his lute silent when the wrong type of poetry is attempted. Stanley's version is simpler, but the notion of harmony is lost.

John Berkenhead's version of Anacreontea 1 was published in a musical setting by Henry Lawes, which appeared in the first book of his Ayres and Dialogues (1653). On the page before Berkenhead's song appears a setting by Lawes of the actual Greek text of Anacreontea 1. Such settings do not appear to have been very popular for the simple reason that singers and listeners seem to have had great difficulty in understanding them (for the remarks on this point by Henry Lawes, see my notes on "Anacreon In Music", Appendix to Chapter 9 below, pp. 366-372 ). Lawes' version of the Greek text contains two additional lines, inserted between lines 4 and 5:<sup>1</sup>

Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχων νόημα  
'Αβουλον, οὐκ ἐπέειθην.

These lines are in fact Anacreontea 14, lines 3 and 4: it seems that they have been included here for the sake of the music. They do not appear to have influenced any of the translations.

In Berkenhead's version of this poem the new, elaborated style which was soon to be made popular by

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1. Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues, 1653, sig. Hlv.  
The last word is a mistake for ἐπέεισθην.

Cowley's Anacreontiques makes its first appearance. Berkenhead's poem is written in such a style, with so many small alterations, that it is extremely difficult to work out what his models are. There is one clue alone which suggests that he has used the Greek text. This is his use of the word "Love" once in line 4, twice in line 10, and three times in line 14: this corresponds to the Greek Ἔρωτα in line 4, and Ἔρωτας in lines 9 and 12. André and Lubin are the only previous translators to have copied this pattern exactly. It is also probable that Berkenhead used Stanley's version. His song is headed "Anacreon's Ode, call'd, The Lute" - and Stanley alone had given this title to the poem. Berkenhead's line 4, "my Lute will sound nothing but Love" is also reminiscent of Stanley ("Nothing it would sound but Love"). Berkenhead's ending "'Tis dumb to all but Love ..." seems to be based on Stanley's "my Lute To all strains, but Love, is mute." The use of "sing" in line 1 could also possibly be from Stanley, and the use of Troy and Thebes could be taken from a passage from Ovid given in Stanley's "Excitations" and translated by him thus:<sup>1</sup>

When Thebes, when Troy, when Caesar I would chuse,  
Corinna's name alone employs my muse.

Estienne, however, also quotes this passage, and explains

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1. Anacreon, Bion, and Moschus, [ed. Sir E. Brydges], 1815, p. 134.

the Atrides and Cadmus as Troy and Thebes in one of his notes (cited on page 53 above). Morenne also mentions Troy. Berkenhead's phrase "All-performing" may be taken from Doublet's "Henri tout domptant" (line 8).

Far more interesting than Berkenhead's borrowings, however, is the original way in which he adapts the poem to his own ends. Evans<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that Berkenhead's songs are strongly Royalist in tone, and bravely printed in 1653. The present song is no exception. The Ἡρώες to whom "Anacreon" bids farewell at the end of his poem become in Berkenhead "Graecian Peers" and "true Trojan Cavalleers". The practice of retaining the ancient setting of a poem, while giving it modern characteristics, became more and more common in the later seventeenth century: there are many examples of it in the later Oxford translation (Anacreon Done into English, 1683). But what Berkenhead has done here goes further than that: he is lamenting the poverty of his own times by comparison with the ancient past. Under cover of a translation, he is condemning a régime which allows him only the escapism of love poetry, although he wishes to sing of Cavaliers. He has, in fact, completely reversed the idea of the recusatio as originally conceived. The Roman elegists and Horace used this type of

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1. W.M. Evans, Henry Lawes, 1941, p. 201.

poem in order to reject the nationalistic epics proposed to them by the Augustan régime in favour of their own loves: Berkenhead is forced to write of love by a régime which he abhors. The threefold repetition of "Love" at the end of his poem is a cry of exasperation, no longer a cry of joy.

A comparison of Berkenhead's poem with the way the earlier French poets used the Anacreontic recusationes is also instructive. Instead of giving the Greek heroes a contemporary significance, Ronsard, Belleau and Doublet discarded them altogether, replacing them with modern figures: Berkenhead, on the other hand, wishes to conceal his message behind the Greek names. Nevertheless, it is possible to compare the terms in which the French poets describe their own heroes with the phrases used by Berkenhead. Closest to Berkenhead's "farewell all ye Graecian Peers, and all true Trojan Cavalleers" is probably Doublet's "Adieu vos glores hautaines, Vaillans Rois & capitaines". (lines 13 - 14). Ronsard has "adieu doncq', pauvre Francus, Ta gloire, sous tes murs veinques" (lines 19 - 20). We should note also Soowthern's lines in his "Sonnet to the Reader", "If thou hearst not the report, of their great fights, Thou shalt see no death of any valliant soldier ..." (lines 8 - 9). We can see from these quotations that Berkenhead has ample precedent for his elaboration of the idea of the Ἡρώες.

Although he uses very different phrasing to Berkenhead, Cowley's version of Anacreontea 1 can be seen to be written in a similar style - very different from the conciseness of Stanley. There can be no doubt, however, that Cowley has made some use of Stanley's translation. The transformation of the Atrides and Cadmus into "Heroes" and "Kings" (line 1) is probably based on a hint from Stanley, who calls Cadmus "the wandring Theban King" (line 2): Cowley's rhyme "prove" and "Love" (lines 4 - 5) may well be taken from Stanley: and Cowley's line 5, "The strings will sound of nought but Love" seems to be based on Stanley's "Nothing it would sound but Love" (but cf. Berkenhead "nothing but Love"). The fitting of new strings, but not replacing the instrument itself, is also like Stanley's version.

But Cowley's poem cannot be based on Stanley's alone. The use of the original "Lyre" (line 12) instead of the modern "lute" used by all previous English translators shows that Cowley has used an older, more literal version. However, there is no direct evidence that Cowley has used the original Greek. The most likely source is Estienne's translation, since Cowley's repetition of his first two lines towards the end of his poem (lines 15 - 16) is similar to Estienne's repetition of lines 3 - 4 at the end of his poem. Cowley alters and simplifies the title of the poem to "Love", a word which had previously been introduced into the title by Belleau;

"Que sa lyre ne veult chanter que d'Amours." Belleau also mentions kings ("nos Rois", line 2) and the lyre (title and line 7), and discusses the different sounds which love poetry might make on the strings of the lyre (lines 11 - 12, cf. Cowley lines 13 - 15.)

More striking than Cowley's borrowings, however, is the way in which he has altered the tone of his original. Most of his additions serve to emphasise the difference of form between the epic and love poetry - the "mighty Numbers" of the one, and the "gentle airs" of the other. An epic poem, Cowley tells us, requires not only an epic metre ("mighty Numbers") but also an epic theme ("mighty things"): and so it is that Cowley goes on to invoke the Muse in traditional fashion (line 3). The fight which follows between the poet and the strings of his lyre can be regarded as a struggle between his reason and his feelings in the manner of Ovid Amores 3. 12. 15-16 (lines quoted both by Estienne and by Stanley):<sup>1</sup>

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

But there is a difference: Ovid's "ingenium" means his intelligence, his wit, not his feelings: Cowley's phrasing on the other hand suggests not that the theme of Love was the rational choice to suit his own abilities,

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1. For Stanley's translation of these lines, see p. 90 above.

but that it emerged from a struggle within himself - two of his additions are "I broke them all" (the strings) and lines 10 - 11, where he tries to sing of any theme but Love. Cowley replaces the reference to the labours of Hercules by "thundring Jove," the King of the gods: this enables him to include a new reference to Love as an "immortal Pow'er" (line 11), suggesting a close identification of Love with the poet's Muse, his inspiration. This metaphor of the struggle between the poet and his instrument is kept up through the rest of the poem - the strings are "rebellious" to the mighty epic tone - the poet breaks them - and speaks angrily - but his lyre is "enfeebled" (line 12) - and so the writer must follow where his inspiration leads. Thus it is that Cowley ends by saying not simply that he can now sing only of love but that the music has persuaded him to a new theme - his heart is now in accord with his strings. Cowley's additions to the text, then, are not simply redundant explanations, but dramatise the conflict, the debate about the appropriate form and content for poetry.

Cowley's use of the rhythms of his verse adds to his force of expression. In none of the earlier versions (except perhaps that of Belleau) does the form of the verse seem appropriate to anything other than soft lyrics, the tunes of love: but Cowley begins as if he really were writing an epic, using short words and

skilful repetitions which emphasise the stresses of the iambic verse, giving a slightly harsh, martial effect: but in line 4 the longer word "rebellious" slows up the speed of the verse. Cowley then returns to his previous strong iambic beat as far as line 11, where the longer word "immortal" slows the verse sufficiently for the reader to make a conscious pause before the final words "but Love." In the following line the elision of "my'en ..." breaks up the rhythm, and prepares us for the omission of two short unstressed syllables in line 14:

Melting love, soft desire.

(Original 1656 text: "and soft desire").

The lyric has thus won a real victory over the iambic in Cowley's poem.

Cowley further reinforces his argument by reference to contemporary attitudes to music. Since ancient times, when the legend of Orpheus first sprang into being, music had been associated with the divine - a tradition of which the Elizabethans were well aware: "Heaven is music, and thy beauty's birth is heavenly" (Campion). And we can see from Shakespeare how the music of different instruments was considered appropriate for different themes - trumpets were instruments of war, and strings, such as the lute, were instruments of love<sup>1</sup> - and the music of these latter would be considered "sweet" or "gentle" music, as for example in the song sung to the music of the lute at the beginning of the third

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1. Shakespeare in Music, ed. P. Hartnoll, 1964, Part One.

act of Henry VIII (3.1. 12 - 13): -

In sweet music is such art,  
Killing care and grief of heart ...

Thus it is only appropriate that strings should "rebellious prove" when called upon to sing an epic, however much the player tells him they must obey: a lyre is meant for "gentle airs". Following a hint from Belleau's use of Mars, Cowley also exploits the association of music with divine powers by his change from Hercules to Jove, bringing out the inappropriateness of thunder as an accompaniment to a lyre.

Next, we come to the three English versions of Anacreontea 16. Of these, the one by Thomas Stanley is a very fine example of economy of expression. The seven lines of the Greek original are translated into six lines of the same length in English. Like the Greek poet, Stanley uses a seven-syllable line for his version; but he uses an English iambic rhythm, and does not attempt to imitate the Greek metre. Although his version is shorter than the Greek, Stanley has omitted nothing of substance except the words αὐτας (line 2) and ἄλλος (line 6). The influence of Estienne's version can be seen in the use of the verb "sings" (line 1, Estienne "cantas", Greek λέγεις). Like Estienne and many other previous translators, Stanley makes it clear that the poet's beloved is a woman ("Mistresse", line 6). This is only to be expected, since Stanley translates all the Anacreontic references to "Bathyllus" as if he were a

woman, and turns Poem 29, a physical description of Bathyllus, into a description of a woman. Stanley's use of "eye" in the singular where the Greek has ὀμμάτων could be taken from Belleau or Barnes.

The other two versions of Anacreontea 16 are examples of the much more elaborate style of translation made popular by Cowley. In Anacreon Done into English, Oxford, 1683, two undergraduates of New College, Francis Willis and Thomas Wood, completed Cowley's translation of the Anacreontea, adding also one version by John Oldham. Thomas Wood was the nephew of Anthony à Wood, whose Athenae Oxonienses<sup>1</sup> gives the attribution of the poems in the translation to the various poets. The version of Anacreontea 16 is by Willis.

Willis's version of Anacreontea 16 runs to 19 lines, more than three times as many as Stanley's: but it is difficult to see what Willis gains by his elaborations. Phrases such as "Trojans Story" (line 2) and "Thebans fate" (line 4) add nothing to "of Thebes, of Troy" (Stanley, line 1): and lines 5 - 8, which seem to be added by Willis to suggest that he could write epic poetry as well as anyone if he wanted to, seem to detract from the point of the poem, which is that he does not want to. The repeated word "Nobler" (lines 8, 9, and 10) seems rather inappropriate as a description of love poetry.

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1. Volume 4, 1820, columns 557 - 9.

The final line of Willis's poem, which suggests that all who see his mistress fall in love with her, also seems out of place in a poem which is supposed to contrast the poet's feelings with those of others. Willis does, however, have one or two happier turns of phrase, especially the "disdainful she" of line 11. Of the earlier poets, only Tasso ("mia servitute") and La Jessée ("croissant mon martire") have hinted that the poet's love is unrequited.

Willis's poem gives little evidence of which previous versions he has used. His title "My Fate" seems closer to the Greek  $\text{Εἰς ἑαυτόν}$  than to any of his predecessors' titles: but the use of the word "other" (line 1) suggests a French or Latin original rather than the  $\text{Σὺ μὲν ... Ὁ δ'}$  of the Greek. The reference to the "Wall" recalls Ronsard (line 1): but he and Belleau plant numerous "amoureux" in the mistress' eyes, instead of the single "Love". Only Bicarton and Tasso have previously mentioned "Amor" by name, although Barnes has "one Captain blind" (line 11): but a more likely source of the personified "Love" is Cowley's version of Anacreontea 1, from where Willis has also taken his reference to the lyre. Willis's poem is in fact an interesting example of the detrimental effect which Cowley's style had on later translators of the Anacreontea, who were able to use his techniques of loose imitation, but often without his ability to add to the meaning of his originals.

It is interesting to compare Willis's poem with the anonymous version of Anacreontea 16 set to music by Purcell and published in 1688. (I have been unable to find any evidence of the date or author of this translation.) Like Willis, Purcell's poet has taken Anacreontea 16 and rewritten it in a more elaborate style: but the two poems seem to be quite independent of each other. The version in Purcell seems to be based principally on Stanley's translation. The title "Anacreon's Defeat" recalls "The Captive": and "My own captivities" (line 5) seems to be based on Stanley's "my own captivitie" (line 2): and the phrasing at the end of the two poems is also fairly similar. The phrase "encamped in killing eyes" recalls Estienne's "agmen Dominae insidens ocellis".

The versification of this version is very clumsy: particularly bad are the rhymes "wars ... jars ... dares" and "are ... war": and the phrase "verse that dares" is not a very inspired description of epic. Fortunately, the poet improves slightly as the poem progresses: the last four lines, all of which rhyme together, contain some original touches. The poet makes explicit the suggestion in the theme of the poem that Anacreon has been defeated in the war of love: and this statement is reinforced by the clever use of the word "dies" (line 14) with its common double meaning. The motif of war is taken through to the end of the poem at the expense of the motif of Cupid: the reference to what

it is that is "encamp'd in killing eyes" seems vaguer than in any previous version of this poem.

As this poem shows, the date of 1683 does not in any way mark the end of the use of the Anacreontic recusatio. Philip Ayres' Lyrical Poems, Made in Imitation of the Italians (1687) contains several imitations of the Anacreontea, two of which are based on the poems by Marino discussed above: the sources were correctly identified by Mario Praz.<sup>1</sup> The version of Anacreontea 16 is as close to Marino's Italian as is possible within the confines of an English sonnet. Its "Tragick Strain" (line 8) and melancholy symbolism, with tears "Running like blood from my afflicted Soul" (line 11) recall some of the Elizabethan sonnets, and seem strangely unfashionable in the 1680s: nor does the poem seem a fitting "Proem" for Ayres' own poetic imitations, which it prefaces. The version of Anacreontea 1 is more successful because Ayres has here allowed himself more flexibility in his translation. He has introduced "Cynthia" as the name of his mistress, and Marino's line 5 ("Cosi pur tra l'arene, e pur tra' fiori") has been altered to "In Foreign Countries, or on English Ground". In keeping with the change of musical fashion, the "Lute" of earlier

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1. M. Praz, "Stanley, Sherburne and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets", Modern Language Review, Vol. 20, 1925, pp. 419-431.

versions has now become a "Viol". Although some of the poems in Ayres' volume are marked as translations of "Anacreon", these two are not so marked, and so probably Ayres did not realise that they are translated from Classical originals - there is no indication in Marino. Nevertheless, the version of Anacreontea 1 remains true to the original theme (lines 9 - 10):

This Viol then unfit for rougher Notes,  
My Muse shall tune to its accustom'd Way

If we examine the history of Anacreontea 1 and 16 in England from the 1580s to the 1680s, we can see changes not only in styles of translation, but also in the sources used: and there was also a gradual change in the uses to which the originals were put. Three main phases can be distinguished.

Up to 1600 (Soowthern, Barnes, Sidney) use of the poems was based entirely on sources in French: they were regarded as recusationes suitable for adaptation in modern sonnet sequences. These three poets were not interested in translating "Anacreon", but in writing recusationes of their own, taking the Anacreontic poems as two of their models: in using the poems in this way they were following the example of Ronsard, who was the first to adapt the poems to suit his own situation.

In the work of A. W. and Stanley we find succinct verse translations, carefully prepared, and based principally on the Greek originals.

Finally, the five later poets (Berkenhead,

Cowley, Willis, Anon and Ayres) chose a much more elaborate style of translation: their versions are by no means literal renderings, but rather what we call imitations. They used a variety of sources, the most important being Stanley: but their style of writing was quite different from his. These poets were not afraid to modernise their originals, or to apply them to contemporary situations: but unlike the work of the first group of poets, their work is always recognisable as versions of Anacreontea 1 and 16.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BEGGAR CUPID

VERSIONS OF ANACREONTEA 3

The familiar figure of Cupid in the Renaissance sonnet was compounded from several different traditions. Firstly, there was the handsome but tyrannical princely adolescent, born in the Latin love elegy, and known throughout mediaeval Europe through the Roman de la Rose. The antithesis of this noble figure was "blind Cupid", not a Classical invention at all, but a common figure in mediaeval art, always associated with cupidity and moral blindness. To these two opposing traditions the Renaissance added a third, the playful young child of the Greek Anthology, first printed in 1494, and of the Anacreontea, published in 1554.<sup>1</sup>

Anacreontea 3, ΜΕΣΟΝΥΚΤΙΟΙΣ ΠΟΘ' ὄραϊς,  
has long been one of the most popular illustrations of the playfulness of Cupid and the naïveté of the lover. Cupid comes late at night to the poet's door, but although the reader is told the identity of the visitor (ἔρως ἐπισταθείς μευ , line 6), the poet sees only a βρέφος. . In return for rescuing his visitor from the storm outside he is stung by one of Cupid's arrows. He has thus in all innocence welcomed love into his heart. Although the poet does not recognise his young guest, there is no suggestion that it was Cupid's intention to deceive him: on the contrary, he seems to regard

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1. The best account is still E. Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, 1939, pp. 95-128.

his arrow as a fitting return for the hospitality he has received (ἔνεε, δ'εἶπε, συγχάρηθαι , line 30): and in spite of the final word πονήσεις, the pangs of love are to be viewed as causing a light, almost gentle sting ( ὥσπερ οἶστρος , line 28), rather than a deep tragic wound. It is not surprising that such a poem appealed to Renaissance poets already steeped in the "carpe diem" theme from their reading of Horace.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter discusses all the translations of the poem, and imitations of its theme, made in France to 1600 and in England to 1683. The principal texts discussed can be found in the second volume of this thesis. Four translations appeared within two years of the publication of the Greek text, by Henri Estienne (1554) and Helye André (1555) in Latin, and by Pierre de Ronsard (1554) and Remy Belleau (1556) in French. Ronsard published a longer variation of the theme in 1578. In the 1550s Olivier de Magny reworked the theme in a French sonnet (1557), and so did Joachim du Bellay in a Latin elegy (1558) and Jean Morisot in a Latin elegiac sonnet (1558). Two further French translations, by Jean Bégat and Jean Doublet, appeared in 1559. The other continental translations discussed are the Latin versions by Paul Estienne (1593) and Eilhard Lubin (1597).

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1. Readers of J.M. Edmonds' edition of the Anacreontea (in Greek Elegy and Iambus, Vol. 2, 1931), where the poem is Anacreontea 33, should beware his unaccountable omission of line 14 of the poem, both in his text and in his translation.

The first English versions of Anacreontea 3 were by Robert Greene (1588), Barnabe Barnes (1593, a free imitation), and A. W. (1602). Sonneteers who made use of the theme of "The Beggar Cupid" include Sidney, Barnes, R. L., Drayton, Greville, and Lady Mary Wroth. Later English versions are by Robert Herrick (1648, 2 versions), Thomas Stanley (1651), Anon (1659) and Thomas Wood (1683). There are two interesting seventeenth-century French versions which are not included because they do not seem to have influenced any English version by 1683. These are by Claude Nicole (1666)<sup>1</sup> and Jean de La Fontaine (1671).<sup>2</sup>

Henri Estienne's translation into Latin printed in his editio princeps of 1554 aimed at a literal rendering in the same metre as his original: but this poem is one of those in which Estienne represented the eight-syllable anacreontic metre of the Greek by the seven-syllable Latin hemiambic (see Chapter 8 below, pp. 283-285 ). As regards the content of the poem, there are several substantive differences from the Greek which it is necessary to list in full, as Estienne's translation was as widely read as his Greek text. In line 1, Estienne omits the reference to "midnight" but

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1. Claude Nicole, Recueil de Diverses Pieces, 1666, sig. E5v - E7r.

2. Jean de La Fontaine, Contes et Nouvelles en Vers, ed. G. Couton, 1961, p. 211.

adds the epithet "silente": in line 4 the periphrasis "tribes of men" is dropped, but there is a new periphrasis "somnos ... carpit" (4 - 5): "labore" (line 5) is different from κόπω, the latter being much closer to the English "weariness": and the reference to the "bolts" is omitted from line 8. In the next line Estienne has changed the tense of the verb from future to present, and substituted "sleep" for "dreams" ("somniantem" for ὄνειρους). The change of tense is in line with the interpretation Estienne proposes in the notes to his edition, where he admits that the use of the future is not here a true indication of future time<sup>1</sup> ("imitatur enim vulgare sermonis formam ... interturbabis enim mea somnia."). In line 10 φησὶ is intensified into "clamat", and in the next line μὴ ... φόβησαι is paraphrased as "metúm ... pone". "Puellus" (line 12) does not mean the same as Βρέφος, which really means a new-born babe of either sex: the phrases "ab imbre totus" (line 14) and "Meos ... postes" (17) are additions, as is the repeated "Sed" at the beginnings of lines 19 and 20, though this follows an emendation to the text proposed in the notes, φέρον δέ (in order to follow the μέν above). "pendulam" in line 20 is an addition, and line 21 substitutes the passive for the active voice: in the next line παλάμαισι and χείρας are both translated as "hands". "Vt calescat" (line 23)

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1. Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. E5r.

is an addition, but the word ὑγρόν is omitted. In lines 26 - 27 Estienne does not translate his printed text, which implies that Cupid considers his bow-string definitely harmed by the rain, but instead follows the emendation proposed in his notes:<sup>1</sup> πειράσωμεν τόδε τόξον, εἴ τί μοι νῦν βλάβεται ...

"Statim" in line 28 and "sagitta" in 29 are additions, and in line 33 "safe" ("saluus") is substituted for "unharméd". These are the most important differences which have influenced later translators.

The next translation to be published was Ronsard's French version in Le Bocage (1554). Now Ronsard is known to have had access to the Greek text of the Anacreontea before publication, as is proved by his version of Poem 28 in Amours of September 1552, and his version of Poems 15 and 17 in Folastries (April 1553).<sup>2</sup> And so the present poem, which was published earlier than the others by Ronsard considered in this thesis, may well have been written before he had seen Estienne's translation: only two of the variants noted above appear in Ronsard's poem: the first is the addition of a word for "arrow" ("fleche", line 52), and this is nothing more than an obvious deduction from the Greek text. The other variant is the if-clause in line 49,

1. Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. E5v.

2. The first lines are given in my catalogue of poems in Vol. 2: see also P. Laumonier, Ronsard Poète Lyrique, 1909, p. 120 ff.

which depends on Estienne's emendation proposed in his notes and mentioned above. This proves beyond reasonable doubt that Ronsard had some knowledge of Estienne's work at the time his poem was written, but is no evidence that he used Estienne's translation. For our purposes it is safe to consider Ronsard's poem as based on the Greek text alone. The important role played by Jean Dorat in bringing the Anacreontea to Ronsard's attention is discussed in Chapter 2 above, pp. 45-47.

Ronsard's version is a retelling in his own words of the story of the poem, which means that, although he is much further from the Greek than Estienne, small differences of phrasing are less important for our purposes. We should note, however, some of the details which Ronsard has added and which later translators would be likely to notice. The most important of these is the framing of the poem by an introduction and conclusion addressed to a friend of the poet, in which the moral is drawn not to give lodgings to strangers. As regards details of translation, we should note the "honeyed chain" (line 15) which binds the poet's eyelids during sleep: the reference to the hinge of the door (line 26) is new, as is Cupid's "wet shirt" (28). Cupid is "wet through to the bone" (29) and the rain has been falling on his back (30). New and important are the references to a fire (33, 38) where previously we have had only a hearth. Other small details added are

"sa main humide" (35), the candles (39), the Turkish bow (41), "sous l'esselle" (42), and the poet's sense of foreboding in lines 43 - 46 - in the original the poet expresses no surprise at the way the βρέφος is dressed. Ronsard's ending is quite different from "Anacreon's": he adds Cupid's sly looking at him with one eye (lines 47 - 48), his catching the poet while he is off his guard (lines 50 - 51), and his shooting through the eye instead of the liver (line 53). The playful exultation of Cupid is replaced by an emphasis on the incurability of the wound (lines 55 - 58). The different ending and the naïve moral have the effect of making "l'homme plus naïvement bon et l'enfant plus perfidement ingrat".<sup>1</sup> Particularly unusual in Ronsard's poem is the shooting through the poet's eye: far more often we find Cupid wounding the eyes of the beloved woman, which in turn inflame the poet's heart:<sup>2</sup> the image of Cupid attacking Ronsard's eyes seems strange in a situation where there is no object of love for him to see. Another point to notice is that Cupid is nowhere named in Ronsard's version: the reader is expected to have far more idea than the poet about what is happening. This has the effect of preserving the tone of the "ode légère" in spite of the fact that Ronsard's Cupid is far

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1. P. Laumonier, Ronsard Poète Lyrique, 1909, p. 600.

2. cf. for example Propertius 1.1.1, Sidney Astrophil and Stella Sonnets 8 and 12, Spenser Amoretti Sonnet 8. But the "blinded eyes" of the lover can be found in Shakespeare Sonnet 148, as well as in the sonnets discussed below which have taken the motif from Ronsard.

less playful a character than "Anacreon's".

Ronsard made use of Anacreontea 3 again in a long poem included among the "Sonets a Diverses Personnes" in Les Oeuvres of 1578. The text of this poem, which runs to 124 lines, is too long for inclusion in this thesis. In the poem, entitled "Amour logé",<sup>1</sup> Cupid descends from heaven and wanders the earth with a pistol in hand, billeting himself in various towns like a soldier. When he comes to the poet's door at dusk one day, the poet at once recognises him: "J' entr'ouvre l'huis & je cognus Amour." (line 28). They have an argument in the course of which the poet tells Cupid he is an "artizan de malice" (line 42): eventually, Cupid is sent off to the house of the local Captain of the Guard, who tells him that the best lodgings are to be found at Anjou - if he is arrested: so he goes to attack the Duke of Anjou. The poem ends with an exhortation by Ronsard to the Duke to imprison Cupid until he repents of his crimes.

"Amour logé" is an occasional piece written to sympathise with the Duke and to satirise his current predicament. The poem's use of Anacreontea 3 is parodic: Cupid's pistol and his immediate recognition

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1. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 17, 1959, pp. 358-363.

by the poet are deliberate reversals of a familiar theme which readers of the poem would be expected to know, not only from Ronsard's own translation, but from the many other versions which had appeared in the years since 1554. It is interesting that Ronsard here treats "Anacreon" with an irreverence not found in the work of his younger days, when he had played such a large part in establishing the fame and reputation of the Anacreontea.

Within two years of the appearance of Ronsard's earlier version in 1554, two other close translations of Anacreontea 3 were published, a Latin version by Helye André (1555) and a French one by Remy Belleau (1556). Both are clearly based on the Greek text, though both poets used previous versions for help in phrasing. Later reprints of Estienne's text sometimes included André's versions as well as those of Estienne himself,<sup>1</sup> although often we find only Estienne's versions, André being used only for those poems not translated by Estienne.<sup>2</sup> Belleau's translation is mentioned in Thomas Stanley's "Excitations upon Anacreon"<sup>3</sup>, but in general it is fair to assume that the translations of André and Belleau were read less widely than the versions

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1. e.g. in Pindari ... Caeterorum Octo Lyricorum carmina, 1560 and many later reprints.

2. e.g. in ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ, Poetae Graeci Veteres, ed. P. de La Rovière, 1614.

3. In Poems, 1651.

of Estienne and Ronsard. It will suffice here, therefore, to pick out those idiosyncracies by which one would notice the use of one of these versions. André's version, in the same anacreontic metre as the Greek text, follows the Greek more closely than Estienne himself in lines 10, 28 and 30, where Estienne has translated his own emendations: on the other hand André repeats the following peculiarities of Estienne: "totus imbre" (line 13), "Manibus manus" (23), "saluus" (36), and the phrasing of the final line. There are two notable changes of meaning in André, "fores laccessit" (line 9), meaning "shakes the doors", and "Gelidum" (26) to translate ὑγρὸν. "Helice" (line 3) is a new word for the Great Bear, and the following words and phrases are additional to the original text: "prona" (2), "labore duro" (4), "parata" (16), "repente" (21), the whole of line 22, "quoad tepescant" (24), "Mora nulla" (27), "Citus" (31), and the whole of line 35. Belleau returns to the emendations proposed by Estienne in lines 11 and 33, substitutes "se va" for ἄνα δ'άλλεται in line 37, and makes the following additions to the original text: "en plein" (1), "reluit" (2), "ou ell' sejourne" (4), "les membres" (5), "du beau traict qu'il porte" (7), "alors que ie suis En mon lit" (10 - 11), "qui tousiours veille" (12), "iusqu'à la chemise" (15, from Ronsard), "de ses beaux rais" (17), "seul par l'ombre espais" (18), "de sa plainte" (20), "double" (22),

"descouuerte" (23), "Vient au feu pour se secher" (26, from Ronsard), "blonds" (30), the whole of line 31, "& tout vousté" (34), "vne sagette" (36, after Estienne and Ronsard), and "et t'asseure" (line 39). Many of these additions emphasise the pictorial imagery of the poem: Belleau must have been well aware of artistic representations of Cupid.

The importance of Olivier de Magny's sonnet "Cette nuit en dormant, j'ay entendu la plainte" lies in the fact that it is the first of many examples of the use of Anacreontea 3 in a sonnet sequence: the poem is Sonnet 83 of Les Souspirs, 1557. In spite of the comparative brevity of his treatment, Magny has omitted surprisingly little of the original story. There is however, no evidence that Magny has used the Greek text: the sonnet seems to be based entirely on the versions of Ronsard and Belleau, with perhaps a hint or two from Estienne's Latin version. From Ronsard Magny has taken the idea of addressing the poem to a friend, and the clause "Je ... le mets dedans ma chambre" (line 6, cf. Ronsard lines 36 - 37). Line 4, where Cupid complains of the lack of heat in his blood, is reminiscent of Ronsard 29, where Cupid says he is wet through to the bone: it is of interest that in Magny the emphasis is on the cold rather than on the rain, now that the Greek god has been imported to a more northerly clime. From Belleau Magny has taken "en dormant" (line 1 cf. Belleau line 6), "frappoit à mon huis" (line 2, cf. Belleau

line 9) and "Je fay pour le seicher" (line 7, cf. Belleau line 26). Like Estienne, Magny omits the references to "midnight" and to the poet's fire. Like Ronsard, Magny does not mention the name of his mysterious guest.

Magny has two strikingly original touches in his version of the story. The first of these is line 9, which suggests that Cupid's inclination to shoot the poet was brought about by the poet's concern to help him: he does not playfully pretend to be trying out his bow. The alteration serves to make Cupid seem particularly cruel in this sonnet - a tendency first noted in Ronsard and very much enhanced by Magny, in keeping with the general mood of Les Souspirs. The other original touch is the comparison in lines 11 - 14 of the poet's state to that of Menelaus after he had lost Helen. As the Anacreontic story illustrates the poet's falling in love rather than his losing his mistress, this seems a rather inappropriate conclusion, especially as Magny goes so far as to compare Cupid to Paris in line 14.

Jean Morisot's Latin sonnet of 1558 is another reworking of the theme based on Ronsard. That Ronsard is the principal source is shown by the statement that medicines cannot cure the poet's wound (lines 12 - 13, cf. Ronsard lines 55 - 57). Probably also from Ronsard is "gemuit" (line 2, cf. Ronsard "sa plainte", line 23). However, the poem cannot be based entirely on Ronsard's version, because Cupid shoots the poet in the chest (line 10), whereas in Ronsard the wound was to the eye. This

detail must be taken from Belleau, because in the Greek text, in Estienne and in André, the wound was to the liver. Possibly also from Belleau are "venit" (line 2, cf. Belleau line 8), and "abîtque volans" (line 10, cf. Belleau's "se va", line 37). Morisot makes several important alterations to the story. He places great emphasis on the cold (lines 1 and 4, cf. Magny line 4), adds "molli ... In thalamo" (lines 1 - 2), and describes Cupid as being naked (line 3) - an attribute not found in the Anacreontea but one very frequent in Renaissance art. The poet questions Cupid about his bow and arrows, and receives a rather mysterious reply (line 8), which seems to satisfy him, for he proceeds to fall asleep (line 9, cf. Du Bellay's "Somnium" discussed below). The final couplet describes how the poet is rescued from his plight by Claudia. This personal ending serves to make Cupid very much more obviously a symbol of the bringing of love than in earlier versions, and many of Morisot's other alterations serve to reinforce this symbolism. The night seems cold because the poet has not yet allowed Love to enter his heart. The poet questions Cupid because he does not understand what Love is, and Cupid attacks him while asleep, like a dream.

Joachim du Bellay's Latin elegy, entitled "Somnium", was published in the same year as Morisot's poem (1558). So many different Renaissance poems tell

stories about Cupid that we must be wary of suggesting that any particular one is based on Anacreontea 3, but in this case there probably is a link: Du Bellay has deliberately altered the story for the amusement of a readership who would be expected to be familiar with the Anacreontic. As in the original story, it is night and the world is asleep, but instead of Cupid waking the poet, he visits him in a dream: this idea could be based on the Greek οχίσσεις ὀνειρούς (line 9, cf. André "Mea visa dissipabis", line 10) - the "dreams" are altered to "sleep" by Estienne and the other translators. Instead of Cupid crying (cf. Morisot "gemuit", line 2), here it is the poet who is crying from misery (line 6): and instead of the poet taking pity on Cupid, here it is Cupid who feels sorry for the poet (line 8): Cupid says that the poet's wretched state is not his fault, "sed saeui fraude mariti" (line 11). Finally, instead of drawing an arrow from his quiver, Cupid comforts the poet by taking a feather from one of his wings. The entire poem is a scholarly joke, at "Anacreon's" expense.

The French versions of Anacreontea 3 by Jean Doublet and Jean Bégat, both published in 1559, both follow much more closely the original story. Only three copies survive of Doublet's<sup>1</sup> Les Élégies of 1559 and Bégat's version is known only from the 1573 edition of

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1. See Jean Doublet, Les Élégies, ed. P. Blanchemain, 1869, Preface.

Renvoisy's musical setting: unlike the other poems in this collection, this one was not included in Delboulle's anthology of 1891.<sup>1</sup> Evidence for Bégat's authorship of the poems set by Renvoisy and of the existence of a 1559 edition will be found in Chapter 6 below, pp. 196-197.

These two translations are not entirely independent of each other: there are several similarities, even though they were written in slightly different metres. The most significant resemblances are: "Et ne sçai ou ie me boute" (Doublet line 16), cf. Bégat's "perdu" (line 17); "Vn petit enfant ie suis" (Doublet line 14, cf. Bégat line 15); and the use of the verb "épreindre" (Doublet line 26, Bégat line 28). Of these resemblances it is the first which is the most important, since none of the earlier versions states so clearly that Cupid considers himself to be lost. It is, however, impossible to say whether Doublet is following Bégat, or the reverse.

Both Doublet and Bégat follow Anacreontea 3 very closely: they have added remarkably little on their own account. Both are scholarly versions built up from a close comparison of the works of the earlier translators. Doublet follows André in his mention of the poet's dream (line 11, cf. André line 10), and in his omission of the "moonless" night. Doublet's "améne" in line 23 is close

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1. A. Delboulle, Anacréon et les Poems Anacréontiques, 1891.

to Estienne's "admouetur" (line 21). From Ronsard Doublet has taken the references to the "chariote" (line 3), and Cupid's "arc turquois" and "carquois" (lines 21 - 22): these are used as rhymes in Bégat's version also. Doublet's reference to Cupid's flying away (line 36) could be taken from Belleau's "se va" (line 37).

Bégat's version is slightly less close to the original than Doublet's. New is the idea that Cupid knocks on the door of the poet's "chambre" (line 8) and speaks first (line 10). There are several reminiscences in Bégat's poem of the versions by Ronsard and Belleau. These are "enfant ... mouillé" (lines 15 - 16), "pres du feu" (line 25) and "jusqu'au coeur" (37). The ending of Bégat's poem is based on Belleau's, as we can see from the use of "moquant" (Bégat, line 39), "hoste" (40), "Mon arc est bien" (41) and "au coeur" (42). New here is the suggestion that Cupid "rit comme vainqueur" (39).

The last two continental translations to be discussed were published in the 1590s: Paul Estienne's Latin elegiac version of 1593, and Eilhard Lubin's literal Latin version of 1597. Both of these have been taken directly from the Greek text, but with a little guidance from previous translations. Paul Estienne has expanded the poem by adding various phrases of his own: but none of these makes any significant difference to

the story: the additions simply adjust the pace of the story in a way suited to the longer lines of a Latin elegy. The most important additions in Paul Estienne's translation are the following: "Ad latus" (line 2), "dulcis" (2), "Somnus alens" (3), "aduolat" (4), "ictu faciente tumultum" (5), "puer" (8) for βρέφος (cf. Estienne, André), "totam noctem" (9), "Dum verbis me ludit" (11), "Parua ... paruus" (14), "admoui" (15, from Estienne), "Algor ... frigusque" (17, for κρύος), "Ocyus" (19), "Cor" (20, for ἦπαρ, cf. the French versions), "vulnerat ... Amor" (20), and "vulnus" (22) for πονήσεις. One of the most interesting of these additions is the idea of Cupid flying down to the poet's door (line 4), with the suggestion that the mischievous god has deliberately picked him out to be his victim: this motif has probably been suggested by the Greek ἐπισταθείς (line 6).

Lubin's version differs from the Greek only in the following points: χεῖρα is translated as "dexteram" (line 3); σχίσεις is translated by the present tense "turbas" (line 9); βρέφος is rendered as "puellum" (line 16, cf. Estienne); and the syntax is altered in the final line so that "cor" becomes the subject of the verb. Lubin has followed many of the French versions in his rendering of ἴστιν as "ignem" (line 19).

The earliest English version of Anacreontea 3 was published before Paul Estienne's and Lubin's

translations, in 1588. It does not purport to be a translation from "Anacreon", but a "mornefull madrigall" included in Robert Greene's Alcida Greenes Metamorphosis. The poem was published again in Greene's Orpharion of 1589, without the first introductory stanza. In Orpharion the poem is called a "sonnet".<sup>1</sup>

Greene's retelling of the story of Anacreontea 3 seems to be no more related to the Greek text than North's Plutarch, published nine years earlier. There is nothing in Greene's poem to prove that he has read the Greek text, or the literal Latin versions of Estienne or André: but he was certainly familiar with many of the French versions, and his chief source was probably Ronsard. Lines 15 - 16 of Greene's poem appear to be a reworking of Ronsard's lines 43 - 46, since none of the other versions includes this motif of the poet's fear at what might happen. The final line of Greene's poem is clearly taken from Ronsard's moral (lines 58 - 62). The mention of Cupid's flying away (line 22) may be taken from Morisot or Doublet - Ronsard does not mention Cupid leaving - but it is possible that this too is an inference from Ronsard, since it is impossible to imagine Cupid shooting one arrow both through the poet's eye and his heart (Ronsard lines 52 - 54) unless he is hovering in the air above the poet. Ronsard's version omitted the reference to the gad-fly and Cupid's mocking speech at the end of the poem, and Greene also leaves these out.

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1. Robert Greene, Complete Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1881-1883, Vol. 12, p. 73.

Greene has also borrowed from Ronsard the idea of adding an introduction to the whole story, even though the content of each introduction is completely different.

Details which may be taken from other versions include the "quiuer hanging at his backe" (line 14), which is mentioned in line 4 of Du Bellay's poem. Very important in Greene's poem - because the motif became very popular later - is the idea that Cupid went specifically to the poet for refuge - "Harbour he sought, to me he tooke his flight" (line 9). This is an idea developed from the theme of Ronsard's "Amour logé". Greene has added many new details of his own to the story, such as the emphasis on Cupid's wet wings (lines 8, 10, and 22), the poet making Cupid a fire (line 12), and his inspection of his guest by the firelight (line 13).

Greene's "mornefull madrigall" emphasises the bitter-sweet aspects of the poet's love rather than the playful character of Cupid: he begins his poem with a lament in which the stricken poet asks Love to leave him for a while. Ronsard had been the first to shift the emphasis of the story from Cupid to the poet - and he was followed by Magny, Morisot and Du Bellay, whose "Somnivm" describes the poet as particularly gloomy. The bitter-sweet wound caused by Cupid is described in line 21 of Greene's poem, and even more emphatically in the later version in Orpharion, where the line reads "His shaft procurde a sharpe yet sugred smart"<sup>1</sup> (line 15).

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1. Robert Greene, Complete Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1881-1883, Vol. 12, p. 74.

The traditional description of Cupid as γλυκύπικρος was first brought into the story of Anacreontea 3 by Ronsard in "Amour logé", where in his invective against his visitor the poet describes Cupid as "Confit en miel & en fiel tout ensemble" (line 50).<sup>1</sup> But as with Ronsard's poem, it is difficult to take Greene's "mornefull madrigall" very seriously: for Greene has introduced a humorous element into the way he tells the story by means of his colloquial vocabulary, and naïve alliterations. These include such phrases as "loue take a nappe awhile" (line 2), "ranging in the raine" (8), "fear of further wracke" (16), and the descriptions of Cupid as a "Wagge" (12) and of the poet as a "poore man" (17). Greene has achieved an unusual combination of lyrical sadness and light humour.

It was thus through Ronsard that the story of Anacreontea 3 first reached England: and it was from the idea of Cupid seeking "harbour", mentioned by Greene, that so many Elizabethan sonneteers took the motif of "The Beggar Cupid". L.C. John has traced to Anacreontea 3 the common motif of the "fugitive Cupid begging admission to the poet's heart".<sup>2</sup> Like many modern writers John uses the word "Anacreontic" rather vaguely to include

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1. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 17, 1959, p. 360.

2. L.C. John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences, 1938, pp. 71-77.

many other poems in which the playful Cupid appears which have no connection with the Anacreontea: so it is necessary here to show which of the poems discussed by John derive from the story of Anacreontea 3.

The idea of calling Cupid as he is portrayed in our story a beggar originated in John Lyly's Endimion (1591):<sup>1</sup>

The beggar Loue that knows not where to lodge:  
At last within my heart, when I slept,  
He crept.

Even such a simple allusion to the story as this shows knowledge of several earlier versions. Cupid asking for lodging derives from Ronsard's "Amour logé": "The beggar Loue" derives from Greene's "Harbour he sought" (line 9): while the idea that Cupid attacked the poet while he was asleep was introduced into this story by Morisot (line 9).

The first sonnet to be published which took up this theme was Sidney's Astrophil and Stella, Sonnet 65 (lines 5 - 8):<sup>2</sup>

For when, nak'd boy, thou couldst no harbour  
find  
In this old world, growne now so too too wise:  
I lodg'd thee in my heart, and being blind  
By Nature borne, I gave to thee mine eyes.

A naked Cupid was first introduced into our story by Morisot (line 3): Sidney's "harbour" derives from Greene, and "lodg'd" from Ronsard. The words "I

1. Act 4, Scene 2, lines 25-27.

2. Sir Philip Sidney, Poems, ed. W.A. Ringler, 1962, p. 198.

gave to thee mine eyes" may well be connected with Ronsard's 1554 version, where Cupid wounds the poet in the eye (line 53).

Often compared<sup>1</sup> with this passage from Sidney is Greville's Caelica, Sonnet 12, lines 1 - 4:<sup>2</sup>

Cupid, thou naughtie Boy, when thou wert loathed,  
Naked and blind, for vagabunding noted,  
Thy nakednesse I in my reason clothed,  
Mine eyes I gaue thee, so was I deuoted.

The story of Anacreontea 3 is now so well known that Greville can say that Cupid is "for vagabunding noted". Like Du Bellay and Ronsard before him, Greville has deliberately altered the well-known story in order to make a point of his own: instead of being shot through the eye by Cupid, he has willingly submitted to Love.

Other sonneteers were keen to give their own interpretations of the story: Barnabe Barnes, following the lead of Ronsard's "Amour logé", rejects Cupid's approaches:<sup>3</sup>

BEGS LOVE! which whilom was a deity?  
I list no such proud beggars at my gate!

The curious words "which whilom was a deity" derive from

1. L.C. John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences, 1938, p. 73: John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, 1966, pp. 107-108.
2. Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke, ed. G. Bullough, 1938, Vol. 1, p. 79.
3. Parthenophil and Parthenophe, Sonnet 93, lines 1-2: Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, Vol. 1, 1904, p. 223.

"Amour logé", in which Cupid descends from heaven to wander the earth in disguise, having temporarily given up, as it were, his status as a god. Barnes insists that Cupid's status as "A naked poor boy" (line 10) is only a disguise: he gently mocks the foolishness of Sidney and the others who have given him admission: (line 11)

He is not blind! Such beggar boys be witty!

Three other sonneteers, R. L. (1596), Michael Drayton (1599), and Lady Mary Wroth (1621) based complete sonnets on the story, which require more detailed discussion: and the texts of these three poems are given in full.

R. L.'s sonnet from Diella (the attribution to Richard Linche is by no means certain) begins with Cupid running away from his mother, a very common theme which derives from the Ἔρως δραπέτης of Moschus: versions of this story have been well catalogued by Professor Hutton.<sup>1</sup> Lines 5 - 14 of the sonnet derive from Anacreontea 3, but rather indirectly: there is no mention of it being night: the poet meets Cupid by chance and offers him a permanent home ("there thinking he should live" - line 8): there is no mention of the rain, the wings, the quiver or the arrows: it is simply stated

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1. J. Hutton, "The First Idyl of Moschus in Imitations to the Year 1800", A.J.P., Vol. 49, 1928, pp. 105-136.

that Cupid raises "strife" in the poet's heart (line 11). Only the word "Pitying" corresponds to a word in the Greek ( Ἐλεῖσα , line 14) - but even this R. L. may well have taken from Ronsard (line 36) or from one of the other versions. It is interesting to compare this sonnet with Barnes's discussed above, in which the poet refused to lodge Cupid. Barnes described Cupid as "proud" (line 2); by contrast, R. L. says that he "seemed drowned in grief" (line 7). Barnes is knowingly scornful of love (like Ronsard in "Amour logé") - but R. L. portrays himself as exceedingly naïve, a man who "never sorrow, never love had tasted" (line 10, cf. Ronsard's 1554 version): but the final couplet shows him reaping the reward of his folly. This ending too is derived from Ronsard (1554) - "kindness" (line 14) corresponds to Ronsard's "Le bien" (line 61).

The beginning of Drayton's sonnet, "LOVE banish'd Heav'n, in Earth was held in scorne" is also in the tradition of "Amour logé" and Barnes: and for the motif of Cupid as a beggar, we can compare Lyly, Greville and Barnes. The clothing of the naked Cupid (line 6) is similar to Greville: and the lodging in the poet's heart is similar to Lyly and Sidney. The indirect suggestion that the poet meets Cupid by chance (line 4) recalls R. L. New in Drayton is the idea that Cupid is lonely ("wanting Friends" - line 3) and the motivation of the poet in lodging him, "like a Man devout, and

charitable" (line 5). The poet's falling in love is described in complex psychological terms (line 10), and much is made of Cupid's ingratitude. The moral at the end of Drayton's poem is once again taken from Ronsard's 1554 moral - this time the point is that one should beware of giving lodgings to strangers (Drayton line 14, Ronsard lines 61 - 62).

Each of these sonneteers has attempted to retell the story of Anacreontea 3 in a way which best illustrates the poet's own supposed situation as a lover. In Drayton's sonnet the whole story is transformed so that each detail is used to illustrate some aspect of the lover's situation. Cupid is forced to become a beggar because love is despised on earth (line 1): he is like someone seeking an object of affection, and asking for the sympathy of all those he happens to meet (line 4): it is significant that Cupid is called "Love" in this sonnet (line 1). After the poet has lodged him, the god becomes a typical victim of love-sickness, "With Sighes and Teares still furnishing his Table" (line 7 is to be taken as referring to Cupid, line 8 to the poet). Instead of shooting the poet with an arrow, he entices him to love against his will (line 10): and instead of the poet lighting a fire to keep Cupid warm, it is the fire of love which burns in the poet's heart (line 12). Each alteration from the traditional story is deliberate: and each makes an effective point of its own.

The same attention to the metaphorical meanings of the details of the narrative can be found in Mary Wroth's sonnet. Here there is the added complication that many of these details have been borrowed from earlier retellings of the story, but adapted in such a way as to make them difficult to recognise. For example, the first word of the poem, "LAtē", seems to be a reference to the time of day, as the story of Anacreontea 3 takes place at night (cf. Greene, line 7 "Cupid abroad was lated in the night"). Support for the view that "LAtē" means "at an advanced hour" is provided by the words "he sterued was with stay" (line 6), in which "stay" must indicate the delay in Cupid's returning home because he is lost (line 2). Alternatively, "LAtē" could mean "recently", correspondingly to the Latin "nuper" used by Estienne and Lubin, and the phrase "Of late" in line 1 of A. W.'s translation discussed below. There is also some doubt about the source of the word "Forrest" in line 1: it has been suggested that it could be a mistranslation of the word "fores" found in some of the Latin versions:<sup>1</sup> the easiest to mistranslate would be Paul Estienne's "aduolat ante fores" (line 4). However, Mary Wroth was not the first to set the story out of doors: this had been done by R. L. and Drayton in their sonnets, and in Barnes' Ode 12 discussed below. In line 27 of this poem Cupid complains that he

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1. Katherine Wilson, personal communication, 1975.

is "almost starved".

Mary Wroth describes Cupid as "Cold, wett, and crying" (line 2), all of which can be found in earlier retellings of the story. But the only earlier version to include all three of these is Olivier de Magny's sonnet, the first sonnet on the theme. Further evidence that Mary Wroth knew this sonnet is provided by the words "a kind compassion bred in me" (line 4), which corresponds to Magny's "A l'heure de pitié sentant mon ame atteinte" (line 5). The rhyme schemes of the two sonnets are identical (ABBA ABBA CCD EED). Knowledge of other versions is indicated by the word "lost" (line 2, cf. Bégat, Doublet) and "Host" (line 8), which is not in Magny but was frequently used for the Greek *ἔειπε*, line 32. The last line of Mary Wroth's sonnet recalls Drayton's line 12.

The reader will notice that none of the parallels cited shows a close linguistic resemblance, and the words "LAté" and "Forrest" may indicate possible alterations of meaning. These facts seem to suggest that the poet is retelling the story from memory, rather than having earlier translations in front of her as she writes. This could explain the inclusion of the "Myrtle bowre" in line 12: for in the next poem in the collection, Anacreontea 4, the poet meets Cupid in a myrtle grove: Estienne's translation begins "TENERIS supérque myrtis".<sup>1</sup> A trick of the memory could easily result in

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1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. L4v.

this element being incorporated into the previous poem. Another element drawn from elsewhere in the Anacreontea can be found in line 10, "This service should my freedom still procure". The idea of performing difficult tasks in exchange for one's freedom was frequent in Classical mythology, the most well-known example being that of the labours of Hercules. The motif occurs in Anacreontea 9, line 18. The dove in this poem says that Anacreon has sent him as a messenger of love to Bathyllus, and that he is performing this task in exchange for his freedom. The poem was adapted by Ronsard<sup>1</sup> in Les Meslanges, 1555 ("D'où viens-tu, douce Colombelle?"), and the motif is used by Shakespeare in The Tempest, Act 1, Scene 2, line 242 ff., where Prospero promises Ariel his freedom if he performs his bidding. In the Anacreontic the freedom is promised in return for an errand in the service of love: and in Mary Wroth's sonnet the act of charity is performed in Cupid's service, since in this version the poet instantly recognises Cupid (line 1), and he is taken into the poet's arms (line 11) - an act of love. There is no suggestion in the sonnet that Cupid is ungrateful: the poet does not seem particularly displeased by her reward of a burning heart: on the contrary, she knows that Cupid "pin'd for want of his accustom'd prey" (line 7).

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1. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Paul Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, pp. 220-223.

In addition to these sonnets, two other versions of Anacreontea 3 were published at this time. The first of these is by Barnabe Barnes, who composed a more detailed retelling of the story as well as the sonnet on the theme discussed above. This retelling is Ode 12 of Parthenophil and Parthenophe. Although the details of this story are quite different from the original, this version is based directly on the Greek text, as we can tell from the words "they broke my sleep", where "broke" translates exactly the Greek verb  $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  used in line 9 of the original. As in Ronsard's version, Cupid is nowhere named in this poem: but his Anacreontic appearance as a young child is not altered. The designation "little boy" (line 20) is closest to Estienne's "puellus". Barnes has also made use of Jean Morisot's version of the story, from which he has taken Cupid's wounding the poet with a javelin instead of an arrow - though in Barnes the wound is to the hand (line 37). Other points in Barnes' Ode which correspond to Morisot are the cold (Morisot lines 1 and 4, cf. Barnes line 21 "Frettished"), the naked Cupid (first associated with Anacreontea 3 in Morisot line 3), and the "balms" (Barnes line 40, cf. Morisot line 11, Ronsard line 56). Other points which indicate a knowledge of the original or of a close translation are "ONE night" (line 1, cf. Greek  $\pi\omicron\theta'$  line 1), "about midnight" (line 7, cf. Greek  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma \dots \acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$

line 1), and "pity" (line 25, cf. Greek ἔλεῖσα , line 14). The bright moon in lines 8 and 19 is a deliberate reversal of the original story.

This version of the story is far removed from being a psychological description of lovesickness: Barnes concentrates on the altered details of the setting and on the personality of the shepherd. The story is set in an unreal world in which wolves attack sheep, and in which the pagan Cupid visits a Christian shepherd (line 14). The loneliness and simplicity of the shepherd are vividly portrayed: his constantly being woken by wolves is at the same time ominous and absurd. Barnes' description of Cupid's crying as a "rumbling" (line 9) and a "tumbling" (line 12) recalls the colloquial humour of Greene's version - but the tone of the two poems is completely different. Greene placed great emphasis on the effects of love on the poet - this plays a relatively small part in Barnes' story. Instead, Barnes places the interest on the situation and reactions of the poet before his wounding by Cupid - as, for example, in the description of his thought processes in lines 10 - 11, 16 - 17. The shepherd is stronger in body than in mind - he is prepared to tackle a wolf with a sheephook, but is vanquished by the guile of a naked little boy. The humour of the simple shepherd is well brought out by the appeal to the reader in line 30 - "But guess as I was served!" -

as if the reader can be in any doubt what is going to happen.

Just as in France Ronsard's retelling of the story was soon followed by Belleau's far more literal version, so in England Greene's reworking of Ronsard and Barnes' free paraphrase were soon followed by a far more literal version. A Poetical Rhapsody, 1602, included not only a reprint of Greene's version from Orpharion but also translations of Anacreontea 1, 2 and 3 by the unknown poet A. W. (The initials may stand simply for "Anonymous Writer"<sup>1</sup>). There are three points which prove, as far as one is able to in such matters, that A. W. has used the Greek text. The first is the word "breake" in line 8: only Barnes had previously translated so precisely the Greek σχίσεις (line 9) - but he used the word in a different part of the story, not for the poet's being wakened by Cupid. A. W.'s change of tense from future to present follows the emendation proposed by Estienne in his notes.<sup>2</sup> In line 16 A. W. uses the phrase "set him downe", which reproduces exactly the Greek participle καθίσας in a way not found before (cf. for example Estienne "admouetur", line 21, André "cum sederet", line 22, Bégat "Je le vous mene pres du feu", line 25, and Lubin "sedens", line 19).

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1. See Chapter 3 above, p. 83, and A Poetical Rhapsody, ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 2, pp. 53-71.

2. See p. 109 above.

The phrase "men of all sorts" in line 3 is not precisely the same as the Greek *Μερόπων δὲ φύλα πάντα* (line 4), but it can be easily deduced from the Greek in a way not possible from any earlier translation: even Lubin's literal version omits *πάντα*. Other details of phrasing in A. W.'s poem suggest that he may have had some of the previous translations in mind, but none of these can be considered conclusive. The word "labour" in line 4 may come from "labor" used in several of the Latin versions: "A little boy" in lines 9 and 13 may come from Barnes' Ode, line 20: the "candle" (line 12) may come from Ronsard or Bégat: "Waxen warme" (line 21) may be suggested by André's "cum teperet" (line 27): the wounding "in the hart" (line 26) may be based on Belleau's "droit au coeur" (line 36) or on Paul Estienne, lines 19 - 20. The word "smart" in line 28 may come from Greene (line 22). The phrase "leapt againe" (line 30) looks like a mistranslation of the Greek *ἀνά δ' ἄλλεται* (line 29). Estienne in his notes proposed taking the *ἀνα-* with the verb, both in line 15 and in line 29, as *ἀνάψας* and *ἀνακαχάζων* (see Estienne's note on line 9, "nam tmesi frequenter vtitur.").<sup>1</sup> One would expect these verbs to mean "lit up" and "leapt up", not "leapt again". But A. W. may well be following a definition of *ἀνά* which Estienne himself gave in his

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1. Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. E5r.

Thesavrvs Graecae Lingvae, 1572:

'Avá in compositione saepe significat iterationem.

In his own translation, Estienne appears to omit ává: in the same article in the Thesaurus, he says that ává can be redundant ("Avá vacat etiam interdū"). So even in this mistranslation, A. W. is following the Greek text very carefully.

The great care which A. W. takes over his translation does not however prevent his adding many new touches of his own, such as "in her woonted way" (line 2), "full sound" (3), "And tooke the ring" (6), "Dung-wet" (10), "mee thought" (11), "shaftes" (14), "straine" (17), "From which the drops apace downe fall" (20), "will proue too slacke for mee" (24), the whole of lines 27 - 28, and "for feare it swell" (31). Apart from the description of the wound in Greene, none of these additions can be paralleled in any previous version. Some of them have the effect of making Cupid seem particularly young and playful - he appears closer to the mischievous Anacreontic Cupid than in many of the other poems. Other additions, like the ring on the door, and the drops of water falling from Cupid's wet hair, show that, like Greene, A. W. has pictured the various scenes to himself. Following Greene and Barnes, A. W. uses a tone of colloquial humour, as for example in the expressions "knocks so sore" (8) and "Dung-wet" (10): but A. W. tempers this with a touch of pathos:

there is nothing funny about the description of the wound in lines 26 - 28. The poem shows that as well as using the Anacreontic stories for their own purposes, scholarly Elizabethan poets could produce fine and faithful verse renderings of the original.

The final five English versions of Anacreontea 3 to be discussed date from later in the seventeenth century. Robert Herrick's Hesperides of 1648 included two versions, one of which is close enough to be considered a translation, and the other of which is a short reworking of the sonneteers' theme of Cupid begging his way into the poet's heart. The longer poem is called "The Cheat of Cupid: Or, The ungentle guest". There can be no doubt that Herrick's main text for this translation was the Latin version by Henri Estienne. This is suggested by the following echoes, most of which could not possibly have come from any other source: line 1 is an exact translation of Estienne's "NVPER silente nocte" (no other close translation omits "midnight"): "every creature" (line 2) has probably been suggested by "corpus omne" (Estienne, line 4): "troubles" (6) is very close to "Turbat" (9): "Cast off ... feare" (7) has been suggested by "metum ... pone" (11): "Boy" (9) may come from "puellus" (12): "all with showrs wet through" is a literal rendering of "Madens ab imbre totus" (14): "below" (19) has probably been suggested by "pendulam" (20): "harm'd ... with ... showrs" (27 - 28) seems to be

based on "laesus imbre" (27): and "Forthwith" (29) comes from "Statim" (28). The evidence that Herrick used Estienne's version is thus overwhelming, but it is much more difficult to decide which other versions he has looked at. The omission of Cupid's name in the text of the poem suggests Ronsard or Barnes' Ode, and Cupid's flying away (33 - 34) is previously found only in Ronsard, Morisot and Greene. The alternative title "The ungentle guest" suggests Ronsard's moral, used also by Drayton. There is one other possible echo of Greene, "arose" (13, cf. Greene line 12), and an even slighter one from A. W., "warmed" (25, cf. A. W. line 18), where Estienne has "recessit algor" (line 25). "Half starved" (12) may be borrowed from Barnes' Ode, line 27.

Like the other poets, Herrick makes some new and interesting additions of his own to the text: "molested" (line 4), the whole of lines 8 and 12, the "Taper" in line 14, the whole of lines 15 - 16, the wings "which did shiver" (18), "shine" (21), "as Love professes" (22), "dropping" (24), "wedded string and arrow" (30), "marrow" (32), and the last two lines. Of these additions, lines 4, 22 and 36 show that Herrick was thinking about the metaphor of falling in love which the poem embodies. The poem is particularly successful in its direct speeches, the grumpiness of the sleeper (lines 5 - 6) and the constant wit of his antagonist

("let not Locks thus keep ye"). Herrick seems slightly less interested than Greene, Barnes or A. W. in picturesque details of scene, but more interested in details which indicate something of the states of mind of the two characters, such as the shivering wings, and the dying heart. Herrick retains the naïve humour of the poet found in previous English versions.

Herrick's poem, "Upon Cupid" is not a translation of Anacreontea 3 like "The Cheat of Cupid": it is a further reworking of the theme of "The Beggar Cupid" introduced into England by Lyly and familiar from the sonnets of Greville, Barnes and Drayton. Cupid is no longer here a playful boy with bow, quiver and arrow, but has his clothes ragged and torn, supposedly like a beggar, but actually like a typical care-worn lover. The mention of his shirt recalls Ronsard (line 28). He asks not for lodging but for alms (cf. line 3 of Barnes' sonnet<sup>1</sup>), and receives food (an idea hinted at in Drayton's sonnet). His words to the poet are double-edged: "Good speed" in the journey of life, and in falling in love. This Cupid shoots no arrow, but steals into the heart, as in the sonnets of R. L., Drayton, and Mary Wroth. Unlike them, Herrick points out that this is a departure from the traditional story by adding that Cupid has no

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1. Barnabe Barnes, Parthenophil and Parthenophe, Sonnet 93, line 3: Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, Vol. 1, 1904, p. 223.

bow (line 15). Herrick's description of the "torment" of love as "silent flames, and fires obscure" should be compared with Greene's "pleasing wound ... a sharpe yet sugred smart" (lines 14 - 15). Greene's description is in keeping with the light tone of Anacreontea 3: but Herrick's emphasis on love's torment is not really Anacreontic in conception at all, but Ovidian:<sup>1</sup>

acrius inuitos multoque ferocius urget,  
quam qui seruitium ferre fatentur, Amor.

Herrick's two poems thus show the same story as modified by two quite different traditions: "The Cheat of Cupid" emphasises the humour of the original story, in keeping with the translations of Estienne, Greene and A. W.: "Upon Cupid" shows the same story as it had been developed, first by Ronsard, then by the English sonneteers. In the sonnet sequences, this tale about the Anacreontic Cupid was altered to take its place among motifs drawn from quite different traditions, from Ovid and from Petrarch: In Herrick's poem, a new and strikingly original story has emerged.

Thomas Stanley's version of Anacreontea 3 was the first to form part of a complete English translation of all the 55 principal poems considered to be the work of Anacreon. If it be necessary to prove that such a well-known Classical scholar as Stanley used the Greek text in

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1. Amores, 1. 2. 17 - 18: ed. E.J. Kenney, 1961, p. 7.

making his translation, proof is provided by the words "with me be glad" (line 30) which translate συγχαρήθι (line 30): all previous versions omit the prefix συν-. It is extremely difficult to analyse Stanley's translation in detail, because such literal phrases are uncommon in his version: his method is to take each phrase or sentence in turn and to rephrase it in his own way: he follows the original closely, but translates the sense, not necessarily the individual words. For example, the second line of the Greek poem becomes in Stanley "Downward was the wheeling Bear" (line 1), because, as he explains in his note,<sup>1</sup> "Στροφή ἀρκτου is the conversion of the bear from the meridian."

With such a method of translating, echoes of previous versions may seem to prove little, but they can point to various patterns of possible influences, which are best discerned by listing the possible echoes of phrasing. From the Greek text the following should be noted, in addition to the echo mentioned above: "did light" (line 6) for ἐπισταθείς : "Near" (19) for Παρὰ : and "made him stand" (19) for καθίσας . From Estienne I can find only "wheeling" (1) for "rotatur", but this can be adequately explained from the Greek text, as above. There are two clear echoes of André, "dark" (14) for

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1. Thomas Stanley, Anacreon, Bion, and Moschus, [ed. Sir E. Brydges], 1815, p. 137.

"opaca", and "chill" (22) for "gelidum". There is one apparent echo of Belleau: "in this still depth of night" (5), for "par l'ombre espais" (18). From A. W. should be noted "breaks" (10), "drops" (22), and possibly "me thinks" (26, cf. A. W. line 11). From Herrick's "The Cheat of Cupid" we find "lockt" (7), and "chaft" (20), as well as "warm'd" (23). The reader who finds such slight echoes gratuitous should bear in mind that there are no discernible echoes from Ronsard or Greene: that Stanley is known from his notes to have studied the translations of Estienne, André and Belleau: and that he must have been aware of the recently published version by Herrick. To this extent, then, the external evidence agrees with the internal.

Stanley's chief additions to the text are as follows: "powerful" and "opprest" (line 3), "gave their busie troubles rest" (4, possibly following Herrick's elaboration of this phrase), "in this still depth of night" (5), "perceiving" (7), "boldly" (8), "for pity hear" (11), "weary, from his way" (13), "struck" (16), "And with kindly busie care" (21), "dry" (23), and "tis time" (24). These additions are not intended to colour the poem in a particular way, like the additions of Greene, of Barnes, of A. W., or of Herrick: most of them are simply products of Stanley's method of re-phrasing his original. It is a mark of Stanley's skill as a translator that although his version is far less

literal than that of A. W., the general effect is much closer to that of the original poem. When compared with Stanley's version all the previous English translations seem to have made fun of the story by extravagant additions - we tend to remember Greene's "plumes", A. W.'s "dung-wet", Barnes's "wolves", and Herrick's "let not Locks thus keep ye". By comparison the tone of Stanley's poem is light but elegant: he does not try to make too much of the slightness of the story: he does not conceal the identity of the guest or alter the ending: he captures precisely that gentle lyricism which Estienne and Dorat had so admired in the Anacreontea one hundred years earlier.

Henry Lawes' musical setting of another English version of Anacreontea 3 appeared in the second book of John Playford's Select Ayres and Dialogues. This second book is dated 1669 although normally bound up with the first book dated 1659. Both books, together with a third, were also issued as Henry Lawes' The Treasury of Musick, dated 1669. No indication is given of the author of the words of Lawes' song, and it is not known from any other source. The collection includes a setting by Roger Hill of Cowley's version of Anacreontea 19, discussed in Chapter 5 below, pp. 175-179.

This "Tale out of Anacreon" is another translation made directly from the Greek, but with some knowledge of earlier versions. The poet uses Stanley's

method of translating the sense of each phrase, not necessarily the individual words. For example, the opening of the poem, "AT dead low ebb of night" corresponds to the Greek ΜΕΣΟΝΥΚΤΙΟΙΣ ... ὥραϊς, which really means not "At midnight" (A. W., line 2), but "in the midnight hours" (cf. Doublet's opening "SVr les heures de minuit"). The principal versions of Anacreontea 3 used by the poet are those of Herrick and Stanley. The words "chaf'd" (line 18) and "when warm'd" (line 21) could be taken from either poet: and, like them, the poet omits the reference to the gad-fly. Other echoes of Herrick are "gate" (line 5), "tresses" (19), and "laughing" (28, cf. Herrick line 33). The phrase "low ebb" in line 1 should be compared with Stanley's "still depth" (line 5). Also from Stanley is "Childe" (line 8). Echoes of other versions include the following: "without guide" (line 9) recalls Belleau's "seul" (line 18): "two Wings" recalls Belleau's "double aelleron" (line 22): "he took his flight" (line 27) may be taken from Greene's line 9. The notion that Cupid is "lost" (line 10) was used in this story by Bégat and Mary Wroth. This is the first English version to mention the poet's "liver" (line 26), a word which must be taken from the Greek text or a literal Latin translation (Estienne, André or Lubin). The text of this line looks corrupt: probably it is a mistake for something like "and through my liver reached

my heart". If this seems unlikely, it is at least less so than the arrow in Ronsard's poem which penetrates both the eye and the heart of the poet (lines 53 - 54).

Notable phrases which are not found in previous versions include the following: "Great Charles Wayn" (line 2), "strict cessation keep" (3), "to re-recruit themselves with sleep" (4), "blind" (10), "sprang" (12), the description of Cupid in lines 13 - 15, the description of his hair in lines 19 - 20, "Yonker" (line 21 - Greene called him a "Wagge", line 12), the poet's reply to Cupid (line 24), "in a trice" (27), and "it is O 'tis!" (29). As in Greene, Barnes and A. W., the additions are mainly picturesque details of scene: but here different points are emphasised. The poet has singled out for special attention the description of the unexpected guest: he is described as "a Lovely boy" (line 13), and instead of looking soaked and bedraggled with rain dripping from his hair (as in A. W., line 20), the droplets of water seem to enhance his appearance - "curles, which new faln rain had hung with perls" (lines 19 - 20). Cupid here seems far more an object of love than an agent of love: when the poet first catches sight of him he exclaims "a sweeter sight ne're bless'd mine Eye" (line 14). He seems just as interested in stroking the boy's hair as in drying it - "I gently press'd his tresses" (line 19): and at the end of the

poem the poet does not seem to be stricken with love for someone else, but rather to be grieving because Cupid is gone - for the words "my Heart is broke" (line 30) can only properly be applied to a deserted lover. The suggestion of homosexual love contrasts strongly with Stanley's Anacreon of 1651 - Stanley went so far as to alter Anacreontea 29 completely so as to make it a description of the poet's mistress, instead of βάθυλλον ... Τὸν ἑταῖρον (lines 1 - 2).

Although the anonymous poet's method of translation is similar to that of Stanley, although both versions follow the Greek fairly closely, the effect and meaning of each retelling of the story is entirely different.

The entry for Thomas Wood in the Dictionary of National Biography says that he "with Francis Willis ... published Anacreon done into English (Oxford 1683, 8vo), completing the labours of John Oldham ... and Abraham Cowley, by translating the odes which they had not already rendered into English."<sup>1</sup> As explained in Chapter 3 above, Wood was a nephew of Anthony à Wood, whose Athenae Oxonienses<sup>2</sup> gives the attribution of the various poems in the 1683 collection to the various poets. In Anthony à Wood's copy of Anacreon Done into English, which is in the Bodleian Library,<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wood's translations

1. D.N.B., Vol. 21, pp. 848-9.

2. Vol. 4, 1820, columns 557-9.

3. Shelf-mark Wood 112.7. Rebinding has unfortunately cut out a few of Wood's markings.

have been marked in the margin with the initials "T.W."

The translations of Willis and Wood are modeled on those of Cowley, who had published versions of eleven "Anacreontiques" in 1656. The strange extravagances of Wood's version of Anacreontea 3, which extends to 79 lines, may well be attributable to a poet trying to copy a style which is not his own. In any case the poet does not seem to have taken the trouble to go back to the Greek or to Estienne's Latin to write his poem: it is based entirely on the three most recently published English versions, of Stanley, Herrick ("The Cheat of Cupid"), and the poem set by Henry Lawes. There are several verbal echoes of these three versions, but there is not one echo or point of detail which must necessarily have come from any previous version. From Herrick are taken the following words and phrases, some but not all of which are found only in Herrick among previous translators: "silence" (line 1), the "Moon ... below" (line 3, cf. Herrick line 10, Lawes line 10), "cold and wet" (9), "Gate" (26, from Herrick line 3 or Lawes line 5), "Lets try" (60, from Herrick line 26 or Lawes line 24), and "Death" (67, cf. Herrick line 36). The words "Warm'd his hands with mine" (line 41) correspond to "chaf't his hands with mine" found in Herrick line 23 and Lawes line 18. Wood does not name the poet's visitor except in the title: this too may come from Herrick. Wood's alternative title, "the Cunning

"Beggar", may be taken from the first line of Herrick's "Upon Cupid", "LOVE, like a Beggar, came to me". It is evident that many of the words and phrases cited are similar to phrases in the Greek text or in earlier translations: but so many of them occur in Herrick and Lawes that there is no need to suggest any other source.

From Stanley should be noted the following: "opprest" (line 4, cf. Stanley line 3); "your pittty move" (16, cf. Stanley line 11); "Compassion" (21, from Stanley line 15); "strook a Light" (25, from Stanley 16); "drawn" (64, cf. Stanley, line 27); and "wounds" (71, perhaps from Stanley line 32). The phrase "Stars below" in line 3 may be based on Stanley's first line, "Downward was the wheeling Bear". Stanley's phrase is an inference from the Greek, but Wood's has nothing to do with the Greek, and actually contradicts it by making the night starless: but it could easily be a false inference from Stanley. In addition to the phrases listed above, Wood has taken from the poem set by Lawes the idea of including a description of Cupid's hair (lines 45 - 48): "Curls" (line 47) is from Lawes line 19, and Wood's "glimmering" (Line 46) recalls the description in Lawes, line 20.

Wood has incorporated into his poem a vast number of redundant elaborations. Some of these seem to be designed merely to show that the poet has some elementary knowledge of Classical mythology, such as the

ancient uncertainty as to who Cupid's father was, alluded to in line 10, and the mentions of Ganymede (line 50), and the Alexandrian and Anacreontic putti (49). The emphasis on Classical mythology combines very strangely with the poet's modernisms, particularly in lines 13 - 14, which suggest a picture of Venus walking round an English country town disguised as a beggar, and in line 72, where the curious "Landlord" reminds us just at the wrong moment that the poem is not set in Greece at all, but in contemporary England. The stormy night and the warm fireside of many earlier versions has tended to suggest a far colder climate than that of Cupid's native Greece, but has never before been allowed to cause such incongruities. Most of Wood's other additions elaborate the theme of deception. This begins in line 18, where the poet imagines that the boy is in tears: but just in case the reader is unable to work out from this that the poet is being deceived, we are told so explicitly in lines 23 - 24, again in lines 27 - 28, and again in lines 35 - 36. Further elaborations of this theme are found in the word "conceal" (line 34), in lines 39 - 40, in line 42 ("Two fires") and line 44 "a secret flame." Line 51 adds a touch of irony to the theme, where the poet suggests his visitor is much fairer than Cupid. When the dénouement finally comes, Cupid goes so far as to wound the poet twice (line 71). In line 77 the wounding

of the poet with the fires of love is made out to be a fitting return for the hospitality Cupid has received. Thus although the poet is to be stricken with love unto death <sup>the</sup> in/true Ovidian/<sup>manner</sup> there is little suggestion that this is in any way unpleasant - Cupid is cunning rather than cruel. Wood's additions are less successful than those of previous versions because they are not in harmony with each other or with the original poem.

Our analysis of Wood's translation shows the value of studying each poem's sources in some detail. Wood has produced such an over-elaborate baroque translation precisely because he is not following the Greek, but building upon several earlier English versions. Wood's style is deliberately designed to imitate Cowley: but as we shall see in the following chapters, Cowley's method of translation is entirely different.

It is not possible to draw any conclusions which cover all the poems discussed in this chapter, so different are they in meaning, tone and fidelity to the original story. But from them it is possible to pick out two distinct groups of poems. The first group consists of translations which follow closely the details of the original story. Many of these are based on a knowledge of the Greek text, such as the translations of Ronsard, Belleau, Bégat, Doublet, A. W., Stanley, and the poem set by Lawes: but a skilled craftsman could produce a successful translation which is itself based

on an earlier translation (e.g. Greene, Herrick). Even when following an earlier text fairly closely, such translations could change the tone or even the meaning of the original: a good example of this is the poem set by Lawes, which with very few alterations changes the story so that the poet falls in love with Cupid.

The second group consists of those poems which are variations on the theme of the beggar Cupid. This theme is not found in France, but seems to have been invented by John Lyly from various sources: and many variations of the theme can be found in Elizabethan sonnet sequences. In many of these poems, Cupid has no bow and arrows, but creeps like a fire into the poet's heart.

CHAPTER FIVE

A DRINKING SONG

VERSIONS OF ANACREONTEA 19

Anacreontea 19, 'Η γῆ μέλαινα πίνει , has been selected for special discussion as the most popular example of those drinking songs for which the Anacreontea are so justly famous. There are in all 18 poems in the Anacreontic collection<sup>1</sup> which may loosely be described as praises of wine or invitations to drink: most of these seek to justify drinking by appealing to the fine qualities of wine and Bacchus. Anacreontea 19 is slightly different, for it seeks to justify drinking by appealing to a mock scientific argument, which asserts that drinking is a natural activity. The train of thought of the poem is not very easy to follow, and so is here set out in full. The earth, says the poet, soaks up (water from the rain), and the trees soak up (this water) from the earth: the sea is increased by (moisture from) the breezes: the sun draws up water from the sea (by evaporation), and the moon draws (light) from the sun. In each of the five exempla the word πίνει can be taken to mean "drinks" in the sense of "draws up moisture", except in the last, the example of the moon, where the reference is to "light" rather than to "moisture". As in the case of the poem on the cicada which forms the subject of Chapter 7 below, these pseudo-scientific images can be viewed as a satire on current scientific theories which the poet probably knows

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1. Poems, 5, 6, 15, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 54 and Poem Z.

from the doxographical tradition: the joke is a scholarly one at the scientists' expense. However, in the case of Anacreontea 19 the theories satirised are not of post-Classical origin, but are derived from Classical and even presocratic philosophers.

The first two lines of the poem, the drinking of the earth and the trees, are self-explanatory - it is lines 3 - 5 which require elucidation. Of the three ideas here it is the first, that of the sea drinking the moisture from the breezes, which seems the most curious. The most recent commentary, Michelangeli's of 1882, explains<sup>1</sup> "Il mare non beve l'aria, ma dall'aria (atmosfera) beve le piogge". Fischer quoted the scholiast on Sophocles' Ajax 684<sup>2</sup> "Nam αὔρα ponitur proprie ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑγροῦ ἐκπνοῶν ", and explains "Humores, quos secum ferunt venti, augere creduntur aquas marinas." But the scholiast's remark does not in fact suggest that wet breezes pass their moisture on to the sea - on the contrary, the normal theory was precisely the reverse - that a wet breeze derives its moisture from the sea. To explain this requires a brief explanation of Aristotelian cosmology.

According to the Aristotelian conception of the universe,<sup>3</sup> "air" is the element which links the water

1. Anacreonte edizione critica di Luigi A. Michelangeli, 1882, p. 101.
2. Anacreontis Teii Carmina, ed. J.F. Fischer, 3rd edn., 1793, p. 80.
3. H.H. Frisinger, The History of Meteorology to 1800, 1977, Chapter 2: S.K. Heninger, A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology, 1960.

surrounding the earth with the fire of the heavens. The four elements of earth, air, fire and water contained various combinations of the four "qualities", the hot, the cold, the wet and the dry. Earlier cosmologies, such as that ascribed to Heraclitus,<sup>1</sup> had regarded all the four elements as interdependent on each other - so it would have been theoretically possible for "air" to pass moisture to the sea as well as drawing water from it. However, Heraclitus' theory is not a sufficient explanation for our purposes, because in Anacreontea 19 the word αὔρα does not mean "air" but "breezes". Liddell-Scott-Jones quote an example of the use of the word from the pseudo-Aristotelian De Mundo in which αὔρα means "a cool breeze from water" (my italics). Aristotle's theories about the origin of the wind are known from his Meteorologica, and they are very clearly explained by Heninger.<sup>2</sup> According to Aristotle, the sun draws up two sorts of evaporations, one a hot and dry "exhalation" from the earth, and the other a warm and moist "vapour" which rose from the watery components of the earth's surface, including the sea. It is unclear whether Aristotle regarded "wind" as caused by one of these exhalations, or simply as a moving current of air:

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1. G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers, 1969, Chapter 6: E. Hussey, The Presocratics, 1972, Chapter 3.

2. S.K. Heninger, A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology, 1960, p. 107.

but it seems from the theory that a wet breeze would be far more likely to carry moisture from the sea than towards it. So line 3 of Anacreontea 19 cannot be said to reflect current scientific thought in the manner of the other exempla: if our text is correct, perhaps the poet is thinking of a simple picture of the wind carrying rain-clouds over the sea.

There can be no doubt, however, that lines 4 and 5 reflect ancient scientific thinking. There are several passages in Classical authors illustrative of the idea that the sun draws up moisture from the sea. Aristotle's theory about this is mentioned above: but the idea probably originated with Heraclitus: it can be found also in Cicero, De Natura Deorum 2.15 (cited in Mehlhorn's commentary) and in Lucretius 6. 616-622, cited by Michelangeli.<sup>1</sup> There are, too, many parallel passages for the idea that the moon shines by reflected light from the sun: some of these are quoted in Fischer's commentary.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion the poet expects us to draw from all these humorous exempla is that all the forms of nature are actively nourished by their drinking: the patterns of nature described are not to be regarded as isolated or chance phenomena, but intrinsic to the

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1. Anacreontea Quae Dicuntur, ed. F. Mehlhorn, 1825, p. 96: Anacreonte edizione critica di Luigi A. Michelangeli, 1882, p. 102.

2. Anacreontis Teii Carmina, ed. J.F. Fischer, 3rd edn., 1793, p. 80: for the origin of this idea see G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers, 1969, p. 156, note 2.

existence of the universe - hence the parallel passages in the most important of the ancient philosophers. As nature drinks, so man must drink too - the point of the joke rests on the very obvious confusion of "drink" with "wine".

This chapter discusses Latin translations of Anacreontea 19 by Estienne, André, Buchanan and Lubin, and French versions by Ronsard and Belleau. The English translations to be discussed are by Cowley, Stanley, and Cotton, as well as a version attributed to Rochester. The chapter also considers three passages in Jacobean drama, including one by Shakespeare, thought to be based on Anacreontea 19: a Latin Anacreontic by John Leech: and an anonymous satire of Cowley's version. In addition, the chapter contains some account of the opinions about Anacreon expressed in Barten Holyday's play, TEXNOΓAMIA.

The first translators of Anacreontea 19 in the 1550s were content to translate the text of the poem as it stood without finding it necessary to explain its difficulties. The word which seems to have given Estienne, André, Ronsard and Belleau the most difficulty was not αὔρας in line 3, but μέλαινα in line 1, which was altered by the various translators in a variety of ways. Michelangeli<sup>1</sup> explains the word as meaning

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1. Anacreonte edizione critica di Luigi A. Michelangeli, 1882, p. 102.

black, because of the moisture in the earth, and compares Iliad 2. 699. In Estienne's version of the poem (1554), the word is rendered as "Foecvnda" (line 1), in order to suggest that the earth becomes fertile by drinking. This interpretation of the passage is singled out for criticism by Fischer in his commentary.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this alteration, Estienne's translation follows the Greek word for word for the first three lines. In lines 4 and 5 ἥλιος is translated as "Phoebus" and in line 7 the Greek μάχεσθε is toned down to "vetatis". The words "Ipsum" (line 5) and "ergo" in line 6 are additional, and θέλοντι in line 7 is omitted by Estienne.

Like Estienne's, André's translation of 1555 is a literal line by line version, in the same metre as the original. André alters μέλαινα to "feraces", another word meaning "fertile", showing the influence of Estienne's version. André also follows Estienne in the word order of line 5, in the use of the words "ergo" (line 6) and "sodales" (line 7), and the omission of θέλοντι. The word "increpatis" in line 6 is closer to the Greek μάχεσθε than Estienne's "vetatis". André alters γῆ to the plural "Terrae" (line 1), uses "Thetis" for the sea in lines 3 and 4, adds "aureus" (line 4) and uses the more general word "Plantae" (line 2) instead of "arbores".

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1. Anacreontis Teii Carmina, ed. J.F. Fischer, 3rd edn., 1793, p. 79.

Ronsard's version of this poem (1555) is slightly less literal, and aims to explain some of the difficulties. In line 1, the epithet μέλαινα is omitted altogether, and "va boivant" is used as a periphrasis for πίνει : "les eaux" is added to explain what it is that the earth drinks: also explanatory is "par sa racine" in the following line. In this line Ronsard turns the Greek plural δένδρα into the singular "L'arbre" - this could possibly be a misinterpretation from the singular verb πίνει, which is used in the Greek to follow the neuter plural subject. In line 3 the additional epithet "eparse" is probably intended to be proleptic, suggesting that the sea is scattered by the wind. This epithet thus supplies one possible explanation of how the sea can be said to "drink" the wind: in this respect it is preferable to Ronsard's 1578 alteration, "La mer salée",<sup>1</sup> which offers no such explanation.

Ronsard has also altered the ending of his poem. After the specific examples he deduces a general rule "Tout boit, soit en haut ou en bas" (line 6), and then suggests that we should follow "cette reigle commune" (line 7). Lines 6 and 7 have no equivalent in the previous versions, and the last two lines of the original

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1. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 256, note.

are condensed into a simple exhortation "Pourquoi donc ne boiron nous pas?"

As Estienne's and André's versions of this poem are so literal, it is often difficult to decide where later poets have followed them, and where they are using the Greek text: in the case of Ronsard's version the possible mistranslation in line 2 suggests use of the Greek, while "marine" in line 4 may be an echo of André's "marina" (line 3).

Delboulle's anthology of sixteenth century French versions of the Anacreontea gives the text of an anonymous French version<sup>1</sup> of Anacreontea 19 published about 1620. Delboulle's text is taken from Lettre d'ecorniflerie et declaration de ceux qui n'en doivent jouyr, no date, as reprinted in Variétés Historiques et Littéraires, ed. É. Fournier, Vol. 6, 1856, p. 57.

However, this version has only two substantive variants from Ronsard's 1555 text: line 2 ends "par la tremine", and line 6 reads "Tout boit a son ordre et compas." So there is no need to give any further consideration to this version.

Belleau prefixed to his version a translation of the Greek title which Estienne had given to Anacreontea 19. However, it does not necessarily follow that Belleau must have used the Greek text as the basis for his own version, since Estienne's Greek titles were also prefixed to his Latin translations in the 1554 edition -

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1. Anacréon et les Poemes Anacréontiques, ed. A. Delboulle, 1891, p. 64.

and Belleau's use of "noircissante" in line 1, corresponding to Estienne's "Foecvnda" suggests that it is in fact the Latin text which he is following. The only other indication of Belleau's sources is given by the verb "empeschez" in line 6, which is closest to André's "increpatis" (line 6).

Belleau's additions and alterations do not, like those of Ronsard, help to explain the poem. In line 3 "qu'elle enserre" may be a reference to the Classical "river of Ocean" thought to surround the land masses of the world, but this does not explain how the sea can be thought of as drinking the breezes, since the winds must blow from as well as towards the encircling ocean. Similarly, in line 4 the additional words "qui tout voit" do not help to give any indication of how the sun drinks the sea: nor is the unusual verb "se dessoiue" (line 5, meaning "quenches its thirst") any help at explaining the image. The phrase "Veu que tout boit" in line 7 is another similar elaboration. At the end of his version Belleau is the first translator to make the nature of the drinking explicit, by adding the words "de ce vin dous" (line 8).

It was probably at Geneva<sup>1</sup> that George Buchanan's Latin version of Anacreontea 19 was published posthumously in 1584. Buchanan died in 1582. Buchanan has given us

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1. G. Watson, (ed.), The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, Vol. 1 (600-1660), 1974, col. 2119.

another line by line translation in the same metre as the original: but unlike previous translators, Buchanan alters the poem to make the earth, trees, sea etc. into a continuous cycle. He does this by adding the link "& aura Siluas" (lines 2 - 3), but he does not explain in what sense the breezes can be said to "drink" the woods. Previous translators took μέλαινα in the first line to be an indication of the effect that water has on the earth, but Buchanan interprets it as describing the earth before it drinks: his rendering is "sicca", an epithet which provides a neat beginning to his cycle. The remainder of the chain of events is presented simply, without added epithets, as in the Greek text. Proof that Buchanan is translating directly from the Greek is provided by "Incessitis" in line 6, which corresponds to μάχεσθε, and "libentur" in line 7, which is equivalent to θέλοντι. Both these words were altered or omitted by previous translators. Buchanan's ending would be nearer to the Greek text than either Estienne's or André's, were it not for the fact that he replaces the question in line 6 - 7 of the original by a statement, by the addition of the word "Iniquè" (line 5).

The last continental version of the poem to be considered is the literal version by Eilhard Lubin, published in 1597. This follows the Greek word for word, to the extent of translating the Greek definite article by "Ipsa" and "Ipsum" in lines 1 and 5. Lubin's only

alteration is to translate δένδρα by the singular "arbor", an alteration identical to that made earlier by Ronsard.

The first three passages in English to be considered in tracing the history of Anacreontea 19 all come from Jacobean plays: from Shakespeare's Timon of Athens (published 1623), from Albumazar by Thomas Tomkis (published 1615) and from Barten Holyday's TEXNOΓAMIA (published 1618).

Although published later than the other two plays, Timon of Athens is the earliest of the <sup>three</sup> plays: its date of composition is normally placed within the years 1605 - 1608. The influence of Anacreontea 19 can be seen in Timon's speech to the bandits in Act 4 Scene 3 line 438 ff. The embittered Timon is not concerned, like "Anacreon", to demonstrate that drinking is a natural process: instead, his subject is theft. "I'll example you with thievery" he says: "The sun's a thief ...". The basic idea of this passage may well be based on a passage in Rabelais: Le Tiers Livre des Faicts et Dicts Heroiques du Bon Pantagruel, 1546, Chapter 4, Panurge's praise of debtors and lenders.<sup>1</sup> Panurge here argues that lending and borrowing are natural activities, because different parts of the human body lend various

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1. Rabelais, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Jourda, Vol. 1, 1962, pp. 421-424.

substances to each other. But although this may have suggested to Shakespeare the general idea for Timon's speech, Rabelais does not use the images of the sun, the moon, the sea and the earth, which derive from the Anacreontic. Of these four images as used by Shakespeare it is the first two which are closest to the Anacreontic - the sun drawing up water from the sea, as in Anacreontea 19 line 4, and the moon taking its light from the sun, as in line 5 of the Greek poem. Shakespeare offers a fuller explanation of these lines than any previous version, and seems to have been the first to apply the Anacreontic reference (to the moon drinking) specifically to its light, or "pale fire".

Shakespeare's other two examples of theft are original. The idea of the sea stealing salt water from the moon has never been explained by any known scientific theory, and probably the passage admits of no scientific explanation: the moon is thought of here as a sad creature which, by operation of the pathetic fallacy, is capable of crying: and its tears are stolen by the sea in the form of tides. M. Mason's note is the most helpful: "The populace, in the days of Shakespeare, might possibly have considered the waning of the moon as a gradual dissolution of it, and have attributed to this melting of the moon, the increase of the sea at the time she disappears."<sup>1</sup>

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1. The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, [ed. J. Boswell], Vol. 13, 1821, p. 401.

Shakespeare's final exemplum, of the earth stealing manure, is much simpler to understand. It may have been suggested by one of those versions of Anacreontea 19 which describes the earth as fertile i.e. the translations of Estienne, André or Belleau. Of these three versions, Belleau's is the fullest, although very different from the Shakespeare passage. There is no indication apart from this of the source from which Shakespeare drew his knowledge of Anacreontea 19.

Thomas Tomkis' play Albumazar was performed at Cambridge in 1614, and published in the following year. The play opens with Albumazar, who is an astrologer, praising theft: the passage which begins with the words "The world's a Theater of theft" seems at first sight to be drawn from the Shakespeare passage already discussed, with its similar assertion that theft is a natural activity. However, the references in Albumazar's speech to the parts of the human body show that Tomkis has made independent use of the Rabelais passage which was known also to Shakespeare, Panurge's praise of debtors and lenders (see p. 164 above). The only image which Tomkis could not have taken from Rabelais is that of the brooks flowing into the rivers, and the rivers into the ocean - which could be derived indirectly from the imagery of Anacreontea 19. The editor of Albumazar, H.G. Dick, has pointed out a parallel passage in James I's first

speech to Parliament, given in March 1604:<sup>1</sup>

For euen as little brookes lose their names by their running and fall into great Riuers, and the very name and memorie of the great Riuers swallowed vp in the Ocean: so by the coniunction of diuers little Kingdoms in one, are all these priuate differences and questions swallowed vp.

Now from 1570 - 1578 James had been under the tutorship of George Buchanan,<sup>2</sup> the man whose Latin version of Anacreontea 19 is discussed above. It will be remembered that Buchanan's translation turns "Anacreon's" exempla into a single chain of events by adding the link "& aura Siluas" (see p. 163 above). It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Buchanan instructed his young charge in the works of "Anacreon" and took pains to emphasise the possible links between the different images: and it could have been from a reminiscence of this that James worked out the passage in his speech.

To conclude: there is no evidence to suggest that Tomkis made any direct use of Anacreontea 19 in writing Albumazar's speech: but the passage could be derived indirectly from the Anacreontic, either via Shakespeare, or via Buchanan and James I.

There can be no doubt at all that Barten Holyday knew the Anacreontea well: there are frequent references

1. Thomas Tomkis, Albumazar, ed. H.G. Dick, 1944, p. 165: The Political Works of James I, ed. C.H. McIlwain, 1965, p. 273.

2. D. Macmillan, George Buchanan, 1906.

to Anacreon in his only play, TEXNOΓAMIA: or the Marriages of the Arts, as well as English translations of two poems, Anacreontea 19 and 20. The play was performed at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1617, and published in the following year. The play is an extensive satire depicting the ills of contemporary university education: the various characters of the play, Astrologica, Musica, etc. represent the various fields of learning. One of these characters is Poeta, who appears on the stage dressed in black like Melancholico, presumably to show that poetry is in a sad state. Academically, Poeta's chief concern in the play seems to be to read and to translate Anacreon. In Act 2 Scene 6 Poeta becomes convinced that the spirit of Anacreon will help him to find a wife for himself. He recounts in verse a dream he has had in which he sees a vision of his beloved in heaven:<sup>1</sup>

The Lady then, seeming to smile, did make  
 A signe vnto me, and did bid me take  
 The Teian Poet, sweet Anacreon,  
 My indiuidall companion,  
 And in my natiue language to translate  
 His Niobe, and as it was her fate  
 To turne into a stone; so I by this  
 Should find a stranger Metamorphosis:  
 And shee, that I did loue, should change her  
heart
 Of stone, and by her loue release my smart.  
 I tooke my booke and straight translated it:  
 (Lines soone are pen'd when Loue doth dictate  
wit)
 With that me thought she pull'd me vp unto her,

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1. Barten Holyday, TEXNOΓAMIA , 1618, sig. E2v.

And said; Ile now refresh thee my grieu'd wooer.  
 Shee pull'd me vp, and when I was eu'n crown'd  
 With Heau'n, shee let me fall back to the ground.  
 When with the fall me thought I lost my deare  
Anacreon, and that increas'd my feare.

Poeta here is exhibiting symptoms which could nowadays be diagnosed as schizophrenic: he is confusing the poems of "Anacreon" with reality: he attributes magic powers to his copy of "Anacreon", and to the translations he makes from it. His personality as created by Holyday is a telling satire against those who take light poetry too seriously.

Poeta's fears are realised sooner than he expects, for while he is making the above speech Cheiro-mantes and Physiognomus pick his pocket, and make off with his copy of Anacreon. This suggests that Poeta has a copy of the 1556 octavo edition, rather than the more bulky 1554 quarto. When Poeta discovers the theft he is distraught, and realises that the worst part of his dream has come true:<sup>1</sup>

O my Anacreon, my Anacreon, I haue lost  
 my Anacreon: Varlets, Villaines, I'me  
 deluded, my pockets are pickt; I haue lost  
 my Anacreon:

Holyday could be suggesting by this scene that current veneration of "Anacreon" has gone too far. Poeta's absurd veneration of the ancient poet is contrasted with a quip by Magus in the following scene (Act 2 Scene 7),

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1. Barten Holyday, TEXNOΓAMIA , 1618, sig. E3r.

when Cheiromantes and Physiognomus show him what they have taken from Poeta:<sup>1</sup>

Magus. What's this? Anacreon? an old bawdy Poet? a fit companion for such a Gallant.

The discrepancy between the character of Anacreon as portrayed in the Anacreontea, the indiscriminate lover of wine, women and boys, and the character of the dreamy Poeta is all too apparent. It is made all the more amusing by Poeta's attempts to link the stories of the poems to his own life. Cheiromantes has found in Poeta's pocket a translation of Anacreontea 20 with the heading:<sup>2</sup>

Anacreons Niobe, or his Lyricks to his loue ...  
Translated by mee this morning vpon occasion  
of my celestiall vision.

Needless to say, the translation does not have the desired effect on Poeta's beloved, and in Act 3 Scene 1 he is seen lamenting his ill fortune.

However, Poeta soon gets his revenge on the pickpockets. Later in Act 3 Ethicus holds a large and merry dinner party: Poeta gets very drunk and Magus puts him into a trance:<sup>3</sup>

Poeta. I will make this Verse like a Nut-hooke - like a Nut-hooke - and then pull downe - pull down the : Moone with it.

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1. Barten Holyday, TEXNOGAMIA, 1618, sig. E3v.

2. Ibid., sig. E4r (Act 2 Scene 7).

3. Ibid., sig. Ilr-v (Act 3 Scene 6).

... Come kisse, my Pigeon, comme kisse, my  
pretty Corinna,  
Nibble a little, my Loue; nibble againe,  
and againe.

Mag. Hay day! he's at's Hexameter and  
Pentameter Verses in our tongue: 'faith I  
 thinke in some such humour this kind of Verses  
 was first made amongst vs.

... Phys. See what's in his pocket.  
Cheiro. A murren on 't, here's nothing but a  
Purse with a paper in 't.  
Mag. Let's see it, why, whats here? Verses!

With these words Magus introduces Poeta's translation of Anacreontea 19. The drinking song attributed to Anacreon is thus reduced to absurdity by its context. For Anacreon himself to justify drinking by appeal to the sea, the sun and the moon seems acceptable: but for the ludicrous Poeta to do so at Ethicus' dinner party is made to seem quite ridiculous. Although the translation itself is quite straightforward, it is read out in the play by Magus, whom we may be sure is expected to declaim it in mock-heroic fashion. As he reads, Poeta himself has fallen in a drunken stupor at his feet - he is now no longer in need of Classical exempla to justify his excesses.

The text of Holyday's translation as printed in 1618 contains two misprints. In the Greek title μέλαινα is misprinted as γέλαινα : and in line 2 "drinckes" must be a mistake for "drinke", since it is the trees which drink the earth, not the reverse. This is the earliest English translation of the poem, and it is one in which some attempt is made to explain and

elucidate the original. In the first line the word "fruitfull" follows the similar alteration made to μέλαινα by Estienne, André, and Belleau, while "the raine" is reminiscent of Ronsard's "les eaux". In line 2, "again" means "in their turn, back." In line 3, Holyday tries to explain the difficulty of the sea drinking the air by means of the epithet "liquid": the phrase "liquid Ayre" is very close to one possible sense of the Latine "aura", which could mean the "vital" or "ethereal Air". The ancient controversy about the nature of wind (see p. 156 above) persisted into Renaissance times: Heninger<sup>1</sup> quotes William Fulke's A Goodly Gallery of 1571, which suggested that there exist three different kinds of winds: the third of these is a refreshing aura, which "slaketh & cooleth them that bee hotte: and heateth them that bee colde." Holyday must have had something like this in mind: it is easy to imagine the sea drinking from such a kindly breeze.

In the next exemplum (lines 4 - 5) Holyday attempts to explain the sun drinking the sea by regarding the "beames" of the sun as physical objects, rather like the "eye-beames twisted" in the second stanza of Donne's "The Exstasie": these "beames" can carry the water of

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1. S.K. Heninger, A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology, 1960, p. 107.

the sea up into the sun, possibly also drawing up the sea into waves: this is a different explanation of the passage from that met with in any previous version of Anacreontea 19. In the final exemplum Holyday adds the words "which is no sooner done, But straight" (lines 5 - 6), an addition which seems to suggest that Holyday is thinking of the moon drawing water from the sun rather than light - another new idea. In Holyday's ending of the poem, the phrase "with like freedome" is probably based directly on the Greek word θέλοντι, a word not directly translated by Estienne, André, Ronsard or Belleau.

It is of great interest that Holyday does not need to alter the original poem in any way in order to increase its satirical effect. Anacreontea 19 was originally written with satirical intent, and Holyday has captured that by the context of his play into which his translation is inserted. Holyday's use of poems from the Anacreontea for satirical purposes, and his perception of the satirical intent of the original text seem to me to be unique for a date so early in the seventeenth century, at a time when other writers still venerated Anacreon as the father of lyric poetry and regarded his works with considerable awe.

Before coming on to discuss Stanley and Cowley's versions of Anacreontea 19, brief mention must be made of the Musae Priores of the Scottish poet John Leech, published in 1620. This work contains two books of Latin

Anacreontica. This title refers to the metre, and does not in itself indicate that the poems are derived from the Anacreontea (see Chapter 8 below, pp. 304 - 305). None of the poems is a direct translation from the Anacreontea, but several of them can be recognised as reworkings of specific themes: among these is a poem based on Anacreontea 19. Leech has cleverly varied this so that "embracing" rather than "drinking" has become the theme. It seems unlikely that in 1620 Leech could have been aware of Shakespeare's similar reworking in Timon. Leech's exempla form a single chain stretching downwards from the heavens themselves ("polus" in line 1) to men and beasts in line 5: it is thus a logical link to suggest that the next stage should be for the poet to embrace a beautiful girl - the conclusion fits even more neatly than in Anacreontea 19. In Leech's "chain of being" we can see the same Aristotelian conception of the universe as underlies the Anacreontic - the belief that the universe contains concentric circles of fire, wind, water and earth. The poem is a fine example of how a learned poet could write new Anacreontica - altering "Anacreon's" subject matter but keeping precisely the pattern of his poem. Such a parody implies that Leech expected his readers to have a close knowledge of "Anacreon".

Thomas Stanley's translation of Anacreontea 19, published in 1651, consists of only three rhyming

couplets.<sup>1</sup> Stanley appears to have taken Holyday's version, and corrected it in places against a more literal translation, or against the Greek text. From Holyday Stanley has "Fruitful Earth" (line 1), "the rain" (line 1) and "again" (line 2). In this line Stanley copies Holyday also by mentioning the earth specifically as the object of "drink" (cf. the Greek text αὐτήν). In line 4 Stanley makes the sun male ("him"), and in this he may be following Estienne, who personified the sun as "Phoebus". In the final couplet Stanley again follows Holyday with his phrase "d'ee think" (cf. Holyday "doe you thinke"). As in Ronsard's and Belleau's translations, Stanley's final couplet is noticeably less literally translated than the exempla which precede it. Stanley has no mention of the ἑταῖροι and nothing which corresponds to μάχεσθε, while καὶ τῷ θέλοντι becomes "I should thirst" (line 6).

Abraham Cowley's version of the poem is more than three times as long as Stanley's. Each of the exempla is expanded to one or two complete couplets: lines 15 - 16 draw a general conclusion, and the poem ends with a 4-line invitation to drink. The detailed commentary which follows will show that Cowley's principal sources are Holyday, Estienne, André and Stanley.

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1. The third line of Stanley's text seems to have a syllable missing: One would expect it to read "The Sea drinks up the Air ..."

Cowley's title, "Drinking", is derived from Estienne's Greek title Εἰς τὸ δεῖν πίνειν. Only Belleau and Lubin previously translated this title.

Cowley's first couplet is a good example of his method of translation. The first line "The thirsty Earth soaks up the Rain" corresponds in syntax to the first lines of Holyday and Stanley: the inclusion of the word "up" suggests that it may well be Stanley who is Cowley's source here. The alterations which Cowley makes are designed to make the image clearer and sharper. The phrase "soaks up" is more accurate than "drinks": Cowley maintains the connection with drinking by the reference to "drink" in line 2. "thirsty" instead of Stanley's "Fruitful" is a different interpretation of the epithet μέλαινα : Cowley's logical mind expects the epithet to refer to the state of the earth before it has drunk the rain, rather than to the consequences of the drinking: Buchanan had a similar interpretation with "sicca". Cowley's second line puts forward the idea that drinking should be a constantly repeated activity, a new idea emphasised again in line 4. The parallel with the activities of men is hinted at in line 2 by the use of the word "gapes", which if used literally would refer to an open mouth: but it is also descriptive of the cracking of parched earth. The word is a brilliant example of Cowley's ability to increase the clarity of the poem's images while at the same time

making the meaning of those images clearer than in previous versions.

As Cowley has begun, so he continues: as "soaks up" is used as a synonym for the earth's drinking in line 1, so "suck in" is used for the plants' drinking in line 3. In using the more general term "Plants" instead of "trees", Cowley is following André ("Plantae", line 2). Once again the second line of the couplet is used both to create a vivid image, and to explain in more general terms the beneficial effects of drinking: the words "fresh and fair" refer to the plants, but also describe the possible appearance of a person refreshed by drink.

The confusing third exemplum is completely altered by Cowley. Instead of the difficult reference to the sea drinking the breezes, Cowley substitutes the much simpler idea of the sea drinking the rivers. This idea was earlier used by Tomkis ("Great rivers Rob smaller brookes", lines 2 - 3) and by James I (see p. 167 above). But even with this change, the precise Cowley feels the need to apologise for the image with the words "which one would think Should have but little need of Drink" (lines 5 - 6). Once again the exemplum ends with a comparison with man's drinking: the sea is compared to an overflowing cup (line 8).

Cowley's translation of the fourth exemplum also seems designed to answer possible objections, this time to

the question of how the sun can draw moisture up from the sea: Cowley assures us that we can know that the sun is drunk by its red appearance, his "drunken fiery face" (line 10). In making the sun male, Cowley is following Stanley. The image here anticipates the joke at the end of the poem, the confusion of water and wine: so this exemplum again adds something to the idea of men drinking.

Cowley's final exemplum is not as clear as the others. The normal interpretation, that the moon borrows light from the sun, cannot apply to the "Stars" which Cowley introduces into line 12, especially as he goes on to say that they "dance by their own light" (line 13). The key to understanding these lines is "when h'as done" in line 11 - words which suggest that the drinking of the moon and stars follows immediately on that of the sun. Enough has been said about Cowley's method of translation to make it apparent that his exempla are based on vividly visualised images. Lines 9 - 11 suggest an image of the "fiery" sun setting across the Western seas, seeming to "drink" the waves by means of its brilliant light (cf. Holyday, line 4): but later, "when h'as done," the moon and stars come out, looking as if they have drunk up the sun (line 12), since they move round without its light ("dance by their own light" line 13) - and this continues until the sun reappears at dawn ("all the night", line 14). Cowley is indebted here to Holyday

who has "which is no sooner done, But straight the Moone  
drinckes up the Sunne." (lines 5 - 6).

The remainder of Cowley's poem can be more briefly discussed. Lines 15 - 16 are an additional couplet designed to sum up the exempla and to emphasise the equation of drink with drunkenness: it adds also the idea of equating drinking with health. In the ending of his poem Cowley eschews a literal translation and substitutes what would be four lines of typical Anacreontic revelry were it not for the phrase "Man of Morals" in the final line. By thus addressing his poem to an imaginary Puritan interlocutor Cowley places it firmly in the Cavalier tradition of drinking songs.

Bodleian Library MS Add. B. 106 bears the date 24th April 1681 on the first page. Fol. 9v of this manuscript contains a copy of Cowley's version of Anacreontea 19, and the following page has an anonymous parody of Cowley's poem, entitled "The same Spiritualiz'd". This poem is the earliest example I have discovered of an English parody of a poem from the Anacreontea. For about a hundred years after their first publication in 1554, the poems were regarded as the work of the most important of the Greek lyric poets, whose message, although often light-hearted, was not a fit subject for parody. The satire discussed on pp. 168-171 above in Holyday's TEXNOΓAMIA is not a parody of the poems of the Anacreontea themselves, but of those who treated such light poems too seriously. The anonymous author of the present

parody could not have been the butt of Holyday's satire.

The first six lines of the parody, instead of describing drink, give an account of the food chain from earth through animals to man. The poet begins his parody in a manner quite similar to Cowley: the earth is "hungry" instead of being "thirsty" (line 1), and "feeds" replaces "drinks". But as the poem continues, the poet moves further from his original: the chief resemblances to Cowley's poem are "Plants" (lines 4 and 5, cf. Cowley line 4), and "Heaven" (line 9), which is based on Cowley's references to the sun, moon and stars. However, the parody comes closer to Cowley again towards the end, with the use of the words "I" and "tell mee why?", and the "Sonne of Belial" corresponding to Cowley's "Man of Morals".

The structure of the parody is quite different from that of Cowley's poem, with breaks in sense at the ends of lines 6 and 18. After the first six lines describing the ascent of physical food from earth to man, lines 7 - 18 describe the descent of spiritual food from heaven to man, through the medium of the bread and wine of Holy Communion. Instead of an invitation to drink at the end of the poem we have an invitation to partake of the spiritual food of "Knowledge, Faith, & Fervent Prayer."

It would be absurd to pretend that these lines are great poetry: the interest lies in the fact that the poet has decided to put across a seriously intended message through a parody of Cowley's version of Anacreontea 19.

This reflects the popularity of Cowley's poem, a popularity far in excess of any of the previous versions. In tracing the history of Anacreontea 19 from 1554 to 1681 we have seen many different styles: the literal translating of Estienne, André, Lubin and Buchanan, the dramatic verse of Shakespeare and Tomkis, the lyrical conciseness of Holyday and Stanley, and finally the precise but elaborate style of Cowley. Although the other translations were soon forgotten, Cowley's method of composition was to remain popular. This survey ends with some remarks on two undated late seventeenth-century versions.

It is impossible to date either of these versions with certainty. The first was published in an anthology of 1705, under the name of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, who died in 1680. David Vieth<sup>1</sup> has excluded this poem from the Rochester canon on the grounds of its "clumsy syntax and imprecise diction" - but in the absence of any external evidence, we cannot be certain whether or not he wrote it. The charge of "imprecise diction" applies principally to the final couplet, which presumably means "I shall not be content to remain thirsty, until over-indulgence in drink forces me to do without it."

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1. The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, ed. D.M. Vieth, 1968, p. 233.

This poem is based on Cowley's, but tries to outdo it in the power of its conceits and exaggerated images. The verbal similarities and references to Cowley's poem are as follows. In line 3, Rochester has "suck up the Earth" and Cowley "suck in the Earth": in line 7 Rochester has "Ten Thousand Rivers Drinks" and Cowley "Drinks ten thousand Rivers up". Cowley suggests (lines 5 - 6) that the sea should have little need of drink: Rochester replies that the salt makes the sea dry (line 5). Cowley implies that the sun drinks the sea by day, "and when h'as done" (line 11), i.e. the next night, the moon and stars drink from the sun: Rochester outdoes this by his suggestion that the sun "Sits up all Night to Drink the Sea" (line 10). In Cowley's poem all nature drinks and revels: but in Rochester nature indulges itself in an orgy of drinking: "Ev'ry Thing Fuddles" (line 13). But not content with exaggerating Cowley's exempla, Rochester also decides to outdo Cowley's ending: the movement of the poem is suddenly halted by the line "I will be content to Thirst" (line 15) before the poet moves on to the final "But too much Drink shall make me first". The poem could in a sense be regarded as another parody of Cowley's poem, and indeed a more humorous one than that considered above: the humour of the poem becomes more apparent when it is compared with Cowley's version, and the comparison shows that the poem is more worthy of Rochester's authorship than Vieth considered it to be.

A knowledge of this poem's place in the history of translations of Anacreontea 19 also helps to answer Vieth's charge of "imprecise diction". For the poet has taken the trouble to correct Cowley in two places where the earlier poet departed from his Anacreontic original. The poet has restored the original "Trees" in line 3 where Cowley preferred "Plants", and Cowley's extraneous "Stars" (line 12) have been deleted. The phrase "Brown Bowls" in line 4 of Rochester's poem may come directly from the Greek γῆ μέλαινα, which only Lubin translated literally: but Stanley may equally well be the source for Rochester's corrections: Rochester's phrase "I'st any Reason" in line 14 is similar to Stanley's "Is it reason" in line 5. Rochester beings with a reference to "THE Heavens" which is similar to the start of Leech's Latin parody - but the rest of Rochester's poem is completely different from Leech's.

Finally, we come to Charles Cotton's version of Anacreontea 19, published in 1689. Cotton died in 1687. Once again, the literary background of the poem is by no means simple. The Greek title shows that Cotton has gone back to Estienne's edition to make his translation, and probably to Estienne's translation, from which he has taken the reference to the sun as "Phoebus" (line 7). The phrase "ambient Air" (line 6) could be connected with Holyday's "liquid Ayre" (line 3) - for "ambient" has frequently been misused in the sense of

"clear, limpid". The phrasing of Cotton's final couplet is also reminiscent of Holyday's. Echoes of Cowley's translation are much greater in number. There is the fullness of the sea (Cotton line 5, cf. Cowley lines 5 - 6): there is the idea that drinking brings health (Cotton line 3, Cowley lines 15 - 16), the "round" of drinks (Cotton line 14, Cowley line 16), the "Ocean's cup" (Cotton line 8, cf. Cowley line 8, of the rivers), and the setting of the sun described in lines 9 - 10 of Cotton's poem, which is implied in Cowley's words "and when h'as done" (line 11). Like Rochester, Cotton corrects some alterations made by Cowley - the most important of these corrections is the reintroduction of the sea drinking the air, instead of the rivers.

Cotton's use of Cowley's translation is apparent not only in his following of individual details, but in the general style and effect of his poem. Like Cowley, Cotton elaborates each exemplum in order to emphasise that each natural element not only drinks, but actually becomes drunk. Like Rochester, Cotton tries to outdo Cowley in the cleverness of his conceits: new is the idea that the reeling of the earth itself indicates drunkenness, and that the sea is full of "Liquor" (line 5). But in spite of Cotton's differences of phrasing, the general tone and effect of his translation is extremely similar to Cowley's: Cowley's "Anacreontiques" were subtitled "Some Copies of Verses Translated

Paraphrastically out of Anacreon"<sup>1</sup>, and Cotton too heads his poem "Paraphras'd". We can conclude that by the 1680s, this had undoubtedly become the recognised method of translating "Anacreon" into English.

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1. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 50.

CHAPTER SIX

CUPID AND THE BEE

VERSIONS OF ANACREONTEA 40

The Anacreontic jeu d'esprit on the theme of Cupid being stung by a bee, "the biter bit", has always been the most popular of the poems in the Anacreontea. Professor James Hutton<sup>1</sup> has listed 76 translations or adaptations of the theme in European literature up to the year 1683, and this list is by no means complete. All these poems derive from one of two Classical sources, the ΚΗΡΙΑΚΛΕΪΠΤΗΣ, attributed to Theocritus (Idyll 19), or from Anacreontea 40. This chapter aims to discuss all the English poems which derive principally or partly from Anacreontea 40, and their precise relations to their continental counterparts. In addition, a brief discussion will be made of those English poems based on "Theocritus", but in the case of the latter it has not been thought necessary to consider the continental versions in detail. All the English poems in Hutton's lists published by the year 1683 are included here, with the single exception of William Drummond's madrigal "Ingenious was that Bee", which seems to have no connection with the story under discussion.<sup>2</sup> The texts of the principal poems discussed are given in Volume 2.

The principal differences between the two source poems are as follows. In the Theocritean poem,

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1. J. Hutton, "Cupid and The Bee", P.M.L.A., Vol. 56, Dec. 1941, pp. 1036-1057. This work is hereafter referred to as Hutton, Bee, 1941.

2. Ibid., p. 1051.

which consists of eight hexameter lines, Cupid is stealing honey from a hive. The bee is described as wicked (κακά): and the boy is stung on all his fingertips. He is said to be in pain (ἀλγεις), and he blows on his hand, and stamps the earth, and jumps. He shows Aphrodite the wound, and compares the smallness of the insect with the size of the wound. Venus laughs, and makes the same comparison of Cupid. None of these details appears in the Anacreontic. Anacreontea 40 consists of 16 hemiambs, to which Estienne has given the title Εἰς ἔρωτα. The distinctive features here are that Love is among the roses, and the bee κοιμωμένην. Cupid is said not to see the bee. When stung, he cries out, and runs and flies to Cytherea, and makes a direct speech to her, speaking of the bee as a "little winged serpent, which the farmers call a bee". In this poem, the comparison is of the κέντρον, the sting of the bee and of Cupid.

Although the tone of both poems is that of a witty or humorous trifle, the different images of the two poems show a slight difference of attitude to the story. In the Theocritean poem, Cupid is stealing honey, and so the sting can be regarded as a just retribution for his thievery: it is only the comments of Aphrodite which view the sting as something else: Cupid's clever mother understands the irony of the situation. In the Anacreontic, however, as the poem opens Cupid and the bee

are both among roses, the traditional flowers of love: the similarity between them thus underlies the situation at the very start of the poem. Furthermore, Cupid himself emphasises the similarity between himself and the bee by the use of his phrase "a little winged serpent". Cupid himself has wings, and the serpent as the symbol of earthly love forms part of the Christian exegesis of the Genesis story of Adam and Eve. The use of such a symbol strongly suggests Christian authorship for the Anacreontic, and this poem is thus probably the later of the two versions.

In the Theocritean story the sweetness of the honey is in contrast to the sharpness of the bees' stings: the Anacreontic substitutes for the honey a rose, thus providing an additional bitter-sweet image - this could well have been regarded as an improvement on the Theocritean story. It was, however, left to Renaissance interpreters, as we shall see, to bring out the meaning of these symbols.

The earliest retelling of either of these two Classical poems is a twelfth century Greek paraphrase of the Anacreontic by Nicetas Eugenianus, in his iambic novel Drosilla and Charicles, 4.312 ff.<sup>1</sup> This work is very unlikely to have been familiar to Renaissance writers,

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1. The text is edited by I.F. Boissonade in Erotici Scriptores, 1856.

as it was not published until 1819. Nicetas follows the Anacreontic text closely, but makes the following additions: Eros is described as "the son of sea-born Aphrodite": he is bitten in "the middle of his finger": he runs to his "mother", and the story ends with a reference to Cupid's arrows (δυστυχῶν τοξευμάτων). But the most important addition is that Cytherea "laughs urbanelly" (ἀστεῖον ἐγγελῶσα), which must have come from the Theocritean version.

Apart from one possible line in an epigram by Joannes Secundus<sup>1</sup>, no trace of knowledge of the Anacreontea can be found from the time of Nicetas Eugenianus' paraphrase until 1549, when Henri Estienne rediscovered the manuscript at Louvain. His editio princeps<sup>2</sup> of 1554 includes a close translation of "Cupid and the Bee". His version differs in meaning from the original only in the following small details: he uses the diminutive "Apiculam" (line 2) for μέλιτταν: he says that Cupid is "stung" ("punctus" in line 3) instead of "bitten" (δαχθεῖς), and the wound is to the hand instead of the finger (line 4). In the next line (5) Cupid "begins" to cry out ("eiulare coepit"), and in line 7 Cytherea is given the epithet "candidam". ἀποθνήσκω is translated by the periphrasis "vitam ... efflo" (9), "Tunc"

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1. The last line of the last poem in Secundus' Epigrammata, in Ioannis Secvndi Hagiensis Opera, 1541. See Chapter 2 above, pp. 21 - 24.

2. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554.

in line 13 is additional, and "Quos" (16) is given for ὄσους . Some of these differences will be found to be important in establishing the sources for later versions. Estienne's notes give an equally close version of the Theocritean poem, a translation which Hutton<sup>1</sup> incorrectly dates to 1555.

The following paragraphs discuss briefly the later continental versions of the Anacreontic, in the order of their publication.

Helye André's Latin version of the Anacreontea appeared in 1555, and was reprinted along with Estienne's edition the following year. André gives a close translation of the Greek text, which clearly relies on Estienne's version for much of its phrasing: "Manúmque sauciatus" (Estienne, line 4), for example, becomes "Manúque sauciata" in André, and the twelfth line of each poem ("Apem vocant coloni") is identical. Like Estienne, André says that Cupid is wounded in the hand rather than the finger, and uses a periphrasis to translate ἀποθνῆσκω ("relinquo vitam", line 9). Two interesting variants are that Cytherea addresses her son as "fili" in line 13, and the poem ends with a reference to Cupid's arrows ("sagittis" in line 16).

Pierre de Ronsard's imitation, "Le petit enfant Amour", was published in Le Quatrieme Livre Des Odes, 1555.

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1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1042.

Ronsard's poem is a skilful combination of both the Anacreontic and the Theocritean, drawn both from the Greek text and from contemporary translations. Ronsard begins by saying that Cupid was picking flowers near a hive, where the bees have their small cells - the flowers are from "Anacreon", the hives from "Theocritus".

Knowledge of the Greek text of "Anacreon" is clear from two points - "soumeillante" in line 6 is a translation of κοιμωμένην (2), where Estienne has "iacentem", and "gettes" in line 39 is a direct translation of the Greek βάλλεις (16), where both Estienne and André use "feris".

That Ronsard has also used Estienne's translation is suggested by the word "piqué" (line 9), where Estienne uses "punctus". Hutton<sup>1</sup> points out that Ronsard used one of the Latin versions of "Theocritus" "containing the mistranslation 'his hand swelled'" - this was a very common mistake for χέρ' ἐφύση (3). Ronsard includes, however, a more accurate translation of the phrase in line 19 - "Puis sa main lui a soufflée". Both versions of this phrase also occur in Gilbert Ducher's Latin translation "Furaturus erat lascius mella Cupido". This was published in 1538.<sup>2</sup> Ronsard's second rendering quoted above is closer to the Greek than Ducher's version

1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1053, note 55.

2. Gilberti Dvcherii Vvltonis Aqvapersani Epigrammaton Libri Dvo, 1538, sig. C6v.

of this phrase. He must have known many of the versions of the Theocritean poem, as well as all the published translations of "Anacreon": possible knowledge of André's version is shown by "tendrette" (line 8), corresponding to "Tenellus" (5), and by the mention at the end of the poem of Cupid's arrows.

Remy Belleau's poem, "D'Amour picqué d'une mouche à miel", appeared first in his Les Odes d'Anacreon Teien, published at Paris in 1556. His version is basically a direct translation from the Greek of "Anacreon", with various ornamentations, but Belleau also shows some knowledge of Ronsard's poem. That he used the Greek is shown by the fact that Cupid is wounded on one of his fingers (line 4), where previous translations substitute "hand", and by the phrase "Venus la belle" (line 7), which represents the Greek *καλὴν Κυθήρων* (7). Use of Estienne is shown by "commence à se plaindre" (line 5), where Estienne uses a similar periphrasis "eiulare coepit" (5). Similarities to Ronsard include "piqué" (title), "enclose Entre les replis" (1-2), for "Dans le fond d'une fleurette" (Ronsard 7), "aussi tost" (line 7), which is similar to "Si tôt que" (Ronsard 9), "en ceste sorte" (13) which recalls Ronsard's "de telle façon" (22), the noun "plaie" (Ronsard 12 and 20, Belleau 18), and "coeur" (Belleau 21, Ronsard 38). The title of Belleau's version is the first of many to use the phrase "mouche à miel".

Jean Morisot's Latin version of the Anacreontic in four sapphic stanzas, "Quid Cupido ab apicula punctus

matri responderit", appeared in his book of love poems published in 1558. Morisot appears to have known many, if not all, of the previous versions. Possible knowledge of the Greek text is suggested by "Clamat" in line 5, though this could also come from André's "eiulauit" (5), and also by "digitum" (7), where previous versions, except for Belleau, use "hand". Knowledge of Estienne is suggested by the words "apicula" and "punctus" in the title of the poem, and knowledge of Ronsard by the use of the motif of Cupid picking flowers (line 1). The word "Nate" (11) may be suggested by André's "fili" (13), or Belleau's "mignon" (19). Morisot is the first poet to give the story a personal application: they are hurt more, he says, and complain more, whom Claudia stings with her breasts and bright eyes.

Olivier de Magny's long imitation (64 lines), "Plaincte d'Amour a Venus, à Iaques Bizet", appeared in 1559. Though a loose reworking of the theme, Magny's poem is proved to be from "Anacreon" by lines 12 - 13, where Cupid speaks of a little bird, which the villagers call a honey bee ("mouche à miel", recalling Belleau). The phrasing here suggests Ronsard as does "Gueris" (21), a word used also by Ronsard (20). It is possible that Magny's knowledge of the Anacreontic comes entirely from Ronsard, as Hutton implies, but the word "naguere" (2) may be a slight indication that Magny had used the Greek  $\nu\omicron\tau\epsilon$  (line 1), which appears in no previous version.

Lines 25 to 64 of Magny's poem are a long discourse by Venus on various exploits of Cupid, possibly designed to show off Magny's knowledge of Greek mythology - which is rather ironic, as this is the first version we have come across which may have no Classical original behind it.

The Latin version of the Anacreontic by Flaminio Raimondino was written about 1560.<sup>1</sup> It is an expansion of Estienne's version - almost every line includes phrases from him - with various additions of the poet's own. "pulchram" in line 5 may be from the Greek καλήν since Estienne here gives "candidam".

Jean Doublet published an interesting French version of the Anacreontic in his Élégies of 1559, under the heading "Dudit Anacreon". Several of the words and phrases used by Doublet are clearly drawn from the Greek or one of the more literal translations, such as "vn iour" (2), "N'aperceut point" (3), "Dormant" (4), "Au bout d'vn doit de la main" (6), "s'écrite" (8), "Cithére" (8), "i'en meure" (12), and "petit serpent volant" (13). Some knowledge of Ronsard is suggested by Cupid's picking flowers (2), and by "volant" (13) - for Ronsard uses a serpent "which flies" rather than one with wings. Venus smiling (17) is also in Ronsard (17) - though this could also come from one of the many versions of the Theocritean

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1. The suggested date of composition is Hutton's.

poem which substitute smiling for the Greek γελάσασα. The phrase "pointure amere" (7) recalls Ronsard's "plaie amere" (12). Doublet succeeds in heightening the symbolism of his original, with his references to the reddest rose (4), and Cupid's long pointed dart (22), and also the humour of the poem, with phrases like "leger enfant" (1), and "ô fausse mouche" (15).

We now come to two versions of the poem which are not in Hutton's catalogue. The first of these comes from Richard Renvoisys's Les Odes d'Anacreon mises en musique a quatre parties, 1573. Renvoisys (1530-1586) was choir master and lutenist at the Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon, until he was burned at the stake for consorting with the choir boys.<sup>1</sup> Principally a musician, he is unlikely to have made the skilful translations of "Anacreon" himself. Now Firmin Didot<sup>2</sup> includes in his rather inaccurate list of French translations of Anacreon "Jean Bégat 1559 (avec musique de Renvoisys)". Jean Bégat (1523-1572) was a learned lawyer who became President of the Parliament of Burgundy, and compiled a large volume on Burgundian law. The evidence that he translated "Anacreon" comes from Jean Bouhier's 1742 edition of Bégat's Les Coutumes du Duché de Bourgogne<sup>3</sup>, where he

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1. F.J. Fetis (ed.), Biographie Universelle des Musiciens, 1864.

2. Odes d'Anacreon ... Traduction d'Amb. Firmin Didot, 1864, p. xxxv, note 1.

3. Jean Bégat, Les Coutumes du Duché de Bourgogne, ed. J. Bouhier, 1742, Vol. 1, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii.

mentions a report that Bégat translated Anacreon into French verse, and adds: "Je ne doute pas que cette traduction ne soit celle, que Richard Renvoisy ... mit en Musique à quatre parties, & qu'il fit imprimer a Paris chez Richard Breton" (This last was the printer of the 1559 and 1581 editions of the work, not of the 1573 edition)<sup>1</sup>. But there is no help here in dating Bégat's work, and Firmin Didot's date of 1559 remains unsubstantiated<sup>2</sup> - except that, as we shall see, there are many similarities between Bégat's version of "Cupid and the Bee" and that of Jean Doublet, which was published in 1559.

Bégat's version is, like Doublet's, a reasonably close paraphrase of the Anacreontic, which shows knowledge of the Greek text - "morsure" in line 8 corresponds to the Greek δαχθεῖς, where other translators give "stung", more logically. Bégat is full of close verbal similarities to Doublet - "Un matin" (1), "vermeille" (2), "Cueiller" (2), "le bout du doigt" (3), "dormant" (5), "Un petit serpent volant" (13). Knowledge of a more literal version, however, is suggested by line 11 "Mere, dit-il, las! Je meurs" which exactly corresponds to line 8 of the Greek but does not correspond to any one

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1. F. Lesure and G. Thibault, Bibliographie des Éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard (1551 - 1598), 1955, p. 164.

2. Other evidence for the existence of a 1559 edition is listed in the catalogue (under 1559 Bégat).

line of Doublet. Bégat adds a few colourful additions of his own, such as the references to the bee's "gerson" (claw, talon), and the anger of the bee in lines 4 and 6.

Giovan Ferretti's madrigal "Amore l'altro giorno se n'andaua" first appeared in 1575. In spite of the references to flowers and roses, the poem is basically in the Theocritean tradition of which there were many other contemporary Italian examples. "Cosi picciol" (14) is very close to "Theocritus": τυτθός μὲν. Although the Anacreontic poems were certainly known in Italy at this time<sup>1</sup>, there is no suggestion in the poem that Ferretti has used the Greek text of Anacreon or any of the close translations. All the Anacreontic traits in the song - the flowers, Cupid picking the rose, the bee inside, his crying out, his wound in the hand - all these could come from Ronsard's imitation of the two Classical poems. The particular interest of Ferretti's song lies in the description in the second stanza (lines 4 - 6), which may well be drawn from a contemporary picture or emblem.

Timothy Kendall's version of the Theocritean poem, in Flowers of Epigrammes, 1577, includes a few traits from the Anacreontic - this is the earliest use

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1. L.A. Michelangeli, Anacreonte e la Sua Fortuna nei Secoli, 1922.

of the Anacreontea in English poetry. As the title indicates ("Translated out of Theocritus") Kendall closely follows the Theocritean story: he omits to say, however, that Cupid is stung on all of his fingertips, and that he shows Aphrodite the wound: he changes almost entirely the wording of Aphrodite's final speech, and also the comparison of the small beast (θηρίον) with the size of the wound. From the Anacreontic come "takes hym to his wings" (12), the direct address of Cupid to Venus, including the words "mother" and "kilde" (18 - 20), and the final line, "how you strike you knowe". The only previous versions of the Anacreontic to include all these traits are the Greek text itself, the literal renderings of Estienne and André, and the paraphrase of Estienne by Flaminus Raius. It is thus highly unlikely that, as Hutton suggests<sup>1</sup>, the whole of Kendall's version is drawn from a single source, since the evidence, especially the final line, indicates that he must have used a literal version of the Anacreontic. Only a very precise rendering would include the word "strike" (28) to represent βάλλεις, and the word "how" (28) for πόσον or "quantum". It is not possible to prove which of the early versions of "Anacreon" Kendall has used, but "dolefull" (line 11) may be suggested by the ending of Estienne's version "Quantum putas dolere" (15): the word could

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1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1047, note 37.

equally well, however, spring from Kendall's fondness for alliteration. The sound effects, are, in fact, the most notable aspect of Kendall's poem - the reader is asked to feel the beat of "He stamps, he stares" (13), and the pain of "tinglyng stynged hande" (15), and to hear the moaning of "ah mother, mother myne" (18), or Cupid later hissing with anger at the "selie simple shiftlesse Bee" (23). The poem is clearly intended to be read aloud.

Thomas Watson's EKATOMPIAΘIA, 1582, Sonnet 53, is a version of "Theocritus" 19. Watson quotes the first six lines of his main source, Ursinus' version of 1528, and mentions that there are many other translations of the poem. This sonnet by Watson would have absolutely no connection with "Anacreon" were it not for the fact that Watson completely discards the motif of Cupid stealing honey from a bee hive and begins "Where tender Loue had laide him downe to sleepe". It will be recalled that the Anacreontic begins with a bee asleep among the roses, and we shall see how later, in the seventeenth century, this was changed into Cupid asleep among the roses. Watson elsewhere is much indebted to Ronsard, and so he had probably read his version of the story, and took the idea of sleeping from there. There is nowhere in the EKATOMPIAΘIA any suggestion that Watson had read the Anacreontic poems themselves.

La Puce de Mme Desroches is an anthology, first

published in 1583, of poems on the theme of the flea. One of these, "Amour Piqué" by Claude Binet, retells the story of Anacreontea 40. Binet was a youthful friend of Ronsard, and like his friend had been a pupil of Jean Dorat. In the first part of this poem, Amour hears the Nymphs singing of his "presque inutiles sagettes", and he, "Oubliant son vol ancien" (cf. Anacreontea 30), determines to prove his strength. He takes into his hand a flame (not an arrow) but as he is about to aim at the most beautiful of the Nymphs, he is bitten on the arm by a flea. The rest of the poem follows the story of Anacreontea 40. The title of the poem, "Amour Piqué", recalls Belleau, as do the words "S'envolle" (line 39) and "meurtriere" (line 42). The word "Serpenteau" in line 43 was earlier used both by Belleau and Ronsard. The reference to Venus smiling (49) may also be from Ronsard. The ending of Binet's poem, with its references to the gods and to the incurable nature of love, may well be based on Magny's poem. Binet's version, then, seems to be a reworking of earlier French versions of the story, and there is nothing in his poem to show he has read the Greek text. The version is a good example of a witty poet trying to outdo his predecessors: the pun in "Puce est nommé par les Pucelles" (45) is a joke which the original bee cannot supply.

Geffrey Whitney and the Emblem Books

Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes, 1586, includes no less than three poems on the theme of Cupid and the bee. The second and third of these are the familiar ones, designated ex Theocrito and ex Anacreonte. The first poem is entitled "Fel in melle", and derives from Andrea Alciati's emblem "Dulcia quoque amara fieri"<sup>1</sup>. Alciati tells how an "infans Lydius" (lines 1 - 2) wandered a little way from his mother, and was seized upon by terrible bees: he had come expecting pleasant birds, and found creatures like savage snakes. Alciati compares the sharpness of the sting with the sweetness of the honey. Alciati's emblem is based on two epigrams from the Greek Anthology, A.P. 9.302, by Antipater, and A.P. 9.548, by Bianor, both of which tell how a child was stung to death by bees. As in Alciati, there is no mention of Cupid. It was, however, but a small step to connect the story with Cupid once Alciati had added to it the bitter-sweet motif<sup>2</sup>, and many of Alciati's numerous illustrators, commentators, and translators took it for granted that the "infans Lydius" was Cupid, under the influence of the following emblem in Alciati, which is a version of "Theocritus" 19. As early as the 1531 edition the engraving to "Dulcia quoque amara fieri" showed

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1. First published in Viri Clarissimi D. Andree Alciati Emblematum liber, 1531, Emblem 88, sig. E4v-E5r.

2. cf. Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, 1967. pp. 163-164.

a blindfolded winged Cupid holding a huge arrow, and a seventeenth century commentator<sup>1</sup> noted that "Figura haec in omnibus editionibus est transposita, et in loco infantis Lydij positus est Cupido." The French translators Jean Le Fevre<sup>2</sup> and Barthelmi Aneau<sup>3</sup> both replace the Lydian child by Cupid, following the illustrations above their translations: and so Whitney already has a long tradition behind him when he begins his emblem "Lo Cvpid here . . ." Whitney goes further than his predecessors, in that he introduces the beehives from "Theocritus" into the text of his poem, and even a mention of roses, which may derive from "Anacreon": but the moral, of the sweet being laced with the bitter, remains the same as in Alciati.

Whitney's second poem, his version of "Theocritus" 19, draws on the following emblem by Alciati, and on Aneau's translation of it. Like Aneau, Whitney omits the detail of Cupid stamping the earth, and he takes from Aneau the motif of Cupid wounding to the heart: "faict au coeur playe presque irremediable." The idea of Cupid thrusting his hand into a tree where the bees are nesting is drawn from illustrations to Alciati. Cupid's cry for help (5) may be from Binet (39).

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1. Andreae Alciati Emblematum, ed. Ioannes Thuillius, 1621, sig. GGlv.

2. Jean Le Fevre, Livret des Emblemes de maistre Andre Alciat, 1536, sig. Nlr-v.

3. Barthelmi Aneau, Emblemes d'Alciat, 1549, sig. I4v-I5r.

Whitney took the idea of appending a translation of "Anacreon's" version of the story from the commentaries on Alciati. For example Claude Mignault<sup>1</sup>, in his notes on Alciati's version of "Theocritus", *Emblem* 112, quotes the Greek texts of both "Theocritus" 19 and Anacreontea 40, along with Estienne's translations. So we can be reasonably certain that Whitney had these versions at least before him as he wrote his poem. Whitney's translation is so skilful that it is extremely difficult to prove from internal evidence that he has used any particular previous version, while there are tantalising hints and suggestions of many different versions, the strongest of which are the reminiscences of Bégat. "alas" (line 9) may be drawn from Bégat's "las!" (11), and "vttered all his minde" (6) recalls "Luy dire son aventure" (Bégat line 10). The reading in line 2 "angrie bee" corresponds precisely to "une trop colere abeille" (Bégat line 4). The textual variant "busie bee" must be incorrect, a conventional phrase used to replace some letters lost in the course of printing. Echoes of other versions include "within the roses" (1), which is probably from Estienne's "inter rosas" (1), but could be from Flaminus Raius, who uses the same phrase. "Whereat" in line 4 may come from "Proinde", in line 6

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1. Omnia Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata, ed. Claude Mignault, 1583, sig. 27r et seq.

of André's version. "little creature" (7) and Venus smiling (9) come from "Theocritus". Whitney makes several additions of his own, such as the periphrasis "Venus sonne" (line 1), Cupid at play (1), the creeping of the bee (2), the phrase "wanton wagge" (3), "throughe smarte, and teene" (4), Cupid's seeking about for his mother (5), Cupid's phrase "I heare" (8), and Venus saying "althoughe thou little arte" (11). Also new is the phrase "greeuous wounde" (12) in this part of the poem. Many of these new additions, such as those in lines 1, 3, 4 and 11 serve to emphasise the youth and playfulness of Cupid. It is clear that Whitney here does not, like some of the earlier poets, use Cupid as a personification of erotic love in general so much as a character in his own right. This may be due to Whitney's preoccupation with Cupid's childish exploits in the other two poems which he translated.

Whitney's poem was probably the first to be published in English which openly professed to be a translation of Anacreon, and yet there is no evidence that Whitney drew on the Greek text itself. His version, as we have seen, seems to be based on a surprising variety of sources, including some of the less well known continental versions. In addition to those mentioned above, there is also a possibility that Whitney had read Doublet's poem, which reads "leger enfant" (line 1, cf. Whitney's "wanton wagge" and "Lui lança pointure amere" (line 7,

cf. Whitney "poysoned stinge"). Another peculiarity in Whitney is that it is Cupid who is among the roses, not the bee: this could be a false deduction from Estienne, who begins "Inter rosas Cupido", but this trait is also found in Ronsard, Morisot, Doublet and Bégat. The sources of even a single short poem can be very complex indeed.

### Spenser's Anacreontics

After the last sonnet in Spenser's Amoretti (1595) four poems are appended to which the editors of the variorum edition have given the title "Anacreontics".<sup>1</sup> Spenser did not himself use this word, and indeed it is probable that the word did not appear in print until the publication of Thomas Campion's Observations in the Art of English Poesie, 1602 (see Chapter 8, below, p. 296). The idea of placing imitations of the Anacreontea at the end of a sonnet sequence is taken from Ronsard, who placed his poem "Amour logé", a free imitation of Anacreontea 3, at the end of his "Sonets A Diverses Personnes" in his Oeuvres of 1578. Ronsard's poem is discussed in Chapter 4 above, pp. 112-113. The last and by far the longest

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1. See The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition. The Minor Poems: Volume Two, 1947. The texts are on pp. 233-235, and the commentaries on pp. 455-456.

of Spenser's four poems is a version of the story of Cupid and the Bee. This poem is made up from alternating lines of eleven and six syllables, with two lines of eight syllables at the end of each stanza of ten lines. Each of the six stanzas has the rhyme scheme ABABCDCDEE. Hutton's catalogue<sup>1</sup> includes a discussion of the sources of this poem which is by far the fullest yet to appear. The most important discovery made by Hutton is that the first two lines of Spenser's poem, and the metre of the whole, are taken from a poem in Tasso's Rime of 1586, entitled "Introduce Amore e una zanzara a motteggiare insieme". This is a madrigal loosely based on "Theocritus" 19, except that a gnat is substituted for the bee. Lines 1 - 2, 5, 7 - 8 and 11 - 20 of Spenser's poem are taken directly from Tasso's poem. As in Tasso there is no mention here of a sting: instead Cupid is wakened by the noise of the insect and complains that such a small creature can make such a noise: but his mother replies that Cupid himself disturbs the rest of both men and gods. Tasso's madrigal ends here, but Spenser goes on to describe how Cupid chased the bee and was stung. Ronsard's version of the Anacreontic and Theocritean poems is the main source for this part of Spenser's poem. Hutton fails to notice the verbal reference which proves this - "wounded

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1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, pp. 1047-1051.

am full sore" (line 28) is taken from "plaie amere" (Ronsard line 12). Hutton is unlikely to be correct when he suggests that "could not chose but laugh" (line 33) comes from Ronsard, since there Venus smiles, rather than laughs (line 17), whereas she laughs in "Theocritus" (γελάσασα, line 7). Other phrases which may possibly come from Ronsard are "cruell boy" (line 21, cf. Ronsard 21 "faus garson"), and Cupid's being stung on the hand rather than the finger, though this last is in many other versions also. Hutton has also pointed out that Spenser may have made use of a version of "Theocritus" by Jean Antoine de Baïf, published in 1573 and entitled "Amovr Derobant Le Miel".<sup>1</sup> "Could not chose but laugh" (33) is very close to Baïf's phrase "Se prenant a rire" (line 33). Two other possible echoes of Baïf's poem are pointed out by Hutton. There are also some other possible sources of Spenser's poem which Hutton has not noticed. "How great" in line 35 is a precise translation of the Anacreontic Πόσον (line 15), translated by Estienne and André as "quantum". Slightly less close to Spenser here is a phrase in Whitney's version of "Theocritus", "so great a wounde" (line 10). Also possibly from this poem is the phrase "beast so small" (line 6, cf. Whitney 6 "little beast"). "alasse" in

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1. J.-A. de Baïf, Evvres En Rime, ed. C. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. 4, 1887, pp. 238-239. A further version of the Theocritean poem by Baïf was published in 1964.

line 27 may come from Whitney's use of this word in line 9 of his version of the Anacreontic. "In angry wize" (line 9) may be from Whitney's "angrie bee" (Anacreontic, line 2), and "smiling sayd" (line 11) is quite likely to be taken from Whitney's use of this phrase (Theocritean, line 7). Finally, "pricked to the hart" (line 37) may be taken from the last line of Whitney's Theocritean poem "they pierce the harte within", though this may also come from Watson, line 9 "And yet thy shotte makes hardest harts to cry?" Watson is recognised by Hutton as the chief source for the latter part of Spenser's poem, on the curing of Cupid. He is not the only previous poet to have used this idea - it occurs also in Ronsard - but Watson alone before Spenser makes this an important part of his poem. It is also possible that Spenser may have had some knowledge of the version by Olivier de Magny, the only previous version of the story as elaborate as his own. "Murm'ring" (line 3) may be taken from "murmure" (Magny 10), and "Vnto his mother straight he weeping came" (line 31) is very close to lines 1 - 2 of Magny. The idea of giving the poem a personal ending may come from Morisot or Watson. To sum up, then, the chief sources of Spenser's version of Cupid and the Bee are Tasso, Baïf, Ronsard, Whitney and Watson. The poem thus lies within the Theocritean tradition, although there may be no direct Classical source at all: at one point (line 35) Spenser seems to show

knowledge of a literal version of the Anacreontic, but apart from this his work is based entirely on Renaissance imitations of the Classical theme.

In considering the various additions of his own which Spenser makes to his sources, it is advisable to view this poem as the last of a group of four "Anacreontics". The first of these is also concerned with the theme of Cupid and the Bee: <sup>1</sup>

IN youth before I waxed old,  
           The blynd boy Venus baby,  
 For want of cunning made me bold,  
           In bitter hyue to grope for honny.  
                   But when he saw me stung and cry,  
                   He tooke his wings and away did fly.

This poem derives neither from "Anacreon" nor "Theocritus", but rather from the same source as Whitney's first poem "Fel in melle", a tradition which stretches back through Alciati's "Dulcia quandoque amara fieri" to two epigrams from the Greek Anthology (see p. 202 above). It will be remembered that Alciati and his sources refer not to Cupid being stung by a bee, but to a young child, whom Alciati calls "infans Lydius". Spenser returns to this idea, and makes the child himself (line 1), but he also follows Alciati's translators and Whitney by introducing Cupid, also as a young child (line 2). The title of Alciati's emblem, and such lines in Whitney as "He found that sweete, was sauced with the sower" (line 4), are reflected in Spenser's fourth line "In bitter hyue to

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1. The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition.  
The Minor Poems: Volume Two, 1947, p. 233.

grope for hony." The idea of introducing a beehive into this poem clearly derives from those illustrations to Alciati which include one, which in turn take their inspiration from the ΚΗΡΙΟΚΛΕΪΤΗΣ. Possibly the final line is also suggested by a Theocritean source, since it seems to suggest a resemblance between Cupid and the bee (cf. "Theocritus" 7 - 8). Where Spenser diverges from his sources is in applying the story to his own experience. He tells us not that bitter things often come from sweet, but that he himself has found bitterness mingled with sweetness, in other words, has in his youth suffered an unhappy experience in love.

The second and third poems in Spenser's group derive, as Child<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, from two epigrams by Clement Marot.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the first of these, we find that once again Spenser differs from his source in that he again applies the story to his own love, saying (line 7) that Cupid has wounded his beloved, but with Diana's arrow, which is presumably harmless, making her chaste in affairs of love. This is quite different from Marot, where the two knowingly swap their weapons, and hunt each others' targets:<sup>3</sup>

1. The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition. The Minor Poems: Volume Two, 1947, p. 456.

2. Clement Marot, Les Epigrammes, ed. C.A. Mayer, 1970, Epigramme LXIII, pp. 146-147, and Epigramme CVI, p. 181.

3. Ibid., Epigramme LXIII, lines 7-8.

Je voy qu'Amour chasse souvent aux Bestes,  
Et qu'elle attainct les hommes de vertu.

Instead of Cupid hunting animals, Spenser makes him hunt his beloved's heart (with a pun which modern spelling cannot preserve). The import of this must be that since she has been wounded with the wrong arrow, she only appears to be in love. Spenser has turned his source in order to express a paradox in his own love-situation. So far then we have had two poems, the first of which describes how the lover-poet found only sorrow where he looked for honey, and the second of which gives the reason for this: his beloved only appears to love him.

The third poem gives a third paradox of the lover's situation: his Dame is so beautiful that Cupid mistakes her for Venus. In this case the reference to the poet's own situation is already found in Marot, and Spenser makes a fairly close translation. In narrative terms, this story clearly does not follow on from the preceding poem (since there Cupid does not mistake the poet's mistress for Venus), but there is a logical sequence of thought: in the previous poem the lady appeared to be in love, but was not: here she appears to be the goddess of love, but is not. Spenser has thus chosen this epigram in order to emphasise this aspect of his beloved.

Let us now return to the final poem, to see what additions of his own Spenser makes and how they fit

in with this group of poems as a whole. Firstly, there are several striking phrases, with which Spenser elaborates the story: "loud trumpet" (3), "corage stout" (10), "heedlesse hardiment" (23), "hasty hand" (25), "little horne" (30), "doest spoyle of louers make" (40), "full pitously lamenting" (41), "salue of soueraigne might" (46), "dainty well" (47), "deare delight" (48), and "pining anguish" (60). These phrases illustrate well one of Spenser's most typical methods of versification: when he wishes to fill out a verse or his story he does so by adding some picturesque detail to his original. Secondly, Spenser is in effect telling the whole story of Cupid and the Bee twice, the first two stanzas being Tasso's version of "Theocritus", where there is no sting, as he substitutes a gnat for the bee, and the next two stanzas being the traditional story, in which Cupid is stung. In each of these two stories Venus follows her comparison of Cupid and the insect by giving him some advice: both her speeches emphasise Cupid's relentless cruelty: in line 19 it is implied that he is cruel, and in line 39 that he is pitiless. This is in contrast to the fifth stanza, which is almost entirely Spenser's own invention. Here the petulant boy is but a helpless baby, and the emphasis is on the bliss and cure from pain which Venus brings him. The last two lines of this stanza (49 - 50) suggest that this cure is meant to symbolise the happiness which love can bring,

"Venus blis". But the last ten lines return once again to Cupid's cruelty - despite his suffering he has learned nothing, and the poet is himself suffering the torments of love.

Once again, this poem does not link up with the preceding ones if we think in narrative terms - in the first poem Cupid knows full well that bees sting. But the themes of the previous poems are further developed here - the contrast between the sweetness and bitterness of love, between the appearance of love and reality. Venus is clearly representative of the joy of love, and Cupid of its pain. As before, the poet himself feels love's pain. His situation is thus the same as at the start of the group of "Anacreontics", except for a change in time - the first poem began "In youth before I waxed old", and the last one ends "So now I languish ...". The four poems thus form a coherent group, the first and last dealing with the situation of the poet-lover, and the second and third with his beloved.

Finally, we should consider whether or not these poems are intended to fit into the scheme of the Amoretti as a whole. Certainly the last two lines of the final sonnet (89), which immediately precedes the "Anacreontics", deal with the pain of love:<sup>1</sup>

Dark is my day, whyles her fayre light I mis,  
and dead my life that wants such liuely blis.

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1. The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition.  
The Minor Poems: Volume Two, 1947, p. 232.

There is however an important difference here. In the "Anacreontics" the pain is clearly caused by unrequited love - the lady has been stung with Diana's arrow. But in the final group of sonnets, 86 - 89, the lovers have separated because of some "false forged lyes" (86.7) told by a third party. There is no suggestion that the poet's love is unrequited: on the contrary, he passes the time apart in expectation (87.12). The final sonnets present a different aspect of unhappy love from the "Anacreontics". On the other hand, the themes of the "Anacreontics" are close enough to those of the ending of the Amoretti sonnets for it to be unlikely that the four poems were included by mistake: they are a separate group of poems which form a sort of decorative epilogue to the book as a whole. They might well be compared with the final two sonnets in the collection by Shakespeare, 153 - 154. These are taken from similar epigrams in the Greek Anthology concerned with the stealing of Cupid's torch. Like Spenser, Shakespeare gives the Classical themes a personal application designed to emphasise the helplessness of his love. Once again, this does not link directly to the previous sonnets, but is connected to many of the sonnets' general themes.

### The turn of the century

I have been unable to trace a copy of Jean Godard's French version of the Anacreontic story of Cupid

and the Bee, published in 1594, and listed by Hutton<sup>1</sup> in his article. He quotes the first four lines of the poem, and describes it as a "chanson, much indebted to Ronsard".

Eilhard Lubin's translation of the Anacreontea into Latin verse was published with the Greek text in 1597. Lubin's version is a very literal one: he has taken Estienne's version (lines 3, 6, 7 and 12 are identical to Estienne) and corrected it with the Greek text - he thus includes "Aliquando" (2) for the Greek ποτε and "Digitum" (4), for δάκτυλον . The substitution of flowers for roses in the first line may come from Ronsard.

Two more versions of the story were published in England in the following few years. The first of these, a literal Latin version attributed to John Lyly, is not in Hutton's list, since it had not been published when his list was compiled. It was included in 1953 in Leslie Hotson's edition of Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham, edited for the first time from a manuscript found among the papers of Dr. Julius Caesar, at whose house the entertainment of the Queen took place in September 1598. The relevant page in the manuscript is headed

THE DITE OF THE GREAK SONG,  
BEFORE THE QUEENS MAJESTY  
AT MINE HOUS AT MITCHAM.

There follow two columns, one giving the Greek text of

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1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1054 and note 59.

Anacreontea 40, the other a line-by-line Latin translation. The title seems to indicate that the poem was sung to Queen Elizabeth in Greek<sup>1</sup> - the Latin translation may not have formed part of the entertainment: it may be appended for the benefit of the reader who might be less learned than Queen Elizabeth. The entertainment as a whole is convincingly attributed by Hotson to John Lyly, the attribution being based on internal evidence of style, but it seems to me that the Latin version of the Anacreontic, not being an integral part of the entertainment, may well have been added by Dr. Julius Caesar himself.

The Greek text has several differences from Estienne's. In line 4 δακθεῖς is an error for δαχθεῖς: in line 5 Τῆς, an Ionic form, is found for Τὰς, and in line 7 εἰς for πρὸς. In lines 8 and 13 the readings ἔφην for εἶπεν spoil the metre but make good sense. Lines 14 - 15 read τόσον μελίττας/ὅσον for τὸ τὰς μελίττας, / πόσον, which is described in Hotson's edition as "a tantalizingly good variant". The conclusion is drawn that the poem may well be transcribed from memory by one who knew Greek fairly well, but was careless or ignorant about metre. Certainly the author of the Latin was no versifier, since there is no attempt here to produce a metrical version after the manner of

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1. See the appendix to Chapter 9 below, p. 370 on musical settings.

Estienne, André, or Lubin. This version is a literal, line by line prose translation, made directly from the Greek. Because the translator has no need to consider the requirements of metre, he is able to be considerably more accurate than any previous version, and to follow the Greek word order more closely. Phrases which are more accurate than Estienne, for example, include "dormientem" (2) for κοιμωμένην, "sed" (3) for ἀλλ' where Estienne has "iacentem" and "-que", "In digito" (4), for δάκτυλον, where Estienne has "Manum", and "pulchram" (7) for καλήν, where Estienne reads "candidam". Possible knowledge of Estienne's version is shown by the use of the imperfect tense in "lamentabatur" (5) for ὠλόλυξε (cf. Estienne "eiulare coepit" (5), and perhaps by the phrase "tantum ... Quantum" (14 - 15), which accurately reproduces the incorrect Greek text of the manuscript. Perhaps the translator remembered Estienne's version at this point, and translated it back into Greek.

We now come to Thomas Lodge's poem, "The Barginet of Antimachus", which appeared in England's Helicon in 1600. This is a poem of 60 lines, made up of ten units of six lines each, each with the rhyme scheme AABCCB. This version is exactly the same length as Spenser's, but there is little in common with Spenser, except that Lodge includes the motif of Venus curing Cupid, and both use the phrase "wanton boy" (Lodge 46,

Spenser 51). As Hutton<sup>1</sup> points out, Ronsard is Lodge's principal source for this poem - or at any rate for the part of it concerned with our story, lines 25 - 55. As in Ronsard, Cupid gathers flowers (26). Ronsard makes the bee sleep in one of the flowers - here he simply "harbour'd hard thereby" (31) - but this is drawn from Ronsard lines 2 - 4, where Cupid is said to be near a beehive. "Did sting his hand" (32) is based on "lui piqua sa main" (Ronsard 8), and "made him crye" (32) probably comes from "Tout plain De pleurs" (Ronsard 14 - 15). Lodge makes Cupid address his mother directly, a feature common to most of the Anacreontic versions: the wound of line 33, is mentioned by Ronsard (16, 21), as well as <sup>by</sup> many of the later French versions. In lines 36 - 37 Venus asks who has caused the wound, and this is drawn directly from Ronsard 21 - 22; "Qui t'a ... Blessé de telle façon". Venus "kist the Lad" (43), as in Ronsard line 18, and then eventually cures him (55). Both Watson and Spenser, as well as Ronsard, have included this idea, but Lodge's account, which does not explicitly mention herbs, is closest to Ronsard. Lodge has no verbal reminiscences of any other previous version: but he clearly had some knowledge both of the Anacreontic and Theocritean stories, since he mentions both "Roses" (27) and "hony" (40), neither of which are mentioned by Ronsard.

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1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1055, note 66.

Most of the previous translators of the Anacreontic mentioned roses, though none adds violets, as does Lodge: closest is Bégat, line 2, "la rose vermeille". For the rest, Lodge's poem seems to be original. His most important innovation is the introduction of the poet as a narrator of the story, as if he had been there and seen it happen. The poet's "surmizing" (6 ff.), his philosophical reflections on life and changes of fortune, suggest the traditional pose of a melancholy lover. Next (9 - 24), the poet describes both Cupid and Venus. As in the popular story of "The Beggar Cupid", Anacreontea 3 (see Chapter 4 above), the poet describes Cupid without seeming to know who he is. The description here, however, is by no means Anacreontic - we do not find in the Anacreontea the feathers, the nakedness, or the burning brand mentioned by Lodge, though all these were well known in Renaissance times from the Anthology, from Ovid, and from later writers. Venus' rich clothes (19) are an unusual feature, and may well be taken from a painting: Thomas Stanley, in his notes to this poem<sup>1</sup>, mentions a picture on "the subject of this Ode", and Botticelli's "Primavera" has at its centre a richly clothed female figure representing Venus. In the part of the poem which

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1. Thomas Stanley, Anacreon Bion Moschus, [ed. Sir E. Brydges], 1815, p. 177.

retells the story of Cupid and the Bee, the most remarkable feature is lines 35 - 36 where Venus, instead of laughing or smiling at the mishap which has befallen Cupid, cries out and swoons. This wilful variation by Lodge contrasts with the earlier part of the poem where Venus appears as a tutor and adviser to the young Cupid (23): here she is no longer in control - and later she seems weaker than her son, for in line 44 she is so affected by a kiss that she has given him that she falls into a love-sick trance, until Cupid "kist her whole againe" (53). These hyperboles, the swooning and the trance, are deliberately the opposite of what we expect: Lodge amuses his readers with comic exaggerations. In the same way, he reverses the moral of the story - instead of making it indicate the power of Cupid, he uses the curing of Cupid to suggest that all grief caused by love can be cured. In "The Barginet of Antimachus" Lodge cleverly succeeds in disguising his deliberate variations on the well-known theme as the "surmizing" of a naïve Lover: consequently the story comes across with a freshness not often found in the numerous more literal translations.

Lodge is the first poet to make explicit the comparison between Cupid and the bee - "Ah wanton boy, like to the Bee" (46). This comparison had appeared in his works twice before, firstly in a madrigal in

Rosalynde (1590):<sup>1</sup>

Loue in my bosome like a Bee  
doth sucke his sweete

and subsequently in Sonnet 7 of Phillis (1593), a poem which suggests some knowledge of the Anacreontic:<sup>2</sup>

Loue guides the roses of thy lippes  
And flies about them like a bee:  
If I approach he forward skippes,  
And if I kisse he stingeth me.

Knowledge of Anacreontea 40 is also shown by Sonnet 39, entitled "On Love himself being among the Roses". In this poem the poet's mistress by chance<sup>3</sup>

Did pluck the flower where Loue himself did couch.  
Her hand imprisons him among the rose petals, and she places the flower in her bosom, where

The lad that felt the soft and svveete so nye,  
Drownd in delights, disdaines his liberty.

The suggestion that Cupid did not wish to be free recalls Anacreontea 30. The motif of Cupid sitting inside a plucked rose was used in Baïf's version of Poem X, (a translation not published until 1874) to translate ἐν ρόδοισι ("among the roses", cf. Lodge's title). The exact source of Lodge's knowledge of Anacreontea 40 is not clear. Certainly in 1593 he is unlikely to have had detailed

1. Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie, 1590, sig. D3r, as reprinted in The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, 1833, Vol. 1.

2. Phillis: Honoured with Pastoral Sonnets, 1593, sig. C4r, Sonnet VII, lines 1 - 4, as reprinted in The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, 1833, Vol. 2.

3. Phillis, sig. H2v.



published in 1618. The next three versions, by Herrick, Stanley, and Berkenhead, date from the 1640s and 1650s, and exhibit that fashion for rhyming couplets which became popular at that time. There is no need to consider in detail continental versions of this period, as there is virtually no influence on the English poets - if anything the influence seems to be in the opposite direction, from England to the continent. Jean Baudoin's prose emblem "Que les choses douces deuiennent souuent ameres" appeared in his Recueil d'Emblemes Divers in 1638.<sup>1</sup> Although clearly based on Alciati, as the title indicates (see p. 202 above), this includes a literal retelling in French of the story of the Anacreontic poem. Claude Nicole's 42 line French verse imitation of the Anacreontic appeared in 1663;<sup>2</sup> and Carlo Maria Maggi's Italian version in his Rime of 1668.<sup>3</sup> Complete translations of the Anacreontea during this period include Bartolommeo Corsini's version in verso toscano<sup>4</sup>, which appeared in 1672, and Anne Le Fevre's French prose version of 1681.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Recueil d'Emblemes Divers par I. Baudoin, 1638, Emblem 2, pp. 19-34.
  2. In Recueil de Diverses Pieces ... par Monsieur le President Nicole, 1666, sig. E7r-v. See below, p. 234.
  3. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1053.
  4. B. Corsini, Anacreonte Poeta Greco Tradotto in verso Toscano, 1672.
  5. Les Poësies d'Anacreon et de Sapho, Tradvites de Grec en François, avec des Remarques par Mademoiselle le Fevre, 1681.

In 1618 Thomas Bateson's Second Set of Madrigales included a setting of Anacreontea 40. This is a very concise version of three four line stanzas followed by two extra lines giving the moral. One immediately noticeable difference from previous versions is that it is Cupid, not the bee, who is sleeping among the roses. I have explained above (p. 222) how this motif was derived from Poem X, and how Lodge used it in Phyllis, sonnet 39. In this madrigal the motif is for the first time introduced into the story of Cupid and the Bee. Both Watson and Spenser had begun with Cupid asleep, but not inside a rose. The new motif was to become very popular in both English and continental versions.

Hutton<sup>1</sup> suggests that the Greek Anacreontic text is the main source of this madrigal. There are, however, no clear parallels with the Greek text other than the possible mistranslation already mentioned. For the rest Estienne is more likely to be the principal source. "Stung" (2) is closer to Estienne's "punctus" (3), than to the Greek, and "lay" (line 3) may come from "iacentem" (Estienne, line 2). "wound" (6) may come from "vulneravit" (11), and "pain" (13), from "dolorem" (14). But "Cytherea" (9) and "little winged snake" (7) may come equally well from the Greek, Estienne or André, and many of the words mentioned above which may

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1. Hutton, Bee, 1941, p. 1055, note 67.

be from Estienne could equally well be from one of the later versions. So although the madrigal is clearly based on a literal version it is not possible to decide whether the Greek or Estienne is the principal source.

The madrigal omits (from the Anacreontic story) to say where Cupid was stung, that he ran and flew to his mother, that he claimed to be dying, and that the farmers call the animal a bee. But in spite of this compression, the madrigal includes many words and phrases found neither in the Greek nor in Estienne. With these words, too, it is difficult to work out exact sources. For example, "flowers" (line 4), may be from Ronsard (line 2), or from Ferretti (4). In line 5 "weeping" may be taken from Belleau (line 5), Morisot (5), Ferretti (7), Magny (1), Watson (3), or from Spenser (31). In line 9, "smiling" may be from Ronsard (line 17), Doublet (17), Ferretti (13), Kendall (25) or Whitney (whereas "Theocritus" (7), and Spenser (33) prefer "laughing"). "silly" (line 11) may come from Kendall's phrase in line 23 "The selie simple shiftlesse Bee": "anguish" (line 13) is reminiscent of Bégat's "En angoisses" (line 12): and "empoisoned arrows" (line 14) may be drawn from Magny, line 49, "Ton traict remply de poison". No other version we have so far considered is so full of echoes of previous poets: so we must conclude that the author of this madrigal knew many of the previous poems on this theme, but managed to combine them so successfully that no single source is pre-eminent, and the whole

combines to produce a delightful artificial simplicity.

There is a reminiscence of the story of Anacreontea 40 in lines 181 - 184 of Thomas Randolph's poem "A complaint against Cupid that he never made him in love", published in 1638:<sup>1</sup>

If this doe anger you, I'le send a Bee,  
Shall to a single duell challenge thee:  
And make you to your Mam run, and complaine  
The little serpent stung thee once again.

Here the phrase "little serpent" shows an acquaintance with the original Greek or with a close translation (cf. Estienne "minuta serpens", line 10, Belleau "petit serpenteau", line 14, but Bateson has "little winged snake", line 8). Randolph's words "once again" show that this is intended as an allusion to a well-known story.

A similar brief reference to the story occurs in Lovelace's "Cupid far gone" (1649).<sup>2</sup>

Robert Herrick's poem "The wounded Cupid. Song", which appeared in 1648, follows the Anacreontic story closely, and again there is evidence that the poet had some knowledge of many of the previous versions. Most of Herrick's versions of poems from the Anacreontea are based on Estienne's translations, but here there is no clear evidence of this. The following phrases indicate knowledge either of the Greek, or of a literal translation: "by a Bee was stung" (2), "flying" (3), "dying"

1. Poems, ed. G. Thorn-Drury, 1929, p. 40.

2. Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson, 1930, p. 153.

(5), "winged Snake" (8), "Which Country people call a Bee" (9), and the ending of the poem. "bitten" (line 8) may indicate knowledge of André's translation, since he has "momordit" (line 11), but this could be an extrapolation from the Greek *δαχθεῖς* (line 4). There are also many points in Herrick's poem not in the Greek which he has taken from later versions, particularly some of the earlier English versions. Whitney's version of "Theocritus" has the word "help" (Herrick line 5, Whitney 5), and his version of the Anacreontic has the words "Alas" (Herrick 12, cf. Whitney 9), "Wag" (Herrick 12, cf. Whitney 3), and "if this" (Herrick 12, cf. Whitney 10). Also "anger" (line 3) may be drawn from Whitney's use of "teene" (line 4). Venus' question to her son in the sixth line of Herrick's poem seems to be prompted by the very similar question in Thomas Lodge, lines 37 - 38. Also in Lodge is the idea of Venus kissing Cupid (Herrick 11, Lodge 43) - but both these last points could possibly be taken from Ronsard. Finally, Herrick clearly knew Bateson's madrigal, as the beginning of his poem indicates, where Cupid, not the bee, is asleep among the roses. Also in Bateson, as in many other previous versions, are Cupid weeping, the winged snake, and Venus smiling.

These points cover almost the whole of Herrick's poem: after we have extracted everything he has drawn from previous poets we are left with remarkably little that he has added of his own - "blubbering" (line 7),

"pernicious torment" (13) and the strange idea of Venus drying Cupid's tears with her hair (9 - 10). Herrick tends on the whole to emphasise the playful elements of the poem, with such phrases as "my pretty Lad (6), and "my Wag" (12).

Herrick's closeness to earlier versions here should be contrasted with a second poem on the theme, "Upon Cupid". Here Cupid is bitten by a flea, and cured by the application of lint and balsam to the wound. This is described as an "OLD wives" tale, and is really a joke at the old women's expense, who wish to apply lint and balsam to the slightest scratch. But Herrick is also making fun of the whole tradition of flea poems, exemplified in this chapter by Claude Binet's imitation.<sup>1</sup> Ronsard, Watson, Spenser and Lodge had all prescribed cures for Cupid's bee sting: closest to Herrick is Spenser (lines 45 - 52). This account may well have suggested to Herrick the idea for his own variation.

Thomas Stanley's poem "The Bee" appeared in his translation of "Anacreon" in 1651. The poem has obvious affinities with that of Herrick, as a comparison of the start of the two poems shows. Many of the phrases and rhymes in the two versions are the same, but Stanley's version is 3 lines shorter than Herrick's - he has

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1. On the tradition of flea poems see John Donne, The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets, ed. H. Gardner, 1965, p. 174.

carefully purged Herrick of anything which does not appear in the Greek. Stanley aims to provide a close translation, and his chief source is clearly the Greek text - very close to the original are "saw not" (2), "hurt finger" (3), "fair" (5), and "How much greater" (11). But Stanley has not failed to consult previous translators in order to help him find the most suitable phrase - apart from the echoes of Herrick, which include "oh help" (6) and "bitten" (7), Stanley has clearly consulted Bateson's madrigal, the most succinct of the earlier English versions: "little sting" (10) seems to be based on "silly bee's weak sting" (Bateson 11), and the final rhyme "pain ... sustain" on Bateson's "pain ... complain". In line 4 "sometimes, sometimes" may come from Flaminio Rains, lines 5 - 6, "modo hūc, modo illuc Cursitansque, volansque". In a few places Stanley has tried to improve on his original by contracting the Greek text - line 3, a participial phrase, is a separate sentence in the Greek (lines 4 - 5): in line 6 Stanley omits the threefold repetition of dying in the Greek lines 9 - 10: and in line 8 Stanley has replaced the Greek relative clause by a participle. These contractions are clearly deliberate, since they serve to impart to the English the epigrammatic flavour of the original - a very difficult achievement when translating from an inflected language into an uninflected one.

A second English musical setting of the Anacreontic version of Cupid and the Bee appeared in

Henry Lawes, The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues, 1655, sig. K2v. The version is not in Hutton's list. The words are by John Berkenhead, whose versions of Anacreontea 1 and 11 were also set by Lawes. This poem "AMong Rose buds slept a Bee", consists of seven-syllable lines, made into eight rhyming couplets, in the manner of the versions by Herrick and Stanley. There are verbal echoes which suggest that Berkenhead made use of both Herrick's and Stanley's poems. Both, for example, use the phrase "among Roses" (cf. Berkenhead, line 1 "AMong Rose buds"), and "oh help" (cf. Berkenhead, line 7, "Help, Mother help"). Herrick's line 9 "Which Country people call a Bee" has probably suggested Berkenhead's "Country swains call this a Bee" (line 11). From Stanley is drawn the idea of applying an epithet to the word "finger" - "hurt finger" (Stanley 3), "soft finger" (Berkenhead 3), and Berkenhead's fifth line "First he ran, then flew about" is probably based on Stanley's "running sometimes, sometimes flying," (line 4). Both poets use the word "cry" as the verb of address from Cupid to Venus. From Herrick comes also "torment"(14).

But though Berkenhead used the versions of his contemporaries Herrick and Stanley, he clearly also had a knowledge of one of the older literal versions of the story - neither Herrick nor Stanley includes the detail of the bee asleep among the roses. This motif is previously found in the Greek text of Anacreontea 40, in

Ronsard, in Doublet, and in Bégat. Bégat alone of previous versions includes Cupid actually waking the bee (line 6, cf. Berkenhead line 2). The word "Serpent" (9) was probably suggested by Estienne or one of the French versions, since it does not occur in any previous English version, and "think" (line 15) must come from the Greek, or from Estienne or André, or one of the other literal Latin versions. Finally, "who could not see" (line 2), looks suspiciously like a mistranslation of the Greek οὐκ εἶδεν (line 3), or of the translation of this phrase by Estienne.

Berkenhead has made a few additions of his own, including several extra attributes of Cupid, namely his blindness (line 2), his wings (10) and his "burning darts" (16). The blindness and the firebrand are not Anacreontic. Also original is Cupid's idea that he has been stung by a scorpion (8). The version is chiefly notable for its concise rendering of the Anacreontic, but with a few embellishments suitable to a song, such as the cadences of line 7 ("Help, Mother help, oh! I'm undone") and line 15 ("Think, O think").

### The Restoration Period

Two further English translations of Anacreontea 40 were published in the period to 1683. Another anonymous translation was first published in a musical setting

in 1668, and Francis Willis' version forms part of the Oxford Anacreon of 1683. In addition, two emblems by Philip Ayres (1683) deal with the theme. None of the poems in this final group appears in Hutton's list.

The anonymous versions of "Cupid and the Bee" appeared in William King's Poems Composed into Songs (1668).<sup>1</sup> This is a skilful translation based on the Greek Anacreontic text, but with many echoes of previous translations. Unlike most versions of this period, the poet has not been influenced by the more elaborate style made popular by Cowley's "Anacreontiques" of 1656, and this could suggest an earlier date of composition.

The use of the Greek can be seen from "once" (line 1) representing ποτε and by "I am dead" (line 12) used to designate the perfect tense of ὄλωλα. The composition of the first couplet shows the poet's method quite clearly. The first two words are taken directly from the Greek, and the phrase "Laid him down" has been borrowed from Watson's version (line 1) - then "weary grown" has been added to form a half-rhyme with "down", and the couplet has been completed with the phrase "with Womens Arrants" - a phrase which at first sight seems inappropriate until we read the phrase "Love's Idle Trade" in line 6, which presumably refers to these errands.

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1. Also in Windsor Drollery, 1672, sig. E4r, and in John Playford's Choice Ayres & Songs ... The Second Book, 1679, sig. O2v - Plr, set by Pelham Humphrey.

This same method has been followed throughout - the translation is based on an outline of the Greek text, with reminiscences of other versions, and filled out by the poet's own invention.

The most obvious echoes of previous versions are "harboured" (line 4) from Lodge (line 31), "soft" (line 7, cf. Berkenhead line 3), "has murther'd mee" (14) from Berkenhead line 12, and "Darts ... Hearts" (17 - 18) from Berkenhead 15 - 16. The "quarrel" between Cupid and the Bee in line 6 recalls the "angry" bee of Bégat (4) and Whitney (2). The swelling of the wound (14) was found in many early versions of the Theocritean story, as well as in Ronsard (lines 15 and 20), Belleau (6), and Baïf (8). The final couplet, with its message that Cupid should take more pity on lovers, may well be drawn from Spenser, lines 39 - 40. Another version which may have influenced our poet is the French verse translation by Claude Nicole, published in 1663. The "quarrel" between Cupid and the Bee, for example, should be compared with these lines from the French version, describing the bee (lines 8 - 10):<sup>1</sup>

Alors de colere éprise,  
Elle fait une entreprise  
De vengeance & de dedain;

The English poet's phrase, "alwaies had a quarrel" (lines 6 - 7) shows his awareness that he is

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1. Claude Nicole, Recueil de Diverses Pieces, 1666, sig. E7r.

dealing with a very well-known story. He must, therefore, be given credit for recapturing more accurately than most translators the precise tone of the original Greek - Venus' address to Cupid, "O Sir," (line 15) hits exactly the right mock-epic tone. The descriptions of the "refreshing rosy Bed" (line 3) and Cupid hanging his head at his mother's knees (line 11) create tiny but precise pictures which emphasise the neat emblematic qualities of the original. Unfortunately, not all the poet's original touches are so apt - "ugly" (13), for example, seems a strange description of a bee, and it seems odd that the poet has discarded the traditional "little".

Two of the emblems in Philip Ayres' Emblemata Amatoria, 1683, are connected with the story of Cupid and the Bee. In this collection each of the four-line emblems is given in four languages, Latin, English, Italian and French, but not all the verses are by Ayres himself - many have been taken over directly from his sources. A careful comparison of the book and its various sources has been made by H. Thomas.<sup>1</sup> Emblem 16 is from Emblem 8 of Thronus Cupidinis, 1618.<sup>2</sup> Thronus gives Latin, Dutch and French versions of the text. The

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1. H. Thomas, "The Emblemata Amatoria of Philip Ayres", The Library, Third Series, Vol. 1, 1910, pp. 73-95.

2. P.T.L. Thronvs Cvpidinis, 1618, sig. D5v.

Latin text is identical to Alciati's Emblem 88 which had provided a source for Whitney (see above, p. 202) - and as usual the Dutch and French translators have replaced Alciati's "infans Lydius" by Cupid. Ayres has retained Alciati's title from Thronus but rewritten the Latin and French verses, as well as providing his own English and Italian translations.

The illustration for Ayres' emblem is similar to that found for the emblem in some of the early editions of Alciati. It consists of bees round a hive, and Cupid being consoled by Venus. Venus, Cupid, and the hive do not appear in Alciati's original text, so the plate must have been based, not on the emblem itself, but on the Theocritean poem. Ayres' Latin emblem retains Alciati's "puer ... Lidius" (lines 1 - 2), but adds from Theocritus the phrase "dulcia mella legens" (line 2). In the other three versions the infant has been replaced by Cupid. In the English and Italian verses Cupid is a Robber, the κηριοκλέπτης. The English title, "Cupid himself stung", shows a knowledge of the moral of the Theocritean and Anacreontic stories. This moral is developed in the poem (lines 3 - 4) but the sting is regarded as revenge for the robbery of the hive (line 2), not for Cupid's own "stings". So the English poem has become quite different from Alciati's original - it is instead a reworking of Venus' speech from the end of the story of Cupid and the Bee. The point Ayres makes about

the large size of Cupid compared to the small bee (line 4) seems to be original.

The French and Italian versions include in their four-line compass even more of the story of Cupid and the Bee than the English verses. The French poem, "Amour plein de fiel", differs from the Theocritean story in that Venus pretends to be angry (line 3) - and in line 2 the words "piqué par une mouche a miel" recall the title used by Belleau for his translation of the Anacreontic. But there is no direct use of the Anacreontic poem in this group of emblems - they follow "Theocritus" 19. The verses are all noteworthy for their succinctness, which contrasts sharply with the other translations published in England at this time.

The following Emblem in Ayres, Number 17, also deals with our story. This emblem is taken from Otto Von Veen's Amorum Emblemata 1608, which was published in three different versions, (i) Latin English and Italian, (ii) Latin Italian and French, and (iii) Latin Dutch and French.<sup>1</sup> The English versions in Veen are by Richard Verstegen (also known as Richard Rowlands). Ayres has taken his Latin and Italian emblems, and the illustration, directly from Veen, changing only the last line of the Latin: but the English and French verses are Ayres' own.

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1. All three versions are entitled Amorum Emblemata, Figvris Aeneis Incisa Studio Othonis Vaeni, 1608. In each case "Armat Spina Rosas" appears on sig. V4v.

Veen's Latin emblem, (which ends with the line "Quáeque ferunt, multo spicula felle madent") is an original composition based on the bitter-sweet theme of Alciati's "Dulcia quoque amara fieri". Alciati's honey and sting have been replaced by the beauty and thorn of the rose, while the bees are mentioned only in the title. Veen may well have taken the idea for this emblem from Anacreontea 40, or from Estienne's Latin version, both of which were frequently quoted in editions of Alciati's Emblemata. Whitney's emblems provide another possible source.

Ayres' English and French translations retain the substitution of the thorn of a rose for a bee's sting: apart from this, however, Ayres' two translations have little in common. "The Difficult Adventure" portrays the road of lovers as "where no Rose appears" (line 4) - without joy. The moral that Cupid should "poor lovers pity" recalls Spenser (lines 39 - 40) and the 1672 translation (line 20). In the French translation, "Point de roses sans epines", Amour is not personified, but described as an experience which must inevitably combine both pleasure and pain. In this French version, only the rose provides a tenuous link with Anacreontea 40.

Finally, we come to the version in the Oxford Anacreon of 1683. Wood<sup>1</sup> tells us that this is one of the

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1. See Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, Vol. 4, 1820, columns 557-559.

poems translated by Francis Willis, of New College. Unlike many of the poems in this collection, this one is taken straight from the Greek text. This is shown by the single word "once" (line 1), translated from the Greek  $\mu\omicron\tau\epsilon$ .<sup>1</sup> Though for the most part taken from the original, Willis knew the versions of Whitney and Herrick. Knowledge of Whitney is indicated by "play" (1) from Whitney's first line, "busie" (line 5, cf. Whitney line 2), and "wanton" (Whitney 3, Willis 1). The idea of Cupid lying among the roses, which we find once again in Willis, is probably drawn from Herrick - both poets use the word "lay" (Willis line 2, Herrick 1). "Tears" (14) may perhaps also come from Herrick (11). Apart from these, there are remarkably few echoes of previous versions, considering the number and variety of these.

It is interesting to see how the style of translating here adopted, at the beginning of the Augustan age, differs from that of Stanley thirty years earlier. Where Stanley sought to be succinct, Willis seeks to embellish. Where Stanley contracts three Greek words into "I dy" (6), Willis repeats "I'm kill'd, I'm kill'd" (13), and then follows this with "I'm now undone, See, see my life is

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1. The anonymous version set by King also has "once" (line 1), but the two versions are so completely different in other respects that influence seems unlikely in this case.

almost gone" (15 - 16). The first two lines in Stanley occupy six in Willis - he insists on making Cupid both lie down (as Herrick) and play (as Whitney): he follows this with an alchemic metaphor, imagining the bee as a chemist which transmutes the gold-like nectar into honey: and then refers to the bee's "little Lance" (6), thus emphasising the comparison with Cupid which is to follow. Some of Willis' adornments are less felicitous, such as his portrayal of Venus as the "Queen of Love" (21) at the "Paphian Court" (11). Others are only included in order to help with the rhyming, as line 10, line 14, and line 16. On the whole these adornments do not improve the poem - the wit of the story is lost by over-elaboration, and Willis has not sought to add to the story itself, like some of his predecessors.

This completes the story of the English versions of Anacreontea 40 to 1683. No further versions of the Anacreontic appeared in the next few years, but it is worth mentioning that no less than three further versions of the Theocritean poem appeared in the following two years, one in the translation by Thomas Creech<sup>1</sup>, which was published in 1684, and two anonymous versions the following year, one in Dryden's Sylvae<sup>2</sup>, and the other in Mrs. Aphra Behn's Miscellany<sup>3</sup>.

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1. See Thomas Creech, The Idylliums of Theocritus, 1684, Idyllium XIX, sig. N4v.
  2. See Sylvae: or, the Second Part of Poetical Miscellanies, [by John Dryden and others], 1685, sig. Bb5v - Bb6r.
  3. See Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems by Several Hands, [collected by Mrs. Aphra Behn], 1685, sig. C4v - C5r.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE POEM ON THE CICADA

## VERSIONS OF ANACREONTEA 43

The history of the poem on the cicada, Anacreontea 43, differs in several ways from that of the poems so far discussed. Firstly, the translations are less evenly spaced throughout our period: the continental versions were virtually all made in the 1550s, and the three English versions were published in a space of eight years (in 1649, 1651 and 1656): secondly, all three English translators, Stanley, Lovelace and Cowley, are well-known poets: and thirdly this poem alone among the Anacreontea has been made the subject of literary criticism in our own time.

This modern criticism of the Greek poem began with Albrecht Dihle's article, "The Poem on the Cicada"<sup>1</sup>, published in 1966. The article consists of an attempt to date the poem, partly by an analysis of the language and metre, and partly by a critical interpretation. In his analysis of the language Dihle points out, inter alia, two prosodic errors, the mixture of different dialect forms, and the unique use of φιλία (line 8) in the sense of φίλος, "dear". Such usages, he asserts, represent a highly degenerate and disintegrated poetic tradition. Unfortunately such anomalies do not in themselves seem to me to be very helpful for a precise dating of the poem. Like Brioso's metrical analyses discussed in Chapter 1 above, such anomalies prove only that the

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1. In Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 71, 1966, pp. 107-113.

cicada poem is definitely post-Classical. In the absence of comparable dated texts, to give a date as Dihle does, even one spanning two hundred years (350 - 580 A.D.) is mere guesswork.

More interesting than this is Dihle's critical interpretation. He argues that the attributes given to the τέτιξ in the poem reflect the Stoic ideal of perfection, the attributes of the sage. According to this doctrine, the sage is King (cf. Anacreontea 43, line 4), he owns everything (cf. line 5), needs no luxury and comfort, is φίλομουσος (cf. line 12), a prophet (line 11) and above all is ἀπαθής (see line 17). ἀπάθεια is a state which arises from the practice of the Stoic ideal of asceticism. Dihle quotes Stoic parallels for these attributes collected in various doxographical sources. He concludes that the poet is following the Hellenistic poeta doctus by mastering a bulk of heavy learning in short pointed forms. He does not, however, argue that the τέτιξ-poem amounts to a serious account of the Stoic ideals. On the contrary, he concludes that<sup>1</sup>

the structure and coloring of the poem depend entirely on its point, which is, in fact, a fairly scholarly joke. The author applies to the little cicada and its most enjoyable life the main statements which the syncretistic and christianized philosophy of his own time made on the nature of human εὐδαιμονία and on the aim of moral progress, thus giving point and structure to a facetious poem of indisputable unity.

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1. A. Dihle, "The Poem on the Cicada", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 71, 1966, pp. 107-113.

Dihle's conclusions have been disputed by Brioso.<sup>1</sup> On metrical evidence he dates the poem slightly earlier than Dihle, but with as little justification. (Brioso's dating of the Anacreontea is fully discussed in Chapter 1, above, pp. 11-15). On the interpretation of the poem, Brioso convincingly argues that most of the attributes applied to the τέτιξ are not in fact specifically Stoic. Some of them, such as the love of song and the drinking of dew are traditionally associated with the cicada: βασιλεύς (line 4) is a simile, and προφήτης in line 11 means "herald" or "precursor", not "prophet". Above all, the Stoics carefully distinguished rational men from irrational beasts, and their philosophy is always anthropocentric. The true antecedents of the poem, suggests Brioso, can be found in Aristotelian zoology, made use of by such authors as Plutarch and Aelian who asserted that animals have the passions and the cunning of men.

Giangrande<sup>2</sup> has disputed Dihle's theories on linguistic grounds. Many of the phrases in the poem, he argues, do not stand up to the interpretations which Dihle has forced upon them. φιλία (line 8) is, he

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1. M. Brioso, "Estoicos y Anacreónticas", Emerita, Vol. 38, Part 2, 1970, pp. 311-324.

2. Giangrande, 1975.

insists, used in a normal sense of "object of love" - προφήτης means "harbinger" or "herald", and Λιγυρὴν ... οὔμην (line 14) means "sweet voice" and not "gift of song". Usages such as these, he insists, are Classical, and not out of place in the Anacreontea, which is the work of poets deliberately writing in an archaic style.

These interpretations by Giangrande seem to offer the soundest guide to the meaning of the actual words of the poem. Giangrande's and Brioso's objections to Dihle are cogently presented, but do not undermine the argument that the poem is best interpreted as a scholarly joke. What the poet has done is to draw on various attributes of an ideal ascetic life (not specifically Stoic) and combine them with the traditional praise of the cicada making men happy with his song. The effect of this is, ironically enough, to elevate the cicada above mankind: the ageless (line 15), bloodless (line 17) dew-drinking insect can achieve a happiness which man can only dream of. By transferring the ascetic ideals to the cicada, the poet is not therefore approving of them, but satirising them, pointing out their impossibility for man.

The poem is, however, not only satire: its praise of the τέτιξ has a lyrical beauty of its own. Beginning from the pictures of the animal seated on a tree-top, or feeding in the fields, the poet gradually

moves on to more abstract praises. So skilful and careful is the transition that the reader carries the image of the animal itself with him throughout the poem, not even losing sight of it through the complicated phraseology of lines 15 - 18. Only the last line seems a little startling, rather over-exaggerated, satirical: it presents a difficulty to the translator who is determined to take the poem seriously. In its unusual combination of learning, satire and lyrical praise, the τέττιξ- poem is probably the most skilfully composed to be found in the Anacreontea.

In writing a poem in praise of the cicada the poet has a strong tradition already behind him. Norman Douglas<sup>1</sup> has discussed some of the extant Greek verse on the cicada theme, and pointed out how it gives similar attributes to what were, in fact, two different animals, the τέττιξ ("cicada") and the ακρίς ("cricket"). These two animals were often kept in cages for the sake of their music (see Theocritus, Idyll 1, lines 52 - 54): the ancients detected strange modulations in the harsh sounds made by these animals, which were supposed to provoke noonday sleep. Shepherds are credited in the Anthology with preferring its music to that of the lyre: hence its appropriateness as a subject of praise in a collection intended to be sung to the music of the lyre

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1. N. Douglas, Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology, 1928, p. 185 ff.

(Anacreontea 1). The idea that the τέττιξ lived only on dew was frequently expressed in Greek writers: Gow<sup>1</sup> cites 8 passages apart from the Anacreontic.

It is important to mention briefly some of the sources on the praise of the cicada available to the author of the Anacreontic, because these sources were also available to the various translators. The earliest is Hesiod, Scutum, lines 393 - 401.<sup>2</sup> This mentions the τέττιξ seated on a branch, its diet of dew, and its constant song. In the Anthology, A.P. 7. 195 - 196 and 198 - 201 are all on the τέττιξ or ακρίς. Closest to the Anacreontic is Meleager's poem A.P. 7. 196 (in the Planudean Anthology known in the Renaissance this is III a 21, 5). This begins with the following lines:<sup>3</sup>

Αχήμεις τέττιξ, δροσεραῖς σταγόνεσσι μεθυσθεῖς  
 ἄγρονόμαν μέλπεις μούσαν ἔρημολάλον.  
 ἄκρα δ' ἔφεξόμενος πετάλοις πριονώδεσι κώλοις  
 αἰθίοπι κλάζεις χρωτὶ μέλισμα λύρας.

The Planudean Anthology was first published in 1494, but Hutton's catalogues<sup>4</sup> show no translation of

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1. Theocritus, ed. and trans. A.S.F. Gow, Vol. 2, 1950, p. 80.
  2. Hesiodi Theognia Opera et Dies Scvtvm, ed. F. Solmsen, 1970, p. 104.
  3. From Anthologia Graeca, Griechisch-Deutsch ed. H. Beckby, Vol. 2, 1957, p. 120.
  4. J. Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy, 1935, and The Greek Anthology in France, 1946.

this particular epigram earlier than Fausto Sabeo's Latin versions, published in 1556, two years after the editio princeps of the Anacreontea. Hutton does not however mention an interesting use of A.P. 7. 196 in a poem in Girolamo Angeriano's volume entitled ΕΡΩΤΟΠΑΙΓΝΙΟΝ which was first published at Florence in 1512. This collection is of interest in other respects, because it includes several poems similar in theme to those of the Anacreontea.<sup>1</sup> Closer examination, however, reveals that all of them are in fact based on lighter epigrams from the Anthology. But the very fact that Angeriano has chosen such sources shows the extent of interest in Anacreontic themes even before "Anacreon" was published. In addition to the present poem and several epigrams on Cupid, Angeriano has a poem about Cupid and a bee (cf. Anacreontea 40), a poem on a swallow (cf. Anacreontea 33) and a poem on a lyre (cf. Anacreontea 1 and 16). The volume proves that Estienne was catering to an already existing taste in publishing the Anacreontea.

Angeriano's method was to take various Classical themes, and to use them to illumine his own supposed situation in his own love of Caelia. So the poem "Ad cicadam" begins:<sup>2</sup>

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1. On the importance of Angeriano in Renaissance literature see J. Hutton, "Three Notes on French Authors", Modern Language Notes, Vol. 55, 1940, pp. 579-581.

2. Delitiae cc. Italorum Poetarvm, ed. J. Gruter, Vol. 1, 1608, sig. N4v.

Tu felix cantas molli sub fronde cicada;  
 Ipse queror durae virginis ante fores.  
 Ros tibi dat vitam, mihi vitam fletus; adurit  
 AEstatis non te feruor, aduror amans.

The poem has another eight lines in the same vein, comparing the happiness and freedom of the cicada, using its traditional attributes, with the misery of the poet, chained to the servitium amoris, which is described in equally conventional terms.

The first translation of Anacreontea 43 was Henri Estienne's Latin version, which appeared with his editio princeps in 1554.<sup>1</sup> Estienne's version of this particular poem is less close to the Greek than was usual for him: there are several interesting differences. Estienne takes 25 lines to represent the 18 lines of the original: and he translates the eight-syllable anacreontic lines of the Greek (∨∨-∨-∨-- ) into seven-syllable hemiambics in Latin (∨-∨-∨--). Some remarks on the metres of Estienne's translation, particularly on his willingness to cut off the first short syllable of the Greek anacreontic metre can be found in Chapter 8 below, pp. 281 - 285.

A close examination of Estienne's translation reveals that he has omitted virtually nothing of the Greek. The only words of his Greek text which are not properly represented in his translation are Μακαρίζομέν σε (line 1), πάντα (line 5), βοροῖσι (line 10) and αὐτὸς (line 13). On the other hand there are many additions to

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1. Texts of and bibliographical information on this and the other poems discussed can be found in the second volume of this thesis.

the original. In some cases Estienne represents verbal phrases or participles in the Greek by clauses in Latin, as in the "vt" clause in line 4, and the "quod" clauses beginning in lines 8, 11 and 14. Estienne's single most important addition to the text is his first line, "O TER quaterque felix". This is a reminiscence of Aeneas' famous words in the storm (Virgil, Aeneid 1. 94), "'o terque quaterque beati ...'", at the beginning of a passage which Dryden translates:<sup>1</sup>

'Thrice and four times happy those (he  
cried),  
That under Ilian walls, before their parents,  
died!'

The reminiscence adds a rather wistful note to Estienne's translation, as if he is comparing the happiness of the cicada with the misery of mankind. Other additions made by Estienne are "viretis" (line 3), "dulce gaudes" (line 5), "gignunt" (line 8), "omnes" (line 13), "puteris" (line 14), "imminentis" (line 15), "aucta" (lines 23 and 24), and the expansion of the important epithet ἄπαθής into "omnis Mali & doloris expers" (lines 21 - 22).

It will be noticed that Estienne translates βασιλεύς in line 4 of the Greek text by the Latin "Reginam". On this translation he comments as follows in his notes:<sup>2</sup>

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1. J. Dryden, The Works of Virgil, ed. J. Kinsley, 1961, p. 135.

2. Anacreontis ... Odae, ed. H. Stephanus, 1556, sig. F8v.

Βασιλεὺς ὅπως αἰδεῖς. Verti, regina:  
quòd cicada nomen foemininū sit. aiunt tamē  
cantare solum marem, tacere foeminam.

The point is that while τέτιξ in Greek is masculine, the equivalent "cicada" in Latin is feminine. Estienne therefore substitutes "queen" for "king" in the comparison. In doing this, he admits that he is following the grammar in spite of the sense: for it is said that only male cicadas sing. A close look at Estienne's translation shows also that he thought the alteration created rather a different nuance: for he adds to "Reginam" the epithet "potentem" in order to try to preserve the original force of Βασιλεύς. The different grammars of Latin and Greek make a literal translation impossible at this point.

By coincidence, a modern writer on language, L.S. Vygotsky, has used exactly the same example of the gender of "cicada" as an illustration of the interdependence of the semantic and the grammatical aspects of language. In Chapter 7 of his book Thought and Language (first published 1934), Vygotsky cites various examples to show that changes in the formal structure of different languages can entail far-reaching changes in meaning. One of these examples deals with a translation into Russian by Krylov from the French of La Fontaine:<sup>1</sup>

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1. L.S. Vygotsky, Thought and Language, ed. and trans. E. Hanfmann and G. Vakar, 1962, p. 128.

In translating the fable "La Cigale et la Fourmi," Krylov substituted a dragonfly for La Fontaine's grasshopper. In French grasshopper is feminine and therefore well suited to symbolize a lighthearted, carefree attitude. The nuance would be lost in a literal translation, since in Russian grasshopper is masculine. When he settled for dragonfly, which is feminine in Russian, Krylov disregarded the literal meaning in favor of the grammatical form required to render La Fontaine's thought.

Estienne, however, follows the reverse procedure: he keeps the insect and discards the gender, losing some of the force of his original.

There are many instances where the Latin words chosen by Estienne for his translation depend upon particular interpretations of the text. This is bound to be the case in this particular poem, since the language is much more terse and opaque than is usual in the Anacreontea. Only at one point, however, is Estienne's version at variance with the best modern critical opinion, in line 14, where he translates προφήτης by the Latin "Diuina" i.e. "prophetess" rather than "harbinger". In line 9 Estienne's "sylua" is not a translation of Estienne's Greek text ὄραι (line 7, "seasons"), but of a correction given in the manuscript source, ὑλαι ("woods"). The variant is in accordance with Estienne's general policy of being rather less conservative in the readings adopted for his translations than for his printed Greek text: in other cases Estienne prints emendations in his notes without incorporating them into

his printed text, but using them for his translations. This policy is explained in a note appended by Estienne to the 1560 edition of "Anacreon".<sup>1</sup> In translating the list of epithets in the last three lines of the Greek text, Estienne tries to explain what they mean rather than looking for exact Latin equivalents: this is one of the reasons why his version is so much longer than the Greek. Viewed as a whole, Estienne's version preserves the principal qualities of the Greek text, the combination of satire and praise: but he loses much of the succinctness and felicity of expression of his original.

André's version of this poem runs to 23 lines, 2 less than Estienne: and whilst it is clear that he has made use of Estienne's translation in places, the syntax is much closer than Estienne to the Greek. André's metre is a mixture of anacreontics and hemiambics: most of the lines follow the 8 syllables of the Greek, and it may be under the influence of Estienne that André departs from this occasionally, as for example in line 13 "AEstatis appententis" (cf. Estienne "AEstatis imminentis.") Other instances where André has borrowed from Estienne are "foelix" (line 1), "dulce" (line 6), "Dominae potentis" (line 5, cf. Estienne "Reginam potentem"),

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1. Pindari ... Caeterorum Octo Lyricorum carmina, ed. H. Stephanus, 1560, sig. DD6r - DD7v.

"coloni" (line 10), "te senecta carpit" (line 18) and "dolori" (line 21). There are many more instances where André has followed the Greek more closely than Estienne. At the start of the poem André follows Estienne in discarding the Greek Μακαρίζομέν σε, but he preserves the Greek line-division. In line 2 "Quod" corresponds to the Greek Οτι: in line 3 "Saturata" is stronger than the Greek πεπωκώς, but preserves the participial phrase. Lines 8 and 9 of André's translation are a precise word for word equivalent of the Greek, including the translation of ωραι by "horae" where Estienne prefers "sylua". In line 10 André again follows the syntax and word order of the Greek, though with only one "colonus" (as Estienne). André's line 11, "Quia nil soles nocere" is closer to the syntax of the Greek than Estienne's "Iniuriosa non sis", although there is little difference in meaning. In the rest of the poem, André follows the Greek with "Muisis", (line 14), "Sapiens humóque nata" (line 19), "Sine sanguine" (line 22) and "Similis" (line 23).

André departs from both the Greek and Estienne in the following places. In line 2 he has the cicada sitting on the top of only one tree, and he repeats this in line 4, which is an additional line. The tenth line of the Greek, Σὺ δε τίμιος βροτοῖσι, is contracted by André to the single word "Veneranda", and γλυκὺς (line 11) is omitted: but André gains at least some

pretty alliteration. Other new phrases are "Modulare ... carmen" (line 6), "laetis" (line 7), "Volitas" (lines 14 and 15) "suauem, Liquidámque" (lines 16 - 17) and "ô Cicada" (line 22).

Although André's translation is more literal than Estienne's, it is slightly less close to the tone of the original: André emphasises the praise of the cicada at the expense of the satire. The first line of his poem, "Nimis es, Cicada, foelix" lacks the sardonic touch of Estienne's "O TER quaterque felix": and "Dominae ... potentis" (line 5) and "vates" (line 12) seem over-serious and inappropriate to translate βασιλεύς and προφήτης. The repetition of "Volitas" in lines 14 and 15 also shows a certain clumsiness of phrasing.

We now come to the works of the Pléiade poets, Ronsard and Belleau. Ronsard made no direct translation of Anacreontea 43, but he three times made use of it in poems of his own. The first of these was in his Ode "A L'Aloüette", in Les Meslanges, 1555. Poems in praise of the skylark had been popular among the mediaeval troubadours<sup>1</sup>; but the general idea of writing poems in praise of animals and birds came to the Pléiade under the influence of the Greek Anthology.<sup>2</sup> The particular

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1. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, pp. 245-246, notes.

2. A. Lytton Sells, Animal Poetry, 1957, pp. 13, 46-47, 56 ff, 64-65.

form often used by Ronsard and his contemporaries was that of the blason, a poem of up to 200 lines devoted to the precise detailed description of anything you like, including an animal or a bird. Lytton Sells believes that the publication of the Anacreontea in 1554, with its beautiful lyrics to the swallow (Poem 33) and the cicada, explains the outburst of bird and animal poetry which followed.<sup>1</sup> Sells attributes much of the phrasing in Ronsard's "A L'Aloüette" to the influence of Belleau's translation of Anacreontea 43 (discussed below), which was published in the following year: but in doing this Sells ignores the scrupulous research of Eckhardt<sup>2</sup>, whose minute comparisons show conclusively that Ronsard's versions are earlier than Belleau's.

The ancients did not think of eulogising the lark, whose song did not appeal to them, and so it came about that Ronsard strangely took many details for his masterly poem from the Anacreontic praise of the cicada. The chief similarities are as follows. The celebration of the skylark's song (line 4) recalls line 4 of the Anacreontic: the "bois" of line 6 are reminiscent of Estienne's "sylua" (line 9): the worker in the fields of line 8 recalls the farmers of the Greek text (line 8): and the dew of line 14 recalls the food of the cicada

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1. A. Lytton Sells, Animal Poetry, 1957.

2. A. Eckhardt, Remy Belleau, 1917, pp. 35-36, 164 ff.

(line 3 of the Greek). There then follows (line 15 ff.) a further passage of praise of the carefree singing of the skylark. Later in Ronsard's poem, "bien-heureuse" (line 31) is reminiscent of Estienne's "TER quaterque felix" (line 1): "ny soucy de riens" recalls the Greek ἄπαθής (line 17): while the rest of the same stanza (lines 33 - 36) recalls the other ascetic ideals attributed to the cicada. The central section of Ronsard's poem (text not given), where he writes of the hatching of the eggs and the feeding of the young (lines 19 - 24), may be indebted to Anacreontea 33.

Just like the τέττιξ, then, Ronsard's "aloüette" revels in its freedom. It is not dependent on man for its food, but sings for the delight of the country folk. It enjoys the warm weather (Ronsard line 9, cf. Greek line 11), wants for nothing, and is happy in its lack of desire. The lyrical beauty and movement of Ronsard's poem owes much to the inspiration of the Anacreontic. But at the same time, there are crucial differences. Probably the most important of these stems from the fact that unlike the τέττιξ, the "aloüette" is described as "amoureuse" (line 32), and "contes aus vents tes amours." (line 18). The song of the lark is a happy love-song: and the introduction of this motif into the poem enables Ronsard to compare the happiness of the lark with his own unhappy unrequited love (lines 43 - 48). The happiness of the lark is made to seem all the greater

because it does not share the emotions of men (lines 33 - 36), its song all the more beautiful by contrast with man's misery. In the Anacreontic the happiness of the cicada is something intrinsic, unconnected with man, almost divine (line 18): Ronsard has given his poem a much more romantic flavour, and adapted it to the spirit of the Renaissance.

Ronsard has made further use of Anacreontea 43 in a sonnet included in Novvelle Continuation des Amours, 1556. This time the praise is applied to the song and habits of the nightingale. Echoes of the Anacreontic are confined to the first quatrain, which reads:<sup>1</sup>

Si tost que tu beu quelque peu de rosée,  
Soit de nuict, soit de jour, caché dans un buisson,  
Pendant les aesles bas, tu dis une chanson  
D'une notte rustique à ton gré composée.

The drinking of dew, the thicket, and the song all come from the first 3 lines of the τέτυξις-poem. Once again, the use made of the poem is a romantic one: Ronsard goes on to compare the dew to his own tears, the song to his own weeping.

The only definite indication of the source of Ronsard's knowledge of Anacreontea 43 is in line 6 of the "aloüette" poem, where "bois" recalls Estienne's altered text translated as "sylua" (line 9), where the Greek has ὄρμα. The remainder of Ronsard's echoes could

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1. Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 7, 1959, pp. 266-267.

be drawn equally well from the Greek text, from Estienne or André.

In the same collection as the sonnet (Novvelle Continuation des Amours, 1556), Ronsard included a second eulogy of the lark, this time entitled "L'Alouette", and beginning "Hé Dieu, que je porte d'envie ..." <sup>1</sup>. This poem uses much material drawn from the earlier "Ode", and includes a much more detailed description of the lark's flight. Ronsard himself seems to have preferred this second poem, making more alterations to it than to his earlier one, and finally including only the later poem in his edition of 1587. <sup>2</sup>

This 1556 poem includes a new passage based on lines 8 - 9 of Anacreontea 43 ( Σὺ δὲ φιλία γεωργῶν, Ἄπο μηδενός τι βλάπτων). Ronsard's imitation of this passage begins: <sup>1</sup>

Tu vis sans offenser personne,  
Car ton bec jamais ne moissonne  
Le froment ...  
(L'Alouette, lines 33 - 35)

The passage goes on to give further details of the lark's food, explaining why it is not a hindrance to the work of the farm.

There is no other fresh material drawn from Anacreontea 43 in this later poem, but it is possible to examine Ronsard's successive reworkings of phrases used in the earlier "Ode". For example, the phrase

1. Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 7, 1959, pp. 289-292.

2. See I. Silver, The Intellectual Evolution of Ronsard, Vol. 2. 1973, p. 244.

"arrosée ... de la rosée" (lines 13 - 14 of the previous poem) became in the 1556 poem:<sup>1</sup>

Lors que des aisles tu secoues  
La rousée quand tu te joues. (lines 5 - 6)

These lines in turn underwent further revisions, until in 1587 we find:<sup>2</sup>

Secouant en l'air la rosée  
Dont ta plume est toute arrosée

The final picture is very different from that of the τέτιξ drinking its ὀλίγην δρόσον, but it is nevertheless derived from it. Each reworking of the idea has brought a fresh, more vividly imagined, picture to Ronsard's mind. The praise of the lark's song undergoes similar successive alterations.

The opening of Remy Belleau's translation of the poem (1556) -

Hâ que nous t'estimons heureuse,  
Gentille Cigalle amoureuse! (lines 1 - 2)

shows the influence of Ronsard:

tu es bien - heureuse,  
Gentille Aloüette amoureuse  
(A L'Aloüette, lines 31 - 32)

Belleau's phrase "vn peu De la rosee" (lines 4 - 5) is similar to the phrasing in the first line of Ronsard's 1556 sonnet - but in this case it is possible that it is Ronsard who has borrowed the phrase from Belleau, the sonnet being later than most of Ronsard's imitations of

1. Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 7, 1959, p. 289.

2. Ibid., p. 289, note.

"Anacreon".

Belleau's poem also shows unmistakable traces of the original Greek text, and of Estienne's translation. The following phrases show where Belleau follows the Greek, in places where both Estienne and André have made alterations: "nous t'estimons" from Μακαρίζομέν σε (line 1): "Douce" (line 16) for γλυκὺς (line 11), a word omitted by Estienne and André: and "ne te blesse" (line 20) for οὐ σε τείρει (line 15). In line 21 "O sage" could be from the Greek Σοφὲ (line 16) or André's "Sapiens" (line 19). From Estienne Belleau has taken the following phrases: "apporte la campagne" (line 9), cf. Estienne "quod arua gignunt" (line 8): "Est de ton propre" (line 11), cf. Estienne "Tuum est" (line 8): "Doucement" (line 19), cf. Estienne "canoram" (line 18): and "ny de chair" (line 25), cf. Estienne "Vlla nec aucta carne" (line 23). As in Latin, the word "Cigalle" in French is feminine, and so like Estienne and André Belleau changes the phrase Βασιλεὺς ὅπως : his version reads "Qu'est vne Princesse puissante" (line 6), where the last word represents Estienne's "potentem" or André's "potentis".

Like his predecessors, Belleau chooses to emphasise the lyrical beauty of the Anacreontic rather than the satirical side of the poem. Unfortunately, some of the changes which Belleau makes early in the poem cause him some difficulty when he comes to translate the list of epithets at the end. The change of the cicada

from masculine to feminine leads to the strange juxtaposition of "O sage, ô fille terre-nee" (line 21): and the borrowing from Ronsard of the epithet "amoureuse" (line 2) causes rather a muddle when Belleau later comes to the word Ἀπαθῆς. This single word becomes in his version:

passionee  
 Qui ne fus onc d'affection,  
 Franche de toute passion, (lines 22 - 24)

Presumably what Belleau means is that although the song of the cicada appears to be a love-song, it is not in fact a song inspired by any particular affection.

Belleau has sought to give a modern flavour to his poem: but has succeeded merely in confusing the asceticism of the Greek τέττιξ with the romanticism of Ronsard's "aloüette".

Before coming on to the English versions of Anacreontea 43, there remains for discussion Lubin's literal Latin version of 1597. This is the first line by line translation, and it is inevitable that Lubin's brevity in rendering such a complex poem means that in places he cannot give the full flavour of the Greek: Ἀπαθῆς, for example, becomes in his version simply "Sine ... dolore" (line 17). Lines 5 - 7 of Lubin's translation are particularly close to the Greek text, following it word for word and preserving even the word order. But Lubin has also borrowed phrases from Estienne and André. From Estienne he has taken "Roris

parum ut bibisti" (line 3), "Regina" (line 4), "coloni" in the singular (line 8), and "Vocem ... canoram" (line 14). Possible echoes of André are "es" (line 1), "Quod arbore in suprema" with only one tree (line 2), "vates" (line 10), and "Similis fere Diis es" (line 18). Like the previous translators, Lubin makes the cicada female, and translates προφήτης as if it meant "prophet".

There is no need to include here a discussion of the one catalogued Italian version, by Filippo Alberti.<sup>1</sup> It is a loose imitation of the Anacreontic containing no less than 22 stanzas of four lines. Although entitled "La Cicala, imitatione de Annacreonte", it makes use also of many of the other Classical praises of the insect. It has no connection at all with any of the English imitations.

### The English Versions of Anacreontea 43

The earliest English version of Anacreontea 43 is that by Thomas Stanley. Although not published until 1651, two years after Lovelace's "The Grasse-hopper", there is a text of Stanley's translation (along with his version of Anacreontea 42) in Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 7514: "Poems & Translations, 1646".<sup>2</sup> Lovelace's

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1. See Filippo Alberti, Rime, 1603, sig. B2v - B3v.

2. The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump, 1962, p. 74 note.

poem, as discussed below, was probably composed in 1649.

Just as Lovelace and Cowley after him, Stanley entitled his poem "The Grassehopper". Strictly speaking, the grasshopper is quite a different insect from the Greek τέτιξ , which means "cicada". The cicada is not a leaping insect, and is classified by modern entomologists in the order Homoptera: most species of cicada are tropical, and they were well-known for the song of the male in ancient China as well as in the Mediterranean area. The word "grasshopper", on the other hand, is today used as a generic term for various leaping and chirping insects of the order Orthoptera, including locusts. The cricket is another insect of the order Orthoptera. What all these different insects have in common is their vegetarian diet, and their chirping song.

However, it is easy for the non-specialist to be confused about the precise differences between these insects. An example of this can be seen in the passage from Vygotsky's Thought and Language quoted on p. 250 above, where the English translator has used the word "grasshopper" to represent La Fontaine's "cigale" (which means "cicada"). It seems likely, then, that as the cicada is principally a tropical insect, Stanley has chosen "grasshopper" as being the most well-known English equivalent.

The epithet which Stanley uses to describe the grasshopper in the first line of his poem, "thrice-happy", comes directly from the first line of Estienne's translation. There is, however, nothing else in Stanley's version that we can be certain was taken from Estienne. There are several indications that Stanley has used the Greek text. "Sipping" in line 2 represents the participle πεπωκώς (line 3), although the tense has been changed. In line 5, "all" represents the Greek πάντα (line 5), a word omitted by Estienne: and in the next line, "hours" is from the Greek ὥραι, which Estienne alters to "arua". But in line 10 Stanley has the word "Springs", where the Greek and the other translators prefer "summer". It is rather illogical to call the grasshopper a prophet of spring, since at the time the poem is set it must be spring already (cf. "cool morning dew", line 2, and "verdant spray", line 4): but Ronsard mentions spring in line 9 of "A L'Aloüette" (1555). There is a possible use of Ronsard's "Sonet" in Stanley's use of the phrase "verdant spray" to refer to the tops of the trees (cf. Ronsard's sonnet, line 2, "caché dans un buisson"). Like the Latin and French translators, Stanley alters the Greek Βασιλεύς to "Queen" (line 3), even though this is not necessary in English: but Stanley's use of the Greek in this line is apparent from the use of "like", which directly translates ὅπως.

The additions of his own which Stanley makes to the poem are all descriptive of the general scene

rather than of the grasshopper itself. There is, for example, the "cool morning" of line 2, "all the day" in line 3, the "verdant spray" of line 4, and "with laden wings" in line 6, describing not the insect but the "hours", the passing of time. But when we come on to the epithets describing the grasshopper at the end of the poem, Stanley is more concise but less precise than his original. Line 14 of the Greek, *Διγυρὴν δ' ἔδωκεν οὔμην*, is omitted altogether by Stanley, while the following line becomes simply "Agelesse" (line 13). Of the three epithets in line 16 of the original, the first, *σοφὲ*, is weakly rendered as "good", while the second, *γηνευῆς* is omitted altogether. Also weak is Stanley's rendering of *ἄπαθῆς* as "Without passion" (line 14). Stanley concludes his version with a final couplet which it is difficult to understand without reference to the Greek (line 18) - what Stanley intends to say is that the happy state of the grasshopper comes near to imitating the happy state of the gods. But his word order and syntax could certainly be better.

Richard Lovelace's lyric, "The Grasse-hopper", which was published in Lucasta, 1649, is probably the most famous seventeenth-century English poem to be derived from the Anacreontea. Critics have frequently noticed its connection with "Anacreon", but have not analysed precisely which details come from the *τέττιξ*-poem, nor ascertained Lovelace's immediate sources.

There are no surviving manuscripts of Lovelace's poem, and the date of its composition cannot be ascertained with certainty. But as we shall see, modern critical accounts favour the view that it was composed after the execution of Charles I in January 1649. Whether this late date is accepted or not, it seems likely that Lovelace's chief source for his knowledge of Anacreontea 43 is Stanley's translation, which must have circulated in manuscript in advance of its publication in 1651.

The evidence for Lovelace's use of Stanley's version is as follows. Firstly, there is the title of the poem and name of the insect, "The Grasse-hopper", rather than "cicada". Next, there is the seat of Lovelace's grasshopper "upon the waving haire Of some well-filled Oaten Beard" (lines 1 - 2). This could well be an elaboration of Stanley's line 4 "Seated on some verdant spray", or the earlier 1646 reading "seated on some corr. to a spray".<sup>1</sup> Now Stanley clearly intended this phrase to refer to the tops of the trees, δενδρέων ἐπ' ἄκρων (line 2), with their clusters of green leaves: But Stanley does not use the word "tree" itself, and the phrase "verdant spray" is vague enough to conjure up in the reader's mind quite a different image of the grasshopper's situation - such as a field of waving oats.

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1. The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump, 1962, p. 94.

This point alone confirms that it is Stanley's poem which is the earlier - Stanley could not have borrowed "verdant spray" from Lovelace, since the phrase is intended to refer to the top of a tree.

Other possible borrowings by Lovelace from Stanley are "Delicious teare" (Lovelace line 3) from "cool morning dew" (Stanley line 5): "The Joyes of Earth ... are thine intire" (Lovelace line 5) from "Thine is all what ere earth brings" (Stanley line 5): and Lovelace's use of the word "Joyes" in lines 5 and 18, used by Stanley in line 7. In addition to these echoes, there are two points which Lovelace may have drawn either from Stanley or from Ronsard's "Sonet". Firstly, there is the reference to the insect's "wings" (Lovelace, line 6), which could be from Ronsard's "Pendant les aesles bas" (line 3) or Stanley's "with laden wings" (line 6). Stanley's phrase could have suggested the word "wings" to Lovelace even though he applies it to the "howrs" rather than to the insect. Secondly, there are the references to the time of day. Lovelace has the phrases "Drunke ev'ry night" (line 3) and "Up with the Day" (line 9): Stanley refers to the "cool morning dew" (line 2).

Stanley's translation must be considered Lovelace's principal source for his knowledge of Anacreontea 43, but it is extremely difficult to work out if it is his only source. The references to the time of day mentioned above, for example, could come from Ronsard.

In his "Sonet" is the phrase "Soit de nuict, soit de jour" (line 2), and in the later (1556) of the two eulogies of the lark we find:<sup>1</sup>

Davant que Phebus soit levé,  
Tu enleves ton corps lavé  
Pour l'essuier pres de la nûe,        (lines 7 - 9)

which could have suggested line 9 of Lovelace's poem. Lovelace's allusion to corn in line 13 could be connected with Ronsard's description of a farm in lines 33 - 44 of the same poem. Lovelace's contrast between "Earth" and "Ayre" in line 5 seems to reflect the phrasing used by Belleau, "Tout ce qu'apporte la campagne, Tout ce qu'apporte la montaigne" (lines 9 - 10). Also from Belleau could be the phrase "mak'st merry men" (line 11), (cf. "Tout homme estime ta bonté", Belleau line 15) since none of the other versions mentions the word "men".

There are also two possible indications that Lovelace has used the Greek text, or one of the literal Latin versions. The phrase "Drunke ... with a Delicious teare" (line 3) seems to suggest a very small quantity of dew, as in the Greek ὀλίγην δρόσον (cf. Estienne "Roris parum", line 4, and Lubin's identical phrase in line 3). The other possible use of the Greek does not occur in Lovelace's description of the grasshopper at all, but in his description of himself and his friend at the end of the poem, who "asking nothing, nothing need" (line

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1. Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 7, 1959, p. 289.

38). This could well be regarded as an English equivalent of the Greek Ἀπαθής, the word which sums up the ascetic ideals of the τέτιξ-poem. This borrowing is especially interesting in view of the critical thesis propounded by M.-S. Røstvig, in her book The Happy Man. This work has the subtitle "Studies in the Metamorphosis of a Classical Ideal", and discusses how "The new poetical motif of the happiness of retirement, born in the years of the Civil War and the Commonwealth"<sup>1</sup> has its roots in various Classical texts, such as Horace, Epode 2, and Virgil Georgics, Book 2. Miss Røstvig makes the mistake of considering the seventeenth-century reinterpretations of these texts neo-Stoic - a term which is far too specific to be helpful in discussing a large body of seventeenth-century poetry: it is precisely the same misuse of the term "Stoic" as that by Dihle<sup>2</sup> in his discussion of the cicada-poem. Miss Røstvig discusses neither Lovelace's poem nor "Anacreon", but her general thesis is here applicable: Lovelace found the Anacreontic poem appealing because it reflected his own mood. Harried as a Royalist under Cromwell, he discusses the uncertainty of life in "this cold Time" (line 23), and seeks happiness not <sup>just</sup> in material desires, but in an ideal "That asking nothing, nothing needs" - an ideal which reflects the ἀπάθεια of the τέτιξ.

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1. M.-S. Røstvig, The Happy Man, 1954, p. 16.

2. See above pp. 243-244.

Lovelace's use of the Anacreontic is thus a very subtle one. He makes full use of the inner meaning of the poem, in spite of the fact that his grasshopper is described in very different terms from the τέττιξ. There are in fact more points of difference in the description than of similarity. When Lovelace writes that the food of the grasshopper is "Dropt ... from Heav'n" (line 4), he is reflecting the final line of the Anacreontic, *Ἐχεδὸν εἰ θεοῖς ὅμοιος*, Stanley's "happy state" (line 15). But when Lovelace continues with the words "where now th' art reard" he is creating a very different mood. The τέττιξ is like the gods in that it is bloodless, fleshless, and so almost deathless: but Lovelace's grasshopper is now dead and gone to heaven. This note of sadness now disappears from Lovelace's poem, only to reappear with great suddenness at line 13. The τέττιξ seems to be permanently a creature of spring, a *θέρεος γλυκὺς προφήτης*; but the grasshopper has lived on until autumn, only to have his perch cropped by man, while the flowers wither with the frost. It is in the fifth stanza that the real difference from the τέττιξ finally emerges: the joy of the grasshopper is merely an illusion because it is short-lived, and the only message that man can draw from him is to lay in against the cold.

The tone of Lovelace's poem can thus be seen to change as the poem progresses. It begins with the

warmth of summer, then moves on to the coldness of winter, and then suggests ways of creating warmth within that coldness: it begins outside, and ends indoors:

Lovelace first addresses the grasshopper, and then addresses his friend. Such a movement between cold and warmth, between the scenic and the personal, closely reflects the structure of many of Horace's Odes, as for instance Carmina 1.9, which begins with the snow piled high on Mount Soracte, and ends with a gentle game of love: Horace too bids his friend "poize Their flouds, with an o're flowing glasse."<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that Lovelace's heading "Ode" means a Horatian Ode, and not specifically an Anacreontic Ode.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike Horace's typical structure, however, Lovelace's "Ode" is divided neatly into two parts: stanzas 1 - 5 deal with the grasshopper, and stanzas 6 - 10 with the poet and his friend. There are many close verbal parallels between stanzas 1 and 5, 2 and 6, and so on: a useful list of these has been given by B. King.<sup>3</sup> Less useful is King's theory that the poem is a religious allegory, very much influenced by Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, and various mediaeval allegories. Unfortunately King

1. Lovelace lines 19 - 20, cf. Horace Carmina 1.9 lines 5-8.

2. For the use of the term "Ode" to designate the Anacreontea and their translations, see the Appendix to Chapter 8, below, pp. 311-316.

3. B. King, "The Grasse-hopper and Allegory", in Ariel 1, 1970, pp. 71-82.

completely ignores the Classical background to the poem: it is of very little use, for example, to suggest that "old Greeke" wine (line 31) is a eucharistic symbol for Christ, when the words "old Greeke" have a much more obvious meaning.

The most important modern critical assessment of Lovelace's poem is that by D.C. Allen.<sup>1</sup> Allen's discussion of the Anacreontic background is reasonably accurate: but he makes the mistakes of confusing the grasshopper with the cicada, and of dating Cowley's translation earlier than that of Lovelace, to say nothing of his attributing the Anacreontic to Anacreon. In his critical analysis, Allen considers the τέτιξ to be a singer beloved of the Muses, and thus an analogue of the poet/singer himself: the "Delicious teare" which feeds the grasshopper is not merely the dew, but the inspiration of the Muses which nourishes the poet.

Drawing on various phrases in Classical texts about the τέτιξ, especially Βασιλεὺς ὅπως in Anacreontea 43, line 4, Allen deduces that the grasshopper "is an aristocrat, a King", and concludes "We are really not reading a poem about a grasshopper, but about a King and a cause that are dead on earth but living in Heaven."<sup>2</sup>

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1. D.C. Allen, "An Explication of Lovelace's 'The Grasshopper'", in M.L.Q., 1957, pp. 35-43.

2. Ibid., p. 39.

When in line 37 Lovelace writes "Thus richer than untempted Kings are we" he is, on one level, suggesting that however much he and his friend have lost through the civil wars, they at least have kept their lives and their strength of purpose. The word "untempted" is a transferred epithet which, on this interpretation, really applies to "we".

While Allen's discussion of the political background of the poem has much to commend it, the direct identification of the grasshopper with King Charles I seems to over-simplify a poem of great complexity. Furthermore, it conflicts with Allen's own very cogent identification of the grasshopper with the poet himself. It is in the second part of the poem that Lovelace and Cotton seek an escape from "this cold Time" (line 23), from "the North-wind" (line 26), "December" (line 29) and "Night" (line 33). There seems no doubt that these phrases can be interpreted as referring to the period of disillusion for the Royalists following the execution of the King, which Lovelace could not be allowed to mention directly. It is because of these phrases that the poem should probably be dated as late as 1649, when Charles was dead and Lovelace himself in prison. But the grasshopper itself is surely not King Charles, but an analogue of the poetic vision which enables Lovelace to escape the trouble of the times. It is through poetry that man can escape into the ideals of ἀπάθεια: and if the analogy holds true, it is the poet's inspiration, not the

King, which appears threatened in stanzas 4 and 5.

The winter of Lovelace's discontent is upon him: his joys have not lasted, but have been cut down like the grass and the flowers. He must learn to ask for nothing, to need nothing.

There is an interesting possibility that Lovelace may have obtained the whole idea of developing the Anacreontic in this way from his friend Stanley. For in his notes on his own translation of Anacreontea 43, published in 1651, Stanley quotes a long parallel passage about grasshoppers from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana: and in this passage, when Demetrius is asked by Apollonius the purpose of his praise of the grasshoppers, he replies:<sup>1</sup>

I did not this so much to shew their happiness, as our own misery; they are allowed to sing, but we not to whisper our thoughts: wisdom as a crime is laid to our charge.

This passage precisely parallels the situation of the Royalists - indeed, of Stanley and Lovelace themselves - under Cromwell's government: when they wished to present and discuss their own situation, they could not do so openly, but only by means of allegory and disguise. But more importantly, the quoted passage describes exactly what Lovelace has done in "The Grasse-hopper", comparing the happiness and freedom of the insect with the misery

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1. Cited from Anacreon, Bion, and Moschus, with Other Translations, [ed. Sir E. Brydges], 1815, p. 178.

and confinement of himself and his friend. A hundred years before this, in France, Ronsard had used the device of imitating the Anacreontea in order to hymn his own contemporary situation. The finest of the Cavalier lyrists in England were able to do the same.

Skelton<sup>1</sup> has described Lovelace as a lover of ceremony, of dignified presentation, above all an enemy to irony. In "The Grasse-hopper" we see his work at its very best. As Weidhorn<sup>2</sup> has pointed out, he has made "Anacreon's" τέττιξ into a warning as well as a pattern - a brief colourful life soon snuffed out. The description of the grasshopper is full of contrasts. It is nourished by heaven but has now gone to heaven (line 4): it partakes like the τέττιξ of everything the earth can provide, but unlike the τέττιξ retires to sleep (lines 5 - 8): like the τέττιξ, the grasshopper provides pleasure to everyone, but unlike the τέττιξ is cut off by the autumn. The τέττιξ is described as σοφὸς (line 16), but the grasshopper as a "Poore verdant foole!" (line 17). In short, Lovelace has taken the simple description of the Greek and added a new contrasting aspect; and then, not content with that, he has composed a second five stanzas presenting those same contrasts in the world of men. This Anacreontic is a perfect synthesis of tradition and

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1. R. Skelton, Cavalier Poets, 1960, p. 28.

2. M. Weidhorn, Richard Lovelace, 1970, p. 55.

originality, of the old and the new.

Abraham Cowley's poem, also entitled "The Grasshopper", is a masterpiece of a very different sort. It is based on a rendering of "Anacreon", but an "Anacreon" expanded and reinterpreted in such a way as to give the poem a tone all of its own. There can be no doubt that in writing this poem Cowley has made reference to the Greek text of Anacreontea 43. This is shown by his use of the word "King" in line 10, where all previous translators have preferred "queen". Only Lovelace has referred to a king, but his reference is not at the same point in the poem, and in any case has quite a different connotation. There are a few other phrases in Cowley's poem which are probably from the Greek, but which could also be taken from a literal translation. These are "All the Fields which thou dost see" (line 11) from πάντα ὅποσα βλέπεις ἐν ἀγροῖς (lines 5 - 6), "Summer Hours" (line 13) from ὦραι (line 7), and "Wise" (line 31) from σοφὲ (line 16). Cowley's other chief source is Stanley's translation: from him may come "HAPPY" (line 1) (but cf. Estienne, André and Belleau), "dewy Mornings" (line 4, cf. Stanley line 2 "morning dew"), "verdant" (line 6, cf. Stanley line 40), "joy" (line 17, cf. Stanley line 7), "destroy" (line 18, cf. Stanley line 8), and "inspire" (line 23, cf. Stanley line 12). Like Stanley, Cowley omits the mention of the tops of the trees, and also the whole of line 14 of the original, λιγυρὴν δ' ἔδωκεν οἴμην.

The "Cup" in line 6 of Cowley's poem may be suggested by Stanley's notion of "Sipping" (line 2). Finally, there are some indications that Cowley has read Lovelace's poem. These are "nourishment divine" (line 3, cf. Lovelace "Dropt thee from Heav'n", line 4), and "nor Winter know" (line 28), which recalls the fifth stanza of Lovelace's poem. In addition, Cowley ends his poem with a couplet which emphasises the frailty and mortality of the grasshopper, as Lovelace does, instead of its resemblance to the gods.

Cowley makes very many additions of his own to the poem. The following complete lines can be regarded as additional, since they directly translate neither the original nor any previous version: lines 2, 5, 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30 and 32. Together these lines make up nearly half the poem: and even this long list does not include lines and phrases drawn from previous versions which do not correspond to the Greek text, such as lines 6, 33 and 34. These additions have the effect of exaggerating the praise of the happy grasshopper, but exaggerating in such a way as to poke gentle fun at the same time. A good example of this is lines 3 - 4, where Cowley picks up Lovelace's idea of the grasshopper being fed directly from heaven, and then makes fun of it by comparing the dew in a humorous way to the drink so loved by Cavaliers - wine. The grasshopper is likened in other ways also to a Cavalier - it drinks from a full Cup (line 6), it dances and sings

(line 9). It is a wealthy creature: it has large estates (lines 11 - 14) and has labourers to work for it: it is able to own the land (line 16) and to enjoy luxury (line 18). Cowley's grasshopper is not a prophet of summer, but of autumn (line 22), when the promise of the land will be fulfilled: it becomes a symbol of the joys of which it partakes: when they go, it must die (line 26).

Cowley's humorous praise of the grasshopper presents the insect in a very different way from the ascetic ideals satirised in the τέττιξ-poem: for example, the τέττιξ is content with ὀλίγην δροσόν, but the cup of the grasshopper is full. This change of emphasis leads Cowley to make some striking alterations when he comes to the list of epithets at the end of the Greek poem. Of the description in lines 15 - 18 of Anacreontea 43 only the agelessness and wisdom of the insect are retained by Cowley (lines 28 and 31), while the rest of the description is replaced by the words "Voluptuous ... Epicuraean Animal!" (lines 31 - 32). The tone of Cowley's poem, and the combination with "voluptuous", both suggest that the word "Epicurean" is being used not in a strictly philosophical sense, but in order to suggest the grasshopper's pursuit of pleasure for its own sake - the very reverse of the ἀπάθεια of the τέττιξ.

Cowley succeeds in reversing the meaning of his original while nevertheless preserving its tone. For this is the first translation in which the emphasis is not merely on the lyrical beauty of the scene: Cowley's couplets capture some of that humour and satire which modern critics have seen in Anacreontea 43. Cowley builds on an idea taken from Lovelace of the grasshopper dying at the end of summer, but unlike Lovelace Cowley does not dismiss the insect as a "Poore verdant foole!": rather he exults in and captures its joys. He creates a creature not simply βασιλεὺς ὅπως, but one "Happier than the happiest King!" (line 10). He makes the grasshopper so much his own that in reading the poem it is easy to forget that it is a translation, and to think of it solely as a child of his own poetic imagination:

Thee Phoebus loves, and does inspire;  
Phoebus is himself thy Sire.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## ANACREONTICS

The word "ANACREONTIC" is used in this thesis with two distinct meanings. "Anacreontic" with a capital A is used to designate a poem written in imitation of the works of Anacreon: normally the word refers to the poems of the Anacreontea themselves, and sometimes to their translations. When written "anacreontic" with a lower case a the word is used solely to designate the Classical anacreontic metre as it is defined by modern scholars such as Maas and Raven<sup>1</sup>, i.e. the ionic dimeter with anaclasis ( √ √ - √ - √ - - ).

In Renaissance times the word "ANACREONTIC" (often spelt "Anacreontick" or even "Anacreontique") and its Latin equivalent "Anacreontica" was also used to denote either a type of poem or a metre: but in neither sense was the word used precisely as it is today: nor was the distinction between the two usages always clear. This chapter traces the history of the use of this word from 1554, when the Anacreontea were first published, to 1683. The history of the word necessarily includes some account of various metres used for translations from "Anacreon": so it has been found convenient to include in this chapter some account of the translations included in Antoine de Baïf's Chansonnettes. An appendix to this chapter discusses the use of the word "Ode" with reference to the Anacreontea and their English translations.

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1. Paul Maas, Greek Metre, trans. H. Lloyd-Jones, 1962, p. 27: D.S. Raven, Latin Metre, 1965, pp. 129, 152.

Modern scholarship on the Anacreontea has divided virtually all the 61 poems into two metrical types,<sup>1</sup> those specified as anacreontic with eight-syllable lines scanned  $\cup\cup - \cup | - \cup - -$ , and those specified as hemiambic, with seven syllable lines scanned  $\cup - \cup - | \cup - -$ . But in Renaissance times it was the second of these, the hemiambic, which was considered to be the standard form of the anacreontic metre. Thus the standard Renaissance work on the subject, Scaliger's Poetics, includes several types of "Anacreontica" under his heading of "IAMBICI": of these the first type given is<sup>2</sup> "Anacreonticum dimetrum catalecticum. ἐν βότρυσι κυθήρη. Vino Venus calescit." Scaliger gives as the scansion:  $\cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup$ . This is the only type of "Anacreontica" given by Scaliger which corresponds to the metres of the Anacreontea: the other types are metres found in the genuine fragments of Anacreon, but not in the Anacreontea.

As Scaliger's terms were compiled from the genuine fragments of Anacreon, there is no reason to suppose that his definitions necessarily applied to the Anacreontea. What did Henri Estienne, the editor of the editio princeps of 1554, consider to be the anacreontic

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1. See esp. M. Brioso Sanchez, Anacreontea: Un Ensayo para su Datacion, 1970.
  2. J.C. Scaliger, Poetices libri septem, 1561, sig. f4v. Scaliger died in 1555, and the composition of the Poetics must predate the publication of the Anacreontea.

metre? We can be certain that he defined it in the same way as Scaliger: for he uses the seven syllable hemiambic for his interesting poem prefixed to his anacreontic Latin paraphrases of the psalms, published in 1568. Renouard quotes from the title page:<sup>1</sup>

PSALMI Davidis aliquot, metro Anacreontico & Sapphico. Authore Henrico Stephano, cujus etiam ex officina prodeunt. Ejusdem Henrici Stephani Odarion de Psalmis aliquot Davidicis a se ἀνακρεοντειομελοποιηθεῖσι.

Anacreontis olim  
 Modos dedi jocosos:  
 Anacreonticam nunc,  
 Sed nil Anacreontis  
 Dabo lyram sonantem.  
 Sic aemulabor hastam  
 Quae vulnus inferebat,  
 Addebat et medelam.  
 Quos sauciavit olim  
 Nervis chelys profanis,  
 Sanabit illa nervis  
 Aptata christianis.

The metre of this is  $\underline{\vee} - \vee - \vee - \underline{\vee}$ .

But if the hemiambic was known to Estienne as the anacreontic metre, what did he call the ionic dimeter with anaclasis, today known as the anacreontic metre? The answer seems to be that Estienne did not recognise this metre as a separate type. The 1554 edition of "Anacreon" includes the following note on metre:<sup>2</sup>

Quod autem ad versus attinet quibus vsus est noster poeta, animaduertendum est duo esse eius odarum genera. Vnum enim genus est earum quae sunt μονοειδεῖς, & vt ita dicam, simplices: in quibus omnibus Iambico dimetro καταληκτικῶν vtitur: (quod carmen ἀνακρεόντειον appellatur) praeterquam in duabus, quarum altera constat tota versibus δακτυλοῖς τριμέτροις ἀκαταλήκτοις, illa videlicet cuius initium est, Αἰ μουσαι τὸν ἔρωτα. Altera autem versibus trochaicis,

1. A.A. Renouard, Annales de L'Imprimerie des Estienne, 2nd. edn., 1843, p. 131.

partim ἀκαταλήκτοις , partim etiam  
καταληκτικοῖς. nimirum illa cuius  
primus est versus, Πῶλε Θρηϊκίη, τὶ  
δὴ με . Alterum genus est earum quae  
sunt mixtae ex diuersis versibus, puta  
iambicis dimetris καταληκτικοῖς &  
ἀκαταλήκτοις , item ex choriambicis,  
anapaestis, dactylicis, aliisque, quos ex  
varijs συζυγίαις , sed ἰσοδυναμούσαις  
constituit.

Estienne here designates two types of metre, one of which is the hemiambic, the iambic dimeter catalectic, known to him as the anacreontic, and the other a mixture of different metres. Of the two poems mentioned by Estienne as exceptional, the first, Anacreontea 30, is recognised as exceptional even today<sup>1</sup>, while the other, Πῶλε Θρηϊκίη , is a fragment of Anacreon not from the Anacreontea.<sup>2</sup> As the eight-syllable ionic dimeter with anaclasis is not specifically mentioned, it must have been regarded as a variation on the hemiambic with the first extra syllable in arsis. However, in editing his text, Estienne keeps the two metres quite separate, and does not accept into his printed text readings with an anomalous number of syllables in the line. This is important, because in other respects Estienne was prepared to tolerate occasional mistakes of quantity in his final printed text. Recent research<sup>1</sup> has established that the Anacreontea do not scan correctly because they are isosyllabic, that is to say, they were written at a

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1. M. Brioso Sanchez, Anacreontea: Un Ensayo para su Datacion, 1970.

2. Lyrice Graeca Selecta, ed. D.L. Page, 1968, p. 163 (fr. 335).

time when the traditional quantitative rhythms of Greek verse were gradually being broken down and replaced by accentual rhythms (see Chapter 1 above, pp. 11-15).

Estienne was of course completely unaware of this process, but was nevertheless often reluctant to make even quite simple emendations to his text for the sake of the metre.

For example, he gives this note on Anacreontea 5, line 7:<sup>1</sup>

7 ῥόδον ἑάρος μέλημα . Hic nouè positus est  
tribrachys anapaesti loco, ita tamen  
legere málim quàm inuerso ordine, ἑάρος  
ῥόδον μέλημα . Nam facilè adducor vt  
credam hūc pedem fuisse admissum à poeta,  
dum captat leporem illum qui est ex eiusdem  
principij repetitione, qua mirifice gaudet:

When it came to translating the poems into Latin, Estienne's criteria were slightly different. The translation was intended to be in the same metre as the original, as we can tell from the heading in the 1554 edition,<sup>2</sup> "ANACREONTIS Odae eodem carmine expressae." (The importance of this heading for Dorat's possible authorship of the translation is discussed in Chapter 2 above, p. 39.) Clearly mistakes of quantity had to be avoided in a translation, even in places where found in the original text: but Estienne does not always seem to have been concerned to preserve in his translation the distinction between the hemiambic and anacreontic metres: he was at times prepared to introduce or to discard the

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1. Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. E5v.

2. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. L3r.

extra short syllable at the beginning of the line within the limitation of writing "eodem carmine", in the same metre as the Greek. For example, Anacreontea 29, which is in the eight-syllable anacreontic metre, is translated by Estienne with a mixture of anacreontic and hemiambic lines:<sup>1</sup>

MEOS Bathyllum amores,  
Vt te docebo, pinge.  
Nitidas comas fac illi,  
Intus quidem nigrantes,  
At aureas superné.

The second and fourth lines here show that Estienne was prepared in translation to substitute one long syllable for the two short ones at the beginning of the anacreontic line. Sometimes, however, Estienne copied his original more precisely, as in the translation of Anacreontea 4, where the eight-syllable anacreontic is preserved throughout:<sup>2</sup>

TENERIS superque myrtis,  
Super & virente loto  
Recubans, bibam lubenter ...

As for the other principal Latin translators, André and Lubin, André seems to have been a little stricter than Estienne. He does not mix anacreontics and hemiambs indiscriminately in the same poem. Like Estienne, however, he is sometimes prepared to substitute one long syllable for the two short ones at the beginning of the

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1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. N2r.

2. Ibid., sig. G4r.

anacreontic, as in the third line of this example

(Anacreontea 29, lines 4 - 7):<sup>1</sup>

Color intus vt niger sit,  
Rutilante parte summa.  
Cinnamon inordinatis  
Face liberum capillis ...

But even this he does less than Estienne. Lubin's literal translation scrupulously preserves the correct number of syllables in each line: but like all other users of lyric metres in Latin, he allows the first syllable of each line to be anceps.

It is clear that the metrical term "anacreontica" need not be used solely to designate poems by or attributed to Anacreon. Mention has already been made of Estienne's Latin paraphrases of the psalms, published in 1568 in "anacreontics". In writing Latin anacreontics of his own Estienne was following the lead of the elder Scaliger, who died in 1555 and whose collected poems were published in 1574: this collection included a section entitled "ANACREONTICA. AD Petrum Ronsardum."<sup>2</sup> The section consists of 116 short poems on various subjects and in various metres. None of the poems is a direct translation from the Anacreontea, although some are clearly suggested by its general themes - there are many poems addressed to Cupid towards the end of the collection. But as Carol Maddison has pointed out<sup>3</sup>, even these poems

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1. Anacreontis Teii ... Odae, ab Helia Andrea Latinae factae, 1556, sig. B5v,

2. J.C. Scaliger, Poemata, 1561, part 1, sig. G4v - K7r.

3. C. Maddison, Apollo and the Nine, 1960, pp. 111-112.

discuss the contradictions of love in the tradition of Ovid and the mediaeval Latin poets, rather than telling simple stories about Cupid in the manner of the Anacreontea: and most of the other poems are epigrams, puns and jottings which have nothing whatsoever to do with "Anacreon". What then are we to make of the title?

An answer is provided by the first four lines of the first poem in the collection (sig. G5r):

Quis Anacreonta blandum  
Mihi quis senem elegantem  
Suscitabit ad choreas  
Non elaboratum ad pedem?

This last line is taken directly from Horace, Epode 14 line 9 ff.:<sup>1</sup>

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

What Scaliger has done is to take this line from Horace, and infer from it that any short simple metre can be designated "anacreontic". The basic criterion seems to be that the metre has to be based on the iambic metron: ionic metres such as the anacreontic were extremely rare in Classical Latin verse.<sup>2</sup> Scaliger did use the eight-syllable anacreontic: in effect he treated it as an iambic metre, an iambic dimeter catalectic with anacrusis. Most of the poems in Scaliger's "Anacreontica" are in the

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1. Q. Horatius Flaccus, Opera, ed. E.C. Wickham and H.W. Garrod, 1959.

2. D.S. Raven, Greek Metre, 1962, p. 67.

two principal metres of the Anacreontea: the remainder are in other iambic metres.

### Baïf

Before discussing the use of the word "anacreontic" in England, it will be found helpful to consider the versions of "Anacreon" in the Chansonnettes of Jean-Antoine de Baïf. The importance of these experiments in vers mesurés, i.e. in quantitative French verse, has only recently been recognised, because the Chansonnettes were not published in full until 1964.<sup>1</sup> Still more recently, Derek Attridge's book Well-weighed syllables, 1974, has led to a re-evaluation of the use of quantitative rhythms by Renaissance poets in modern languages: he has shown that these "experiments were far from being the freakish craze they have often been taken for."<sup>2</sup> Attridge has shown that the English writers who discussed and attempted quantitative verse were not influenced to any marked extent by continental writers - with the exceptions of Ramus and Baïf.<sup>3</sup> Now Baïf's Chansonnettes contain no less than 17 poems based on "Anacreon", 15 of which are sufficiently close to the original to be called translations from the Anacreontea.

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1. J.-A. de Baïf, Chansonnettes, ed. G.C. Bird, 1964.

2. D. Attridge, Well-weighed syllables, 1974, p. 125.

3. Ibid., pp. 121-124.

All these will be found listed in the catalogue. These poems make Baïf the most prolific sixteenth century translator of "Anacreon" into French after Ronsard and Belleau.

Like his friend and boyhood companion Ronsard, Baïf drew his interest in Anacreon from the inspiration of his tutor Jean Dorat. (For Dorat's lectures on Anacreon and their influence on Ronsard, see Chapter 2 above, pp. 45-46.) It is through the works of Baïf himself that we know that Dorat himself wrote Greek imitations of Anacreon: for two of them are preserved in French verse translations by Baïf, published in 1573, headed "dv Grec de Ian Dorat": the first lines are included in the catalogue among Baïf's translations. These are not translations from the Anacreontea, but new and original stories about Cupid along the lines of Anacreontea 3 and 40.

Baïf's experiments in quantitative verse arose out of his "Académie de Poésie et de Musique".<sup>1</sup> We cannot tell how many of the Chansonnettes were actually set to music: of the 17 poems based on "Anacreon" in the surviving manuscript only two are known from musical settings (in Claude Le Jeune's Le Printemps, 1603). It is of great interest to note that one of these two, Baïf's

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1. M. Augé-Chiquet, La Vie, Les Idées et L'Oeuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baïf, 1909, chapter 8: D. Attridge, Well-weighed syllables, 1974, p. 122.

version of Anacreontea 37, "Revoici venir du printemps"<sup>1</sup>, preserves precisely the eight-syllable anacreontic metre of the Greek original. It is supposed that the Greek lyric metres were originally developed to be sung to the music of the lyre: but for a poet and composer to capture this in a modern language is no mean achievement.

The translations of "Anacreon" which do not survive in musical settings also follow closely the metres of the originals. Of the total of 17, 8 follow the hemiambic metre  $\underline{\cup} - \cup - \cup - -$ : the first syllable was treated as anceps as was normal in Latin hemiambics: an example of this is the first two lines of his version of Anacreontea 14:

$\cup - \cup - \cup - -$   
 Amour me force d'aimer:<sup>2</sup>  
 $- - \cup - \cup - -$   
 M'offre une gaie beauté:

Six of the translations follow the eight-syllable anacreontic metre for some or all of their lines: but there is no question of mixing anacreontics and hemiambics in the same poem. Unlike Scaliger and Estienne, Baïf classified the anacreontic as an ionic form, like today's scholars, rather than an iambic one: this can be perceived from two poems in which anacreontics are mixed

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1. J.-A. de Baïf, Chansonnettes, ed. G.C. Bird, 1964, Livre III, Chanson 13, p. 185.

2. Ibid., Livre III, Chanson 1, p. 163.

with ionic dimeters. For example, Baïf's version of Anacreontea 34 begins (again with his own scansion):<sup>1</sup>

√ √    -    -    √ √    -    -  
 Ne me fuis pas belle, pourtant  
       √ √    -    √    -    √    -    -  
 Si le poil tu vois me blanchir:

Baïf did not himself designate any of these poems or metres with the word "Anacreontic".

England: Sidney

The earliest surviving reference to the use of anacreontic metre in English verse occurs in Abraham Fraunce's The Arcadian Rhetorike of 1588. In his classification of the different types of metre, after discussing such types as the Sapphic, the Elegiac and the Iambic, Fraunce goes on:<sup>2</sup>

Other kindes there be, as Anacreontica,  
       -    √    -    √    -    √    -  
 My Muse what ailes this ardour?  
       to blaze my onely secrets ...

The poem is from Sidney's Arcadia, and it was first published in full in 1593. Fraunce's scansion of the lines is incorrect, as Jean Robertson has pointed out in her edition of The Old Arcadia. In her text the relevant passage reads as follows:<sup>3</sup>

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1. J.-A. de Baïf, Chansonnettes, ed. G.C. Bird, 1964, Livre II, Chanson 21, p. 105.
  2. A. Fraunce, The Arcadian Rhetorike, ed. E. Seaton, 1950, p. 33.
  3. Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. J. Robertson, 1973, p. 163.

Cleophila seeing nobody offer to fill the stage, as if her long-restrained conceits did not burst out of prison, she thus (desiring her voice should be accorded to nothing but to Philoclea's ears) threw down the burden of her mind in Anacreon's kind of verses:

✓   -   ✓   -   ✓   - -  
 My muse what ails this ardour  
 To blaze my only secrets?  
 Alas, it is no glory  
 To sing my own decayed state.  
 Alas, it is no comfort  
 To speak without an answer.  
 Alas it is no wisdom  
 To show the wound without cure.

The poem continues for another five stanzas: the third stanza is discussed in Chapter 3, above, pp. 74 - 75.

The phrase "Anacreon's kind of verses" is the current English equivalent of Fraunce's "Anacreontica": there is as yet no word "anacreontic" in the English language.

There can be no doubt that Sidney intended the phrase purely as a metrical term, for the surrounding poems have headings such as "these hexameters", "these phaleuciads", "these verses, called asclepiadics".<sup>1</sup>

The scansion of the poem given by Sidney is precisely that of the hemiambic metre, i.e. the metre classified by Scaliger and Estienne as "anacreontic". Ringler has pointed out that<sup>2</sup> "The scansion model fails to indicate that the last syllable may be long or short. The structure is not stanzaic, because the six sections,

1. Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. J. Robertson, 1973, pp. 160, 165, 166.

2. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. W.A. Ringler, 1962, p. 403.

indicated by the repetition of the first line, vary in length ..." We have here an outstandingly clear example of how the classifications of continental academics could have a practical effect on the composition of English poetry. Attridge<sup>1</sup> points out how the poem fits into the pattern of Sidney's experiments in quantitative verse - he tried to overcome some of the difficulties of writing quantitative verse in English by making stress and quantity coincide in this poem.

In Thomas Moffet's Latin biography of Sidney we find the following passage describing the dying Sidney:<sup>2</sup>

Erubuit etiam ad levissimam  
Anacreonticorū suorum mentionem, et  
ne quid eius generis poematū in lucem  
prodiret, fratrem per vteri communionem,  
per dexteram, per Christi fidem, semel  
atque iterum rogavit:

In this passage the word "Anacreontica" must refer to the metre of some of Sidney's poems: there is no evidence at all from the 1590s to indicate that the word could be used in any other sense. However, the word must here be used less strictly than to denote only poems in hemiambs: for "My muse what ails this ardour" was the only poem which we know Sidney to have written in this metre. We must conclude, then, that at the time of the

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1. D. Attridge, Well-weighed syllables, 1974, pp. 185, 203.

2. Thomas Moffet, Nobilis ... and Lessus Lugubris, ed. V.B. Heltzel and H.H. Hudson, 1940, p. 41.

composition of Moffet's Nobilis (probably 1593-4) poems in other light lyric metres could be designated "Anacreontica".

### Barnes

It was inevitable that anacreontics would soon find their way into English accentual verse. In the same year as Sidney's experiment in "Anacreon's kind of verses" was first published, Barnabe Barnes's Parthenophil and Parthenophe appeared. In addition to several poems based on the Anacreontea themselves the volume included a poem headed "CARMEN ANACREONTIUM. ODE 17".<sup>1</sup> The poem consists of 5 stanzas, each of 16 lines, and each beginning:

REVEAL, sweet Muse! this secret!  
Wherein the lively Senses  
Do most triumph in glory?

This eulogy by Barnes of the "glory" of the senses is a direct answer to the "decayed" state portrayed in Sidney's poem: there is no need to seek any further source. The metre of the lines is  $\checkmark/\checkmark/\checkmark//$ ; the exact equivalent in accentual verse of the hemiambic metre employed by Sidney.

### Florio

John Florio's Italian English dictionary of

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1. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. Sidney Lee, Vol. 1, 1904, p. 304.

1598, A Worlde of Wordes, includes the following entry:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreontici, a kinde of verses that  
Anacreon deuised.

Once again the definition of the term refers to the metre: at this date there still appears to be no word "anacreontic" in the English language.

The revised edition of Florio's dictionary published in 1611 has:<sup>2</sup>

Anacronismo, an imitation of Ana-creon the  
lyrique Poet.  
Anacreontici, verses deuised by Ana-creon.

The term "Anacreontici" is distinguished from "Anacronismo" by its being purely a metrical term: only the first word defined, "Anacronismo", refers to the subject matter of the poems.

But the 1659 edition of Florio has:<sup>3</sup>

Anacronismo, an imitation of Anacreon the  
Lyrick Poet.  
Anacróntici, Verses devised by Anacreon;  
Anacreonticks.

The addition to the latter definition of the single word "Anacreonticks" paradoxically makes it much less clear than before: for "Anacreontiques" was the title used by Cowley for his 11 imitations "Translated Paraphrastically

1. John Florio, A Worlde of Wordes, 1598, sig. B3v, col. 2.

2. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words, 1611, sig. Clv, col. 3.

3. Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, A Dictionary Italian & English, by John Florio, revised by G. Torriano, 1659, sig. E2v, col. 3.

out of Anacreon"<sup>1</sup>, which were published in 1656. Florio and his reviser Torriano, however, seem to consider the word to be purely a metrical term - otherwise they would surely have included it under their entry for "Anacronfismo". By 1659, then, the word had taken on the two distinct meanings which it has today, referring to metre and subject matter, and the distinction between them had become unclear. It is necessary to trace how this happened.

### Campion

We now come to the earliest recorded use of the word "anacreontic" in English. The title "Anacreontics" sometimes prefixed to the 3 poems at the end of Spenser's Amoretti (see Chapter 6 above, pp. 206-215) is a modern one, and was not used by Spenser himself. The Oxford English Dictionary gives the first recorded use of the word "anacreontic" as Cowley's title of 1656: in fact the earliest extant use was by Thomas Campion, in Observations in the Art of English Poesie, 1602. The relevant passage is included among the texts given in the second volume of this thesis. As with Sidney and Barnes, the term as used by Campion is purely a metrical one, and the subject matter of his poem has nothing to do with the Anacreontea. But the scansion  $\bar{\cup} - \cup$  is quite different from that used by Sidney and Barnes. The poem is, however, similar to

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1. Abraham Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 50.

Sidney's in one respect: like him Campion aims to retain the traditional accentual pattern of English verse while ensuring that the lines can also be scanned as quantitative verse.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of Campion's determination to retain the Classical rules in English verse, his definition of "anacreontic" has no Classical precedent: it does not correspond to any of the metres called "anacreontic" by Scaliger. The only link seems to be that, like the poems of the Anacreontea, Campion's poem consists of a succession of unusually short lines: so it is possible that Campion deliberately changed the definition of "anacreontic" to one he considered more suitable to represent "Anacreon's kind of verses" in English. That Campion has "Anacreon's" style in mind can be seen from his description of the metre as "licentiate": this was a common opinion of Anacreon at this time: we find, for example, the following definition given by Francis Holyoke in 1627:<sup>2</sup>

Anacreon, ... A lascivious Poet.

Another way in which Campion's metre reflects the style of the Anacreontea is that his poem is not stanzaic: for in this respect the form of the poems in the Anacreontea differs from the lyric forms known from Pindar and Horace. Catherine Ing has commented on Campion's "anacreontic":<sup>3</sup>

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1. See D. Attridge, Well-weighed syllables, 1974, pp. 219-227.

2. Francis Holyoke, Dictionarium Etymologicum Latinum, 1627, sig. TTT4v, col. 2.

3. C. Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics, 1951, p. 105.

"The Anacreontic is unusual in that forms consistently using a stressed-unstressed order are very rare in English."

### Commendatory Anacreontics

Among the verses of commendation prefixed to Hugh Holland's Pancharis (1603) can be found a poem which begins as follows:<sup>1</sup>

E.B. Anacreontickes.

Scarse 'till now hath ENGLAND seen  
A Poem, but of verses store;  
Here an unenforced green  
Hath native flowres, which heretofore  
Had, at most, well painted been,  
As was the season which them bore:  
Arts each Venus that doth shine  
In ancient Poesie, heer more ...

The basic metre of these uninspired verses is the iambic dimeter, with the first syllable of each couplet omitted:

/ ˘ / ˘ / ˘ /  
˘ / ˘ / ˘ / ˘ /

E.B. must have regarded this as a variation on the metre used by Sidney and Barnes for their anacreontics, the iambic dimeter catalectic: like Campion's poem, E. B.'s is non-stanzaic. Once again, there is nothing in the subject matter of the poem to justify the title.

The word "anacreontic" continued to be used as a title. The next example is again of a commendatory

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1. Hugh Holland, Pancharis, ed. J.P. Collier, 1866, p. 8.  
The verses are sometimes attributed to Edmund Bolton.

poem, this time one prefixed to the first part of William Browne's Britannia's Pastorals of 1613. The verses, which are by John Selden, are in Greek, and the title in Latin:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreonticum.

Κάλλος σὸν Κυθήρεια,  
 Σὸν, κούραι Διὸς, ἦθος,  
 Εμνήσθυραν, Ἴλερμέ.  
 Τῇ συμπράξαν Ἐρώτες.  
 Ταῖς σὺμ Παλλάδι Φοῖβος.  
 Τῆς Μοῦσαι προχατήρομ.

(The poem has a further ten lines). The basic metre here is the normal hemiambic, defined by Estienne and Scaliger as "anacreontic", with the first and last syllables of each line treated as anceps. The lines read rather clumsily - like a school exercise - and cannot be compared with "Anacreon's". Whatever his other qualities, Selden was by no means a skilled poet.

Brathwait

The word "anacreontic" is used with direct reference to the metre of the poems on the title page of Richard Brathwait's The Poets Willow, 1614:

With sundry delightfull, and no lesse  
Passionate Sonnets: describing the  
passions of a discontented and perplexed  
LOVER. Divers compositions of verses  
concording as well with the Lyricke, as  
 the Anacreonticke measures; never before  
 published: Being reduced into an exact  
 and distinct order of Metricall extractions.

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1. William Browne, Britannia's Pastorals, [1613]-1616, facsimile edn., 1969, sig. A3v.

The last remark here is obscure in meaning, since the vast majority of the poems in the book are in simple iambic or trochaic rhythms: nor is there any clear distinction between anacreontic and lyric metres - indeed, it is difficult to see how an anacreontic could be anything other than a lyric. This title page, then, must be considered more as an advertisement for the book than an exact description of it - and the use of the term "anacreontic" here tells us only that Samuel Rand, the publisher, considered this to be a popular metrical form.

### Drayton

There is evidence to suggest that the use of "anacreontic" as a title was increasing in popularity around this time: for a poem in Drayton's Odes, which had appeared without a title in 1606, was reprinted in the edition of 1619 under the title "An Amouret Anacreontick". The text of this poem is included in the second volume of this thesis. Like Campion's anacreontics, Drayton's poem is written in lines of only four syllables, but in Drayton the two stresses in each line are variably placed, and most of the lines are iambic. Baumann<sup>1</sup> considers the poem to be based on Anacreontea 1, and indeed there does seem to be some slight connection in lines 30 - 31, where the poet tries to make his "Strings" strike "Gravelly",

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1. M. Baumann, Die Anakreonten in englischer Übersetzung, 1974, p. 52.

but without success: but the connection with the Anacreontic recusatio (fully discussed in Chapter 3 above) is so slight that it certainly would not have been noticed were it not for the title of the poem: and the rest of the poem consists of conventional sentiments of praise which have nothing to do with "Anacreon". It seems clear, then, that the principal meaning of "anacreontic" is still "a poem with short lyric lines not divided into stanzas": but the precise definition of "anacreontic metre" in English verse has by 1619 become much less clear.

### Donne

The following statement of William Drummond's is found reported in his conversations with Ben Jonson:<sup>1</sup>

Donne, among the Anacreontick Lyrics, is  
Second to none, and far from all Second.  
But as Anacreon doth not approach  
Callimachus, tho' he excels in his own  
kind, nor Horace to Virgil, no more can  
I be brought to think him to excel  
either Alexander's or Sidney's verses.

In this passage, the use of the word "anacreontic" is made more complicated by the additional reference to "Anacreon". Of crucial significance is the phrase "in his own kind". This phrase shows us that Drummond is using the word "anacreontic" as a definition of a kind of verses, that is to say, a metrical form - an equivalent

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1. Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J.E. Spingarn, Vol. 1, 1908, p. 216.

to the phrase used by Sidney (see p. 292 above), "Anacreon's kind of verses". However, Drummond's phrase "among the Anacreontick Lyrics" does not seem to indicate the sole use of one particular prosodic model, like Sidney's hemiambs: Drummond's use of the term is sufficiently wide to encompass a group of lyric poets among whom Donne, he considers, is the best. Now Donne wrote nothing even remotely connected with the Anacreontea: the only poems which could conceivably fit Drummond's definition are those in short lines based on various iambic metres, but not necessarily with the same scansion in each line, such as:<sup>1</sup>

SWEETEST love, I do not goe,  
                   For wearinesse of thee,  
 Nor in hope the world can show  
                   A fitter Love for mee ...

It is evident that a poem of this type need not be a love poem: the early Christian poets Gregory of Nazianus and John of Damascus had used the metres of the Anacreontea for sacred verse, and so had Henri Estienne (see p. 282 above): so there is no reason why Drummond should not have included among Donne's "anacreontics" "A Litanie", which has lines such as:<sup>2</sup>

When senses, which thy souldiers are,  
 Wee arme against thee, and they fight for sinne,  
                   When want, sent but to tame, doth warre  
 And work despaire a breach to enter in ...

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1. John Donne, The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets, ed. H. Gardner, 1965, p. 31.

2. John Donne, The Divine Poems, ed. H. Gardner, 1952, p. 23.

Jonson

As Drummond's remarks were addressed to Ben Jonson, it is of interest to see what he would have understood by the phrase "Anacreontick Lyrics". The word "anacreontic" occurs only once in Jonson: one poem in "The Forrest" is headed in two manuscripts<sup>1</sup> "To Sicknesse. Ode Anacreon:" (The designation "Anacreon:" must be an abbreviation for "Anacreontic".) Once again, the term refers to the metre: for the content of the poem has nothing to do with the Anacreontea. The use of the word "Ode" with reference to the works of "Anacreon" is discussed in a note appended to the end of this chapter.

Jonson's poem begins:

WHY, Disease, dost thou molest  
Ladies? and of them the best?  
Doe not men, ynow of rites  
To thy altars, by their nights  
Spent in surfets ...

The poem is written throughout in a seven-syllable iambic line ( / ∪ / ∪ / ∪ / ): it is equivalent to lines found in Donne, and to some of the lines in E. B.'s "Anacreontickes" of 1603. The metre here gives further support to the idea that Drummond was referring to short iambic lines in Donne's poems. By 1619, then, a new definition of "anacreontic" was current for English verse - a metrical form quite different either from the metres of the Anacreontea or earlier "anacreontics" by Sidney, Barnes and Campion.

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1. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, p. 104.

Leech

Similar to Drummond's use of the term "Anacreontick Lyrics" is the use of "ANACREONTICA" as the title for 2 of the books of verse in the Latin Musae Priores of the Scottish poet John Leech, published in 1620. The poems are divided into "Eroticon lib. 6", "Idyllia siue Eclogae", and "Epigrammatum lib. 4": and this first section is further divided into two books each of "Panthea", "Anacreontica" and "Elegiae". The idea of writing Latin "Anacreontica" is obviously taken from Scaliger's collection. As in Scaliger, most of Leech's anacreontics are written in the two basic metres of the Anacreontea, the anacreontic and the hemiambic: for example, the poem based on Anacreontea 19, which is discussed in Chapter 5 above, p. 174 is in regular Latin hemiambics. Occasionally Leech writes poems using other short lines based on the iambic metron. As with Scaliger also, Leech claims that his principal inspiration comes from "Anacreon". The opening poem "De Se" discussed the influences of various poets, and concludes:<sup>1</sup>

Sed Amor potens, Amor me  
Grauibus vocauit ausis;  
Pronāque mī ingeniū vim  
Sua castra ad vsque duxit.  
Vbi me rosae, atque myrti  
Sertis, comas reuinctū,  
Madidas, comas Lyaeo,  
Iubet esse Anacreonta.

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1. John Leech, Mysae Priores, 1620, sig. D3r.

As in Scaliger's collection, none of the poems is a direct translation from the Anacreontea, but Leech makes much more use of Anacreontic themes than the earlier poet. Several poems, of which the parody of Anacreontea 19 is a good example, can be shown to be based on ideas taken from specific poems of the Anacreontea: very many others are original drinking songs similar to those in the Anacreontea. The most famous poem in the collection, "Somnium", addressed to Drummond, is partly inspired by Anacreontea 8. In this the poet describes a dream in which Venus and Cupid carry him off to meet a beautiful nymph in the Vale of Tempe: a good critical account is given by Bradner.<sup>1</sup>

In Leech for the first time the word "Anacreontica" does not designate only the form of the poems. The principal meaning of the word is still "poems in anacreontic metres": but the introduction quoted above, and many of the poems in the collection, show that Leech also intends his title to mean "poems derived from the themes of the Anacreontea."

### Herrick

In his Hesperides of 1648, Robert Herrick used the title "Anacreontic" three times: each case merits separate discussion.

Herrick made frequent use of the themes of the

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1. L. Bradner, Musae Anglicanae, 1940, pp. 169-170.

Anacreontea, and 10 of the poems in Hesperides are based on particular poems of the Anacreontea. One of these runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Anacrontick Verse

BRISK methinks I am, and fine,  
When I drinke my capring wine:  
Then to love I do encline;  
When I drinke my wanton wine:  
And I wish all maidens mine,  
When I drinke my sprightly wine:  
Well I sup, and well I dine,  
When I drinke my frolick wine:  
But I languish, lowre, and Pine,  
When I want my fragrant wine.

This poem is loosely based on Anacreontea 39, 'Ὅτ' ἐγὼ πῖω τὸν οἶνον. It seems likely, however, that the title refers not to the source, but to the type of "verse" - for the metre is once again / √ / √ / √ / , identical to that of the Jonson Ode discussed above (p. 303). Confirmation that the title does not refer to the content of the poem would seem to be given by a poem which almost immediately precedes the above in Hesperides, and which has nothing to do with the Anacreontea. This begins:<sup>2</sup>

Anacreontike

I MUST  
Not trust  
Here to any;  
Bereav'd,  
Deceiv'd  
By so many:

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1. Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 309.

2. Ibid., p. 308.

As one  
Undone  
By my losses;  
Comply  
Will I  
With my crosses.

Here there can be no doubt that the title refers to the very short lines: and the "Anacreontike" here, although slightly different, seems to be based on the spondees and trochees in Campion's definition of the term (see pp. 296-298 above): it is likely, then, that this poem was deliberately written as a variation on Campion's definition.

However, Herrick used the same title for this poem also:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreontike

BORN I was to be old,  
And for to die here:  
After that, in the mould  
Long for to lye here.  
But before that day comes,  
Still I be Bousing;  
For I know, in the Tombs  
There's no Carousing.

In this example it seems unlikely that the term "Anacreontike" refers to the metre: for although the poem is non-stanzaic and written in short lines, it is based on a cretic rhythm which is quite different from any previous example of "anacreontic" metre: so the title must refer to the general theme of the poem, with its "carpe diem" philosophy and its praise of drinking.

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1. Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 197.

This is the first English example of the word "Anacreontic" used in its modern sense of a poem written in the style of Anacreon: but the word does not yet seem to denote a poem translated from the Anacreontea, but one based on its general themes. In the one case where Herrick does use the word as the title for a loose translation from the Anacreontea, the title probably refers only to the metre.

### Cowley

The earliest use of the word "Anacreontic" to indicate a translation from the Anacreontea is Cowley's title of 1656. The full title given to the collection of eleven translations was:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreontiques:  
OR,  
Some Copies of Verses Translated  
Paraphrastically out of  
Anacreon.

The subheading referring to paraphrastic translations suggests that Cowley used the word "Anacreontique" to mean "derived from Anacreon". Earlier usage had designated the word to mean a metre derived from Anacreon: Herrick had used it for a poem derived from Anacreon: so it took only a very small extension of usage on Cowley's part to use the word for a paraphrastic translation from the Anacreontea.

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1. Abraham Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 50.

There can be no doubt that the principal meaning of Cowley's title is with reference to the content of the eleven poems: but does the title refer also to the metre of the poems? Edmund Gosse certainly considered the word to have this second significance: for he defined Cowley's use of the word as<sup>1</sup> "paraphrased out of the so-called writings of Anacreon into a familiar measure which was supposed to represent the metre of the Greek." The "familiar measure" used by Cowley is an eight-syllable iambic line,  $\checkmark / \checkmark / \checkmark / \checkmark /$ , which could well be regarded as a simple English equivalent of the Greek hemiambic: it is identical to some of the lines in E.B.'s "Anacreontickes" of 1603 (see p. 298 above). However, when used for Greek or Latin hemiambics or English iambic verse, the term "anacreontic" was more commonly applied to lines of seven syllables: this was how Estienne, Scaliger, Sidney and Barnes had used the term for the Classical hemiambic: and this was how Jonson and Herrick had used the term for English iambics. In 1706 John Phillips, too, defined "Anacreontick Verse" as consisting of seven syllables.<sup>1</sup> So it is fair to conclude that Cowley's "Anacreontiques" are not written in any recognised anacreontic metre.

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1. E. Gosse, "Anacreontics", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edn., Vol. 1, 1910, p. 907.

Once Cowley had given to the word "Anacreontic" the meaning of "a translation from the Anacreontea", the popularity of his poems was sufficient to ensure that this meaning remained - although the word could still be used in various metrical senses. For example, the title "Anacreontick" was used for one of the drinking songs in Cotton's Poems of 1689: the metre is the familiar

/ u / u / u / , and the general theme recalls the Anacreontea, although there are no specific allusions.<sup>1</sup> But the title was used in Cowley's sense for a version of Anacreontea 19 attributed to Rochester, which was first published in 1705. This poem is discussed in Chapter 5 above, pp. 181-183.

This survey has traced the history of the word "ANACREONTIC" up to the time that it came to have two distinct meanings, referring to the metre or the subject matter of a poem. For most of the period, the word was purely a metrical term, but one which came to have a confusing variety of possible meanings: but gradually, through the works of Leech and Herrick, the word came to be used for a poem based on the themes of the Anacreontea, and then, in Cowley, for a translation from the Anacreontea.

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1. Charles Cotton, Poems On several Occasions, 1689, sig. G4v - G5r.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER EIGHT

The Ode

The word "Ode" means simply "song" (from the Greek ὕδῆ , a contraction of ᾠδῆ ), but in English poetry the word has come to have the narrower designation of a poem of address on a theme of universal interest.<sup>1</sup> Much energy has been expended by recent critics, especially Maddison and Baumann,<sup>2</sup> on the question of whether or not the poems of the Anacreontea and their English translations merit the title of Ode. Maddison rather confusingly reached the conclusion that the Anacreontea themselves are not Odes, but that their modern translations are.

It is surely important not to impose on Classical and Renaissance poems a category defined solely by modern definitions of genre: what matters is whether or not Renaissance critics and translators considered the Anacreontea to be Odes, and whether or not they put them on a par with the other well-known Classical Odes, those by Pindar and Horace. There can be no doubt of the answer to these questions. Henri Estienne gave the

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1. G.N. Shuster, The English Ode from Milton to Keats, 1940.

2. M. Baumann, Die Anakreonteen in englischer Übersetzung, 1974, pp. 188-192: C. Maddison, Apollo and the Nine, 1960, esp. pp. 19-22.

Anacreontea the title Anacreontis Teij odae: furthermore, he gave the individual poems titles such as Εἰς χελιδόνα (33), Εἰς γυναῖκας (2), Εἰς τέττιγα (43). In cases where they do not appear to be addressed to anyone in particular he entitled them Εἰς ἑαυτόν or Εἰς ἔρωτα. In the Greek title of his volume, as well as in his Greek introduction, Estienne refers to the poems as μέλη (the Homeric word for "songs"), and he compares them favourably with the lyrics of Pindar.<sup>1</sup> Thus to all intents and purposes Estienne turned the poems into Odes - and Odes they remained. Belleau's French translation was entitled (1556) Les Odes d'Anacreon Teien, and some of Ronsard's versions have the heading "Ode", or, more commonly, "Odelette".

The first recorded use of the word Ode in the English language was by Thomas Watson in his EKATOMΠΑΘΙΑ (1582): the word was taken up by John Soowthern in his Pandora (1584).<sup>2</sup> Clearly, the word was taken from the French, probably from Ronsard - Soowthern in fact also uses the title "Odelett". Among their other borrowings from Ronsard can be found traces of the influence of "Anacreon": so both the Anacreontea and the word used to describe the poems can be said to have reached England by the same means.

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1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. \*2r.

2. See R. Shafer, The English Ode to 1660, 1918, p. 6.

The earliest reference in English to the Anacreontea as "Odes" can be found in Puttenham's criticism of Soowthern in The Arte of English Poesie (1589), in a passage in which "Anacreon's" name is linked with that of Pindar:<sup>1</sup>

... finding certain of the hymnes of Pyndarus and of Anacreons odes, and other Lirickes among the Greekes very well translated by Rounsard the French Poet ...

It is interesting that Puttenham uses the word "Ode" for Anacreon, while preferring the designation "Hymn" for Pindar. This suggests that at this period the "Ode" was considered a fairly light form, under the influence of Ronsard's "ode légère". Such a definition of "Ode" is confirmed by a usage in Shakespeare, Love's Labour's Lost, Act 4, Scene 3, line 95, where Dumain refers to the light amorous ditty he has written as an "ode". This makes nonsense of Maddison's assertion that an "ode" should "be ceremonious and learned".<sup>2</sup>

Drayton gives a full definition of the word "Ode" in the preface to his own Odes (1619). An Ode, he says, is properly a Song, but they are of diverse types. Some of them are lofty, and of high dialect, like those of Pindar:<sup>3</sup>

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1. Puttenham reprinted and ed. E. Arber, 1906, p. 259. This passage is quoted in full in Chapter 3 above, p. 72.

2. C. Maddison, Apollo and the Nine, 1960, p. 19.

3. The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.W. Hebel, Vol. 2, 1961, p. 345.

Others, among the Greekes, are amorous,  
soft, and made for Chambers, as other for  
Theaters; as were Anacreon's, the very  
Delicacies of the Grecian Erato, which  
Muse seemed to have been the Minion of  
that Teian old Man, which composed them ...

Horace's Odes, continues Drayton, are of mixed kind. His own poems, he says, partake little of Pindar's high dialect,

Nor altogether of Anacreon, the Arguments  
being Amorous, Morall, or what else the  
Muse pleaseth.

Thus, he concludes, he is writing poems of a new type.

Continuing in the same vein, Drayton begins his first "Ode"<sup>1</sup> by asking himself why he is reviving the ancient lyric mode. He traces the history of lyric poetry, mentioning again Pindar, and Horace, but not Anacreon this time.

There can be no doubt, then, that the poems of "Anacreon" were considered to be Odes on a par with those of Horace and Pindar. Later in the century, Henry Lawes refers to his setting "some of Anacreon's Odes."<sup>2</sup> Yet it is a strange fact that the major English translators in the seventeenth century did not use the designation "Ode" for their versions of the Anacreontea. Not one of Herrick's poems based on the Anacreontea is called "Ode": Stanley's translation was entitled simply "Anacreon": Cowley's "Anacreontiques" were subtitled

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1. "To Himselfe, and The Harpe.", The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.W. Hebel, Vol. 2, 1961, pp. 347-9.

2. Ayres and Dialogues, 1653, sig. Blv.

"Some Copies of Verses ..." <sup>1</sup>: and the 1683 Oxford translation was called Anacreon Done into English. Now the word "Ode" has almost always been confined to poems addressed to particular objects: <sup>2</sup> and Herrick, Stanley, Cowley, Willis and Wood all altered the Greek titles of address which Estienne had prefixed to his Greek text and Latin versions of the Anacreontea. Anacreontea 2, for example, which Estienne entitled Εἰς γυναικας is given the heading "Beauty" by both Stanley and Cowley.

However, in the few cases where the title "Ode" was used for English translations from the Anacreontea, the contexts make it clear that the word was used for the simple reason that "Anacreon's" poems were themselves considered to be "Odes". Thus A. W.'s versions in A Poetical Rhapsody (1602) were headed <sup>3</sup> "Three Odes translated out of Anacreon, the Greeke Lyrick Poet." The individual poems are headed "ODE I.", "ODE II." and "ODE III." John Berkenhead's translation of Anacreontea 1, known from Henry Lawes' setting of 1653, was entitled <sup>4</sup> "Anacreon's Ode, call'd, The Lute, Englished ...", and his translation of Anacreontea 11, known from Lawes' setting of 1655 was headed <sup>5</sup>: "ANACREONS Ode Englished."

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1. Abraham Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 50.
  2. G.N. Shuster, The English Ode from Milton to Keats, 1940.
  3. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602 - 1621, facsimile ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 181.
  4. Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues, 1653, sig. H2r.
  5. Henry Lawes, The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues, 1655, sig. L\*\*2r.

A setting of Cowley's version of Anacreontea 19 by Silas Taylor was published in 1667 with the heading "Anacreons Ode".<sup>1</sup> The title "Ode" was used for anacreontics not connected with the Anacreontea by Drayton, Barnes and Jonson (see pp. 294, 300-303 above). Only Barnes and Lovelace used the designation "Ode" for poems of their own invention derived from the Anacreontea. Poems based on Anacreontea 3 and 45 appear in the section of Barnes' Parthenophil and Parthenophe entitled "Odes":<sup>2</sup> and Lovelace's "The Grasse-hopper", based on Anacreontea 43, was headed "To my Noble Friend, Mr. CHARLES COTTON. Ode."<sup>3</sup> This poem is discussed in Chapter 7 above, pp. 264-275.

The evidence, then, points to a conclusion which is precisely the reverse of Maddison's: that in England in the seventeenth century the poems attributed to Anacreon were certainly considered to be Odes, but modern translations from those poems were not necessarily so designated.

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1. John Playford (publisher), Catch that Catch can, 1667, sig. Aalv - Aa2r.
  2. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, Vol. 1, 1904, Ode 12, p. 289; Ode 15, p. 293.
  3. Richard Lovelace, Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson, 1930, p. 38.

CHAPTER NINE

OTHER ENGLISH VERSIONS

The catalogue of English poems in Volume 2 of this thesis lists 240 poems connected with the Anacreontea published by 1683. Of these poems 79, nearly one third, have been discussed in detail in the preceding six chapters. Excluding anonymous writers, the English catalogue covers the work of 52 poets, of whom no less than 36 composed poems so far discussed.

This chapter selects for special discussion the most important examples of Anacreontic imitation in England not covered in the preceding chapters. The selection has been made in such a way as to include all the English poets in the catalogue who have not been mentioned so far. The poems have been grouped into five sections: some miscellaneous sixteenth-century versions: some versions of Anacreontea 2: advice-to-a-painter poems: the Tribe of Ben, especially Herrick: and some miscellaneous seventeenth-century versions. In view of the large number of poems dealt with in this chapter, it is not practicable to provide full texts in Volume 2: full bibliographical information is appended.

#### Miscellaneous Sixteenth-Century Versions: More and Gerard

Sir Thomas More's Latin translation of Anacreontea 15 and 17 (A.P. 11. 47 - 48), published in 1518, was the first published translation made from the Anacreontic

poems by a British writer.<sup>1</sup> It was also the first published Latin version of the whole epigram, although the Aulus Gellius text of Anacreontea 17, published in 1469, had been translated in the editio princeps by Theodore Gaza. More's version was reprinted, along with three other Latin versions, in Cornarius' anthology of translations (1529).<sup>2</sup> More's version follows the Greek more closely than any of the others. In his 20 lines he adds only one word ("miser" in line 4) which does not correspond to anything in the Greek: and nothing is omitted. It was a long time before such a scholarly and literal approach to the translation of lyric poems manifested itself in the English language.

One of the earliest such literal translations into English was made by John Gerard. It is not, however, a literal translation from the Greek, but from Estienne's Latin. The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes. Gathered by John Gerarde of London Master in Chirvrgerie was published in 1597, dedicated to Sir William Cecil. It is a monumental work of scholarship, based not only on English lore and Classical knowledge of botany and medicine, but laced with Greek and Latin quotations from any authors who happened to mention plants.

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1. First published in Utopia: see The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More, ed. L. Bradner and C.A. Lynch, 1953, p. 41.

2. Selecta Epigrammata Graeca Latine uersa, 1529, sig. P6v - P7r.

Anacreontea 5 is quoted in the section on roses, in order to show that the ancients used them for garlands:<sup>1</sup>

Which pleasant flowers deserue the chieffest place  
in Crownes and garlands, as out of Anacreon  
Thius a most ancient Greeke Poet, Henricus  
Stephanus hath translated in a gallant Latine  
verse:

Gerard then quotes Anacreontea 5, lines 6 - 11 in Estienne's Latin, followed by his own six-line English verse translation. This is the earliest example of an English Anacreontic based entirely on Estienne. It follows the Latin word for word, and with little alteration to the sense of the original renders it into an unusual English anapaestic rhythm:

The Rose is the honor and beautie of flowres,  
The Rose is the care and loue of the Spring,  
The Rose is the pleasure of th' eauenly powres,  
The boy of faire Venus, Cytheras darling,  
5 Doth wrap his head round with garlands of Rose,  
When to the daunces of the Graces he goes.

The translation must have been made especially for its appearance in this context, for line 5 is worded so as to emphasise the fact that roses were used for garlands.

In the second edition of 1633, Gerard's reviser, Thomas Johnson, added the first line of the Greek text of Anacreontea 5, in order to identify the poem.<sup>2</sup>

### Some Versions of Anacreontea 2

No less than four of the poets not so far

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1. John Gerard, Herball, 1597, sig. Aaaalr (p. 1077).

2. John Gerard, Herball ... Very Much Enlarged and Amended by Thomas Johnson, 1633, sig. Nnnnn 4r (p. 1259).

discussed, Spelman, Dyer, Sherburne and Brome, produced versions of or poems based on Anacreontea 2. This poem is a list of mock-scientific exempla, rather like those in Anacreontea 19 discussed in Chapter 5 above, but more conventional in character: after listing the attributes of bulls, hares, lions, fishes, birds and men (the attribute of the last being *φρόνημα* ), the poet indicates that women have none of these, but *κάλλος* instead. The poem is not one with much appeal to modern taste, but it was attractive to the Elizabethans, who enjoyed the riddle-like mock learning, and making their own variations of the exempla.

Anacreontea 2 was first translated into English by Geoffrey Whitney, and published in his emblem book in 1586.<sup>1</sup> Whitney's poem is taken directly from a Latin emblem by Ioannes Sambucus, published in 1564:<sup>2</sup> Whitney's title ("Pulchritudo vincit") and illustration are identical to those in Sambucus. In the design a woman sits below a tree, holding flowers, and leaning on a basket of fruit. Behind her is a boy: she looks across at a mountainous scene, containing a bird, horse, lion, hare and fish. Sambucus' emblem is in turn based principally on Belleau's translation of this Ode:<sup>3</sup> and Sambucus

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1. Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes, 1586 (modern facsimile 1969), sig. 23v.

2. Ioannes Sambucus, Emblemata, 1564, sig. 18v.

3. Remy Belleau, Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. C. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. 1, 1878, p. 8.

follows Belleau in omitting lines 10 - 11 of the Greek text, which point out that woman has κάλλος<sup>1</sup>

Ἄντ' ἀσπίδων ἀπασῶν,  
Ἄντ' ἐγχεῶν ἀπάντων.

Whitney further changes the ending of the poem, and gives it an original twist: (lines 4 - 6)<sup>2</sup>

no defence was lefte for woman kinde.  
But, to supplie that wante, shee gaue her such  
a face:  
Which makes the boulde, the fierce, the swifte,  
to stoope, and pleade for grace.

In this way the qualities of the creatures which woman's beauty can "defeat" are enumerated: the motto of the poem's title has thus been properly demonstrated.

Francis Davison's A Poetical Rhapsody, first published in 1602, gives two translations of Anacreontea 2, and a third poem based on the theme. The first translation is by A. W.,<sup>3</sup> and like his other translations discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 above, pp. 83-86 and 135 - 138, it is based firmly on the Greek text. In this poem, however, A. W. has made one important alteration, changing the meaning previously given to lines 10 - 11 quoted above:<sup>4</sup> (A. W., lines 9 - 10)

What haue they then? faire Beauties grace,  
A two - edg'd Sworde, a trusty Shielde

1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. Alv.
2. Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes, 1586 (modern facsimile 1969), sig. Z3v.
3. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602 - 1621, facsimile ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 182.
4. Ibid., p. 182.

There is no precedent for this in any of the previous translations, which either omit the phrase (as Belleau, Du Bellay, Sambucus, Whitney) or emphasise that woman has beauty instead of these attributes (Estienne, André, Ronsard, Baïf, Paul Estienne, Lubin). What A. W. has done here is to take the Greek text and translate ἀντί in the Homeric sense of "for, as an equivalent of". This translation was to become the norm later in the century, as we shall see. In the first part of the poem, A.W. adds reasons for the attributes of the various creatures. The horses have hooves "to daunt their foes" (line 2), the hare "the hunter scornes" (3), the fish "scapes the weele" (5) and the bird "the fowlers net" (6). Similar additions to the text had previously been made by Estienne, Ronsard, and by Baïf.<sup>1</sup> But A. W. follows the Greek in retaining the original order of the exempla, altered by many of the earlier translators.

Following A. W.'s translations of Anacreontea 1 - 3 in A Poetical Rhapsody, Davison printed a second translation of Anacreontea 2, entitled "Anacreons second Ode, otherwise." The initials below the poem, T. S., are known to be those of Thomas Spelman.<sup>2</sup> Spelman begins

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1. Henri Estienne, in Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. L3r - L3v: Pierre de Ronsard, in Le Bocage, 1554, see Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 115: Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Chansonnettes, ed. G.C. Bird, 1964, p. 213.

2. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602 - 1621, facsimile ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 2, p. 163.

the poem with his own four line introduction to the exempla (lines 1 - 4):<sup>1</sup>

"NAture in her work doth giue,  
 "To each thing that by her doth liue:  
 "A proper gift whereby shee may,  
 "Preuent in time her owne decay.

These lines seem to be adapted from the title prefixed to the poem by Belleau,<sup>2</sup> "Que Nature a donné vne particuliere force & vertu à chacun." This is in turn based on a suggestion as to the meaning of the poem offered by Estienne in his notes. Explaining line 8, which says that Nature has not given woman φρόνημα or any of the attributes bestowed on other creatures, Estienne writes:<sup>3</sup>

non iam poterat δοῦναι φρόνημα , vel  
 quòd rē iam uni dono datā, alteri donare  
 non posset:

In his list of exempla, Spelman follows the order of the Greek just like A. W., but adds a reference to a worm (line 10):<sup>4</sup>

"The silly worme at least can creepe:

This may be borrowed from Ronsard, who had added a reference to the venom of snakes in lines 5 - 6 of his version. Spelman also completely alters the ending of

1. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602 - 1621, facsimile ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 184.

2. Remy Belleau, Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. C. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. 1, 1878, p. 8.

3. Anacreontis ... Odae, 1556, sig. E4v - E5r.

4. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602 - 1621, facsimile ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 184.

the poem, omitting once again the references to shields and swords, and also those to fire and iron. The gift of women, he suggests, is (lines 13 - 16)

"The same for which the Ladies three,  
"Pallas, Iuno, Venus strae,  
"When each desired it to haue.

In Davison's text, the alterations from the Greek as quoted are marked by inverted commas at the beginning of each line, while those lines directly corresponding to the Greek are not so marked. One explanation of this strange marking could be that the editor marked the lines which do not correspond to anything in A. W.'s version. It is difficult to see why Spelman himself should have wished to mark the additional sections in this way, since the markings tend to prevent the poem being viewed as an artistic whole.

Spelman's translation is unusual in that there is no reference to shield, spears, or warfare: this is replaced by the allusion to the judgement of Paris. This viewing of κάλλος simply as a "proper gift" (line 3) rather than as a defence, gives the poem a slightly more meditative, less satirical tone than other translations.

Following Spelman's poem in A Poetical Rhapsody is a reprint of Greene's version of Anacreontea 3, discussed in Chapter 4 above, pp. 122-124. Immediately after this comes another poem based on the theme of Anacreontea 2. The poem is signed Incerto but has been



Here each example presents a contrast, as before, but of a different type: here they prove not the difficulty of defending oneself against love, but the unknown depths which love can have. The exempla of the poem are conventional, but more subtly developed than in the Anacreontic: each example is extended to form a paradox: the second stanza neatly balances the first, and the whole has a tone of gentle melancholy which must have appealed to John Dowland, who set it to music. The poem is known to have been a popular one, since it attracted several replies, one of which, ascribed by Bond to Lyly,<sup>1</sup> appeared in A Poetical Rhapsody under the title "An Answere to the first Staffe, That Loue is vnlike in Beggars and in Kings".<sup>2</sup> One manuscript, edited by Grosart in 1873, adds to Dyer's poem a third stanza particular to the poet's lady. Rollins gives comparisons for the various commonplaces of the poem from Lyly, Lodge, and other contemporary poets:<sup>3</sup> but the pattern of the first stanza is undoubtedly modelled on the Anacreontic. It is a fascinating example of how a poet could take a mediocre Classical original and, by imitating it, construct a poem far more successful.

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1. John Lyly, Complete Works, ed. R.W. Bond, Vol. 3, 1902, p. 482.

2. A Poetical Rhapsody 1602 - 1621, facsimile ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 186.

3. Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 164-169.

There are two quotations from "Anacreon" in the notes which Sir Edward Sherburne appended to his "The Rape of Hellen, out of the Greek of Colouthos". The work was dedicated to Sherburne's friend Stanley, whose Anacreon was published in the same year (1651). Sherburne quotes the last four lines of Anacreontea 2 in Greek, and translates:<sup>1</sup>

Beauty armes alone doth yield:  
That's the womans Spear and Shield.  
Fire and sword both vanquish'd are,  
When they meet a Foe that's fair.

This should be compared with Stanley's ending (lines 9 - 12):<sup>2</sup>

What then gives she? Beauty, this  
Both their arms and armour is:  
She, that can this weapon use,  
Fire and sword with ease subdues.

Sherburne's "Spear", "Shield" and "fair" are all closer to the Greek than Stanley. Both translators follow the precedent of A. W. in their translation of ἀντί.

Sherburne's only complete translation from the Anacreontea, that of Poem 34, shows a similar relationship to Stanley's.<sup>3</sup> Sherburne's tone and general method of

1. Edward Sherburne, Salmacis, Lyrian & Sylvia, 1651, sig. E5v - E6r.

2. The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump, 1962, p. 75.

3. Edward Sherburne, Poems and Translations, ed. F.J. Van Beeck, 1961, p. 165: The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump, 1962, p. 90.

versification is similar to Stanley's, but Sherburne's version is closer to the Greek and considerably longer: Stanley's succinct version flows better, and is more melodious.

By the time Cowley made his translation of Anacreontea 2, published in 1656, the interest in the type of exempla given in the poem had rather declined: so it is the ending of the poem that Cowley chose to expand. The same final four lines are rendered by him as follows (lines 13 - 23):<sup>1</sup>

with the Fair

15 What Arms, what Armour can compare?  
 What Steel, what Gold, or Diamond,  
 More Impassible is found?  
 And yet what Flame, what Lightning e're  
 So great an Active force did bear?  
 They are all weapon, and they dart  
 20 Like Porcupines from every part.  
 Who can, alas, their strength express,  
 Arm'd, when they themselves undress,  
Cap-a-pe with Nakedness?

This embellishment of the poem displays Cowley at his best. In the Greek only the verb Νικᾶ (line 12) directly links woman's attribute of κάλλος to the weapons of war: but in earlier English translations the arms and armour (words which Cowley may have borrowed from Sherburne) have become synonymous with her beauty. But Cowley, not content simply to make the comparison, gives further links between beauty and armour, each developed from hints in the original, but illustrated with additional images. Firstly woman's beauty, like a

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1. Abraham Cowley, Works, ed. A.R. Waller, Vol. 1, 1905, p. 52.

shield, is impassable (cf. line 10 of the Greek) - gold and diamond are added as they too share the qualities both of beauty and of hardness. In the original a beautiful woman is said to overcome iron and fire - in Cowley she is compared to them in her attack, and to lightning, and even to the needles of a porcupine, flashing in every direction. Finally, in a brilliant triplet, Cowley caps his poem with a stunning conceit of the woman armed top to toe with nakedness. The sentiment is not an original one, but it is unique to find it expressed with such succinctness and vigour. The comparison to armour comes through even in the final line, in the military phrase "Cap-a-pe".

Cowley here adopts a more typically metaphysical tone than in his other translations discussed (see Chapters 3, 5 and 7 above, pp. 93-97, 175-179 and 275-278. Yet the poem remains a translation, because all his additional imagery is designed to reinforce the meaning of the original. In the Greek poem itself the horns of the bull, the hooves of the horses and so on are all to be regarded as examples of weapons. Most of the earlier translators had taken care to bring out this point: but their concern had been with the logic of the argument. Cowley is not concerned with logic, but with effect. The naked woman of his line 23 is logically inconsistent with the impenetrable beauty of line 16: so all the more startling is her appearance.

After such a version, there was little possibility of reverting to earlier methods of translation. Alexander Brome's imitation (1661), entitled "An Ode of Anacreon paraphrased", is shown by this title to be a further example of Cowley's "paraphrastic" manner.<sup>1</sup> Like Spelman, Brome begins the poem with a four line introduction, in which the reference to the gifts of Nature recalls Spelman (lines 1 - 2): but as in Cowley it is at once made clear that these gifts are for the purpose of weapons. Unlike Cowley, Brome points out for each of the exempla how the gift of Nature helps in the creature's defence. Following Spelman, Brome adds one item to the original Greek list, but a much stranger one (lines 9 - 13):

The Bird can danger fly on's wing,  
 She Fish with fins adornes,  
 The Cuckold too, that harmlesse thing,  
 His patience guards, and's horns.

This is rather forced. It is an attempt to outdo Cowley, which has not worked.

The third and final stanza of Brome's translation, describing Nature's gift to women, brings out another difference in his version: the poem is put into the mouth of the women themselves (lines 17 - 24):

Instead of all, this she does do;  
 Our Beauty she bestowes,  
 20 Which serves for arms and armour too,  
 'Gainst all our pow'rful Foes  
 And 'tis no matter, so she doth  
 Still beautious faces yield  
 Wee'l conquer sword and fire, for both  
 To beauty leave the field.

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1. Alexander Brome, Songs and Other Poems, 1661, sig. C5v - C6r.

Although the style of the poem has been influenced by Cowley, several words used by Brome suggest that Stanley is his principal source for his knowledge of the Anacreontea: in this last stanza the combination of "arms", "armour", "sword" and "fire" recalls Stanley, and "leave the field" (line 24) corresponds to Stanley's "with ease subdues" (line 12). Brome probably made no use of the Greek: there are no details at all in his paraphrase which could not be taken from either Stanley or Cowley.

Brome also paraphrased three drinking songs from the Anacreontea, Poems 23, 24 and 39, none of which were rendered by Cowley. All these are based entirely on Stanley's translations, reworked into stanzaic form, and embellished with metaphysical conceits. In every case Brome's clarity and diction is inferior to that of his model. For example, Brome ends his version of Anacreontea 24 (lines 9 - 12):<sup>1</sup>

Let none be a melancholly thinker:  
           Let the Times the round go,  
           So the cups do so too  
 Ne're blush at the name of a Drinker.

The cups will "Ne're blush" because they are being constantly emptied of their wine: the conceit is a clever one, but the lines overstretch the rhythm and syntax. Stanley, on the other hand, ends his version with one of his happiest couplets, clear, simple, melodious and

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1. Alexander Brome, Songs and Other Poems, 1661, sig. F3v.

epigrammatic (Poem 24, lines 7 - 8):<sup>1</sup>

Come, some Wine and Musick give;  
Ere we dye, 'tis fit we live.

### The Advice-to-a-Painter Poems

The two longest poems in the Anacreontic collection, 28 and 29, and the brief Poem 49, all consist of a series of instructions given to a painter. In each of the two longer poems the painting takes place as it were during the recital of the poem, and is described as being completed at the end. The painting in Poem 28 is a portrait of the poet's ἑταίρα, and Poem 29 of his ἑταῖρος Bathyllus. In Poem 28 the description is of the girl's face, while the rest is briefly glossed over: Poem 29 is more detailed, and forms a reasonably complete anatomical catalogue. In Anacreontea 49 a landscape of lovers is briefly described. Chapter 1 above, pp. 7-10 discusses the apparent movement in Poems 28 and 29 from the imaginary to the real as the paintings progress and seem to come to life: the poems are a complex blend of learned and conventional allusions, combined with very vividly imagined scenes.

The two longer poems both entered English from Ronsard's French. In his "Elegie à Janet Peintre du Roi",

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1. The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump, 1962, p. 85.

published in Les Meslanges of 1555, Ronsard combined elements from both these poems and other sources into a single narrative of 192 lines.<sup>1</sup> Ronsard's poem was imitated by Belleau,<sup>2</sup> and Thomas Watson also drew on the "Elegie" for Passion 54 of EKATOMΠΙΑΘΙΑ, 1582:<sup>3</sup>

In this Passion the Authour boasteth, howe  
sound a pleasure he lately enioyed in the  
companie of his Beloued, by pleasing  
effectually all his fiue senses exterior  
... And in many choyse particulars of this  
Sonnet, he imitateth here and there a verse  
of Ronsardes, in a certaine Elegie to  
Ianet peintre du Roy:

As this introduction explains, Watson transfers the description of his mistress from that of a painting to her actual physical presence: yet in the poem the description is as conventional, as unreal, as unmoving, as if he were describing a statue. The Anacreontic describes a painting so realistic that it is προκαλούμενον φίλημα (Anacreontea 28, line 25) - Watson describes a woman so idealised that she could not possibly exist outside the poem (lines 7 - 12):

But shall I say, what obiectes held mine eye?  
Her curled Lockes of Golde, like Tagus sandes;  
Her Forehead smooth and white as Iuory,  
10 Where Glory, State and Bashfullnes held handes;  
Her Eyes, one making Peace, the other Warres;  
By Venus one, the other rul'd by Mars;

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1. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, pp. 152-160.
  2. "Le Portrait de sa Maistresse", in Remy Belleau, Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. C. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. 1, 1878, pp. 260-264. This is based entirely on Ronsard, not on Belleau's own translation from "Anacreon" on pp. 24-25 of the same edition.
  3. Thomas Watson, Poems, ed. E. Arber, 1870, p. 90.

The strange details of the different eyes comes, via Ronsard, from Anacreontea 28, lines 20 - 21:<sup>1</sup>

‘Αμα γλαυκὸν ὡς Ἀθήνης,  
‘Αμα δ’ ὕγρον ὡς Κυθήρης.

All this means is that both the eyes are grey and moist: it was correctly interpreted by Estienne and André, but applied to the separate eyes by Ronsard and Belleau.<sup>2</sup> By the time it reaches Watson, this charming detail has become merely grotesque.

The literary history of the Anacreontic advice-to-a-painter poems is complicated by the existence of several other similar traditions. One of these was a type of mediaeval blason in which the details of a woman's beauty are described and praised in an orderly sequence from her head to her feet. There are countless examples of this type of poem in mediaeval literature - probably the most well-known in English before the publication of the Anacreontea was the mock-epitaph for Jane Scrope in Skelton's "Philip Sparrow".<sup>3</sup> There are also many Elizabethan examples, most of which have no connection at all with the Anacreontea. I have included the most famous

1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. C4v.

2. Henri Estienne, in Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. N1r - N2r: Helye André, Anacreontis Teii Odae, ab Helia Andrea Latinae factae, 1556, sig. B5r - B5v: Ronsard and both Belleau poems, as above.

3. The Complete Poems of John Skelton Laureate, ed. P. Henderson, 1959, pp. 88-96.

and elaborate example of the type in my catalogue of poems, because a few of the details are taken from "Anacreon": this is "What tongue can her perfections tell" from Sidney's Arcadia, in which Pyrocles declares his love of Philoclea in a description which runs to 146 lines.<sup>1</sup>

The imagery of this poem is peculiarly rich. The lady's features are likened to gold, to precious stones and minerals (pearl, rubies, alabaster, gems, porphyry, sapphire, crystal, amethysts, ivory), to the wonders of the universe (the sun, the moon, the spheres and stars), to features of the landscape (the sea, cliffs, brooks), to fruits and wine (apple, cherries, claret), to flowers (roses, lilies, violets), to dew, to mirrors, to cedars, to doves, to swans, to milk, to sugar, and occasionally to buildings (sumptuous towers, a fair inn). No feature of Arcadia is left out. The poem is far more than a description of a woman: it is a confident expression of all the new found wealth of the Renaissance, and the newly discovered riches of the English language (lines 142 - 143):<sup>2</sup>

Goodness the pen, heav'n paper is;  
The ink immortal fame doth lend.

In the process of this expansion of the anatomical blason,

1. Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. J. Robertson, 1973, pp. 238-242.

2. Ibid., lines 25-26 of p. 242.

the Anacreontic has become in Sidney's mind only one tiny source among many. Its influence can be seen in details like those in Anacreontea 28, lines 22 - 25:<sup>1</sup>

Γράφε ῥίνα καὶ παρειὰς,  
Ῥόδα τῷ γάλακτι μίξας.  
Γράφε χεῖλος οἷα Πειθοῦς,  
Προκαλούμενον φίλημα.

These lines correspond to Sidney's lines 29 - 30,  
37 - 38:<sup>2</sup>

                  therein appears some blood,  
Like wine and milk that mingled stood ...  
                  But who those ruddy lips can miss,  
Which blessed still themselves do kiss?

It is interesting to compare Sidney's poem with an anonymous translation of Anacreontea 28 which appeared in The Phoenix Nest (1593), beginning "Sir painter, are thy colours redie set".<sup>3</sup> This poem follows closely the outlines of the Anacreontic, though it is expanded and adapted: the unfashionable dark hair (Anacreontea 28, lines 6 - 7), for example, is omitted. There is nothing to indicate the main source, which could be the Greek, or one of the translations of Estienne, André or Belleau. The poet includes the detail of the two different eyes (lines 19 - 22):

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1. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. C4v.

2. Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), ed. J. Robertson, 1973, p. 239, lines 3-4, 11-12.

3. The Phoenix Nest 1593, ed. H.E. Rollins, 1931, pp. 107-108.

Regard hir Eie, hir eie, a woondrous part,  
 It woundeth deepe, and cureth by and by,  
 It driues away, and draweth curteously,  
 It breeds and calmes, the tempest of the hart

This could come from Ronsard, Belleau (either version), or Watson. As in Watson, the details of the poem seem to be designed more to create a mood than a realistic picture: shortly after the above phrase "tempest of the hart," the painter is asked to draw his mistress' cheeks like "The Lillie stainde, with sweete Adonis blood" (line 26). In the same way each detail in the catalogue is described in such a way as to bring out the effect it has on the poet, or on the course of love: her brow is "The throne where Loue triumphantly doth set" (line 18): her lip drives all woe for ever after from those it kisses (line 33): her chest - not mentioned in the Greek - is a "feeld" spread with Love's "conquering colours" (line 41). Although the poet insists that his heart is happy, his happiness is conditional on her continued favours (line 59):

Happie my hart, that in hir Sunshine fries

The overall mood is not one of contentment, but of turbulent passions and lovesick melancholy. Lines 49 - 54 ask the painter to depict his heart burning passionately at her feet. The lover here, so far from exulting in the riches and wealth of his mistress, as in Sidney's poem, is like a mediaeval knight adventurer, chained to his beloved in hopeless slavery. The painter's task is no longer to represent her ideal beauty, but to draw out

the innermost searchings of the heart of her lover. So far is the poem from being a description of life that the poet deliberately invites the painter to (line 6)

Come draw hir picture by my fantasee.

It is astonishing that this anonymous poet managed to introduce such a different tone while retaining the details of the original poem. Other Elizabethan poets who borrowed Anacreontic themes did so from within the confines of the "ode légère" as defined and perfected by Ronsard, but this poet has drawn out and developed a rare touch of melancholy from the Anacreontic tradition.

Our next poet is Ben Jonson, who made use of both Anacreontea 28 and 29 in "A Celebration of Charis in ten Lyrick Peeces."<sup>1</sup> The whole poem is full of Anacreontic references. The first piece, "His Excuse for loving", where Jonson says that old age will not prevent his falling in love, recalls Anacreontea 11: while the next piece, "How he saw her", is a reversal of Anacreontea 14. In the Anacreontic, the poet runs away from Cupid and is chased by him: in Jonson's poem the poet encourages Cupid to shoot at Charis, but it is Cupid who runs away. In the fifth piece, "His discourse with Cupid", Cupid likens Charis to his mother:<sup>2</sup> (lines 13 - 22)

1. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, pp. 131-142.

2. Ibid., p. 136.

So hath Homer prais'd her haire;  
 So, Anacreon drawne the Ayre  
 15 Of her face, and made to rise,  
 Just above her sparkling eyes,  
 Both her Browes, bent like my Bow.  
 By her lookes I doe her know,  
 Which you call my Shafts. And see!  
 20 Such my Mothers blushes be,  
 As the Bath your verse discloses  
 In her cheekes, of Milke, and Roses.

The reference in lines 14 - 15 is to the description of Venus in Anacreontea 51, but the description which follows is based on that in Anacreontea 28: line 22, for example, corresponds to line 23 of the Greek, 'Ρόδα τῷ γάλακτι μίξας . The details of brows, lips, cheeks and so on mirror the details used by Sidney and The Phoenix Nest - but it is altered in two major ways, firstly by the description being applied to Venus, and secondly by its being spoken by Cupid. Furthermore, Cupid is supposedly describing what Jonson says in his own verses: it is as if, rather than translate Anacreontea 28 directly, Jonson is telling us what he would have written if he had translated it. The Anacreontic is taken as a model for the representation of the ideal beauty. This can also be seen in the ninth of the lyric pieces, in which Charis describes her ideal man, using some details drawn from the description of Bathyllus in Anacreontea 29. She concludes (lines 33 - 35):<sup>1</sup>

'Twere to<o> long, to speake of all:  
 What we harmonie doe call  
 In a body, should be there.

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1. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson,  
 Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, p. 141.

It is this "harmonie", the ideal of Classical beauty, which Jonson is seeking to draw from "Anacreon", not necessarily the details of the wording. Just as "Anacreon" had imitated Homer in his description of Venus (fifth piece, lines 13 - 14 above), so Jonson seeks to draw on the essence of Anacreon's poetry. Frequently, he imitates with such subtlety that the originals can no longer be recognised: this poem offers a rare opportunity to observe his interest in the Anacreontea.

It should be added that Jonson includes the description of Bathyllus (Anacreontea 29) in a list of famous love poems which occurs in "An Ode", beginning "HElen, did Homer never see".<sup>1</sup> The third part of Jonson's "Eupheme", entitled "The Picture of the Body",<sup>2</sup> consists of a series of instructions to a painter about to draw Lady Venetia Digby, but there is no connection with the Anacreontea. A list of a woman's features similar to that in the fifth piece of "A Celebration of Charis" appears in "An Elegie", beginning "BY those bright Eyes, at whose immortall fires."<sup>3</sup>

James Shirley parodied Anacreontea 28 in his

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1. The Vnder-wood XXVII, in Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, pp. 181-182.

2. The Vnder-wood LXXXIV, Ibid., pp. 275-277.

3. The Vnder-wood XIX, Ibid., pp. 170-171.

poem "To the Painter Preparing To Draw M.M.H.", published in Poems &c., 1646.<sup>1</sup> Instead of the picture being drawn from memory while the lady is away, here the poet and painter are waiting for her to arrive, and instead of praising the painter's lifelike image, Shirley suggests that her perfection cannot be portrayed accurately. Anacreontea 28 ends by suggesting that the picture looks as if it could speak (line 34):<sup>2</sup>

Τάχα κηρὲ καὶ λαλήσεις.

Shirley points out that a painter cannot hope to reproduce her voice (lines 45 - 46):

At such a loss, here's all thy choice,  
Leave off, or paint her with a voice.

This point shows that Shirley knew the Greek text of the Anacreontic, or a close translation. But he has not translated or imitated it himself. His poem is not concerned with the elaboration of physical detail but with another traditional theme - the relative merits of poetry and painting.

A comprehensive catalogue of Caroline and Restoration advice-to-a-painter poems has been compiled by Mary Osborne.<sup>3</sup> The first six poems in her list date from the years 1633 - 1660. The list begins with Jonson's

1. The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley, ed. W. Gifford and A. Dyce, Vol. 6, 1833, pp. 414-416.

2. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. Dlr.

3. M.T. Osborne, Advice to a Painter Poems 1633 - 1856, 1949.

"Eupheme" and the poem by Shirley just discussed. The next poem, by Edmund Borlasse or Burlace, "You that have powerfull skill to cheate the Eye",<sup>1</sup> has no connection with the Anacreontea. Herrick's poem "COME, skilfull Lupo, now, and take"<sup>2</sup> describes a poor and pimpled Bridgeman - it is a mockery of the tradition, Anacreontic neither in tone nor content. Of greater interest is a poem from Wit Restor'd, 1658, entitled "A discourse between a Poet and a Painter", attributed to Captain James Smith (1605 - 1667).<sup>3</sup> This is another contribution to the conventional debate. The poet asks the painter to draw his ideal woman, and when the painter replies that he can express her better than the poet, the poet objects that the painter cannot describe her mind. The painter concludes that a woman so excellent both in body and mind could not exist. This comment on the imperfections of women could be regarded as a reply to Jonson's description of the ideal beauty in "A Celebration of Charis". One or two of the details of the description in the first part of the poem are similar to Anacreontea 28, and I have therefore included this poem in my catalogue.

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1. "To the Happy Memory of Sir Horatio Vere" in Elegies Celebrating the Happy Memory of Sir Horatio Vere, 1642: see Osborne, 1949, p. 24.

2. "To the Painter, to draw him a Picture", in Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, pp. 38-39.

3. Wit Restor'd, 1658, sig. I3v - I4v.

Also included is William Shipton's "Stay Painter her to limne, each part" from Dia, 1659.<sup>1</sup> The extravagant metaphors in this poem recall Sidney: but rather than describing physical details Shipton strangely concentrates on the description of Dia's voice and breath, which he likens to Arabian spices. At the end of the poem Shipton refers to Pygmalion, a reference in keeping with the spirit of the life-like lady of Anacreontea 28. Shipton's relative lack of physical detail recalls Shirley's poem, but there are no direct verbal echoes.

Mary Osborne's catalogue lists no less than 27 poems on the theme published or composed in the years 1660 - 1683.<sup>2</sup> All of these are political panegyrics or satires which have no direct connection with the Anacreontic advice-to-a-painter poems. The series was inaugurated by Waller's Instructions to a Painter (1666) and includes Marvell's satire The Last Instructions to a Painter. None of these is by a poet who was known to have been familiar with the Anacreontea, and none of them has been included in my catalogue. They are, however, indirectly linked to "Anacreon". Osborne points out<sup>3</sup>

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1. "To one who was drawing forth the lineaments of his Lady", in William Shipton, Dia, 1659, sig. D7v - Elr.
  2. M.T. Osborne, Advice to a Painter Poems 1633 - 1856, 1949, p. 25 ff.
  3. Gian. Francesco Busenello, Prospettiva del Navale Trionfo, 1656: see Osborne, 1949, pp. 9, 15, and 80.

that the prototype for these satires was probably an Italian poem by Giovanni Francesco Busenello (1598 - 1659) in the form of instructions to the artist Pietro Liberi for producing a picture of the Venetian victory over the Turks. Now there can be no doubt that the Italian tradition of advice-to-a-painter poems derives from the Anacreontea. Poems 28 and 29 were among the very few poems from the Anacreontic collection which had long been popular in Italy. The earliest imitation of Poem 29, the description of Bathyllus, was published in 1564:<sup>1</sup> in this the poet Ercole Fortezza used the Anacreontic in order to satirise a contemporary homosexual scandal - so from the start the purpose of the Italian imitators was a satiric one. Two imitations of Anacreontea 28 soon followed, by Giuliano Goselini (1572), and Alberto Parma (1587).<sup>2</sup> The Italian imitators on the whole disliked close translation, and the advice-to-a-painter poems gave them an opportunity to elaborate as they chose: so it is not surprising to find the genre developed in the seventeenth century to describe contemporary events. In addition to his portrayal of the Venetian naval triumph, Busenello himself wrote a long

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1. Ercole Fortezza, "Sopra ogni altro eccellente", in S. Ferrari, "Di Alcune Imitazioni e Rifioriture delle "Anacreontee" in Italia nel Sec. XVI", Giornale Storico, 1892, pp. 402-404.

2. "SAGGIO Pittor; se uoi," in Giuliano Goselini, Rime, 1572, sig. Clr: and Alberto Parma, "Opra, saggio Pittore," cf. Ferrari, 1892, p. 418.

imitation of Anacreontea 28 describing his mistress.<sup>1</sup>  
 This shows that Busenello was familiar with "Anacreon":  
 and I have, therefore, included in my catalogue a  
 translation of Busenello's A prospective of the naval  
 triumph by Thomas Higgons (1658).

To conclude, then, the English satiric  
 advice-to-a-painter poems derive from an Italian tra-  
 dition of this type of poem which ultimately goes back  
 to the Anacreontea. The English poems represent an  
 impulse from a fresh source introduced into England in  
 1658 - they have no connection with earlier English  
 imitations of Anacreontea 28 and 29, all of which are  
 physical descriptions, usually of women. The only  
 English advice-to-a-painter poems published in the  
 Restoration period which are directly connected with the  
Anacreontea are the translations of Willis and Wood.<sup>2</sup>

### The Tribe of Ben

The influence of the Anacreontea in Ben Jonson's  
 verse has been overestimated. C.F. Wheeler has listed a  
 very large number of Anacreontic references, most of which

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1. Unpublished. See M.T. Osborne, Advice to a Painter  
 Poems 1633 - 1856, 1949, p. 15.

2. Francis Willis, "Draw, some Apelles, Draw me here"  
 (Anacreontea 28) in Anacreon Done into English, 1683,  
 sig. H2r - H3v: Thomas Wood, "IF Painter thou true  
 Life can'st draw," (Anacreontea 29), Ibid., sig. H3v -  
 Ilv.

mean nothing.<sup>1</sup> For example, he lists Anacreontea 57 as one of the sources for Jonson's knowledge of the story of Apollo and Daphne.<sup>2</sup> Now Anacreontea 57, published in the supplementary poems in Estienne's edition, was generally omitted by translators, which shows that it could not have been well known. It would have been an extremely unfamiliar source for a story already well known from the account in Book 1 of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Elsewhere, Wheeler cites Anacreontea 42 as a source for the advanced age of Bacchus:<sup>3</sup> here the designation "old Bacchus" comes not from the Greek, but from J.M. Edmonds' 1931 translation.<sup>4</sup>

When Jonson translated Horace's Ars Poetica, he followed the Latin as closely as one can in English verse (see Chapter 10 below, p. 382) - he was not a believer in the free translation found in many Elizabethan versions from the Anacreontea. The masques and poems contain hundreds of Classical motifs, but adapted in such a way that it is generally impossible to identify sources for particular passages. Yet Jonson's

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1. C.F. Wheeler, Classical Mythology in the Plays, Masques, and Poems of Ben Jonson, 1938.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

3. Ibid., p. 57.

4. The Anacreontea, p. 73, in Elegy and Iambus, ed. J.M. Edmonds, Vol. 2, 1931.

poems mention Anacreon four times:<sup>1</sup> he composed an "anacreontic" ode (see Chapter 8 above, p. 303), and there can be no doubt that he was familiar with the Anacreontea. His method of adapting Classical models for his own ends is best illustrated by "A Celebration of Charis", which is discussed above, in the section on advice-to-a-painter poems. Apart from the poems there discussed, there is astonishingly little in Jonson's verse which is specifically Anacreontic. "The Dreame",<sup>2</sup> in which the poet is taunted by Cupid in a dream, recalls Anacreontea 8, in which the poet, anxious to love, is taunted by παῖδες in a dream.

The influence of the Anacreontea on Jonson's followers has been accurately surveyed by K.A. McEuen.<sup>3</sup> As with Jonson, there is little in most of the poets which derives directly from the Anacreontea - nothing in Randolph, Cartwright or Carew. Lovelace's use of Anacreontea 43 is discussed in Chapter 7 above, pp. 264-275. Suckling has another interesting reminiscence of Anacreontea 8 in "His Dream".<sup>4</sup> The resemblance to the Anacreontic poem

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1. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, pp. 65, 136, 181, 199.

2. "OR Scorne, or pittie on me take", The Vnder-wood XI, Ibid., pp. 150-151.

3. K.A. McEuen, Classical Influence Upon the Tribe of Ben, 1939, pp. 204-217.

4. "ON a still silent night, scarce could I number", first published in Fragmenta Avrea, 1646: see The Works of Sir John Suckling The Non-Dramatic Works, ed. T. Clayton, 1971, Poem 12, p. 15.

is slight - in both the dreamer awakes when he tries to touch the girl. Suckling has woven a tapestry far richer than "Anacreon's": just as Sidney and Shipton used Anacreontea 28 as a touchstone for poems containing a great wealth of imagery, so Suckling has used Anacreontea 8 here to build up a description of Paradise.

In the poems of Robert Herrick, on the other hand, there is a great deal of Anacreontic influence. Herrick, alone of English poets, has come close to Ronsard in the range and variety of uses to which he has put the Anacreontea. His debt to "Anacreon" has long been recognised - Nathan Drake, who wrote of his rediscovery of Herrick's "worm-eaten book" in 1804, considered that he "entertained a more correct idea of the style and genius of Anacreon, than the generality of those who have since attempted to imitate the lively Grecian."<sup>1</sup> The most accurate modern accounts of "Anacreon" in Herrick are those by Delattre and McEuen.<sup>2</sup> Both writers give a clear picture of the extent of Herrick's use, and Delattre recognises the importance of Estienne's translations: but neither of them has attempted to analyse the range and variety of Herrick's Anacreontics - from straightforward translation, to the subtlest of echoes.

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1. Nathan Drake, Literary Hours, 2nd edn., Vol. 3, 1804, p. 63.

2. F. Delattre, Robert Herrick, 1911, pp. 391-443:  
K.A. McEuen, Classical Influence Upon the Tribe of Ben, 1939, pp. 204-209.

The four poems by Herrick discussed in Chapters 4 and 6 above, pp. 138-141 and 227-229, show quite different methods of imitation. In Chapter 4, "The Cheat of Cupid" is a direct translation of Estienne's Latin version of Anacreontea 3, with several additional short phrases, while "Upon Cupid" is an original poem based on the Elizabethan and Jacobean sonnet tradition of "The Beggar Cupid". In Chapter 6 "The wounded Cupid" is made up entirely of phrases taken from 3 or 4 earlier versions of Anacreontea 40 - probably including one literal version, the imitation by Lodge, and the anonymous translation set to music by Bateson. In this poem virtually nothing has been added by Herrick himself. The second poem discussed in Chapter 6, another "Upon Cupid", is once again a variation of the basic theme, based on previous variations, this time by Binet and Spenser. So each of the two chapters describes two quite different methods of imitation, and all four poems seem to have quite different sources.

Some of Herrick's other versions are fine examples of the Renaissance doctrine of imitation discussed in Chapter 10 below, pp. 388-396 - the use of source material as a basis for original poetry. In "The Vision"<sup>1</sup> Herrick describes how he saw Anacreon in a dream reeling drunkenly around: a "young Enchantresse" snatched

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1. "ME thought I saw (as I did dreame in bed)", in Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 313.

the crown from his head and gave it to the poet. This is a translation of Anacreontea Poem Y - not a well-known poem, published later than the rest of the collection in 1560, and previously translated only by Estienne. So it was easy for Herrick to take it as his own, and give it a freshness and vigour lacking in some of the more frequently translated poems. There are several differences from the original in Herrick's retelling of Poem Y, and one of these is crucial to the meaning of the poem. In the Anacreontea the poet takes the garland from the head of Anacreon himself, and calls himself a fool ( $\mu\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  , line 14) for doing so:<sup>1</sup> but in Herrick's poem it is Anacreon who acts the fool, and for this the enchantress takes the garland from him (lines 11 - 14):

For which (me thought) in prittie anger she  
Snatcht off his Crown, and gave the wreath to me:  
Since when (me thinks) my braines about doe swim,  
And I am wilde and wanton like to him.

Light-heartedly Herrick is suggesting that he is taking over from an Anacreon who is no longer capable. The changes give a new and personal impetus to the old poem, and make it apply as well to Herrick as to the original imitator of Anacreon who was responsible for the Greek original.

In the frontispiece to Herrick's Hesperides  
(1648), reproduced also as the frontispiece in L.C. Martin's

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1. Pindari ... Caeterorum Octo Lyricorum carmina, ed. H. Estienne, 1560, Vol. 2, sig. CC3v - CC4v.

edition of the Poetical Works (1956), two tiny winged figures fly with garlands towards the head of the poet. Below are Latin verses by John Harmar, Master at Westminster School, later Professor of Greek at Oxford, in which he explains why he thinks Herrick is due his garland (line 5):

Admisces Antiqua Novis, Iucunda Severis:

The connection of these verses with the garland in the poem discussed above, raises the interesting possibility that Herrick could have had access to Harmar's own unpublished Latin translation of the Anacreontea, now lost.<sup>1</sup>

Herrick was also the first to translate into English another Anacreontic about a garland, Poem X, better known as A.P. 16. 388, the very last poem in the Palatine Anthology.<sup>2</sup> A Latin translation of the poem had appeared in Thomas Farnaby's selected translations from the Anthology (1629), under the name "Mart. Monerius."<sup>3</sup> This version relies heavily on the earlier Latin translation by Giampietro Valeriano (1477 - 1558), published in 1613.<sup>4</sup> From Valeriano are taken "Dum ...serta texo"

1. The manuscript is listed in Dobell's Catalogue of Autograph Letters, No. 15, 1936, Item 356, and No. 63, 1941, Item 92.
2. First published in the Planudean Anthology, ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ, 1494, sig. KK7r - KK7v.
3. [Thomas Farnaby], Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum, 1629, sig. C6v.
4. See Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Vol. 10, 1724, p. 160: J. Hutton, The Greek Anthology in Italy, 1935, p. 649.

(line 1), "Inter rosas" (2), and "in Falerna" (5) for εἰς τὸν οἶνον (4). "Monerius" otherwise follows the Greek, except that he replaces τῶν πτερῶν (3) by "manu" (4).

Herrick's version of the poem is a fairly literal translation - except that at the end of the poem, where the poet, who has swallowed Cupid in his wine, is tickled by him from inside, Herrick interprets the metaphor instead of giving a literal translation (lines 5-6):<sup>1</sup>

Hence then it is, that my poore brest  
Co'd never since find any rest.

A similar interpretation had been given by Philip Melanchthon (1628), lines 6 - 7:<sup>2</sup>

Nunc ille saeuit imis  
Puer mihi in medullis.

Herrick uses the word "lately" in line 1, to correspond to the Greek ποτε . This was a common translation of the word, as can be seen from the discussions of the translation of ποτε as "nuper" and "Of late" in line 1 of Anacreontea 3 (Chapter 4 above, p. 130). But in earlier published translations of Poem X, the word was either omitted altogether<sup>3</sup> or translated "Olim"<sup>4</sup>. The

1. Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 96.

2. Selecta Epigrammata Graeca Latine uersa, ed. I. Cornarius, 1529, sig. Ee3r.

3. By Crinitus (1500), Melanchthon (1528), Alamanni (died 1556), Valeriano (died 1558), Rota, (1560), Baif (pub. 1874), and "Monerius" (1629).

4. By Morisot (1558) and Leech (1620).

point, however, cannot be taken as significant enough to prove that Herrick used the Greek text here. Herrick follows "Monerius" in omitting the reference to the poet taking hold of the tiny Cupid by the wings.

The above discussion of Herrick's versions of Anacreontea 3 and 40 shows the diversity of uses to which Herrick could put a single Anacreontic poem. Not only does Herrick's method of composition vary from close translation to loose imitation, but in each case Herrick's immediate sources have been found to be different ones. A further example of this is provided by Herrick's Anacreontic imitations on the theme of old age. The basis of the tradition here is Anacreontea 11, a poem which had not appeared in English before, but which was particularly popular on the continent, with versions by Estienne, Ronsard, André, Belleau, Saint-Gelays, Baïf (2 versions), Lubin, and Chiabrera (2 versions). Ronsard and Chiabrera also made use of another Classical source, an epigram by Palladas from the Anthology.<sup>1</sup> The difference between this and the Anacreontic is that the Anthology poem refers to the poet's white hairs (line 3), instead of to his baldness. Herrick's first poem on this

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1. Pierre de Ronsard, in Les Meslanges, 1555, see Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, pp. 198-199; Gabriello Chiabrera, "Perchè mostrarmi a dito?" in Le Vendemmie di Parnaso, 1605, see Canzonette Rime Varie Dialoghi, ed. L. Negri, 1952, pp. 248-249. The Anthology epigram is A. P. 11.54, see Anthologia Graeca, ed. H. Beckby, Vol. 3, 1958, p. 573.

theme, entitled "To a Gentlewoman, objecting to him his gray haires", was first published in Shakespeare's Poems of 1640.<sup>1</sup> The chief source here is Ronsard's combination of the Anacreontic and the Anthology epigram. As in Ronsard, the poet's critic is one woman, instead of the group of women found in other versions: and this alteration has enabled Herrick to turn the poem in quite an original way. Anacreontea 11 suggests that the closer one is to death, the more one should enjoy oneself, but Herrick's message is quite different: the women too will grow old. Earlier imitators had kept "Anacreon's" happy ending - Herrick alone has turned it into a sad one.

Herrick has also discarded the ending of Anacreontea 11 in "Age unfit for Love" (1648).<sup>2</sup> In other respects, however, this is a much closer translation, based on the Greek or on a literal translation. Herrick has cut out much of the detail of the original, and condensed what remains into four short couplets - a succinctness more normally associated with Stanley. Herrick's ending here is (lines 7 - 8):

Ill it fits old men to play,  
When that Death bids come away.

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1. Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 63, beginning "AM I despis'd, because you say": for the date, and an earlier text, see Complete Poetry, ed. J. Max Patrick, 1963, p. 92.
  2. Herrick, 1956, p. 277, beginning "MAIDENS tell me I am old".

This is a sentiment quite foreign to the Anacreontea: so from an Anacreontic source here, Herrick has constructed a poem different both in tone and meaning.

Herrick's epigram "To his Girles"<sup>1</sup> is closer to the Anacreontea in tone, but the immediate source here is not "Anacreon", but lines 3 - 4 of the epigram, A. P. 11. 54:<sup>2</sup>

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἰ λευκὰς φορέω τρίχας εἴτε μελαίνας,  
οὐκ ἀλέγω βιότου πρὸς τέλος ἐρχόμενος.

Herrick translates these lines as follows:

WANTON Wenches doe not bring  
For my haires black colouring:  
For my Locks (Girles) let 'em be  
Gray or white, all's one to me.

Finally, the epigram "On himselfe", beginning "BORNE I was to meet with Age," is different again.<sup>3</sup> Here the poet clearly expresses sentiments similar to those of Anacreontea 11 - he cares not for old age, but will enjoy himself while he can. But once again the wording of the poem is not based on Anacreontea 11 - rather it is a translation of Anacreontea 24, based closely on the Greek, or on André or Belleau, condensed into four couplets, and with the detail "crown'd with flowres" added at the end. Herrick wrote three further

1. Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 330.

2. Anthologia Graeca, ed. H. Beckby, Vol. 3, 1958, p. 573.

3. Herrick, 1956, p. 191.

translations and imitations of Anacreontea 24 and 34 with the same kind of sentiments.

So of the four poems discussed on this theme, the two which are based on Anacreontea 11 alter the point of the poem, while the two which retain the "carpe diem" theme have quite different sources. In none of the four does Herrick translate directly - the Anacreontic was simply one of the raw materials from which he built his own lyric verse. What interests Herrick in the Anacreontea is the light lyric tone, the wit and humour, and the philosophy of enjoyment - precisely the same elements which had attracted Ronsard a hundred years earlier, and led him to create the "ode légère" in France.

As a poet, Herrick has a great deal in common with Catullus. Both wrote large numbers of short pieces, including epigrams ranging from the witty to the bawdy, and lyrics ranging from the tender to the satirical. Both appear to be simple and spontaneous, but are in fact learned and allusive. Both have successfully disguised the many literary influences on their poems, so that their lyrics appear to be peculiarly their own.<sup>1</sup> Even when Herrick translates directly there is almost always some alteration of substance to give a new twist to the poem.

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1. On the influence of Catullus see J.B. Emperor, The Catullian Influence, 1928. Pauline Aiken's The Influence of the Latin Elegists, 1932, which concentrates on Herrick, is inaccurate and must be treated with caution.

Herrick draws Anacreontic themes from a huge variety of sources, ancient and modern, often developed from French or English imitations. But none of Herrick's poems are translations in the sense that they can be read as the works of another poet: in every case Herrick has absorbed the Anacreontic theme to that of his own Muse. In this respect Herrick's works resemble the Anacreontea themselves. For many of the Anacreontics are themselves satirical imitations, full of allusions to the learning and the songs of the past. In many of Herrick's drinking songs the poet is not singing spontaneously of the joys of drink, but quoting from "Anacreon". In "The Apparition of his Mistresse calling him to Elizium" Herrick imagines the spirit of Anacreon quoting Herrick's own poetry (lines 32 - 38);<sup>1</sup>

Ile bring thee Herrick to Anacreon,  
 Quaffing his full-crown'd bowles of burning Wine,  
 And in his Raptures speaking Lines of Thine,  
 35 Like to His subject; and as his Frantick-  
 Looks, shew him truly Bacchanalian like,  
 Besmear'd with Grapes; welcome he shall thee thither,  
 Where both may rage, both drink and dance together.

Both poets were indulging in the same activity.

### Miscellaneous Seventeenth-Century Versions

#### Richard James

Richard James' version of Anacreontea 23 was

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1. Robert Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 206.

published along with the rest of his poetry by A.B. Grosart in 1880. James died in 1638. His translation<sup>1</sup> is made directly from the Greek text<sup>2</sup>: this is shown by line 3, "I would with strong care gould keepe," which corresponds more closely to the Greek Ἐκαρτέρου φυλάττων than any of the previous translations (by Estienne, André, Ronsard, Belleau, Begat, Baïf, Lubin and Chiabrera). Similarly in line 9 προπέμπω is translated by "send I forth" (line 9). James has tried to reproduce the Greek line by line, in the same number of syllables (seven per line) as the original. This is an impossible feat within the confines of an English rhyming couplet, but James makes a reasonable attempt at it, having to condense only a little - lines 10 - 11 of the Greek become "Down then with my gowlden heap" (line 11). Line 14, Ἐμοῖς φίλοις σὺνεῖναι, unacceptable in the Caroline period, has been replaced with "With all choice of rich meates dine". James' translation is rather rough and jerky, as one would expect from such a literal piece of work, but reads on the whole quite well considering how close to the Greek it is.

### Thomas Forde

Thomas Forde's version of Anacreontea 14, beginning "Cupid all his Arts did prove" ("Loves Duel"),

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1. Richard James, Poems, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1880, p. 230. The translation is entitled "Anacreon's Follie" and begins "If much store of goulden wealth".

2. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. C2v.

was published twice in 1660, in Fragmenta Poetica (sig. Bb8v), and as a song in the play Love's Labyrinth, on sig. Ylr. The two works form part of a collected edition with the general title A Theatre of Wits, which is dated 1661.<sup>1</sup> I have followed the text of Love's Labyrinth, the first text in the volume. The play was probably never performed.<sup>2</sup> In Act 2 Scene 8 of the play the shepherd Menaphon laments that Love has stolen away his heart, as once "He serv'd the merry Greek Anacreon". He then sings "Loves Duel", which is based on Estienne's Latin version of Anacreontea 14:<sup>3</sup> this is shown by "did delay" (line 3), which corresponds to "negligebam" (line 5), "assumes" (6), from "sumpsit" (6), and "All in flames" (17) from "aestuans" (17). Strangely, Forde describes the poet as facing Cupid armed only with a shield (10), instead of with breastplate, shield and spear, "like Achilles" (9): but the version in Fragmenta Poetica has "shield and spear", probably correctly. The title Forde gives to his version recalls "The Duel" used by Cowley and Lovelace.<sup>4</sup> Forde extends the military metaphor through to

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1. Also published under the title Virtus Rediviva, 1661. Earlier translations and imitations of Anacreontea 14 are by Estienne, André, Ronsard, Belleau, Lubin, Lovelace, Stanley, and Cowley.
  2. J.Q. Adams Jr., "Thomas Forde's Love's Labyrinth" in Studies in Language and Literature in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of James Morgan Hart, 1910, pp. 1-42.
  3. Anacreontis Teij odae, 1554, sig. M2v - M3r.
  4. Abraham Cowley, Works, ed. A.R. Waller, Vol. 1, 1905, p. 52: Richard Lovelace, Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson, 1930, p. 152.

the ending of the poem (lines 19 - 24):

20      Useless, I my shield require,  
           When the Fort is all on fire.  
           I in vain the field did win,  
           Now the Enemy's within.  
           Thus betray'd, at last I cry,  
           Love thou hast the victory.

Apart from this touch, Forde adds nothing to make this a memorable translation: its regular rhythm and rhyme brings it close to doggerel; it is far less successful as a poem than the versions of Stanley and Cowley.

#### Rochester and Oldham

This chapter ends, as it began, with Anacreontea 17, "The Cup". The versions of this poem by Rochester (published in 1680) and Oldham (1683) offer an unusual opportunity to make a direct comparison of the work of two well-known Restoration poets. In the case of Oldham, the poem is his only known imitation from the Anacreontea, and in the case of Rochester, the imitation of Anacreontea 19 discussed in Chapter 5 above, pp. 181-183 is of doubtful authenticity. The three available Greek texts of Anacreontea 17 - from Aulus Gellius (published 1469) and the Anthology (1494), as well as the Anacreontic - are discussed in Chapter 2 above, pp. 22 - 24 . Although there are no fewer than 18 continental versions listed in the catalogue (1469 - 1605), only Stanley had previously translated the poem into English.

Contemporary references date the composition of

Rochester's poem to late in 1673.<sup>1</sup> The source is the second part of Ronsard's translation of Anacreontea 15 and 17, "Du grand Turc je n'ay souci", which was published in 1553.<sup>2</sup> After the publication of the Anacreontea in 1554 Ronsard revised and greatly expanded this second part of the poem for Les Meslanges (1555), and it was this expanded version which Rochester used. The principal details which Rochester has taken from Ronsard are the word "cup" (line 1) from Ronsard's "tasse", the mention of Nestor's cup (2), and of "gold" (4), the "stars" and "constellations" (14), the "vine" (17), and "Bacchus" (21). There are some details which suggest that Rochester must have read at least one other version of the poem - such as "Bowl" (title), "large" (5) and "Cupid" (21). These could all have been taken from Stanley's version.

Rochester decorates his poem with praises of drink, of love (both of boys and of women) and with criticisms of contemporary wars and of astrology. These additions are full of rollicking humour (lines 5 - 8):<sup>3</sup>

Make it so large that, filled with sack  
Up to the swelling brim,  
Vast toasts on the delicious lake  
Like ships at sea may swim.

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1. Rochester, Complete Poems, ed. D.M. Vieth, 1968, pp. 52-53 and 190-191.
  2. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 5, 1928, pp. 79-81.
  3. Rochester, Complete Poems, ed. D.M. Vieth, 1968, p. 52.

The obvious absurdity of the simile paradoxically brings Rochester's poem close to the spirit of the original, which must be regarded as a satire on such famous Classical descriptions as the Shield of Achilles in Iliad 18, and the cup in Theocritus Idyll 1. Earlier French and Latin translators, who treated their "Anacreon" with more respect, had tended to miss the satire. But in another respect Rochester made the poem very much his own. His last stanza suggests that his interest in a fictional cup made for him by Vulcan is only an interval amid more important pursuits: (lines 21 - 25)<sup>1</sup>

Cupid and Bacchus my saints are:  
 May drink and love still reign.  
 With wine I wash away by cares,  
 And then to cunt again.

Oldham's imitation is much expanded, and runs to 57 lines.<sup>2</sup> Its basic source is a literal version - perhaps the Greek, Estienne, or André - but Oldham omits three details found in these versions, the reference to Hephaestus or Vulcan (line 2), the grapes hanging from the vine (13), and Bathyllus (16). Bathyllus is mentioned in the Gellius text, but is not found in the Anthology text or in any translations published before 1554. The translation of Count Niccolo d'Arco (1546)<sup>3</sup> omits Vulcan,

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1. Rochester, Complete Poems, ed. D.M. Vieth, 1968, p. 53.
  2. Anacreon Done into English, 1683, sig. E4r - Flv.
  3. See Nicolai Archii Comitum Numerorum Libri IV, 1762, p. 234.

and is entitled "Ad Pictorem" - lines 29 and 41 of Oldham's poem mention an artist drawing on the cup instead of engraving the silver. But a more probable source for these details is Tasso's imitation, beginning "Tu ch'agguagliar ti vantì", which was not published until 1666.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the omission of Vulcan and the mention of painting (Tasso, line 25), Tasso also omits the grapes, as he substitutes a rose for the vine, and objects to animals being painted on the cup (Tasso lines 21 - 22, cf. Oldham lines 30 - 32).

Rochester had applied the poem to his own situation: Oldham places it firmly in the Classical period again. The μάχαι of line 3 which Rochester had made into battles of the 1670s become in Oldham "Nor Wars of Thebes nor Wars of Troy" (line 19). Many of the additions which Oldham makes to the poem show he was aware of the Homeric and Theocritean analogues. But this did not prevent his adding truly metaphysical conceits. His cup, he says, must be (lines 9 - 10, 13 - 14):

Worthy to adorn the Spheres,  
As that bright Cup amongst the Stars ...  
Kind Cup, that to the Stars did go  
To light poor Drunkards here below

Later in the poem he adds (lines 36 - 37):

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1. I have been unable to trace this poem in either Solerti's or Flora's editions of Tasso, so I have followed Ferrari's text (S. Ferrari, "Di Alcune Imitazioni e Rifioriture delle "Anacreontee" in Italia nel Sec. XVI", Giornale Storico, 1892, pp. 410-411).

I lack no Pole star on the Brink,  
To guide in the wide Sea of Drink.

This is similar to Rochester's lines 5 - 8 quoted above: like most of the versions in the 1683 volume, it partakes more of a generalised conception of Classical mock-heroic verse than of the Anacreontea. The wit of the wording has become more important than the movement of the poem, to which Rochester paid so much attention. Rochester had described Cupid and Bacchus as saints (line 21) whom he intends to worship in his own manner of living: but to Oldham they are effigies (line 57), unmoving artistic representations. Rochester will wash away his cares with wine, but Oldham, when he sees Cupid and Bacchus on the cup (line 55):

I'll think them Drunk, and be so too.

Art and the imagination have now become more powerfully intoxicating than the wine itself.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER NINE

Published Seventeenth-Century Musical Settings of the Poems  
in the English Catalogue

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COMPOSER</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>WORDS BY</u>
		<u>NUMBERS OF TRANSLATED POEMS IN ANACREONTEA</u>	
1603	John Dowland	<u>The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires</u> (2)	DYER
1618	Thomas Bateson	<u>The Second Set of Madrigales</u> 40	ANON*
1653	Henry Lawes	<u>Ayres and Dialogues</u> 11 1 1	HERRICK <sup>1</sup> GREEK TEXT BERKENHEAD*
1655	Henry Lawes	<u>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</u> 11 11	GREEK TEXT BERKENHEAD*
1656	John Gamble	<u>Ayres and Dialogues</u> 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 21, 24, 26, 31, 36, 37, 38, 53, 54	STANLEY do.
1667	Silas Taylor	Playford's <u>Catch that Catch can</u> 19	COWLEY
1668	William King	<u>Poems Composed into Songs</u> 40	ANON
1668	E. Y.	in William King as above 11, 15	COWLEY
1669	Henry Lawes	Playford's <u>Select Ayres and Dialogues The Second Book</u> 3	ANON*
1669	Roger Hill	In Playford as above 19	COWLEY

\* Words known only from this setting.

1. Beginning "AM I dispis'd because you say".

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COMPOSER</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>WORDS BY</u>
<u>NUMBERS OF TRANSLATED POEMS IN ANACREONTEA</u>			
1678	Henry Bowman	<u>Songs For One, Two, and Three Voices</u> 1, 4	COWLEY
1679	Pelham Humphrey	<u>Playford's Choice Ayres &amp; Songs The Second Book</u> 40	ANON (as 1668)
1680	Pietro Reggio	<u>Songs</u> 1, 12, 14, 43, 46	COWLEY
1687	Henry Purcell	<u>Theater of Musick IV</u> 11, 15	COWLEY
1688	Henry Purcell	<u>Banquet of Musick I</u> 16	ANON*
1692	Henry Purcell	<u>Banquet of Musick VI</u> 4	COWLEY

\* Words known only from this setting.

The table shows extant musical settings of the poems in my English catalogue. They illustrate the continuing important links between lyric poetry and song throughout the seventeenth century.

The appendix to Chapter 8 above, pp. 311-316, shows that the Anacreontic poems were known as ὄδοι, songs. The first poem in Estienne's collection would have been sufficient to convince readers that the poems were written to be sung to the music of the lyre. The point was not lost on the French imitators: there are frequent references to music in Ronsard's translations and imitations: John Bégat's versions survive only in eleven musical settings by Richard Renvoisy:<sup>1</sup> and Baïf

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1. Richard Renvoisy, Les Odes d'Anacreon Mises en Musique à quatre parties, 1573.

made extensive use of the Anacreontea in his experiments in quantitative verse, the Chansonnettes.<sup>1</sup> These were clearly intended for singing, although few survive today in musical settings.<sup>2</sup>

In England, the notion that the Anacreontea could be regarded as songs became well known through A. W.'s 1602 translation of Anacreontea 1, discussed in Chapter 3 above, pp. 83-86. The link made in the poem between the poet's lute and his inspiration has been discussed by John Hollander.<sup>3</sup> But although this and many other poems used the "lute" or "lyre" as symbols for the inspiration of the Muses, this does not mean that English poets, like "Anacreon" in the poem, wrote their words in order to respond to the mood of a particular melody. It was always the words which came first, and the musical settings which followed. Catherine Ing<sup>4</sup> has analysed a few characteristics in lyrics of the Elizabethan age which show the influence of the madrigal or of the air. It is difficult to find these traits in those Anacreontics which were set to music. The vast majority of the poems

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1. Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Chansonnettes, ed. G.C. Bird, 1964.

2. See M. Augé-Chiquet, La Vie, Les Idées et L'Oeuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baïf, 1909, pp. 302-325: settings by Jacques Mauduit, Chansonnettes mesurées de Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1586), ed. M.H. Expert, 1899; and Claude Le Jeune, Le Printemps (1603), ed. M.H. Expert, 1900.

3. J. Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky, 1961, p. 129.

4. C. Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics, 1951, pp. 107-148.

listed are in rhyming couplets, which, as Ian Spink has shown,<sup>1</sup> form a poor musical basis for song setting. The one example of a madrigal setting, the anonymous "CUPID, in a bed of roses", set by Bateson in 1618 (see Chapter 6 above, pp. 225-227), is written in a strange form for a madrigal. The first twelve lines consist of three stanzas, each with a complex and subtle rhythm, repeated exactly in each stanza: these are followed by a final couplet in a regular iambic rhythm. Such subtle rhythms in a stanzaic structure are characteristic of poems influenced by the air, not by the madrigal, which was through-composed.<sup>2</sup> Bateson's setting is in six parts, and tends to obscure the words, not clarify them.

Occasionally, English composers did not content themselves with setting translations - occasionally they set to music the Greek text as well. The music does not survive from the earliest example of this, in Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham (1598), attributed to John Lyly. Apart from the entertainment itself, which takes the form of a discussion between a poet, a painter, and a musician, the manuscript gives on a separate page<sup>3</sup>

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1. I. Spink, English Song Dowland to Purcell, 1974, p. 152.
  2. C. Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics, 1951, pp. 107-148.
  3. Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham, ed. L. Hotson, 1953, p. 29.

THE DITE OF THE GREAK SONG,  
BEFORE THE QUEENS MAJESTY  
AT MINE HOUS AT MITCHAM.

There follow the Greek text of Anacreontea 40, and a Latin translation, the Greek text having a few variants from Estienne's, as discussed in Chapter 6 above, pp. 217-218. The heading makes it clear that it was the Greek, not the translation, which was sung to the Queen. One wonders what she made of this curiosity.

Certainly such a setting must have been a great rarity, for in introducing his own setting of the Greek text of Anacreontea 1 in 1653, Henry Lawes says:<sup>1</sup>

And since our palates are so much after Novelties, I desir'd to try the Greek, having never seen any thing Set in that Language by our own Musicians or Strangers; and (by Composing some of Anacreon's Odes) I found the Greek Tongue full as good as any for Musick, and in some particulars sweeter than the Latine, or those Moderne ones that descended from Latine. I never lov'd to Set or sing words which I do not understand; and where I cannot, I desir'd help of others who were able to interpret. But this present Generation is so sated with what's Native, that nothing takes their eare but what's sung in a Language which (commonly) they understand as little as they do the Musick.

This last comment refers to the common fashion for songs in Italian: for Lawes goes on to say that he set to music an Italian index, which passed for an old song amongst his audiences. They must have understood the Greek songs about as well as they understood the Italian - and so it

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1. Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues, 1653, sig. blr:  
cf. W.M. Evans, Henry Lawes, 1941, pp. 198-200.

seems likely from Lawes' remarks here that he himself commissioned Berkenhead's translations from "Anacreon". Lawes seems to have liked his experiment enough to repeat it: for in 1655 he published a setting of Anacreontea 11, again with an accompanying translation by Berkenhead.

The most popular poet represented in the list of musical versions is Cowley. Five different musicians set his Anacreontiques between 1667 and 1692, covering between them no less than nine of his eleven versions. Ian Spink<sup>1</sup> suggests that composers turned to Cowley because, with his elevated diction and imagery, he alone answered the need for more profound music than that required to set most Restoration poets. It is interesting to note that his Anacreontiques and other lyrics were particularly popular among musicians living at Oxford, in view of the fact that the 1683 Oxford translation of "Anacreon" was designed to complete Cowley's versions, and is steeped in his method of translating. The Oxford musicians in the list are William King, E. Y., Henry Bowman, and Pietro Reggio.

The quality of the musical settings in the list varies widely, from the excellent to the indifferent. The following are particularly appealing:<sup>2</sup> Henry Lawes'

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1. Ian Spink, English Song Dowland to Purcell, 1974, p. 154.

2. I am grateful to Mr. David Stoll, for playing many of the songs for me and helping with this selection.

setting of the anonymous "AT dead low ebb of night, when none" (Anacreontea 3, 1669), and Pelham Humphrey's setting of the anonymous "Cupid once when weary grown" (Anacreontea 40, 1679, first published in King's setting, 1668). This last shows a much greater harmony between words and music than was usual, as Ian Spink has described:<sup>1</sup>

Cupid's complaint in the first part recalls the declamatory style of Lawes, especially the affected nuances and inflections of the vocal line, though the stronger tonal motivation in the harmonic treatment gives it a more up-to-date flavour. Then as Venus replies the music slips into a graceful triple time. All in all, the piece is quite delicious.

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1. Ian Spink, English Song Dowland to Purcell, 1974, p. 162.

## CHAPTER TEN

THE ENGLISH "ANACREON": THEORY,  
SOURCES AND METHOD

Much have I travelled in the realms of gold,  
 And many goodly states and Kingdoms seen;  
 Round many western islands have I been  
 Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.  
 Oft of one wide expanse had I been told  
 That deep-browed Homer ruled as his demesne;  
 Yet did I never breathe its pure serene  
 Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold.  
 Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
 When a new planet swims into his ken;  
 Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes  
 He stared at the Pacific, and all his men  
 Looked at each other with a wild surmise -  
 Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

This sonnet<sup>1</sup> by Keats is by far the most well-known praise of an English translation of the Elizabethan age. The excitement felt by Keats at his voyage of exploration, at his discovery of new riches, is similar to that excitement felt by many of the Elizabethan translators themselves, as they struggled to communicate the richness of their Classical heritage, in the full knowledge that their work was enriching the minds of their readers, and even the English language itself. Today the art of translation is commonly viewed as hack-work, and translated works are sometimes published without even mentioning the translator's name. Yet many of the English poems discussed in this thesis were viewed principally as the work of the translators, and only incidentally, if at all, as the work of "Anacreon". A brief survey of contemporary theories of translation can help towards understanding how the translator came to speak

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1. The Poems of John Keats, ed. M. Allott, 1970, pp. 61-62.

out so "loud and bold".

Nobody who studies translations today can afford to ignore the contribution made to the theory of the subject by George Steiner's magnum opus, After Babel (1975). Steiner's bibliography lists nearly two hundred books and articles on translation theory published in the twentieth century - but none of these gives as comprehensive a review of the subject as Steiner himself. Steiner's basic thesis is a very simple one: it is based on the hypothesis that words do not have fixed and irreversible meanings: in written texts the same word can vary in meaning according to the date of the text, its tone and genre, and even according to the idiosyncracies of a particular author. Steiner quotes a modern comparative linguist, Dell Hymes, as saying that "Most of language begins where abstract universals leave off."<sup>1</sup> From this hypothesis Steiner argues that all understanding of the written word is in essence a form of translation, an attempt to break the barrier of the mutually incomprehensible languages which surround each and every one of us. Steiner seeks to reassert the little recognised importance of the translator between languages: for far from being a mere drudge the successful translator, he says, is carrying out one of the supreme achievements of the writer's task.

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1. G. Steiner, After Babel, 1975, p. 472.

In defending translation from its modern disregard Steiner is rewriting an old argument. Much Elizabethan theory about translation consists of attacks on and praises of the task itself: virtually all the chief translators of their day took pains to defend the importance and even the nobility of their art. The fact that translators were so much on the defensive shows that initially there was strong opposition to the use of English, especially for works of learning: the defence of translation amounted at first to the defence of the English language itself.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible to give here only a very brief selection from the many passages written in defence of translation. One of the first was prefixed to Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's The Courtier (1561):<sup>2</sup>

The translation of Latin or Greek authors, doeth not only not hinder learning, but it furthereth it, yea it is learning it selfe, and a great stayer to youth ... to fill their mind with the morall vertues, and their body with civyll condicions

The importance of translation as an aid to education was also emphasised by Philemon Holland in the preface to his Livy (1600):<sup>3</sup>

1. See the many passages collected by R.F. Jones, The Triumph of the English Language, 1953, Chapter 2.

2. See Thomas Hoby, The Covrtyer of Covnt Baldessar Castilio, 1561, sig. A4v. This text is given as quoted in L.B. Wright, "Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class", in The Library, Fourth Series, Vol. 13, 1933, pp. 312-331.

3. See L.B. Wright, "Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class", in The Library, Fourth Series, Vol. 13, 1933, pp. 312-331.

I framed my pen, not to any affected phrase, but a meane and popular stile.

And Florio pointed out in the preface to his translation of Montaigne (1603) that the Greeks translated their learning from the Egyptians, and added:<sup>1</sup>

Yea but learning cannot be too common,  
and the commoner the better.

One of the most eloquent praises of translation was Samuel Daniel's prefatory poem published with Florio's Montaigne. Daniel pointed to the universal purpose of the writer's art: translation increases understanding between those of different languages and different countries:<sup>2</sup>

It being the proportion of a happy Pen,  
Not to b' invassl'd to one Monarchy,  
But dwell withall the better world of men  
Whose spirits all are of one communitie,  
Whom neither Ocean, Desarts, Rockes nor Sands  
Can keepe from th' intertraffique of the minde,  
But that it vents her treasure in all lands,  
And doth a most secure commercement finde.  
... both work and frame,  
Whilst England English speakes, is of that store  
And that choice stuffe, as that without the same  
The richest librarie can be but poore.

Daniel's comparison with trade is an apt one. Just as Elizabethan traders brought home untold wealth from far off countries, so English Renaissance writers began a rich plunder of the literature of other lands. No longer did he regard himself as having only a national concern, but as part of a pan-European élite. This is well exemplified in the literary history of the Anacreontea, with

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1. Montaigne's Essays John Florio's Translation, ed. J.I.M. Stewart, 1931, Vol. 1, p. xxi.

2. The Essays of Montaigne Done into English by John Florio, ed. G. Saintsbury, Vol. 1, 1892, pp. 6-7.

its bewildering variety of sources used by the English translator.

Daniel's quotation makes no distinction between the translator and the imitator. His phrase "th' intertraffique of the minde" could apply equally well to those whose aim was the faithful reproduction of the words of a writer in another tongue, and to those who wished to use the literature of other lands principally to enrich their own genius. Most theorists, however, made a clear distinction between the two, and so it will be as well to consider separately these two aspects of the poetic art.

At one end of the spectrum stand the purest of translators, whose aim was to reproduce an important text in English with as little variation as possible from the original. Such work can best be seen in the most well-known of all translations from our period, the King James Bible: its preface "The Translators to the Reader" remains one of the most eloquent of all texts in praise of translation:<sup>1</sup>

how shall men meditate in that, which they cannot vnderstand? How shall they vnderstand that which is kept close in an vnknownen tongue? ... Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; ... the very meanest translation of the Bible in English ... is the word of God.

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1. The Holy Bible (1611), facsimile ed. A.W. Pollard, 1911, sig. A4v - A6v.

There are phrases here which echo those used by the translators in Genesis: translation is regarded as analogous to the creative process itself, bringing light to the world. God, however, created ex nihilo: the translator had to shape the text set before him. Those who translated the Bible had to attempt as far as possible to be word perfect, to follow the accepted exegesis for every single word of the sacred texts.<sup>1</sup> The extreme care taken by King James' translators can be seen from the notes of Rev. John Bois (published in 1969), notes made while the translation was being revised.<sup>2</sup>

Just as translation of the Bible enabled people to understand the works of Holy Scripture, so the translation of secular works from Latin and Greek opened up new horizons to the English reader. The development of the English sensibility in the Elizabethan period cannot be dissociated from the new perspectives opened up by works such as Golding's Ovid, North's Plutarch, Chapman's Homer, and Holland's Livy. However, published theories about methods of translation were rare at this time: it was still necessary for prefaces to defend the idea of translating itself, as in the examples given above. If

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1. See W. Schwarz, Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation, 1955.

2. W. Allen (editor and translator), Translating For King James, 1969.

we wish to find out how Elizabethan translators worked, we must do so from the translations themselves. It was not until the Restoration period that prefaces discussed and compared different methods of translation. The battle waged in defence of the English language had been won - so theorists turned to issues of a more technical nature. At this period the type of translation in vogue was not of the most literal kind, and most of the published texts warn the translator off from a word-by-word approach to his task. These theories are of great interest for discussing the Anacreontea, since they concentrate one's attention on the variations which each writer made from his original text.

The most important of the Restoration theories is the one given and discussed by Dryden, in his preface to Ovid's Epistles, 1680:<sup>1</sup>

All Translation I suppose may be reduced to these three heads:

First, that of Metaphrase, or turning an Authour word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another. Thus, or near this manner, was Horace his Art of Poetry translated by Ben. Johnson. The second way is that of Paraphrase, or Translation with Latitude, where the Authour is kept in view by the Translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly follow'd as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplyfied, but not alter'd. Such is Mr. Waller's Translation of Virgils Fourth Aeneid. The Third way is that of Imitation, where the Translator (if now he has not lost that Name) assumes the liberty not only to vary from the

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1. The Works of John Dryden, Vol. 1, Poems 1649 - 1680, ed. E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, Jr., 1956, pp. 114-115.

words and sence, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion: and taking only some general hints from the Original, to run division on the ground-work, as he pleases. Such is Mr. Cowleys practice in turning two Odes of Pindar, and one of Horace into English.

I have found the distinctions made by Dryden useful in discussing translations from the Anacreontea: but in the present work only two terms have been used to correspond to Dryden's three. The term "version" has been used as a general term to cover all three types: the designation "translation" has been used to cover the first two - I have not used a separate term to correspond to Dryden's first type, the "metaphrase". For the third type, I have used as Dryden the word "imitations". This word has occasionally been used to cover the freer translations of the second type - and it is also used for the process of using literary source material as a basis for poetic composition. This further use of the word is discussed in detail below.

In the discussion which follows I include examples of all three of Dryden's types taken from Elizabethan versions of Anacreontea 3: all these are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 above, pp. 121-138. The first type is best exemplified by the translations of André or Lubin, which follow the Greek word for word. A strict word for word rendering of the type used by these Latin translators is not possible in an English verse translation, and Dryden admits that his example is

only "near this manner". Jonson's Art of Poetrie in fact takes 680 lines of English verse (folio text) to represent the 476 lines of the Latin original. Dryden goes on to point out that<sup>1</sup>

the Latin, (a most severe and Compendious Language) often expresses that in one word, which either the Barbarity, or the narrowness of modern Tongues cannot supply in more.

Expansion is of course inevitable in translating from a highly inflected language into an uninflected one: this is one reason why Dryden appears to regard the use of English as a disadvantage. Of the English versions, it is A. W.'s rendering of Anacreontea 3 which comes closest to "metaphrase": this follows the Greek word for word, with only a few minor departures: where he departs from his original, his phrasing is carefully designed to convey to an English reader both the spirit and the tone of the Greek, as he understood them. Thomas Stanley was another poet who aimed at rendering "Anacreon" precisely and accurately in English. The translation theory of Stanley's circle was most clearly expressed by Sir Edward Sherburne in the preface to his Seneca, 1701. Although the passage itself dates from a later period, Sherburne intended it to apply to his translation of Seneca's Medea, first published in 1648, and it applies equally well to

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1. The Works of John Dryden, Vol. 1, Poems 1649 - 1680, ed. E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg Jr., 1956, p. 115.

his few close translations from "Anacreon" of 1651:<sup>1</sup>

what is here offer'd ... is a Translation, not curtail'd or diminish'd by a partial Version, nor lengthned out or augmented by a preposterous Paraphrase; but the genuine Sense of Seneca in these Tragedies intelligibly delivered, by a close Adherence to his Words as far as the Propriety of Language may fairly admit; in Expressions not unpoetical, and Numbers not unmusical. But representing, as in a Glass, his just Lineaments and Features, his true Air and Mien, in his own Native Colours, unfarded with adulterate Paint, and keeping up (at least aiming so to do) his distinguishing Character: in a word, rendring him entire, and like.

These sentiments are striking in their modernity: they well represent the principles of many a translator today, but were rarely expressed in their time. They can be taken as a guide to the intentions of the most scholarly poet - translators: but I shall show below how in practice even A. W. and Stanley did not so much represent "Anacreon" in his own native colours, as in their own.

Dryden's second type, which he called "Paraphrase, or Translation with Latitude", is very well exemplified by Paul Estienne's Latin elegiac versions of Anacreontea 1 - 3. These are very precise in their renderings, but add a considerable number of embellishments. In English Greene's translation of Anacreontea 3 can be put into this category. The method Greene uses -

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1. Sir Edward Sherburne, The Tragedies of L. Annaeus Seneca, 1701, sig. c3v - c4r.

precise translation, but with the details expanded or altered - is exactly the same method as that of Paul Estienne, but there is this important difference - Greene's version is not a translation of the Greek text of Anacreontea 3, but of Ronsard's version of it. Consideration of a translator's sources adds a very important modification to Dryden's remarks. For measured against the Greek text, Greene's poem looks like a strange modernisation, different both in tone and phrasing: it is only when measured against his true source that the skill of the translator becomes apparent.

One of the most eloquent exponents of paraphrastic translation was Sir John Denham. In his prefatory poem to the translation of Guarini's Il Pastor Fido by Sir Richard Fanshawe (1647), Denham praised Fanshawe for not sticking too closely to the original text:<sup>1</sup>

That servile path thou nobly dost decline  
Of tracing word by word, and line by line.  
Those are the labour'd births of slavish brains,  
Not the effects of Poetry, but pains ...  
They but preserve the Ashes, Thou the Flame,  
True to his sense, but truer to his fame.

The task of the translator, according to this argument, is not so much to preserve the poet's meaning as his reputation: it would seem to follow that a verse translator should be at least as skilful a poet as the author of the works he

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1. A Critical Edition of Sir Richard Fanshawe's 1647 Translation of Giovanni Battista Guarini's Il Pastor Fido, ed. W.F. Staton Jr. and W.E. Simeone, 1964, p. 6.

is translating. Denham returned to the theme in the preface to his own translation from Virgil, The Destruction of Troy (1656). Here he says that the business of a translator<sup>1</sup> is not

alone to translate Language into Language, but Poesie into Poesie; & Poesie is of so subtile a spirit, that in pouring out of one Language into another, it will all evaporate ... and whosoever offers at Verbal Translation, shall have the misfortune of that young Traveller, who lost his own language abroad, and brought home no other instead of it.

The implication of this argument is that the "paraphrases" were recognised as a legitimate form of translation, not as original poems in their own right: and so the esteem given to those who wrote such paraphrases in the seventeenth century was in accordance to the esteem which the Elizabethans gave to the translator, whom they regarded as carrying out one of the highest tasks of the writer. It is in this light that we must view the most important paraphrastic translations discussed in this thesis, Cowley's Anacreontiques.

Cowley himself included the word "paraphrastic" in the title of his translations: the Anacreontiques are far closer to the original than Cowley's free renderings of Pindar, which Dryden gives as examples of his third type (imitation). But there is one important characteristic common to both the Anacreontiques and Cowley's

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1. Sir John Denham, Poetical Works, ed. T.H. Banks Jr., 1928, pp. 195-160.

Pindarics. Critics have often remarked that the influence of the Pindaric Odes on later translators was by no means beneficial - and the same may be said for his Anacreontiques. A translator whose concern goes further than the faithful reproduction of his original cannot avoid imparting a flavour of his own to the text: and for this very reason his work is more likely to inspire later poets than that of a more literal translator. The metaphrases of A. W. and Stanley found few imitators: it was Cowley's poems which became the standard English Anacreon.

In his analysis of different translations, Steiner has pointed out how the more remote is the language of the original from that of the translation, the more standardised the translations become, because they take to themselves a notion of what that language is expected to express. For example, translations from Classical Chinese into English have often imparted a sugared Oriental flavour which has more in common with the architecture of the Brighton Pavilion than with the real tones of Chinese poetry: Steiner mentions also the "rose-water tint" found in all English versions of the Arabian Nights.<sup>1</sup> A corollary of Steiner's argument is that the more a translation departs from its original the more likely it is to convey to its readers a particular

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1. G. Steiner, After Babel, 1975, p. 360.

tone or flavour which may be far removed from that of the original idiom. This is exactly what happened to Cowley's versions from "Anacreon". The translators of the 1683 version, Willis and Wood, built on Cowley's style, but used exaggerated conceits far removed from the terseness of the Greek lyrics. S. Musgrove described the process well:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreon is now made to speak in the common idiom of translations after 1680 - an idiom made up of an exaggeration of Ovid, with hints from Virgil, and seen at its extreme in Congreve's versions from Homer.

This had become the norm of the Classical manner.

Dryden's third type, imitations, are less easily defined, being of their nature of differing types. A good example is Barnabe Barnes' version of Anacreontea 3. Here the setting of the story has been completely altered, but the general pattern remains recognisable: the poet meets Cupid late at night, and is wounded by him. Barnes has taken the Greek text and altered it to suit his own purposes. Dryden discusses this type of translation at some length: he calls "imitation"<sup>2</sup>

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1. S. Musgrove, "Critical and Literary Changes in the Seventeenth Century As Manifested in English Verse Translation From the Greek and Latin Classics", Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1944, p. 466.
  2. The Works of John Dryden, Vol. 1, Poems 1649 - 1680, ed. E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, Jr., 1956, p. 116.

an Endeavour of a later Poet to write like one who has written before him on the same Subject: that is, not to Translate his words, or to be Confin'd to his Sense, but only to set him as a Patern, and to write, as he supposes, that Authour would have done, had he liv'd in our Age, and in our Country.

Writing of his imitations of Pindar (1656), Cowley said:<sup>1</sup>

I have in these two Odes of Pindar taken, left out, and added what I please; nor make it so much my aim to let the Reader know precisely what he spoke, as what was his way and manner of speaking;

Some of the versions of Willis and Wood in the 1683 Anacreon are certainly of this type: but as with the paraphrastic translations, the issue is again confused by consideration of an author's proper source material. For example, Watson included in his EKATOMPIAΘIA many poems which seem like loose imitations of Anacreon: but in considering their merits it is only fair to measure them against Watson's own sources in Ronsard, of which they are much closer translations.

It might be thought that there is little distinction between Dryden's last two types, the paraphrastic translation and the imitation: but one important difference is that the imitator did not necessarily regard himself as a translator. These are Cowley's words on the subject:<sup>2</sup>

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1. The Works of John Dryden, Vol. 1, Poems 1649 - 1680, ed. E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, Jr., 1956, p. 335.

2. From Ibid., p. 335.

It does not at all trouble me that the Grammarians perhaps will not suffer this libertine way of rendring foreign Authors, to be called Translation; for I am not so much enamoured of the Name Translator, as not to wish rather to be Something Better, though it want yet a Name.

The name Cowley eventually decided on, "imitation", was used by Renaissance critics in contexts far wider than the theory of translation. Some discussion of the theories of imitation can help to explain the use of "Anacreon" as source material for poems of different themes, and the use of Anacreontic themes in contexts other than translations.

In considering the nature of imitation Renaissance critics drew a distinction between what they regarded as the correct use of source material, and copying or plagiarism.<sup>1</sup> No sixteenth or seventeenth century critic was against the use of source material per se: on the contrary, the strictest theorists seem rather to have opposed the use of original material. Scaliger's Poetics is devoted in its entirety to expounding and explaining the thesis that all literary creation except that of the first poets depends entirely on the judicious imitation of other writers. Virgil is the model recommended for poets, and Cicero for prose writers.<sup>2</sup>

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1. On this subject see H.O. White, Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance, 1935: and J.R. Spiro, "Ars Versus Ingenium in English Renaissance Literary Theory", London M. Phil. thesis, 1978.
  2. F.M. Padelford, Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics, 1905, esp. Chapter 1.

This type of imitation, the patterning of a poem on an earlier poetic model, must be distinguished from the Imitation considered by Aristotle to be the basis of all poetry. His *μίμησις* is a much broader term, covering the poetic representation of deeds, characters and objects from nature. It is this doctrine that Sidney was following when he described poetry as "an art of imitation".<sup>1</sup> Sidney combined this doctrine with another Classical theory - the poet as a divinely inspired *vates*, who is "lifted up with the vigour of his own invention". Invention could allow a poet to go beyond *μίμησις*, for "Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done".<sup>2</sup> While the strict imitation of other writers in the manner prescribed by Scaliger had a place in Sidney's theory, he recognised that poets should borrow through imitation principally in order to transform by means of invention. This doctrine he followed carefully in his own poetry - his own reading was transformed by him in such a way that specific sources cannot normally be recognised. In his use of the Anacreontea, as of other writers, Sidney never copies directly, but remodels the originals completely by means of his own invention. This is a very different process from the "pilfering" of which Puttenham accused

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1. Sir Philip Sidney, An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy, ed. G. Shepherd, 1965, p. 101.

2. Ibid., p. 100.

Soowthern (see Chapter 3 above, pp. 71 - 73) - taking whole lines and stanzas from Ronsard, and incorporating them into his own verse. The same type of criticism was frequently used by Jonson of his contemporaries, especially in Poetaster. Puttenham makes a careful distinction<sup>1</sup> between Anacreon being well translated by Ronsard, and Soowthern's pilfering of Ronsard. The term "translated" is not used to refer to an acknowledged direct translation like that of Belleau, because Puttenham points out that Ronsard applies Anacreon "to the honour of a great Prince in France".<sup>2</sup> The distinction is the extent to which the poet reworked his original.

A similar theory to Sidney's was clearly set out by Ben Jonson in Timber: or, Discoveries. Jonson divides the art of poesy into four parts, Ingenium, Exercitatio, Imitatio, and Lectio. A Poet requires the "goodnes of naturall wit"<sup>3</sup> above all: but he must also have the ability<sup>4</sup>

to convert the substance, or Riches of an other Poet, to his own use ... Not, to imitate servilely ... but, to draw forth out of the best, and choisest flowers, with

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1. George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, ed. G.D. Willcock and A. Walker, 1936, pp. 252-253. The passage is quoted in full on p. 72 above.
  2. The "Elegie à Cassandre", from Anacreontea 1: see Chapter 3 above, p. 57.
  3. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, p. 637.
  4. Ibid., pp. 638-639.

the Bee, and turne all into Honey, worke  
it into one relish, and savour:

In Jonson's poetry the difference between translation and this type of free imitation is clearly shown. So concerned was Jonson about accuracy in his translation of Horace's Art of Poetry that he made tiny and careful revisions between the first duodecimo edition and the folio, and printed the Latin text opposite his own version.<sup>1</sup> But when Jonson imitated Classical poets in his own verse, this can be extremely difficult to discern. "A Celebration of Charis" is full of Anacreontic references (see Chapter 9 above, pp. 339-341), but the conception, setting and tone of Jonson's ten "Lyrick Peeces" are all on a grander scale than "Anacreon's". "Anacreon" provided the flowers, and Jonson made the honey. The poem shows how the notion of correct imitation as defined by Sidney and Jonson implies an estimation of the true scale or tone of the original. A poet should at least equal, and could attempt to improve on, the grandeur of his Classical model. Anacreon, being considered the type of the "ode légère", was best suited to light lyric verse, but could be adapted for satire, or for a more lofty strain. The misuse of the model by Soowthern was to Renaissance

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1. Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, Vol. 8, The Poems The Prose Works, 1947, pp. 299-301. Herford and Simpson print both versions in full.

critics rather like a playwright taking a tragic plot in order to construct a comedy.

There are many other passages from our period which repeat the distinction between correct imitation and servile plagiarism, but only one other writer connected the distinction with "Anacreon". This was Thomas Carew, in his "Elegie upon the Death of Dr. Iohn Donne":<sup>1</sup>

The Muses garden with Pedantique weedes  
O'respred, was purg'd by thee; The lazie seeds  
Of servile imitation throwne away;  
And fresh invention planted, Thou didst pay  
The debts of our penurious bankrupt age;  
Licentious thefts, that make poëtique rage  
A Mimique fury, when our soules must bee  
Possest, or with Anacreon's Extasie,  
Or Pindars, not their owne; The subtle cheat  
Of slie Exchanges, and the jugling feat  
Of two-edg'd words, or whatsoever wrong  
By ours was done the Greeke, or Latin tongue,  
Thou hast redeem'd, and open'd Us a Mine  
Of rich and pregnant phansie, drawne a line  
Of masculine expression

Donne died in 1631, and Carew's tribute to him was published in 1633. It seems unlikely that in his criticisms of the "servile imitation" of Anacreon Carew was referring to any particular contemporaries: few of the extant translations date from the 1620s, and in all cases the debt to "Anacreon" is slight, far from being a "Mimique fury". But there may be an allusion lost to us here, because the poet possessed by "Anacreon" had certainly become a type - there is the crazy Franciscanus in The Changeling,<sup>2</sup> and the absurd Poeta in Holyday's TEXNOΓAMIA.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Thomas Carew, Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, p. 72.

2. Act 3 Scene 3 Lines 42-46. This scene is generally attributed to William Rowley.

3. See Chapter 5 above, pp. 167-171.

To sum up, it is clear from the critics discussed that what was considered to constitute successful imitation was the transforming of the source material into a new artistic whole, borrowing from the source and yet different from it. Puttenham and Carew's criticisms were directed at those who borrowed from other authors without having anything of their own to say. It is undoubtedly helpful to distinguish this type of the free use of source material from imitative translation, which follows the general pattern, if not the wording, of an original in another language. Naturally, this shades off into free imitation: but in compiling the catalogue in the second volume of this thesis I have as far as possible made a clear distinction between translations, literal or otherwise, and original works which have the Anacreontea as a source. The caveats against slavish imitation of the source apply to both categories, but in a different way to each. The translator must reproduce the essence of his original as accurately as possible, but the best translations never followed the original word for word, for, as Dryden pointed out<sup>1</sup>

the Verbal Copyer is incumber'd with so many  
difficulties at once, that he can never  
disintangle himself from all.

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1. The Works of John Dryden, Vol. 1, Poems 1649 - 1680,  
ed. E.N. Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg Jr., 1956,  
p. 115.

The best translators of the Anacreontea sought rather to reproduce the ancient "Anacreon" reclothed after the manner of their time, whether that was the "ode légère" of the 1550s or the mock-heroic tone of the 1680s. The phrasing and setting might have been altered, but their intention was always to speak to their own readers with the same voice as they considered Anacreon spoke to his. Those who used "Anacreon" in original works, on the other hand, wished to transform the manner or intent of the original, not necessarily the words. To give just one example, nothing could be further from the spirit of the drinking song, Anacreontea 19, than the use which Shakespeare makes of this poem in Timon (see Chapter 5 above, pp. 164-166) - it is the details of the wording which point to the source.

The variations of tone of the different translations do not indicate a lack of skill on the part of the translator. The alterations which they made do not mean that they were unable to put across their originals accurately: the changes are deliberate, in harmony with what the translators thought were Anacreon's melodies. The paradox of this is, that it is in this very alteration that the success of many of the translations lies. The Anacreontic poems are highly unusual in the history of translations because many of the versions are more successful as poems than the originals. For a translation to become better known than the original is commonplace - the

King James Bible is the most well-known example. But for a translation to exceed its original in the power of its language, in the beauty of its numbers, in its force of expression - this is highly unusual: and the Anacreontea may well be unique in the extent to which this happened: Belleau, Ronsard, A. W., Herrick, Lovelace, Stanley, Cowley - all produced versions which in different ways are more successful than the Greek. The main reason why this happened is clear: it is because they believed the poems to be the work of the great Anacreon, not the late imitations which they in fact are. In seeking to reproduce Anacreon's voice for their own time they had to impart to him a greater delicacy, melodrama, heroism or lyricism - or whichever other element they considered to be the secret of his success. It is those very versions which appear to represent the original the least faithfully which have become the best known - those by Ronsard and Cowley.

There are three variables which can alter different translations of the same poem into the same language. These are (i) the use of different sources, (ii) different interpretations of the words of the original, (iii) different interpretations of the spirit or tone of the original, causing omissions, embellishments, or changes in emphasis. Much detailed information about these differences has been given in the preceding chapters. What follows is an analysis of that information arranged under two simple headings - sources and

method. Details of the poems discussed will be found in the relevant chapter above.

## SOURCES

### The Greek Text

The Greek text as published by Estienne (1554 and reprints) was the only text known in England throughout our period. At first the translators had to rely on imported continental editions, mainly from France, but in 1657 Roger Daniel published a reprint of ΑΝΑΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΪΟΥ ΜΕΛΗ in London: the next reprint was made at Cambridge in 1684: Baxter's edition, the first to be edited in Britain, appeared in 1695. Amongst the earliest translators, the Greek text was relatively little known, the principal sources being French and Latin: but there can be no doubt whatsoever that the Greek text of the poems was known in England during the Elizabethan period. Kendall's version of the story of Cupid and the Bee (1577) is based principally on "Theocritus", but shows some knowledge of "Anacreon", and this could be of the Greek text. The poem is the earliest known use of the Anacreontea in the English language. Other known uses of the Greek text of "Anacreon" by British writers before 1600 are:

(i) Sir Thomas More's Latin version of Anacreontea 15 and 17, translated from the Anthology (1518).

- (ii) Buchanan's Latin version of Anacreontea 19, published at Geneva (1584).
- (iii) Whitney's third emblem on the theme of Cupid and the Bee, published at Leyden (1586).
- (iv) Extensive use by Barnabe Barnes in Parthenophil and Parthenophe [1593]. Barnes' use of the Greek is proved only by the word "broke" in line 4 of his imitation of Anacreontea 3: but there are many other poems in Barnes' collection, some of which are discussed in this chapter below, which have close verbal similarities to the Anacreontea: so it is reasonable to assume that the Greek text was the principal source for all Barnes' knowledge of the poems.
- (v) Sir Julius Caesar's Latin version of Anacreontea 40 (1598, not published until 1953). In the manuscript this appears alongside the Greek text itself.

Of these writers only Kendall and Barnes were published in England in English before 1600. So although the catalogue gives ample evidence that the Anacreontic poems were known in England in the sixteenth century, there are few writers who can be shown to have been familiar with the Greek text. The author of the version of Anacreontea 28 in The Phoenix Nest has successfully disguised his sources. Spenser's long and complex imitation of Anacreontea 3 shows no definite knowledge of a Classical original. Gerard's Herball quotes Anacreontea 5 in Estienne's Latin version, the

Greek not being prefixed until the second edition of 1633. Lodge has a misplaced idea of the contents of the Anacreontea.

In the case of Sidney there is a strong possibility that he was familiar with the Greek, but nothing can be proved. He may have met Ronsard, Dorat and Baïf in Paris.<sup>1</sup> He certainly met Daniel Rogers, who was connected with the new University of Leiden, where Whitney's Emblems were published by Plantin; Rogers had studied under Dorat in Paris and met both Ronsard and Baïf.<sup>2</sup> But Sidney was not a translator. Many of his poems show a striking resemblance to the general themes of the Anacreontea, without being linked to any specific source: a few closer verbal references elude close analysis: he transformed what he wrote in such a way that it is not possible to say whether he drew his knowledge from the Greek, from Ronsard or from some other source: his poetry does not even offer any direct evidence that he knew the works of Ronsard.<sup>3</sup>

A. W.'s versions of Anacreontea 1, 2 and 3,

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1. J. Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, 1966, pp. 47-48.
  2. J.A. Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons and Professors, 1962: J.E. Phillips, "Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link Between the Pléiade and Sidney's 'Areopagus'", in J.E. Phillips and D.C. Allen, Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1965.
  3. Sir Philip Sidney, Poems, ed. W.A. Ringler Jr., 1962, Introduction, p. xxxv.

based on the Greek, begin a new phase of translation. The French sources still provided a rich fund of material for sonneteers and dramatists: but from this time onwards the Greek text must be regarded as the single most important source. In view of the number of very close translations (by Estienne, André and Lubin) available to English poets, it is very difficult to prove dependence on the Greek: so what follows is more likely to be an underestimate than an overestimate. The following translators after 1600 must have had at least some acquaintance with the Greek: Anon in Bateson (1618), Holyday, James, Sherburne, Stanley, Berkenhead, Cowley, Anon set by King (1668) and Willis. From the poems discussed, Cowley's use of the Greek can be shown only by his use of the word "King" in line 10 of "The Grashopper". In 1653 the Greek text of Anacreontea I was set to music by Lawes alongside Berkenhead's translation: and Lawes repeated the experiment with Anacreontea II in 1655. This was the first time these texts had been printed in England.

#### Latin Sources: Estienne and André

Estienne's translation, supplemented by André's more complete version, provided help for translators in interpreting the Greek text in cases of difficulty, as well as providing the principal text for translators not familiar with Greek. Estienne was certainly the principal source for Herrick's extensive use of the Anacreontea.

The earliest use of Estienne's Latin was probably by Whitney (1586) - this was probably taken from the frequent quotation of Estienne's translation of Anacreontea 40 in commentaries on Alciati's emblem "dulcia quandoque amara fieri", rather than from an edition of the Anacreontic poems themselves. Estienne's translation of Anacreontea 5, lines 6 - 11 was quoted in Gerard's Herball of 1597. The more scholarly translators, A. W. and Stanley, certainly made use of Estienne's notes to amend or interpret difficult passages, as can be seen from my discussions of A. W.'s version of Poem 1, and Stanley's version of Poem 43. Other translators who can be shown to have used Estienne are Gerard, Anon in Bateson (1618), Holyday, Cowley, Forde and Cotton.

### Ronsard

The last part of Chapter 2 above, pp. 41-47 discusses the way in which the young Ronsard became acquainted with the Anacreontea. No other writer has used the poems in such a variety of ways as Ronsard: the examples discussed in the preceding chapters range from the acknowledged translation of Poem 16, which adds little to the Greek original, to "Amour logé", a narrative of 124 lines based on the theme of Poem 3. Ronsard's Anacreontic poems include short lyrics, (such as the "Odelette" from Poem 19), sonnets (including those

based on Poems 14 and 43), much longer Odes (such as "A L'Aloüette" from Poem 43), and brief references to Anacreontic themes amid longer poems, such as are found in "Hylas" and "Amour Oyseau" of 1569. Ronsard's interest in the Anacreontea spanned over 25 years from "Ces liens d'or, ceste bouche vermeille" of 1552, to "Amour logé" of 1578: their influence can be found in purely mythological poems, in poems which refer to contemporary events, and as an integral part of his own love poetry. His Anacreontics are sometimes lyrical, sometimes satirical, sometimes in jest. The poems are of crucial importance in the English history of the Anacreontea because it was through Ronsard that the Anacreontic poems became well-known in England: the variety of uses to which he put the Anacreontea foreshadowed the many different uses made of the poems by English poets and dramatists.

The first English poet to make extensive use of Anacreontic themes was Thomas Watson in EKATOMPIAΘIA 1582, who has five sonnets which recall "Anacreon": in every case but one there is an introduction stating that the work is based on Ronsard: in only one case is mention made of "Anacreon", in a footnote to Passion 27 (based on Anacreontea 46):<sup>1</sup>

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1. Thomas Watson, Poems, ed. E. Arber, 1870, p. 63.

Hii tres versus a Ronsardo describuntur ex  
Anacreonte Graeco.

The information comes from the title which Ronsard had prefixed to the relevant poem in 1555, "Odelette a l'imitation d'Anacreon".<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to suggest that Watson was acquainted with the Anacreontic poems themselves: Ronsard seems to have been his only source of knowledge. One of the poems discussed in detail, Watson's poem on the theme of Cupid and the Bee, is an exception in being based on a Latin translation of "Theocritus": it has no direct link with the Anacreontea.

The next sonneteer to make use of the Anacreontea, John Soowthern (1584), also drew his entire knowledge of the poems from French sources - although not entirely from Ronsard: he also borrowed Belleau's translation of Anacreontea 16. In his criticisms of Soowthern's "pilfering", Puttenham (1589) makes it clear that he is aware that Soowthern's borrowings from Ronsard included translations from the Anacreontea.

Many of the other sixteenth-century translators based their work on Ronsard: he was the principal source for Greene's version of Anacreontea 3, for Lodge's version of the story of Cupid and the Bee, and one of the many sources of Spenser's retelling of this story. Ronsard's "Amour logé" probably gave Lyly the idea for his use of

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1. Pierre de Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vol. 6, 1965, p. 162, footnote.

the theme of "The Beggar Love", which provided the basis for this theme in many different sonnet sequences (Sidney, Greville, Barnes, R. L., Drayton).

Ronsard exerted a less crucial significance on seventeenth century translators. My discussions include only three examples of the direct influence of Ronsard's Anacreontics in England after 1600:

(i) Lovelace's "The Grasse-hopper". The influence here amounts to nothing more than a couple of vague verbal similarities.

(ii) Herrick used Ronsard for his version of Anacreontea 11, beginning "AM I despis'd, because you say" (1640).

(iii) Ronsard was the chief source for Rochester's version of Anacreontea 17.

### Belleau

The earliest English poet to make use of Belleau's translation was John Soowthern, who borrowed the opening lines of Belleau's version of Anacreontea 16 in his "Odelett" beginning "Some will sing the great feates of Armes" (1584). It was presumably from Belleau that Soowthern obtained some knowledge of the contents of the Anacreontea: he mentions Anacreon's reputation as a lover and a drinker in three poems, including "Sonnet 2", which begins:<sup>1</sup>

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1. John Soowthern, Pandora (1584), facsimile ed. 1938, sig. Blr.

The Greeke Poet to whom Bathill was the guide,  
 Made her immortall, by that which he did sing:

Had Soowthern read Belleau more closely he would have realised that Bathyllus was a boy, not a woman, since this is made absolutely clear in Belleau's version of Anacreontea 29, entitled by him "Le pourtrait de Bathylle".<sup>1</sup>

Belleau was the source for Sambucus' version of Anacreontea 2, which was in turn used by Whitney: and also for Spelman's version of the same poem. A. W.'s translation of Anacreontea 1 may have been influenced by Belleau: and Belleau is the only likely source for Shakespeare's knowledge of Anacreontea 19 in Timon. Stanley read Belleau's translation, and mentions it in his Excitations.

#### Other French Writers

The fame of a writer today provides no indication of whether his works were read in earlier times. By no means all the French poets listed in the catalogue can be shown to have influenced English translators - but there are a few striking examples of the influence of minor writers. Olivier de Magny's version of Anacreontea 3 is the only discernible source of Mary Wroth's sonnet-translation. Baïf's version of "Theocritus" 19 was one of the

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1. Remy Belleau, Oeuvres Poétiques, ed. C. Marty-Laveaux, 1878, pp. 25-27.

sources of Spenser's retelling of "Cupid and the Bee". A. W.'s version of Anacreontea 1 shows several reminiscences of Jean Doublet's translation, of which only three copies are now known of the original edition. Whitney's third poem on the theme of Cupid and the Bee may be influenced by Jean Bégat's version, which is now almost as rare. Barnes' Ode 12 makes use of Jean Morisot's neo-Latin retelling of the story of Anacreontea 3. Herrick may have known Binet's "flea" parody of Anacreontea 40. All these are isolated instances of the influence of different writers - there is nothing which suggests that any of the minor French sixteenth-century writers were extensively known. Seventeenth-century French writers were even less used: the only example I have discovered is Claude Nicole's possible influence on the anonymous 1668 version of Anacreontea 40, set to music by William King. There is no evidence of any knowledge of Ann Le Fevre's French prose translation of 1681 in England by the year 1683.

### Emblem Books

Chapter 6 above, pp. 202-206 and 235-238 discusses the influence of Alciati's Emblem "Dulcia quandoque amara fieri" on Whitney and Ayres. It is worth emphasising the point that Alciati's Emblem was published in 1531, and has no connection with Anacreontea 40, or with "Theocritus" 19: it was Alciati's illustrators, translators

and commentators who linked the emblem to the story of Cupid and the Bee, and appended Estienne's text and translation of Anacreontea 40. Whitney used an Emblem by Sambucus for Anacreontea 2: and Philip Ayres, in addition to Alciati, used Thronus Cupidinis in his "Cupid and the Bee" emblems.

### Italian Writers

In writing of the influence of the Anacreontea in Italy Ferrari and Michelangeli use the term "Anacreontic" to cover the use of thematic material similar to that in the Anacreontea, but not necessarily based on it.<sup>1</sup> More frequently than in French or English writers, imitation shades into free invention, so that in the case of Chiabrera, for example, it is by no means an easy task to separate those poems which use themes drawn directly from the Anacreontea from drinking songs and other light lyrics in the same vein. The first complete Italian version of the Anacreontea, that of Bartolommeo Corsini, was not published until 1672.<sup>2</sup>

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1. S. Ferrari, "Di Alcune Imitazioni e Rifioriture delle 'Anacreontee' in Italia nel Sec. XVI", Giornale Storico, 1892, pp. 395-424: L.A. Michelangeli, Anacreonte e la Sua Fortuna nei Secoli, 1922. Michelangeli's discussion of sixteenth-century versions relies heavily on Ferrari.
  2. Bartolommeo Corsini, Anacreonte Poeta Greco Tradotto in verso Toscano, 1672.

The first use of an Italian source for an English Anacreontic was by Spenser, who borrowed phrases from Tasso's "gnat" version of the story of Cupid and the Bee: but Tasso's poem is itself taken from "Theocritus", and the Anacreontic version did not become popular in Italy, as it did in England. The Anacreontics most frequently translated into Italian in the sixteenth century were Poems 17, 28, 29, 33 and 44: only the first two of these became popular in England. The Italian tradition of advice-to-a-painter poems forms the background for English Restoration satires based on this theme. Oldham's translation of Anacreontea 17 makes use of Tasso's version (1683): and Philip Ayres used Marino as the source for his versions of Anacreontea 1 and 16 (1687).

Apart from Spenser, all the examples of the use of Italian sources date from the Restoration period - much later than the primary period of French imitation. The Italian translations cannot be considered influential on the manner in which the Anacreontea first became known in England - it was only much later that they were used to reinforce an already well-established tradition. Only after Cowley instituted a much freer style of translation did English writers become interested in the free Italian renderings.

English Writers

Just as the Anacreontic imitations by Ronsard profoundly influenced English translators of the 1580s and 1590s, so many English writers drew on earlier translations in their own tongue. The earliest example of this can be seen in the sonneteers' use of the "Beggar Cupid" theme, based on Anacreontea 3, where the similarity of the poems shows the poets' interest in reading, imitating and capping each other's sonnets. Spenser's retelling of the story of Cupid and the Bee shows some verbal similarities to the version by Whitney, and Watson was the most important source of the latter part of Spenser's poem.

From the time of Herrick the use of English sources became far more popular. No fewer than 22 of the English versions discussed in the present work, published in 1648 or later, show the influence of earlier English Anacreontics. These are shown in the table on the next page. The table has been arranged according to the date of the source used, so that the material can be presented in a different way from the earlier chapters.

The information in the table suggests the following observations. (i) The earlier translations (before 1620) were used as sources principally by Herrick and Stanley, both of them translators who took a serious and detailed interest in the Anacreontea. Herrick was happy to take a source in any language and use it as the

[text continues on p. 411

Use of English Sources for English Anacreontics 1648 - 1689Summary of Material from Chapters 3 - 9

<u>Poem</u>	<u>Source-Poet</u>	<u>Poem Used By</u>
40	WHITNEY 1586	Herrick 1648, Willis 1683
40	SPENSER 1595	Herrick 1648
40	LODGE 1600	Herrick 1648
2	SPELMAN 1602	Brome 1661
3	A. W. 1602	Stanley 1651
19	HOLYDAY 1618	Stanley 1651, Cowley 1656
40	ANON in BATESON 1618	Herrick 1648, Stanley 1651
3	HERRICK 1648	Stanley 1651, Anon in Lawes 1659, Wood 1683
40	HERRICK 1648	Stanley 1651, Berkenhead 1655, Willis 1683
1	STANLEY 1651	Berkenhead 1653, Cowley 1656
2	STANLEY 1651	Brome 1661
3	STANLEY 1651	Lawes 1659, Wood 1683
16	STANLEY 1651	Anon in Purcell 1688
19	STANLEY 1651	Cowley 1656
23	STANLEY 1651	Brome 1661
24	STANLEY 1651	Brome 1661
39	STANLEY 1651	Brome 1661
40	STANLEY 1651	Berkenhead 1655
43	STANLEY 1651	Lovelace 1649
40	BERKENHEAD 1655	Anon in King 1668
1,16	COWLEY 1656	Willis 1683
19	COWLEY 1656	Bodleian MS 1681, Rochester died 1680, Cotton 1689
3	ANON in LAWES 1659	Wood 1683

basis for his own work: Stanley used English sources to help him in his phrasing of his own translations from the Greek text. Occasionally, such help could be extensive: particularly striking is the similarity between Stanley's translation of Anacreontea 19 and that of Barten Holyday. Ronsard's and Belleau's translations are mentioned by Stanley in his notes on this poem, but Holyday was an unacknowledged source.

(ii) Later, Herrick and Stanley, together with Cowley, themselves became the principal English sources for translators. Cowley's elaborate style became the norm after the 1650s: but in matters of substance Restoration translators more frequently turned to Stanley for an accurate or apt phrase. All five of the Stanley translations here discussed in detail were used by later poets in the Restoration period: and in addition Alexander Brome's four versions were all based directly on Stanley.

(iii) Some poems, such as Brome's, were based almost entirely on English sources. The most important example of this is Lovelace's "The Grasse-hopper", based on Stanley's as yet unpublished translation of Anacreontea 43. A few phrases in Lovelace's Ode indicate the possible use of the Greek, Ronsard or Belleau, but there is nothing very definite in this. A poem such as this, even if it happens to mirror the Greek quite closely, is not strictly speaking a translation, because it is based on an original in English: it is rather an example of the Renaissance

doctrine of imitatio discussed above. Other poems probably based entirely on English sources are Wood's version of Anacreontea 3, and Cowley's version of Anacreontea 19. Rochester's and Cotton's versions of this poem are based principally on Cowley, but corrected in places against more literal renderings.

### METHOD

In the translation of short lyric poems, the accurate scholar must deem it just as important to capture the tone of the original as to translate the content. The general effect can often be changed completely by a few minor alterations: but it is also possible to add a great deal of additional material without losing the original tone. The former method broadly represents the approach of the Elizabethan translators: the latter, that of Cowley. In general, the less skilled poets changed the tone of the original more than their more accomplished contemporaries. The shorter the poem, the more difficult it becomes to transfer into English both tone and content: and the greater the difficulties of the poet confronted with the problems of English versification and metre, which must of necessity be different from the original. Small wonder that many English poets found it easier to convey a tone far different from the Greek.

The English translator of the Anacreontea had also to contend with the poems' peculiar literary history: parodic late imitations, universally regarded as the work of Anacreon, came to England with a lyric beauty breathed into them by Ronsard and the Pléiade. From the start the English poet was always under the spell of earlier translators: even those who worked directly from the Greek had to live up to the poems' enhanced reputation. Some of the less skilled poets produced work deficient both in sense and in metre: but all were at least attempting to outdo the original. The literary history of the Anacreontea is the history of the poems' magnification.

It is possible to divide the English poems into three main types, according to date. Literary history does not of course jump from period to period, and many of the poems cannot be conveniently fitted into the categories detailed below: but nevertheless the grouping can be helpful in obtaining an overall picture of the 57 poets discussed. The first period is that of Elizabethan translation; the second that of the scholar poets, from A. W. (1602) to Stanley (1651); and the third that of Cowley and his successors. In order to avoid needless repetition, examples of the various methods of translation have been taken in part from poems not elsewhere discussed, including a comparison of three different versions of Anacreontea 45, lines 8 - 12.

The Elizabethan translators' aim was not word for word accuracy. "Anacreon" had come to them clothed in French dress, and they sought to reclothe him in native costume, often according to the conventions of English pastoral. In Anacreontea 3 the poet leads Cupid to his hearth (line 19): Robert Greene, in a colder climate, lights him a fire: Barnabe Barnes crosses himself, frightened at Cupid's noise. In the story of Cupid and the Bee, Thomas Lodge interprets the tale as a homily assuring lovers that all will be well in the end: Spenser's version is a decorative epilogue to Amoretti, designed humorously to suggest the helplessness of his love. Watson's versions of Ronsard's Anacreontics are similarly designed to draw morals from the stories: this example is from his imitation of Anacreontea 30:<sup>1</sup>

Therefore all you, whom Loue did ere abuse,  
Come clappe your handes with me, to see him thrall,  
Whose former deedes no reason can excuse,  
For killing those, which hurt him not at all:  
My selfe by him was lately led awrye,  
Though now atlast I force my loue to dye.

In the sixteenth century, the English "Anacreon" does not include a single instance of straightforward accurate translation, unless one counts Soowthern's pilfering of Ronsard. The care with which the King James' translators treated the Bible simply did not apply

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1. Thomas Watson, Poems, ed. E. Arber, 1870, p. 119  
(Sonnet 83 of ΕΚΑΤΟΜΠΑΘΙΑ, 1582, lines 13-18).

to the Elizabethan translation of secular works. They regarded the world's literature as their own, a mine to plunder as they wished. So none of their works were acknowledged to be translations from the Anacreontea: all were adapted for their place in the poet's own works. This is well illustrated by the imitations from "Anacreon" in Barnes' Parthenophil and Parthenophe. Sidney Lee suggests that his knowledge of "Anacreon" reached him through France:<sup>1</sup> in fact he was certainly familiar with the Greek text of the poems, as shown above. In addition to the complete poems listed in the catalogue there are numerous tiny details in his works which suggest his close reading of the Anacreontic poems. Ode 7, for example, "WHEN I did think to write of war," begins like Anacreontea 1: Ode 8, "IN A shady grove of myrtle", begins like Anacreontea 4: Sonnet 63, which is loosely based on Anacreontea 20, begins with a reference to the story of Europa, as does Anacreontea 35: and Sonnet 48 begins with a rejection of gold, as does Anacreontea 15.<sup>2</sup> Such themes could individually come from a number of sources - but taken as a whole they certainly suggest the effect of "Anacreon". They are mentioned here because they show the way Barnes used his source material to give himself a beginning for a poem,

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1. S. Lee (ed.), Elizabethan Sonnets, 1904, Vol. 1, p. lxxviii.

2. For these four poems see Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 282, 283, 207 and 197.

which might then proceed in a way quite different from the Anacreontic. In the work of the more accomplished poets of the period, such as Sidney, the source material has been more carefully incorporated into the body of the verse: Barnes' slightly cruder method makes it easier to see the theory of imitatio at work.

Barnes' version of Anacreontea 45, which forms Ode 15 of Parthenophil and Parthenophe, is the closest to the Greek of all the sixteenth century English versions of "Anacreon". The story, in which Cupid dips his new arrows in gall (  $\chiολήν$  , line 7), and Ares tries them out and finds them too heavy for him, should be distinguished from the common Renaissance story in which Cupid and Death mistakenly exchange arrows: this latter tale has no connection with the Anacreontea.<sup>1</sup> Apart from a few minor alterations, Barnes follows the Anacreontic closely, and there can be no doubt that he had it before him as he wrote. Nevertheless, the tone of Barnes' poem is very different from the Greek, and this is due principally to the change of form. Barnes has here adopted a complex Elizabethan stanza of the type used for airs: it requires

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1. The story of Cupid and Death exchanging arrows comes from a lost poem of Jean Lemaire de Belges, Combat de Cupido et de la Mort, published in 1541. It was popularised by an emblem of Alciati's, "De Morte et Amore" (1531), and appears in Secundus' Elegia 2.6 (1541), James Sanford's The Garden of Pleasure (1573), Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes (1586), Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis, lines 947-8 (1593), Massinger's The Virgin Martyr, Act 4 Scene 3 line 12 ff. (1622), and Shirley's masque Cupid and Death (1653).

the reproduction of the same metrical system in three stanzas of eight lines each. Such a form inevitably required alterations to the Greek text. This is Barnes' second stanza, lines 9 - 16 of the poem:<sup>1</sup>

When MARS returned from war,  
 10 Shaking his spear afar;  
       CUPID beheld!  
       At him, in jest, MARS shaked his spear!  
       Which CUPID, with his dart did bar  
           (Which millions quelled).  
 15 Then, MARS desired his dart to bear:  
       But soon the weight, his force did mar!

The black underlining here indicates words corresponding exactly to the words of the Greek text: broken black underlining indicates words adapted or rephrased from the Greek: red underlining indicates words not in the Greek corresponding to some earlier translation (in this case Estienne, Ronsard, André, Belleau or Raius). Exactly half of the 44 words Barnes uses are new to his version: these can be divided into:

- (i) Linking and incidental words necessary for English syntax (such as "his", "Then", "But").
- (ii) Additions made principally for the sake of the rhythm and rhyme (such as "afar").

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1. S. Lee (ed.), Elizabethan Sonnets, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 293.

(iii) Substantive additions to the text ("beheld", "with his dart did bar", "Which millions quelled" and "his force did mar"). All of these four phrases are designed to impart a particular tone to the poem - one of light mock-epic jesting.

The additional material here is typical of Elizabethan translation: so what criteria did the poets use for the embellishments they added to the text of "Anacreon"? It should be noted that very few of the catalogued poems of this period were published as separate poems not forming part of a group, sonnet sequence or novel: and in the case of individual poems published in anthologies, such as the anonymous translation of Anacreontea 28 in "The Phoenix Nest", it is impossible to be certain that they have not been selected from longer sequences. The additional material which the Elizabethans added to their originals was designed to suit the place of the poem in the larger artistic whole of the complete work. In the poem quoted above, the tricks of Cupid are used to illustrate the naïveté of the lover, in keeping with the character of Parthenophil throughout the sonnet sequence. It is this naïve tone in Barnes which Lee designated as "Anacreontic" - but in fact it takes its origin from a deliberate variation on the themes of the Anacreontea.

The same technique can be seen in Barnes' contemporaries. Spenser's "Anacreontics" were deliberately

designed for their place at the end of the Amoretti sonnets: Watson's imitations of "Anacreon" reflect the lugubrious passion of his "Passionate Centurie of Loue": Greene's "mornefull madrigall" was designed for its place in Alcida: Greenes Metamorphosis (1588) and then adapted to fit Orpharion (1589): and Sidney's experiment in "Anacreon's kind of verses" is a fitting love-lament for Cleophila in Arcadia.

All this was changed after the turn of the century. Although "Anacreon" has a place in Jacobean drama, and in the sonnet sequences of the period, in 1602 we find for the first time a group of acknowledged translations from the Anacreontea taken directly from the Greek. The most scholarly translators of the period 1602 - 1651 were A. W., Anon in Bateson, James, Sherburne and Stanley. All of them used the Greek, and all of them broadly followed the aims of the translator as defined by Sherburne discussed above (p.383) - to reproduce what they took to be the genuine tone and sense of the original: they departed from their text only to borrow what they thought to be a particularly apt phrase from another translator, or for the sake of the requirements of English verse. In this period, rhyming couplets became the dominant mode for the English "Anacreon" - a polished, well rounded form well suited to bringing out the epigrammatic qualities of the Greek.

These poets, however, could not help but represent "Anacreon" as a single distinguished lyric poet.

Their works have much less variety of tone than the Elizabethan versions. The earlier poets used "Anacreon" according to the artistic requirements of their own works: the scholar poets of the Jacobean and Caroline periods imposed a feeling of unity on the Anacreontea themselves. The process began with A. W.'s three versions, all of which have the same naïve epigrammatic tone: and it reached its climax with Stanley's Anacreon of 1651. This is how Stanley translates lines 8 - 12 of Anacreontea 45:<sup>1</sup>

Armed Mars by chance comes there,  
Brandishing a sturdy Spear,  
 And in scorn the little shaft  
 Offring to take up, he laught:  
This (saith Love) which thou dost slight  
 10 Is not (if thou try it) light:

The earlier sources used by Stanley, and indicated by the red underlining, are the versions of Estienne, André and Belleau. Once again, exactly half the words used (18 out of 36) are completely new: but the additions make far less substantial difference to the meaning than those in Barnes' version: they are added according to the requirements of English syntax, and to fill out Stanley's couplets. These lines, unlike those of Barnes, do not give the impression that the tone of the poem has deliberately

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1. The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.M. Crump, 1962, p. 95.

been altered: but in fact the rhyming couplets give a succinct epigrammatic quality which Stanley carefully cultivated. This tone runs right through his Anacreon, and tends to emphasise the gentle elegance of the collection, at the expense of the satire. Stanley's couplets are particularly suited to express the Anacreontic philosophy of living only for today. Here are some examples of how Stanley rings the changes on this theme:<sup>1</sup>

- Anacreontea 4            Come my fair One, come away;  
All our cares behinde us lay;
- Anacreontea 15        All my care is for to day;  
What's to morrow who can say?
- Anacreontea 25        Life in toils why should we wast,  
When we're sure to dye at last?
- Anacreontea 36        Teach me brisk Lyeus rites;  
Teach me Venus blithe delights:
- Anacreontea 38        Fill the Cup, let loose a flood  
Of the rich Grapes luscious blood;
- Anacreontea 54        Come, a flowry Chaplet lend me,  
Youth, and mirthful thoughts attend me;

Except for the variation in the last example, the metre here is the same throughout: and the last three examples are more specific instances of enjoyment than the earlier ones. All are skilfully transferred from the Greek: but the general effect is of the same sentiment tediously repeated: and this, combined with the tight couplet

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1. The Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, ed. G.W. Crump, 1962, pp. 76, 81, 85, 91, 92, and 100.

structure, cannot but force onto the Anacreontea a homogeneity they do not in fact possess. It might be thought that so many translations by a single poet cannot avoid giving a single tone to the text: but the imitations by Ronsard and Herrick show that this was not necessarily the case. To the modern reader, Stanley's repetitive couplets might appear to trivialise the poems; but the seventeenth century reader may well have thought that such a style truly represented the Greek idiom. For, as we have shown, Stanley's succinctness was not unique, but broadly representative of scholarly translations in the first half of the seventeenth century: and it was Stanley who became the chief English source for Restoration translators: though their style was very different from his, they looked to him for an accurate representation of the words of the poems.

In this period there is a clearer distinction between translation and free imitation than in the Elizabethan and Restoration periods. The distinction can first be found in Spelman's version of Anacreontea 2 (1602), where the lines additional to the original text were marked with inverted commas. Like the translators, the principal imitators of the period, Leech, Jonson, Herrick and Lovelace, treated their sources with great respect. The Elizabethan imitators, especially the sonneteers, were happy to mingle hints from "Anacreon" at will with other themes both Classical and modern: but in the work of

these four poets we see "Anacreon" taken as the principal model for some of their finest poetry. Herrick and Lovelace did not base their work on the Greek: but whichever model these poets chose, their variations from it were always careful, calculated and deliberate, never the result of carelessness or ignorance. A fine example of this is Lovelace's "The Grasse-hopper". This is almost entirely based on Stanley's translation of Anacreontea 43, but nevertheless represents many of the ideals described in the Greek original: and Lovelace has added the most important quality attributed to the original τέττιξ, that of ἀπάθεια.

This clear distinction between translation and free imitation disappeared once again in the Restoration period: but now it was replaced by a new hybrid, the imitative or "paraphrastic" translation. Writers interested in the Anacreontea no longer needed to use the poems as source material for their own compositions: if they were interested in the poems, they would include a few imitative translations among their works. Brome, Rochester, Cotton, Willis, Wood, Oldham and Ayres all followed this technique, which was initiated and made popular by Cowley. The striking success of his Anacreontiques (1656) was due to the fact that not only are they modelled on the Greek (or a close translation), but also they are successful as poems in their own right. Far more than Stanley, Cowley understood the humour and satire

of many of the original poems: his version of Anacreontea 43, for example, is much further than Stanley's from the Greek wording, but far closer in tone. Stanley's complete translation emphasises the "carpe diem" theme: paradoxically, Cowley, by carefully selecting 11 poems, gives a closer indication of the true range of subject matter of the Anacreontic collection. Like Stanley, Cowley can be said to have imposed a single style on the poems: but he does not impose a single tone, and his repertoire of fresh images and metrical effects far surpasses that of his learned predecessor. Some may dislike his combination of the "carpe diem" philosophy with far-fetched metaphysical conceits: but it was certainly in tune with the dominant mode of poetry at the time: it can be seen, for example, in such a well-known poem as Marvell's "To his Coy Mistress". There are many examples of Cowley's conceits in the poems already discussed: here are two further ones:<sup>1</sup>

Anacreontea 14      In vain my Feet their swiftness try;  
For from the Body can they fly?

Anacreontea 32      Or when the Hairs are reckon'd all,  
From sickly Autumns Head that fall,

It was images like these which were successfully copied by Rochester, Oldham and Cotton, and less successfully by Brome, Willis and Wood. Here is Willis' version of

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1. Abraham Cowley, Works, ed. A.R. Waller, Vol. 1, 1905, p. 53.

lines 8 - 12 of Anacreontea 45:<sup>1</sup>

When furious Mars return'd from fight,  
 Without the least glimm'ring of delight.  
 No smiling Looks, no unusual Grace  
 10 Disturb'd the Majesty of his face.  
 In's dreadful hand a Spear he bore  
 The rougher Instrument of War.  
 And laughing took up Love's light Dart,  
 (But little thought it caus'd such smart)  
 15 This is, said he, a pretty Toy,  
 A Play-thing fit for such a Boy;  
Cupid at length made this reply,  
 Sir, if you please, the lightness try;

The earlier versions used by Willis and indicated by the red underlining are those of Estienne, André, Ronsard and Stanley: but these, and the Greek, account for only 20 of Willis' 78 words, just over a quarter. Nearly all the echoes of earlier versions occur in the first lines of Willis' couplets: some of the second lines represent needless expansion in order to provide a rhyme, such as lines 8, 12 and 14. Lines 9 - 10 are typical of what Willis and Wood did to "Anacreon": the couplet is a vivid description of Mars which would be well suited to a translation of Homer, but seems inappropriate to the Anacreontea. All Cowley's embellishments developed

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1. Anacreon Done into English, 1683, sig. Nlr.

themes in harmony with the poems, whereas Willis throws in anything he happens to think of, be it heroic, tragic, comic or domestic. Some of his embellishments are more successful than others: Mars' speech in lines 15 - 16 above hits an appropriate note of mockery.

It might be thought that the less literal translations of this final period marked a return to the free style of Elizabethan translation: but in fact the mannered couplets of the Restoration imitators are far removed from the variety of Elizabethan tones. Just as Elizabethan imitation was dominated by the influence of Ronsard, so Restoration imitation was dominated by Cowley. And here lies the difference: for Ronsard's Anacreontics were written in a variety of forms, from short Odes to lengthy narratives: whereas Cowley's, though they vary in tone, are all shaped in the same way. In the hands of his followers, "Anacreon" was no longer a gentle lyrist, but a vehicle for the poet's own wit.

These three discussions, of theory, method, and sources, point to the great diversity of the English "Anacreon". No simple conclusion can cover the 130 years of poetry from Estienne's edition through to the Oxford translation. But there is one point which can be made which covers most of the poems discussed. "A translator is to be like his author", wrote Dr. Johnson in his "Life of Dryden"; "it is not his business to excel him." Had those concerned with the Anacreontea followed such a precept, nothing would have been achieved.

Estienne began the process of the glorification of the poems by the care and lavishness of his edition: Dorat continued it, possibly by translating the poems, certainly by praising them to Ronsard: and the young poet made them famous in lyrics the best of which are imbued with a fragile beauty. In England the Elizabethans took up the chant in our own tongue: in Herrick's hands they were full of variety, in Stanley's epigrammatic, in Cowley's mock-heroic, in Willis' mockingly comic. Each poet in his own way exaggerated different elements of the brittle lyrics, so ephemeral in their philosophy, so lasting in their fame.

