



# The Hellenistic City of Salamis, Greece<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction – Historical Background

The city of Salamis »is situated in a bay on a spot of a peninsular form contiguous to Attica«<sup>2</sup>. These are the words *Strabo* (*geogr.* 9, 1, 9) uses to define the location of the ancient city of Salamis in a bay of the island opposite Attica. The ancient city of Salamis, in the vicinity of the modern town of Ambelaki, is bounded on the north by the peninsula of Pounta and on the south by the oblong peninsula of Kynosoura (**figs. 1–2**). In antiquity, the sea extended less into the bay, and since then the rise of sea level by at least 1.50–2.00 m. has covered most of the structures once situated in the plain.

Temporary installations are identified in the Neolithic Period, the Early and the Late Bronze Age, while a small settlement develops in the Geometric times. In the 7th c. BCE Salamis is under occupation by the Megarians, and while following a series of ambiguous military episodes, the Athenians succeed in gaining control over the island in the first decades of the 6th c. BCE. One of the first actions they undertake is to move the island's capital from the area of Koulouri (at the head of the Salamis bay) to a new site opposite Attica, with easy access to the Saronic Gulf, under the immediate control of Athens, in the area of Ambelaki (**fig. 2**).

Cleisthenes in 508/7 BCE does not include Salamis in his reforms concerning the tribes of Attica, a fact that indicates that the island had not been incorporated in the state of Athens. A year later the Spartans reach Eleusis, but, in the end, do not attack Athens, Megara joins the Peloponnesian alliance, and the Boeotians enter into an alliance with the Chalcidians raiding the north borders of Attica. In this military ambience the Athenians send out cleruchs to Salamis<sup>3</sup>, as garrison, not only to defend and guard its occupation, but in essence to protect Attica itself and its west borders. The movement of population from Attica leads to a rapid growth of the city.

1 The historical framework and relevant archaeological evidence are thoroughly analyzed in my Doctoral Dissertation (CHAIRETAKIS 2018a). I would like to thank Dr Katya Manteli for the translation into English.

2 Translation HAMILTON– FALCONER 1903–1906.

3 IGELBRING 2015, 152–175.



Fig. 1 :  
The location of the ancient  
city of Salamis.

The advance of the Persian king into central Greece necessitates the immediate evacuation of the Athenians to Troezen, Aegina and Salamis at the end of 481 to the beginning of 480 BCE<sup>4</sup>. It is estimated that about 100.000 individuals, the elderly, women and children, settle in various places of Salamis<sup>5</sup>. On the 28th or 29th of September 480 BCE the Greek fleet is arrayed opposite the Persian one in the narrow strait between Salamis and Attica. Until the sunset the outcome has been decided and the Greeks have achieved a great victory!

After the mid-5th c. BCE the city is fortified and the circuit wall surrounds the bay of Ambelaki. The 4th c. BCE is a century of growth and prosperity for the city. In 318/317 BCE the island comes under Macedonian control, as the local Salaminians betray the Athenians and hand over the island to Cassander. In 307 BCE the Athenians reoccupy the island and send into exile all local Salaminians, while Demetrius the Besieger returns a few years later and installs a garrison. The city sustains extensive damages in the course of the Chremonidean War (268–261 BCE), similarly so a little later, in the period when Alexander, the son of Craterus, revolts against Antigonos Gonatas, who possesses Salamis. In 242 BCE Aratus, leader of the Achaean League, launches an attack against Salamis causing destruction<sup>6</sup>, while it is not unlikely that the island endured attacks in the following years, too, as Aratus, after the annexation of Megara by the Achaean League, carries out frequent raids in Attica<sup>7</sup>. The death of Antigonos Gonatas' son, Demetrius II, in 229 BCE, leads to the liberation of Athens and Salamis<sup>8</sup>. In 86 BCE the Roman general Sulla destroys Athens and Salamis.

The Hellenistic period, very little known and discussed, brings us to a thriving city with important structures. Despite the fact that, as it would be expected, research usually focuses on antiquities associated with the naval battle of Salamis or the 5th c. BCE in general, nevertheless the bulk of the archaeological remains that have come to light belong to the Hellenistic period. To highlight these antiquities is the aim of the present article.

4 GARLAND 2017, 46.

5 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 377–379, with the relevant bibliography.

6 *Plut. Arat.* 24, 3; HABICHT 1998, 215.

7 HABICHT 1998, 217–219.

8 HABICHT 1998, 228; CHANIOTIS 2005, 7.



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

### The Fortifications

Parts of the fortifications have been investigated or located all around the periphery of the city. After the mid-5th c. BCE, the city is walled and the fortifications surround the bay of Ambelaki (**fig. 3**). The events in the period of the Peloponnesian War imply that the city was fortified in that period and it was feared that it could become a stronghold against the Thirty Tyrants<sup>9</sup>. Two inscriptions of Hellenistic times refer to the repair of the walls<sup>10</sup>, the former (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1260; SEG 19, 120; SEG 25, 150; SEG 34, 109; SEG 45, 132) in the period 307–304 BCE, and the latter (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1225) around 250 BCE.

Most of the investigated remains of the wall (**fig. 3**, Site 1; **fig. 4** nos. a–b) are assigned to Hellenistic times. In the west section, where several modifications and repairs of the wall have evidently taken place, two towers have been investigated [tower B1: 8,50(N-S)X8,80(E-W), tower Γ1: 8,80(N-S)X8,20(E-W)], and one gate. The type of the gate (**fig. 4** no. a), known from many fortifications, is conventionally named ›pincer type‹, with the entrance taking the form of a simple narrow passage, between two overlapping sections of the wall, flanked often by two towers<sup>11</sup>.

Of great interest is the fact that the second tower (tower Γ1) was erected to block an older gate of the 5th c. BCE<sup>12</sup> (**fig. 4** no. b – **fig. 6**). The tower, which is preserved to the foundation height, is constructed of local limestone blocks, which are connected with Z-shaped clamps. In the interior, it bears two transverse walls<sup>13</sup> of friable limestone in cruciform arrangement, to enhance, on the one hand, its structural stability, as the tower was not structurally linked with the wall, and, on the other hand, to reinforce its resistance to siege engines. The practice of increasing the number of towers in the fortification of a city is attested in several cases from the 4th c. BCE onward, as an architectural element reinforcing the fortification for a more effective

9 TAYLOR 1997, 114.

10 MAIER 1959, 110–114.

11 STEINHAEUER 2000, 196–197.

12 The gate type is known in a more developed form in Athens and in a simpler form in Arcadian Gortys, WINTER 1971, 212; MAHER 2012, 476–477.

13 WINTER 1971, 176. 180 pl. 175; NANKOV 2009, 446–448, with relevant discussion.



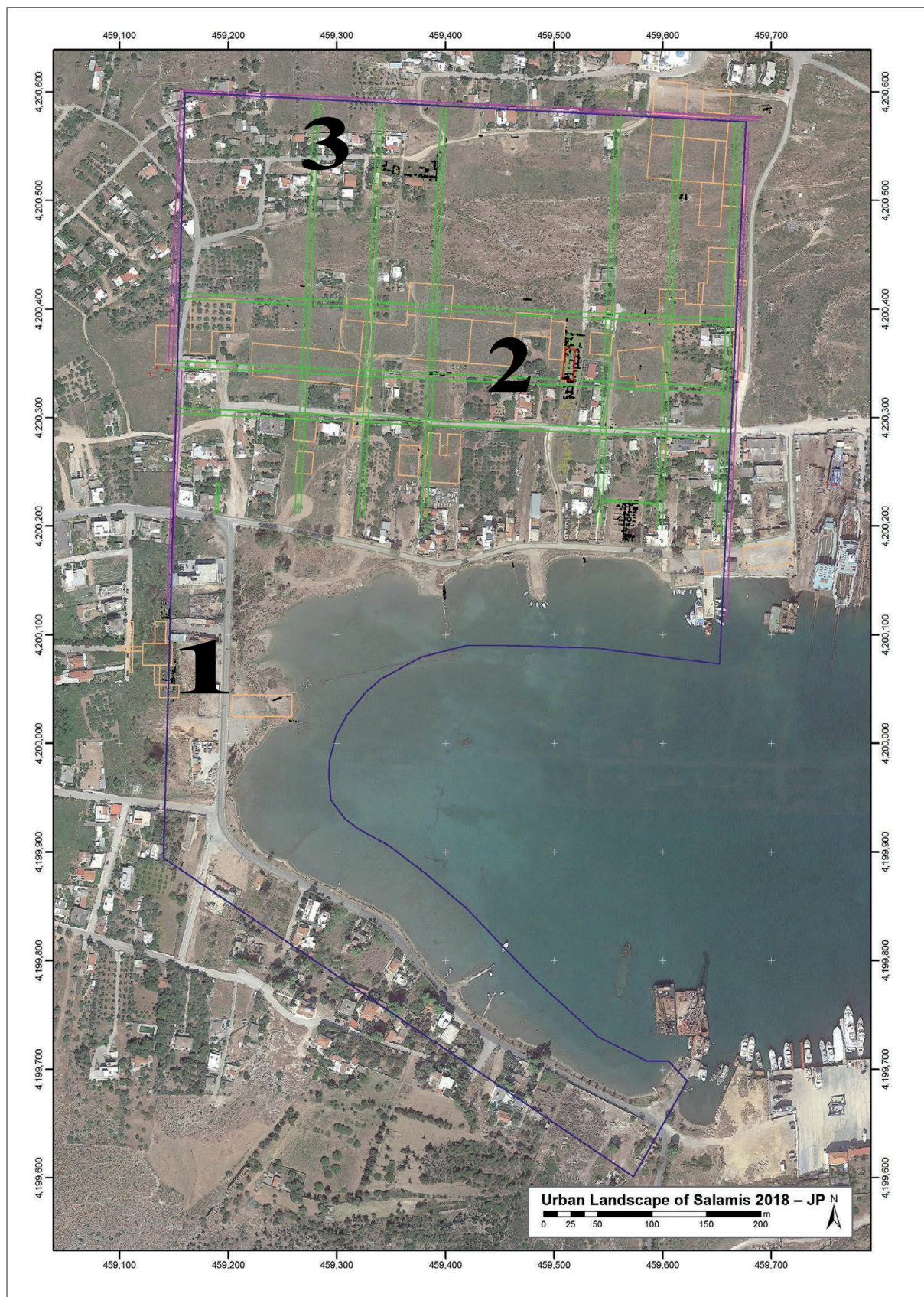


Fig. 3 : Reconstruction of the probable extent of the area of the ancient town at Ambelaki (PAKKANEN 2021, fig. 4).  
 Sites 1 (fortification, workshops), 2 (houses) and 3 (acropolis with sanctuaries) are noted.



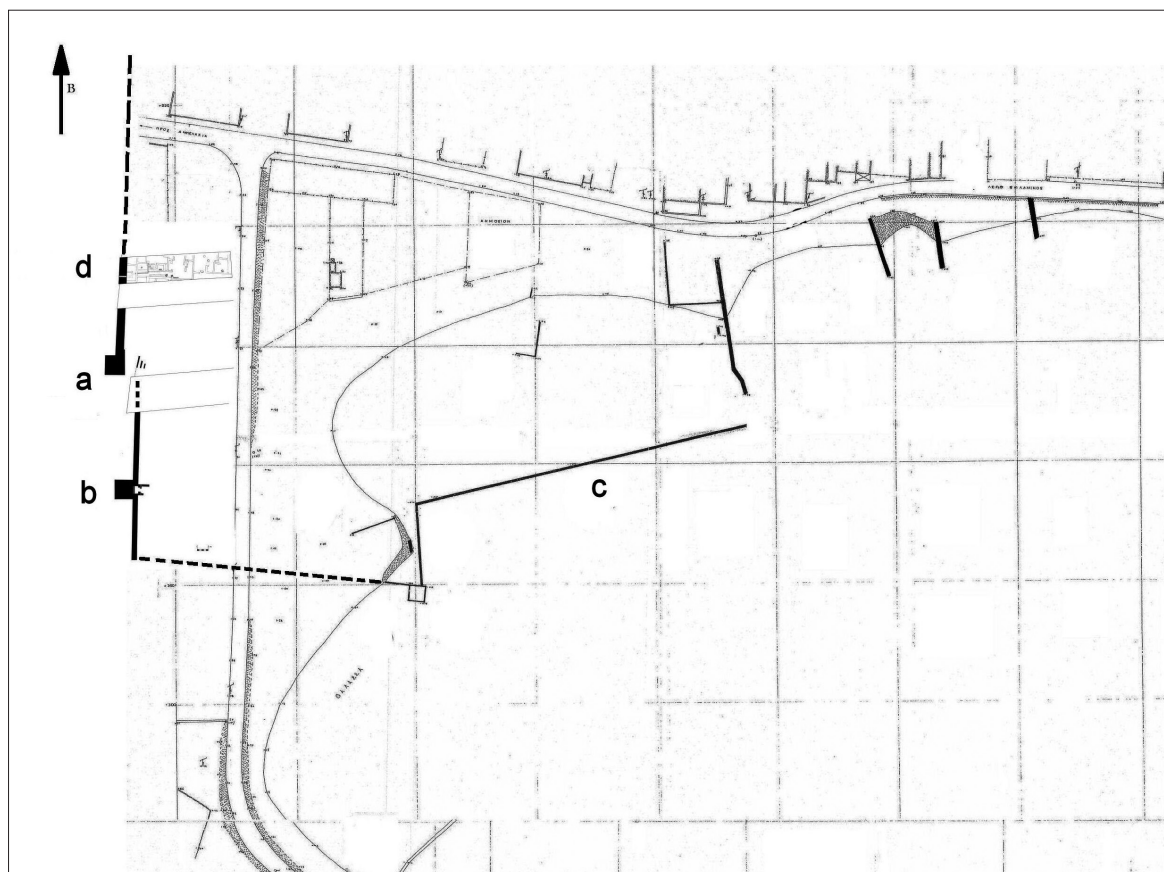


Fig. 4 : Plan of the fortification wall in the western and central parts of the city during the Hellenistic times.

defence of the city<sup>14</sup>, and as such should also be deemed in the case of Salamis. At the same time, the fact that tower and wall were not structurally connected, offers advantages in a case of attack, as a potential collapse of the one does not entail the collapse of the other<sup>15</sup>.

The gate that was eliminated with the addition of two vertical walls, was converted into a φυλακτήριον (guardroom), as described by *Philo of Byzantium* in relation to the walls of Rhodes (*On mechanics* 17–19), a space that would have served the needs of the soldiers (figs. 6–7)<sup>16</sup>. Research in that space uncovered an upper floor (floor B) of beaten earth. Over it, traces of fire were located in an area measuring 0.36 x 0.37 m., probably remains of some hearth, with which a few bones and shells found there might have been associated. The strata down to the level of the floor were disturbed and contained pottery of Archaic (mainly of the third quarter of the 6th c. BCE), Classical, Hellenistic, Late Roman, Byzantine and recent times. The presence of pottery of the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd c. BCE prevails, and kantharoi<sup>17</sup>, saucers<sup>18</sup>, skyphoi etc. stand out, along with a considerable quantity of plain pottery (lekanides, oenoches) and parts of amphorae.

14 WINTER 1971, 158–159.

15 WINTER 1971, 158, note 31.

16 FILIMONOS-TSOPOTOU 2004, 87. 91.

17 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 177; SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, no. 690: 325–310 BCE; no. 704: 320–310 BCE; ROTROFF 1997, no. 85: 275–260 BCE.

18 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 177; ROTROFF 1997, nos. 1077–1080: 325–300 BCE.



Fig. 5:  
Site 1. Part of the  
tower Γ1 and the  
blocked gate.  
View from NE.

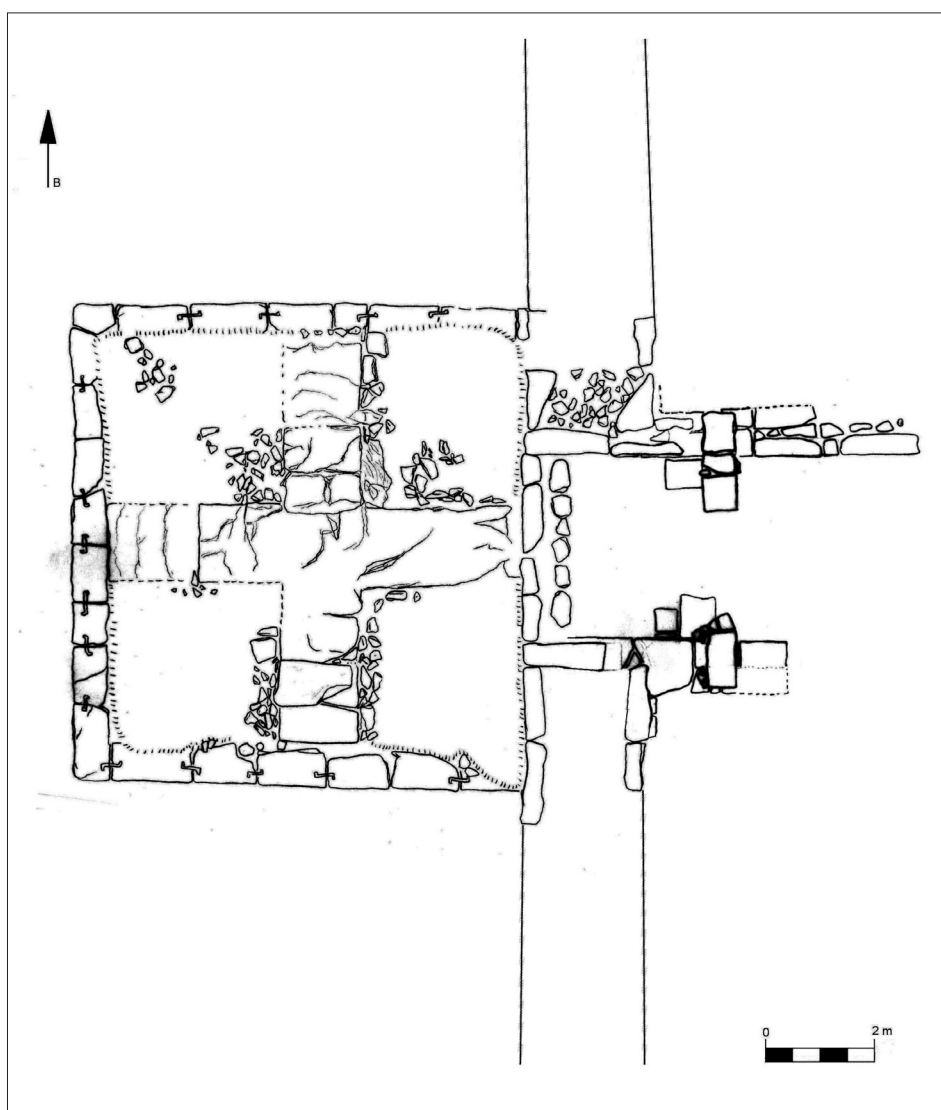


Fig. 6:  
Site 1. Drawing of  
the tower Γ1 and  
the blocked gate.



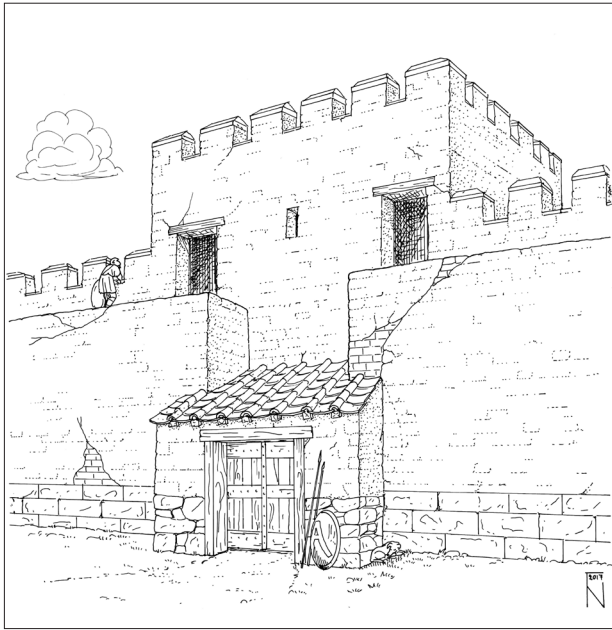


Fig. 7 : Site 1. Reconstruction of the tower Γ1 and the blocked gate as guardroom (reconstruction Y. Nakas).



Fig. 8 : Site 1. A stone catapult ball.

In the period between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd c. BCE, we observe a few more modifications in the fortifications<sup>19</sup>. In the first phase a new extension was built, aligned E-W, approximately along the middle (today) of the bay, which limits considerably the extent of the city (fig. 4 no. c). This addition is probably associated with the perceived insecurity of the era and the need for more effective protection of the city and citizens (fig. 8). In the next phase, though, a large wider fortification is constructed, which also encompasses part of the peninsula south of Ambelaki<sup>20</sup>. This wall acquires the characteristics of a wider peri-urban fortification (great circuit or ›Geländemauer‹)<sup>21</sup>, where the natural defensive lines are traced and greater areas of the habitation zone and strategic points around them are included. This construction phase is the result of the effort to have a large number of inhabitants settled in the city or perhaps the entire population after its desertion of the countryside, or a destructive military event. Such a large walled area, at the same time, should have also served as storage space for crops and the keeping of animals<sup>22</sup>.

19 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 444–445. In the bay of Ambelaki, research is conducted by the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports) and the Institute of Underwater Archaeological Research (IENAE), the results of which are anticipated with great interest.

20 LANGDON 2007, 112; CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 208–211.

21 FILIMONOS-TSOPOTOU 2004, 39.

22 HODKINSON 1988, 47.



Fig. 9 : Site 3. The sanctuary of Dionysus and Demeter on the acropolis of the city. In the background Athens and Piraeus. View from W. (photograph M. Ntourakis).

### Public Structures

Epigraphical testimonies refer to several public structures like the agora, gymnasium and theatre. It is in the agora that the abacus (the *Salamis tablet*) must have been placed, which was found in 1842<sup>23</sup>. Being 1.49 m. long, 0.75 m. wide and 0.045 m. thick, it is a counting device and belongs to a stage of development after the corresponding counting board that the Babylonians employed to perform mathematical calculations. At various positions, pebbles were placed, which were moved during the calculations. Its chronology is usually fixed around 300 BCE<sup>24</sup>.

### The Sanctuaries

For the sanctuaries and cults in this period we have a greater amount of data at our disposal. Important sanctuaries of Dionysus, Demeter, Artemis and Bendis extend on the acropolis of the ancient city, at the top of the Pounta peninsula.

#### *The Sanctuaries of Dionysus and Demeter*

Part of a wider sanctuary, which is attributed to the cult of Dionysus and Demeter, was investigated in the 1990s on the acropolis of the ancient city<sup>25</sup> (**fig. 3** Site 3). The sanctuary is encircled on the south and east by an impressive enclosure with buttresses (**figs. 9–12**). The pottery from the spaces of the complex indicates a chronological range of use from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 1st c. BCE, while the construction of all structures must have been completed in the second half of the 5th c. BCE. Certain modifications were apparently carried out at the end of the 4th c. BCE.

23 PITTAKIS 1842, 620 no. 1081; RANGABÉ 1855, no. 895; today, in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens.

24 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 251–255, with relevant bibliography.

25 CHAIRETAKIS 2022.





Fig. 10 :  
Site 3. The sanctuary of  
Dionysus and Demeter.  
Aerial view (photograph  
M. Ntourakis).

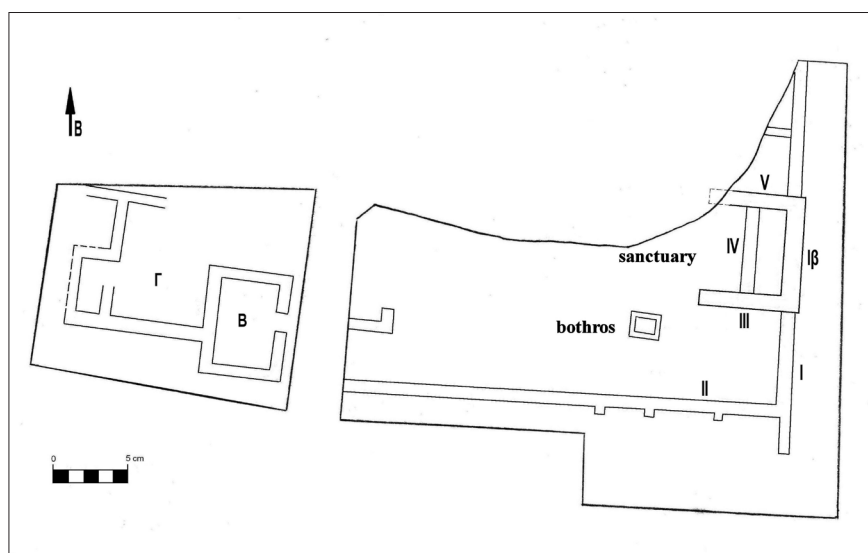


Fig. 11 :  
Site 3. Drawing of the  
eastern part  
of the sanctuary of  
Dionysus and Demeter.

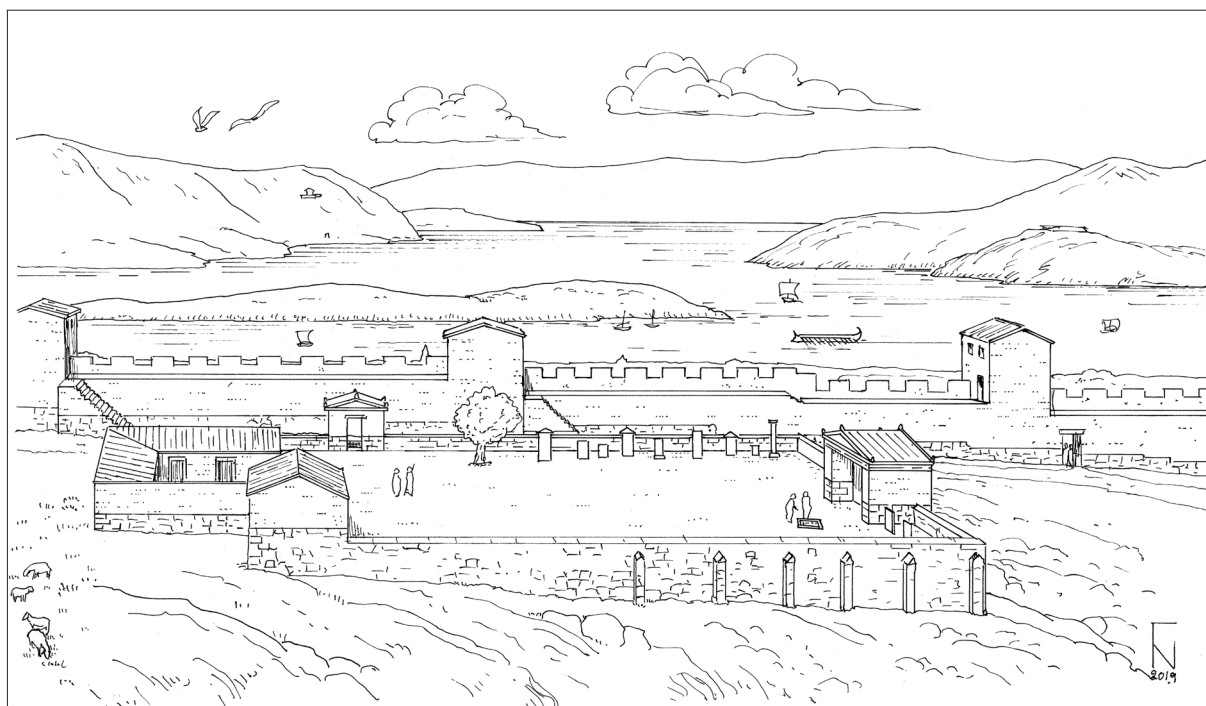


Fig. 12 : Site 3. Reconstruction of the sanctuary of Dionysus and Demeter (reconstruction Y. Nakas).

To the east, a small free-standing, Π-shaped building was explored, of outer dimensions 8.00 m. by 7.00 m., with an opening on the west side, which is identified with a small sanctuary<sup>26</sup>. West of it there is a built bothros or ritual pit. The absence of bones inside of it implies that it was meant for liquid offerings, which must have been contained in miniature vases, a considerable number of which have been recovered inside and outside of the bothros. At a certain point, fragments of votive reliefs and an inscription of the end of the 5th–4th c. BCE were discarded in the bothros. The very fragmentary inscription reads in line 8 ΕΝΔΙΟ, that can be restored as ἐν Διο[νύσου ...] / in Dio[nysou]. Therefore, reference is made to a certain space of Dionysus, either to his sanctuary, or the theatre, as evidenced by other Attic inscriptions, where some body of citizens (usually the Assembly of the Demos) is assembled in the theatre of Dionysus.

The dedications comprise busts and figurines of women, jewellery (**fig. 13**)<sup>27</sup>, votive reliefs, spindle whorls, decorated pottery, coins, et al. On the other hand, suitable for a multitude of activities was the large quantity of plain pottery, such as pithoi, beehives and transport amphorae, but also lamps, some of them multi-nozzled. It is certain that at least from the 4th c. BCE onward, ritual banquets were taking place, as demonstrated by the occurrence of cooking pots, drinking and food-serving vessels, mortars and food remains (**fig. 14**). In some cases, natural murex shells have been interpreted as dedications, namely as substitutes for purple murex-dyed textiles<sup>28</sup>.

26 The lack of euthynteria at the west end of Building A obscures its interpretation. Building A is much bigger than the corresponding one-room spaces, and the smaller (indicatively 3.50 x 2.30 m.) temples in Attica, which bear euthynteria on their open side. The only close parallel, but that too of smaller dimensions (4.05 x 3.20 m.) lies at Olympos/Skordi in Laureotiki (LAUTER 1980; BAUMER 2004, 93), dated to the 3rd c. BCE, where large stone blocks have also been placed at the ends of the long walls, as in the building of Salamis. Its location at a conspicuous spot in the city, at the edge of the enclosure, supports its identification with a sanctuary.

27 JACKSON 2006, pl. 10B, no. 18, pl. 10D, no. 2.

28 BRØNS 2017, 111, with the relevant bibliography.





Fig. 13 : Site 3. Gold earring.



Fig. 14. Site 3. *Murex brandaris* L,  
*Venus verrucosa* L.



Fig. 15. Site 3. Kantharos.



Fig. 16 : Site 3. Bowl with outturned rim.



Fig. 17 : Site 3. Moldmade bowls.



Fig. 18 : Site 3.  
Amphora stamp from Thasos.



Fig. 19 : Site 3.  
Amphora stamp from Mende.



Fig. 20 : Site 3.  
Amphora stamp from Knidos.



Fig. 21 :  
Site 3. A ›prayer for justice‹  
(KERAMOPOULOS 1923, fig. 17).

To the pottery of Hellenistic times belong parts of kantharoi (**fig. 15**)<sup>29</sup>, salt cellars<sup>30</sup>, unguentaria, bowls (**fig. 16**)<sup>31</sup>, and a considerable number of black-glazed plates<sup>32</sup>. Quite large is the number of moldmade bowls (**fig. 17**)<sup>33</sup>. Remarkable is also the number of lopas fragments or their lids, of the 4th–2nd c. BCE<sup>34</sup>. Moreover, the material includes transport amphorae from Thasos, Cos, Mende, Knidos and elsewhere. Indicatively, we could mention an amphora handle from Thasos of the end of the 4th c. BCE (**fig. 18**)<sup>35</sup>, an amphora handle of the Parmeniskos group from Mende of the early 2nd c. BCE (**fig. 19**)<sup>36</sup>, and a large number of amphorae (17 stamps) from Knidos, of the mid-2nd – early 1st c. BCE (**fig. 20**)<sup>37</sup>. Transport amphorae testify to the need for basic products such as wine, oil (or even cereals), suitable for feasting and dinning. The amphorae were used as storage vessels too.

Apart from the inscription, which refers to some procedure related to Dionysus and should have been placed in his sanctuary, a votive relief of the end of the 5th c. BCE depicts a standing young man, who can be identified with the god Dionysus himself. At the same time, though, as attested by specialized dedications (female busts and female figurines, jewels, spindle whorls, loutrophoroi), the cult of a female deity can also be suggested. In our view, at this specific site a sanctuary to Demeter was situated, although typical cult vases and figurines like small-sized hydriae or figurines of hydriae carriers are lacking<sup>38</sup>. The cult of Demeter is

29 ROTROFF 1997, no. 8: 325–300 BCE, nos. 219–226. 187–195: 275–250 BCE.

30 ROTROFF 1997, nos. 1064–1066: 325–315 BCE.

31 ROTROFF 1997, nos. 929–931: 150–110 BCE.

32 ROTROFF 1997, no. 678: 175–110 BCE; nos. 697. 699: 110–86 BCE.

33 ROTROFF 1982, nos. 108–109: 225–150 BCE; no. 341: ca. 100–86 BCE.

34 SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, no. 1962: 400–380 BCE; ROTROFF 1997, nos. 636–638: 335–210 BCE; no. 730: 150–110 BCE.

35 GARLAN 2011, pl. 1, Θασίων Κρατιστ[ώναξ]: ca. 301 BCE.

36 GRACE 1956, 169 no. 207, Καλλιμάχου: early 2nd c. BCE; AKAMATIS 2000, 37–38, nos. ΠΑΡ32–34.

37 GRACE 1985, 33, Κράτεως Καρ[νέδοτος]: 146–108 BCE.

38 Because the researched site is part of a wider space of sanctuaries, and the north and west borders of the investigated sanctuary have not been located, it is not unlikely for the basic structure of the sanctuary of Demeter to be situated immediately further to the north of the excavated west complex, where, after all, the bulk of dedications related to the world of women have been located.





Fig. 22 : Statue of Demeter  
(DESPINIS 2010, fig. 2).

substantiated by a single find, which came to light during A. Keramopoulos' research in 1918, and was located in a waste pit with other sanctuary objects a little to the north-west of the investigated sanctuary<sup>39</sup>. It is a lead plaque with a ›prayer for justice‹<sup>40</sup>, namely a text with an invocation to the gods for the punishment of some thief (fig. 21). The subject of prayers for justice usually focuses on an injustice that has been committed – often a theft – against the victim, and compensation is asked for the stolen object or revenge for the injustice that has taken place. In the Salamis text, someone named Xenophilos stole something, and if he does not return it, he will be punished with a curse. It should be noted that all tablets for justice of the late Classical and Hellenistic times found in sanctuaries of the Greek world, with the exception of one that comes from the sanctuary of Melikertes-Palaimon<sup>41</sup> (of the 4th c. BCE), have been located in sanctuaries of Demeter or are addressed to her.

A statue of the goddess from the end of the 4th c. BCE is also associated with the cult of Demeter (fig. 22); now in the Archaeological Museum of Aegina, it comes in all probability from Salamis<sup>42</sup>. It is a colossal statue, its preserved height with the plinth being 2.14 m., while with the head its original height reached probably up to 2.50 m.<sup>43</sup>. The female figure, with the right knee slightly bent, wears an Argive peplos and himation, and sandals on the feet. Her hair falls freely down the back, while two locks coming to the front flank the neck. The statue derives possibly from a Demeter-Kore group as cult statue of

the goddess in her sanctuary. Finally, a probable depiction of the goddess appears on a coin of the island, which features a female figure bearing ears of wheat on the head<sup>44</sup>.

### *The Sanctuaries of Artemis and Bendis*

Further to the west of the sanctuary of Dionysus and Demeter, the sanctuaries of Artemis and Bendis were presumably located. The connection of Artemis with Salamis has been recorded already since the period of the Sea Battle of Salamis, given that the goddess' ›help‹, in her aspect as full moon, was of crucial importance<sup>45</sup>. The existence of a sanctuary to the goddess is also ascertained by *Pausanias* (1, 36, 1), while a dedicatory inscription of the

39 KERAMOPOULOS 1923, 111–114. This material includes ten dedication pedestals with relief representations, serpents, a votive gabled stele probably of the 3rd c. BCE (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4687), a large number of votive crudely made vases, a bronze serpent, 0.165 m. long, and a bronze nail peculiarly bent. Also recorded are seven folded sheets of lead, one pierced by an iron nail, and a lead plaque with a curse. Of the above, only the latter is preserved.

40 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 103–106.

41 VERSNEL 2010, 332–333.

42 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 337.

43 DESPINIS 2010, 20–21, 28–31.

44 CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 341.

45 *Plut. mor. Were the Athenians more famous in war or in wisdom?* 349f–350a; COLE 2000, 478. 479.

4th c. BCE refers to the goddess<sup>46</sup>: Κράτεια / Ἀρτέμιδι (IG II(3) 4,2 1096). Quite a few sanctuaries of Artemis are situated at key sites, such as coastal places<sup>47</sup>, so as to overlook a strait, or at the top of peninsulas<sup>48</sup>, so as to command a view down over a harbour. In any case, it is certain that the location of the sanctuary at the top of the peninsula fulfilled perfectly both purposes, the control of the precarious passage through the Straits of Salamis and over the harbour entrance, and by extension secured their protection<sup>49</sup>.

At the same location, or near the sanctuary of Artemis, in 1918 A. Keramopoulos uncovered the ruins of a large building with three successive rooms, and in the centre of the middle room a round, roughly worked, stone (>altar<). In the west room there was an inscribed stele making reference to the sanctuary of Bendis (SEG 2, 10). In Salamis five inscriptions of the Bendis' troupe members have been recorded<sup>50</sup>. The decrees are assigned to the period 270–240 BCE and relate to two different Salaminian troupes of the goddess, a more ancient one (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1317; SEG 2, 10; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1317b) in operation in the time span 272/1–244 BCE, and a later one (SEG 2, 9 and 44, 60), in operation in the time span 247/6–240 BCE<sup>51</sup>. In the decrees honour is bestowed upon the officials of Bendis' troupes, the curators, the secretary, the treasurer and the priest for taking care of the sacrifices and the sanctuary itself, safeguarding the money and looking after all the matters of the troupe<sup>52</sup>. As a rule, they received an olive wreath and the amount of 15 drachmae<sup>53</sup>. As a matter of fact, inscription SEG 2, 9 reveals also the internal functions of the troupe, namely that the members held elections, and a group of scribes was elected to accomplish specific tasks<sup>54</sup>. The cult of Bendis came probably to an end in the third quarter of the 3rd c. BCE, when the lack of a wider popular acceptance must have led to the decline and dissolution of her troupe<sup>55</sup>.

### *Other Sanctuaries*

In the plain there is the temple of Ajax, mentioned in the decree of the cleruchs about gymnasiarch Theodotus (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1227 of 131/0 BCE) and the decrees of the ephebes about the performance of the Aiantia festival. The epigraphical testimonies bear out the existence of several structures of the sanctuary, which has a delineated space with enclosure, the precinct<sup>56</sup>, within which the temple and the altar were situated<sup>57</sup>. As it has been pointed out, there is a differentiation in the honours offered to Ajax, as hero, who receives sacrifices on an altar, and not enagismous, while it is probable that the entire ceremonial procedure included ritual banquets as well<sup>58</sup>.

Sanctuaries of Asclepius, Hermes and the Twelve Gods, which are known from epigraphical sources, have not been located to date. The sanctuary of Hermes, which has an

46 PITTAKIS 1842, 625 no. 1097; MPARDANI – PAPADOPOULOS 2006, no. 2983.

47 COLE 2000, 475.

48 SEMPLE 1927.

49 COLE 2000, 477.

50 OSBORNE 2004–2009, with the earlier bibliography.

51 STEINHAEUER 1993, 35; OSBORNE 2004–2009.

52 STEINHAEUER 1993, 33; LAST 2013, 103; ARNAOUTOGLU 2015, 47–48.

53 OSBORNE 2004–2009, 658; ARNAOUTOGLU 2015, 48.

54 LAST 2013, 168–169.

55 STEINHAEUER 1993, 39. 46.

56 The precinct is also mentioned in a later inscription (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1035; SEG 14,78; SEG 26,121; SEG 33,136).

57 EKROTH 2002, 76. 298.

58 EKROTH 2002, 76–77.



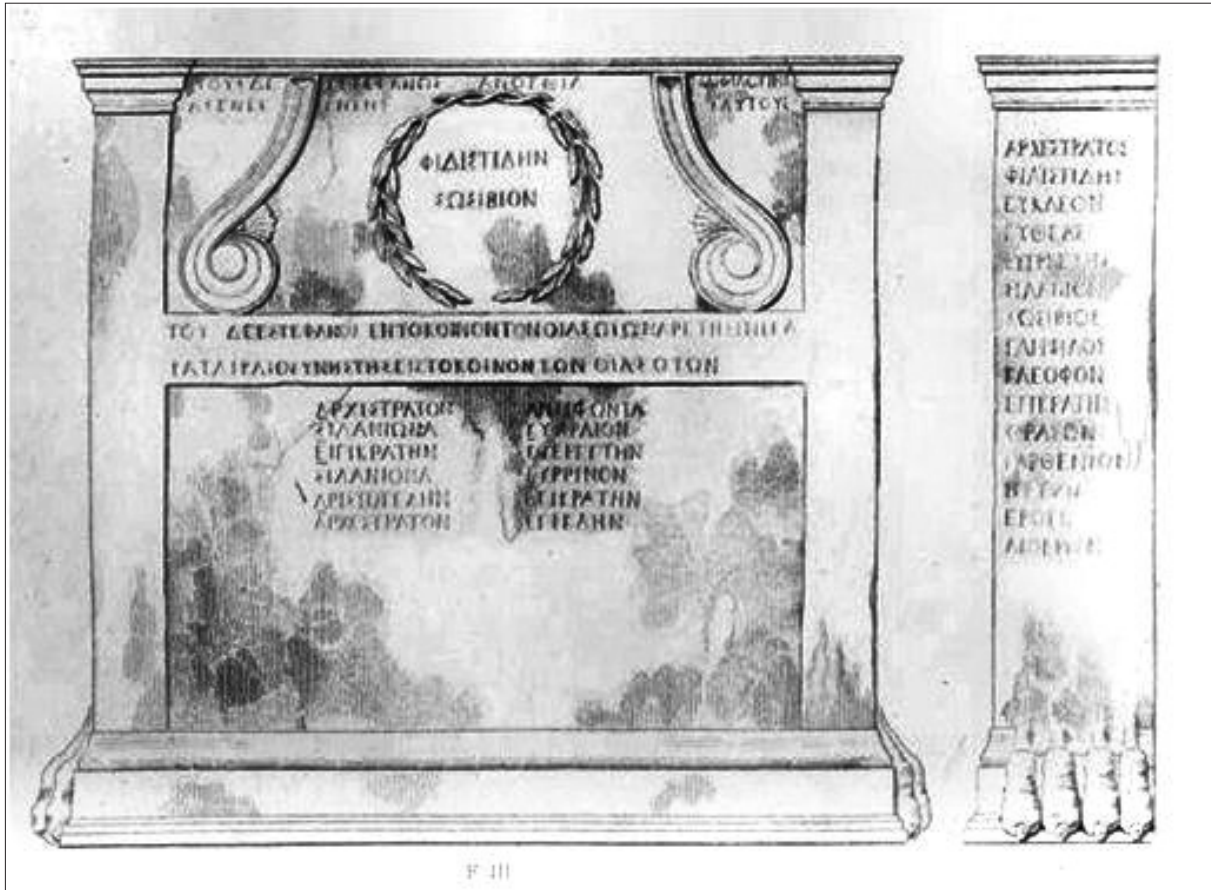


Fig. 23 : Stem of an offering table (BLOUET ET AL. 1838, pl. 45, FIII-IV.)

altar (IG II<sup>3</sup> 1313 of 175/4 BCE), and with which the festival of Hermaia is associated (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1227 of 131/0 BCE), lies probably in the vicinity of the city's gymnasium.

An offering table comes from a sanctuary; it is a dedication by a troupe to an unknown deity, dated around 300 BCE or a little later<sup>59</sup> (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2347). It is the vertical stem of an offering table, measuring 0.64 x 0.70 x 0.16 m.<sup>60</sup> (fig. 23). On the main side, in the upper part, two persons are crowned with a wreath, for their diligence on behalf of the members, followed by another twelve persons being crowned with a wreath, arranged in two columns, for the virtue and fairness they showed to the troupe members<sup>61</sup>. On the lateral surface of the stem, the names of the troupe members are recorded, of which the last three are female. For the three female names, it has been argued that they are potentially associated with slaves<sup>62</sup>. The troupe members were possibly Athenian cleruchs, Salaminians, metics or even slaves, while the troupe included both men and women. The offering table, on which bloodless offers were laid out, must have been placed in the cella of the worshipped deity's temple, as attested by corresponding examples, and dedicated by the members of the troupe.

In 229 BCE the Athenians regain control of the island. This event is accompanied by actions of strong symbolism. In the city a statue of Democracy is placed (IG II<sup>3</sup> 1166; SEG 29, 116 of the year 213/2 BCE) to which tributes are paid, and in this way, the supremacy of the Athenian

59 ARNAOUTOGLU 2011, 35.

60 BLOUET ET AL. 1838, pl. 45, FIII.

61 KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 76; LAST 2013, 114.

62 TAYLOR 1997, 137; GOTTESMAN 2014, 54.

democracy over the Macedonian tyranny is emphasized. At the same time, festivities for the battle of Salamis are promoted, as reflected in the decrees honouring ephebes<sup>63</sup>, where the role of Athens as the decisive power in confronting the Persian invasion is highlighted. The main aim of the festivities is to enhance the collective memory of the Athenian ephebes through the recollection of their ancestors' deeds. Among the principal recipients of the festivities are the local gods and heroes, aiming, moreover, at reinforcing the memory of the victory in the sea battle. According to the inscriptions, the ephebes participate in various athletic contests and festivals. One of them includes events commemorating the sea battle of Salamis, with boat races and sacrifice at the Trophy of Zeus on Kynosoura<sup>64</sup>. Other festivals are the Aianteia, where a ship contest<sup>65</sup>, running race, procession and sacrifice to Ajax take place<sup>66</sup>. Furthermore, there are festivals organized in honour of the Great Gods (procession), Hermes (Hermaia and sacrifice at the sanctuary of Hermes), Asclepius (sacrifice at the sanctuary of Asclepius) and Dionysus (tragedy contest).

Finally, a decree of the year 116/5 BCE (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1228; SEG 13, 44) mentions the repair of sanctuaries in the city.

### The Houses

Houses do not differ from those of the other Greek cities. From the end of the 6th c. BCE onward, houses are laid out on the south slope of the Pounta peninsula, where the gradient is suitable for a uniform orientation of the walls, aligned N-S and E-W (**fig. 3** Site 2). The houses are set up accumulatively, one after the other, from south to north, and are arranged in blocks. They are more or less square, with simple ground plan, similar to the corresponding houses in other Greek cities (Colophon, Priene, Abdera, Piraeus), and most of them can be characterized as *prostas* (porch) houses. From the fill deposits of a house (on Eurysakou Street, House B, **fig. 3** Site 2) comes a small column capital of Doric order (**fig. 24**). The abacus measures 0.385 x 0.385 m., the lower diameter of the echinus is 0.25 m. and the capital's total height is 0.18 m. Judging from the fact that no peristyle house has been found on Salamis, the capital probably comes from a *prostas* or *pastas* house<sup>67</sup>. The houses are of similar size and have a surface ranging from 200 to 300 sq. m. each<sup>68</sup>. They have stone foundations with mudbrick superstructure, which must have been plastered for protection from rainwater<sup>69</sup>. The roofing probably consisted of timber and roof tiles.

In the northern part of the houses there are two or three usually large rooms like the *oikos* and the *andron*, in the middle the courtyard (**fig. 25**), and in the southern part (or on one side of the courtyard) storerooms, kitchens or shops<sup>70</sup>. Indications of domestic cult are provided by small domestic shrines, *louteria* in courtyards, ritual pyres, but also altars and

63 IG II<sup>3</sup> 1166 and SEG 29, 116 of the year 213/2 BCE. – IG II<sup>3</sup> 1313 of the year 175/4 BCE. – SEG 15, 104 of the year 127/6 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006; SEG 19, 108; SEG 38, 114; SEG 38, 117 of the year 122/1 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1008; SEG 16, 101; SEG 21, 477; SEG 29, 122 of the year 118/7 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1009; SEG 38, 116 of the year 116/5 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011 of the year 106/5 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028; SEG 21, 480; SEG 24, 188 of the year 100/99 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1029 of the year 94/3 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1030, after 94/3 BCE. – IG II<sup>2</sup> 1041; SEG 17, 33 of the year 47/6–43/2 BCE.

64 MIKALSON 1998, 183; CHANIOTIS 2005, 49–50; NEWBY 2005, 188–189.

65 VISCARDI 2013, 257–258; NEWBY 2005, 180, with thorough discussion.

66 MIKALSON 1998, 183–184; CHANIOTIS 2005, 239.

67 REBER 2001, 64; AULT 2015, 128 and fig. 1; for different approaches, see REBER 1989; REBER 2007.

68 In Piraeus, houses measure 250 sq. m. each, HOEPFNER 2004, 207; in Halieis, the size varies between 110 and 220 sq. m., in Athens between 60 and 120 sq. m., see NEVETT 1995, 374 and 376, respectively.

69 JAMESON 1990, 97; AULT 2015, 123–125.

70 JAMESON 1990, 98–99; AULT 2015, 124 fig. 1.





Fig. 24 : Site 2. Column capital (Dekoulakou archive).



Fig. 25 : Site 2. Reconstruction of the courtyard of House Heta (reconstruction Y. Nakas).





Fig. 27 : Site 2. Relief of the banquet type (Dekoulakou archive).

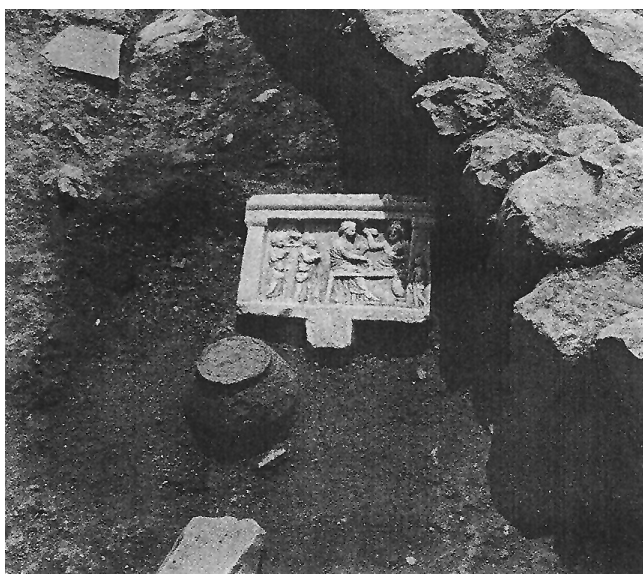


Fig. 28 : Site 2. Coin from Kythnos.

Fig. 26 :  
Site 2. Relief of the banquet  
type in situ  
(DEKOULAKOU 1987, pl. 40 b).





Fig. 29 : Site 2. Pit II.

votive reliefs (figs. 26–27). Known also are witchcraft practices<sup>71</sup>. The evidence of the domestic material culture like transport amphorae and coins (fig. 28)<sup>72</sup> underlines the thriving commercial activities of the inhabitants, while other finds, as for example beehives, fishing tools and milk pails<sup>73</sup>, bring to light the wide spectrum of their daily occupations.

In the first half of the 3rd c. BCE, a period of important military episodes that affect the island, certain readjustments are observed that are related to the construction of new houses. In the context of their construction, the area is extensively cleared of older structures, which were evidently destroyed in the period of the Chremonidean War, subsequently pits are opened (on Eurysakou and Teukrou st., Pits I and II), into which disused material is disposed, and, finally, new houses are built. Pit II constitutes a good case study (fig. 29)<sup>74</sup>. The inside deposit was uniform and no succession of chronological phases in the disposal of the discarded material is observed<sup>75</sup>. The pit contained vase fragments, truncated conical and pyramidal spindle whorls, sea shells, a few animal bones, a stone alabastron, slag masses and parts of Laconian roof tiles. Moreover, there are a few segments of pebble floors. A handful of fragments of a lamp and black-glazed pelike sherds are assigned to the 5th c. BCE, and the quantity of red-figure vases of the first half and third quarter of the 4th c. BCE is also small. The bulk of pottery belongs to the fourth quarter of the 4th c. BCE down to the first quarter of the 3rd c. BCE, as shown by

71 CHAIRETAKIS 2018c.

72 SHEEDY – PAPAGEORGIADOU 1998, 655 fig. 3: 2nd c. BCE.

73 CHAIRETAKIS 2018d.

74 CHAIRETAKIS 2014.

75 CHAIRETAKIS 2014.



Fig. 30 :  
Site 2. Kantharoi  
from the Pit II.



Fig. 31 :  
Site 2. House Theta.  
Aerial view  
(photograph  
M. Ntourakis).



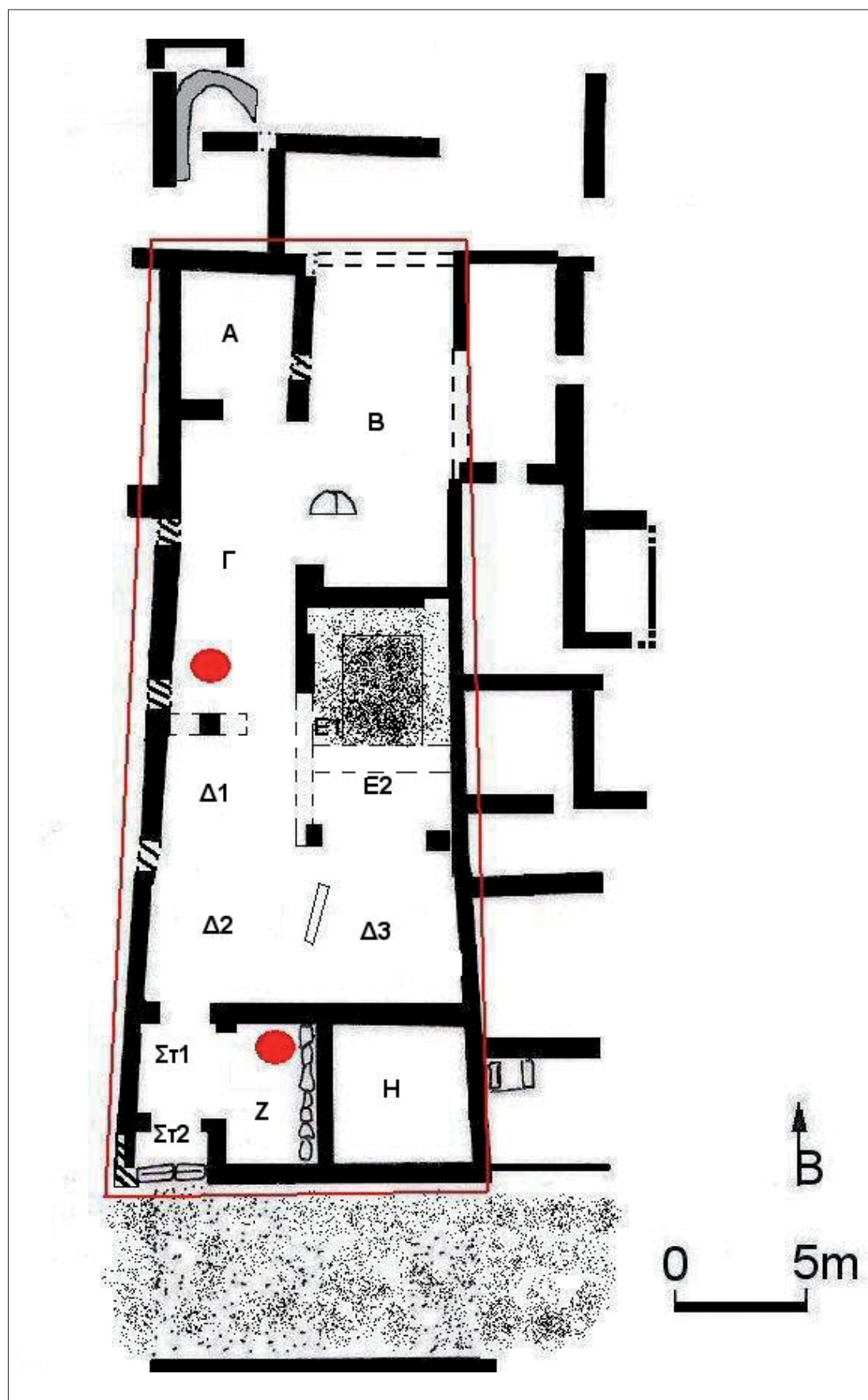


Fig. 32 : Site 2. Plan of House Theta.

the great abundance of black-glazed pottery (**fig. 30**)<sup>76</sup> and lamps. Smaller is the quantity of pottery of the second quarter of the 3rd c. BCE, such as kantharoi<sup>77</sup> and hemispherical cups<sup>78</sup>, which also determine the lower chronological terminus of the material. Plain pottery includes lekanai, amphorae, beehives, table ware amphorae, oenochoes, jugs, clay mortars, and other specimens. The latest pottery in the pit belongs to the second quarter of the 3rd c. BCE, but it is not possible to fix with precision when the area was cleared off and the subsequent waste disposal took place – namely immediately after 261 BCE or a little later – and when the new houses were built – immediately after the discard operation or later. House Theta is constructed over disposal pit II, essentially sealing it off.

### *House Theta*

House Theta is a representative example of a house in Hellenistic times, built in the second quarter of the 3rd c. BCE or the mid-century (**fig. 3** Site 2; **figs. 31–32**). The length of the house along the N-S axis is 29.00 m. and its width 11.30 m. towards the south, being reduced (9.60 m.) to the north<sup>79</sup>. The house entrance lies on the south, accessible from the road, via a double porch ( $\Sigma\tau 1$ ,  $\Sigma\tau 2$ ). To the east of it extends a space traversed by a drain of stone pipes, along the N-S axis, at its northern end there is a pithos, mended with lead clamps. At this spot fragments of moldmade bowls, parts of a cup with interior decoration (**fig. 33**)<sup>80</sup> and a moulded Satyr mask as foot of a large black-glazed krater have been retrieved (**fig. 34**)<sup>81</sup>.

From space  $\Sigma\tau 1$ , one comes out into the courtyard ( $\Delta 1-3$ ). To the south of the courtyard there is an auxiliary room (H), with plenty of pottery (**fig. 35**)<sup>82</sup>, while to the north of it an antechamber (E2) that leads to the andron (E1). The latter has a neatly made pebble floor (**fig. 36**). A raised border, approximately 0.90 m. wide, of fine pebbles and plaster runs all around the room, with a rectangular configuration of bigger pebbles in the middle. The northern and western wall have a niche each for placing the klinai (beds). The andron seems to have an antechamber or porch. From spaces E1-2 come parts of moldmade bowls (**fig. 37**)<sup>83</sup>, some of quite late date<sup>84</sup>, hemispherical cups<sup>85</sup>, and some parts of amphorae and plain vases.

From space  $\Delta 1$  one enters an oblong space ( $\Gamma$ ). In that space, immediately to the west, another pithos was found in situ, mended with lead clamps (**fig. 38**), into which had fallen two vases, a moldmade bowl<sup>86</sup> and a black-glazed plate<sup>87</sup> (**fig. 39**). This space also yielded parts of transport amphorae, among them a handle of a Knidian amphora stands out<sup>88</sup>.

Space  $\Gamma$  ends, on the north, in a room (A), which contained a rim fragment of a clay water basin, a possible indication of a bath. To the east, yet another oblong space (B) is opened, in its southern part there is a stone platform (**fig. 40**), probably for squeezing olives with the help

76 ROTROFF 1997, nos. 26–29: 285–275 BCE; no. 66: ca. 275 BCE.

77 ROTROFF 1997, nos. 24–25: 275–260 BCE.

78 ROTROFF 1997, nos. 311–314: 285–260 BCE.

79 PAKKANEN 2021, 64–68.

80 ROTROFF 1997, no. 345: 200–175 BCE.

81 EDWARDS 1975, no. 879: 175–146 BCE.

82 ROTROFF 1982, nos. 190. 213: 225–175 BCE.

83 ROTROFF 1982, nos. 104. 122: 225–175 BCE.

84 ROTROFF 1982, nos. 340–341: 100–86 BCE; no. 342: 145–100 BCE.

85 EDWARDS 1975, nos. 539–540: third quarter of the 3rd c. – 146 BCE; ROTROFF 1997, no. 345: 200–175 BCE.

86 ROTROFF 1982, nos. 187. 189: 225–175 BCE.

87 The plate has no exact parallels, since it is not the product of an Attic workshop. It emulates features from plates like those in ROTROFF 1997, nos. 680–689: 175–110 BCE.

88 From right to left [AP]TEM/[Ω]N KNIΔI(ov), GRACE 1985, 32, of period III–IV: 220–146 BCE.



Fig. 33 : Site 2. Fragment of a cup with interior decoration.



Fig. 34 : Site 2. Plastic foot of a krater.



Fig. 35 : Site 2. Moldmade bowl.





Fig. 36 :  
Site 2. The andron.



Fig. 37 :  
Site 2. Moldmade bowl.

of a stone olive crusher. The space produced a remarkable quantity of pottery, fragments of amphorae, lekanai, moldmade bowls, a black-glazed plate<sup>89</sup>, an almost intact lamp (**fig. 41**)<sup>90</sup> and a lead weight (**fig. 42**), and should be interpreted as the oikos of the house.

House Theta has a main phase of use up until about 175 BCE, if we consider as a terminus ante quem the assemblage of pithos in room Γ. A smaller quantity of pottery ascertains its use in the second half of the 2nd c. BCE, and the house is abandoned either at the end of the 2nd c. BCE or the beginning of the 1st c. BCE.

89 ROTROFF 1997, no. 693: 150–110 BCE.

90 HOWLAND 1958, no. 440: 225–125 BCE.





Fig. 38 : Site 2. Pithos with lead clamps.



Fig. 40 : Site 2. A stone platform.



Fig. 39 : Site 2. Black-glazed plate and moldmade bowl.

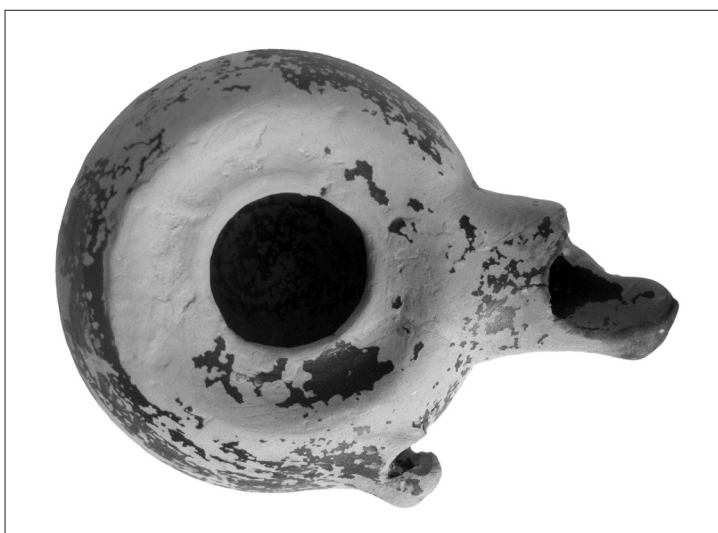


Fig. 41 : Site 2. Lamp.



Fig. 42 : Site 2. Lead weight.

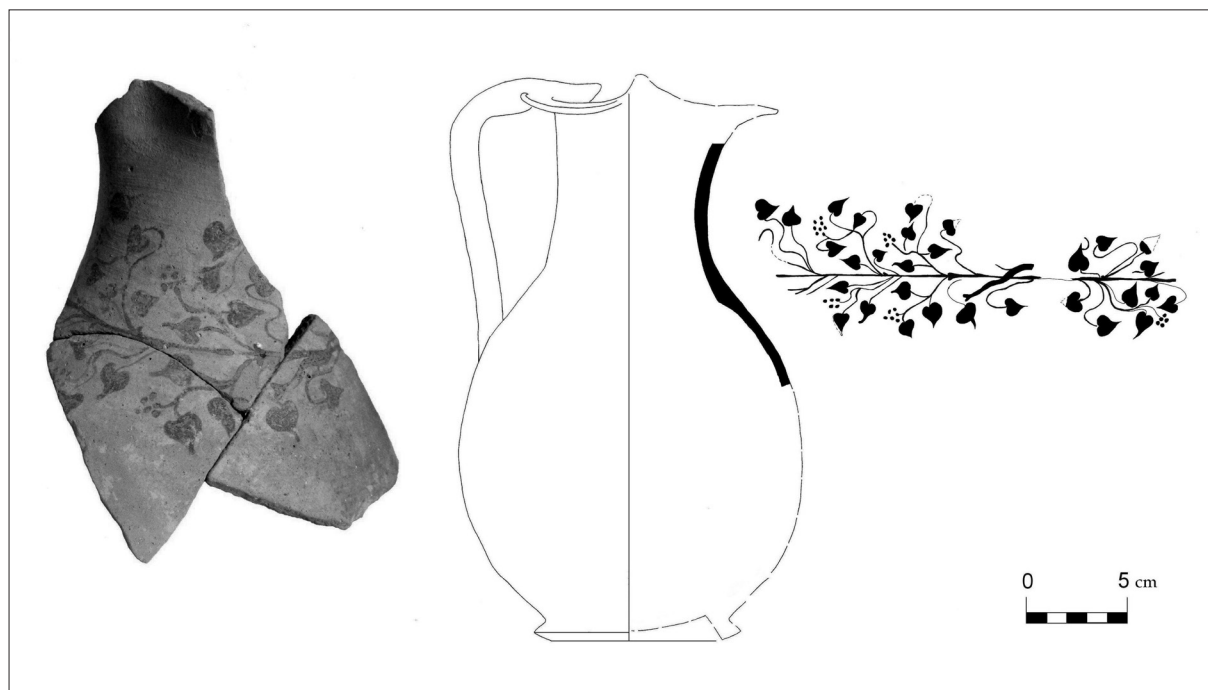


Fig. 43 : Oenochoe with black painted decoration.

### The Workshops

In this period, the allocation of different activities to specific places in the city is more evident than ever. The workshops are clustered in the western part of the city (**fig. 3** Site 1), near or in contact with the fortifications, such as the metallurgy workshop (Workshop Delta) and a probable olive press or/and weaving workshop.

A possible ceramic workshop is identified on the evidence of the group of oenochoes with black painted decoration<sup>91</sup>, which are chronologically assigned to the time span from 350 to 275 BCE (**fig. 43**).

### Workshop Delta

Workshop Delta (**fig. 3** Site 1; **fig. 44**) comprises a group of rooms with an elaborate system of stone pipes<sup>92</sup> that run through the walls (**fig. 45**)<sup>93</sup> and take the water/wastewater outside the walls. The installations of the workshop include wells and cisterns that are connected with clay pipes (**fig. 46**). In these spaces, workshop activities were taking place, which were associated with the processing of metals, as indicated by the location of a considerable quantity of iron and lead masses, but also of waste products from metal processing<sup>94</sup>.

In three cases, pits were uncovered on the workshop floors, into which broken vases had been placed; all such pits in Attica have been characterized as ritual pyres (**figs. 47–50**). More precisely, interpreted as ritual pyres are the foundation offerings prior to a building's construction, renovation or re-use by its owner, which entail the sacrifice of an animal, the

<sup>91</sup> CHAIRETAKIS 2018b.

<sup>92</sup> YOUNG 1951, 238 fig. 16.

<sup>93</sup> YOUNG 1951, pl. 69, a. c; GRANDJEAN 1988, pls. 115.3; 115.5; INTZESILOGLOU 1997, 19–20.

<sup>94</sup> DEKOULAKOU 2008, 12; CHAIRETAKIS 2018a, 125.





Fig. 44 :  
Site 1. Workshop  
Delta.



Fig. 45 :  
Site 1. Workshop  
Delta, detail of a wall  
and stone pipe.





Fig. 46 : Site 1. Cistern.

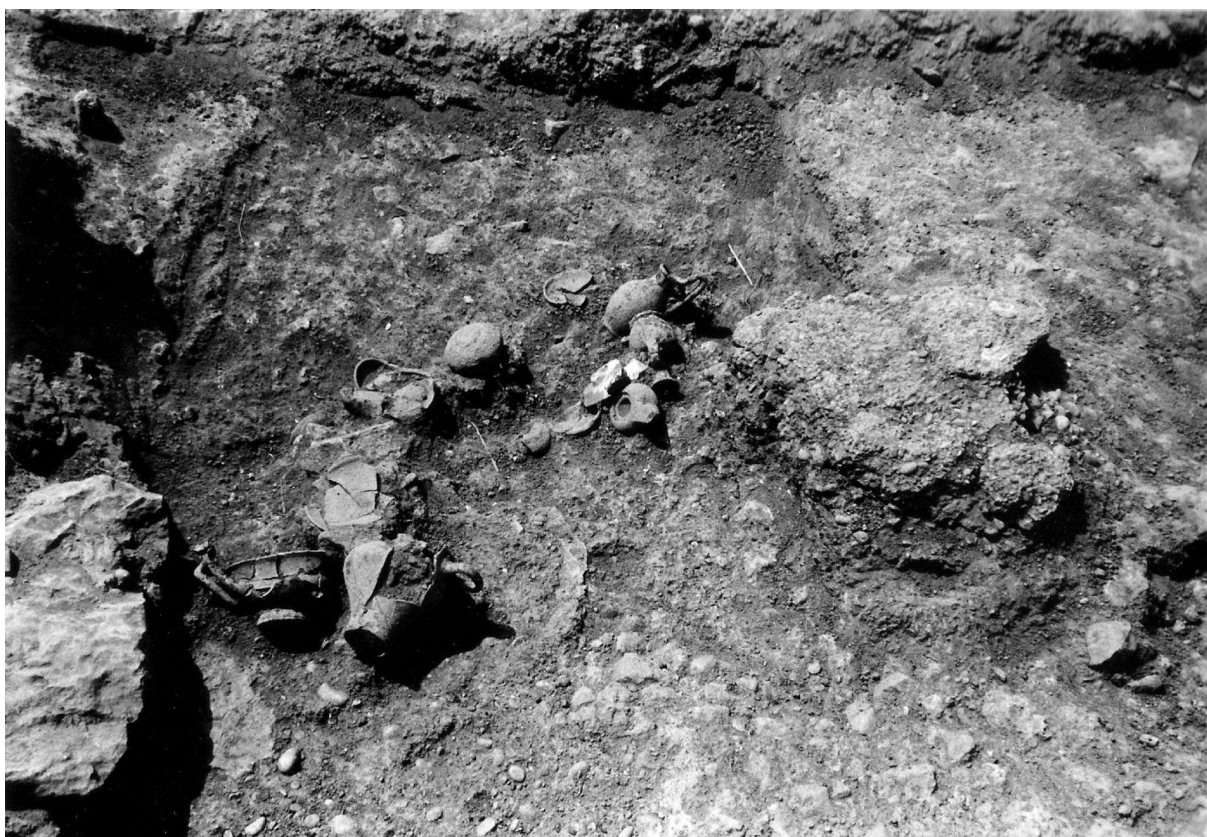


Fig. 47 : Site 1. Ritual pyre I, in situ.





Fig. 48 : Site 1. Ritual pyre I, vases.



Fig. 49 : Site 1. Ritual pyre II, vases.



Fig. 51 : Site 1. Amphora stamp from Corinth.

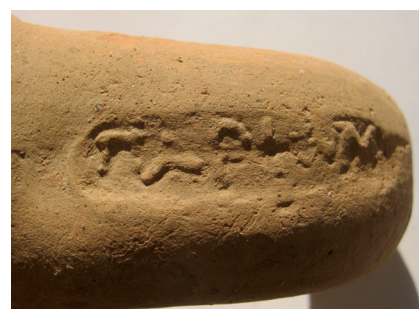


Fig. 52 : Site 1. Amphora stamp from Paros.

Fig. 50 :  
Site 1. Ritual pyre II,  
stone alabastron.

fragmentation of vases and the offer of liquids<sup>95</sup>. The relation of this custom to chthonic deities like Hermes, the conductor of souls, is further attested by its enactment within a pit dug into the soil, not on an altar, as was the case with the offerings to the Olympian Gods, hence assuming the character of enagismos, namely the offering to the dead and heroes<sup>96</sup>. After all, linked to the chthonic cult are also the animals offered in ritual pyres, sheep and goats and birds. The purpose of the ritual pyres is to protect the building just before its erection, renovation or re-use, by keeping evil away through appeasement. In fact, they have the character of purification and prevention of evil. A recent study on the ritual pyres of Athens associates them almost exclusively with spaces of commercial transactions and workshop activities<sup>97</sup>. On the one hand, in the space of workshops death and serious injuries were probable occurrences; on the other hand, there was likely failure in the manufacture of products, something that would bring an economic downturn in an enterprise. Consequently, the craftsmen resorted to seeking help from the chthonic gods for the protection of themselves and their enterprises, and engaged in the sacrifice of animals and fragmentation of vases to drive the evil spirits away<sup>98</sup>. In this case then, the procedure of a ritual pyre does not relate to any given space, but specifically to the workshop, the shop and the people who work in it<sup>99</sup>. The ritual pyre I contains vases of

95 ELEYTHERATOU 1996–1997, 101–102.

96 ELEYTHERATOU 1996–1997, 115–116.

97 ROTROFF 2013, 75–85.

98 ROTROFF 2013, 84.

99 For the location of a ritual pyre in a knapheion (workshop for the final processing of textiles) in the area of Argyroupolis and the evidence of the space's re-use, see ΝΤΟΛΑ 2013, 226 and note 34. As to the nine ritual pyres that were unearthed in the Makrygianni area, their attribution to houses, workshops or shops has not yet been specified (ELEYTHERATOU 1996–1997, 99).





Fig. 53 :  
Site 1. Cistern 2.

the second and third quarter of the 4th c. BCE and is dated to the third quarter of the century, while the ritual pyres II and III are assigned to the period 315–275 BCE.

The fill deposits of the workshop produced a large quantity of pottery. Among the transport amphorae there are imports from Thasos, Corinth (**fig. 51**), Rhodes, Cos, Paros (**fig. 52**)<sup>100</sup>, Knidos and elsewhere. Black-glazed pottery comprises amphorae decorated in West Slope style<sup>101</sup>, and a quite large number of moldmade bowls. The rest of the material from the workshop includes lead weights, lead clamps, bronze nails, hooks and arrowheads, iron nails and 43 bronze coins, which reflect the economic-commercial character of the building complex.

A closed ceramic assemblage was found in cistern 2 (**fig. 53**), which yielded a considerable quantity of pottery, in particular parts of transport amphorae (mainly of Knidos), a table ware amphora, plain lekanai (**fig. 54**), a lagynos, an unguentarium, cooking pots (**fig. 55**)<sup>102</sup>, parts of a lopas<sup>103</sup> and a beehive. To the black-glazed pottery belong parts of bowls<sup>104</sup>, a fish-plate<sup>105</sup>, plates (**fig. 56**)<sup>106</sup>, and skyphoi<sup>107</sup>. Significant is also the number of Knidian-type hemispherical bowls with rouletting (**fig. 57**)<sup>108</sup> and moldmade bowls (**figs. 58–59**)<sup>109</sup>. The cistern was filled with material and abandoned in the second half of the 2nd c. BCE. The period of the workshop's use is long. Constructed in the third quarter of the 4th c. BCE, the workshop underwent repair at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd c. BCE. Continuous use is evidenced throughout

100 JÖHRENS 1999, 257–258 no. 870, late 3rd–2nd c. BCE.

101 ROTROFF 1997, no. 432: 175–140 BCE.

102 ROTROFF 2006, nos. 591–592: in context 150 BCE – 20 CE.

103 ROTROFF 2006, no. 665: in context 175–150 BCE; no. 669: in context 150–110 BCE.

104 ROTROFF 1997, no. 945: 175–150 BCE.

105 ROTROFF 1997, no. 727: 275–250 BCE.

106 ROTROFF 1997, no. 689: 150–110 BCE.

107 ROTROFF 1997, nos. 401–402: 150–110 BCE.

108 See CHIDIROGLOU 2011, 354, MK 578: end of the 3rd – first half of the 2nd c. BCE.

109 **Fig. 58**: Rotroff 1982, no. 25: 225–175 BCE. – **Fig. 59**: Rotroff 1982, no. 118: 225–175 BCE.



Fig. 54 : Site 1. Plain lekane.



Fig. 55 : Site 1. Chytra.

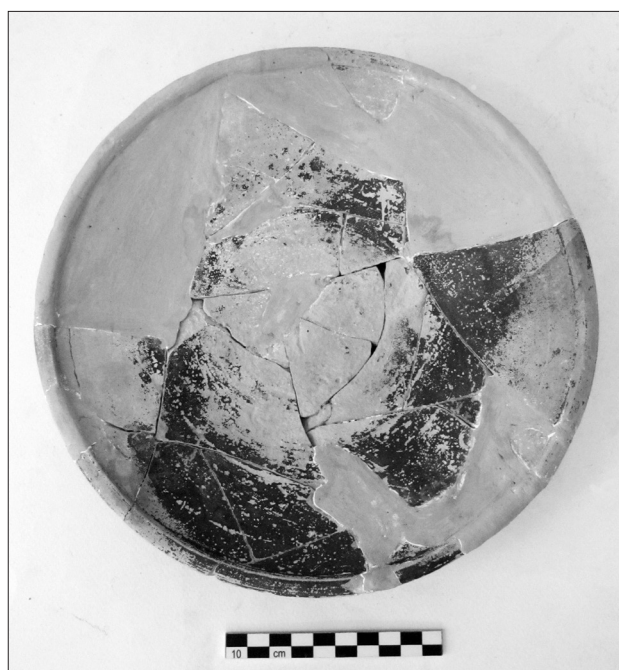


Fig. 56 : Site 1. Black-glazed plate.





Fig. 57 : Site 1. Hemispherical bowl  
with rouletting.



Fig. 59 : Site 1. Moldmade bowl.



Fig. 58 :  
Site 1.  
Moldmade bowl.

the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd c. BCE, while in the second half of the 2nd c. BCE certain structures fall out of use, such as Cistern 2. The space continues to be used and is probably abandoned at the end of the 2nd or more probably at the beginning of the 1st c. BCE.

### The Cemeteries

The main cemetery of the city extends across the west side of the Ambelaki bay, along the road that led from the city to the inner part of the island. There is a variety in the typology of graves, ranging from sarcophagi to cist graves, shaft graves and tile-covered pit graves (fig. 60)<sup>110</sup>. Re-use of stelae as grave covers has been attested, while a perirrhanterion was converted into a funerary kioniskos<sup>111</sup>. Salamis conforms to the restrictions on overspending for funerary ceremonies, following the decree of Demetrius Phalereus, which prohibited the erection of large-sized funerary monuments in Athens.

The funerary offerings usually comprise unguentaria, pyxides, saucers, jewels and objects of magical powers (curse tablets). Professions and occupations are indicated by certain funerary offerings such as strigils<sup>112</sup> and the juror's ticket. The latter find is a bronze pinakion with the inscription: Θεογένης/Προβαλίσιος (fig. 61)<sup>113</sup>. It is a juror's ticket of the end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd c. BCE, which was used for the annual selection with the allotment of citizens as jurors and other officials in Athens. As funerary offerings the tickets stand for documents of some public office held by their owners<sup>114</sup>.

A funerary stele is particularly interesting<sup>115</sup>. It is a stele of the mid-3rd c. BCE to young Leon, inscribed with a funerary epigram<sup>116</sup> (IG II<sup>2</sup> 11960; SEG 25, 301), which concludes by urging those who would see the funerary monument to honour the virtue of their forefathers: »Come, young men, emulate your comrade / for he fell remembering the virtue of his Medeslaying fathers«<sup>117</sup>. It is probable that young Leon fell in the battles against Alexander in the mid-3rd c. BCE<sup>118</sup>. The young man might have been a descendant of Leon, who resided in Salamis, and who, as recorded by *Plato* (apol. 32 c–d) and *Xenophon* (hell. II), was killed by the regime of the Thirty Tyrants<sup>119</sup>. Moreover, it seems not unlikely for him to have been the son of Herakleitos of Asklepiades of Athmoneas<sup>120</sup>, to whom the deme of the Salaminians paid tribute, because he undertook the repair of the walls during the preparation for the war against Alexander. The burial of Leon took place probably on the hill of Magoula<sup>121</sup>, on the peninsula of Kynosoura, namely to the south of the city, an area which was probably also

110 DEKOULAKOU 1986.

111 DEKOULAKOU 1986, 18.

112 Strigils are also linked with the world of women, see BOGDANOVA 2016, 60–66, with relevant bibliography.

113 POLOGIORGI 2000–2003, 108.

114 POLOGIORGI 2000–2003, 110, mentions fellow citizens of Theagenis with the same name as his, but she does not proceed to establish an identification, because the patronymic is not recorded.

115 CARGILL 1995, 125 and note 28.

116 εἶλε σόν, Ἡράκλειτε, καὶ αἰνετὸν υἱὰ Λεαίνης / εἶλεν θαρραλέης ἔργα Λέοντα μάχης / ἀνχιάλου Σαλαμίνος ὁ γὰρ κλήροισιν ἀμύνων / δυσμενέων ὅλοον τραῦμα κατηγάγετο. / ζηλοῦτ' ἀλλὰ νέοι τὸν ὁμήλικα· κάθθανε γὰρ που / μηδοφόνων ἀρετᾶς μνωόμενος πατέρων.

117 Translation HERZOGENRATH-AMELUNG 2017, 130.

118 HABICHT 1998, 215; less probably a little later at the time of Aratus' raid in 242 BCE, see TAYLOR 1997, 249.

119 CARGILL 1995, 125 and note 28.

120 TAYLOR 1997, 253 note 84.

121 PITTAKIS 1855, no. 2565.



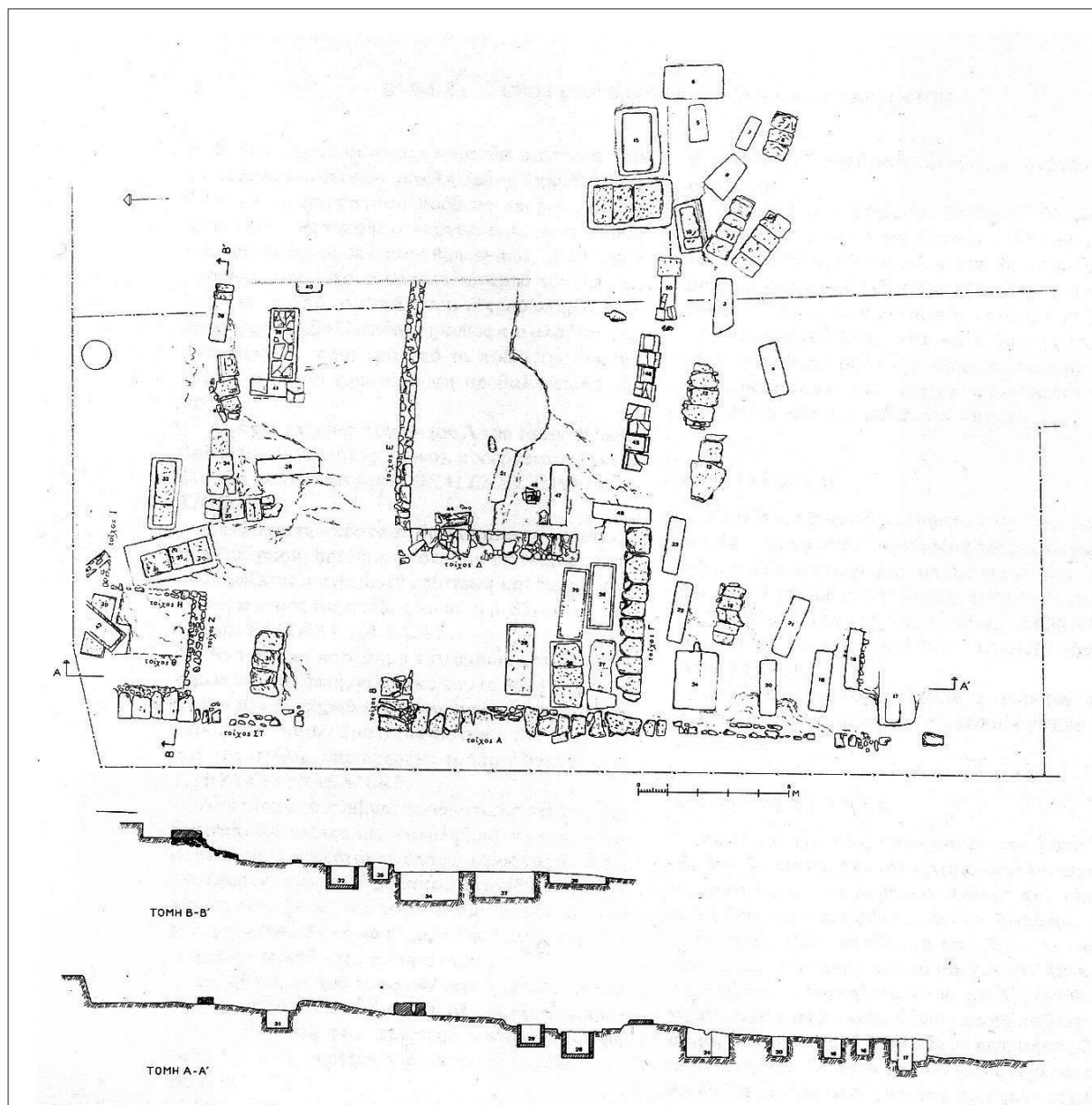


Fig. 60 : Plan of the cemetery at the Tsoutsouras' plot (DEKOULAKOU 1986, pl. 1).



Fig. 61 : Bronze *pinakion* (POLOGIORGI 2000–2003, pl. 24).

allocated for specific burials of the second half of the 5th c. BCE, and which is identified with the reported ›polyandreion‹ of the Naval Battle of Salamis<sup>122</sup>. In this case too, as in the festivals of the ephebes, we see that the memory of the Persian wars remains strong and is enhanced in so many ways.

### **Epilogue**

We hope that the above presentation makes tangible the social, political and religious organization of the Hellenistic city of Salamis, and that by highlighting selected structures and finds, a city comes to the fore that is situated so close to Athens, but, in actual fact, remains very little known. The city of Salamis does not fall behind any corresponding cities of Attica or the wider ancient world – to the extent that applies to it. Economic and commercial activities, religious practices and political processes shape an intricate network of actions and interactions that puts Salamis dynamically on the map of the Hellenistic period. The period closes with the destruction of the island by the Roman general Sulla in 86 BCE, and the ancient city is gradually deserted.

122 CHAIRETAKIS 2019.



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