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ΑΝΑΤΥΠΟΝ

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Hekate? Street:
A Horos from 'Ηλιόκαστρο of Hermione

For Zacharias I. Tzifopoulos

A boundary marker of limestone was found by chance outside the newly built church of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Heliokastro ('Ηλιόκαστρο), ca. 9 kms north of the town of Hermione¹. The stone is in good condition; only the corners and the upper left and right edges have been broken away. The upper half of the face has been smoothed and prepared for letter-cutting, something commonly done with horoi. On the back side of the stone there is an irregular shape which looks like a footprint (?) and holes which are probably of modern origin. The underside of the stone has two channels cut into it at 90° angles which form a cross. Perhaps they functioned for mounting in some way.

Height: 0.435m. Width: 0.31m. Thickness: 0.265m.

Letter Height: 0.035-0.045 m., except for the kappa [0.05 m.] and sigma [0.06m.] of line 3. Pl. 40-41.

The text of Pausanias is that of M.H. Rocha-Pereira, *Pausanias Graeciae Descriptio*, vols. 1-3 (Leipzig: BSB B.G. Teubner, 1973-1981).

The following works are cited in abbreviated form:

Frazer: J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 vols, London: Macmillan 1898, rpt. New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965. All translations of Pausanias are Frazer's (vol. 1 ad loc.).
Kerameikos, III: W. Peek, *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, Dritter Band: Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1941.

1. In September of 1990, while in search of the inscription IG IV 747, found according to Fraenkel in a place called 'ς τὰ 'Ηλια, I visited the village Heliokastro ('Ηλιόκαστρο). Instead of the inscription I was looking for, there was inscribed only one stone, lying by the wall of the newly built church; by chance it had not been thrown away with the rest of the construction rubble. The people who cleaned the area after the construction had no idea where it came from; in fact they were very much surprised it had been left there.

ἥρος
 ἠοδῶ
 Ἡεκάτας (or Δεκάτας).

Some of the letters lean to the left and some to the right. They are very deeply cut (each stroke is ca. 0.005 m. wide). The dialect seems to be doric (at least in line 3), but the script is not easy to ascertain because of the scanty evidence from the Argolid, the general area where the stone was found.

According to Jeffery's list of the Eastern Argolid script, in which the Argolid peninsula is discussed, the letter shapes are similar to (LSAG p. 174): α 3, δ 1, ε 3, η 1 (closed), κ 1, ρ 2; the sigma is considerably taller and thinner than the other letters.

Dotted Letter:

Line 3: of the aspirate there remain the extreme right part of the top horizontal which slants slightly and a trace of the right vertical which also appears to be slanting. The aspirate seems to be the more probable letter, although it could also be a delta, similar to the one in line 2.

At the end of the bottom slanting stroke of the kappa there is a deeply cut vertical stroke of modern origin.

Commentary:

The date of this inscription is based solely on Jeffery's discussion of the archaic scripts of the Eastern Argolid. As she admits, however, the scanty evidence from the region does not allow definitive conclusions³. Since the horos was found in the vicinity of Hermione (ca. 9 km. north), its lettering ought to be compared first with inscriptions of Hermione before those of Argos, Troizen, or Korinth (see LSAG pp. 40-42: "The Secondary Transmission Throughout Greece"). Nevertheless, the Argive character of the Eastern Argolid scripts at

2. The first two letters (*Ἡε-*) of line 3 and the last two (*-ας*) are squeezed into one letter space; the central letters (*-κατ-*) follow the stoichedon pattern.

3. To her list there should be added a new inscription published by S.V. Tracy, *An Inscribed Gold Ring from the Argolid*, JHS 106 (1986) 196; and *id.*, *An Inscribed Gold Ring from the Argolid: Addendum*, JHS 107 (1987) 193.

this stage is still an open question, and only very general and tentative comparisons may be made. The lettering seems to resemble the three inscriptions of ca. 480-450 B.C. from Hermione discussed by Jeffery (LSAG 178-9, 182 nos 7, 8, 9 and pl. 33). At the same time, there are two Argive inscriptions dated ca. 480-460 B.C., whose lettering also appears to be similar (LSAG 160-1, 164, 169 nos 21, 26 and pl. 28, 29). These inscriptions suggest the first half of the fifth century B.C. (and probably its first quarter) as a tentative date for the horos, although a late sixth century B.C. date should not be excluded.

Apart from the date and script, this horos raises, rather than answers, questions. It is the only epigraphical find so far from the modern village Heliokastro; it is the first instance of a horos of Hekate (if Hekate is the correct reading); and finally, it is only the second example of a street named after a god.

The topography of the Argolid peninsula has not yet been thoroughly studied⁴. Frazer in vol. 3, 290 and Fraenkel in IG IV 747 both assumed that the site named 'ς τὰ Ἡλία (Helia), ca. 2 kms southeast of the modern village Ἡλιόκαστρο, is the site of ancient Εἰλεοί. Pausanias provides the only reference in the ancient sources about this site, as he passes through on his way from Troizen to Hermione (2.34.6): *Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἐκ Τροιζῆνος... ἔστι δὲ Εἰλεοὶ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης {τῆς Δῆμητρος} ἱερά.* More recently, in his commentary on Pausanias (vol. 2, 267, note 2), Papachatzis described the topography of the plateau on the southern highlands of Aderes (ancient Mt. Phorbantion), on which the site of Eileoi was probably located. The site's name, as Papachatzis cautiously suggests, may have come from the *εἰλεοὶ ἄμπελοι* which produced sweet wine (Athen. 1.31B), a practice followed even today by the people in Heliokastro who grow vines and produce their own wine. The ancient name of the site survived in the plateau's name Ilia (Ἴλια or Εἴλια), 2 kms southeast of the village and perhaps in the name of the village Heliokastro (Ἡλιόκαστρο, previously called Καρακάσι).

It is impossible to say where the horos came from: it may have been found

4. A. Foley's recent survey of the area is, as its title indicates, limited to the archaic period: *The Argolid 800-600 B.C. An Archaeological Survey Together with an Index of Sites from the Neolithic to the Roman Period*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology vol. 80 Göteborg: Paul Åströms, 1988. Reports of findings from the site of ancient Εἰλεοί can be found on p. 178: Appendix A no. 24. Eileoi (Karakasi) with bibliographical references. Late Helladic tombs and vases and remains of circuit walls indicate habitation from Early Helladic II to Roman times, except for the Archaic period which lacks finds.

originally at Ilia (or at some other site further away from the area) and was brought to the village, or it may have come from the akropolis of the village itself. Indeed it may even have been unearthed during the construction work for the foundations of the new church. It is worth emphasizing that Pausanias mentions only a site with sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, while Papachatzis has observed, as I did in September of 1990, remains of habitation on the akropolis, ca. 2 kms north of the village Heliokastro, which may antedate Pausanias: a polygonal circuit wall, foundations of buildings, potsherds, fragments of marble and other material. On this site Mycenaean tombs were also found⁵. Only systematic excavations of the site can produce definite conclusions about its habitation or about the local worship of gods and goddesses.

The text of the horos, "a boundary/marker of the street of Hekate(?)", is very interesting⁶. The stone certainly served as a limiting point which warned the inhabitants against encroaching on the property, in this case the hodos of the goddess(?) by marking the starting point of a street, or acting as a sign at a crossroads. It is also probable that it called attention to where the street led, or to what was situated on it, presumably a shrine, a temple, or a simple altar of a god. Certainly, such a practice, naming a street after an important building whose presence dominates it, or even after a saint, is in use today. A famous parallel for this practice known from ancient Athens in the *hóporos tēs hodō tēs 'Eleusīnádē*⁷, which serves both as a boundary marker for the Eleusinian procession and calls attention to the place where it leads. But, it must be admitted, there is only one example of a street named after a deity in antiquity, since in all surviving horoi after the word *ódōs* occurs a toponym (like Eleusis above)

5. I also visited the site of Ilia to the south where again I saw potsherds and fragments of marble. For these mostly chance findings see above note 4.

6. For a general discussion of horoi and the problems they pose see now G.V. Lalonde, *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. XIX: *Inscriptions: Horoi*, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1991, 1-51, especially 1-21. For a particular group of horoi see: J.V.A. Fine, *HOROI: Studies in Mortgage, Real Security, and Tenure in Ancient Athens*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 9 (1951). For useful comments about the significance of delimiting boundaries see also A.G. Kalogeropoulou, "*Óporos Διὸς Παρηγησίου*", *Horos* 2 (1984) 111-118; and S. I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira. A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldaean Oracles and Related Literature*, Atlanta: Scholars Press: 1990, 24-26 (*American Classical Studies* 21).

7. See IG I³ 1096 [= Kerameikos, III 18 (p. 19)]; IG I³ 1095 (= I² 881); IG II² 2624; For other horoi see: IG I² 854-907; IG II² 2505-2641; Kerameikos, III 13-21 (pp. 17-20).

and not the name of a god. In Athens, where a great number of religious horoi has been found, the common formulae employed are either *hóros* and the name of the diety, or *hóros teménous/ierou* and the deity's name⁸ (see Addendum).

What then of line 3 of the text? The first letter may be either a delta or the aspirate h (i.e. *ΔΕΚΑΤΑΣ* or *ΗΕΚΑΤΑΣ*). For the first there is no evidence that would justify this reading in an horos. It may be, although the possibility seems remote, a new toponym, or epithet of some goddess⁹.

The second alternative *Ηεκάτας* seems to be preferable, if only because the word is more readily recognizable. It can be both the name of the goddess Hekate and also the epithet of Artemis which she acquires as the sister of Apollo¹⁰. The scanty literary evidence for the southern Argolid, however, points to Hekate, the goddess of pathways and liminal places, of horoi par excellence¹¹. Even so, this archaeological find is unique in attesting to this aspect of her character¹². The only information about the findspot is given by Pausanias who mentions only a temple of Demeter and Kore at the site. However, the Scholiast in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 4.828 comments that Scylla was the daughter of Phorbas and Hekate (*ἐν δὲ ταῖς Μεγάλαις Ἑοίαις Φόρβαντος καὶ Ἑκάτης ἢ Σκύλλα*). The major mountain in the region to the north of Hermione was called Phorbantion. Moreover, although evidence for Hekate is limited, her chthonic aspect and connection with the two Eleusinian dieties are defined early in Greek litera-

8. IG I³ 1049-1086 bis; II² 2596-2630.

9. *ΔΕΚΑΤΑΣ*, for example, may be a new epithet of Hekate, Artemis, or Eileithyia, all three associated with childbirth, since *δεκάτη* (sc. *ἡμέρα*) was a festival on the tenth day after a baby's birth during which the name was given to it (LSJ s.v. *δέκατος* 3); see also R. Parker, *Miasma, Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, rpt. 1990, 48-52.

10. Aeschylus *Supp.* 676-677 and Euripides *Phoen.* 109-110. *Ἄρτεμις Ἑκάτη* is also attested in inscriptions: *Inscriptions de Délos* 2.385 A79; 2.439 b18; 2.45725; and 2.461 Ba52. A third possibility, although remote and unlike, may be that *Ηεκάτας* is an otherwise unattested name of a place.

11. For Hekate see L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 2, Oxford 1896, 501-519; T. Kraus, *Hekate. Studien zu Wesen und Bild der Göttin in Kleinasien und Griechenland*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter - Universitätsverlag, 1960, *passim* (*Heidelberger Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen Band 5*); W. Burkett, *Greek Religion*, trans. in English J. Raffan, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, 171; and Johnston (above note 6) 21-28 (chapter II).

12. For the special connection of Hekate with crossroads and liminal places, see the recent study of S. I. Johnston, *Crossroads*, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 217-224. If the horos is indeed Hekate's then it would be an additional, if unique, testimony to this aspect of the goddess.

ture in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 24-25, 51-59, 438-440¹³. Hekate is thus not out of place in Eileoi.

What is even more important is that in the southern part of the Argolid peninsula and especially in the region of Hermione Demeter and Kore occupy a prominent place. In addition to the temple at Eileoi, Pausanias also mentions a sanctuary to Demeter Thermesia (2.34.6), east of Hermione (ca. 9 kms), another one to Demeter and Kore on Mt. Bouporthmos, outside old Hermione (2.34.9), and another one to Demeter at Didymoi (2.36.3), ca. 10-15 kms north of Eileoi¹⁴. In Hermione itself he saw "enclosures of large unhewn stones: within these enclosures they perform secret rites in honour of Demeter" (2.34.10). He saw another sanctuary of Demeter Thermesia (2.34.12) and the "most notable" temple of Demeter Chthonia on Mt. Pron where the festival Chthonia was performed every year in the summer (2.35.4-10)¹⁵.

13. See also Hesiod Theogony 411-452 where an extraordinary hymn to this lesser goddess is recited and the various realms under Hekate's control are defined and praised.

14. The only evidence, outside Pausanias, for a sanctuary of Demeter at Didymoi is an inscription (IG IV 746) which has survived, because it was used as building material in the small church (ἑξωκλήσι) of Agia Marina, ca. 2 kms east-southeast of the village. It is still (when I visited the village in September 1990) where E. Fraenkel saw it, i.e. built in at the bottom northwest corner, to the left of the entrance, and is painted with asbestos.

15. Pausanias mentions two versions for the etiology of the Chthonia at Hermione, one Hermionian and the other Argive: the former claims that the festival was established by Clymenos and his sister Chthonia; the latter by the daughter of Colontas Chthonia whom Demeter brought to Hermione and founded the sanctuary. See also N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, rpt. 1979, 178. On the report in Appolodoros' *Bibliotheca* 1.5.1f. Richardson (p. 75) has also suggested that, among others, the lyric poet from Hermione Lasos probably composed a poem/hymn in which he placed the scene of Kore's rape in Hermione.

These bits of information are very interesting in light of K. Clinton's article *The Author of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 16.4 (1986) 43-49. He argues against the often assumed Athenian/Attic authorship of the Hymn and especially against reading it as the official cult-legend of the Mysteries at Eleusis. Among the many aspects he finds against such an assumption is Hekate: she has a prominent place in the Hymn, but she is totally absent from the archaeological record (p. 45 and note 17a).

If this horos is Hekate's, then it may very well be an indication of a thriving festival (which it was held according to Pausanias every year in the summer) in which Hekate held a prominent place. And perhaps her presence in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, but her absence from the archaeological record at Eleusis, may be explained by an Argolid influence on (or perhaps even authorship of) the Hymn.

Although definite conclusions about Hekate, if the horos is hers, and the site of Eileoi must await excavations, nevertheless, it seems clear that the region south of Epidauros celebrated Demeter more than any other goddess, and the people there performed certain rites. Whether rites were also conducted at Eileoi, and what was the connection, if any, to the Eleusinian Mysteries are open questions. "The boundary marker of Hekate's(?) street" may have been a ceremonial pathway to the temple of Demeter and Kore; or simply a street leading to, or dominated by, something consecrated to Hekate; or both¹⁶.

ADDENDUM

Two further studies should be added to note 4, which present surveys of the southern Argolid: N. Φαράκλας, 'Ερμιονίς-Αλιάς, 'Αρχαῖες 'Ελληνικὲς Πόλεις 19 ('Αθήνα 1973) 9, ἐπίμετρο 1-2; and the recent and very detailed work by M.H. Jameson, C.N. Runnels, T.H. van Andel, A Greek Countryside. The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day, with a Register of Sites by C.N. Runnels and M.H. Munn, Stanford 1994, 30/3, 42/4, 51/2, 372/8, 519/26, 534, backpack map no. 7.

I am grateful to Angelos P. Matthaiou for bringing to my attention a parallel of a street named after a god. In Harpokration's entry s.v. *τρικέφαλος* "Hestia street" is attested in the deme Ankyle in Attica (G. Dindorff, ed., Oxford 1853, 293 = J. J. Keaney, Harpokration Lexeis of the Ten Orators, Amsterdam 1991, 252, T 28): *Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Εὐκλείδην ἀμικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ τρικεφάλου παρὰ τὴν Ἑστίαν ὁδόν*. τὸ πλήρες ἐστὶ τοῦ τρικεφάλου Ἑρμοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν γ' Εὐκλείδην ἀναθεῖναι Ἀγκυλῆσιν (see also W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, München 1931, 186-8, esp. 188). More revealing is Suda's entry (letter T 981), again s.v. *τρικέφαλος*: *ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ὡσπερ διδάσκων τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἔχων ὑπογραφὴν, ποῦ μὲν αὕτη φέρει ἡ ὁδός, ποῦ δὲ ἐκείνη. ἴσως δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστην ὁδὸν κεφαλὴν εἶχεν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἀναθεὶς τὸν τρικέφαλον Ἑρμῆν, ὡς Φιλόχορός φησι, Προκλείδης Ἰππάρχου ἐραστής. Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐκλείδου· μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ Τρικεφάλου παρὰ τὴν Ἑστίαν ὁδόν. τὸ πλήρες ἐστὶ τοῦ τρικεφάλου Ἑρμοῦ* (my emphasis). There were, therefore, streets named

16. I am grateful to the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Nauplion and Ms I. Zervoudaki of the Ministry of Culture for their permission to publish the inscription. I am also grateful to Professors S. V. Tracy, I. E. Stephanis, and S. I. Johnston, Dr. T. C. Loening, P. Forsythe, and the Editors of Horos for their perceptive comments and suggestions.

after a god, Hestia Street in the Attic deme Ankyle, which led to Hestia's sanctuary. For, the three-headed Herm, which served as an horos on a crossroads was, according to Suda's entry, inscribed on each side with the name of the road's destination. It is not unlikely, then, that the horos from Heliokastro, although not a Herm, served a similar purpose.



