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Who killed Lycambes' daughters? : an ancient literary mystery solved

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WHO KILLED LYCAMBES' DAUGHTERS?
AN ANCIENT LITERARY MYSTERY SOLVED*

The earliest evidence we have of Archilochus' reputation for vituperativeness is Pindar, *Pythian* 2. 52 ff.:

ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶν
φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν.
εἶδον γὰρ ἑκάς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ
ψογερόν 'Αρχίλοχον Βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν
παινόμενον· τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχῃ πότμου
σοφίας ἄριστον.

But I must
keep from the sharp bites of slander:
For far in the past I see Archilochus the scold in poverty,
fattening his leanness with hate and heavy words.
Wealth, and the fortune of wisdom that fate gives,
is best.

(transl. C. M. Bowra¹)

In some respects Pindar's meaning is not entirely clear. Bowra translates ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ "in poverty", but Sandys renders more literally "full often in distress" – in any case, we can only guess what Pindar thought Archilochus' "distress" consisted in. Nor is it obvious what the connection is between Archilochus' ἀμαχανία and the "wealth with wisdom" of the concluding *gnome*². The scholiasts do not throw much light either; they appear to take

* I offer this study as a token of esteem to a scholar whose work in Greek poetry I have admired over the years, and also as a small mark of personal affection.

¹ I follow the translations in C. M. Bowra, *Problems in Greek Poetry*, Oxford 1953, pp. 86–87.

² See in general G. Kirkwood, *Selections from Pindar*, Chico (California) 1982, pp. 151–153; R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes*, Oxford, 1962, p. 120; Ch. Carey,

πογερόν as passive, glossing *παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψεγόμενον τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, καὶ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμνηχανίᾳ ψεγόμενον*³; they also detect in *δάκος* an enigmatic reference to Bacchylides, "for he always disparaged him [i.e. Pindar] before Hieron"⁴. Modern commentators generally reject this interpretation⁵ and, in spite of Hesychius' gloss of *πογερός* as "blamable," interpret the word in an active sense: "I must avoid the reputation of a biting calumniator" (Gildersleeve); "I must myself avoid the bad habit of slandering others, with the example of Archilochos before me" (Farnell); *alii sim.* In any case, the implication of Pindar's phrase *Βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν* as applied to Archilochus is unmistakable, and this certainly fits the traditional picture which we are here tracing.

We next come on a tantalizingly unspecific allusion in Cratinus, who in his comedy *Nomoi* had a character refer to a "Lycambean magistracy"⁶. If, as seems likely, this is an allusion to Archilochus' Lycambes, the sources of the citation (Photios and Pollux, the latter finding a "frigid" pun and explaining that Archilochus "waged war on Lycambes") throw no light at all on the matter: they thought the reference was to the polemarch, before whom were heard cases involving metics who did not have *prostatai*, legal sponsors, and also suits involving heiresses (there is a remote possibility, I suppose, that Cratinus was alluding to Archilochus' abortive betrothal to Lycambes' daughter). According to Gentili the reference in fr. 198 "makes it clear that Lycambes was an officeholder, thereby exposing himself to the assaults of Archilochus"⁷. Cratinus also wrote a comedy entitled *Archilochoi* from which a passage is cited by Athenaeus:

εἶδες τὴν θασίαν ἄλμην οἷ ἅττα βαίξει;
ὥς εὖ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετίσαιο καὶ παραχρῆμα.
οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς ἔοικε λαλῆσαι.

You have seen what sort of insults that Thasian pickle barks at us, how neatly and speedily he got his revenge without delay? He is not like the blind talking uselessly to the deaf, let me tell you⁸.

A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar, New York 1981, pp. 43–45. According to C. M. Bowra (*op. cit.*), "This is the Pindaric way of saying that rather than speak freely and suffer [like Archilochus], he would choose his own art, *σοφία*, and the wealth which his patrons give him for it".

³ II, p. 48 Drachmann (also, in part, Archilochus T 161, Tarditi).

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Cf. C. Carey (*op. cit.* p. 43): "Since the sentence is conventional we need not look for biographical data".

⁶ Cratinus fr. 138, Kassel-Austin.

⁷ B. Gentili, *Poetry and its Public in Ancient Greece from Homer to the Fifth Century*, Engl. trans., Baltimore et al., 1990, p. 192 (cf. *idem*, QUCC 1982, n.s. 11, pp. 24–25).

⁸ Fr. 6, Kassel-Austin, transl. Gulick, Loeb Athenaeus, vol. 4, pp. 247–249.

Meineke in 1839 put forward the view that "Thasian pickle" refers to Archilochus, and this is now generally (though not universally⁹) accepted; the idea seems to be that whoever becomes the target of Archilochus' verses will be "well and truly cooked", like the barbecued fish immersed in Thasian brine as a kind of marinade¹⁰. The play is thought to be among Cratinus' earliest since it alludes to the (recent?) death of Cimon. The chorus was composed (apparently) of multiple representations of Archilochus, and there is a reference in fr. 2 to a "swarm of sophists". Line three of fr. 6 cited above (the "blind talking uselessly to the deaf") has been taken as an allusion to Homer, and it is pointed out that in antiquity Archilochus and Homer were often paired. How all this may fit together and what exactly Cratinus was getting at remain a mystery. Athenaeus also cites Hermippus' *On Gorgias* for Gorgias' reference to Plato as "this fine new Archilochus that Athens has produced" (from the context it appears that Gorgias was referring to the way he was lampooned [*ιαμβίζειν*] by Plato in the dialogue named after him¹¹). Towards the end of the fifth century Critias claimed to have found in Archilochus' verses evidence that he was the son of Enipo a slave-woman (the name is alleged to be programmatic, "Dame Harangue") and that he became an enemy of the Parians, *ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε*, "he reviled friend and foe alike"¹². Critias does not, however, mention Lycambes or his family specifically in this context.

In the fourth century Archilochus appears together with Hipponax (the conjunction is, as we shall see, possibly significant) as a suitor of Sappho in Diphilus' comedy *Sappho*¹³. Alexis wrote a comedy titled *Archilochus* in which someone, perhaps Archilochus himself ("whether present or absent", remarked Kock) was addressed as a "prosperous old man, dwelling in fortunate Paros [...]"¹⁴. A late anonymous writer on metre cites an elegiac distich from Callimachus' *Grapheion* (which seems to mean "Writing Tablet"), which the source claims is "about Archilochus":

⁹ A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford 1959, 1, p. 36, n. 2, suggests it "may be a hit at Stesimbrotos".

¹⁰ This is the plausible interpretation of R. Pretagostini, *Archiloco "salsa di Taso" negli "Archilochi" di Cratino (fr. 6 K)*, QUCC 1982, n.s. 11, pp. 43–52, who also interestingly notes that Platonius remarked (W. Koster, *Scholia in Aristophanem*, "Prolegomena" 1975, p. 6 = Cratinus T 17 K–A) that Cratinus' satire was particularly vicious because he was imitating Archilochus.

¹¹ Athenaeus 11. 505 D (= Hermippus fr. 63, Wehrli).

¹² Critias 88 B 44 D–K from Aelian VH 10. 13 (= Critias T 32, Gentili-Prato, *Poetarum elegiacorum [...] fragmenta*).

¹³ Diphilus, frs. 70–71, Kassel-Austin.

¹⁴ Alexis, fr. 22, Kock.

εἴλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὄξυ τε κέντρον
σφηκός, ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰὸν ἔχει στόματος

he took a dog's bitter bile and a wasp's sharp goad,
and has mouth-poison from both¹⁵

(With this we may compare *Anth. Pal.* 7. 69, a later "epitaph" of Archilochus by Julian prefect of Egypt under Justinian¹⁶. Cerberus is told to "beware the θυμὸν ἰάμβων δριμύν, πικροχόλου τικτόμενον στόματος). This still seems rather unspecific, but it is in the third century that we find the first real testimony to the legend of Lycambes and his daughter(s), in a papyrus in Trinity College, Dublin, published by G. W. Bond in 1952¹⁷, containing what Page describes as "an epitaph for the daughters of Lycambes, spoken by themselves"¹⁸. As reconstructed by Bond the papyrus reads "[Behold the maidens who died] by violent chattering. Approaching wayfarer, we are the daughters of Lycambes. A fellow-citizen had the heart of a stone; [he hurled] immeasurable insults [against us] in [...] iambs, [and] we put our necks [in nooses. Do not bring up false tales] against us [...]"¹⁹. With the fragmentary i 9 Bond compares *Anth. Pal.* 7. 351 and 352 where "Lycambes' dead daughters swear an oath about their virginity". It is instructive to look at these poems. The former, by Dioscorides (or Dioscourides), was composed in the late 3rd or 2nd century B.C., and it is, like the poem to which the Dublin papyrus is alluding, a fictitious epitaph on the daughters of Lycambes. It contains a fuller version of the legend: "[...] against our family Archilochus poured freezing abuse and a hateful voice, but we swear by the gods and daimones that we never saw Archilochus in the streets nor in Hera's great precinct, and if we had been lustful and ready to gratify our lusts [v. 9, μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι] he wouldn't have wanted to marry and beget children by us" (transl. Gow/Page). From this it is possible to reconstruct the abuse allegedly poured on Lycambes' daughters by Archilochus: according to West, he "claimed that he had met the girls in the precinct of Hera and that they

¹⁵ Callimachus fr. 380, Pfeiffer; on Callimachus and Archilochus see E. Degani, *Studi su Ipponatte*, Bari 1984, pp. 175 ff. Callimachus also mentioned Archilochus at fr. 544, Pfeiffer, without referring to his verbal vitriol, but calling him μεθυπλήξ, possibly a reference to Archilochus' own description of himself as leading the dithyramb [...] οἶνον συγκεραυνώθεις φρένας (fr. 120 West = 117 Tard.).

¹⁶ F. Will, *Archilochos*, New York 1969, p. 70, and cf. in general his informative chapter 6, "Archilochos and Classical Antiquity".

¹⁷ G. W. Bond, *Archilochus and the Lycambides: a New Literary Fragment*, "Hermathena" 1952, 80, pp. 1-11 ("late third century B.C." is the date suggested by C. H. Roberts); cf. M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati*, vol. 1, Oxford 1989², p. 64.

¹⁸ D. L. Page (rev. R. D. Dawe and J. Diggle), *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981, p. 55.

¹⁹ G. W. Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

had indulged in a sexual orgy or orgies together, the details of which were described with the most indecent explicitness"²⁰. The theme is taken up the writer of the second of the Anthology poems to which Bond refers, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 352, ascribed by some, according to the anthologist, to Meleager. (If the inscription is correct, it will date from the first cent. B.C. Gow/Page call the epigram "fluent and simple, with some neat phrasing" and say they "are decidedly of the opinion that M[eleager] is not the author"²¹): "[...] we are virgins even below ground, but bitter Archilochus poured [*ἔβλυσε*: the metaphorical use of this verb seems to be unique", Gow/Page] many shameful reproaches against our maidenhood. He turned his *καλὴν φάτιν* [Gow/Page comment on the unusualness of this to mean "poetry"] not to fair deeds, but to making war on women. Pierian Muses, why did you turn *ὕβριστῆρας* *ιάμβους* against maidens, to gratify an unholy man?"

These scattered references and fictitious "epitaphs" point to the following conclusion. At some time in the Hellenistic period a story grew up that, because of the violent invective turned upon them, Lycambes' daughter or daughters, and in many later versions also Lycambes himself, committed suicide. The first tangible evidence for a fully developed form of the story is, as we saw, the late 3rd century Dublin papyrus, and by the first century B.C. the legend was clearly well-known in Roman literary circles. Thus, Horace, *Epode* 6. 11 ff.:

cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
parata tollo cornua,
qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener,
aut acer hostis Bupalus.

Beware, Beware! Fear full fiercely do I lift my ready horns against evildoers, even as the slighted son-in-law of perfidious Lycambes, or as Bupalus' keen foe. (transl. Bennett)

and at *Epist.* 1. 19. 23–31 Horace claims to have been "the first to transfer Parian iambs to Rome, in imitation of Archilochus' spirited rhythms", while, however, eschewing "Archilochus' [allegedly vicious] content and the attacks on Lycambes":

numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben. (24–25)

A few lines later (30–31) he refers to Alcaeus, who did not (as by implication, Archilochus had done) "seek out a father-in-law whom he

²⁰ M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin et al., 1974, p. 26.

²¹ A. S. F. Gow, D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, vol. 2, p. 680.

might smear with his black (i.e. poisonous) verses, nor did he weave a noose for his betrothed with a slanderous song". A similar allusion occurs in Ovid's *Ibis*, where the author says (53–54) that his iambic verse is "ready to be deployed" (*liber iambus*) against his victim, and will provide weapons dipped in the blood of Lycambes"²². The scholiasts to the various passages in Horace and Ovid flesh out the story, but ps.-Acro on Horace, *Ep.* 6. 13 puts it in a nutshell:

Lycambes habuit filiam Neobulen; hanc cum Archilochus in matrimonium postulasset, promissa nec data est a patre. Hinc iratus Archilochus in eum maledicum carmen scripsit, quo Lycambes tanto est dolore compulsus, ut cum filia vitam laqueo finiret.

Lycambes had a daughter, Neobule; when Archilochus asked for her hand in marriage, she was promised but not given by her father. Archilochus was so angered by this that he wrote a poem of abuse against Lycambes which caused him so much grief that he and his daughter hanged themselves.

I pause now to consider the evidence for Lycambes and his family. How many daughters did he have, and who was involved in the alleged catastrophe? Scholars generally assert that the reference in fr. 38 West οἴην Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέραν indicates two girls (*ὑπερτέραν* = *νεωτέραν*; Lasserre somewhat implausibly argues that this means a son and a daughter²³), and this is certainly the implication of the Cologne epode – if it is genuine. Papyrus Dublin and Dioscorides XVIII, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 351, quoted above, suggest a plurality, but do not specify a number. In *Anth. Pal.* 7. 71, a fictitious epitaph for Archilochus' tomb by Gaetulicus („first half of the first cent. A.D. or even earlier", Page²⁴), we read: "[...] Lycambes knows [the effects of Archilochus' bitter and murderous gall], mourning for his 3 daughters hanged [...]" (Page ad loc. calls the number "inexplicable"). The number is reduced to two in *Anth. Pal.* 7. 69, the epigram by Julian of Egypt, already referred to: "Cerberus [...] thou knowest the might of [Archilochus'] words ever since one boat brought the 2 daughters of Lycambes". Ps.-Acro on Horace *Ars P.* 79 said only Lycambes hanged himself; ps.-Acro on *Epode* 6. 13 said Lycambes and his daughter hanged themselves; ps.-Acro on *Epist.* 1. 19. 30 said Lycambes went into exile and his daughter committed suicide; scholium C (F) on Ovid *Ibis* 54 said Archilochus' invective forced "Lycambes himself and his wife and daughter" to hang themselves.

²² With *Ib.* 54: *tincta Lycambeo sanguine tela dabit*, compare Martial 7. 12. 6–7: *si qua Lycambeo sanguine tela madent, | vipereumque vomat nostro sub nomine virus* [...].

²³ F. Lasserre, *Les épodes d'Archiloque*, Paris 1950, p. 50.

²⁴ D. L. Page, *loc. cit.*

Let us consider now some suspicious parallels with Hipponax²⁵, especially the story of his poem against the Chiot sculptors Bupalus and Athenis, for having portrayed him (although he was ugly) in such a way that exposed him to ridicule; they were driven to suicide. According to Pliny "Hipponax had a notoriously ugly face, and because of this [Bupalus and Athenis] made impudent jokes much to the amusement of groups of companions to whom they exhibited his likeness [some problems with text and meaning here]. This angered Hipponax, who rebuked them so violently in his mordant lampoons that he is believed by some to have driven them to hang themselves²⁶". Additional testimonia are given by West²⁷ of which the most important is ps.-Acro on Horace *Epode* 6. 14 (the lemma is: "I lift my ready horns against evil-doers... [like Archilochus] or like Bupalus' keen foe"): "Hipponactem significat, qui Bupalii filiam nuptum petiit et pro deformitate contemptus est... [and, by another scholiast]... etiam iste [sc. Hipponax] socerum suum, postquam se fraudavit, carminibus petiit". In other words, the story about Archilochus and Lycambes' daughter is being retold about Hipponax and Bupalus' daughter.

Whether or not Hipponax is really being alluded to (somewhat opaquely, it must be admitted) at Ovid *Ibis* 523–524 (immediately after the reference to Archilochus which was cited earlier in this paper), where the scholia²⁸ make no mention of Hipponax but offer instead Menius, Maeius, Maeuius, Phedymus, or Anaxandrides, the scholia on *Ibis* 521 do bring Hipponax's name into the Archilochus story, and in a very bizarre way (schol. B (a*)): "Archilochus propter filiam Hipponactis Lycambi datam" (this, as Malcolm Davies has suggested)²⁹, may be straight scribal inversion for "filiam Lycambis Hipponacti datam", which would bring this strange genealogy into line with that implied by schol. P on *Ibis* 54: "Lycambes fuit socer Hipponactis, qui se suspendit propter invectivas in se factus a genero suo per versus iambicos" (the scholion then goes on to cite Horace, *Epistle* 1. 19. 25 "et agentia verba Lycamben").

²⁵ See in general G. L. Hendrickson, *Archilochus and the Victims of his Iambics*, AJP 1925, 46, pp. 101–127; A. Piccolomini, *Quaestionum de Archilocho capita tria*, "Hermes" 1993, 18, pp. 264–270 (a similar story was told about Callimachus' invective against an enemy; Hendrickson p. 111 citing Ellis, Schol. P to *Ibis* (p. 43): "[...] sicut Callimachus fecit invectivam contra inimicum suum et ipsum duxit ad mortem"; cf. also E. Degani, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff., esp. 88, n. 27).

²⁶ Pliny, H. N. 36. 4. 11–12, transl. Eichholz (Loeb). For Hipponax's *Βουπάλειος μάχη* (Callimachus phrase, fr. 191 Pfeiffer) see E. Degani, *op. cit.*, p. 20, with refs.

²⁷ M. L. West, *Iambi...*, pp. 109–110.

²⁸ Cited in the edition of A. La Penna, *Scholia in P. Ovidi Nasonis Ibin*, Florence 1959.

²⁹ M. Davies, *Archilochus and Hipponax in a Scholium on Ovid's "Ibis"*, "Prometheus" 1981, 7, pp. 123–124.

There is no limit to the inventiveness of these scholiasts; cf. schol. b, G (Z*) and C (F*) on *Ibis* 521, which respectively report about Archilochus:

b cui maledicentia exitio fuit [this presumably is nothing more than a verbal explanation of *Ibis* 521–522, utque repertori nocuit pugnacis iambi (sc. Archilochus), sic sit in exitium lingua proterva tuum, and we may compare Pindar's reference, cited above, to Archilochus' *amachania*, and perhaps also Critias' comment that Archilochus "became an enemy" of the Parians: καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πένιαν καὶ ἀπορίαν];

G (Z*) Archilochus [...] postquam Lycamben coegerat ad suspensum, ab amicis eius persecutus, se ipsum interfecit;

C (F*) Archilochus [...] propter linguae suae pravitatem, missus est in exilium [this may be a faint reminiscence of his expedition to Thasos].

I believe that the key to the mystery lies in a selection from an anonymous writer on metre, published by R. W. Fowler³⁰, from the 14th century codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 356, sect. 8: *περὶ ἱαμβικοῦ* [...] πόθεν ὠνομάσθη τὸ μέτρον τοῦτο ἱαμβικόν; ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινός... [with an abridgement of her encounter with Hipponax, who is here not named, and her abuse of him for having "overturned her washing trough"] ...ἄλλως ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινός ὕβριστριάς, ἥτις αἰσχρῶς ὕβρισθεῖσα ἀγχόνῃ τὸν βίον κατέλυσε, ὥς τὸ Ἀρχιλόχου δηλοῖ ποίημα ὅπερ Λυκαμβίδες καλεῖται. λέγουσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συντεθῆναι τὸν ἱαμβὸν ἀπὸ βραχείας καὶ μακρᾶς, διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἀπὸ βραχείας ἄρχεσθαι τῆς αἰτίας [...] (On this passage Fowler comments, "[...] our MS is the only source to state that Archilochus' poem was actually called *Λυκαμβίδες*. In view of the unswerving consistency of all other sources in saying ὅπερ καὶ αἱ *Λυκαμβίδες* ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρχιλόχου ποιήμασι, this detail may be regarded as a mistake like ἐν Ἐλευσίνι; but it is a rather odd mistake"³¹. I don't see why this should be so).

I give a suggested reconstruction as follows. Archilochus' references to Lycambes and his daughters (and for that matter their mother in the Cologne epode) are all what Gentili terms "good-natured" ridicule, in the "serio-comic" mode³². Gentili characterizes it as the "[...] good-humored depiction of ridiculous behavior – even on the part of friends. The mood that it evokes is the gay, vital one of the *kômos* – the festive banquet procession in which friends (*philoî*) and comrades (*hetaîroi*) took part, members of a single confraternity bound together by a particular set of social and political interests"³³ (this "togetherness" is perhaps attested by

³⁰ R. W. Fowler, *Two more new verses of Hipponax (and a Spurious of Philoxenos)?*, ICS 1990, 15.1, pp. 1–22 at 17–18 (This is not, apparently, a copy of Coeroboscus, but an anonymous writer on metre; cf. also C. Brown in "Hermes" 1988, 116, pp. 478–481; R. M. Rosen, *AJP* 1988, 109, pp. 174–179).

³¹ R. W. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³² B. Gentili, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

³³ *Ibidem*.

the detail preserved in the Mnesiepes inscription regarding Archilochus' father Telesikles: ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν θεοπρόπον εἰς Δελφοὺς εἰρημένον μετὰ Λυκάμβου χρησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως). At some point Archilochus (either the historical person or his poetic persona) became a suitor for the hand of one of Lycambes' daughters – ex hypothesi, Neoboule (fr. 38 W, οἴην Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν υπερτέρην must refer to her sister, according to the genealogy implied by the "First Cologne Epode", see *below*). After promising that she could marry him, Lycambes broke his pledge (fr. 173 W, ὄρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν ἄλλα τε καὶ τράπεζαν, w. testt. cited by West *ad loc.*). In the aftermath Archilochus composed several poems: 197 W "Father Zeus, I had no share in the wedding [...]"; 172 W, in which one of Lycambes' daughters, Neoboule or her sister, says in mock horror, "Father Lycambes, what is this which you've devised? Who took away your wits [...]?" etc. Yet another (122 W) talked about the cosmic reversals which one had now to expect (I take it that the scholiast to Aristotle *Rhet.* 3. 17. 1418 b 28³⁴, where the first line is cited in a discussion of "ascribing ψόγος to a third party", and Aristotle says it is a father speaking about his daughter, has got some of the facts right: there was a promise by the father, a suitor [cf. the name Archenaktides in v. 10 and γάμω.. in v. 12] and mention of a dowry).

The "First Cologne Epode" can be made to fit into this story, but only uncomfortably. Why ...[asks Slings³⁵] does the speaker here [Neoboule's younger sister] imply that the narrator is unfamiliar with her [sc. Neoboule]?" The speaker offers her sister to the narrator (allegedly, Archilochus), who abusively rejects her as being promiscuous and "past it" (cf. vv. 16–27); this is very different from the received version summarized above in which Archilochus angrily turned against the family because his prospective father-in-law rejected him as Neoboule's suitor. Slings does not really meet the problem: "[...] ancient biographical tradition states that it had indeed been Archilochus' intention to marry Neoboule ([...] Archilochus may very well have suggested one cause in that poem [frs 172–181] and another one here)³⁶". Nor is Carey's explanation entirely convincing: "That Neoboule is here rejected while in the indirect tradition she (or her father) rejects Archilochus is of little moment, for the bitter terms in which she is dismissed (especially the condemnation of her faithlessness) presupposes a strong hostility consistent with betrayal by Neoboule, and certainly too strong for a young lover's fastidiousness [...]"³⁷. What Carey seems to be saying (if

³⁴ M. L. West, *Iambi...*, p. 48.

³⁵ S. R. Slings in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems*, Leiden 1987, p. 32.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

³⁷ C. Carey, *Archilochus and Lycambes*, CQ 1986, n.s. 36, p. 62.

I understand his line of argument) is that Archilochus has to pretend to reject Neoboule because he has already been rejected by her. This is possible but rather unlikely. I think we simply have to admit that there is a conflict in the two traditions: in the indirect, Neoboule (or her father) takes the lead in issuing a rebuff to Archilochus, in the direct one (if the Cologne epode is authentic) Archilochus getting in first with some ungallant remarks about Neoboule. A rather complicated hypothesis might be devised that after Archilochus was rebuffed in the matter of marriage with Neoboule, he invented the episode recounted in the Cologne epode to besmirch the character of Neoboule's younger sister: here was a girl unable to resist Archilochus' improper suggestions, and was an easy prey to his amorous advances. If this fictional episode formed part of Archilochus' verbal assault on the family, it might well have appeared to give substance to the charge that both sisters agreed to assignations "in Hera's great temenos", as stated by the Dioscorides "epitaph" (above, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 351. 8)³⁸.

I suggest that, whatever degree of truth there may have been in Archilochus' allegations about Lycambes and his family, these were quite separate from the entirely fictitious story of Iambe, recounted by Archilochus (as suggested by *Vat. Pal. Graec.* 356) in a totally different poetic context. In this Archilochus told about a certain Iambe, the *ὕβριστρία*³⁹, "who when she was herself shamefully insulted, ended her life by hanging" (I take it that the second part of this report, cited above, may point to the "aitiology" of the iamb, given either by Archilochus in the poem or more probably by a later commentator: "hybris begins from a small origin, but ends in a great evil"). At some stage in the transmission, but before the third century B.C., Archilochus' two poems (or rather, the one attested poem about Iambe and the cycle about the Lycambidae) became confused, and the fictional detail about Iambe's having killed herself out of chagrin at Archilochus' insults was transferred to Lycambes and his family; hence the Vatican Metrician's remark [...] *ὥς τὸ Ἀρχιλόχου δηλοῖ ποίημα ὅπερ Λυκαμβίδες καλεῖται*. I have no plausible explanation of how Hipponax's name became mixed up in the Iambe story (as it is in some of the variations under *Hipponax Test.* 21 Degani), except that it is quite understandable that Hipponax should have come to be closely associated with, and even in some sources substituted for, Archilochus (we may compare the way

³⁸ H. D. Rankin argued that the assault on the family's respectability contained in the Cologne epode brought on their suicide (*Archilochus of Paros*, Park Ridge (N.J.) 1977, pp. 49, 56).

³⁹ It is unlikely that Archilochus himself used this word, if Silk is correct that the formation is fifth-century Attic ("Eos" 1985, 73, pp. 239–246). (Critias calls Archilochus *ὕβριστής* and at *Hipponax Test.* 21d Degani the term is applied to Archilochus in referring to his use of iamboi for his abusive poems. Cf. also the reference to Archilochus' *ὕβριστήρας ἰάμβους* at *Anth. Pal.* 7.352, 7–8, cited above.)

"Archilochus and Hipponax" are sometimes paired and referred to as the inventors of iamb; they also occur together in Diphilus' *Sappho*), given the generally similar nature of Archilochian and Hipponactean invective. My guess is that the confusion attested by Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 356, sect. 8 (where, however, Hipponax is not named) may have been facilitated by Hipponax's rehandling of the Iambe story along "Eleusinian" lines (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 202 ff. and Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter* vv. 58–62⁴⁰). From the scholion Fowler⁴¹ reconstructs three lines as a "putative fragment of Hipponax":

ἄθρων·, ἄπελθε· τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις.
 ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀκαταθύμιος φαίνεται.
 ἔργον δὲ μωρὸν ἐκτελεῖς σκάφην τρέπων.

But I do not see how we can be completely certain that they are by Hipponax; they might have occurred in Archilochus' *Iambe* poem.

⁴⁰ H. Lloyd-Jones, P. J. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin et al., 1983, fr. 680.

⁴¹ R. W. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 3.