

# A HERM FROM HISTIAIA WITH AN AGONISTIC EPIGRAM OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

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## I INTRODUCTION

A HERM FROM HISTIAIA IN NORTHERN EUBOEA, upon which is inscribed an agonistic epigram of the fifth century B.C., consisting of two elegiac couplets in a version of the local dialect of Histiaia heavily influenced by earlier poetry, is first published here. The earliest modern record of it is V. Hankey's note in L. H. Sackett and others, "Prehistoric Euboea: Contributions toward a Survey," *BSA* 61 (1966) 33–112, 40 n. 29. Mrs Hankey's unpublished journal of her work in Euboea (1939–), which she has generously made available to me, contains, under March 1940, drawings of the stone and a transcription of the text (40 f.). She notes (37) that it was "from Oreous (i.e., ancient Histiaia)—T(emple) of Apollo," and that she saw it in the "School apotheke at (modern) Histiaia."

The herm was subsequently seen and photographed at the entrance to the school by E. J. Doyle in 1951 and in the apotheke of the demarcheion by D. M. Lewis in 1953, by W. P. Wallace in 1961, and by myself in 1965. It is now in

I am indebted to Dr David Lewis for much helpful advice throughout the preparation of this paper, to Dr Henry Blumenthal, Dr Joachim Ebert, Mr J. G. Howie, Miss Lin Foxhall, Miss L. H. Jeffery, and Dr Christopher Mee for further valuable comment and help, and to Mr Chris Roberts and Mr Ian Qualtrough for photographic assistance. An earlier version was presented in February 1982 at a seminar in the Dept of Greek of the University of Liverpool organised by Prof. A. A. Long, and I am grateful for the contributions of colleagues at this presentation. Finally the referees of *Phoenix* offered substantial advice (among them Prof. Sterling Dow, who declined to remain anonymous). It should be made clear that none of those named espoused the view of the epigram's dedicatee adopted by me. Dr Ebert's alternative supplements and translation are recorded, by his permission, in note 11.

This paper was completed before the appearance of P. A. Hansen (ed.), *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. n.* (Berlin and New York, announced for 1982). Epigrams in the following collections are cited by abbreviation and epigram number: Ebert = J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin 1972, AbLeipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse 63.2); F.-H = P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata. Greek Inscriptions in Verse. From the Beginnings to the Persian Wars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1948); Gow-Page GP = A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968); Gow-Page HE = A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965); Kaibel = G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin 1878); Page FGE = D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981). References to the following are by abbreviation and page number: DAA = A. E. Raubitschek and L. H. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949); LSAG = L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961); Smyth = H. W. Smyth, *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects. Ionic* (Oxford 1894).

the apotheke of the Greek Archaeological Service on the main square of modern Histiaia.

Doyle included a photograph and a transcription in his unpublished School Paper, "An Archaeological Survey of Antiquities in Northern Euboea with some notes on Aliveri," American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1953, adding that he intended to publish the stone.<sup>1</sup> His untimely death in December 1966 prevented him from carrying out this intention. When, over a decade later, the herm still remained unpublished, I took the matter in hand, first establishing that there were no prior claims. I am grateful to those scholars who corresponded with me on this question,<sup>2</sup> and to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and its then Director, H. R. Immerwahr, for access to Doyle's unpublished School Paper and permission to refer to it. My thanks are due also to the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to publish and to Mrs E. Touloupa, former ephor of Euboea, for her characteristically generous help throughout.

## II THE STONE AND THE TEXT

Histiaia; apotheke of the Greek Archaeological Service; Inventory no. 3. Time and place of discovery unknown. White marble herm, with head and phallus missing, slightly curved in front towards the shoulder and slightly irregularly shaped at bottom and preserved top (see plate, 19); average height 1.02m.; width 0.292m. (bottom)—0.262m. (top); thickness 0.162m. (bottom)—0.142m. (top). There is minor damage on the front at various points and serious damage on both sides, beginning approximately 0.52m. from the top and extending ca 0.35m. on the left side and ca 0.25m. on the right side ("right" and "left" in this description refer to the viewer's right and left). There is further damage on the top right side and on the top right back and lower right back. The damage on the front looks at first sight like rope damage. But when the herm is viewed from the sides and back, all the breaks are sharp, so that rope damage, if any, is secondary and on the front only. On the front is a dowel-hole for attaching the phallus, originally 0.035m. high and 0.028m. wide. The dowel-hole is equidistant from the sides and 0.34m. from the top. It has in it a three-sided plug of lead soldering, containing a slot of height 0.015m. and width 0.008m., where a dowel at the rear of the phallus was fitted. At the top left hand corner of the dowel-hole a pouring-channel 0.01m. wide and extending 0.02m. beyond the dowel-hole and leading into it has been channelled out parallel to the top and bottom of the herm. This feature has determined the shape assumed by the lead solder around the dowel, viz. □

<sup>1</sup>Professor S. Dow informs me that Doyle's Harvard Ph.D. thesis of 1959, *Histiaia in Antiquity* (HV 90: 7538, 8), which I have not seen, contains on pages 194 f. similar material.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. A. Bridges, Prof. T. E. Gregory, Mr. D. Knoepfler, Prof. A. E. Raubitschek, and Prof. M. B. Wallace.

An irregular area ca 0.13m. high and 0.07m. wide around the dowel-hole has been shallowly rough-cut. 0.04m. above this dowel-hole, at the upper edge of the rough-cut area, is another dowel-hole with a diameter of 0.006m. in which at a depth of 0.015m. remains of an ancient wooden dowel were found. On the right side is a broken rectangular arm-socket, height 0.078m., width 0.045m., depth 0.024m. The distance from the arm-socket to the front edge is 0.08m. On the left side at the same level is a very shallow vestigial socket of the same height and width. The front and sides are smooth down to 0.06m.—0.07m. from the bottom, which is preserved. At this point there is a slight ridge and below it a chiselled area. Thus it was probably inset into a shallow base. The back too is chiselled. The first couplet is inscribed on the left-hand edge of the front and the second couplet on the right-hand edge; the minimum distance between the lettering of line 2 and that of line 3 is 0.168m.—0.178m. Between the lettering of lines 1 and 2 the average distance is 0.009m. and between that of line 3 and line 4 0.01m. The letters run in the direction bottom to top and begin ca 0.365m. from the bottom. The beginnings of all four lines were in alignment. The letter height in general is 0.014m., although different examples of the same letter vary slightly; there are also variations in the spaces between letters; letter breadth is 0.006m.—0.014m. The variations in letter height and spacing between letters, and some of the variation in letter breadth, seem to be due to the cutter's wish to avoid an excessive difference in length between the hexameters and the pentameters. In consequence I have made sparing use of arguments about spacing in what follows and I have refrained from offering drawings of my restorations, since these could give a misleading impression that the restorations were more secure than they can be. The letters were well-cut and of ca 460–450 B.C. (see below).

The letter forms are:

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ή

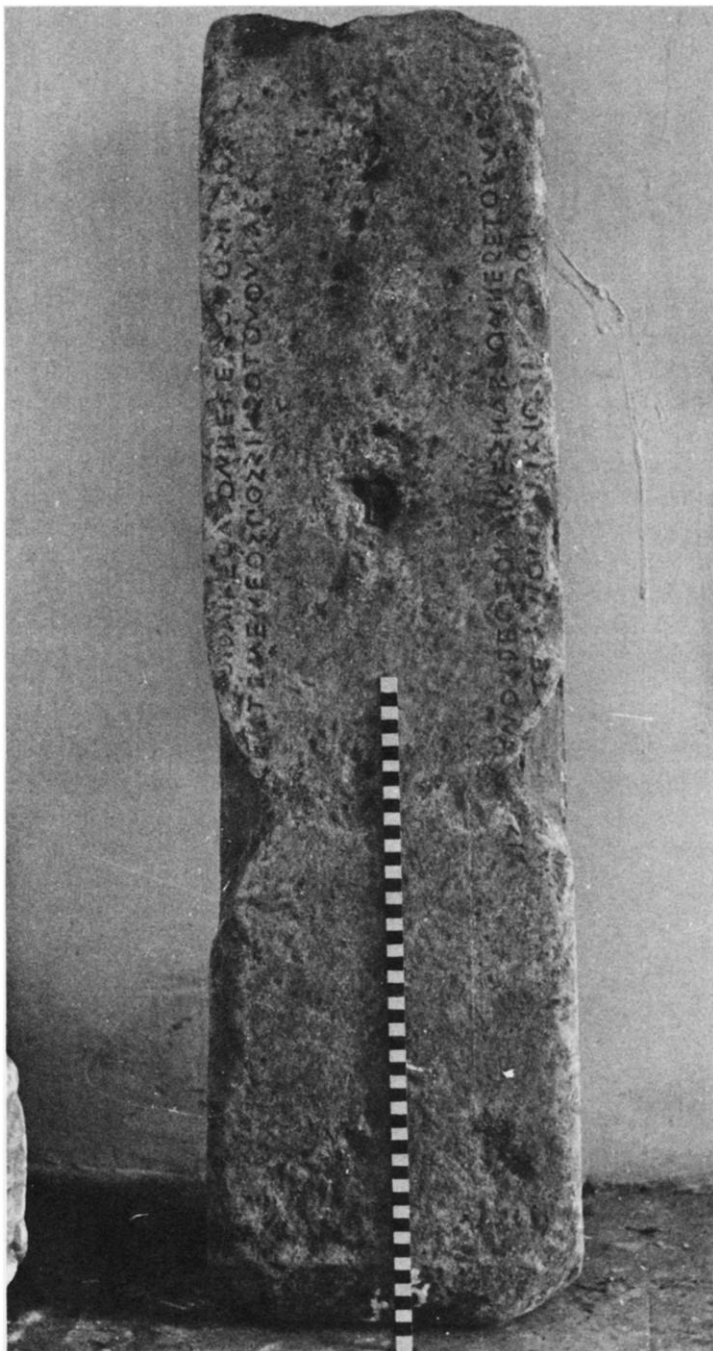
and the text reads:

[6–7 Λα] τοῖδαι Κεφάλον ἡγεμόνος ἡνιός  
 ἔσ[τε]σεν τεμένεος ποσσικρότου φύλακα·  
 λισσ[ό]μενος δέ θεοὶ νίκας ἡβρόν ἡέρετο κύδος  
 ἄθ [4–5]στε[φ]άνοι καλλικίθονι[2]δοι

1. [τέιδε με Λα] vel [ἡερμεν Λα]
2. ἄθ[λα τ' ἐν] vel ἄθ[λα δ' ἐν]; [δί]δοι

### III EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

The paucity of comparable material makes this inscription difficult to date. Since it is not in Attic dialect, the *terminus ante quem* must be 446/5 B.C., when the native Histiaians were expelled and replaced by Athenian cleruchs



A Herm from Histiaia

(Thucydides 1.114.3). A *terminus post quem* cannot be established. But the letter forms in general suggest a mid-fifth-century date. All letter forms are regular for Euboea at this time except rho and sigma. Rho, in which the vertical does not extend beyond the curve but stops where the slightly curved tail begins, is not illustrated in *LSAG*, the nearest being Pl. 13.11 (Phocis) and some examples in Pl. 43.15 (Elis). It may be an idiosyncrasy of this cutter. Retrograde sigma is paralleled in a curved form in *LSAG* Pl. 48.20 and Pl. 49.8 from Euboic colonies; and non-retrograde sigma in retrograde scripts appears at Pl. 47.1 (Euboic colony) and in Pl. 5.7 and 10 and Pl. 6.22 (Euboea itself). Cf. also Pl. 3.21 (Attica) and page 78 no. 30.<sup>3</sup>

In the archaic period texts were often inscribed vertically, though usually from top to bottom (as are other surviving early herms with vertical inscriptions),<sup>4</sup> but one-line inscriptions running from bottom to top can be found (e.g., *LSAG* Pl. 39.67). On the single surviving herm which carries more than one line (i.e., the Markopoulo herm, Wilhelm [above, note 4] Fig. 128), although the direction is top to bottom, the hexameter appears on the left and the pentameter on the right, which is the order of the couplets on the Hestiaia herm. This apparently was the mode in which at least some of the herms of Hipparchus were inscribed.<sup>5</sup> For a suggestion about the reason for the unusual direction of the Hestiaia inscription see below, 30.

*Line 1:* of the  $\tau$  only a faint trace of the vertical survives. In the remainder of the line  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\nu$ , and final  $\varsigma$  are all damaged but certain.

*Line 2:* the base and lowest part of the vertical of the initial  $\epsilon$  are visible on the stone in alignment with the initial  $\lambda$  of line 3, as is the lowest stroke of the first  $\sigma$ .<sup>6</sup> The next two letters are completely lost, but the second and third strokes of the succeeding  $\sigma$  survive.

*Line 3:* the first  $\sigma$  is damaged but certain. Of the second  $\sigma$  the first stroke and the top half of the second stroke survive. The next letter is lost, and the succeeding  $\mu$  is represented only by the fracture along the line of its final stroke.

*Line 4:* traces of two letters are visible before the first break. The first trace suggesting  $\alpha$  is aligned with the initial  $\lambda$  of line 3. The second trace is meaningless on the squeeze; but a faint circular shape appears on the stone and in some photographs. This may be the remains of a theta. The gap of 0.075m. between

<sup>3</sup>The reversed sigmas on early coins of Messene (cf. E. S. G. Robinson "Rhegion, Zankle-Messana and the Samians," *JHS* 66 [1946] 13–20 and Pl. 5.31–33; 39[1]) are presumably a similar feature and not "inadvertently reversed" (*LSAG* 243).

<sup>4</sup>A. Wilhelm, "Simonideische Geschichte," *JAÖI* 2 (1899) 221–244, 228 ff., W. Peek, "Eine Herme des Hipparch," *Hermes* 70 (1935) 461–463, 462 f., cf. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1 (Berlin and New York 1980) 58.

<sup>5</sup>[Plato] *Hipparchus* 228f.; Wilhelm, *ibid.* 229; Peek, *ibid.* 463 and n.1; J. F. Crome, "ΙΙΙΙΑΡΧΕΙΟΙ ΕΡΜΑΙ," *AthMitt* 60–61 (1935–36) 300–313 and Plates 101–108, and "Nachtrag," *AthMitt* 62 (1937) 149 and Plate 67, (1935–36) 305 ff.

<sup>6</sup>The subscript dot indicates that this stroke could in isolation be the tail of a  $\rho$ .

the estimated end of the second letter and the beginning of the  $\sigma$  of ] $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ [ $\phi$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$  allows room for four or five letters. After it the top stroke and the upper half of the second stroke of the  $\sigma$  are preserved; the  $\phi$  is lost. In  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\nu\iota$ ,  $\alpha$ , both  $\lambda$ s and  $\omicron$  are damaged, the latter badly, and only the left vertical of  $\nu$  is preserved. The trace of the upper tip of a vertical suggests that the letter following  $\nu$  is  $\iota$ . The gap of 0.05m. from the end of the  $\nu$  to the first letter after the gap allows room for three or, less probably, four letters. After the gap the upper part of a right hand curve is visible. The impression of a vertical to the left of it, if genuine, confines the choice to  $\delta$ ,  $\rho$ , or  $\phi$ . The further impression given by the stone under certain light conditions of the tail of a  $\rho$  at the base of the vertical is not confirmed by the squeeze.

#### IV DIALECT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Most of the features exhibited are regular for Ionic:

*Line 1:*  $\eta\nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . On the form and scansion see Smyth 211, section 229.

*Line 2:*  $\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\nu$ . for the regular terminations cf. Smyth 419, section 531, I and 372, section 459. For the poetic double sigma see below.

*Line 3:*  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is regular in Ionic for both male and female deities—cf. Smyth 372, section 549.

*Line 4:* for the transposition of the aspiration in the element  $-\kappa\iota\theta\omicron\nu$  cf. Smyth 294, section 346.

$\acute{\alpha}\theta$ [ $\lambda\alpha$ . For the restoration see section v below. Although Herodotus and poetic texts retain uncontracted forms in such cases, contraction took place in Herodotus' day, cf. Smyth 241, section 272.<sup>7</sup>

Eta and omega are represented, as in other early Euboean inscriptions, by  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$  (cf. *LSAG* 79); and the retention of aspiration is proper to West Ionic dialect, cf. Smyth 12, section 5; 14, section 7.

There are three irregular features:

*Line 1:* the termination  $\alpha\iota$  of ] $\tau\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\iota$ . Attic inscriptions sometimes show  $\alpha$  where Attic normally has  $\eta$ .<sup>8</sup> If there is Attic influence here, we should be tempted on the analogy of a case like  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  (Peek [note 8, above] 24) to supplement  $\Lambda\epsilon$ ]  $\tau\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\iota$  and not  $\Lambda\alpha$ ]  $\tau\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\iota$ . Also  $\Lambda\eta\tau\omicron\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$  is the epic form and the language of agonistic epigrams and of this one in particular is influenced by epic.<sup>9</sup> But there are no other specifically Attic traits in this epigram. If the termination  $\alpha\iota$  is borrowed from a dialect other than Attic, there must be a

<sup>7</sup>Cf. also A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* 2<sup>2</sup> (Heidelberg 1959) 257, section 311, 10.

<sup>8</sup>Wilhelm (above, note 4) 221 ff., W. Peek, *Kerameikos* 3 (Berlin 1941) 24 f., Threatte (above, note 4) 131.

<sup>9</sup>For documentation and useful qualifications of this statement F–H section I *passim*; Ebert 22 f.

preference for [Λα]τοῖδαι, which had Pan-Hellenic currency, so that, for example, it is even found in an Attic inscription (although on Boeotian territory) viz. F-H 167.1.

*Line 2: ποσσυκρότου.* The double sigma is a poetic feature, probably deriving from Homer, where in normal Ionic prose ποσι— would be expected (cf. Smyth 307, section 373).

*Line 3: ἥερετο.* This is the third person singular second aorist of ἄρνυμαι/ἄείρω, two verbs which cross-fertilize (cf. LSJ s.vv.; P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique 1. Phonétique et Morphologie* [Paris 1958] 387 f., section 185), with ἄρνυμαι providing the second aorist and ἄείρω the first aorist. The examples found in LSJ s.v. ἄρνυμαι are all unaugmented; but the augmented form would be perfectly regular. In addition to the epic and agonistic parallels for this use of the verb noted below section v, the verb may occur in a late sixth-century Euboean prose inscription (*IG* 12.9.1274, III.1: ἀρ[έσ]θαι μισθόν).<sup>10</sup> But in ἥερετο an asper appears where a levis would be expected. Smyth lists some late examples of this phenomenon in Ionic inscriptions (333, section 410). More relevant to ἥερετο is A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*<sup>12</sup>I (Heidelberg 1932) 290, section 209, 15—a discussion of a number of unetymological aspirations in Locrian—and one example in particular, ἡαρέσται (*IG* 9<sup>2</sup> [3] 718.33), an exactly parallel formation from the same verb ἄρνυμαι. Thumb-Kieckers attribute the intrusive asper to the influence of ἐλέσθαι (to choose) (also F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* [Berlin 1923] 41 f.), and one would suppose this to be the case here. Since the intrusive asper is better exemplified in Locrian than in Ionic, we might speculate that its presence here is in part due also to the influence of the Locrian dialect employed in the area of mainland Greece facing Histiaia—which would make it an interesting case of influence on one dialect by a neighbour.

#### V GENERAL COMMENTARY AND RESTORATIONS

*Line 1:* The initial break could be restored [τεῦδέ με Λα]τοῖδαι—cf. Kaibel 813; F-H 76.2). The alternative is [ἡΕρμῆν Λα]τοῖδαι—cf. Kaibel 813: Ἐρμῆν ... θῆγκέ με τῆδε; 959: Ἐρμῆν ... / ... θῆκαν; *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 820: ἡερμῆν Εὐφρονίδεσι τόνδε Καλίας ἐπόεσεν. Cf. also *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 685: ]τόν ἡΕρμῆν θεῷ φραδ[; *AP* 9.314 = Gow-Page *HE* Anyte 17; *A. Plan.* 186 = Page *FGE* Xenocritus of Rhodes. A parallel, not only for this supplement but also for the syntactical structure of lines 1–2 and the position of the individual words in these lines, is Kaibel 965 = *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 3750 (on a second-century A.D. portrait herm at Athens of the Kosmetes

<sup>10</sup>E. Vanderpool and W. P. Wallace, “The Sixth Century Laws from Eretria,” *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 381–391, argued for a larger gap than two letters (383 ff.), but there may be grounds for challenging their arguments.

Alexander erected by his son):

Ἑρμᾶν Ἀλέξανδρός με Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρός  
ἔστασ' ἐφήβων εὐκλεᾶ κοσμήτορα.

Hermes, the name of the dedicator, his father's name, the verb of setting up, the genitives, and the nouns φύλακα/κοσμήτορα all come in the same sequence and *sedes*, although the father's name in Kaibel 965 has a double function grammatically, being dependent both on Ἑρμᾶν and on Ἀλέξανδρος. The two Herms have the parallel roles of guardian of a *temenos* and (again in a double sense) director of the ephebes in a gymnasium. It is most improbable that there could be an individual link, direct or indirect, between these two couplets: so we doubtless have here variations on a standard herm-dedication formula. Another less close version of it offers further confirmation:

Τληπόλεμος ὁ Μυρεὺς Ἑρμᾶν ἀφετήριον ἔρμα  
ἱεροδρόμοις θῆκεν παῖς ὁ Πολυκρίτῳ  
δὺς δέκ' ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐναγώνιον· ἀλλὰ πονεῖτε  
μαλθακὸν ἐκ γονάτων ὄκνον ἀπωσάμενοι.

(AP 9.319 = Gow-Page *HE* Philoxenus 1)

Λα]τοῖδαι: is presumably quadrisyllabic, as is normal (F-H on 167 and Ebert on 3.1).

Κεφάλον. This name has no specific regional links (cf. Pape-Benseler *s.v.*). The present is the only known Euboean example; but thirteen examples of Κέφαλος occur in *IG* 12.9 (Euboea) and two of Κεφαλήτης, while the lead tablets from Styra (*IG* 12.9.56) offer Κεφαλέον (169), Κεφαλύτες (174), Κεφάλυτος (175), and Κεφα— (48).

ἡΓέμονος. Pape-Benseler *s.vv.* again record a number of examples of Ἥγέμων and Ἥγήμων (a bye-form) and again with no strong regional links. Both Ἥγέμων (*IG* 12.9.174,2) and Ἥγήμων (*IG* 12.9.191 B 7) are found in Euboea.

*Line 2: ἔσ[τε]σεν.* This is the technical term for setting up herms, statues, and grave monuments—cf. Ebert 16.2; 33.3, Kaibel 1043.1; 814 Ἑρμῆς δίκαιός εἰμι καὶ με Σ[ώστρατο]ς/ἔστησ' ἐλεγχον τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων; cf. also Kaibel 939.4, *IG* 12 Suppl. 675.1; *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 321.2 f. In [Plato] *Hipparchus* 228 the setting-up of the first herm by Hipparchus is described in the words ἔστησεν αὐτοῖς Ἑρμᾶς (d2). For the dative of the deity in whose honour the statue is set up cf. *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 826, 1 f.: Πύθων Ἑρμῇ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοστρά/το Ἀβδηρίτης/ἔστησεμ ....

τεμένεος. The final εὐς is scanned with synizesis. Naturally the *temenos* of a god is often mentioned in agonistic poetry—as the place where the games take place (e.g., Pindar *P.* 5.33; Bacchylides 12.40 f. (Sn.—Mae.); Xenophanes *Fr.* B2 [West]), as a place of banquets and song (Pindar *O.* 10.76; *Paeon*



6.17 f.), and as generally associated with athletic activities (cf. Pindar *I.* 1.59, where the collocation *ἐν Φυλάκῃ τέμενος* is not significant for this inscription). More relevant to our epigram is the use of the *temenos* as a place of dedication (cf. F-H 100; Ebert 18.5 and on 11.4 f.; and the practice of Aeginetan victors of dedicating their crowns in the Aiakion; cf. Pindar *O.* 9.112 f. and see also below).

*ποσσικρότον*. The word *ποσσίκροτος* is rare: *LSJ* record it once only in the same sense—in an oracle at Herodotus 1.66: *δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι*; and once in an active sense at *Orphic Hymn* 31.2 (of the Curetes). The word is clearly sacral and it refers here as at Herodotus 1.66 to dancing. We may compare Pindar *Paean* 6.18 *ποδὶ κροτέοντι γὰν θοῶ*, also concerning a sacred enclosure, and more indirectly Pindar *Fr.* 194.1 *κεκρότῃται χρυσέα κρηπίς ἱεραῖσιν αἰδαῖς*. I shall return to this term below (section VII).

*φύλακα*. Kaibel 965 has already been cited for “Hermes” role as director of the ephebes in the gymnasium (above, 22 f.). The herm described as *παλαιστρίταν ἡθίων φύλακα* at *IG* 12.5.911, 22 may be playing a similar role or he may be thought of as an actual doorkeeper. Cp. Page *FGE* “Anacreon” 14 for Hermes as the doorkeeper of a gymnasium; Kaibel 781.11 for *Ἑρμῆς τεμενουρός*; and *AP* 9.316 = Gow-Page *HE* Leonidas 27—an epigram for a double herm of Hermes and Heracles which describes them as *δρων φύλακες* (3). The hero who receives a gift of crowns and song because he is the neighbour and the *φύλαξ* of Pindar’s possessions (*P.* 8.56 ff.) may be in the same category.

*Line 3: λισσόμενος*. The present participle is paralleled by F-H 114.2 (*σοὶ γὰρ ἐπευχόμενος τοῦτ’ ἐτέλεσσε Γρόφων*), Ebert 1.B (*εὐχόμενο[ς]*), and *DAA* 241.2 (*εὐχόμε[νος]*). It is clear however that *εὐξάμενος* is more usual in such epigraphic contexts—cf., e.g., Ebert pages 143; 251; and *IG* 12.9.261, 2 f. ... *Ἄρτ[έμιδι/εὐξάμεν]οι ἀνέθηκαν*, although in general anterior present participles are perfectly usual (cf. J. Humbert, *Syntaxe Grecque*<sup>3</sup> [Paris 1960] 171 section 284).

*λισσόμενος* is followed after *δέ* by the dative *θεοῖ*. But elsewhere the verb seems invariably to take the accusative of the person who is beseeched. It is presumably not absolutely impossible that our epigrammatist was influenced by a false interpretation of Homer *Iliad* 1.282–283 *Ἀτρείδῃ, σὺ δέ παῦε τεόν μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε/λίσσομ’ Ἀχιλλῆϊ μεθέμεν χόλον*, .... In both texts *λίσσομαι/λισσόμενος* and the datives have the same *sedes*; and it might be speculated that some interpreter(s) of Homer in antiquity regarded *Ἀχιλλῆϊ* as the direct object of *λίσσομαι*. However it must be emphasised that there is no trace of such a view in the Homeric scholia or in Eustathius, and that all modern scholars rightly take *Ἀχιλλῆϊ* as the indirect object of *μεθέμεν*. If it is felt that the run of the present line forces us to take *θεοῖ* with *λισσόμενος*, then

δε. Here δε stands for γάρ, cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1954) 169; W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) s.v. 2(h); Pindar *O.* 4.22, where δε stands for γάρ in association with the present participle νικῶν; and F–H 114.2, already quoted above, where γάρ is indeed used in a parallel context.

In addition the combination of *κῦδος* and a part of *ἄρνημαι/ἄειρω* is fairly common in Homer and usually occupies the end of the hexameter: viz. *Iliad* 4.95; 9.303; 10.307; 12.407; 14.365; 16.84; 17.287; 17.419; 20.502; 21.543; 21.596; *Odyssey* 22.253. In these cases the order is *κῦδος* followed by a part of *ἄρνημαι/ἄειρω* and in all, except 9.303 (*μέγα*), *κῦδος* is unaccompanied by an adjective. The reverse order, i.e., a part of *ἄρνημαι/ἄειρω* followed by *κῦδος*, as found in the Histiaia inscription, appears at *Iliad* 3.373 and 18.165: ... ἄσπετον ἦρατο *κῦδος*, where *κῦδος* is qualified. Similarly, with *κῦδος* followed by a part of *ἄρνημαι*, Hesiod *Theogony* 628 *σὺν κείνοις νίκην τε καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι* (close to *Iliad* 7.203), and *Fr.* 75.19 (M.–W.) *εἰ δέ κεν οὗτος/[νίκηση καὶ οἱ δῶν Ζεὺς] κῦδος ἀρέσθαι* (cf. also *Aspis* 339 and *Theog.* 433).

The whole complex reappears in epinikian poetry, sometimes with the significant addition of *ἀβρός*. The best examples are Pindar *O.* 5.7 f. *τὴν δὲ κῦδος ἀβρόν/νικάσας ἀνέθηκε ...* and *I.* 1.50 *ὃς δ' ἄμφ' ἄεθλοις ἡ πολεμίζων ἄρρηται κῦδος ἀβρόν*; cf. also for *κῦδος* Pindar *O.* 3.39; 4.11; Bacchylides 1.160; 6.3; 10.17; Pindar *N.* 9.46 f. *ἐπίδοξον ἄρρηται/κῦδος*. From a conceptual viewpoint cf. Pindar *P.* 4.66 f. *τῷ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ἃ τε Πυθῶ κῦδος ἐξ ἀμφικτιόνων ἔπορει/ἵπποδρομίας*; *P.* 10.11, where Apollo's favour has helped the victor; *P.* 5.23 ff., where the victor is to give thanks to Apollo, who is responsible for his victory and where the victorious chariot

is dedicated in Apollo's temple (34 ff.); and finally *N.* 6.36 ff. where Kallias was victorious *ἀδών/ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς* (see also below).

*Line 4:* –]στε[φ]ανοι may represent (a) the noun *στέφανος*; (b) a compound adjective with –*στέφανος* as its second element; (c) the verb *στεφανοῖ*. (c) is inconsistent with *καλλικίθονι*.

(a) The victor's crown is naturally at home in epinikian poetry and in agonistic epigram. Some epinikian parallels which also illustrate the Hestiaia epigram more broadly are Pindar *Paeon* 6.3; 13–18:

λίσσομαι ... κατέβαν στεφάνων  
καὶ θαλιᾶν τροφὸν ἄλσος ἼΑ-  
πόλλωνος, τόθι Λατοῖδαν  
θαμινὰ Δελφῶν κόραι  
χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν παρὰ σκιάεντα μελπ[ό]μεναι  
ποδὶ κροτέοντι γὰν θοῶ

Bacchylides 1.155–160:

τῶν ἓνα οἱ Κ[ρο]νίδας  
ὑψίζυγος Ἴσ[θ]μιόνικον  
θῆκεν ἀντ' [εὐ]ργεσιαν, λιπαρῶν τ' ἄλ-  
λων στεφάν[ων] ἐπίμοιρον.  
φαμί καὶ φάσω μέγιστον  
κῦδος ἔχειν ἀρετάν·

and Bacchylides 9.23–26:

οἷ τριετὶ στεφάνωι  
ξανθὰν ἐρέψωνται κόμαν.  
Αὐτομήδει νῦν γε νικά-  
σαντί νιν δαίμων ἔ[δ]ωκεν.

Cf. also Pindar *I.* 8.65b–66b *ἄβρόν ... / ... στέφανον* and *N.* 9.53 *Λατοῖδα στεφάνοις*. For crowns in agonistic epigram cf. Ebert Index VII Wörter *s.v.* *στέφανος*; *στεφανώ*; *στέφος*; *στέφω*; and *AP* 6.341.2 f. = Page *FGE* “Simonides” 4.2 f. *Μανδροκλῆς ... / αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθεῖς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος*.

(b) There are numerous compound adjectives ending in –*στέφανος* (cf. P. Kretschmer and E. Locker, *Rücklaufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*<sup>2</sup> [Göttingen 1963] *s.v.*). If such a compound is present here, then the most tempting restoration is *ἔν]στε[φ]ανοι*. Such cult-titles and combinations of cult-titles are at home in dedications—cf. H. Kühn, *Topica epigrammatum dedicatiorum Graecorum* (diss. Breslau 1906) 11 ff., esp. 12 (Neptunus) *Ποντίῳ ἵππομέδοντι Ποσειδῶνι*; (Diana) *ἡ(ε)κηβόλοι ἰοχεαίρη*; 15 (Minerva) *πολιήοχε πότνι Ἀθάνᾳ*; 18 (Apollo) *Πύθιῃ Παιάν*; and for the concept behind the epithet *εὐστέφανος* here see Kühn 15, section d: “*epitheta dedicandi causae accommodata*.”

*Further supplements to line 4.* There is some uncertainty about the initial traces of the line and about the final letter of *καλλικίθονι*. Moreover *]στε[φ]άνοι* could be interpreted in several ways. It must therefore be stressed that a very large number of restorations could in principle be offered for line 4.<sup>11</sup> However, a more limited number of restorations fit the needs of the epigram as a whole; unless the final line consists of four asyndetic cult-titles (which is not likely), a connective particle and probably a transitive verb and its object are needed.

At the end of the line supplements ending in *]ροι* and *]φοι* are unattractive in the context as defined in earlier discussion. Of those ending in *]δοι*, *δίδοι*, found 70 times in extant Ionic (Smyth 575, section 691), seems the most plausible. If the spacing between letters is being maximised here as it is earlier in line 4 so as to make line 4 as far as possible balance line 3, then it occupies the space available. It would record the gift, probably of the victor's crown(s), in return for the *νίκες ἡαβρόν κύδος* which Kephalon has received (cf. *LSJ s.v. δίδωμι* 3). For the concept cf. Kühn 29 ff.; 44; Kaibel 772.2; 793.10. Since *[δί]δοι* is finite, the first lacuna must contain its object plus a connective particle. On the assumption that the initial trace is an *α* and that the *]στε[φ]άνοι* is the end of the compound *εὐ]στε[φ]άνοι*, then *ἄθ[λα* is the most attractive candidate for the line beginning, followed by *τ'* or *δ'*. Both would provide a link with the preceding line, but *τ'* is preferable on grounds of elegance and variety.

The victor's *ἄθ[λα* (perhaps here, as often, a crown) are naturally much in evidence in agonistic contexts.<sup>12</sup> Cf. Pindar *O.* 14.22–24, ... *νιὸν εἴπῃς ὅτι οἱ νέαν/κόλποις παρ' εὐδόξοις Πίσας/έστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν*; and *I.* 1.10–12 ... *ἐπεὶ στεφάνους/έξ ὥπασεν Κάδμον στρατῶ ἐξ ἀέθλων,/καλλίνικον πατρίδι κύδος* ... (see also *I.* 1.50, quoted above, 25, and 3.1.).

Pindar *N.* 5.52–54 is even more relevant to our epigram:

*πύκταν τέ νιν καὶ παγκρατίον  
φθέγξαι ἐλεῖν Ἑπιδάρῳ διπλόαν,  
νικῶντ' ἄρετάν, προθύροισιν δ' Αἰακοῦ  
ἀνθέων ποιᾶντα φέρε στεφανώ-  
ματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν.*

in that victors' crowns are to be dedicated in the *πρόθυρα* of the Aeginetan Aeakeion (cf. 29 below), while at *O.* 9.112, *Αἶαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα,/νικῶν ἐπестεφάνωσε βωμόν*, the crown is dedicated at the altar of Ajax there. For other dedications of crowns cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1902) 154;

<sup>11</sup>Dr Joachim Ebert in a private letter suggested the restoration of 1.4 as follows: *ἄρ[χον εὐ]στε[φ]άνοι καλλικίθονι [χό]ροι*, translating "als er führte den mit schönen Kränzen und schönen Gewändern geschmückten Chor." He also supplied parallels for *ἄρχειν* + dative in the required sense and for choruses dancing in fine clothes.

<sup>12</sup>The difficulty of distinguishing in oblique cases between *ἀέθλον* and *ἄεθλος* is usefully demonstrated by W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) *s.vv.*

162; and for the dedication of ἄθλα, not crowns in this case but torches, cf. Kaibel 943 Ἄθλα τὰ τῆς νίκης Ἡράριος Ἡρα[κλείδου /λα]μπάδας Ἑρμείαι θῆκε καὶ Ἡρα[κλεί. Finally, I note *DAA* 156.1 (plausibly restored), [Σ]οτέ [λες ἀ]νέθε[κεν Ἀθηναίαι/τ]ᾶδ' ἀ[έθλ]α, and *DAA* 241, a pillar in five fragments reading (without restorations) the mutilated Σπίνθον ... / εὐχόμε[---]λα τε δόναι where Spinthon's vow(s) and gift(s)—one of which is presumably the statuette for which this pillar was a base—are in question.<sup>13</sup>

## VI THE HERM

The number of stone herms known from the sixth century B.C. or even from the fifth is not large, and in the case of some only the head survives—cf. R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (Königsberg 1931) 11 f.; *DAA* 326. All early surviving stone herms are of the type classified by Lullies as *Schulterherme*, and most of them are inscribed on the shaft; those not so inscribed presumably had inscriptions on their bases. So the Hestiaia herm is typical in both these respects.

The appropriateness of a herm as a dedication expressing thanks for divine help in an agonistic victory is established by later evidence:—*AP* 6.259 = Gow-Page *GP* Philip 23; *AP* 9.319 = Gow-Page *HE* Philoxenus 1 (quoted above, 23; cf. Gow-Page *ad* l.1); *AP* 6.143 = Page *FGE* “Anacreon” 14; cf. Kaibel 943, quoted just above, and the herms of Kimon dedicated for victory in war (Plutarch *Cimon* 7). Some dedications associated with a sacred area have already been noted above (23 f.) and to these may be added F-H 173 = *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 685 (“in Aesculapii fano”), which is another herm dedication, occasion unknown.

The fact that there are two dowel holes of different types in the front has been noted above, 17. Presumably the function of the second smaller dowel hole and its dowel was partly to allow the phallus to be lined up accurately and partly to give it extra stability. The lead soldering implies that the phallus was metal, doubtless bronze; the rough cut area was for bedding in the phallus.<sup>14</sup> The phallus was clearly lined up using the higher smaller hole, partly pinned into the dowel there, and brought fairly close to the stone surface before the lead was poured down the channel cut for it. The phallus would then be hammered home before the lead solidified around the larger, lower, square pin.

The fact that the back of the herm is chiselled, not smooth, means that originally it was not free-standing but stood with its back to a wall. The fact that the arm-socket on the left of the herm as seen by us (i.e., the herm's right

<sup>13</sup>The restorations in *DAA* are εὐχόμε[ενος χαριέντ' ἀναθέματα ἄ]λα τε δόναι (cf. *DAA* 40 and the restoration suggested for *DAA* 264), and assume that the prayer is for a repetition of divine favour. If however ἄθ]λα τε δόναι were restored, a close parallel to the Hestiaia example both in verbal texture and in subject would be achieved.

<sup>14</sup>A similar rough-cut area is visible on the photograph of the Chaidari Herm (Wilhelm [above, note 4] 229 Fig. 129).

arm-socket) is non-functional suggests that it stood with a wall to its left as well.

A herm was a religious object, so it would perhaps have been regarded as impious for the cutter to make no socket at all, because the image would then have been incomplete and so have lacked religious effectiveness. But on the other hand, it would have been a waste of labour to have cut a socket which would never have been used, so that the carver compromised by cutting a vestigial socket on the non-functional side. Since the herm is the φύλαξ of the τέμενος, he probably stood on the left-hand side (from the viewpoint of someone going in) of the πρόθυρον to the τέμενος, facing outwards. We know that the Athenian herms stood "in private porches and those of sacred buildings" ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἱεροῖς (Thucydides 6.27). At AP 6.143 = Page *FGE* "Anacreon" 14 the herm stands ἐρατοῖς ... προθύροις (2) and welcomes people coming into the gymnasium; and at Page *FGE* "Simonides" 44 the description ἐν προθύροις is applied to a herm. Best of all, Kaibel 781 represents a herm actually standing in this position. He is Ἑρμῆς τεμενουρός (11 f.) and he emphasises that the person entering the *temenos* of Antigonos will pass on his (the herm's) left side (1–5):

... ἀλλὰ πρὸς αἶπος  
τὴν ὀλίγην ἀνύσεις ἀτραπιτὸν διέπων  
χειρὸς ἀφ' ἡμετέρης λαϊῆς, ξένε· κάμ' ἐπ' αὖ προσείπας  
χαίρειν εἰς(σ)τείχεις πρὸς φίλιον τέμενος  
ἥρωος Ἀντιγόνου· ...

This is exactly the position in which the Histiaia herm seems to have stood and it may have been the standard position for herms at doors. Again, the Pindaric parallels quoted above are relevant, particularly *N.* 5.52 ff., where the victor's crowns are to be dedicated in the πρόθυρα of the Aeakeion.

The πρόθυρον was a recessed porch frequently found in Greek private houses (but also in temples—cf. Thucydides 6.27 quoted above). Sometimes the door(s) occupied the whole side within the porch which faced outwards; but sometimes it occupied only the right-hand part of it, leaving a free space of wall on the left. (Cf. D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *The Hellenic House (Olynthus* (8, Baltimore and London 1938) 154 f. and 154 Fig. 9; Plate 24.2.) It is not necessary of course to hypothesise that the door of the *temenos* of which the Histiaia herm was φύλαξ was asymmetrically placed to the right. It may simply be that (like the standard H-shaped *propylon* of a sacred site in ancient Greece<sup>15</sup>) it had places for statues on both sides of the door, and that the left-hand place was occupied by the herm. The left-hand position from the viewpoint of the beholder is of course the right-hand position from the statue's viewpoint and is the better-omened one.

<sup>15</sup>R. A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries* (London 1976), General Index s.v. Propylon. For one such common Herm type cf. D. Willers, "Zum Hermes Propylaia des Alkamenes," *JDAI* 82 (1967) 37–109, esp. 40 f., 86 f.

If these suggestions are correct, then they may provide an explanation of the unusual direction in which the letters are running. The inscription had to be legible by people approaching the *temenos* and finding the herm to their left in the angle of a recessed porch. Only two solutions lay open to the cutter: either to inscribe the epigram retrograde from top to bottom; or to inscribe it normally (from left to right) starting at the bottom. Since retrograde inscriptions had gone out of general use by this time, the second solution was chosen. It allowed the entrant to the *temenos* to read the inscription easily as he went in, by inclining his head to the left.<sup>16</sup>

#### VII DEDICATEE, PLACE OF DEDICATION AND OCCASION

The dedicatee's identity is specified by  $\Lambda\alpha\lambda\tau\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\iota$  (1) as "the child of Leto." Leto had two children, Apollo and Artemis; but the form  $\Lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$  is masculine—like all such forms—and there is no known example of this form being used of Artemis—for whom the alternatives  $\Lambda\eta\tau\omega\iota\varsigma$  and  $\Lambda\eta\tau\omega\alpha$  were available. Nor is there any known example of any analogous form being used in the singular to refer to a female. So the obvious conclusion is that the dedicatee is Apollo. More confirmation that the dedicatee is male appears to come from the absence of a definite grammatical indication to the contrary anywhere else in the epigram, and yet more from the claim of Mrs Hankey's informant that the herm came from the temple of Apollo at Histiaia, and finally from its association, at least since 1939, with a duplicate copy of *IG* 12.9.1189 which probably came from the town of Orei, rather than from the temple of Artemis, which was outside Orei.<sup>17</sup>

There are, however, some factors which at least give us pause. First, although there is evidence of the worship of a number of other gods at Histiaia, there is no evidence of Apollo-worship. Within the North of Euboea the only sign of this is the *manteion* of Apollo Selinountios at Orobiae (Rovies) mentioned by Strabo (10.445)—cf. F. Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboea* (Berlin 1903) 95 f. Orobiae is separated by a mountain range from Orei; and it is not even certain that it was part of the territory of Histiaia at all times.<sup>18</sup> The reference of Mrs Hankey's informant to a temple of Apollo at Histiaia could simply have been a surmise based on the obvious restoration  $\Lambda\alpha\lambda\tau\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\iota$  in l. 1 of the inscription. In this context, although it is clear that the

<sup>16</sup>On retrograde inscriptions and their relation to the positioning of the objects on which they were inscribed cf. *DAA* 444.

<sup>17</sup>*IG* 12.9.1189, a list of contributors to the restoration of the temple of Artemis Proseoa at Artemesium in the second century B.C., was excavated by Lolling at the actual site of the temple (see below and ref.). Hence the (larger) duplicate copy—which I shall be publishing shortly—was set up elsewhere, probably in the city of Orei/Histiaia. One possible place is the temple of Dionysus (see below). It must be stressed however that there is no evidence for the location of either of these stones from antiquity to 1940. Their association from that time on may be completely fortuitous.

<sup>18</sup>The evidence for Histiaian control of Orobiae is to be found in Geyer 85, 88, cf. 95 f. It refers to the earlier and later periods.

duplicate of *IG* 12.9.1189 probably came from the city of Orei, i.e., ancient Histiaia, it would appear from *IG* 11.4.1055 (230–220 B.C.) that the temple of Dionysus was the temple at Histiaia where such records were set up. Indeed this inscription would seem to confirm that there was no temple of Apollo at Histiaia, since it is a Histiaian decree involving Delos and it provides that one copy should be set up in the temple of Apollo at Delos and the other in the temple of Dionysus at Histiaia: it seems inconceivable that the Histiaian duplicate should have been so placed, if there had been an Apollo temple at Histiaia. It may of course be said that any Greek town of any size must have had a shrine of Apollo; but the fact remains that there is no evidence of this for Histiaia and some counter-evidence.

The second difficulty on the Apollo hypothesis is the cult-title *καλλικίθων*. This precise cult-title is unique; but parallel cult-titles of Artemis referring to her *χιτών* are known from Brauron, Miletus, Segesta, and Syracuse, viz. *Χιτώνη*, *Χιτωνία* and *Ἄρτεμις ἐν χιτῶνι* as well as *Κιθωνέα*, *Κιθωνία*, *Κιθωνέη*, and *Κιθωναία* (with the same transposition of aspiration as in *καλλικίθων*) (*RE* s.v. Artemis 1041 f.; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* 572 f.). On the other hand there are no cult-titles of Apollo involving the *χιτών*.

The third difficulty for the Apollo view arises from the supplement *ἐϋ[στ]ε[φ]άνοι* (14). *ἐϋστέφανος* is applied to towns metaphorically (of their walls) and to heroines literally; but primarily, it seems, it refers literally to goddesses. At *Iliad* 21.511 it is used of Artemis, and significantly it appears in asyndeton, along with another cult-title: *τὸν δ' αὐτὴ προσέειπεν ἐϋστέφανος κελαδεινή*. If *ἐϋ[στ]ε[φ]άνοι* is in fact to be restored in line 4, then the verbal pattern resulting is similar.

As will be seen below, a number of interesting conclusions follow from the alternative hypothesis that the dedicatee is Artemis. Some of these may be thought to add further plausibility to that hypothesis. But it must be admitted that the linguistic argument in favour of Apollo is strong. If Apollo is the dedicatee, then 1) this inscription provides the first evidence for his worship at Histiaia and for a *temenos* of Apollo there; 2) the suggestions about the nature of the event in which Kephalon won his victory offered below will still be serviceable in an attenuated form; 3) the epigram would provide the first evidence anywhere of a cult-title of Apollo involving the *χιτών*.

It seems preferable, however, in spite of the linguistic problem, to explore the Artemis alternative. To fail to do so would be to risk obscuring a possible idiosyncrasy in the Histiaian cult of Artemis, or in this writer's choice of vocabulary; and we know very little about this remote area of Euboea in the pre-Athenian period. One might even speculate that the absence of other evidence for Apollo-worship at Histiaia and the possibility that Artemis could be given the masculine metronymic *Λατοίδας* there might hang together. For, if for a reason unknown to us, the Histiaians did not worship Apollo, the metronymic could have fallen by default to his sister Artemis.

The first point to clarify is how this could have happened, if it did happen.



The form *Λατοῖδας* cannot simply have been transferred from Apollo to Artemis. Logically, the process must have been a three-stage one. First the metronymic belonged to Apollo. It was then used in the plural for both Apollo and Artemis. This is what happens at two places in Pindar, *P.* 4.3, *Λατοῖδαισιν*, and *Paean* 12(a).4, *Λατοῖδαι*[-]. The third stage would have been to derive a feminine singular form *Λατοῖδας* from this type of plural. If this is what we have here, it is the first such form found.

If the dedicatee is Artemis then much falls into place easily. At Hagios Georghios near Kourbatzi in the territory of Histiaia, H. G. Lolling partially excavated in May 1883 a temple of Artemis, whose cult-title, *Proseoa*, is first attested in an inscription recording contributions made in the late Hellenistic period towards the temple's reconstruction (*IG* 12.9.1189).<sup>19</sup> Although, as we have seen, it was not the most important temple of Histiaia,<sup>20</sup> it was certainly the best-known one. It gained some celebrity after the sea-battle at Artemisium in 480 B.C., which was constantly associated with it in antiquity, and, interestingly, the usual word chosen to refer to it was *temenos*. Cf. esp. an epigram about the Megarian dead in the Persian wars attributed to Simonides (= Page *FGE* "Simonides" 16): 3 ff. *τοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Παλίῳ, ἔνθα καλεῖται/ἀγνῶς Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος* (cf. also Wilhelm [above, note 4] 237 ff.), which refer through the temple to the battle of Artemision. Page (214) thinks that there is no obstacle to the belief that the epigram goes back to 479 B.C.

The temple at Hagios Georghios helps with the most puzzling feature of this epigram—the apparent absence of any obvious indication of what contest the victory was won in. The vast majority of agonistic epigrams record fairly clearly the event. Very occasionally the event is revealed by the object dedicated, e.g., F–H 43 is inscribed upon a bronze reproduction of a discus. We must of course consider the possibility that the event was recorded in one of the three lacunae. But either [ἡ Ερμῆν Λα] or [τέιδέ με Λα] is probable as a supplement in line 1; and the second and third lacunae are already oversubscribed functionally—as well as plausibly filled. So this is not a likely hypothesis and the problem remains.

In his 1883 part-excavation of the Artemision Lolling discovered a fragment of an agonistic dedication (above, note 19, 202). He made no suggestion about its date, nor did Ziebarth when reprinting it as *IG* 12.9.1190. The letter forms offered by Lolling could be fourth or third century B.C.; and it should be noted that the apication which appears in the first A of the *IG* republication is absent from Lolling's original publication. I myself have not seen the inscription and I do not know where it is.

<sup>19</sup>Cf H. G. Lolling, "Das Artemision auf Nordeuböa," *AthMitt* 8 (1883) 7–23 and "Ausgrabung am Artemision auf Nordeuböa," *ibid.* 200–219. The cult-title is later confirmed by Plutarch *Them.* 8 and *De Her. Malign.* 867f.

<sup>20</sup>This would, as noted, appear to have been the temple of Dionysus. Cf. also Geyer 87 f.

Lolling's fragmentary dedication is also made to Artemis, who is given the title *παρθένος ἀγροτέρα*. From it he concluded that the Artemision at the northern point of Euboea was a religious centre and the scene of festivals and games. He concluded, that is, that it was like the Artemis-temple at Amarynthos in the territory of Eretria in central Euboea—with its famous festival of the Artemisia (or Artemiria)—documented by both literary and epigraphic sources of the Hellenistic period.<sup>21</sup> If Lolling's reconstruction is correct,<sup>22</sup> then our unease is intensified. Kephalon is not telling us which event he was victorious in, and we do not know why he is being so discreet about it.

But there is a problem about Lolling's reconstruction. The temple of Artemis Proseoa at Histiaia was, as Lolling himself pointed out (above, note 19, 20 ff.), not a very large one; and apart from the epigraphic sources, the temple is only mentioned in antiquity in connection with the sea-battles at Artemisium. There are also, it must be stressed, conflicting indications about the festival: on one hand there is no evidence at all, apart from Lolling's agonistic dedication, of any games or festivals held at the temple; on the other the position of the temple on the hill of Hagios Georghios would allow the greater part of this flat hill to have functioned as a *temenos* in front of the small temple—a *temenos* in which a festival could have been held and at the entrance to which, I suggest, our herm once stood as a guardian.

The solution to the dilemma is suggested by further consideration of Lolling's agonistic inscription: ... *αι πυρρίχηι ἄθλω[ι vel ν]/[πα]ρθέρον ἀ[γρ]οτέρα[ν]* (IG 12.9.1190). The event mentioned is Pyrrhic dancing. Now there was also a Pyrrhic competition at the Artemisia at Amarynthos; indeed it was the most important event at that festival, since it was at it that honours to individuals were announced (cf. Ringwood, above, note 21, 387). This suggests another explanation of what happened at Histiaia. If the Pyrrhic dance at the Artemisia at Amarynthos was the most important event because it was the original event at the festival—just as we know that Pyrrhic dancing was the original event at the Athenian Panathenaia (K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum capita quinque* [Giessen 1913] 32 ff.)—then Pyrrhic dancing may have been the original and most important, or indeed the only, event at the festival in honour of Artemis at Histiaia, which was, after all, as noted, a small shrine in a remote part of Euboea.

If this is the true scenario for the epigram, then line 2 can now be seen as indicating clearly enough, given the circumstances, what the event was: the

<sup>21</sup>See I. C. Ringwood, "Local Festivals of Euboea, chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence," *AJA* 33 (1929) 385–392, 386 ff., D. Knoepfler, "Carystos et les Artémisia d'Amarnthos," *BCH* 96 (1972) 283–301, L. Breglia, "Artemis Amarnthia" in *Contribution a L'Etude de la Société et de la Colonisation Eubéennes* (Naples 1975) 37–47.

<sup>22</sup>The suggestion of M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906) 240, that the victory recorded in Lolling's inscription was won elsewhere, probably at Eretria, is pure speculation.

word *ποσσικρότου* refers unmistakably to dancing (cf. Orac. *ap.* Hdt. 1.66 quoted above, 24), and indeed to Pyrrhic dancing, a prominent feature of which was the stamping of feet on the ground (cf. *Orphic Hymns* 31.2, where the Curetes are *ποσσικροτοι* in the active sense). Callimachus employs similar phrases in his descriptions of the Pyrrhic (see below).

A further point is worth adding: some of the passages about ancient dancing collected by E. K. Borthwick, "P. Oxy. 2738: Athena and the Pyrrhic Dance," *Hermes* 98 (1970) 318–333, 324 ff., attracted his attention because they contained a technical term of dancing: *ἄβρος*. Borthwick's discussion centred around Bacchylides *Fr.* 15 (Sn.–Mae.), part of a hyporchema "composed in the energetic cretic-paeonic rhythm appropriate to armed dances" (324) "in honour of the war-goddess Itonian Athena" (325) (on which see below no. 4); and Borthwick eventually came to the conclusion that, although *ἄβρος* was, as he admitted, a *terminus technicus* of dance,<sup>23</sup> and in spite of its use at Euripides *Medea* 829 ff. in a vigorous male context, nevertheless *ἄβρόν* was inappropriate in Bacchylides *Fr.* 15.4 (Sn.–Mae.) and therefore ought to be emended to *ἀδρόν*.

My own judgement on this matter is different: I conclude that the skill most admired in Pyrrhic dancers was precisely the ability to perform this martial measure "delicately" and that this is confirmed by such phrases as *κούφα πυρριχίζουσι* (Eust. 1899.62, quoted by Borthwick 324 n. 2) and *Orph. H.* 38.9 *ποσσὶν ἐλαφροῖς* (of Pyrrhic). Hence in my view the correct reading at Bacchylides *Fr.* 15.4 (Sn.–Mae.) is indeed *ἄβρόν*. In line 3 of the Histiaia epigram the word *ἄβρόν* again occurs in a context which on other grounds has been judged to involve Pyrrhic dancing. It refers of course to the *κῦδος* of the victory and not to the event; thus it cannot be taken as further evidence that the event referred to is the Pyrrhic. But its presence here is at least a coincidence.

It is not possible to say when and why contests in Pyrrhic dancing originated at Histiaia. But is it worth looking at a number of factors to fill out the background to these contests.

1) Pyrrhic dancing was, in one legend, invented by and associated with the Curetes.<sup>24</sup> Now the Curetes crop up continually in ancient texts in connection with many parts of Euboea.<sup>25</sup> One particularly interesting text, Epaphroditus (mid-first century A.D.—cf. Poerner 277 f.—locates the Curetes at Aidipsos. From the fourth century B.C. on Aidipsos was a health resort and by the first century A.D. it was a major watering place for the wealthy Graceo-Roman nobility of the surrounding areas (T. E. Gregory, "Roman

<sup>23</sup>For further discussion of *AP* 7.31.9 = Gow-Page *HE* Dioscorides 19, cf. G. J. de Vries, "Ἀβρὰ χορεύειν dans une epigramme de Dioscoride (*Anth. Pal.* VII 31)," *Studi Classici in Onore de Quintino Cataudella* (Catania 1975) 221–224.

<sup>24</sup>I. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (diss., Halle 1913) 332 ff., 360 ff.; Latte 41 ff.; Borthwick 319; 324 n. 2; Breglia (above, n. 21) 44–46.

<sup>25</sup>Poerner 276 ff.; L. Curchin, "Minoans at Chalcis?" *Quaderni di Storia* 9 (1979) 271–278.

Inscriptions from Aidedposos,” *GRBS* 20 (1979) 255–277, 257 ff.). It became an independent city only in the fourth century B.C. (Gregory 271), but it probably eclipsed Histiaia long before this and replaced it in Epaphroditus’ mind. Epaphroditus was a learned antiquary and bibliophile, which makes his evidence of a direct mythological link between the territory of Histiaia and the Curetes particularly valuable. There is then a possibility that the Pyrrhic contests at Histiaia are part of a long-standing complex of associations between Euboea, including the Histiaian territory, and the Curetes, in one version the inventors of the Pyrrhic dance.

2) There is a further interesting link, this time at Ephesus, between the Curetes and the children of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis (Poerner 284 ff.). There the legend was told that the Curetes had assisted, presumably by their Pyrrhic dancing, not at the birth of Zeus but at that of Apollo and Artemis (Strabo 14.639 f.); and the cult of Artemis at Ephesus involved an annual *panegyris* in which *νέοι* participated, banquets, and sacrifices (Strabo 14.639 f.). That Pyrrhic dancing was also involved in the worship of Artemis at Ephesus is made clear by Callimachus in his action of the cult of Artemis there (*Hymn* 3.237 ff.). Callimachus relates how the “warlike” Amazons set up a *βρέτας* and danced around it in armour. This dance, which is called a *πρύλις* (240) is clearly a Pyrrhic dance: cf. esp. ... αἱ δὲ πόδεσσιν / οὐλα κατεκροτάλιζον ... (246 f.), and *Hymn* 1.52 ff. οὐλα δὲ Κούρητες σε περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο, etc., with Bornmann *ad loc.* In addition there existed at Ephesus a body of “Curetes,” also mentioned by Strabo (14.640). Inscriptional evidence shows that the body had a continuous existence from at least the late fourth century B.C. until the early third century A.D. (D. Knibbe, *Der Staatsmarkt. Die Inschriften des Prytaneions. Die Kureteninschriften und sonstige religiöse Texte* [*Ephesos* 9.1.1, Vienna 1981] esp. 285 ff.) and that they were associated with the Artemision at Ephesus. There is no reason to think that they were newly invented in the fourth century B.C., and every reason to believe that they date back to the earliest period of the city. These further associations thus link the cult of Artemis specifically not only with Pyrrhic dancing but also with the Curetes.

3) The Pyrrhic dance seems to have had strong links with the concept of victory in war. Athena in particular indulged in it while celebrating her victory over the giants.<sup>26</sup> Alternative explanations of the origin of Pyrrhic dancing which associated it with Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus also characterised it as a dance in celebration of victory<sup>27</sup> and the Pyrrhic dance has yet other victory associations (Latte 57; 59; and see below). The associations seem to belong to the dance itself more closely than they belong to any particular god connected with

<sup>26</sup>Latte 30; E. K. Borthwick, “Two Notes on Athena as Protectress,” *Hermes* 97 (1969) 385–391, 386 f., cf. Borthwick, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 319; 321 f.

<sup>27</sup>E. K. Borthwick, “Trojan Leap and Pyrrhic Dance in Euripides’ *Andromache* 1129–41,” *JHS* 87 (1967) 18–23, 23; and “Notes on the Plutarch *De Musica* and the Cheiron of Pherecrates,” *Hermes* 96 (1968) 60–73, 63 f.; also *Hermes* 98 (1970) 318.

it or to any particular inventor assigned to it. This raises the possibility of some connection between Pyrrhic dancing at Histiaia and a victory.

4) The next step is suggested by an overlap of function between Athena and Artemis. Athena, when associated with the Pyrrhic dance, was specifically a war goddess. At the Panathenaia she was honoured with the Pyrrhic as Athena Tritogeneia, and Borthwick (above, note 25) has shown that under this cult-title she had a clear “protective military role” (387). Now, the goddess worshipped at the Histiaian Artemision had, as was noted above, at least from the late Hellenistic period on, the cult-title of Proseoa. But we know from *IG* 12.9.1190 (Lolling’s fragmentary agonistic inscription) that she also had the cult-title of *παρθένος ἀγροτέρα*. This cult-title is the clue to the overlap of function between Athena and Artemis, for at Athens Artemis was worshipped under the same cult-title *ἀγροτέρα* along with Enyalios, the war-god, and she too was worshipped specifically as a war-goddess (cf. *RE s.v.* Artemis 1349). This helps to explain why she was honoured with the Pyrrhic dance at Histiaia.

5) This brings us to a most interesting speculation: in Athens the worship of Artemis Agrotera was associated with the Athenian victories at Marathon in 490 and at Salamis in 480, and this worship included a procession of ephebes under arms (*id.* 1349; 1378). For this last feature there is an interesting Euboean parallel; at the Artemisia at Amarynthos where, as we saw, Pyrrhic dancing was the principal event, another part of the festival was a procession of ephebes under arms. Indeed Ringwood (above, note 21), who is not aware of the Histiaian Pyrrhic dance, comments that “The warlike character of the procession described by Strabo is evidenced by the program of contests, in which the pyrrhic seems to have been the most important event” (386 f.). The complex of Pyrrhic dancing in honour of victory and worship of Artemis may have been much more widespread, another example being the Soteria held at Pagae in the Megarid in honour of Artemis Soteira, which included Pyrrhic dancing.<sup>28</sup>

It may well be that the Pyrrhic dancing at the Histiaian Artemision, in honour also of Artemis Agrotera, celebrated the Greek victory at Artemisium, also of 480. That the temple was closely associated with the victory at Artemisium is clear from the fact that all ancient non-epigraphic references to it link it with the battle and one of the epigraphic sources (Page *FGE* “Simonides” 16.3 f., quoted above) mentions the battle along with the *temenos*, and alludes in *ἀγνῶς τοξοφόρου* (4) to the cult-title *παρθένος ἀγροτέρα*—which had originally been applied to Artemis as a hunting goddess (cf. *RE s.v.*

<sup>28</sup>Latte 37 f.; Ringwood (above, note 21) 387 n. 1. The original publication of the relevant inscription is A. Wilhelm “Inscription aus Pagai,” *JOAI* 10 (1907) 17–32. The third-century Histiaian festival *Soteria* mentioned in *IG* 12.9.1186 cannot, because of its links with later historical events, be added to these examples.

Artemis 1378). We know too that the *temenos* contained *stelai*, one of which carried a contemporary epigram commemorating the victory at Artemisium (Plutarch *Themistocles* 8.3; *De Herodoti Malignitate* 867f.)

#### VIII EPILOGUE

The Histiaia herm and its inscription were set up within thirty or so years of the battle at Artemisium. Memories of the victory will have been fresh; and the glory of winning the Pyrrhic competition commemorating it and held at the temple of the very war-goddess who had given the Greeks their success must have been considerable. Kephalon was presumably the *choregos* or *chorodidas-kalos* who trained or/and paid for the equipment of the Pyrrhic dancer(s). This would have given him the right to dedicate the victory crown(s). As a rich citizen of Histiaia he was thus able to gain reflected glory from the associations of the event and to perpetuate it by commissioning a herm and having inscribed on it an epigram competently, and possibly professionally, written.

I end with an interpretative translation:

Kephalon son of Hegemon erected me here (or ⟨this⟩ Herm) in honour of ⟨Artemis⟩ daughter of Leto ⟨to be⟩ the guardian of her sacred precinct beaten by ⟨dancing⟩ feet. He prayed ⟨? to the goddess⟩ and he got from her the delicate glory of victory; and ⟨so⟩ he offers his prize(s) ⟨?⟩ to the lady of the fair crown and the beautiful robe.

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*Addendum:* Since this paper was sent to press, a useful survey of the surviving material relating to other archaic herms has appeared: I. Triantes, “*Ἀρχαϊκὲς ἐρμῆαικὲς στήλεις*,” *Δελτιον* 32.1 (1977, published 1982) 116–122 and plates 47–55.