The Sea Battle Tumulus at Salamis revisited[1]

Yannis Chairetakis

Archaeologist PhD
yannischairetakis@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The discovery in 1884 of an inscription from the Imperial times that refers to the polyandrion of those who fell in the sea battle of Salamis in 480 BC prompted a large portion of the scientific community to take it for granted that the polyandrion was set up right after the sea battle. However, a more careful analysis of the archaeological data and of the literary sources undermines the unquestioned acceptance of that view. In the present paper, a critical approach to the ancient sources is adopted, as well as an overall assessment of the state of research and of the interpretations proposed for the area.

The ancient city of Salamis, close by the later township of Ambelaki, is sited in a bay on the east part of the island: to the north it is bounded by the peninsula of Pounta and to the south by the peninsula of Kynosoura (**Figs 1-4**). The latter is an oblong-shaped piece of land, remaining broad across from its neck right to its tip at the east, and characterized by steep sides and numerous small coves. From its north flank, close in to the bay of Ambelaki, the small point of Magoula juts out into the sea, capped by a low hill. As a result of works conducted in the 1960s and 1970s in the construction of a peripheral road running along its west, southwest and southeast sides, the hill looks quite different today, with its sides more vertically inclined, giving the false impression of an artificial mound large in diameter. On the Magoula hill, a circular structure, a cemetery, architectural features and a quarry have been studied. From the end of the 19th century, the area was already associated with the grave of those that fell in the sea battle at Salamis of 480 BC, and with the subsequent development of the scholarly narrative on the 'Tumulus of the Salamis Warriors'.

1 A shorter version of the topic, titled 'Monuments and Memory: The Salamis' sea battle tumulus', focusing mainly on the interpretation of the inscription IG II2 1035, was presented in the First Panhellenic Conference of postgraduate students and PhD candidates in Ancient History and Classical Archaeology, on 'War and Peace in Antiquity: The aspects of a dual reality (1100 BC to late Antiquity)', 6-7 November 2017, at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The historical framework and relevant archaeological evidence are thoroughly analyzed in my Doctoral Dissertation (Chairetakis 2018). I would like to thank Dr Katya Manteli for the translation into English and Dr Doniert Evely for editing the text. I, also, thank the two anonymous reviewers and the Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology Dimitris Plantzos for their suggestions and comments.

Fig. 1. Bay of Ambelaki. On the right the peninsula of Kynosoura, on the left the peninsula of Pounta, in the background Athens (Photo by M. Dourakis)

THE MAGOULA HILL IN THE 19TH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURIES

The ancient past of Salamis was 'rediscovered' in the era of the Grand Tour and the exploration of Greece by European philhellenes: quite a few travellers visiting Athens passed through the island and the Straits of Salamis, either as individuals or as members of missions (e.g. the Dilettanti and the French Expedition to the Morea), locating, recording, removing or buying antiquities.[2] One of the monuments and landscapes they took notice of was the mound on the hill of Magoula.[3]

The earliest reference to the mound as a tumulus was made by the British archaeologist W. Gell who visited Salamis in 1804-1806.[4] A few years later, on a French map, titled *Plan géométrique du Pirée dela presqu' île de Munichie et du canal de Salamine fait à bord de la frigate du Roi la Galatée en 1817*, the mound is marked by a circle and dashed line and in the map legend is characterized as 'tumulus'.[5] The Austrian consul, A. Prokesch von Osten, finding himself in Greece from 1834 to 1849, had visited Salamis before 1836. He singled out the artificial mound,[6] identifying it with the *Tumulus of Telamon*.[7] Although he does not quote the evidence on which he bases this attribution, it is very probable that he misinterprets Pausanias' passage about the *rock of Telamon* (1.35.3, see also further below).

On a map that accompanies the publication of the study *The Topography of Athens and the Demi* by the British military officer, diplomat and topographer W.M. Leake, in the area of Magoula, to the southwest of the hill, two sides of a building topped with a cross, are shown,

2 Chairetakis 2018, 39-42.
3 As far as we know the first mention of the name Magoula appears in Lolling's article (1884, 9).
4 Gell 1819, 303.
5 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/ btv1b8494391n
6 Prokesch von Osten 1836, 368.
7 Prokesch von Osten 1844, 325. Initially published in sequential installments in the Journal 'Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode', 29/10 and 1/11/1836, issues 130-131.

Fig. 2. Bay of Ambelaki. Overpainted bronze engraving by O.M. von Stackelberg (Private Collection)

bearing the name Aghia (Saint) Varvara.[8] The Kynosoura peninsula in the 19th century is referred to as Punto Barbaro,[9] Barbara,[10] or Cape Barbari[11]/Varvari,[12] a name deriving, according to one theory, from a similarly called church,[13] the existence of which is not documented, though.[14] R. Chandler has eloquently supported the derivation of the name from the defeat of the 'barbarians', that is, of the Persians.[15]

The next, and made rather later, piece of information refers to a probable excavation research project. The vice-admiral of the Royal Navy and full member of the Athens Academy, St. Lykoudis, reports in 1927 that 'in proximity to the recess of the [Ambelaki] south shoreline, near some furnaces lying a little further away from the base of the peninsula of 'Kynosoura', the tumulus of the Salamis Warriors can be seen, excavated in 1856 by Austrian archaeologists, who found nothing else but a stratum with ashes of burnt bones'.[16] Although the validity of Lykoudis' work overall is not questioned, this description, in particular, should be treated with great scepticism. At the end of the 19th century, the Austrian Archaeological Institute had indeed expressed its intention to conduct research at the polyandrion of Salamis, but that project never came to fruition.[17]

8 Leake 1841, 171.

9 Stuart and Revett 1762, ix; Chandler 1776, 202.

10 Bursian 1862, 364.

11 Lolling 1884, 5.

12 Milchhoefer 1895, 26.

13 Milchhoefer 1895, 26: 'nach einer (jetzt verschwundenen) Kapelle der H. Barbara bennant'.

14 Recent sources do not support the existence of a church to Aghia Barbaba on the hill of Magoula. The interpretation proposed by Pallas (1988, 110, note 2) is also problematic: 'The term 'Barbara' is probably meant to encompass, apart from Kynosoura, the sea of the Salamis strait extending further from it, which ends in the bay of Paloukia, where an old small cross-roofed church of Aghia Barbara used to be (demolished around 1930, to be replaced by a larger, still standing, church to the same saint)'.

15 Chandler 1776, 202.

16 Lykoudis 1927.

17 I warmly thank Dr Christa Schauer, member of the Austrian Archaeological Institute of Athens, for the information she kindly shared with me about the Institute's intention to conduct research at the tumulus, at the end of the 19th century, which, though, was never carried out. More precisely, I quote the relevant extract from her message: 'In the periodical Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 4, 1901, Adolf Bauer in his article titled 'Die Seeschlacht von Salamis', notes on p. 111 that in 1899, Adolf Wilhelm, the then Secretary of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, intended, with the permission of the Greek government, to

Fig. 3. Map from Curtius' and Kaupert's edition of 1895 (Personal Archive)

In 1884, the German archaeologist H.G. Lolling in his article *Die Meerenge von Salamis* on the topography of the Straits of Salamis characterizes the tumulus with its stone enclosure as one of the biggest of its kind and assigns it to the prehistoric times,[18] whereas he identifies the hill of Magoula with the site of the sanctuary of Kychreus.[19] On the map that supplements his article some walls are shown on the hill.

In 1895, the first edition of E. Curtius' and J.A. Kaupert's work *Karten von Attika* was published, in which Salamis is spread across three sheets. On sheet XXI, which illustrates the north-north-east part of the island, on the peninsula of Kynosoura, the name Magoula is cited to merely indicate the low hill, without any further specification of structure or configuration[20] (**Figs. 3-4**). The text that accompanies the edition is written by the German archaeologist, A. Milchhoefer, who, based on the evidence of the inscription *IG* II^{2}1035, which had been found in 1884, establishes a connection between the polyandrion mentioned in it with the artificial mound at Ma-

undertake a research project at the Polyandrion of Salamis. However, Wilhelm himself in his article 'Zur Topographie der Schlacht von Salamis' (Sitzungsberichte deAkademie Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse 1929, Bd. 211,1, 3–39 [reprinted in the volume: Adolf Wilhelm, Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde (1895-1951) Teil 2 (Leipzig 1974) 235–71], where on p. 7 [=239] refers to his annual lectures in Salamis and to Bauer's article, makes no mention of excavations at that site'.

18 Lolling 1884, 9.

19 Lolling 1884, 9.

20 All three sheets that compile the map of 1895 were drawn in different periods between the years 1889 and 1891 (Lohmann 2010, 264, 270).

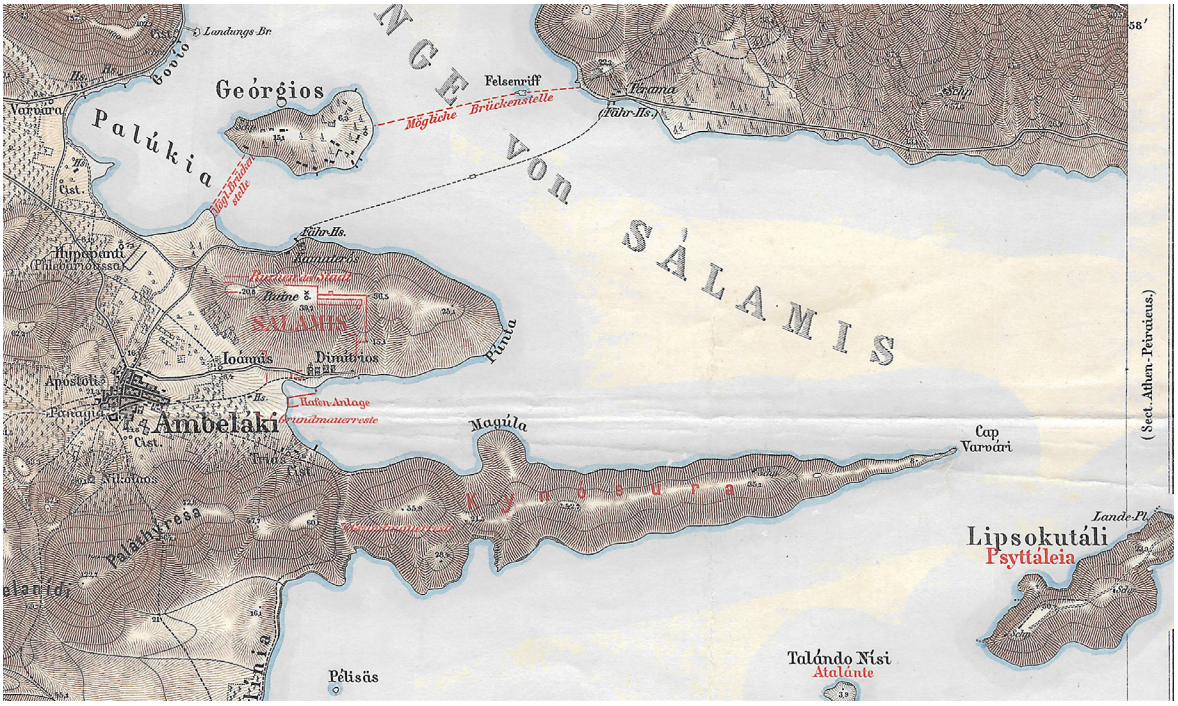

Fig. 4. Map from Curtius' and Kaupert's edition of 1895, detail (Personal Archive)

goula.[21] However, in the 1900 edition of the same work, in which the map of Salamis occupies a single sheet,[22] on the Magoula hilltop a three-sided building is demarcated.

Of the 20th century topographic evidence, we focus on a map of the island with indication of elements of the 480 BC sea battle, included in the 1926 treatise by J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Schlachten - Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, where on the hilltop of Magoula two walls of a building are shown.[23]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE 20th CENTURY

The Greek Archaeological Service carried out trial trenches and excavations of limited extent on the peninsula of Magoula in the years 1965, 1976, 1980 and 1981. From the evidence of these research sessions, on the top of the hill there was an artificial tumulus-like mound. This is raised on the levelled hill summit, over an underlying layer of stones, which make up a circular structure, 20.00 m in diameter, made of poros limestone,[24] that retained a 0.50 m thick fill of gravel.[25] Just under the gravel, going down to bedrock, a 0.30 m thick and naturally deposited fill appears, of natural white earth and dark red earth, which contained fragments of domestic vases of prehistoric times and sea shells.[26] Overlying the gravel there was pure earth 'in successive, almost flat, layers' 1.00 m thick.[27] Tsirivakos opened a test trench 'down the top

21 Milchhoefer 1895, 28-9.
22 http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/curtius1900a/0006/image
23 http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kromayer1926lfg4/0026/image
24 It is referred to as 'polygonal' by Lolling (1884, 9) and Milchhoefer (1895, 28).
25 Tsaravopoulos 1981, 64-5, also referred to it as 'pile of stones in circular arrangement.'
26 Piteros 1980, 91.
27 Tsaravopoulos 1981, 64.

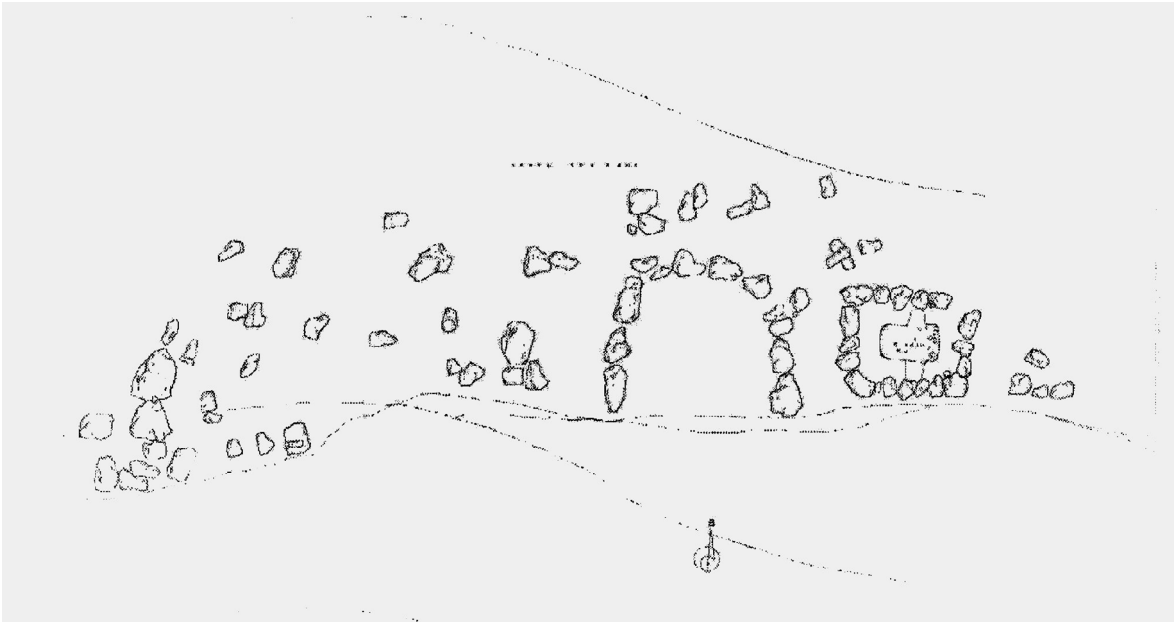

Fig. 5. Topographic plan of the north side of the Magoula hill (Kattoula 2006, fig. 60)

of the tumulus', which 'yielded nothing',[28] but equally fruitless were the trenches opened 'on the tumulus ... in the central part', as well as 'on the east side of the tumulus' in 1980 by Pitteros.[29] In light of this evidence, it is difficult to pinpoint which was the spot where the burnt stratum mentioned by Lykoudis was located, since, as is the case with other tumuli in the Helladic area, the burnt stratum should have been spread over the underlying layer of stones to be then covered by earth.

On the north slope of the hill, during two research campaigns, there were excavated funerary periboloi, in the environs of which the 1976 research had 'produced sherds of the beginning of the 5th century BC'.[30] There were found three rectangular periboloi, and a fourth damaged one, made of large stone blocks (measuring 3.50 x 4.00 m), orientated in an E-W direction[31] (**Fig. 5**). In the course of the 1976 expedition, funerary pyres had also been uncovered, which, according to the excavator, are assigned to the period of the sea battle.[32] New chronological data came to light in the more recent investigations. In the interior of the easternmost peribolos, at a level deeper than that where previous research had reached, a rectangular rock-cut pit of a funerary pyre was located, aligned E-W and measuring 2.20 x 1.30 m.[33] The rock-cut pit was traversed along its N-S axis by a 0.50 m wide channel. The funerary pyre fill contained a large amount of ash, while at the bottom of the pit bones and charcoal were revealed. In the same place, a small aryballoid lekythos was unearthed, decorated with wavy

28 Tsirivakos 1967, 146. More recent studies have been exclusively based on Tsirivakos' report, without acquaintance with the research activities of 1980 and 1981. Typically, see Schmalz 2007-2008, 38; Oikonomou 2012, 121. On the other hand, Langdon (2007, 111) is aware of the Greek research projects, but not of that of the Austrian archaeologists.

29 Piteros 1980, 91.

30 Tsaravopoulos 1981, 65; Kattoula 2006, 239.

31 Kattoula 2006, 239.

32 In a telephone communication (19/5/2017), the excavator of the site, P. Zoridis, whom I would like to thank for the discussions we had about the cemetery, presented his view on the chronology of the material belonging to the first half of the 5th century BC.

33 Kattoula 2006, 237-40.

Fig. 6. Stone blocks from a funerary peribolos (Veltanisian 2002, 31)

band, as well as parts of a small black-glazed trefoil oinochoe, dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.[34] Therefore, an earlier dating is rather unjustifiable, unless we assume that the periboloi were gradually constructed in the course of the 5th century BC and that there was continuous funerary use in the 5th century BC. South of the funerary pyre and the structure, there was found an almost intact lekythos with black linear decoration of a net pattern in two zones bordering a branch of ivy[35] (dated to 475-450 BC on the basis of the vase description), probably from a damaged burial.

To the northeast of the hill, quite a distance away from the graves, there are some rectangular stone blocks,[36] probably displaced from their original position, one of which bears a pair of circular sockets (**Fig. 6**). Perhaps these blocks belong to yet another funerary peribolos, which would have been decorated with marble lekythoi-loutrophoroi.

East of the tumulus, an extensive cemetery has been unearthed. In 1965, eight graves were investigated[37] and in 1976 another 63 came to light, across an area of 576 sq.m.[38] In the same place, during the first research period, among the graves some architectural remains were located, which were characterized as 'remains of a small building, most probably an altar'[39] (**Figs. 7-8**). Following the same line of reasoning, even though Tsirivakos' research did not yield any relevant finds, Clairmont suggested that the 'altar' should be interpreted as a bench to accommodate funerary meals held by the kin in the memory of the dead heroes and Zeus Tropaios.[40] However, from the drawing, the photograph and the finds of the following years, it can certainly be inferred that this 'small building' was yet another funerary peribolos.

The graves were oriented E-W and N-S, and can be classified into sarcophagi of shelly lime-

34 Kattoula 2006, 239; Chairetakis 2018, 214, note 1064.
35 Kattoula 2006, 239.
36 Tsaravopoulos 1981, 65; Veltanisian 2002, 31. There is a possibilty that these stone blocks were also seen by Lolling (1884, 9).
37 Tsirivakos 1967, 146.
38 Kattoula 2006, 238.
39 Tsirivakos 1967, 146.
40 Clairmont 1983, 290, note 42.

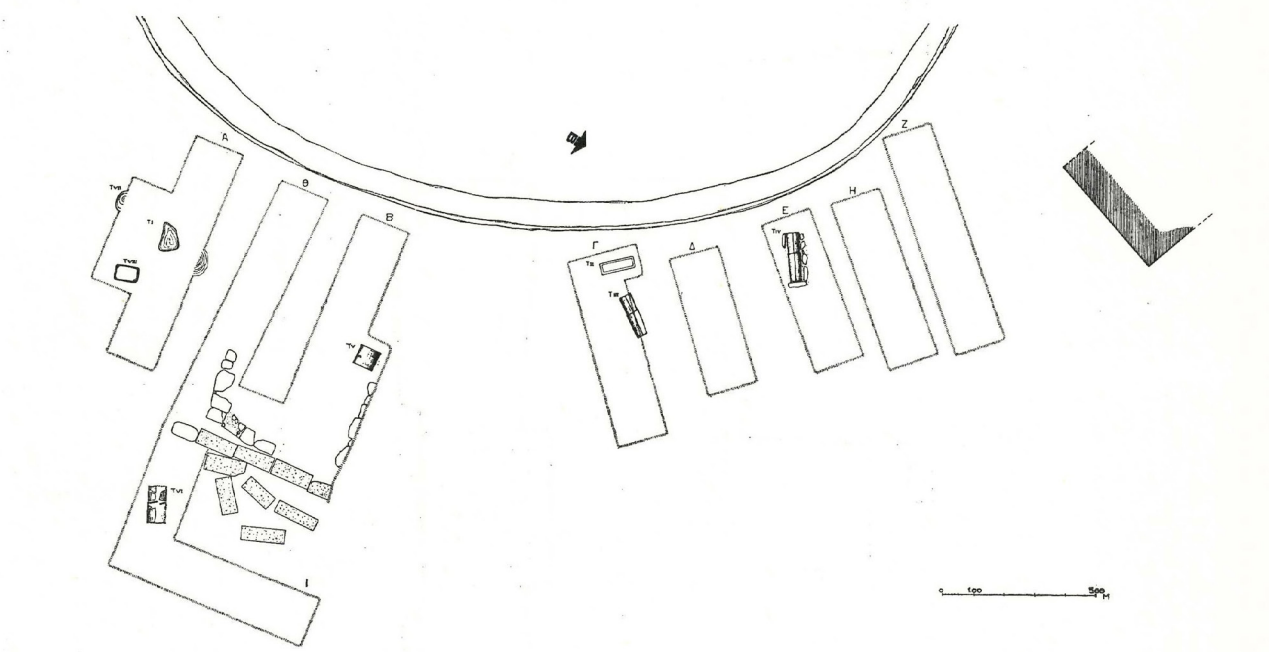

Fig. 7. Topographic plan of the east side of the Magoula hill (Tsirivakos 1967, fig. 10)

stone and poros limestone, built cist graves, shaft graves, while there were some pot burials too. From the first excavation by Tsirivakos, among the reported funerary offerings are included small aryballoid lekythoi (some red-figured ones, too), black-glazed skyphoi and a clay bird figurine.[41] Furthermore, some of the graves were enclosed by individual periboloi. Yet another grave, measuring 2.00 x 0.85 m and oriented N-S, was excavated in 1986, to the northeast of the tumulus.[42] The lining of its sides 'was built of small stones and coated with a thick layer of lime and sand plaster'. The grave was covered by three slabs of shelly limestone. The bones were degraded, though the deceased had been accompanied by a bronze mirror, three bronze rings and a silver obol dating after 390 BC.

This cemetery[43] is the place of provenance of a small funerary stele with inscription in the Megarian dialect (*SEG* 44.195):

Θοκλέδας[44]
Μηγαρ<ι>κός,

which dates to the end of the 5th century BC. Thoukleides (Θοκλέδας) might have been a resident alien (an immigrant, metic or freed slave) or even a slave.[45] It is possible that from this site also comes the funerary stele mentioned by Pittakis as lying 'next to the funerary marker

41 The cemetery was excavated by Zoridis and yielded mainly lekythoi with black linear decoration, and pinakia (plates), etc., but there were no white-ground lekythoi in the assemblage.

42 Dekoulakou 1986, 18.

43 Pologiorgi 2004, 32. In the literature, the stele is reported as originating in the site of Maroudi. However, in the excavation daybook of the graves in the area of Magoula, it is recorded that the stele comes from this site, and is now exhibited with this provenance in the Salamis Archaeological Museum (SM 5914). I warmly thank the archaeologist A. Kapetanopoulou for this information (2013).

44 Pologiorgi 2004, 37: Θεοκλείδης (Theokleides) or Θουκλείδης (Thoukleides).

45 Pologiorgi 2004, 38-9.

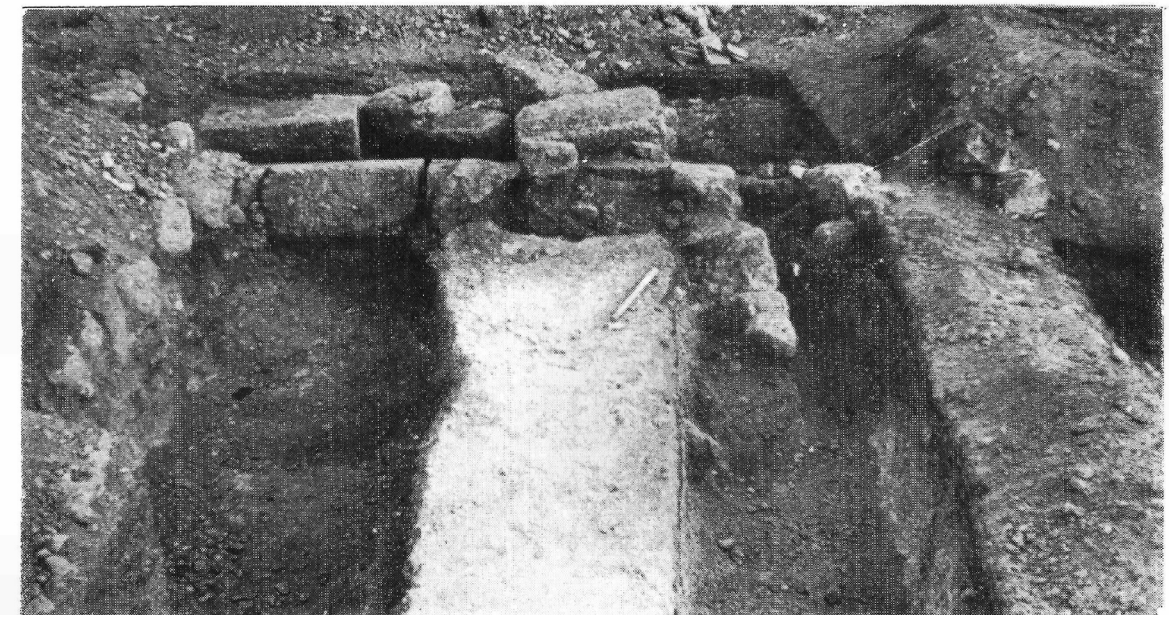

Fig. 8. Architectural remains on the east side of the Magoula hill (Tsirivakos 1967, pl. 110c)

of Xanthippos' dog'.[46] This is the stele that bears a funerary epigram of the mid 3rd century BC[47] (*IG* II² 11960 / *SEG* 25.301), reading:

εἶλεσόν, Ἡράκλειτε, καὶ αἰνετὸν υἷα Λεαίνης
εἶλεν θαρραλέης ἔργα Λέοντα μάχης·
ἀνχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος ὁ γὰρ κλήροισιν ἀμύνων
δυσμενέων ὁλοὸν τραῦμα κατηγάγετο.
ζηλοῦτ' ἀλλὰ νέοι τὸν ὁμήλικα· κάθθανε γάρ που
μηδοφόνων ἀρετᾶς μνωόμενος πατέρων.

It is likely that young Leon fell in one of the battles against Alexander, the son of Krateros, in the mid 3rd century BC.[48] Leon is perhaps a descendant of that Leon, who resided in Salamis, and whom Plato (*Apology* 32 c-d) and Xenophon (*Hellenica* II) mention was killed by the regime of the Thirty.[49] It is also feasible that he is the son of Herakleitos, son of Asklepiades from Athmonea,[50] who was honoured by the deme of the Salaminians for undertaking the repair of the walls during the preparations for the war against Alexander.[51] On the basis of all this evidence, the cemetery spans the period from the beginning of the 5th to the mid 4th centuries BC, or the mid 3rd century BC.

46 Pittakis 1855, no. 2565.
47 Cargill 1995, 125 and note 28.
48 Habicht 1998, 215. Probably not a little later in the raid launched by Aratus of 242 BC, see Taylor 1997, 249.
49 Cargill 1995, 125 and note 28.
50 Taylor 1997, 253, note 84.
51 The epigram was engraved on a stone on the rear side of which there was an honorary decree (SEG 47.153), Taylor 1997, 245-50.

To the west of the hill, a strongly built wall was located, aligned E-W. In the same area, near the coast, there is a quarry of poros limestone, its material having been used for the construction of the tumulus.[52] However, it should be pointed out that, along the north and northeast coasts, there are also preserved signs of quarrying in recent years with the use of controlled blasting. Finally, to the south of the mound, three cavernous pits appear, the largest of which is enclosed by a strongly built semicircular peribolos, 11.00 m in diameter, made of large field stones.[53] Further to the south, a wall extends E-W, for a length of 20.00 m. Some more walls are visible to the west and the southeast of the hill.

As it would be expected, the occurrence of the above structures has led to a multitude of interpretations.

1.1 The Tumulus of the Salamis Warriors

The existence of a tomb for the Greeks who fell in the sea battle of Salamis is not mentioned in any source contemporary with the events, although this does not indicate that such a tomb did not exist.[54] Plutarch (*On the Malice of Herodotus* 39), whose evidence is apparently confirmed by a funerary epigram found at Ambelaki (*IG* I^3 1143), reports that the Corinthians asked the Athenians for permission to bury their dead on the island. This request for permission may indicate that the rest of the Greeks were buried in their homelands,[55] an inference further supported by Pausanias' statement (I.43, 3) that the Megarians erected a tomb in their city for those fallen at Salamis and at Plataea.[56]

A group of Athenian decrees to do with the institution of an ephebeia in the Hellenistic times gives a glimpse of athletic exercises and rituals taking place on the island, such as the contest of the boats, sacrifices to Ajax and sacrifices to Zeus at the Trophy of the sea battle. At the same time, as part of the same institution, ritual activities, in honour of those fallen at Marathon in the Persian wars, are performed at the local polyandrion, as recorded in the inscription *IG* II^3 1 1313 of the year 175/4 BC and in inscription *IG* II^{2}1006 of the year 122/1 BC. Remarkable, therefore, is the lack of reference to a polyandrion on Salamis on which the Athenian ephebes would have conferred honours equal to those they did at Marathon. It seems, then, that the corresponding memorials honouring the Persian wars held at Salamis was fulfilled through the sacrifices at the trophy of Zeus, and that no Athenians had been buried on the island. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1st century BC some sanctuaries undergo restoration on the island of Salamis (*IG* II^2 1035) and it is attested that there is a structure at Kynosoura, which is characterized as a polyandrion. On the other hand, when Pausanias visits Salamis between 155-160 AD he does not mention anything at all about the existence of a polyandrion. Both of these points will be discussed in greater detail further below.

The majority of scholars accept that there was a polyandrion on Salamis,[57] based mainly on the inscription of the Imperial times (*IG* II^2 1035). If we take it as given that bones were indeed found, as stated in Lykoudis' report, and that these bones were human, then the Salamis poly-

52 Piteros 1980, 91. Kokkorou-Aleura *et al.* 2014, 256, no. 977.
53 Kattoula 2006, 237-8.
54 Arrington 2015, 41.
55 Robertson 1983, 84; Schmalz 2007-2008, 38 and note 135.
56 Oikonomou 2012, 170-171. Although some scholars doubt whether that was a real tomb and not a heroon or cenotaph, Schörner 2014, 155.
57 Milchhoefer 1895, 29; Clairmont 1983, 102-3 no. 10a; Stroszeck 2004, 317; Arrington 2010, 54.

andrion – the term signifies communal burials of men fallen on the battlefield[58] – contains the ashes of the Greeks fallen in the sea battle, since, in the absence of graves inside of it, we have to assume that the dead were cremated, by analogy with the polyandrion erected after the battle of Marathon for the Athenians,[59] the polyandrion of Thespiae[60] and the polyandrion of Chaeronea.[61] In contrast with the polyandria of Marathon, of Thespiae and of Chaeronea, we do not know whether the Salamis polyandrion contained vases as funerary goods or remains of funerary offerings, meals etc.,[62] essential components of the funerary ritual. Calculating the dimensions of the Salamis polyandrion, by analogy to the Marathon one, which was 50.00 m in diameter and 9.00 m high, the 20.00 m wide structure at Salamis must have reached a height of 3.60 m. If, on the other hand, one takes as basis of the calculation the polyandrion of Chaeronea, which was 70.00 m in diameter and 7.00 m high, the height of that at Salamis could have been just 2.00 m high.

In any case, the view that the tumulus of Salamis constitutes a polyandrion 'in general', without specifying the origins of those buried in it,[63] is problematic, since every city buried its dead separately.[64] The custom of cremating the dead was common in Attica, and presumably from this period onward *patrios nomos* (the custom of public burial at home of the men killed in action) came into effect, by which the war dead were cremated.[65] Did the same, however, hold true for the Corinthians? Is the Salamis polyandrion only concerned with the cremations of the dead Corinthians, the sole people who fell in the sea battle that were with certainty buried on the island? Unfortunately, there is no knowledge about the treatment of Corinthians fallen in war. We must take into consideration that the allocation of the polyandrion at a nodal point of the island, at the entrance to the harbour, visible to all arriving there, would have conveyed powerful political messages. If the Corinthians had to ask for permission to bury their dead on the island, how easy would it have been for them to obtain permission to build a monument at such a conspicuous place in the city? Robertson holds it probable that the Corinthians buried their dead on the island, due to their outstanding achievement in the sea battle.[66] Nevertheless, it would not be wise to ignore the suspicion – probably an untrue one, constructed by the Athenians – that the Corinthians had initially abandoned the Straits during the sea battle, only to return when the outcome of the battle had been decided (Herodotus 8.94).[67] Would then the Athenians have allowed the Corinthians to bury their dead in a conspicuous place, one which would have stood as a point of reference for the next generations? Unlikely. The same goes for the other eternal rivals of the Athenians, the Aeginitians and the Megarians.

If, on the contrary, the hypothesis is entertained that it was the Athenians who were buried in the polyandrion of Salamis, something that would have exceptionally well suited the Athenian propaganda about their right of possession of Salamis, why is there no such reference

58 Oikonomou 2012, 95.

59 The dead were cremated either separately, and subsequently deposited in the mound, or simultaneously, as it is commented upon in relation to Marathon (Valavanis 2010, 87-89, with relevant bibliography).

60 Keramopoulos 1911.

61 Sotiriadis 1902.

62 Valavanis 2010, 80-87.

63 Hammond 1973, 309; Clairmont 1983, 103.

64 Robertson 1983, 84 note 8.

65 Valavanis 2010, 90; Oikonomou 2012, 56-7. For a probable early introduction of this law, see Shapiro 1996, 132, with relevant bibliography.

66 Robertson 1983, 84.

67 It has been suggested, nonetheless, that this incident may reflect yet another 'manoeuvre' in the course of the sea battle (Wallinga 2005, 126-9, with relevant bibliography).

in the sources? How many Athenian citizens were killed? Why is the number of the Athenians killed at Marathon (Herodotus 6.117.1) preserved in the sources, but not that of those killed at Salamis? The Athenians, in all probability, returned right after the sea battle of Salamis – in early October[68] – to Athens. Upon their return, their primary concern must have been the burial of their dead, especially so if they had already cremated them on the island. The possibility that the Athenians were not been buried in the Salamis polyandrion becomes much stronger, when one considers the lack of any reference to it in the Athenian decrees of the institution of the ephebes in Hellenistic times. The absence, moreover, of any relevant mention in Pausanias, who records information of much less importance, strengthens the argument that there was no polyandrion of the Athenians fallen in action set up on Salamis.[69]

Examining the setting of the cemetery to the north and east of the mound, yet another possibility arises. The cemetery was in use for a long period of time, probably from the beginning of the 5th century BC, down to the mid 4th or the mid 3rd centuries BC. If we take for granted the existence of a polynadrion, it is an obvious deduction that some people made the choice to bury their dead around a symbolic monument.[70] If we accept that those buried in the peripheral cemetery were inhabitants of the island – men, women and, as it seems, metics or slaves, too, then there is a chance that the polyandrion was also the burial place of native Salaminians (not Athenians), who were killed in the sea battle. This interpretation would make sense of the difference in the setting, on the one hand, of the Trophy at the tip of the peninsula, which was not only visible to seafarers, but also even from Athens, and, on the other hand, of the 'Salaminian' polyandrion at the entrance of the city. In this hypothesis, the key question of the role of the native Salaminians in the sea battle remains unknown. Herodotus reports that Aristides took the hoplites, who had been arrayed along the shores of the island, and landed them on Psyttalia in order to slaughter the Persians who were on the islet (8.95.1).[71] The most likely case is that this group, which, apart from hoplites, included archers, as well as some unarmed men,[72] was formed by those arrayed along the shores of Salamis, by some inhabitants of the island and by some men brought in from Athens. In any case, it is usually conjectured that no battle was fought on Psyttalia,[73] so the notion that there were dead therefrom is unsubstantiated.[74] Moreover, Salamis was a recently founded cleruchy[75] and the reinforcement of the local population's identity, through a polyandrion, would not have been a sensible move on the part of the Athenians.

Despite rejecting the identification of the Magoula mound with the polyandrion, Culley[76] does not rule out the existence of a polyandrion on Salamis, which he fixes at another spot of the Kynosoura peninsula. This coincides with the location of the polyandrion a little further to

68 Garland 2017, xii.

69 Arrington 2010, 54 'if it were a tumulus for war dead, it need not necessarily have belonged to Athenians'; Arrington 2015, 79 note 98.

70 Burton 2003, 20-1.

71 Wallinga 2005, 87 ff.

72 Wallinga (2005, 88), based on Aeschylus' passage (Persians 459-61), argues that there were not only hoplites.

73 Wallinga 2005, 88.

74 However, there is a counterview to this. Proietti (2015, 48-51) examines the epigram of the Persian Wars (*IG* I3 503/4: A), which, as it has already been argued by other scholars in the past (Butera 2010, 65ff, with relevant bibliography), might also be related to Psyttalia: she concludes that the battle at Psyttalia had a great significance and that the epigram refers to the dead of that battle, too.

75 Igelbrink 2015, 152-75; Chairetakis 2018, 375-7.

76 Culley 1977, 292-3, 297.

the east of the Magoula hill on two of Rediadis' maps, made in 1901 and 1911,[77] albeit without supporting evidence. On this matter, our view is that this hypothesis is ungrounded. In Pritchett's opinion, the tumulus-like mound at Magoula is the only artificial one on the peninsula, and we completely agree with him that an artificial construction of this kind on the peninsula would not have been left unremarked upon by the Greek and the foreign travellers, scholars and archaeologists in the 19th century.[78]

Finally, the 'polyandrion' interpretation relies on the evidence of the occurrence of ashes from burnt bones. However, we cannot but wonder whether the recovery of the 'stratum with ashes of burnt bones', mentioned by Lykoudis, is related not with the circular structure, but, in fact, with the rectangular ones to the north, where cremations were indeed unearthed.

1.2 The Tumulus of the Salamis Warriors: Inscription IG *II²1035 and the testimony of Pausanias*

At the end of the 1st century BC in a decree relating to the restoration of sanctuaries and sacred properties in Attica and Salamis, mention is made of a structure on the island, which is characterized as a polyandrion (*IG* II² 1035 / *SEG* 14.78 / *SEG* 26.121 / *SEG* 33.136, lines 31-35[79]):

> [— — — — τέμενος? τοῦ δεῖνα ὃ Σόλ]ων ἀνῆκε τῆι Πολ[ιάδ]ι καθ[ιερωθ]ὲν π[ρ]ότερ[ον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ] κτίσαντος τὴν νῆσον
>
> [Κυχρέως? — — — — — — ὅπου κεῖτα]ι ἡ ἀρχαία πόλις [ἡ προ]σον[ομ]ασθεῖσ[α] Κυ[χρεία, τέμεν]ος Αἴαντος ὃ καθιέρωσε
>
> [— — — — — — — — — — — — ἀκρωτήριο]ν ἐφ' οὗ κεῖται τὸ [Θεμισ]τ[οκ]λέους τ[ρόπαιον κατὰ Π]ε[ρ]σῶν καὶ πολυάνδρειον τῶν
>
> [ἐν τῆι μάχηι τελευτησάντων — — — — —]ένοις καὶ προθυ[σ]άμενο[ι ἐ]ν τῶ[ι] πρὸς Μ[εγαρέας] πρὸ τῆς νήσου πολέ[μ]ωι· ν κῆπον ἐν κρ.
>
> [— — — — — — ὅπου ὁρχή]σεις καὶ χορε[ῖ]αι ἐδρῶ[ντο . .]ἐν πλευ[. . . c.9 . . .] πόλει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Σόλωνο[ς]

The inscription is dated between 10/9 and 3/2 BC, and the historical context is very revealing with regard to its interpretation. In the period of Augustus (31 BC-14 AD), and especially after his visit to Athens in 21/0 BC,[80] in keeping with the emergent spirit of antiquarianism,[81] the feeling of 'anti-barbarism' was reinforced.[82] In Athens, it is encapsulated in the construction of the temple to Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis, erected in 19 BC, and directly associated with the diplomatic victory of the emperor over the Parthians.[83] The wars of Rome against the people on the east borders of the empire, and particularly against the Parthians, lead to the

77 Rediadis 1901. 1911.

78 Pritchett 1985, 131. The same scholar refers to surveys conducted by himself in the area, which did not bring to light any relevant finds. We also note that the topic of the burial of the dead Persians has never been addressed.

79 Chairetakis 2018, 330-7, for comprehensive discussion.

80 Schmalz 1996, 382.

81 Shear 1981, 361.

82 Schmalz 2007-2008, 39 ff.; Morales 2016, 81.

83 Rose 2005, 50; Huber 2011, 212; Spawforth 2012, 106.

emergence of a dominant ideology against the barbaric East.[84] In this context, the Greco-Persian wars are brought to the fore to serve as vehicle for the Roman propaganda and shape a narrative,[85] which culminated in the sea battle of Salamis. Thus, the victory of the Greeks against the Persians is now transformed into the 'ideal battle' of the Athenians against the Persians.[86] This narrative is spectacularly expressed in 2 BC, when a staging of the battle of Salamis takes place in Rome.[87] An artificial lake was created by the river Tiber, with an islet – Salamis – constructed in it, where 3,000 gladiators and thirty triremes featured in a representation of the naval battle of 480 BC.[88] The combatant sides are Athenians and Persians.[89] But why was the naval battle of Salamis chosen, and not the battle of Marathon or Plataea? An immediate observation would be that its representation might have been *more impressive* than that of a mere land battle, although it is equally certain that there was the intention too to establish a conceptual link with the naval battle of Actium.[90] If, however, the sea battle of Salamis becomes a symbol in the time of the empire, so much so that even the mere mention of the word 'Salamis' could 'recall the memory of the relevant traditions' that accompany it,[91] what is happening on the island itself as the 'geographical setting of that memory'?[92]

In Attica, the monuments being restored lie within a confined area: in Piraeus, in Athens, a sanctuary at Aexone and the remotest one at Lamptrai.[93] And, of course, on Salamis, which comes first in the list of sites, and where all the sanctuaries and monuments, which undergo restoration, are situated in the northeast to east part of the island, clustered almost in their entirety in the capital of the island, at Ambelaki.[94] In the decree, prominence is given to Salamis and Piraeus, focusing on shrines related to bygone victories and generals.[95] Furthermore, oddly enough, emphasis is also placed on the naval supremacy of Athens in a period when the city is nothing more than a Roman province. This distinctive component of the decree has led to the hypothesis of 'external impulse'[96] as a contributing factor in the shaping of the inscription's framework. Corroborating this perspective is also the mention of the Peloponnesian war, a war in which Athens was defeated. It seems, then, that an attempt is being made to somehow put a gloss 'in retrospect' on the historical events of Athens and the best moments of Greek history.[97]

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84 Spawforth 1994, 238; Schmalz 2007-2008, 39.

85 Grigoropoulos 2015, 75-6.

86 Spawforth 1994; Alcock 2002, 74-88; Schmalz 2007-2008, 39. Similar practices have been noticed already from the 2nd century BC, see relevantly Spawforth 1994, 243; Clough 2004, 195; Spawforth 2012, 105. See also the parallelism drawn with the naval battle of Actium, Spawforth 2012, 103.

87 Hardie 2007, 129; Schmalz 2007-2008, 39; Spawforth 2012, 104-5.

88 Rose 2005, 45-6 and note 132; Clough 2004, 200-5.

89 Schmalz 2007-2008, 39. However, this is not the only time in Roman history that a sea battle is used this way. An equivalent 'naval battle' was also staged by Nero in 57 or in 58 AD, a little before he set out to attack Armenia, Spawforth 1994, 238; Clough 2004, 201. In contrast, mention to the battle of Marathon is made in 235 AD by emperor Gordian III, when he organized races in Rome in honour of Athena Promachos, who had helped at Marathon, Spawforth 1994, 239-40; Hardie 2007, 130.

90 Hardie 2007, 130, 139.

91 Chaniotis (2017, xxiii) uses some examples from the ancient and contemporary Greek history.

92 For the terminology, see Assmann 2017, 39-40, and note 34.

93 Schmalz 2007-2008, 41-42.

94 Chairetakis 2018, 329-36.

95 Spawforth 2012, 107, 110.

96 Spawforth 2012, 107, 110 'The extraordinary emphasis on the Athenian thalassocracy of four centuries earlier seems inexplicable at this date without an external impulse, such as that provided by the ideological importance of the Persian Wars, and Salamis not least, under Augustus'.

97 Spawforth 2012, 111 and note 28. Also see similar remarks in relation to the Chronicle of Lindos (Shaya 2005, 430).

Athens, through the highlighting of its important historical events,[98] seeks to publicize its own national feelings, which are concurrently conceptualized as Roman and therefore as universal ones (at the time). Within such a framework, it would indeed be understandable that a certain 'degree of impulse' was at play in the choice of places and the restoration of monuments, which would *indirectly* or *primarily* serve the Roman propaganda.[99] What is going on with the polyandrion of Salamis, though? In the inscription, reference to the polyandrion is encountered for the first time ever, while no mention is made of the Athenians' tomb at Marathon, a focal point, as we have already seen, of the celebrations in the ephebic decrees. We might then reasonably wonder whether in this period the weight of historical memory relating to the defeat of the Persians is being intentionally shifted westward, to Salamis, where it is possibly better visualized for the above discussed propaganda purposes.

Let us examine another parameter. Ambelaki in the second half of the 1st century BC is no longer inhabited.[100] The restoration of sanctuaries, therefore, is carried out in an empty, uninhabited, *ancient* city. A city, nonetheless, with important monuments, standing as 'reference points of memory'.[101] Indeed, monuments as places of memory, apart from providing the setting for commemorative celebrations, attract visitors,[102] and, moreover, monuments live through and depend on the people who visit them.[103] Should we then view Ambelaki of the end of the 1st century BC as an 'archaeological site',[104] which is easily accessible to visitors who pass through Athens? The presentation and perception of history and memory, as well as the creation of identity – all necessary ingredients for the formation of 'museums',[105] or museum spaces, in general – seem to dictate the choice in the restoration of specific shrines and monuments on Salamis, namely those related to Ajax (Trojan War), Solon (War against Megara) or Themistocles (Persian Wars), to the exclusion of others, such as Artemis, Dionysus and Demeter.[106] The recognition, therefore, of Ambelaki as a place of memory could have stimulated the shaping of an imaginary landscape, where any existing structures carried the weight of memory. In such a case, it can be argued that, at the end of the 1st century BC, it was needful that the sea battle of Salamis gain substance through some monument for the gratification of the visitors, and primarily of the eminent Roman visitors.[107] Furthermore, it is quite probable that no matter what structure might have been then standing on the hill of Magoula, by then it could have been characterized as a polyandrion. Indeed, one cannot rule out the possibility that not *only* the circular structure, but the entire peninsula of Magoula, was considered as the polyandrion. As a closing comment on inscription *IG* II^2 1035, it should be noted that we are

98 Already in Hellenistic times, an increase is observed in the local histories inscribed on stone of the Greek cities (Shaya 2015, 30).

99 Spawforth 2012, 112. See, in contrast, the effort that went into the Chronicle of Lindos, at the beginning of the 1st century BC, to highlight the glorifying moments of the island's history, in a period when the power of Rhodes is fading and that of Rome rising (Shaya 2005, 434-6).

100 Chairetakis 2018, 468-70.

101 Assmann 2017, 40.

102 Chaniotis 2005, 237: 'As 'places of memory' (lieux de mémoire) they attracted visitors and were used as the location for rituals, especially on commemorative anniversaries or other celebrations'.

103 Shaya 2013, 95: 'Monuments live by the consent of their public; it is only with the explicit cooperation of the people that they serve as points around which official history is told and remembered'.

104 Furthermore, the transportation of quite a few sculptures that were placed in the Ancient Agora led Shear (1981, 361-2) to remark that in the mid 1st century AD the Agora would have resembled a museum. For the analysis of similar conceptual approaches in Lindos of Rhodes, see Shaya 2005; 2015.

105 Shaya 2005, 424.

106 Chairetakis 2018, 108-20, 330-7.

107 Spawforth 2012, 112.

somewhat disinclined, albeit not entirely of a negative frame of mind, to believe that a completely new structure was created in this period, since, though the 'construction of monuments' to commemorate older wars in the early imperial period has been debated by scholars, it is still treated with scepticism.[108]

Pausanias visited Salamis between 155-160 AD, in the course of his stay in Athens. In that period, Ambelaki was still uninhabited; the inhabitants of the neighbouring area (1.35.4), in the role of guides, showed him the important spots of touristic interest, as occurred in the other cities, too.[109] The sorts of information quoted by the traveller can be classified into three groups. To the first belong those monuments for which he adds some specific detail (1.35.5). These are the Agora, of which he saw the ruins, and the temple of Ajax, in which there was the hero's statue of ebony. Both monuments were situated in the flat – submerged today – part of the city, easily accessible to someone by land.[110] The second group is basically represented by a single monument – *the rock of Telamon* (1.35.3), which was not known to Pausanias from the sources, but exclusively from the information he received from the local guides. He himself added the comment that the rock lies within a small distance from the port. Most probably on the peninsula of Kynosoura, as Papachatzis suggests,[111] a certain rock must have been pointed out to him by the local people, to which they attached symbolic value; it cannot be excluded that the 'rock' was the hill of Magoula itself. *The flower of Ajax* (1.35.4) is also included in the same group.

Placed in the third and last group are monuments associated with the historical events of the Persian wars, already known to Pausanias from the sources, well before his visit to the island (1.36.1-2). These are the shrines of Artemis and Kychreus, whose role had been crucial in deciding the outcome of the sea battle,[112] as well as the Trophy of the sea battle.[113] Why then does he not mention the polyandrion? A lot of discussion on the validity of Pausanias' testimony has been made: it has been argued that the traveller was interested in creating an ideal religious landscape, one representative of classical Athens, while at the same time emphasizing the moments when the Greeks put up a united front and fought together against external enemies.[114] Accordingly, he cites monuments that were witnesses of important historical events for Salamis and Athens, highlighting their glorious past. But yet again not the polyandrion. Surely, had there been a polyandrion to the fallen in the sea battle of Salamis, would not the local community and Pausanias have tried to promote and show it off to advantage?

We find, furthermore, that in this period a wide-ranging effort is made to reinforce the myth of Salamis.[115] More precisely, activity is attested in the Shrines of Athena and Enyalios at the site of Arapis in north Salamis;[116] Euripides' origin from Salamis is for the first time stressed, through his characterization as *Salaminian* in an inscription at Velitrae of Italy (*IG* XIV 1207); a heroon for Euripides is founded in south Salamis.[117] Meanwhile, in the old – *empty, uninhabited,*

108 Alcock 2002, 77; Grigoropoulos 2015, 76, with relevant bibliography.

109 Stewart 2013, 232; Shaya 2015, 30.

110 Approachable more probably via the port at Kamatero, the second port of the city (Chairetakis 2018, 258), which became, throughout the following centuries, the main entrance point by which to reach the island from Attica. For the site on the north shore of the Pounta peninsula, see Fig. 4.

111 Papachatzis 1974, 459, note 1.

112 Chairetakis 2018, 380, with relevant bibliography.

113 Chairetakis 2018, 230-4.

114 Stewart 2013, 243-5, with relevant bibliography.

115 For the framework of the period, see Wenzel 2009, 18 ff.

116 Chairetakis 2018, 67-9.

117 Chairetakis 2018, 277-85, for comprehensive discussion and reassessment of data.

ancient – city capital of the island, new Homeric landscapes – *the rock of Telamon and the flower of Ajax* – 'are constructed', undoubtedly after the rekindling of interest in the epic past by the emperor Hadrian, who undertook to rebuild (at a place other than its original position) the tomb of Ajax at Rhoiteion of the Troad (Philostratus *Heroicus* 8.1).[118] In that period, then, the narrative content of the (old and newly interpreted) monuments of Salamis was systematically and purposefully enhanced: it comes then as a great surprise that there is neither mention nor elaborate presentation of the polyandrion for the fallen in the sea battle of Salamis, given that it would have been such an emblematic and symbolic landmark. The only persuasive reason for this omission is that no polyandrion of the fallen in the sea battle of Salamis ever existed,[119] and so for this very simple reason it had not been kept alive in the cultural memory of the Athenians to be passed on either to Pausanias, or to those earlier authors he had read.

2. Prehistoric Tumulus

Prokesh von Osten and Lolling interpreted the artificial mound as a prehistoric tumulus.[120] The former, knowing obviously of the existence of Ajax's tomb at Rhoiteion in the Troad, assigned the tumulus of Salamis to his father, Telamon, thus establishing a link with the Mycenaean tradition or with the era of Homer. Although the area of the hill and the foundation of the artificial mound have produced pottery of prehistoric times,[121] any hypothesis ascribing an early dating to the tumulus is particularly implausible, especially so as only short-lived installations existed in the area of Ambelaki in the prehistoric times.[122] But its dating to the Geometric,[123] Archaic or Classical times would not be possible either. Without going into more detail about the various aspects of hero cults, we should, nonetheless, point out that the Athenians never attempted to bring back to Attica the bones of Ajax,[124] although his grave was known (Strabo 13.1.30-32; Pausanias 1.35.4-5), conceivably because such an act would have reinforced the sense of unity among the native Salaminians, against the Athenian cleruchs and conquerors. Similarly, a *Tumulus of Telamon,* the mythical king of the island, could have also been perceived as inimical to the security of the cleruchy.

3. Cenotaph

Another line of argument that takes the matter further and, given the lack of bones from the circular structure, raises another potential funerary aspect for the monument, is that the artificial mound of Magoula could have been a cenotaph. The act of heaping up an accumulation of earth on a battlefield, so as to form a cenotaph, is recorded only in the *Iliad* (7.331-335). Thereafter, in the following centuries, no known cenotaph has the features of the Salamis mound, as these have already been described, since cenotaphs were set up in the homeland of those fallen in action, when the latter were interred away from it or could not be found to be given a burial.[125]

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118 Boatwright 2000, 140-1; Minchin 2016, 260.

119 In other cities Pausanias omits *on purpose* mention of monuments from the Roman times (Stewart 2013, 243-5).

120 See also Culley 1977, 293, note 36.

121 Piteros 1980, 91.

122 Chairetakis 2018, 43, 44, 47.

123 Chairetakis 2018, 52.

124 Higbie 1997, 304.

125 Oikonomou 2012, 159.

4. Sanctuary of Kychreus

Already at the end of the 19th century, a different conceptualization of the Magoula hill structures had been developed by Lolling,[126] which was later adopted and expounded by Culley,[127] to be quite recently reintroduced by Van Rookhuijzen.[128] Culley, in his own attempt to interpret the inscription *IG* II^2 1035, proposes a very different, albeit 'hypothetical' as he freely acknowledges, spatial approach: this he does by fixing the ancient city of Salamis at Magoula and on part of the Kynosoura peninsula.[129] The occurrence of the cavernous pits has led scholars to identify the hill with the sanctuary of Kychreus, and the walls to the south of it with part of his precinct. Kychreus' cult makes a dynamic appearance after the sea battle,[130] since it was thought that its fortunate outcome was reached with the hero's help (Strabo 9.1.9, Pausanias I.36.1). The earliest ever reference to a sanctuary of Kychreus is made by Lycophron, in the 3rd century BC, in his work *Alexandra* or *Cassandra* (451): Κυχρεῖος ἄντρων, and the next one is not until Pausanias in the 2nd century AD (1.36.1): καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. *Andra*, that is caves–cavernous pits, were suitable places for the cult of Kychreus, since, as a chthonic deity, it was possible to worship him in such settings, and, as a son of Poseidon, it is reasonable that his sanctuary would have been situated near the sea.[131] Corroborating evidence for this interpretation appears in the relevant entry by Stephanos Byzantios, where reference is made to: Κυχρεῖος Πάγος, περὶ Σαλαμῖνα. Culley also speculates that the 'altar', mentioned by Tsirivakos, could be associated with that sanctuary.[132] Having fixed the location of the island's ancient city in the area around the Magoula hill, he does not regard as problematic the existence of the cemetery close to the sanctuary, each of which, though, lie on different sides of the hill.[133]

Indeed, it is probable that the sanctuary of Kychreus was situated on the peninsula of Kynosoura, although there are numerous points along the shoreline, from Aghia Triada to Magoula, where cavernous recesses and alcoves are formed in the rock, natural landforms which could all be interpreted as serving the same purpose.

5. Trophy

It is of some interest that not one of the three Greek archaeologists, who carried out excavation research at the mound, has identified it with a funerary structure. Tsaravopoulos is the only one who suggests an alternative interpretation for the tumulus-like mound, as the base of the trophy.[134] He does not, however, specify what the word 'trophy' signifies. Was it – a) the trireme that after the sea battle was dedicated to Ajax, b) the first, probably wooden, trophy that was set up right after the sea battle, or c) the stone trophy that was erected after the mid

126 Lolling 1884, 9.
127 Culley 1977, 291, note 32.
128 Van Rookhuijzen 2018, 279-82.
129 Culley 1977, 292-4.
130 The mention of a sacrifice to Kychreus by Solon, as handed down in Plutarch (*Solon* 9), provides, according to Culley, an indication of the earliness of his cult, a view we are not in agreement with (Chairetakis 2018, 362 ff.).
131 Culley 1977, 294 and note 39.
132 Culley 1977, 293.
133 Culley 1977, 293. He postulates that the cemetery was created after the city was moved to its new location, namely, to the innermost part of the Ambelaki bay. Obviously, then, the sanctuary would have continued to be in use. This interpretation does not take into account the construction of the artificial mound. He states the negative results of Tsirivakos' research and rejects the possibility of the existence of a polyandrion at this site.
134 Tsaravopoulos 1981, 65.

5th century BC by the Athenians to replace the wooden one.[135] It is necessary to assess all three structures in the context of their contemporaneous occurrence with the cemetery.

If we accept that the initially wooden and subsequently stone trophy was erected near the tip of the Kynosoura peninsula, as it is almost certainly the case,[136] then it remains only to fix the location of the trireme. Its location at this spot is unlikely. Even though tombs of prominent individuals or heroes are located in the Agorae of cities, the opposite, that is the setting up of dedications in a cemetery, is fairly unknown. Given that the trireme was not just a trophy, but a dedication to Ajax,[137] if it had been placed on the hill of Magoula, then this act would automatically imply that the hill was sacred and dedicated to him, an interpretation that has no basis in any known facts. In consequence, the interpretation of the circular structure as a trophy base, or as a setting for the dedication of the trireme has to be emphatically rejected.

6. Residential remains

Leake, Lolling, Milchhoefer and Kattoula report numerous 'fixed structures', to the west and south of the Magoula hill and on a part of the north slope of Kynosoura. It would be reasonable to assign all these structures to residential remains, which indicate the simultaneous development of settlement activity on the peninsulas of Pounta and Kynosoura, after the installation of Athenian cleruchs at the end of the 6th century BC, rather than being the remains of an earlier city, as maintained by Culley. Of the cavernous pits, at least the biggest one, which additionally preserves an enclosure, could have been a storage space or even an animal pen.[138] Further away from the residential part, the cemetery going with it expands over the north and east of the Magoula hill. Judging from the duration of the cemetery's use, that part of the city was inhabited from the beginning of the 5th century BC. In the mid 4th or in the 3rd centuries BC, though, a change is observed in the layout of previously existing sectors – in this case, the cemetery was abandoned. All the same, prior to the completion of research and the publication of the whole set of structures, it is hardly possible to be certain as to their correct interpretation.

There is also a chance that in the Classical and early Hellenistic times, the hill of Magoula still retained its natural form, and that the circular structure was built later.

7. Altar of Zeus

The last interpretation focuses on the mention of sacrifices to Zeus in the ephebic decrees dealing with festivals. These celebrations take place in the period around 213/2-43/2 BC and in the decrees it is stated, among other things, that sacrifices were performed at the trophy of Zeus, as is typically attested in *IG* II^{3}1 1313 of 175/4 BC: [κ]ᾳὶ ἔπλευσαν πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἔθυσαν, in *SEG* 15.104 of 127/6 BC: ἔθυσάν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου [τῶ]ι Διὶ, and in *IG* II^2 1006 of 122/1 BC: ἀνέπλευσαν δ[ὲ καὶ] ἐπὶ τρόπαιον καὶ ἔθυσαν τῶι Διὶ τῶι Τρο[πα]ίωι. Necessary for the performance of the sacrifices to Zeus was a fixed structure, an altar, its existence clearly implied by the use of the verb θύω.[139] Scholars have not delved into this aspect and have not therefore searched for the specific area where sacrifices were carried out.

135 Chairetakis 2018, 231.

136 Wallace 1969, 301-2; Chairetakis 2018, 230-4.

137 Frielinghaus 2017, 24.

138 For a group of partially sunk into the ground, cave-like structures on Aegina, which lie outside the city walls, in the spaces between the cemeteries, Papastavrou (2016) argues that they were dwellings of slaves.

139 Ekroth 2002, 15.

In the inscriptions, the place for the enactment of the sacrifice is defined, in one case, ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου, and in another, ἐπὶ τρόπαιον.[140] However, these spatial specifications do not especially help to settle the problem of location, although it does seem reasonable that the sacrifice would have been performed close to the place where the trophy stood, namely near the tip of the Kynosoura peninsula.

Clairmont, however, and regardless of the fact that he proposes misrepresentative interpretations for the structures unearthed at Magoula, has no difficulty in fixing the location of the altar of Zeus in the Magoula area, at least two kilometres away from the position of the trophy.[141] Taking into consideration that the peninsula, as a whole, is also called Cape Tropaia,[142] it might not be unreasonable to place the trophy on one spot and the altar on another, within, of course, the limits of the geographical entity dedicated to Zeus. In any case, in the period from the mid 3rd to the end of the 1st centuries BC, on the peninsula of Magoula no other activity occurs. As a result, it is probable that the structure uncovered on the summit of the Magoula hill is, in fact, a large circular altar. The absence of relevant evidence, such as traces of fire or bones, could be explained by a possible 'clearing-up' of the circular structure prior to its restoration at the end of the 1st century BC, potentially at the time when it was identified with the 'polyandrion of the fallen in the sea battle of Salamis', as recorded in *IG* II^2 1035.

AFTERWORD

Through a full presentation and examination of the archaeological data and the philological sources related to the hill of Magoula in the peninsula of Kynosoura on Salamis we have tried to demonstrate, on the one hand, the difficulties encountered in interpreting certain archaeological remains and, on the other hand, the over-willingness some scholars show in approaching the same remains, often thereby advancing an interpretation in conflict with the evidence and documentation. Several different interpretations have been proposed down the years for the circular structure on top of Magoula hill: burial structures (Tumulus of the Salamis Warriors, Prehistoric tumulus, Cenotaph), shrine structures (Sanctuary of Kychreus, Altar of Zeus), residential remains or even a base for a trophy. These interpretations and discussions do form a solid base for discussion, drawing conclusions and promoting scientific knowledge, as well as assist in devising a more accurate approach to the monument. Though it is rather remarkable to see how the same data has bred these, mutually conflicting, interpretations. The present study concentrates largely on the recording and assessing of all the data. Nevertheless, quite a few pieces of the puzzle are still resolutely missing.

'What kind of activity did the circular structure on the summit of the Magoula hill serve' is a question to which we will not be able to give a final answer for as long as the results of archaeological research remain unpublished. And yet, even so, we may never find out. Tsaravopoulos, with regard to the last research conducted at the monument in 1981, has written the following: 'It seems that the hill summit area has been completely excavated and that any further removal of the ancient fill will not bring to light new evidence for research, but, on the contrary, it will irretrievably damage the monument, which retains hardly one quarter of its original surface'.[143]

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140 For the construction of ἐπὶ with the genitive, dative or accusative cases, see also Valavanis 2010, 76-7, in relation to another instance.

141 Clairmont 1983, 290, note 42.

142 Chairetakis 2018, 230-3.

143 Tsaravopoulos 1981, 64-5.

The absence of literary sources contemporary with the Salamis sea battle makes it really hard to securely interpret the circular structure on top of Magoula hill as the 'Tumulus of the Salamis Warriors' over any of the remaining opinions. The fact that no tumulus is mentioned either in decrees of the Athenian ephebes or by Pausanias is probably the best answer we have as to whether such a polyandrion existed or not: namely not. The view which seems to be the most plausible is that which argues the concept of a polyandrion on Salamis, as revealed in *IG* II^2 1035, was created at the end of the 1st century BC to promote Roman propaganda, without necessarily there existing any connection of this interpretation with the real and original – if such ever was – use of the circular structure on the hill of Magoula.

Having excluded, though, its interpretation as the Tumulus of the Salamis Warriors, we have come to realize that most of the remaining theories should also be treated with scepticism. That of a burial context (prehistoric tumulus, cenotaph) does not rest on any relevant finds, while the sanctuary of Kychreus seems most unlikely to be located *on* the Magoula hill. The Trophy surely lies elsewhere in the ancient urban landscape; any connection with Magoula hill is again not valid. Interpretation of the structures seen elsewhere on the hill as part of the urban development (residential remains) is the only one resting on solid architectural evidence; future research and publication may come as a pleasant surprise here. As far as the altar of Zeus is concerned, this new suggestion rests purely on an effort to identify a structure referred to in decrees of the Athenian ephebes. As already stated, Magoula hill did not host any other activity when the altar was in existence, so the creation hereabouts of a structure of some ritual function should not be excluded. Here too, though, archaeological evidence that could definitely support this theory is at present lacking. In any case, one should always bear in mind that any structure placed on the hilltop is meant to be clearly visible to anyone entering the harbour; we would then expect such to be a structure of major importance. The structure on Magoula could well be the Altar of Zeus. In addition, we observe again that a 'clearing' of the circular structure prior to its restoration at the end of the 1st century BC is possible, potentially at the time when it was identified with the 'polyandrion of the fallen in the sea battle of Salamis', as recorded in *IG* II^2 1035.

The present study has sought to examine all the data – as retrieved and devised during the last 200 years or so – concerning what is an actually unknown monument. It also raised new questions, requiring a re-examination of the topography and history of ancient Salamis. The sea battle of 480 BC is one of the most important historical events of the Greek past: the monument on top of the Pounta peninsula may at some time and in some way have been connected to this event.

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