

# SAMOTHRACE: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1965-1967

(PLATES 58-72)

IN three summer campaigns, the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University continued the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace (Pl. 58, a).<sup>1</sup> Additional work was carried out around the Stoa (Fig. 1, K) and the Propylon of Ptolemy II (Fig. 1, N), and investigation was begun in two areas, at each side of the central core of the Sanctuary, that had not yet been explored in the current excavations: the lower, northern part of the Western Hill, where ancient buildings lie beneath and adjacent to the medieval *Ruinenviereck* (Fig. 1, P), and the Eastern Hill, where a hitherto unknown complex of structures appeared (Fig. 1, M).<sup>2</sup>

## <sup>1</sup> Abbreviations:

- Guide* Karl Lehmann, *Samothrace. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, New York, 1955.  
*Guide*<sup>2</sup> Idem, 2d revised edn., Locust Valley, N. Y., 1960.  
*Guide*<sup>3</sup> Idem, 3rd edn., revised and enlarged, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1966.  
*S, I* A. Conze, A. Hauser, G. Niemann, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Vienna, 1875.  
*S, II* A. Conze, A. Hauser, O. Benndorf, *Neue archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Vienna, 1880.  
*Samothrace, 2, I* P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace, 2, I, The Inscriptions on Stone*, New York, 1960.  
*Samothrace, 3* P. W. Lehmann, *Samothrace, 3, The Hieron* (in press).  
*Samothrace, 4, I* Karl Lehmann, *Samothrace, 4, I, The Hall of Votive Gifts*, New York, 1962.  
*Samothrace, 4, II* Karl Lehmann and Denys Spittle, *Samothrace, 4, II, The Altar Court*, New York, 1964.

For earlier work see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 100-123 and the bibliography there cited. Notices of more recent work have appeared in *Archaeological Reports*, 1965-1966, p. 19; 1966-1967, pp. 18-19; *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, pp. 890-897; *XCI*, 1967, pp. 734-740; and *A.J.A.*, LXXI, 1967, pp. 191-192. For excavations in the South Nekropolis in 1963 and 1964 see E. B. Dusenbery, *Archaeology*, XX, 1967, pp. 116-122.

<sup>2</sup> The Charles and Rosanna Batchelor Memorial, Inc., continued to provide welcome support for our work, supplemented in 1966 and 1967 by a generous grant from the Old Dominion Foundation. The writer served as Director and Phyllis Williams Lehmann as Advisory Director. Andreas Vavritsas represented the Greek Archaeological Service. Excavation was carried out by a staff that has included Lilla Brownstone, Ellen N. Davis, Anastasia D. Dinsmoor, Susan Handler, Sharon Herson, Roberta Lewis, Mary B. Moore, and Jaimee Uhlenbrock, all students or former students of the Institute of Fine Arts or the American School of Classical Studies. Architects were Gilbert Cass, Alfred K. Frazer, William C. Henderson, Nicholas D. Ohly, William Simmers, and S. D. T. Spittle; we are grateful to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for granting Mr. Spittle leave from his duties in England to work with us. Through grants of the Wildenstein Foundation,

## THE STOA

Excavation of the long Hellenistic Stoa, which, from the southern part of the Western Hill, loomed conspicuously above the older cult buildings of the Sanctuary (Fig. 1, K), had shown that a considerable modification of the original contours of that hill had been necessitated to create space for the huge building.<sup>3</sup> Additional tests in 1965 and 1967 helped clarify the system of terrace walls built to support the massive fill used in this modification, and provided more samplings of that fill.

Earlier expeditions had noted the existence of terrace walls both north and east of the Stoa, but their lines, construction, and date had not been investigated.<sup>4</sup> Our examination of the slope immediately north of the Stoa's foundations failed to reveal any trace of the terrace wall or walls which once stood there. That they must, however, have existed is shown by the enormous amount of artificial fill that here, as at the east, was brought in to raise the hill at the time of the building's construction. A section through this fill both established its contemporaneity with those inside and to the east of the building and showed a sample of the construction of the north Stoa foundation (Pl. 58, b),<sup>5</sup> but it failed to reveal the location of any terrace wall. The disappearance of such walls may, perhaps, be attributed to post-antique activity in the area, to which a number of rough walls employing ancient blocks testifies.<sup>6</sup> Among the finds from the fill is a fine, Hellenistic, non-Samothracian, bronze coin; its obverse

Norman Muller and James Greaves, students of the Center for Research and Training in Conservation of the Institute of Fine Arts, were each able to spend one season in Samothrace as student conservators, and through the kind permission of the directors of the Antiquities Service and of the National Museum, Triandaphyllos Kontogeorgis was able to join us each year as conservator. Madelaine de Huszar Bullwinkel and Anne McCarthy drew profiles of pottery, and Marian Miles McCredie assisted us in many ways. To all these co-workers, to the American School of Classical Studies and its Director, Henry S. Robinson, to the staff of the Excavations in the Athenian Agora, and to visiting scholars who have shared their observations and knowledge, I owe a debt of gratitude. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Lehmann for reading a draft of this report and making many valuable suggestions.

Excavation was carried out from June 21 to August 5, 1965, from June 20 to August 6, 1966, and from June 26 to August 9, 1967.

<sup>3</sup> For the Stoa see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 101-116, and especially pp. 102-104, 112-114 regarding its foundations and the changes made to the hill. Cf. *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 74-76.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Coquart, *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 2ème série, IV, 1867, p. 272, and plan, on which they are labelled "I." Coquart grouped all the walls together, describing them thus: "construits en appareil irrégulier polygonal, très-anciens, qui, s'étagent depuis le fond du ravin, formaient des terrasses successives. Ces murs, aujourd'hui peu élevés, sont fort ruinés." Cf. S, II, pl. I, t, from which the indications on the plans of *Guide* and *Guide*<sup>2</sup> were taken. The walls are briefly noted, *Guide*, p. 70, *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 73, *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 73, 75.

<sup>5</sup> The trench, extending 4.00 m. north of the foundation, was 2.80 m. wide, from 1.60 m. to 4.40 m. east of the northwest corner of the Stoa, and was excavated to a level 5.47 m. below the original top surface of the building's foundation. Both the character of the finds and the presence of layers of working chips from the Stoa's foundations show the fill to be contemporary with the Stoa.

<sup>6</sup> It seems likely that it was traces of such late walls that Coquart noted and regularized for his plan; see note 4, above.

shows a female head, possibly a portrait, and its reverse an Athena Promachos (Pl. 59, b).<sup>7</sup>

On the eastern slope of the hill, facing the central area of the Sanctuary, the terrace walls were found to be much better preserved. The northeast corner of the

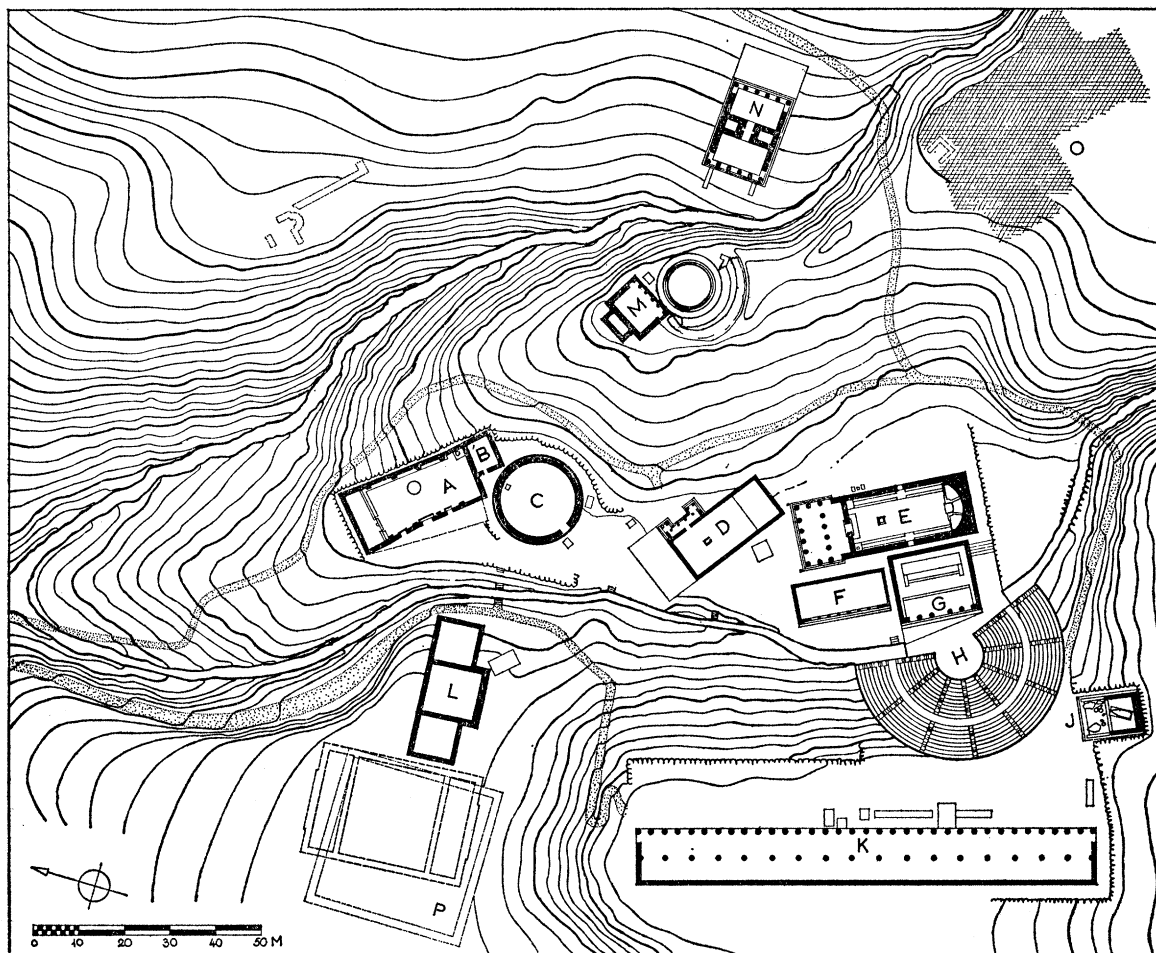


FIG. 1. Diagram of Sanctuary, showing relative location of buildings. A. Anaktoron. B. Sacristy. C. Rotunda of Arsinoe. D. Temenos. E. Hieron. F. Hall of Votive Gifts. G. Altar Court. H. Theater. J. Nike Fountain. K. Stoa. L. Building M. M. Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. N. Propylon of Ptolemy II. P. Byzantine fortification.

uppermost wall had always been visible, a boulder construction similar to the massive terrace wall which runs between the Nike Precinct (Fig. 1, J) and the Stoa,<sup>8</sup> and it had been partly cleaned in 1963. Excavation shows that this line of terracing con-

<sup>7</sup> 65.188. D. 0.018 m.; wt. 3.645 gm. The coin has not yet been identified.

<sup>8</sup> For this wall see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 113, pl. 33, a.

tinues southward, running parallel to the Stoa and *ca.* 15 meters east of it, to a point opposite the center of the building, where it met or nearly met the ancient Theater (Fig. 1, H) which occupied the southern half of the hillside. The upper surface of the wall was cleared for a length of *ca.* 34 meters, and deeper tests were made in several places (Pl. 58, c).<sup>9</sup>

The terrace wall proved to be constructed of two superposed parts, differing from one another in both material and technique (Pl. 59, a). The lower part is built of local, green porphyry fieldstone laid in a well-fitted polygonal system.<sup>10</sup> On this base rests a course of porous limestone<sup>11</sup> blocks laid as binders. Above that course, the wall was probably continued in porous limestone, and at its southern end additional courses are preserved, laid in a regular system, two courses of stretchers alternating with a course of binders.<sup>12</sup>

The wall changes direction near its southern end, veering very slightly to the west, and terminates in a sharp return to the east against an outcropping of rock. This point, nearly opposite the center of the Stoa, is only slightly north of the now pillaged Theater,<sup>13</sup> and the fact that the wall terminates there may be explained by the existence of the Theater to support the southern half of the hill.

Although the highest part of this terrace wall now preserved lies 0.97 m. below the top of the Stoa's foundation, it is likely that it once rose to that level, creating a broad, high terrace along the Stoa's façade, from which the visitor could gain a panoramic view of the older cult buildings below. The wall itself was of unusual height; it has been exposed as deep as 7.07 m. below the level of the top of the Stoa's foundation without reaching its bottom.

The creation of this terrace at the east of the Stoa, like the raising of the level elsewhere in its area, required a large amount of earth fill. It was apparently brought in at the same time as the fills to the north of the building and within its foundations,<sup>14</sup> and, like those fills, it contains pottery of the sort used in the rites of the Sanctuary.

<sup>9</sup> The relation of the boulder construction at the northern end of the wall and the polygonal and ashlar construction to the south has not yet been determined. Either both were used together or the boulder construction represents a replacement.

<sup>10</sup> A very few pieces of porous limestone are also included, but it is not clear whether they reflect a later minor repair or belong to the original project.

<sup>11</sup> Technically calcaremite, the same local material commonly used in foundations of Hellenistic buildings in the Sanctuary and in the superstructure of the Stoa.

<sup>12</sup> The same system used in the walls of the neighboring Hieron, and, slightly earlier, in the Temple of Athena at Priene and the terrace of the Temple of Artemis at Kalydon; cf. *Samothrace*, 3, text I, pp. 42 ff., pls. XXII, XXIII, CVII; Th. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 95-97, fig. 66; E. Dyggve, *Das Laphrion*, Copenhagen, 1948, pp. 27 ff., 241 ff., pl. XXVIII.

<sup>13</sup> For the Theater see F. Chapoutier, A. Salač, F. Salviat, *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, pp. 118-146; cf. *Samothrace*, 4, II, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 201, above, and *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 115-116, for some of the contents of these fills.



It seems, therefore, to have been obtained, at least in part, from a dump or dumps of material from the Sanctuary. Within the fill, one area consisted of burned material with an unusually heavy concentration of pottery, much of it fine and some of it figured. The high quality of this pottery and the fact that some pieces were mended in antiquity suggest that it had come to the Sanctuary as offerings.<sup>15</sup> Among the most interesting of the vessels is a red-figured krater of the late fifth century with Dionysos and his companions in a theatrical setting (Pl. 59, c).<sup>16</sup>

Tests made in 1967 confirmed that the fill was indeed contemporary with the construction of the Stoa; the burned earth with its pottery had been thrown in after the laying of the Stoa's lowest foundation courses but before completion of its upper courses. A fragmentary rubble wall, running east-west and slightly oblique to the Stoa, had also been covered by the fill and seems, like similar walls within the northern end of the building, to belong to the relatively modest structures which stood on the Western Hill before its radical Hellenistic revision.<sup>17</sup>

#### NORTHERN AREA OF THE WESTERN HILL

Immediately north of the Stoa the Western Hill drops sharply, then broadens toward the east to form a large, relatively level area between the central and western rivers of the Sanctuary (Fig. 1). Abundant architectural remains in this area attracted early visitors, and the most impressive of them, an enormous square structure, elicited speculative identifications as a Labyrinth (Blau and Schlottmann, 1854) or a telesterion (Deville and Coquart, 1863).<sup>18</sup>

Although limited trials had been made in the area during the nineteenth century,<sup>19</sup> extensive excavation was undertaken only by the French-Czech expedition of the 1920's, which, in four campaigns, uncovered the foundations of Building M (Fig. 1, L), trenched along those of Building A (Fig. 1, above P), and demolished part of the square structure, whose military purpose and medieval date had been recognized.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The same dump seems to have provided fill for other areas of the Sanctuary, since several fragments of figured vases found elsewhere in earlier campaigns proved to belong to these vessels. I am indebted to Dietrich von Bothmer for help with the figured fragments.

<sup>16</sup> 65.1041. Numerous fragments have been joined to form six pieces of the neck and body. There is much added white and traces of preliminary sketching with a blunt instrument. Though no attribution has yet been made, it is not far from the Pronomos Painter.

<sup>17</sup> For these walls see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 113.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. Blau and Schlottmann, "Alterthümer der Inseln Samothrake und Lemnos," *Königl.-Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Monatsberichte*, 1855, pp. 606-607, 617-618; G. Deville and E. Coquart, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261, 273-274.

<sup>19</sup> By Deville and Coquart (cf. *ibid.*, plan) and the Austrian expedition, S, II, pp. 7-8. The former still considered the square structure to be at least in part ancient (pp. 260-261), though the latter correctly interpreted it as a Byzantine work (pp. 7, 116).

<sup>20</sup> The work of A. Salač and F. Chapoutier in this area between 1923 and 1927 is briefly reported in *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 540-541; XLIX, 1925, p. 466; L, 1926, p. 567; and LI, 1927, pp. 490-492. A summary of the results is given by F. Salviat, on the basis of Chapoutier's

By 1965, however, the entire area was again obscured by vegetation, earth, and our predecessors' dumps, so that it was necessary to re-expose those monuments previously uncovered before undertaking further excavation and study. We have now cleared the walls of the medieval fortification and the foundations of Building M, removed several of the dumps, and begun excavation of the area within the fortification walls (Pl. 60, a).

In spite of early fame among modern visitors to Samothrace, this imposing example of Byzantine provincial military construction had, once its late date was known, suffered both neglect and intentional destruction.<sup>21</sup> Its plan, a simple, unroofed, walled enclosure, nevertheless remains clear (Fig. 2). Though apparently intended as a square, its walls vary slightly in length; the east, north, and west walls are between 36.00 m. and 36.50 m. long, but the south wall is *ca.* 38.40 m. long. The orientation of the building seems to depend upon the general shape of the area with no consideration of any earlier structure, for, although both the east and north walls lie partially over foundations of Building A, they neither follow closely its orientation nor rest directly on the ancient masonry. Foundations of what appear to be towers, *ca.* 3 m. wide, extend southward *ca.* 4 m. from each corner of the south wall, and fragmentary walls at both ends of the north side probably belonged to similar structures. An L-shaped foundation along the inner face of the west wall may have supported a stairway, giving access to the top of the curtain. Although it has now vanished, unpublished plans and photographs made by Salač show that the principal entrance was a broad gateway flanked by towers that stood near the southern end of the eastern wall.

Throughout, the building makes use of ancient blocks to form two faces of the *ca.* 2 m. thick wall; between these faces is a packing of small stones, fragmentary blocks, and earth, except in the towers, where the thinner walls required no filling (Pl. 60, b). Cement was used sparingly as a binder. Materials were used as they came most easily to hand, so that identifiable blocks of Building M are concentrated in the east wall and those from the Stoa in the south wall, while those from Building A, over which the fortification was built, are scattered throughout. Smaller monuments, too, furnished blocks for the medieval walls, among them a small scale Doric entablature in the southeast tower and part of a horseshoe-shaped base or exedra in the west wall.

Because of the destruction and pillage to which the structure has been subject in modern times, it is no longer possible to estimate its original height. As many as five courses are preserved in the north wall, but it surely rose considerably higher, and earlier photographs show that the superstructure, like the base, was made of re-used

records, in *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 281-293. Additional notes and photographs which belonged to Salač have been generously put at our disposal by Jiří Frel.

<sup>21</sup> For the latter, see *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 492.

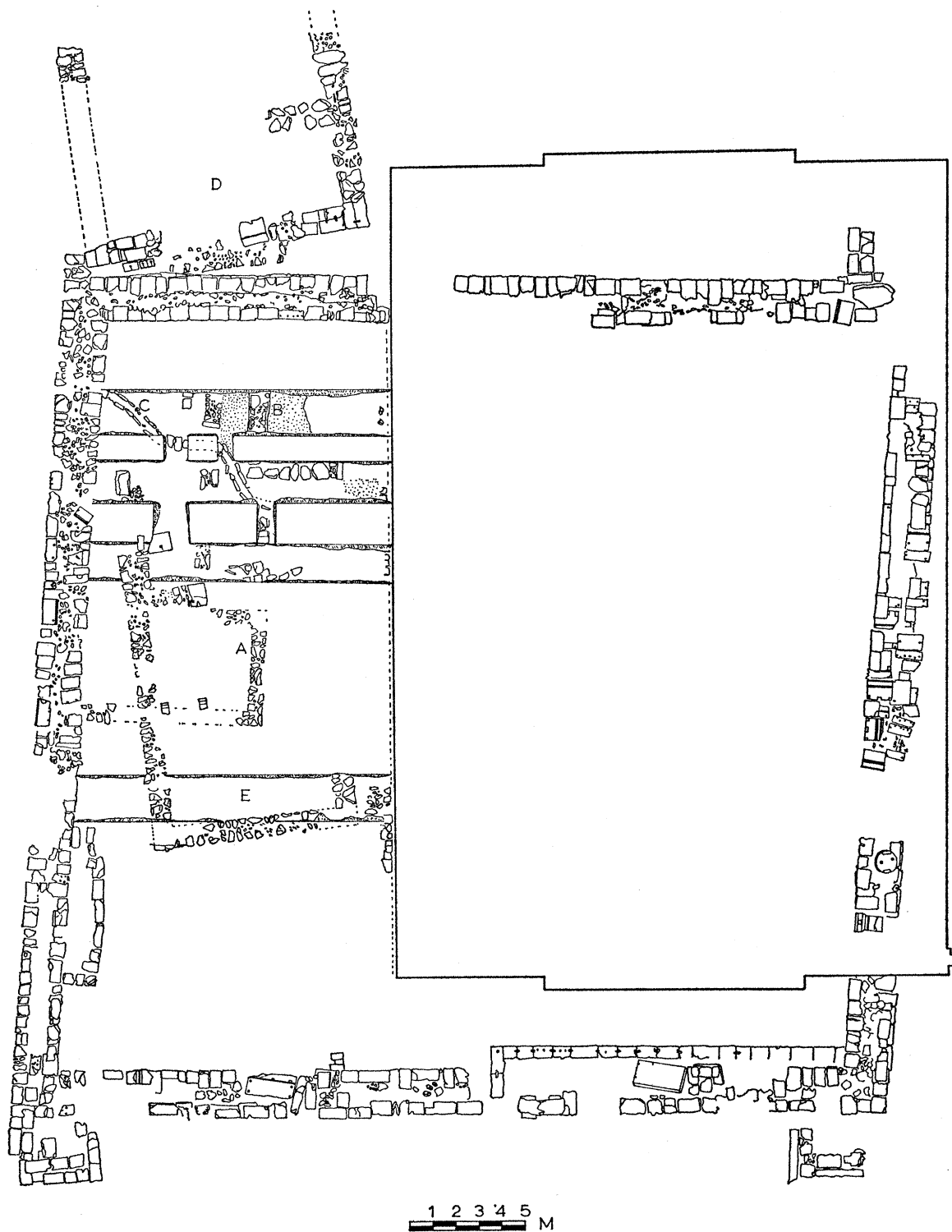


FIG. 2. Plan of Byzantine Fortification.

material, principally porous limestone.<sup>22</sup> Brick is notably absent from the debris, and it seems unlikely, therefore, that it was employed.

Although the internal arrangements of the enclosure are still largely unknown, some idea of them may be obtained from the fragmentary walls and floors that appeared in our excavation of the western edge of this area (Fig. 2). A number of rectangular rooms, formed by walls of rubble and re-used ancient blocks, seem to be ranged along the inner face of the fortification wall. These fragmentary walls, much disturbed by later activity, can only suggest the original plans, and the disturbed earth contained no sure clues to their original purpose, presumably as storage rooms and houses for the inhabitants. One room (Fig. 2, A), *ca.* 3.70 m. by 7.30 m., abutted the west fortification wall, and another (Fig. 2, B) probably abutted the north wall. The latter (Pl. 60, c) clearly belongs not to the original arrangement of the fortification but to a succeeding building phase, since it was set into an earlier plaster floor which it then re-used. That floor had been laid in connection with a wall slightly further west, and to the same earlier phase probably belong two other fragments of wall in line with it, as well as a carefully laid, covered drain (Fig. 2, C), which winds through the area to pass beneath the western fortification wall.

The best indication of the date of the whole complex is a bronze coin of Romanus I (A.D. 919-944) found in the fill beneath the south wall of the fortification (Pl. 60, d, 1).<sup>23</sup> Three other tenth-century coins have been found in the area, though unstratified (Pl. 60, d, 2-4), and, in view of the lack of Byzantine coins of other periods, they seem to support a date for the complex within that century.<sup>24</sup>

The date of the destruction of the fortification has not yet been satisfactorily fixed, but that event must again have left the area in ruins, since many of the ancient blocks which had been re-used in the Byzantine building were later used a third time in a maze of rough walls which covered much of the hill (omitted from Fig. 2). It was these late structures, possibly pens for animals rather than shelters for squatters, which so confused early visitors and suggested to them a Labyrinth.<sup>25</sup> The only evidence of more careful building is at the southwest corner of the fortification, where the Byzantine tower was incorporated in a roughly paved room, whose doorway, at

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 292-293, figs. 20 and 22.

<sup>23</sup> 66.680. D. 29 mm.; wt. 6.50 gm. Cf. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, II, pp. 455-456, nos. 14-24.

<sup>24</sup> 67.1212, bronze, D. 27 mm., wt. 6.55 gm., Constantine VII (A.D. 945), cf. *ibid.*, II, p. 463, nos. 45-57; from a modern dump north of Building A. 67.1255, silver, D. 23 mm., wt. 2.98 gm., Constantine VII with Romanus II (A.D. 945-959), cf. *ibid.*, II, p. 466, nos. 67-69; from a modern dump over the south foundation of Building A (see p. 209, note 33). 67.194, bronze, D. 26 mm., wt. 9.035 gm., anonymous issue attributed to Basil II with Constantine VIII (A.D. 976-989), cf. A. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage*, *Am. Num. Soc. N. Mon.*, No. 35, New York, 1928, pp. 11-15, his Class I, variety no. 40; cf. M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II, Princeton, 1954, pp. 112-113; surface find northeast of the Arsinoeion.

<sup>25</sup> See note 18, above. Coquart, *loc. cit.*, already recognized the late date of these structures.

the south, is flanked by two rectangular basins or troughs. In the absence of reliable criteria for dating, we can attribute this work only generally to the late Byzantine or Turkish period.

The large, level area that was utilized by the Byzantine and later builders had, in antiquity, been occupied by two major buildings, as well as other structures and monuments.

At the eastern edge of the hill lie the now re-exposed foundations of Building M (Fig. 1, L; Pl. 61, a). They are built largely of porous limestone, like those of the Stoa, but with a considerable addition of local andesite and some re-used pieces of red porphyry, and clearly show the plan of this three-room structure.<sup>26</sup> The central room projects slightly southward from the two wings, and its wider foundation on that side probably supported a colonnade façade. Parts of its Ionic order, including column drums, epistyle-frieze blocks, sima-geison blocks, and other elements have been recorded, but complete study of the superstructure must await recovery of the plentiful material re-used in the Byzantine fortification or buried in the debris of earlier excavations.<sup>27</sup> In the latter appeared an additional fragment of the inscribed epistyle, adding two letters, NA, to the already recorded text (Pl. 61, b): [...ᾶ]νδρου Μιλησία Θ[εοῖς Μεγάλοι]ς.<sup>28</sup>

Excavation of the western and central rooms of the structure showed only a fill of earth, stones, and random boulders, with no trace of foundations for interior supports. A small area of cement and stone underpavement remains at the north of the central room, presumably connected with the neatly laid pavement of marble fragments noted by Conze but now completely missing.<sup>29</sup> The amount of undisturbed fill was small, but pottery recovered from it suggests a date in the third century before Christ, thus confirming the date already proposed on the basis of the letter-forms of the dedication.<sup>30</sup>

The site chosen for the construction of Building M was, like that of the Stoa, too small for the building. The eastern edge of Building M extended beyond the natural hill, and there a deep foundation of fourteen courses was required in contrast

<sup>26</sup> The foundations, though comparatively well preserved, have suffered the loss of some blocks since their first excavation in 1923 (see note 20, above). A trench at the east, crossing the presumed line of the east foundation, failed to show any trace of it or of its bedding, so that it appears to have been carried away completely by the adjacent torrent.

<sup>27</sup> Pending completion of our study see F. Salviat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 281-290.

<sup>28</sup> 66.798. Thasian marble. All sides but the inscribed face are broken. H. of letters, ca. 0.10 m. Found south of the central part of Building M. For the other fragments of the inscription see *ibid.*, pp. 288-290 and *Samothrace*, 2, I, pp. 126-127, no. 72. There is no physical evidence for the position of the new fragment in the text.

<sup>29</sup> *S*, II, p. 8, pl. I, m. We have recovered marble cover tiles in the area whose upper and lower surfaces have been trimmed; they are probably those which Conze saw in the border of the pavement.

<sup>30</sup> *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 74; F. Salviat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, p. 290.

to the single course at the west.<sup>31</sup> That this site was chosen in spite of the difficulties it posed is explained by the existence of another structure, Building A, which already occupied the more nearly level ground to the west.

Although its eastern foundation is partly obscured by the Byzantine fortification built over it, and although the west foundation is still encumbered by drums left there by earlier excavators, the plan of Building A is clear—a large rectangle, *ca.* 24.50 m. by *ca.* 35.50 m., oriented north-south, with symmetrical crosswalls which divide a nearly square central room from shallow rooms at the north and south; the central section of both north and south foundations is *ca.* 0.50 m. wider than the rest, probably to accommodate a colonnaded entrance (Figs. 1, 2).<sup>32</sup>

The foundations, unlike those of Building M, were built only of porous limestone blocks, which are regularly joined by two clamps. The top course is preserved, except at the north, and upon it the western part of the north euthynteria remains *in situ*.<sup>33</sup> The euthynteria is composed of narrow, Thasian marble blocks, with backers of the same limestone used in the foundations (Pl. 61, d). Two series of dowels, one leaded by means of pour channels, served to secure the lowest step. The face of the euthynteria is dressed smooth only in a horizontal band along its bottom and two vertical bands near the ends of each block (Pl. 61, c). The spacing of the latter bands is irregular, and it seems clear that the original intention was to complete the trimming of this course at a later stage of building.

The unfinished dressing of the euthynteria connects with Building A many other unfinished blocks that were re-used in the Byzantine fortification; an anta base, now in the east wall of the later building, shows that the elevation, too, was unfinished, since only the lower half of its lowest moulding has been completely carved. Although no elements of the exterior order have been surely identified, it is possible that some marble Doric fragments found in the debris belong to it.

Tests within the building revealed one porous limestone foundation and three additional boulder subfoundations, which show that two rows of three columns supported the roof over the central room. It is presumably to these columns that a series of large, unfluted, porous limestone drums, re-used in the Byzantine fortification, originally belonged. That the walls of the building were also of porous limestone is indicated by the large number of suitable blocks in the area which cannot be assigned to the Stoa.

<sup>31</sup> That the builders realized the engineering problems posed by this difficult site is shown by the spur-wall or buttress set against the north foundation of the east room and bonded with it, whether the purpose was to support the foundation or to stabilize the fill.

<sup>32</sup> F. Salviat, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 291-293.

<sup>33</sup> The foundations seem to have suffered little since 1927, owing partly to the ready accessibility of loose material on the surface and partly to the debris with which the excavators had covered them. The south euthynteria had been completely buried by the dump from a trench later cut just south of it.

The function and date of Building A are still not certain, but its rôle in the architectural development of the Sanctuary, determining the orientation of subsequent building on this part of the Western Hill, is evident. Both the location and orientation of Building M depended on it, as did terracing and monuments to the south. Immediately south of Building A lie the remains of a retaining wall which formed part of the extensive system of terracing needed to connect this area with the higher, southern part of the hill, on which the Stoa stood. It extends from a point *ca.* 4.20 m. east of the west edge of Building A eastwards to a point opposite the central room of Building M. A well-laid, clamped foundation of porous limestone supported orthostates, dowelled to it and set alternately as stretchers and binders to form the facing of the wall (Pl. 62, a).<sup>34</sup> Monuments that stood on the terrace which this wall supported are attested both by fragmentary foundations still visible on the surface and by blocks of superstructure re-used in the Byzantine walls (see above, p. 205). Fragments of Hellenistic marble sculpture, including a helmeted Head (Pl. 62, c)<sup>35</sup> and small-scale hands (Pl. 62, d),<sup>36</sup> probably come from such monuments.

West of Building A, between it and the steep bank of the Sanctuary's western river, lies a relatively flat area, about 15 m. broad, which the Byzantine builders utilized for nearly a third of their fortification. Excavation in 1967 showed that here, too, they built over ancient structures. Details of the plans are not yet clear, and nothing of the superstructures has appeared, but the size of these buildings suggests some official function. The larger of the two lies just north of the Byzantine fortification and west of Building A (Fig. 2, D). Parts of its south, east, and west foundations have been uncovered, but its northward extent remains unknown (Pl. 60, b). On the east and west there remain only subfoundations of broken limestone and fieldstone, *ca.* 1.20 m. wide, which show the width of the building to have been *ca.* 12.80 m.; a similar subfoundation supported a crosswall that formed a broad, shallow room or porch, *ca.* 3.60 m. deep, at its southern end. The south foundation is better preserved, built of porous limestone blocks at the corners and of such blocks resting on or mixed with boulders elsewhere. A second line of porous limestone blocks resting on a stone packing abuts the outer, southern edge of this foundation and presumably served to support the lowest step or euthynteria of the building. The foundation is clamped, though not with complete consistency, and the outer line was secured to the succeeding course by dowels leaded through pour channels.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Both ends of this wall had been excavated in 1927, as was evident when we re-excavated it and is now reconfirmed by photographs supplied by J. Frel. There was, therefore, no undisturbed fill in immediate connection with the wall by which to determine its date.

<sup>35</sup> 66.709. P. H. 0.167 m. Thasian marble. Unstratified, found south of Building A.

<sup>36</sup> 67.1240. L. 0.069 m. Thasian marble. From post-Byzantine debris, west of Building A. 67.1171. L. 0.035 m. Fine-grained marble, perhaps Thasian. From dump over south foundation of Building A (see note 33, above).

<sup>37</sup> At least the southeast corner of this foundation, then much better preserved, was uncovered



The second building lies within the Byzantine fortification, where later construction has much disturbed it (Fig. 2, E). Its west and south foundations, built of fieldstone and *ca.* 0.90 m. wide, are relatively clear, and, together with a short fragment of the east foundation, they form a rectangular building *ca.* 9 m. wide and more than 13 m. long. A short line of fieldstones, which abuts the west foundation and terminates at the east in a limestone block, may belong to a crosswall and doorway, as may a collection of boulders further east and at a lower level in which two limestone blocks are imbedded. Another limestone block at the northernmost visible point of the west foundation may belong to the north wall. Two marble blocks still in place near the center of the building are the only remnants of furnishings; in their upper surfaces were cut grooves, 0.15 m. wide, aligned with each other and with the building, probably for a wooden beam, either to support wooden seating, as did similar blocks in the Anaktoron, or for some other purpose.<sup>38</sup>

Although no undisturbed fill has yet been examined that might establish the chronology of these two buildings, their orientation, oblique to that of Building A, suggests that they antedate its construction, since it seems to have determined the orientation of succeeding monuments on the hill. When Building A was constructed, it became necessary to retain the slightly higher ground on which these buildings stood, and a low terrace wall of fieldstone, of which several fragments have appeared, was built only 0.15 m. west of the new foundation. The hill thus displayed a gently falling series of terraces from west to east, in addition to the more pronounced succession from south to north.

Although these ancient structures on the site furnished from their ruins abundant materials for Byzantine and later builders, it is not surprising that they also drew occasional pieces from the plentiful supplies of fallen antiquities elsewhere in the Sanctuary. Marbles from the Arsinoeion and from the Propylon of the Temenos have appeared in the debris and in the Byzantine fortification, and other buildings are, no doubt, represented. Otherwise unknown monuments whose fragments appear in the debris of the Western Hill may, therefore, have stood not on this site but elsewhere in the Sanctuary. Among such problematic pieces, the most intriguing is the fragmentary left hand of a colossal statue in Parian marble (Pl. 62, e).<sup>39</sup> Identity

in the French-Czech excavations, as a photograph and plan supplied by J. Frel show. The outer line appears to have continued a short distance along the east side of the building, and suggests a prostyle plan. In this respect, as well as in its use of two techniques in the foundation, it resembles the Doric building of the Eastern Hill.

<sup>38</sup> For the Anaktoron blocks see K. Lehmann, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 138; XLIV, 1940, p. 334; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 1; *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, p. 48, figs. 18 and 25. For similar blocks at the Phokikon see E. French and E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 218-219.

<sup>39</sup> 67.1208. Broken unevenly just above the wrist. Fingers and thumb missing. P. L. 0.138 m. W. at base of fingers 0.115 m. Circumference under fingers, 0.265 m. Remains of a rectangular cutting on the lower break may indicate that the hand was made separately or repaired. Found in the dump thrown over the south foundation of Building A (see note 33, above).

of material, technique, and style with the right hand of the Victory of Samothrace assures its attribution to the sculptor of that statue.<sup>40</sup>

Whether the hand is part of another monument made for Samothrace by the artist or it actually belonged to the statue now in the Louvre is difficult to determine. The former assumption seems more likely, since the new fragment is noticeably smaller than the right hand of the Victory, but it is conceivable that this difference in size could have existed in one statue, had the sculptor enlarged the upraised right hand so that it might not appear too small to the viewer.<sup>41</sup> If it belongs to another monument, it adds a new aspect to the career of this unknown artist; if it should prove to belong to the Victory, its fully worked palm would show that she held in her left hand neither drapery nor any of the various objects previously suggested, but certainty about the monument from which our fragment comes seems possible only with the discovery of more evidence and renewed investigation of the Victory.

## PROPYLON OF PTOLEMY II

Investigation of the unique Ionic propylon which Ptolemy II Philadelphos built to connect the Sanctuary with the main road from the ancient city (Fig. 1, N) had, in 1963 and 1964, concentrated on the foundation of the building itself and the areas to the east and west of it.<sup>42</sup> In the present seasons the slow task of excavating, recording, and removing fallen blocks of its superstructure for study has continued in the areas north and south of the foundation, and, concurrently, an investigation of the topography of the area and the changes it underwent has been undertaken.

In spite of near-by evidence of limeburning, a remarkable proportion of the superstructure survives.<sup>43</sup> 527 blocks or major fragments have already been recovered where they fell in the earthquake which destroyed the building. The more decorative elements, including anta capitals, the sculptured frieze of boukrania and rosettes, and the sima with lion's head water spouts, were collected by earlier expeditions and either carried away or lost, so that they are now rare, but nearly all the epistyle, much of

<sup>40</sup> For the right hand of the Victory of Samothrace see J. Charbonneaux, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 44-46, pls. 12-13.

<sup>41</sup> Measurements of the right hand which may be compared with ours are: W. at base of fingers 0.135 m.; circumference under fingers 0.31 m. Our hand is there *ca.* 1/7 smaller. The thickness of the wrist, *ca.* 0.075 m., is the same in each, however.

Charbonneaux already suggested that the right hand of the Victory was enlarged to improve its visual effect; *ibid.*, pp. 44-45. The different pose of the fingers in each hand, too, may contribute to the apparent difference in size. From the stumps of the fingers and thumb in the new fragment, the index finger appears to have been extended, while the rest are flexed toward the palm. The base of the thumb also appears drawn toward the palm more sharply than that of the Victory's right hand.

<sup>42</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 116-121. The chronological conclusions, *ibid.*, p. 123, were based on assumptions now shown to have been wrong, as noted below, pp. 215, 216, note 56.

<sup>43</sup> For a kiln at the north of the building, see S, II, pl. I.

both south antae, and a large number of wall blocks are preserved and will permit a detailed reconstruction.

A number of blocks belonging to the center of the exterior south wall and to the southern half of the door wall attest a peculiar feature of the building; their rear faces have cuttings for low steps.<sup>44</sup> These steps formed a stairway which led upward within the southern half of the hollow door wall, beginning on the west and turning counter-clockwise along the south and east walls. It must have been accessible from the passage of the main doorway and have led to the open space that existed within both halves of the door wall, but the purpose of such a feature remains obscure.

In 1964 a complex of structures was discovered on the Eastern Hill of the Sanctuary, immediately opposite the Propylon of Ptolemy II but at a level some five meters lower, across the deep stream bed which now divides the Propylon from the Sanctuary proper (see below, pp. 216 ff.). This new evidence demanded a reconsideration of the means by which the two areas were connected and of the rôles played by the spur walls, extending outward from the western end of the building, and by the remarkable vaulted passage through the foundations. Earlier studies had suggested two alternative solutions: either a solid causeway led to the Eastern Hill, and the river then flowed through the vaulted passage,<sup>45</sup> or, if the river always occupied its present bed, it was crossed by a wooden bridge, and the vaulted passage served to carry either a branch of the river or its overflow harmlessly through the building's foundations; the evidence available in 1964 seemed to support the latter solution.<sup>46</sup>

Work south of the building has helped to clarify the topography of the area and the changes which it has undergone. In the river bed itself, a deep accumulation of wash covered a mass of fallen blocks from the building's superstructure (Pl. 62, b). The virgin soil on which the blocks lay shows the contours of the time of the building's collapse, probably in the great earthquake that destroyed the Sanctuary in the sixth century after Christ,<sup>47</sup> and it is sure that the river, considerably deeper than in modern times, then followed its present course.

On the eastern bank of the river, however, there appeared several limestone blocks, which probably belonged to the foundation of a small monument near the Propylon (Pl. 63, a). Their present compact grouping suggests that they are not far from their original location, and that they were displaced when the soft bedrock on which they had stood was sapped by the river. They thus illustrate that the original contours of the bedrock in the area have been considerably modified by the action of

<sup>44</sup> A. Hauser drew one such block, S, II, pl. XXXIII, fig. III, and attributed it to a stairway; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 121. That block, our no. 299, has now been recovered.

<sup>45</sup> See S, II, pp. 36-37, fig. 9; p. 44, fig. 20.

<sup>46</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 118.

<sup>47</sup> For the date, see *Samothrace*, 4, I, p. 108, note 58.

the torrent and that the conditions in late antiquity may have differed from those at an earlier time.<sup>48</sup>

The difficulty caused by the softness of the bedrock was, in fact, recognized by ancient builders. In 1967 the remains of a water channel lined with strong retaining walls of boulders was uncovered, which connected the stream bed with the vaulted passage of the building's foundation (Pl. 63, b).<sup>49</sup> The channel runs southeast obliquely to the line of the vaulted passage, so that it forms a sharper angle with the foundation than does the passage. It has been traced for a length of some 30 meters, to the river bed opposite the northwest corner of the South Nekropolis (Pl. 65, a). Its bed is now irregular, but it appears to have been trimmed and filled to form a smooth downward course leading to the vaulted passage. The walls are built entirely of local green fieldstone boulders, laid in a rough polygonal scheme; the north wall is fairly well preserved and stands, in places, to a height of over two meters, but the south wall has largely collapsed, and its line can often be traced only from rough dressing of the rock on which it was bedded.

The channel was surely intended to confine the course of the river and to direct it to the vaulted passage through the Propylon of Ptolemy II. That it was intended to carry the entire river and not simply a part of it seems equally clear, since so long a channel, extending to such a distant and elevated part of the river bed, would be desirable neither for an overflow system nor for a partial diversion. The channel presumably follows approximately the line of the river which existed at the time the Propylon was built, but whether it was constructed along with the Propylon or added somewhat later, when danger of a shift in the course of the river became apparent, is not certain.<sup>50</sup>

The discrepancy between the line of the channel and that of the vaulted passage is puzzling. Tests have shown that no channel that followed the orientation of the passage ever existed at the south, and the soft bedrock is intact outside the oblique channel just described. The difference in direction must, then, have been due rather to the structural requirements of the building than to natural features. It seems likely that the builders wished to avoid having their vaulted passage emerge at the west of the building, as it would have if it followed the line of the boulder channel, rather than at the north, since, on the west, it would have conflicted with the planned

<sup>48</sup> The susceptibility of the bedrock in this area to water wear is shown in modern times by the south spur-wall of the Propylon, which, since 1875, has lost a block of its foundation without leaving any trace of a bedding in the sapped bedrock.

<sup>49</sup> The existence of boulder walls had been noted by A. Hauser, *S*, II, p. 37, fig. 9, and by us, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 117, but their direction and extent had not been determined.

<sup>50</sup> Since the boulder walls abut the worked face of the foundation, they are clearly later, although the difference in time may be procedural and counted in days or weeks rather than in years. A test behind the northern wall produced few characteristic sherds, but nothing inconsistent with a date early in the third century before Christ.

link with the Eastern Hill. They thus diverted the line of the passage, but only so far as to avoid the necessarily solid masonry of the northwest corner of the building. The scanty remains of a boulder-lined channel at the north show that the river again veered westward after leaving the building, and thus rejoined its natural course.

Now that the boulder channel indicates that the entire river flowed through the foundation of the Propylon of Ptolemy II, it is no longer necessary to imagine a wooden bridge at the western end of the building in the Hellenistic age.<sup>51</sup> Whatever declivity existed between the Propylon and the Eastern Hill was, in Hellenistic times, probably much gentler than the torrent bed now there, and a ramp, supported, at its upper part at least, by the spur walls or retaining walls bonded into the Propylon's foundation, must have connected the two areas. The slope of this ramp is suggested by the sloping top of a marble balustrade whose fragments have been recovered near the building, and its angle proves suitable to achieve the nearly five-meter drop between the Propylon and the monuments of the Eastern Hill.<sup>52</sup>

Neither the course of the river nor the link with the Eastern Hill remained unchanged in the later history of the area. The river must have sought the new course which it occupied at the time of the Propylon's destruction, around the western end of the building, as the result of a blockage of its former channel, and a likely occasion is the earthquake which, in the late first or second century after Christ, destroyed the Hellenistic structures of the Eastern Hill and necessitated a radical revision there (see below, p. 232). Once this change in the watercourse had taken place, the ramp which had joined the Propylon to the Sanctuary was clearly no longer serviceable, and some new arrangement was needed. It was at this time that a wooden bridge was probably built, crossing the new stream bed and joining the remains of the former ramp with the now much altered Eastern Hill.<sup>53</sup>

Excavation north of the Propylon's foundation uncovered a mass of fallen blocks from its superstructure mixed with boulders from the collapsed retaining walls of the Hellenistic water channel (Pl. 63, c). Among the architectural fragments, however, are some that cannot be readily assigned to the building; a broken limestone Ionic epistyle might conceivably have been re-used in the Propylon's foundations

<sup>51</sup> For the bridge support on the Eastern Hill, discussed in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 118, see below here and p. 232.

<sup>52</sup> The angle of the balustrade should reveal whether the sloping ramp abutted the steps of the Propylon or began further west, at the end of a level platform, as seems more likely from the evidence of the spur-walls, but the data are contradictory. The block drawn by Hauser, S, II, p. 40, fig. 13, has a slope of *ca.* 18° which favors the latter solution, but the single fragment recovered by us whose slope can be measured (block no. 486) gives *ca.* 12° and supports the former solution. Whether Hauser's measurements were faulty or our block is misleading is now difficult to decide, but recovery of additional fragments may yield the solution to this problem.

<sup>53</sup> Preliminary study of the filling of the boulder water channel has provided no conclusive evidence for the date, but a Greek bronze coin of Domitian (67.1214) found just above bedrock suggests that the channel was open at least as late as his reign (A.D. 81-96).

from some earlier structure, but many fragments of marble Corinthian capitals, similar to those recovered earlier in this area and on the Eastern Hill,<sup>54</sup> and a fragment of a marble pilaster capital, like that decorated with griffins which was found here in the nineteenth century and is now in the Samothrace Museum (Pl. 63, d),<sup>55</sup> cannot be so explained. Either they must, in some way, be incorporated into the Propylon itself, or they must belong to another structure close at hand. That another structure did stand in this area, not far from the Propylon, is confirmed by limestone foundation blocks found fallen in the same debris. Though of the same material and workmanship as foundation blocks in the Propylon, they do not belong to it, and they must, therefore, come from another, probably contemporary monument. Their fallen positions suggested that this structure stood somewhere on the steep slope which rises to the east of the debris, and it is in that area that a further search will be conducted.

#### EASTERN HILL

In 1964 investigation of the means by which the Propylon of Ptolemy II had been joined to the Eastern Hill of the Sanctuary, across the deep stream bed which now separates them, led to the discovery of a structure on the edge of the hill, immediately opposite the Propylon.<sup>56</sup> Hitherto, though the possibility that the hill had been built upon was noted, it had been thought that, throughout its history, the Eastern Hill retained the character of a sacred grove with only scattered monuments along a road from the Propylon of Ptolemy II to the central core of the Sanctuary.<sup>57</sup> In the present seasons, however, excavation of this area has shown that, as early as the Classical period, it, like the central part of the Sanctuary to the west, was already the site of monumental structures and that in early Hellenistic times a remarkable architectural complex confronted the visitor there as he entered the Sanctuary from the Propylon of Ptolemy II (Pl. 64).

The center of this complex is occupied by a unique and enigmatic round structure, the oldest of the monumental remains yet discovered in this area (Fig. 3; Pl. 65, b). In its Hellenistic form it consisted of a circular area, *ca.* 9 meters in diameter, flagged with irregular but well-fitted local green fieldstone and limestone fragments.<sup>58</sup> This pavement is bordered by larger, more carefully worked fieldstones, on which rest the

<sup>54</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 123, pl. 38, d.

<sup>55</sup> 67.599. P. H. 0.104 m. For the capital in Samothrace on permanent loan from the Louvre, see *S*, II, pl. XLIX. Our fragment confirms the provenance reported to those (Blau and Schlottmann, Conze) who saw it in a house in Chora.

<sup>56</sup> See *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 118-119, 122-124. The interpretation of the remains, based as it was on very limited structural and stratigraphic information, was erroneous; cf. note 86, below. The present report also supplants my reports and interpretations in *A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 171, in *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 80-81, and in the articles cited in note 1, above.

<sup>57</sup> See *Guide*, p. 42; *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 42.

<sup>58</sup> The few limestone fragments form no intelligible pattern, and it is not yet sure whether they belong to the original pavement or reflect a later repair.

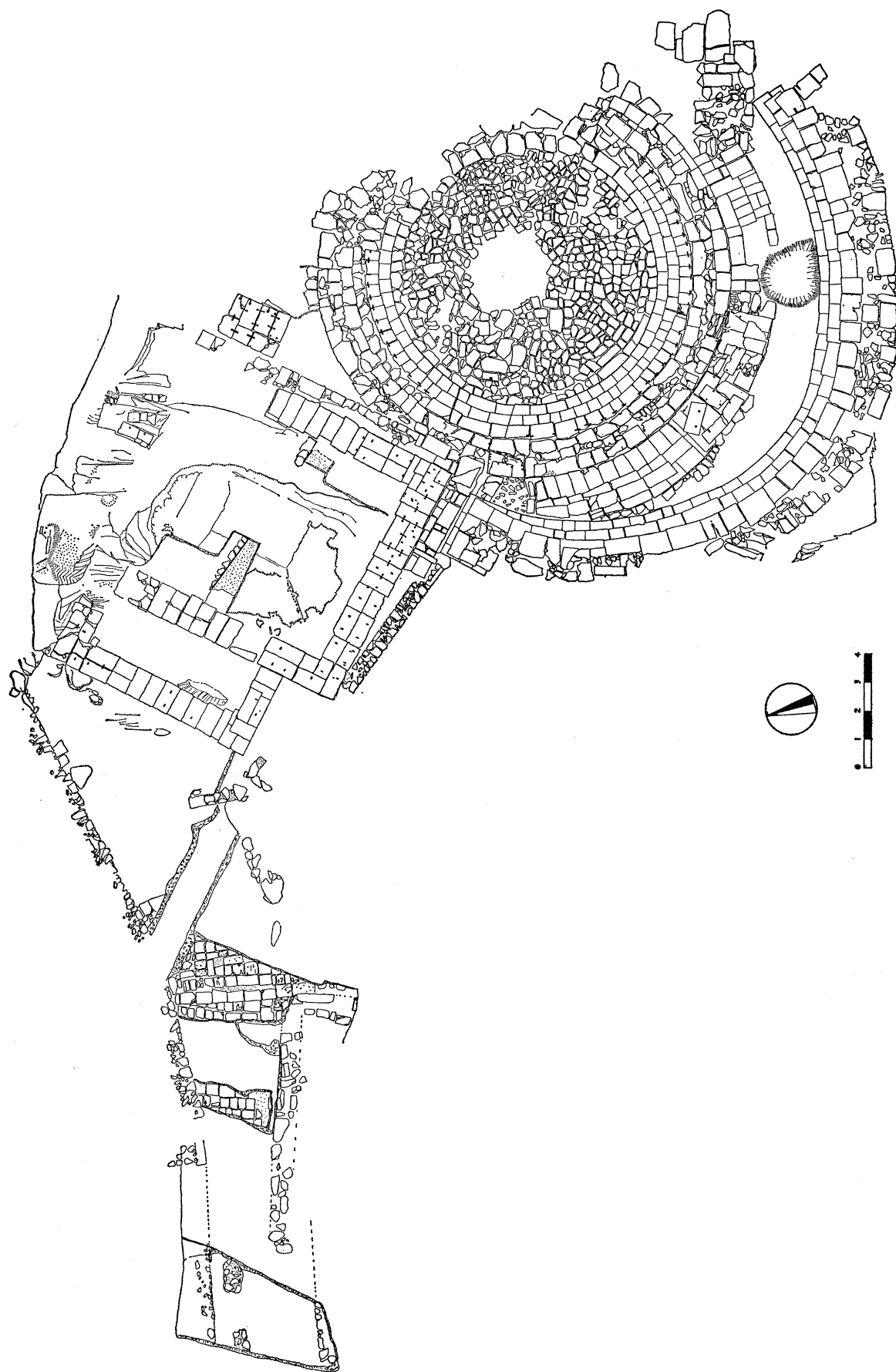


FIG. 3. Plan of Excavated Remains on Eastern Hill.



lowest of five encircling steps that led upward from the pavement to the higher area around it. The steps, though now missing at the east, where they probably fell into the adjacent torrent bed, appear to have been continuous, completely surrounding the flagged area.<sup>59</sup> The three lower steps are of fine, hard limestone;<sup>60</sup> the fourth, now completely lacking, may have been of the same material, but the fifth, top step, which is preserved in a few places, is of friable coquina. The outer face of the top step was apparently visible, except where other monuments abutted it, and its blocks had drafted margins. It, like the fourth step, rested on a foundation of porous limestone, but the second and third, which belong to an earlier phase of the structure (see below), rest on a simple stone packing. The blocks of the lower courses were joined to one another at the back by small, neat, hook clamps; although the joints are staggered, there was no effort to create a regular pattern, and the blocks vary in length. There is no trace either of a wall or of a roof, and the structure must have stood open.

This structure received the form it retained throughout the Hellenistic period as a result of a revision in the late fifth or fourth century before Christ of its predecessor, parts of which it incorporated. One section of the three lower steps on the western side of the structure is distinguished from the rest by its variety of material, by the vertically aligned joints at each side of it, and by the unusual treatment of the blocks just north and south of it (Pl. 65, c).<sup>61</sup> Removal of the northernmost block of each step in this section revealed that it was a later addition, filling what had originally been an opening *ca.* 2 meters wide. The sides of the opening were parallel and smoothly dressed, forming a passage at least 2.05 m. long, possibly more (Pl. 65, d). It is clear that at least one additional step, presumably of the same material, originally rested on the three now preserved, and there may have been a fifth. Thus, except for the existence of a passage at the west, the original structure was similar to its successor, but when the latter was built, a new foundation of porous limestone was laid, both for the filling of the passage and for the two upper steps all around. Since the lower steps of the original structure were not disturbed, this foundation had to be adjusted to them, and it was cut to fit the backs of the earlier steps. No decisive evidence for the date of the earlier structure has appeared, but, to judge from the clamps that it employed, it is unlikely to have been earlier than the fifth century before Christ.

<sup>59</sup> The presence of pry-holes in the stones on which the steps rested points to this conclusion; a gap could, however, theoretically be possible at the northeast, where the foundation stones, too, are missing.

<sup>60</sup> The risers are (from the lowest) 0.28 m., 0.25 m., and 0.24 m. high; the treads are between 0.38 m. and 0.40 m. deep. Their fine surface led me to describe them as marble, before thorough washing had made the material obvious, and the following need correction: *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 122; *B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1965, p. 840 and XC, 1966, p. 895; *Guide*<sup>a</sup>, p. 80.

<sup>61</sup> The remains of a boss are preserved on the riser of the third step to each side of this section, and the lowest step to each side, unlike others of the structure, is clamped to its backer. Though the material is similar, and one block of the third step seems to be identical to that of the rest of the structure, it is generally more porous.

An altar or monument may once have stood at the center of the flagged pavement.<sup>62</sup> Early in the Roman period, however, an irregular area of pavement was removed and the fill beneath it excavated to bedrock probably by robbers who hoped to find treasure under whatever object stood there. Subsequently the hole that they left was refilled and an earth floor laid over the entire circle, thus masking the damaged pavement. Since the structure continued to function in this form, without, it seems, any object in the center, the original altar or monument was presumably not crucial to the purpose of the area.<sup>63</sup>

The function served by the round structure remains obscure. Its superficial resemblance to a pool, like that in the gymnasium of Delphi,<sup>64</sup> is misleading, for there is no trace of waterproof lining or of water supply. Places of assembly provide more cogent parallels, and its steps can have served an audience which stood upon them to witness proceedings on the flagged area, as in the similarly appointed Comitium of Cosa, though the proceedings will doubtless have been of another sort.<sup>65</sup>

A foundation for votive monuments, averaging *ca.* 1.70 m. in width, abuts the outer step of the round structure at the south and west (Pl. 65, b). Though apparently consistent in width and coursing, it displays a variety of materials and masonry which show it to be not one but a series of successively built, contiguous monument bases. In most places only the lowest course is preserved, but one section near its center retains two additional courses. Its steps have decorative recesses at the bottom of the risers, and the upper blocks show cuttings for the stelai and statue bases which they supported. The other sections will have served a similar purpose, and most, if not all, of the more than twenty statue and monument bases that have been recovered from the destruction debris of the area must have stood on these foundations. The foundations never extended further than they do now, either to the east or south,

<sup>62</sup> A round, marble altar, found on the Eastern Hill in 1939 and now exhibited in Hall A of the Samothrace Museum, is suitable in form, but, though fragments belonging to its base moulding were discovered with the debris in this area, the connection remains speculative. For the altar see *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, p. 87.

<sup>63</sup> The robbers' hole includes the center of the paved area and extends somewhat north of it. There is no trace of foundation for the supposed altar or monument, but the very fact that robbers chose to dig here suggests that something of the sort led them to the spot, and a light foundation need not have descended to the bedrock where it would have left traces. The earth floor was much damaged by falling blocks in the catastrophe which destroyed the Hellenistic monuments of the Eastern Hill (see below), but enough was preserved to suggest, though not to prove, that it had extended over the whole area.

<sup>64</sup> J. Jannoray, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *Le Gymnase*, Paris, 1953, pp. 61-62. Cf. R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* (*Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, No. 200), Paris, 1962, pp. 133-135.

<sup>65</sup> See L. Richardson, Jr., "Cosa and Rome: Curia and Comitium," *Archaeology*, X, 1957, pp. 49-55; A. W. Van Buren, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, p. 308; and, for this and related monuments, J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater Temples*, Princeton, 1959, pp. 37-39. The striking similarity between this structure and ours is more likely due to their similar practical requirements than to any direct influence or common source.

as is evident both from the finished terminations and from the drafting of the outer, upper course of the round structure which resumes on each side of the foundations. It thus enclosed only about one-third of the round structure. Although evidence for precise dating is lacking, the bases were probably begun in the fourth century, soon after the revision of the round structure, and the last of them may have been added in the third century. An inscribed stele honoring King Lysimachos was found in the debris just south of the foundations and probably once stood on one of them. A tentative text is here given pending final publication.<sup>66</sup>

65.843. Inscribed stele of Thasian marble. Pl. 66, a. P. H. 0.35 m.; P. W. 0.375 m.; Th. 0.075 m.; W. of shaft at top 0.345 m. The top is decorated with a fascia crowned by a cyma reversa hawkbeak, which is surmounted by a fillet. The shaft tapers slightly. The back is rough.

a. 288-281 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 26

[Ἔδοξ]ε [τῇ β]ουλῇ· ἐπειδὴ Βασι-  
 λεὺς Λυσίμαχος φίλος ὦν καὶ εὖ-  
 νους διατελεῖ τῇ πόλει καὶ πρ[ό]-  
 τερὸν [τ]ε εὐεργέτηκεν ἡμᾶς καὶ  
 5 νῦν κ[εκομί]σμεθα τὴν ἱερὰν χώρα-  
 [ν τῆς ἡπε]ρί[ρο]υ ἣν οἱ βασιλεῖς Φί-  
 [λιππ]ος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτεμένι-  
 [σαν το]ῖς Θεοῖς καὶ ἀνέθεσαν καὶ  
 [.....]ια τοῦ τεμένους κατέκρ-  
 10 [ινεν τῶν .]ιγνος παίδων ἀποδοῦ[ν]-  
 [αι .....]ισα πάντα ἀφ' οὗ χρόν-  
 [ου .....]σαι ἐγβαλόντες ἡμ-  
 [ᾶς.....]ι τὸ ἱερὸν ὅσ[...]  
 [.....]αι διατελ[...]  
 15 [.....] ΤΟΝ[.....]

The stele, like several other Samothracian documents, records a decree of the βουλῇ.<sup>67</sup> Unlike other decrees, however, it names no proposer.<sup>68</sup> The preserved text deals with the services rendered by Lysimachos to Samothrace, beginning (lines 2-3) with his friendship and goodwill and (line 3) earlier benefactions,<sup>69</sup> and continuing

<sup>66</sup> I am grateful to B. D. Meritt and to Louis Robert for their comments on the text and its interpretation; the supplement in line 6 was suggested to me by the former, those in lines 10-13 by the latter.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *Samothrace*, 2, I, p. 24, notes 3-5.

<sup>68</sup> A proposer is cited in all other Samothracian decrees of which the heading is preserved. The opening formula of *I.G.*, XII, 8, 150, another decree in favor of Lysimachos, is lost.

<sup>69</sup> There is possibly a reference to the activities recorded in *I.G.*, XII, 8, 150, in thanks for which an altar Βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου Εὐεργέτου was founded.

with the present situation. Lysimachos seems to have retrieved for Samothrace a *ιερά χώρα*, originally consecrated and donated by Kings Philip and Alexander (lines 5-8), and to have seen to the punishment of those who had taken it. Although the names Philip and Alexander in a decree found on the Eastern Hill tempt one to think of Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV, whose names appeared there as dedicants of the Doric building (see below), they can as well refer to Philip II and Alexander the Great. The *ιερά χώρα* probably refers to the Samothracian Peraea,<sup>70</sup> to which the boundary stones found near Alexandroupolis, *Ὀρος ιερᾶς χώρας* and *Ὀρος ιερᾶς χώρας Θεῶν τῶν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ* refer.<sup>71</sup>

The revision of the round structure, in which its entrance from the west was closed, made the area immediately west of the structure available for building. This area was utilized by two successive rectangular buildings which must have functioned in turn together with the round structure, although the purpose that they served is, as yet, uncertain.

Although the earlier building was badly damaged in the construction of its successor, preserved parts of its north and south walls, of its wall decoration, and of its floor suggest its basic features (Fig. 3). The façade, *ca.* 6.70 m. wide, abutted the round structure and faced its center;<sup>72</sup> it may well have stood open to the east, since a wall here would have overlapped a portion of the round structure, and there is no trace of a bedding for it.<sup>73</sup> The length of the building can no longer be determined, but it exceeded 9 meters. Its walls are *ca.* 0.55 m. thick, simply but neatly constructed of fieldstone rubble and founded on larger fieldstones (Pl. 67, a). There is no indication of the building's height or of its roofing system.

Though thus simply constructed, the building was elaborately finished on the interior, and probably on the exterior, with stucco.<sup>74</sup> Part of a fine, white stucco floor remains where it was buried by the fill of the succeeding building, and the lowest part of the wall-stucco, too, remains *in situ* (Pl. 67, b). A base fascia of white stucco, *ca.* 0.21 m. high, projects almost 0.01 m. from the wall-plane; above it a plain white surface presumably imitated a course of orthostates. Fragments of stucco found in the later fill clearly belonged to the upper part of the wall and suggest its basic scheme. Another projecting course, 0.155 m. high, probably represented a string course above

<sup>70</sup> On the continental possessions of Samothrace see *I.G.*, XII, 8, p. 40; P. Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 133-141; L. Robert, *Gnomon*, XXXV, 1963, p. 57, note 1, pp. 77-79.

<sup>71</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXIV, 1900, pp. 147-148, 574. Cf. *I.G.*, XII, 8, p. 40.

<sup>72</sup> The south wall abuts the outer, porous limestone foundation of the round structure, and the north wall probably once did, but the connection there was obliterated by later construction.

<sup>73</sup> A door wall could have stood at the back of a shallow porch, where all trace of it would have been obliterated by the later building, but the lack of a door wall in its successor suggests that the earlier building, too, may have had an open façade.

<sup>74</sup> White stucco has also been recovered against the outer face of the south wall, though it cannot conclusively be shown to have been *in situ*, and it seems likely that the exterior, too, was stuccoed.

the orthostates; it, too, is white, but on its surface individual blocks of masonry with drafted margins were imitated in thin, red lines (Pl. 67, c). Many fragments of red stucco suggest that the upper part of the wall was of that color, but no piece shows whether the transition from white to red occurred immediately above the string-course or higher in the wall. The surface of some of the plaster, notably of the string-course, was roughly gouged before it was buried, but whether this defacement occurred in the dismantling of the building or earlier, as preparation for a new coat of stucco that was never applied, cannot now be determined (Pl. 67, d).

Decorated stucco walls have a long tradition in Samothrace<sup>75</sup> and elsewhere, but exactly this combination of scheme and technique is difficult to parallel. A raised base-fascia occurs in some fourth-century tomb decoration,<sup>76</sup> and at Olynthos bases were sometimes separated from the upper wall by a projection,<sup>77</sup> but the scheme is somewhat different from ours. String courses are common, but the rendering of drafted blocks on a raised course in this position is paralleled, to my knowledge, only in an unpublished wall of the late fifth or fourth century whose fragments were found in the construction fill of the Square Peristyle beneath the Stoa of Attalos in Athens,<sup>78</sup> and, although drafted blocks are imitated elsewhere in other positions, the technique is seldom a painted line.<sup>79</sup> The absence of closer parallels for its decoration and of significant material from its construction fill makes a precise date for the building elusive, and any time before the construction of its successor from the late fifth century to the third quarter of the fourth century before Christ remains possible.

This earlier building was destroyed to make way for a far more elaborate successor, a marble, Doric, hexastyle, prostyle structure (Figs. 1, 3). Because of the later history of the area, discussed below, much of the superstructure of the marble building is preserved, and, although it still awaits detailed study, its major features are clear.

Two nearly complete epistyle blocks from its façade preserve enough of the dedicatory inscription to establish both the donors and the date of the building (Pl. 66, b):

Βασιλεῖ|ς Φίλιππος κ|[αὐ 'Α]λ[έξαν]|δ[ρος . . . . .]|ο[—ca. 5-6—]<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> See P. W. Lehmann, "The Wall Decoration of the Hieron in Samothrace," *Balkan Studies*, V, 1964, pp. 277-286, and *Samothrace*, 3, text I, pp. 138 ff., 204 ff.; *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 108-110.

<sup>76</sup> As at Ksanlak (A. Vassiliev, *Das antike Grabmal bei Ksanlak*, Sophia, 1959, p. 11) and Lefkadia (Φ. Μ. Πέτσας, *Ὁ Τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων*, Athens, 1966, p. 47, figs. 2-3, pls. 20-21). I owe the former reference and other help to V. J. Bruno.

<sup>77</sup> D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XII, Baltimore, 1946, pp. 191-195.

<sup>78</sup> I am grateful to H. A. Thompson for information about this wall.

<sup>79</sup> Incision is used at Olynthos, as in the court of house A5; see D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, Baltimore, 1938, p. 297, fig. 30, E. Even in the later walls of Delos a painted line is rarely used alone; see J. Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, 2, 1924, pp. 367-372.

<sup>80</sup> The text is composed from the corner epistyle (T 79), its adjoining block (T 102), and three

Though the further restoration of the inscription, possibly with the names of the building and of those to whom it was dedicated, should await the possible recovery of additional fragments,<sup>81</sup> the present text clearly identifies the dedicators as Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV, joint successors of Alexander the Great and, respectively, his half-brother and his posthumously born son.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the brief period of their co-rule, between 323 and 316 B.C., narrowly defines the date at which the building was constructed.

The firm testimony given by this building to the interest of Philip III Arrhidaios in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods increases the historical likelihood of the suggestion by Karl Lehmann that the same man had also dedicated the Altar Court in the Sanctuary, before his accession to the throne.<sup>83</sup> The details of the materials and masonry of the two buildings, however, imply that the architect and masons chosen by the dedicators for our building were different from those employed for the other fourth-century structures of the Sanctuary.

Although it, too, faced and slightly overlapped the round structure at the north-west, in neither orientation nor plan nor size did the new building follow its predecessor (Fig. 3). It was *ca.* 12.50 m. wide on the façade and 9.70 m. deep, oriented toward the northern part of the round structure rather than the center. Its south<sup>84</sup> foundation (Pls. 67, a, 68, a) is well preserved and shows clearly the combination of materials and techniques employed, but much of the east (Pl. 68, b) and west foundations has been pillaged, and on the north, only a rock-cut bedding remains (Pl. 68, c). The foundation is composed of two distinct parts, the rectangle which supported the walls and columns of the building and an outer portion which supported only the lower steps of the prostyle façade. The former is carefully built of seven courses of light porphyry and coquina blocks and rests on bedrock, which was trimmed or filled where necessary; the top course is of light porphyry, and its blocks, laid both as stretchers and as binders in no fixed scheme, were joined by small hook-clamps,

smaller fragments (T 69, 64.955, 65.826). The dotted kappa at the right end of T 102 reflects the trace of a vertical preserved at the joint. T 69 preserves the upper part of a lambda or delta and is here placed in the third block only because of its suitability to the text. 64.955 preserves the apex of a pointed letter and belongs to the left end of a block, here taken to be the fourth; it was mentioned in *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 123, note 65, pl. 38, e, where, however, no notice was taken of the inscription and the marble was erroneously called Thasian. 65.826 preserves part of an omicron or omega at a joint, here taken to be between the fourth and fifth blocks.

<sup>81</sup> Some of the many possibilities for supplements are:  $\tau\eta\nu\ \Sigma\tau\rho[\alpha\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma]$ ,  $\tau\delta\nu\ Na]\delta[\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma]$ , and  $\tau\delta\ \Gamma\epsilon\rho]\delta[\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma]$ .

<sup>82</sup> As in *O. G. I. S.*, 4, where they are called (line 7)  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . Since the dedication clearly implies co-rulers, other possibilities seem excluded.

<sup>83</sup> See *Samothrace*, 4, II, pp. 118-132. O. Broneer has noted this connection in *A.J.A.*, LXXI, 1967, p. 98; cf. P. W. Lehmann, *ibid.*, pp. 429-432. For the possibility that Arrhidaios may have been associated with the Hieron also, see P. W. Lehmann, *Samothrace*, 3, text II, pp. 74 f.

<sup>84</sup> To avoid unnecessarily cumbersome directions, I have described the building as if it faced east rather than southeast, as it actually does.

though no dowels connected the superstructure to them. In spite of its apparent regularity, this portion of the foundation is clearly made of re-used material, as is shown by dowel and pry cuttings which some blocks retain from previous service and by other details of dressing (Pl. 68, b).<sup>85</sup> The outer portion, too, is clearly made of re-used material but of a more miscellaneous sort, smaller blocks of various stones laid in no regular pattern, without clamps or dowels.<sup>86</sup> On the east, and perhaps throughout, limestones were used only in the top course of this foundation, which rests in part on an outcropping of bedrock, in part on a base of well-fitted fieldstones. In the former section, its situation is now somewhat precarious, since the bedrock was not trimmed to form a flat bedding but slopes sharply to the west; when the inner foundation was complete, however, it would have effectively prevented any shift and made the entire structure suitably stable. The outer foundation extends only 4.50 m. westward on the south side, and the rock dressing on the north shows that it there had a similar extent; the steps which rested on it, therefore, returned against the side walls, as is regular in such prostyle buildings, and did not continue all around the building.<sup>87</sup> From the foundations the plan of the building is clear: a simple room, broader than it is deep, fronted by a prostyle colonnade.

The euthynteria, like the foundation, was made of re-used material; three blocks, two of shell-limestone and one of porphyry, are preserved at the southeast corner. On it rose three steps of Thasian marble. The lowest, of which the fragmentary southeastern corner block remains *in situ*, is 0.24 m. high and has a single recess, 0.043 m. high at the bottom of its face; its tread, like that of the step above, is slightly inclined, presumably to encourage drainage. The second step is 0.267 m. high and the stylobate 0.288 m.; the risers of both have double recesses at the bottom, and the lower recess of each terminated at the corners of the building in a fine, vertical, cyma reversa moulding.<sup>88</sup> A slightly raised surface on the stylobate supported the

<sup>85</sup> The source of these blocks, like that of the paving of the road (see below, p. 231), has not yet been determined. The only major structure in the Sanctuary which is known to have been dismantled near this time is the immediate predecessor of the Hieron; there is, however, no good reason to connect this material with it.

<sup>86</sup> The variety of material and its less regular masonry led me at first to attribute this portion of the foundation to a much later reconstruction, which is now seen to have been illusory; reference to such a building should be corrected in *A.J.A.*, LXXI, 1967, p. 192; in *Archaeological Reports*, 1966-67, p. 19; and in *B.C.H.*, XCI, 1967, p. 740.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. G. Roux, *L'Architecture de l'Argolide aux IV<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Siècles avant J.-C.*, Paris, 1961, p. 391.

<sup>88</sup> The corner stylobate is preserved and shows these mouldings on both the south and east. The moulding of the second step can be seen from its outline on the slightly raised area of the bottom step on which it rested. Whether or not the single recess of the bottom step also terminated in a similar way is not known. Such mouldings, though not previously found in Samothrace, are well known elsewhere in the fourth century, as in Olympia: E. Kunze and H. Schleif, *II. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia, 1937/1938*, p. 33, fig. 19, bottom (base contemporary with the South Stoa) and E. Curtius and F. Adler, *Olympia, die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen*



columns and conformed exactly to the fluting of the lowest drums.<sup>89</sup>

The unusual care lavished on this building is evident not only in the details and finish of its masonry but also in the choice of material for its superstructure. Alone among the buildings of the Sanctuary, it did not rely entirely on the coarse-grained marble of Thasos but, for the whole façade between the steps and the sima, made use of a finer-grained marble, perhaps Parian.<sup>90</sup>

The columns had a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.77 m. between flutes (0.82 m. between arrises) and were composed of four drums, with a total height, including the capital, of *ca.* 5.44 m. and a proportion of height to lower diameter of *ca.* 6.6.<sup>91</sup> There was entasis and corner contraction but neither inclination of the columns nor enlargement of those at the corners. The drums were set in place by means of a lewis, as were the capitals and nearly all the blocks of the entablature, and they were joined to one another and to the stylobate with two square dowels; small circular cuttings at the center may have been used in working the drums rather than in setting.<sup>92</sup> The capital (Fig. 4), though it has relatively advanced proportions, still exhibits the fine workmanship and details, like the sharp annuli and the return at the top of the echinus, of earlier, Classical capitals; an almost fully preserved example belongs to the southeast corner column (Pl. 68, d). Behind that column stood an anta, also of fine marble, in which the south wall terminated; it appears to have been constructed of four upright blocks, joined, like the columns, with two square dowels and without binders below the level of the capital.

The epistyle, 0.542 m. high, is crowned on the exterior by a normal taenia, regula and guttae; on the interior (Pl. 71, c, foreground) the height is reduced to 0.406 m. by a cutting for the apparently wooden member which rested on it, and the face is dressed as an Ionic, two-fascia epistyle, crowned by a cyma reversa. The frieze,

*Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabungen*, Tafelband I, pl. LI (Echo Colonnade). On Thasos the step-recesses of the "Edifice à Paraskénia" were stopped at the corners, but apparently had no moulding; R. Martin, *Études thasiennes*, VI, *L'Agora*, I, Paris, 1959, p. 62; cf. plan K (correct plan L, where this feature is omitted).

<sup>89</sup> As, for example, in the fourth-century Heraion of Argos; C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, Boston and New York, 1902, p. 120, fig. 58.

<sup>90</sup> The source of this marble, which is strikingly different from the Thasian normally imported to Samothrace, has not yet been determined. It resembles some varieties of Parian and also some of Pentelic, though it may well have come from a quarry nearer to Samothrace. In Samothrace its use appears to be confined to this building.

<sup>91</sup> Five of the original eight drums of the two southernmost columns are preserved and vary between 1.253 m. and 1.280 m. in height. No bottom drum survives, but its imprint on the corner stylobate gives its diameter. The column height given here is not absolutely sure, but study of the drums and of the anta blocks independently suggested the same figure, and it is probably close to the truth.

<sup>92</sup> These cuttings, *ca.* 0.04 m. in diameter, occur in the bottoms of all preserved drums but in the top of only one, and they are also missing in the capital and stylobate. The axes of the two pairs of dowel cuttings in each drum (top and bottom) are perpendicular to one another.

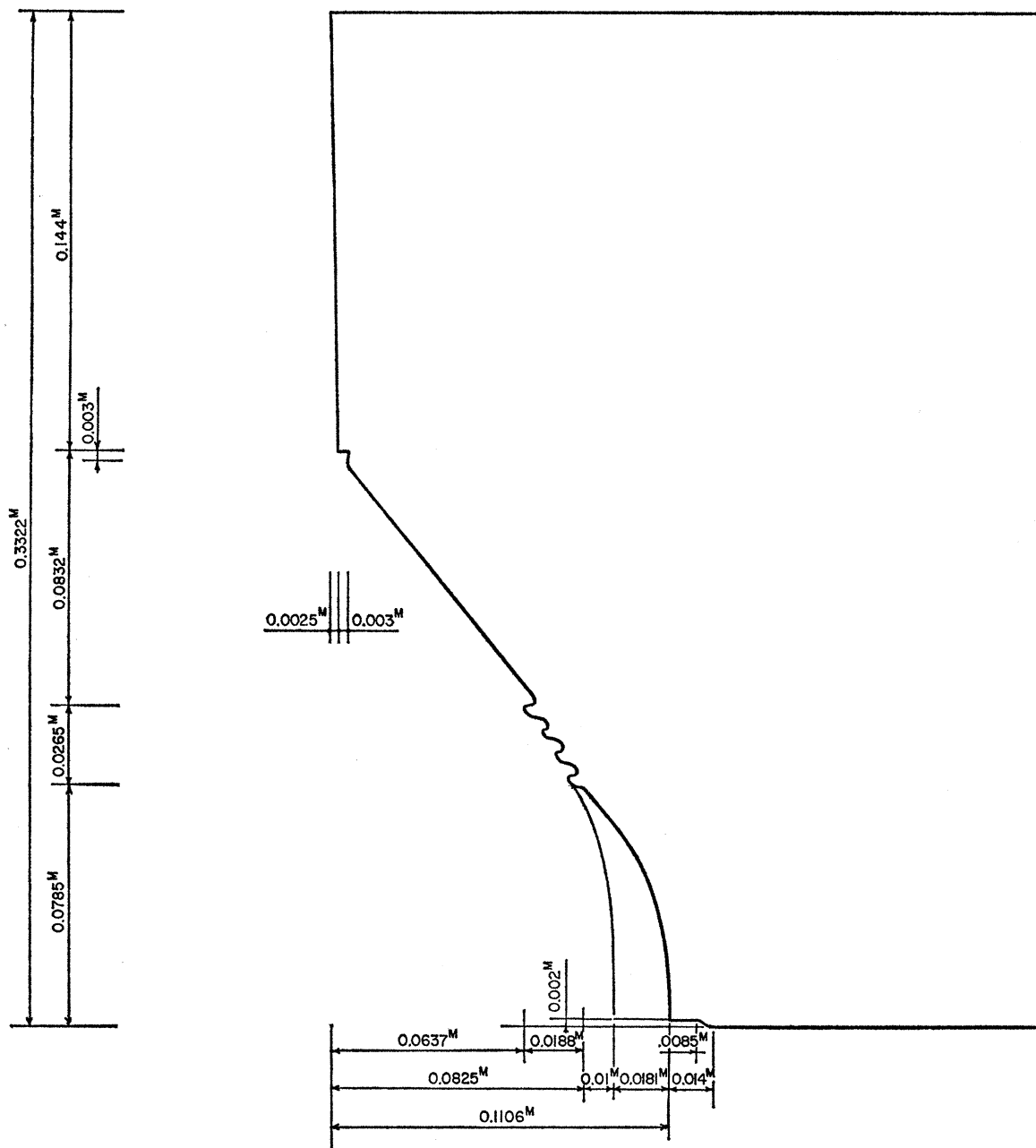


FIG. 4. Profile of Doric Capital (T 141).

0.67 m. high, is simple in design, with straight upper edges to the glyphs and without the "ears" at the corners of the triglyphs found elsewhere in the Sanctuary.<sup>98</sup> The horizontal geison, 0.231 m. high, has a cyma reversa soffit moulding and a cyma reversa hawksbeak crown. The tympanum wall was composed of a series of ortho-

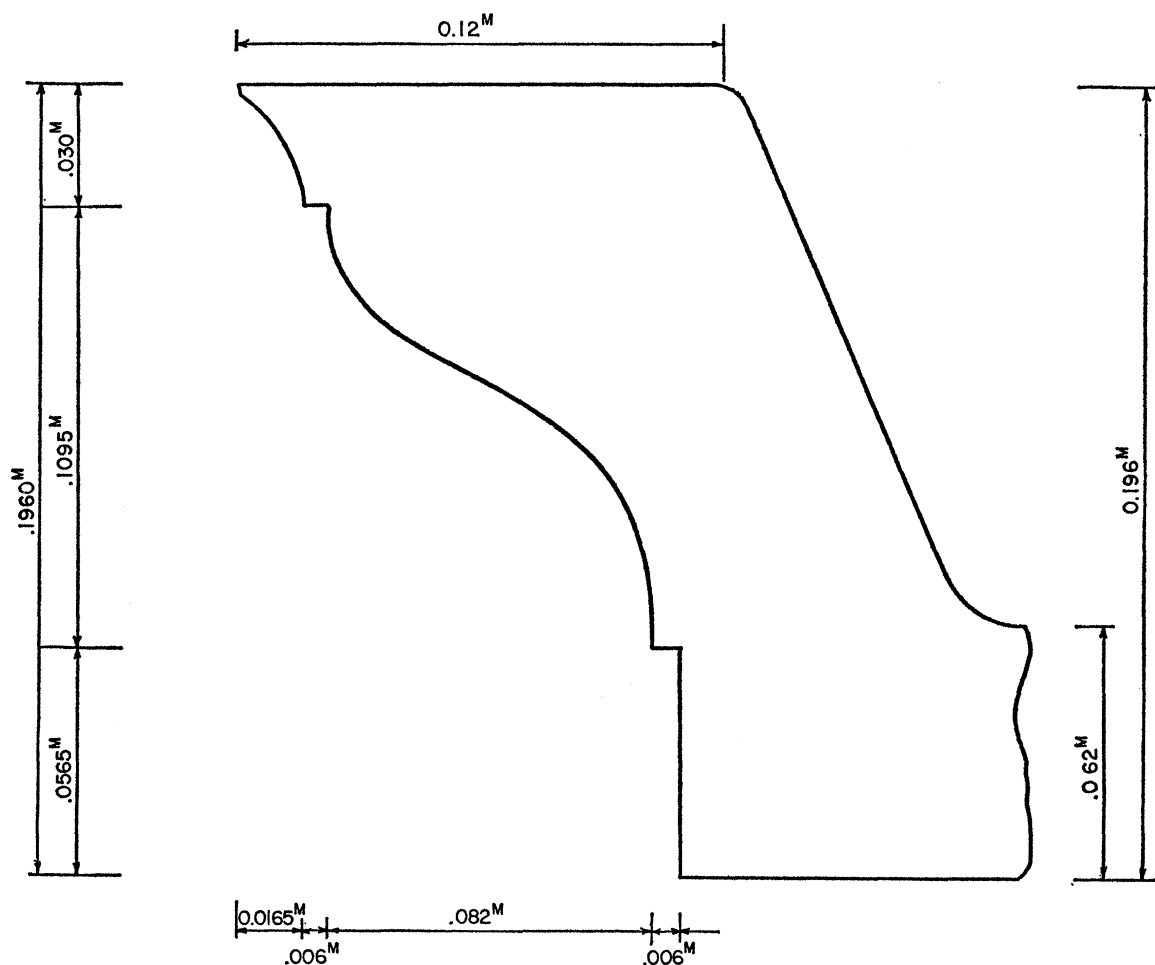


FIG. 5. Profile of Raking Sima (restored from several fragments).

states, each of which occupied the entire height of the pediment. It was not recessed, and there is no trace of sculptural decoration. Cuttings in its rear face held purlins which supported the roof. The raking geison was of the normal kind, with soffit and crown mouldings similar to those of the horizontal geison.

<sup>98</sup> As in the Hieron and the Altar Court; cf. *Samothrace*, 4, II, pp. 82-83. Since the absence of "ears" cannot here be a chronological feature, it may reflect the stylistic affinities of the architect; cf. G. Roux, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-325.

The raking sima was cut in the more usual, coarse-grained, Thasian marble without carved ornament. Its profile, however, a large cyma reversa above a plain fascia and crowned by a cavetto, is outside the Samothracian tradition (Fig. 5).<sup>94</sup> The lateral sima seems to have been vertical, with carved rinceaux ornament and lion's head water spouts; palmette antefixes stood above it (Pl. 69, d).<sup>95</sup>

The distinctive material and design of the façade are paralleled by a distinctive technique. The blocks of fine marble are joined by double-T clamps, rather than by the hook clamps regularly used in Samothrace, and, except in the columns and antae, there is a remarkable lack of dowelling between courses; in the entablature dowels were used only between the capitals and epistyle and between the raking courses of the pediment.

Material from the sides and back is scarce, but enough remains to show that the Doric entablature was carried around the building and like the walls which supported it was there made of Thasian marble and worked with the techniques normal to that material in the Sanctuary.

Part of the floor of the building is preserved, and, though wrongly interpreted in the past, it has always been visible.<sup>96</sup> Its scheme consisted of a rectangular central panel, bordered by four trapezoidal zones (Pl. 69, a). The bordering zones were surfaced with irregular fragments of both Thasian and finer marble, set in red cement on a base of sharp stones and cement, to create a roughly swirling pattern, which is distinct in each zone (Pl. 69, b). None of the original surface of the central panel is preserved, but the underlying cement shows traces of a geometric pattern, and well-cut marble lozenges and triangles found with the debris of the building surely belong to the panel; they were set in cement similar to that of the border and probably constituted the entire pattern (Pl. 69, c).<sup>97</sup>

Immediately in front of the building, opposite the second column from the north, stands a rectangular foundation of porous limestone blocks, *ca.* 1.55 m. wide and 2.15 m. long, which must have supported an altar or monument. It is presumably contemporary with the building, and blocks of fine-grained marble found near by which are not attributable to the building may belong to it. In the debris near by appeared many fragments of a life-size eagle, also of fine-grained marble, which,

<sup>94</sup> The type is similar to that of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros; cf. *ibid.*, p. 104. Variations are found in the Temple of Artemis at Epidauros and, nearer to Samothrace, in the "Edifice à Paraskénia" on Thasos; cf. *ibid.*, p. 212 and R. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 80, fig. 28, pl. XXII.

<sup>95</sup> It is very fragmentary, but preliminary study suggests that its rinceaux differ in design from the usual Samothracian type. The antefix (66.146; P. H. 0.175 m.) is related to that of the Propylon of the Temenos but differs from it in detail; cf. *Samothrace*, 4, II, pp. 96-97, fig. 94.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. *S*, II, p. 105, pl. I, y. It was there mistakenly connected with the road into the Sanctuary, as also in *Guide*, p. 42 and *Guide*<sup>2</sup>, p. 42.

<sup>97</sup> The Altar Court had a similar mosaic pavement, which, however, employed both marble and porphyry; cf. *Samothrace*, 4, II, p. 59.

though it might conceivably have belonged to the Doric building as an akroterion, was more probably part of the monument that stood on this base (Pl. 70, a, b).<sup>98</sup>

The fill which underlies the floor of the Doric building should, because of its known date, provide a welcome fixed point in the chronology of Samothracian small finds. The pottery thus far recovered from it has, however, been disappointingly small in quantity, with few whole profiles, and a larger sampling of the fill is necessary before its implications can be judged. Among other finds, two terracotta figurines are of particular interest; their fresh surfaces, which preserve much green and white color, and their provenance, on the floor of the earlier building, suggest that they were made not long before the construction of the Doric building (Pl. 67, e).<sup>99</sup>

Against the west wall of the building stood a shallow porch or naiskos, *ca.* 7.50 m. wide and 3 m. deep (Fig. 3). Its foundations, though of the same materials, do not bond with those of the Doric building and are coursed differently from them, but whether it is therefore later and represents an addition, or, like the foundation of the façade steps, is only another part of the same project remains undetermined. It is not symmetrical with respect to the building but is shifted *ca.* 0.50 m. north of the axis. The narrow foundation can have supported no more than two steps and perhaps only one. Elements of the superstructure appeared near by, mixed with those of the Doric building, and include fragments of Attic bases, 0.154 m. high and *ca.* 0.66 m. in lower diameter, which rested on square plinths, *ca.* 0.07 m. high; two complete Ionic drums; fragments of Ionic capitals (Pl. 70, d), of anta bases, of Ionic epistyles, of dentil-geison blocks, of sima blocks, and antefixes (Pl. 70, e), all in Thasian marble. They are well-cut but not elaborate, as the unornamented cyma reversa of the capital's abacus illustrates. The sima, too, is plain except for widely spaced miniature lion's head spouts (Pl. 70, e). Although these elements give a general picture of the structure, many of its features are still uncertain. The plan can have been prostyle or *in antis*, and, if the former, either tetrastyle or hexastyle. It is likewise unclear whether the entablature included a frieze. The preserved sima fragments are difficult to accommodate on the short sides of the structure, and they suggest that it was covered by a hipped or shed roof, a solution which would also have avoided the visual conflict of two asymmetrical pediments. The porch probably served an ornamental purpose, perhaps for the display of statues; both its off-axis position and the absence of steps to connect it with the road below make it unlikely that it formed a rear entrance to the Doric building.

In the same debris were recovered fragments of Thasian marble ceiling coffers and five separately worked coffer-lids with sculptural decoration in high relief (Pl.

<sup>98</sup> Head: 65.844; P. H. 0.19 m. Wing fragments: 65.845; P. H. 0.30 m.

<sup>99</sup> 67.549 (at left); P. H. 0.095 m. 67.548 (at right); P. H. 0.098 m. Both are fully modelled and lacked vents and bases. As J. Uhlenbrock has suggested to me, the former may be compared with D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XIV, Baltimore, 1952, p. 173, no. 218.

70, c). One of the lids shows a youthful male head in three-quarter view; the others have floral motifs of two sizes.<sup>100</sup> The ceiling to which these pieces belonged was thus decorated, like that of the Hieron,<sup>101</sup> with both figural and ornamental subjects, and it follows a tradition that in Samothrace goes back to the ceiling of the Propylon of the Temenos.<sup>102</sup> Neither the fragments themselves, however, nor their provenance make clear whether this ceiling belonged to the Doric building of Philip and Alexander or to the Ionic porch behind it.<sup>103</sup>

Another element was later added to the complex formed by the round structure and the Doric building with the construction of a curving line of limestone steps around the west and south of the round structure (Fig. 3; Pl. 64). At the north the steps end in line with the Doric building, whose foundation the lowest step abuts, and there make a short return; the east end is also finished, but with no corresponding return. Three steps are generally preserved; a fourth remains in one place, and there may have been as many as five. Their curve is eccentric and was probably determined, in part at least, by the natural contours of the bedrock; at the west they were forced so close to the monument foundations that the corner block of that earlier structure had to be cut back for them. The lowest step, whose curve differs somewhat from the others, seems to have served as a foundation and lay beneath ground level; the second step was dressed at its north end for paving blocks to cover the small gap between it and the steps of the Doric building (Pl. 68, b).

The fill behind the steps indicates that they were constructed in early Imperial times. One aspect of their function seems surely to have been retaining of higher ground to the south and west that threatened the older monuments.<sup>104</sup> The steps would, moreover, have greatly expanded the available space for spectators in the area. Whether these steps, like the foundations in front of them, also served to support statue or monument bases remains doubtful.

The architectural history of the Eastern Hill thus reflects in successive alterations and additions a gradual development which accompanied the ever increasing

<sup>100</sup> Top: 67.305, 66.611; center: 67.306; bottom: 67.1071, 67.1070. 67.305 has been trimmed for re-use and has a flat back; Max. Dim. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.067 m. 66.611 shows trimming of the back corners to reduce its weight, as is common in coffering; P. H. 0.142 m.; Th. 0.075 m. 67.306 has, again, a flat back; P. L. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.065 m.

<sup>101</sup> See *Samothrace*, 3, text I, pp. 237 ff. and P. W. Lehmann, *The Pedimental Sculptures of the Hieron in Samothrace*, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1962, p. 23, figs. 37-40; cf., for the Propylon, K. Lehmann, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 123-127. The Hieron, too, has coffers of more than one size.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. K. Lehmann, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 16.

<sup>103</sup> Since the Doric building seems to have employed wooden beams in the ceiling, as shown by the treatment of the inner part of the epistyles, the Ionic porch is perhaps the more likely candidate.

<sup>104</sup> Elsewhere in the Sanctuary there is evidence of damage caused by an earthquake at this time. If it also affected the Eastern Hill, it may have caused a minor landslide or in some other way occasioned concern for the monuments there. For the evidence of this earthquake see *Samothrace*, 3, text II, especially pp. 79 ff.

popularity of the Sanctuary. The original round structure first was modified and its surrounding area embellished by statues and monuments; then it was joined by a finely decorated rectangular building, which, in the last quarter of the fourth century, was replaced by the splendid dedication of Philip III Arrhidaios and Alexander IV. The round structure may always have lain on the route into the Sanctuary from the ancient city, but, with the construction in the early third century of the marble Propylon by Ptolemy II and the ramp which linked the two structures, it became an integral part of the monumental entrance system of the Sanctuary. It continued to perform this rôle into Roman times, and the addition of a series of steps on the south and west only served to protect and expand it.

The general route by which a visitor in antiquity proceeded from the Eastern Hill to the cult buildings at the center of the Sanctuary had always been clear from the topography, but actual evidence of a road appeared only in 1967. Immediately west of the Doric building and the Ionic porch attached to it (Fig. 3), but more than 1.50 m. below the top of their foundations, bedrock has been dressed and filled to form a road which leads southwest from the area. This highest portion appears never to have been paved, but it is bordered by a line of limestone blocks that form the highest step of a broad, paved, stepped ramp leading first southwest, then more directly west, down the hill. Rough stone retaining walls on each side show its course, which we have now traced more than 20 m., but only parts of the pavement itself have been fully exposed (Pl. 71, a). Its construction is, however, already evident; roughly rectangular blocks of various limestones and porphyry and of various sizes are fitted together in a neat but irregular pattern (Pl. 71, b). At the western edge of each section a straight line of blocks forms a step to the next lower section with a riser of 0.20-0.22 m. The ramp seems to have attained a width of at least five meters, but its southern limit has not yet been definitely determined, and the width may have varied; at the western end of our excavation the retaining walls indicate a width of only *ca.* 4 m., and there no paving blocks remain. Although no stratigraphic evidence has yet been found for the date of the paving, its material, re-used, it seems, from the same structures that provide foundation blocks for the Doric building, suggests that it, too, belongs to the last quarter of the fourth century before Christ.

The course of the road is interesting in relation to the monuments of the central part of the Sanctuary. Indications are that it reached the level of the Central Terrace near the northeast corner of the Temenos (Fig. 1, D). If so, its location would help explain the otherwise apparently arbitrary site chosen by the architect who, in the fourth century, added the marble Propylon to that structure.<sup>105</sup> The road's relation to the structures on the Eastern Hill is less clear, and further investigation is necessary to determine how one reached the upper part of the road from them.

<sup>105</sup> For the site of the Propylon of the Temenos, see K. Lehmann, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 24-25; for a tentative reconstruction of it, see *Guide*<sup>8</sup>, p. 57, fig. 29.



The entire aspect of the Eastern Hill was radically altered as the result of a severe earthquake, probably in the late first century or second century after Christ. The Doric building collapsed, and its façade fell forward, the southern portion into the round structure, the northern probably into the torrent bed. Destruction was so extensive that repairs would have entailed complete rebuilding. Instead, however, it was decided to abandon the complex, but, even so, since the area had still to serve as the entranceway to the Sanctuary, the debris could not be left as it was. The most desirable material was undoubtedly taken off for use elsewhere; wall blocks and foundations, which were convenient in size and shape, were removed, but the rest was simply thrown into the round structure and other depressions. To obscure this chaos, earth was brought in to cover the whole area and raise its level, by more than 2 m. in some places, to that of the floor of the Doric building (Pl. 71, c). The level of the road to the west seems also to have been raised at the same time, and the fallen remains of the Hellenistic marble structures were buried there, as in the round structure, by a deep fill. Concrete walls, only fragments of which survived still later destructions, served to contain the new fill and probably preserved the form of the road as a stepped ramp.

It seems likely that the earthquake that caused such extensive damage on the Eastern Hill likewise caused the diversion of the neighboring river from its former channel through the foundations of the Propylon of Ptolemy II into its present course and the consequent destruction of the ramp which had connected the Propylon with the Eastern Hill. A new link was therefore necessary to span the new course of the river. Remains of that link are preserved in the foundation for a platform which, after the destruction, was built against the eastern end of the then disused monument bases that abut the round structure (Fig. 3).<sup>106</sup> The platform seems to have served a dual purpose, both to receive a wooden bridge between it and the remains of the former ramp and to retain the massive fill which now covered the earlier monuments of the Eastern Hill. It was itself built, at least in part, of spoils from those monuments; its red porphyry blocks came easily to hand from the earlier bases which it abutted.

The fill which was brought in to cover the destruction and to effect this radical change in the appearance of the Eastern Hill contained a variety of material, some contemporary with the fill, some from the previous life of the area, and some from the source of the fill. Distinctive pottery contemporary with the fill has not yet been identified, but both lamps and coins point to a date in the late first century or second century after Christ. Among the coins are numerous examples of Samothracian bronzes with a rosette symbol or rosette countermark, which have also been found

<sup>106</sup> In an early stage of the excavations on the Eastern Hill, I erroneously assigned this foundation to the Hellenistic period; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 118, and p. 215 and note 51, above.

in tombs of Hadrianic date,<sup>107</sup> and a somewhat worn silver denarius of Domitian.<sup>108</sup> The lamps include both a moulded lamp of the first century after Christ (Pl. 69, e, 1),<sup>109</sup> and several coarse, wheelmade lamps that would not be out of place in the first or second century as forerunners of the related, local, wheelmade lamps of the late third or early fourth century, which were found in the Sacristy and the Stoa (Pl. 69, e, 2-3).<sup>110</sup>

A large quantity of fragments of bronze statues found in the fill may well belong to the monuments which had stood on the bases abutting the round structure. The statues themselves were presumably taken off, either before the earthquake as booty or as scrap metal after damage in the earthquake, and the remaining pieces are mainly those, like the large number of eyelash plates illustrated, that were separately attached and therefore easily dislodged and lost; a finely worked tassel and a pair of toes from a small-scale figure are exceptional in belonging to more substantial parts of these monuments (Pl. 72, a). Bronze architectural ornaments were also plentiful, including bosses from door-studs, finials from such bosses, and a fragment of an egg-and-dart moulding which may have decorated a wooden ceiling coffer (Pl. 72, b). The last could well have belonged to the Doric building, but the location of the wooden door or doors to which the studs belonged is not clear.

Other small objects may either have been connected with the Eastern Hill or have come from elsewhere in the Sanctuary along with the earth of the fill. Of particular interest are two lead spikes, one inscribed MH (Pl. 72, c); their use remains uncertain, but a connection with lead tablets inscribed with curses seems possible, and a tablet found in the neighboring South Nekropolis is pierced with the sort of hole that these spikes would have made.<sup>111</sup> Most delightful of the finds is a small gold lion, with eyelets on the reverse for sewing to cloth; its cloisonnée mane was filled with blue paste, of which three pieces are preserved (Pl. 72, d).<sup>112</sup> Like a very

<sup>107</sup> Notably the "Tomb of the Diadem"; cf. *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, p. 35. E. B. Dusenbery has kindly checked other contexts in which such coins have been found in the South Nekropolis and confirmed that they are all consistent with a date in the late first or early second century after Christ.

<sup>108</sup> 67.1256. D. 0.018 m.; wt. 2.500 gm. Cf. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, II, London, 1930, p. 43, no. 241. A.D. 77-78.

<sup>109</sup> 65.819. Signature CT on base.

<sup>110</sup> 66.710 and 66.349A are illustrated. For the lamps from the Sacristy, see K. Lehmann, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 348, fig. 27; for those from the Stoa, see *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 114. Together with the newly discovered lamps, they seem to show that the manufacture of inexpensive, coarse, wheelmade lamps went on in Samothrace long after mouldmade lamps had captured most markets. For a similar situation in Corinth, but at an earlier period, see O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 56-59, and *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, pp. 329-337.

<sup>111</sup> 67.393; P. L. 0.098 m. 65.897 (inscribed); L. 0.13 m. Both are square in section. For the lead tablet from the South Nekropolis, see E. B. Dusenbery, *Archaeology*, XX, 1967, pp. 117-118, fig. 4.

<sup>112</sup> 65.294; L. 0.035 m.

similar gold lion from Dodona,<sup>113</sup> it is surely of Achaemenian origin, and both seem to represent dedications of foreign luxury items. It has been suggested that they may have been acquired during the Persian invasion of 480 B.C. or bought during the fifth or fourth century;<sup>114</sup> they may, however, equally well be spoils brought back from Alexander's conquests, and ours may have been dedicated in the Sanctuary at the very time that royal Macedonian interest in Samothrace led to the construction of the Doric building on the Eastern Hill.

The reorganization of the Eastern Hill in the late first or second century after Christ gave it the form it maintained to the end of antiquity. Much later, two rough rubble buildings were constructed. One, which overlay the foundation of the Ionic porch behind the Doric building, consisted of a rectangular room at the west and a smaller, apsidal room at the east (Pl. 71, d).<sup>115</sup> Its plan suggests a rural chapel, but this form may have been coincidental, since no other Christian religious building has been found within the boundaries of the Sanctuary. A larger, rectangular structure stood to the southwest of it.<sup>116</sup> Both are probably contemporary with a large limekiln which was dug into the Roman fill over the southern edge of the round structure. To judge from the amount of debris and ash around it, the kiln must have been used repeatedly, fed, as partly destroyed marbles showed, with rediscovered fragments of the Hellenistic buildings and monuments.

The investigations of the present seasons have added considerably to our knowledge of the borders of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. Although these areas had less religious importance than the venerable central core of the Sanctuary, their architectural development was of equal or even greater importance to the visual impression which the Sanctuary made on a visitor. What appeared to him as he approached the Sanctuary from the gate of the ancient city was not the halls of initiation and their neighboring structures, for they lay concealed on their lower sites, but rather the Propylon of Ptolemy II and the monuments of the Eastern Hill directly before him and, in the background, the series of structures that stood on the descending spine of the Western Hill (Pl. 58, a). It is now clear that the development of these areas was both more extensive and earlier than had been suspected, but further work is needed to determine the details of successive building programs and their history.

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<sup>113</sup> \*Epyov, 1955, p. 56, fig. 52; *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 300, fig. 2.

<sup>114</sup> P. Amandry, *Antike Kunst*, I, 1958, p. 10, note 11.

<sup>115</sup> This building has been omitted from Figure 3, where it would have obscured the antique foundations.

<sup>116</sup> The east and north walls of the rectangular building are shown, over the ancient road, in Figure 3.



a. Sanctuary of the Great Gods, from the Ancient City, looking West.



b. Stoa. North foundation, from North.



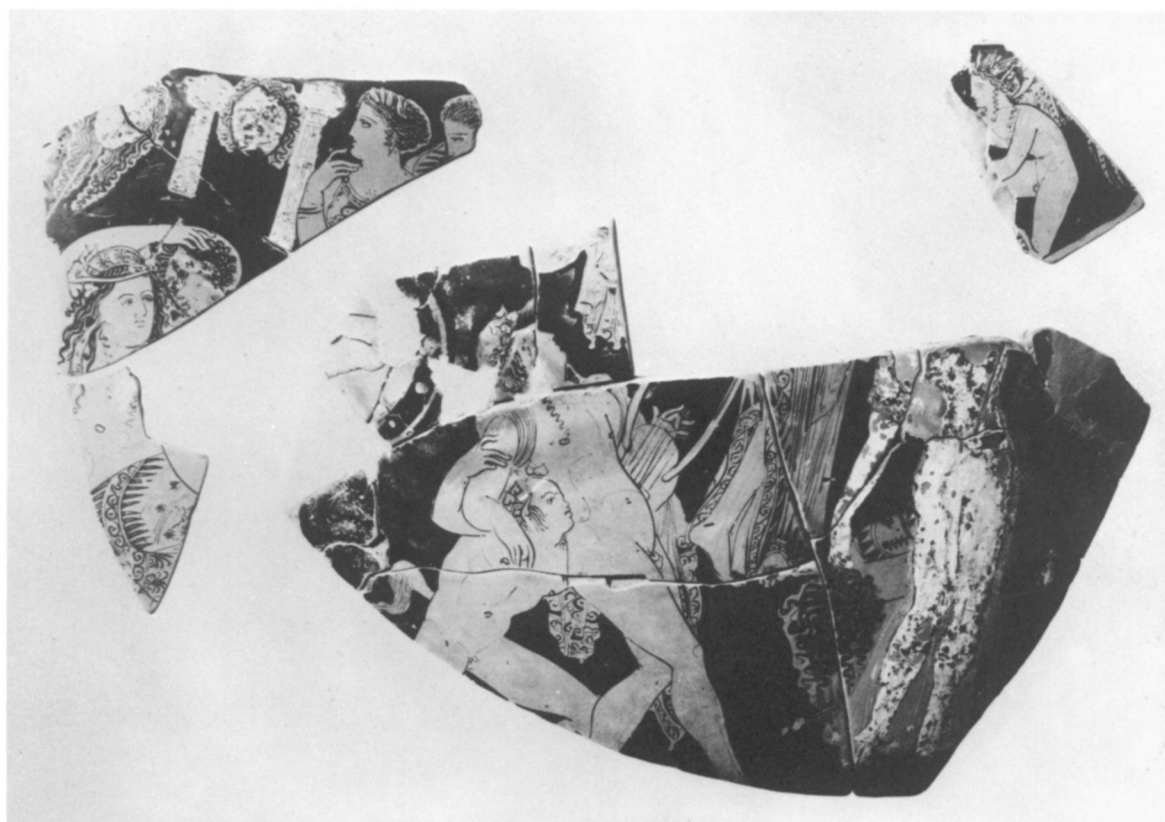
c. Terrace Wall East of Stoa, from South.



a. Terrace Wall East of Stoa, from East.

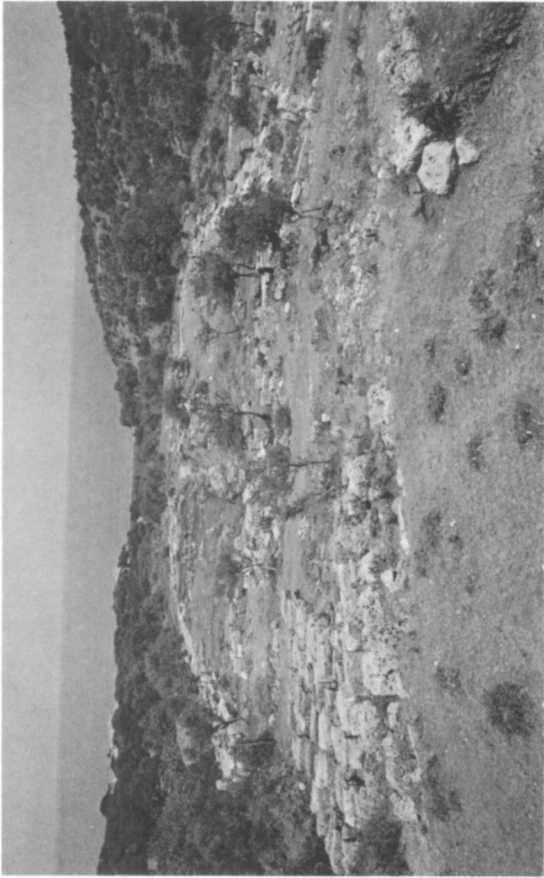


b. Stoa. Bronze Coin, 65.188.

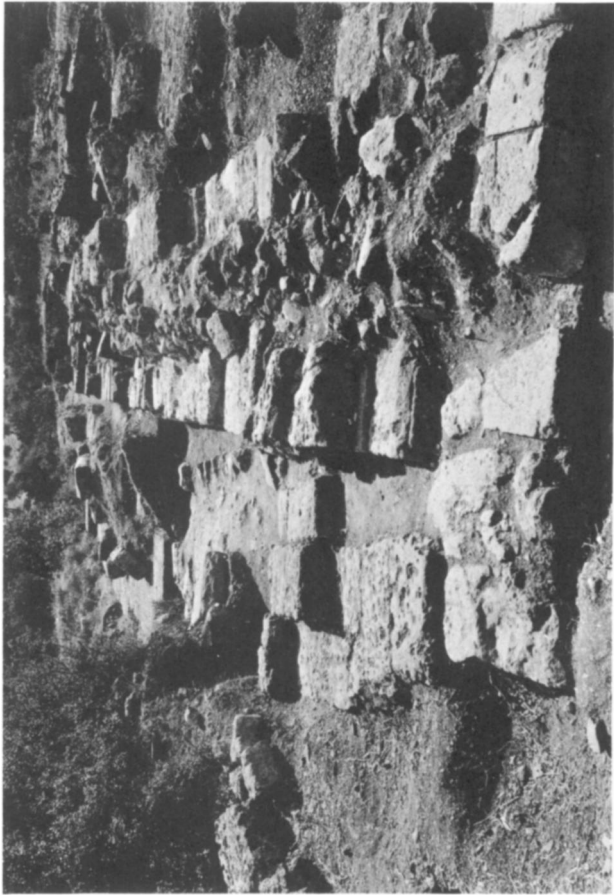


c. Stoa. Fragments of Red-figure Krater, 65.1041.





a. Northern Area, from South.



b. North Wall of Byzantine Fortification and South Foundation of Earlier Building, from West.



c. Earlier and Later Byzantine Walls, from North.  
West Hill.



d. Byzantine Coins.



a. Building M, from Northwest.



b. Building M. Fragment of Epistyle 66.796.

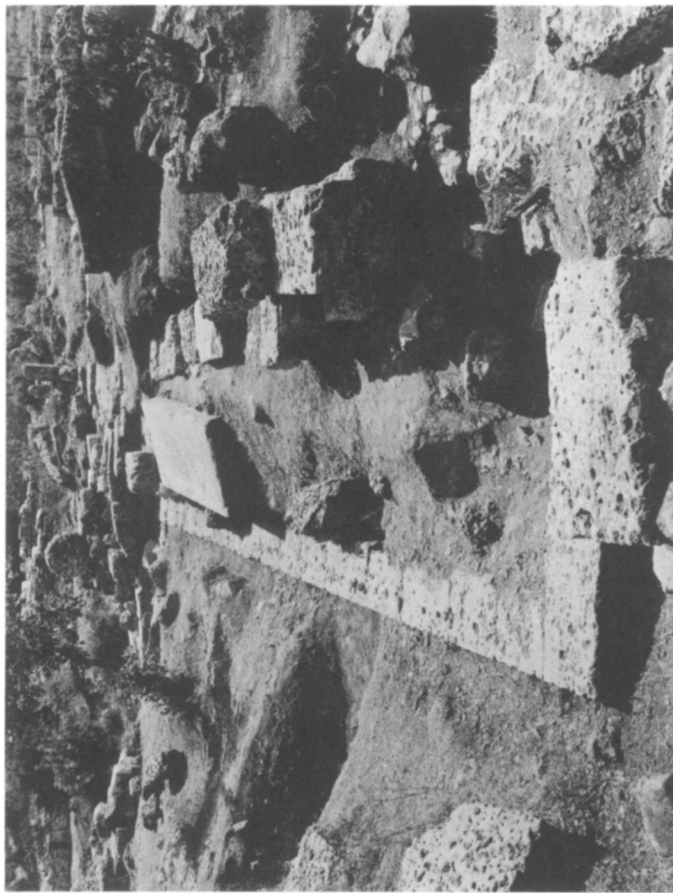


c. Building A. South Euthynteria and Dump of Earlier Excavations, from South (1966).



d. Building A. South Euthynteria, from West.

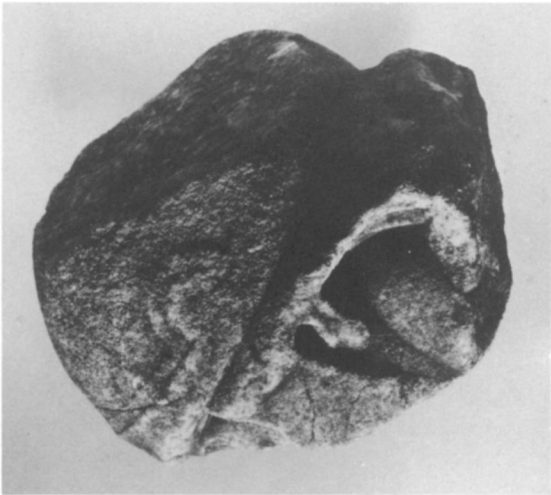
West Hill.



a. Foundation of Terrace Wall, from West.



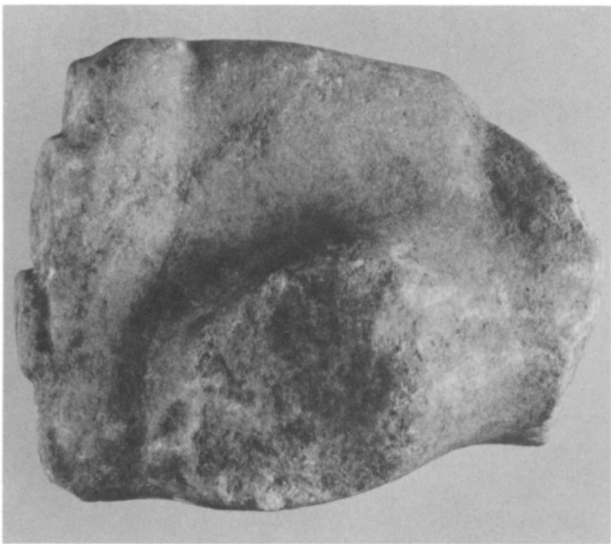
b. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Riverbed South and West of Propylon, from Northwest.



c. Marble Head 66.708.



d. Fragments of Marble Statues 67.1240, 67.1171.



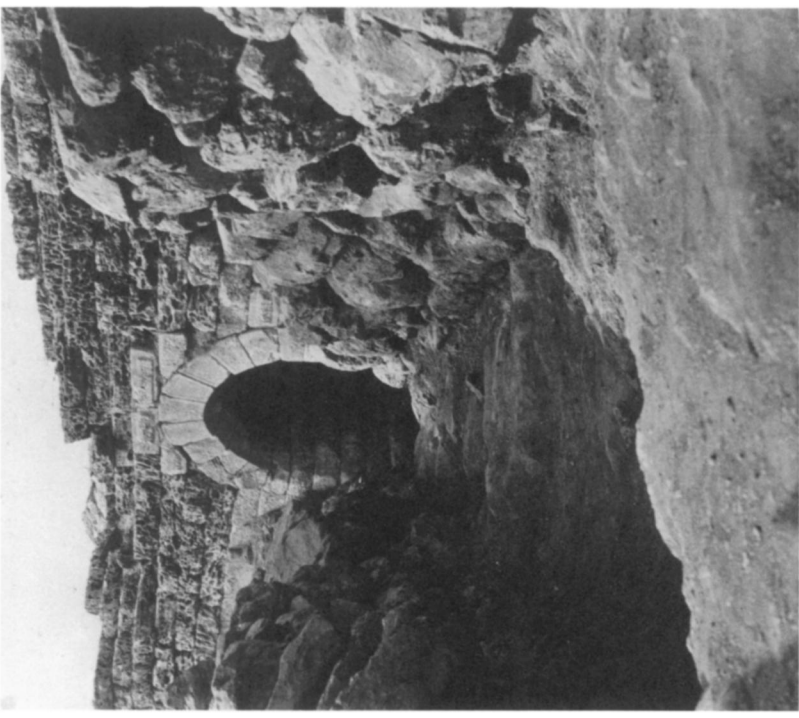
e. Marble Hand by the Sculptor of the Victory of Samothrace 67.1208.

West Hill.





a. Foundation Blocks in River Bed, from Southwest.



b. South Foundation of Propylon and Boulder Channel, from Southeast.

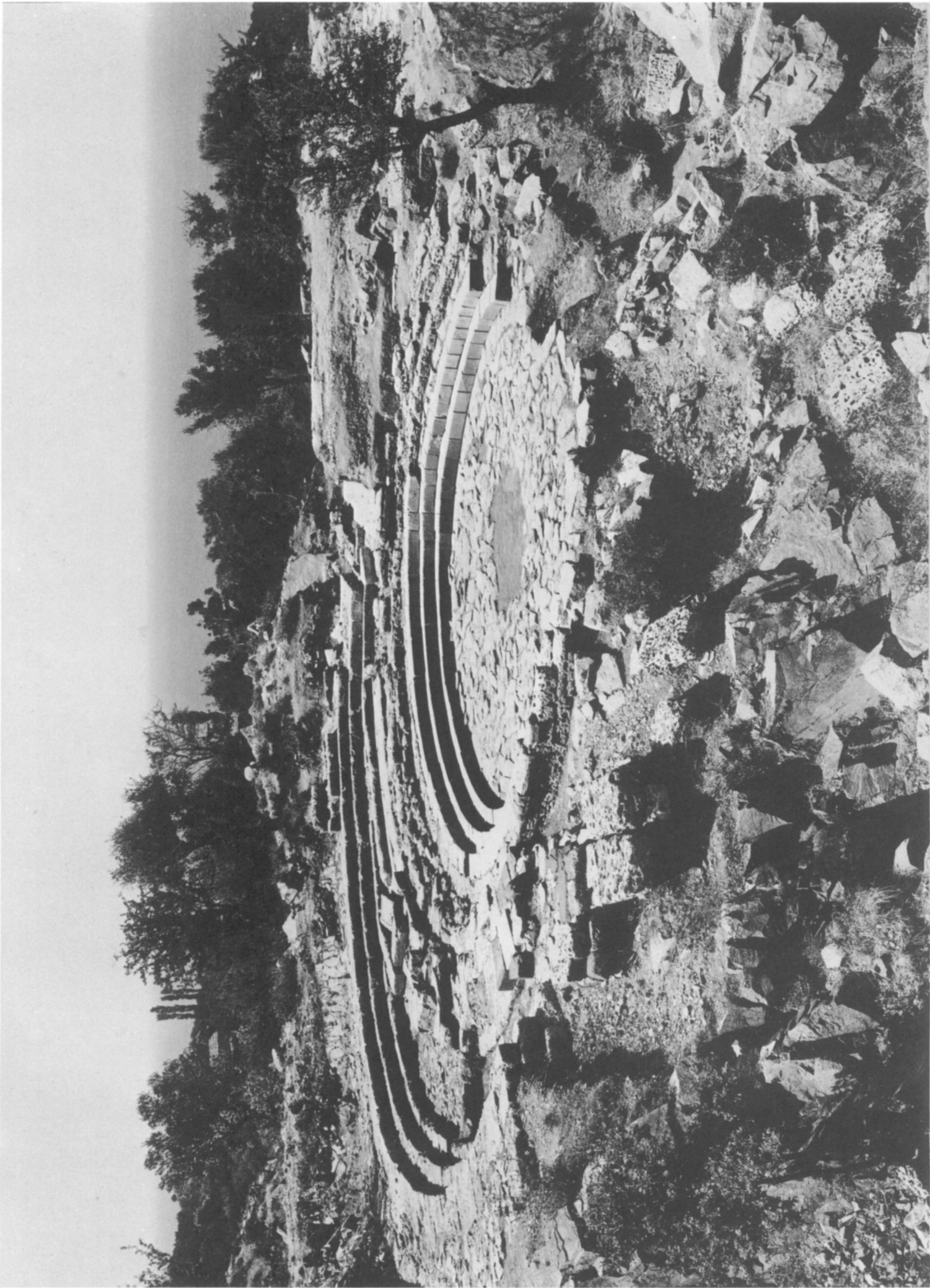


c. Area North of Propylon, from South.



d. Fragment of Pilaster Capital from Unknown Building 67.599.

Propylon of Ptolemy II.

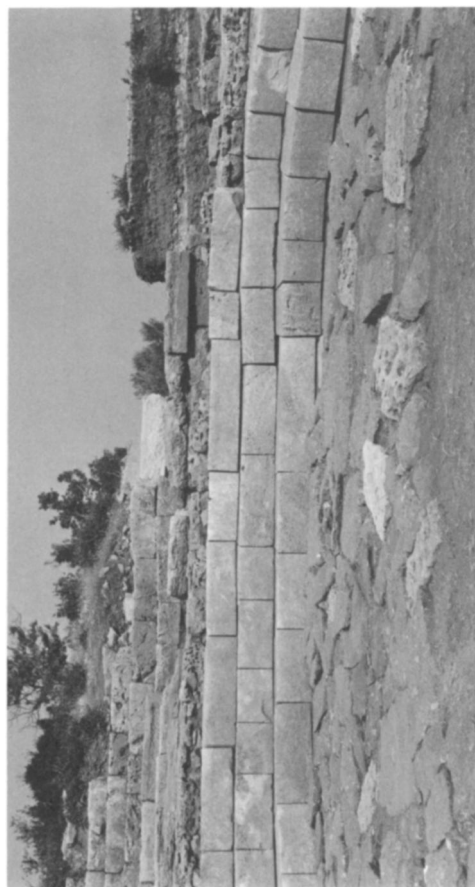


Eastern Hill, from East.

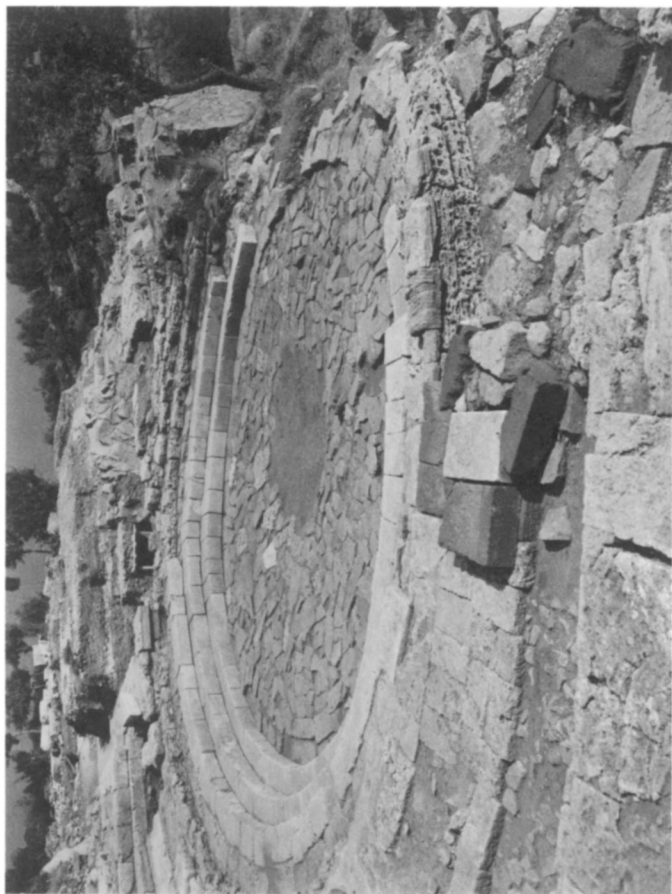
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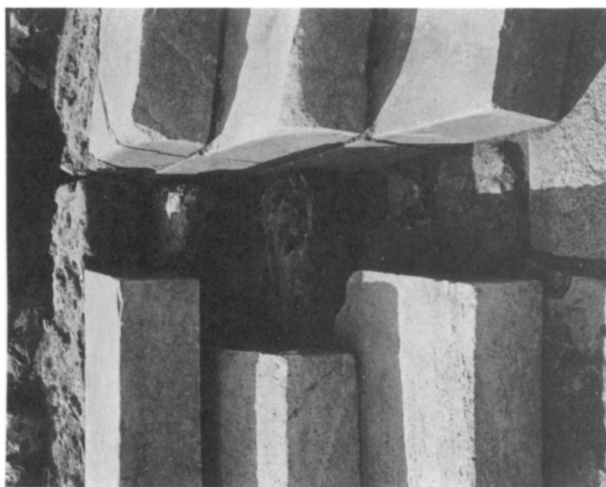
a. Propylon of Ptolemy II. South Boulder Channel, from Northwest.



c. Round Structure. Remodelled Steps, from East.



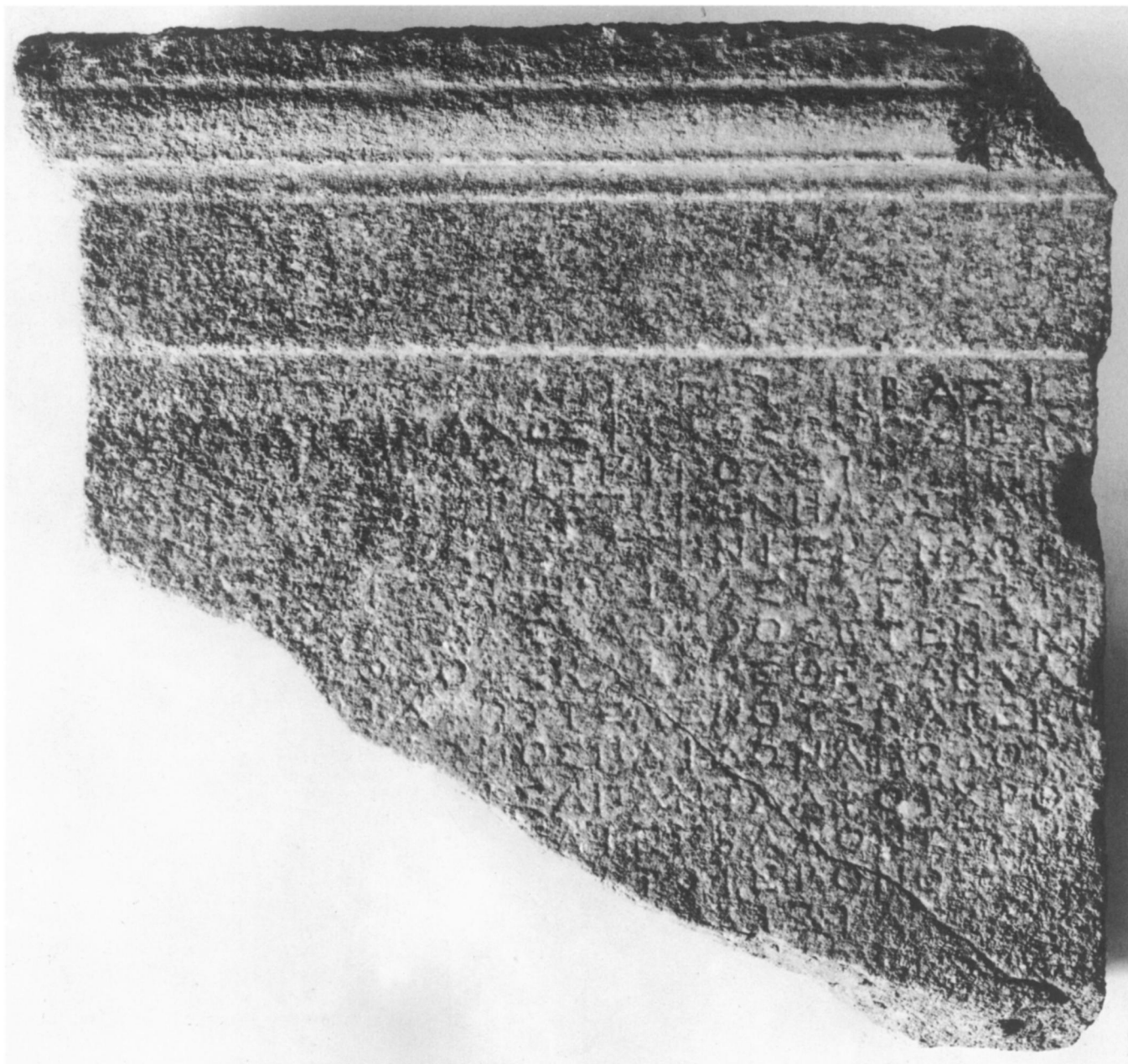
b. Round Structure from South.



d. Round Structure. North Wall of Original Passage, from East.

# East Hill.





a. Inscribed Stele 65.843.



b. Epistyle Blocks T 79, T 102.

East Hill.



a. Earlier Rectangular Building. South Wall, from East.



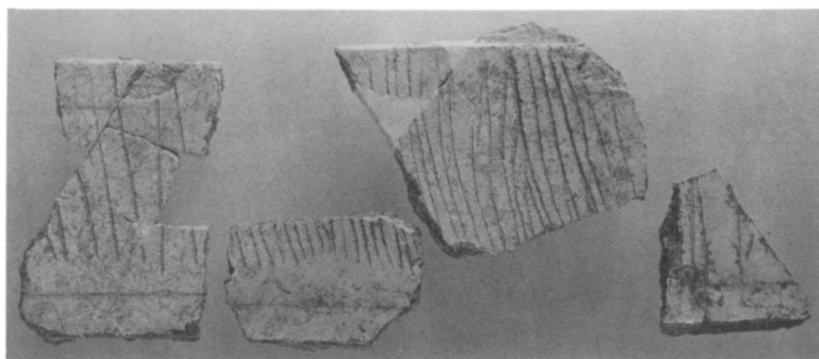
b. Earlier Rectangular Building. North Wall and Floor, from West.



c. Earlier Rectangular Building. Fragments of Stucco String Course.

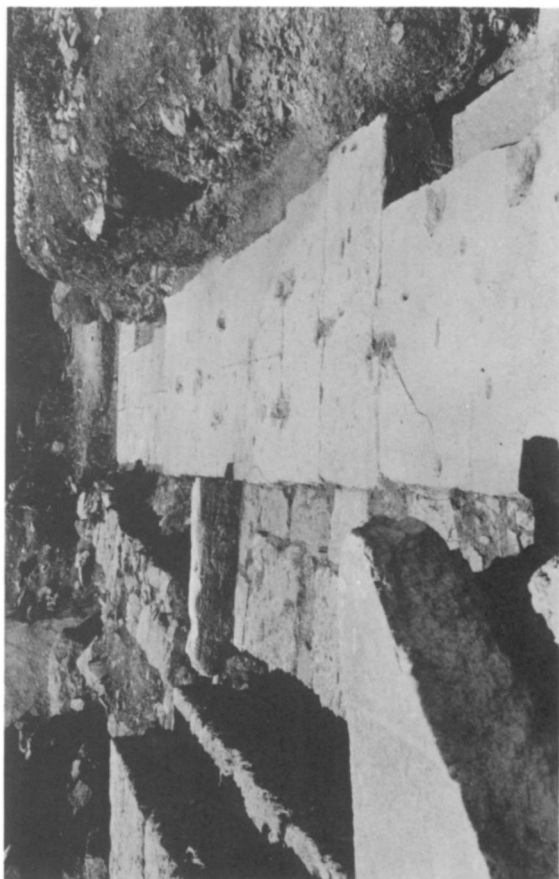


e. Terracotta Figurines 67.549, 67.548.



d. Earlier Rectangular Building. Fragments of Defaced Stucco String Course.

East Hill.



a. South Foundation, from East.



b. East Foundation, from North.



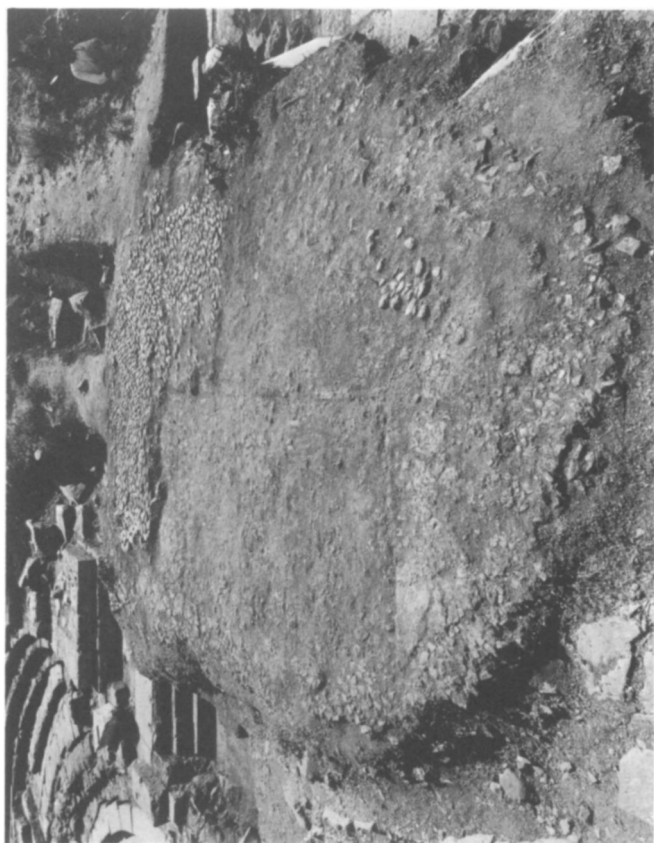
c. Bedding of North Wall, from East.

East Hill. Doric Building.

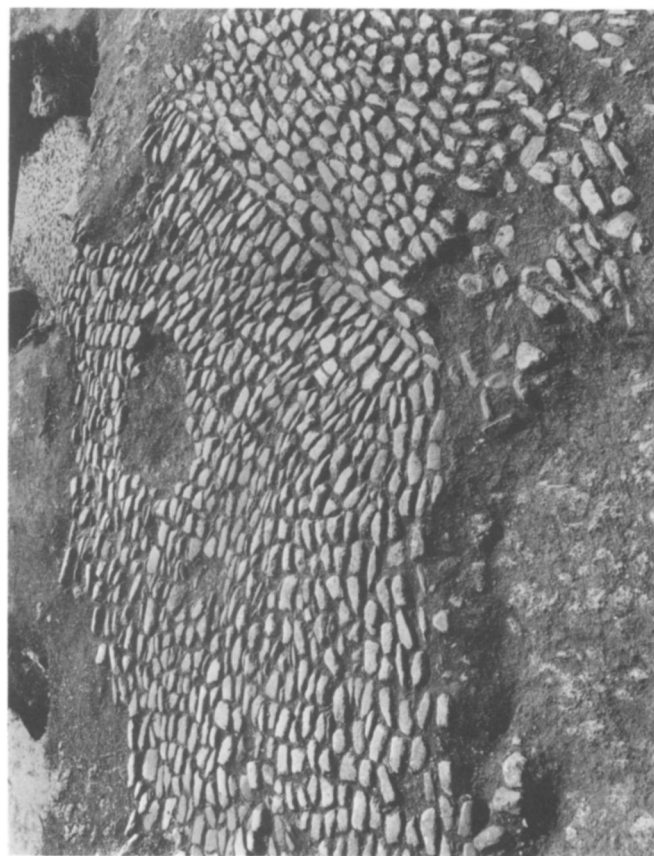


d. Capital T 141.

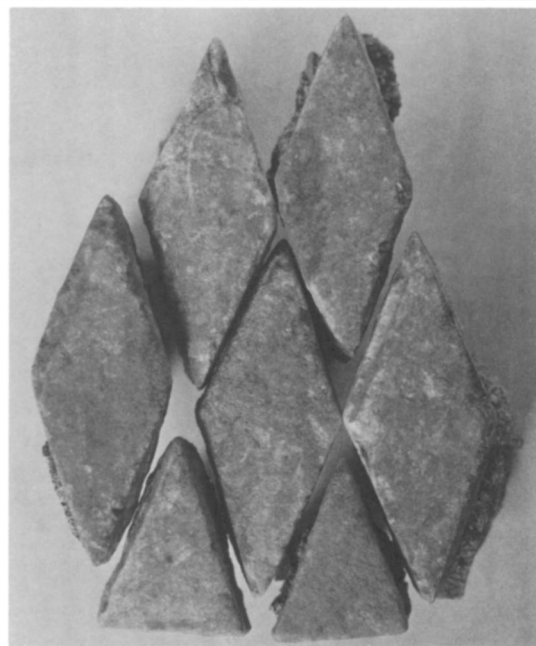




a. Floor, from North.



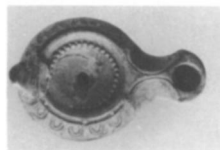
b. Border of Floor, from Northeast.



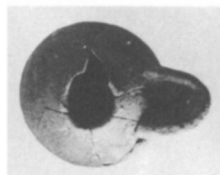
c. Paving from Central Panel of Floor.



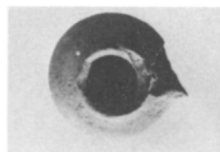
d. Antefix 66.146.



65.819



66.349A

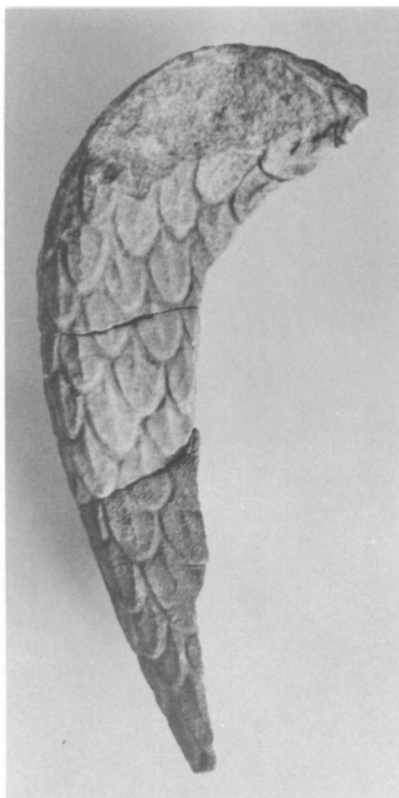


66.710



e. Lamps.

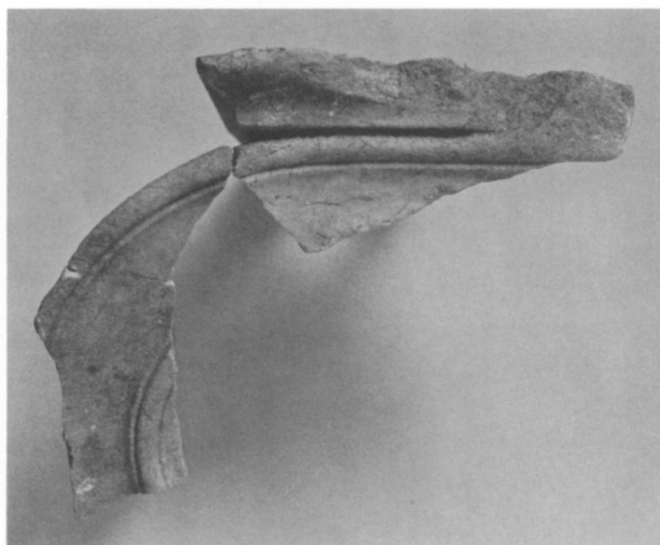
East Hill. Doric Building.



a.-b. Marble Eagle. Wing 65.845. Head 65.844.



c. Marble Ceiling-coffer Covers.



d. Ionic Capital Fragments 67.1235A-B.



e. Ionic Porch. Sima and Antefixes 66.145, 66.731, 66.794.

East Hill.





a. Road, from East.



b. Road, from West.



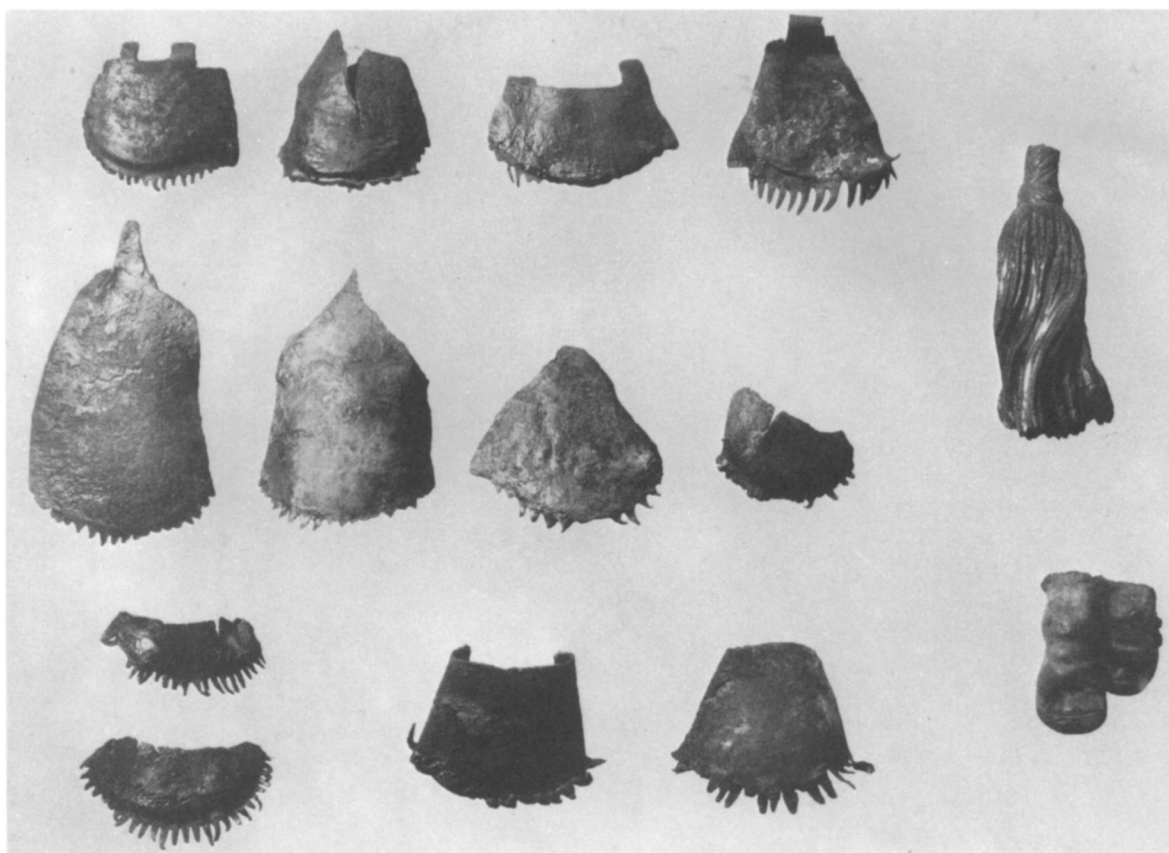
c. Fallen Blocks of Doric Building and Fill over Round Structure, from North.



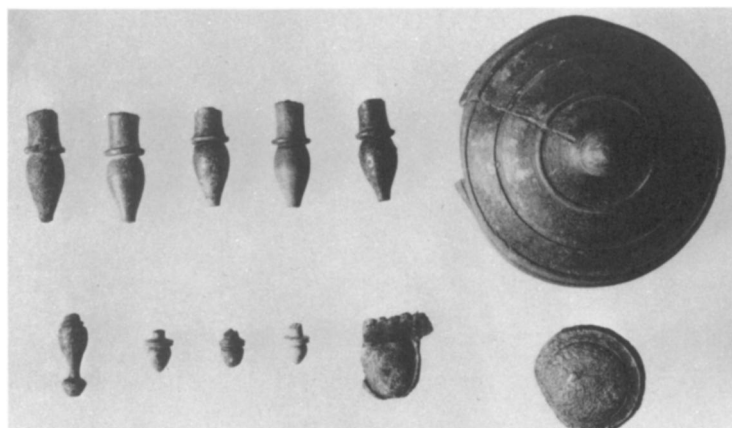
d. Late Apsidal Building, from Northwest.

East Hill.

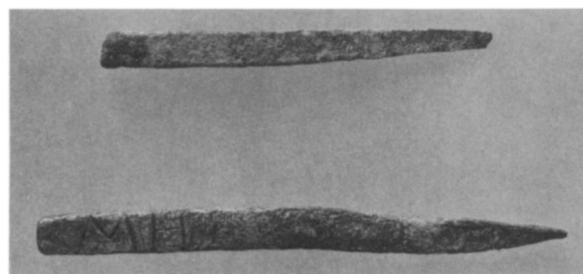
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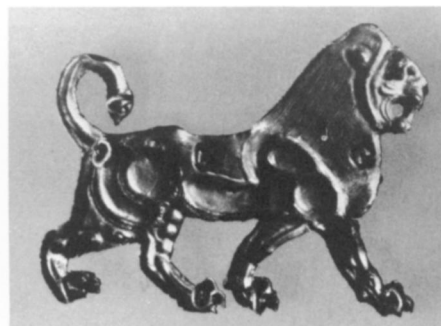
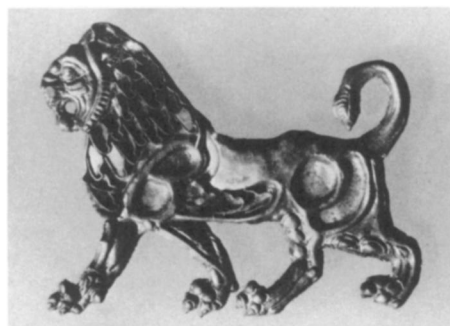
a. Fragments of Bronze Statues.



b. Fragments of Bronze Architectural Ornament.



c. Lead Spikes 67.393, 65.897.



d. Gold Lion 65.294.  
East Hill.