

## STUDIES IN SOUTH ATTICA

### THE SALAMINIOI AT PORTHMOS <sup>1</sup>

The two large, complete inscriptions found in the Athenian Agora and published with a full commentary by Professor Ferguson <sup>2</sup> provide us not only with much new information regarding the Salaminian γένος and the Attic γένη in general, but with an unexpected picture of the deme and demesmen of ancient Sounion. Very briefly summarized, the evidence is as follows: in the fourth and third centuries before Christ a good number <sup>3</sup> of the well-to-do Sounion demesmen belonged to the "Salaminian" clan. In common with their fellow members, they controlled a Herakleion at Sounion, at a place called "Porthmos," where they had also a considerable stretch of arable land.<sup>4</sup> Various additional details concerning the Herakleion and the adjacent farming land are furnished by the settlement of a boundary dispute, which the later of the two inscriptions (no. 2) records. The Salaminioi owned two other pieces of property, the "Hale" and the "Market Place in Koile." Since the sacrifices to the hero at Hale were performed at Porthmos, the place itself was probably not far away; of the Market Place in Koile we know nothing except that Koile suggests a location within the well-known city deme of that name. Finally, the religious calendar includes, together with these sacrifices, offerings to two other nameless heroes: the one at "Antisara," the other at "Pyrgilion." These two place-names may also be sought in the Sounion region.

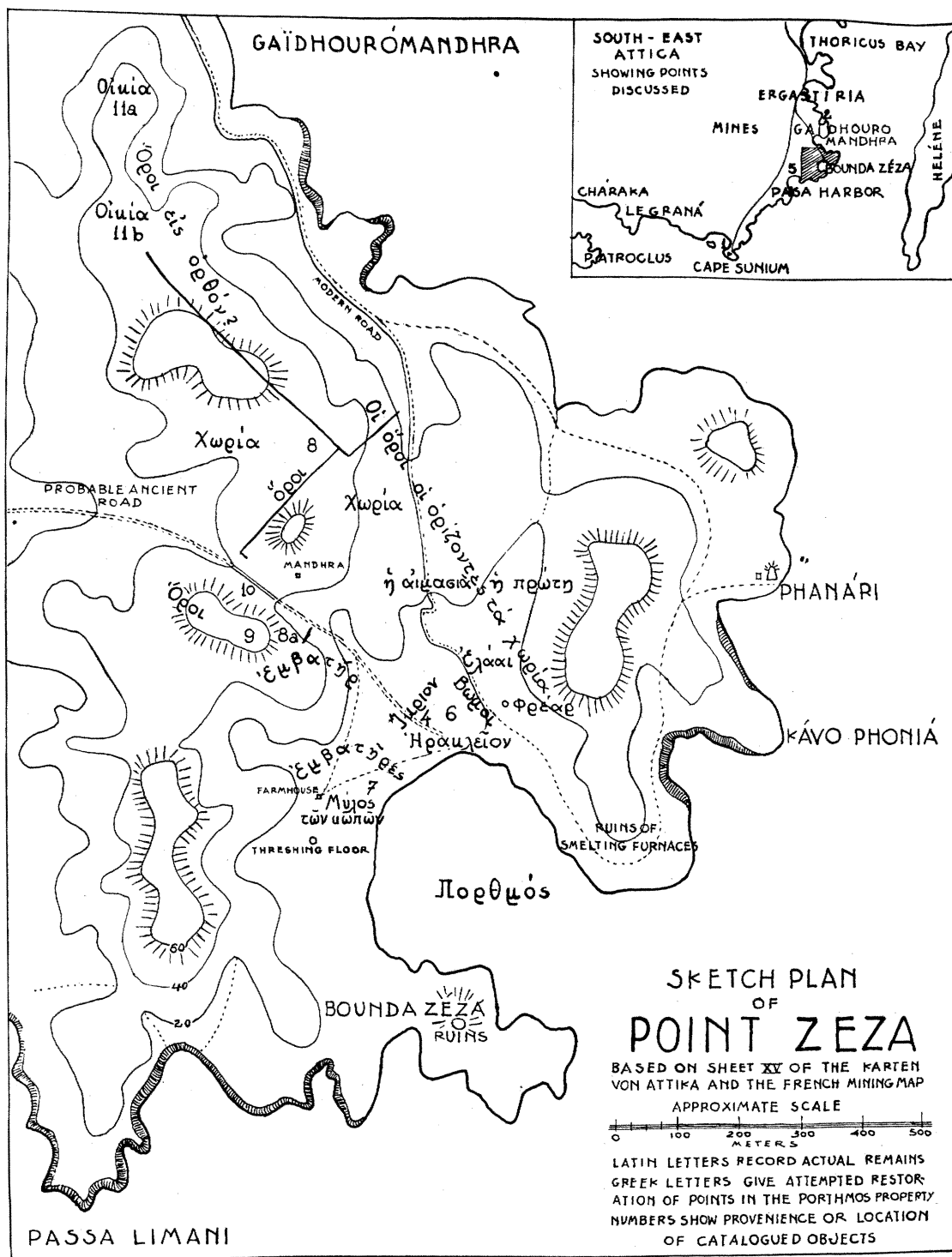
The small pond lying below the heights of the Poseidon temple has been suggested as the Hale by Professor Ferguson. Dr. Thompson supported this identification, and, upon investigation, tentatively located the Herakleion nearby, seeing in the

<sup>1</sup> This article is the first of a series of studies made in connection with an archaeological survey of the ancient deme of Sounion. I began this work in 1937-8 as a Fellow of Harvard University, and in 1938-9 Brown University enabled me to carry it on; to both Harvard and Brown I owe my warmest acknowledgments. My obligations to innumerable friends at the American School and at the Agora Excavations, as well as elsewhere in Athens and in Sounion, are many; I wish to express thanks particularly to Mr. H. A. Thompson and Mr. A. W. Parsons for their unflagging interest in the affairs of the Salaminioi and for constant help in the preparation of this paper. I am grateful also to Mr. Piet de Jong, who lent his hand to the restoration of the victor monument, and to Mr. J. Travlos, who is responsible for the professional appearance of the map. The two reliefs in the Sounion museum are published through the kindness of the Ephor of Attica, Mr. N. Kyparissis.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 1 ff., nos. 1 and 2. I shall henceforth refer to the inscriptions as, e. g., "no. 1, lines 3-5"; Professor Ferguson's commentary will be cited as "Ferguson, p. 10," etc., and Dr. Thompson's topographical note (*ibid.*, pp. 75 f.) as "Thompson."

<sup>3</sup> About one hundred (? Ferguson, p. 15).

<sup>4</sup> Probably over twenty-one acres (*id.*, p. 68).



little cove there the Porthmos of the inscriptions. Upon restudying the site, however, I was not satisfied with the evidence which they had cited; furthermore, during my topographical researches, evidence unavailable to either of my predecessors came to light which makes a reconsideration of the whole question desirable. With the entire Sounion region, then, as the theater of the search, I propose to examine one by one the data listed above, in order to narrow the range of the investigation as much as possible by the help of the information the inscriptions themselves give. When this has been done, and when some recent discoveries have been considered, I believe that the Salaminian properties may be more precisely located.

### THE SOUNIAC PORTHMOS

The name "Sounion" itself should set the first limits to the search. But does the term "at Sounion" refer to the promontory, the deme, or only the general region?<sup>5</sup> The answer is supplied almost certainly by lines 70 ff. of the first text, where the Salaminioi "from Sounion" are listed without demotics and are positively Sounion demesmen. Since, by the phrase ἀπὸ Σουνίου the deme is meant, so in the same inscription ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ (line 95) applied to Porthmos places this site within the Sounion deme. An important passage from Strabo limits considerably the territory to be considered. He makes the round of the Attic peninsula from Peiraeus to Oropos, listing the noteworthy demes. "After Peiraeus comes the deme of Phaleron, following along the coast; then the Halimousians, — — — Anaphlystos and Ateneis. These are the demes as far as Cape Sounion. — — — *Rounding the cape of Sounion*, you come to the important *deme* Sounion, then to Thorikos, then to the deme Potamos," etc.<sup>6</sup> Here, in a definite statement, which there is no reason to distrust, the main part at least of the deme of Sounion is placed on the east coast, north of the temple; for Strabo, since he could hardly mean to exclude the Cape from the deme, is apparently contrasting the Cape and its temples with the east coast, where the commercial and social *center* of the deme lay. The territory of the deme, then, cannot be extended more than halfway across the southern end of the peninsula (i. e., no farther west than the Legrana valley, and probably not that far). Along the east coast to the north the next certain point of value in the arrangement of the demes is Thorikos Bay. But with Thorikos we are not only out of the deme of Sounion, but out of its trittys as well; if Sounion were extended this far, it would control every harbor in the Leontis paralia.<sup>7</sup> Its northern coastal boundaries must have

<sup>5</sup> It may mean many things: the fortified rock with its temple (the most common meaning in Greek literature), the mining-hills to the north (e. g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1582, lines 41-45), or, sometimes, the whole southern end of Attica (e. g., Strabo, II, 1, 40).

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, IX, 1, 21-22. I read with Loeper Ἀττηνέϊς (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 335).

<sup>7</sup> Thorikos is Akamantis and Ateneis, with Anaphlystos, Antiochis. Cf. V. Schoeffler in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Ἀῆμιοι, and the valuable map given by Gomme, *Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*; cf. also *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 50.

been well to the south of Thorikos, then, and we may assume with all likelihood that the Sounion coast did not exceed, to north or to west, the shores shown on Sheet XV of the *Karten von Attika*.

Since the Salaminian property lay on, or at least close to, the sea, the extent of the search is already confined to the coast of the deme. Further limitations should be offered by the exact meaning of the word *πορθμός*. Liddell-Scott-Jones gives "ferry, or place crossed by a ferry, strait, narrow sea." Although the primary meaning of the word probably emphasizes the sense of "crossing," in classical times *πορθμός* is used about equally for the route across a strait and the strait itself.<sup>8</sup> Porthmos as a *place-name*, if we may judge from the examples so far known, was applied to a site on the shore of a "strait, or narrow sea" presumably at one end of the "ferry or place crossed by a ferry." So with the two examples cited by Ferguson: the Euboic Porthmos was, no matter where its exact location, ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς<sup>9</sup> and very likely the end of a ferry-route across the Euboic channel starting at Oropos;<sup>10</sup> the Carpathus Porthmos was on the channel at the crossing-point to the islet of Saros. To these may be added the Rheneian Porthmos, which was quite certainly on the strait between Rheneia and Delos and perhaps was the point to which the "ferry-fee to Rheneia" was paid.<sup>11</sup> The Hellespont itself was a *porthmos*, but Porthmos there was the crossing between Sestos and Abydos; farther in the "Sacred Porthmos" was on the Bosphoros at the mouth of the Euxine Sea.<sup>12</sup>

If the place which held the Salaminian property was named aptly, it should be sought along the coast, upon a channel, preferably with some landing facilities. The sea channels along the coast under consideration are not many (see the map, Fig. 1). The strait between the western tip of the Attic peninsula and the ancient "Island of Patroclus" is one possibility; small boats today sometimes rest there waiting for a change of wind, and the mainland, though it furnishes no harbor, is not entirely unfavorable. Against this is Strabo's express statement that the deme lies northeast of the Cape; also, Porthmos as a ferry-route is hardly applicable here, since the trip across to the small and rocky "Donkey-Island" could scarcely have been a common one in antiquity. The next two possibly ancient sites along the coast are the foot of the Legrana valley and the well-known cove below the Poseidon temple. Both sites

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, s.v.; but see Herodotus, VIII, 76, 91, where the whole length of the straits between Salamis and Attica is surely intended. Other examples are cited in Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v.

<sup>9</sup> Demosthenes, X, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, II, pp. 423 f.

<sup>11</sup> See Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 424; τὸ εἰς Πήγειαν πορθμεῖον: *Inscr. Délos*, 442, A 153.

<sup>12</sup> Aeschylus, *Pers.*, 68; Suidas, s.v. It will be noted that in each case a very definite and quite narrow strait or crossing-place is necessary for these Porthmos sites. I know of no case where the word, either as place-name or simple noun, is used to describe any part of a long coasting voyage such as that from Sounion to Phaleron. Cf. Ferguson, p. 44.

present some landing facilities, and the cove is still an important anchoring-place when the north wind makes the Euboic channel difficult; but at neither site is there a strait of any sort, and thus obviously no crossing-place or ferry. Since the place-name *Porthmos*, as far as we understand it, suits but poorly the site suggested by Dr. Thompson, we should do well to look further. Following the coast, then, and rounding the cape as Strabo did to reach the Sounion deme, the helmsman must hug a shelterless coast until he can again cast anchor in the port now called "Pasha Harbor." But before he has reached there, he will have entered the *Makronisi Stenó*, which appears on the maps, in more elegant Greek, as *Πορθμός τοῦ Θορικοῦ*. The long, and for mariners most happily protected, channel formed by the southeast tip of Attica and "Long Island" (the ancient Helene) is certainly the "porthmos" *par excellence* of all

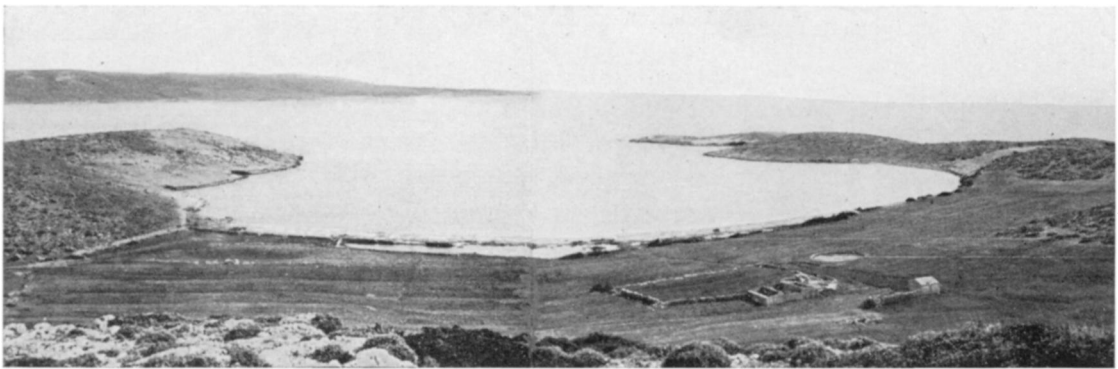


Fig. 2. Boundazeza Harbor, Looking East to Makronisi

southern Attica, as any seaman who knows these waters will tell you. Facing the southern (thus Souniac) part of this channel are three harbors; Pasha Harbor to the south and Gaidhourómandhra to the north are both deep indentations, separated from each other by a fairly wide and squat peninsula called Boundazéza (i. e., Pounta Zeza, Italo-Albanian "Black Point"), which at its very end holds a little harbor of its own (Fig. 2). By their location, any of these three might be called *Porthmos*, since they all face Makronisi and any one of them might be a point of departure for the island.

Pasha was an important ancient harbor, as its location alone might easily suggest. For, though not shown on the *Karten von Attika*, there are many traces of ancient traffic here. In the southwestern cove I have found clear cuttings for several ship sheds, with traces of buildings directly above them, and copious sherds of the classical period. At the southeast end of the bay are foundations of large structures, ancient slag, and what appears to be a dock or mole in the water. I imagine that it was this region to which Strabo referred (see p. 165). But its position in regard to the island opposite makes it the least favorable of all three harbors to be called *Porthmos*, for here Makronisi, slendering down to its southern tip, veers back eastward, while the

Attic coast draws in continually to the west, leaving a rather wide and poorly protected gulf.

Gaidhouromandhra ("Donkey-corral"), to the north, is better; it is a good harbor (it is the seat of an old boat-building establishment) and forms an easy point of departure for the "island of Helen." Antiquities are not lacking. An ancient road runs along its southern coast, where foundations of a long building may also be seen, and at the end of the southwestern cove are remains of ancient smelting-furnaces for the ore of the Souniac mines. But the north and east regions, where the Salaminian property should apparently be located, are occupied by a cemetery of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. Furthermore, the ancient name of this harbor was almost certainly Panormos, which it has retained in one variant form or another almost to the present day. Surely if the property were located in the well-known harbor of Panormos, it would be this name, not Porthmos, by which it would be legally located.<sup>13</sup>

The smaller harbor in the very end of the point is left, and this region has the best claim upon the name Porthmos. Point Zeza, with its lighthouse, reaches out almost a kilometre nearer to Helene than any other part of the Attic coast, and together with a reef near the island side<sup>14</sup> forms the narrowest channel and the most likely crossing-place (Fig. 2). The harbor, though neither as large nor as deep as Panormos to the north, would furnish a favorably protected base for the boats of the ferry-route, which, though they be considerably larger than Charon's classic example, would hardly exceed the size of the present-day fishermen's caïques which may be found there any day when the *Boreas* blows strong. The beach of the little harbor is piled with masses of ancient sherds, heaped up by the winter waves, and inland from the northern and eastern shores are remains of ancient structures plentiful enough to prove the existence of a lively settlement.<sup>15</sup>

We have now completed the consideration of the sites which might be located ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ and by any chance named Porthmos. The investigation has shown that any

<sup>13</sup> For Panormos, see Ptolemy, III, 15, 5, and the note by Müller in his edition (Milchhoefer, *Karten von Attika*, Text, Heft III, p. 28 gives other modern variants). I say "well-known" because mentioned without explanation in a speech of Isaeus (*de Cleonym. her.*, 31). The name Gaidhouromandhra seems to date only from the last century or so.

<sup>14</sup> The name Boundazeza, whose derivation is almost forgotten by the present-day inhabitants, actually applies to the long point south of the cove; the northern cape, where the lighthouse stands, is properly Κάβο Φονιά ("Murderer's Cape"), a seamen's term; but Boundazeza is used now for the whole region.

<sup>15</sup> Though various ancient foundations are shown on Sheet XV of the *Karten* (no name is given to the region), Milchhoefer (*loc. cit.*) passes it by with the merest mention; he obviously followed the road here and missed the little harbor completely. I can find no trace, in print, of its having been visited either by archaeologists or travellers. The careless map in Ardaillon's book (*Les Mines de Laurium dans l'Antiquité*), here merely a bad copy of the German sheet, incorrectly labels this harbor Panormos.

of the three eastern harbors has better claims upon this name than the southern cove, and Boundazeza best of all; but had we no further evidence, no one of these four sites could be excluded. Fortunately, both the inscriptions and the Sounion landscape give other clues, to which we must now turn our attention.

### THE HERAKLEION

The Souniac Porthmos was the seat of a Herakleion;<sup>16</sup> it is unfortunate that the inscriptions give hardly more than this bald statement about the shrine itself, except to add that the part of the hero's precinct to be reserved for sacred purposes contained, apparently along its edges, altars; elsewhere an ἵκριον (some sort of scaffolding?) set off another part of the precinct, a part bounded by olive trees.<sup>17</sup> No mention is made of any cult building or other equipment except altars and the ἵκριον; yet we cannot conclude that none existed; the inscription is not an inventory of property but a settlement of boundaries, so that while the most insignificant objects may be mentioned, the most important ones, if they lie on no disputed ground, may be left out. A Herakleion which, as Ferguson has shown, is at least of pre-Cleisthenian origin and which served for centuries as the headquarters of an aristocratic clan must certainly have collected by the middle of the third century B.C. (the period of our second inscription) a considerable amount of shrine equipment and would normally have possessed a cult building. If it did, its traces should be found today; and in any case, if the temenos held anything more pretentious than a scaffolding and the most modest altars, the archaeologist should be able to find some remains which would point out its location.

Of the places I have listed above as possible candidates for the name Porthmos,

<sup>16</sup> No. 2, lines 10 f., 16 f., etc.

<sup>17</sup> No. 2, lines 8-11. A literal translation of the crabbed Greek would read: of the precinct of Herakles let (that part) be reserved for sacred purposes as the altars delimit it and, beyond the ἵκριον, as the first olive trees delimit it. I take this to mean that the sacred section of the precinct, according to the new decision, would be in one place bounded by a series of altars, and on another side, near which the ἵκριον stood, by olive trees. But the picture is not complete, since presumably only sections in dispute are mentioned, and without further information it is impossible to visualize the shrine. As for the ἵκριον, R. P. Austin in a recent study of ἵκρια as temple furniture (*J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 287-289) has shown that the translation "balustrade," copied by Dittenberger and hence quoted by Ferguson (p. 70), was an invention of Boeckh's which has no foundation and is indeed highly dubious. Austin would translate ἵκρια in cult contexts as "scaffolding," and has recently suggested to the *Hesperia* editors that the singular as used in the Salaminioi inscription probably refers to a "platform" used for some purpose in connection with the altars. Dr. Gabriel Welter has informed me that he is quite in agreement with Austin as to the lack of connection between the ἵκρια of the Aegina inscription and the holes found around the base of the cult statue of Aphaia, and adds that it is moreover doubtful whether the holes were for railing posts in any case. It therefore seems inadvisable to me to imagine the Salaminian ἵκριον as a railing around the altars, which the Greek itself does not imply.

only three present any traces of having once harbored an ancient sanctuary. Of these the foremost is, of course, the cove below and to the west of the Poseidon temple itself. This region was clearly the greatest religious gathering-place in all South Attica; the excavations of the Greek Society have shown that alongside the sanctuaries of Poseidon and Athena many other deities were worshipped: Zeus Meilichios, Artemis, Apollo, Asklepios, and others.<sup>18</sup> Although the convenient anchoring-place has, perhaps least of all the list, the qualifications of a "porthmos," yet Thompson's arguments in its favor demand a careful search of the neighborhood for traces of a cult of Herakles. For although Solders records no mention of this hero here (nor indeed in all Attica south of the central plain), an important Herakleion directly below the columns of Poseidon should have left some traces in the large excavated areas on the Cape.

Testimony to the worship of Herakles does, in fact, exist, though meagre enough to have been overlooked, and therefore hardly reassuring to those who would place the Herakleion hard by.<sup>19</sup> In the small hoard of archaic votive offerings discovered in a cleft by the Poseidon temple, the only ones which imply connections with any deity outside of the temple god himself are fragments of five terracotta plaques; these, although from different moulds, all represent the same subject,—the struggle of Herakles with the Nemean lion (Catalogue No. 1<sup>20</sup>). Another labor of Herakles is represented in an enigmatic relief now housed in the Sounion storeroom, where the hero is shown fighting the Cretan bull (Fig. 3, Cat. No. 3). It is not from the excavations, however, and since its provenience is unrecorded<sup>21</sup> and its significance obscure, it does not further us in locating the Herakleion. Since Herakles is the subject of both the plaques and the relief, they may all be in some way connected with the Porthmos cult, but they afford little aid in placing the shrine itself.

Of the two remaining coastal regions which give evidence of cult connections, the first, striking northeast from the Cape, is the "Harbor of the Pasha." And here, though there is evidence of a lively commercial activity in ancient times, I can find today no trace of shrine equipment or votive remains. The single record

<sup>18</sup> Severin Solders' valuable catalogue lists the evidence and the bibliography: *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund, 1931), Index, s. v. Sounion.

<sup>19</sup> From the inscriptions alone, Ferguson was led to doubt the proximity of the shrines of Poseidon and Herakles (pp. 44, 68).

<sup>20</sup> A catalogue of objects which may be connected with the Salaminioi is to be found at the end of this article.

<sup>21</sup> The brief manuscript catalogue of the Sounion apotheke lists no proveniences, nor can they in many cases be determined. There are roughly four groups of objects: odds and ends from the excavations; occasional pieces collected from the neighborhood while the excavations were in progress; pieces brought down later from the cellar of the Laurion schoolhouse at the time the Tourist House was erected; and finally, things brought in more recently. The present stone was there before the Tourist House was built; since it is not from the excavations, it was therefore brought in from nearby at that time.



of any deity having once frequented this pleasant strand is the report of a German wanderer who in 1873 wrote "At Pasha Limani, a harbor on the road from Thorikos to Sounion, a four-cornered white marble plaque of irregular shape stands by the shore; although otherwise left unfinished, one short side has a smoothed edge upon which is written Εὐφο<ρ>ος ἀνέθεκεν" (Cat. No. 5). To what deity he made his offering we do not know, but this single stone can hardly indicate a Herakleion here. The coasts of the harbor were all used for secular purposes, as the



Fig. 3. Relief: Herakles and the Cretan Bull (Cat. No. 3)

remains show, and unless the Herakleion is buried in the swamp at the north, there is no place for it at Pasha.

The little harbor at Point Zeza is left. It may, as we have seen, quite reasonably be within the Sounion deme and satisfies, best of all the inlets along the coast, the requirements of the name Porthmos. It is therefore gratifying to find that traces of ancient cult are by no means lacking there. The entire northeastern point above the cove was occupied in ancient times by smelting furnaces, the rocky southern point was apparently unused except for a single structure on its highest knoll,<sup>22</sup> and the region immediately inland from the southern part of the beach was employed, as many recently opened tombs show, as a local cemetery. It is around the northern end of the bay that the fertile fields begin, which stretch on up the northern hillsides to east and west; here the potsherds on the beach are thickest, and here the present

<sup>22</sup> I hope to discuss both of these regions elsewhere.

owner of the land has uncovered and built into the stone wall that bounds his fields a variety of ancient stones, of which I list only the more interesting in the catalogue. A small building with Doric columns stood here at one time, as the capital, the unfluted column drums, and the ample supply of beautifully worked marble blocks all bear witness (Figs. 4 and 11 E; Cat. No. 6). Just such a building is the heroön



Fig. 4. Doric Capital  
(Cat. No. 6, c, ii)  
and Basis (Cat. No. 7, d)  
at Boundazeza

peculiar to Herakles which is represented in a series of fifth- and fourth-century vase-paintings and reliefs.<sup>23</sup> A good example is the relief in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; this depicts a simple square basis with three steps upon which, in each corner, rests an unfluted Doric column, the four columns crowned by a plain epistyle.<sup>24</sup> Some such unostentatious building might well have graced the Porthmos Herakleion.

The harbor at Point Zeza, then, adds a shrine to its other qualifications. If this shrine could be unquestionably connected with the hero Herakles, it would satisfy the chief requirements of the Salaminian property as the Agora records present them. By best fortune, this can be done. The storeroom at Sounion which has already yielded one representation of Herakles, contains another striking relief (Figs. 5, 6, 7; Cat. No. 4). On the front face stands a victor with his wreath and above him his tripods. But the surprising part of the stone is the group of panels, around the back and on both sides, which, on the fragment preserved, show ten labors of Herakles and imply a

total number of at least fourteen, and probably twenty-four labors on the complete stone (see the attempted restoration, Fig. 13). The work perhaps dates from approximately the time of our first Salaminian decree (363 B.C.), and its appearance here would serve to connect it with the Porthmos cult. As a type of monument it is, so far as I know, unique, but it undoubtedly represents a youthful victor who for some reason was especially devoted to the tales of Herakles and his deeds. Perhaps he had won his crown for a poem, play, or recitation which sang the hero's struggles, and so paid tribute to them on his stele; perhaps a victory in some such difficult

<sup>23</sup> The older study of Frickenhaus (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 113 f.) has been supplanted by a monograph in vol. LXII of the same journal (1937 [ed. 1939], pp. 41 ff.), where the Säulenbau of Herakles is thoroughly investigated. I am grateful to the author, Dr. Otto Walter, for sending me an offprint before the article was officially released.

<sup>24</sup> *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, VIII, 1910, pp. 26 f.

contest as the pankration is expressed in heroic style; in any case, the use of every possible surface of the stone for the Herakles panels shows a connection between victor and hero which can hardly be fortuitous.



Fig. 5. Victor Monument (Cat. No. 4)

Why was the relief set up in Sounion? The most usual place for a victor's dedication is at the site of his victory.<sup>25</sup> The only known games held at Sounion were the boat-races<sup>26</sup> which apparently took place at the Cape itself.<sup>27</sup> The well-

<sup>25</sup> See Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, pp. 58 ff.; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Lysias, XXI, 5.

<sup>27</sup> So the casual ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, mentioned at Athens, is best taken, and the route was by sea from Phaleron (Herodotus, VI, 87) which would hardly double the cape and return north.



Fig. 6. Victor Monument  
(Cat. No. 4): Right Side

known and much disputed relief of the youth crowning himself, found by Staïs at the Athena temple, may well represent a winner of these races.<sup>28</sup> But the Herakles relief does not come from the Cape, and another explanation is furnished by the new inscriptions. We now know that a large group of influential Sounion demesmen, the Salaminian clan, not only were connected as a group with the Panathenaic games, but, along with the other members of their fraternity, were actually in charge of a prominent Attic festival, the Oschophoria, which included among its events an important foot-race for ephebes. The race was held, or at least ended, at Phaleron.<sup>29</sup> But victor monuments, besides being erected near the site of the games, were often set up at the home shrine of the winner.<sup>30</sup> The monument of a victorious ephebe, then, erected at Sounion, with its sides and back covered with representations of Herakles' exploits, would fit nicely into the precinct of the Salaminian Herakleion at Porthmos.

The stele, like the other Herakles relief, had been deposited at some unknown date in the Sounion store-room, with place and circumstances of finding unrecorded. But a persistent inquiry over a period of months was finally rewarded. Tsimboukis, the Laurion butcher, at last yielded the information that he had found it in the fields of his farm, fields in general afflicted with a blight of stones.<sup>31</sup> When it appears that the farm is the very one at Point Zeza which we have already examined, and the blight of stones (speaking as a farmer, correctly described) those marble blocks and drums which now form the stone walls and the well house, the link between this region and Herakles is established; a new candidate

for the Salaminian Porthmos is surely indicated and a more careful investigation of the region is now necessary.

<sup>28</sup> Meyer (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Sunion, col. 919) gives the significant bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> Thoroughly discussed by Ferguson, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>30</sup> See Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 361 ff., and Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVI, 1921, cols. 328 ff.

<sup>31</sup> The stones so discouraged Tsimboukis that he no longer lives there; the farm is left in charge of the guardian-shepherd, Yorgis, to whom, along with the lighthouse keeper, I owe my thanks for hospitality and good cheer.

## THE PROPERTY AT PORTHMOS

Ferguson (p. 68) lists these "data for the determination" of the Souniac Porthmos: "It was on the sea coast, *with the sea to its west* ---; *east* of it lay at least 21 acres of cultivable land ---; near it was the Hale ---; it was possibly



Fig. 7. Victor Monument (Cat. No. 4): Left Side

at some distance from the temples of Poseidon and Athena ---." My italics mark the difficulty in fitting the Salaminian property into the landscape surrounding this new Porthmos, for the sea at Point Zeza is to the east and south, the cultivable land to the west and north. Yet, even defying Strabo's statement and extending Sounion (as Loeper does) across the whole south end of the peninsula, there is no west coast of any length which could possibly be the site of the Herakleion.<sup>32</sup> Fortunately, the

<sup>32</sup> The rocky west coast west of Charaka was in places heavily terraced in antiquity to reclaim the land; but there are no flat regions, no wells, no landing facilities and no signs of human occupation other than occasional farming. The slight west coast *east* of Charaka is hopeless for fields or

sea itself is not given as a western boundary; that derives only from Ferguson's interpretation of the troublesome word *ἐμβατήρ*. We do not know what the word means; in its two occurrences hitherto known it is, as Ferguson points out (p. 70), an architect's term,—“an architectural member,” to paraphrase Hesychius freely. If we leave it at that, an unknown object,<sup>33</sup> and reconsider the inscription, we find that the property is to extend (No. 2, line 15): “to the west as the *embateres* (lie or delimit it), both those near the sea and the one lying inland.” We might take it, then, that there were a group of objects called *embateres* lying near the sea and another similar object at some point inland, which together formed convenient terminations for an imaginary boundary line in the same way that the altars were used to bound one side of the precinct. This would place the sea only at one end of the western boundary—the south—and might explain why the southern boundary was otherwise unmentioned (since the shore as a boundary could not be disputed even by the litigious Salaminians). There are perhaps yet other ways of interpreting the specifications of the inscription, and though they may not be convincing, they should tend to soften the rigidity of Ferguson's data.

Suppose, again, we accept Ferguson's interpretation. *Embateres* as docks or quays, though without parallel, remains a perfectly sound linguistic definition, and the sacred temenos itself as a southern boundary is the most obvious explanation of why the inscription does not refer specifically to that side. It would then be necessary to tip the compass back, counter-clockwise, almost sixty degrees if one still wished to make the epigraphical Porthmos and the actual Boundazeza agree. There is, in fact, good evidence to show that this is precisely what should be done. The Greeks were notoriously bad at compass points, and this carelessness apparently led them to assume that the coasts of southern Attica, on either side, ran north and south instead of sloping into a point.<sup>34</sup>

any human habitation. Thus, if a location on a west coast be taken as a requirement, it could scarcely be elsewhere than at the Cape itself, as Thompson rightly observes. But the remains in the neighborhood of the little pond (dwellings, cult and business structures, and graves) leave little room for, and indicate little likelihood of, many acres here given over to grain and olive culture.

<sup>33</sup> If the *embateres* were docks and a quay, as Ferguson holds, it seems unnecessary to name both—as though the north boundary were given as “the second wall and the first wall.” *βατήρ* means “threshold,” *ἐμβατήρια* are sacrifices made upon sailing, and *ἐμβατικός θόλος* is a part of a Roman bath (Grenfell-Hunt, on *Ox. Pap.*, 896, line 11); if these words show any one thing, it is the danger in departing from a known usage to invent a specialized meaning of a Greek compound, especially when a further argument is based upon the unproved definition. *Ἄνω* certainly means “inland” when contrasted with *πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ* (No. 2, lines 15 ff.), which in turn means only “near” or “by” the sea. Finally, it seems strange that a loquacious and sea-faring race would designate both “docks” and “quay” by this single rare word, especially when it was wished to distinguish one from the other. I should rather connect the *ἐμβατήρες* with the *ἵκριον*, or possibly with the mill (for which see below, p. 179).

<sup>34</sup> Thus the locations on the western coast must be tipped clockwise, those on the eastern coast counter-clockwise. Xenophon, for instance, places Anaphlystos sixty stades *south* of Thorikos (*De*

Therefore, however we interpret the arrangement of the Salaminian property, the necessity of a west coast vanishes, and if we can prove that the site at Point Zeza agrees in general with the type of land the inscription calls for, it may be accepted as a likely site for Porthmos.

The region about Porthmos must have been occupied by a small farming community, with fields of grain marked off from each other by boundary stones and walls, with threshing floors, farmhouses, and at least a small olive grove. We could hardly hope to identify with any degree of certainty the actual buildings and objects mentioned in the inscription, but traces of similar objects might be expected, and in fact are plentiful at Point Zeza.



Fig. 8. Stele Cutting at Boundazeza (Cat. No. 9)

The little plain west and north of the harbor is today sown to wheat and yearly threshed upon a modern threshing floor—one of the few in use in the Souniac region. Along the lower slopes of the hills to the northwest and northeast the land was sown until recently and is terraced up by retaining walls, perhaps built upon the ancient ones, which serve to hold back the earth along the winter stream-beds. At least in one place such an ancient wall still appears (Cat. No. 8*a*). The “first stone wall” of the inscription may have been such a terracing, which would explain why there were apparently other walls beyond extending in the same direction.

The markers bounding the fields, which must have been placed about in all directions (only a small part of their line is mentioned), are, of course, not to be found, although luck has preserved a single cutting (Fig. 8, Cat. No. 9) on a rocky

*vect.*, IV, 43), whereas it is almost due west, and Aristides places Sounion *east* of Cape Zoster (cf. note 4 on Cat. No. 3). For a similar confusion by Herodotus, see Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, pp. 277, 286 f. The subject of ancient compass directions was the theme of a lecture by Professor Myres which unfortunately I did not hear, and so far as I know his notes are as yet unpublished; I understand that his conclusions agree in general with what I have set forth.

hillcrest to the east. Its form is unexplainable except as the basis for a small stele, which is perhaps represented by fragments of marble lying about. Such a boundary stone would have been a clearly visible point, like the whitewashed stone heaps which form the present-day property boundaries; this marker may possibly have been part of the system cutting off the western fields of the Salaminioi from the Heptaphylai. An unusual and extensive cutting nearby carves a strip transversely across the narrowest ridge of the hilly range which separates the harbor from the mainland (Fig. 9, Cat. No. 10). It undoubtedly shows the route of the ancient road which connected the rich mining region to the west with the smelting furnaces and docks



Fig. 9. Ancient Road Cutting at Boundazeza  
(Cat. No. 10)

along the north side of the harbor. Since there are no traces of wheel tracks or terracing at either end of the cutting, we may safely infer that soil extended up the hill slopes in antiquity almost to the crests, a level which it probably held until the modern goats arrived; lack of land-terracing here confirms this, while abundant sherds testify ancient usage. To the north are even more interesting remains. An ancient farmer's boundary wall (Fig. 10, Cat. No. 8) runs up the hillside from the modern path, then turns sharply to follow along a ridge for some distance, and finally ends at a knoll which holds clear traces of a farmhouse, while a little beyond, on a higher hilltop, are even more extensive ruins of a second group of farm buildings (Fig. 11, A; Cat. No. 11, *a* and *b*). These "walls" are no more than boundary markers, and since they are often composed merely of upright slabs set into the ground, it seems not impossible that they might be described as ὄροι εἰς ὀρθόν ("markers in a line"?). Returning to the valley below, we may note a well, surrounded by ancient blocks and no longer used, and nearby are the foundations seen by the makers of the *Karten*, now torn up or covered by the modern gardens. Since it was from here that the fine marble blocks came, and since hard by the Herakles



relief was found, the sanctuary itself may well have occupied this site; the olive trees, the present caretaker assures me, would grow best along this northern end of the basin and are attested still by occasional dwarfed wild olives, perhaps survivors of those ancient gardens.

An unexpected addition to the topography is the presence, south of the marble foundations, of a mill, indicated by numerous millstones of different types (Figs. 11, B, C, D, and 12; Cat. No. 7). Once again the inscriptions are with us, for among the loaves of bread with which the clan is to repay its officers as well as propitiate its deities, a loaf is reserved for the *κῶπαι*<sup>35</sup> which, from its meaning "handles of mill-hoppers," here takes on the meaning "millers," as Ferguson has shown (p. 57). The presence of a mill close to the shrine, perhaps to grind the grain which was raised in the Salaminian *χωρία* and threshed in their *ἄλως* is thus easily reconciled with the evidence of the inscriptions.

In general, then, the region around Point Zeza corresponds surprisingly well to the kind of settlement we should expect at ancient Porthmos. The only further stipulation is that a site which might have born the name Hale should appear in the vicinity; we must therefore turn our attention now to the unnamed heroes.



Fig. 10. Ancient Farm Boundary Wall at Boundazeza (Cat. No. 8); Its Line Can Be Seen for Some Distance Across the Hills

#### THE HALE AND ANTISARA

The other property of the Salaminioi which appears to have been at or near Sounion is the "Hale" which in the first inscription was to be divided and marked out, half for each group of the clan, and later was to be held in common by both. Here, too, they worshipped a hero whose priesthood was held jointly with that of Eurysakes, the clan hero in Athens.<sup>36</sup> With no more information than this, no identification can be more than a reasonable guess, yet since the name seems to mean a "salt pan," the places in the Sounion region which might deserve this title may be examined. I cannot bring myself to admit the possibility of the little spring pond below the Cape having ever been a salt works, as Ferguson and Thompson suggest<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> No. 1, line 46.

<sup>36</sup> No. 1, lines 35 f., 52 f.

<sup>37</sup> For the following reasons: not one inhabitant of the region has ever heard this pond called *Halyke*, nor will admit the possibility of extracting salt from it; it is a fresh-water pond, above the

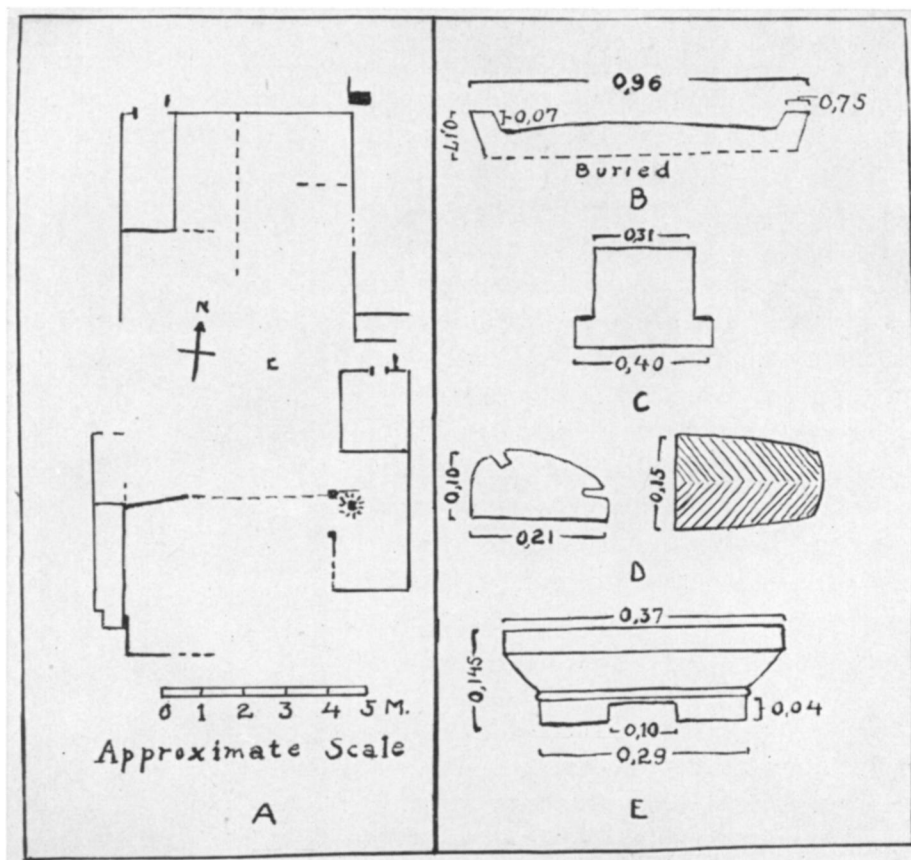


Fig. 11. Plan. A. Sketch Plan of Surface Remains of Farmhouse (Cat. No. 11 *a*). B. Top of Sifting-Basin (Cat. No. 7 *d*). C. Basis, Probably for Same Basin. D. Sample Quern, Cross Section and Underside (Cat. No. 7 *a*). E. Doric Capital (Cat. No. 6, *c*, ii)



Fig. 12. Sifting-basin for Mill at Boundazeza (Cat. No. 7 *d*)

(pp. 54 f., 75). There are three places in the Sounion region where salt has been procured within the memory of the inhabitants (the government salt monopoly makes the investigation somewhat ticklish). At the mouth of the Legrana stream the Vlachs used to have salt pans, but this region has changed its appearance so much since ancient times that little can be assumed from this fact. At ancient Panormos, north of Point Zeza, there is a pond at the end of the harbor much like the one at the Cape, but now, at least, connected with the sea, and Laurion natives remember the time when salt was obtained there. But better yet is the swampy region at the northern end of Pasha Harbor, ten minutes south of the suggested location of Porthmos, which is clearly labelled on the German map *Salzlache*. Here is a place precisely fitted for saltworks, close to what seems to be the Herakleion, as the Salaminian *fasti* would suggest that it should be, and hitherto without an ancient name. The coast on all sides, as I have pointed out, shows plentiful traces of ancient activity, while the land to the north, connected with Zeza by the road we have noticed, forms the most fertile vineyard valley in the whole district. The *Karten von Attika* record an ancient cistern there. It may have been used in conjunction with the well, which today, equipped with a mechanical sweep and a large reservoir, furnishes all Sounion with water during the last months of summer; perhaps here, rather than at Zeza was the "garden and well" of the Salaminioi. In the yard of the present owner various marble blocks show that some building once stood nearby, and the pre-Euclidean dedicatory inscription mentioned above (p. 171), though hardly sufficient evidence for an important Herakles cult, may well be the only trace preserved of a minor local hero.

Finally, there remain the two lesser nameless heroes of "Pyrgilion" and "Antisara." The former I shall return to in a forthcoming study; the latter, though almost hopeless, permits some conjecture. Though we do not know, and can hardly guess, what "sara" might mean, the "anti" suggests a place opposite to something else implied in the ending.<sup>38</sup> It is here of some interest to note that the islet north of Carpathus, and separated from it by the "Porthmos" mentioned above (p. 166) is called "Saros," whatever that may signify. The dwellers at a Porthmos might reasonably take some interest in the local hero worshipped at the other end of the ferry-line, and perhaps Antisara is to be sought on the long "Isle of Helen," which conceals in at least two places ancient remains of possible cult importance.<sup>39</sup>

ocean surface, supplied by three spring rivulets—it is completely dry all summer and fall. The winter waves now occasionally reach it, leaving the slight saltiness that Thompson notes, but only because the government has tried (unsuccessfully) to connect it, by a trench, with the sea, in the interest of *mosquito control*; finally, it is difficult to picture a small saltworks occupying the very center of a large religious and commercial meeting-place.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Fuchs, *Geographische Bilder in gr. Ortsnamen* (1932), pp. 140 f., and examples in Pape-Benseler, *Gr. Eigennamen*, s. v. Ἀντι—.

<sup>39</sup> I have not as yet found the opportunity of spending the two or three days on this lonely island which any satisfactory investigation would demand. Published material is almost completely lacking,

There is another possibility. Though this Antisara was unknown before the discovery of the new Salaminian inscriptions, we know another Antisara as a port near the well-known Thracian Neapolis. This is a second duplication in names between Thrace and the Laurion district, for the Maroneia famous for the silver strike of 484, which financed the Athenian fleet that won at Salamis, has also its Thracian counterpart.<sup>40</sup> It is quite probable that an exchange of mining labor between Thrace and Laurion (just as today between modern Laurion and Euboea) resulted in this similarity of place-names. In that case, a mining harbor in the Laurion region with an adjacent hero cult might provide us with the Antisara of our inscription. Nor is such a harbor lacking. When the old Greek Mining Company was erecting the enormous chimney which the journeyer to Sounion now sees to his left on the point south of the modern harbor of Ergastiria ("Laurion"), the workmen uncovered three inscriptions connected with the Phrygian cult of Men Tyrannus which were set up by a Roman slave in the first century after Christ. Apparently shortly afterward, at the same place, a fourth was found, dated by Kirchner "after the middle of the fourth century, B.C." (Cat. No. 2), and reading "Azaratos makes this dedication to the hero, having offered a prayer." The dedication has been taken to refer to the "Tyrant Men." But although Perdrizet believes that the cult of Men was introduced into Attica in the late fourth century B.C.,<sup>41</sup> the earliest evidence for the cult of Men in the Laurion region is to be dated well into the third century B.C., and at this particular site the name of the deity does not occur until the Christian era. Another theory is tenable: that the point sheltered in earlier times the cult of a local hero without a name who much later became associated with the oriental deity, in precisely the same way that, as Ferguson has shown (pp. 15 ff.), the Salaminian cult of Eurysakes in Athens developed. It is not, then, inconceivable that the dedication of Azaratos, at a place some twenty minutes north of the proposed Porthmos, was for the hero to whom the Salaminioi offered sacrifices at about the same period, just as the recipient of the Euphoros dedication, at a point somewhat to the south, might reasonably find a place in their sacred calendar.

although the Gennadeion Index, as so often, came to the rescue with a brief monograph (*Bulletin de la Soc. Roy. Belge de Géographie*, 1896, pp. 54 ff.: Henry Hauttecoeur, *Le Rocher de la Belle Hélène* = Gen. G. T. 22665 a) which mentions marble ruins at the chapels of Aghios Georghios and the Panaghia. One would wish a more accurate report, even at the expense of the comparison with Napoleon's exile island of similar name, but at least doubt is cast upon the repeated statement that the island was uninhabited in ancient times.

<sup>40</sup> See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. I (1939), Gazetteer, under Νεάπολις (p. 525), and Μαρονεία (p. 517). Neapolis and Antisara would be the normal outlets for the mines of Pangaeum, which went historically hand in hand with the Laurion silver works (cf. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage*, chap. XVI, *et passim*). This Antisara, again, is located on a *porthmos*—the channel between Thasos and Paeonia. For Maroneia in the Laurion region, see Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 22, and for Rhodope mines, Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, p. 230.

<sup>41</sup> *B.C.H.*, XX, 1896, pp. 76 ff.

## CONCLUSIONS

Without excavation we shall never be sure of the local identifications I have suggested in this study, but in any case the archaeological evidence supplements the new inscriptions in several important points. In the first place, wherever the shrine may have been, the votive plaques from the Poseidon temple become for the first time significant (see above, p. 170). Staïs was puzzled at the evident preference for this subject; the inscriptions now show us where, in this otherwise Herakles-less region, the coroplast found his custom for this special scene. The Salaminioi, bringing offerings to an alien shrine, wished in some way to commemorate there the hero of their clan. A new acquaintance with the ancient population of a region has solved one of the many problems connected with votive objects. At the same time Ferguson's assertion of the antiquity of the Herakles cult at Sounion is confirmed, and southernmost Attica joins the other pre-Cleisthenian regions which sheltered the hero.

On the other hand, a second suggestion of Ferguson's fails to receive support from the evidence available at Sounion—the suggestion that Porthmos was closely connected commercially with Phaleron and that thus its merchants were early interested in Salamis. The name of the clan may be otherwise explained, and must be if the new identification of Porthmos on the *east* coast be correct. Certainly it is not an exaggeration to say that the name Salaminioi is “probably in itself significant.” Nilsson has suggested<sup>42</sup> that the “Salaminioi” were Salaminians and that they were settled in Sounion at the time, after the conquest of Salamis, when Athenian cleruchs were settled in Salamis. As Nilsson writes, “precisely at this moment [i. e., when Spartan influence was strong in Athens, and Megara, as a Spartan ally, threatened the newly acquired Salamis] means were needed in order to secure the grip of the Athenians on the newly conquered territory and to maintain its loyalty to Athens.” Such means, Nilsson suggests, were partially supplied by an interchange of inhabitants and property, and a large group of the incoming Salaminians was settled at Sounion. The hypothesis is attractive and leaves the main theme of Ferguson's study unaltered. Nor is this the first time that state policy chose Sounion as a place to settle immigrants; during the Aeginetan wars when Athens must offer refuge to the democrats from Aegina, Sounion was again chosen.<sup>43</sup> Why Sounion? We must assume that at the end of the seventh century, and again at the end of the sixth, the neighborhood offered a means of livelihood to many more persons than it sheltered. I believe we need only recall the slag heaps north of Point Zeza to see what the answer must be. When the story of the Laurion mines is one day written, these facts will surely find their true historic setting.

Strong evidence points to Boundazeza as the ancient Porthmos. If this identi-

<sup>42</sup> *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 387.

<sup>43</sup> Herodotus, VI, 90.

fication is correct, it leads to other conclusions about Sounion itself. First, another fixed point, probably well toward the border, is added to our knowledge of the extent of the deme, now more nearly ascertainable than any other outlying *δῆμος* of Attica,—a fact of great importance in the entire trittys arrangement of the southern Paralia. Again, we have now for the first time located a farming region which is partially registered and described in Athenian documents, and a new note of life is given to the many records of ancient sales and leases which have been preserved to our day. Moreover, still granting the equation Boundazeza = Porthmos, the distance between the Salaminian cults and those of the Cape is not only one of religious organization but, again as Ferguson foresaw, of actual miles (an hour's walk). The Sounion section of the clan apparently comprised a good part of the better-class demesmen, yet had practically no connection with the Cape itself. The fact is as significant as it is surprising; and when to this is added Strabo's location of the *demos* of Sounion upon the east coast, as apart from the *akron*, one begins to suspect that the great temples of Poseidon and Athena had actually very little to do with Sounion itself, that is with the Sounion *people*. There is no reason to suppose that the divine pair took up their home upon these precipices until some time in the seventh century before Christ, and with the evidence we now have, I believe they were then lodged there by the people to whom they were both most dear, not the *Σουνιείς* but the *Ἀθηναῖοι*, who built these temples to shine far out to sea, and boast to approaching strangers with the words of Homer <sup>44</sup>

— — — Σούνιον ἱρὸν ἀφικόμεθ', ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων — — —

## CATALOGUE

(Objects from Sounion which may be connected with the  
Salaminioi and their property)

### IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

1. Five fragmentary terracotta plaques (Sounion case: photograph in Staïs, fig. 10; *supra*, pp. 170, 183). From a seventh- to sixth-century votive deposit near the Poseidon temple. Corinthian clay. Herakles and the Nemean lion, all from different moulds (Staïs). Seventh century B.C. (?). Published by Staïs in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 197 (see also *Πρακτικά*, 1907, p. 103).

### IN THE EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM

2. Inscribed basis (E. M. 10703, *supra*, p. 182). From southern part of Ergastiria harbor, Laurion.

Ἦρω[ι] ἀνέθηκεν  
Ἀξάρατος ἑυξάμενος

After the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Kirchner). Published *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4598; Gurlitt, *Philologus*, XXVII, p. 735 (unavailable to me).

<sup>44</sup> *Od.*, III, 278.

NOTE: The first line of the fourth-century slave list from Botzaris valley (now lost) was restored by Bourguet (*B.C.H.*, XVIII, 1894, p. 532) to read [Τυ]ράν[νοι Μηνι ἀν]έθ[ηκαν]. The Corpus editors persist in retaining this reading (*I.G.*, II, 5, 1328 c = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2940), but Perdrizet, in preparing his important article on the cult of Men (*B.C.H.*, XX, 1896, pp. 76 ff.), re-examined the stone and reports (p. 85) that (a) there is hardly room for two letters before the P; (b) the third letter, broken away except at the base, is probably K, not N; and (c) the title in reverse is unprecedented. Therefore the earliest evidence of the Tyrant's cult in the Laurion region is probably a century later than the hero dedication and is even then confined to the solitary Thorikos relief (Perdrizet, p. 83, with photograph = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4684).

## IN THE SOUNION APOTHEKE

**3.** Relief (MS catalogue, no. 21; *supra*, Fig. 3, and p. 170). Exact provenience undetermined. Agrileza marble, brown from dirt, traces of cement. Maximum height, 0.43 m.; maximum width, 0.69 m.; maximum thickness, 0.20 m. Lower right corner missing and fragment from top, much of surface bruised and damaged.

The relief is carved on a panel cut into the upper surface of a large irregular rock, apparently broken off (behind, above, and at right) from a much larger boulder. The left, bottom left corner, and top edges of the rock are roughly trimmed to follow the lines of the panel (about 0.05 m. beyond its edge); the top is picked. The panel is an oblong (0.307 m. × 0.44 m.) composed of a smooth frame (0.01 m. — 0.015 m. wide, cut down *ca.* 0.03 m.). Across the base of the relief on a slightly raised band (0.037 m. high) are carved, at regular intervals, trefoil flowers or plants (preserved at left only). On this band, at the left, stands Herakles, nude, unbearded; his head is shown in profile, right, his trunk almost facing, his legs advancing right. He raises a stout club in his right hand above his head; his left hand, extended before him, holds out the lion skin (badly executed and damaged). Before him, the Cretan bull charges left, with head lowered and shown facing. The greatest height of the relief in these figures is 0.005 m. In the background and in very low relief (almost engraved) are shown two trees: one, rising from behind the lion skin, a palm, the other, behind the bull, an olive. Between these trees stands a square structure with mouldings at top and bottom and incised decoration on the surface (now too badly damaged to distinguish). Upon this an incised line at either side, set a little in, shows that the sides extended straight upward a short distance, and finally a pedimental triangle, framed by an incised line, forms the top; within this line the rock is cut out to a depth of over two centimetres, to take some sort of inset.

*Provenience:* The stone is too heavy to have been carried far. At its right side, at least, it appears to be broken from a much larger stone. The miners of upper Sounion might well supply the tools with which to cut it away, the means of transportation, and the rough hand to break away one corner; the finder may have dressed down the left and bottom edges (in Aegina I have seen a quarryman of his own accord thus prepare a sample block for a geologist's collection). Poor marble of this type is found throughout the Agrileza valley, in Botzaris, and elsewhere.

*Date:* Several scholars have been kind enough to examine the stone itself and others have seen a squeeze (which shows the scene far better than any photograph and almost better than the actual relief, which is deceptively discolored). They agree in general upon a date around 400 B.C., but without further examples of similar work, precise dating is hazardous. The vase paintings most nearly like it in motive and composition, as well as several archaic features, such as the misunderstood twist of the body, favor an earlier date; against this is the unique background, which strives for and partially gains a depth of perspective unknown in the archaic period. A much later date than the turn of the fifth century is excluded by the very delicate and ornamental rendering of the folds of skin on the bull's neck and by the extremely schematic treatment of the trees. For a similar tree with symmetrical branches, see the treaty relief of 410/09 B.C. in Paris (photograph in Diepolder, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* [1931], Abb. 4). The tree on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at

Bassae (ca. 420?)—Cockerell, *Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae*, pl. XIII; Dinsmoor, *The Temple of Apollo at Bassae*, pl. 20) with its gnarled trunk and thick lopped-off branches already foreshadows the later type of landscape to be carried on with an increasing degree of naturalism to its *floruit* in the Hellenistic period.

*Subject:* I pass this over to students in cult, adding a few possibly significant data which may point to a local (i. e., Souniac) myth as the basis of this scene.

- i. The choice of this particular labor of Herakles, and his general resemblance to the younger Theseus, bring the Marathon story to mind and suggest an Attic version of the myth.
- ii. Aside from the pine, the palm and the olive are about the only trees which grow in this region today—the palm only when planted. Thus the tree to the right is probably an olive tree. The structure between them, although of unusual form, is apparently a shrine or altar of some sort (for altars of somewhat similar type, see Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, XXVI, 1911, p. 93 and note 7). The trees are seemingly of more than artistic significance.
- iii. The palm and the olive are known together and near a shrine *only* in connection with the cult of Leto, where they are so mentioned in a long series of references (collected by Professor Pease in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Ölbaum, col. 2018) as shading her in Delos when she bore her famous children; afterwards they designated her shrine.
- iv. Leto is otherwise connected with Sounion. One version of the story of her wanderings, with an *ante-quem* date in the fourth century (Hypereides), makes Sounion the point from which, with Athena as her guide (the *Pronoia* surname for Athena is probably a mistake; see Meyer, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Sunion, col. 917), she started on her tour of the islands. According to this story, the Apollo whom she bears is given the title of Patroös (Aristides, *Panath.*, 97, 14 f., etc.; here she goes from Cape Zoster “ever east,” instead of south, to Sounion—cf. *supra*, pp. 175-176).
- v. These facts are to some extent reflected in our new information regarding the Salaminian cult of Herakles:
  - a. Some of its members (Diphilos, Diopeithes) were connected with the mining region and might thus have honored their hero (cf. note on provenience, *supra*, p. 185).
  - b. In Metageitnion the clan offered sacrifices to Apollo Patroös, Artemis, Leto, and Athena (here Athena *Agelaa*).
  - c. At the Herakles shrine were olive trees and altars, and somewhere near a sacred ἄρουρα.
  - d. The appearance of Apollo Patroös in the calendar is explained by Ferguson as originating in the importance of this Apollo in the household and thus in the γένος (cf. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 390-391). But it may have local significance as well; this is certainly true of Ion, whose tomb was in the deme Potamos, a neighbor of Sounion (No. 1, line 87; cf. Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

4. Stele with relief on all sides (MS cat., no. 2; *supra*, Figs. 5-7, pp. 172-175); the important measurements are given on the attempted restoration (Fig. 13). From Tsimbouki's farm, Boudazeza. Local (Agrileza) marble, dirt-stained. Top and bottom missing; surface in general well preserved.

*Face A:* In medium relief (maximum height, 0.015 m.), a youth, facing, nude except for cloak over left shoulder, roll-like fillet (wreath?) around head at top. Above, a three-angled moulding which extends around each side to a point 0.015 m. from the surface of Face B. Above this, on a background cut back a maximum of 0.045 m. from the edge of the moulding, are preserved the legs of three tripods (the left one almost completely missing).

The three remaining surfaces of the stone are filled by relief panels showing various labors of Herakles, separated by horizontal bands; the panels within the bands are about 0.21 m. high



(right side, Panel 8, 0.20 m.), but those on Face B are cut at different levels from those on the two sides. Herakles is always shown at the left; unless otherwise noted, he holds his club in his right hand, his cloak or lion skin is always over his left shoulder, he is clean shaven and has close-cropped hair.

*Face B:* In low relief (maximum height, 0.005 m.).

Scene 1: The following traces are preserved: at 0.06 m. from the original left edge, trace of relief band; at 0.11 m. a foot, right; at break, slight edge of relief.

Scene 2: Herakles and a mare of Diomedes.

Scene 3: Herakles and Geryon, who wears cuirass over pleated skirt and carries shield.

Scene 4: Herakles and bearded centaur: both apparently wear lion skins over left shoulders.

Scene 5: Herakles with club in left hand and resting on left shoulder, on which cloak (?) hangs, plucks apples from Tree of Hesperides, around whose trunk a serpent coils. Herakles' hair appears to be shoulder length; the scene has an almost archaistic appearance. Lower part of tree missing.

Scene 6: Herakles leads Cattle of Geryon; his cloak or lion skin apparently stretches from left shoulder across chest and under right arm; in right hand, club or switch. Lower left side broken away.

*Right Side:* In intaglio relief (i.e., the background at the same height as the relief surface); Fig. 6.

Scene 7: Herakles (so context implies) and Minotaur. He apparently seizes the Minotaur, who is struggling to free himself, by the right horn.

Scene 8: Herakles and the Ceryneian Hind. The hind, whose upper head is missing, has short straight horns, one of which Herakles grasps.

Scene 9: Only head (right?) with hair incised, remains, 0.04 m. from right edge (Herakles, who then leans far to the right?).

*Left Side:* In intaglio relief; Fig. 7.

Scene 10: Herakles, with hair incised, stands before Eurystheus, whose bearded head may be seen at the lower right, peeping out from the pithos. His right hand is raised to Herakles, who apparently holds some one of his trophies in his outstretched left hand. His attitude of repose makes such a heavy object as Cerberus or the Boar unlikely. Feet and lower band broken away.

I have essayed the reconstruction of the stone in Fig. 13, though the appearance of the tripods as well as the base can be only imagined. The scenes numbered 1-10 are present on the stone, and 11-14 are demanded (11, by 1; 12, by 6; 13 and 14, by 8 and 9). The minimum height of the tripods is given by the 0.21 m. standard for Scene 1. Scenes 15 to 24 seem to be required for the completion of the standing youth on Face A without cutting short the bottom panel on Face B; moreover, some sort of heavy moulding is doubtless required for him to stand on, and the analogy of the heavier moulding across the top of Face A and both sides suggests that the basis be carried around in the same manner. Possibly these further panels were blank.

I can fit the scenes into no order of *ἄθλοι* known to me, so I have not attempted a restoration of the missing panels (the lion and hydra would be normal for Scenes 1 and 11). Others may wish to try their hands at it; though the "authority" is still Robert, I would call attention to Rostovtzeff's recent discussion in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86 ff. The hero in Scene 7 may be called Theseus, as, of course, the Minotaur implies; there may then have been other Theseus labors shown on the missing sections. The youthful figure on Face A is superior in conception and execution to the Herakles panels; the modelling approaches the excellent. The shadowed eyes, the easy yet restrained stance, and the thick and massive folds of his cloak suggest a date in the first half of the fourth century. A somewhat similar youth, almost identical in the pose of the body and the turn of the

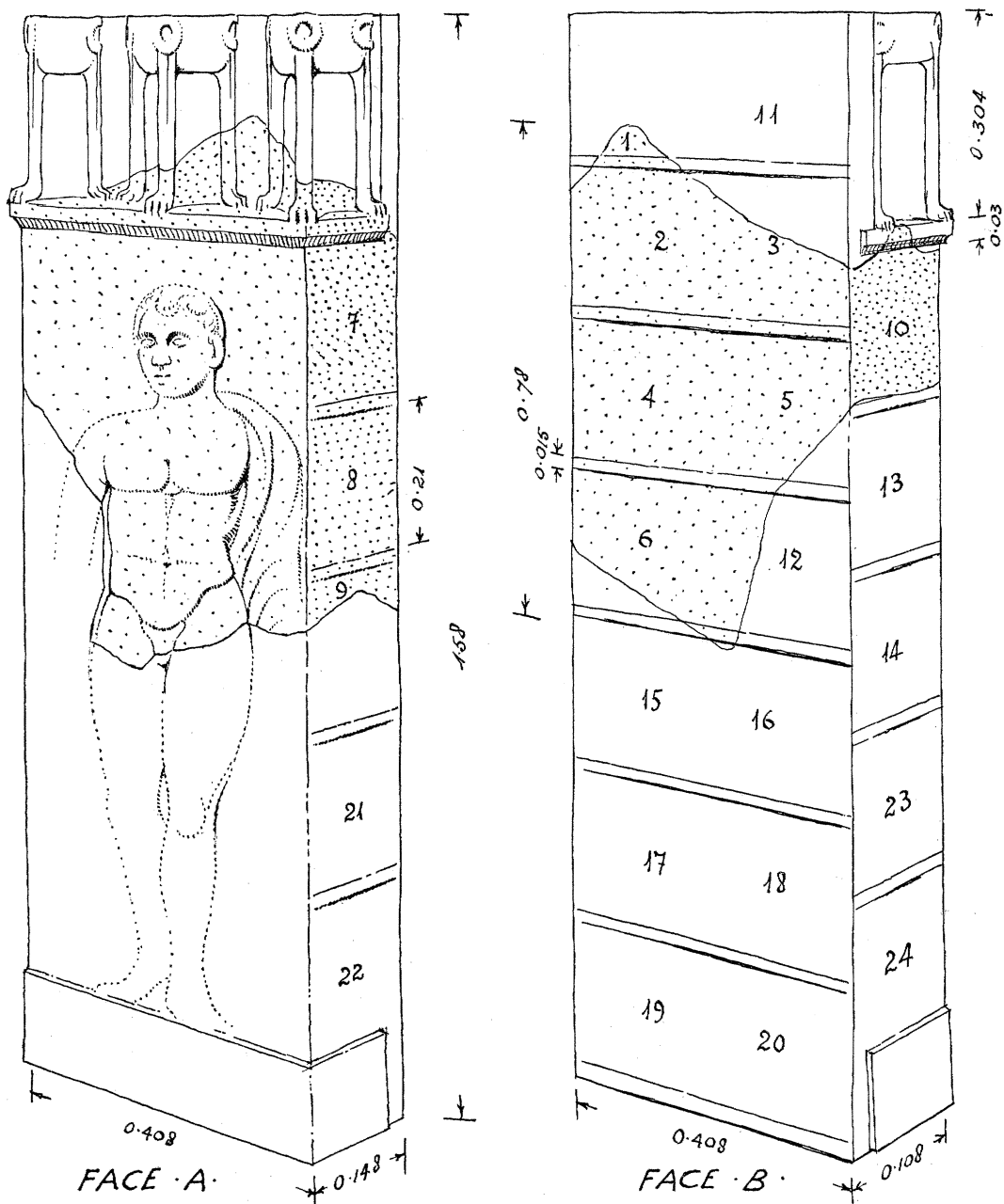


Fig. 13. Schematic Restoration of Victor Monument (Cat. No. 4)

head, appears on a grave relief dated stylistically in the second quarter of the fourth century (Diepolder, *op. cit.*, p. 40, pl. 35, 2).

The workmanship of the panels is careful and the placing of the opposing figures is excellent, although somewhat stiff. Their designer seems to have copied them from some model (more likely from several models). Some of the groups recall the metopes of the "Theseum," but the motives are almost immemorial and contribute little to an attempt at dating. The panels appear less sophisticated on the whole than the Lysicrates monument (334 B.C.) with its widely-separated grouping and effective use of free space in the background (Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, vol. I, chap. IV, pls. VI ff.). Nevertheless, this frieze may be suggested as somewhat parallel in composition and in spirit. Though the panelled arrangement would seem to indicate a later date, the unusual conception of the monument, as far as I know unparalleled, demands it, and the stone fits better into the fourth century than into any later period.

#### IN THE COLLECTION OF THRACIAN MINERAL PRODUCTS, LTD.,<sup>45</sup> LAURION

5. Dedication (second room against wall; *supra*, p. 171). Published by Hirschfeld (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1873, p. 108 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 831), who saw it at Pasha Harbor (the old road he travelled led directly along its west coast). He misread Εἰφορος as Εἰφοβος. The stone has not been restudied until this year, by Messrs. Kirchner and Dow (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937 [ed. 1939], p. 6, no. 4, and photograph), who date it "before the middle of the fifth century," and comment that as a votive offering its form is "unusual and obscure."

#### ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE FIELDS AT BOUNDAZEZA

6. Shrine (? cf. *supra*, pp. 171-172, Figs. 4, 11 E). Several blocks in the stone wall, yard, and well house of Tsimboukis point to the presence of a smallish building of more than every-day importance.

a. Foundations. These are now plowed under, but are shown on the *Karten von Attika* sheet, in the northeastern part of the plain at the end of the bay. The many rough marble blocks in the well house may come from there.

b. Wall blocks. Among the hundred-odd marble fragments, two blocks are very well preserved, and have not been re-used. They are both of Agrileza marble, both beautifully finished, and dressed on at least two sides with careful anathyrosis.

i. Near beach: 0.95 m. × 0.52 m. × 0.25 m.

ii. By wall: 0.69 m. × 0.55 m. × 0.25 m.

iii. A fragment of a small corner stone seen last year, but not in 1939, with anathyrosis on two adjacent sides and fine drafting: height 0.45 m.

c. Columns. Three pieces may belong to this building; they are all by the east wall.

i. Poros column drum, very badly worn: height 0.77 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.44 m.

ii. Poros capital (Figs. 4, 11 E). Recently (i. e., a week or so before I write) smashed into several pieces; the drum apparently unfluted; single small annulet; large round empolion.

iii. Unfinished marble column drum (?). Agrileza marble. A shallow pivot hole in center of each end. Height, 0.34 m.; lower diameter, 0.38; upper diameter, 0.36.

d. Building block. Long marble block, broken at one end, top surface coated with very fine marble-dust cement. Length, 2.64; width, 0.46; height, 0.20.

e. Roof. Some of the many roof tiles of various types and period which are scattered about on the shore and in the field may belong to this building.

<sup>45</sup> The Company is English, *not* Greek, as the epigraphists insist.

The relief with the Herakles panels (Cat. No. 4) was found close to the foundations indicated on the *Karten*.

7. Mill (cf. *supra*, p. 179, Figs. 11 B, C, D, and 12). The large number of millstones found in one place (by wall east of house), show that a fairly large mill must once have stood here. For a representation of such a mill, see the drawing by Gute (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 88) of the often-quoted Louvre bowl, where a miller at each side operates a hopper-and-table mill; a larger mechanical mill is in the center, and a man at the right sifts out flour onto a stand resembling a bird-bath. At Boundazeza, such a mill is represented by:

- a. Two complete and several fragmentary hand-querns (Fig. 11 D), the type with finger-holds at either end, and various pieces of grinding tables, all of trachyte.
- b. One broken hopper, and fragments of at least four others.
- c. Two poros blocks whose roughly channelled surfaces and location suggest that they were connected with the mill:
  - i. Block: 0.68 m.  $\times$  0.75 m.  $\times$  0.45 m. A shallow groove (*ca.* 0.012 deep) marks off an irregular oblong (0.43  $\times$  0.53) in the center of the top surface.
  - ii. Block: 0.75 m.  $\times$  0.53 m.  $\times$  0.30 m.; on the top surface a margin is left; the rest of the surface divided up, lengthwise with the stone, into three strips, separated by ridges. These strips are furrowed at right angles to the ridges to give a washboard effect.
- d. Basin-like marble disk (Figs. 11 B, 12). Finely finished within; outside roughish. Inner surface finely picked and worn by rubbing, except for smooth margin; the surface swells upward toward the center. A block nearby (Figs. 4, 11 C) probably served as the stand for this basin and is completely rough. Together, they constitute one of the "bird-bath" sifting tables such as the Louvre Megarian bowl shows.
- e. Three mortars:
  - i. By well: marble, round; diameter, 0.74; height, 0.37 m.; width of wall, 0.08 m.
  - ii. By well: poros, square; 0.71 m.  $\times$  0.34 m.  $\times$  0.66 m.
  - iii. By house: marble, round; slightly smaller than No. i.
- f. One or both of the large cylindrical mills in the Collection of the Thracian Mineral Products, Ltd., in Laurion may have come from here.

8. Farmer's walls (cf. *supra*, pp. 177 f.; Figs. 1, 10). The long wall with its two branches shown on the map is a good example of the type of boundary wall preserved at Sounion (a similar wall, shown on the *Karten* sheet, running up the hill west of Pasha Harbor marked 155.3, is ridiculously labelled on Ardaillon's map [*loc. cit.*] "route ancienne"). The wall at Boundazeza is made in part of smallish stones with the outer edges always straightened, in part of large slabs partially sunk in the ground so as to stand upright. The white line of the wall can often be seen better at a distance.

8a. A small preserved section of ancient terracing wall, which once went across the brook bed; it is of heavy untrimmed stones carefully laid.

9. Cutting for stele (cf. *supra*, p. 177, Fig. 8). The socket is cut in the surface of an outcropping of rock at the very top of a hill to the west of the cove, near the road-cutting described below (Cat. No. 10). It was originally cut very sharply, in an oblong form, though the exposed situation has been responsible for a gradual rounding away of the corners. It is 0.54 m. long by 0.20 m. wide by *ca.* 0.10 m. deep.

**10.** Cutting for road (cf. *supra*, p. 178; Fig. 9). Ancient roads are common enough in Sounion, but I know of no other example, there or elsewhere, which involved such a cutting through an outcropping ridge on the crest of a pass. The cutting is very even and vertical, going down a little over a metre at its greatest depth; it extends about 34.0 m., curving slightly at its eastern end, and is 1.80 m. across (the average wheel-tracks in the mining region are from 1.30 m. to 1.40 m. apart). Although actual traces are lacking of its further course, it can be approximately planned by the valleys, whose heads are separated only by this rock; the map (Fig. 1) shows that the choice of a pass was the best possible.

**11.** Farm buildings: Little more can be added to what is shown on the plan (Fig. 11 A) of No. 11 *a*, the better preserved (cf. *supra*, p. 178). Slight excavation is needed before the actual appearance of the buildings can be ascertained; No. 11 *b* is even less clear and I have not attempted to plan it. Grave-robbers have dug around a large marble block in one of the rooms of 11 *a*, an occupation to be recommended for them.

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