

## HIPPONAX, BOUPALOS, AND THE CONVENTIONS OF THE *PSOGOS* \*

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Students of the Greek iambos continue to dispute whether the poets' targets of abuse were fictional or real characters. Most recently the Cologne Archilochos has challenged scholars to square the received biographical tradition about the poet with its new "evidence." Is the "I" of the poem Archilochos himself? Are the characters generic stock-figures, each bearing an appropriately significant name: Lycambes the "Wolf-walker," Neobule the woman "of New Plan," for example? <sup>1</sup> Did the iambic poet wish to vent his private enmity against real figures, whether out of a desire for personal vengeance or for the purpose of exposing reprobates to the public?<sup>2</sup> Or did his inspiration spring less from real life and more from a desire to demonstrate his skill in a literary tradition in which invective and obscenity were *de rigueur*? For that matter, could the poet pursue a middle course, enlisting real figures, but in entirely fictional situations?

We may never be able to answer these questions definitively in the absence of any further evidence, but scholars have in recent decades come at least near consensus on one crucial point: iambographic poetry comprises a specific genre, and its practitioners shared certain generic conventions<sup>3</sup> The term ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα, which Aristotle applied to certain Old Comic poets (*Poet.* 1448b31), has

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The following abbreviations are used: Degani = E. Degani, *Hipponactis Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1983). All references to Hipponax are from this edition. Degani *Studi* = E. Degani, *Studi su Ipponatte* (Bari 1984), Masson = O. Masson, *Les Fragments du Poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962), West *Studies* = M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin and New York 1974).

<sup>1</sup> As proposed by West *Studies* 26-27, and "Archilochus Ludens," *ZPE* 16 (1975) 219. Contra, see (e.g.) W. Rösler, "Die Dichtung des Archilochus und die neue Kölner Epode," *RhM* 119 (1976) 289ff. (esp. 300-10) and H. D. Rankin, "The New Archilochus and some Archilochian Questions," *QUCC* 28 (1978) 7-27.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Aristophanes' claims for his own invective enterprise. Cf. *Pax* 751-60, *Vesp.* 1029-37, *Nub.* 549.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. West *Studies*, 22; K. J. Dover, "The Poetry of Archilochus," *Entretiens Hardt* X (Geneva 1964) 186ff.; and A. P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 6-7. Even Rösler, who has strongly opposed West's particular delineation of the iambos, believes that it must be seen as a distinct literary category (300ff.).

equal utility when applied to the poetry of Archilochos and Hipponax. It denotes the many features that recur in their poetry and help to define it, especially the antagonism between poet and ἐχθρός that occasioned the *psogos*.<sup>4</sup> While this may at first sight seem self-evident, it is too often overlooked when commentators consider the identity of characters that appear in the iambos. For it means that, whether the poet sings of real, fictional or semi-fictional people, he must conform to the demands of a literary tradition. Even if we believe that the principal targets of abuse somehow represent real people, we need not assume that the stories told about them represent real events, since narrative details may be informed equally by generic considerations.<sup>5</sup> Still, we feel a persistent curiosity about the people attacked in an iambic *psogos*, especially because this sort of poetry relies for its effects on the pretense of depicting real events.

Voluminous scholarship on Archilochos has yielded little agreement on the precise nature of the poet's relationship to his *bêtes-noires*. West's suggestion that Lycambes and Neobule are significantly named stock-figures seems to have ranged scholars irreconcilably on opposite sides.<sup>6</sup> There is little doubt, however, that many other characters in the Archilochean corpus, not graced with the elaborate testimonia that accompany Lycambes and family, are in fact fictionalized (even if they may represent actual people) and serve a contextual purpose indicated by their names. One need only cite characters in such fragments as 168W ('Ερασμονίδη Χαρίλαε), or 331W (Πασσιφίλη, which I accept as genuine).<sup>7</sup> Archilochos, in short, like most poets of antiquity, was intrigued by the

<sup>4</sup> We must remember that in antiquity ἱαμβικός predominantly referred to poetry of blame and invective. Solon's iambic poetry, for example, is an iambos only by virtue of its meter. Aristotle's term ἱαμβική ἰδέα would hardly be appropriate to this type of poetry (cf. West *Studies* 22 and 37–38). See C. Miralles and J. Pòrtulas, *Archilochus and the Iambic Poetry* (Rome 1983) for a generic study of the iambos using comparative methods; and B. Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica* (Rome and Bari 1984) 47, 144.

<sup>5</sup> Virtually no one today would claim that Archilochos' poems are a record of his personal experiences (as J. Vendryes, *Revue Celtique* 34 [1913] 94). Even Rankin (above, note 1) 27 concedes that Archilochos' poetry is not a "minutely accurate biography."

<sup>6</sup> A compromise comforting to some is that the names are fictional, but they stand for historical personalities. See L. Koenen, "Ein wiedergefundenes Archilochus-Gedicht?" *Poetica* 6 (1974) 507–8, and M. Bonanno, "Nomi e soprannomi archilochei," *MH* 37 (1980) 74.

<sup>7</sup> Rankin ignores names such as these when he voices his skepticism about any significance in Lycambes' or Neobule's name. His objection that "significance" can be found coincidentally in most Greek names (above note 1, 16–17) is true enough, but ignores the fact that a poet must choose for himself the names he wants to use, and that this act in itself demands that the audience seek significance in them. His statement (17) that "fictitious *ad hoc* names are certainly made up frequently in Greek literature...but none of them are as improbable as Bunyan's 'Mr. Worldly Wise Man' or Dickens' 'Mr. Verisoff' are in an English speaking environment" is simply not true, as any number of examples from Aristophanes can attest, (e.g. Βδελυκλέων in *Vesp.*, Κόπρειος at *Eq.* 899).

semantic possibilities of proper names, and exploited them to humorous effect.<sup>8</sup> In the case of Lycambes and Neobule, unfortunately, there is no independent and reliable evidence to help us confirm or deny their historicity. Their names may be etymologized, it is true—and the efforts are indeed tantalizing.<sup>9</sup> But a “Lycambes” or “Neobule” is not outrageous or contextually conspicuous enough to be considered incontrovertibly fictional. In the case of these Archilochean figures, it seems, we must settle for uncertainty.

Yet all the attention paid to Archilochus’ relations with Lycambes has overshadowed the iambographic quarrel between Hipponax and the Chian sculptor Boupalos, where we at least have some evidence, independent of the poetry, about the parties involved.<sup>10</sup> Here we have a unique opportunity to see how an iambographic poet incorporates an apparently known figure into his poetry. This paper will consider how the iambic poet may balance the use of a historically real target with iambographic poetic convention.

<sup>8</sup> See in general B. Marzullo, “Stravaganze etimologiche dei Greci,” *Delta* 9 (1956) 47–50; for Archilochos, Bonanno (above, note 6) 65–88.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. West *Studies* 26–27; G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 248, with Burnett (above, note 3) 21 note 14; see also Miralles-Pòrtulas, (above, note 4) Ch. II: “The Iambic Poet as Wolf,” 54–60. The most recent voice of skepticism comes from C. Carey, “Archilochus and Lycambes,” *CQ* 36 (1986) 60–67.

<sup>10</sup> It is indeed difficult to deny that Hipponax’ Boupalos existed. Cf. Pliny *NH* 36.11:

fuert in Chio insula Melas scalptor, dein filius eius Micciades ac deinde nepos Archermus, cuius filii Bupalus et Athenis vel clarissimi in ea scientia fuere Hipponactis poetae aetate, quem certum est LX Olympiade fuisse.

An inscription on a statue base from Delos dated to c. 550 B.C. seems to offer the name of Boupalos’ father Archermos, (*Inscr. Délos* 9; cf. Masson, 13; Degani ad testimonium 2, p. 2.) as well as Micciades and Melas, and it is likely that Pliny inherited his information about a family of 6th C. Chian sculptors from a (probably Hellenistic) author who had read (or misread) this inscription. On the problems with the genealogy of the inscription, see now K. Sheedy, “The Delian Nike and the Search for Chian Sculpture,” *AJA* 89 (1985) 619–20. Hipponax fr. 70.1, which mentions an Athenis (ᾠθηνι κν[ ], seems to confirm that the Boupalos and Athenis of the testimonia do refer to the Boupalos and Athenis of Hipponax. The testimony of Pausanias about one Boupalos’ works in Smyrna (4.30.6) and Pergamon (9.35.6) gives us little reason to doubt either that this Boupalos was meant to refer to the 6th C. Chian Boupalos or that the 6th C. Boupalos existed. We must not ignore the fact, however, that Pliny is our earliest direct source for a specific connection between Archermos and Boupalos; (Σ Aristoph. *Aves* 574 speaks of an Ἀρχερμος [= Archermos] as the father of Boupalos and his brother Athenis, and mentions the 2nd C. B.C. Karystion of Pergamon as a source, though this has been suspected; cf. F. Muenzer, “Zur Kunstgeschichte des Plinius,” *Hermes* 30 [1895] 524–25. It remains possible that these two sculptors were father and son merely because it was chronologically appropriate.

At the center of this discussion lies the contention that the *name* of Boupalos has special significance in Hipponax' iambos, even though it belonged to a real person. The sculptor Boupalos is the only figure bearing that name in all extant sources, and scholars have noted its peculiarity.<sup>11</sup> Yet no one, to my knowledge, has proposed that it might have some special significance in Hipponax' poetry, presumably because it is accepted as the real name of a historical person. I would suggest that the key to Boupalos' status in the Hipponactean iambos lies in his name, which can be heard as a play on the elements *Βου-* ("bull-like") and *-παλος* (= *φαλλός*). So divided, the name could be etymologized (though no doubt falsely, see below note 16) as either "Bull-Dick" or perhaps, simply, "Big-Dick."<sup>12</sup> Several fragments which, as we shall see, place Boupalos in undeniably sexual situations, strongly suggest that Hipponax was aware both of this semantic possibility and its suitability for the iambographic genre. If this is true, it affirms that poetic as well as personal considerations may lie behind a poet's attacks on even *historically identifiable* ἐχθροί.

Burnett has suggested something similar for Lycambes, namely that, although he may be a historical figure, Archilochos attacked him in particular because his name (when etymologized as "Wolf-walker") was appropriate to the iambos.<sup>13</sup> This is apparently an attempt to have a historical character be simultaneously a stock generic one.<sup>14</sup> But because we have no certain evidence about Lycambes' actual existence, this can only remain speculation. If we had no credible indication that Hipponax' Boupalos ever really existed, we would be in the same situation as we are with Archilochos' Lycambes. Of course, the testimonia about a quarrel between Hipponax and Boupalos (and Athenis) are utterly unreliable. This story, related most fully by Pliny (*NH* 36.11 [see above, note 10]) held that the brother-sculptors Boupalos and Athenis made a sculpture of Hipponax ridiculing his ugliness. The poet then retaliated by composing such violent *psogoi* against them that they hanged themselves. A similar story, of course, was told about Archilochos and Lycambes: Lycambes broke off the engagement between his daughter Neobule and Archilochos, and this prompted the poet to compose invectives that likewise drove his targets to

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Masson 13, note 5.

<sup>12</sup> See L. J. Richardson, "The Origin of the Prefix *βου-* in Comedy," *Hermathena* 95 (1961) 53–66. Richardson argues that *βου-* did not become an interchangeable prefix implying huge size until Old Comedy (and he even suggests [60] that Aristophanes may have invented it, e.g. *Vesp.* 1206: *βούπαις*). But this conclusion is based on an argument *ex silentio*. In view of the close relationship between the iambos and comedy, it would not be surprising to find intensive *βου-* also in the iambographers, and perhaps Hipponax' *Βούπαλος* gives evidence of precisely this usage. In any case the distinction between "Bull-Dick" and "Big-Dick" is negligible in terms of its comic effect.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Burnett (above, note 3) 22: "a man with such a name would be a ready target for an abusive poet who liked to exploit animal fables as a mode of attack..."

<sup>14</sup> Rankin's brief remarks on the use of historical figures as stock characters (above, note 1, 12–13) are sensible, although he is not sympathetic to the notion that Lycambes *et al.* are fictional names representing real people.

suicide by hanging.<sup>15</sup> But while this tradition about Boupalos and Hipponax is false, his Boupalos probably did correspond to the Chian sculptor of the same name, so that we have at least some opportunity to observe a poetic depiction of a real individual, and we are in a position, therefore, to consider how an iambographer might exploit the name of such a person for poetic reasons.

There is little doubt that the Greek language could support a pun on Βούπαλος as Βού- φαλλος. Although it is unlikely that the name has any actual etymological connection with φαλλός,<sup>16</sup> the similarity of pronunciation between π and φ would have made the aural distinction between Βού-φαλλος and Βού-παλος a subtle one.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Scholars have long doubted the veracity of the Archilochian story—either that it actually occurred, or that it was related in the poetry—mainly because it recurs elsewhere, (cf. Carey [above, note 9] 60 with notes 1 and 2; M. Lefkowitz, "Fictions of Literary Biography: the New Poem and the Archilochus Legend," *Arethusa* 9.2 [1976] 184–85), and because the details in the various accounts are so inconsistent. For the various explanations of how the story of the suicides became attached to Archilochos, cf. Degani, *Studi* 88, note 27. It is tempting to see this, with Degani, as a story that could be applied in antiquity to any poet involved in a quarrel. Given the existence of a Chian sculptor named Boupalos, and given a figure named Boupalos who serves as Hipponax' ἐχθρός, it is easy to see how a completely fictitious story could have connected the two figures. Possibly the story of the satirical sculpture arose from fr. 144 (*Antiatt. An. Gr.* 82.13 Bekk.) which refers to Boupalos as a "stony statue" (= "senseless, dumb"; for other refs. to this usage of λίθινον cf. Degani *ad loc.*): , ἀνδρίαντα· τὸν λίθινον ἔφη Ἰππῶναξ Βούπαλον (τὸν) ἀγαλματοποιόν. That is, since Boupalos was known as a sculptor, a line that refers to his profession as the basis for an insult could be felt to imply that it was this profession that lay at the root of the quarrel. As for the allegation that Hipponax was ugly, it is a biographical convention that a poet's *psogos* may be seen as a function of his character and even his physiognomy; cf. Degani, *Studi* 21–24.

<sup>16</sup> Though the actual etymology of Boupalos is uncertain. Bechtel states simply that the name Boupalos = "shaker of the ox-shield." F. Bechtel, *Die historische Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917) 91. Pape-Benseler define the name as "eigent. Barrentrap d. i. stiermässig sich tummelnd, dann aber nach Hesych. 'überhaupt. Grosse....,'" presumably taking the -πάλος element from the verb παλεύω = "wrestle," *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig 1911) s. v. Βούπαλος, 224. Both explanations are *prima facie* linguistically possible, but become less attractive in the face of other considerations. To begin with, both seem to be formations based on intuition and are without any appropriate parallels. Possibly Βούπαλος is a dissimilated form belonging to the group of names derived from βοῦβαλος = "antelope." (Cf. L. Robert, *Noms Indigenes dans l'Asie Mineure Greco-Romaine* I (Paris 1963) 23–25.) On this dissimilation, common in Ionic, see Ernst Fraenkel, "Zur griech. Laut- und Formenlehre," (III) *Glotta* 2 (1910) 34–38. On comic puns involving φαλ- and βαλ-, see below, note 17.

<sup>17</sup> Psilosis, of course, was a common, if sometimes unpredictable, feature of Ionic (cf. Degani xxvii, and West, *Studies* 89). For a discussion of the evidence for the pronunciation of π- and φ- see Allen, *Vox Graeca* (Cambridge 1974) 16–24. Note the alliteration of π- and φ- at Aeschylus, *PV* 98 and *Ag.* 268. We

It is probably no coincidence that the earliest attestation of the word φαλλός and its by-form φάλης in an obscene and non-technical sense comes from Hipponax himself. In the first instance we have under fr. 151 simply the word ἀνασεισίφαλλος, used as an abusive epithet of a woman. There can be no question here that the implication is anything but obscene: “the one who shakes the φαλλός.”<sup>18</sup> In fr. 34 the reference is somewhat more obscure, but undoubtedly obscene:

ἡμῖεκτον αἰτεῖ τοῦ φάλεω †κολάσαιε†.

West (his fr. 21) reads κολάσαι ἐ and translates “she asks eight obols for pecking him on the φάλης,” which has a plausible ring to it. In any case, despite the uncertainty of the last word, the context is likely to be of another sexual encounter of some sort.<sup>19</sup>

come close to a play on φαλλός and the suffix -παλος in Aristophanes *Av.* 1021 where Pithetairos asks of the entering ἐπίσκοπος: τίς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος οὐτοσί; While there is nothing in the text to suggest an *explicit* pun on φαλλός, the scholia relate that Sardanapallos was especially famous for his dissolute ways. Cicero *Rep.* 3 fr. 4 clearly puns on his name: *Sardanapallus ille vitiis multo quam nomine ipso deformior* (cf. J. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* [Baltimore 1982] 64), and it seems likely that Aristophanes uses the name as a general term of abuse, with an implicit pun on φαλλός. Puns involving the unaspirated root βαλ- (probably from \*bhel/bhl; cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* vol. iv.2 [Paris 1980] 1175), are also common in Greek comic genres. Note, for example, Τριβαλλοί at Aristophanes *Av.* 1529ff. (referring to an actual race of Thracians, cf. J. Henderson *The Maculate Muse* [New Haven 1975] 121 note 77). The word is not explicitly comic in Aristophanes, though Eubulus 75.3 (Hunter) assures us that the mere mention of it would be perceived as humorous. Also note βάλανος, Aristophanes *Lys.* 413 (on which cf. Henderson 119) and Βαλλίων, used as a nickname of the debauched Pythodelus by the Middle comic poet Axionicus (Athen. 166c = Kock 120), (cf. Plautus' character Ballio the pimp). We may also note the obscure cult title of Dionysus, Εὐρυβάλινδος, cited by Hesychius, although without any indication of date.

<sup>18</sup> This word was picked up, no doubt directly from Hipponax, by Old Comedy; cf. Kock, *adesp.* 1377. Indeed Old Comedy, a generic descendant of the iambos, offers an abundance of references to and puns on the word φαλλός. Most of these have been collected by Henderson (above, note 17) 112–13; of particular note for us are φαληρίς, the bird in *Av.* 565 that will inherit Aphrodite's prerogative in sacrifice; Φαλληνίας (Aristoph. fr. 244KA), the archon under whom Alcibiades was allegedly born; and Φαληῆς at *Ach.* 263ff., in Dicaeopolis' invocation Φαληῆς, ἑταῖρε Βακχίου...

<sup>19</sup> It is arresting to note that τοῦ φάλεω (with synizesis in -εω, pronounced as -ω), which could rhyme with Βουπάλω/ον, occurs in the same metrical position as seven of the nine secure occurrences of the name Βούπαλος (fr. 17, 18, 19, 20.2, 86.18, 98.3, 98.4 [possibly also 77.4]), namely as the last three syllables of the second metron (forming a cretic), immediately after the penthemimeral caesura: x — — xll = — —. This is an emphatic position, and there is no metrical reason why the name must fall there. Given the almost certainly sexual, erotic and/or obscene nature of fr. 34, it is likely that Boupalos figured in it in some capacity (cf. Degani ad loc. p. 48 for various suggestions, with bibliography). If

Fr. 20 offers the first suggestion that Hipponax may have deployed the name Boupalos so as to bring out a pun on φαλλός:

τούτοισι θηπέων τοὺς Ἐρυθραίων παῖδας  
ὁ μητροκοίτης Βούπαλος σὺν Ἀρήτηι  
(x—) ὑφέλξων τὸν δυσώνυμον †ἄρτον†

3 (δ)αρτόν Masson

...deceiving (?)<sup>20</sup> the sons of the Erythraeans by means of these things (?), Boupalos, the one-sleeping-with-his-mother, with Arete about to pull back the ill-omened †foreskin†”(on this word, see below)

The fragment is full of uncertainties, but the scene is more or less clear: Boupalos readies himself for some sort of sexual activity with Arete. Masson's (δ)αρτόν for the incomprehensible †ἄρτον†, favored by Degani, seems to make the best sense: from an original meaning of a flayed sacrificial victim, the word is attested in medical writers as “scrotum,” and here may mean “foreskin.”<sup>21</sup> The first line, however, remains obscure and no satisfactory explanations have been offered. Degani, citing several parallels (e.g., Pindar *Nem.* 9.30: παισὶν Αἰτναίων), notes that the expression παῖδας Ἐρυθραίων is a periphrasis meaning no more than “Erythraeans,”<sup>22</sup> but this in itself does not help to explain the line. My suggestion for interpreting it is based on several considerations. To begin with, the fragment clearly describes a sexual encounter between two people.<sup>23</sup> While the details of the scene are uncertain (the referent of τούτοισι is lost to us), we may be fairly certain that the mention of the “sons of the Erythraeans” is here metaphorical, since it is difficult to imagine why else a foreign people would appear in a scene depicting some sort of sexual

so, his name may have been mentioned in the lines immediately preceding or following our fragment, in the same metrical position as τοῦ φάλεω. The placement of τοῦ φάλεω in fr. 34 would echo Βούπαλος, and create a reciprocal double-entendre.

<sup>20</sup> Or “marvelling at,” as Tzetzes himself glosses it. Hesychius, however, offers various glosses for θηπέων: ἐξαπατῶν, κολακεύων, θαυμάζων. Cf. Masson ad loc. p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. L. Koenen, “Horaz, Catull und Hipponax,” *ZPE* 26 (1977) 76 note 14. On the problem of Latin *dartus*, see Adams (above, note 17) 72. For expressions of “pulling back the foreskin” in Greek and Latin literature, see Degani ad loc. pp. 39–40. Cf., for example, δέρμα at Aristophanes *Eq.* 29, and other Aristophanic forms of δέρω.

<sup>22</sup> Degani *Studi* 323.

<sup>23</sup> L. Koenen, “ΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ ΕΧΘΡΟΣ: Ein einheimische Gegenkönig in Ägypten,” *CE* 34 (1959) 113 note 3, and scholars after him, cite Catullus 58.5 as a parallel to the activity described in ὑφέλξων, (δ)αρτόν: *glubit* (sc. Lesbia) *magnanimi Remi nepotes*. Degani, *Studi* 323, also cites *magnanimi Remi nepotes* as a periphrasis similar to the Ἐρυθραίων παῖδας of Hipponax. Though the phrases are not quite parallel (as *Romanorum nepotes* would be), the several connections between the poems may be more than casual.

intimacy.<sup>24</sup> If we understand the “sons of Erythrae” to mean literally the “Red Men,” the metaphor becomes clearer. In Aristophanes we find the adjective ἐρυθρός applied to the glans of the penis. *Nubes* 537–39 for example, describes the comically exaggerated artificial phallus, which the poet claims to avoid in his plays, as σκῦτινον καθεμμένον / ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ.<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere in Aristophanes (cf. *Pax* 927, 1351; *Ecc.* 1048) the phallus is said to be παῖς and μέγα, and at *Ach.* 787 the Megarian says to Dikaiopolis that his little pigs will one day have a κέρκον (= “penis”) which is μεγάλην τε καὶ παχεῖαν κήρυθράν. Vase paintings of the 6th and 5th C. show clearly that a large, thick, penis with a red glans<sup>26</sup> would immediately be perceived as comic.<sup>27</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Hipponax’ “Erythraeans” alludes to this obscene association of the color red. In this light, the Erythraeans as “Red Men” simply represent men characterized by prominent (probably erect) penises, red at the glans. If so, the line may be seen as an attempt to portray, hyperbolically, Boupalos’ lust. Depending on how one takes θηπέων, one can understand Boupalos as either “deceiving the Red Men” in that he is able to outdo them

<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere in Hipponax we also find place names serving as a joke, e.g. Πυγέλησι (95.15, in a scatological context; cf. Masson *ad fr.* 92, p. 151), Φλυήσιον (51.2, used of Apollo; probably < φλυάζω. See Degani *ad loc.* p. 74 for various explanations of the epithet). Λεπρῆς and Τρηχέης at 53.2 (cited by Strabo 14.1.4) seem to refer to actual places in Smyrna, but are no doubt humorously invoked to characterize the people who live there; (cf. Aristophanes’ comic use of λεπρός as a place name: *Ach.* 724; *Av.* 149, 151). Aristophanes, composing in a kindred genre, (on the generic affinities between the iambos and Old Comedy, cf. Henderson [above, note 17] 1–29), employs the topographical pun similarly. Place names may be either fictionalized but representing some humorous notion (e.g. *Ach.* 606, τοὺς δ’ ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κὰν Γέλα κὰν Καταγέλα), or may be actual place names adduced not so much because the context demands such a reference, but because of the potential double-entendre of the name (e.g. Cleon as Paphlagonian in *Eq.* [with the pun on φλάω]; Κορίνθιοι [= bedbugs] at *Nub.* 710).

<sup>25</sup> On the various ways of punctuating and construing this line see K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes’ Clouds* (Oxford 1968) *ad loc.* p. 168. “Red at the tip,” as Dover argues, probably refers to the glans exposed by circumcision, since the participle καθεμμένον (“hanging down”) seems to preclude an erect penis. Is it possible, however, that “hanging down” would refer to poor stage demeanor of a character bearing an erect phallus? παχύς (and μέγας) is usually applied elsewhere in Aristophanes to an erect phallus; cf. Henderson (above, note 17) 116.

<sup>26</sup> Or “red all over”; cf. Herodas 6.19 (and Cunningham *ad loc.* p. 164) where a leather dildo is painted red (κόκκινον); Horace *Sat.* 1.8.5, *obscenoque ruber procorrectus ab inguine palus* (no doubt with a pun on *phallus*, (see above, note 17); and the *ruber Priapus* in the Priapic poem (Buecheler 83) 11.6–8.

<sup>27</sup> See K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 127–28. On the use of Attic vase painting for evidence about other areas, see his remarks pp. 7–9.



with his own erection, or as “marvelling at the Red Men,” as if he is looking to them for erotic inspiration.<sup>28</sup>

The overtly sexual context of the fragment leads one to suspect, finally, that the name of Boupalos is employed strategically to make the pun on Boupalos' name as Βού-φαλλος. Such a pun would portray most economically (and humorously) the essence of the speaker's quarrel with Boupalos. Boupalos, that is, is about to have sex with Arete, and the poet's graphic emphasis on his adversary's penis highlights his enemy's excessive lust.<sup>29</sup> The epithet δυσώνυμος (v.3), moreover, used of the foreskin, seems to reinforce this interpretation. Not only does it probably allude humorously to the euphemistic epithet ἀνώνυμος (used of the penis at, e.g., Herod. 5.45 [ἀνώνυμον κέρκον] and AP 12.232), but if we understand it quite literally, we end up with a line meaning: “Big-Dick, about to pull back his *ill-named* foreskin”!

Fr. 86 also makes better sense if the poet was using “Boupalos” with this sort of word-play in mind. Boupalos again appears in a context involving the manipulation of the penis, but this time, probably after sexual intercourse:

.]ῶνο[  
 “δ’ ἦλθεν οἶ[

<sup>28</sup> In Herodas 6, a mimiamb that relates a conversation between two women about a leather dildo, at 43ff. Metro asks about the identity of the skillful shoe-maker who made it. Koritto says that his name is Kerdon, but that he is neither of the Kerdons whom Metro knows about: οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐστίν.../ ἀλλ’ οὗτος οὐκ οἶδ’ ἢ (‘χ) Χίου τις ἢ ‘ρυνθρέων / ἦκει... (57–59). F. Jung, (*Hipponax Redivivus* [Bonn 1929] 38–39), following a suggestion of Crusius, is no doubt right to say that Erythrae and Chios are meant to be significant. As Ionian cities, they were emblematic of luxurious and dissolute behavior (cf. A. Cassio, “Attico ‘volgare’ e Ioni in Atene alla fine del 5 secolo A.C.,” *Aion* 3 [1981] 90–92). Jung explicitly connects the Herodas line with Hipponax' Erythraeans, though he does not elaborate. (On the close relationship between Hipponax and Herodas, cf. R. Ussher “The Mimiamboi of Herodas,” *Hermathena* 129 [1980] 65–76.) On Chios as a similarly ridiculed place, cf. Aristophanes *Daitaleis* fr. 225 KA and Adams (above, note 17) 202. If the Erythraeans in fr. 20 have some relevance to the obscene context, it is hardly out of character for Hipponax to play on the color indicated by the name, as well as any other more general notions of debauchery inherent in it.

<sup>29</sup> See Miralles-Pòrtulas (above, note 4) 12–13, 39–45, on the iambic poet as a “trickster” figure, and how such a figure is often portrayed as having a great sexual appetite and a huge penis. The main drawback of their discussion is that the evidence from the iambographers does not show clearly that the phallic allusions refer to the poet himself. But Hipponax does seem to vie with Boupalos to be the supreme trickster, a relationship we see again most clearly between the Sausage-seller and the Paphlagonian in Aristophanes' *Eq*. It seems to be a central paradox of the *psogos* that the aggressor stoops to the level of the target, accusing him of reprehensible behavior while wishing to behave that way himself. The *Dikaios Logos* is so portrayed in *Nub*. 975–80. Cf. also Hipponax 126, which attacks a glutton (= Boupalos?), and compare the several declarations of poverty and hunger in other fragments (e.g. 42, 43, 44, 47, 48). On food in the iambs, see Miralles-Pòrtulas 35–37.

- .]ειου[.]ακεσ[  
 γληχῶνος[  
 5 κ]αί μ' εἶρετ' ὁ[  
 ]εῖπας .[  
 ]κούδιψ[  
 >>ἀλλ' ἐστεγυ[  
 >>χαμαὶ 'πιφ[  
 10 >>ἐκδύγτες α[  
 >>ἐδάκνομέν τε κάφ[ιλέομεν  
 >>διὲκ θυρέων βλέ[ποντες  
 >>μὴ ἥμεας λάβ[  
 >>γυμνοὺς ἐρυ.[  
 15 >>ἔσπευδε δημ[  
 >>ἐγὼ δ' ἐβίνε[ον ]τε κα[ῖ  
 >ἐπ' ἄκρον ἔλκιων ὥσπερ ἀλλᾶιντὰ ψύχων,  
 ]κλαίειν κελεύ[ων Βού]παλο[ν  
 ]κ[αί] μ' αὐτίκ' ἐξ[...(.)]σέν ἐκ δεπ[  
 20 ]καὶ δὴ 'πὶ τοῖς ἔργοισιν εἴχομ[εν  
 ]ἐγὼ μὲν ὥσπερ ρ]υσὸν ἰστι..[  
 σφάζειν ὑπέ.[.....]φαλ..τ[

10 κάφ[ιλεομεν suppl. West

In its broadest outline this fragment appears to describe a rather impassioned and involved sexual experience. The verb βινεῖν is, of course, a common obscenity for copulation,<sup>30</sup> and the biting and kissing of line 11 (ἐδάκνομέν τε κάφ[ιλέομεν) has been compared by West to the erotic kissing (κυνεῖν) and biting (δάκνειν) in Aristophanes *Ach.* 1208–9.<sup>31</sup>

Line 17 derives its humor from a sexual obscenity, namely the identification of a sausage (ἀλλᾶς) with the male organ. The details of the line are not clear, but it is fairly certain that we should not accept the emendation ψήχων, first proposed by Knox, for the transmitted ψύχων (Degani restores ψύχων). Ψήχων has been preferred, no doubt, because at first sight it seems to provide a more natural obscenity. Knox translates “as one that strokes a sausage, drew tipward,”<sup>32</sup> but it is hard to imagine in what (non-metaphorical) context one would have occasion to “stroke a sausage,” or for that matter, what activity in particular Knox felt was going on in the line. If we retain ψύχων (= “cooling”) we may understand the speaker as “drawing out the penis to the tip in order to cool it as one cools a sausage.”<sup>33</sup> Although, surprisingly enough, there is no

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Henderson (above, note 17) 151–2; and note Archilochos 152.2W.

<sup>31</sup> On φιλεῖν in the erotic sense, see Henderson (above, note 17) 181. Cf. also Aristophanes *Aves* 442 (and van Daele's note ad loc.) where δάκνειν may be used erotically.

<sup>32</sup> A.D. Knox, *Herodes, Cercidas and the Greek Choliambic Poets* (Cambridge, Mass. 1929) 4.

<sup>33</sup> See Degani *ad loc.* p. 99 for editors who endorse this reading, and for other explanations. Ψύχω can also mean “to dry,” which Degani prefers in this con-

clear case in Old Comedy where ἀλλᾶς is used in an obscene sense, Hipponax' sausage metaphor clearly belongs to that type of obscene comic humor which equates the sexual parts (male and female) with various foods.<sup>34</sup>

Up to line 17 Hipponax seems to be narrating his own sexual escapades with a woman (Arete perhaps?). Then, if the supplement is correct, the text has "ordering Boupalos to go hang." But how does Boupalos fit in here? Is he present at or involved in the action? Such a "threesome" seems unlikely. Rather, it seems more probable that Boupalos is mentioned as foil for the sexual prowess of Hipponax himself. Probably the fragment describes how Hipponax has sexual relations with the same woman with whom Boupalos had had intercourse earlier. In fr. 18 a speaker whom we may assume is the poet berates a woman (presumably) for sleeping with Boupalos, implying that his enemy was successful with a woman he was pursuing himself. If he has here finally won her over and had intercourse with her, which seems likely (ἐγὼ δ' ἐβίνε[ον], he seems to be urging her (and himself) to forget about Boupalos (ἰκλαίειν κελεύ[ων] Βού[υ]παλο[ν]). The fact that Boupalos is juxtaposed to the metaphorical description of the speaker's sexual organ as a sausage (...ἔλκων ὥσπερ ἀλλᾶντα ψύχων... κελεύων...) does seem to suggest a connection between the two, and it was probably the sausage metaphor that called him to mind. The juxtaposition, moreover, of ἀλλᾶντα and Βούπαλον, may even suggest a more direct, phonological connection between the two. If Hipponax is here punning on Boupalos' name as suggested for fr. 20, the speaker means to imply here that he is as sexually capable as his rival Boupalos. A suitable translation to capture the pun might run: "...and I was fucking [or began to fuck]...and as I was drawing out [my cock] to the tip (i.e. "all the way out") just as one who hangs out a sausage to cool, (and) bidding Boupalos (= Big-Dick) to go hang..." In other words, the speaker has performed with such sexual expertise that the figure whose very name embodies sexual prowess, Boupalos, is no match for him.

As a final point, it is worth noting that such a pun would be eminently consonant with the way other proper names are used in the iambos. Hipponax often uses names that reflect some specific character trait. The difficulty, of course, lies in determining whether these names are "significant" or not, given the fragmentary state of the corpus. Many are either well-attested elsewhere as genuine names or certainly *sound* genuine. In such cases the contextual significance may elude us. There are other cases, however, where context and/or etymology make us suspect an ulterior motive to the choice of the name.

We may cite from Hipponax, for example, the patronymic συκοτραγίδης ("son of Fig-nibbler" = "son of Cunnilinctor") of fr. 177 (attested in Eustathius for Archilochos as well [= fr. 250 W]), and Αἰσχυλίδης (fr. 196.9 = "son of Shameful/Disgusting"), used of a potter with whom the poet quarrels.<sup>35</sup> When

text. One of the anonymous referees has proposed that we read φαλλόν at the end of v.16, an attractive, if somewhat bold, supplement.

<sup>34</sup> See Henderson (above, note 17) 129, 144, 186.

<sup>35</sup> The details of fr. 196 are quite obscure, although the suggestion that it concerns a λωποδύτης seems most likely (as Masson 161; West *Studies* 146; for



Once Boupalos is considered as a strictly poetic character, it should be clear that his name could function exactly like the comic names discussed above: it could plausibly stand as a real name, and, at the same time, suggests a humorously insulting etymology well suited for an iambographic ἐχθρός. Moreover, whether or not the pun on Boupalos was made explicit every time it occurred (we can not be sure that it was even in every extant occurrence of the name), it is likely that at some level the semantic was always operative, that the name was meant to sound intrinsically humorous.

Several unanswerable questions, of course, remain: if Hipponax used the name Boupalos for its word-play, as we have suggested, does this mean that he chose the name for this purpose? Was it, perhaps, a nickname, given to the sculptor by Hipponax and retained thereafter? We shall probably never know exactly why Hipponax chose Boupalos as his target<sup>42</sup>—whether he simply was intrigued by the name, as has been suggested for Archilochos' choice of Lycambes, or whether the inspiration goes deeper. But if we accept the premise that generic demands would exert a greater influence over the poet than historical or personal details, then we may be sure that what was most important for Hipponax was *how* Boupalos could best be portrayed so as to perform the role of the traditional iambographic ἐχθρός.<sup>43</sup>

and it is usually held to refer to the μητρομιξία of Boupalos (cf. fr. 20 above, page 35). Koenen argues that the impiety alluded to in fr. 129 refers to this incest imputed to Boupalos (above, note 23) 114. However, on the problems of interpreting fr. 69, cf. Degani, *Studi* 261–62. A precise identification is of course impossible, but if our argument about the connotation of Boupalos is correct, it would be all the more fitting for him also to be called by the obscene nickname Sannos (= “penis”).

<sup>42</sup> As we noted earlier (note 15), the testimonia leave us with no reason to assume that Hipponax' poetry necessarily reflected a historical quarrel with Boupalos. Certainly this does not prove that one never did exist—on this question it is unlikely that we will ever be able to decide for sure—but it does offer us the freedom to apply what we do know of the iambographic quarrel as a *literary* convention in order to ascertain how poetic factors may have influenced Hipponax' portrayal of his relationship with Boupalos.

<sup>43</sup> On Boupalos as playing a role in Hipponax' poetry, cf. Koenen (above, note 21) 76, note 14.