

THE RESTORATION OF SANCTUARIES IN ATTICA, II

The Structure of *IG* II², 1035 and the Topography of Salamis

IN a previous article¹ I offered a new study of the text and date of this inscription. That study has made possible a treatment of the significance of the document for the topography of Attica, particularly Salamis. As I hope to show, both the organization and the contents of the decree, which orders the restoration of sacred and state properties which had fallen into private hands, offer clues to help fix the location of some ancient landmarks.

THE DECREES

There are two decrees on the stone. The first ends with line 2a, to which line 3 is appended to record the result of the vote. A second, smaller fragment of the stele bears lettering identifiable as belonging to this first decree;² since it shows traces of eight lines of text, the decree can have had no less. The maximum length of the original would be about twenty lines, as more would imply an improbably tall stele.³

The text of this first decree is too fragmentary to permit a firm statement of its purpose, but one may venture a working hypothesis that it was the basic resolution of the demos to restore the properties, while the second decree was an implementation of that resolution. In support of that view I offer the following considerations: 1) The two decrees were apparently passed at the same assembly, as may be inferred from the abbreviated prescript of the second one;⁴ 2) although the second decree was probably longer, the first was more important; a record was made of the vote on it but not of the vote on the subsequent resolution; 3) since the second decree clearly provides for the cleansing, rededication and perpetual tendance of the sanctuaries, the only more important item possible would be the basic

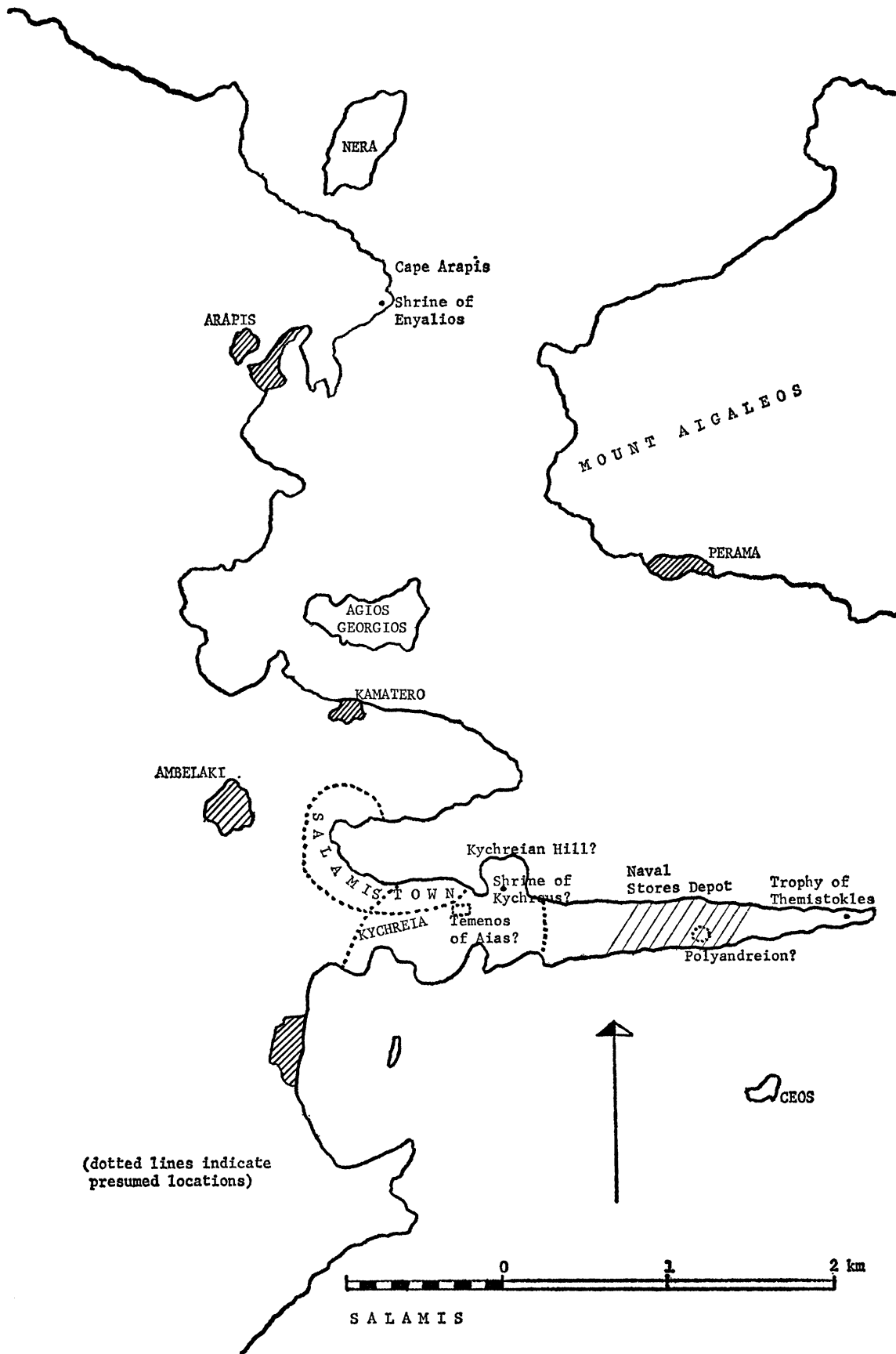
¹ G. R. Culley, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 207-223 with plates 45-49, to which the reader is referred for the text of the inscription. The research for the present article was done in large measure in 1969/70 at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Thanks are due to the trustees of the School and its director, Dr. James R. McCredie, for the facilities they afforded me. Equally indispensable was the cooperation of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens and its director, Mme. Peppa-Delmouzou. Among the many individuals who provided advice and encouragement the names of Henry R. Immerwahr and James H. Oliver are chief. My debt to these gracious gentlemen is substantial.

² Fragment B. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

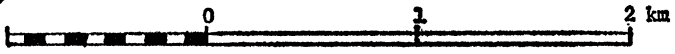
³ *Ibid.*, p. 211, note 14.

⁴ There is far too little space to restore a full prescript at line 4. For an example of shortening the prescript in a second decree, see John S. Traill, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 418-431. There a first decree has a four-line prescript ending in *ἔδοξεν τοῖς δήμοις*; the second (lines 23ff.) omits all before *ἔδοξεν τοῖς βουλευαῖς* as repetition, then gives the proposer's name and launches into the considerations.





(dotted lines indicate
presumed locations)



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decision to restore them. That is, the decision to restore is not demonstrably one of the provisions of the second decree, and it is both logically and chronologically prior to the provisions which are in that decree; and 4) this view of the matter also makes possible a restoration of the opening lines of the second decree which is reasonably consistent.

It is important to define as accurately as possible the structure of the second decree before drawing conclusions about its substance. The principal clue here is the presence of *δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ* in line 6. Prescript and "considerations" clauses are therefore confined to lines 4 and 5 and the first half of 6, and in the missing left half of line 7 the first infinitive ought to appear. That infinitive cannot have been a verb form meaning to restore, for the language implies that restoration was already under way. The hoplite general is to do something about the shrines which 'have been set aside' (*ἀνέιται*) pursuant to previous decrees of the demos, and about those which 'are being restored' (*ἀποκαθίστησι* [*sc. ὁ δῆμος*]) currently. Perhaps the most likely choice for this main infinitive is the phrase *ἔχειν ἐπιμέλειαν*.⁵

This choice, which is admittedly conjectural, fixes the purpose of this decree in relation to the preceding one. The first decree will have been the resolution authorizing the restoration of the shrines, while this one is effectively an enabling decree, with emphasis placed on the responsibilities of the hoplite general. As part of his general charge (*ἐπιμέλεια*), he will forbid future sale of the shrines (line 8), prosecute offenders (line 9), assist the basileus and exegete in purifying the properties (lines 1-13), let them out for four-year terms (line 16), and guarantee the perpetual observance of the appropriate rites (line 26). Metrodoros' work involved restoration as well as supervision after the fact, and thus the list of shrines appended to the decree carries the heading, "Metrodoros, Xenon's son, of Phyle, restored the following."

The remaining part of the restoration offered for line 7 depends upon the preserved *καὶ ὅσα ἀποκαθίστησι . . .*, which suggests a preceding clause referring to monuments already set apart pursuant to decrees of the demos. Perhaps one ought to assume a first *ὅσα*-clause with *τε* signaling the (preserved) second clause to come. The sense is then that the hoplite general is to have the oversight of the shrines which the demos has previously sanctified and is presently restoring. The setting apart (*ἀνέιται*) of the properties is treated as an act accomplished instantly by the will of the demos; the restoration (*ἀποκαθίστησι*) is treated as an activity "in progress" from that moment.

A further indication of the subject matter of this inscription is line 14. If the substance of the restoration is correct, it provides a very fair description of the stele. It contained 1) the two decrees regarding the shrines and precincts, [*τάδε τὰ ψηφίσματα*] *περὶ τῶ[ν ἱερῶν κ]αὶ τεμενῶν*; 2) (a listing of) the restored shrines

⁵ A common phrase, used repeatedly in a *lex sacra* of ca. 92 B.C., *IG V 1, 1390*, lines 27, 32-33, 42, 85, 89, 103, 137-140. Especially instructive for our restoration is the last of these: *ἔχοντω δὲ οἱ κατασταθέντες ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ πάντων*.

and precincts, [τ]ὰ ἀποκατασταθέντα ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη; and 3) (a listing of) state-owned or public properties, εἴ τινα δημοτε [λή ὄρη ὑπάρχει ἀ κατὰ τὰδε τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποκατασταθῆι . . .]. For comment on the various types of properties and the treatment accorded to each type, see below.

THE CATALOGUE OF SHRINES

The second decree ends in line 28, as may be seen from the uninscribed space in that line; a list of the restored shrines begins at line 30. Line 29 must then be a heading for the list. Even if the heading had begun at the left edge of the stone, the stonecutter would have been aware that the entry would fill scarcely more than half the line. There would have been a powerful temptation to center it, and I believe the artisan did so. Now the preserved width at this point is about half the original width of the stone; half of the entry must then be missing. For these reasons I have suggested the reading [τὰδε ὁ δῆμος ἀπο]κατ[έστη]σεν. There should be no difficulty in reconciling this statement with the one in the following line that it was Metrodoros who restored the sacred properties. The demos might pass a resolution like this one, but it would be implemented through an agent, the hoplite general Metrodoros.

The list is introduced by the formal statement that “in the year when -komedes was archon, Metrodoros, son of Xenon, of Phyle, restored the following (τὰδε).” The items in the catalogue are accusatives (line 34 κῆπον; line 54 οἰκίαν; etc.) in apposition with τὰδε. Explanatory remarks are in the form of relative clauses.

There are two major groups of shrines, with subdivisions. Lines 31-51 comprise the first group, consisting of properties on Salamis, in Peiraeus, and in the countryside of Attica. The second major group, lines 52-59, lists shrines in Athens itself and adds a postscript. The 0.12 m. uninscribed space at the end of line 51 separates the two groups.

No author seems to have offered a precise definition of the subgroups,⁶ but one may now be attempted. The subheadings in the first group are:

DIVISION

LANDMARKS

Salamis (lines 31-35) Themistokles trophy and *polyandreion* (line 33)⁷

⁶ The nearest approach to such a classification is that of H. S. Robinson, *AJA* 47, 1943, p. 298, note 21. He says the order is geographical: “bay of Salamis, Piraeus, the slopes of Mt. Hymettus.” But he takes no account of the uninscribed space in line 51, and wrongly assumes all the shrines to be outside the walls of Athens. See footnotes 14 and 15, below, on this point. On the problem of interpreting the structure of this catalogue, cf. the lament of W. Gurlitt (*Über Pausanias*, Graz 1890, p. 210): “Auf welcher Zeile der Inschrift von dem einen Bezirk auf den andern übergegangen wird, ist bei dem zerstörten Zustand derselben nicht genau auszumachen.”

⁷ The Themistokles trophy is now known to have been near the tip of the Kynosoura on Salamis. See Paul Wallace, *AJA* 73, 1969, pp. 293-303 and plates 65 and 66. That the *polyandreion* was near by is clear from the language of our inscription.

	Mention of the war with Megara 'for the island' (line 34) ⁸
	Shrine founded(?) by Solon (line 35) ⁹
Peiraeus (lines 36-47)	<i>paraplous</i> of the sacred ships (line 36) ¹⁰ Eetioneia (line 37) ¹¹ <i>deigma</i> of Magnus (line 47) ¹²
Environs of Athens (lines 48-51)	Temenos of Athena Polias by the Long Walls (line 48) ¹³

The second group consists merely of shrines within the city, with an addendum to the entire catalogue.

DIVISION

LANDMARKS

Athens (lines 52-57) Hyakinthion (line 52)¹⁴

⁸ Apparently some memorial to the Megarian war over Salamis. Such a monument would probably have been on the island. Accounts of that long and taxing campaign may be found in *The Cambridge Ancient History* IV, New York 1926, pp. 31-32; N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Greece to 322 B. C.*, Oxford 1959, pp. 135-136, 149; and V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates*, London 1968, p. 60.

⁹ Assuming that the missing portion included some such words as *ιερόν* and *ιδρυθῆναι*, this item would then refer to a 'shrine said to have been founded by Solon'—perhaps the temple of Enyalios. Cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 9.4; Strabo, IX.1.9; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge 1902, p. 119; and B. Sauer, *s. v.* "Ares," Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* II, col. 651. I would not assert that this landmark must be on Salamis, only that it goes more easily there than in Peiraeus, which, if it existed in Solon's time, had no importance then.

¹⁰ An apparent reference to the ceremony in which the ephebes sailed around the peninsula of Peiraeus from Eetioneia to Mounychia harbor and then ascended to the shrine of Artemis Mounychia or the shrine of Zeus Soter. See, for example, *IG* II², 1006, lines 29-39 (to Zeus Soter) and 71-72 (deity unspecified); *IG* II², 1011, line 16 (deity unspecified); and *IG* II², 1028, lines 20-21 (to Artemis Mounychia). Cf. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 197, 411; and on ancient boat races, consult P. Gardner, *JHS* 2, 1881, pp. 90-97, 315-317.

¹¹ Clearly the peninsula northwest of the great harbor of Peiraeus; see Thucydides, VIII.90-93; Andokides, I.39.62; Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 18.4; Diodoros, XIII.2.3; *Ath. Pol.* 37.1; Demosthenes, LVIII.67.

¹² See the lexicons of Timaeus, Harpocration, and Suidas, *s. v.* δείγμα. A scholion to Aristophanes' *Knights*, 979 is, however, a bit fuller than these: δείγμα τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἔνθα πολλοὶ συνήγοντο ξένοι καὶ πολῖται καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν· ἐκεῖ οἱ ἔμποροι τὰ δείγματα τῶν πωλουμένων ἐτίθεσαν. It was raided at least twice; Polyainos, VI.2.2; Xenophon, *Hellenika* V.1.21. These passages establish that it was on the waterfront. For further citations cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, pp. 443-450; and E. Szanto, *s. v.* δείγμα, *RE* IV, cols. 2383-2384.

¹³ [π]αρά τὰ μακρὰ τέχη and thus in the Attic countryside.

¹⁴ Very probably the shrine of the Nymphs who are the daughters of Hyakinthos and were called either Ὑακίνθιδες or Γεραίσται Νύμφαι Γενέθλιαι. According to tradition they had been sacrificed upon the tomb of Geraistos the Cyclops in an attempt to save the city from capture by the armies of King Minos. See Apollodoros, III.15.8; and L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* IV, Oxford 1921, pp. 129-130; and especially M. Ervin, *Platon* 11, 1959, pp. 146-159, where the evidence and argument for this identification are persuasively set forth. If this identification is established, the

Eukleia and Eunomia (line 53)¹⁵
 Something ἐν ἄστυ (line 57); clearly
 within the city.

Addendum: Fruit Trees (line 57)¹⁶
 Environs of Athens Tract near Hymettos (line 58); clearly in Attica
 (lines 57-59)

The large uninscribed space in line 51 and the smaller one in line 57 are important clues to the organization of the list, separating as they do the two major groups and the two parts of the second group. It is likely that there were similar blank spaces on the left half of the stone at line 36 and line 48 to provide the divisions in the first group.

We may infer from these clues that four geographical groupings were intended: Salamis, Peiraeus, the environs of Athens, and the city itself; with the general west-to-east order (which is more or less maintained within each category also) interrupted to give the city of Athens the place of honor at the end. But when the inscription was completed on that plan, some of the shrines of the Attic countryside had been omitted from their proper place, and these became an addendum.

THE PROPERTIES RESTORED

Even had no names of shrines been preserved, we might have inferred from the decree itself that this was a project of considerable scope. Four important officials (hoplite general, king archon, exegete, and tamias of the sacred diataxis; lines (11-12, 16) were called upon to cooperate in carrying it out, and oaths were required to guarantee the permanence of the repairs effected. When one looks at the actual list of shrines, however, the magnitude of the effort is made doubly evident.

Approximately 52 shrines and precincts are listed as restored in the portion of the catalogue which is preserved.¹⁷ Since what is preserved comprises only about half of the original width of the stone, if allowance is made for the space on the vanished portion which would be taken up by the completion of phrases included in the count already, one arrives at a rough figure of some 80 sanctuaries in the original catalogue.

site of the shrine is fixed: on the upper slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, a little above and to the west of the church of Ayia Marina, where a rock-cut inscription marks the shrine of the Nymphs (*IG* I², 854).

¹⁵ Although not precisely located, this shrine was ἐν δὲ ἁνωτέρῳ from the Eleusinion (Pausanias I.14.5) and thus certainly within the city.

¹⁶ Fruit trees could, of course, be either in the city or the country; but this entry is separated from the one preceding it by an uninscribed space of 0.035 m. It is then the first entry of a new subgroup, the identifiable members of which (like the "tract near Hymettos") are in the Attic countryside.

¹⁷ Accuracy is impossible. This count could be in error by three or four either way, but scarcely by more.

It is clear that the restoration of so many sacred areas, even though many of them may have suffered no more than encroachment, was a task of impressive proportions. The legal complications involved in re-establishing old boundaries, the cost of so many sacrificial animals and the long-term drain on the state resources implied in the resumption of so many cult practices at once¹⁸ all suggest that this was a decision of real substance. So does the vote (line 3). Although 3461 favored the proposal, 155 were opposed; and a citizen would be unlikely to vote against so obvious act of piety unless good reason—such as the expense—prompted him.

Three distinct types of properties were to be restored under the terms of the decree: shrines (ἱερά; lines 5, 14, 18, 27), sacred precincts (τεμένη; lines 4, 5, 8, 10, 14, 18, 27), and public properties (δημόσια ὄρη and δημοσῖαι οἰκίαι: lines 14-15, 18-19?, 20-21). This threefold classification seems to have existed as early as the fourth century, to judge from a remark in Xenophon, *de Vectigalibus* 4.19. Arguing there that state slaves could be leased to others as a means of increasing the state's revenues, he offers by way of analogy, μισθοῦνται γοῦν καὶ τεμένη καὶ ἱερά καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ τέλη ὠνοῦσται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως.¹⁹ Here we find not only the three kinds of properties, but also independent testimony to the fact that all three of them were let out by the state.

The leasing of shrines was in earlier times the prerogative of the basileus and was commonly for a period of ten years or more. It might even be set up εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.²⁰ But in our decree we see the responsibility shared among three officials and the period shortened to four years. The briefer term does not appear to suggest a danger that the lessees might somehow acquire real legal title to the properties through length of occupancy; usucaption seems to have had no place in Athenian law.²¹ It is more likely that the term was shortened for the same reason that the number of responsible officials was increased: close control was wanted for a system which had suffered abuses in the past. This conclusion grows not only out of the obvious fact that numerous shrines had been encroached upon and required the cleansing prescribed by the decree before us, but also from a nearly contemporary

¹⁸ Normal maintenance seems to have been a state responsibility. Cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo 1927, p. 166; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York 1942, p. 169.

¹⁹ The passage has in the past looked odd to critics who wondered about the leasing of 'shrines.' Bake had removed the phrase καὶ ἱερά from his text; Sauppe restored it. Marchant bracketed it in his volume of the *Oxford Classical Texts* (1920), and removed it from his Loeb text five years later. The passage of time has removed the doubt; Giglioli's edition (1970) leaves the phrase in place, and does not even preserve the controversy in her critical apparatus. Had a doubt remained, of course, this inscription would have settled it.

²⁰ *Ath. Pol.* 47.4; cf. *IG I*², 94, line 5; *IG II*², 2498, lines 15-22; Plato, *Laws* 759e; and A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* II, Oxford 1971, p. 9. On leasing of shrines, see O. Schulthess, *RE* XV², cols. 2095-2129, especially 2099; W. S. Ferguson, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 37, 1944, pp. 73ff.; and D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden*, Munich 1970, *passim*.

²¹ Harrison (*op. cit.*) I, 1968, p. 248.

inscription published by B. D. Meritt.²² The text is fragmentary, but assuming the restorations offered to be essentially correct, one finds limitation of the period of lease to four years, with penalties for the granting of a longer term;²³ very careful language delineating prohibited use of the land; and acknowledgment that imaginative excuses for irregular practices would be advanced.²⁴ The confusion generated by the political upheavals of the previous half century would facilitate shady dealing, but it was one of the concerns of Augustus' regime to reassert the old standards, both moral and legal.

Yet there is a difficulty about the leasing of these properties. For although the distinctly sacred ones—*ιερά* and *τεμένη*—were subject to lease, not all of the third category were. A look at the members of this category will be helpful.

ὄρος towards Hymettos (line 58)

ὄρη implied in lines 38 and 59

ἐσχατιά in Lamptrai near — (line 58)

Old Bouleuterion (line 43)

Old Strategeion (line 44)

Horologion, or Tower of the Winds (line 54)

οἰκία near — (lines 55-56)

palaistra (line 54)

The items fall easily into two categories: lands and buildings. The latter were subject to leasing by businessmen²⁵ who would administer them and provide a source of revenue for the state. The former, however, were probably not leased,²⁶ but instead restored to the use of all citizens for grazing and wood-gathering. That was the traditional practice, and it accords with the language of this inscription. The second decree refers (lines 16ff.) to leasing of the properties; this subject

²² Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 68-69, no. 13A and pl. 34. The editor dates it to the Age of Augustus.

²³ Lines 7-8: . . . ἡ εἰς πλείονα χρόνον μισθῶαι τολμήσῃ τῇ[ν ---] ἐτῶν προσθήσει τὴν τῆς τετραετίας[ς μίσθῶσιν ---]. Behrend, *op. cit.* (footnote 20 above), p. 68 had said "eine solche Zeit ist sonst nicht belegt," but this inscription and Meritt's are evidence that a four-year period was employed in Augustus' time.

²⁴ Line 4: [- - ὑπ]οτίθεται ἡ πωλήσῃ ἡ κ[αθ' ὃν] δῆποτε οὖν [τρόπο]ν . . . Lines 9-10: [- - ἦτι]νιοῦν προφάσει χρῆσάμε[νος ---].

²⁵ On the rental of state-owned houses, see M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C. The Horos-Inscriptions*, New Brunswick, N. J. 1952, pp. 64-65; J. Larsen, "Roman Greece" in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* IV, ed. T. Frank, Baltimore 1938, p. 400; and especially Behrend, *op. cit.* (footnote 20 above), p. 107.

²⁶ See Behrend, *op. cit.* (footnote 20 above), pp. 68, note 85, 85, note 165; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1-12, 1960, pp. 196-197; and A. Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris 1925, p. 93 and note 2. References to leasing of public lands in the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 884; Larsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 477, 480) seem to involve a much changed economic picture in which vast amounts of land had reverted to the state and the problem was how to get some of it under cultivation. Cf. Dio Chrysostom's plan (VII.37) to accomplish this end.

continues through line 18 where leases of shrines and precincts and something else—presumably state-owned houses—are mentioned; leasing is still under discussion in line 20; but midway in that line an exception is entered: τὰ δὲ ὄρη τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὰς δημοτελεῖ[s ἐσχατιᾶς]. This wording is consistent with the idea that these lands were not to be leased. One may also note the appearance twice (lines 38 and 59) of the phrase ἅπασιν νέμειν καὶ ὑλάζεσθαι. In each case a lacuna has cut the phrase adrift and left us to wonder whether the subject properties were *closed* or *open* to all for grazing and wood-gathering; but line 59 includes the phrase [δ]ημόσια ἃ καὶ just nine spaces from the expression under discussion, and suggests that some neuter noun like ὄρη should be supplied there. In that case, the phrase must be a guarantee of free access to the lands by all citizens.²⁷

The reader will note that the threefold classification of the properties restored as shrines, precincts, and two kinds of public properties, even though it employs the language of the decree, is not perfect. Some of the items in the catalogue simply will not fit. The starting gates of the Panathenaic stadium (line 50) and the taphros of the city (line 56) are examples. On this point it should be observed that any system of classification is to some extent arbitrary; in a public document that is concerned with practical goals, the demand for system and symmetry can be pressed only so far. Minor flaws in the document such as these sometimes interest the student; never the statesman.

Before applying the evidence of this inscription to the topography of Salamis we should take note of the number of shrines in each region. Some ten are listed from Salamis, seventeen in Peiraeus, thirteen in the Attic countryside, and twelve in Athens. One might have expected to see as many in Athens as in all the other areas combined, but this is not the case.

If I have been correct in dating the decrees to the last decade before the birth of Christ, the reason for this odd distribution can be seen. In that period Athens was at last emerging from a time of political and social upheaval which had been her lot since before the time of Sulla.²⁸ That general's sack of Peiraeus was not the last indignity the port suffered; Caesar's legate Calenus took it in 48 B.C. It is understandable, then, that Peiraeus would have numerous shrines in need of rededication. As for Athens, Calenus was unable to take it;²⁹ it was spared the wholesale destruction the port had suffered, and for that reason had relatively few shrines to be restored. Even these were for the most part minor ones, probably more the victims of neglect than of violence. The prominence of Salamis in the list may be accounted

²⁷ In January, 1974 Eugene Vanderpool pointed out to me four inscriptions found by him and Merle Langdon on a spur of Hymettos known as Fuchsberg. The identical inscriptions are cut into outcroppings of rock at intervals of about 30 yards in the pattern of an L. Each shows ΟΡΟC in letters some five inches high, with lunate sigmas. While obviously later than the period of this decree, they may well delimit one of the δημόσια ὄρη of Attica. See line 58, ὄρος τὸ πρὸς Ὑμηττῶι.

²⁸ J. Day, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 148-149.

²⁹ Dio Cassius, XLII.14.1.

for by the fact that Julius Nikanor had recently restored the island to Athens after a half century when it was outside the city's control. The need to cleanse and re-activate many of the cult places on the island was probably a major factor in the decision to undertake the widespread restoration throughout Attica which this decree commemorates.

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This inscription has significance for many questions of Attic topography. The way in which it can be brought to bear on them may be seen from the following treatment of two lines from the catalogue of monuments on Salamis.

Line 32: [ὅπου κείτ]αι ἡ ἀρχαία πόλις ἢ [πρ]οσων[ο]μασθείσα Κυχ[ρεία · τέμειν]ος Αἴαντος ὃ καθιέρωσε. We begin not with a catalogue entry but with a descriptive clause appended to a vanished entry. The presence of the nominative form πόλις establishes that fact. The actual monument was something 'where the ancient city called Kychreia is situated.'

Now Kychreus gave his name to a number of sites on Salamis: there was a shrine dedicated to him, a town Kychreia, a Kychreian Hill, perhaps a Kychreian peninsula, and even the island itself sometimes bore his name.³⁰ The location of the town has not been certainly established, and disagreement on the point has stemmed from the testimony of Strabo (IX.1.9): [ἡ νῆσος] ἔχει δ' ὁμώνυμον πόλιν, τὴν μὲν ἀρχαίαν ἔρημον πρὸς Αἴγινα τετραμμένην καὶ πρὸς νότον (καθάπερ καὶ Αἰσχύλος εἴρηκεν, Αἴγινα δ' αὕτη πρὸς νότου κεῖται πνοάς), τὴν δὲ νῦν ἐν κόλπῳ κειμένην ἐπὶ χερσονησοειδούς τόπου συνάπτοντος πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἑτέροις ὀνόμασι τὸ παλαιόν· καὶ γὰρ Σκιρὰς καὶ Κυχρεία ἀπὸ τινων ἡρώων. . . . This comment has been taken by Milchhoefer³¹ as evidence that the older town was on the southern end of the island on either Peristeria bay or Kanakia bay. Others, believing that the old town was in substantially the same location as the Salamis town of the Roman period, either ignore the Strabo passage or give it little attention.³² One clue to the solution was noted by Paul Wallace when he pointed out that Col. Leake's map in *Demi of Attica*

³⁰ The testimonia are as follows:

Shrine: Plutarch, *Solon* 9.1; *Theseus* 10.2; Paus., I.36.1

City: Strabo, IX.1.9.

Hill: Steph. Byz., s. v. Κυχρείος πάγος.

Peninsula: Wallace, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), p. 301; "From the Cychreian Hill the name Cychreia could have spread to the rest of the promontory . . ."

Island: Aeschylus, *Persae* 570; Steph. Byz., s. v. Κυχρείος πάγος; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetas*, 512.

³¹ A. Milchhoefer, *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, edd. Curtius & Kaupert II, vii, Berlin 1904, pp. 28, 36. J. Toepffer, *Quaestiones Pisistratae*, Dorpat 1886, pp. 10-11, note 3, agrees: "neque video, cur omnino inter novam et antiquam urbem distinxerint scriptores, nisi aliquando oppidi situs fuerit mutatus."

³² See, for example, H. G. Lolling, *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, Berlin 1884, pp. 8-9; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* II, 2nd ed., London 1913, p. 478. Cf. Honigmann, *RE* XI², col. 3201.

(in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* I, ii, London 1829) shows some of the wall of Salamis town extending onto the Kynosoura peninsula (Cape Tropaia).³³ This fact may well explain Strabo's statement. That is, if old Salamis (or Kychreia) was actually on essentially the same site as the Roman-age town, but extended farther to the south so as to include part of the Kynosoura, it could properly be said that it faced south, toward Aigina. And if the town later crept northward round the bay of Ambelaki onto the Kamatero peninsula, it would then be "situated in a bay on a sort of peninsula facing toward Attica."

The obvious objection to this view is that Strabo speaks quite plainly about two cities (τὴν μὲν ἀρχαίαν . . . τὴν δὲ νῦν). Why would he mention this if he were actually talking of sites that had some actual degree of overlap and could reasonably be thought of as one? (See Toepffer's remark, footnote 31 above.) The answer to this may be in his revealing use of the phrases τετραμμένην . . . πρὸς νότον for the old town, and συνάπτοντος πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν for the newer one. The orientation of a town-site was a matter for considerable concern in antiquity, and the extensive treatment of the matter in Hippocrates' *Airs, Waters and Places* is only a formalized view of a highly pervasive preoccupation. His work includes this relevant passage: "Those [towns] that lie toward the risings of the sun are likelier to be healthy than those facing the north and those exposed to the hot [south] winds, even though they be a stade apart"—ἤν καὶ στάδιον τὸ μεταξύ ἦ (chapter 5). Perhaps Strabo felt, consciously or otherwise, that it was significant that the old town, facing south, was now ἔρημος, and the new one faced—more healthfully—toward the east. The difference in the exposure of the sites would then have been worth mentioning even though the distance between them was insignificant.

This view seems to me most consistent with the other factors. Pausanias, interested as he is in things ancient, misses a chance to mention the fact that there were two Salamis towns on the island, one of which had fallen into decay. This oversight is best explained on the hypothesis that the old and the new towns were on essentially the same site. Nor can it be asserted that he did not know of the existence of the old city, for he makes specific mention both of the ἐρείπια ἀγορᾶς and the ναὸς Αἴαντος.³⁴ Both of these landmarks ought to be in the older town. The view also helps to explain why the inscriptions dealing with the festival of Aias, celebrated by the Salaminians with the Athenian ephebes as their guests, give no indication of the long hike that would have been necessary for the people of Salamis town to reach the old town and the shrine of Aias. The distance was minimal.

To return to the problem of this line: what shrine is it that is 'where the ancient city called Kychreia is situated'? Since the name was on the vanished left portion of the stele, no one can be certain; but it is very tempting to suggest that it

³³ Wallace, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), p. 300.

³⁴ Paus., I.35.3.

was the *ἱερὸν Κυχρέως* mentioned by Pausanias (I.36.1). After all, very few shrines of Salamis are known to us, and many of them are mentioned in this inscription. It would be appropriate to mention Kychreus' shrine just here, in proximity to the monuments of Aias and Themistokles and the *polyandreion*, all associated with the battle of Salamis, because Kychreus' sanctuary was either dedicated or given renewed attention after that crucial sea fight.³⁵ It is also most likely that a shrine dedicated to Kychreus would be located in the town that bore his name.

There is in the area named a site which might be the sanctuary of Kychreus. It is the hill Magoula, which stands out on the north side of the Kynosoura. Its striking appearance has led a number of observers to speculate that it might be at least in part artificial, and that it could be identified with either the Kychreian hill or the *polyandreion* of the Salamis warriors.³⁶ Recent excavation has virtually eliminated any possibility that a mass grave lies hidden in the mound, but the finds may have slightly strengthened its candidacy as the Kychreian hill.³⁷ For if the gradual northward movement of the town postulated above is correct, the hill of Kychreus, *abaton* of course, will have at first been within the walls of the town;³⁸ perhaps the remarkable appearance of the hill first caused it to be associated with some divinity. The altar beside the bare hill might have been all there was to the *ἱερὸν Κυχρέως*. As the city moved away to the north, the area around the hill would no longer be within the city and would then become a desirable grave site—close to the sanctuary of the island's patron, but not, of course, within that sanctuary. That would explain the fifth-century graves found by the excavator, and would also explain why no earlier burials were discovered (footnote 37 above). Burial would only become permissible when the area was no longer within the perimeter of the town.

³⁵ Rouse, *op. cit.* (footnote 9 above), p. 120, says, "after the battle of Salamis the Athenians erected a shrine to Cychreus. . . ." W. C. West III, *Greek Public Monuments of the Persian Wars*, unpublished dissertation, Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1966, first seems to follow Rouse (p. 11) and later says that the sanctuary may have been in existence prior to the battle (pp. 149-150). A remark by Plutarch, not noted by either of these authors, suggests the shrine was there before: "and Solon sailed by night to the island and sacrificed to the heroes Periphemos and Kychreus." (*Solon*, 9)

³⁶ Kychreian hill (see footnote 30 above); Wallace, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), p. 301 and Lolling, *loc. cit.* (footnote 32 above); followed by Frazer, *loc. cit.* (footnote 32 above). *polyandreion*: Milchhoefer, *Karten*, VII, p. 29 and W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* I, Berkeley 1965, p. 95. Frazer (*Paus.*, V, p. 533) too gives cautious assent: "If Prof. Milchhofer is right, we may conjecture that the men buried in the tumulus were the Greeks who fell in the great sea-fight." He had earlier (II, p. 478) called the mound "prehistoric"; evidently he believed that the Salamis warriors were placed in a mass grave atop (or beside) the old sanctuary of Kychreus.

³⁷ E. Tsirivakos, *Δελτ* 22, 1967, p. 146, plan 11, pl. 110. Excavations in 1965 and 1967. A trench across the summit of the mound revealed nothing, but a few graves of the late 5th century B.C. were found around the perimeter of the hill, and what may have been an altar. Professor Eugene Vanderpool kindly called this brief article to my attention.

³⁸ Lolling, *loc. cit.* (footnote 32 above) and Frazer, *Pausanias* II, p. 478, both mention walls on the peninsula to the south of Magoula. Lolling actually says, "Das ummauerte Land am Südfusse [of the hill] bildete sein [Kychreus'] Temenos."

It should be stressed that this identification is conjectural. The archaeologist, in his brief report, makes no mention at all of Kychreus; he confines himself to a statement that no support was found for the view that this was the *polyandreion*. Nor does he offer any interpretive comment beyond the opinion that the blocks of stone found may be an altar. And yet, even in the absence of direct evidence, the hill answers well the requirements for Kychreus' shrine. Frazer summarized them well at the beginning of this century: ". . . on its southern side are remains of ancient walls; on its western face are numerous sea-caves into which, in rough weather, the waves break. These caves may be the 'caverns of Cychreus' mentioned by Lycophron (*Cassandra* 451); for Cychreus, as a son of the sea-god Poseidon . . . would naturally have his home beside the sea. The walls at the southern foot of the hill may be, as Lolling conjectured, the remains of the sanctuary of Cychreus mentioned by Pausanias."³⁹

τέμενος Αἴαντος. Alone among non-epigraphical documents, Pausanias (I.35.3) makes direct reference to this shrine of Aias on Salamis: ἐστὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τε ἔτι ἐρείπια καὶ ναὸς Αἴαντος, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἐβένου ξύλου· διαμένονσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸδε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ αὐτῷ. There are two other possible references, however. The scholion on Pindar, *Nemean* II.19, to the effect that the Athenians honored Aias by setting out a couch with a panoply upon it, is more probably a reference to an observation at the statue of Aias in Athens.⁴⁰ The other passage (Herodotos, VIII. 121) tells how the Athenians, after the battle of Salamis, dedicated a trireme to Aias on the spot in Salamis—αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. One naturally thinks first of the sanctuary of Aias in this connection; but it does not seem likely that a full-size ship of war would fit comfortably into the sacred precinct. Besides, it has recently been suggested that the Themistokles trophy on Salamis was this trireme, replaced within a few years by a more permanent monument.⁴¹ Despite the thinness of the evidence this is a persuasive suggestion. In any event one should probably not think of the ship as within Aias' sanctuary.

Epigraphical testimony for this shrine is more plentiful. In fact, the ephebic inscriptions are replete with allusions to this hero's precinct and the festival of the Aianteia which the Athenian ephebes regularly attended.⁴² The details vary, but

³⁹ Frazer, *loc. cit.* (footnote 38 above).

⁴⁰ So Frazer, *Pausanias* II, p. 481, observes. He cites Pausanias, I.5.1 as evidence that a statue of Aias stood in Athens.

⁴¹ W. C. West III, *ClassPhil* 64, 1969, p. 16, note 45.

⁴² Those which mention Aias, Salamis, or Aianteia:

IG II², 1006, lines 30-32 (123/2 B.C.)

1008, lines 75-77, 87 (119/8, 118/7 B.C.)

1009, lines 38-39 (116/5 B.C.)

1011, lines 16-18 (107/6 B.C.)

1028, lines 20-21, 24-28 (100/99 B.C.)

1029, lines 14-16 (94/3 B.C.)

in general the inscriptions record that the ephebes sailed to Salamis and sacrificed at the trophy of Themistokles to Zeus Tropaïos and held a boat race and a procession; that they returned to Peiraeus and sailed round to Mounychia and sacrificed to Artemis Mounychia; and that they then sailed to Salamis again for the festival of Aianteia, at which they participated in a regatta, a torch-race, a long run, and sacrifices to Aias and sometimes to Asklepios. They seem regularly to have been honored by the Salaminians "for their display of discipline and good conduct" with the presentation of a gold crown at the close of the celebration.⁴³ This closing ceremony suggests to Pélékidis that the Aianteia lasted more than a day. He is probably correct in this; and one also gets the impression that, although the order of events does not seem to have been invariable from decade to decade, still the sacrifices to Zeus Tropaïos, to Artemis Mounychia, and to Aias formed a kind of unity.⁴⁴ Pélékidis also points out in the same passage that tradition said Artemis Mounychia, Zeus Tropaïos and Aias had helped the Greeks in the battle of Salamis.

Mention of the battle of Salamis raises the question of the antiquity of the cult of Aias. It is often said that the Aianteia dates only from this battle, but Toepffer is right to point out that the indications are that the cult of Aias is much older than the fifth century.⁴⁵ There is an interesting point here about the Aias and Kychreus cults. Both are believed to antedate the battle of Salamis, but both were the objects of renewed interest after the stirring events of 480. Kychreus and Aias have at least this much in common: whether or not it is true that Athens had them to thank for the victory, they had the victory to thank for their new popularity.

Where was the temenos of Aias? ⁴⁶ The participation of the people of Salamis

1030, line 25 (*post* 94/3 B.C.)

1041, lines 20-21 (*ca.* 45/4 B.C.)

Athenian Agora I 286, lines 21-26, 129-132, 141-142 (127/6 B.C.), *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 220-239.

⁴³ For general comments on the festival of Aianteia, see J. Toepffer, *RE* I, cols. 926-929; A. Mommsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 10 above), pp. 411 ff.; Frazer, *Pausanias* II, p. 481. The fullest treatment is of course C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1962, pp. 214ff., 247-249 and *passim*.

⁴⁴ Toepffer (*RE* I, col. 927), Pélékidis (*op. cit.*, pp. 247-249), and Graindor (*Musée Belge* 26, 1922, p. 172), among others, agree that this connection seems to exist, though all are cautious on this point. It seems to me that the fact that the order of the three events is not fixed in the inscriptions—although it is usual to make mention of all three—indicates a close connection among them. Compare, for example, *IG* II², 1006, lines 28-32, where the order is Zeus-Artemis-Aias, with *IG* II², 1028, lines 20-28, where it is Artemis-Aias-Zeus.

⁴⁵ Toepffer, *loc. cit.* Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford 1921, p. 307, is willing to put its origins in the Homeric tradition, as a family-ancestral cult; and while he does not commit himself on the age of it, he does say that the oldest observance of the cult of Aias was on Salamis.

⁴⁶ Where, indeed? Had not the Athenians been guilty of occasional inconsistency in their decrees, we might know. Both Athenian Agora I 286 (*Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 220-239), lines 141-142 and *IG* II², 1008, line 87 provide that the stelai are to be set up ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Αἴαντος or ἐν τῷ Αἰαντείῳ. But each stele contained other documents to be set up ἐν ἀγορᾷ (lines 99 and 73, respectively), and the agora got them.

in the festival suggests that it would not have been very far from the town, and if the hypothesis I have offered on the location of the ancient city of Kychreia is correct, one would expect it to be a little south of the town of the Roman period, among the ruins of the older city.

That location suggests, in turn, the reason why Aias' sanctuary would need restoration at the time of our inscription. Standing alone, perhaps among the ruins of the old agora,⁴⁷ it would be the more likely to be less frequented, and perhaps even to be encroached upon by anyone looking for a roof.

Line 33: [ἀκρωτήριον] ἐφ' οὗ κείται τὸ Θ[εμισ]τ[ροκ]λέους τρ[όπαιον] κατὰ Περσῶν. There is no doubt as to the identification of this monument. It is amply attested in antiquity from both literary sources and inscriptions.⁴⁸ The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers often saw its remains, even noting that the landmark was visible from Athens through the crystalline air of Attica.⁴⁹ After their time it disappeared, and disagreement about even the location of the cape (Tropaia, i. e. the Kynosoura) on which it stood served to compound the confusion of discussions on the battle of Salamis. As recently as 1956 a first-rate scholar could still claim that the trophy was in Salamis town, and incorrectly identify the cape.⁵⁰ Then in 1969 Paul Wallace published his account of the rediscovery of the site by Eugene Vanderpool and himself. The article,⁵¹ which deals principally with the identification of Psyttaleia, also sets forth with admirable clarity the evidence to confirm the identification of a single limestone block and a rock cutting 1.80 m. square as the remains of the trophy of Themistokles. It is located just where the accounts of the British travelers would lead us to expect: on the Kynosoura only a few meters from the very tip, in full view of boats in the strait and of persons on both the island and the mainland.

A little can be said about the nature of the monument. William C. West's suggestion, that the trireme dedicated to Aias on Salamis after the battle of 480 (Herodotos, VIII.121) may have been the original trophy, has merit in my opinion.⁵²

⁴⁷ Paus., I.35.3.

⁴⁸ Literary: Plato, *Menexenus*, 245a; Xen., *Anabasis* III.2.13; Lykourgos, *Against Leocrates*, 73; Demos., *For the Freedom of the Rhodians*, 35; Paus., I.36.1. Inscriptional: *IG* I², 190 (421 B.C.); *IG* II², 1006, lines 28-32, 71-74 (123/2 B.C.); 1008, lines 17-19, 22-24 (118/7 B.C.); 1028, lines 24-28 (100/99 B.C.); 1032, line 8 (*init. s.* I B.C.); and Athenian Agora I 286, line 22, 127/6 B.C.).

⁴⁹ J. Stuart & N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* I, London 1762, p. ix; R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* II, ed. with corrections and notes by N. Revett, Oxford 1825, p. 250 and map facing p. 257; W. Gell, *The Itinerary of Greece*, London 1827, p. 203; and J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania, and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810* I, Philadelphia 1817, p. 315. Ludwig Ross mentions the trophy in his personal diary. Vanderpool (*Hesperia* 35, 1966, p. 102, note 20) quotes the passage.

⁵⁰ N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 76, 1956, p. 53, note 4.

⁵¹ Wallace, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 293-303, and pls. 65, 66.

⁵² W. C. West, *ClassPhil* 64, 1969, p. 16, note 45, and p. 17. One could, of course, argue that the Themistokles trophy was a dedication to Zeus Tropaioi, not to Aias (e.g., *IG* II², 1028,

Whatever the dedication's original form, West is surely right in asserting that the temporary trophy was replaced in the fifth century by a stone version. The nature of the second trophy can be gathered from the descriptions of the British travelers⁵³ and by analogy with the Marathon trophy recently found by Vanderpool.⁵⁴ A synthesis of this evidence gives one a picture of a column of white marble on a circular base which rested in a square limestone foundation. It may have been surmounted originally by an Ionic capital and a Nike, as the Marathon trophy probably was, or (since it commemorated a naval victory) by a model of a trireme.⁵⁵

πολυάνδρειον. We have already seen that the excavation of the hill Magoula apparently demonstrates that it is not the mass grave of the warriors of Salamis. One may then well ask where the *polyandreion* was. N. G. L. Hammond said, "it was probably not far from the trophy,"⁵⁶ and as one can see from the language used in the inscription, this is certainly correct. In fact, the Themistokles trophy and the *polyandreion* are not, strictly speaking, catalogue entries at all. They are joint subjects of the relative clause. The catalogue item itself survives only as the single nu at the broken edge of the stone. There seems to be little alternative but to restore ἀκρωτήριον on the ground that the missing word must describe an area large enough to include two major shrines, the location of one of which is now established. The whole promontory,⁵⁷ or at least the major part if it, was a sacred area. While surprising, such a concept is not incredible; in fact, this catalogue includes another promontory at line 37, Eetioneia. Moreover, the Kynosoura on Salamis is today "off limits" because of the military facility there. In the absence of further evidence it may be assumed that the *polyandreion* lies somewhere under the buildings of the Naval Stores Depot.⁵⁸

It is possible that the warriors of Salamis, like those of Marathon, were worshipped as heroes;⁵⁹ but this inscription cannot be evidence for that view. As we

line 28: προαναπλεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τρόπαιον δυνὶ πλοίοις ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ . . .); but West has already dealt with that question and concluded that "all trophies were probably in origin dedications to Zeus Tropaeus" (*ibid.*, p. 8, note 8). And in any event it is easier to imagine ambiguity on this point than to find a better place than Kynosoura for a trireme to be dedicated.

⁵³ Cf. footnote 49 above. Stuart and Revett: "some fragments of an ancient column of white marble." Gell: "It was a column on a circular base. Many of the marbles are in the sea." Chandler: "a few stones with a fragment or two of white marble." The third of these seems to be speaking of the foundation stones, which were of limestone. It is one of these which managed to remain on the spot to be found by Vanderpool and Wallace.

⁵⁴ Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 93-106.

⁵⁵ West, *loc. cit.* (footnote 52 above).

⁵⁶ Hammond, *op. cit.* (footnote 50 above), p. 34.

⁵⁷ For this meaning, see *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, s.v. ἀκρωτήριον: "significat et promontorium."

⁵⁸ For a description of the area today, see Wallace, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 301-392.

⁵⁹ West, *op. cit.* (footnote 35 above), p. xxxiii, has assembled the ancient citations on worship at Marathon. On the rites at *polyandreia*, cf. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, Munich 1898, pp. 127-128.

have noted, it is the sacred area of the promontory itself which is being restored, not necessarily the trophy or the mass grave. Probably the area had been encroached upon by individuals, a practice specifically mentioned in this document (line 21). The two monuments would no doubt benefit from the ritual cleansing which was required. The cult of Zeus Tropaios would be renewed,⁶⁰ and if a cult of the Salamis dead existed, it would also be revived.

It is interesting to note in passing that the modern excavation at Magoula was prompted by the Ephor's observation that building plots were encroaching upon the area.⁶¹ Here is a problem the framers of our decree understood only too well.

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⁶⁰ For mention of the cult, see footnote 52 above. It may be significant that *IG* II², 1039 (*ca.* 83-73 B.C.), which might have been expected to mention the cult, does not. Perhaps it had fallen into neglect by that time.

⁶¹ Tsirivakos, *loc. cit.* (footnote 37 above).