Spring 2012

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The Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace:
Hellenistic Patronage and Politics

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March 30, 2012
Part 1: Introduction to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the island of Samothrace remains one of the most intriguing sites of the ancient Greek world. Not only were the mystery cults and gods worshipped at Samothrace unusual, the Sanctuary developed an important political significance, attracting the patronage of Philip III Arrhidaios (son of Philip II of Macedon and half-brother of Alexander the Great), brother-and-sister spouses Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II of Egypt, and Antigonus Gonatas. During the early third century BCE, Arsinoe dedicated her Rotunda in the Sanctuary, and her husband Ptolemy built his Propylon. In the midst of the political turmoil that developed in the Hellenistic Greek world after the death of Alexander the Great, leaders such as Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II utilized Samothrace’s connections to Alexander (through his brother and father) to cement their own legitimacy as rulers. Even while his brother was still alive, in the late fourth century BCE, the epileptic Arrhidaios—who could never have been his father’s heir—built an Altar Court at Samothrace, to indicate his importance as Alexander’s minister of religious affairs. Finally, perhaps the most well-known work from Samothrace, the Winged Victory or Nike of Samothrace statue, was an extremely political piece, erected by Antigonus Gonatas as the Ptolemies began to fall from power in the mid-third century BCE.

Mountainous and rugged, the island of Samothrace sits in the northeastern Aegean Sea, not far from the ancient city of Troy and modern-day Turkey, on the sea lane leading from Greece to the Dardanelles and the Black Sea (see figures 2 and 3). In antiquity the island was more fertile than today; Samothrace was known for its onions and was home to wild cattle, sheep and goats. The island is densely forested, with many springs of both fresh-water and hot sulfur. Occupied as early as the Neolithic Age, pottery has been found on the island that dates from as

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early as the Bronze Age. First colonized by Greeks in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, Samothrace was long a place of refuge for sailors. The last group of non-Greeks to inhabit the island were likely Thracians, whose language was still in use during ritual cult activity as late as the first century BCE.

The Greek colonists who arrived on Samothrace around 700 BCE seem to have mixed peacefully with the locals inhabiting the island, and although many ancient writers report that the settlers were from Samos (hence the name Samothrace), in fact they were more likely from the island of Lesbos, or possibly Anatolia. In short order, Samothrace became an important Greek city and joined the Delian League (headed by Athens) in the fifth century BCE. During the fourth century, the island was used as a naval base and stronghold by various cities and, due to its sacred nature, developed a reputation as a safe haven for political exiles. Samothrace attracted visitors from all over the Mediterranean, as evidenced by dedications left behind in the Sanctuary. During the early Hellenistic Period the Sanctuary was an extremely important site for the ruling families of Macedonia and Egypt. Though patronized by the family of Alexander the Great, Queen Arsinoe II and the Ptolemies, the island seems to have retained its

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3 Lehmann, Guide 10-12. Numerous literary sources recount sailors praying to the gods of Samothrace during stormy days at sea and being spared—those who had been initiated into the Mysteries were protected at sea. Additionally, the island of Samothrace developed a reputation as a safe-haven for sailors. See also Lewis, Ancient Literary Sources, 105-110.
5 Lehmann, Guide, 13. Myth, however, states that the people of Samothrace simply sprung from the soil. See Lewis, Ancient Literary Sources, 32.
6 Debra N. Mancoff and Lindsay J. Bosch, “Beauty in Motion: The Nike of Samothrace (c. 190 BCE),” in Icons of Beauty: Art Culture, and the Image of Women, Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), 72. Both the island and the main city on the island are known as Samothrace.
independence until coming under Seleucid control sometime before 253 BCE.\textsuperscript{10} From the end of the second century BCE onwards, the Romans became interested in Samothrace and made numerous pilgrimages to the site; additionally they assisted with the remodeling of the Sanctuary after a major looting by pirates in 84 BCE and an earthquake in the first century CE.\textsuperscript{11} Finally, in the sixth century CE another earthquake devastated the site, leaving the majority of the structures in the ruined state in which they remain today.\textsuperscript{12}

Excavations at Samothrace began when German professor and archaeologist Alexander Conze first explored the Sanctuary of the Great Gods in 1858. Five years later, Charles Champoiseau, the French consul stationed in Adrianople, started excavating at the site and discovered the \textit{Nike of Samothrace}. Gustave Deville and E. Coquart, also French, continued work in 1866; Conze returned to the site in 1873 and 1875 and completed extensive digs. In 1938, Karl Lehmann, working for New York University’s Institute of Fine Arts, began excavating at Samothrace, a project that the Institute has continually been involved with since the 1930s.\textsuperscript{13}

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods, framed by rivers, covers an area of approximately 50,000 square meters on the island of Samothrace (see figure 1). The 5,000-foot-tall Mount Phengari dominates the landscape, with the Hagios Georgios mountains at its base running from the south to north and ending in a beach. The ancient city of Samothrace and the Sanctuary of the Great Gods are both located on the northern side of the island, with the Sanctuary to the west of the city; a road leads from the city to the Sanctuary.\textsuperscript{14} The hilly topography of the island meant that the structures in the Sanctuary were never laid out systematically, hence the rather

\textsuperscript{11} Mancoff and Bosch, “Beauty,” 73.
\textsuperscript{13} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 37.
jumbled nature of the plan. Structures were erected wherever space would allow and many later buildings were built on the same sites as older structures. The Sacred Rock and Cyclopean Wall mark the first sites of pre-Hellenic worship, located where the Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe was eventually constructed. Other early evidence from the Sanctuary includes sacrificial deposits within the Temenos that date to the start of the seventh century BCE.

Although scholars know a great deal about the buildings in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods from excavations and archaeological evidence, the nature of the religious practices that occurred in the Sanctuary are less clear. Using literary evidence, researchers have pieced together the nature of the gods worshipped on Samothrace, as well as the Mysteries themselves. Many ancient authors wrote of Samothrace and these literary sources often correspond with archaeological evidence. Hesiod mentioned Samothrace, and Herodotus addressed the Mysteries (and seems to have been initiated). Aristophanes and Plato also wrote about the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. Centuries later, the Roman author Cicero discussed the site and from him we get the name “Anaktoron” for one of the structures in the Sanctuary. There are also Homeric connections to Samothrace and, according to some myths, Dardanos left the island and became the ancestor of the Trojan kings.

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20 Burkert, “Concordia,”180-181. For more ancient literary sources on Samothrace, see Lewis, Ancient Literary Sources and David G. Rice and John E. Stambaugh, Sources for the Study of Greek Religion (USA: Scholars Press, 1979), 211-216.
Despite these sources, one still cannot be certain of the identity of the Great Gods. The cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace differs from what one would consider the typical pantheon of Greek deities. Karl Lehmann, an archaeologist and scholar who led excavations at Samothrace, gives one account of the Great Gods. He maintains that the chief deity was the Great Mother, a pre-Greek deity worshipped on Samothrace by the locals (who referred to the goddess with the native name of Axieros) before the colonists arrived. The Greek settlers may have conflated the Great Mother with their goddess Demeter and also referred to her as Elektra (the Shining One) and Strategis (the Leader).\(^\text{21}\) In addition to the Great Mother, other figures were part of the Great Gods group. Many of the deities have two names—their local pre-Greek colonization name and then the name given to the gods by the Greek settlers. One such deity was the fertility god Kadmilos, likely a subordinate spouse to the Great Mother whom the Greeks connected with Hermes. Other important gods in the canon were Hades and Persephone, who were worshipped at Samothrace as early as the seventh century BCE under the local names of Axiokersos and Axiokersa.\(^\text{22}\)

The term “Kabeiroi” is often used when referring to the Great Gods of Samothrace. It is extremely difficult, however, to describe who exactly the Kabeiroi were, as there are many conflicting ideas.\(^\text{23}\) Walter Burkert writes that a “special secret about the gods of Samothrace was that they had no names or only names which were strictly hidden from the public,” although some authors, such as Herodotus, suggested that the gods at Samothrace were known as the Kabeiroi.\(^\text{24}\) One ancient author, Mnaseas, does supply the names of Axieros, Axiokersos and Axiokersa for Demeter, Hades and Persephone, respectively, which corresponds with Lehmann’s

\(^{23}\) Bowden, “Mysteries,” 53.
ideas. A Roman author, Varro, however, writes that these same three deities are, in fact, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Burkert also mentions the presence of cults to Aphrodite, Hecate and Hermes.\textsuperscript{25} Whoever made up the group of the Kabeiroi, most scholars agree that, at least at Samothrace, the term Kabeiroi is synonymous with “Great Gods.”\textsuperscript{26}

Renowned throughout the Greek world by the fifth century BCE, the Mysteries at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace were as famous as those at Eleusis.\textsuperscript{27} Like Eleusis, however, much of what occurred during the initiation and rituals remains a secret. The Mysteria was the festival of the mystai (or singular mystes). At Samothrace (as at Eleusis), there were two levels of initiates: the mystai, who went through the primary initiation gaining access to the Sanctuary, and the epoptai, who elected to participate in an optional, second stage of initiation.\textsuperscript{28} Unlike the rituals at Eleusis, however, epopteia could be obtained immediately after myesis, even on the same day.\textsuperscript{29} Only those who had undergone myesis, and were thus mystai, could enter the Sanctuary.\textsuperscript{30}

The chance to be initiated was open to all: men, women, children, slaves and people from all nations—allowing foreigners to be initiated was an aspect unique to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. Most other similar sites had restrictions. To be initiated to the mysteries at Eleusis, for instance, one needed to speak Greek.\textsuperscript{31} Mystes gained certain privileges and benefits, such as general good fortune, protection at sea, and the assurance of a better afterlife. Men in particular

\textsuperscript{25} Burkert, \textit{Greek Religion}, 283.
\textsuperscript{26} Bowden, “Mysteries,” 63.
\textsuperscript{27} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 27.
\textsuperscript{29} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 29.
\textsuperscript{30} Clinton, “Stages,” 62.
were made morally better after participation in the ritual.\textsuperscript{32} A Scholiast on Aristophanes writes, “Those who are initiated into the mysteries of the Kabeiroi are supposed to be just and to be saved from terrors and storms.”\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Epopteia} was a more unusual status to reach, and involved the confessing of one’s sins, another feature unique to Samothrace.\textsuperscript{34}

Visitors came to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods for initiation between April and September.\textsuperscript{35} Initiations took place at night and the rites included purification, libations, animal sacrifices and banqueting. Each initiate received a cup, bowl and lamp; initiates wore a crown, white garments and a purple scarf around their abdomen.\textsuperscript{36} Although much of what we know about the Mysteries cannot be verified, \textit{myesis} seems to have included some sort of dance and the pouring of a libation. The most private part of the ritual seems to have consisted of the revelation to the initiates of certain symbols. At the end, participants received some sort of document confirming their initiation. Information about the second, optional phase of initiation, \textit{epopteia}, is even less concrete, though it probably included the pouring of a libation and, as mentioned earlier, the confession of one’s sins.\textsuperscript{37}

Turning to the physical structures in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, one of the first buildings erected in the Sanctuary after Greek colonization was the Hall of Votive Gifts, constructed circa 550 BCE, followed by the Anaktoron, circa 500 BCE.\textsuperscript{38} A rectangular structure measuring 22.6 by 10.7 meters, with a Doric façade facing west, the Hall of Votive Gifts functioned as both a place to protect and display votive offerings (see figure 4). Though

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Scholiast on Aristophanes, \textit{Peace}, 277-278. Cited in Rice and Stambaugh, \textit{Sources}, 215. See also Lewis, \textit{Ancient Literary Sources}, 103.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 28-29.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 16.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 29-31.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 32-34.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 40-42. The dating of many of the structures in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods can be quite problematic. Throughout the paper I have use the most commonly accepted dates, and make note of dates that are particularly heavily contested.
\end{itemize}
mainly built of marble, the entablature was originally constructed from wood and mud brick.\textsuperscript{39}

Archaeologists have found numerous votive gifts at the site, including bronze and marble statues, armor, fishhooks, spears and vases.\textsuperscript{40}

Built around 500 BCE, the original Anaktoron was one of the oldest buildings in the Sanctuary (see figure 5). With walls of stuccoed limestone and earthen floors, the structure was accessed by three doors on the western terrace. Inside the Anaktoron, a wall running across the structure sectioned off part of the building at the northern end. The interior measured 27 by 11.58 meters and between six and eight meters in height. Attached to the southern wall of the Anaktoron (though not accessible from it) was the Sacristy, originally referred to simply as the Sacred House. This small building measured only seven by seven meters and was originally built circa 500 BCE (although the current structure dates from between 289 and 281 BCE). Also constructed with stuccoed limestone and an earthen floor, the Sacristy had only one entrance, located in the western wall.\textsuperscript{41}

A lull in major building projects occurred during the fifth century BCE and construction resumed in earnest in the second half of the fourth century BCE. Erected between 340 and 330 BCE, the Temenos, also known as the Hall of Choral Dancers, was located in the center of the Sanctuary and built atop earlier structures dating from the fifth and sixth centuries BCE. Measuring approximately 24 by 10 meters, the Temenos had a Propylon that faced northeast with Ionic columns and a coffered ceiling (see figure 6).\textsuperscript{42} Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the building was the frieze that gave the structure its name: the Hall of the Choral Dancers.

\textsuperscript{41} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 45-47.
\textsuperscript{42} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 57-60.
The frieze depicts hundreds of young girls dancing to music played by citharists, tympanum players and flutists.\(^43\)

The Hieron (also known simply as the “Sanctuary”) was a Doric structure built around 300 BCE, measuring 40 by 13 meters, and distinguished by its apsidal end to the south (see figure 7). The structure had some sculptural decoration, including water spouts in the shape of lion-heads, an acanthus akroterion at the peak of each pediment, and Victory akroteria at the corners.\(^44\) During this phase of Hellenistic construction, three other structures were built to which I will return later: the Altar Court, Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II and Propylon of Ptolemy II.

The last main phase of construction in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods occurred between 250 and 150 BCE. During this time a theater and stoa were built. Constructed around 200 BCE, the theater was built into a slope, and originally had seats made of white limestone and red porphyry (see figure 8).\(^45\) The stoa faced east and measured approximately 80 meters long. Made of limestone, the building also dates from circa 200 BCE (see figure 9). The largest portion of the colonnade was Doric, though some smaller Ionic columns found at the site indicate that the stoa may have had a second story with an Ionic colonnade. Waterspouts in the shape of lion-heads were also located on the roof of the stoa.\(^46\) Finally the Nike fountain—home of the famous sculpture *Nike of Samothrace* or *Winged Victory*—was also constructed during this time (another structure discussed later in this paper).

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace, then, was clearly an important site of religious rituals and mysteries which were well-known across the Mediterranean for centuries.

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\(^{43}\) Clinton, “Stages,” 61.

\(^{44}\) Lehmann, *Guide*, 61-64.


Buildings were continually being erected, many of which related directly to the Mysteries and initiations. However, certain structures, especially those constructed during the turmoil of the Hellenistic Period, carried more political than religious significance. It is these structures to which I will now turn.
Part II: Hellenistic Samothrace

After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE, the Hellenistic world was in a state of turmoil as numerous men vied to take over Alexander’s empire. Many attempted to claim power and a number were murdered by their opponents, including Alexander’s half-brother, Philip Arrhidaios, who was killed by Alexander’s mother, Olympias. When the dust settled, Alexander’s generals Ptolemy and Lysimachos had control of Egypt and Thrace, respectively. The majority of the powerful families during this time period were connected by blood or marriage. Ptolemy I, who ruled until his peaceful death in 283 BCE, had multiple wives. With Berenike he had a son, Ptolemy II, who took over the empire when his father died. With a different wife, Eurydice, Ptolemy had another son, Ptolemy Keraunos, who clashed with his half brother, Ptolemy II.47 Lysimachos also had multiple wives, one of whom was Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenike, whom he married in 300 BCE.48 Shortly after Lysimachos died in battle in 281 BCE, Arsinoe married her half-brother Ptolemy Keraunos (who had become king when Lysimachos died) and, after he was killed in 279 BCE, she married her brother, Ptolemy II.49 This third marriage was not well accepted by the Greeks, who did not condone brother-sister marriages, though it was not viewed as offensive in Egypt.50 Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II (also known as Ptolemy Philadelphus) were even worshipped as sibling gods (theoi

49 The wedding was mutually beneficial and scholars disagree on who pursued whom. After her husband, the king, died, Arsinoe II may have persuaded Ptolemy Keraunos, the new king, to marry her so she could remain queen. However, in her article “Women in Ptolemaic Egypt,” Rachel Evelyn White suggests Keraunos convinced the “reluctant” (246) Arsinoe to marry him, for she would have some claim to the throne herself as daughter of the queen-mother, Berenike. The date of her third marriage to Ptolemy II is somewhat uncertain and may have occurred around 277 BCE. See White, “Women in Ptolemaic Egypt,” 248.
50 Erskine, Companion, 39.
adelpoi) during their lifetime, starting around 272 BCE.\textsuperscript{51} Through her strategic marriages, Arsinoe II was able to remain queen.

There were numerous strong connections between these various rulers and the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace. Macedonian involvement at the site began with Alexander’s father Philip II (see figure 10), who was initiated at a young age into the Mysteries at Samothrace, along with his wife Olympias.\textsuperscript{52} One romantic anecdote from antiquity states that Philip first saw Olympias at Samothrace and fell in love with her there, thus giving the island a special significance for the couple.\textsuperscript{53} Building flourished during this period and both the Hieron and Altar Court were constructed under Alexander’s rule. Alexander himself may even have been an initiate at Samothrace.\textsuperscript{54} King of Thrace from 299 to 281 BCE, Lysimachos also was involved in the Sanctuary, as evidenced by two decrees found there bearing his name. He, too, was likely an initiate in the Mysteries.\textsuperscript{55} Additionally, Lysimachos used Samothrace as a stronghold and naval base, as did the Ptolemies later on.\textsuperscript{56} Arsinoe II had a special connection to the island, having been banished there after her second marriage (a point elaborated below).\textsuperscript{57} When Lysimachos died, and Arsinoe married Ptolemy Keraunos and then Ptolemy II, the connection between the Ptolemies and Samothrace was cemented as they inherited Lysimachos’ kingdom, gaining control of Thrace and Macedonia.\textsuperscript{58} Finally, there was a strong tie between the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Lewis, \textit{Ancient Literary Sources}, 89.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 14-15. This meeting purportedly occurred sometime before 359 BCE.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Reeder, “Typology,” 279.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Reeder, “Typology,” 281.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Lehmann, \textit{Guide}, 15.
\item \textsuperscript{57} White, “Women in Ptolemaic Egypt,” 248.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Lewis, \textit{Ancient Literary Sources}, 44.
\end{itemize}
Ptolemies and Arsinoe to the Kabeiroi, who were often connected with the Dioskouroi, twin gods that were worshipped in Ptolemaic Egypt and linked to the royal house.\(^{59}\)

The Altar Court, situated south of the Hall of Votive Gifts and to the west of the Hieron, was built between 330 and 320 BCE, dedicated with funds from war booty to the Great Gods by Alexander the Great’s half-brother Philip Arrhidaios (see figure 11).\(^{60}\) Today the Altar Court is completely destroyed, having been leveled by an earthquake. The foundation, however, has been excavated (see figure 15).\(^{61}\) Situated in the southern portion of the Sanctuary, the Altar Court, adjacent the Hieron and Hall of Votive Gifts, faced the theater. Originally, the altar consisted simply of a large red and green porphyry rock, with a series of five pipes and a drain running between gaps in the rock. The rough stone altar with its drain was in use from the early fifth century BCE, before the Altar Court structure was built around it.\(^{62}\) Within the walls of the foundation, a few coins and numerous pieces of pottery have been found, along with an unusual clay horn, likely related to sacrifices performed for the Great Mother.\(^{63}\) The foundation of the later Altar Court measures 17.12 by 14.42 meters, and is made of limestone native to the island.\(^{64}\) Within the structure, a raised platform in the eastern half stood about 2.3 meters above ground level. Along the western foundation was a slightly curved, low terrace wall made of stone and to the south a set of steps.\(^{65}\) Though the walls no longer stand, they were probably constructed in stuccoed limestone about eight meters tall, with the western façade made of Thasian marble.\(^{66}\)

The structure lacked a roof, as it housed an altar and smoke from burnt sacrifices required

\(^{59}\) Reeder, “Typology,” 281.
\(^{60}\) Lehmann, Guide, 68.
\(^{62}\) Lehmann and Spittle, Altar Court, 110-111.
\(^{63}\) Lehmann and Spittle, Altar Court, 114-117.
\(^{64}\) Lehmann and Spittle, Altar Court, 17.
\(^{65}\) Lehmann and Spittle, Altar Court, 24-25.
\(^{66}\) Lehmann and Spittle, Altar Court, 26 and A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture, Fifth Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 161. Thasian marble was a beautiful white stone, quarried from the nearby island of Thassos.
ventilation. The western side, which faced the theater, consisted of a marble Doric colonnade with lion-head waterspouts in the entablature (see figure 14). Eleven column drums and one relatively complete capital survive. Additionally, parts of the triglyph and metope frieze survive, along with a number of blocks bearing incomplete inscriptions. A large slab, with moldings at both ends, formed a part of the altar.

Although he was Philip II’s elder son, Arrhidaios was epileptic and considered unable to be the heir, and thus that destiny went to Alexander, who was capable of leading military exploits. However, Arrhidaios did travel with his brother and served as a minister for religious affairs, performing a number of rites for the Macedonian armies. Arrhidaios took the name Philip III, or Philip III Arrhidaios, after Alexander’s death. He married Eurydike; originally known as Adea, she adopted the name Eurydike, the name of Philip II’s mother. In 317 BCE, Arrhidaios was killed by Olympias, mother of Alexander who did not want her step-son Arrhidaios inheriting her son’s empire; Olympias also forced Eurydike to commit suicide. The Altar Court at Samothrace was most likely dedicated during Alexander’s lifetime, and served as physical evidence of the important religious role Arrhidaios played in Alexander’s life. By continually building at and thereby glorifying the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace,
the Macedonians hoped to create a religious center in the northern Aegean that would rival Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, and thus strengthen their power and dominance in the Mediterranean.\(^{76}\)

Constructed approximately fifty years after the Altar Court, the Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II was the largest circular structure (or tholos) in ancient Greece, measuring over 20 meters in diameter with a foundation eight feet thick (see figures 16 to 19).\(^{77}\) The structure was well-known in the Hellenistic world for both its original and impressive design.\(^{78}\) The building lies south of the Anaktoron, north of the processional road and faces south. Steps led up to the door on the south side of the structure, over which there was an inscription with Queen Arsinoe’s name (see figure 19).\(^{79}\) The foundation is sandstone, with a course of Thasian marble above (see figure 18).\(^{80}\) The structure interestingly mixed all three architectural orders: Doric on the outside and Corinthian and Ionic on the inside.\(^{81}\) On the exterior of the structure were Doric pilasters, capped by a triglyph and metope frieze (see figure 16).\(^{82}\) The relief panels at the top give the impression of a balustrade and depict boukrania and rosettes. Similar relief panels on the interior also show boukrania with phialai.\(^{83}\) Like the Altar Court, here, too, were lion-head waterspouts.\(^{84}\) Inside the structure are Corinthian half-columns and an Ionic molding (see figure

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76 Reeder, “Typology,” 280.
78 Reeder, “Typology,” 282. The Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II was the largest round, enclosed structure in the ancient world until Hadrian’s Pantheon in Rome.
79 Lehmann, *Guide*, 49-51. This inscription will also be discussed in greater detail at later points in this paper.
84 McCredie, *Rotunda*, 75.
The roof is made of scale-shaped terracotta tiles, of which over one hundred fragments survive. The shape of the roof cannot be determined for certain, though it was likely conical.

Dating the structure is problematic. The inscription clearly states that the rotunda was dedicated by Queen Arsinoe (see figures 12 and 19), but there is a gap in the inscription where her husband’s name would be. Many scholars believe that the structure was dedicated while she was married to King Lysimachos, thus dating the building to sometime between 289 and 281 BCE. Others argue that the rotunda was built while Arsinoe was married to Ptolemy II (see figure 13), which would place the structure in the slightly later period of 276 to 270 BCE. I believe the later date of 276 to 270 BCE, during her marriage to Ptolemy II, is more likely, since Arsinoe would have had a strong connection to Samothrace by that time. After marrying Ptolemy Keraunos, her husband banished her to the island of Samothrace and Arsinoe seems to have lived there in “retirement” until her second husband’s death and her final marriage to Ptolemy II. Arsinoe may have selected Samothrace as her place of banishment due to her first husband’s patronage there and the Sanctuary’s reputation as a place of refuge. Whatever her reason for choosing the island, Arsinoe would have been indebted to Samothrace for providing her shelter and likely dedicated her Rotunda to the Great Gods in thanks for this aid. Thus, an earlier construction date of 289 to 281 BCE would not make sense, as this period occurred before her banishment to Samothrace and therefore before she had a connection to the island.

As to the purpose of the Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe, recent scholarship suggests it was a thymele, a structure where chthonic divinities (spirits of the underworld) were worshipped.

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85 Lehmann, *Guide*, 49-51. The Corinthian columns in the Rotunda seemingly mark the first appearance of the order on Samothrace, assuming the Rotunda was built before the Propylon (which seems most likely). See Frazer, “Macedonia and Samothrace,” 198.
86 McCredie, *Rotunda*, 82.
87 Reeder, “Typology,” 283.
Libations were poured to the gods of the underworld by means of a *bothros*. Blood of sacrificed sheep could be poured into the shaft of the bothros, down to the underworld.\(^91\) Worship of chthonic gods makes sense at Samothrace, as the king and queen of the underworld, Hades and Persephone (or Axiokersos and Axiokersa), were important members of the Kabeiroi. Additionally, the decoration of the Rotunda supports the theory that it functioned as a thymele. The decorative rosettes are actually images of phialai, objects typically used to pour libations, and the bucrania are representative of the animals sacrificed.\(^92\) Sacrifices were performed outside the building, at its entrance. A roofed structure like the Rotunda, as opposed to the open-roofed Altar Court, would not have been an appropriate place to execute smoky animal sacrifices.\(^93\) The entire structure was built over a rock-altar from the seventh century BCE (known as the Sacred Rock and Cyclopean Wall); the sacred nature of the site lends further credence to the theory of the Rotunda functioning as a thymele.\(^94\) Although the visual iconography changed, the space remained sacred.

The Propylon of Ptolemy II (son of Ptolemy I and Queen Berenike and husband of Arsinoe II) marked the entrance to the Sanctuary at the Eastern Hill (see figures 20 to 23).\(^95\) Constructed between 286 and 264 BCE, the building functioned as a double gateway, connecting the nearby city with the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The structure, built of limestone and Thasian marble, measured 15 by 20 meters.\(^96\) Built to bridge a torrent with a tunnel running

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\(91\) Reeder, “Typology,” 284.
\(92\) Reeder, “Typology,” 285.
\(95\) Again, the dating here is difficult. A number of scholars date the work to circa 286-280 BCE (see both Thompson’s and Frazer’s articles in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*). However, others (including Karl Lehmann in his Samothrace guide) suggest the later period of 280 to 265 BCE as a more likely date.
through its foundation, the Propylon occupied the highest point in the Sanctuary. The foundation is made of limestone and sandstone, both likely quarried on the island of Samothrace. The building was rectangular, with six Ionic columns on the east end, and six Corinthian columns on the west end (facing into the Sanctuary); a number of fragments from the columns have been found (see figures 20 and 21). Various pieces of architectural sculpture survive, including a capital from an anta depicting two griffins devouring a deer and twelve entablature blocks consisting of a frieze of boukrania and rosettes. Some lion-head waterspouts survive. The porches were paved with marble, but the majority of the pavers have been lost. The roof was made of terracotta tiles, of which numerous fragments survive.

The decorative similarities between the Rotunda of Arsinoe II and Propylon of Ptolemy II—including the presence on both structures of boukrania, rosettes, lion-head waterspouts, and similarly decorated Corinthian capitals—have led some authors to believe that Arsinoe played an important part in the construction of the Propylon, possibly serving as patron alongside her husband. Therefore a later date, sometime after her marriage to Ptolemy II around 277 BCE, would be most likely for the structure. Additionally, by patronizing Samothrace after marrying his sister Arsinoe and inheriting Lysimachos’ kingdom, Ptolemy helped to legitimize his rule. Ptolemy drew parallels between himself and earlier rulers, such as Alexander the Great, highlighting their shared connections to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace. After

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99 Frazer, *Propylon*, 82.
103 Frazer, *Propylon*, 73.
104 Brunhilde Sismondo Ridgway, “Ancient Greek Women and Art: The Material Evidence,” *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 91, No. 3 (July 1987): 407. Besides being similar in decorative features, both structures were engineering marvels: the Rotunda had a roof that spanned over 17 meters with no interior support, and the Propylon had an ingeniously incorporated barrel vault enabling the structure to bridge a torrent. See Frazer, “Macedonia and Samothrace,” 198-199.
the death of Lysimachos, the Ptolemies were the dominant power in the Aegean and the grand Propylon serves as evidence of their supremacy.\textsuperscript{105} Ptolemy II gained additional territory after marrying Arsinoe II, another reason why a later date for the Propylon, after the siblings’ marriage, seems most probable.

The presence of the arched tunnel running underneath the Propylon makes the structure somewhat unique in ancient Greece and certainly unique at Samothrace (see figures 22 and 23). Although arches and vaults were common in Roman architecture, they were rather rare in Greece, and used almost solely for practical purposes, as opposed to grand building projects. The earliest arches in Greece date from the late fourth century BCE, found in barrel-vaulted Macedonian tombs.\textsuperscript{106} Before the construction of Ptolemy’s Propylon, there were few examples of the arch in Greece, and where the arch was found it typically spanned a rather small space.\textsuperscript{107} Corinth had an arched façade in its eastern Long Wall; at Sikyon there were barrel-vaults in the gymnasium and theater; and Eretria had a barrel-vaulted passageway in the basement of a theater building.\textsuperscript{108} The barrel-vaulted passage under the Propylon at Samothrace serves the purpose of channeling overflow water.\textsuperscript{109} Thomas D. Boyd posits that, as all of these sites—Corinth, Sikyon, Eretria and Samothrace—had a connection to Macedonia and the Diadochoi (successors of Alexander the Great), the use of the arch as an architectural element was likely brought to Greece due to Alexander’s exploration of the Middle East, where the arch was a common architectural feature. Ptolemy I was a Diadochos, and his son, Ptolemy II, was patron of the Propylon at Samothrace.\textsuperscript{110} Ptolemy II likely utilized the arch not solely for practical purposes,

\textsuperscript{105} Reeder, “Typology,” 281-282.
\textsuperscript{107} Lawrence, \textit{Greek Architecture}, 170.
\textsuperscript{108} Boyd, “The Arch and the Vault,” 81-82.
\textsuperscript{109} Boyd, “The Arch and the Vault,” 86.
\textsuperscript{110} Boyd, “The Arch and the Vault,” 88.
but also to visually link the structure to his powerful father, Ptolemy I, through whom Ptolemy II had a connection to Alexander the Great.

The last main phase of construction in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods occurred between 250 and 150 BCE. During this time, the Nike fountain was constructed (see figures 24 and 25). The foundation of the fountain was rectangular, made of limestone, and faced north, with a wall dividing the structure into an upper, more shallow basin and a lower, deeper basin. Marble slabs covered the floors where the ship’s-prow base of the Nike was placed. The basins filled with water channeled in through a pipeline under the theater.\(^{111}\) The Nike of Samothrace stands 3.28 meters tall, and currently resides in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. French archaeologist Charles Champoiseau found the Nike during his excavations at Samothrace in 1863; the work was in pieces and he shipped it off to Paris to be reassembled and displayed.\(^{112}\) The artist is unknown and the date hotly debated.

The monument was likely erected to recognize a battle won at sea. The Greek goddess Nike personified victory and her placement in the Sanctuary on a ship’s prow in a fountain indicated that this particular battle being commemorated was fought at sea. Today the head and arms of the statue are missing, although one hand was found in later excavations at Samothrace, and is currently displayed near the statue at the Louvre. The Nike is a monumental work and would have faced north from the fountain, looking over the entire Sanctuary. Perched at the top of the Daru staircase in the Louvre, visitors to the museum can appreciate the dominating presence the monument would have had in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. Nike stands in motion, with her wings spread wide—wings that seamlessly connect to her shoulder blades and have realistically detailed feathers. Her torso has a slight twist to it: although her legs face front,

\(^{112}\) Mancoff and Bosch, “Beauty,” 67.
her chest faces to the right, and it seems her head would have also looked in that direction. With her right leg in front of the left, Nike has a sense of movement. Her dress, or chiton, is fluidly draped; a cord secures the garment under her breasts, with some bunching around her waist, and layers of folded fabric at her legs and feet. Fittingly, as she stands in a fountain, the fabric appears wet, showing off the contours of her body, her navel and breasts. The ship’s prow on which she still stands (now in the Louvre) is extremely large, measuring approximately 2.3 meters tall. The prow comes to a point at the front, with the sides extending back at an angle, somewhat mimicking the spread of Nike’s wings. There is some detail to the prow, with carved borders on various sections, but is not overly elaborate so that the entire focus is on the Nike herself.

Dating the Nike of Samothrace is a great challenge and an issue much debated by scholars. One possibility is that the statue was erected as a monument for the victories won by the Rhodian fleet over the Seleukid navy of Antiochos III in 190/89 BCE. Supporting this theory are the stylistic elements of the statue which are similar to the Pergamon Altar from the same period (although the Pergamon Altar is also extremely difficult to date precisely), the fact that the ship’s-prow base is made of Rhodian marble, and that a fragmentary inscription found nearby seemingly refers to Rhodes. None of this evidence, however, is concrete.\textsuperscript{113} Other scholars that argue for a later date, particularly 168 BCE at the end of the Perseid war, point to the similarities between Nike’s drapery and other sculptures from that period.\textsuperscript{114} Still others insist on an earlier date, before 190 BCE. Samothrace was patronized by both the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Antigonids of Macedonia during the Hellenistic period. The Nike of Samothrace could be a

\textsuperscript{113} Brunhilde Sismondo Ridgway, \textit{Hellenistic Sculpture Volume II} (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 150-151
statue commemorating the triumph of Antigonos Gonatas after his naval victories over the Ptolemies at Kos in the 250s BCE. This date seems particularly intriguing. The Ptolemies had a strong presence at Samothrace, with Ptolemy II’s Propylon and his sister-wife Arsinoe’s Rotunda. After defeating the Ptolemies in battle, what better way for Antigonos Gonatas to gloat than to erect a fountain and dominating statue in a Sanctuary so dear to his enemy? If the Nike does date from the 250s BCE, as I believe, it demonstrates further the important political role played by Samothrace and the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, with various rulers using the island as a place to dedicate structures showing their power and wealth. These power plays could be manifested either through connections to previous rulers, such at Ptolemy II’s attempt to connect himself to Philip II and Alexander the Great, or by proclaiming one’s victory over a former power, as Antigonos Gonatas does with his Winged Victory.

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Part III: Analysis and Conclusions

A close visual analysis of the Hellenistic monuments erected in the Sanctuary provides insight into their political purposes. Visually, the Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II and the Propylon of Ptolemy II were rather unusual in their physical construction and decoration. Arrhidaios’ Altar Court is consistent with conventions for similar structures of the period: a rectangular building, unroofed to allow ventilation, with a basic Doric façade consisting of Doric columns and a triglyph and metope frieze. Lion-head waterspouts were also quite common in the Greek world and are found elsewhere in the Sanctuary, including on the Rotunda and Propylon. The Rotunda, however, is a rather unique structure. As discussed above, it was the largest round structure in the ancient world until the Pantheon. Tholoi, round buildings that do not denote a specific purpose for the structure, were not overly common in the Greek world. Several examples of tholoi, however, did exist which may have influenced Arsinoe’s design. The tholos from the Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, located southeast of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, which dates from the fourth century BCE, serves as one example. Two more interesting tholoi can be found at Epidauros and Olympia. The tholos in the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros dates to the fourth century BCE. This tholos is referred to in inscriptions as a thymele and thus possibly served as an example for Arsinoe’s Rotunda, which seems also to have functioned as a thymele. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Arsinoe may have been making a direct reference to the Philippeion, a tholos found in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. This structure was built sometime after 338 BCE by Philip II and his son, Alexander the Great. The building was extremely political and propagandistic, emphasizing the Macedonians’ conquest of

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116 Excellent examples of lion-head waterspouts survive from the Temple of Zeus in the Sanctuary at Olympia.
117 John Pedley, Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 152.
118 Pedley, Sanctuaries, 32.
Greece. Arsinoe’s massive Rotunda can be read in a similar vein, as a structure attempting to display her and her husband’s power in the Mediterranean. With her Rotunda, Arsinoe was attempting to link herself, along with her husband, Ptolemy II, to Philip and Alexander, further drawing the connections between the two sets of rulers and thus legitimizing Arsinoe and Ptolemy’s right to rule while emphasizing their power in the Greek world.

Beyond its unusual shape, the existence of all three architectural orders on the Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II made it exceptional. Although it was not wholly uncommon for a building to mix two architectural orders, the use of all three orders on one building was quite rare. The Corinthian order first appeared in the late fifth century BCE in the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, but did not become popular until the Hellenistic period. Corinthian columns are seen at Samothrace in both the Rotunda and Propylon of Ptolemy II, their earliest appearance in the Sanctuary. One reason for introducing the Corinthian order may have been as a way to visually link the Rotunda and Propylon. Use of this new order, not found elsewhere in the Sanctuary, connected the two buildings, further suggesting that they were built at the same time, possibly both under the supervision of Arsinoe. By visually linking the buildings, Arsinoe and Ptolemy could make clear to all visitors to Samothrace that the brother-and-sister couple was an important force both politically and artistically in the Mediterranean world.

The use of only the Corinthian order on both buildings would have been logical, which then raises the question of why other architectural orders were also introduced. With the Rotunda, the inclusion of the Doric order may simply have been for convention’s sake, whereas the use of the Ionic order intentionally references an earlier structure. The tholos at the

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119 Pedley, Sanctuaries, 128.
120 The Parthenon in Athens makes use of both the Doric and Ionic orders and the Propylon in Samothrace has Ionic and Corinthian columns.
121 Lawrence, Greek Architecture, 134-135.
Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia near Delphi, built by Theodoros of Phokaia, set a pattern for tholoi by presenting a ring of Doric columns on the exterior and a ring of Corinthian columns on the interior. The tholos at Epidauros followed this pattern, again with the Doric order on the exterior and Corinthian on the interior. Arsinoe and her architects may have simply followed convention by placing Doric columns on the outside of her Rotunda and Corinthian columns on the inside. This does not explain, however, the inclusion of the Ionic order, also found on the inside of the building. For use of the Ionic order in a tholos, we must return to the Philippeion. The Philippeion has examples of the Ionic order, along with Corinthian half-columns, just like Arsinoe’s Rotunda. This serves as further evidence that Arsinoe was attempting to link her structure to the Philippeion of Philip and Alexander, not only because both buildings were tholoi, but because each structure included the Ionic order. As to the use of Ionic columns on the Propylon of Ptolemy II, Robin Rhodes posits a possible explanation. In discussing the Propylaia on the Acropolis in Athens, a building which served the same gateway function as the Propylon at Samothrace, Rhodes argues that the Ionic order was utilized as it is more processional than the Doric order. That is to say, the architect used the Doric order on the exterior of the Propylaia, relying on the more processional Ionic order for the interior, surrounding visitors and leading them as they entered the Acropolis. A similar argument can be made about the Propylon of Ptolemy II at Samothrace. As people approached the Sanctuary of the Great Gods from the town, they were first greeted by the Ionic order on the eastern side of the Propylon, encouraging them to process through the structure into the Sanctuary. Upon exiting the building they would

122 Lawrence, Greek Architecture, 138-139.
123 Lawrence, Greek Architecture, 140.
see the Corinthian columns on the western façade, visually connecting it to the Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II.

It is clear that Samothrace and the Sanctuary of the Great Gods located there held special significance for many Hellenistic leaders, particularly Philip III Arrhidaios, Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II, and further, that their connections to Samothrace are reflected in the construction projects undertaken by them. In the fourth century BCE, the Sanctuary had yet to be filled with monumental architecture, so there was plenty of room to build. The Sanctuary held personal meaning for Philip II, who met his wife Olympias there, and probably also for Alexander the Great. Future leaders connected themselves to Philip’s heir, Alexander, and Alexander’s empire through their building projects at Samothrace. Philip Arrhidaios cemented his status as an important religious aid to his half-brother Alexander via the erection of his Altar Court at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, while also connecting himself to his father, Philip II, who patronized the island earlier in the century.

Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II continued the development of Samothrace in the third century BCE, doing so both for personal and political reasons. After being banished by her second husband, Ptolemy Keraunos, and finding refuge on Samothrace, Arsinoe II was motivated to show her thanks to the island and constructed a monument in the Sanctuary. Ptolemy II may have elected to build his Propylon there due to his wife if, as I believe, both the Rotunda and Propylon were built in the late 270s or early 260s, when the brother and sister couple was

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126 Frazer, “Macedonia and Samothrace,” 192. Philip II was the likely patron of the Temenos in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace, built circa 340 BCE.
married. In one respect, by erecting his Propylon, Ptolemy II also showed appreciation to the island that had sheltered his wife. There are, however, additional obvious political reasons for the construction. By the 270s BCE, the Ptolemaic dynasty was a powerful force in the Mediterranean and Ptolemy II’s marriage to his sister only strengthened this dominance by adding more territory to his domain. Building at Samothrace allowed Ptolemy II to further tie himself to Philip II and Alexander the Great—a large part of whose empire Ptolemy II had inherited. Finally, there may also have been religious motivations: the Mysteries at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods were known for welcoming foreigners (such as Egyptians) and Ptolemy and Arsinoe both had a strong connection to the Kabeiroi, the gods worshipped in the Sanctuary.

Finally, the Altar Court, Rotunda and Propylon all had prominent inscriptions and dedications, features not common before the Hellenistic Period in the Greek world. Although the majority of the inscription from the Altar Court does not survive, it was placed so that those in the theater could have seen it; the name “Arrhidais” would have been plainly visible. On the architrave on both sides of the Propylon an inscription clearly read, “King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and of Berenike, Saviors, to the Great Gods.” A similar inscription was found on the Rotunda (although crucial portions are missing): “Queen Arsinoe, daughter of King Ptolemy, wife of King…dedicated…to the Great Gods.” These inscriptions support the idea that these structures had strong political purposes and that the leaders who erected them wanted everyone to know the names of those who dedicated the monuments.

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127 Architectural and decorative similarities enumerated above suggest that the buildings were constructed around the same time.
130 Thompson, “Architecture as a Medium,” 179.
Lastly we turn to the *Nike of Samothrace*, the most difficult work to address, as its date is the least firm: scholars place the sculpture anywhere between circa 300 BCE to the mid-second century BCE.\textsuperscript{131} If the sculpture dates from the 250s BCE, as I believe it does, it serves a different type of political purpose than the earlier buildings discussed. The Altar Court, Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II, and Propylon of Ptolemy II all served as positive propaganda. The buildings were meant to draw positive links between current and former rulers and to offer thanks for shelter. Antigonus Gonatas with his *Nike of Samothrace* had a somewhat more devious motive. After defeating the Ptolemies in naval battles at Kos, by erecting the *Winged Victory* at Samothrace where the Ptolemies had a strong presence, Antigonus Gonatas communicated to the world that there was a new power in the Mediterranean—one that could defeat the Ptolemies. The *Nike of Samothrace* looks out over the Sanctuary, over the structures built by Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II only a few decades earlier, emphasizing and legitimizing Antigonus Gonatas as the new ruler of the Mediterranean.

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the island of Samothrace, in addition to its obvious religious importance, held great political significance during the Hellenistic Period. Through the erection of specific buildings in the Sanctuary, leaders such as Philip III Arrhidaios, Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II looked to legitimize their importance in the Mediterranean in the decades shortly before and immediately after the death of Alexander the Great. The Altar Court of Philip Arrhidaios confirmed his importance in his brother’s life, and the personal connection his family, especially his father Philip II of Macedon, felt toward Samothrace. Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II were able to help legitimize their rule during a politically tumultuous time by constructing buildings in the Sanctuary at Samothrace. Finally, even as the Ptolemies began to lose their influence in the Mediterranean, future rulers, such as Antigonus Gonatas, continued to build at

\textsuperscript{131} Müller, “Chronology,” 359.
Samothrace. The construction of the incredible Nike of Samothrace cemented Antigonus Gonatas’ status as a power with which to be reckoned.
Figures

**figure 1: Plan of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods**

**Key to Relevant Structures:**

11 – Stoa  
12 – Nike Fountain  
13 – Theater  
14 – Altar Court  
15 – Hieron  
16 – Hall of Votive Gifts  
17 – Temenos (Hall of the Choral Dancers)  
18 – Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II  
19 – Sacristy  
20 – Anaktoron  
23 – Propylon of Ptolemy II
figure 2: Map of Aegean

figure 3: Island of Samothrace

figure 4: Hall of Votive Gifts

figure 5: Anaktoron

figure 6: Temenos

figure 7: Hieron
figure 8: Theater

figure 9: Stoa

figure 10: Philip II

figure 11: Philip III Arrhidaios

figure 12: Arsinoe II

figure 13: Ptolemy II
figure 14: Altar Court

figure 15: Altar Court

figure 16: Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II

figure 17: Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II

figure 18: Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II

figure 19: Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II
figure 20: Propylon of Ptolemy II

figure 21: Propylon of Ptolemy II

figure 22: Propylon of Ptolemy II

figure 23: Propylon of Ptolemy II

figure 24: Nike of Samothrace

figure 25: Nike Fountain
Bibliography


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figure 6  Samothrace, Propylon, Hall of the Choral Dancers, reconstruction drawing
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figure 7  Samothrace, Hieron, ruins
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figure 8  Samothrace, Theater, plan
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figure 9  Samothrace, Stoa, foundation
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figure 10 Philip II
Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

figure 11 Philip III Arrhidaios
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figure 12 Arsinoe II
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figure 13 Head of Ptolemy II
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figure 14 Samothrace, Altar Court, reconstruction drawing
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figure 15  Samothrace, Altar Court, foundation
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figure 16  Samothrace, Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II, exterior reconstruction drawing
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figure 17  Samothrace, Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II, interior reconstruction drawing
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figure 19  Samothrace, Rotunda of Queen Arsinoe II, inscription
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figure 20  Samothrace, Propylon of Ptolemy II, eastern façade reconstruction drawing
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figure 21  Samothrace, Propylon of Ptolemy II, western façade reconstruction drawing
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figure 22  Samothrace, Propylon of Ptolemy II, southern façade reconstruction drawing
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figure 23  Samothrace, Propylon of Ptolemy II, foundation
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figure 24  Nike of Samothrace
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figure 25  Samothrace, Nike Fountain, provisional reconstruction
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