

THE COLONIZATION OF SAMOTHRACE

ABSTRACT

Three aspects pertaining to the Greek colonization of Samothrace are addressed: the origin of the colonists, the foundation date, and relations between Greeks and non-Greeks. Relevant literary sources and other indications make it clear that the Greek colonists came from Samos; the current theory that they were Aeolians should be abandoned. No foundation date is preserved in the ancient sources, but archaeological remains, especially from cemeteries on the island, point strongly to the first half of the 6th century B.C. Evidence for a Greek takeover of a non-Greek cult, and, especially, for the use of a non-Greek language as well as Greek, makes the coexistence of Greeks and non-Greeks a plausible hypothesis.

Although there are many Greek colonies of the Archaic period about which we know very little, we usually know the city or cities from which the colonists came, and in many cases the date of foundation. In the case of Samothrace,¹ the prestige of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods has ensured that there are many references to Samothrace in ancient literature. Lewis found 241 items for his collection of the literary sources in *Samothrace 1*, and Burkert found two others that had been missed by Lewis.² Yet, in spite of this abundance of literary references, the origin of the colonists and date of the foundation are matters of dispute or, as Lazaridis put it, obscure.³ Cole considered these issues an open question.⁴ It is my aim in this article to discuss, first, these two basic questions, and then to consider the relations between the colonists and the non-Greek inhabitants, which are at Samothrace both interesting and potentially significant.

1. Special thanks are due to Dimitris Matsas for his kind reception when I visited the island in 1995. Apart from showing me archaeological sites, he also gave me much invaluable information. I am grateful to the Research Foundation of the Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania for a grant to finance my travel. I would also like to thank Kevin Clinton, who kindly read a draft of this paper and made helpful suggestions for its improvement; Sara Owen, for advice about Thracian matters; and the anonymous *Hesperia*

reviewers for their useful comments. In this article, all references to Lewis are to *Samothrace 1*.

2. *Samothrace 1*; Burkert 1993, pp. 179, 181–182.

3. Lazaridis 1971, p. 18.

4. Cole 1984, pp. 10–11.

THE ORIGIN OF THE COLONISTS

THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

Most of our information about Samothrace from the literary sources concerns myth, so there are few passages that are valuable for the history of the Greek colonization.⁵ Of these the earliest is a fragment of Antiphon's speech *On the Tribute of the Samothracians*, which states that the colonists came from Samos, whence they were expelled by tyrants. The full passage (*Minor Attic Orators* I, Loeb, fr. A.2; Lewis 40 [as throughout, numbers refer to Lewis's passages in *Samothrace* 1]) is as follows:

καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἰκίσαντες ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς
ἐγενόμεθα. κατωκίσθησαν δὲ ἀνάγκη, οὐκ ἐπιθυμία τῆς νήσου.
ἐξέπεσον γὰρ ὑπὸ τυράννων ἐκ Σάμου καὶ τύχη ἐχρήσαντο ταύτη
λείαν λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν νῆσον.⁶

For those who originally settled the island were Samians, and from them we are descended. They were settled by necessity, not by desire of the island; for they were expelled from Samos by tyrants and experienced this misfortune; having taken booty from Thrace they arrived at the island. (Lewis, trans., adapted)

This is a clear statement of origin. While Athenian orators freely perverted historical truth if it suited their advocacy, they could not make false statements about well-known facts in speeches designed to be heard by a large audience,⁷ if they were not to lose all credibility. In this case, it is hard to doubt Antiphon's information about the origin of the colonists.

Antiphon's statements are, moreover, supported by the Aristotelian *politeia* of the Samothracians, which we know from Herakleides' epitome (*FGrHist* 548 F5b; Lewis 41) and, less fully, from the scholion to Apollonius Rhodius, 916–918 (*FGrHist* 546 F1b; Lewis 37). The passage of Herakleides states:

ἡ Σαμοθράκη τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκαλεῖτο Λευκανία, διὰ τὸ λευκὴ
εἶναι· ὕστερον δὲ, Θρακῶν κατασχόντων, Θρακία. τούτων δὲ
ἐκλιπόντων, ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἑπτακοσίοις Σάμιοι κατώκισαν αὐτὴν
ἐκπεσόντες τῆς οἰκείας, καὶ Σαμοθράκην ἐκάλεσαν.

Samothrace was originally called Leukania, because of being white, but later, when Thracians occupied it, Thrakia. When these had left it, seven hundred years later Samians settled it, when they had been expelled from their own country, and called it Samothrace.

While Ps. Scymnus does not explicitly state that the Samians had been expelled from their homeland, his account of the historical colonization agrees with Antiphon and the Aristotelian *politeia* on the Samian origin of the colonists (679–680, 690–695; Lewis 58):

5. The relevant passages are given in *FGrHist* 548 (Anhang), with characteristically acute and learned comments by Jacoby in IIIb (Text), pp. 470–475 (Noten), pp. 279–281. There is an extended discussion of these passages in Prinz 1978, pp. 187–205. Although mainly interested in mythology, Prinz also treats the origin of the colonists at length.

6. I provide here the text of Jacoby, *FGrHist* 548 F5a, who regards the transmitted text as sound, but breaking off too soon; see IIIb (Text), p. 475, *Kommentar* to F5a. It is understandable, however, that editors have suspected a lacuna after ταύτη, or added καὶ before λείαν, because of the asyndeton. While Jacoby is right to take τύχη ταύτη as referring back to ἀνάγκη κτλ., he does not consider the problem of the asyndeton. A certain conclusion on the matter seems unattainable.

7. See Meiggs 1972, pp. 240–241; Rhodes 1972, pp. 90–91; Harris 2000, p. 496.

πέραν Σαμοθράκη δ' ἔστι νῆσος Τρωϊκή,
ἔχουσα τὴν οἴκησιν ἀναμειγμένην·

.....

τοὺς δὲ Σαμόθρακας, Τρωῶας ὄντας τῷ γένει
ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου δὲ Θρωῶκας ἐπικαλουμένους,
δι' εὐσέβειαν ἐγκαταμεῖναι τῷ τόπῳ.
ἐν σιτοδείᾳ τῶν Σαμίων δ' αὐτοῖς ποτε
ἐπαρκεσάντων, τηνικαῦτ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου
ἐπιδεξάμενοί τινας συνοίκους ἔσχοσαν.

Opposite is Samothrace, a Trojan island, which has mixed inhabitants. . . . But the Samothracians, being Trojan by race, but called Thracians from the geographical position, stayed in the place because of piety. But when in a famine once, the Samians supplied them, at that time they received some from Samos and had them as fellow-inhabitants.

The Samian origin of the Greek colonists is also found in *Iliad* scholia, most notably Eustathius's commentary on 24.78 (Lewis 51), where he writes:

Σαμοθράκην . . . ἢ Λευκωνία, φασί, πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο, εἶτα ὑπὸ Σαμίων οικισθεῖσα, ὧν τὰ σκάφη αὐτόθι αἰχμάλωται Θρηῆσαι κατέκαυσαν, Σαμοθράκη ὠνόμασται.

Samothrace . . . which, they say, was formerly called Leukonia, and then, having been settled by Samians, whose boats captive Thracian women burnt there, it was named Samothrace.⁸

There is general support for the Samian origin of the colonists of Samothrace in Herodotos's account of an incident in the Battle of Salamis (8.90.1–3; Lewis 97, but breaking off too soon):

Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τοῦτω. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεκε ὧν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηϊκῇ νηῦς. ἢ τε δὴ Ἀττικῇ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιή νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηϊκῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηϊκῆς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπῆραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδὲ σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοινίκας οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι.

8. The same information is found in the Scholia Townleiana on the same passage from Homer; see Lewis 45.

It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. (A. D. Godley, trans., Loeb)

From this it is clear that for Herodotos the Samothracians were Ionians. And Herodotos had himself been to Samothrace, as the passage 2.51.2–4 (Lewis 140) shows:

ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὦνήρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρηικήν οἴκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἳ περ' Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὦν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο· οἳ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηική μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

Anyone who has been initiated into the secret rites of the Cabiri, which the Samothracians derived from the Pelasgians and now practice, knows what I mean. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who used to dwell among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians derive their secret rites. Thus the Athenians, who learned it from the Pelasgians, were the first of the Greeks to make ithyphallic statues of Hermes. The Pelasgians told a kind of sacred story about this, and it is disclosed in the mysteries at Samothrace. (Lewis, trans.)

Since Herodotos here shows knowledge of secret information known only to initiates, information which, significantly, he is careful not to divulge, it is correct to conclude that he was himself initiated into the Samothracian Mysteries,⁹ and, therefore, that he had visited Samothrace. Jacoby poses an interesting question, when he wonders if Herodotos's initiation into the Samothracian Mysteries had anything to do with Herodotos's stay on Samos and the relations between Samos and Samothrace,¹⁰ but it is, unfortunately, a question to which no certain answer can be given.

9. See *RE* Suppl. II, col. 259, s.v. *Herodotos* (F. Jacoby). It is strange that Lateiner (1989, p. 65) doubted this.

10. *FGrHist* IIIb (Text), p. 467.

The only serious doubt about a Samian origin in our literary sources seems to be a passage in Strabo (10.2.17 [C 457]; Lewis 42):

καλεῖ δ' ὁ ποιητῆς Σάμον καὶ τὴν Θρακίαν, ἣ νῦν Σαμοθράκην
καλοῦμεν. τὴν δ' Ἴωνικὴν οἶδε μὲν, ὡς εἰκός· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἴωνικὴν
ἀποικίαν εἰδέναι φαίνεται· οὐκ ἂν ἀντιδιέστειλε δὲ τὴν ὀμωνυμίαν,
περὶ τῆς Σαμοθράκης λέγων, τοτὲ μὲν τῷ ἐπιθέτω·

ὑψοῦ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὕληέσσης,

Θρηικίης·

τοτὲ δὲ τῇ συζυγίᾳ τῶν πλησίον νήσων·

ἐς Σάμον ἕς τ' Ἴμβρον καὶ Λῆμνον ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν·

καὶ παλιν·

μεσσηγύς τε Σάμοιο καὶ Ἴμβρου παιπαλοέσσης.

ἤδει μὲν οὖν, οὐκ ὠνόμακε δ' αὐτήν· οὐδ' ἐκαλεῖτο τῷ αὐτῷ

ὀνόματι πρότερον, ἀλλὰ Μελάμφυλλος, εἶτ' Ἀνθεμίς, εἶτα
Παρθενία ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Παρθενίου, ὃς Ἴμβρασος
μετωνομάσθη. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ Σάμος μὲν καὶ ἡ
Κεφαλληνία ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἡ Σαμοθράκη (οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἐκάβη
εἰσήγετο λέγουσα, ὅτι τοὺς παιδᾶς αὐτῆς πέρινασχ', ὃν κε λάβοι,

ἐς Σάμον ἕς τ' Ἴμβρον), Ἴωνικὴ δ' οὐκ ἀπόκιστό πω, δῆλον δ' ὅτι
ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων τινὸς τὴν ὀμωνυμίαν ἔσχεν· ἐξ ὧν ἀκαεῖνο
δῆλον, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἱστορίαν ὃ λέγουσιν οἱ φήσαντες,

μετὰ τὴν Ἴωνικὴν ἀποικίαν καὶ τὴν Τεμβρίωνος παρουσίαν
ἀποίκους ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Σάμου καὶ ὀνομάσαι Σάμον τὴν Σαμοθράκην,
ὡς οἱ Σάμοιο τοῦτ' ἐπλάσαντο δόξης χάριν. πιθανώτεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ
ἀπὸ τοῦ σάμου καλεῖσθαι τὰ ὕψη φήσαντες εὐρησθαι τοῦτο
τοῦνομα τὴν νῆσον· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ

ἐφαίνετο πᾶσα μὲν Ἴδη,

φαίνετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις καὶ νῆς Ἀχαιῶν.

τινὲς δὲ Σάμον καλεῖσθαι φασὶν ἀπὸ Σαΐων, τῶν οἰκούντων
Θρακῶν πρότερον, οἱ καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ἔσχον τὴν προσεχῆ κτλ.

The poet also uses the name "Samos" for the Thracian island, which we now call Samothrace. And it is reasonable to suppose that he knows the Ionian Samos, for he also appears to know of the Ionian migration; otherwise he would not have differentiated between the places of the same name when referring to Samothrace, which he designates at one time by the epithet "high on the topmost summit of woody Samos, the Thracian," and at another time by connecting it with the islands near it, "unto Samos and Imbros and inhospitable Lemnos." And again, "between Samos and rugged Imbros."

He therefore knew the Ionian island, although he did not name it; in fact it was not called by the same name in earlier times, but Melamphylus, then Anthemis, then Parthenia, from the River Parthenius, the name of which was changed to Imbrasus. Since, then, both Cephallenia and Samothrace were called Samos at the time of the Trojan War (for otherwise Hecabe would not have been introduced as saying that he was for selling her children whom he might take captive "unto Samos and unto Imbros"), and since the

Ionian Samos had not yet been colonised, it clearly got its name from one of the islands which earlier bore the same name. Whence that other fact is also clear, that those writers contradict ancient history who say that colonists came from Samos after the Ionian migration and the arrival of Tembrion, and named Samothrace Samos, since this story was fabricated by the Samians to enhance the glory of their island. Those writers are more plausible who say that the island came upon this name from the fact that lofty places are called "samoi," "for thence all Ida was plain to see, and plain to see were the city of Priam and the ships of the Achaeans." But some say that the island was called Samos after the Saii, the Thracians who inhabited it in earlier times, who also held the adjacent mainland, etc. (H. L. Jones, trans., Loeb, corrected)

The above passage constitutes the end of a long discussion of the name Samos, which is included in Strabo's treatment of the Ionian islands. The topic begins with Kephallenia at 10.2.10. Strabo was using two authorities here, Demetrios of Skepsis and Apollodoros, and Schwartz thought that we have Demetrios's account combined with excerpts from Apollodoros.¹¹ The two authorities are named in 10.2.16, where they disagreed. Schwartz thus attributed large sections to Demetrios,¹² but not 10.2.17, which he gave to Apollodoros.¹³

Jacoby also attributed that chapter to Apollodoros, and printed it, in his smallest type, as *FGrHist* 244 F178b. Arguments in favor of the attribution are that Apollodoros is the last authority named in Strabo (10.2.16), and Apollodoros's discussion about Homer's ways of distinguishing homonymous places cited the example of Samothrace (Strab. 8.3.6; Lewis 84; *FGrHist* 244 F181), as in 10.2.17. But there is a serious obstacle to attributing 10.2.17 to Apollodoros. We know from the scholiast to *Iliad* 13.12 (Lewis 46; *FGrHist* 244 F178a) that Apollodoros stated that Samothrace was colonized from Samos 209 years after the Trojan War, whereas in 10.2.17 colonization from Samos is expressly stated to be unhistorical and invented by the Samians to gain glory. Jacoby's explanation of this contradiction, that the scholiast was mistaken and did not realize that Apollodoros rejected the Samian colonization, is complicated and unconvincing.¹⁴

A detailed comparison strengthens the case against Jacoby's attribution. There were apparently two different accounts of the mythical colonization of Samothrace by Samians. In one, attributed to Apollodoros, as we have seen, the colonization is dated 209 years after the Trojan War, i.e., 976/5. The motive given is an oracle from Delphi. In the other, the colonization is the result of a successful Ephesian attack on the Samians, some of whom fled to Samothrace (Paus. 7.4.2–3; Lewis 43). Not only is the motivation different, but also the date. The leader of the Ephesian attack on Samos was Androkles, the founder of Ephesos, which implies a close connection to the Ionian migration, the accepted date of which was 1044/3.¹⁵ Strabo's words in 10.2.17, μετὰ τὴν Ἴωνικὴν ἀποικίαν καὶ τὴν Τεμβρίωνος παρουσίαν, may be taken to show that it is the second story that is referred to here, because Tembrion was a founder of Ionian Samos (Strab.

11. *RE* IV, 1901, col. 2809, s.v. *Demetrios* (78) (E. Schwartz) = Schwartz 1957, p. 108.

12. 10.2.8–10 to ἦν πρότερον Σάμον ἐκάλεσεν, at which point Strabo turns to Apollodoros, who is named; 10.2.13 to Πρώνησος καὶ Κράνιοι, where Strabo turns to his own times; 10.2.14; 10.2.16 to ἀμφίδυμοι, where Strabo turns from Demetrios to Apollodoros.

13. *RE* I, 1894, col. 2869, s.v. *Apollodoros* (61) (E. Schwartz) = Schwartz 1957, p. 272. Prinz (1978, p. 203), oddly, cites this passage of Schwartz to support his opinion that the statement that Samian origin was invented by the Samians to gain glory came from either Apollodoros or Demetrios.

14. See *FGrHist* IID, p. 787, *Kommentar* to 244 F178.

15. See Sakellariou 1958, pp. 307–24.

14.1.3 [C 633]). In that case, it was not Apollodoros's account of the Samian colonization of Samothrace to which Strabo refers in 10.2.17.

The problem could be resolved by assuming that Strabo was still using both authors in 10.2.17. The early part of the chapter could be Apollodoran, while at ἐπεὶ οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ Strabo may have reverted to Demetrios, in order to return to the comparison with Kephallenia, where he did draw on him. The style of argument in the latter part of the chapter is the same as that of the earlier passages attributed to Demetrios. That Demetrios was in general interested in Samothrace is shown by his discussion of the rites of the Cabiri (Strab. 10.3.20 [C 472]; Lewis 163).

The search for lost sources rarely leads to certain conclusions, but if Demetrios of Skepsis is indeed the source for the denial of Samian colonization of Samothrace, the authority of the statement is not enhanced. Schwartz may have judged that Demetrios was not a Fälscher,¹⁶ but he was, for all his learning, a pedant, prepared to use very bad sources and to reach very perverse conclusions. He could, for example, deny that Xerxes dug his Athos canal (Strab. 7 fr. 35 [C 331]),¹⁷ and his treatment of the geography of the Troad notoriously contains forced arguments based on a combination of pedantry and local patriotism.¹⁸

Apart from one dissentient voice of dubious authority, therefore, our few relevant literary sources agree that Samos was the origin of the Greek colony of Samothrace. In recent times, however, that consensus has been rejected. Prinz, for example, argued that the tradition of Samian origin derived from a local historian, who invented the story from nothing more than the name of the island.¹⁹ As we have seen, this is not an adequate assessment of the information in the relevant ancient literary sources. Prinz's discussion is also vitiated by his failure to take into account either the dates or the relative historical worth of those sources.²⁰

OTHER EVIDENCE

A much more serious argument for rejecting the tradition of Samian origin has been proposed by Karl Lehmann and those who have followed him in the *Samothrace* publications.²¹ Lehmann's first argument was based on a fragmentary inscription, found on the city site, the text of which was published by Fraser²² as follows:

```

-----ε . . .5. .ιδ . .
-----ε Σωκλής εὐερ-
[-----τᾶ]ς πόλιος τᾶς Σα-
[μοθράικων-----τοῦ]ς Ἐπικλέους παῖ-
[δας-----Ἡφρα]ιστίωνα καὶ Ἐπι-
-----ἐόντεσσι προξ[ε]-
-----αὐτοῦς π-----
-----

```

The inscription is thought to record a Samothracian decree, and contains two Aeolisms, viz., πόλιος τᾶς and ἐόντεσσι. This inscription has there-

16. *RE* IV, 1901, col. 2812, s.v. *Demetrios* (78) (E. Schwartz) = Schwartz 1957, p. 112.

17. Herodotos's information (7.22–24) has been shown to be correct by recent geophysical investigations; see Isserlin et al. 1996; Blackman 1999–2000, pp. 86–87.

18. Leaf 1916–1918.

19. Prinz 1978, pp. 193–205.

20. Prinz's treatment does not take into account the modern excavations and the publications in the *Samothrace* series. His only mention of archaeological evidence is in his discussion of the city wall, where he cites very old authorities for an erroneous dating; see Prinz 1978, p. 193 with n. 10.

21. Still in *Guide*⁶, p. 19.

22. *Samothrace* 2.1, no. 1. Cf. also the remarks on p. 3.

fore been interpreted as evidence that the colonists of Samothrace were Aeolians. Lehmann's second argument came from the distinctive painted pottery, called G 2–3 ware from the square of the excavations at Troy where it was found, which occurs in quantity at Samothrace and has generally been dated to the first half of the 7th century.²³ On the basis of the places where it has been found, this pottery has been thought to emanate from the Aeolian area. The two arguments led to the received opinion of the *Samothrace* publications that the island was colonized by Aeolian Greeks early in the 7th century B.C. See, for example, the words of Phyllis Lehmann: "The pottery found in this burned, black layer ranged from fine subgeometric ware of the first half of the seventh century B.C. [i.e., the G 2–3 ware] to coarse, handmade vessels. The contrast between the elegant wheelmade kantharoi with their thin fabric and restrained decoration and the crude, undecorated, handmade cups found in this stratum suggests that it was at this period that the Greek-speaking settlers came to Samothrace and mingled and worshiped with the native, Thracian-speaking inhabitants."²⁴

What is the strength of these arguments? It is not at first sight obvious that the fragmentary inscription with Aeolic dialect forms records a Samothracian decree, since it could well be a decree of some other city, which honored a Samothracian citizen and was therefore inscribed at Samothrace. Fraser recognized that possibility, but argued that the restoration Σα[μοθράκιων] is required, because there is no other Aeolian city that begins with Σα. The fragility of the further assumption that the decree must be Samothracian was well exposed by Bernard.²⁵ The city of Samothrace could easily have been named in a decree of another city, which was inscribed at Samothrace. Thus the argument from the Aeolisms in the fragmentary inscription carries no conviction.

That leaves the argument based on the G 2–3 pottery found at Samothrace. This fine painted pottery with attractive Subgeometric decoration has been found at Troy, Lesbos, Lemnos, Thasos, Samothrace, Neapolis, Eion, and Skyros.²⁶ By no means have all these finds been published. In particular, the very important and extensive Lemnian material, discovered by the Italian excavations at Hephaistia and Chloi, has not been fully published, though there are useful summary descriptions by Beschi.²⁷ As a result, the best account of G 2–3 ware as a whole still seems to be that of Bernard in his publication of the finds from the deep soundings at Thasos.²⁸

Bernard divided the G 2–3 pottery at Thasos into two categories, G 2–3 ware proper, which he called "Aeolian G 2–3 ware," and a variety known to have been made on Lemnos, which he called "Lemnian G 2–3 ware." That this variety was made on Lemnos is shown not only by the great quantities found there, but also by technical aspects and by the occurrence of some badly formed or overfired examples.²⁹ There is general agreement that the place of manufacture of Aeolian G 2–3 ware cannot, with our evidence, yet be determined. But that does not matter for our present argument, because all the G 2–3 ware at Samothrace has been identified by Beschi as made on Lemnos.³⁰ At that time Lemnos was inhabited by pre-Greek people who are usually called, on the basis of Thucydides 4.109.4, Tyrrenians. Far from being, as Karl Lehmann thought, the first Hellenic pottery found on Samothrace, the G 2–3 ware found there was not in fact made by Greeks.

23. Beschi (1996, p. 40) thinks that K. Lehmann's date for the G 2–3 pottery at Samothrace is too high.

24. *Samothrace* 5, p. 269.

25. Bernard 1964, p. 92, n. 1.

26. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, pp. 572–574. She was not, however, aware of the find from Skyros, for which see Beschi 1985, pp. 58–59.

27. Beschi 1996, pp. 30–34, 38–41; 1998, pp. 70–75; 2000, pp. 77–79.

28. Bernard 1964, pp. 88–109, followed by Graham 1978, pp. 67–69 (= Graham 2001, pp. 176–177). Consult also M. B. Moore in *Samothrace* 5, pp. 318–371; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992, pp. 572–574; Beschi 1985; 1996; Fisher 1996. Fisher did not know of Koukouli-Chrysanthaki's or Beschi's publications, so she does not mention the finds from Neapolis, Eion, or Skyros, but she has useful information on new finds and contexts at Troy, which come close to stratigraphy, without, however, close dating.

29. See Beschi 1996, p. 39.

30. Beschi 1996, pp. 40–41, accepted by I. Love in the discussion (p. 65).

Both Lehmann's arguments in favor of colonization of Samothrace by Aeolian Greeks are thus shown to have no substance. There are also other possible indications that the Greek colonists were Ionians. A possible indication of Samian origin was acutely seen by Jacoby in the Samothracian eponymous basileus attested on the inscribed lists of theoroi and initiates, because Herodotos dates an event of 6th-century Samian history ἐπὶ Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος (3.59.4).³¹ Jacoby only posed the question, but the idea is worth taking into account.

There is also an important piece of sculptural evidence that supports the tradition of Ionian colonization. This is the well-known Archaic relief, now on permanent display at the Louvre, that bears the figures of Agamemnon, Talthybios, and Epeios, who are named.³² Historians of Greek sculpture date the relief to about 550 B.C.,³³ and the script of the inscriptions was called by L. H. Jeffery "a fine example of eastern Ionic lettering."³⁴ This relief was found on Samothrace and sold to Choiseul-Gouffier about 1790. Its Samothracian provenance is quite certain,³⁵ and C. Fredrich long ago suggested that it supported the tradition of Samian origin.³⁶

We may conclude that the consensus of the ancient literary sources is strengthened by other indications, and not contradicted by any good evidence or arguments, and we should therefore accept that the Greek colonists of Samothrace came from Samos.³⁷

THE DATE OF FOUNDATION

As we saw above, two mythical dates for the Samian colonization of Samothrace are recorded in our literary sources: about 1044/3 (Paus. 7.4.2–3; Lewis 43) and 976/5 (Schol. to *Iliad* 13.12; Lewis 46). These dates have nothing to do with the historical record and may be set aside. The only other apparent date in the literary sources is the one implied by the interval of 700 years given by Herakleides (*Politeiai* 21; Lewis 41; see above). It is uncertain whether this interval separated the Samian colonization from the departure of the Thracians, as Lewis translated, or from their arrival, as in the translation given above, but, in any case, without additional chronological information, the interval does not give us a date for the Samian

31. *FGrHist* IIIb (Noten), p. 281, n. 43. For the lists, see *Samothrace* 2.1, nos. 22 and following.

32. Louvre 697; *IG XII.8* 226.

33. See Richter 1949, p. 96, who dated it ca. 560–550; Boardman (1978, caption to fig. 264) writes "about 550." The serpentlike figure on the right, called a griffin by Boardman, of which we now possess only the spiral emanating from the head, can be clearly seen in Millingen 1826, pl. 1.

34. Jeffery 1990, p. 299.

35. See the unequivocal and circumstantial statement by Dubois

(1818, p. 40, no. 108); cf. Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, p. 108; Bousquet 1948, pp. 112–113, n. 1. Cole (1984, p. 108, n. 64) was wrong to say that the Samothracian provenance is uncertain. She was also misled by a mistake by Bousquet, who stated that, according to S. Reinach, the relief was seen by Cyriacus of Ancona. The relief to which Reinach (1891, p. 90) refers ("Cyriaque d'Ancone . . . signala un bas-relief qui est aujourd'hui au Musée de Louvre") is manifestly the Frieze of the Dancing Maidens (now renamed Choral Dancers), part of which was then in

the Louvre (*Guide*⁶, pp. 123–124 and fig. 33), which was mentioned and illustrated by Cyriacus; see Bodnar and Mitchell 1976, pp. 37–39. The absence of the relief of Agamemnon, Talthybios, and Epeios from Cyriacus is thus completely irrelevant.

36. Fredrich 1909, p. 25.

37. This has been the opinion of good judges; see, e.g., Fredrich 1909, p. 25, and Bernard 1964, p. 92, n. 1, though neither argued the matter in detail. I expressed the same opinion briefly in *CAH* III.3, 2nd ed., pp. 117–118.

colonization.³⁸ Thus the ancient literary sources do not provide us with a historical date of foundation, and we are thrown back on indirect indications and archaeological evidence.

Antiphon's words ὑπὸ τυράννων were thought by Jacoby to be an indirect way of referring to the most famous Samian tyrant, Polykrates.³⁹ Unduly influenced by Jacoby, I once suggested that the foundation probably occurred during the second half of the 6th century.⁴⁰ Since we now have clear evidence for the existence of a tyranny on Samos from early in the 6th century, and we know the names of three tyrants before Polykrates,⁴¹ the chronological implications behind Antiphon's words are much broader than Jacoby thought, and are probably too vague to give a precise date of foundation.

Successively earlier *termini ante quem* for the establishment of the Greek colony may be assembled as follows. Samothrace is certainly Greek during the Persian Wars and at the time when Herodotos wrote. By the end of the 6th century, the community was striking coins, some of which bear an abbreviation of their name in Greek.⁴² It would require very far-fetched and improbable hypotheses to account for the presence of the Archaic relief mentioned above before a Greek community was established on Samothrace, so we may raise the *terminus ante quem* to ca. 550.

When we turn to consider the archaeological evidence for the date of Greek settlement, we can distinguish four areas that have been, at least partly, investigated: the sanctuary, city, countryside, and cemeteries.

The sanctuary. Lehmann gave dates in the Archaic period to several structures in the sanctuary (Fig. 1), but they have all been comprehensively repudiated except that of the so-called Hall of Votive Gifts (Fig. 1:16),⁴³ which has retained the date of ca. 550 B.C., and is now in isolation.⁴⁴ That date was based on architectural considerations and stratigraphy.

The dating by architectural considerations depended on the analogies suggested by Lehmann for his reconstruction of the building.⁴⁵ He thought that these pointed to a 6th-century date, and he opted for 560–540 on the basis of a fragmentary Doric capital.⁴⁶ Lehmann's reconstruction of the original building contained many unusual or unique features.⁴⁷ J. M. Cook described his reconstructed building as "really astonishing,"⁴⁸ and J. J. Coulton commented that "the evidence for the form of the Hall is so fragmentary that Lehmann's fascinating stylistic analysis . . . is largely hypothetical."⁴⁹ Most important, however, was Kuhn's reexamination of all the evidence, and his fundamental reconsideration of the arguments on which Lehmann's reconstruction was based.⁵⁰ This work showed conclusively that the building cannot be reconstructed as Lehmann proposed, and that, far from being a stoa with a colonnade along its west side, it was in fact enclosed on all four sides, and clearly designed for banqueting.

Lehmann's chronological conclusions from architecture thus fall to the ground. The only architectural indication of date seen by Kuhn is the profile of the echinus of a fragment of a Doric capital, which he regarded as Late Archaic.⁵¹

38. Jacoby found the figure 700 inexplicable, and thought it might be corrupt; see *FGrHist* IIIb (Text), p. 475, *Kommentar* to 548, F5b. Prinz (1978, pp. 104–105) did not think there was any reason to see the figure as corrupt, since any number would do for a theory of Thracian origin based on the name Thrake; but we have already seen the weaknesses of his treatment.

39. *FGrHist* IIIb, p. 474, *Kommentar* to 548, F5.

40. *CAH* III.3, 2nd ed., p. 117.

41. See *SEG* XXXVII 729; Tölle-Kastenbein 1976, pp. 34–35; Boardman 1984, no. 320 with comments.

42. See Schwabacher 1938; cf. Schönert-Geiss 1996, pp. 271–272.

43. Compare *Guide*¹, pp. 40–41, with *Guide*⁶, pp. 52–87.

44. Apart from some traces of earlier structures, which, though not dated, are attributed, not always confidently, to Archaic times; see, e.g., *Guide*⁶, p. 85.

45. See *Samothrace* 4.1, pp. 56–73.

46. See *Samothrace* 4.1, pp. 76–79; pl. IV. For the date, see p. 96.

47. See *Samothrace* 4.1, pp. 11–54.

48. Cook 1964, p. 118.

49. Coulton 1976, p. 33, n. 2.

50. Kuhn 1985, pp. 187–199.

51. Kuhn 1985, p. 198; see *Samothrace* 4.1, p. 29, fig. 28.

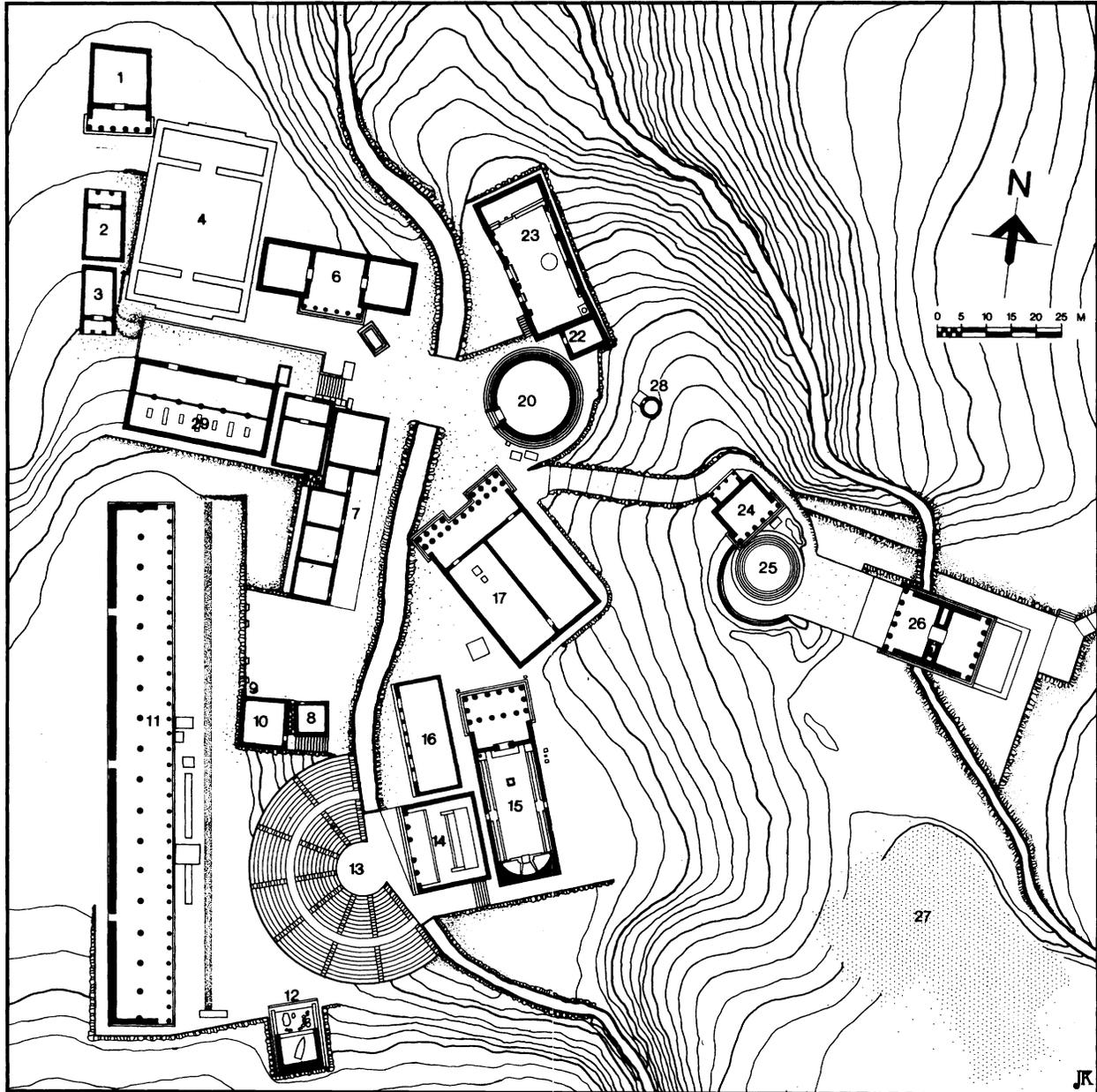


Figure 1. Samothrace. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods:

1-3) Late Hellenistic buildings;
 4) unfinished Early Hellenistic building;
 6) Milesian dedication;
 7) dining rooms; 8) unidentified niche;
 9) archaistic niche;
 10) unidentified niche; 11) Stoa;
 12) Nike Monument; 13) Theater;
 14) Altar Court; 15) Hieron;
 16) Hall of Votive Gifts;

17) Hall of Choral Dancers;
 20) Rotunda of Arsinoe II;
 22) Sacristy; 23) Anaktoron;
 24) dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV;
 25) theatral area;
 26) Propylon of Ptolemy II;
 27) South Cemetery; 29) Neorion.
 After *Guide*⁶, plan IV. Drawing J. Kurtich.
 Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

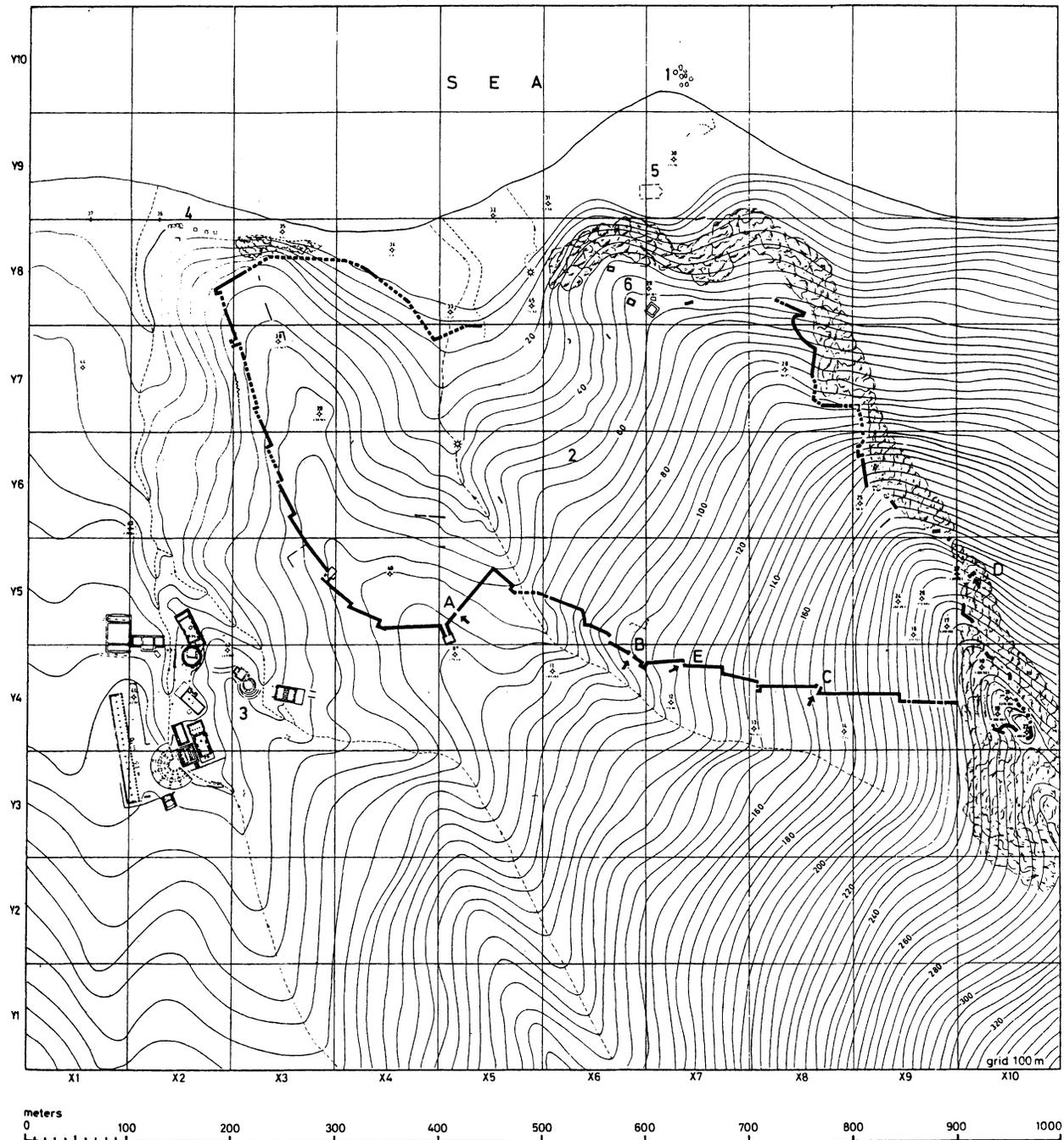


Figure 2. Samothrace. Plan of city and sanctuary: 1) ancient harbor; 2) the city; 3) Sanctuary of the Great Gods; 4) North Cemetery; 5) Early Christian church; 6) 15th-century A.C. fortress of Gattilusi; A–D) wall gates; E) small gate. After Lazaridis 1971, fig. 34. Courtesy Athens Center of Ekistics.

Stratigraphical evidence was provided first by a small amount of pottery recovered from gaps between the large and widely spaced boulders of the foundation.⁵² Twelve sherds of this pottery are described in the catalogue (by Iris C. Love), but they included some of 5th-century character, which were regarded as later intrusions.⁵³ The second stratigraphical evidence came from under the floor in the northern half of the building, which was dated to the end of the 5th century by the latest pottery found beneath it.⁵⁴ All the pottery found under the floor was assumed to be from earlier votive gifts stored in the building, and some of it went back to the 6th century.⁵⁵ Kuhn, on the other hand, who regarded this pottery as the sole stratigraphical evidence, decided, on the grounds that no evidence of an earlier floor was discovered, that the stratigraphy pointed to a construction date for the building near the end of the 5th century. The fragmentary Doric capital mentioned above, however, led him to conclude that the building was erected about the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th, and provided with a new floor about 100 years later.⁵⁶

The early date given to the Hall of Votive Gifts is, therefore, extremely insecure, and there is no building in the sanctuary that has a confirmed Archaic date. In any case, it is probably vain to hope for good evidence from the sanctuary for the date of the Greek colonization. The area has been excavated officially several times,⁵⁷ not to mention its being the target of illicit digging, and J. R. McCredie once informed me that he had “found no stratum anywhere, in more than a dozen years of digging, that is earlier than the middle of the fifth century B.C.”⁵⁸ Plenty of 6th-century Greek pottery exists among the finds from the sanctuary, but that is at best only indirect testimony to the date of the Greek colonization.

The city. To turn to the city, it was situated on a strong, well-watered site in the northwest of the island, and had a small harbor (Fig. 2).⁵⁹ There has been a little archaeological work in the harbor, but the structures discovered were assumed to be of Roman date.⁶⁰ There was also a little work done on the city site as a whole in 1938, but nothing earlier than the Hellenistic period was found.⁶¹ More recently, a few sherds of G 2–3 ware were found by chance on the Acropolis.⁶² Since 1995 excavations have been conducted on the city site, but the only structures so far reported date to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Some sherds of G 2–3 pottery were also found.⁶³ The magnificent standing city wall has been dated, at least in part, to the Archaic period, on the basis of its “Cyclopean” style,⁶⁴ but there are strong reasons to assign the whole construction to Hellenistic times.⁶⁵ So the city site has apparently yet to yield the information on the Archaic period that it surely possesses.

The countryside. The only site in the countryside (Fig. 3) that offers any information likely to bear on the question of the colonial foundation date is the rural shrine of Mandal’ Panagia. This remote mountain site, where Dimitri Matsas has recently conducted excavations, was first investigated in the 19th century by a local inhabitant, Nikolaos Fardys. His finds were seen and in part described by Otto Kern.⁶⁶ Later, some of the finds came to the Museum of Art in Bonn, and a selection of these were

52. *Samothrace* 4.1, p. 110.

53. *Samothrace* 4.1, pp. 117–122.

54. *Samothrace* 4.1, p. 110, but some of the pottery was later thought by Love to be of early-4th-century date; see p. 123.

55. *Samothrace* 4.1, pp. 123–154, cat. nos. 13–104.

56. Kuhn 1985, pp. 197–198.

57. *Guide*⁶, pp. 46–47.

58. Letter of 27 April 1977.

59. See Lazaridis 1971, p. 19.

60. Bouzek and Ondrejova 1985, p. 142 and fig. 113.

61. See Lehmann-Hartleben 1939, pp. 141–145.

62. See *Samothrace* 5, p. 320, n. 15; p. 344, *ad no.* 23.

63. *Guide*⁶, pp. 173–176; Karadima 1995.

64. E.g., Lazaridis 1971, pp. 19, 83; Scranton 1941, pp. 31–33 and 161, A.4.11; *Guide*⁶, p. 19.

65. See Schrig 1927. Lawrence (1979, p. 353) is hardly very persuasive with his “conjectural dating of shortly after 350,” in view of his extraordinary reason: “no one before Philip (II) would have built a fortification wall over a kilometre in length around the town of the non-Greek islanders.”

66. Kern 1893, pp. 381–384; see also *Guide*⁶, pp. 178–179; Matsas, Karadima, and Koutsoumanis 1993.

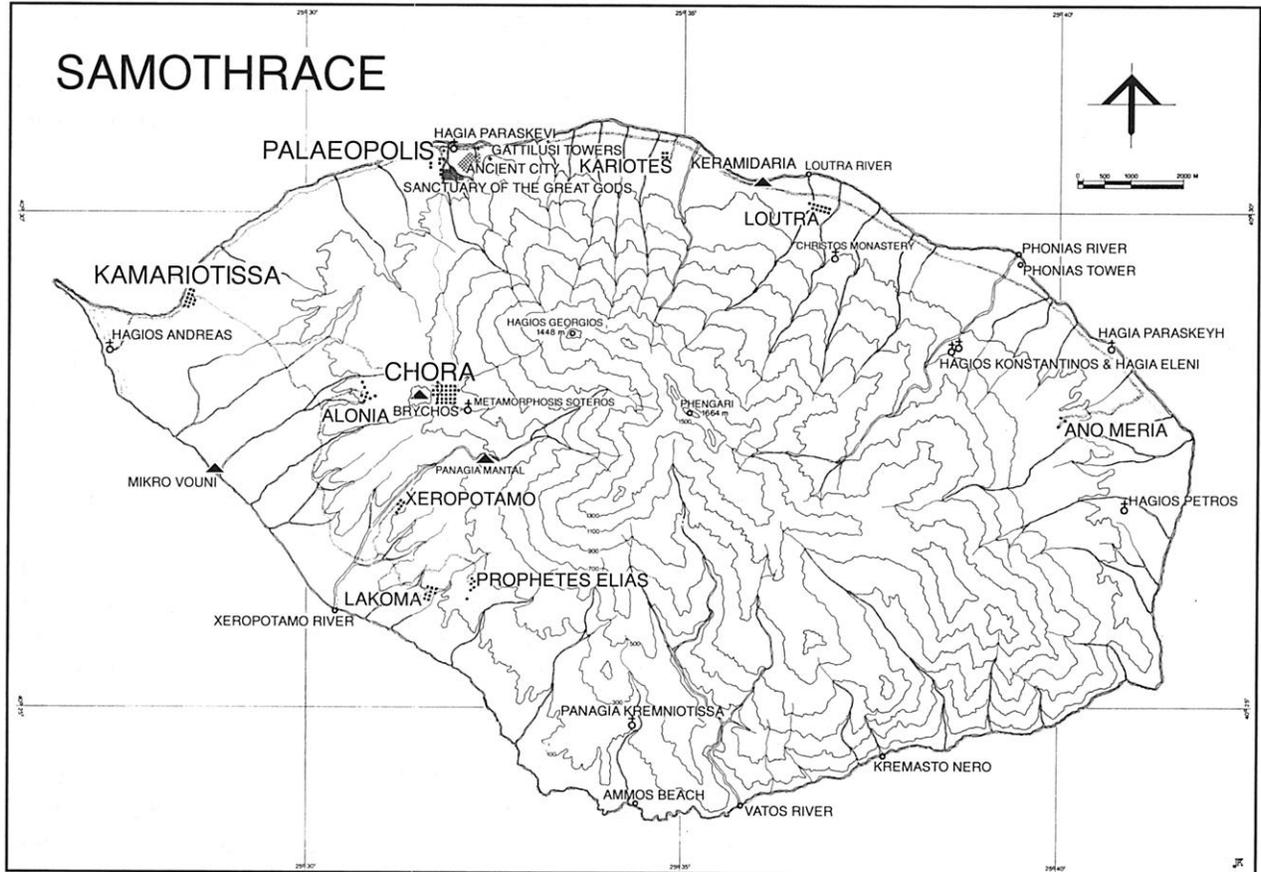


Figure 3. Map of Samothrace.

After *Guide*⁶, plan II. Drawing J. Kurtich. Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

described by Carl Fredrich.⁶⁷ To these we can now add the much more numerous finds of Matsas, recovered by surface exploration and regular excavation. A large proportion of the finds are easily recognizable as Greek dedications, and the very numerous terracotta female heads are characteristic offerings to a Greek goddess. The letters ΙΔΙ on a statue base found by Fardys nearby⁶⁸ have invited the restoration Ἀρτέμιδι, and form the basis for the tentative identification of the shrine's goddess as Artemis.⁶⁹ The earliest of these dedications date to the 6th century, and that is taken as the time when Greek worship at the shrine began.

The cemeteries. Two cemeteries at Samothrace have been partly excavated, the North Cemetery (Fig. 2:4) in the area outside the northwest corner of the ancient city, and the South Cemetery (Fig. 1:27), which lies close to the sanctuary, to the east of the southeast corner of the Hieron and to the south of the Propylon of Ptolemy.⁷⁰

The term North Cemetery can now be taken to include the various cemeteries in the area separately designated by Dusenbery as Hotel (H), Area K (K), Road (R), and Waterpipe (W).⁷¹ The earliest graves from the North Cemetery known to Dusenbery dated from the middle of the 5th century,⁷² but we now have a much earlier burial,⁷³ which will be considered below. The pattern of use in the North Cemetery seems to have been entirely normal for an ancient Greek cemetery.⁷⁴

In the South Cemetery, by contrast, the pattern of use was most abnormal. "A roughly rectangular area less than three hundred meters square"

67. Fredrich 1909.

68. *IG* XII.8 234.

69. The letters MI on a plain Roman sherd discovered by Matsas could also belong to the name Artemis; see Matsas, Karadima, and Koutsoumanis 1993, p. 650.

70. *Guide*⁶, pp. 91–94.

71. See *Samothrace* 11, p. 5. Thus two cemeteries only, North and South, are distinguished by Karadima and Koutsoumanis (1992), who include Dusenbery's H cemetery in the North Cemetery (p. 677, n. 2).

72. *Samothrace* 11, pp. 9, 438–443.

73. Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992.

74. See *Samothrace* 11, p. 6.

was extraordinarily crowded with graves, and continually used, reused, and overused.⁷⁵ Old graves were frequently disturbed and their contents dispersed by more recent burials, as the contents of the fill of the cemetery revealed.⁷⁶ In some cases the ash containers of earlier graves were carefully placed in groups, called by Dusenbery “accumulations,” by the diggers of later graves.⁷⁷ When the prevailing burial rite changed from cremation to inhumation during the 4th century B.C., new earth was brought in to raise the level of the cemetery area.⁷⁸ These circumstances make it impossible to associate all the material found with specific graves, and Dusenbery uses the letter X to designate pieces that cannot be attributed to a grave group, but which she includes in her catalogue of material by categories.⁷⁹ In addition, large quantities of sherds from the South Cemetery, which are preserved in the Samothrace Museum, are not mentioned in the final publication.⁸⁰

The exceptional pattern of use of the South Cemetery shows that burial there was seen as especially important and desirable, and Dusenbery’s assumption that that was connected with its proximity to the sanctuary seems very likely to be correct. On the other hand, as she rightly emphasizes, nothing about the occupants or character of the individual graves distinguishes them from those in graves elsewhere at Samothrace, so only guesses can be made about the possibility that burial in the South Cemetery was reserved for a distinct group.⁸¹

Dusenbery notes that “cremation was, with few exceptions, the method of disposal in the S Nekropolis during the sixth, fifth, and parts of the fourth century.”⁸² After the body was burned, the ashes were placed in a large ceramic vessel and one or more smaller pots were frequently also deposited in the grave. Dusenbery dates twenty of these cremation graves, nos. S1–S20, to the second quarter of the 6th century, and thinks that to be the time when the South Cemetery began to be used.⁸³ She has thus abandoned her earlier date, in the 7th century, which she once thought was indicated by the Lemnian stamnoi used as ash containers in some of the early graves, S2–S5 (though the last is called “?Lemnian”).⁸⁴ Although these stamnoi may not be closely datable, it does seem possible that they were made in the first half of the 6th century,⁸⁵ the date indicated by the best evidence in these early graves, the Attic pots in S1 (ca. 570), S7 (ca. 560), S9 (ca. 550), and S10 (“?Attic lekaniis,” ca. 550). Although the non-Attic pots in these graves cannot be as securely dated, they can reasonably be attributed to approximately the same period.

Since Dusenbery completed her text,⁸⁶ another early grave has been reported, this time in the North Cemetery. It is an infant’s grave for which an SOS amphora was used as the container.⁸⁷ These distinctive transport amphoras were produced from the late 8th century into the 6th.⁸⁸ It is generally believed that production ceased sometime before 566, as Panathenaic amphoras were modeled on the *à la brosse* type, which replaced the SOS. The depiction of an SOS on the François Vase, however, which is normally dated ca. 570, and some finds in the West, suggest that the SOS was still around in the second quarter of the 6th century.⁸⁹ Alan Johnston informs me⁹⁰ that, while the Samothracian amphora is not closely datable, it is similar to one associated in an Etruscan grave at Cerveteri with painted pottery of the second quarter of the 6th century.⁹¹ We may

75. *Samothrace* 11 p. 6.

76. *Samothrace* 11, p. 8.

77. *Samothrace* 11, pp. 8, 1169–1173.

78. *Samothrace* 11, p. 8.

79. *Samothrace* 11, p. xxiii, and vol. 2, passim.

80. *Samothrace* 11, pp. xxiv, no. 7.

Thus the fragments of large “karchesia” (see below) mentioned by Love (1964, pp. 213, n. 54, 221, n. 92) do not appear in *Samothrace* 11, pp. 743–744.

81. See *Samothrace* 11, pp. 3, 6–8.

82. *Samothrace* 11, p. 7.

83. *Samothrace* 11, pp. 6, 702.

84. See Dusenbery 1967, pp. 117, 122.

85. See *Samothrace* 11, pp. 701–702; Beschi 1985, p. 52.

86. See *Samothrace* 11; Dusenbery’s preface is dated 1994.

87. See Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1992, which did not appear until 1995.

88. See Johnston and Jones 1978; for the dating, see pp. 103, 133.

89. See Johnston and Jones 1978, p. 133, and, for the date of the François Vase, Cook 1997, p. 73.

90. In a letter dated 22 January 1996.

91. See Rizzo 1990, pp. 68–70, figs. 92 and 363.



Figure 4. Grave S252, as excavated.
After *Samothrace* 11, p. 410. Courtesy
Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.



**Figure 5. Restored karchesion,
S252.1. H. 0.087 m.** After *Samo-
thrace* 11, p. 410. Courtesy Institute of
Fine Arts, New York University.

conclude that this grave, though certainly one of the earliest found at Samothrace, is not necessarily earlier than the earliest graves discovered previously. It does, however, show that these early burials were not confined to the South Cemetery.

An exception to the rule that all of the early graves in the South Cemetery were cremations seems to be presented by grave S252, an inhumation of a young adult male in a pithos found in situ (Fig. 4). The grave contained one pot, the special sort of kantharos that we may follow Love in calling a karchesion (Fig. 5).⁹² The fabric of this vase identifies it as G 2–3 ware.⁹³ Dusenbery originally thought that the sherds belonging to this vessel had been swept into the pithos during a later period,⁹⁴ but she evidently changed her mind and decided that the karchesion was part of the original assemblage of the grave.

Dusenbery included this grave in her category “Burials of Uncertain Date,” but she calls it “probably Classical.” Such a date is not consistent

92. Love 1964. Love expressed her pleasure that Beschi (1996, discussion, p. 65) has adopted her term, but it is not universally accepted. While Gebauer (1992, pp. 79–80) uses it in reference to the finds at Assos, Stupperich (1990, p. 22) proposed instead the use of Homer’s words, *depas amphikypellon*, and he has been followed by Utili (1999, nos. 685–690).

93. *Samothrace* 11, p. 744. Love (1964, p. 207, with n. 22) provides a fuller description of the vessel than Dusenbery’s at pp. 410, 744.

94. As reported in Love 1964, p. 217, n. 75.

with the chronological indicators for the karchesion. It may well be true that in a general sense the shape had a very long life,⁹⁵ but the particular examples found at Samothrace can be placed in a reasonably restricted chronological range. Love used comparable examples from other sites to date the Samothracian karchesia from the last decades of the 7th century to the middle of the 6th,⁹⁶ but Beschi found numerous examples on Lemnos in the destruction levels of the sanctuary at Hephaistia and the Cabirion at Chloi. At the former site the destruction level was dated, chiefly by Attic pottery, to the last decades of the 6th century, and Beschi concluded that the destruction of both sanctuaries was the work of the Persians, when they attacked the island in about 512/11.⁹⁷ His discoveries have shown, therefore, that Love's lower terminus was too high, and that these karchesia were in use throughout the 6th century.⁹⁸ Dusenbery's designation of "probably Classical" is clearly impossible. The karchesion dates the grave, and that date must be the late 7th century to the end of the 6th. It is thus a unique early adult inhumation among the very numerous Samothracian cremation graves so far excavated.

The karchesion is not the only exceptional feature associated with grave S252. Dusenbery notes that the top of the skeleton's cranium had been "split away," and the top of another human cranium was also contained in the grave. These features are clearly visible in Figure 4.⁹⁹ Other examples of post-mortem mutilation of bodies are found in the South Cemetery, but they occur in graves so much later in date that they cannot serve as parallels for S252. In any event, no other case of this treatment of the skull was found, nor of the presence of another cranium.¹⁰⁰ In her comments on the grave, Dusenbery aptly stated that the treatment of the skulls "recalls the famous Scythian custom related by Herodotos 4.65," and there are Thracian parallels for the presence of other bodies or parts of bodies in graves.¹⁰¹ It is often thought that such Thracian burials show that suttee was practiced, which is attested for some Thracians by Herodotos (5.5).¹⁰² We can only agree with Dusenbery's comment that "there is no certain explanation of the mysterious circumstances" in grave S252, but of one thing we can be confident: this was surely not a Greek grave. This is a very interesting fact, which inevitably stimulates speculation, but a single grave is an insufficient basis for historical hypothesis.

Although grave S252 must be among the early graves discovered at Samothrace, the dating indication of the karchesion is too wide for us to conclude with confidence that it is among the earliest. Those are the burials placed by Dusenbery in the second quarter of the 6th century. This is the most reliable evidence that we at present possess for the date of the Greek colonization of Samothrace. It is also in agreement with the other chronological indications we have found: Antiphon's Samian tyranny; the relief of Agamemnon, Talthybios, and Epeios; the offerings at Mandal' Panagia; and the earliest evidence for Greek use of the sanctuary. For the moment, therefore, we can think of a foundation date for the Greek colony in the first half of the 6th century, but it is obviously possible that that date might be superseded by new archaeological discoveries.

95. As *Samothrace* 11, p. 744.

96. Love 1964, pp. 212–215.

97. Beschi 1996, pp. 33–34;

Di Vita 1979–1980, pp. 444–445.

The destruction of the sanctuary at Hephaistia had already been dated to 512/11 by Mustilli (1940, pp. 157–158).

98. Beschi 1996, pp. 34, 43; Beschi 2000, p. 77.

99. See *Samothrace* 11, pp. 409–410.

100. See *Samothrace* 11, pp. 35–39, where S252 is not even mentioned.

101. See Archibald 1998, pp. 61–63. The best example seems to be grave 15 at Ravna.

102. See Archibald 1998, pp. 174–176.

GREEKS AND NON-GREEKS

IDENTITY OF PRECOLONIAL INHABITANTS

The first question in the discussion of the relations between the Greek colonists and the non-Greek population must be, who were those non-Greeks? The literary sources for the pre-Greek inhabitants of Samothrace are very divergent. Diodoros (5.47.2) says that the original inhabitants were autochthonous, and so there was no tradition about them or their leaders. As we saw in the first section above, according to Ps.Scymnus they were Trojans by descent but called Thracians from their location; according to the Aristotelian *politeia* they were Thracians; and according to Herodotos, Pelasgians. Herodotos, who had himself been to the island, would normally have the greatest authority, but the historical identity of the Pelasgians is very hard to pin down, and a strong argument can be made that they are largely a construct of Greek historiography.¹⁰³

The literary sources also differ on the question of whether these pre-Greek inhabitants were present when the Greeks arrived. According to Ps.Scymnus they were; according to the Aristotelian *politeia* they had left before the Greeks arrived, with a time interval that, as we have seen, cannot be understood; while Herodotos cannot be pressed. His statement that the Samothracians took over the cult of the Great Gods from the Pelasgians, who lived there *πρότερον*, implies that the Pelasgians were present when the Greeks arrived, but, apart from the general uncertainty about the Pelasgians, Herodotos is clearly more interested in the takeover of cult than any historical coexistence.

There is also some archaeological evidence for the precolonial inhabitants of Samothrace. The best-investigated site is Mikro Vouni (Fig. 3). Here a section 9 m deep through a small tell by the sea on the southwest coast of the island uncovered continuous occupation from the Neolithic, in the 5th millennium B.C., to the Middle Bronze Age in the second.¹⁰⁴ Very important though the discoveries are, they are clearly too early to contribute to the present discussion.

Closer in time to the Greek colonization, but still a long way before it, is the Iron Age settlement on the hill of Vrychos, near the modern town of Chora (Fig. 3). The evidence is not rich, but the traces of the fortification on the summit of the hill, and of habitations lower down, appear to be similar to some on the Thracian mainland, and some of the pottery has similar connections. The site is taken to date from the 11th century B.C.¹⁰⁵ The clearest evidence that the inhabitants were Thracians are the megalithic, so-called dolmen, tombs at Gialomandra, on the northern slopes of Vrychos.¹⁰⁶ Similar tombs have been recorded in large numbers in parts of Thrace; they belong to the Early Iron Age.¹⁰⁷

At Mandal' Panagia (Fig. 3), in addition to the plentiful evidence of Greek worship mentioned above, surface finds included handmade pottery with incised decoration of "Thracian" type and bronze fibulas dating to the 8th and 7th centuries. These finds are taken to show that the sanctuary was used by a Thracian population before the Greek colonization.¹⁰⁸ If that is right, Mandal' Panagia provides a little information about the inhabitants of the island in the period immediately preceding that colonization. The chronology at Mandal' Panagia is roughly the same as the chronology of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods,¹⁰⁹ where coarse handmade pottery,

103. See Lloyd 1976, pp. 232–234, 240–241, *ad Hdt.* 2.50.2, 51.1. Cf. Hall 1997, 72: "... Pelasgians—a name which occurs throughout Greece and which would appear to be used without any particularly precise application to indicate a population that was believed to be aboriginal."

104. See *Guide*⁶, pp. 165–169; Matsas 1984; 1991.

105. See *Guide*⁶, pp. 169–173.

106. *Guide*⁶, pp. 169–170; Moutsopoulos 1989, pp. 246–249; Andrioti 1929 (= Andrioti 1976); Moutsopoulou and Dimitrokalli 1988.

107. See Archibald 1998, pp. 64–66.

108. See *Guide*⁶, pp. 178–179; Matsas, Karadima, and Koutsoumanis 1993.

109. See Matsas, Karadima, and Koutsoumanis 1993.

some of which had incised decoration, was also found.¹¹⁰ It appears, therefore, as is only to be expected, that the same population was worshipping at the same time at both sanctuaries.

Finally, as we have seen, grave S252 may have held a Thracian burial. The archaeological evidence for the precolonial inhabitants found to date is much less than we would ideally want, but what we have suggests that they were Thracians. If both the literary and the archaeological evidence are less than satisfactory, we need to turn to religion and language, which are partly intertwined.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

As we saw in the first section above, the mystery cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace is stated by Herodotos to be rites of the Cabiri, which the Greeks took over from the Pelasgians. Demetrios of Skepsis, following his usual tendency, denied the connection of the Cabiri with Samothrace, using the argument from silence that there was no mythical story about the Cabiri at Samothrace.¹¹¹ He did, however, report that Stesimbrotos of Thasos, who was a contemporary of Herodotos, stated that the Samothracian rites were for the Cabiri.¹¹² In modern times, Hemberg denied that the cult was of the Cabiri, primarily on the basis of another argument from silence, that their name has not been found on any extant inscriptions from Samothrace. He suggested that Herodotos was following his normal method of *interpretatio*.¹¹³ Hemberg has been followed,¹¹⁴ but his argument does not seem good, since it requires the rejection of our two earliest authorities, both of whom had good reason to know the truth.¹¹⁵ In addition, there are representations of the Cabiri with pointed caps on Archaic coins of Samothrace.¹¹⁶ While Hemberg could not know of this numismatic evidence, those who followed him could.

It is important too that the cult of the Cabiri was practiced on the neighboring islands of Lemnos and Imbros.¹¹⁷ Although the Italian excavations of the sanctuary of the Cabiri at Chloi on Lemnos have not been fully published, we know that the cult was already flourishing by the first half of the 7th century, and that the most common ceramic finds throughout the 7th and 6th centuries were drinking vessels (including karchesia), some of which were G 2–3 ware.¹¹⁸ Beschi concludes that libations played a very important part in the cult of the Cabiri on Lemnos.¹¹⁹ That these vessels were also dedicatory offerings is indicated by the presence on many of them of graffiti and dipinti, which are in the language used by the Tyrrhenians, the pre-Greek inhabitants of Lemnos, and called, therefore, Tyrrhenian.¹²⁰ By comparison with the brief Greek graffiti found on vases used by the later Greek inhabitants of Lemnos, which are dedicatory or indications of divine ownership, Beschi concludes that the earlier, Tyrrhenian, inscriptions were of the same type. In the cult at Samothrace, the same vessels were used during the same period, and the same types of graffiti are found (see below). It is hard to doubt that the cult at Samothrace was the same as that of the Cabiri practiced on the neighboring islands, which are very close geographically and well in sight of Samothrace.¹²¹

There is thus strong support for the literary evidence that the cult at Samothrace was of the Cabiri. That may be the truth that lies behind Herodotos's statement that the Samothracian cult of the Cabiri was taken

110. *Samothrace* 5, pp. 378–382.

111. Strab. 10.3.20 (C 472).

112. *FGrHist* 107 F20.

113. See Hemberg 1950, esp. pp. 73–81.

114. As by Lloyd 1976, pp. 241–242; Cole 1984, pp. 1–2.

115. In his later discussion, Burkert (1993) recognized that, and accepted the cult of the Cabiri; earlier, he had expressed doubt: see Burkert 1985, pp. 282–285.

116. See Schwabacher 1952.

117. See Hemberg 1950, pp. 160–170 for Lemnos; pp. 37–43 for Imbros.

118. Beschi 1996, pp. 38–41; 2000, pp. 77–79.

119. Beschi 2000, pp. 77–79.

120. Beschi 1996, pp. 43–48; 2000, pp. 77–78.

121. Beschi (1996, pp. 40–41) gives reasons why the Lemnian cult may have predated that at Samothrace. Nevertheless, he sees the cult at Samothrace as originally Thracian with Lemnian borrowings. Apart from the pottery and graffiti, he believes that the figure of Kadmilos at Samothrace was borrowed from Lemnos, where he is part of the genealogy of the Cabiri. That genealogy is given by Strabo (10.3.21 [C 472]), following Demetrios of Skepsis (named at 10.3.20 [C 472] and 21 [C 473]). Preferable, however, is the interpretation of Jacoby, who regards Kadmilos as a Samothracian element inserted into a genealogy of the Cabiri invented by Greeks for a cult to which such genealogizing was foreign (*FGrHist* I, p. 378, *Kommentar* to 2 F20).

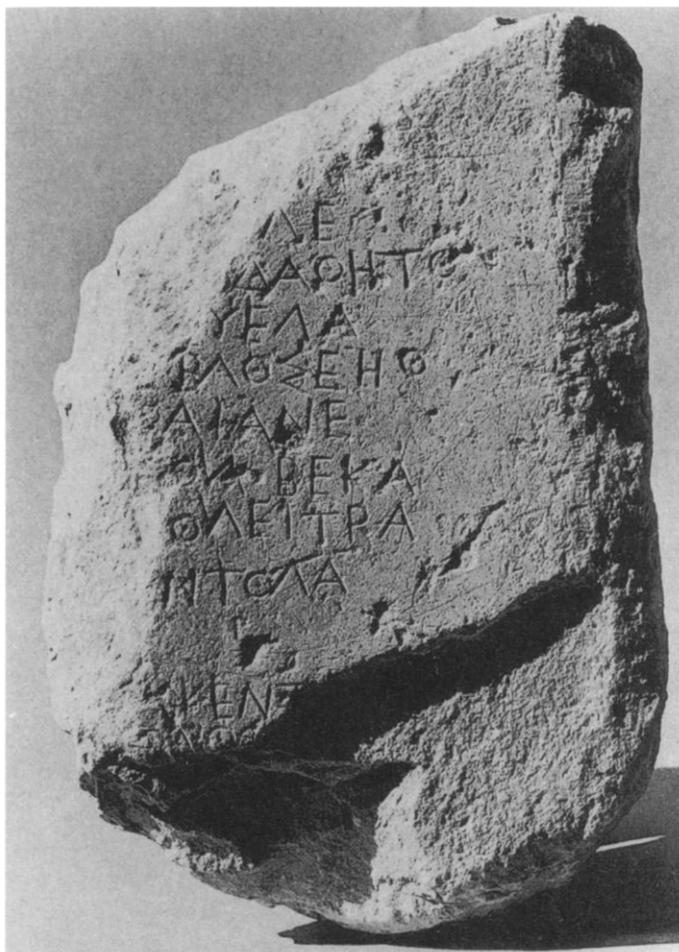


Figure 6. Inscription in non-Greek language. After *Samothrace* 2.1, pl. XXV, no. 64. Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

over from the Pelasgians (see above), since Herodotos called the Tyrrhenian population of Lemnos Pelasgians.¹²² In any case, it is clear that the Greek colonists of Samothrace took over a pre-Greek cult. The same conclusion follows from the existence of a non-Greek language at Samothrace.

EVIDENCE FROM INSCRIPTIONS

A relatively large number of graffiti have been found on pottery from various areas of the excavations. Some of these are straightforwardly Greek, but others, although written in the Greek script, do not make sense as Greek.¹²³ They cannot be examples of the nonsense inscriptions often found on Greek vases; they were all incised after the pots were fired; they have no decorative quality;¹²⁴ and the constant repetition of the same groups of letters shows that they made sense. There is also one inscription on stone, where the Greek letters do not make sense as Greek (Fig. 6).¹²⁵

It is necessary, first, to consider attempts that have been made to read some of these inscriptions as Greek. Oikonomides¹²⁶ began from his interpretation of Diodoros 5.47.3: ἐσχίκασι δὲ παλαιὰν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον οἱ αὐτόχθονες, ἧς πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μέχρη τοῦ νῦν τηρεῖται. He stated

122. Hdt. 6.136.2–140; cf. Thuc. 4.109.4; see Lloyd 1976, pp. 232–234, 240–241.

123. The pot graffiti known up to that time were published by Lehmann in *Samothrace* 2.2.

124. As Lehmann, in *Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 22, 61.

125. *Samothrace* 2.1, no. 64.

126. Oikonomides 1978, pp. 159–161.

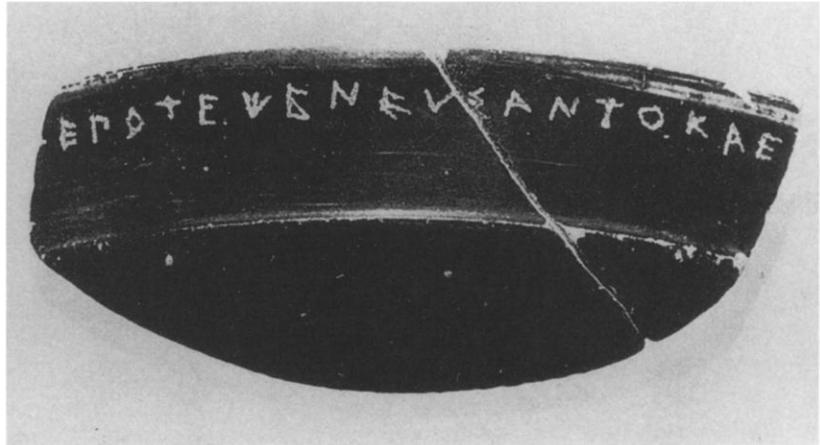


Figure 7. Graffito in non-Greek language. After *Samothrace 2.2*, pl. I, no. 1. Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

that *διάλεκτον* cannot mean language, so must imply a dialect of Greek. But that is simply false, as the article in LSJ, s.v. *διάλεκτος*, shows. Oikonomides read Lehmann's no. 1 (Fig. 7) as [τένδ]ε ποτέ Ψενεὺς Ἄντοκλέ[ους ἀνέθεκεν]. For this reading two names and two arbitrary supplements were required. It was also necessary to take the seventh preserved letter, which Lehmann took as beta,¹²⁷ as epsilon, which it certainly is not. There are perfectly clear epsilons in the text. Oikonomides also proposed to read the ΔΕΝΤΟΛΕ/ΔΙΝΤΟΛΕ inscriptions¹²⁸ as δέν τόδε. The word δέν is assumed to be the neuter of δείς δενός, meaning no one or no thing (see LSJ, s.v.), which would give no intelligible sense.¹²⁹

Although Georgiev accepted that many of Lehmann's graffiti on pottery are in a non-Greek language, probably Thracian,¹³⁰ he also read Lehmann's no. 1 as Greek. He proposed the reading μ' ἐπ(οίησε or οίει) ὁ τεχνεὺς Ἄντοκ[λ]έ[ης]. His suggested abbreviation is unparalleled, and τεχνεὺς is an invented word supposed to be equivalent to τεχνίτης. Like Oikonomides, he also read the seventh preserved letter as epsilon. Georgiev also read the stone inscription as Greek and interpreted it as a thanks-for-cure inscription, the main basis for which was his understanding of βεκα in line 7¹³¹ as the accusative of Attic βήξ meaning cough! Not surprisingly, he silently withdrew this suggestion from his later work, while still regarding the inscription as Greek. In order to read the inscription as Greek, however, he had to suggest Greek words that are very far-fetched and improbable, even with the help of his supplements.

These attempts should, therefore, be seen as very unconvincing. There is inevitably some residual uncertainty about the language of the most abbreviated inscriptions, though even these can in most cases be identified by the longer versions of what are obviously the same designations. We may thus confidently accept that most of the non-Greek inscriptions represent a different language, even if we cannot certainly determine what that language was.

Lehmann himself argued that the non-Greek language is Thracian.¹³² The Samothracian inscriptions are, however, restricted in scope and the comparative Thracian material is very meager. In a careful discussion, Bonfante compared the frequencies of letters, diphthongs, and consonant

127. *Samothrace 2.2*, p. 45, no. 1.

The forms of beta in Greek alphabets are very varied; cf. Jeffery 1990, p. 23.

128. *Samothrace 2.2*, pp. 47–52.

129. It is surprising that Cole (1984, pp. 107–108, n. 79) suggests that Oikonomides offers serious criticism of Lehmann.

130. See Georgiev 1977, pp. 143–151, which largely repeats what he wrote in his earlier book, Georgiev 1957, pp. 31–39.

131. Line 6 in Fraser's text:

Samothrace 2.1, no. 64.

132. *Samothrace 2.2*, pp. 8–13.

clusters, and decided that, while the language could not be Greek, Tyrrhenian, or Etruscan, it could well be Indo-European and, more specifically, Thracian.¹³³

Apart from a few items in well-dated graves,¹³⁴ none of the inscribed pottery came from closed deposits, and many of the sherds are not sufficiently distinctive to be datable. A substantial number of sherds, however, do belong to well-known categories of vases that can be dated. Imported vessels, in particular, are useful chronologically.¹³⁵ While dating by the letter forms of such informal inscriptions is necessarily even more uncertain than usual, the pottery dates are sufficient to establish the chronology of the material in general and, in particular, the relative dating of the Greek and non-Greek graffiti. Lehmann himself did not generally give dates of the individual items in his corpus, but he followed a chronological order within his various groups,¹³⁶ and he made a general statement about the chronology of the material: “apart from some few Θ and ΘE inscriptions on vases, our excavations have yielded hardly any archaic or even fifth-century Greek ceramic inscriptions, while the majority of the non-Greek inscriptions listed above are from these periods, in which the use of the idiom for such purposes seems to have prevailed in the Sanctuary.”¹³⁷ The dating of the individual items he left for their republication in the catalogues of the various areas of the excavation.¹³⁸ It is a rather laborious task to find the items in Lehmann’s corpus that have been republished in later pottery catalogues, so I present a list in the appendix. By my count, 82 of his items have been so republished, and their dates provide as a whole strong support for Lehmann’s chronological generalization.

Some differences and other points of interest in the pottery catalogues should, however, be noted. The catalogues of Love, Kopcke, and Dusenbery are here treated in turn,¹³⁹ and account is taken, not only of the republications of items from Lehmann’s corpus, but also of other pottery graffiti, which were not known to Lehmann.

Love makes an important downdating of Lehmann’s no. 1 (L1), a non-Greek inscription, which he put before 550 on the basis of the letter forms; see her A-A33.¹⁴⁰ The vase is an Attic glazed kylix of a type which had a “great vogue in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.” She has two inscriptions securely dated in the 6th century, nos. V-A9 and A-A36 (L40 and L15). The vases are Attic kylikes of later 6th-century date. Two Ionian or local mortars, Love’s V-A6 and V-A7 (L12 and L13), are assigned to the 6th or 5th centuries, but solely on the basis of the letter forms of the inscriptions. Of the presumed Greek inscriptions, her H-150 (not in Lehmann’s corpus) is a fragment of a local unglazed beaker(?), and is dated to the 6th or 5th centuries on the basis of the form of the epsilon, which is the only letter inscribed. Love has an important note on L103, although it is not republished in her catalogues; Lehmann thought this might be of the 6th century, which would make it very early for a Greek inscription, but Love thought it was “probably of later date.”¹⁴¹

Lehmann dated his no. 18, a non-Greek inscription, to the 5th–4th centuries B.C., but Kopcke placed it in the second half of the 4th century.¹⁴² This is a fairly late date for a non-Greek inscription. Kopcke also lowered the date of one of the Greek inscriptions, L98; see R-303. This is on part of an Attic lamp, and was dated to the 5th century by Lehmann, but Kopcke dated such “disk lamps” to the 4th century.¹⁴³

133. Bonfante 1955. Lehmann (*Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 9–11) presented slightly revised statistics of Bonfante’s frequencies.

134. *Samothrace* 11, S103.1, S119.1, S128.1, S130.13, S178.1, H1.1, H9.1, H9.2, H14.1, H17.1, H17.H.

135. Cole (1984, p. 11) was incorrect when she wrote that all the inscribed ceramic dedications were of local manufacture.

136. See *Samothrace* 2.2, p. 5.

137. *Samothrace* 2.2, p. 62. The Θ and ΘE inscriptions are abbreviations of $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ and by far the most common of the Greek inscriptions; see *Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 21–23; *Samothrace* 3, pp. 211–214.

138. That is what is meant by his statement (*Samothrace* 2.2, p. 6) that his dates must be taken for granted for the time being, which Cole (1984, p. 108, n. 88) appears to have misunderstood when she cites it in order to throw doubt on Lehmann’s chronology.

139. For these catalogues, see the appendix below.

140. L = Lehmann; for other abbreviations used in this section, see the appendix below.

141. *Samothrace* 2.2, p. 21; *Samothrace* 3, p. 211, n. 5.

142. See Lehmann 1955, p. 98, no. 12; and *Samothrace* 7, pp. 298–299, where Kopcke states that none of the Attic or Atticizing low bowls, on one of which this graffito (R-110) was incised, need be earlier than the middle of the 4th century.

143. *Samothrace* 7, p. 323.

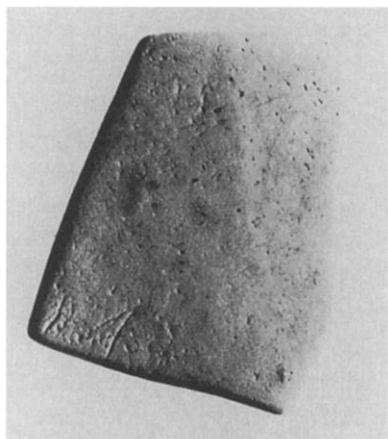


Figure 8. Graffito on a fragment of karchesion from the South Cemetery, XS165. After *Samothrace* 11, p. 1151. Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.



Figure 9. Graffito from the North Cemetery. After *Samothrace* 2.2, p. 130, no. 319. Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

The most interesting graffito on pottery from the cemeteries is XS165 (not in Lehmann's corpus). This is a fragment from a karchesion, on which are incised two letters, read by Dusenbery as IA (Fig. 8).¹⁴⁴ The form of the letter that she takes to be an alpha, however, to judge by her illustration, could be a delta or possibly a lambda. Although Dusenbery thought that the inscription could be the end of a name, and thus Greek, it seems to me that it could be ΙΔ, i.e., ΔΙ retrograde, as in L17, or ΛΙ, as in L32, in which cases the inscription would be non-Greek. It would also be dedicatory. Dusenbery dates XS165 to the 6th century B.C., which suits the dating of karchesia discussed above, so, if these ideas about the reading are correct, we have another graffito, inscribed in the non-Greek language, securely dated to the 6th century.

From the cemeteries there are two possible non-Greek inscriptions, which are late for that category. Dusenbery's H17.1 (L319) is a pithos with a number of letters incised on the shoulder, which Lehmann took to be a numeral. On the lip, however, are three signs that are well separated (Fig. 9). Two, a lambda and an iota, are clear. The third is taken to be a tau by Dusenbery,¹⁴⁵ but the horizontal line is well below the top of the vertical, giving the shape of a cross. Lehmann did not take this mark for a letter, which left Λ and Ι, a combination found in several non-Greek inscriptions (cf. L28, L29, L32, L33, and possibly L34). The grave is well dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century, so, if this inscription is to be understood as ΛΙ, we have a non-Greek inscription of Hellenistic date.

H14.1 (not in Lehmann's corpus) is a kantharos that bears on two of its four nonjoining fragments a delta and an iota (Fig. 10).¹⁴⁶ The relationship between the two letters is not certain, but if we read ΔΙ, we have a combination well attested in the non-Greek inscriptions (cf. L3 to L21). The vase is dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., so this too would be a Hellenistic non-Greek inscription.

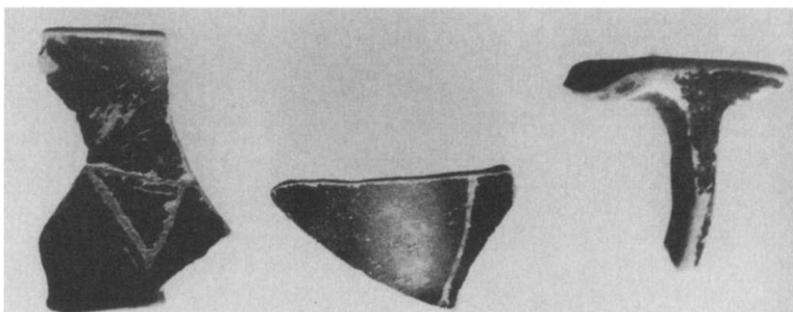


Figure 10. Graffito from the North Cemetery, H14.1. After *Samothrace* 11, p. 1157. Courtesy Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

To summarize the chronology of the pottery inscriptions, we have three (or four) examples that are securely dated to the 6th century. Where identifiable, they are non-Greek. We also have two possible non-Greek inscriptions of Hellenistic date, which slightly extends the period of use of the non-Greek inscriptions envisaged by Lehmann. There is no securely dated Greek inscription before the middle of the 5th century. The earliest of the Θ or ΘΕ inscriptions is a salt-cellar of the mid-5th century,¹⁴⁷ and it seems doubtful if any Greek pottery inscriptions at Samothrace of earlier date have been discovered. To these chronological indications we may add the non-Greek inscription on stone (Fig. 6). The shapes of its letters were

144. See *Samothrace* 11, pp. 1150–1151.

145. *Samothrace* 11, p. 1156.

146. *Samothrace* 11, p. 1157.

147. See *Samothrace* 3, pp. 211–214.

judged by its editor as not easy to date, but suggested to him the first half or the middle of the 4th century B.C.¹⁴⁸

The simplest conclusion to be drawn from the above discussion is that a non-Greek language was in use at Samothrace for a very long period after the Greek colony had been established. There are two possible users of this language: a non-Greek people, who used Greek letters to write their own language, or the Greeks using their own alphabet but a foreign language. The latter possibility must be admitted, since Diodoros (5.47.3, quoted above, p. 250) states that many words of the earlier autochthonous language were used as a *lingua sacra* in the Samothracian cult down to his own day. It is economical to assume that our non-Greek inscriptions are in that language.¹⁴⁹ In view of Diodoros's methods, however, it is not safe to assume that his statement shows that the autochthonous language was still in use when he was writing, in the 1st century B.C., as the words μέγχοι τοῦ νῦν could have been taken from his source. Jacoby decided that the source of Diodoros's account of Samothrace cannot be known, but was probably a local historian who lived not long before Diodoros's own time. The information, however, probably came in part from high Hellenistic learning.¹⁵⁰ If Jacoby is right, the earliest date to which τοῦ νῦν refers would be the 3rd century B.C., but it could be as late as the first.

The content of the non-Greek inscriptions is consistent with the idea of a *lingua sacra*. Using the similar Greek pottery graffiti, Lehmann was able to show that most of the non-Greek inscriptions are likely to be the simple designations of divine ownership or dedications to be expected in a sanctuary.¹⁵¹ The Tyrrenian graffiti and dipinti from the Cabirion on Lemnos provide, as we have seen, a very illuminating parallel. They are even very close in their detailed character, because most commonly they are single-letter abbreviations.¹⁵² In the Samothracian graffiti too, abbreviations, sometimes as short as a single letter, are commonly found, and they can also be identified from longer versions of what were obviously the same designations.¹⁵³ As for the stone inscription, which shows similarities of terminations and uneven line endings (in spite of some attempt at vertical alignment of letters), it may well be a list of names, like the numerous later lists of initiates and *theoroi* on Greek inscriptions from Samothrace.¹⁵⁴

It is theoretically possible, therefore, that the non-Greek language was used solely by Greeks as a *lingua sacra*. It is also possible that, as Lehmann suggested, the language was both spoken by its non-Greek speakers and used as a *lingua sacra*. When the population of Samothrace all became Greek speakers, the non-Greek language went out of everyday use. That would fit well the relative chronology of the non-Greek and Greek pottery inscriptions seen above.¹⁵⁵ In that case, the Greek colonists and their descendants lived side by side with the precolonial population and theirs.

The Greek takeover of a pre-Greek cult shows that, when the Greeks arrived, the non-Greek people and the cult were there, and a short period of coexistence might seem to be the minimum requirement for an adoption of cult and language. The cult of the Cabiri on nearby Lemnos offers a suggestive comparison. There the cult also existed before the Athenians came to the island, and the Cabiri were worshiped at the same site for

148. See *Samothrace* 2.1, comments on no. 64.

149. Lehmann was right to dismiss the idea that the language of Diodoros might be different from that of the inscriptions; see *Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 8–10.

150. See *FGrHist* IIIb (Text), pp. 470–471, *Kommentar* to 548 F1.

151. *Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 13–18.

152. Of those that appear most frequently, two, zeta and nu, seem likely to be abbreviations of the words ΖΑΠΙ[and ΝΟΦΑΙΩΝΑ, which are also found; see Beschi 1996, pp. 43–48; 2000, pp. 77–78.

153. See *Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 13–18. Beschi (1996, pp. 46–47) gives useful tables, which make the comparison clear, but, unfortunately, he did not take account of the republications of many items in K. Lehmann's corpus, with the result that many of his dates are wrong.

154. This suggestion was made both by Fraser (*Samothrace* 2.1, commentary to no. 64) and Jeffery (1961, p. 299, n. 3), without reference to each other. Their books appeared in consecutive years.

155. See *Samothrace* 2.2, pp. 11–12.

many centuries by the Greek inhabitants. In that case, Herodotos (6.140) expressly states that the Athenians expelled the Tyrrhenian population. Beschi found a lacuna at the Lemnian Cabirion between the last archaeological material testifying to the Tyrrhenian practice of the cult and the first evidence for Greek worship.¹⁵⁶ He also sees significant differences between the conduct of the cult by the Tyrrhenians and that by the Greeks. The clearest of these is the importance of nocturnal rites in the Greek period, attested not only by literary evidence (Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.42 [119]), but also by the many lamps found.¹⁵⁷

Beschi envisages the lacuna lasting from the destruction of the Tyrrhenian Cabirion until the arrival of Athenian cleruchs immediately after the middle of the 5th century. We know, however, that Athenian settlers arrived in Lemnos at about the beginning of the 5th century.¹⁵⁸ Mustilli found the graves of the earliest Athenian settlers at Hephaistia, distinguished from Tyrrhenian, not only by their position, but also by the change of rite from cremation to inhumation, and by very significantly different grave goods. These graves are well dated to the beginning of the 5th century by their Attic lekythoi.¹⁵⁹ If Beschi's lacuna at the Cabirion is not merely the absence of evidence, which is so often deceptive, some time elapsed between the arrival of the Athenians and the revival of the cult of the Cabiri. In any case, the situation on Lemnos, where we know that the previous population was expelled, appears to have been different from that at Samothrace, and that difference may be reflected in the use at Samothrace of a non-Greek language.

CONCLUSION

We may conclude that, before the Greek colonists came to Samothrace, it was occupied by a population who were probably Thracians, worshiped the Cabiri, and maintained close contacts with the neighboring islands of Lemnos and Imbros. An analogy, which also concerns Samos, may be suggestive.¹⁶⁰ When the Samian enemies of Polykrates had finally to leave Samos, they exacted booty from two places and then settled at Kydonia in Crete, where, among other temples, they built one to the local goddess Diktyнна (Hdt. 3.57–59). It is possible that an earlier group of Samian enemies of the tyrants exacted booty from Thracians, settled on Samothrace by invitation of the local inhabitants (to combine the information of Antiphon and Ps. Scymnus), and adopted the local cult of the Great Gods. We can imagine that they lived side by side with the precolonial inhabitants, who gradually became Greek-speaking and were absorbed into the Greek community. But that is, admittedly, an imaginative, maximalist, reconstruction.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion: first, that the Greek colonists came from Samos; second, that, on the best evidence we have, colonization took place in the first half of the 6th century B.C.; and, finally, that the relations between Greeks and non-Greeks at Samothrace are highly interesting and very important, but many uncertainties remain. It is possible that some of these uncertainties may one day be resolved by new archaeological discoveries.

156. Beschi 2000, p. 79.

157. Beschi 2000, p. 79.

158. Graham 1983, p. 175, n. 3.

159. Mustilli 1940, pp. 155–157.

160. I am grateful to Alexandra

Koukouzeli for drawing my attention to this possibility.

APPENDIX

REPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS ON
POTTERY

Below are listed the items from Karl Lehmann's corpus of ceramic inscriptions (*Samothrace 2.2*) that have been republished in the pottery catalogues of later *Samothrace* volumes. In order of publication, these are those of the Hall of Votive Gifts (V), the Altar Court (A), and the Hieron (H) by Love;¹⁶¹ the Rotunda of Arsinoe (R) by Kopcke;¹⁶² and the Nekropoleis (N) by Dusenbery.¹⁶³ No inscriptions were included in the catalogue of pottery from the Temenos published by Moore, even though a few of Lehmann's items originated there (nos. 32, 39, 88, 303), but she did not include finds from "disturbed contexts" (apart from G 2–3 ware and karchesia), and the "undisturbed fill" was restricted in area.¹⁶⁴ Also indicated are the language of the inscription, G(reek), N(on-Greek), or U(ncertain); the origin of the vase, I(mported) or L(ocal), where this can be determined; and the date (if given in the republication), either the number of the century B.C. or H(ellenistic). A question mark has been added if the suggested origin of the vessel is uncertain or a date is based entirely on letter forms.¹⁶⁵

<i>Lehmann's Number</i>	<i>Republication Number</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Date</i>
1	A-A33	N	I	5
3	A-A34	N	I	5
4	V-A1	N	I	5
8	A-A35	N	I	5
12	V-A6	N	—	6 or 5?
13	V-A7	N	—	6 or 5?
15	A-A36	N	I	6
16	V-A8	N	I	5
18	R-110	N	I?	4
19	R-234	N	—	—
25	H-144	N	I	5
27	V-A10	N	I	5
28	A-A37	N	I	—
30	V-A2	N	I	5
33	A-A14	N	L	4
36	V-A13	N	L	—
38	A-A22	N	L	5
40	V-A9	N	I	6
46	A-A23	N	L	—
47	A-A15	N	L	5
49	A-A16	N	L	4
64	R-235	N	—	—
66	V-A12	N	I	5
70	V-A11	N	I	—
72	V-A4	N	I	5
73	V-A3	N	I	5
76	H-153	G	L	4
81	H-127	G	L	4

161. I. C. Love, "Appendix to the Catalogues of Ceramics in Volume 4.1 and 2," in *Samothrace 4.2*, pp. 217–228; and "Inscribed Ceramics," in *Samothrace 3*, pp. 211–236.

162. G. Kopcke, "Ceramics," in *Samothrace 7*, pp. 275–326.

163. *Samothrace 11*.

164. M. B. Moore, "Catalogue of Finds: Ceramics," in *Samothrace 5*, pp. 317–394; see esp. pp. 317–318.

165. One more item in Lehmann's corpus has been republished, but it is unfortunately concealed by a misnumbering in Kopcke's catalogue of the Rotunda. Kopcke's no. 186, a "large plate" inscribed with a theta, is stated by him to be no. 200 in Lehmann's corpus. That cannot be, because 200 is a glazed kantharos, and is actually listed by Kopcke (p. 288) with other such kantharoi.

89	A-A24	G	L	4
89b	H-129	G	L	H
91	A-A31	G	L	—
92	H-135	G	L	—
93	A-A25	G	L	4
95	A-A19	G	L	4
96	A-A26	G	L	4?
98	R-303	G	I	4
102a	H-148	G	L	4
102b	H-152	G	L	4
107	R-102	G	P?	4
111	R-122	G	P?	4
114	R-183	G	P?	H
122	A-A27	G	L	—
123	A-A28	G	L	—
124	A-A29	G	L	—
125	A-A30	G	L	—
131	H-130	G	L	4
135	H-133	G	L	4
140	H-128	G	L	H
150	H-131	G	L	4
154	H-132	G	L	4
161	H-126	G	L	—
162	H-120	G	L	—
167	H-121	G	L	H
177	A-A18	G	L	4
178	H-124	G	L	4
179	R-181	G	P?	H
182	R-73	G	L	H
194	R-60	G	L	H
201	R-306	G	I	4
211	H-151	G	L	4
213	H-136	G	L	H
214	H-134	G	L?	—
216a	H-139	G	L	4
216b	H-140	G	L	4
228	A-A17	U	L	4
229	H-147	N?	L	4
245	R-9	U	P?	4
249	H-145	U	I	4
252	A-A38	U	I	6
253	V-A5	U	I	5
258	H-149	U	L	4
259	R-255	U	—	—
260	A-A20	U	I	—
262	A-A32	U	I	—
297	R-233	G	—	—
317	N-H1.1	N?	L?	5
318	N-S128.1	G?	L?	H
319	N-H17.1	N?	L?	H
320	N-H9.2	G	—	4
321	N-H17.H	G	—	H
321a	N-S130.13	G	—	H
323	N-H9.1	G?	L	4

REFERENCES

- Andrioti, N. P. 1929. "Προϊστορικοί τάφοι ἐν Σαμοθράκη," *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀνθρωπολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* 1929, pp. 54–64.
- . 1976. "Προϊστορικοί τάφοι ἐν Σαμοθράκη," in *Ἀντιχάρισμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Νικόλαο Π. Ἀνδριώτη*, Salonica, pp. 384–390.
- Archibald, Z. 1998. *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked*, Oxford.
- Bernard, P. 1964. "Céramiques de la première moitié du VII^e siècle à Thasos," *BCH* 88, pp. 77–146.
- Beschi, L. 1985. "Materiali subgeometrici e arcaici del Nord-Egeo: Esportazioni di Lemnos," *Quaderni del Centro nazionale per le ricerche* 112, pp. 51–64.
- . 1996. "I Tirreni di Lemno alla luce dei recenti dati di scavo," in *Magna Grecia Etruschi Fenici: Atti del trentatreesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Naples, pp. 23–50 (discussion, pp. 61–69).
- . 1998. "Arte e cultura di Lemno arcaica," *PP* 53, pp. 48–76.
- . 2000. "Gli scavi del Cabirio di Chloi," in *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia: Atti del simposio in onore di Antonino Di Vita*, Padua, pp. 75–84.
- Blackman, D. 1999–2000. "Archaeology in Greece, 1999–2000," *AR* 46, pp. 3–151.
- Boardman, J. 1978. *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*, London.
- , ed. 1984. *Cambridge Ancient History: Plates to Volume III. The Middle East, the Greek World, and the Balkans to the Sixth Century B.C.*, new ed., Cambridge.
- Bodnar, E. W., and C. Mitchell. 1976. *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and Northern Aegean, 1441–1445* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 112), Philadelphia.
- Bonfante, G. 1955. "A Note on the Samothracian Language," *Hesperia* 24, pp. 101–109.
- Bousquet, J. 1948. "Callimaque, Hérodote, et le trône de l'Hermes de Samothrace," *RA* 29–30, pp. 105–131.
- Bouzek, J., and I. Ondrejova. 1985. *Samothrace 1923, 1927, 1978*, Prague.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, J. Raffan, trans., Oxford.
- . 1993. "Concordia Discors: The Literary and Archaeological Evidence on the Sanctuary of Samothrace," in *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, N. Marinatos and R. Hägg, eds., London, pp. 178–191.
- Cole, S. G. 1984. *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace*, Leiden.
- Conze, A., A. Hauser, and O. Bendorff. 1880. *Neue archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake II*, Vienna.
- Cook, J. M. 1964. Rev. of K. Lehmann, *The Hall of Votive Gifts (Samothrace 4.1)* in *CR* n.s. 14, pp. 117–118.
- Cook, R. M. 1997. *Greek Painted Pottery*, 3rd ed., London.
- Coulton, J. J. 1976. *The Architectural Form of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford.
- Di Vita, A. 1979–1980. "Atti della Scuola, 1979," *ASAtene* 57–58, pp. 441–507.
- Dubois, L. J. J. 1818. *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes, grecques, romaines, et celtiques, etc., formant la collection de Feu M. le Cte. Choiseul-Gouffier*, Paris.
- Dusenbery, E. B. 1967. "Samothrace: The South Nekropolis," *Archaeology* 20.1, pp. 116–122.
- Fisher, S. M. 1996. "Trojan 'G 2–3 Ware' Revisited," *Studia Troica* 6, pp. 119–132.
- Fredrich, C. 1909. "Aus Samothrake," *AM* 34, pp. 23–28.
- Gebauer, J. 1992. "Die archaische geglättete graue Keramik," in *Ausgrabungen in Assos 1990* (Asia Minor Studien 5), Ü. Serdaroglu and R. Stupperich, eds., Bonn, pp. 65–101.
- Georgiev, V. I. 1957. *Trakiiskayat Ezik*, Sofia.
- . 1977. *Trakite i Techniyat Ezik*, Sofia.
- Graham, A. J. 1978. "The Foundation of Thasos," *BSA* 73, pp. 62–98.

- . 1983. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, 2nd ed., Chicago.
- . 2001. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization*, Leiden.
- Guide¹ = K. Lehmann, *Samothrace: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 1st ed., New York 1955.
- Guide⁶ = K. Lehmann, *Samothrace: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 6th ed., Salonica 1998.
- Hall, J. M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Harris, E. M. 2000. "The Authenticity of Andokides' *De Pace*," in *Polis and Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History*, P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen, L. Rubinstein, eds., Copenhagen, pp. 479–505.
- Hemberg, B. 1950. *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala.
- Isserlin, B. S. J., et al. 1996. "The Canal of Xerxes: Investigations in 1993–1994," *BSA* 91, pp. 329–340.
- Jeffery, L. H. 1961. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford.
- . 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. ed., with a supplement by A. W. Johnston, Oxford.
- Johnston, A. W., and R. E. Jones. 1978. "The 'SOS' Amphora," *BSA* 73, pp. 103–141.
- Karadima, H. 1995. "Αρχαιολογικές εργασίες στη Μαρώνεια και τη Σαμοθράκη το 1995," *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 9, pp. 487–496.
- Karadima, H., and M. Koutsoumanis. 1992. "Αρχαιολογικές εργασίες Σαμοθράκης 1992," *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 6, pp. 677–683.
- Kern, O. 1893. "Aus Samothrake," *AM* 18, pp. 337–384.
- Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, H. 1992. *Πρωτοϊστορική Θάσος: Τα νεκροταφεία του οικισμού Καστρέι*, Athens.
- Kuhn, G. 1985. "Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit," *JdI* 100, pp. 169–317.
- Lateiner, D. L. 1989. *The Historical Method of Herodotus*, Toronto.
- Lawrence, A. W. 1979. *Greek Aims in Fortification*, Oxford.
- Lazaridis, D. 1971. *Σαμοθράκη και η περαιία της*, Athens.
- Leaf, W. 1916–1918. "Strabo and Demetrios of Skepsis," *BSA* 22, pp. 23–47.
- Lehmann, K. 1955. "Documents of the Samothracian Language," *Hesperia* 24, pp. 93–100.
- Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 1939. "Excavations in Samothrace," *AJA* 43, pp. 133–145.
- Lloyd, A. B. 1976. *Herodotus, Book II, Commentary 1–98*, Leiden.
- Love, I. C. 1964. "Kantharos or Karchesion? A Samothracian Contribution," in *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, L. F. Sandler, ed., New York, pp. 204–222.
- Matsas, D. 1984. "Μικρό Βουνί Σαμοθράκης: Μια προϊστορική κοινότητα σ' ένα νησιώτικο σύστημα του ΒΑ Αιγαίου," *Ανθρωπολογικά* 6, pp. 73–94.
- . 1991. "Samothrace and the Northeastern Aegean: The Minoan Connection," *Studia Troica* 1, pp. 159–179.
- Matsas, D., H. Karadima, and M. Koutsoumanis. 1993. "Η ανασκαφή στην Παναγιά τ' Μάνταλ' της Σαμοθράκης το 1993," *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 7, pp. 647–655.
- Meiggs, R. 1972. *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- Millingen, J. 1826. *Ancient Unedited Monuments: Statues, Busts, Bas-reliefs, and Other Remains of Grecian Art* II, London.
- Moutsopoulos, N. C. 1989. "Tournée au Rhodope du Sud et à Samothrace," in *Thracians and Mycenaeans*, J. G. P. Best and N. M. W. de Vries, eds., Leiden, pp. 246–279.
- Moutsopoulou, N. K., and G. Dimitrakalli. 1988. "Τα ντόλμεν στη Γιάλομαντρα' της Σαμοθράκης," in *Η ιστορική, αρχαιολογική και λαογραφική έρευνα για τη Θράκη. Πρακτικά*, Salonica, pp. 17–37.
- Mustilli, D. 1940. "L'occupazione ateniese di Lemnos e gli scavi di Hephaistia," in *Studi di antichità classica offerti da colleghi e discepoli a Emanuele Ciaceri*, Rome, pp. 149–158.
- Oikonomides, A. 1978. "Misread Greek Inscriptions," *AncW* 1, pp. 159–166.
- Prinz, F. 1978. *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie (Zetemata 72)*, Munich.
- Reinach, S. 1891. "La Victoire de Samothrace," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 5, pp. 89–102.
- Rhodes, P. J. 1972. *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1949. *Archaic Greek Art*, New York.
- Rizzo, M. A. 1990. *Le anfore di trasporto e il commercio Etrusco arcaico*, Rome.
- Sakellariou, M. B. 1958. *La migration grecque en Ionie*, Athens.
- Samothrace: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University*
- 1 = N. Lewis, *The Ancient Literary Sources (Samothrace 1)*, New York 1958.
- 2.1 = P. Fraser, *The Inscriptions on Stone (Samothrace 2.1)*, London 1960.
- 2.2 = K. Lehmann, *The Inscriptions on Ceramics and Minor Objects (Samothrace 2.2)*, London 1960.
- 3 = P. W. Lehmann, *The Hieron (Samothrace 3)*, Princeton 1969.
- 4.1 = K. Lehmann, *The Hall of Votive Gifts (Samothrace 4.1)*, New York 1962.
- 4.2 = K. Lehmann and D. Spittle, *The Altar Court (Samothrace 4.2)*, New York 1964.
- 5 = P. W. Lehmann and D. Spittle, *The Temenos (Samothrace 5)*, Princeton 1982.
- 7 = J. McCredie et. al., *The Rotunda of Arsinoe (Samothrace 7)*, Princeton 1992.
- 11 = E. B. Dusenbery, *The Necropoleis 1–2 (Samothrace 11)*, Princeton 1998.
- Schönert-Geiss, E. 1996. "Zur Münzprägung von Samothrake: Ein Überblick," in *XAPAKTHP: Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 57)*, Athens, pp. 271–276.

- Schwabacher, W. 1938. "Ein Fund archaischer Münzen von Samothrake," in *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress Organized and Held in London, 1936*, J. Allan, H. Mattingly, and E. S. G. Robinson, eds., London, pp. 109–120.
- . 1952. "Cabiri on Archaic Coins of Samothrace," *ANSMN* 5, pp. 49–51.
- Schwartz, E. 1957. *Griechische Geschichtschreiber*, Leipzig.
- Scranton, R. L. 1941. *Greek Walls*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Sehrig, H. 1927. "Sur l'antiquité des remparts de Samothrace," *BCH* 51, pp. 353–368.
- Stupperich, R. 1990. "Vorbericht über die Grabung in der Westtor-Nekropole von Assos im Sommer 1989," in *Ausgrabungen in Assos* (Asia Minor Studien 2), Ü. Serdaroglu, R. Stupperich, and E. Schwertheim, eds., Bonn, pp. 7–22.
- Tölle-Kastenbein, R. 1976. *Herodot und Samos*, Bochum.
- Utili, F. 1999. *Die archaische Nekropole von Assos* (Asia Minor Studien 31), Bonn.

A. J. Graham

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104