

AN INSCRIBED DORIC CAPITAL FROM THE ARGIVE HERAION

This stone was called to my attention in December of 1937 by the farmer who had unearthed it in digging a well about a mile southwest of the Argive Heraion.



Fig. 1. Inscribed Doric Capital

of abacus, 0.45 m.; height of abacus, 0.09 m.² It has three annulets on the echinus, and an empolion cutting *ca.* 0.04 m. square. The upper surface of the abacus was much damaged in removing the stone from the earth.

Votive capitals³ are often quite irregular in form, but ours is as regular as any made for use as an architectural member, finding its closest parallel for profile in the capitals of the Treasury of the

He had found it, as he told me, and as the imprint in the side of the well still showed, at a depth of about one meter beneath the present surface of the earth. It was serving, when I first saw it, as a support for one corner of the framework of a water-lift over the well from which it came (Figs. 1 and 2).¹

The dimensions of the capital, which is made of a soft, rather coarse-grained stone, are as follows: diameter of column, 0.28 m.; height of echinus, *ca.* 0.09 m.; width



Fig. 2. Face B of the Capital

¹ It is now in the museum at Argos. I wish to thank the Ephor, Mr. Petides, for facilitating my study of the capital in the museum. I am also grateful to Mr. Nathan Dane II for photographs which he took for me and to Professor William A. Oldfather for a number of helpful suggestions on the inscription.

² These measurements correspond rather closely to those of an inscribed capital found during the excavation of the Heraion. *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 202 (cf. *A.J.A.*, IX, 1894, p. 351): diameter of column, 1 ft.; height of echinus, 4 in.; width of abacus, 1 ft. 9 in.; height of abacus, 4 in. The height of the letters in the two inscriptions is also about the same.

³ The Doric examples known to me are: (1) from the Heraion, *v. supra* note 2; (2) from Corcyra, *I.G.*, IX, 1, 869 (cf. O. Puchstein, *Winckelmannsprogramm*, XLVII, 1887, p. 47, fig. 39),

Athenians at Delphi.¹ This similarity would seem to suggest a date for our capital somewhere toward the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth.²

There are four lines of inscription on each of two adjoining faces of the abacus (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). The average height of the letters is *ca.* 0.02 m., but the *omicron*



Fig. 3. Photograph of a Squeeze of the Inscription on Adjoining Faces of the Capital: above, Face A; below, Face B

is only *ca.* 0.01 m., and it is aligned with the tops of the other letters. The letters of the last line on either side are, on the other hand, *ca.* 0.025 m. high. The size and spacing of the letters of these two last lines is due to the fact that they are not confined at the bottom by guide-lines, as well as to the fact that there is a free space at the end of each line (this free space exists because the text was divided in halves which would not quite fill the available surface on each face of the abacus). On each face there are three incised guide-lines, a little shallower than the incisions for the letters.³

The inscription is especially interesting as one of the few in the archaic, epichoric alphabet of Argos (Figs. 3 and 4). It shows the peculiar Argive Δ (*beta*, *v. infra*),

of the 6th century; (3) from Ptoön, L. Bizard, *B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, pp. 227-36, dated between 554 and 539; (4) from the Acropolis at Athens, *I.G.*, I², 472, of about the same date as the preceding; (5) from Etruria, *C.I.E.*, II, 5240; and (6) also from Etruria, *C.I.E.*, II, 5523.

¹ Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, pl. XIII.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 85-91.

³ For other examples of such ruling cf. Otto Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, pls. 4, 5, and 8.

Ϝ, Μ (san), and ψ (psi). The form of the epsilon varies somewhat (Fig. 4). The Ο seems to have been dotted in some cases and not in others, no distinction, of course, being made between Ο and Ω. This seems to be the first recorded instance of the use in an Argive inscription of ψ (psi). The most curious and interesting letter form in the inscription is the *beta* of *ἠέβαν* in the second line of Face B, which is written Ϟ (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). The horizontal line appearing at the top of the letter is simply the guide-line above, and the vertical line to the right, next to Ϟ, can only be a flaw in the stone or a mistake of the stone-cutter. This form, so similar to the Δ of the Byblos inscriptions,¹ occurs with slight variations on only two other Greek inscriptions: one likewise from the Heraion,² and the other almost certainly Argive, although reputedly found at Hermione;³ both are earlier than the present example. In the former the upper bar of the letter, instead of the lower, is horizontal (Ϟ); but on the 'Hermione' tablet we find Ϟ, from which either of the other forms might be derived, although our form seems to correspond more closely to the Byblos character. Closely related forms are also found at Megara in Ϟ, and at Corinth in the well known Ϟ. From the use of the Μ this alphabet would belong to Roberts' first period,⁴ but he notes the form Ϟ

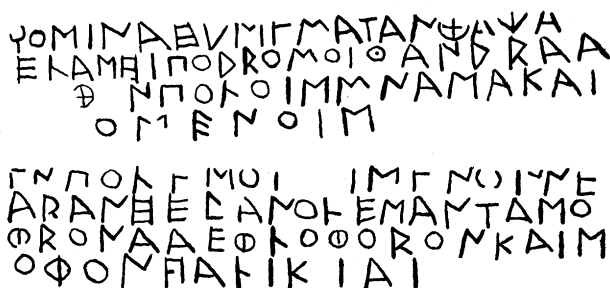


Fig. 4. Facsimile Based on the Photograph in Fig. 3

only for his third period. In general the letter forms seem to correspond most closely to those in use in the fifth century,⁵ and it is probably to the first decades of the century that the inscription should be assigned.

The text (Figs. 3 and 4) is an epitaph in two elegiac distichs. The first line on either side has been damaged somewhat by chipping of the upper edge of the abacus, and the loss of a chip from the lower left-hand corner of the first inscribed side has destroyed two letters from each of the last two lines on that face. I restore as follows:

ῥός(σ)ιν(ν)α ἠυσ(σ)εμάτων ῥάψα [π]|έλας ἠιπ(π)οδρόμοιο,
 ἄνδρα ἀ|[γα]θ[ό]ν, πολ(λ)οῖς μνᾶμα καὶ |[έσ](σ)ομένους, ||
 ἐν πολέμοι [φθ]ίμενον, νε|αράν ἠέβαν ὀλέσαντα,
 σό|φρονα, ἀε<θ>λοφόρον, καὶ σ|οφὸν ἠαλικίαι.

¹ Cf. Ullman's table, *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 314.

² J. R. Wheeler, *A.J.A.*, IX, 1894, p. 354; *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 203.

³ *I.G.*, IV, 554, line 2.

⁴ Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, I, pp. 117-118.

⁵ Cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, I, Tafel III.

Kossinna is apparently the wife of Hyssematas, and having buried him, as she says, close to the race-course, sets up this monument as a memorial to him.

The consonants in ῥόσ(σ)ω(ν)α, as also in *ἠυσ(σ)εμάταν*, must be doubled, as indicated, to make position for the preceding vowels; and that this is permissible is clear from the writing of a single consonant for a double in *ἠυποδρόμοιο* and *πολοῖς*. Elision is not indicated in the inscription,¹ but the final alpha of ῥόσ(σ)ω(ν)α must be elided to avoid hiatus. The names both sound strange and hardly Greek. ῥόσσιννα, for example, is distinctly reminiscent of such Etruscan names as Cossinius and Κοττίνας;² but, while the name is not found elsewhere, there is the very similar Boeotian Κόριννα, and the name Κοσσίδαμος is also found in Boeotia.³ From nearer to Argos comes the obviously closely related name Κόσσας, which belonged to a man from Pellene near Sikyon.⁴ Later a Κουσέννα is found as the writer of a letter from Oxyrhynchos.⁵ Neither is the name *ἠυσεμάτας* found elsewhere, but it is probably good Argive, for according to Hesychios the ancient name for Mt. Arachnaion was Ὑσσέλιον.⁶ The mountain name, and the personal too, for that matter, may well be pre-Hellenic, as the double *sigma* and the information given by Hesychios seem to suggest. The element Ὑσ(σ)- is also found in the name of a place on the border between the Argolid and Arkadia, Ὑσιαί, with which Autran⁷ compared Karian Τσσωις, Τσσωις, and Τσσωλλος.

The verb ῥάψα seems absolutely clear and certain. The lengthening of the final *alpha* in the thesis of the fourth foot of the hexameter is irregular but not unexampled, for the lengthening of a final short vowel is admitted before the masculine caesura.⁸ The indication [π]έλας ἠυ(π)οδρόμοιο is comparable to the more common ἔγγυς ὁδοῦ. If it can be assumed that the capital was found anywhere near its original site, this would give some indication that horse-racing was one of the features of the Heraia, and that the race-course was somewhere close by. The terrain in this neighborhood is, indeed, quite level and could well have been used for a race-course.

The eulogy of Hyssematas is couched in terms quite commonplace in the diction of sepulchral inscriptions of the period. For the expression ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν compare *I.G.*, I², 976; and for the combination ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν - - σόφρονα compare *I.G.*, I²,

¹ Cf. ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν and σόφρονα, ἀεθλοφόρον.

² Cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 79.

³ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1936, Ἀρχ. Χρον., p. 26, no. 194, 6.

⁴ Suidas, s. v. Κόσσας.

⁵ Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Pap.*, XIV, p. 183, no. 1765, line 1 (cf. line 29).

⁶ Theognostos (Cramer, *Anec. Ox.*, 2, 24, 9) gives it as Ὑσσέλιον; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, II, p. 367; Hesychios, s. v. Ὑσσέλιον.

⁷ *Introduction a l'étude critique du nom propre grec*, p. 443.

⁸ Cf. *Iliad*, II, 116; XVII, 152; *Odyssey*, V, 415; XVI, 206. A precise analogy occurs in *Odyssey*, X, 322, where the final *alpha* of the first person singular, first aorist, active, indicative is lengthened at the masculine caesura.

972 (ἀγαθὸ καὶ σόφρονος ἀνδρός). The phrase καὶ ἔσσομένοις is so used also in *I.G.*, I², 945. The correctness of the reading of the entire third line is insured by an identical line from an Attic epigram of the sixth century.¹ With this line might be compared:

φουχὰς δαιμονίος ὄλεσατ' ἐμ πολέμοι

from the epigram on the fallen of Koronea found in the Kerameikos.² Simonides uses the expression ὄλεσαν ἦβην in his epigram on those who fell beside the Eury-medon.³ The expression σοφὸν ἡλικίαι involves an unusual use of the dative, which is, however, only an extension of the use of ἡλικία with such adjectives as νέος⁴ to a combination with another adjective. *I.G.*, I², 1021 shows the same placement at the end of an epigram of the similar expression ἡπάσες — — ἔχσοχος ἡλικίας.

If the dating of the inscription in the first decades of the fifth century is correct, the statement that Hyssematas died ἐν πολέμοι becomes much more significant. There was only one really important military engagement in which the Argives were involved at this time, and that was the invasion of the Argolid by Kleomenes, which ended so disastrously for Argos.⁵ The city was so crippled by this blow that she was *hors de combat* for some time and still felt justified in offering her consequent weakness as an excuse for not coöperating against the Persians in 480.⁶ The oracle given in common to the Argives and Milesians before the battle⁷ is usually connected with the destruction of Miletus, according to which the invasion would have taken place in 494 or thereabouts.⁸ It is not at all impossible, then, and most attractive as an hypothesis, that Hyssematas lost his life fighting against the Spartans under Kleomenes about the year 494.

LLOYD W. DALY

¹ *I.G.*, I², 976.

² Kyparissis and Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 142-146; and Peek, *Hermes*, LXVIII, 1933, pp. 353-356. Cf. C. M. Bowra, *C.Q.*, XXXII, 1938, pp. 80-88.

³ Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, II (1925), p. 105, no. 115; cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 79-81.

⁴ Cf. Thucydides, V, 43, 2: ἀνὴρ ἡλικία — — ἔτι τότε ὄν νέος.

⁵ Herodotos, VI, 76-82.

⁶ *Id.*, VII, 148.

⁷ *Id.*, VI, 77, 2.

⁸ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, pp. 319-321; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, II², 1, pp. 13 f.; E. M. Walker, *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, pp. 164-165. Lenschau, Pauly-Wissowa, XI, p. 700, prefers a date around 520, which would agree with Pausanias' statement (III, 4, 1) that it was early in the reign of Kleomenes.