

SAMOTHRACE: FIFTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

(PLATES 3-11)

A FIFTH campaign of excavation was carried out by the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during the summer months of 1950 in the Sanctuary of the Great Samothracian Gods.¹ We continued to concentrate primarily on exploration of the main area of the Sanctuary. During the preceding campaigns, we had fully excavated the northern region of this area including the archaic initiation hall (the Anaktoron), the rotunda (the Arsinoeion) and the region immediately adjacent to it as well as the great marble building to the south known as the "New Temple." In these regions not only the aforementioned major structures had been excavated but earlier strata and buildings had also been uncovered which lead the history of this Greek mystery cult back to the latter part of the seventh century B. C. and, beyond it, to a native pre-Greek cult.²

In 1950 we connected these two main sections of our excavation by exploring the region between them: an area of *ca.* 35 m. extent from north to south situated to the east of the western river bed of the Sanctuary.³ This area includes the Central Terrace—on which previous excavators had erroneously placed an "Old Temple"—⁴

¹ The campaign lasted from the middle of June to the end of July. I was again assisted by Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Associate Professor at Smith College and assistant field director, and Stuart M. Shaw of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, our architect. Alec Daykin, of the Department of Architecture of Sheffield University, joined us as architectural assistant and added greatly to the success of our work by the keenness of his observation and his enthusiastic cooperation. Other members of the staff were: Martha Leeb of New York University, Instructor at Smith College; Eileen Rooney and Thomas Todd of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. We again enjoyed the privilege of having Vassilios Kallipolitis with us as representative of the Greek Government. Jean Charbonneaux, Curator of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Musée du Louvre, joined us for the excavation in the precinct of the Victory. To all these helpers as well as to our loyal foreman, Georgios Nikolaides, and our restorer, G. Kontogeorgios, I owe gratitude. The continued generous sponsorship of the Bollingen Foundation and additional help from the same unnamed donor who has contributed much to our work in previous years enabled us to carry on. The officers of New York University, of the American School of Classical Studies and of the Royal Greek Ministry of Education helped us greatly as always. D. Papaeustratiou of the American Express Company and his staff were of invaluable assistance.

We are especially indebted to many individuals who have been helpful in a variety of ways: John D. Barrett, John Caskey, Harry Woodburn Chase, Walter W. S. Cook, Fritz Eichler, Denise Feytmans, Lady Gabriel, Harry Hill, Vernon Knight, Aristides Kyriakides, Edwin Land, Benjamin D. Meritt, A. K. Orlandos, Ephraim Shorr, Lucy Talcott, Eugene Vanderpool.

² See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 1 ff. with bibliography.

³ See *Archäologische Untersuchungen in Samothrake* (henceforth *S.*), vol. II, pl. 1; *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 329, fig. 1.

⁴ *S.*, II, pls. 2 ff., pp. 1 ff.

and a triangle framed by its southwestern line, the river bed adjacent to its western corner and the façade of the "New Temple" to the south (Pl. 3a and b). Though natural erosion and wilful destruction throughout many centuries have marked this region with particular violence and though our predecessors have extracted from it all the major sculptural remnants of the decoration of the "New Temple,"⁵ our exploration has had very gratifying results. We have been able to clarify the religious and architectural history of a very important ritual area of the Sanctuary, the Central Terrace; by the discovery of a stratum containing early Greek ceramics of great beauty and of a hitherto unknown style, we were enabled to trace the Greek origin of the cult back into the earlier part of the seventh century B. C.; we have located and can now safely restore the building once decorated with a graceful frieze of dancers in archaistic style dating from the time of Alexander the Great; we have made progress in restoring the façade of the "New Temple" by the discovery of fragments in themselves not spectacular; and, finally, we have been able to suggest the impressive appearance of that great Hellenistic building in its landscape setting by assembling and erecting column drums on its northern platform, hoping that in the future a good deal of the façade may be physically reconstructed (Pl. 3a).

In addition to our major work in the center of the Sanctuary, we fully excavated and explored the site of the famous Victory of Samothrace in the Louvre⁶ in collaboration with Jean Charbonneaux. By means of ceramic finds, we have finally been able to ascertain the long debated date of the monument in the decades around the turn of the third to the second century B. C. Furthermore, this excavation furnished us evidence of the picturesque setting of the statue which sailed forth on her ship behind and above a basin containing water, in a half romantic surrounding of natural rocks included in an architectural frame. The discovery, in this excavation, of the beautifully modelled main part of the right hand of the Nike and the upper part of its ring finger, to which we later added the missing part of that very finger and the entire thumb as the result of a find made by us in a storeroom of the Vienna Museum, has solved the equally long debated and crucial problem of the restoration of this famous masterpiece. Numerous new fragments of the ship which will complete and modify the restoration in other respects were also discovered. M. Charbonneaux has obliged us by adding to this report a short note on the hand of the Victory (below, pp. 44-46). A thorough publication of the excavation and restoration of the Nike Precinct will be submitted in the near future by Messrs. Shaw and Daykin.

The following report is therefore limited to the main excavation of 1950 in the center of the Sanctuary.

⁵ S., I, pp. 1 ff., pls. 35 ff.; A. Schober, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ The work was begun in 1939: *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 352. For a short note on the recent discoveries, see *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 25, 1950, pp. 867 ff.

Between the buildings dominating the sacred precinct of the Great Gods, the Rotunda of Arsinoe and the "New Temple," there had always been visible the northwestern terrace face⁷ of a large structure extending from southeast towards northwest. The first modern explorers, Deville and Coquart,⁸ observing a ravine on its eastern side roughly parallel to the river bed that passes the western corner of this structure, called it a "sacred island" and rightly suggested that no major building but only a precinct was situated here. Later the Austrians discovered the southern corner of this structure close to the northeastern corner of the "New Temple"⁹ and subsequently they excavated¹⁰ parts of a rectangular foundation which they suggested had supported the walls of an "Old Temple" built in the archaic period, renewed in marble in the fourth century B. C., and accessible from the top of the terrace the northwestern face of which had always remained exposed near the western corner of the entire complex.

In the interior of this structure, the Austrians uncovered various elements of installation dating from different periods. These elements, shown in their plan¹¹ (Pl. 5a) and documented in photographs and detailed drawings¹² which are valuable records of details now completely destroyed, were: an early sacrificial hearth¹³ (A) approximately in the center of the main structure, a later hearth (B) supplanting it at a slight distance to the northwest at a somewhat higher level; and a marble floor supported by rows of small stones covering up the escharae A and B and including another sunken rectangle, evidently a third and later eschara, halfway between hearth B and the northwestern foundation of the main structure. The rear part of this floor had a level one step higher than the forepart.¹⁴

Our work revealed the sad fact that, after the Austrian excavation, local vandals wilfully destroyed the entire interior installation uncovered by our predecessors, leaving no trace of it. Olive and pear trees were planted here. Later excavators dug a big funnel shaped hole into the virgin soil about in the center of the structure and another smaller hole in front of the center of the northwestern foundation in a vain search for earlier traces.

⁷ S., II, pl. 3.

⁸ *Arch. miss. scientif.*, n. s., IV, 1867, p. 276.

⁹ S., I, p. 49, fig. 15, cf. p. 11.

¹⁰ S., II, pp. 13 ff., 21 ff., pls. 1 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, pls. 4-7.

¹³ After the discoveries in the nave of the "New Temple" and their analogies in other Greek sanctuaries, these structures may be interpreted as escharae rather than bothroi: see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 5 ff., *ibid.*, XX, 1951, p. 13.

¹⁴ The levels in S., II, pl. 2, indicate an additional difference between the central part (over B) and these two. There are several mistakes in the figures indicating levels on pl. 2 in the parts still preserved, and this may be one of them. In the following discussion we have accepted the Austrian levels where they correspond to preserved parts or are unquestionably borne out by the evidence of their photographs and detailed drawings.

In 1949 we exposed the entire northwestern face of the great terrace to a length of 15.50 m. In front of it, we found parts of a wall preserved at a lower level along a road that ascended from the river bed to the northern corner of the Terrace. We uncovered here a great quantity of fallen blocks from a small Ionic building of the late fourth century B. C. that once stood on the terrace and included in its decoration the well-known archaistic frieze of dancing girls of which we found excellently preserved parts intermingled with other remnants of the building. We concluded that the Austrian reconstruction of a big temple on the Central Terrace was erroneous and that a small Ionic building, a propylon leading to a precinct or, possibly, a monumental altar, once stood there.¹⁵

It is necessary to recall this history of exploration in order to make the evidence obtained in 1950 understandable, inasmuch as this evidence must be evaluated in connection with previous observations made by our Austrian predecessors.

Our excavations reveal that in later antiquity the Central Terrace was occupied by an open-air precinct (Fig. 1) (coinciding in size with the temple previously reconstructed here) built about 320 B. C.¹⁶ The foundations of the entire southwestern and northwestern walls enclosing the precinct are preserved (Pl. 4a and b) though nowhere to the height of the original level of the marble floor uncovered by the Austrians.¹⁷ Owing to late antique destruction, only a small section of the southeastern foundation is preserved at the southern corner (Pl. 5b) and the eastern part of the enclosure is entirely destroyed. We were able, however, to locate the eastern corner in rock cuttings made for its foundation (Pl. 5b, background). The rectangular precinct measured approximately 24 m. by 9.50 m.

Together with this precinct, an open terrace (Pls. 3b, 5c) was built to the northwest. It is *ca.* 7.50 m. wide and is supported on the southwestern and northwestern side by the impressive rock wall which has always been visible at the western corner.¹⁸ While the southwestern line of this terrace—as indicated in the earlier plans—continues the line of the precinct on this side, its northwestern face (15.50 m. long to the preserved northern corner)¹⁹ extends more than 5 m. beyond the line of the north-eastern periphery of the precinct. This terrace, whose level was evidently equal to or but slightly lower than the floor level of the precinct, once emerged to a height of *ca.*

¹⁵ See for a preliminary account of these discoveries, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 13 ff., pls. 2a, 3a, 7b-d, 8-10, 14c.

¹⁶ This date has previously been suggested (*ibid.*, pp. 17 f.) on stylistic grounds, for the building with the archaistic frieze. It has been confirmed by the ceramic finds in the fills of both the precinct foundations and the terrace to its northwest which are homogeneous and contain as their latest variety mid-fourth century glazed pottery with stamped decoration.

¹⁷ See S., II, pl. 2 = fig. 3.

¹⁸ S., II, pl. 3; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 13 f.; pls. 3a, 4f, 7b. The large upper corner block visible in our Plate 5c was found in fallen position and has been approximately replaced by us.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 13.

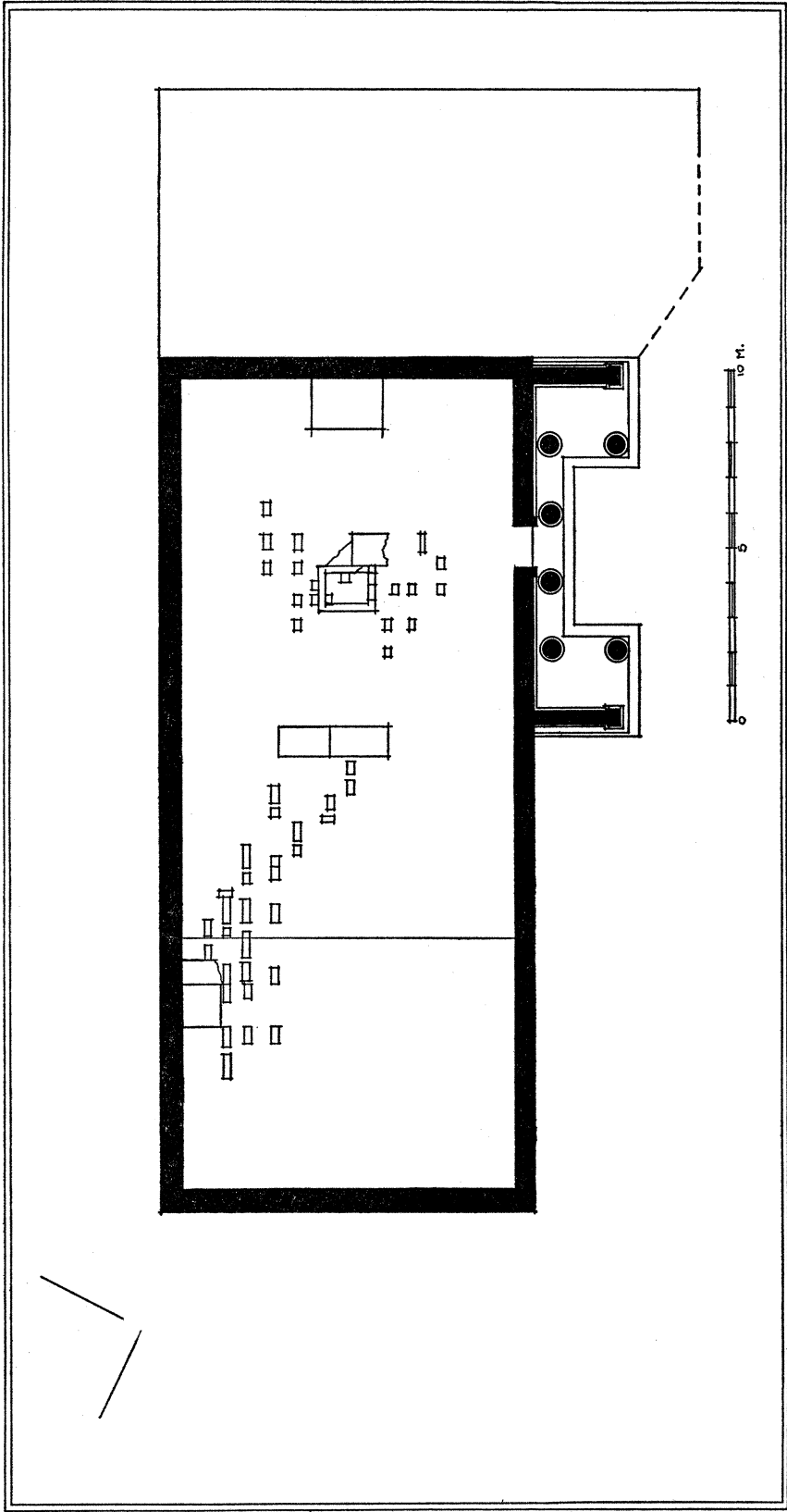


Fig. 1. Central Terrace. Tentative restored Plan of 4th century B. C. Precinct and Propylon

5 m. above the river bed at the western corner (Pl. 5c). The rock terrace wall, curiously irregular on its outer faces, was only an inner retaining wall and had an outer facing of ashlar masonry in limestone throughout its entire height and along most of its long northwestern as well as its short southwestern faces. This outer limestone wall has a thickness of 1.50 m. along the former and 0.62 m. along the returning angle which is only about four meters long. Evidently this great terrace, somewhat analogous to the Delphian temple terrace, was meant to support dedications along its widely visible outer edge.²⁰ From the deepest point two roads ascended along the terrace. One led to the northern corner, turned around it, and gave access first to the surface of the terrace and then to the precinct. Another road must have ascended more steeply from the river bed at the western corner of the terrace to the area in front of the "New Temple."

The ceramic finds made in the fills of the Central Terrace and the precinct confirm the contemporaneity of this entire complex and the previously suggested date in the latter part of the fourth century B. C.²¹

It was natural to assume that the terrace had been built to support the small Ionic structure decorated with the frieze of Dancing Maidens. However, excavation showed that no foundations for such a building existed on this terrace. Inside its western and northern corners, a rock packing is preserved at some distance from the irregular inner faces of the terrace walls. It is either a device to relieve the pressure of the fill against the outer shell of the terrace or else these packings may have supported isolated small structures such as altars. We have no indication that any door provided for communication between the terrace and the interior of the precinct²² nor could a door have existed in the center, where such an entrance would have been blocked on the inside by a structure, the foundation of which was preserved at this point and was contemporary with the fourth century precinct.²³ (Pl. 6a)

We believe that the main entrance to the precinct was situated on its northeastern side and adjacent to the terrace at the eastern corner. Here we uncovered

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14, pl. 3a. We had first assumed that the outer ashlar wall supported monuments at a lower level. But Mr. Daykin pointed out that cuttings on the upper surface of the preserved limestone blocks are merely a dressing down of the surfaces for posing the next course on top of these blocks—a procedure used also in the northern foundation of the precinct—and that the outer face of the rock retaining wall shows traces of the ashlar wall that once screened it throughout its entire height.

²¹ See above, note 16. Potsherds extracted from the joints of the outer limestone wall and between it and the rock wall prove the contemporaneity of both structures.

²² In the plan, S., II, pl. 2 (Pl. 5a) several stones inside the center of the northwestern precinct wall are drawn as if they formed part of an entrance at the point where the Austrians placed the door of their temple. These limestone blocks were still there when we began our work; however, they were not in the regular position indicated in the plan and loose earth was under them. They were not *in situ* from any ancient construction.

²³ See below, p. 29.

all that seems to be left of the foundations of the Ionic building with the Dancing Maidens (Pl. 6b). Part of these foundations already appear on the Austrian plan (Pl. 5a) although they are not exactly rendered. Observations made on the previously discovered remnants of the superstructure had already suggested that the building was a propylon and that it probably had two projecting lateral wings.²⁴ These assumptions have now been found to be correct. A detailed description and analysis of this quite unique Greek building cannot yet be presented in this report. But its general appearance (Figs. 1, 2) and basic data may be mentioned, briefly.

The building faced northeast, it seems, toward the road which turned around the northern corner of the terrace, giving access both to the terrace and to the propylon. Parts of the foundation of the projecting wing adjacent to the terrace and of the rear wall are preserved (Pl. 6b). The northwestern foundation of that wing continues the line of the northwestern precinct wall, the rear foundation that of the now destroyed northeastern long wall of the precinct. At the inside, this foundation is strengthened by a rock packing²⁵ relieving the pressure on it and this packing is preserved almost throughout the entire extent of the building. The foundation of the wing on the spectator's left is entirely destroyed but sufficient traces of the right wing are preserved in foundation walls and rock cuttings to suggest its size. To the numerous blocks of the superstructure found in 1949 in front of the terrace²⁶ many more were added in 1950. In part they were discovered in fallen position to the north of the building and in its immediate vicinity; in part they were found in the area of the precinct and in dumps of previous excavators containing material from this area. One frieze block from the entablature (Pl. 8a) was found outside the western corner of the terrace in the river bed. We possess marble blocks of the euthynteria, with inner and outer corners of the wings, steps with inner corner, orthostates, fragments of almost all the blocks of the wall frieze of the dancing maidens,²⁷ a column shaft

²⁴ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 18.

²⁵ It was erroneously assumed by our predecessors to be an earlier "cyclopean" wall, S., II, p. 21.

²⁶ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 14 ff., pls. 2a, 3a, 6d, 8-10, 14c.

²⁷ In 1949 we had found an almost complete block of the frieze moving towards right (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 8a, p. 16); we had also found two smaller fragments of one or two other blocks, one with the feet of two figures (49.1043e) and one of a moulding (49.1043i), the mouldings of this frieze differing slightly in dimension from that moving in the other direction. To this belonged a previously discovered scattered fragment with part of the body of a girl (39.515; *ibid.*, p. 17, note 55). In 1950, we found a number of additional fragments of mouldings from this frieze (50.526-2, 574 a, b, c, 618 and 781). There is evidence of at least four blocks. More large fragments of the frieze moving towards left are preserved although they are mostly in bad condition. In addition to the two Louvre slabs (*ibid.*, p. 16, pl. 8b) we discovered, in 1949, a fragment with parts of four figures and a right edge (*ibid.*, pl. 9b; 49.1043a-c) and a fragment with a head and upper moulding (49.1043, g), possibly belonging to the missing part of the same block; another with part of three figures and a left edge (49.1043d); a moulding fragment

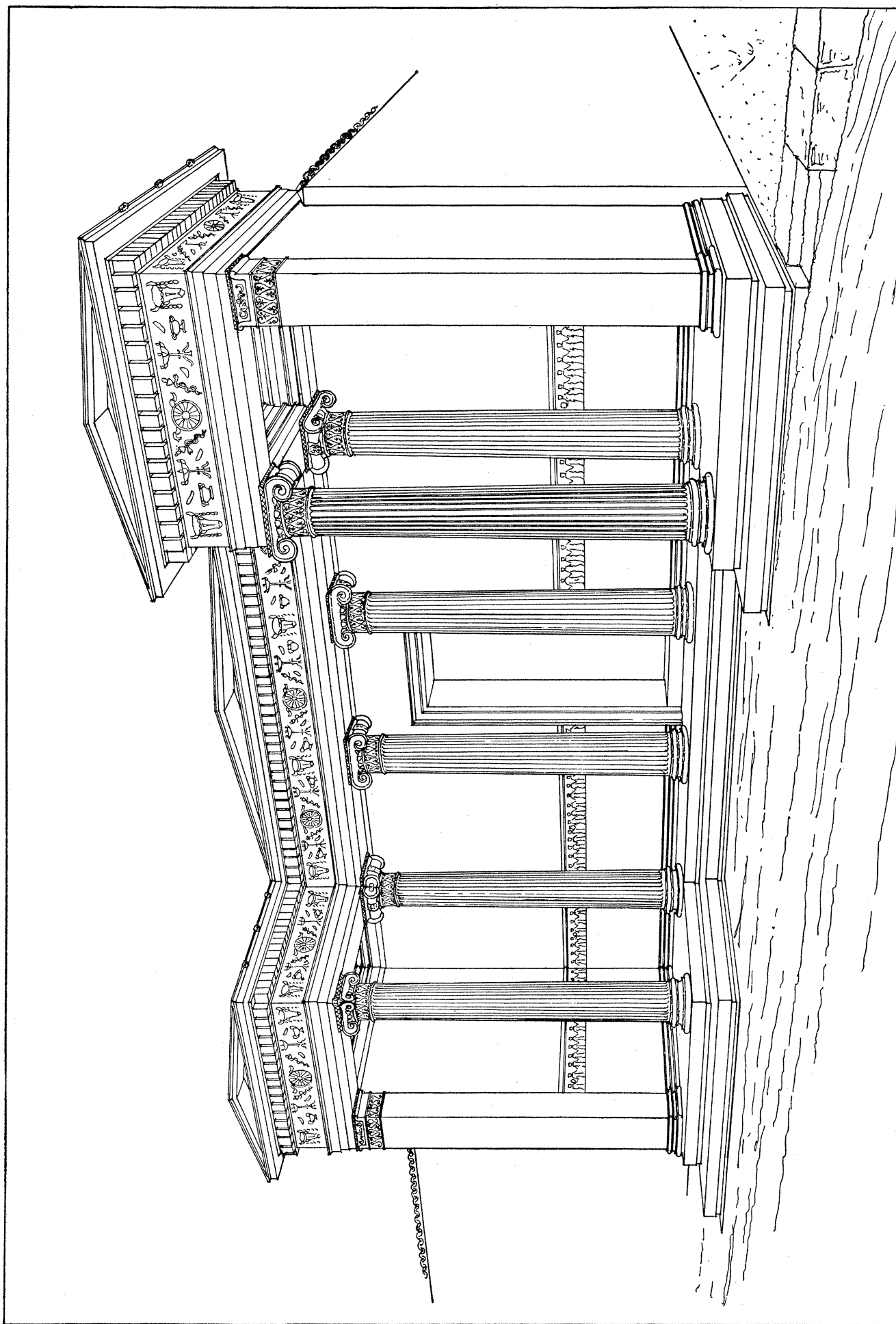


Fig. 2. Tentative Restoration of Propylon of Central Terrace Precinct

and other column fragments, capitals, entire and fragmentary free and wall architraves, a frieze block, numerous cornice-sima blocks in one piece ²⁸ (one from the inner angle of a wing), marble roof tiles, fragments of the raking cornice of the central pediment, ceiling beams, and fragments of the coffered ceiling. A fine antefix fitting onto the roof tiles is preserved in Vienna. The only elements missing so far are the column bases and dentils; the existence of the latter is, however, implied by the dimensions of the inner beams at the level of the outer frieze which is exceeded to a height that requires the restoration of this element. ²⁹

The building had a width, it seems, of *ca.* 10 m. and a depth, including the projecting wings, of *ca.* 3.60 m. It stood on two steps that supported six Ionic columns, four of which stood directly in front of the rear wall flanking the door, two being placed on the corners of the wings facing towards the inside. The outer walls of the

(49.1043f) of a third block. In 1950, in various places including Austrian dumps to the west and east of the precinct, we found a fragment with part of four figures and a right edge (50.620); another with five figures and a left edge (50.371; possibly identical with the one mentioned *S.*, II, p. 13, note, where a dimension too big for a fragment containing only five figures is given); a third with three figures and a left edge (*ibid.*, no. 2; 50.621); one with two figures (50.481c), possibly part of the second block (1043d) discovered in 1949; part of one figure with a lower edge (50.570), possibly a fragment of the same block, and a part of the same figure (50.538); a lower edge with part of one figure (50.26); another with one foot (50.569), a thigh and leg of one figure (50.450/1), a piece of drapery (50.60) and two fragments of mouldings (50.93 and 541). There are two more fragments of lower parts in Vienna, *S.*, I, p. 10. These fragments belong to at least six different blocks, each of them probably 0.93 m. long like one complete block now in the Louvre. The resulting length of 5.58 m. would fit the proposed reconstruction of the Propylon. Of the four blocks of the frieze moving towards right, one had double length (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 8a). We have fragments of three more blocks which, with a fourth missing one of normal length, would add up to the same dimension. The frieze thus contained 84 figures, 42 in each half. If symmetry is assumed in both halves, there were at least three musicians in each of them; there may have been more. But we have no fragments of any other musicians. On the large frieze block discovered in 1949, we have a chorus originally of twelve girls on both sides of the cithara player—ideally thought to dance around her—with a leader behind the musician in the center. In the left Paris block, we seem to have six dancers of a chorus followed by their tympanum player while another block would have contained the other six chorus girls preceded by their leader. The other fragmentary block in Paris, the left edge of which does not fit the right edge of the first block to which it is now joined, shows a flute player and originally had six dancing girls, leaving room for the missing seven dancing girls of this second chorus on another block. If one assumes a symmetrical arrangement in both friezes, there were on each side three choruses of twelve dancing girls and a chorus leader—one dancing to the music of the tympanum, one to the flute, one to the cithara. A restoration of this kind with the choruses of tympanum and flute on the rear wall and the cithara choruses on the side walls of the wings fits all that is preserved of the frieze and the building as we know it. The sequence of tympanum, flute and cithara may have corresponded to a succession of rites.

²⁸ The sima blocks which the Austrian excavators attributed to the "Old Temple" and of which a corner piece is in Vienna, *S.*, I, pl. 49; II, pl. 9, are much bigger and from a still unknown building. We have found various fragments of this sima scattered in several regions of the Sanctuary. See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 13.

²⁹ The Austrians reported the discovery of dentil fragments in this region: *S.*, II, p. 14.

wings ran forward to their full length. The frieze of Dancing Maidens over the orthostates moved along these lateral walls from both sides and continued along the rear wall towards the central door, seen through the intercolumnia of the wings and of the rear columns which stood directly in front of it. This arrangement anticipates the later appearance of the Telephos frieze on the altar of Pergamon as originally designed to be seen through the colonnade of its inner courtyard and, also, in monumental painting, the scheme of the Second Pompeian Style.

With its projecting wings, the building is based on the Periclean concept of a propylaea. But unlike other propylaea, it had no inner porch and is but a façade. This aspect, enhanced by the columns directly in front of the rear wall and the lack of communication between the lateral wings and the center which resulted from this arrangement, recalls theatre façades with projecting paraskenia as much as the tradition of the Propylaea of which it is a playful descendent. The column capitals,³⁰ playing equally freely with a traditional type, are but another element of this architectural approach.

Another distinctive feature of the building is the addition of metal decoration, undoubtedly of bronze. The frieze block (Pl. 8a) discovered in 1950³¹ has holes for dowels and cuttings for applied decoration which was pried off later and cannot have been of stone. This destruction has made the original character of the ornament now entirely obscure but the traces left point rather to the application of bronze sacrificial implements than to figures. If that assumption is correct, we have here a Greek forerunner of a type of decoration otherwise known only from temple friezes of the Roman time. The waterspouts on the sima (Pl. 8b), which is otherwise smooth and must have had painted ornament, were also separately attached pieces set into semi-circular cuttings and, again, these pieces must have been of bronze inasmuch as no provision was made for stone attachment and it would be absurd to assume the existence of stucco or terracotta gargoyles in a building otherwise so delicately executed in marble.

The use of extensive bronze appliqué decoration on the outside of a Greek building of the classical period is a novelty. Evidence for such decoration was hitherto available only from the end of the Hellenistic age on.³²

Akroterial decoration, probably also of bronze, has left its traces on a cornice-sima block from an inner corner of the wings. The ceiling, too, was richly sculptured in relief, for heads of divinities appeared in some of its coffers,³³ again, the earliest instance of such a decoration.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 15, pl. 7c-d.

³¹ Now in the Museum.

³² However, the geison of a small archaic Doric poros structure found by the Austrian excavators and now in Vienna (S., II, p. 22, pl. 8, figs. 1, 2) had inserted guttae, probably of metal, and gives evidence of a local tradition in Samothrace of such metal decoration.

³³ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 16.

The Propylon of the Dancing Maidens, like the graceful frieze itself, thus presented a novel and somewhat capricious appearance well in tune with the end of the Classical Age in Greece and the beginning of a new epoch.

The precinct walls seem to have been built in limestone over a dado of marble orthostates and to have had a coping of tiles.³⁴

To the interior installation of the fourth century precinct may be attributed the marble pavement posed on small rectangular limestone supports which was uncovered by the Austrian excavators and has now completely disappeared.³⁵ Opposite the propylon, according to their plan, and in the center of this marble floor, a sunken rectangle appeared, evidently a sacred hearth of the type known in Samothrace in the earlier escharae of the same region and now, too, in the Hellenistic "New Temple."³⁶ In line with this eschara, near the center of the northwestern precinct wall (where the Austrians had assumed the door of their "Old Temple" to be) we found part of an already mentioned fieldstone foundation dating from the same period (Pl. 6a, right background). It was 3.15 m. long and composed of a narrower southwestern and a wider northeastern section as if intended to support a statuary group of a larger and a smaller figure. Its southeastern termination was destroyed and its depth can no longer be defined. In view of the prominent position of this foundation, its character and date, as well as the chorus of maidens shown on the propylon, one is tempted to think that it once supported the group of Aphrodite and Pothos by Skopas which the Samothracians worshipped, according to Pliny, "in most sacred ceremonies."³⁷

According to the Austrian records, the southeastern part of the precinct where the natural rock emerges to a greater height near the southern corner was on a level one step higher than the northwestern section. Their statements make it possible to assume that this slightly raised platform was not entirely paved and that the rear section of *ca.* 3.50 m. depth had simply an earthen floor. Such an arrangement seems to be indicated by a stone packing found along the southwestern foundation wall (Pl. 4a) and dating from this period.³⁸ In view of the analogy offered by the "New

³⁴ We have larger and smaller orthostates of the same workmanship, the former probably from the Propylon, the latter from the precinct wall. A small amount of tiles of Laconian type were found. For such a coping, compare L. B. Holland, *A. J. A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 349, fig. 5, p. 355.

³⁵ S., II, pls. 2, 4, 6, 7, pp. 14 f., 21 f.

³⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 5 f., figs. 8, 12.

³⁷ *sanctissimis caerimoniis*, Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI, 5, 25; for this group, see the recent discussion of H. Bulle, *Jahrbuch*, LVI, 1941, pp. 121 ff.; B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Upsala, 1950, p. 85.

³⁸ The plan, S., II, pl. 2, shows that no supports for the marble floor were found in this rear section where they should have been preserved, if anywhere, given the preservation of the south corner to a level higher than the rest of the foundation. On the other hand, where the plan shows the beginning of the marble floor, a stone packing along the now destroyed upper foundation courses of the precinct wall is still preserved. This stone packing covers the inner part of the wider archaic foundation (see below p. 32), while another earlier and more regular packing inside the archaic foundation fills the interval between this later packing and the southern corner (Pl. 4a).

Temple" in which a higher floor in the rear part of the building surrounded a bothros and was preceded by escharae—in this case, two, instead of one—one may conclude that a similar succession of rites took place in the precinct on the Central Terrace.

The picture of the rites performed here from the age of Alexander the Great on is one possibly beginning with sacrifices on the outer terrace, then ceremonies in the precinct—including offerings on a sacred hearth in front of images, probably of Aphrodite and Pothos—followed by other rites in the background. Dances of maidens accompanied by the music of tympana, flutes, cithera and possibly other instruments must have taken place in this precinct too. Such dances would fit a precinct within which Aphrodite was present.

We have previously suggested that the dancing choruses may be connected with the story of the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia in Samothrace given the insistence of ancient authors on dance and music on this occasion and the nature of the musical instruments appearing in the frieze.³⁹ That the performance of a sacred marriage in the legendary form of the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia took place in Samothrace and that the origin of the Samothracian cult was allegedly connected with this very event we know.⁴⁰ In the Samothracian festival, the search for the bride, Harmonia, who had been carried off by Kadmos, was enacted.⁴¹ This rape motive connects the legend and the rites with underworld ideas and the search may have been followed by celebration of the wedding.⁴² At this stage of our knowledge, it seems probable that these rites took place in the precinct on the Central Terrace as part of the public festival and not of the exclusive mystery initiations to which the Anaktoron and the "New Temple" were dedicated, and that the fourth century precinct was built as a dignified setting for these celebrations.

Most revered they were, according to Pliny or, more likely, his source Varro,

³⁹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 18.

⁴⁰ See, now, Hemberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff.

⁴¹ Ephoros, *F. Gr. Hist.* 70F120: καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ ζητοῦσιν αὐτήν (scil. Harmonia) ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς. The annual Samothracian festival to which the Theoroi came was public, and the initiation into the mysteries, though undoubtedly obtained by many people at that time, was a different matter and could be gotten at any time even before the late Hellenistic and Roman age for which we have epigraphical evidence. The account of the initiation of the Argonauts in Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.*, I, 915 ff., already gives evidence of this practice, as Naphtali Lewis remarks. Ephoros was in a position to mention the performance of the Wedding of Harmonia precisely because this was not part of the mystery initiation. See Hemberg, *loc. cit.*, where, however, the statement that this *dromenon* was performed in the theatre in Samothrace (p. 106) has no basis. There is no evidence for the earlier existence of the theatre whose construction probably dates from the second century B. C. or later. But in Ephoros' time, the Central Terrace precinct with its propylon and the frieze of dancing maidens was built and Skopas' group was commissioned. See also, below, pp. 37 f.

⁴² For similar ideas, see Hemberg, *loc. cit.*

who had himself been to Samothrace. And their ancient origin is indicated in the archaistic style of the dancers and musicians in the frieze of the Propylon.⁴³

In harmony with this allusion, the Austrian and our recent excavations have shown the very old tradition of the cult and the character of the rites in this region. We may now briefly explain the main features of this earlier evidence.

The northwestern foundation of the precinct wall is not homogeneous (Pls. 3b, 4b). Its northern part is rather sloppily built of a very porous limestone material and includes spoils of earlier buildings. It is coherent with the foundation of the Propylon but attached to an already extant wall that serves, for almost half of its length, as the foundation of the northwestern precinct wall. This earlier wall can be dated from finds in its foundation ditches and inner fill in the period around 400 B. C. It is carefully built of finer limestone material and, on the western corner, has preserved the remnants of an entrance (Pls. 4b, 6a, 7a) in two fine poros blocks at a level 1.18 m. beneath that of the later precinct.⁴⁴ These stones have anathyrosis on their southwestern end where this original entrance was cut off by the builders of the precinct and it is clear that the structure originally extended farther southwest towards the river bed where nothing is now preserved. The wall pierced by this entrance was exposed on its outer northwestern face while, on the inside, it has irregular projections and it evidently was the face of a terrace to which a stairway led at the entrance. The preserved entrance slabs were never exposed but supported the lowest step of the stairway. If we assume a symmetrical arrangement, the terrace was *ca.* 8 m. wide with an entrance 1.92 m. wide in the center and at the western corner of the later precinct. The width was approximately that of the later precinct. To the left of the entrance, and on the inside, we found a fieldstone foundation (Pl. 6a left, foreground) 1.25 m. wide which, according to the ceramics found in it, dates in the period of the earlier terrace. It is tempting to assume that it supported an altar and that a second such altar flanked the other side of the entrance stairway. In that case, this late fifth-century terrace, while providing access to both the later area of the precinct and to the region in front of the "New Temple" where still another altar had been situated since the archaic period,⁴⁵ may be the ritual predecessor of the great rock-terrace outside the later precinct. The fourth-century architect availed himself of this earlier terrace wall, posing his new precinct wall upon it and continuing its line.

Though no chronological data are obtainable, it seems likely that an eschara with a carefully built frame of marble over a limestone projection (Bothros B) under the marble floor of the later precinct⁴⁶ and situated at *ca.* 8 m. southeast of the northern corner of the earlier terrace belonged to this same period. It is earlier than

⁴³ *Hesperia*, loc. cit.

⁴⁴ The levels here given (compare above note 14) refer to -1.69 m. of S., II, pl. 2.

⁴⁵ *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 140, fig. 2; XLIV, 1940, p. 329, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ S., II, pls. 2, 4, figs. 2, 7, pp. 15, 22.

the fourth-century precinct, and later than the archaic age to which its predecessor farther to the southeast (A) evidently belonged. This eschara, in turn, is the immediate predecessor of the eschara of the later precinct, the position of which was changed to a place almost exactly opposite the assumed position of the door of the Propylon.

The earliest eschara (Bothros A) found by the Austrians⁴⁷ on a slightly lower level than its fifth-century successor and built of poros was correctly dated in the archaic period. Our predecessors also recognized—we cannot say on the basis of exactly what evidence—that part of the foundation of the precinct at its southern corner was earlier than the fourth century and attributed it to the archaic age. Our full excavation has shown that the lower course of the southern corner of the precinct foundation and the adjoining section of the southwestern foundation (Pl. 4a) antedate the fourth-century structure. This part is in the nature of a very broad foundation (average *ca.* 1.00 m.) carefully built of limestone with an alternation of transversal bonders and coupled stretchers. At the northern end a cornerstone 1.35 m. long is preserved. The length of this foundation from corner to corner amounts to 8.90 m. and the fact that this dimension is close to the width of the later precinct from southwest to northeast makes it probable that the preceding structure, which occupied the southeastern part of that precinct, was *ca.* 8.50 m. square. This square structure defined the orientation of both the late fifth-century terrace to its northwest and the still later precinct, as it also defined the width, central axis and southeastern extension of that precinct. The level of the natural rock inside the southern corner ascends to a height emerging somewhat over that of the Austrians' archaic eschara (A) which was situated at a distance of only *ca.* 1 m. in front of the center of the structure. This situation shows that the archaic square foundation supported a higher platform behind an eschara corresponding to the later arrangement in the fourth-century precinct which seems to have continued earlier tradition in all details. The archaic predecessor of the later precinct would thus have been in the nature of a square and, in view of its strong foundations, the high platform and the eschara in front of the steps leading up to it, it is possible that in type and dimensions it was not so different from the well-known archaic altar of Monodendri near Miletos.⁴⁸

Between the southern and eastern corners of the precinct, we found a sculptural fragment: two fingers of island marble. It fits the fragmentary right hand holding a patera from a life-sized archaic statue which we discovered at a slight distance to the west in 1938.⁴⁹ A sixth-century life-sized image of a divinity—conceivably a

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 2, 4, figs. 1, 5-6, pp. 15, 21 f.

⁴⁸ *Miletus*, I, pt. 4, Berlin, 1915.

⁴⁹ *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 146, fig. 7. In 1950, we also found another piece of the throne (Acc. No. 50.576) of which part had been found in this region in 1938 (Acc. No. 38.17).

predecessor of the Aphrodite of Skopas—might thus have once stood on this archaic cult place.

The archaic ritual section to the northwest of which a terrace with altars was added in the late fifth century, and which finally was succeeded by the fourth-century precinct, was flanked by other altars from the sixth century on. We discovered one such altar in 1938 to the west of the archaic platform in an almost north-south orientation.⁵⁰ Excavation of the area in 1950 revealed that this altar was built around and above one of the natural boulders which, in the early phase of the Samothracian cult, seem to have time and again formed the nucleus of ritual performances.

At the end of this campaign we uncovered another archaic altar to the north (Pl. 7b, center) halfway between a rocky cliff to the south of the Arsinoeion⁵¹ and the northern corner of the fourth-century Central Terrace. Here, at a slight distance from the cliff that emerged to a height of 4 m. behind it, a large boulder *ca.* 3 feet high was cut to form a roughly rectangular prism of 1.75 m. length (from southeast to northwest) and 0.80 m. width and posed upon another flattened rock. The lower end of this boulder was framed by a step of 0.43 m. width posed on a foundation course the blocks of which are held together by swallow-tailed clamps. The boulder emerged 0.58 m. above this step. On the southeastern side, the step was doubled in width, evidently to form a prothesis for the sacrificer facing northwest. The material of the steps is a marine limestone but they include spoils of yellow tufa blocks of the type used in the seventh-century structures farther to the north in the region of the Arsinoeion.⁵² This fact, as well as the character of the ceramic finds made around the foundation, indicates a date in the intermediate period⁵³ of the sixth century. The animal bones found around this altar are of lambs.⁵⁴

Most of the northwestern and the entire southwestern step frame of the archaic altar were destroyed in the latter part of the fourth century when a smaller boulder and other stones were posed against the original rock altar on the southwestern side: undoubtedly to enlarge what was now to support a successor to the archaic altar on the higher level⁵⁵ of the road that passed by it and gave access to the Propylon with the Dancing Maidens and to the terrace adjacent to it.

The entire Central Terrace area thus seems to have been of great importance in the sixth century B. C. Sporadic archaic finds from this region include a fragment of a large vase with relief decoration (Pl. 8c).⁵⁶ Part of a frieze with a chariot

⁵⁰ See above, p. 31 and note 45.

⁵¹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 2 ff., pls. 1, 5a. The area is visible, *ibid.* on pl. 3a, upper left.

⁵² *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 9 ff.; XX, 1951, p. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

⁵⁴ We are again indebted to Dr. Edwin Colbert of the American Museum of Natural History for examining the animal bones found during the campaign of 1950.

⁵⁵ A similar procedure was observed previously in an altar foundation to the west of the Arsinoeion: *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Acc. No. 50.80. Pres. height 0.107 m.; length 0.09 m.; thickness 0.016 m. Orange clay.

procession or race in a vigorous, rather heavy and rounded Ionic style of the mid-sixth century is preserved on it. While a chariot procession is not uncommon on archaic Greek relief vases and architectural terracottas, its style as well as certain other peculiarities distinguish this fragment. The bearded charioteer eagerly bending forward holds the two pairs of reins of a biga. The chariot pole has an elaborate metal finial ornamented with a bud between two volutes.⁵⁷ Behind the charioteer appears what seems to be the upper part of a tripod⁵⁸ of which one entire and one-half ring-shaped handle is preserved.

Still earlier than this relief are numerous ceramic fragments of a variety having a thick white slip and glazed ornamentation found in various places on the Central Terrace, chiefly in the dumps of previous hasty excavations, and evidently from a layer dating around 600 B. C. They seem to have been imported from the Cycladic Islands. One such fragment was found among the remnants of a sacrifice containing ashes, other ceramic bits and burnt sheep and rams' bones which had been deposited in a hole dug into a pre-archaic stamped-earth floor beneath the center of the northern part of the later precinct. This earth floor, of which only a small part was preserved, belongs to the earliest phase of the long history of sacrificial rites and "most sacred ceremonies" celebrated on this spot.

Inside the northwestern foundation of the fourth-century precinct, that is, behind the late fifth-century terrace wall incorporated in that foundation,⁵⁹ we discovered the earliest sacrificial area of this region. Here, at a level 2.26 m. beneath the floor of the precinct, we found a pavement of small stones in what evidently was an aboriginal hearth (Pl. 8d). This pavement lay in front of still another large natural boulder (1.75 m. long and 0.70 m. high) and smaller rocks flanked it on the sides to form a horseshoe, a primitive type of fireplace such as temporary campers might build. Earth, ashes, charcoal fragments and a few burned bones of pigs and lambs—one cut for the extraction of marrow at the feast⁶⁰—were found over the floor within the hearth. Over this hearth we found a stratum of sacrificial debris about two feet high (0.65 m.) from a succeeding period. In the center, it emerged to a level of 0.91 m. beneath the floor of the later precinct. This stratum consisted of a dense accumulation of burned bones and ceramic fragments. Originally this heap was surrounded by a curved frame of rocks some of which are still *in situ* on the north-eastern and southern periphery and encircle an area *ca.* 3.50 m. in diameter—evidently a shallow pit over the initial hearth into which the debris of sacrifices from a near-by place were thrown until it filled up and finally accumulated in a high heap in the center.

⁵⁷ Simpler finials occur in Larissa: L. Kjelberg, *Larissa am Hermos, II, Die architektonischen Terracotten*, Stockholm, 1940.

⁵⁸ Compare: *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, pl. 14, no. 11; *Annuario*, I, 1914, p. 67, fig. 36; p. 70, fig. 39; *B. C. H.*, XII, 1888, p. 479.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 31.

⁶⁰ Compare, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 10.

The stone frame of this shallow pit was surrounded by the above-mentioned stamped-earth floor at a level 1.26 m. beneath the later precinct floor. Later builders and previous diggers have destroyed this earth floor and most of the stone frame. And in the course of the building activity of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. which entirely destroyed the original frame on the western and northern sides, the blackened sacrificial relics were spilled out in the vicinity so that we found thin layers of them descending the hillside outside the precinct beneath the inner fill of the fourth-century terrace and inside the precinct foundation wall to the northeast.

The animal bones found in masses in this deposit are of the same variety as those from the hearth beneath it, consisting of lambs and many pigs, and attest to the continuation of the same chthonic sacrifices. But now these ceremonies also included sacramental drinking and evidently the vessels used for the purpose in this early period⁶¹ in Samothrace as well as later were ritually broken up after use and deposited with the bones in a pit made for the purpose.

The ceramic finds from this deposit and its spilled out dependencies are of considerable interest both for the history of Samothrace and her cult and for the history of early Greek ceramics, to which they add a hitherto unknown and extremely fine ware. Though the study of these finds and their restoration is not yet completed, some general observations may already be made and some examples may serve to illustrate these observations.

The fill is homogeneous and from one period, subgeometric of the first half of the seventh century B. C. With its prevalence of Greek ceramics, it dates the arrival of the Greek settlers in Samothrace and their worship on the site of the later sanctuary in that age, at least one generation earlier than the construction of the late seventh-century double precinct previously discovered by us in the region of the Arsinoeion.⁶²

The majority of the vases are drinking cups, though other forms also occur, given evidence of ritual meals and drinking in this very early phase of the Samothracian cult. And, as later, *kantharoi* prevail among the drinking vessels.

The ceramic finds are mainly of Greek manufacture but they are mixed, in curious contrast, with indigenous, handmade, thick, badly burnt and undecorated native products, possibly indicating the co-worship of Greek settlers and natives that we had already concluded from former discoveries. The native vases are mostly small cups with at most one or two handles⁶³ (Pl. 9a-d).

⁶¹ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 16.

⁶² See, *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶³ Pl. 9a. Acc. No. 50.558; height 0.065 m. Could have had a second handle.

Pl. 9b. Acc. No. 50.560; height 0.085 m. Only part of upper rim preserved. Possibly had handles.

Pl. 9c. Acc. No. 50.561; height 0.075 m. Two handles preserved at starting points.

Pl. 9d. Acc. No. 50.557; height 0.115 m. Could have had a second handle.

The Greek ceramics (Pls. 9e, f; 10a, b, c) include many fragments of extremely fine manufacture characterized by a peculiarly restrained and refined subgeometric decoration. This class of vase is very thin, employs glaze on the interior and for the sparse decoration of the exterior without using a slip on the sometimes burnished surface of the fine orange-colored mica-less clay.

The ornaments include rectangles or circles of dots about a large central dot, rows of Z-shaped hooks, pendant triangles, concentric circles, zigzag bands with filling dots, diagonal crosses (on the handles), horizontal and (on the handles) vertical lines. What is characteristic of this ornamentation is its extreme economy, the conscious and sophisticated restraint that makes it stand out with precise, thin, clarity on the large light surfaces of the vases.

Apart from two-handled bowls,⁶⁴ we already possess several large restored kantharoi⁶⁵ and numerous fragments of such vessels. While slight variations occur,⁶⁶ the type is a forerunner of the Boeotian kantharos, from the sixth century on the favored ritual vessel of Dionysos. But our early seventh-century kantharoi with their elegant vertical shape and low foot are novel in type, as is the form of the large double handled bowl.

A few fragments of this ceramic group have been found in Antissa on Lesbos⁶⁷ and here, also, the only analogy to the form of our kantharoi was found in what now is clearly to be understood as a local imitation of this Greek type.⁶⁸ This connection may or may not have significance for the origin of the Greek colonists of Samothrace, whose cult is related to Amazons coming from Mytilene in one legend. We can hardly credit the colonists themselves with the manufacture of this ceramic group which is equal to the best Greek ceramics of this age and so peculiarly refined in taste that it must be the result of a considerable tradition. On the other hand, we have learned from Professor Caskey that potsherds of identical character have

⁶⁴ Pl. 10b. Acc. No. 50.125; height 0.207 m. Most of one handle restored, but its lower end preserved.

Pl. 10c. Acc. No. 50.563; height 0.097 m. One handle restored.

⁶⁵ Pl. 9e. Acc. No. 50.614; height 0.183m. Left handle restored.

Pl. 9 f. Acc. No. 50.567; preserved height 0.173 m. Both handles restored.

Pl. 10a. Acc. No. 50.398.

⁶⁶ Compare also, the unglazed and undecorated kantharos found in the later seventh century fill of the double precinct illustrated in *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 13, fig. 33 and discussed p. 18 with reference to some analogies.

⁶⁷ *B. S. A.*, XXXII, 1931/2, pl. 23, nos. 6, 8, 16, 21 and p. 56. This observation has not escaped the sharp eyes of Mr. Kallipolitis.

⁶⁸ *B. S. A.*, XXXI, 1930/1, p. 175, fig. 5, no. 3. Some of the smaller vases found in the Tyrrhenian necropolis in Lemnos, with subgeometric decoration, show a similar restraint in ornament though cruder handling and different shapes. They may have been inspired by the same center. See *Annuario*, XV-XVI, 1942, p. 104, fig. 168; p. 116, fig. 192; p. 125, fig. 222.

been found in Troy VIII and this connection, too, is of peculiar interest in view of the legendary relationship of Samothrace to Troy.⁶⁹

Fragments of larger vessels with even more reduced decorative elements seem to be from the same still enigmatic provenance in spite of the fact that they are less thin.

Other fragments of subgeometric ceramic from this deposit point to importation from Rhodes and the Cycladic Islands. Rhodian importation has already been noted in the later seventh-century ceramics of the double precinct beneath the Arsinoeion,⁷⁰ and Cycladic finds of that later period were made in the area of the Central Terrace, specifically in a hole dug into the early seventh-century earth floor, as stated above.

A small sea-shell pierced with two holes for suspension as an amulet or votive gift also found its way into this early Greek sacrificial deposit.

These discoveries have revealed a long tradition of rites in this region, a tradition which seems to have developed continuously after the arrival of Greek settlers around 700 B. C. An original primitive hearth for chthonic sacrifices was succeeded by a continuation of the same sacrifices, with banqueting in the vicinity, throughout the seventh and early sixth centuries, the relics of these rites being buried over and near the original eschara. Presumably in the later archaic age, a new limestone eschara was built at a slight distance farther to the southeast (Bothros A) along with a high platform accessible from behind by steps. Possibly a sacrificial place and an image of Aphrodite existed on the platform in this age, too.

Other altars arose in the vicinity to the west and north. At the end of the fifth century, a terrace accessible by steps and supporting altars was built in the region of the original hearth over the seventh-century sacrificial deposit, and the eschara (Bothros B) was shifted halfway toward it. In the last third of the fourth century, the major elements of this region were incorporated in a precinct surrounded by walls, accessible through the Propylon of the Dancing Maidens (whose archaistic grace refers to the early origin of the rites) and preceded by an open terrace, probably, again, supporting two altars. The precinct continued to have an eschara in its marble floor opposite the entrance and—if we are right—was embellished by the near-by group of Aphrodite and Pothos. To the rear again, it contained a higher platform.

Inasmuch as this area shows such a marked continuity of rites, was evidently very important, and, although situated in the very heart of the Sanctuary, remained open and exposed until the time of Alexander the Great, the rites performed here were evidently not part of the technical mystery initiation but of the great, annually celebrated festivals. It was in these public festivals, according to a statement made by Ephoros⁷¹ in the age when the precinct and its propylon were constructed, that a dramatic performance of the story of Kadmos and Harmonia took place and we

⁶⁹ See *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 8, note 27, p. 9.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷¹ See above p. 30 and note 41.

have seen that this precinct was probably the site of that performance. Over the wedding feast, then, if we are right, there presided Scopas' Aphrodite, made in the same age and accompanied by the longing god of desire. According to Demagoras,⁷² probably an early Hellenistic source of slightly later date, Harmonia had seen Kadmos in the initiation of the Samothracian mysteries and had fallen in love with him on that occasion. In Diodoros' account,⁷³ too, Kadmos is initiated in Samothrace before he marries Harmonia. The story evidently offers a parallel in this respect to Olympias' falling in love with Philip of Macedon during their initiation in Samothrace and to their subsequent wedding.⁷⁴ These relationships not only give evidence of the peculiar interest in the rites and the story of the wedlock of Kadmos and Harmonia in Samothrace in Alexander's age, an interest leading to the elaborate artistic setting created at that time for the performance of these rites, but also afford us a glimpse of the emotional atmosphere of this age which mixed personal romance with legendary stories and ancient religious ceremonies.

These ceremonies now had a history of over three and a half centuries of Greek life on this sacred spot. Originally, they were probably in the nature of a rape and succeeding holy marriage of divinities, a *ἱερὸς γάμος*.⁷⁵ Other such rites with mystical meaning and explanation may have been performed for the initiates⁷⁶ in the seclusion of the near-by "New Temple." In its Hellenistic form, this originally archaic building still preserved an installation with sacred hearths and, behind them, a higher floor framing a bothros in striking analogy to the elements of the Central Terrace precinct.

When that precinct took on its final form, in the time of Alexander the Great, it did not include an altar of archaic origin to the west which was renewed at the same time.⁷⁷ This altar was situated in the center of a triangular open area between the precinct, the river bed to the west, and the façade of a predecessor of the "New Temple" to the south. Between this building, shorter then than it now is, and the southern corner of the precinct there was space for a broad passage. It was only in the Hellenistic age that the Doric façade of the "New Temple" narrowed this space to a passage of less than three meters width between its northeastern corner and the southern corner of the precinct.

In the mid-second century B. C., the area in front of the "New Temple" was paved with a floor of opus signinum supported by a stone packing (Pl. 4a, left)⁷⁸

⁷² *F. Gr. Hist.*, IV, p. 378. For Demagoras, see F. Jacoby, *R. E.*, s. v.

⁷³ V, 48, 4.

⁷⁴ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2, 2; Himerius, *Melet.*, I, 12 = Photius, 243, p. 367 Bekker.

⁷⁵ Hemberg, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106. For references to phallic symbols possibly connected with the *ἱερὸς γάμος* see, also, Bulle, *op. cit.*, note 37, who recognized that the sceptre of the Scopasian Pothos on a gem was crowned by a phallic symbol.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 33.

⁷⁸ This edge was in part uncovered by the Austrian excavators and appears as wall B in S., I, p. 49, fig. 15, but not in their later plan.

parallel to the southwestern precinct wall and leaving space for a narrow drain between that wall and the higher level in front of the "New Temple." This floor must have surrounded the altar situated in the center of the triangle to the north of the temple.

Still later, in a not exactly definable Roman period, another drain was led through the same area. It came from the western side of the "New Temple," ran north for *ca.* 4.25 m. from the northwestern corner of that building, then curved toward the northeast around the northwestern corner of the altar and evidently, after another bend, continued to the northwest along the line of the southwestern precinct wall until it reached the river bed to the north. This drain (0.30-0.36 m. wide) is still preserved to a considerable extent around the western and southern periphery of the altar to the north of the "New Temple" (Pl. 11a). Its stone floor, stone walls and partly preserved cover slabs are of heterogeneous material and include marble spoils.

By the time this drain was constructed the aspect of the entire area had profoundly changed. In the fourth century and in the Hellenistic period, it retained the appearance of a river valley. Roads led through it and around the Central Precinct terrace over ascending slopes along it to the "New Temple," and towards north to the Arsinoeion and the Anaktoron. By the time the Arsinoeion was built, a concrete wall had risen above the river bed to create a high terrace to its west.⁷⁹ We had previously observed that this Hellenistic concrete wall was later reinforced by a slightly diverging outer shell and, in 1950, we found remnants of the continuation of that later reinforcement encircling the western corner of the Central Terrace⁸⁰ and posed upon the corner of the then partly dismantled terrace facing (Pl. 11b) in addition to a piece of its continuation farther to the south at a distance of about 10 m. from that corner. As Mr. Daykin observed, a large section of this collapsed right bank retaining wall fell towards a stretch of the still preserved corresponding left bank wall in the area between the Arsinoeion and the Central Terrace precinct (Pl. 11b, background), but sections of the left bank wall, too, are preserved opposite the Arsinoeion. We made a sounding behind this upright section of the left bank wall halfway between the Arsinoeion and the Central Terrace to determine the date of these retaining walls. The finds from its fill indicate that the concrete walls along the river were built in the first century B. C., probably in the period of restoration following the destruction caused by the pirates, a period which has left its traces in many spots.⁸¹

⁷⁹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 8 f., pl. 4, b-d.

⁸⁰ Not quite correctly indicated with the other remnants of river-walls (U) in S., II, pl. 1. See also, *ibid.*, I, pp. 31 f.

⁸¹ The ceramic finds correspond to those made behind the central section of the terrace wall to the east of the Arsinoeion, regarding whose date see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 4. Roman glass, which is found everywhere in strata of the Roman Empire in Samothrace, was completely absent here. Coquart had dated these concrete walls mediaeval, the Austrians, late Roman.

Here, however, this activity amounted to a radical transformation of natural and architectural physiognomy. At least from the region west of the Arsinoeion to that west of the façade of the "New Temple," the natural river bed was now converted into a subterranean drain and a more or less unified level was created from the Anaktoron in the north to the "New Temple" in the south. The old roads were buried in the ground. The powerful wall of the Central Terrace was now hidden and this terrace lost its distinctive character to become part of a levelled off area. This level extended towards the hills to the west where other buildings rose over it in higher terraced steps.

Successive phases of Hellenistic building activity created first the precinct of the Central Terrace, in the age of Alexander, then the great rotunda of Arsinoe occupying the space between it and the Anaktoron in the early third century and, shortly afterward, a marble "New Temple" to the south of the precinct to supplant a modest earlier structure. The late Hellenistic marble façade of that building, filling whatever space was still left in the heart of the Sanctuary, was the culmination of this activity and thus prepared the way for the last radical transformation just described.

Our excavation in front of that façade, in the region where our Austrian predecessors had searched and found remnants of the pedimental sculptures, furnished only minor additions to those earlier finds. More important are the architectural fragments found in 1950, including pieces of the raking sima identical with those previously discovered at the rear⁸² and numerous fragments of a central floral akroterion, again, analogous to the akroterial decoration of the rear pediment.⁸³ Near the northwestern corner of the building, we also found part of an arm and additional pieces of a marble Victory of the type of the lateral akroteria known from the southern corners.⁸⁴ While all these pieces are from the late Hellenistic renewal, a lion's head water spout of appropriate dimensions and of a style close to that of the Arsinoeion (Pl. 10e) may belong to its early Hellenistic predecessor.⁸⁵

⁸² *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 23, pl. 13c.

⁸³ This discovery seems to exclude the suggestion made by Professor Schober, *Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 17 f. of façade akroteria different from those of the rear.

⁸⁴ Acc. No. 50.30. See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 25 ff., pls. 15, 16. Our excavations in 1949 and 1950 also yielded, on the surface near the southwestern corner of the "New Temple," joining fragments (Acc. No. 49.450-50.117) of a wing of the type and workmanship of the Vienna Victory which, however, does not belong to it but to its counterpart at the southwestern corner which supplanted the Hellenistic statue discovered by us in 1949. The Vienna figure, which we tend to date as late as ca. A. D. 200 after study of the original, is clearly derived from the Hellenistic prototype that had to be replaced at that time, and the fragments of whose counterpart were then buried. The Vienna statue exhibits a reversal of poise compared with the Hellenistic figure found by us in 1949. It therefore replaced the counterpart of our Victory, while the wing mentioned above belongs to the Roman substitute for our Victory.

⁸⁵ Acc. No. 50.122 A-B. Compare *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pls. 13b and 6e, p. 23. We are indebted to Dr. Jiri Frel for a reprint of his article in *Listy Filologické*, LXXIV, 1950, pp. 65 ff., in which he discusses and illustrates (pl. 1) two waterspouts from the "New Temple" in Samothrace

Near the northwestern corner of the "New Temple," we found a fragmentary poros block with a hole 0.16 x 0.16 m. square and 0.14 m. deep in the center of its upper surface (Pl. 10d). This hole still contains a lead pouring bearing impressions of the lower end of a vertical wooden beam or pole. Similar stones supporting masts or poles and flanking the façade of a temple have been found in the Sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon.⁸⁶ Indeed, such masts seem not to be uncommon in Greek sanctuaries.

To the previously known marble blocks of the superstructure of the "New Temple" a great number was added in 1950. Some were discovered by our predecessors; others were found by us either in the positions into which they had fallen in the great earthquake of the mid-sixth century or where they had been dragged by stone looters of various periods.

In a preceding report, we have told the sad story of lime burning in the heart of the Sanctuary during the Early Christian and Byzantine eras.⁸⁷ When the lime burners built their first kiln between the Arsinoeion and the Central Terrace, probably in the fifth century after Christ, the concrete walls flanking the river bed must either have already been partly destroyed or else they were destroyed to lead a road through the river bed to the seashore. There followed the collapse of the buildings in an earthquake in the mid-sixth century.⁸⁸ After this catastrophe, vandals destroyed the Central Terrace precinct, digging a deep road bed obliquely through its eastern portion from the area of the lime kiln to the eastern side of the "New Temple." At this time, the entire eastern foundation of the precinct including most of the southeastern and northeastern walls and the foundation of the southern projecting wing of the propylon were wilfully destroyed. A coin of Justinian found in the road among the debris of smashed building blocks is a document of this destruction. Subsequently, the deeply cut road valley transformed itself into a stream, the gravel and sand of which covered the valley to a considerable height. In the Byzantine Middle Ages, when lime burners again began to work, the stream was once more converted into a road and debris from the fallen buildings was dragged along it. On this road marked by the dis-

which found their way into the Archaeological Museum of Charles University in Prague. One of them is of the normal type which we attribute to the structure of the second century B.C., (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 13b); the other shows very pronounced drill work and crude modelling which suggests that it belonged to a Roman restoration, while Frel would attribute it to the second century and the common type to the earlier temple.

⁸⁶ E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion*, Copenhagen, 1948, p. 45, fig. 41, pp. 250 f. with reference to analogies.

⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 12.

⁸⁸ G. Downey, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 20 f.; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 12. It is evident that the right bank river wall (above p. 39) in front of the Central Terrace and of the Propylon (many fallen pieces of the Propylon were found near the line of the river wall at a deep level, *ibid.*, pp. 14 ff.) collapsed in the same general catastrophe of the Sanctuary.

covery of occasional fragments of Byzantine pottery, we found a dozen marble column drums from the "New Temple" lined up over the eastern corner of the old precinct. They were evidently destined to be transported along the road and through the northern river bed to be reused in a building in Constantinople or elsewhere but fortunately escaped that destiny so that they may one day find their place in a restoration of the façade of the "New Temple" if and when such a re-erection can be undertaken.

Partly owing to this long road of destruction and to the previous excavations in this area, the amount of single finds of interest in 1950 was small. Among the epigraphic items, which will be published separately by Mr. Kallipolitis, two fragments of a late Hellenistic votive inscription deserve a preliminary word here. Found in the area of the altar to the west of the Central Precinct, they contain, for the first time in Samothrace, part of the name of one of the divinities worshipped there and otherwise known only from scant literary references, namely Kadmilos, who was commonly identified with Hermes.

The sculptural pieces, apart from those already mentioned, include several fragments of the small-sized marble statuettes of the Hellenistic period that seem to be typical of Samothrace,⁸⁹ while bronze and terracotta statuettes are so far absent in the Sanctuary. Among these statuettes is a fragmentary figure of a half-nude and seemingly bearded⁹⁰ man wearing an animal skin as a cloak. Fragments of small votive reliefs also appeared for the first time in the Sanctuary. One late archaic example has preserved part of a seated female divinity.⁹¹ Another, of miniature proportions, shows the legs of a running horse in delicate and spirited Hellenistic modelling.

Puzzling, indeed, are more than half a dozen marble fragments of a type of miniature stele without inscription or relief, possibly originally bearing a painted dedication, which were found all around the northern part of the Central Terrace precinct.

The discovery that the large relief representation of a centaur in Hellenistic style which the Austrian excavators found at the northern end of the "New Temple" and which is now in Vienna⁹² was only one of several such figures is of considerable interest. While we found a hoof, probably belonging to this very centaur,⁹³ we also found parts of at least a second, and possibly a third, such figure in front of the

⁸⁹ See *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 354.

⁹⁰ Acc. No. 50.452. Height 0.073 m.

⁹¹ Acc. No. 50.354. Pres. length 0.095 m.; pres. height 0.065 m.

⁹² *S.*, I, pl. 52, pp. 12, 27 f. Dr. Eichler tells us that he has found evidence for more than one centaur in re-examining the pieces in Vienna.

⁹³ Found in 1938 in the region of the Anaktoron (38.558) and seemingly the right rear hoof of the Vienna Centaur. It may have been lost there after the previous excavation.

Temple. The use of these reliefs will, we hope, be defined in the course of further excavation.

The Samothracian Sanctuary, like Eleusis, was a center of mystic rites for which peculiar liturgical buildings were erected. But, unlike Eleusis, in Samothrace such buildings as the Anaktoron and the "New Temple" were only part of a public precinct where Greeks from many lands gathered for the performance of old ceremonies in annual festivals, witnessing these rites in later ages in such spectacular edifices as the Central Terrace Precinct and the Rotunda of Arsinoe. Public political dedications such as the Victory of Samothrace, buildings for the great festivals, a theatre, a large stoa, a propylon dedicated by the second Ptolemy, and other not yet fully explored or still buried buildings and monuments were added. The Sanctuary, thus, became one of the great Panhellenic shrines, though it held special promise for those initiated in the mysteries.

KARL LEHMANN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



a. View of Excavation. Center: "New Temple." Foreground, left: Central Terrace



b. Central Terrace seen from Northwest



a. Central Terrace. Southwestern side seen from South



b. Central Terrace Precinct. Northwestern Foundation

PLATE 6



a. Central Terrace Precinct. Northwestern Foundation and inner Foundations seen from South



b. Foundation of Propylon of Central Terrace Precinct seen from East



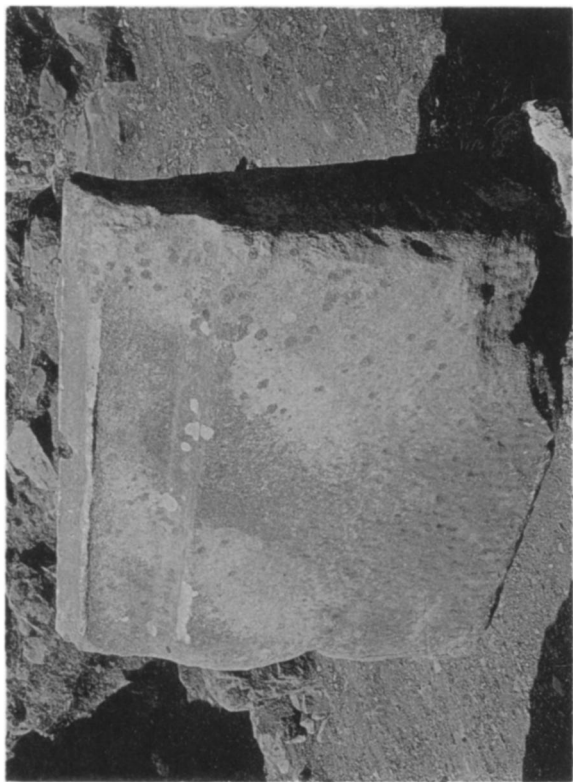
a. Central Terrace. Northwestern earlier Foundation with Entrance, seen from Southeast



b. Archaic Rock Altar Northeast from Central Terrace, seen from North



a. Frieze Block with traces of bronze decoration from Central Terrace Propylon



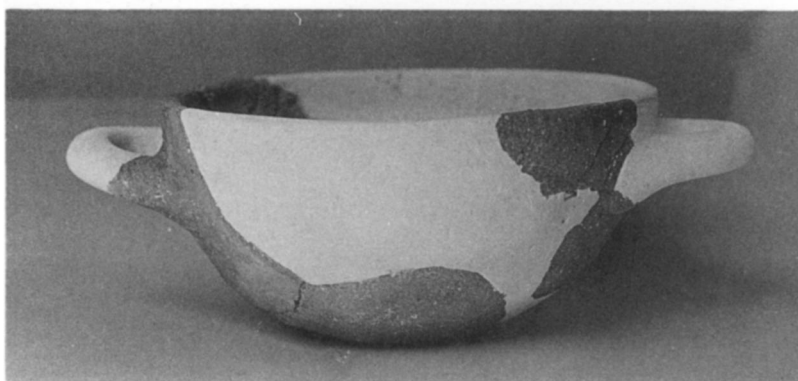
b. Cornice Block from Central Terrace Propylon with cutting for bronze waterspout



c. Fragment of archaic Vase with relief decoration



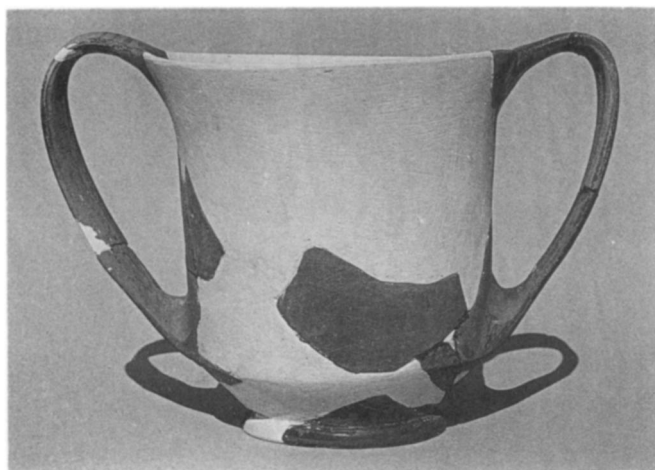
d. Sacred Hearth beneath Central Terrace Precinct



a.-d. Handmade Vases from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



e. and f. Sub-Geometric Kantharoi from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



a. Sub-Geometric Kantharos from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



b. Sub-Geometric Bowl from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



c. Sub-Geometric Bowl from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



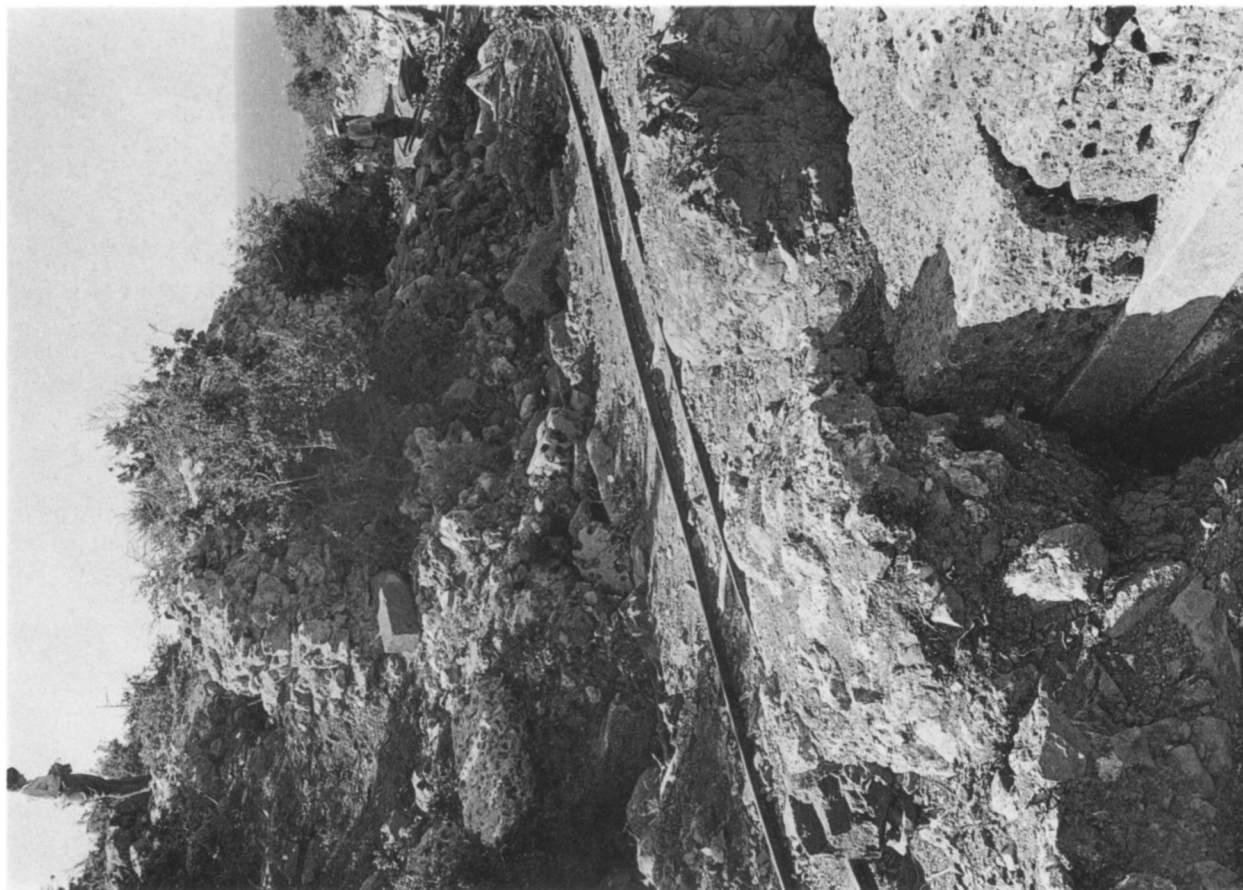
d. Foundation Block with lead pouring for sustaining a mast near Northwestern Corner of "New Temple"



e. Fragments of a marble sima found near "New Temple"



a. Roman Water Channel near Altar (left background) in area in front of "New Temple"



b. Roman concrete wall at Western corner of Central Terrace and (background) parallel wall on Western river bank

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