

SAMOTHRACE: FOURTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

(PLATES 1-18)

THE excavations of the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were continued during the summer of 1949.¹ We carried on our exhaustive exploration of the main area of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods² and concentrated chiefly on the two areas in which we had worked during the previous year: the regions of the great rotunda dedicated by Queen Arsinoe and of the so-called New Temple. The results of the campaign were again gratifying. They have considerably enlarged our knowledge of the nature of this cult which gradually ceases to be the most mysterious of all the antique mystery religions. They have added important new evidence in regard to the origin and early phases of the famous sanctuary. They have furnished architectural data of considerable significance through discoveries in the New Temple. They have presented us with the remains of a hitherto unknown Greek building. And

¹ The fourth campaign was carried out from June 14 through August 5, 1949. The staff, under my direction, again included two veteran members: Dr. Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Associate Professor in the Art Department of Smith College, who again served as Assistant Field Director especially in charge of the "New Temple," and Stuart M. Shaw of the Metropolitan Museum of Art who directed the architectural work. Dr. Phyllis Pray Bober, Lecturer at Washington Square College, and Mrs. Elsbeth Dusenbery of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University were again with us, as they had been in the previous campaign. Mr. Jack Wassermann, of the Institute, joined us as a new member. For a short time, we also enjoyed the help of Mr. Roy Fraser of the British School in Rome who assisted Mr. Shaw in the architectural work in the New Temple. To our delight, the Greek Government again appointed Mr. Vassilios Kallipolitis, now in the Archaeological Service in Salonika, as its representative. His invaluable experience, knowledge and interest and his keen observation have greatly facilitated our work and helped us to achieve the results submitted in this report. Our group as a whole worked in close and fruitful cooperation.

Our loyal, intelligent and energetic foreman, Georgios Nikolaides, was as efficient as ever under difficult circumstances and in trying tasks. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Christos Karouzos and of the Royal Greek Ministry of Education, we had the assistance of M. Kontogeorgios, the most experienced and able restorer of the Athens National Museum.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the following institutions which have enabled us to carry on: The Bollingen Foundation (by granting us the necessary means, again supplemented by a generous anonymous private donation); the Royal Greek Ministry of Education; the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the Administration of New York University; the American Express Company in New York and Athens. Many individuals in these organizations as well as others have contributed to our work through practical assistance, advice and scholarly information. We wish to name particularly: Bernard Ashmole, John D. Barrett, Sir John Beazley, John Caskey, Jean Charbonneaux, Harry Woodburn Chase, Walter W. S. Cook, Fritz Eichler, Lady Gabriel, Edwin H. Land, Benjamin D. Meritt, Demetrios Pappaeustratiou, Lucy Talcott, Homer Thompson, and Daniel Woods.

² For previous reports see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 1 ff. with bibliography.

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finally, for the first time since the French and Austrian expeditions of the mid nineteenth century, they have led to the discovery of important Greek sculptures which now are sheltered in the local museum previously built by us.

We completed our work in the region of the Arsinoeion by excavating along its western and southern periphery. In the latter direction we explored the entire roughly triangular area between the Arsinoeion, the western riverbed of the sanctuary, and the central terrace,³ impressive remnants of which had always emerged from the wilderness of the secluded valley (Pls. 2a and 3a). In spite of the terrible natural catastrophe and willful destruction which had hit this region with particular violence, we were able to uncover important remnants *in situ* and to trace the development of the area. For the sake of brevity, it seems preferable to outline these results in a chronological historical survey rather than to submit the complicated set of entangled observations as they developed in the process of exploration.

Before classical times there was, in this region, a steep rocky slope descending from the upper hill towards the riverbed. This slope was rather regular in most of the area later covered by the Arsinoeion. But to the southeast of it there arose a precipice with a rocky cliff (Pl. 5a, right) projecting from it at a distance of about 15 m. from the riverbed, and a kind of glade framed by rocky slopes on the north, east and south and closed off to the west by hills beyond the riverbed. The natural access to this area was from the west through a saddle in the western hills, between the later Stoa and the "Ruinenviereck" of the western sanctuary.⁴ In the glade itself and near its big basalt boulders,⁵ intrusions in the porphyry masses of the rocky scenery, here and there emerged to a height of 4 to 5 feet from the weathered rocks around them. It must have been a rather startling scene and, if small in scale, one that easily might have induced early peoples to visualize the presence of divine powers in nature.

In 1948 we uncovered one of these great boulders having steps leading up to its partly levelled-off surface and a channel around part of its periphery beneath the eastern part of the rotunda. We explained it as a "rock altar" of the type known especially from Phrygia, and as a striking document of the root of the Samothracian religion in the rites of the Great Mother, the Lady of the Rocks variously identified by ancient writers as Kybele, Rhea, or Demeter, and called Axieros in Samothrace, where her seated image flanked by lions appears on coins. Her sacred rock, later buried beneath though included within the rotunda of Arsinoe, had been made a place of worship by the natives before Greek settlers came to Samothrace. It had been included by these natives in a "cyclopean" terrace, the retaining wall of which we

³ See Conze, A. and others, *Archaeologische Untersuchungen in Samothrake* (hereafter quoted as *Samothrake*) II, pl. 1 (= *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 136, fig. 2).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ We are greatly indebted to Dr. Frederick Pough of the American Museum of Natural History for examining and identifying samples of stone. His judgment is the basis of the terminology used in this report.

uncovered to a considerable length.⁶ In 1949 we found the southern end of this cyclopean wall outside and to the south of the Arsinoeion, where it is preserved to a length of *ca.* 2 m. and to a height of 1.25 m., the southern end being wedged into a sloping cutting at the northern side of the previously mentioned precipitous cliff (Pls. 1 **g**, 5a, center). In the seventh century B. C., after Greeks had settled in Samothrace, they built over this native sanctuary an open air double precinct the northern section of which contained the old sacred rock, while the southern part included a sacrificial pit to the underworld gods. The foundations of the eastern and western boundaries of that early Greek precinct and part of its dividing wall with the remnants of a yellow tufa orthostate structure once supporting mudbrick walls were found inside the Arsinoeion.⁷

The character of the cult in this early age and the religious explanation offered by us was further corroborated and elucidated by discoveries made in 1949. In the depths outside the Arsinoeion, we uncovered the well-preserved sturdy substructure of the southwestern corner of the seventh century double precinct (Pls. 1 **a**, 2a, 3b, 5b). Posed on bedrock at a level 4.20 m. beneath the euthynteria of the rotunda and preserved to a height of 1.15 m., it is built of large blocks. Its position shows that the southern wall of the double precinct coincided with the southern foundation of the rotunda.

In the immediate vicinity of this corner and to the west of it, we discovered the most striking and unexpected confirmation of the ritual purpose of the sacred rock previously suggested. Here another basalt rock with a diameter of *ca.* 2 m. emerged to a height of 1.50 m. (Pls. 1 **h**, 3b). On the side facing the double precinct a smaller boulder had been levelled off 1.20 m. beneath the top of the sacred rock (Pls. 3b, 4a). It offers an obvious place on which a person could stand. Between it and the double precinct, the seventh century Greeks spread a rectangular pavement of yellow tufa slabs of the same variety used in the orthostate structure of the double precinct and measuring 2.14 m. from northwest to southeast, by 2.25 m. from northeast to southwest (0.21 m. thick). At a level just one step (0.32 m.) beneath the flattened stepping stone this tufa floor accompanies its irregular outline but leaves around it a narrow channel (0.065 m. wide) into which libations could be poured by a person standing on the prothesis rock. The libations entered a triangular cavity near the southern corner of the pavement and the channel encircling the rock was covered by small stones wedged in between it and the pavement. At a slight distance and to the south of the corner of the double precinct, another boulder was perpendicularly cut on its north and south sides and seems to have been included in a kind of parapet wall framing a descending avenue of access to this sacred rock sanctuary along the southern side of the double precinct.

⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 8 ff., figs. 1, 15-19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9 ff., figs. 1, 14-17, 20, 21.

The sacred character of this rock and the libation rites performed here are even more strikingly evident than were those of the other rock previously discovered in the double precinct—and they are basically the same. What remains uncertain, however, is tantalizing enough. Was the divinity worshipped here and there the same? Had the sacred rock outside the double precinct already been a place of native worship before the arrival of the Greeks? We have not found any evidence for such worship and one is tempted to think that the Greeks, when they established their initial mystery rites and included the pre-Greek rock altar in an adyton, may have installed a public substitute outside the exclusive double precinct for the continued use of those who were not initiated.

As has been stated before,⁸ the double precinct had but a short life. We have found at its southwestern corner traces of destruction by fire, presumably at a time shortly after 600 B.C. There followed a prolonged intermediate period. Several poor foundations of various successive structures have been discovered beneath the Sacristy to the south of the Anaktoron and in the interior of the Arsinoeion.⁹ The foundations of various buildings or enclosures of that period belong to several building phases of the sixth century B.C. They are flimsy fieldstone foundations built over the foundations of the ruined double precinct. Near the southwestern periphery of the rotunda and almost parallel to it, we uncovered one such wall in 1949 (Pls. 1 **b**, 3b, 5b). It is the continuation of a similar foundation discovered in 1948 inside the Arsinoeion¹⁰ posed obliquely on the foundation of the western wall of the double precinct. Over the strong substructure of the corner of the double precinct the southwestern foundation and the western corner of what evidently was once an enclosure around the bothros has now been laid bare. For it is evident that the cult continued without interruption although during this phase the buildings were extremely primitive.

We had already ascertained this continuity inside the Arsinoeion by the discovery of an archaic altar foundation over a seventh century place of sacrifice in the northern section of the double precinct.¹¹ Now we have found two more sixth century sacrificial places outside the Arsinoeion. The earlier yellow floor around the sacred rock (Pls. 3b, 4a) was by this time buried under the ground. But at a slight distance to the southeast of it and about 3 m. south of the corner of the double precinct and the intermediate wall above it, we found *in situ* on a stamped earth floor the lower part of a sizable and unique archaic terracotta altar (Pls. 1 **c**, 4e, 5b).¹² It is circular, hollow on the inside, and flares upward towards a vertical central cylinder the lower end of

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 349 f.; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 12, figs. 1, 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13, figs. 1, 15, 23.

¹² Acc. No. 49.858 (the fragments of the upper edge: 49.672 A-B). Lower diam.: 0.37 m., preserved ht.: 0.18 m. The upper edge has a simple cymation between two convex mouldings and, under it, part of the curved wall flaring backward towards the narrower central cylinder is preserved.

which is preserved. Two of its superimposed round mouldings are decorated with a moulded beading and its entire surface was painted a deep red. Its original height is unknown. But two preserved fragments of the upper edge show that an upper part corresponding somewhat to the lower one flared outward from the central cylinder toward a flat surface which may have had a cavity or a hole in the center. Traces of fire on the surface show that this was an altar. In the vicinity, fragments of two other round terracotta altars¹³ were found scattered in later layers, and it would seem that not far from the old sacred rock outside the Arsinoeion there was a set of round clay altars. Whether they were connected with the sacred rock is uncertain. Furthermore, we found scattered bones of sheep, pigs and cattle in this region in considerable quantity.¹⁴ The date of the preserved altar may be connected with a handsome black-glazed kylix of Ionic workmanship, the fragments of which were found in a thin black layer evidently dating from the period of the inauguration of the altar (Pl. 6a), seemingly about 560 B.C.¹⁵

Another sacrificial place was installed in this period, too, it seems, at some distance to the north of the sacred rock on the slope to the west of the Arsinoeion. It would appear that in the intermediate period most of the sacred rock lay buried, though its top probably still emerged for some time afterward. The sacrificial place west of the later Arsinoeion and northwest of the rock (Pls. 1 i, 2b, 4b) was on an even higher level. Here a stamped earth floor was framed by a setting of small stones of which only the southern part is preserved to a length of 2.80 m. Later altars in this region following the orientation of this frame indicate the sacrificial function of the place from the sixth century B.C. on. Bones of sheep found over the earth floor attest to sacrifices brought here at that time. Part of the foundation of the third of three successive phases¹⁶ uncovered in the northwestern corner of the late archaic Sacristy to the northeast of the Arsinoeion also belongs to this intermediate period of the sixth century. All these structures represent an interlude in which the cult seems to have spread around the area of the two old sacred rocks in a number of sacrificial places. The impression is one of extreme poverty and of quickly renewed flimsy structures in contrast with the fine and ambitious building activity of the seventh century. To be sure, the terracotta altar is an impressive but modest monument. The only more ambitious relic of this period thus far known from Samothrace is the famous archaic

¹³ Acc. Nos. 49.986 and 49.1032, the former from the Arsinoeion fill, the latter from the yellow fill of the fifth century mentioned below.

¹⁴ For the identification of these and other bones of sacrificial animals mentioned in this report, we are greatly indebted to Dr. Edwin Colbert of the American Museum of Natural History.

¹⁵ Acc. No. 49.887: restored: part of the upper section with one handle. Entirely black-glazed with the exception of the foot, covered beneath and around its edge with a slip of fine orange clay. Diam.: 0.149 m.; Ht.: 0.08 m.

¹⁶ For the two earlier phases see walls A, B in *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 349, figs. 3, 22. (Cf. *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 12 f.).

limestone relief of Agamemnon and his companions in the Louvre and it may as well have belonged to an altar as to the frame of a bothros or a seat.¹⁷

But the sudden ascendancy of the sanctuary around 500 B.C. is now amply documented throughout its northern portion. Its most conspicuous feature is the archaic initiation hall, the Anaktoron.¹⁸ Some distance to the south of this building which for centuries to come dominated this part of the sanctuary, we had previously discovered the northwestern corner of the oldest sacristy.¹⁹ In 1949, we completed its exploration in order to transport blocks from the superstructure of the Arsinoeion that had accumulated to the south, to the triangle between the Hellenistic Sacristy, the Arsinoeion and the terrace walls to the east. Here, at a distance of 4.88 m. from the northern foundation of the archaic Sacristy we uncovered its southern foundation wall (0.50 m. wide) preserved to a length of 3.50 m. (Pl. 4c). The archaic Sacristy, whose eastern boundary was destroyed by later builders, formed a square of about 4.90 m. inner width.

With the erection of these buildings, which attest the full development of the mystery rites, there went an ambitious planning program for the entire area. In 1948 we uncovered an impressive terrace wall of polygonal rocks which formed a peristasis to the entire eastern and northern sides of the Anaktoron.²⁰ In 1949 we found the lower part of a wall of the same type and undoubtedly of the same period (Pl. 5a) under the southernmost section of the later concrete terrace wall to the east and south of the Arsinoeion.²¹ It is preserved to a length of 6 m. and a height of 2 to 3 courses. Evidently this slightly curving terrace wall originally continued to a point near the southeastern corner of the archaic Sacristy. One may conjecture that in the interval between the Anaktoron and the old Sacristy (*ca.* 4 m. wide), a road led up

¹⁷ For this relief see my discussion in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 130 ff. and, more recently, Jean Bousquet in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire Charles Picard*, vol. I, Paris, 1949, pp. 105 ff. M. Bousquet finds my interpretation of the relief unacceptable primarily because he thinks that Agamemnon could not be represented seated in the underworld (though in other underworld scenes seated figures do appear). He thinks that the creature is not a chthonic snake but an orientalizing griffin-head protome, though there is no space on the relief for one necessary crowning element of such a head. Such an element would have been anachronistic in a work that, given its drapery style, cannot antedate the middle of the sixth century (see, also, now: Richter, G. M. A., *Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford, 1949, p. 96), although Bousquet dates it at the beginning of the century. He suggests that Agamemnon is represented as receiving the purple band of the Samothracian mystery initiation and that the relief formed part of a marble throne supporting an image of Hermes-Kadmilos like the throne with a herm on it on coins of Ainos. He quotes the Ludovisi Throne as an example of a throne with mythological reliefs, though this monument is now generally, and quite safely, interpreted as a fragment of an altar. Though I do not exclude an interpretation of the monument as a throne, at this time, I cannot follow his argument and still believe my interpretation to be preferable to his.

¹⁸ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 135 ff.; XLIV, 1940, pp. 330 f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 349 f., figs. 22 (Γ), 23, 29.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 3 f., figs. 1, 3.

²¹ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 330, fig. 3; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 4.

from the level of these buildings to the upper hillside supported by this great terracing which extended over an area of *ca.* 50 m.

Remnants of a third terrace wall of the same date were found—again beneath a concrete wall of the Hellenistic period (Pls. 2b, 4b and d) to the west of the Arsinoeion. Here, too, the late archaic builders defined the great lines that conditioned the later appearance of the Sanctuary. The inner side of a strong retaining wall of the same archaic type, preserved at some points to a height of 1.50 m., was uncovered in a length of *ca.* 5 m. under the Hellenistic terrace wall. This wall was built as a retaining wall for the region later occupied by the rotunda and, supporting an earth fill, it seems to have ascended from the riverbed to a level of *ca.* 2 m. above it opposite the southwestern part of the Arsinoeion. It must have continued as a retaining wall farther northward to the west of the Anaktoron where, however, no traces of it seem to be preserved.

This river terrace now formed the western boundary of the sacrificial area which had replaced the seventh century double precinct and its surroundings to the west and south. In this area, a sacrificial place mentioned above to the west of the later Arsinoeion, continued in use having an altar posed on a fieldstone foundation, 1.80 m. square, at a level 0.40 m. above that of the intermediate archaic period (Pls. 1 i, 2b, 4b). Another field-stone foundation of which the curvilinear southwest periphery is preserved possibly belongs to the same age, around 500 B.C. It starts slightly to the east at a height 2 feet above the seventh century level and halfway between the intermediate curved wall over the seventh century precinct corner and the above described terracotta altar which must no longer have been in use when this foundation was built near by. Thus it seems likely that this last foundation supported a substitute altar (Pls. 1 d, 5b).

In the fifth century B.C., the region was framed by sturdy rock retaining walls along the riverbed and, in the background, the upper hillside was dominated by the long hall of the Anaktoron with its hipped roof and three doors on its western side. At a slight distance to the south one saw the archaic Sacristy in the background. In the region of the later Arsinoeion and to the west and south of it, at least three altars and a pit to the underworld gods were scattered on the sloping ground. Farther to the south, there was still a kind of glade in the background of which a rocky cliff emerged, while near it part of the pre-Greek cyclopean wall was visible. But the earlier structures of this region lay buried and if some of the aboriginal sacred rocks and other minor boulders still emerged from the ground, only memory could retain a dim picture of the original wild scenery and, as on the broader scale of Delphi, possibly give rise to stories of a chasm or cave which we find reflected in literature.²²

²² The mysterious Cerynthian Cave may have been, like the chasm beneath the temple of Delphi, a legendary rather than a real cave. After our discovery of the original rocky glade, overshadowed by steep hills, as the center of the earliest cult, this seems the most natural assumption.

All the sources are late, if learned. Various writers indicate that the "cave" was part of the

In this whole area there is no trace of building activity during the fifth and fourth centuries, though the literary sources, sculptural and other finds indicate the flourishing state of the cult and its popularity in the Greek world. We know of a restoration of the Anaktoron in the second half of the fifth century.²³ In 1949 we found a compact yellow layer, dated by its finds around 400 B.C., covering the area of the previously mentioned curved foundation, the archaic terracotta altar, and the upper part of the great sacred rock near the riverbed, towards which this fill slanted downward from the upper hillside to the southern end of the archaic retaining wall along its edge. It seems likely that an oblique and strongly slanting fieldstone packing (Pl. 5a) which now covers the lower part of the cyclopean wall near the rocky cliff, and antedates the Arsinoeion, belongs to this phase and supported the upper end of a road or ramp that led up from the riverbed to the level of the archaic Sacristy, while another road evidently ascended along the archaic retaining wall northward towards the façade of the Anaktoron.

The placing of Queen Arsinoe's great rotunda over a large section of the earliest sanctuary gave an entirely different aspect to the region in later antiquity. Our excavation around its western and southern periphery (Pls. 2a, 4d) and the resultant exposure of its gigantic limestone foundation suggests the dominating appearance of the building even now that its superstructure has collapsed. In antiquity this foundation was hidden by slanting earth-fills. On the western side, towards the riverbed, they were supported by a remarkable concrete retaining wall.²⁴ In part this wall (Pls. 1, 4d) was built upon and followed the course of the late archaic rock retaining wall. It emerged above the riverbed to the west of the Arsinoeion to a considerable height. It is now exposed to a length of 11 m. as it runs northward from a point slightly to the south of the area of the Arsinoeion. It was at least 4 m. high at some points, but

famous Samothracian cult. Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 77, and Scholia makes Dardanos, who otherwise is said to have transferred the cult of the Idean Mater from Samothrace to Asia, depart from the *ἄντρον*, fortress of the Korybantes, and the *Anon. Paraphrasis antiquior Lycophronis*, ll. 75 f. explains it as a cave of Hera or Hekate and "the stony and shadowy dwelling of the demons about Rhea." See also, F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1936, p. 171. The cave of Hekate occurs as a place of initiation in the Korybantic (= Kabeiric) rites in Samothrace in Schol. Aristoph., *Pax*, 277/8; quoting Lycophron, Nonnus, who knew a good deal about Samothrace, *Dionysiaca*, XLIII, 311, speaks of the Samothracian "cavern of the Kabeiroi" and, in a passage full of learned details from some earlier source, he speaks of "divine Zerynthos of the unresting Korybantes . . . where the rocks (*ἐπίνναι*) are thronged with torchbearing mystics of the Maid." (*Ibid.*, XIII, 400 f.). One wonders whether Hekate is not another name of either Axieros or Axiokersa, added to Rhea, Kybele, Hera, and Demeter. Or is it owing to a misunderstanding of Lycophron, who speaks of the goddess who slaughters dogs, without giving her name? The paraphraser himself was dubious whether she was not Hera or Rhea rather than Hekate. Whether *κυνοσφαγής* is here necessarily related to sacrifices of dogs seems questionable. So far we have no evidence of such sacrifices.

²³ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 332.

²⁴ See *Samothrake*, I, pl. 56; II, pl. 1.

it may have descended in height towards its southern end. Originally, the wall probably terminated at about the same point as at present.²⁵ Inside the wall a ramp or stairway which has left no traces must have ascended to the level of the Arsinoeion and to a road leading around it towards the Anaktoron and the Sacristy.

In a later, late Hellenistic or Roman period, this retaining wall was reinforced on the outside with a face slightly diverging in direction and pierced by weep-holes.

Between the concrete wall and the southwestern periphery of the Arsinoeion, the archaic altar on a fieldstone foundation (Pls. 1 i, 2b, 4b) described above, was raised to the new level. Another fieldstone foundation still preserved to a height of 1.60 m. was built on top of its archaic forerunner between the new retaining wall and the Arsinoeion foundation and it was slightly enlarged toward the east becoming rectangular instead of square.

This altar stood some distance to the west of the entrance to the Arsinoeion which was situated almost exactly over the southwestern corner of the seventh century precinct. In this section we found blocks, evidently connected with the door and including a part of its threshold, that had fallen down on the slope towards the riverbed. A large handsome fragmentary console with floral decoration of fine workmanship akin to the best decorative pieces of the Arsinoeion probably belongs to this door, too (Pl. 6b). We rescued this piece from the ruined Monastery of Hagios Christos, where we found it lying broken on the ground.

On the other side, the door was flanked by a curious shaft (Pls. 1 e, 5a, left). Although not bonded into the Arsinoeion foundation which forms one of its inner walls, this shaft was built with the original structure and included in the earth-fill surrounding the Arsinoeion. It is almost square, measuring on the inside 0.80 x 0.90 m. and it is now preserved to the height of the fifth foundation course beneath the euthynteria level, to which it certainly originally extended. It evidently goes down to the natural soil accompanying the entire substructure of the Arsinoeion. Though we have not yet reached its deepest level, it is already evident that the shaft was open in antiquity. We found it filled above with stones that had fallen in from its own upper frame in the final destruction. Beneath this debris, earth had sifted in, in the course of many centuries, and here and there things had inadvertently fallen in: a coin, a Roman dish, and some bones, at a depth of 4.50 m. beneath the euthynteria; roof-tile fragments, Hellenistic pottery and, again, bones at a depth of 7 m. below the same level.

²⁵ To the south of this southern preserved end along the riverbed and near its level, we found some blocks of the Arsinoeion superstructure in fallen position. Against the southern end of the retaining wall leans a huge concrete fragment, having fallen against it from the other side. It is part of a left-bank retaining wall along the river, of which other parts are preserved further to the north and south, that supported a high terrace on which the "Ruinenviereck," the "Ionic temple" and other buildings stood. See for the situation: Deville-Coquart, *Arch. Miss. Scientif.* 2 ser., IV, 1867, pp. 253 f., plan; *Samothrake*, II, pl. 1.

The prominent position of this shaft next to the entrance of the Arsinoeion suggests that it must have had a special ritual significance. Nothing indicated that it served as a "favissa" for the regular deposition of sacrificial gifts. On the other hand, the presence of a considerable quantity of bones indicates a sacrificial purpose. And these bones, invariably of sheep, happily include parts of several rams' horns—an indication that this shaft served as a bothros in which the blood of rams flowed down to the underworld. It may be recalled that in the seventh century precinct and, more precisely, in its near by southern part, we had previously found a beehive-shaped bothros that may well have continued in use until the Arsinoeion was built.²⁶ It is, therefore, probable that this shaft near the entrance of the Arsinoeion supplanted that old bothros, as an altar inside its northern periphery supplanted an earlier altar in its own region.²⁷ All this further elaborates the character of the Arsinoeion as a thymele.

This deep Samothracian bothros-shaft has a striking and only slightly earlier parallel at Eleusis.²⁸ There, three almost identical shafts, one in the center, two near the corners and thus flanking the two doors, were discovered attached to the deep foundation of the Philonian porch of the Telesterion. These shafts, hitherto enigmatic, may now be explained as bothroi, too.

The bones found in the new bothros in Samothrace provide a bit of sacrificial culinary lore for they include a fragment that was cut at the feast in order to extract the marrow. One may recall the gusto with which the Cyclops eats the marrow of Odysseus' companions (*Od.* IX, 293) and the fact that Prince Astyanax is fed sheep marrow by his dear father (*Il.* XXII, 500) as well as the fact that witches used marrow as an ingredient of love potions (*Hor. Epod.*, V, 37). If the blood of the rams was spilled into the pit, the preparing of the sacrificial meal must have taken place near by. It seems possible that a rectangular foundation built contemporaneously with the Arsinoeion and the bothros-shaft at a very slight distance to the east of the latter and at the periphery of the former, supported an altar serving this purpose. This foundation (Pls. 1 f, 5a) measures 1.50 x 1.75 m. On its eastern side, it butts against the large rectangular foundation (C) of a monument excavated by the Austrians,²⁹ who indicated the preservation, then, of a lower marble moulding, of which we found only broken fragments, and which appears in their restoration as the base of a statue. This base or altar, also contemporary with the Arsinoeion, virtually made it impossible to enter the area between the Arsinoeion and the protective terrace walls behind it from this side, just as, on the other side, the new Sacristy was squeezed into the

²⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 11 ff., figs. 1, 14, 16, 21, 22.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁸ See F. Noack, *Eleusis*, Berlin, 1927, p. 118, pls. 3, 39a, fig. 52. In Eleusis, the tradition of such shafts seems to go farther back, inasmuch as a similar structure is attached to the preserved corner of the projected portico around Iktinos' Telesterion.

²⁹ Monument C, *Samothrake*, I, p. 85, fig. 35, pl. 56.

narrow space between the Arsinoeion and the Anaktoron and butted against the rotunda. Here, as towards the riverbed, the Arsinoeion builders supplanted the archaic retaining wall by concrete walls posing their new wall to the southeast of the Arsinoeion on the lower courses of the earlier polygonal structure.³⁰

Apart from the new elements of the Arsinoeion superstructure that have already been mentioned, we put together two handsome pieces of the upper parapet with bukrania and patera decoration which had been found previously (Pl. 7a), and allow one to visualize that fine element.³¹ Many other well preserved pieces were uncovered.

We also found several new fragments of the dedicatory inscription of Queen Arsinoe.³² It ran over six blocks, the second of which was seen early in the nineteenth century but had disappeared by the time of the Austrian excavations. The fifth still stands on the foundation of the Arsinoeion and we fitted onto it the upper part of the letters AI of ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ which had been broken off since that time and were now rediscovered in 1949. Two other fragments, most of an A and part of an A or Λ belong to some part or parts of the first four blocks. As Mr. Kallipolitis recognized, another preserves part of the EY of EYXHN on the fourth block. Still another, containing the right vertical and the horizontal bar of H followed by P, comes from the left joint of block six. Though none of the new fragments definitely ascertains the husband's name as Lysimachos instead of Ptolemy, the last two pieces strikingly confirm the correctness of the ingenious reconstruction proposed by Wilamowitz and Conze.³³

With the erection of the Arsinoeion, the northern region received its final monumental appearance, an appearance that lasted with but minor modifications and restorations until the end of the cult in the fourth century after Christ. Apart from the altars and other monuments which may have surrounded the southern periphery of the rotunda, one may assume that, in due time, other monuments were erected to the south of it. We found among the fallen debris to the southwest of the Arsinoeion, for instance, the upper block of the marble base of a life-sized bronze statue from the Roman period which showed on its surface the indications of one foot planted on the ground, the other being raised, and a third hole for the lower end of a sceptre or spear: thus the base of a nude statue of a god, emperor or, possibly, a Dioskouros (Pl. 2b).

The cult, as previously ascertained, still flourished at the time of Constantine the Great and as late as that period a rebuilding of the Sacristy and the adjoining section of the terrace wall to its south took place.³⁴ In the final excavation of that corner in 1949, we found traces of a cooking place for the workmen engaged in this endeavor

³⁰ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 342, fig. 20; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 4.

³¹ Compare *Samothrake*, I, pl. 61; *Archaeology*, II, 1949, p. 40.

³² *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 277 with bibliography.

³³ *Samothrake*, II, p. 111, fig. 34.

³⁴ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 342, 348, figs. 21, 23, 26.

and were able to restore a quite handsome, grey cooking pot from that period (Pl. 6c).³⁵

But soon afterward the destruction of the Sanctuary began. Neglect caused the earth of the slopes to the south of the Arsinoeion to be washed away by rain. Then lime burners began their devastating work. They built a huge limekiln, presumably around 400 A.D., digging into the ancient earth fills to the south of the Arsinoeion and posing the floor of the kiln on the natural soil slightly above the level of the riverbed, using as part of the wall the precipitous rocky cliff in the background of the glade. This kiln of about 5 m. diameter must have devoured a prodigious amount of spoils from ruined buildings and monuments. One of the fragments of the Arsinoeion's inscription was extracted half-burnt and pulverized from its debris, together with hardly recognizable fragments of what once had been sculpture. In a secondary phase, the floor of the kiln was raised about 1.50 m. to a level 3.50 m. beneath the euthynteria of the Arsinoeion. While this second limekiln was working, undoubtedly for the glory of God and the many small Early Christian churches that grew up, the pagan gods seem to have taken revenge. The ruins of the antique buildings finally collapsed in a great earthquake, probably in the mid sixth century.³⁶ In this collapse, large parts of the superstructure of the Arsinoeion fell upon the washed away hillside to its southwest and the main area of the limekiln itself while, on the opposite side, stones from the central terrace and of a building which stood on it crashed down into the southern and southwestern periphery of the kiln. Later, however, in the Byzantine Middle Ages, as potsherds indicate, the lime burners returned to the same spot and erected a new kiln of slightly smaller dimensions (4 m. diameter) over the three-foot high accumulation of fallen blocks. Part of the edge of that kiln emerged on the ground surface at the beginning of our work while this Byzantine kiln had been observed by the Austrian excavators.³⁷ In its vicinity we found an accumulation of material ready for final destruction yet abandoned, including fragments of sculpture; sometimes brought from as far off as the New Temple.

The excavation of these three successive limekilns of the Early Christian and Byzantine era, which continued almost throughout the entire campaign of 1949, was a sickening affair. What precious works of ancient art and valuable documents of the history of ancient religion we have dug away during those long weeks in the form of pulverized sugary marble dust, nobody can venture to say.

In the course of our work to the south of the Arsinoeion, we extended the excavation to the area in front of the central terrace of the Sanctuary, between its northwestern face and the riverbed (Pl. 3a). This terrace, halfway between the Arsinoeion

³⁵ Acc. No. 49.606. Ht.: 0.275 m.

³⁶ See G. Downey, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 21 f.

³⁷ *Samothrake*, I, pl. 1; II, pl. 1.

and the so-called New Temple, had always emerged from a wilderness of debris and overgrowth, its western corner rising over the riverbed.³⁸ On it, the Austrian excavators³⁹ uncovered two square sacrificial “bothroi,” more likely hearths, *escharae*, under a marble floor. They included these hearths in their reconstruction of what they believed to be the earliest structure of the Sanctuary, an “Old Temple” of the archaic period which, they assumed, had been renewed in marble, in the fourth century B.C. In their monumental publication, they restored this renewed temple as a marble building with solid walls to which they attributed ashlar blocks bearing Hellenistic inscriptions of the *Theoroi*,⁴⁰ the ambassadors to the great festival, though none of these blocks had been found here. One is a Doric architrave⁴¹ on which they restored an Ionic frieze of archaistic style, two slabs of which had been taken to Paris⁴² after being extracted from a medieval tower in the city where they had been seen by Cyriacus of Ancona in the fifteenth century. The Austrians were justified in attributing this frieze to a building on the central terrace by the discovery of some small fragments in this region and, as we shall see, this one of their many conjectures was right. But they restored the roof of their “temple” with a sima decorated with acanthus scrolls and lions’ heads—while actually a number of sima blocks of a different type are still lying on top of the terrace. This ghost building, the “Old Temple” of Samothrace, has haunted archaeological literature for the last seventy-five years. We can lay this ghost now by flatly stating that from the evidence available even before complete excavation of the area, a quite different building stood on that terrace.

We excavated the entire region in front of the central terrace. At the beginning of our work only the upper part of the western corner of that terrace wall and a connecting section of its northwestern face, built of huge polygonal grey porphyry blocks and about 5 m. long was visible. We uncovered the entire wall as far as it is still upright (Pl. 3a). It forms a straight line⁴³ and though most of the upper part of the wall is destroyed, its course is preserved without break for a length of 15.50 m. This wall is posed on bedrock which here descends towards the riverbed roughly from east to west, and, near its western corner, the terrace is preserved to a height

Π

of 3.20 m. (Pl. 7b). An inscription ΠΠ, presumably a mason’s mark, is incised in large letters on the northeast face of the western corner (Pl. 4f). Though the fill behind the terrace wall is as yet unexplored, potsherds from its joints indicate a date not later than the fourth century B.C.

³⁸ See *Samothrake*, II, pl. 3.


³⁹ See *Ibid.*, II, pp. 13 ff., 21 ff., pls. 2 ff., 76.

⁴⁰ *I.G.*, XII, 8, Nos. 160 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 176.

⁴² See below, pp. 16-8, Pl. 8b.

⁴³ In this respect the older plan by Deville and Coquart, *op. cit.*, is more reliable than the plan in *Samothrake*, II, pls. 1, 2.

We uncovered extensive remnants of a low "monument terrace" along the outer face of the central terrace (Pl. 7b). Posed on bedrock, and ascending in stepped sections from southwest to northeast, it may be a later addition. It is built of big rectangular limestone blocks and has on the whole a slightly projecting foundation course 0.24 m. high, and base blocks of various lengths but of an average height of 0.30-0.37 m. The width of this terrace was at least 0.47 m. Some of the base blocks have  shaped clamp and dowel holes, showing that they carried monuments. At a distance of *ca.* 8 m. from the western corner, a foundation of red local porphyry—used in the Hellenistic period in Samothrace—⁴⁴ 1.35 m. wide projected to at least 2.35 m. from the terrace. It may have supported a rider monument or a seated figure. That this low terrace in front of the high terrace wall carried a series of monuments and accompanied an ascending road that led from the western corner of the big wall up the hill towards its northern end is evident. Masses of small pieces of base mouldings were found in the accumulation of debris in front of the terrace as well as some insignificant fragments of marble sculpture. But alas, not a scrap of an inscription giving evidence of the character of individual monuments was preserved.

To the sacred road which passed through this area may belong scattered fragments (none *in situ*) of a rough mosaic pavement in which sizable pebbles and pieces of marble were imbedded in cement.

The large triangular section of rocky ground descending toward the riverbed and the monument terrace in front of the terrace wall were covered with fallen debris from the upper part of the terrace wall, blocks from the monument terrace, and remnants of the monuments which it supported (Pl. 3a).

But intermingled with this debris was a huge quantity of building blocks which had fallen down from the terrace and belong to the structure or structures that stood on it. Most of these building blocks, approximately one hundred fragments, belong to one and the same building as their dimensions, material, and technical details show. Samples of the euthynteria, the steps, orthostates, columns, architraves, ceiling beams and coffers, supports of a pedimental roof and sima-cornice blocks (several blocks of this type still lie on top of the terrace) were found in dense accumulation precisely as they had fallen down in the final collapse. The exact position, function, and plan of the building can only be conjectured at this point and conclusive evidence may be hoped for in the future.

However, this much may already be said. The building was a small graceful structure of Thasian marble. It had projecting lateral wings or a central projection between lateral recesses. On the steps there stood monolithic Ionic columns, one of

⁴⁴ This material, heretofore wrongly called "red limestone," has now been identified as porphyry. It exists as natural rock in the Sanctuary in the region of the southern part of the New Temple and in front of the central terrace. Its most conspicuous use is in the dais separating the northern section of the Anaktoron from the main hall, as it was rebuilt in the Hellenistic period (*A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 138, fig. 5; *Archaeology*, I, 1948, p. 47; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 2, note 4.).

which is almost entirely preserved (Pl. 2a, Ht. 3.47 m.). We were lucky enough to find three fragments of the capital, though none in our excavation. Two, previously in the collection of the church in Chora, are upper parts of an Ionic capital.⁴⁵ They fit onto a singular drum or necking discovered by Mr. Kallipolitis in the garden of a house in Chora,⁴⁶ and this drum, in turn, fits the upper diameter of our column (Pl. 7c and d).⁴⁷

This unique capital, derived from an old Greek type that found its classical crystallization on the Erechtheion, evidently belongs to a variety quite popular in the fourth century B.C. Time and again, we see Ionic capitals often with very tall neckings decorated with palmette motives on buildings represented on South Italian vases of that period.⁴⁸ The lateral decoration of the Ionic volutes carries on a tradition of the fourth century "Ionic Renaissance" in Asia Minor as it, in turn, is a forerunner of the stylistically quite different elaboration of the motive on the Ionic capitals of the Ptolemaion in Samothrace dated round the middle of the third century.⁴⁹ The spirited grace of the ornamental details of the new capital, including the palmettes with their lower lateral leaves turned inward, suggests a date in the last third of the fourth century, a date indicated as well by other features of the building.

⁴⁵ Acc. No. 49.414 A-B, Ht.: 0.152 m.; Lower diam.: 0.46 m.

⁴⁶ Diam.: 0.46 m.; lower diam.: 0.44 m.; Ht.: 0.258 m.

⁴⁷ Lower diam.: 0.56 m.; 24 flutings.

⁴⁸ Examples: A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, London, 1936, pl. Ia (L. Séchan, *La tragédie grecque au rapport avec la céramique*, Paris, 1926, pl. I, 1; C.V.A. Siracusa IV E, pl. 2, 1; *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIII, 1931, p. 236, fig. 1; between 400 and 350 B.C.); *Ibid.*, pl. IIb (C.V.A. Siracusa IV E, pl. 9, 1; *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIII, 1931, p. 236, fig. 2); *Ibid.*, pl. VII (Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 525, fig. 155); C.V.A. Siracusa IV E, pl. 12, 3; Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fig. 31; *Rev. Arch.*, XXXIII, 1931, p. 243, fig. 11. Tall neckings without indication of the type of decoration are common on Ionic columns on South Italian vases. The capital of the Erechtheion with its quite different pattern is imitated in some examples in Delphi, one of which was previously dated in the fourth century and attributed to the interior order of the Temple of Apollo (*Fouilles de Delphes*, II, Top. et arch., Terrace des Temples, pl. 8, pp. 42 f.). It was assigned by Replat, *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, pp. 435 ff. to one of the two column monuments generally dated in the second half of the third century B.C. A similar capital of Erechtheion type is commonly attributed to another of these monuments: H. Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi*, Berlin, 1888, pl. 7, figs. 72, 73; F. de La Coste-Messalière, *Delphes*, Paris, 1943, pls. 54, 106, 194, p. 321. Bosanquet, *B.C.H.*, 1911, p. 480; F. Schober, *R.E.*, Suppl. 5, pp. 95 ff. points out that the capitals used in this instance belong to two different monuments and that the marble of the monument to which they are attributed is of a still different variety. On the other hand, the only monument of this type where the capitals are preserved (E. Bourguet, *Ruines de Delphes*, Paris, 1914, p. 165) has a different type of column altogether. Under the circumstances, there is no reason to attribute any of the Delphian capitals to a period earlier than the late second century B.C. They are classicistic revivalist imitations. For our new type, I know of no analogy except two undated and unpublished pieces, one from the region of Salonika, in the Louvre (under the stairway), one of unknown provenance in a storeroom of the British Museum. It should be noted that the capital of the Temple of Zeus at Priene (*Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 141), the upper part of which is similar to ours, also ends below the torus in the same fashion as our upper piece and may have been posed on a necking.

⁴⁹ *Samothrake*, II, pls. 23 ff.

To our building, too, belonged ceiling coffers decorated with busts of divinities. Fragments of three such coffers have been found previously in this region and attributed to the "New" or the "Old Temple."⁵⁰ We discovered the fragment of a fourth coffer (Pl. 6d)⁵¹ showing the neck and long hair of a profile head, evidently of a woman facing toward right, among the debris of the new building. Inasmuch as the other three pieces show a woman, a bearded god, and a youth, the theory already advanced that Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersa and Kadmilos were represented on this ceiling gains weight. It is possible, however, that there were once more than four and that the young man's head may have belonged to one of the Kabeiroi-Dioskouroi.⁵²

Intermingled with the other debris of this new building and beyond any doubt belonging to it, we found extensive parts of the marble frieze of dancing girls in archaistic style, thus far known chiefly from the two slabs in the Louvre (Pl. 8b).⁵³ The most important is one almost completely preserved block⁵⁴ (Pls. 8a, 9a, 10) broken into two connecting pieces which were found on two successive days on the very same spot, in front of the eastern part of the terrace. While the Louvre piece (Pl. 8b) is badly weathered owing to its long exposure, our block is magnificently preserved and has all the sharpness and delicacy of a masterpiece of late fourth century Greek sculpture. The block shows eleven dancing maidens and part of a twelfth preceding and following a female lyre player. Holding their hands in old fashioned *ἐπὶ καρπῶ* they turn their polos-crowned heads alternately backward and forward and, as they do, the interval from figure to figure changes slightly, being alternately extended or contracted. On our block, the figures move from left to right, while on the Louvre fragment, where a tympanum player occupies the center and a flute player also appears, the figures move in the opposite direction. Apart from several other smaller fragments, we have also found a large piece of another block⁵⁵ on which the direction of the dance is the same as on the Louvre slabs (Pls. 9b, 14c).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 28, pl. 51; II, p. 14, fig. 3; A. Schober, *Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, p. 14; Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1936, pp. 177 ff., fig. 18.

⁵¹ Acc. No. 49.355. Pres. W.: 0.16 m.; Ht.: 0.105 m.

⁵² Our new fragment obviously does not belong to any of the other pieces. It is also not impossible that the fragment, *Samothrake*, II, p. 14, fig. 3, did not belong to the one brought by Chapouthier to Athens. In that case, we already have pieces of five coffers, three with women, two with men. For divine busts on ceilings from the fourth century B.C. on, see: *Art Bull.*, XXVII, 1943, p. 4.

⁵³ *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 115 f. with bibliography. The fragments in the Louvre have hitherto been reproduced in the wrong sequence. They fit together as they are shown in the new photograph, Pl. 8b, which we owe to the courtesy of Jean Charbonneaux.

⁵⁴ Pres. L.: 1.69 m.; Ht.: 0.35 m.; Th.: 0.35 m. (below 0.32 m.). Anathyrosis at left end. Broken at right.

⁵⁵ Restored from two cracked fragments found within a small distance of each other in the same region; anathyrosis partly preserved at right side; broken at left. Pres. length with part of four figures: 0.58 m.; Ht.: 0.34 m.; Th.: 0.375 m.

It is evident that the two friezes moved towards each other from two sides. The lack of the lewis holes invariably found on our building-blocks wherever they had to be lifted into a high position indicates that the frieze was not so placed and most certainly was not part of the entablature. We assume that the friezes of dancing maidens were placed over the orthostates and converged towards the door on the interior of our building, according to an artistic idea well established in this region, as the late archaic Nymph Monument from Thasos shows.

The monument, of which large sections are now so well preserved, is the most extensive Greek representation of archaistic, retrospective art.⁵⁶ It marks the climax of a sideline of Greek art that developed slowly by means of individual figures rather than in comprehensive compositions during the fourth century on the background of experiments in the late fifth. Later than the graceful archaistic figure on the side of a well known base from Epidauros, though still closely related to it,⁵⁷ the rendering of archaic conventions and the relationship of the draperies to the slim bodies on the Samothracian frieze find their most explicit analogy in figures of the Palladion on Panathenaic vases of the last third of the fourth century and on coins struck by Ptolemy I when he was governor of Egypt.⁵⁸ This stylistic connection confirms the date otherwise indicated by the technical and stylistic character of the building to which the frieze belongs. The approach to archaism in the fourth century, as exhibited in these reliefs, is quite different from the looser experiments of the Hellenistic age and the heavy rigidity of the Roman. It is easy, spirited and, at the same time, elastically decorative. The archaic conventions of pleated and pointed draperies with swallow-tailed excrescences and zigzag patterns are integrated with ease, and with

We found in addition a fragment with two almost destroyed figures facing right; another with a broken part of one figure towards left; another with a head of a figure turned towards left; a fragment of another head; two more small fragments of drapery and of a moulding.

Fragments previously discovered include a block with badly destroyed fragments of five figures (0.87 m. long, *Samothrake*, II, p. 13), another one with three figures (*ibid.*) and three smaller pieces (*ibid.*; Deville-Coquart, *op. cit.*, p. 276). It may be assumed that these fragments, all discovered on or near the terrace, as far as then recognizable showed movement towards the left, inasmuch as the earlier excavators do not mention a direction different from the Louvre slabs. To all these fragments we should now add a small piece with figures moving towards the right, discovered by us on the surface near the altar in the Arsinoeion in 1939, in correction of a former statement (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 339). We were then mistaken owing to a slight irregularity and assumed that this fragment belonged to a round altar. Dimensions and details are identical with the newly found pieces.

⁵⁶ See E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich, 1922, especially pp. 39 ff. for the Louvre slabs.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 16, fig. 2.

⁵⁸ Mrs. Bober refers especially to the amphoras with the name of the archons, Nikokrates and Theophrastos 1 or 2, *Monumenti dell' Ist.*, X, pls. 47C, 48A, and to the coins of Ptolemy: *Brit. Mus., Cat. of Greek Coins*, XIX, pl. 1, figs. 2-5, which are somewhat looser, and proposes a date about 320 B.C., in harmony with other features of the building.

naturalistic, if somewhat preciously slim, rendering of the bodies and heads, in a spirited and almost naive meeting of a remote and a new world. The decorative, though not at all schematized, repetitive rhythm falls in with patterned details borrowed from the archaic past. The frieze belongs to a period in which, for several generations to come, the great tradition of human and narrative representation in architectural reliefs disappeared⁵⁹ and was supplanted by the decorative repetition of repeated symbolic motives such as bukrania, garlands, paterae and rosettes. It thus represents a transitional phase and happily unites the human element with both decorative rhythm and symbolical reference to religious rites.

A slightly earlier frieze of Erotes bearing sacrificial implements which graced the precinct wall of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros at Athens offers a formal analogy in both these respects.⁶⁰ In this frieze, the institution of a procession actually taking place in the cult is alluded to at the entrance of Aphrodite's precinct by the representation of her winged acolytes. As archaistic style always refers to old divine or legendary origins, the archaistic style of our dancers indicates that reference is made to the aboriginal institution of choral dances of maidens in the Samothracian cult. Certainly such dances took place on the central terrace of the Sanctuary and it may be that they were connected with the legend of the sacred marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia,⁶¹ the dramatic performance of which is documented in the festivals at Samothrace.

These friezes, then, would have been an appropriate decoration of either a monumental altar or, more likely, a propylon leading to a sacred precinct in which such rites were practiced. Such a hypothesis, however, remains purely conjectural until the anticipated excavation of the entire terrace has been accomplished. A clarification of the relationship of this building to the ruins recorded by our Austrian predecessors, specifically to the existence of sacrificial places and of a succeeding marble floor⁶² will, we hope, result from the excavation of this area.

⁵⁹ No datable pediments or friezes are known between the time of Alexander the Great and the mid-second century B.C. if Hermogenes' revivalism, as now generally assumed, belongs to the second half of that century. For the "New Temple" in Samothrace see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 4 ff. and below, p. 38 note 85. The Pergamon altar, with its unorthodox use of architectural relief, prepares the revival as our equally unorthodox frieze stands at the end of the classical tradition.

⁶⁰ Mrs. Lehmann first called attention to this striking analogy. See O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 143 f.

⁶¹ It should be noted that cithara, flute and tympanum occur among the instruments of the preserved parts of the frieze while others may have been represented in missing sections. In Diodorus' extensive description of Harmonia's wedding in Samothrace, Elektra institutes the mystery rites on this occasion with cymbals and tympana, while Apollo plays the cithara and the Muses the flutes (V, 48). Tympana and flutes, with cymbals or crotala, are mentioned elsewhere as characteristic of the rites (Strabo, X, 3, 7 (C 466) and 15 (C 470)). In Diodorus, Hermes is also mentioned as playing the lyre at the wedding and the passage in Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, III, 234 ff. mentioning the lyre along with flutes and cymbals, is probably derived from this source.

⁶² *Samothrake*, II, pp. 13 ff., 22 ff., pls. 4-7.

We hope this in spite of the fact that certainly much has been destroyed since the Austrian excavation, that some irregular and more recent "excavation" holes are now visible, and that, in addition, the post-antique limekilns near by have surely wrought destruction over long centuries. Nature, too, has done her share. In front of the northern part of the terrace and descending from east to west, we found river sand containing debris, confirming the existence here of a water course in post-antique times. This water course had been observed in the, for its time, excellent plan by Deville and Coquart⁶³ who, therefore, called the central terrace an island. It is, however, of post-antique origin and it ran over the old foundations and debris of classical buildings. It seems to be the continuation of a similar riverbed filled with debris that we have previously⁶⁴ located adjacent to the northeastern corner of the "New Temple" and it appears that this water course contributed greatly to the destruction of the eastern and northern part of the central terrace.

Our second major objective during the campaign of 1949 was the continuation of the systematic excavation of the great building in the south of the Sanctuary known since the termination of the Austrian excavations as the "New Temple."⁶⁵ This name was given to it by our predecessors under the assumption that an "Old Temple" of archaic origin continued to stand on the central terrace. Inasmuch as that was evidently not the case and inasmuch as our excavation has now made it clear that the Hellenistic marble building was preceded on its own site by forerunners going back to the archaic period, the term "New Temple" becomes meaningless, and we retain it for the time being only for the sake of convenience. Although we do this in order to avoid additional confusion, we do it with some hesitation. It seems doubtful whether a building which had no base for cult images in its interior but a complicated installation for liturgical performances and sacrifices should be called a temple at all.

During the campaign of 1949, we finished the excavation of this impressive building by uncovering its southern part and its periphery (Pls. 11, 12, 13a). The marble and limestone blocks of its superstructure which had accumulated over it have been temporarily removed to its surroundings so that an accurate plan can be made before the blocks are replaced in orderly fashion on the foundation. The number of marble blocks thus removed has increased to 340.

The foundation of the temple, with its marble euthynteria preserved entirely on the short southern side, and to a length of 12.00 m. and 14.60 m. from the corners on its western and eastern sides, is now entirely exposed. It is even more extensively preserved than appeared in the Austrian plan.⁶⁶ At the rear, only the central part

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, above note 55.

⁶⁴ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 140 f., fig. 2.

⁶⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 4 ff., figs. 6-12.

⁶⁶ *Samothrake*, I, pl. 11.

of the limestone wall of the apse emerges two courses over the inner and five courses over the outer level. Within the apse, we saw the picture of willful destruction by local vandals which had taken place between the first and second Austrian campaigns and which led Professor Conze providentially to rebury this part of the building.⁶⁷ We found some of the marble blocks originally framing the bothros fallen into it and though several stones appearing in the Austrian plan, section,⁶⁸ and photographs have disappeared, we were able to replace a large part of the marble frame of the bothros.

We also excavated the area to the immediate south of the temple between it and a slightly oblique terrace wall⁶⁹ of the porphyry variety also used for the central terrace.⁷⁰ We made additional soundings in various parts of the building to clarify chronological problems and we replaced some of the interior stone foundation blocks once serving as supports for lateral benches, strengthened and supported others. The main results of this work may be reported in historical order as follows.

In the interior of the apse, purple rock was found descending steeply from north to south. Posed directly on it, a segment of a curved polygonal wall (Pl. 12c) was found at a distance of 0.67 m. inside the apse of the marble temple.⁷¹ It is part of an earlier segmental apse which evidently framed a smaller bothros in the first building on this spot. Though no evidence for dating this earliest structure was obtainable, the aspect of the wall is distinctly archaic and we may assume that it belongs to the Anaktoron period of the Sanctuary around 500 B.C. It thus seems that an apsidal building of considerably smaller dimensions than the Hellenistic temple was built here at the time when the initiation into the first degree of the mysteries was provided for by the building of the Anaktoron, and that this early building, too, had a bothros in an apse at its southern end. It may be recalled that the "nave" of the Hellenistic building includes two sacrificial hearths of a type otherwise known only from the archaic age.⁷² Now this strange archaism may be explained by the assumption that

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pl. 13.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pl. 11; pl. 14, fig. 1; pl. 17. Nothing was left of the vertical stones on the western side of the bothros (*ibid.*, pl. 14, fig. 1; pls. 19-21), and a lower vertical stone in the center rear (pl. 11) visible in the photograph, pl. 19, preserved up to the level of the pouring stone, had disappeared in pl. 20 and fig. 1 on pl. 14, evidently already removed by the excavators.

⁶⁹ In the plans, *Ibid.*, II, pl. 1 and p. 29, fig. 6, this wall appears parallel to the "New Temple." In reality, its distance diminishes from 2.70 m. at the southeastern to 2.50 m. at the southwestern corner of the building. It continues westward and its oblique course is in harmony with the shorter extension of building D situated immediately to the west. It, therefore, would seem that the Hellenistic "New Temple" and this building were part of one building program. For building D, see below p. 25 and notes 76, 96.

⁷⁰ Above, p. 13 and Pls. 3a, 7b.

⁷¹ This wall and its successor were already excavated by the Austrians who indicate their existence, *Samothrake*, I, pls. 11, 17 without comment. Inasmuch as both walls are on rock, their previous excavation has destroyed whatever stratigraphic evidence of their date might originally have been obtainable.

⁷² *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 5 f., fig. 12.

these Hellenistic *escharae*, too, continued a ritual installation inherited on this very spot from the archaic period.

The archaic apsidal building was succeeded by a slightly larger structure built of carefully dressed limestone slabs the lowest course of which is also posed on the rock a slight distance to the south of the archaic apse and in a curve concentric with it (Pl. 12c). This lowest course of the second apsidal building is level with the marble euthynteria of its Hellenistic successor and the building may have been but slightly smaller than it. These limestone slabs, the southern periphery of which is now covered by the lowest course of the Hellenistic apse, supported a wall *ca.* 2 feet thick. Again, the date of this renewed structure,⁷³ probably sometime in the fifth or fourth centuries, can no longer be determined. But inasmuch as we have evidence of restorations and changes in the northern part of the Sanctuary at the end of the fifth century,⁷⁴ a date around 400 may be assumed for the enlarged second apsidal building.

In any case, the second apsidal building preceded the third, the great Doric marble temple. With the exception of the broader pronaos,⁷⁵ the preserved foundation of this third building, its apse, as well as its interior installation with a broad nave separated by parapets from lateral aisles, its provision of benches for these aisles and of two *escharae* in the nave, were all built around the middle of the third century B.C.⁷⁶ The

⁷³ See Note 71.

⁷⁴ Above, p. 8.

⁷⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 5, figs. 9-11.

⁷⁶ A. Salač, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pp. 537 ff. already has arrived at the conclusion that the original temple dates from the middle of the third century B.C. and that only the pronaos was renewed a century later. However his reason for suggesting such a development was faulty. Inasmuch as A. Schober had shown that the inscription found by Salač (*B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 245 ff.) could not belong to the present Temple façade and had dated the entire temple in the second century B.C. (*Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 1 ff.), Salač argued that the inscription as restored by him should belong to an earlier third century, dedicatory inscription by Ptolemy II belonging to the same building. While the date of the temple is now established as being of that time, the inscription—at least as restored by Salač—cannot belong to it inasmuch as in the original structure the façade was considerably narrower than the present second century porch (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 5) and would not have allowed space for the text. Schober has suggested that the inscription should belong to building D to the west of the temple. Inasmuch as the location in which the block was found and now lies as well as the dimensions of that building agree with such an attribution, and inasmuch as building D seems to be contemporary with the temple (see above, note 69) this possibility certainly exists.

We are somewhat mystified by several statements found in Professor Salač's paper. He reports that building D was completely excavated by him. The state of the ruin exhibits ditches following the lines of the walls only. He furthermore indicates that building D could not have had an elaborate marble superstructure inasmuch as its walls, built directly on the rock have, as he says, neither clamps nor dowels. Actually the well preserved fine poros euthynteria of D, uncovered by us on its eastern side about level with that of the New Temple, is 0.245 m. high and rests on a foundation course posed on rock. It may also be mentioned even now that what appears to be a good deal of its Doric marble superstructure including a frieze higher than that of the New Temple, is preserved. Such pieces had already been found by the Austrians and connected with D: *Samothrake*, II, p. 10.

evidence for this date was obtained by a full excavaton of the space to the south of the building, between it and the southern terrace wall which we exposed insofar as it faced the temple (Pl. 12a and b) and by a number of tests in the interior. The character of the potsherds found in both regions indicates a date later than that of the Arsinoeion fill, but these potsherds still include a small proportion of black-glazed pottery.

This building, with its limestone foundation with marble euthynteria, had a compact stone fill in the interior. In the aisles, the limestone blocks supporting the lateral benches were included in this stone fill which otherwise supported throughout the building a substructure of limestone slabs⁷⁷ on which, in turn, the stuccoed limestone parapets and a now entirely destroyed marble floor were posed.

The careful observations made by Mr. Fraser have revealed two other important facts concerning the third century building. First of all, its apse forms a segment of a circle with a diameter somewhat smaller than the inner width of the cella. In other words, the apse of the Hellenistic temple was not simply a segmental curved wall at the end of the cella,⁷⁸ but a real apse recessed from the inner angles of the rectangular interior. We must assume that it was covered by a separate ceiling, most probably a wooden half-dome. The apse of the third century temple in Samothrace which remained basically unchanged in the later phases of the building is, thus, the first and only pre-Roman representative of a genuine large scale apse in the history of architecture, the next instances occurring in Roman Republican architecture of the first century B.C., whence the great tradition of longitudinal buildings having apses at the rear continues to culminate in Christian architecture. Given the conspicuous place which Samothrace occupied in the late Roman Republic and its particular popularity in Roman society, a popularity equally documented by literary sources and inscriptions, the Hellenistic temple in Samothrace may well have been of decisive influence in this development.⁷⁹

On the other hand, as we have seen, the third century apse succeeds two earlier apsidal structures and its Hellenistic monumentalization of this concept was evidently

It is a pity that apart from a few inscriptions and short general notes (for building D see *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 540) nothing was published at the time of the excavations or in the quarter of a century after their officially announced termination. A number of general references are found in Chapouthier, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.

⁷⁷ The plan, *Samothrake*, I, pl. 11, indicates that at the time of the Austrian excavations the limestone underpavement may have been better preserved in the southern part of the cella between the bothros and the parapets where most of it is now destroyed but its previous existence is recognizable. Yet inasmuch as the excavators did not indicate the *eschara* in this area (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 5) and, farther north, drew an earth floor between the parapets where the stone pavement is, in fact, completely preserved, one should not take details of the plan as documentation.

⁷⁸ As indicated in the reconstruction, *Samothrake*, II, p. 29, fig. 6 and later reproductions.
⁷⁹ The importance of the curvilinear rear wall of the temple was already recognized by Conze, *Samothrake*, II, p. 30, though details were not then known.

conditioned by the liturgical purpose of the apse and its bothros, a function that was traditional here. While apsidal religious buildings, an offspring of prehistoric domestic architecture, are found here and there in the archaic period in Greece,⁸⁰ these buildings were small and the type had gradually become obsolete by the classical age. In Samothrace, ritual reasons compelled its preservation and led to its monumentalization in the third century B.C. The New Temple, thus, forms an important, though not necessarily the only, link between a primitive Greek tradition and an outstanding feature of late antique and later occidental architecture.

Another interesting fact is that the euthynteria of this early Hellenistic structure, which is entirely preserved on the southern side (Pl. 12b), exhibits the use of horizontal curvature with a center emerging 0.02 m. over the corners. How much of the present collapsed superstructure, marble on the outer, limestone on the inner wall face, belongs to the mid-third century temple cannot yet be stated. It seems that much, if not all, of it was renewed around 150 B.C. when a platform was added of broader dimensions than the original building, as well as a new six-column façade and a sculptured pediment.

We have found a number of additional pieces of the sculptural decoration of this renewed building. They include handsome fragments of the sima with powerfully modeled lion's-head water-spouts (Pl. 13b)⁸¹ which drastically illustrate the change from the free subclassical modelling of the Arsinoeion (Pl. 6e)⁸² to a style at once grand and firm. Fragments of the raking sima found to the south reveal a richer decoration than hitherto assumed (Pl. 13c),⁸³ with the intervals between flowers alternately filled by buds and palmettes. A number of small fragments of the central floral akroterion⁸⁴ were also found on the southern side of the temple, some rather different, it would seem, from those rescued by the Austrians and now in Vienna.

Quite unexpected additions to the previously excavated sculptures of the northern pediment, now also in Vienna,⁸⁵ came to us from a heap of marbles assembled by the

⁸⁰ See C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 18 f., 77, 80 ff., 125 ff. A small early archaic chapel in Delphi possibly had a real apse with lateral recesses: *Ibid.*, p. 80. The existence of an archaic apsidal building in Samothrace may now be considered to offer a quite important religious analogy to the curved wall under the temple in the Kabeirion near Thebes: *Ibid.*, pp. 81 f.; Wolters, P.-Bruns, G., *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, Berlin, 1940, pp. 10 f., pls. 2, 3. Professor Holland calls our attention to a small fourth century apsidal building found in Colophon.

⁸¹ Acc. No. 49.453, found near the southwest corner. Pres. L.: 0.771 m.; Pres. Ht.: 0.16 m.

⁸² Acc. No. 49.145, found southwest of the Arsinoeion in fallen position. Pres. L.: 0.63 m.; Pres. Ht.: 0.256 m.

⁸³ Acc. No. 49.194-363 B, found near the southwest corner of the New Temple. Pres. L.: 0.302 m. Compare the erroneous restoration, *Samothrake*, II, pl. 13.

⁸⁴ *Samothrake*, I, pls. 44 ff.

⁸⁵ For these sculptures see the brilliant article by A. Schober, *op. cit.*, note 76, which established a date in the middle of the second century B.C. both for the sculptures and the renewal of the façade

Byzantine lime burners near the kiln to the south of the Arsinoeion.⁸⁶ The most important find here was a sizable fragment of a reclining, seemingly female, and rather pudgy figure. It belongs in the left eastern corner of the pediment (Pl. 14a).⁸⁷ Another fragment is the right foot of a second female pedimental figure, the left foot and possibly the draped torso of which were found by the Austrians in front of the New Temple (Pl. 13e).⁸⁸

Various other fragments of Hellenistic sculpture were discovered in the accumulation of debris over the southern part of the building. Two fragments of the hair and drapery of a colossal female figure,⁸⁹ may be extraneous to the temple and come from some monument in the vicinity. They are carved of the same grey Rhodian marble used in the prow, but not in the figure, of the famous Victory in the Louvre.

Another interesting piece is a marble fragment of a round columnar monument with the spirited head of a snake encircling its bundled shaft. The fragmentary flaring finial above it may well have been a lamp (Pl. 14b).⁹⁰ Mr. Kallipolitis called our attention to the fact that the Austrians discovered part of the lower end of such a monument. It has similar convex flutings encircled by what appears to be the tail of a snake. These fragments, whether part of one or two such objects, strikingly resemble the monumental torches, encircled by snakes which flank the door of a round cult building—either the Arsinoeion in Samothrace or a corresponding structure in Cyzicus⁹¹—on various Samothracian stelae. One is tempted to think that candelabra in the form of torches encircled by snakes flanked the bothros in the Hellenistic New Temple.

We found several fragments of lateral bench supports with lion's paws and scroll work that may have belonged to especially elaborate seats of honor in the

previous to the evidence of our excavation (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 5). Dorothy Burr Thompson has kindly called our attention to the rather vague discussion of the pedimental sculptures by G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, pp. 153 ff. which again advocates a mid-third century date, now definitely obsolete in view of the excavation results.

⁸⁶ Above, p. 12.

⁸⁷ Acc. No. 49.491. Pres. L.: 0.27 m.; Ht.: 0.26 m. If, as Schober, *op. cit.*, p. 15, suggests, a right foot, *ibid.* No. 7, fig. 8, belonged to this figure, the legs would have been crossed—which seems possible.

⁸⁸ Acc. No. 49.613 A, also from the limekiln area. Pres. L.: 0.113 m.; Ht.: 0.078 m. The counterpart in Vienna: Schober, *op. cit.*, p. 10, No. 6, fig. 7 and p. 15. Our foot has a clearly preserved sandal and this explains the "plattenförmige Unterlage" of the fragment in Vienna which obviously is but the sole of a sandal and allows for no conclusions.

⁸⁹ *Samothrake*, I, p. 12, reports the discovery of a fragment of a colossal head and hand in the New Temple.

⁹⁰ Acc. No. 49.29. Pres. Ht.: 0.163 m. Found, curiously enough, in the fill brought in to the bothros by our predecessors after its original excavation. The fragment previously discovered, *Samothrake*, I, p. 14, fig. 6, was also found in the bothros.

⁹¹ See *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 117 ff., with bibliography. See too F. Studniczka, *Oest. Jahresh.*, VI, 1903, p. 125. We may recall the marble torches dedicated in Eleusis and reused in Christian times: K. Kourouniotis, *Eleusis*, Athens, 1936, pp. 82 f.

southern section of the building near the apse. One fine and entirely preserved piece of the type, formerly in the collection of the Church in Chora, now graces the Museum near the excavation (Pl. 13d).⁹² Whether a part of a marble clipeus with a bust (Pl. 17b)⁹³ found in the southern part of the temple, belonged to its interior decoration is questionable, though such reliefs are known from Hellenistic times and, specifically, from the Club Building of the Samothracian community at Delos.⁹⁴

The most important single find from the building, however, was a fine piece of Hellenistic sculpture (Pls. 15, 16). This life-sized figure of a Victory⁹⁵ was found at a point 9 m. north of the southwestern corner of the building, after an accumulation of fallen blocks, including sima fragments, had been removed from the euthynteria and from the narrow interval between it and the eastern euthynteria of the square building situated to the west of the southern part of the Temple.⁹⁶ Three major fragments of the figure and numerous smaller connecting pieces were found together just under the surface of the euthynteria where they had been carefully buried in antiquity. The figure lay parallel to the Temple and face down on the bedrock which here emerges beneath the lower face of the single low foundation course beneath the euthynteria. It is evident that it had been damaged in antiquity and buried here near the place where it had fallen.

The dimensions of the figure, its generic type, its hollowed-out back, its provision for a vertical support hooked into a hole to keep it in position, and certain motives such as the knob of drapery emerging from the mantle over the right hip all closely relate the new statue to a figure now in Vienna.⁹⁷ The latter was found, evidently where it had fallen down in the final collapse of the building, near the same southwestern corner to the north of which our figure had been buried in antiquity. Because of its type, dimensions, and technical details, the Vienna figure has long been recognized as the southwestern corner akroterion of the New Temple. In view of the circumstances of her discovery as well as of a considerable difference in style, we are forced to conclude that our figure must have been an earlier akroterion of the southwestern corner that had fallen down, been buried and supplanted by the figure now in Vienna.

Exhaustive discussion of the statue must await further investigation. The right arm together with the once separately attached but now missing extended left forearm, makes it probable that the Nike poured a libation from a pitcher held high in her right hand into a patera in her extended left, a type well known in ancient, if not otherwise

⁹² Acc. No. 49.412. Already correctly attributed to the New Temple, *Samothrake*, I, p. 76, with drawing, pl. 47.

⁹³ Acc. No. 49.1023. Pres. Ht.: 0.16 m. The part preserved shows the right shoulder of a draped bust framed by an ornamental edge.

⁹⁴ *Expl. Arch. de Délos*, XVI, Paris, 1935, pp. 13 ff.

⁹⁵ Pres. Ht.: 1.43 m. (plinth: 0.07 m.).

⁹⁶ Building D, see above, notes 69, 76.

⁹⁷ A. Schober, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff. with bibliography, pls. 2, 3.

three dimensional, representations. The figure is sandalled, posed on her left leg, and clad in a thin chiton over which an himation is draped around the lower part of the body, one end twisted curiously around the left arm. The stylistic effect is dominated by the contrast between the broad but severely and vertically pleated draperies of the lower part of the figure, the almost classical firmness of organization characteristic of the lateral views of this drapery, including the broad "Pheidian" zigzag folds on the left side, and the flickering, winding, unruly "baroque" style of the cloak around the hips and arm, as well as the tall, thin, flowery grace of the upper part of the body which shoots upward with a plant-like elasticity. This thinness of proportion as well as the style of the drapery make a date earlier than the middle of the second century B.C. impossible. These and other characteristics are in harmony with a date in that period and with the style of the contemporary pedimental figures. The very contrasts united here point to that phase of Hellenistic sculpture in which there is a turn away from the dynamic middle Hellenistic style toward Classicism. And in this period, too, Mrs. Lehmann has found the closest analogies to our figure, notably on the frieze of the Temple of Hekate at Lagina.⁹⁸

The Nike in Vienna⁹⁹ reveals a quite different style, dominated by a coherent verticalism and by closely and sharply cut folds of drapery. A discussion of its date (whether in the first century B.C. or in the Roman imperial period) must await further and more detailed investigation. But it should be mentioned that the newly found figure shows traces of repairs which would suggest a later rather than an earlier date for its successor.

Whether an extended left arm and other fragments of the corresponding southeastern akroterial Victory which we found near that corner belong to the counterpart of the new figure or to its successor in Vienna, also remains uncertain for the time being.

The Vienna Victory may belong to one of the several more or less extensive repairs during the half millenium that followed the enlargement and rebuilding of the temple around the middle of the second century B.C. Major restorations took place during the Roman imperial period. They affected the parapets, the bench supports in the lateral aisles, the threshold, and most extensively, the region of the bothros and the southeastern corner of the building. Fragments of Roman glass and the reuse of spoils from earlier building periods characterize these repairs, without furnishing easily determined exact chronological data. But they give the impression that the most extensive repair took place at a late period, not earlier than the third century A.D. It is not impossible that it occurred in the Constantinian age when in the northern part

⁹⁸ Idem, *Der Fries des Hekaterions von Lagina (Istanbuler Forschungen, II)*, Vienna, 1933, especially p. 30, fig. 18, pl. 5.

⁹⁹ Schober, *Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, suggested a date contemporary with the pedimental sculptures on the basis of not too close analogies.

of the Sanctuary, both the Anaktoron and the Sacristy were remodelled.¹⁰⁰ Several very crude and obviously late antique antefixes (Pl. 17a)¹⁰¹ of this period were found near by.

The marble frame of the bothros, including the pouring stone and the marble floor to its west, were remodelled¹⁰² at the same time to an extent which makes it impossible to determine the appearance of this part of the interior installation in the Hellenistic building. These floor slabs, posed on a foundation including spoils of marble and other material, are not in their original position. The curved lateral framing stones of the bothros (Pl. 13a) were recut from rectangular blocks to fit their present place. The hole in the big pouring stone with its recesses for a lid has been crudely and irregularly cut into an older fine block having no such hole or, at best, a very small one (Pl. 13f). The block itself may be in its original place as are the step blocks which flank it to east and west. A curious fact is that the pouring hole does not allow for the flow of liquid into the actual bothros behind it. The block is posed on the purplish porphyry rock which steeply ascends to its lower face at the northern end of the bothros and the hole opens onto the surface of this rock, but no channel leads from it into the bothros.

With all this goes the extremely rude recutting of the great threshold of the Temple which may be seen in the Austrian publication¹⁰³ and observed now in the preserved fragment of its eastern end. This threshold, originally a very high step, was roughly and obliquely cut away to form a ramp ascending towards the interior. It looks as if the ritual had changed in the late Roman age and required both the bringing of animals into the building and a modification of the bothros in the apse. The great stone in the apse posed on high rock in front of the bothros may originally have lacked a hole and been a mere prothesis for the person who performed the ritual libation to stand on. If it was cut to receive such libations, it is logical to assume that the bothros itself now served another purpose. All these things combined induce us to think that in the late antique age the taurobolia and kriobolia of the Magna Mater cult were introduced into the Samothracian cult. These rites, which developed in the middle Roman imperial period, would naturally have been attracted to a cult dominated from the beginning by the Great Mother who, by this time, was commonly identified

¹⁰⁰ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 336, 348; above, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Acc. No. 49.514 A. Ht.: 0.24 m.; W.: 0.145 m., the latter corresponding to the second century B.C. type illustrated in *Samothrake*, I, pl. 31, fig. 1, which these late antefixes of slightly taller proportions crudely imitate. Several pieces of this late type were found at the southwest corner of the Temple.

¹⁰² It is curious that our predecessors did not notice the obviously late and, in comparison with the rest of the building, very crude character of this section.

¹⁰³ *Samothrake*, I, pl. 14, fig. 2, pls. 15, 16. On returning for their second campaign, the excavators found the threshold smashed. We have found, no longer in situ, only a section of the left part which clearly shows the secondary crude ramp cutting into an originally step-shaped block.

with Rhea or Kybele and whose rites were explicitly stated to have sprung from the same origin as those of Attis (Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 15) in which the taurobolia and kriobolia developed.

It remains to mention single finds of some importance made sporadically or gathered from the various strata of our excavation. A few of these finds have artistic significance; others add evidence to our knowledge of the Samothracian cult.

In the former category are certain architectural pieces not hitherto mentioned. A handsome though fragmentary late archaic terracotta antefix (Pl. 17c)¹⁰⁴ was found included in the fill of the Arsinoeion period, to the south of the building. A marble antefix of Hellenistic type but of larger dimensions than those of the New Temple was discovered near by and may belong to the building adjoining it to the west (Pl. 17d).¹⁰⁵ A fragment of one of the corner capitals from the Ptolemaion (Pl. 17f)¹⁰⁶ was rescued from the walls of the old schoolhouse in Chora, a building that had been half destroyed by the Bulgarians during the war and was in repair in 1949.

Among the sculptural pieces added to the Museum, a fragmentary and badly weathered Hellenistic votive relief¹⁰⁷ that still exhibits some of its original graceful style (Pl. 17e) deserves notice. A matronly goddess wearing a peplos and probably a veil and having a scepter in her raised right hand, embraces a more youthful divinity in chiton and himation with her left arm. The group is derived from Attic representations of Demeter and Kore¹⁰⁸ and may well refer to their Samothracian equivalents, Axieros and Axiokersa. However, though in Samothrace the provenance of such a piece from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods is more likely than not, we found the relief half an hour to the east of the ancient town,¹⁰⁹ where it had fallen from a broken field enclosure in which it had been reused, and it could have been brought there from the town as well as from any other locality on the island.

Our collection of ceramics received welcome additions from the various strata of the excavations, confirming conclusions previously arrived at.¹¹⁰ Among them are,

¹⁰⁴ Acc. No. 49.851. Pres. Ht.: 0.087 m.

¹⁰⁵ Acc. No. 49.8. Ht.: 0.27 m. Dr. Eichler has called our attention to the fact that there is another antefix of this type in Vienna.

¹⁰⁶ Acc. No. 49.1021. See *Samothrake*, II, pls. 23 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Acc. No. 49.38. Thasian marble. Pres. Ht.: 0.36 m.; Pres. W.: 0.19 m.; Th.: 0.065 m.

¹⁰⁸ See especially: Athens, Akropolis Museum, L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, Oxford, 1900, pl. 26, fig. a. H. Speier, "Zweifiguren-gruppen in fünften und vierten Jahrhundert v. C." *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1932, pp. 1-94.

¹⁰⁹ At the locality Vassilikó. One might, therefore, be tempted to think of the ancient harbor Demetrium which is mentioned at some distance from the town in the story of the capture of King Perseus. But there is no harbor near by. See, for Demetrium, *Archaeology*, I, 1948, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ See *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 18.

again, a number of vases dedicated after ritual use and marked with an incised letter Θ, as abbreviation of ΘΕΟΙΞ. In the previous campaign, we found a large and complete graffito ΔΙΝ and suggested that this might be a word of the pre-Greek, presumably Thracian, language which, according to ancient testimony, was still used in the Samothracian cult in later antiquity.¹¹¹ A second occurrence of the inscription ΔΙΝ was found on a fragment from the inside of a glazed vase.¹¹² In addition, several times during the last campaign we found the form ΔΙ, for instance, on the shoulder of a pre-Hellenistic amphora (Pl. 18a)¹¹³ which has an incised ΙΑ, possibly the numeral 11, on the neck. There are, also, a number of fragments, some of them from the archaic period, showing the initial letter Δ. It thus seems almost certain that the form ΔΙΝ corresponds to ΘΕΟΙΞ and the abbreviations ΔΙ and Δ to the customary Greek abbreviation ΘΕ and Θ. Another graffito, incised upside-down on a glazed fragment of a bowl reads ΔΚ and it is tempting to interpret it as an abbreviation of ΔΙΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡ (. . .) (Pl. 18b).¹¹⁴ A glazed archaic fragment preserved the upper part of the letters .ΞΚΑ., probably to be restored as the Greek equivalent [ΘΕΟΙ] ΞΚΑ [ΒΕΙΡΟΙΞ]. Whether the evidently non-Greek graffito ΔΕΝΤ incised in big letters on the shoulder of a coarse archaic amphora (Pl. 18c)¹¹⁵ is related to the same Thracian noun for Gods must be left to the consideration of linguists.

We also found more instances of graffiti using an Α alone as an initial alpha, probably related to the names of the Samothracian divinities beginning with 'Αξιο. . .¹¹⁶ Among other as yet unclarified graffiti is an example of a ΠΑ or ΠΑΙ in ligature under the foot of a coarse bowl (Pl. 18d), possibly the invocation ΠΑΙ related to the Theban cult.¹¹⁷ On the glazed foot of a large vessel part of a longer inscription in archaic letters runs from right to left ΕΚΑΙΕ (ἐκαίε or . . . ε καὶ ἐ . . .).¹¹⁸

Few marble inscriptions were found in our excavations in 1949, apart from those mentioned previously, and nothing that deserves discussion in this preliminary report. We have, however, added to the Museum in Palaiopolis the remnants of a collection of antiquities previously preserved in the School, and lately in the Church, in Chora, where we found it threatened by neglect and vandalism. It includes a considerable number of Samothracian inscriptions already known and published, although some of those which were previously recorded have disappeared.¹¹⁹ In this collection, there

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 f., fig. 30.

¹¹² Acc. No. 49.620.

¹¹³ Acc. No. 49.848. Pres. Ht.: 0.20 m. From fill of the Arsinoeion period.

¹¹⁴ Acc. No. 49.949.

¹¹⁵ Acc. No. 49.777. Pres. Ht.: 0.09 m. From the sixth century layer near the clay altar (above, p. 4).

¹¹⁶ See *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 17.

¹¹⁷ Acc. No. 49.558. Diam. of foot: 0.038 m. Found on surface. See *ibid.*, p. 17, fig. 32.

¹¹⁸ Acc. No. 49.560. From the fill of the Arsinoeion period, but in clearly archaic setting.

¹¹⁹ We identified as still preserved: *I.G.*, XII, 8, Nos. 156, 167, 186b, 210, 219, 230, 236, 238, and p. 39, listed for the year 48 A.D.; *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 254 f. and 256 f. Ten of the items previously listed as in this collection are now missing.

were also, however, a number of texts, to our knowledge, so far unknown. Mr. Kallipolitis will publish them in a separate article. His acute observation has also contributed a new term for a part of the Samothracian sanctuary, correcting our reading of a marble slab in the form of a Hellenistic *tabula ansata* found in 1939 in the Anaktoron from BATO to ABATON (Pl. 18e).¹²⁰ The term *abaton*, used for inaccessible sanctuaries, may here well refer to the higher rear part of the Anaktoron which, according to the bilingual text of the Roman period which we found in 1938 in front of its doors, was accessible to the mystae only after their initiation. It seems quite possible that this slab with the label "Abaton" was inserted in the Hellenistic building near those doors and, in a later restoration, used as a building stone in the southern part of the Anaktoron, where we found it. If this is true, we may conclude that the northern secluded part of the building bore the official name "abaton" rather than the more common adyton.

Among a variety of single finds, we may mention a badly worn lead tessera on which the significant symbol of a ram's head may still be recognized on one side.¹²¹ It would seem, then, that in Roman times such lead tokens were used as tickets of admission in Samothrace as well as in the Eleusinian cult of Athens. All these things have their importance for a gradual reconstruction of the character and history of the Samothracian Sanctuary, though many of them are objects of patient and somewhat tedious study rather than of delight. But as we were rewarded by the discovery of fine sculptures during the last campaign, single, if minor, objects are also of impressive quality. We may conclude this report by exhibiting one particularly fine item from the continually growing collection of lamps used in the nocturnal ceremonies (Pl. 18f),¹²² a black-glazed, double-spouted archaic terracotta lamp of precise form decorated with incised and reserved concentric circles.

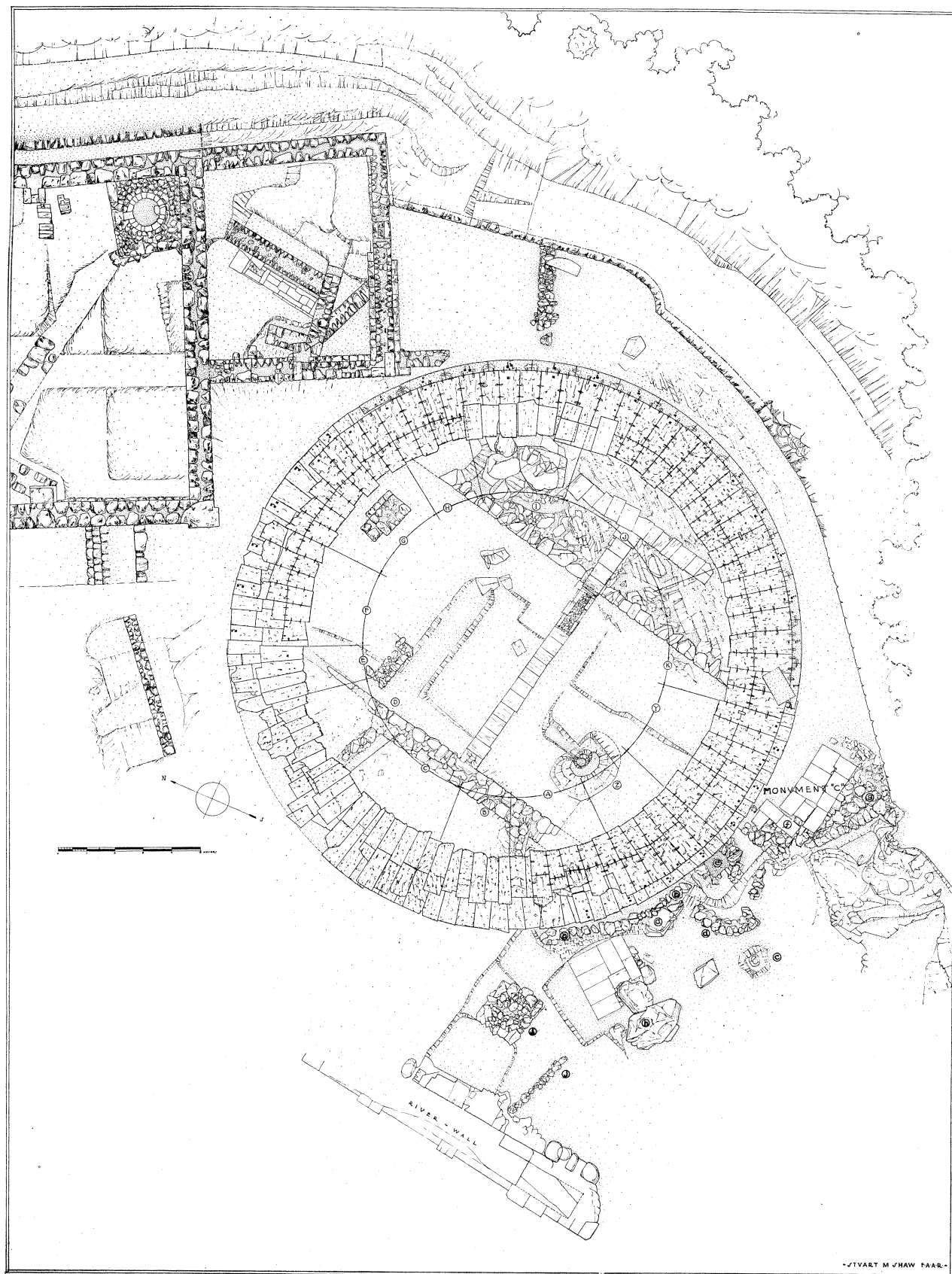
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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

¹²⁰ Acc. No. 39.733. Broken at left end. Pres. L.: 0.18 m.; Ht.: 0.17 m.; Th.: 0.066 m. Pentelic (?) marble. The back, the lower and right edges are roughly cut for insertion into a wall. The upper edge is smooth and it seems that the slab was recut from an earlier block. The *tabula ansata* is of the pre-Roman variety, the tablet having curved corners.

¹²¹ Acc. No. 49.892. Surface find southwest of Arsinoeion.

¹²² Acc. No. 49.771. Diam. 0.086 m. (with spouts: 0.12 m.). Ht.: 0.02 m. From the late fifth century fill outside the Arsinoeion, above p. 8. Fragments of a replica were found in the late archaic layer around the altar west of the Arsinoeion and date the type not later than the late sixth century B.C.



Samothrace, Arsinoeion, Excavation 1949

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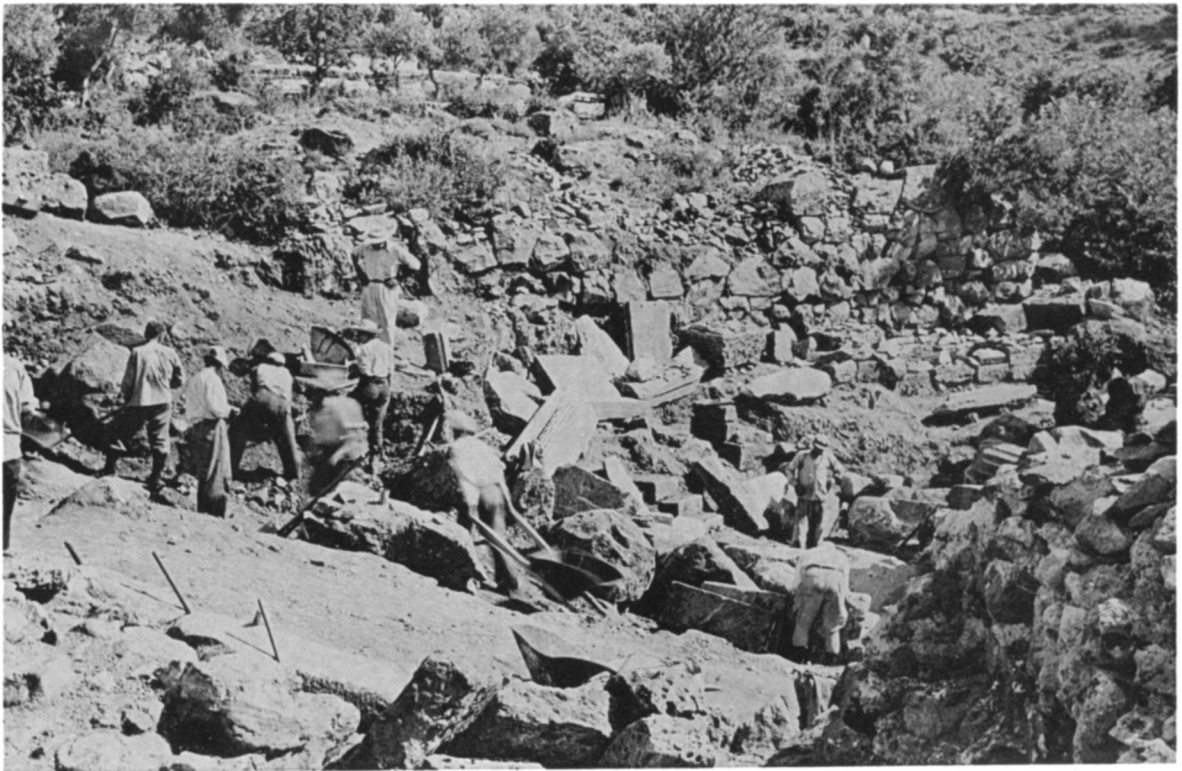
PLATE 2



a. The Excavation South of the Arsinoeion



b. Excavation outside Sections Z-A of the Arsinoeion



a. Excavation in front of Central Terrace



b. Sacred Rock outside Arsinoeion

PLATE 4



a. Stepping Stone and Pavement at Sacred Rock



b. Altar West of Arsinoeion



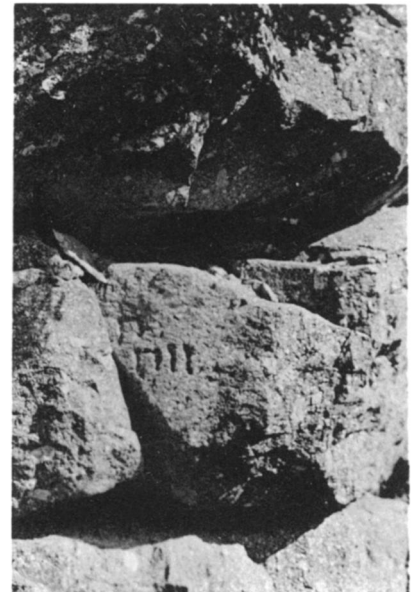
c. Archaic Sacristy (South Foundation in foreground)



d. River Wall West of Arsinoeion



e. Fragmentary Terracotta Altar



f. Inscription at West Corner of Central Terrace

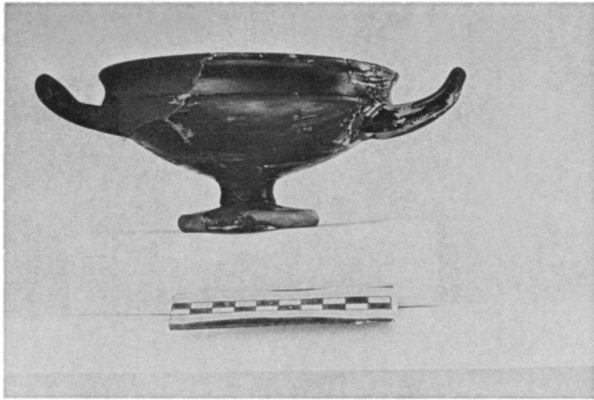


a. Bothros *e*, Foundation *f*, Cyclopean Wall and Rock Cliff



b. Corner *a* of archaic double precinct, Foundation *d*, and Terracotta Altar

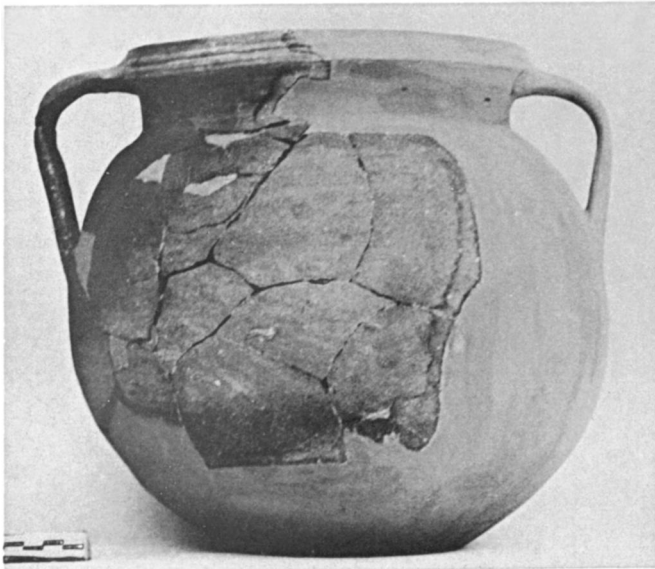
PLATE 6



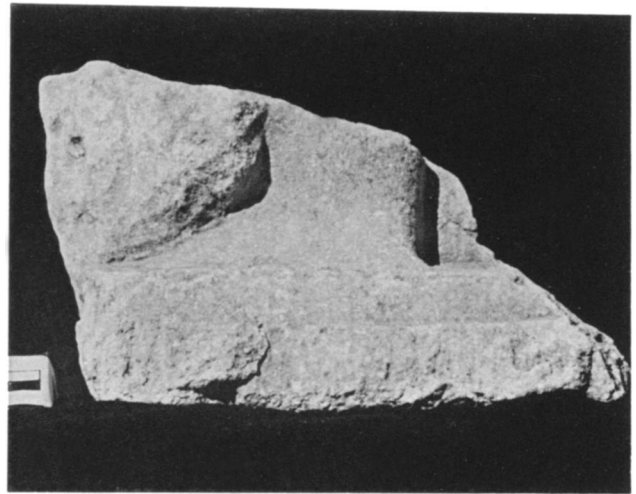
a. Black-glazed Kylix



b. Console (from Door of Arsinoeion?)



c. Late Roman Cooking Pot



d. Fragment of Coffin with Bust



e. Fragment of Sima of Arsinoeion



a. Section of Parapet of Arsinoeion



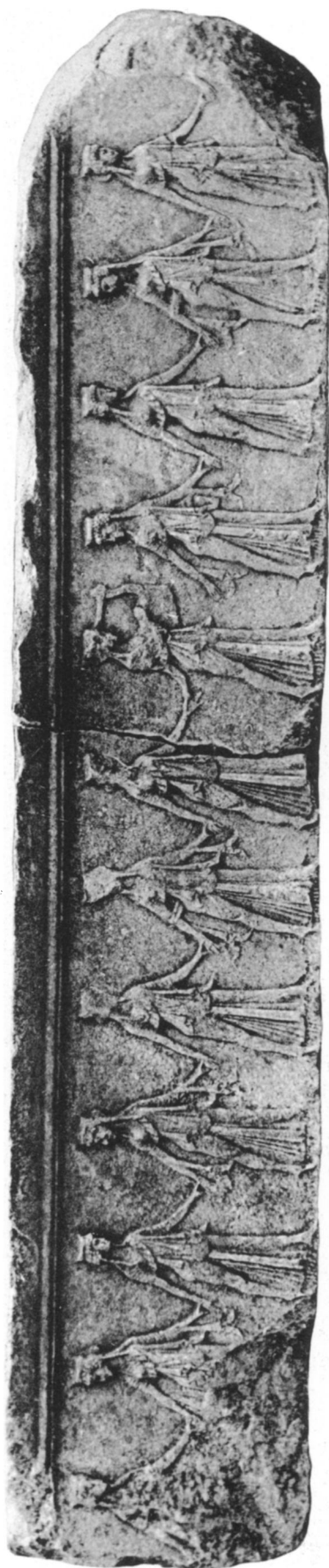
b. West End of Central Terrace and
Monument Terrace in front of it



c. Capital of Ionic Building



d. Capital of Ionic Building

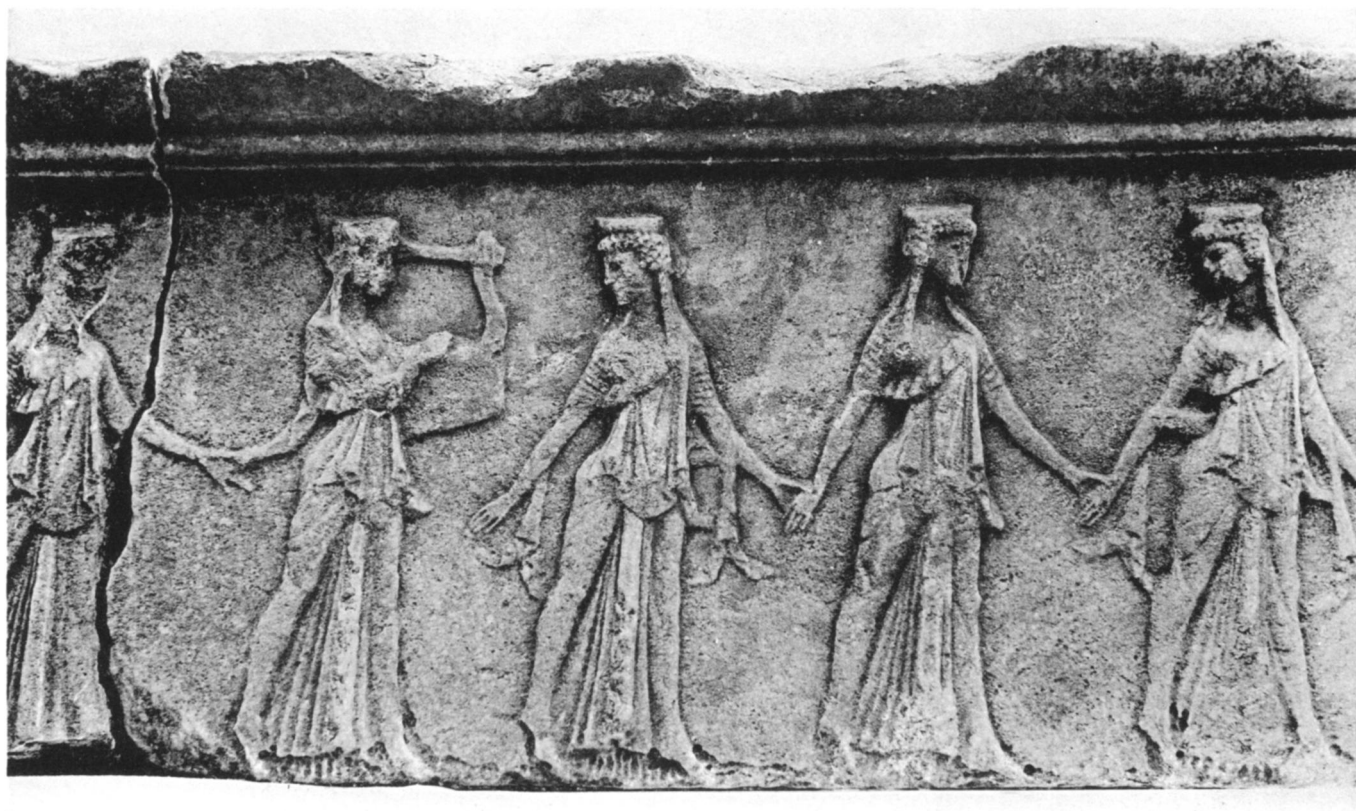


a. Frieze Block with Dancing Girls



b. Two Slabs with Dancing Girls, Musée du Louvre

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a. Detail of Frieze Block with Dancing Girls



b. Fragment of Frieze Block with Dancing Girls

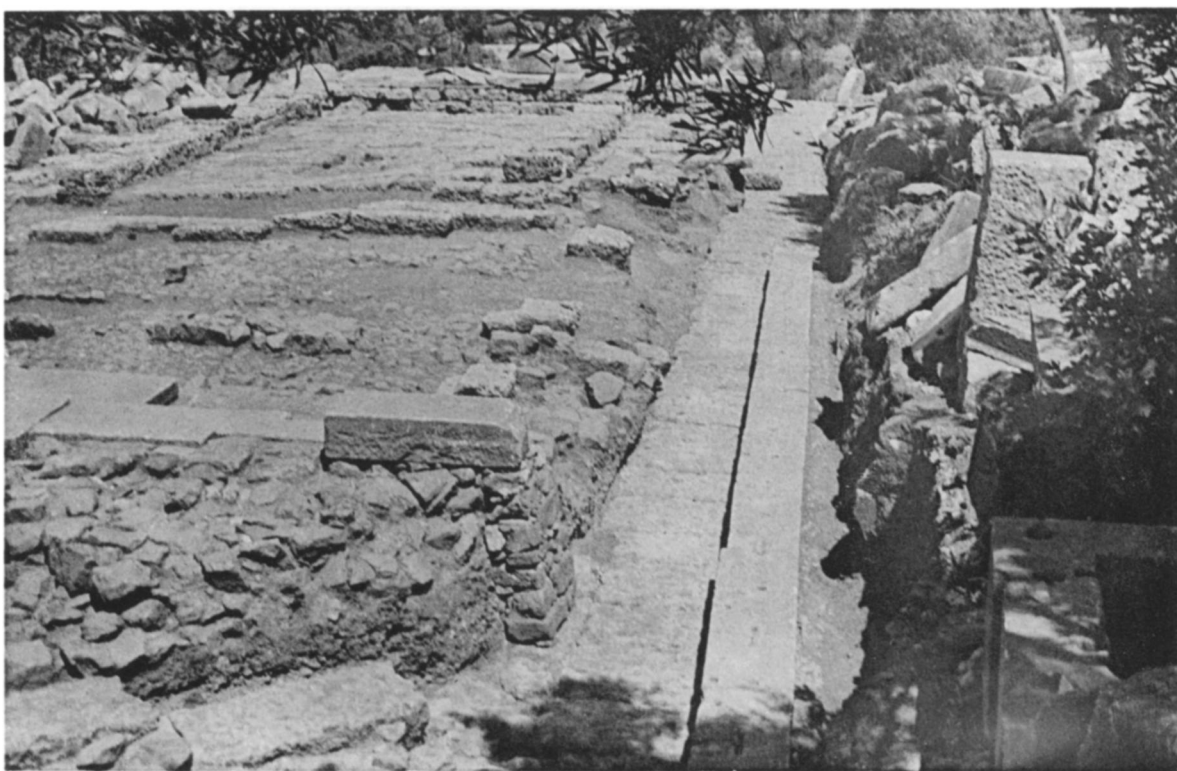


Detail of Frieze with Dancing Girls

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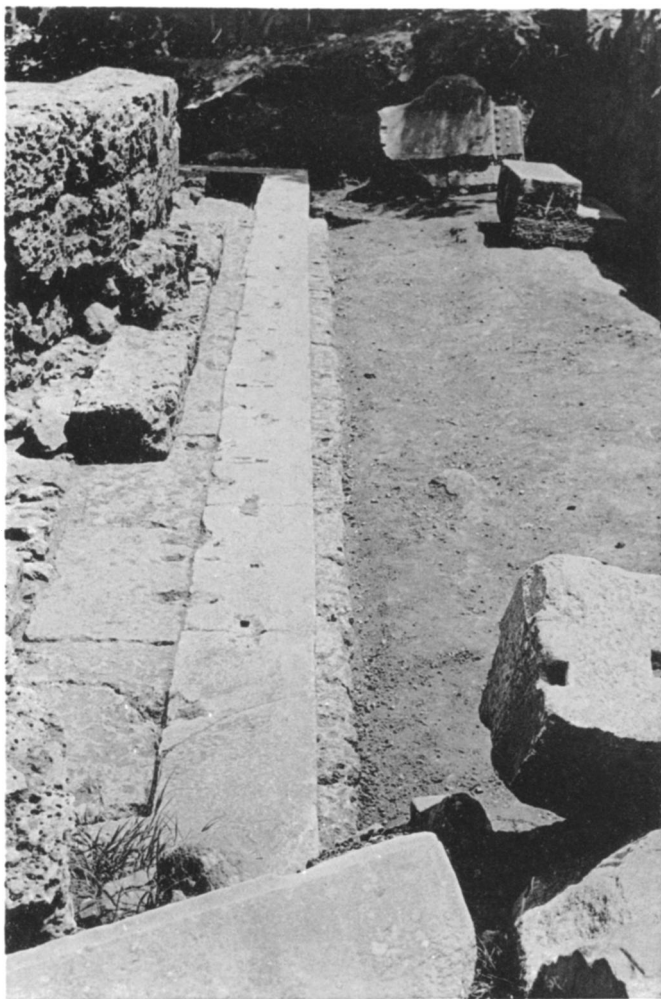
a. New Temple after Excavation



b. New Temple after Excavation



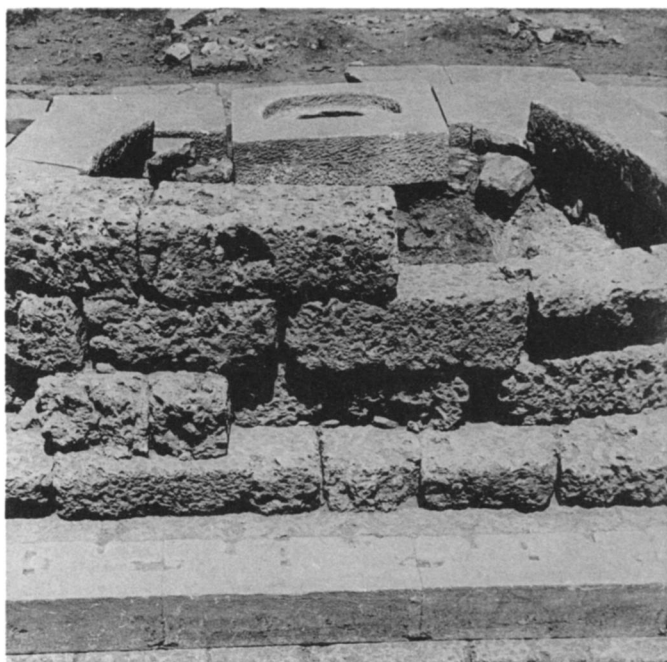
a. Southwest Corner of New Temple and Terrace Wall



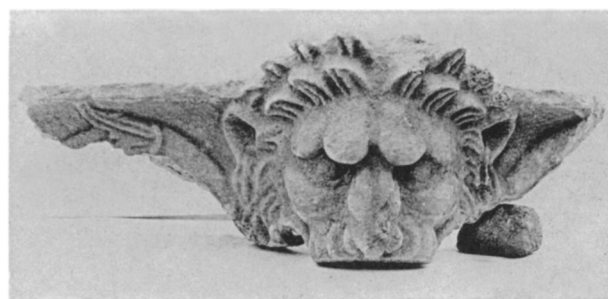
b. New Temple, Southern End



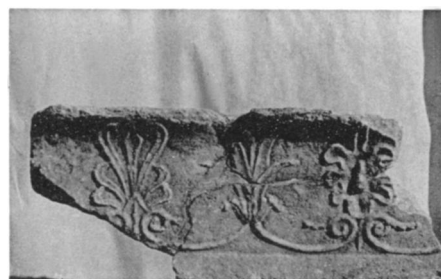
c. Early Apsidal Walls inside Apse of New Temple



a. New Temple, Bothros seen from South



b. Sima Fragment from New Temple



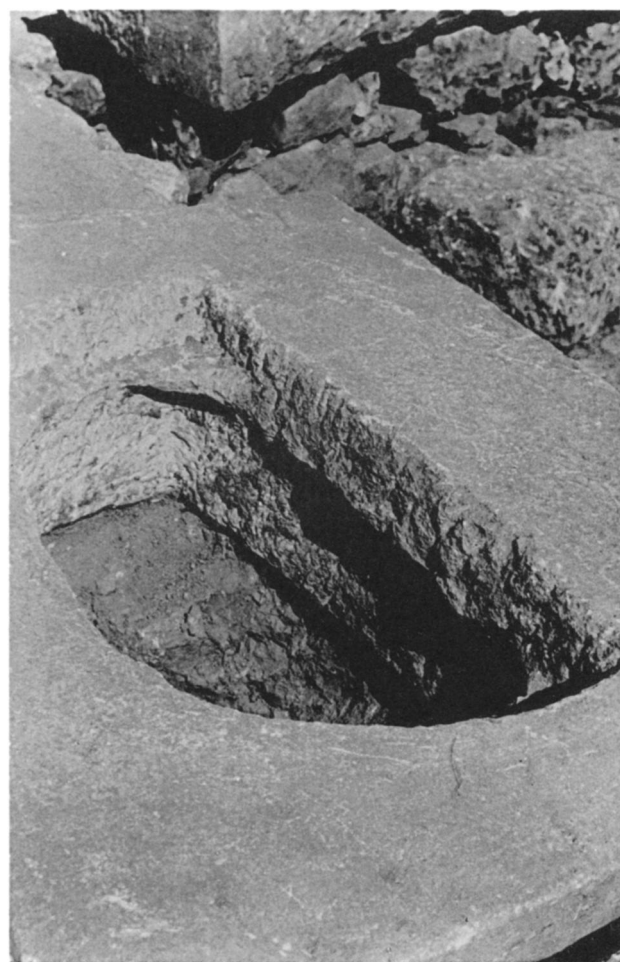
c. Fragment of Rear Raking Sima of New Temple



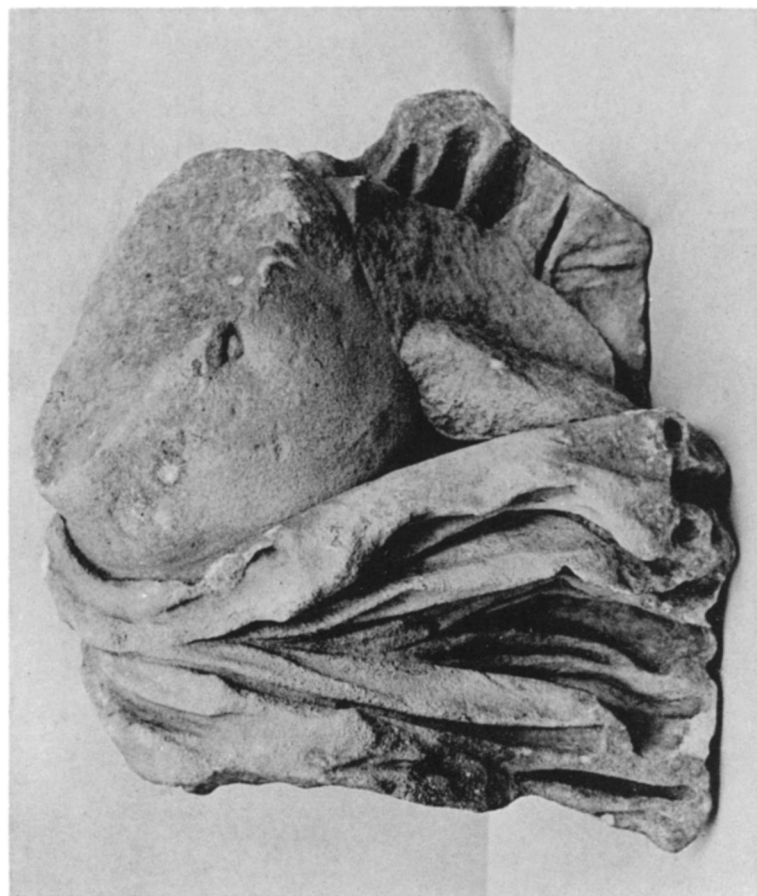
d. Bench Support, Samothrace Museum



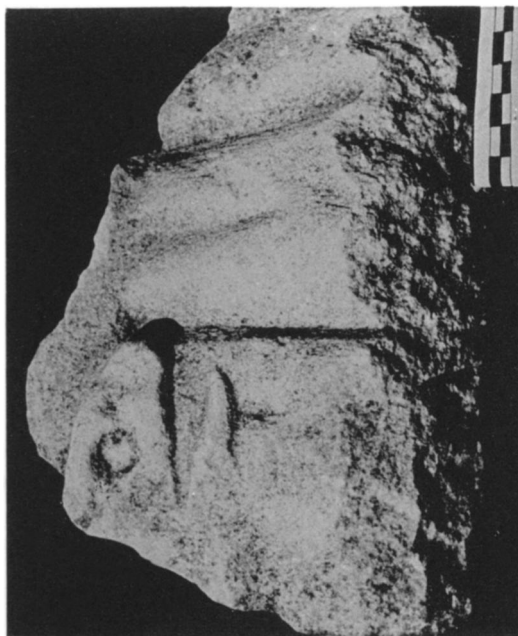
e. Female Foot from Pediment of New Temple



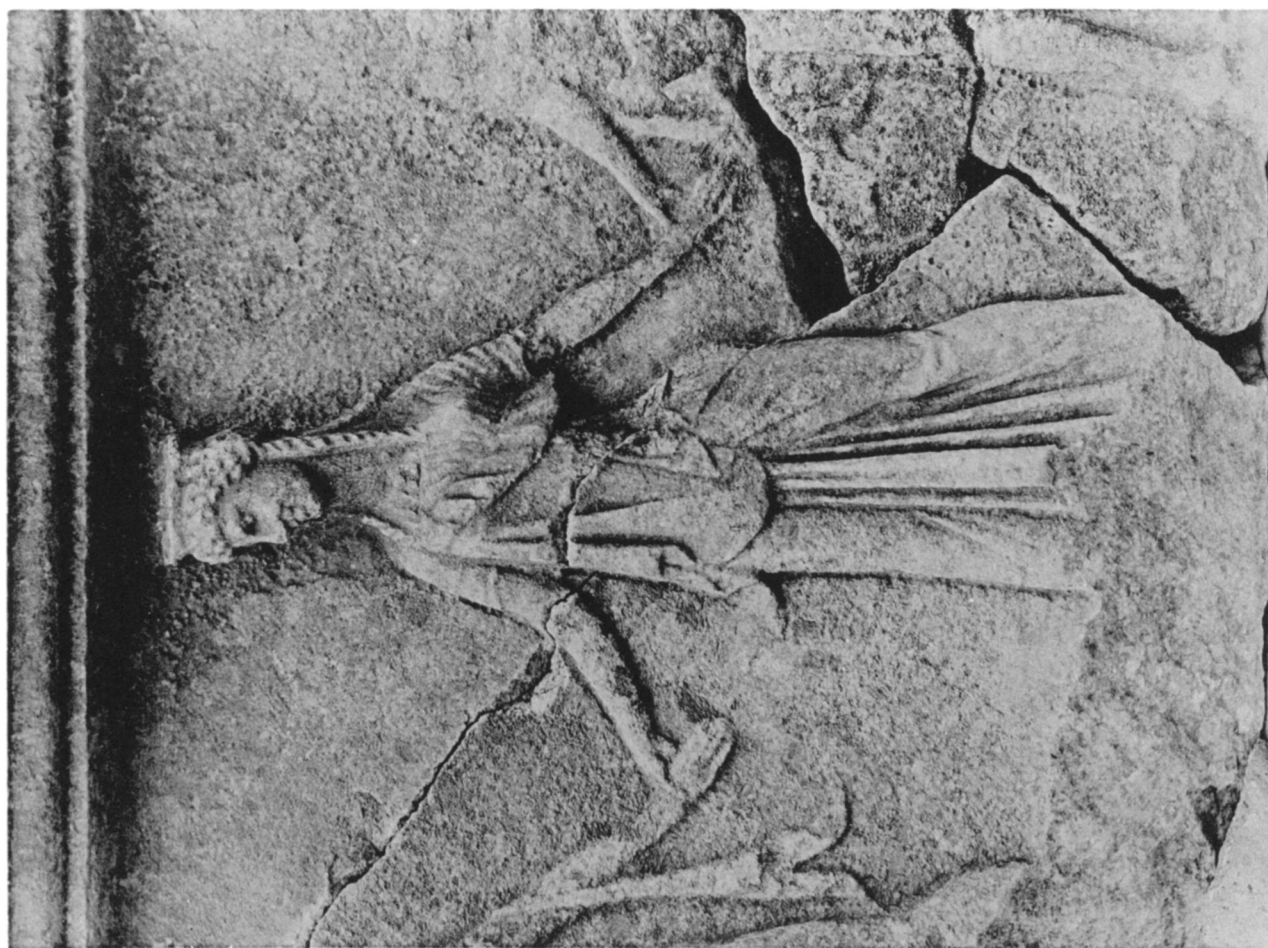
f. Pouring Stone in New Temple



a. Fragment of Left Corner Figure of New Temple Pediment



b. Sculptured Marble Fragment from New Temple



c. Detail of Frieze with Dancing Girls



Victory from New Temple



a. Victory from New Temple (right side)



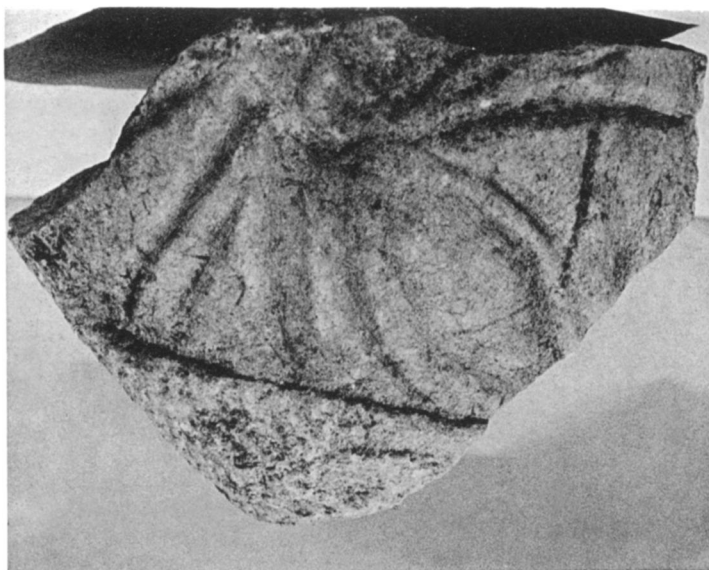
b. Victory from New Temple
(back)



c. Victory from New Temple (left side)



a. Late Antique Antefix of New Temple



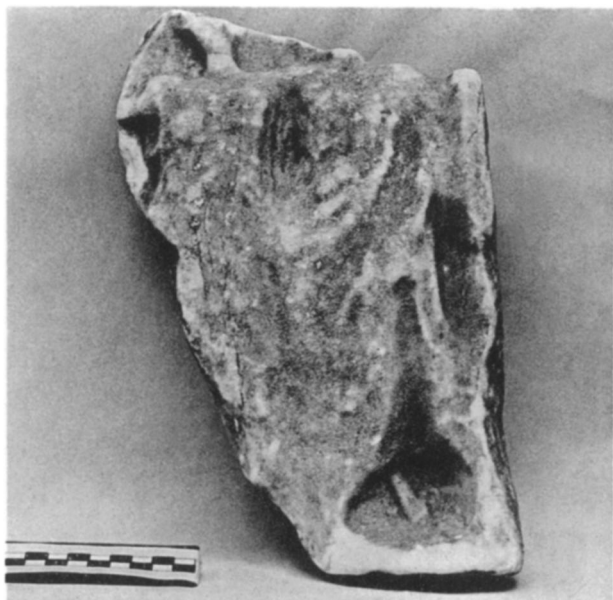
b. Fragmentary "Imago Clipenta" from New Temple



c. Terracotta Antefix



d. Marble Antefix



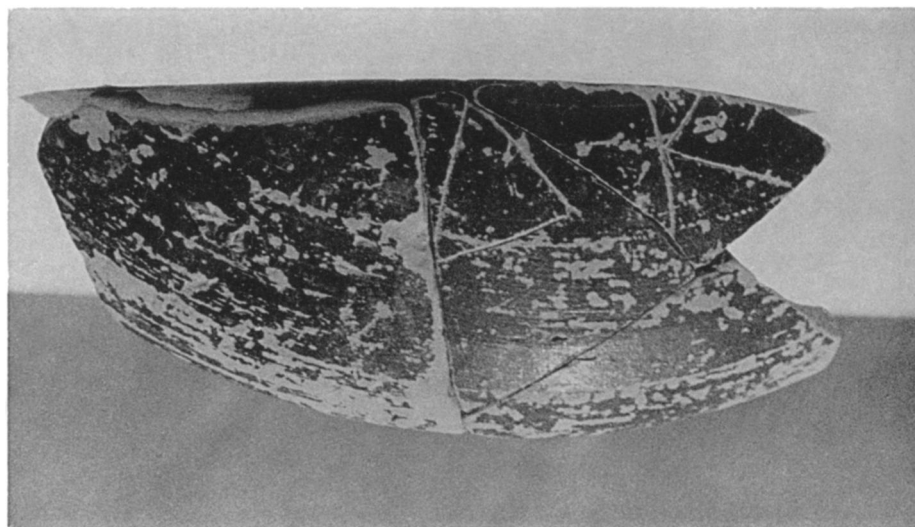
e. Fragmentary Votive Relief, Marble



f. Part of Corner Capital of Ptolemaion



a. Fragment of Amphora with Graffito



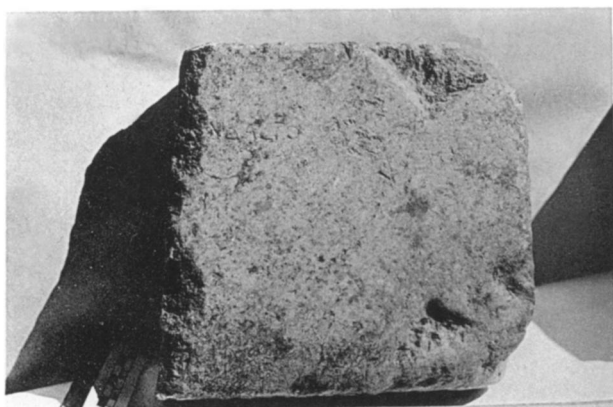
b. Fragment of Bowl with Graffito



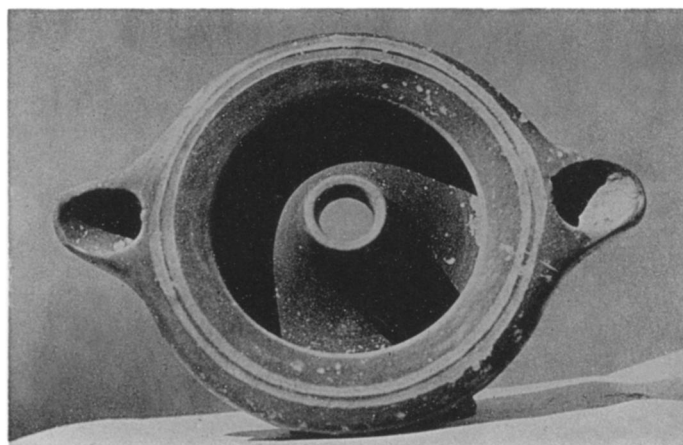
c. Fragment of Amphora with Graffito



d. Foot of Vase with Graffito



e. Fragment of Marble Tablet with Inscription



f. Terracotta Lamp