## SAMOTHRACE: SIXTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

(Plates 1-9)

THIS report will present some major results and finds of the sixth campaign of excavations in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace <sup>1</sup> carried out by the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during the summer of 1951.

We continued our gradual exploration of the core of the vast sanctuary. In the preceding campaigns,<sup>2</sup> we have fully excavated the northern two-thirds of this most important section of the sanctuary: progressing from the archaic initiation hall,

¹ The campaign lasted from June 17 to August 30. The staff under my direction was again composed as follows: Dr. Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Associate Professor at Smith College, our assistant field director; Mr. Stuart M. Shaw, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, who directs the architectural work and was assisted by Mr. Alec Daykin, instructor in architecture at the University of Sheffield, England; Mr. Thomas Todd of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Mr. A. C. Thompson, B. A. Princeton University, and Miss Elaine Loeffler, B. A. Smith College, both students at the Institute, joined our staff as did Mr. Denys Spittle of the Royal Commission for Monuments, England, who assisted in the architectural work. We are particularly indebted to the institutions concerned, Sheffield University and the Royal Commission, as well as to The Metropolitan Museum of Art for generous leaves granted to the above-mentioned members of their staffs.

Mr. A. Vavritzos, inspector of antiquities in Mytilene, served as representative of the Greek government and we are highly appreciative of his pleasant coöperation and practical skill.

Our invaluable foreman, Georgios Nikolaides, was again a main pillar of our enterprise and we had once more at our disposal the great experience of our restorer, Kontogeorgios. All these helpers have been instrumental in the successful accomplishment of our task. It am at a loss to state how many of the observations incorporated in this report are due to one or another of them.

We had the pleasure of visits from Georges Daux, Director of the French School in Athens and Mrs. Daux; John L. Caskey, Director of the American School and Mrs. Caskey; Frank E. Brown, Director of the Classical School of the American Academy in Rome and Mrs. Brown. The keen observations and, in each case, singular experience of these distinguished visitors have greatly added to our knowledge.

The officers of the Royal Greek Government, New York University, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the American Express Company, the Musée du Louvre have helped us in varied ways as in the past.

Above all, we owe continued gratitude to our generous sponsor, the Bollingen Foundation, which, at the beginning of 1951, renewed its grant and, accounting for the considerable increase in costs, generously added to its subsidy.

A great number of individuals have, again, given us their invaluable assistance in a variety of ways: Aziz Bey, John D. Barrett, J. Bousquet, E. Brooks, Jean Charbonneaux, W. W. S. Cook, Elsbeth Dusenbery, F. Eichler, P. J. Eustathiades, J. Feratel, Alison Frantz, Jiri Frel, Christos and Semni Karousos, James L. Madden, A. K. Orlandos, B. D. Meritt, D. Papaeustratiou, L. Robert, Lucy T. Shoe, Ephraim Shorr, Lucy Talcott, Homer A. Thompson, Eugene Vanderpool, C. Bradford Welles.

<sup>2</sup> See Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 19 ff.

Hesperia, XXII, 1.

the Anaktoron, through the area of the great rotunda of Queen Arsinoe, to what we have called the "Central Terrace" with its fourth century B.C. precinct for sacred ceremonies, to the area in front of the great Hellenistic marble building known as the "New Temple" which, by 1950, had also been completely excavated (Pl. 9).

In 1951, we attacked the region between this building and the river bed that forms the western boundary of the heart of the sanctuary. In this area, preceding observation and partial excavation had given evidence of the existence of a large but enigmatic structure adjacent to the southern, rear part of the "New Temple" and to a theatre built against the slope of the hill beyond the river bed and beneath both the precinct of the Victory of Samothrace and the southern end of the long stoa which crowned that westernmost hill of the sanctuary. The region to the west and northwest of the northern, front half of the "New Temple" was entirely unexplored. In it we discovered, to our surprise, the ruin of a hitherto unknown building, an early and in many respects extremely important structure which was completely uncovered during this season. At the end of the campaign, we began a full excavation of the large previously mentioned structure to the south with equally unexpected results. This report will deal mainly with these two structures and the finds made in connection with them. These finds, as well as other incidental discoveries, add considerably to our knowledge of the history of Samothrace and her cult. But they also include important documents, written and artistic alike, the discovery of which has rewarded our labor. We have gained a new idea of the wealth of this sanctuary long regarded as almost entirely Hellenistic—in its early, archaic, phase and in the fourth century B.C. While these discoveries emphasize the early and continued popularity of the public worship of the Samothracian gods, we have also found important new clues to the character of the mystery rites which added to their fame.

At the beginning of our work to the west of the "New Temple," a wilderness of débris and overgrowth covered the entire region. From it emerged a gigantic dump hill of earth, also overgrown during the last eighty years, from the Austrian excavation of the "New Temple." It filled the entire space between the northern half of the building and the river bed for a length of about 18 m. and, rising to a height considerably greater than that of the adjacent ruins, it was an ugly blot on the valley of the sanctuary. We decided to remove it and to transport the earth out of the excavation zone. This work, tedious as it was, absorbed almost three weeks of our chief energy. Under the dump and at its periphery, we found fallen débris from the marble superstructures of the adjacent buildings, the "New Temple" to the east and the previously mentioned structure to the south. These blocks lay partly in the position into which they had fallen in the final catastrophe of the sanctuary in the sixth century after Christ, partly where they had been shifted and piled up by later agricultural laborers, stone robbers, and excavators. Intermingled with this débris

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See G. Downey, Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 21 ff.

were building stones of limestone material and roof tiles from a large building,<sup>4</sup> the foundations and floor of which gradualy emerged, to our surprise, almost completely preserved, with the exception of the northwestern corner of the foundation and the northernmost section of the floor (Pls. 1b and 7a, left; 9).

The building was rectangular and roughly parallel to the "New Temple" from which it was separated by a lane of ca. 3 m. width. It had an extension of 22.60 m. north-south and 10.70 m. east-west. The foundation walls of fieldstone and large-size rocks vary in thickness from 0.50 m. on the eastern, and 0.63 m. on the southern, to 1.10 m. on the northern and 1.43 m. on the western sides. This variation is partly to be explained by a desire to increase the solidity of the foundation and to use it to buttress the inner earth fill according to the slope of the steeply descending natural soil on which it is built; while immediately to the east of the building the bedrock emerges to the top of the foundation, it descends rapidly towards the river bed to the west and northwest, more gently towards the southwest. The long western side of the building towards the river valley was marked as the façade by a step <sup>5</sup> of 0.70 m. width, the limestone euthynteria slabs of which are still preserved in a continuous row near the southwestern corner beneath the level of the stereobate of the wall, some stones of which are also still in situ (Pl. 2a).

On the northernmost of these stereobate blocks, a deep cutting is preserved, evidently for the wooden facing of an anta. It results from this that the western façade had an open colonnade between lateral spur walls ca. 3.40 m. long. We have found one fragment of a Doric capital in this region. The façade may have had six Doric columns between the antae. The other three sides of the building evidently had closed walls, conceivably provided with doors or windows. The ground plan, thus, is that of a deep stoa or rather a lesche.

We have found many completely preserved wall blocks and masses of fragments. Most of them, as well as the euthynteria of the façade, are made of a building material so far unique in Samothrace, a very fine, soft gray marine limestone which is easily cut. This material was also used for the capitals of the façade, the pediments and cornices. Only in the orthostate dado of the walls (0.54 m. high) is a hard native porphyry used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It seems possible that the Austrian excavators incidentally saw parts of the eastern foundation. In the plan in *Archaeologische Untersuchungen in Samothrake* (hereafter S), I, Vienna, 1875, pp. 14, 49, fig. 15 (C) some stones appear to the west of the northern part of the "New Temple." It is said, however, that no building but only a paved terrace could have existed in this region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Such an outer step along the façade of a stoa is known in one of the few preserved archaic stoai (see below, p. 5, note 18) in Samos (E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, p. 55). There, the earlier stoa, *ibid.*, p. 22, has a broad paved platform in front of the façade.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Compare the somewhat different cuttings for the wooden facing of an anta in the Heraion in Olympia: Olympia, II, Berlin, 1892, pls. 18, 23.

We are indebted to Drs. Fredrich Pough and Otto Haas of the American Museum of Natural History in New York for identification of the stone material.

The blocks of the wall show a great variety of sizes, ranging from 0.41 m. in height to a miniature size of only 0.10 to 0.12 m., with many intermediate sizes. The small stones are brick-shaped. On a number of blocks, one can observe cuttings—horizontal as well as vertical—for wooden ties \* that were inserted in the walls. It seems clear, thus, that the walls were built in ashlar courses of changing height which gradually decrease in height as the wall rises and are held together in part by wooden ties. A decrease in the size of blocks in the upper parts of walls has been observed in other archaic Greek structures. Here the combination of a wooden framework and the mudbrick size of the upper wall blocks illustrates the transition from pre-monumental to solid stone structure in a novel fashion.

Not a fragment was found that could be attributed to either the architrave or the frieze of the façade, and it seems likely that they were of wood <sup>10</sup> with a possible use, in the frieze, of mudbricks or small stones.

The building had a saddle roof covered with tiles of the type having kalypteres of semicircular section and had the remarkable span of 8.59 m. (inner width).<sup>11</sup> Many fragments of the southern pediment are preserved. Like the walls, it was built up of small ashlar blocks, having triangular pieces along its sloping upper edges save for some rectangular blocks with inclined upper faces near the corners (Pl. 2b).<sup>12</sup>

Several blocks and numerous fragments of the grey limestone cornice are preserved (Pl. 2b). They are of the "Ionic" type which, however, also survived in Greek Doric architecture in the raking geisa of pediments. The type itself is evidently a stone successor of a projecting <sup>13</sup> eavestile with a "Wassernase." Some of these geisa belong to the southern pediment but others show an oblique upper face which seems to point to their having continued on the long sides where such light stones could easily have been used over the wooden architrave and frieze. It seems likely that there was no horizontal geison under the pediment, that the pediment was simply the

<sup>8</sup> Compare: Olympia, II, pl. 23 (Heraion) for horizontal ties.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, B. C. H., XXXVII, 1913, p. 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This was still the case in the Athenian Stoa in Delphi, and has been suggested by Courby for the Naxian Stoa in Delos (below, p. 5, note 18).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Among the archaic stoai listed below, p. 5, note that only the two stoai or leschai in Didyma having spans of 7.25 m. and 7.69 m. without interior supports approximate this building. In Samothrace, on the other hand, the Anaktoron built in the late archaic age has an even wider span of 11.60 m. (A.J.A., XLIV, 1940, p. 331).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> This corrects the view of C. Weickert, Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien, Augsburg, 1929, p. 170, that one-aisled archaic stoai invariably had a "Pultdach."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Compare reconstruction diagrams of a pre-monumental Doric cornice—for example: F. Bühlmann, *Münchner Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XII, 1922, fig. 1; E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion*, Copenhagen, 1948, pls. 16-17; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London, 1950, p. 57, fig. 20. See, also, the remarks on "Traufgeisa" by E. Buschor, *Die Tondächer der Akropolis*, II, Berlin, 1933, p. 3.

upper triangular termination of the lateral wall and that the continuous cornice was raked up at the corner.<sup>14</sup>

Some of the geison blocks have holes for iron nails by means of which a terracotta sima was fastened to them. Fragments of such a simple unsculptured sima were found. Both the exterior and the interior of the building were covered with a hard, fine, white stucco, still preserved in many places.

Like the curious technique of the building, its use of a wooden architrave and wooden ties, its geison points to a very early date for it, in the formative period of monumental Doric stone architecture in Greece, and other technical details are in harmony with such a date. The type of lifting hole preserved in some instances is the U-shaped, generally very archaic, channel.<sup>15</sup> Square dowels were sparingly used in the lower part of the wall. Swallow-tailed lead clamps with iron hooks <sup>16</sup> occur in the euthynteria of the façade and on some geison blocks.

In harmony with all these indications, the ceramic finds made in original fills near the northern foundation and in the interior point to a date in the early part of the sixth century B.C.<sup>17</sup> Apart from the importance of this early archaic structure for the formation of Greek stone architecture, it is a welcome addition to the exceedingly small number of archaic Greek "stoa" buildings so far known <sup>18</sup> and, given its considerable depth without the use of interior supports and its colonnaded façade between spur walls, it is a unique example of a lesche.

Its discovery in the southern area of the sanctuary,19 where, thus far, only a

<sup>15</sup> See for this type: Dyggve, op. cit., pp. 261 ff.

16 "Hakenklammern": *ibid.*, pp. 260 f. with bibliography. Add to his archaic examples: the Ionic treasury of Marmaria at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 3, figs. 59-61); the Knidian Treasury (Dinsmoor, *B.C.H.*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 9 ff., note 1; the statement here that such iron reinforcements were used only in marble and never in poros is no longer correct); Didyma (Th. Wiegand, *Didyma*, I, Berlin, 1941, pp. 134 ff.; also, on the sculptured block published by Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures du Musée Imperial Ottoman*, I, Constantinople, 1912, p. 555, no. 239).

<sup>17</sup> They were exclusively non-Attic, early archaic potsherds and included a Corinthian fragment. <sup>18</sup> These are: a) Samos, seventh century B.C. (E. Buschor, Ath. Mitt., LV, 1930, pp. 12 ff., Beilage 1, 5); b) Samos, ca. 550 B.C. (ibid., pp. 55 f.); c) Delos, Naxian Stoa, ca. 550 B.C. (F. Courby, B.C.H., XLV, 1921, pp. 339 ff., pl. 7; R. Vallois, ibid., XLVIII, 1924, p. 430; idem, L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos, Paris, 1943, p. 21); d) Stoa or Lesche a, Didyma (Wiegand, op. cit., pp. 134 ff., pls. 79, 80); e) Stoa or Lesche b, Didyma (ibid.); f) and g) two small stoai in Larissa (Larissa, I, Berlin, 1940, pp. 69 ff.). The Naxian Oikos in Delos, listed by C. Weickert, op. cit., p. 122, as one of the only two stoai of which he then knew, has nothing to do with the type.

<sup>19</sup> Even earlier use of this section of the sanctuary was evident from a small accumulation of potsherds, charcoal and a few bones, seemingly remnants of a sacrifice, immediately to the north of the building near some sizeable rocks. The potsherds found here are slightly later than those of the sub-geometric deposit discovered on the Central Terrace (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 34 ff.) and included a fragment of a proto-Corinthian skyphos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Similar to a simple cornice in a later stone structure restored by Fiechter: A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, I, Munich, 1906, pp. 109 ff., figs. 73, 77; also, *ibid.*, p. 81, fig. 37.

presumably small late archaic forerunner of the "New Temple" had been known,<sup>20</sup> shows that by the early sixth century the sanctuary already covered a large area. The purpose of this building, it is natural to assume, was always the same. It was built for the storage and exhibition of votive gifts <sup>21</sup> and fragments of such dedications from its early days in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. have been found beneath its later floor. While in the previously excavated northern parts of the sanctuary undecorated vessels and lamps prevail for ritual use, such material is completely absent here. Instead we find all kinds of objects customary as votive gifts in sanctuaries. These discoveries in conjunction with the fact that remnants of later votive gifts were found in the ruin of the building, justify the name "Hall of Votive Gifts" which we have given to it.

Thus far we have excavated only a small section of the fill under the later floor near its broken northern end. This section has already furnished a remarkable quantity of fragmentary votive gifts. For the first time in Samothrace, these fragments include a layer <sup>22</sup> of decorated Attic black-figured and red-figured pottery clearly from vases once dedicated here (Pl. 2 c and d).<sup>23</sup>

Among the potsherds extracted from this fill or found near by, and evidently washed out from it, there is an unusually large percentage with carefully incised inscriptions and graffiti, clearly of dedicatory character, some from the archaic period, others possibly from the fifth century. They are mostly incomplete, and, while some fragments could make sense in Greek and others are nondescript, still others again pose the problem of a non-Greek, presumably native, language which, according to ancient tradition, continued to be used long later in the Samothracian cult.<sup>24</sup>

Two fragments of large coarse bowls were found, on the lip of which, in one instance, a carefully incised word  $\Delta E \Lambda$  (Pl. 3c) is completely preserved, while the other fragment fragment preserved the beginning of the same word  $\Delta E$ . Under the foot

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The purpose of all the archaic stoai and leschai listed above, note 18, seems to have been the same. For the two stoai in Samos, see Buschor, op. cit., pp. 24, 55; for Didyma, Wiegand, loc. cit. This use is certain for the Stoa of Kleisthenes (after 591 B.C.) which is known only from a literary reference (Pausanias, II, 9, 6; see B.C.H., XLVI, 1922, p. 491; Weickert, loc. cit.) as having been built  $amoleonic \lambda a \phi i \rho \omega \nu$  as was the Athenian Stoa at Delphi which sheltered votive gifts of booty at the end of the archaic age.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> A very small quantity of black-figured and red-figured fragments has been found in various regions in preceding campaigns, always on surface soil or with débris washed down from the eastern hill.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Acc. Nos. 51.297; 51.907-908; 51.872.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 17 f.; XX, 1951, p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Acc. No. 51.922. Pres. width 0.223 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Acc. No. 51.923. Pres. width 0.146 m.

of a cup <sup>27</sup> occurs  $\Delta E \Lambda$  again, this time preceded by an A. On other sherds such strange inscriptions as  $T\Omega MMY^{28}$  and  $YO\Delta I > F$ : <sup>29</sup> appear.

We have previously found a few inscriptions of evidently non-Greek character.<sup>80</sup> The new additions are sufficient to make any connection in type of writing or language with the Tyrrhenian language of Lemnos <sup>81</sup> highly improbable. At this juncture, therefore, one may assume that the language—as well as the pre-Greek people of Samothrace and its early religion—belongs to the Thracian family, as the names of some of their gods like Axiokersos, Axiokersa and Axieros suggest.

On the other hand, the increased number of carefully incised inscriptions of archaic origin found in Samothrace seems to indicate the use of an alphabet identical with that on the famous archaic relief of Agamemnon in the Louvre <sup>32</sup> and thus to enhance the oral tradition that this relief actually was found in Samothrace.

In addition to early ceramic votive gifts, we found several fragmentary bronze fibulae. Two belong to well-known Greek island types of early archaic character: the simple bow with medium-sized (broken away) fastening slab,<sup>33</sup> and the miniature fibula with globular excrescences on the bow.<sup>34</sup> A third, massively cast small fibula (Pl. 3d)<sup>35</sup> of seemingly unique form in Greece, is related to the *sanguisuga* type of Italy and may well be an imported piece from Etruria.<sup>36</sup> An oblong amber bead <sup>37</sup> which evidently once belonged to the decoration of a fibula points in the same direction.

Art historically of greater interest is a fragmentary finely-moulded terracotta head (Pl. 3a)<sup>38</sup> presumably from a plastic vase of unusual size and quality. Painted in black glaze on a white slip and clearly belonging to Ionic art of the early sixth century B.C., it shows vague similarities to Rhodian<sup>39</sup> and Aeginetan products. Yet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Acc. No. 51.382. Diameter of foot 0.066 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Acc. No. 51.294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Acc. No. 51.301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> See above, note 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> As in the famous Lemnian Stele, *I.G.*, XII, 8, pp. 7 f. and the graffiti published by Della Seta, *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara*, Vatican City, 1937, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> For the latest discussion, see *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 6, note 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Acc. No. 51.840. Pres. Length 0.054 m. Close to Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, pl. 4, no. 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Acc. No. 51.819. Another fragment of such a fibula (Acc. No. 51.213) was extracted from the joints of the late Hellenistic terrace wall parallel to the southwestern side of the Central Terrace Precinct by Mr. Daykin (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 38 f., pl. 4a). For the type, see Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, Copenhagen, 1926, p. 98, No. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Acc. No. 51.818. Length 0.031 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Closest to seventh-century gold fibulae: D. R. MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, p. 129, pl. 27. For Etruscan fibulae imported to Greece, see: Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Acc. No. 51.781. Length 0.011 m. See Blinkenberg, loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Acc. No. 52.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See M. I. Maximova, Les vases plastiques, I, Paris, 1925, pp. 129 ff.

it is unusual in its large size, its broad modelling and precise drawing, and especially in the fixed gaze of the eyes in which the wide pupil is separately indicated by means of an incised ring that divides it from the iris, a technique found in architectural terracottas <sup>40</sup> and Attic headvases.<sup>41</sup>

The latest objects found in a homogeneous yellowish earth fill beneath the floor belong to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. It was then, after some vicissitude, that the building was restored and a new floor was laid in it. For this floor, an underpavement of small, densely packed stones was spread out which, at the time of discovery, was completely preserved in the major southern part of the building (Pls. 1b; 2a, right; 7a; 7b, foreground). This underpavement was laid out in a peculiar way. It had a border zone 1.10 m. wide along the rear wall and 1.01 m. wide inside the front colonnade. In the northern part, this border is destroyed and at the southern end it is now concealed beneath a later stucco floor. But undoubtedly it continued around the entire interior. Though clearly separated from the inner floor, it is only very slightly raised above its level 42 and its existence inside the open facade precludes any superstructure. Thus this border seems to be merely a "setting" device for an ornamental frame of the fifth-century floor and the careful under-paving may indicate that the pavement was an ornamental pebble mosaic floor, though later remodelling has left no other traces of it. The walls were stuccoed at this time, presumably, in light blue.

The building seems to have been restored again in the late Hellenistic age. Such a restoration is indicated by the discovery of several large gilded bronze letters, two of which, an Y and an I <sup>48</sup> are completely preserved (Pl. 4 a and b). They were found near the façade in the southern part of the building and they clearly belong to a monumental dedicatory inscription. Provided on the back with little conically undercut pegs for insertion in stucco, these letters were once probably attached to the white stuccoed surface of the architrave against which they stood out in golden relief: a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Compare for example: F. Poulsen-K. Rhomaios, Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die dänisch-griechischen Ausgrabungen in Kalydon, Copenhagen, 1927, pls. 30, 36, 37 = Dyggve, op. cit., p. 184, fig. 192, pl. XXII, H.

E. Douglas Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, London, 1926, pl. 33, fig. 120, pl. 35, fig. 129. The thinness of the manufacture in our case seems to exclude architectural use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See, for example, J. C. Hoppin, A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases, Paris, 1924, pp. 64 ff., 318 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> It is, therefore, quite unrelated to the dining hall arrangement known from public and private buildings of the classical age (A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, I, Munich, 1906, p. 113, pls. 21, 3; 70; *Corinth*, XV, 1, 1948, pl. 8, fig. E; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, VIII, Baltimore, 1946, *passim*. The pavement of a court at Olynthos is, to some extent, analogous; *ibid*., House A VIII, 5, pl. 18, p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Acc. No. 51.628, height 0.076 m.; Acc. No. 51.627, height 0.082 m.

novelty in Hellenistic Greek architecture <sup>44</sup> later found in Rome and well in keeping with the earlier evidence for bronze relief decoration in Samothrace which has been discussed in our previous report.

To this Hellenistic restoration may belong the replacing of the fifth-century ornamental floor by a stucco floor of pinkish red color, large sections of which are preserved in the southern part of the building. The walls seem to have been whitewashed in this period.

A last restoration took place sometime during the Roman age. The floor was now repainted, this time with a thin coat of bright apple-green and the walls were stuccoed an intense red with white stripes or panels in some places. But basically, like the Anaktoron,<sup>45</sup> the venerable Hall of Votive Gifts preserved its archaic appearance. The two early buildings must have presented a curious contrast with the splendid marble structures of later times that surrounded them.

As long as the pagan cult lasted, the Lesche was used for the exhibition of votive gifts. They were rifled, of course, at the end, and only fragments of them were found which are indicative, however, of a great variety of objects. They include fragments of gilded bronze statues and a marble eye <sup>46</sup> from a bronze head; a badly worn but originally fine head of a marble statuette (Pl. 3b), a Hellenistic portrait; <sup>47</sup> bronze studs and the frame of a key hole belonging to wooden chests of the fourth century B.C.; fragments of bronze vessels and an alabaster vase; a lid and fragment of a finely carved bone pyxis (Pl. 3e); <sup>48</sup> a bottom of a unique Hellenistic relief vase decorated inside and out with a satyr (?) mask, one smiling, one serious (Pl. 4 d and e); <sup>49</sup> a gold ring of Hellenistic type; <sup>50</sup> and a large seemingly unique silver nail (Pl. 3f) <sup>51</sup> from a chest, a piece of furniture or, possibly, armor. <sup>52</sup> The most interesting of these finds are a number of fragments of an iron chain mail cuirass

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Raised relief letters on a tabula ansata probably representing such bronze letters on a wooden tablet appear on the early Hellenistic stele of Sasamas in Istanbul (Pl. 4c): Mendel, op. cit., III, 1914, pp. 307 ff., No. 1073; here Photo Saba. Our letters (and this stele), as Frank Brown pointed out, mark the beginning of the specific Eastern tradition of lettering in relief that was so remarkably expanded in the Byzantine and Islamic periods. Such gilded bronze letters of the Imperial age were found at the Gate of Hadrian in Adalia (Lanckoronski, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, I, Vienna, 1890, p. 155, fig. 106) and at Corinth (Davidson, Corinth, XII, The Minor Objects, Princeton, 1952, No. 2882, p. 336, pl. 136).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> A.J.A., XLIV, 1940, p. 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Acc. No. 51.625.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Acc. No. 51.273. The head was found outside the northeast corner of the building.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Acc. No. 51.893-894. Diameter 0.04 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Acc. No. 51.272. Diameter 0.07 m. For cups with satyr heads, see F. Courby, Les vases grecs à reliefs, Paris, 1922, pp. 230 ff. with bibliography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Acc. No. 51.520. Diameter 0.024 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Acc. No. 51.713. Length 0.0307 m.; diameter of top 0.0209 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Silver, as the "silvershielders" show, was popular in the Macedonian army. Officers in that army had boots with silver nails: Plutarch, *Alexander*, 40, 1.

(Pl. 5a),<sup>53</sup> a welcome addition to the few preserved antique pieces of this type of armor,<sup>54</sup> historically so important. The dense mesh of these incredibly refined fragments, with their closely set iron rings of a seemingly unparalleled <sup>55</sup> miniature size—each ring being only 3 mm. in outer diameter—and the resulting tightness in which the inner rings that hold the rows together are completely invisible, exceeds the remarkably fine quality of fragments preserved from the Roman empire. On the other hand, our pieces are strikingly like the carefully represented chain mail cuirasses that appear among the Gaulish trophies in the second century B.C. reliefs from the decoration of the precinct of Athena in Pergamon (Pl. 5b).<sup>56</sup> Just as these reliefs reproduce actual trophies taken by the Pergamene kings,<sup>57</sup> Gaulish armor had been dedicated in Greek sanctuaries even before, for instance, in the third century B.C. by Pyrrhus.<sup>58</sup> It may well be that the new fragments from Samothrace belong to such a dedication of Gaulish trophies and are examples of the original technique of this invention for which modern critics have given credit to the *La Tène* age Celts. One marvels at their unparalleled skill in iron work.

The scattered fragments left on the floor of the Lesche by the late antique looters are sufficient to show that at the end of antiquity the old building was a real museum of many centuries of earlier craftsmanship. In it, we finally found a silent witness of the dramatic end of this pagan splendor. Just inside the façade, lying on the late green floor (Pl. 5c) and buried by the débris of the final catastrophe, there was left a broken marble float (Pl. 5d, right)<sup>50</sup> abandoned by a workman who must have been engaged in a last renovation of the building, presumably at the time when the edict of Theodosios enforced the cessation of pagan worship, against local resistance. When they were driven out, the workmen left behind this broken tool of a type still used

<sup>53</sup> Acc. Nos. 51.656-660. The first newly discovered fragment was recognized as chain mail by Frank Brown, who also called our attention to pieces of the imperial age found in Dura: *The Excavations at Dura Europos*, Sixth Preliminary Report, New Haven, 1936, pp. 194, 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> For literary sources, see: R.E., s.v. Thorax, cols. 335 ff. (without full reference to the finds). For Roman pieces from the Rhineland and Gaul: W. Rose, Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde, IV, 1906, pp. 1 ff.; Lindenschmidt, Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, I, fasc. 12, Mainz, 1858, pl. 4; S. Reinach, Catalogue du Musée de S. Germain en Laye, I, Paris, 1917, p. 200. The pieces allegedly found in Carnuntum (R.E., loc. cit.) I do not know. See in general: P. Couisin, Revue archéologique, V, ser. XIX, 1924, p. 48; idem, Les armes Romains, Paris, 1926, pp. 99 ff., 268 ff., 339 ff., 444 ff., 512 ff. A piece from Aquileia: G. Brusin, Gli Scavi di Aquileia, Udine, 1934, p. 152, no. 12, fig. 84.

<sup>55</sup> The smallest ring-size so far known seems to be 0.004 m.: Rose, loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Altertümer von Pergamon, II, 1885, pp. 104 ff., pl. 44; especially, pl. 46, fig. 2; pl. 49, fig. 4 (here Pl. 5b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> See Pausanias, I, 4, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ibid., I, 13, 2: F. Hiller von Gärtringen, Historische Griechische Epigramme, Bonn, 1926, p. 40, No. 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Acc. No. 51.560. Pres. length 0.37 m.; width 0.203 m.; height 0.057 m. Traces of use on lower smooth face.

in Samothrace as well as elsewhere (Pl. 5d, left) to smooth the stucco surfaces of floors and walls. To our knowledge, it is the only marble object of the kind preserved from antiquity, and it presumably dates from the late empire. But the type, poor wooden descendants of which are still in use, is at least as old as the archaic Greek age from which smaller tufa examples have been found in the sanctuary of Aphaia in Aegina (Pl. 5e).<sup>60</sup>

When the Lesche was abandoned at the time of the cessation of the pagan cult, it was almost 1000 years old. If it sheltered votive gifts, large and small, it was natural that during its long life other dedications were placed in its vicinity.

To the immediate north of the building, we uncovered the southeastern corner of a limestone foundation (of the variety used commonly in the Hellenistic period). It was a small structure, probably about 3 m. square, and could only have supported a monument, an altar, or at best an aedicula. A short distance to the northwest of it and farther down the slope, there now lies a huge mutilated block of Egyptian rose granite. We found numerous splinters of this granite monument throughout the region. The foundation to the north of the Hall of Votive Gifts seems to be the only structure which could have supported this monument. The granite block, though broken on all sides, has on its upper face two deep holes as if for the mounting of a super-colossal statue. The material seems to indicate a third ambitious Ptolemaic dedication in the sanctuary of the Great Gods, in addition to the rotunda of Queen Arsinoe and the Propylon of Ptolemy Philadelphos, this time a colossal statue that arose to the immediate north of the Hall of Votive Gifts and to the northwest of the

60 Furtwängler, op. cit., I, p. 167; II, pl. 68. The Aeginetan pieces are only 0.13-0.14 m. long, that is, about one-third the length of our big marble tool. A similar object may appear in a Pompeian painting: Annali, 1881, pl. H (Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire, s.v. Tector, p. 54, fig. 6754; Th. Schreiber, Kulturhistorischer Bilderatlas, Leipzig, 1888, pl. 65, fig. 5; Reinach, Rep. Peint., p. 251, 4). The drawing of this painting is confused. But the man seems to hold in his right hand the handle of a rectangular slab of the size of the modern Greek wooden examples (Pl. 5d, left), while his left hand seems to press stucco against the wall behind it. A. Mau, Bull. d. Ist., 1879, p. 134 and A. Jardé, Daremberg-Saglio, op. cit., pp. 54 f., have understood the action as polishing the already stuccoed wall, while H. Blümner, Annali, 1881, pp. 107 f. (also, Technologie und Terminologie, III, p. 183) thought of the trulla used in applying stucco (hence the confusion of both theories by K. Bernhardi, Textbuch to Schreiber, op. cit., p. 321). But the object is clearly not a "trowel" or "ladle."

<sup>61</sup> S., I, p. 10, a piece found at the northern end of the "New Temple" is mentioned. The block uncovered by us in 1950 now lies at a distance of ca. 13 m. northwest of the northwestern corner of the "New Temple." Conze's description of the fragment the Austrians found as "ein nur roh zugehauenes, etwa wie zu einer gerundeten Basis bestimmtes Stück" (italics mine) hardly fits the huge block mentioned. That block is square, though much broken, and the holes on its surface most certainly would have been mentioned if the block were identical with the one found by the Austrians.

<sup>62</sup> See Conze, op. cit., p. 20. Compare a dedication of Egyptian porphyry in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes, S.I.G.O., I, 91.

"New Temple." The statue evidently was placed directly on a granite base. Between the latter and the foundation, there could have existed another postament.

It seems just possible that a set of Thasian marble reliefs with centaurs may have belonged to this base. Parts of a galloping centaur have been restored in the Vienna Museum, where a fragment of a second centaur is also preserved. We have previously found other fragments and, during the campaign of 1951, several more appeared in the same region in which scattered pieces of the granite base were found. They include the left foreleg of a rearing centaur (Pl. 6a) for and a right hand for perforated for an attribute (Pl. 6b), both in exuberant Hellenistic baroque modelling, presumably of the late third or early second century B.C. Unless these reliefs belonged to the interior decoration of the pronaos of the New Temple, for which they would hardly have been appropriate, there seems to be no place for them save on the granite monument. Was it a colossal image of a Ptolemaic king as Dionysos or Herakles or a Dionysos-Osiris whose base fittingly could be decorated with a thiasos of centaurs?

We found the major part of the dedicatory inscription of another large monument that must have stood outside the southern end of the Hall of Votive Gifts, but cannot be exactly located, a broken slab of Thasian marble <sup>68</sup> which once formed part of a big statuary base or altar (Pl. 6c). The inscription reads

## $M \cdot A.FIDIVS \cdot M \cdot L \cdot \Box IE \cdot SVO - -$

to be restored as: M(arcus) A[1] fidius <sup>60</sup> M(arci) 1(ibertus) de suo. The misspelling of *de* by a Greek scribe who did not know Latin and had been given a text in cursive writing has been suggested to us independently by Herbert Bloch and Naphtali Lewis. The lettering dates the inscription about the middle of the first century B.C. The dedicator thus undoubtedly was a wealthy freedman of the grandfather of the empress Livia whose name is known from an inscription of her mother.<sup>70</sup>

Though of a different category and found near the medieval towers in Palaeopolis, another document added to the increasing number of monuments attesting the great popularity of Samothrace in the late Roman republic may be mentioned at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> S., I, pl. 52.

<sup>64</sup> Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 42, note 92.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42 f.

<sup>66</sup> Acc. No. 51.368. Pres. height 0.203 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Acc. No. 51.293. Pres. length 0.098 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Acc. No. 51.1. Two joining pieces. Broken at right side and above. Pres. length 0.96 m.; pres. height 0.495 m.; thickness 0.105 m. Height of letters 0.04 m. Letters "not later than mid first century B.C." (H. Bloch).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The restoration A[u] fidius seems to be excluded by the preserved surface. A[l] fidius was first suggested by Frank Brown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> P.I.R., I, 1897, p. 50, No. 385.

this point. This is the fragmentary upper part of a stele of Thasian marble (Pl. 6d) with a pedimental top.<sup>71</sup> It is one more of the great number of catalogues of mystae. The main text reads:

In the pediment, names were later added:

On the moulding beneath it, I seem to still see part of the formula  $[\tilde{\epsilon}]\pi \tilde{\iota}$   $\beta \alpha \sigma [\iota \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \omega s - -]$  and, to the left of it, another added name - Iul[ius?]. The inscription is one of the rare epigraphical documents for the consulship in 35 B.C., of Lucius Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius, two outstanding opponents of the civil war in the preceding years.<sup>72n</sup>

A third large monument of unknown character—either a statuary group or an altar of elongated form from the late Roman age—has left its traces in a crude fieldstone foundation (Pls. 1b, 2a, 7a)<sup>73</sup> immediately outside the southwestern corner of the Hall of Votive Gifts. It was partly built over the southern end of the euthynteria of the façade step after the southernmost step block had been taken away.

When the Lesche collapsed in the final catastrophe of the sanctuary in the sixth century after Christ, débris of the two adjacent buildings crashed into it. A number of marbles from the superstructure of the "New Temple," which towered above the old building immediately to its east, were found over the lane that separated the two buildings and over its eastern part. Others had been uncovered in previous excavations. While continuing work on the "New Temple" under the supervision of Mrs. Lehmann, we completed the provisional erection of its column drums, on tinued the census of blocks from its superstructure, and began to place marbles on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Acc. No. 51.98. Found on the site of the town near the medieval towers. Broken at right and below. Pres. height 0.226 m.; pres. width 0.225 m.; thickness 0.074 m. Height of letters 0.022 m. (line 1) to 0.007 m. (line 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> The spelling *Cornuficius* instead of *Cornificius* also occurs on contemporary coins. See *R.E.* (s.v. Cornificius), IV, cols. 1623 ff. with testimonia; *P.I.R.*, I, p. 472, No. 1229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72a</sup> For another document, from Ithaka, see *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 490 ff.
<sup>73</sup> 5 m. long from east to west, preserved to a width of 0.80 m. at the eastern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> 5 m. long from east to west, preserved to a width of 0.80 m. at the eastern end. <sup>74</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 20, pl. 3.

the western foundation once the work on its plan and sections had been fully completed by Mr. Daykin, who was assisted in this work by Mr. Spittle (Pls. 1a and b, 7a, 9).

The cleaning up of the débris of the "New Temple" in the region of the Hall of Votive Gifts presented us with an important, if fragmentary, inscribed document (Pl. 6e): the upper part of a stele <sup>75</sup> which, given its character and the position in which it was found, at a slight distance from the pronaos of the "New Temple," can safely be attributed to the pronaos of that building. Near the inscription, we found a re-used marble block which, as Miss Loeffler discovered, has a cutting fitting the thickness of this stele and together with another now lost stone evidently once formed its base and was inserted into the floor of the pronaos. The inscription was engraved in three lines near the upper end of the stele in Hellenistic lettering of the second century B.C.:

' Αμύητον μη εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν

It will be recalled that, in 1938, we found a similar *lex sacra* in fallen position outside the doors which led from the initiation hall into a rear sanctuary of the Anaktoron.<sup>76</sup> While that inscription is a renewal of about A.D. 200 and has a Latin translation added to its Greek text, the new stele indicates the old tradition of such inscribed stelai in the sanctuary.

The inscription from the Anaktoron employs the formula  $M\hat{\eta}$   $\tau \delta \nu \ d\mu \acute{\nu} \eta \tau \sigma \nu \ e i \sigma \iota \acute{\nu} \nu a \iota \iota \iota \iota \iota \iota \iota \iota \iota$  implying that every mystes was allowed to enter the rear chamber after the  $\mu \acute{\nu} \eta \sigma \iota s$  in the main hall. On the basis of this document which made it clear that the Anaktoron served for the first degree of initiation, we have previously concluded that the "New Temple"—the earliest predecessor of which seems to have been contemporary with the Anaktoron and the interior installation of which clearly points to its use for equally exclusive mystery rites—served for initiation into the higher degree, the epopteia. In Samothrace, participation in that ceremony was sought for by only a minority of the initiated as the epigraphical documents show, and probably it was rather costly, while in Eleusis it is mostly assumed to have been the necessary conclusion of participation in the mysteries. And while in Eleusis a year had to elapse between the first and the second degrees, in Samothrace, one could obtain the epopteia on the same night, after the  $\mu \acute{\nu} \eta \sigma \iota s$ , as the inscriptions show. These are important

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Acc. No. 51.501. Found at a distance of 4.00 m. west of the pronaos. Broken at right and below. Thasian marble. Pres. width 0.383 m.; pres. height 0.27 m.; thickness 0.086 m. Height of letters 0.032 m. (line 1); 0.028 m. (lines 2-3). I wish to acknowledge most valuable assistance from Professors Meritt and Shoe who established a more complete reading of the text from the photograph than I had previously been able to make out.

<sup>76</sup> A.J.A., XLIII, 1939, p. 138, fig. 6.

differences between the two places. But the analogy of two degrees and of terminology remains. In Eleusis, as Noack has pointed out most convincingly, the  $\mu \acute{\nu} \eta \sigma \iota s$  which could be obtained in Athens or in the Court of the Sanctuary, was in the nature of a rite of purification preceding the real participation in the mysteries. The latter bestowed the first degree in the  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \acute{\eta}$ , an individual action involving a sacramental drink, the touching of sacred symbols, and profession of allegiance. This  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \acute{\eta}$  took place in the Telesterion in Eleusis. We may now assume that in Samothrace the  $\mu \acute{\nu} \sigma \tau \eta s$  entered the rear sanctuary of the Anaktoron after his initiation and purification passing through one of the two doors to receive the  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \acute{\eta}$  and leaving through the other door. He was then a  $\mu \acute{\nu} \sigma \tau \eta s$   $\epsilon \acute{\nu} \sigma \epsilon \beta \acute{\eta} s$  (musta pius) as the inscriptions say. As such, no longer an  $\acute{\alpha} \tau \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \sigma \tau o s$ , he might proceed to acquire the highest degree by participating in a special ceremony and revelation in the "New Temple," to which no uninitiated person had access.

If the text of the *lex sacra* as preserved is complete—the badly destroyed surface at the right does not allow this conclusion to be drawn with absolute certainty—the "New Temple," used for the most sacred rite of the mysteries, was specifically called τὸ ἰερόν. In the Samothracian decree in honor of Lysimachus (between 288-7 and 280-1), it is reported that the plunderers of the sanctuary entered the Hieron by night for unlawful and impious deeds, after they had tried to plunder the votive gifts of the kings and other Greeks and after they had attempted to set the temenos of the Gods afire. The One is tempted to recognize in the temenos the Central Terrace Precinct and in the Hieron the "New Temple" or one of its predecessors, entrance into which on the part of the uninitiated was in itself an unlawful and impious act.

On the stele from the Anaktoron where the text also appears in a few lines on the upper part of the block, the space below the inscription is filled by the symbols of Hermes-Kadmilos and the two brothers who were identified with the Dioskouroi. One wonders whether similar symbols, possibly related to other and even more potent divinities of the Samothracian circle, filled the lower space of the new stele. But here, again, the mysterious gods elude us.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> F. Noack, Eleusis, Berlin, 1927, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77a</sup> I.G., XII, 8, 150, lines 4 ff.: καὶ | [ἐ] γχειρήσαντας συλῆσαι τὰ ἀναθήματα | [τ] ὰ ἀνατεθέντα [ἑ] πὸ τῶ⟨ν⟩ βασιλέω⟨ν⟩ καὶ | [τ]ῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνω⟨ν⟩ καὶ ζητήσαντας | [ἐμ] πρῆσαι τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν καὶ | [εἰσ] πηδήσαντας νύκτωρ ἐπ' ἀδικίᾳ | [καὶ] ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ etc. F. Chapouthier, Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse, Paris, 1935, p. 165 suggested that in this text ἱερόν was a special section within the large sanctuary, to which he referred the term τέμενος. However, the Samothracian sanctuary, having by and large only natural boundaries, could hardly be called a temenos.—For ἱερόν as a structure within a larger sanctuary, compare the Thesmophorion in Delos: B.C.H., LIX, 1935, p. 388.

The existence of a second conspicuous structure to the west of the southern half of the "New Temple" (Pl. 9) has been known since the Austrian excavation. 18 Its eastern foundation, separated from the "Temple" by the narrow passage, in which we found an akroterial Victory in 1949, and its northeastern and southeastern corners were traced by Conze and his collaborators. Almost thirty years ago, a mission directed by Professor Salač traced the outlines of the entire foundation. While no adequate publication of this excavation is available, allusions to it 79 indicated the general size of the structure which measures 14.44 m. from east to west and 17.15 m. from north to south. It is separated by a lane on the average 2 m. wide from the southern wall of the Hall of Votive Gifts. While Salač 80 has expressed the opinion that the magnificently built foundation (Pl. 7b) never supported any superstructure, Professor Schober 81 correctly attributed to it a fragment of a dedicatory inscription discovered by Salač (Pl. 8b), and we assumed that marble blocks of a Doric building found in the débris of this region and not identical with those of the "New Temple" belonged to its superstructure.82 Specifically, Mrs. Lehmann had observed that blocks of a Doric frieze 0.795 m. high could not belong to the "New Temple" whose frieze has a height of only 0.74 m. The Austrian excavators were deceived by the melée in which remnants of the adjacent buildings were found and in their publication indicated a height of 0.76 m. for the frieze of the "Temple," 83 evidently a compromise between divergent measurements of blocks actually belonging to two different structures, since no such block has ever been found.

When we began to excavate, the northern and southern foundation walls, each of 1.00 m. width, were still largely exposed though overgrown. The line of the eastern foundation which never seems to have been fully uncovered was, and still is, largely covered with débris and earth.<sup>84</sup> The western foundation wall, 1.20 m. wide and preserved only at the lowest level (the fifth course from above), which had previously been uncovered by the mission of Professor Salač,<sup>85</sup> had been covered with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> In their first campaign, they had noted marble blocks of differing dimensions and Conze suggested the possible existence of another Doric structure to the west of the "New Temple." S., I, p. 14; also II, p. 10. But Hauser, *ibid.*, p. 28, attributed the foundation, by that time discovered and marked D (p. 29, fig. 6 and pl. I), to a great "postament."

 $<sup>^{79}</sup>$  B.C.H., XLVII, 1923, pp. 540 f. The dimensions are given as 17.00 x 14.35 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> B.C.H., LXX, 1946, pp. 557 ff. See Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 21, note 76.

<sup>81</sup> Oest. Jahresh., XXIX, 1935, pp. 1 f.

<sup>82</sup> Hesperia, loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> S., I, pls. 25, 33. The confusion may have been partly caused by the fact that the architraves of both buildings are of equal height.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> See the Austrian illustrations quoted above, note 78. Hauser thought he recognized two steps, each having a width of 0.55 m. (probably deceived by a partly missing outer course of stretchers), which would result in a width of 1.10 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> An illustration of the state of the excavation is found in fig. 8 of *Sbirka Prednések Czeke Akademie Ved a Umeni*, fasc. 6, Prague, 1938, knowledge of which we owe to the kindness of Dr. Frel.

earth again. Thus far, we have limited ourselves to clearing the northern and western foundations. The solid ashlar wall of native rusticated rock was built in alternating courses of coupled stretchers and transversal binders of standard size and gives an impression of unusual strength, even of beauty (Pl. 7b).

We expect to achieve full excavation of the entire structure in 1952. However, mingled with elements of the superstructure of the Hall of Votive Gifts to the north and with blocks from the "New Temple" to the northeast we have already found a profusion of marbles from its superstructure, in addition to others which fell to the northwest in the final catastrophe.

The marble blocks so far observed, catalogued and lined up which may safely be attributed to this structure already count to almost half a hundred. They include stereobate blocks, steps, wall blocks, Doric wall and columnar architraves, frieze blocks, geisa, column drums, capitals, anta blocks, and inner wall architraves. Among them there are, also, wall blocks with mouldings on both faces which were placed on top of the walls continuing the mouldings of the anta capitals.

While the investigation of this structure is by no means concluded, certain facts regarding its restoration are already indicated by the character of the foundation, the known elements of the superstructure, and other details. Location as well as the thickness of the western foundation indicate that the building faced the theatre area. On this side, it had an open colonnade, partly or entirely closed by metal grilles: four columns between antae that formed the end of spur walls turning toward the façade from the northwestern and southwestern corners, a scheme curiously similar to the façade of the archaic Hall of Votive Gifts to the north. While the elevation of the façade adhered to the classical norm of the two-triglyph system, the central intercolumniation was wider, having two triglyphs between the columns, as in the Propylaea of Mnesikles.

The three other walls were closed, though a side door may have existed in the southern wall which is not yet excavated. The interior was unroofed, as the complete absence of roof tiles shows. So far as it has not been removed by previous excavators, as was the case with the northern end, a purplish earth fill which may or may not have supported a marble floor filled the interior.

The building was, thus, an open rectangular courtyard with a columnar façade on its long western side. Its purpose was indicated by the discovery of a huge marble slab (visible on the foundation in Plate 7a, 2.80 m. wide, 0.60 m. long between sides having anathyrosis) with mouldings on both faces, that was found at a slight distance to the west of the northern part of the façade, evidently in fallen position; it had crashed into a later concrete structure <sup>86</sup> that runs roughly parallel to the western

<sup>86</sup> The stone could hardly have been brought purposefully from elsewhere.

foundation.<sup>87</sup> This slab can hardly belong to anything else but the upper end of a monumental altar that once stood in the interior of the Doric marble court.

We therefore assume, for the time being, that the structure was an Altar-Court. As such, though still lacking the high podium with relief decoration, and though Doric instead of Ionic in order, it is a striking forerunner of the Altar of Pergamon. But the levels preserved also seem to indicate that a broad stairway led up to the altar in Samothrace, too. The basic idea of a great altar-court with a column façade between spur walls, and the almost exact equality of dimension in depth 88 (while in Samothrace the length is limited by the space available between the Hall of Votive Gifts and the course of the river to the south) both point to a forerunner of the Pergamon Altar. In the latter, the concept of a monumental altar-court is fused with that of the high altar terrace of old derivation. While the latter, Anatolian, tradition has long been recognized behind the Pergamon Altar, the structure now emerging in Samothrace furnishes an antecedent for the superstructure of the Altar of Pergamon, because it is earlier. That it belongs to the latter part of the fourth century B.C. is indicated 89 by the proportions and by technical and formal details. The submitting of evidence for this statement will have to be postponed. But it may be said now that the affinity to the little that is known of later fourth-century Doric architecture is close, especially to the Temple of Stratos 90 built by Kassander or shortly before, at the time of Alexander the Great.

We found epigraphic documents confirming this date which are in themselves of considerable importance for the history of the time. A large fragmentary columnar architrave block (Pl. 8a)<sup>91</sup> was found to the north of the western part of the northern foundation just outside the excavation ditch in which our predecessors had traced the course of that foundation. Its inscribed face lying upward only covered by overgrowth was observed by Mr. Shaw. It had been put upright and mutilated by Byzantine peasants who had piled stones together to serve as a little roughly curved wall. But it was undoubtedly found near by, where we found many blocks from the northern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> The slab was found 4.00 m. distant from the western foundation and ca. 3 m. to the north of the center line of the structure.

<sup>88</sup> Aproximately 15.00 by 26.00 m. in Pergamon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> The few potsherds so far found in the northern foundation ditch do not contradict this date, and include a fourth-century bowl. A purplish fill brought in at the time of the construction of the third century "New Temple" covered the original yellowish fill in the foundation ditch of the structure. In the narrow lane between it and the Hall of Votive Gifts (the floor of which was at a lower level), the two upper handsome rusticated courses of the foundation (Pl. 7b) were originally exposed to sight throughout their entire length. Later this lane seems to have descended from east to west to a level which was equal to that of the floor of the Hall of Votive Gifts.

<sup>90</sup> F. Courby and Ch. Picard, Recherches archéologiques à Stratos, Paris, 1924.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Broken above and at the left. Pres. length 1.11 m.; pres. height 0.58 m.; thickness 0.41 m. Height of letters 0.09 m. (O: 0.077 m.). The block was found 1.45 m. north of the northern foundation and at a point 2.00 m. east of the northwest corner.

end of the facade still in fallen position. Near its preserved right end the block bears beautifully carved, late fourth-century letters 92 of 0.09 m. height: .ΔAIOΣI. One recognizes before the delta the lower end of a vertical hasta, in position and shape seemingly another iota. The position in which the block was found makes it clear that it must belong to the initial part of the dedicatory inscription of the Altar-Court.  $--\iota\delta\alpha\hat{i}os$ , thus, can only be the end of the name of the dedicator, in this age, and given the character of the inscription, a ruler. The name can only be ['Aρρ] ιδαίος, 93 a conclusion reached independently by various observers. Another fragment of the same dedicatory inscription has been known for more than a quarter of a century. It was discovered by Professor Salač 94 outside the northern part of the facade, presumably in the same place where we still found it and where it had been left after its discovery (Pl. 8b). Salač correctly recognized it as part of a dedicatory inscription on a fragmentary architrave block, but he was wrong in attributing it to the "New Temple" as has long been observed; his restoration, as we now see, was wrong, too, as was the mid-third century date. There was not much to go on at the time, inasmuch as the block is badly mutilated and the inscription rather worn, yet the position in which it was found even then should have indicated that it belonged to our structure.

This second fragment on a block broken at both ends  $^{95}$  preserves in letters of equal size and style— $\Omega N\Theta EO$ —the last three letters of the block, as Salač recognized, undoubtedly the beginning of  $\theta \epsilon o [\hat{\imath}_s \ \mu \epsilon \gamma \acute{a} \lambda o \iota s]$ . Near by on the surface we found a fragment of the M of the missing last word.  $^{96}$ 

Further evidence is available for the restoration. Two fragmentary marble blocks, <sup>97</sup> both broken on all sides, were found among débris of the structure, and at a slight distance to the north of it. They preserve parts of what evidently is a replica

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Very close in character, for example, to the inscription of Kassander of 320 B.C., I.G., XII, 8, p. 94, 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> In an Ephesian honorary decree of this period, the same fragmentary name PIDAION was long ago correctly restored as 'A] $\rho \iota \delta a \hat{\iota} o \nu$  (or 'A $\rho$ ] $\rho \iota \delta a \hat{\iota} o \nu$ ); E. L. Hicks, The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, III, Oxford, 1890, p. 95, no. 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> B.C.H., XLIX, 1925, pp. 245 ff., fig. 1, roughly indicates the region. But, at least since 1937, the block has been seen lying at a point not opposite the corner of the structure, but 5 m. to the south. It hardly seems possible that anybody would have moved it there since the excavation of Professor Salač. Generally, in the final catastrophe, blocks fell northward. See, also, F. Chapouthier, Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse, Paris, 1935, p. 163; I.G., XII, 8, Suppl., Berlin, 1939, 228.

 $<sup>^{95}</sup>$  Pres. length 1.20 m.; height (normal architrave height of the building, identical to that of the "New Temple") 0.65 m.; thickness 0.45 m. Size, style and position of letters identical with those of the new fragment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Now in the Museum. Acc. No. 51.718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Acc. No. 51.716. Broken on all sides and at the back. Pres. length 0.185 m.; pres. height 0.057 m. Height of letters 0.02 m. (O: 0.012 m.). Acc. No. 51.717. Broken on all sides and at the back. Pres. length 0.13 m.; pres. height 0.102 m.; size of letters the same as No. 716. The stones were more than 0.116 m. high, presumably considerably higher.

of the façade dedication in letters of much smaller size (height 0.02 m.) but of the same style. One will assume that this inscription was placed on the altar proper in the court. As bad luck had it, one fragment (Pl. 8c) again preserves the very same letters  $\triangle AIO \le I$  and, before the delta, what may well be the lower end of an iota. The second of these fragments (Pl. 8d) is more important though only the upper two thirds of four letters are preserved  $YP\Omega N$ . Assuming, as is natural, that the  $\Omega N$  of both texts was in identical position, we may now complete the latter part:  $[and \lambda ad] \dot{\nu} \rho \omega \nu \theta \epsilon_0 [i_S] \mu [\epsilon_Y \dot{\alpha} \lambda_{01} s]$ . The inscription undoubtedly refers to the Arrhidaios who succeeded Alexander the Great. The style of both structure and lettering points to that period, and the royal dedicatory inscription is of the kind that originated in Alexander's age and, in Samothrace, was followed by the dedications of the Arsinoeion and the Ptolemaion in the third century.

In another place, I shall publish the results of a re-examination of the sources related to Arrhidaios and attempt to correct the picture of the pathetic figure of Alexander's successor, who seems to me to have been arbitrarily neglected and misrepresented by modern historians. That misrepresentation is based on the idea that Arrhidaios was an idiot, which he certainly was not. He was feeble in health and possibly suffered from occasional epileptic fits. For our purpose, it is sufficient to state that he was able to transact royal business and make public appearances <sup>101</sup> and that a Samothracian dedication in his name, was naturally a dedication ordered by him.

Arrhidaios had accompanied Alexander on his campaigns and served as his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Georges Daux first identified the first letter as unquestionably an Y and suggested the restoration.

<sup>100</sup> His namesake, who was in charge of the bearing of Alexander's body to Egypt and later satrap of Bithynia on the Hellespont, never assumed royal dignity and hardly can be credited with any such dedication. It should be mentioned that the name Arrhidaios may conceivably be preserved in another Samothracian inscription which has  $API\Delta$ — at the beginning of one line. *I.G.*, XII, 8, No. 231 (ill. A. Conze, Reisen auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres, Hannover, 1860, pl. XVI, fig. 3). It has been restored to read  $E\~vaθ[λos] | γαριδ[ήλου] | τὴν σ[τιβάδα] | θε[οῖs. The name Aridelos was restored here because it is found a few times in Samothrace. The beginning of four lines of this inscription is preserved at the left end of a low block of masonry which is broken at the right and must have had a rather elongated form. One could just as well suggest the following: <math>E\~vaθ[λοs τοῦ δεῖνα τὸν τοῦ βασιλέωs] | γλριδ[αίου βωμὸν ἀνωρθώσατο καὶ] | τὴν σ[τιβάδα καὶ τὸ - - - -] | Θε[οῖs Μεγάλοιs ἀνέθηκεν], or something like it. In this case, the inscription could have belonged to a restoration of the first century B.C. The spelling of Arrhidaios with only one rho occurs in some literary sources. The evidence is, of course, not sufficient to assume the restoration of this inscription in one way or another.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> The evidence for this will be fully submitted in another place.

"minister" for religious affairs.<sup>102</sup> Shortly before his death, Alexander himself erected altars to the Samothracian Gods in India at the eastern boundary of his exploits.<sup>103</sup> Among his dedications in India there was also an altar structure with a terrace altar or an altar-court, the dimension of which is given as 23.00 m.<sup>104</sup> In the days before his death in Babylon, where Arrhidaios was present, he received ambassadors from Greek sanctuaries and promised them dedications.<sup>105</sup> After his death, memoranda were said to have been found providing, among many other things, for ambitious temples in Greek and Macedonian sanctuaries.<sup>106</sup> Samothrace is not specifically mentioned in our sources in either connection; the memoranda referred to speak only of temples, not of altars. But Arrhidaios' dedication of an altar-court in Samothrace in that period is in harmony with Alexander's actions.

Alexander's devotion to the Samothracian gods may have been prompted by the story of Philip's falling in love with Olympias in Samothrace as well as by the traditional allegiance of the Macedonian royal house to the Samothracian cult documented by that very story. And Arrhidaios may have honestly cared about that tradition himself and been devoted to the Great Gods. However, there is another side to the matter. Olympias, Alexander's mother, was his, the "illegitimate" child's, irreconciliable enemy from his childhood (in which she was said to have drugged him) to his death as a result of her murderous ambition. If Arrhidaios made a spectacular dedication like this great Altar-Court in Samothrace, he proclaimed his royal position, his traditional Macedonian devotion and, as is were, he put himself under the special protection of those gods whom Olympias could claim as hers.

In a previous report, I have, for other reasons, related the elaboration of the Central Terrace Precinct and its propylon of the Dancing Maidens to the story of Philip and Olympias in Samothrace.<sup>109</sup> This precinct, also an open area for sacrificial rites, is roughly contemporary with the dedication of Arrhidaios; whether it is somewhat earlier or later remains uncertain. One now wonders whether Olympias had a hand in it.

The Altar-Court of Arrhidaios faced the area where, probably considerably

<sup>102</sup> Curtius Rufus, X, 7, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Philostratus, Vita Apoll. Tyan., II, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Diodorus, XVII, 95, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Diodorus, XVIII, 13, 3.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., XVIII, 4, 1 ff. I shall discuss the debated question of the authenticity of these documents in a forthcoming article on Arrhidaios.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> See *Hesperia*, XX, 1952, p. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> For Macedonian allegiance to Samothrace see: O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer von Eleusis und Samothrake*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 143 f. The new dedication of Arrhidaios now closes a gap in this tradition.

<sup>109</sup> Hesperia, loc. cit.

later, a theatre <sup>110</sup> was built. Its cavea rose on the slope of the western hill beyond the bed of the river which, at that time, may have been channelled under its orchestra. Possibly related to the theatre is a wall that flanked the eastern side of the river bed. We found a section of that wall 4.70 m. to the west of the northern part of the façade of the Altar-Court and parallel to it. There is no room here for a stage building which would have blocked both the façade and the entrance to the Altar-Court. It seems obvious that this very façade served later as the background of the orchestra in lieu of a stage building, a relationship similar to that of the Thersilion in Megalopolis and the Theatre there. We hope that future work in this area will clarify this connection.

The Altar-Court of Arrhidaios was dedicated to the group of the "Great Gods" which seems to have been considered the principal circle of deities in the sanctuary, both in the public festivals and ceremonies and in the secret mystery rites. If, on the other hand, the spectacular rotunda dedicated shortly afterward to the same divinities by Arsinoe over a very ancient sacrificial area was also, as we have good reasons to believe, a Thymele built for sacrifices, and if the Central Terrace Precinct, too, served such a purpose in connection with specific legends and performances related to some of these gods, we must conclude that a succession of spectacular sacrificial ceremonies took place in the great festivals. As the other two conspicuous sacrificial structures have archaic forerunners, so, too, the Altar-Court of Arrhidaios may elaborate an earlier sacrificial area.

Beyond doubt the rituals included minor ceremonies on the altars of other divinities several of which we have uncovered: one to the west of the Arsinoeion, one to the north of the "New Temple" 114 and a third, also of archaic origin, to the northeast of the Central Terrace. The latter was uncovered at the end of the campaign of 1950 115 and we finished our work in that section during the campaign of 1951.

the theatre cavea was discovered by Champoiseau in 1891 and it is said that seventeen steps were uncovered then, of which only the uppermost four remained exposed for some time afterwards: O. Kern, Ath. Mitt., XVIII, 1893, pp. 342 f.; idem, Arch. Anz., VIII, 1893, col. 131. Presumably seven of these same steps were again uncovered in 1923, and the discovery of the cavea of a theatre or telesterion was announced: B.C.H., XLVII, 1923, p. 541; XLVIII, 1924, pp. 504 f.; Chapouthier, op. cit., p. 174. A detailed report of this excavation was announced as imminent in 1924: B.C.H., XLVIII, 1924, p. 503. The steps then visible were shown in illustrations, ibid., fig. 17, and Sbirka (op. cit., above, note 85), fig. 6. They had been taken off by stone robbers before my visit to Samothrace in 1937.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 1952, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 1952, p. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 7b.

This altar and its setting (Pl. 8f) have peculiarly interesting features. The altar itself, originally a huge rectangularly cut boulder put on top of a flattened rock and surrounded by a step which was widened to serve as a prothysis on the southeastern side, so that the sacrificer faced northwest, dates from the sixth century. The excavation of its surroundings revealed that it was situated in a kind of rocky glade. Immediately to the northeast of the altar, what has been described in previous reports "as a "rocky cliff" emerges precipitously to a height of ca. 4 m. above the ground level. On the opposite side, an equally precipitous only slightly lower rock wall on which the northern corner of the Central Terrace was later placed 118 curves around the southwestern side of the altar at a wider distance. This curve, continued in a lower rocky ledge which has been artificially flattened off at various levels and gaps of which have been filled out with small stones, forms a semicircle around the southeastern side of the altar to meet the cliff at the other side. Evidently, at the time of the altar's construction, a wall which has now disappeared 119 elaborated the natural setting at the sides of the altar into a kind of horseshoe shaped, half natural, half artificial glade open in the direction toward which the sacrificer faced.

But this is not all. When the altar was built, the builders covered the ground around it with a purplish (disintegrated porphyry) mud <sup>120</sup> which was used elsewhere in Samothrace and is still used there for creating a water-tight layer. That this mud was not natural to the region but had been brought in artificially was observed by Mr. Daykin, who pointed out that its layers are not horizontal but descend from the fringe of the glade towards the center. Near the southern corner of the altar, a large natural rock emerges from this clay bed; under it, when our excavation had reached this level, a spring began to flow temporarily and water collected in the clay bed near the altar (Pl. 8e). In antiquity, when conditions on then "wooded," <sup>121</sup> now barren, Samothrace were quite different, this spring may have been quite copious and was certainly perennial.

We thus obtain the astonishing picture of an old altar for chthonic sacrifices <sup>122</sup> in a setting of rocky scenery, artificially elaborated into a glade containing a spring. When in the late fourth century the Central Terrace was built and the road that

in 1951.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Loc. cit. More ceramic finds confirming this date were made around the step foundation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, pp. 7 f., pl. 5a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 1952, pl. 7b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Its complete destruction was caused by the road that Early Christian lime burners cut through this region and through the fourth-century B.C. fill over and around the altar. See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 41 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> This mud was also used to fill foundation ditches of the Altar-Court of Arrhidaios and of the third-century B.C. "New Temple." It was used, too, for waterproofing in the setting of the Victory of Samothrace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, XIII, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 33.

led to it and its precinct passed the old sacred spot on a higher level,<sup>128</sup> the altar was raised. Marble chips from the work of that period were found over the old clay floor. Then a gravel layer was brought in over the old spring, a common device to cover up a spot where water collects. Over that layer, again, marble dust of the fourth century construction was found. After that, only the new altar placed on top of its archaic predecessor recalled the romantic old spot.

We have previously 124 suggested that the legend of the Kerynthian Cave of Hekate in Samothrace may have been rooted in the rocky scenery of this region south of the Arsinoeion. One is tempted to think that the setting around this archaic altar may have given origin to this "cave" and that the altar was dedicated to Hekate.

A curious, and, though badly weathered, completely preserved little object of Thasian marble (0.051 m. high) was found in the gravel fill near this altar and therefore antedates the late fourth century B.C. (Pl. 6f). It is in the form of a tall three-sided pyramid and is strikingly similar in shape to the "cakes" that often appear in Greek representations. In the mystery sanctuary of Samothrace, one is reminded of the  $\pi\nu\rho\mu\mu\hat{\omega}$  which ancient tradition mentions as symbols in mystery cults. On the other hand, one wonders whether an object found so close to what for other reasons has been suggested as an altar of Hekate may not have been a kind of aniconic symbol of the divinity, otherwise represented in a naturalizing combination of three bodies.

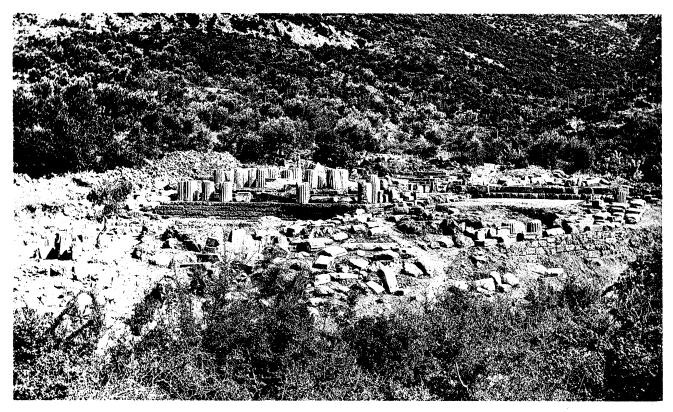
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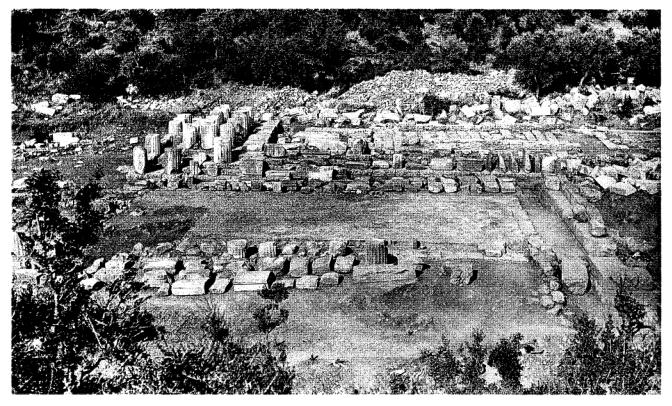
<sup>123</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 1951, pp. 7 f., note 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> See A.J.A., XLIV, 1940, p. 355 and note 39.



a. View of the Southern Part of the Sanctuary (left, Central Terrace Precinct; center, "New Temple;" right, Hall of Votive Gifts; and in background, Altar Court)



b. Hall of Votive Gifts seen from West (in background, "New Temple;" at right, foundation of Altar Court)

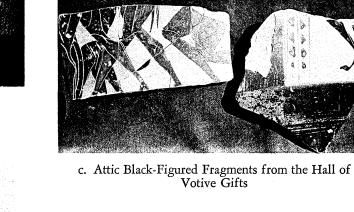
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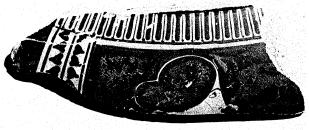


a. Hall of Votive Gifts. Western Facade seen from South

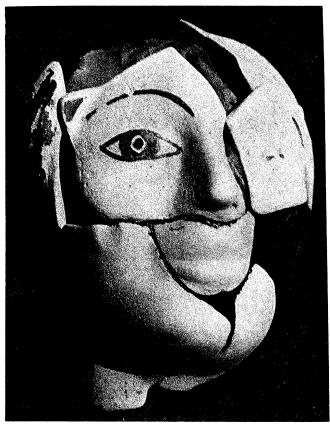


b. Pedimental Block and Cornice Block of Hall of Votive Gifts

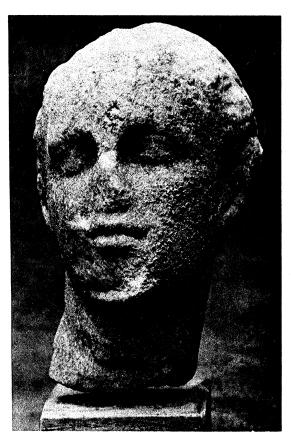




d. Attic Red-Figured Fragment from the Hall of Votive Gifts



a. Fragmentary Terracotta Head from the Hall of Votive Gifts



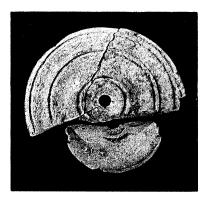
b. Head of a Hellenistic Marble Statuette



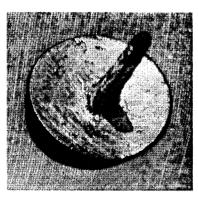
c. Fragment with Incised Inscription from the Hall of Votive Gifts



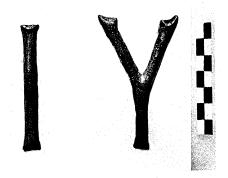
d. Bronze Fibula from the Hall of Votive Gifts



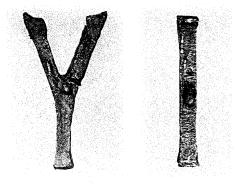
e. Fragments of a Bone Pyxis from the Hall of Votive Gifts



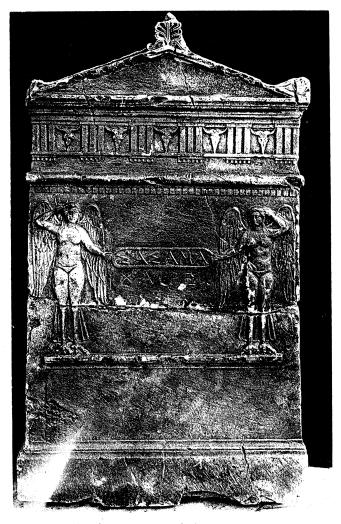
f. Silver Nail from the Hall of Votive Gifts



a. Gilded Bronze Letters from the Hall of Votive Gifts



b. Gilded Bronze Letters from the Hall of Votive Gifts, seen from Back



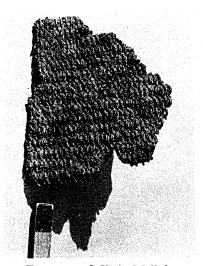
c. Stele of Sasamas, Istanbul, Ottoman Museum



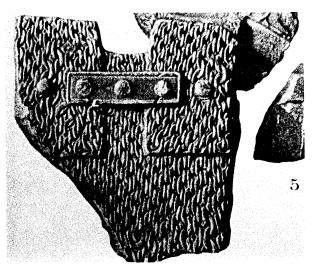


d. and e. Foot of a Hellenistic Vase with Relief Decoration from the Hall of Votive Gifts

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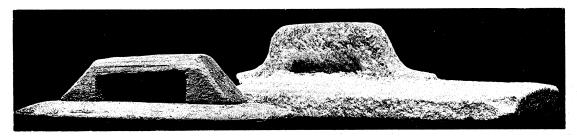
a. Fragment of Chain Mail from the Hall of Votive Gifts



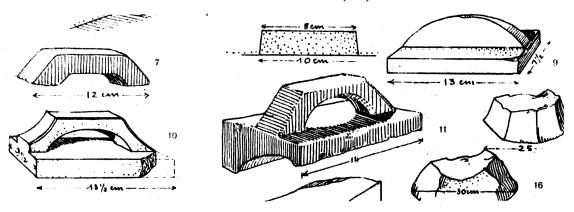
b. Fragment from the Parapet of the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon



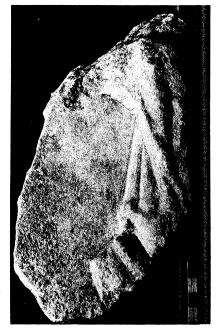
c. Hall of Votive Gifts. Stuccoed Floor near Southwestern Corner with Marble Float



d. Marble Float from the Hall of Votive Gifts and (left) Modern Wooden Float



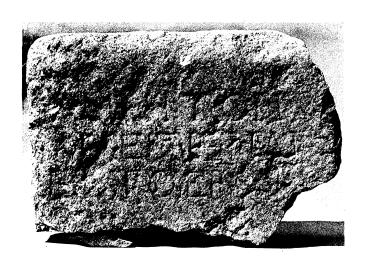
e. Archaic Tufa Floats from Sanctuary of Aphaia in Aegina



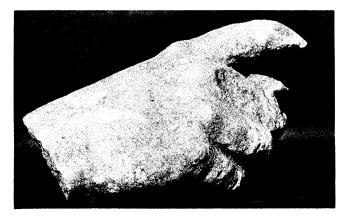
a. Centaur Relief, Left Foreleg



c. Fragmentary Latin Dedicatory Inscription



e. Fragmentary Stele Forbidding Entry into a Building



b. Centaur Relief, Right Hand



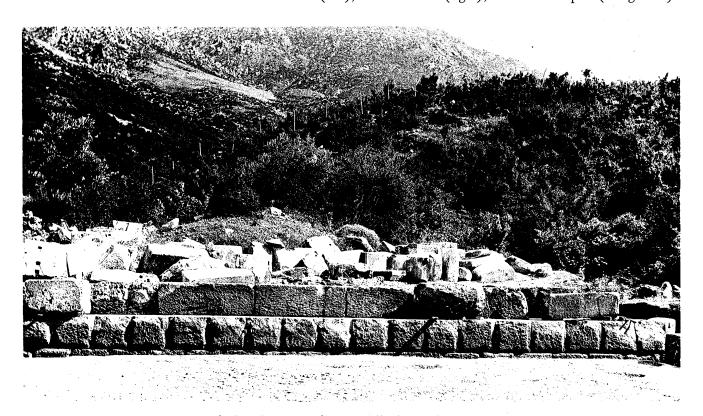
d. Fragmentary Stele with Catalogue of Mystae



f. Three Sided Marble Pyramid from Rocky Glade



a. View from Southwest: The Hall of Votive Gifts (left), the Altar Court (right), the "New Temple" (background)



b. Northern Foundation Wall of the Altar Court



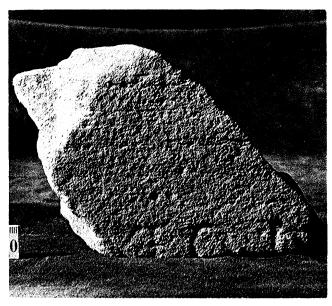
a. Fragmentary Architrave Block from the Altar Court



b. Fragmentary Architrave Block from the Altar Court



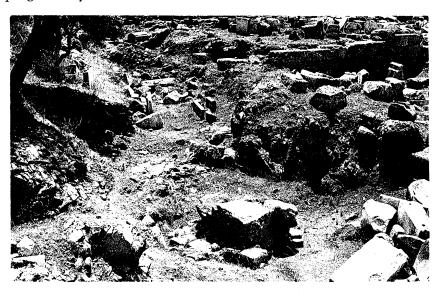
c. Fragment of a Smaller Replica of the Dedicatory Inscription of the Altar Court



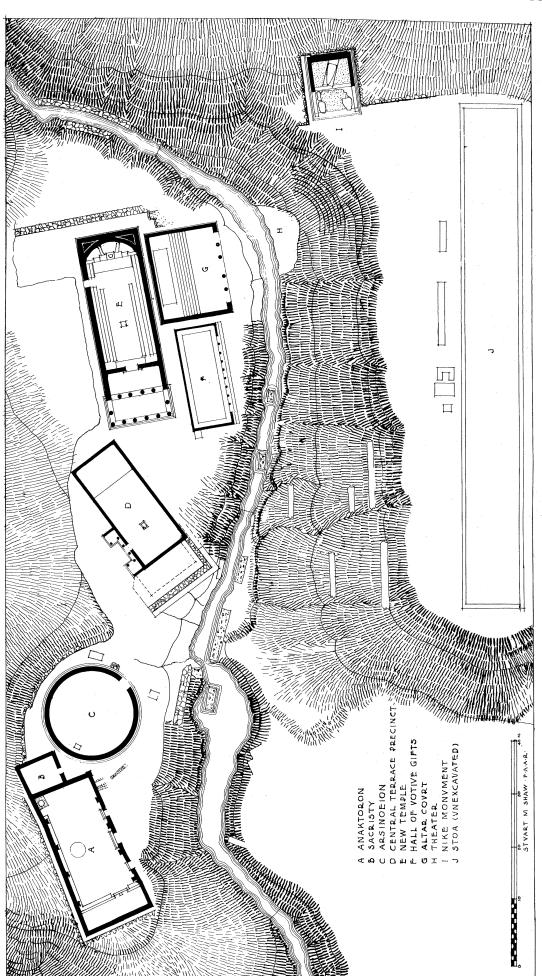
d. Fragment of a Smaller Replica of the Dedicatory Inscription of the Altar Court



e. Altar and Spring in Rocky Glade



f. Rocky Glade with Archaic Altar



Restored Plan of the Sanctuary at Samothrace

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