

ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΣΙΦΝΑΪΚΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ

ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ

Γ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΣΙΦΝΑΪΚΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΥ

ΣΙΦΝΟΣ 29 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ - 2 ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ 2006

ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΒΕΡΝΙΚΟΥ - ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑΔΗ

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MATTEO D'ACUNTO
BOUPALOS, HIPPONAX AND THE SIPHNIAN
THESAUROS AT DELPHI

According to Plinius the Elder, the oldest schools in marble sculpture were the Cretan one by Dipoinos and Skyllis, and the Chios one (NH XXXVI, 9-14). He relates the Chios school as the older one. It goes back to Melas, and goes on with his son Mikkiades, his grandson Archermos, and Archermos' sons, Boupalos and Athenis. Plinius says that Boupalos and Athenis were very famous in the marble sculpture art (*clarissimi in ea scientia*) at the time of the poet Hipponax, whose *floruit* was in the sixtieth Olympiad (that is 540-537 BC).

There were no inscriptions with the name of Boupalos, Archermos' son, neither sculptures were assigned to him till the new hypothesis put forward by Didiers Viviers about the Siphnian *Thesaurus* at Delphi (Viviers 2002) (fig. 1-4). He reads the name of Boupalos on the signature inscribed on the shield of one of the giants on the Northern frieze:

Β[όπαλ]ο[ς] Ἀρχέρμο (?) τά]δε
καὶ τῶπισθεν ἐποίη

The sculptor says that he is the author of these figures and of those who stay on the back. According to Viviers, it means that he has done the figures in front of and behind the giant with the inscription: that is only the Northern frieze. But on this point I prefer the *lectio facillior*: the sculptor refers both to the Northern frieze and to the Eastern one. Indeed, the Eastern frieze stays on the rear part of the *Thesaurus*, which has the entrance on the Western side. This interpretation fits with the traditional hypothesis that one chief master has directed the sculpture of both the Northern frieze and the Eastern one (La Coste Messelière 1936, p. 413 f.; Rolley 1994, p. 269-270).

On the contrary, Viviers' reading of Boupalos' name is tempting, for these reasons:

- 1) the first letter of the name is better read as *beta*;
- 2) after the gap of four letters an *omicron* is preserved; after this *omicron* the last letter of the name is lost: but it is probably a *sigma*, because the inscription seems to be conceived with a cross correspondence between the letters on the two perpendicular lines of the shield: the horizontal line has two *epsilons*, so on the vertical one to the *sigma* in the lower part has to correspond another *sigma*;

- 3) The letters of the Delphic inscription are similar to the ones of the inscriptions of Mikkiades, Archermos and of Chian sculptors, found in Paros, Delos and the Acropolis of Athens (Viviers 2002, p. 65-67 and 85, fig. 7-8).

Viviers' hypothesis is conjectural, because the name of Boupalos lacks four letters and the one of Archermos is entirely in the gap of the surface. But Boupalos fits very well the image of the North - East friezes sculptor, who is considered by scholars as a Chiot or a Parian from his style (Rolley 1994, p. 270; for Chios La Coste Messelière 1936, p. 429 and 440, and Croissant 1983, p. 78-83). And the very famous and original sculptor Boupalos would be the best candidate for the North-East friezes, because these sculptures show strong originality and breaks towards Archaic formulas, as pointed out by P. de La Coste Messelière. For example, this originality is shown by:

- 1) On the Eastern frieze the horses of the two quadrigae are arranged with the purpose of giving the idea of a semicircular space around the duel between Achilles and Memnon: the central horse is seen in profile, while the other ones are foreshortened;
- 2) The lively assembly of the gods participating in the *pychostasia* by Zeus, on the Eastern frieze;
- 3) And, especially, the gigantomachy on the Northern frieze shows complex and varied solutions. The sculptor creates for each fight between the gods and the giants different positions in the space. He shows his skill, for example: in weaving the limbs of the fighters like in a cloth, in alternating and breaking the groups of fighters, in the positions of the giants fallen on the ground, and, as for a group, in the strong attack by the lions to a giant running away, but turning back.

Boupalos' originality would be also shown by the tradition, according which he sculpted, alone or with his brother Athenis, one or some "caricature-portraits" of the poet Hipponax. We cannot know how these images looked like: either were they closer to the modern concept of portraits or were they rather caricatures? The tradition of these "caricature-portraits" is reported: by Plinius (*NH*, XXXVI, 11-12: who draws his informations from Greek authors); by the *Scholia ad Horatium*, *Epod.* 6, 14 (Test. 9a-9d D.): Test. 9a-b D. speak about a caricature-portrait painting only done by Boupalos; and by the *Suda* ('Ἰππῶναξ' s.v.: Test. 7 D.) who considers both Boupalos and Athenis as the sculptors of the portraits.

Several Hipponax's fragments refer the contest with Boupalos: fragments 17, 18, 19, 20, 77, 79, 86, 98, 121-122 and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 D. They are *excerpta* from convivial dialogues or larger lyrics. For some of them we cannot even understand their general meaning. In some fragments the strike between Hipponax and Boupalos relates to erotic themes. None of these fragments mentions explicitly the "caricature-portrait". But the text 144 D. (*Antiatt. An. Gr.* 82, 13 s Bekk.) refers the activity of Boupalos as a sculptor (*agalmatopoiòs*) and assimilates the

sculptor with his work: that is a stone image (*lithinos andriàs*). Furthermore, the fragment 70 D. preserves the name of Athenis, the brother of Boupalos, who, according to the tradition, was the co-author of the portrait.

Some scholars cast doubts about this "caricature-portrait" tradition. Indeed, in the Greek art the first "caricatures" date from the end of the VI Cent. BC and the physiognomic portraits date from the Severe Style, during 480-450 BC. (see Giuliani 1997, p. 988-992, fig. 5-6; Rolley 1994, p. 392-396). But the tradition itself reports that the Hipponax's "caricature-portraits" are exceptions, anomalies, insults: according to the Suda, εἰχονες πρὸς ὕβριν.

A particular context where the image was used, together with a strong personality of the sculptor, could explain the episode. Plinius points out the specific context and the use of the "caricature-portrait" of Hipponax. He says (NH XXXVI, 12): "Hipponax's face was very ugly. Therefore, Boupalos and Athenis created an image in circles of jokers for free plays". Plinius' terms, *ridentium circuli* and *lascivia iocorum*, indicate the convivial context with attack jokes between the two rivals. Hipponax answers to the portrait with his mean of attack, i.e. the iambus: Plinius says *indignatus destrinxit amaritudinem carminum* so strongly that he pushed the two sculptors to kill themselves (Plinius does not believe to this end, which is clearly anecdotic).

Therefore, the "caricature-portrait" by Boupalos and Athenis can be a sort of image iambus. It takes place in a sympotic context through convivial interplays, whose protagonists are "intellectuals" of different kind.

An alternative tradition relates that the Hipponax's caricature-portrait was shown by Boupalos during the *Panathenaia* (Test. 9b D.): are they Klazomenian *Panathenaia*? If it is true, the strife between the poet and the sculptor was not limited to the symposia but had a public exposition during civic festivals.

The sympotic strife between Boupalos and Hipponax suggests that the contest occurred in the high society. The biographic informations reported by the Suda (Test. 7 D.) show that Hipponax was part of the aristocracy in Ephesos; he was banished from his mother-city when the tyrants Athenagoras and Komas took the power. This is coherent with his poetry which is, according to Martin West, "highly skilful and sophisticated", even if "for the purposes of iambus Hipponax assumes the character of a low buffoon" (West 1974, p. 28 and 29).

After the exile from Ephesos, the poet went to Klazomenai: in this city the Pseudo Acron (Test. 9a D.) places the contest with Boupalos. This information is strengthened by the Hipponax's fragment 17 D. against Boupalos, which mentions the people of Klazomenai, in the vocative.

An alternative tradition, reported by the *Scholia ad Horatium, Epod. 6, 14* (Test. 9a-b D.), refers that the "caricature-portrait" was a painting. If this tradition is true, Boupalos devoted himself also to the painting, that was a nobler art than the sculpture, because it needed less manual labour.

And Hipponax assails just a painter, Mimnes, in the fragment 39 D., because he painted a ship, on which a snake moves against the helmsman. This fragment is important for our discussion. It makes further likely the portrait by Boupalos, because the poet contests with another "artist", who is not a poet. Furthermore, the painting is possibly used in a socio-political context. Indeed, Mimnes' painting seems to assume the meaning of a political allegory. In Alcaeus, Theognis and other poets the ship is a metaphor of the city and its conditions represent the city conditions. In Mimnes' painting the snake seems to represent the danger for the order of the city. It may refer to Ephesos, Hipponax's mother-city, attempted by Athenagoras and Komas, who became tyrants and banished the poet.

The comparison and the contest between the poet and the other "artists", the poetry and the other "arts", as in the strikes Hipponax - Boupalos and Hipponax - Mimnes, is a theme discussed by the poets. Simonides says that the word is like an "image of the thing" (frg. 190b Bgk¹⁻⁴). Pindarus considers the poetry better than the sculpture because the sculptures transmit a message only to the looker, while the poetry fly over the seas (*Nem.* V, 1 f.).

Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448b 25) gives a synthetic definition of the poetry in two categories: the invective (the *psogos*) and the praise (the *enkomiaston*). The latter is the *mimesis*, the imitation, of the noble actions, while the invective is the *mimesis* of the low actions. The *psogos* has a large and ambiguous range of meanings from the serious attack till the playful one. In the archaic symposia the groups fought in the serious-comical *psogos* through the *iambos-iambizein*.

Therefore, Boupalos - going into the sympotic mechanism and into the iambic interplay - abandons the common formulas of the sculptural art and adopt the ones of the poetry of the *mimesis*, as imitation of the grotesque, of the comical, of the ugly: that ugly which became proverbial of Hipponax's face and body. Boupalos created an image that is not like the ones carved by the contemporary sculptors for the representation of the aristocratic man (as the *kouroi*): his image was rather like the ones described by the poets in the sympotic contexts.

The formulas of this particular representation did not conform to the aristocratic will, but the sculptor decided by himself: thus he created breaking and provocative formulas, εἰχόνες πρὸς ὕβριν. These images took away the aristocratic man from his "right" ideal dimension, stressing his specific or caricature features: in this way, Hipponax was pushed towards another dimension, a brutal one. Only later, when new cultural and philosophical trends rise, the specific features of a body will be considered as a positive value to be stressed through the image.

Pausanias (IV, 30, 6) says that Boupalos was also an architect. As a sculptor, architect and possibly painter, Boupalos was an high and versatile "artist", like Rhoikos and Theodoros, Chersiphron and Metagenes: certainly, he was not a *banautos*!

I would like to discuss two final points:

According to D. Viviers, there is a possibile link between the city where the

contest Boupalos - Hipponax took place, Klazomenai, and the Klazomenian style of the other sculptor, working on the Western and Southern friezes (as it is shown by the well-known comparisons with the Klazomenian painted sarcophagi: La Coste Messelière 1936, p. 419 and 431). Boupalos, in my opinion the chief master of the *Thesaurus* and possibly the architect, probably met the other sculptor in Klazomenai. When the rich Siphnians committed to him the Delphic treasury, he envolved the Klazomenian sculptor in the enterprise. Another Hipponax's fragment may give us the name of the latter sculptor of the Siphnian *Thesaurus*: according to Diogenes Laertius (IV, 58), the *agalmatopoiòs* Bion was mentioned by the poet (frg. 157 D.). So this sculptor was an opponent of Hipponax: he could be a friend - colleague of Boupalos. Significantly, Bion is said to be from Klazomenai or from Chios: the city of the contest and the mother-city of Boupalos !

The last intriguing question is the "*maquillage*" of the signature. D. Viviers points out that it is an *hapax* and suggests an explanation (Viviers 2002, p. 78-80). The letters of the inscription have been carefully masked by the addition of other engraved lines. The letters are very similar to the original ones and they could have been done by the same hand. Viviers stresses that the Eastern pediment is probably unfinished (Rolley 1994, p. 228-229). He draws the attention to the different literary sources regarding the dedication of the treasury at Delphi. According to Herodotus (III, 57-58), in that time Siphnos was sacked by the Samians. Pausanias (X, 11, 2) reports a different tradition: the Siphnians stopped to pay the tithe to the Delphic Apollo and their mines were submerged. Viviers' hypothesis is that the tithe could be entirely used for building the treasury: so the monument was not completely finished. Therefore, Boupalos masked his name, because he did not receive the entire amount of the payment.

We may suggest a further hypothesis for this "*maquillage*". We are in the sanctuary of the Delphic Apollo, the *Loxias*, the ambiguous. The sculptor could have done a sort of enigma, using an "oracular", Delphic language. But the visitor had to be impressed by the original and hazardous style of the Northern and Eastern friezes. He could solve the enigma of the inscription, reading the name of the author as the very famous Boupalos.

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Fig. 1: Delphi, the Siphnian Thesaios, from North-West (according to E. Hansen, from Daux - Hansen 1987).



Fig. 2: Siphnian Thesaios, Northern frieze: gigantomachy (from Lullies 1957).



Fig. 3: Giant's shield with the signature of the sculptor
(drawing by N. Bloch, from Viviers 2002).



Fig. 4: The hypothesis of reading of the signature by D. Viviers (2002).

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