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Local Talent, International Ambitions:

Evidence from the Roof of the Stoa in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace

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Abstract

Local Talent, International Ambitions:
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By Claire Seidler

In the 3rd century BCE the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the northern Aegean island of Samothrace welcomed a building boom that was financed by royal and powerful persons. Among the buildings erected at this time was a monument stoa, whose patron or patrons are unknown. The local material apparent in the architecture of the Stoa suggests local craftsmanship, but the design of the architectural terracottas signals that the building community involved was interested in connecting their stoa to buildings concentrated in the eastern Aegean. The design of the sima and antefixes does not find strong comparison to other roofing decoration in the Sanctuary, but outside comparanda is more informative. The roofing components from the Stoa, particularly the antefix, connects this building to a particular design that began in the Pompeion of Athens and was repeatedly used in Aegean architecture associated with Hellenistic royalty and religious interest in the Kabeiroi. In light of these strong royal connections, I argue that this building community was interested in making international connections through its roofing decoration and I raise the question of royal investment in the Stoa.

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Table of Contents:

Introduction

The 3rd century BCE witnessed robust building activity across the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the northern Aegean island of Samothrace. This period marked the construction of the Rotunda of Arsinoe II, Propylon of Ptolemy II, Neorion, Milesian Banquet Hall, and a monumental Stoa. During this building boom, the site must have been filled with scaffolding and building materials as well as the commotion of architects, craftsmen, and tradesmen, all of whom formed an interwoven building community. The Stoa, as the largest of these 3rd century buildings, would have required ambitious planning, material, and manpower. It stood atop the plateau that framed the western boundary of the Sanctuary, facing eastward toward the most sacred and sequestered central valley of the site (Fig. 1).The building served as one of the final stopping points on a pilgrim's path through the site by way of the theater and likely operated as a multifunctional place of sheltered gathering, eating, and drinking in the Sanctuary.

The preserved foundation of this building measures ca. 104 m in length and ca. 13.4 m in width. This monumental structure was composed of local limestone blocks, plaster wall decoration, and locally produced terracotta roof tiles. The eastward facing façade was designed in the Doric order with a prostyle colonnade of 35 columns, while 16 Ionic columns, framed by two half columns, formed the inner colonnade. The raking simas of the north and south sides were constructed in limestone, while the lateral sima and antefixes, as well as the tiles, were made of terracotta.

The building community involved with the Stoa appropriately focused their attention on the highly visible stone masonry on the eastern front and sides of this building. On the back

(western) side of the Stoa, the masons discontinued the decorative details of the architrave course and Doric frieze, and they crafted a geison course favoring the simpler Ionic design rather than the Doric mutular system. However, they continued the same roofing decoration on both the front and back sides of the building, as we know from the find spots of the architectural terracottas. The discrepancy between the stone and terracotta components is telling. Shortcuts acceptable for the walls were not permitted for the roof, which had been, since the early emergence of Greek architectural decoration, one of the prime areas of visual display.[1]

In this paper, I look closely at the structure and decorative style of the architectural terracotta roofing of the Stoa. Examination of the Stoa's tiles sheds light on local material and construction practice, but comparison between the roof decoration of the Stoa and buildings within the Sanctuary and Ancient City, situates the Stoa's roof as an outlier within Samothracian design. Although the materials and craftsmanship of the Stoa were locally produced on Samothrace, the decorative components of the architectural terracottas demonstrate connections that significantly expand our understanding of this building's international connections. These roofing components, particularly the antefix, connect the Stoa to a specific design that originates in the Pompeion of Athens and was enthusiastically embraced by building communities across the Aegean associated with Hellenistic royalty and religious interest in the Kabeiroi.

Initial Discovery

The architectural terracottas from the Stoa were first uncovered during the first Austrian excavations in 1873 led by Alexander Conze, and were recorded in the Austrian publication

[1] Winter (1994; 1993) investigates the importance of rooftiles in identifying regional architecture in Greece and Italy during the Archaic period. She argues that roofing styles develop regionally and were recognizable architectural features at international sites, such as sanctuaries (1993, 4).

documenting the excavation, *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, published in 1875.[2] The Austrian team documented two decorative roof elements, an antefix and a sima fragment, which were found in the area of the Hieron. The Austrians associated these fragments with the Hieron due to their find spots in proximity to this building (Fig. 2). In their next campaign of 1875, the Austrian team shifted its focus to the area of the Western Hill where they uncovered a significant part of the foundations of the Stoa, as well as extensive remains of the superstructure. In the 1880 publication, *Neue Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, A. Hauser reconstructed the entablature of the Stoa with the same architectural terracottas that had previously been assigned to the Hieron (Fig. 3).[3]

After the Austrian excavations, the archaeology and architecture of the Stoa was not intensively studied until 1962 under the direction of James R. McCredie through the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. McCredie and his team thoroughly excavated the area of the Stoa and fully revealed the foundations of this monumental building during the excavation campaigns in the 1960s and early 70s. In 2016, the American Excavations at Samothrace returned to a directed study of the Stoa under Director Bonna D. Wescoat, with the aim of completing the publication of the architecture, small finds, and monuments in the region of the Stoa, Theater, and Nike Monument.

Research Method

During the 2019 season, of the over 1,000 tile fragments documented in the site catalogue (now digitized in FileMaker Pro), I examined over 600 fragments of tiles, including Corinthian

[2] Conze et al. 1875, 76, pl. L.
[3] Conze et al. 1880, 49-55.

antefix and sima tiles and Laconian pan and cover tiles.[4] My first research goal was to understand the construction of the terracotta roof, an aim that included investigating whether the Stoa was adorned with ridge antefixes. Then, I plotted find spots to determine whether the roofing decoration was identical on both the eastern and western faces. Finally, I sought to relate the architectural terracottas from the Stoa to roofing ornament in the rest of the Sanctuary and the broader Aegean. The following description is based on research, drawings, and notes from my predecessors in addition to my own first-hand investigation of the roof tiles from the Stoa.

Design and Technique

A close examination of the decorative components of the architectural terracottas reveals that, although humble in material, these roofing elements are richly ornamented.[5] The terracotta sima tiles consist of a sima face, waterspout, and Corinthian pan tile, which were fired together to create as a single unit. The sima has a cyma recta profile framed by an upper and lower fillet (Fig. 4-5). Its face, which measures 0.507 m in width and 0.141 m in height, is decorated with a central lion's head waterspout flanked by a double rinceaux (Fig. 4). The lion's protruding brows turn downward dramatically toward regal cheekbones from a central furrow; the almond-shaped eyes take an upward gaze. The lion's snout is molded with concentric fleshy folds of skin around an oblong nose and concave philtrum. The open mouth reveals bared teeth and gums while the diagonally drooping tongue creates a channel for water to vacate the roof. The mane is composed

[4] Firstly, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Bonna D. Wescoat, for her guidance and support the past two years. Her architectural expertise, edits, and enthusiasm for my project have been crucial for this paper. I would also like to thank Dr. Nancy Winter and Dr. Phillip Sapirstein for sharing their invaluable expertise in architectural terracottas. In addition, I express gratitude toward my colleagues and mentors Julienne Cheng Stratman, Madeleine R. Glennon, and Samuel Holzman for their advice and edits. Finally, thank you to the members of the 2019 American Excavations Samothrace team, each of whom assisted me with time moving boxes, cataloguing, photographing, and advising.

[5] Nicholas Hudson generously suggested that the terracotta was tempered with local trachyte, which implies that the architectural terracottas were locally produced.

of a band of central locks, with lateral bands of locks to either side. The central locks are combed in crescents above the super orbital area while the lateral locks project horizontally from the left and right cheekbones. D-shaped ears peek out from the mane to separate the central locks from the lateral locks.

The rinceaux pattern on the cyma recta face consists of ribbed calyces that emerge from the base of the lion head, then grow upward and outward to form two major spirals (Fig. 3). A leaf grows out from this same caulix and turns upward toward the ears of the lion. The first tendril of the rinceaux sprouting from the caulix turns downward into a tight clockwise curl, while the second tendril turns upward in a clockwise curve that reaches to the edge of the tile. Each tendril is molded with a v-shaped channel down the center of the stem. Above the two tendrils, a second flower curves upward toward the fillet; below the two tendrils, another bloom or tendril curves inward toward the waterspout. The decoration filled the width and height of the sima face to its edges.

The face of the sima connects to a flat pan tile, whose left and right edges have vertical lips. The entire length of the tile measures 0.752 m from the lower fillet to the end of the tile (Figure 6). At ca. 0.60 m from the face of the sima, the flat surface is modified to a curved surface in order to accept the next course of Laconian pan tiles. The top surfaces of the sima tile, including the pan and the spout, are painted in a brownish red slip to protect and make the surface more water resistant.

The rampant antefixes are composed of a vertical face with a vegetal motif connecting to Corinthian cover tile. The triangular plaque of an antefix is decorated with four basic components: acanthus leaves, a series of tendrils, bellflowers, and a palmette (Fig. 7). The height of each antefix is ca. 0.151 m and the maximum width is ca. 0.160 m (Fig. 7). Three acanthus

leaves sprout from a band at the bottom of the antefix face. Two calyces rise from the central acanthus leaf, from which springs two tendrils that grow symmetrically on the left and the right. The two inner tendrils curl tightly toward each other to frame the stem of the palmette. The outer tendrils also curl downward then split, with one tendril curling inward and another coiling outward and upward to fill the rectangular base of the antefix. Each tendril is molded with a v-shaped channel throughout its stem. Between the two main tendrils on each side, bellflowers grow outward to create a strong visual accent that enlivens the silhouette of the antefix. The flowers are decorated with pointed petals and a stamen at the center. The crowning palmette grows from a single stem that rises between the volutes to form a fan-shaped palmette heart composed of nine concave leaves. The palmette consists of nine leaves, with four upturned flame-shaped leaves on each side of a central rounded leaf. Each pair of leaves is separated by deep hollows that enhance the plasticity of the palmette, but the craftsmen did not define the outline of each leaf. The lowest two flame-shaped leaves share an arced outline, while the top two flame-shaped leaves are distinctly rendered with their own arcs. The series of tendrils and bellflowers fill more than half the plaque, while the palmette sits low and broad, which as we shall see is conspicuously short for its period. The attached Corinthian tile has a pentagonal outer profile and a curved inner profile. The length of the tile from the base of the antefix to the end of the tile is 0.696 m. The final 0.147 m of the tile is curved on inner and outer surfaces in order to accept the superposed row of Laconian cover tiles. Like the sima, the exposed surfaces were originally painted with a red slip in order to make the surface more water resistant.

Techniques of Construction

The decorative components of the sima tiles were molded separately then applied to the tile. Before adding the lion's head to the sima, the surface was smoothed (Fig. 9). Then, the

molded lion's face was affixed to this surface with slip before the tile was fired. The rinceaux decoration was made in a thin sheet that was applied with slip to the scored surface of the cyma recta profile. In the firing process, the ornament was fixed to the tile. In several cases, the rinceaux decoration has broken off to reveal the scored surface (Fig. 10). In a close examination of the antefixes, I did not observe any evidence of scoring or joining technique. Instead, the complete Corinthian cover tile and its decoration appear to have been molded in one piece.

The roof of the Stoa combines Corinthian sima and antefix tiles with a Laconian roofing system. This combination signals the designer's concern for economic and timely construction afforded by the Laconian, combined with the rich ornamentation offered by the Corinthian edge tiles. Both the Corinthian and Laconian systems of tiling are straightforward. The Corinthian pan tiles were set onto the stone geison blocks, with each pan tile flush with the adjacent tile. The curved inner profile of the antefix fit well over the lip of the pan and the rampant antefix sat on the upper fillet between a pair of lion's head waterspouts.

The Laconian pan tiles measure ca. 0.94 m in length and taper toward the front, with a front width ca. of 0.41 m and back width of ca. 0.46 m (Fig. 11). At the wider back end, the tile expands slightly to accept the tile placed above it. The narrower end of the Laconian pan tile fit onto the curved surface at the end of the Corinthian pan, ca. 0.43 m wide after subtracting the width of the lips (ca. 0.03 m). The Laconian cover tiles were ca. 0.99 m in length and these tiles also taper, but in the opposite way, such that the front (lower) end is 0.275 m and the back 0.189 m. The wider end of the final cover tile was fit over the curved back end of the antefix tile. The remaining courses of the roof were constructed with simple Laconian tiles.[6] One possible ridge

[6] McCredie (1965, 108) first noted the transition from a Corinthian system to a Laconian one.

tile (catalogue no. 49.693) has been identified, but since this was the only terracotta of its type and was found in the area of the Rotunda, its association with the Stoa remains dubious.

While the basic terracotta roofing system was uncomplicated, the transition to the stone raking sima was not. At the north and south ends of the Stoa, the roof changed from a terracotta tiling system to a limestone raking geison-sima. The Corinthian sima tiles fit easily next to the stone corner geison, which also has a cyma recta profile and terminates in a faux lion's head waterspout. The transition from the antefix tiles and Laconian tiles to the raking geison-sima blocks was more complicated. Behind the support for the acroterion, the surface of the corner geison-sima was cut to form a long, concave channel, which continued up the raking geison-sima. An antefix tile and Laconian cover tiles bridged the joint between the terracotta and stone components of the roof (Fig. 12a-12b).[7]

The quantity of tiles required to roof the Stoa was impressive with a lion's head water spout centered over each triglyph and metope. Each of the internal 32 interaxial spaces required six sima tiles and the end interaxials required 5½, for a total of 202 per side. The six antefixes per interaxial closed the terracotta system at both ends for a total of 204 per side. Seven rows of rectangular tiles rose to the ridge, for a total of 1,414 pan tiles and 1,428 cover tiles per side. At the ridge, a further 204 tiles covered the apex of the roof. 6,700 tiles in total were required to roof this Stoa.[8]

The Stoa's Relationship to Other Roofs in the Sanctuary and the Ancient City

[7] Hodge (1960, 64-66), who looks at two inscriptions from the Gallery on the Walls (IG2, I, 463) and the Arsenal (IG2, II, 1668), argues that the spaces between the tiles were sealed with clay instead of placement upon a sheet of clay.

[8] Bonna D. Wescoat, personal communication, July 30, 2020. The total weight of the roof requires further investigation.

The design of the architectural terracottas of the Stoa is distinct from all other roofs, both marble and terracotta, in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. This distinction is important because it indicates the that the inspiration for this design came from outside the immediate architectural spheres active on the island; it places the Stoa in a broader geographical sphere of influence. The only other Hellenistic architectural terracottas in the Sanctuary come from the Neorion and the area of the Anaktoron. However, the marble roofing ornaments from the Hall of Choral Dancers (340-330 BCE),[9] the Hieron (early 3rd century BCE),[10] the Rotunda of Arsinoe II (early 3rd century)[11] the Propylon of Ptolemy II (285-281 BCE), the Altar Court (ca. 325 or mid-3rd century),[12] the Dedication of Philip and Alexander (323-317 BCE),[13] the Milesian Dedication (ca. 250-200 BCE),[14] and spoliated fragments from the nearby Ancient City provide valuable insight to the decorative roofing inclinations of the building community on Samothrace.

Terracotta Sima from the Neorion

The Neorion, or ship monument, is found on the intermediate terrace to the north of the Stoa and it too was constructed in the mid-3rd century BCE. [15] Like the Stoa, the Neorion was constructed of local limestone from Samothrace and uses a terracotta roofing system. The lowest course of the roof of the Neorion is composed of Corinthian sima tiles and antefixes; the upper

[9] For the date of the Hall of Choral Dancers, see Lehmann and Spittle 1982, 317, 383-394; McCredie 1994-1995, 53.
[10] For ceramics found in foundation trenches and fill of the porch of the Hieron, see Lehmann 1969, 145-172.
[11] For date of the Rotunda, see George Roux's discussion of its inscription in McCredie et al. 1992, 231-239. In this volume, McCredie and Roux are not in complete agreement on the exact date of the building and McCredie leaves it to Alfred Frazer to discuss the date of the building.
[12] For a discussion of the history and ceramic finds from the fill of the Altar Court see Lehmann and Spittle 1964, 151-167. More recently, Psoma, Karadima, and Terzopoulou (2008, 231-238) argue for a mid-3rd century date.
[13] For the date based on epigraphic evidence, see Wescoat 2017, 175-178; For pottery finds that secure the date of the hardscaping in the area of the dedication see Wescoat 2017, 369.
[14] For the date of the Milesian dedication see Wescoat 2019, 153-156.
[15] For a discussion of the date and potential donors for the Neorion see Wescoat 2005, 167-172.

part may, like the Stoa, have been Laconian.[16] The width of the terracotta sima tiles of the Neorion are of a similar scale to the Stoa at a width of about 0.50 m, but they are lower and shorter. The design of this tile is similar to the sima tiles of the Stoa in having a cyma recta profile, a decorative lion head waterspout, and a flat horizontal pan with vertical lips on either side. The style of the two simas, however, is markedly different (Fig. 13). The cruder and abbreviated terracotta sima of the Neorion contrasts dramatically with the elegant terracotta sima of the Stoa. The cyma recta profile of the Neorion's sima tiles was not plastically decorated, but was painted simply with red slip. The upper half of the lion's head waterspout is reduced in scale and the bottom half protrudes to create a spout-shaped projecting lower jaw.

Marble Simas

The Hall of Choral Dancers, an Ionic structure in the Central Sanctuary, predates the Stoa and inaugurates the preferred local sima style featuring the triple rinceaux. The roof of this building is constructed of both marble sima and antefixes and terracotta tiles in the Corinthian style. The marble geison-sima of the Hall of Choral Dancers is 1.131 m wide and 0.842 m long.[17] A lion's head waterspout sits at the center of the sima on its cyma recta face (Fig. 14). From either side of the lion's head tendrils emerge from a caulix of spikey acanthus leaves. Atop the spikey acanthus, a half palmette with flamed petals grows, from which a rinceaux of tendrils and flowers emanates. The ribbed stems of the tendrils are divided into three parts by spikey acanthus leaf calyces, from which smaller floral tendrils sprout. The two outermost tendrils are ribbed, while the innermost tendril is carved with a central v-shaped channel. The inner-most tendril

[16] In his 1986-87 report on the excavations McCredie (1986-1987, 50-51) mentions the Corinthian sima and antefix tiles from the area of the Neorion. The excavation diary from 1986 records a mix of Laconian and Corinthian tiles found in the area of the Neorion.
[17] Lehmann and Spittle 1982, pl. XXVII.

turns downward; the center turns upward; finally, the outermost tendril turns downward and curls against the end of the face in an elaborate triple spiral of overlapping loops terminating with a flower. The sima face is not crowned with a fillet, a detail that allows the coils of the rinceaux to advance slightly above the upper lip of the top edge. The sima of the Stoa also has small flowers between the tendrils molded onto a cyma recta face, but not the elaborately coiled third tendril that distinguishes the Hall of Choral Dancers. The Stoa also differs in its use of an upper and lower fillet that frame the decoration on the sima.

The roof of the Hieron also employs both marble sima and terracotta tiling. Marble sima blocks and antefixes crown the lowest course of roofing, whereas the upper courses of the roof were composed of terracotta pan and cover tiles.[18] Each block of marble lateral sima of the Hieron is ca. 1.22 m in width and ca. 1.065 m in length.[19] A central lion's head waterspout was placed between spikey acanthus calyces (Fig. 15a-b). A triple rinceaux springs from the calyces on a cyma recta profile. The unfluted calyces separate the rinceaux into three parts, from which each rinceaux tendril curls with a single v-shaped channel down its center. On the left, the inner most and outermost tendrils turn counter-clockwise, while the middle tendril turns clockwise. The rinceaux on the right side mirrors that onthe left. Between each pair of tendrils, a lancet-shaped leaf sprouts. The rinceaux is framed by an upper fillet and a lower fascia. The tendrils of the rinceaux of the Hieron lack ribbed calyces and a central v-shaped channel throughout like the Rotunda or the Stoa. Lancet-shaped shoots grow between the tendrils of the rinceaux like the smaller floral tendrils that grow between the coils of the Hall of Choral dancers. The Hieron's rinceaux is framed with an upper fillet and lower fascia like the rinceaux of the Stoa.

[18] Pieces "of all three basic varieties of tile exist" (Lehmann 1969, 83).
[19] Lehmann 1969, pl. LV.

The Rotunda of Arsinoe II, a tholos with a Doric Façade and Corinthian interior, also sits in the Central Sanctuary. The roof was constructed in a conical arrangement of scale-shaped tiles, but the lowest course of roofing was carved in marble like the Hall of Choral Dancers and the Hieron. The marble sima blocks from the Rotunda come from the original construction phase, but were later altered to accommodate a Roman roof repair.[20] The Roman repair included cutting the sides and back of the blocks, an alteration that complicates our present understanding of the dimensions of the sima.[21] The present interior dimension of a sima block is 1.22 m, but the corners of the exterior face of the block are broken.[22] A lion's head waterspout appears at the center of the cyma recta face of each sima block (Fig. 17). The lion's head is adorned on both sides with calyces formed by two spikey-edged acanthus leaves, from which a triple rinceaux sprouts. Each of the three tendrils grows from its own ribbed caulix that terminates with spiked acanthus leaves. On the left, the innermost and outermost tendrils turn downward, while the central tendril turns upward. The composition of the rinceaux relates this sima to the Hall of Choral Dancers and the Hieron. Like Hieron's sima, lancet-shaped shoots grow between the sets of tendrils. The Rotunda's rinceaux is linked to the Stoa through the use of a central v-shaped cutting throughout the tendrils.

Fragments of a sima from the Ancient City show that a preference for a triple rinceaux is not limited to the Sanctuary (Fig. 17). This sima also has a cyma recta molding, with triple rinceaux tendrils curling from an acanthus leaf and an un-ribbed caulix.[23] The tendrils of the rinceaux do not have a v-shaped channel. Like the simas of the Hall of Choral Dancers and the

[20] McCredie et al. 1992, 74.
[21] McCredie et al. 1992, 74.
[22] Of the original forty sima blocks, none are fully preserved. 22 large blocks, all missing their gutters and lion's head spouts, also exist. Only two gutters complete in section are present on Samothrace (McCredie et al. 1992, 73).
[23] Karadima 1993, 491, fig. 2.

Stoa, the areas between the tendrils are filled with secondary flowers; in this instance, a small closed bloom between the first and second tendrils and an open bloom between the second and third.

The sima of the Dedication of Philip II and Alexander III, a Doric hexastyle prostyle building located on the Eastern Hill of the Sanctuary, differs from other marble simas in the Sanctuary. The marble lateral sima from the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander II survives in small and weathered fragments. The sima face is reconstructed at a width of ca. 1.04 m.[24] Three fragments of lion's heads reveal two separate styles of waterspouts.[25] Other small fragments preserve pieces of rinceaux decoration in low relief on a flat profile. The face of the sima was adorned with a central lion's head waterspout, flanked by a double rinceaux (Fig. 18). The double rinceaux proceeds from a caulix of two spikey acanthus leaves. The two tendrils of the rinceaux emerge from the acanthus caulix of the main stem, the first curling downward and the second curling upward against the outer edge of the face.[26] Although it is tempting to compare the double rinceaux to the Stoa, the composition is different. The double tendrils of the Dedication are spread across ca. 1 m wide sima, whereas the tendrils of the Stoa are compressed onto a ca. 0.50 m wide sima tile. The tendrils of the Dedication's rinceaux sprout from two acanthus leaves and an un-ribbed caulix. Each tendril is decorated with a central v-shaped channel. There is no evidence of secondary shoots between the tendrils like the Stoa. The designers of the sima tiles of the Stoa do not appear to draw inspiration directly from the Dedication.

[24] Wescoat 2017, pl. XXXIX.
[25] Wescoat 2017, 130.
[26] Wescoat 2017, 131.

The remaining buildings in the Sanctuary have uncarved simas. The Propylon of Ptolemy II, the entrance to the Sanctuary, had a plain lateral sima (1.238 m wide) with a cyma recta profile and a central lion's head waterspout (Fig. 19).[27] The Altar Court, which is a Doric building located in the Central Sanctuary, provides another example of a building with a mixed media roof; the lowest course of roofing is marble and the remainder of the roof is terracotta. The marble sima of this building also has a cyma recta profile; the block measures 1.20 m in width.[28] However, the sima blocks do not have carved decoration other than the lion's head waterspout; possibly, it was originally painted (Fig. 20). Although the decoration of the sima of the Altar Court is different from the three previous buildings, it retains the characteristic cyma recta profile. The Ionic porch attached to the western face of the Dedication was added to the building in the late 3rd or first half of the 2nd century BCE.[29] The extant lion's head waterspouts require a block that is ca. 1.82 m wide, which is twice the normal size of a sima block from a building of the similar scale (Fig. 21).[30] The face of the sima has a cyma recta molding that is framed by a lower fascia and upper fillet. The last building in the Sanctuary with a noteworthy marble sima is a complex of dining rooms dedicated by a woman from Miletos in the 3rd century BCE. This building consists of a central room with an Ionic façade flanked by two dining rooms. The geison-sima, which measures 0.94 m in width, has a central lion's head waterspout and a plain cyma recta profile (Fig. 22).[31] The cyma recta profile connects this building to the Stoa as well as the other buildings in the Sanctuary.[32]

[27] Frazer 1990, 70.
[28] Lehmann and Spittle 1964, pl. XXXII.
[29] Wescoat 2017, 249-253.
[30] Wescoat 2017, 207.
[31] Bouzek and Ondrejoba 1985, 73.
[32] A comparison of the lion's head waterspouts inside and outside the Sanctuary requires further research. As I continue my work on the Stoa's roof, I will further develop my understanding of the Stoa's lion's head waterspouts in relation to the Sanctuary and the broader Aegean world.

Terracotta Antefixes

Turning to the antefix, the other terracotta antefixes from the Sanctuary also demonstrate a preferred design in the Sanctuary that is markedly different from the Stoa. These antefixes come from the area of the Anaktoron and from the Neorion. The architectural terracottas from the area of the Anaktoron are crucial because they set the precedent for ceramic antefixes in the Sanctuary. The antefixes from the Neorion provide a roughly contemporary point of comparison for the antefixes of the Stoa.

The area of the Anaktoron includes foundations of three distinct rectangular buildings: the Orthostate Structure (first half of the 4th century BCE), the Proto-Anaktoron (early 3rd century CE), and the Anaktoron (early 1st century BCE).[33] The Corinthian style antefixes from the area of the Anaktoron vary, but they all form the same general motif: two tightly curled, outward turning volutes that are crowned with a palmette. Karl Lehmann and Phyllis Williams Lehmann identify the terracotta antefixes from the first phase of building as "characteristically late archaic," but now that we know that the Anaktoron is early Imperial, these tiles likely belong to the Orthostate Structure or the Proto-anaktoron (Fig. 23).[34] They consist of addorsed volutes that spring from acanthus leaves and are crowned by a palmette composed of 11 fleshy, rounded leaves emerging from a diamond-shaped heart. A different design of antefix from the area of the Anaktoron belongs to the Roman period Anaktoron and is more complicated than its predecessor (Fig. 24).[35] The palmette was formed with thin convex drooping leaves that are widely spaced and a "shapeless, bulging" palmette heart.[36] The volutes, which do not really support the

[33] McCredie 1979, 27-35.
[34] Lehmann and Spittle 1964, 93.
[35] McCredie 1979, 34; Williams Lehmann identifies this antefix as a type "characteristic of the late-fifth-century" (1969, 182).
[36] Lehmann and Spittle 1964, 96.

palmette, curl in outward turning coils while two lateral tendrils spring from them.[37] This antefix represents another motif that does not conform to the simpler motif of the palmette over a double volute present in the Sanctuary.

The rampant terracotta antefixes of the Neorion also differ from those of the Stoa in both construction and decoration. The rectangular base of the antefix was cut to fit the pitched form of the Corinthian cover tile, which was adjusted to fit against the sima tile. An oblong shaped form was set on the rectangular base, within which was set a shallowly molded palmette of 11 drooping leaves emanating from a simple, spade-shaped palmette heart (Fig. 25). The lateral leaves droop and have a central depression; the central leaf is lancet-shaped and articulated with a central rib. The plainer design and rather crude craftsmanship of the antefixes from the Neorion stands in marked contrast to the more ornate antefixes of the Stoa.

Marble Antefixes

Although stylistic variation occurs between buildings, the Hall of Choral Dancers, Hieron, Rotunda of Arsinoe, Altar Court, and Dedication of Philip and Alexander have antefixes with a basic composition of a double volute crowned by a palmette. All of the marble antefix cover tiles in the Sanctuary are rampant and Corinthian in design.

One rampant antefix from the original 4th century BCE roof of the Hall of Choral Dancers survives at the Ephesus Museum in Vienna.[38] This antefix, ca. 0.16 m high, is defined by a palmette of 11 pointed petals with the central petal rising slightly higher than the rest (Fig. 26). The palmette rises from a central arrow-shaped palmette heart. The palmette heart is framed by two ribbed stalks, from which the two volutes coil. The antefix is joined to the sima by the

[37] Lehmann and Spittle 1964, 96.
[38] Lehmann and Spittle 1982, 72.

volutes, which grow from the same caulix on the sima from which the tendrils grow.[39] The Corinthian tiles attached to the antefix had a pentagonal outer shape and a curved inner profile.

The marble rampant antefixes from the Hieron are ca. 0.272 m high.[40] Although most of the extant antefixes are identified as repairs, the general composition of the antefix remains the same (Fig. 27).[41] A nine-petalled palmette that springs from a central lancet-shaped palmette heart crowns the antefix. [42] Each pointed petal of the palmette has a sharply raised edge and a central v-shaped groove. The palmette is supported by a pair of outwardly turned tendrils that emerge from acanthus leaves and terminate in a raised circle. [43] The antefix is separated from the sima by a small plinth upon which the entire antefix plaque stands. [44] The outer surface of the attached Corinthian cover tile is pentagonal, while the inner surface is rounded to allow fitting over the lips of the pan tiles. Beyond the marble sima blocks and antefix cover tiles the roof was completed with terracotta tiles painted with red glaze.

The tall rampant antefixes from the Rotunda measure 0.355 m in height (Fig. 28).[45] The palmette is composed of 11 flat leaves with rounded tips; ten drooping leaves flanking a central upright leaf. The palmette springs from an arrow-shaped leaf, flanked by a pair of antithetical coiled and ribbed stems, from which a tendril with a central v-shaped channel curls. The outer

[39] Lehmann and Spittle 1982, 135.
[40] Lehmann 1969, 81.
[41] Lehmann 1969, 80.
[42] Lehmann 1969, 180.
[43] Lehmann 1969, 180.
[44] Phyllis Williams Lehmann, in her discussion of comparanda from the roof of the Hieron, claims that the antefixes from the Hieron are a blend of "traditional and local forms" and that the "architect has shown his customary tact in accepting and combining these Samothracian forms" (1969, 183). The separation of the antefix from the sima is similar to the design of the antefixes at the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (Lehmann 196, 183).
[45] McCredie et al. 1992, pl. LVI.

profile of the attached Corinthian cover tile is pentagonal while the inner profile is curved to accommodate the lips of the Corinthian pan tiles.

The 0.216 m high rampant antefixes from the Altar Court are crowned with 11 leaves with rounded, drooping tips (Fig. 29).[46] Each leaf is articulated with sharply raised edges and a central v-shaped groove. These leaves radiate from a central lancet shaped heart flanked by two volutes with v-shaped channels throughout their stems. The volutes sprout from waving edges of acanthus that emerge from a short plinth.

The Hall of Choral Dancers, Rotunda, and Altar Court are joined by their use of 11 palmette leaves, rather than the nine of the Hieron. Both the antefixes of the Hall of Choral Dancers and the Rotunda lack a plinth, a feature that separates vegetation of the antefix from the sima. The antefixes from the Hieron, Rotunda, and Altar Court are connected in design by their use of double volutes, lancet-shaped heart, and rounded drooping palmette leaves. The antefixes from the Hieron and Altar court are stylistically linked by deep v-shaped groves throughout the petals of the palmette. The antefixes of the Rotunda and the Hall of Choral Dancers are tall, while those of the Hieron and Altar Court are shorter and squatter in form. The waving acanthus at the base of the antefixes from the Altar Court is unique to this building within the Sanctuary. The antefixes from the Hall of Choral dancers are of the same scale as those of the Stoa. However, the double volute and palmette design of all the marble antefixes in the Sanctuary are entirely different from the Stoa.

[46] Lehmann and Spittle 1964, pl. XXXIII.

The sima of the Dedication shows evidence of original and replacement antefixes.[47] The extant rampant antefixes from the Dedication, found in a destruction layer of the theatral circle, belong to a later Roman repair to the building.[48] The plaque of the marble antefix, 0.174 m in height, is crowned with a palmette of 11 thin petals, which grow from a central arrow-shaped palmette heart (Fig. 30).[49] The palmette sits atop two outward turning rounded volutes. Two marble rampant antefixes and two marble cover tiles are the only surviving fragments from the Corinthian marble roof of the Ionic porch. The faces of the antefixes, 0.130 m high, are heavily worn, but they retain nine thin palmette leaves that radiate from an oblong palmette heart (Fig. 31).[50] The heart is framed by slender tendrils that sprout from a floral motif.[51] The remaining pentagonal-shaped marble cover tiles were originally attached to the antefix plaque. The inner surface of the cover tile is cover tile is round. Although the remaining antefixes from the Dedication and Ionic Porch represent material from later dates than the roof of the Stoa, these antefixes offer evidence of a continued use of the typical double volute and palmette design in antefixes of the Sanctuary.

Summary

Comparison to both marble and terracotta roof elements in the Sanctuary highlights the novelty of the roof of the Stoa at this site. The preferred design of sima decoration in the Sanctuary has a cyma recta profile, a lion's head waterspout, and a triple rinceaux. Although the double rinceaux of the sima of the Stoa draws closest comparison to the Dedication of Philip and

[47] The appearance of both round and rectangular cuttings atop the sima could not have functioned at the same time (Wescoat 2017, 139).
[48] The reuse of marble Corinthian cover tiles from the Dedication in Early Imperial period repair to the Hestiatorion adjacent to the Neorion provides more information about the possible date of the repair (Wescoat 2017, 141).
[49] Wescoat 2017, pl. XXXIX.
[50] Wescoat 2017, pl. LXVI.
[51] Wescoat 2017, 207.

Alexander, the differences in the profile and scale of the sima tiles between the two buildings make this link weak. The antefixes of the Stoa do not find strong connection with any other example in the Sanctuary. These distinctions between the Stoa and the other buildings in the Sanctuary suggest outside inspiration. We therefore turn to comparanda from the broader Aegean to assist in an understanding of the sphere of influence on the building community at Samothrace.

Relationship to Roofs outside of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods

Although the roof of the Stoa was made with local materials and by island craftsmen, the ornamentation of the sima and the design of the antefix sit outside local traditions. Their origins provide intriguing evidence for international connections. While the sima represents a common motif in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, the antefix belongs to a specific typology that emerges in Athens and can be traced to elite houses and palaces in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Pergamon. While we can only theorize about the decision making involved in choosing such a specific type of antefix, the specialized use of this design does raise the possibility that either the Samothracian builders or patron of this building aimed to establish a connection with Macedonian elite and royal residences.

Corinth

Terracotta sima fragments from the city of Corinth provide a basis for an understanding of the development of the double rinceaux on a terracotta sima. Mary Roebuck comments that plastically decorated terracotta simas were not developed until the 4th century BCE.[52] A fragment of sima from Classical Corinth provides a "very fine" terracotta example of a sima with a lion's

[52] Roebuck 1994, 39.

head waterspout and double rinceaux on a flat profile (Fig. 32).[53] The rinceaux is framed by a painted lesbian leaf pattern on the upper fillet while the lower fascia is decorated with a meander pattern, which Roebuck associates with the 5th century.[54] The two tendrils sprout from two spikey edged acanthus leaves, then each one curls from its own ribbed caulix. Similar to the Stoa on Samothrace, first tendril curls downward, while the second tendril curls upward. Although the first tendril has a central v-shaped channel like the Samothracian stoa's, the second tendril is decorated with a sharp protruding rib. A bell-shaped flower grows from the first caulix toward the lower fascia, which is reminiscent of the secondary tendrils on the sima of the Stoa at Samothrace.

The architectural terracottas from the South Stoa at Corinth, which was built either in the 330's BCE or the late 4th century, provide a basis for comparison with early Hellenistic design. (Fig. 33).[55] The double rinceaux of the South Stoa is framed by a painted egg-and-dart on the upper ovolo molding and a meander on the lower fascia. The two tendrils of the rinceaux grow from a single ribbed caulix and they fill the entire sima face like the Stoa. The lion's head waterspouts of the South Stoa differ from the Stoa in a careful articulation of the brows, eyes, and snout. The craftsmen of this sima formed the lion's mane in two rows of crescent shaped locks. While the sima tiles of the South Stoa helps us understand the appearance of the double rinceaux in Mainland Greece, it is also vital to understand this motif in the Northern Aegean.

Messa, Lesbos

[53] Roebuck 1994, 46.
[54] Although Roebuck (1994, 46) associates this type of meander with the 5th century, she comments in a footnote that the suggested date of the sima is 400-350 BCE.
[55] Robebuck 1994, 47.

The double rinceaux of the sima of the Stoa has a precedent in the Northern Aegean. The Temple at Messa, dated to the mid-4th century BCE, provides an earlier example of the double rinceaux on the nearby island of Lesbos (Fig. 34).[56] The marble sima at Messa has a flat profile and has a broader width than the sima of the Stoa. The two rinceaux tendrils of the sima at Messa sprout from two acanthus leaves with spikey edges and a caulix with spiraled ribbing.[57] A small tendril also grows out from the acanthus and turns toward the water spout, which is similar to the leaf that grows out of the caulix on the sima of the Stoa. The first main tendril curls downward, while the second tendril curls upward from its own caulix. The composition of tendrils is the same as the Stoa, but the individual calyces are different. An open flower grows downward from the caulix of the first tendril and a closed bloom grows upward from the second caulix. These additional blooms are like the two closed blooms that grow from the tendrils of the sima of the Stoa.

Thasos

The architecture on the nearby island of Thasos compares closely to architectural roofing details on Samothrace. Thasian marble was also a staple material in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The Northwest Stoa, built at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, in the Ancient Agora on Thasos had a Doric façade with 35 columns in antis.[58] The scale of the Northwest Stoa (97.59 m long) is similar to that on Samothrace.[59] Like other buildings in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, the marble sima of the Northwest Stoa is decorated with an elaborate triple rinceaux on a

[56] Rumscheid 1994, 59-70.
[57] Rumscheid (1994, 59) comments on Pfommer, who identifies spikey edged acanthus leaves as associated with the Classical period, while lobed leaves are associated with later periods.
[58] For the date of the Southwest stoa, see Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 64.
[59] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 64. Earlier Martin 1959, 35, Figs. 15-17.

cyma recta profile (Fig. 35a-b).[60] From both sides of central lion's head spout, three tendrils sprout from acanthus and a ribbed caulix. Small open flowers grow between the first and second tendrils and between the second and third. An additional fourth tendril curves upward from the caulix of the third tendril into a flower with pointed petals. The design of the triple rinceaux connects the Northwest Stoa to the Hall of Choral Dancers, the Hieron, and the Rotunda of Arsinoe rather than the Samothracian Stoa. The design of the sima of the Stoa not only breaks from the architecture in the Sanctuary, but also the preferred sima design for a stoa in the northern Aegean.

The Doric *Édifice à Paraskénia* located in the Agora on Thasos was constructed in the second half of the 4th century BCE.[61] The sima of this structure is decorated with a double rinceaux carved onto a flat profile (Fig. 36).[62] The double rinceaux curls from two acanthus leaves and a smooth caulix.[63] The first tendril curls downward and the second curls upward into a rosette. Both tendrils are carved with a central v-shaped channel. The presence of the double rinceaux of the Édifice à Paraskénia precedes the Stoa in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and speaks to the common use of the double rinceaux in marble sima decoration in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.

Design of the Antefixes

While the composition of the sima connects the Stoa of Samothrace broadly to buildings across the Hellenistic world, the design of the antefixes closely links the Stoa to architectural terracottas associated with palatial and sacred architecture. The design of the antefixes of the

[60] "Le parement présentait un profile en doucine décorée…" (Martin 1959, 35).
[61] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 66. Earlier, Martin 1959, 83-91.
[62] Martin 1959, 74.
[63] Martin 1959, 74.

Stoa relate to antefixes present at the Pompeion in Athens, the palaces at Vergina, elite houses at Pella, the palaces at Demetrias, the telesterion at the Kabeirion on Lemnos, and the palaces at Pergamon.

The Pompeion, Athens

The composition of the antefixes from the Stoa originates in the Pompeion in Athens.[64] This building, which was constructed in the 4th century BCE, sits northwest of the Acropolis in the Kerameikos along the sacred *pompe,* or procession, of the Panathenaia. The plan of this building includes an off-center, south-east facing propylon with a tetrastyle Ionic façade (Fig. 37). The interior of this building is organized with a large central courtyard and an Ionic peristyle. Six dining rooms of various sizes sit inside the north and northwest sides of the peristyle. The roof of the propylon was decorated with marble roofing elements, while the peristyle's roofing was entirely in terracotta.[65] The architectural terracottas of the peristyle are Corinthian and range in date from the Late Classical to Hellenistic to Roman periods.[66] The antefixes that adorn this building are not rampant like the Stoa but sit on flat, terracotta eaves tiles.

The iterations of the molded antefixes from the Pompeion reveal the chronological development of this vegetal motif. The earliest antefixes from the Pompeion were painted rather than molded, which was a common practice in the Classical period.[67] Although painted, these antefixes are decorated with the distinctive design of six volutes and flowers present on the

[64] Hübner (1973, 230-237) diachronically traces the development of the antefixes from the Pompeion and connects them specifically to Samothrace.
[65] Hübner 1973, 230-237.
[66] Hübner 1974, 230-237.
[67] Hoepfner 1974, 70-78.

antefixes of the Stoa (Fig. 38). Gerhild Hübner compares the painted antefixes of the Pompeion to classical antefixes found at Eleusis (Fig. 39) and the stoa at Brauron (Fig. 40) and proposes that this antefix motif was developed in mainland Greece.[68] These locations also suggest that this antefix style spread first through sacred sites. The first molded terracotta antefix tiles, dated to the mid-4th century BCE, of the Pompeion follow the composition of the painted antefixes (Fig. 41).[69] While a well-preserved antefix from the middle of the 4th century has the same formation of six volutes as the Stoa, the volutes of the antefix from the Pompeion are rounded. Additionally, this Late Classical antefix has 11 palmette leaves with rounded ends, which is associated with Classical anthemia.

The antefixes dated to end of the 4th century are most closely related to those of the Stoa, identified by Hübner as the "Glockenblumen – Typus," or "bellflower-type" (Fig. 42).[70] This type of antefix is identified by the molded composition of volutes, flowers, and crowning palmette that are apparent in the antefixes of the Pompeion and the Stoa.[71] In this version, the volutes, bellflowers, and palmette of the Pompeion are arranged in the same way as the Stoa in four specific details. The leaves of the acanthus have a spikey edge, the volutes are molded with a v-shaped channel, the palmette leaves grow from a fan-shaped bloom, and these leaves have pointed edges. The bellflowers that grow from the volutes of the Pompeion's antefixes have sharper petals and a more defined stamen in comparison to the Stoa. Those of the Pompeion measure ca. 0.24 m in height from the base acanthus to the tip of the palmette, which is ca. 0.06 m taller than the antefixes of the Stoa.[72] Although there are similarities between the antefixes, the

[68] Hübner 1973, 77-95; Hübner (1974, 236) was the first to recognize a comparison between the antefixes of the Pompeion and the Stoa.
[69] Hübner 1974, 232-233.
[70] Hübner 1974, 233.
[71] Hübner 1974, 233-234.
[72] Hoepfner 1974, 73, fig. 98.

stylistic variation and difference in scale do not suggest that a common workshop made the roofs of both buildings. Instead, the building communities in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and elsewhere were aware of the bellflower-type and deployed it in their own preferred styles.

Vergina/Aigai

Antefixes from the palatial complex at Vergina, or ancient Aigai, derived from the bellflower-type of antefix.[73] The palace was built during the life of Philip II (382-336 BCE), but additions and restorations were implemented in the succeeding two centuries.[74] The plan of this building is organized with a monumental eastward facing central propylon that was flanked by a two story, mixed Doric and Ionic colonnade (Fig. 43-44). The interior space has a central peristyle courtyard with multifunctional rooms on all sides.[75] A second courtyard with a peristyle and adjoining rooms was built on the west side of the complex. Like the Stoa at Samothrace, this palace was also constructed with local material, but not necessarily local craftsmanship.[76]

It has been suggested that the antefixes at Vergina were designed by an Attic workshop based on comparison to the early Hellenistic antefixes from the Pompeion.[77] The antefixes from Vergina, which are ca. 0.27 m in height, were designed with the bellflower-type arrangement and

[73] Nielsen (1999, 87) addresses V. Heermann's (1986) so-called "Flugelreiraumgruppe," a term used in the characterization of Macedonian palaces. This group, which identifies buildings as palaces, "consists of (a) a central room opening onto the courtyard with columns in antis (in the following called an exedra), and (b) two flanking rooms with klinai, opening with asymmetrically placed doorways to the exedra" (Nielsen, 1999, 97). Nielsen recognizes that Vergina is the only building that fits into this group and that the identification of palatial structures requires interpretation.
[74] Kottaridi (2011, 30) dates the completion of the palace to 336 BCE, while Nielsen (1999, 81) dates the construction to the second half of the 4th century BCE.
[75] In her catalogue of palaces, Nielsen (1999, 242-307) proposes the following functions: official/ceremonial, social, religious, defensive, administrative, service, residential for king/governor, residential for court/guests, public space, and recreational space.
[76] Nielsen (1999, 264) identifies local material in her catalogue of palaces. Marie Francois-Billot (Descamps-Lequime et al 2011, 308-309) attributes the tiles from Vergina to a "conception et fabrication locales par un atelier Attique."
[77] Descamps-Lequime et al. 2011, 308-309.

volutes that sprout from three acanthus leaves (Fig. 45).[78] The volutes grow from a caulix and were molded with a central v-shaped channel. Sharply rendered bellflowers sit below the two center volutes; the petals and stamen are clearly differentiated. A palmette heart with nine rounded leaves grows upward between the two central volutes and 13 flame-shaped leaves grow from the miniature palmette heart. The entire roof at Vergina was constructed in the Corinthian order with antefix and eaves tiles.[79]

The antefixes from Vergina relate most closely to the Hellenistic antefixes from the Pompeion. Although the palmette leaves are quite different, the antefixes from Vergina are connected to the Pompeion through scale, the formation of volutes with a v-shaped cutting, sharply rendered bellflowers, and the number of pointed palmette leaves.[80] In addition, the entire roof was constructed in the Corinthian order with eaves tiles and flat antefix tiles, the same construction method as the roof of the Pompeion. The similarities in the antefixes from Vergina to the Pompeion do not necessitate an Attic workshop at the palace, but the general design of the antefixes at Vergina shows an interest in Attic roof decoration. This first use of the bellflower-type antefix in a royal context sets a precedent for the decorative terracottas for three other palatial contexts. It is not certain whether members of the building community of the Stoa knew of the antefixes from Vergina, but the strong presence of the bellflower-type in palatial contexts raises the possibility of interest in royal residences on the part of the building community of the Stoa.

Pella, House of Dionysos

[78] Descamps-Lequime et al. 2011, 308-308, cat. nos. 187-188.
[79] Pandermalis 1987, fig. 2.
[80] Pandermalis (1987, 595-598, pls. 117-118) also recognizes the common design between the antefixes from Vergina and the antefixes from the Pompeion and Pella.

By the 4th century BCE, the ancient city of Pella, the capital of the Macedonian kingdom from the late 5th century BCE and the birthplace of Philip II, was the largest and most powerful city in Macedon.[81] This city includes a major palatial complex on the acropolis to the north of the agora and large "palatial houses" just south of the agora. One of these palaces, the so-called House of Dionysos, or Pella I, 1, is known for its rich mosaic program but also warrants discussion for its use of the bellflower-type antefix. This structure, identified as a late 4th century private palace,[82] sits directly south of the Agora at Pella and is organized by three central courtyards that are aligned from the north to south within a Hippodamian *insula* with courtyards that are surrounded by multifunctional rooms of various sizes (Fig. 46). Although a specific elite patron has not been identified, such a richly adorned building was likely built by a powerful individual in the 4th century BCE.[83]

The composition of volutes, bellflowers, and palmette of the antefixes from the area of the House of Dionysos belong to Hübner's bellflower-type, but the workshop at Pella shows signs of artistic innovation (Fig. 47). Two additional closed blooms grow from the three acanthus leaves and point upward, and the bellflowers have lobed petals rather than pointed ones. Additionally, the artisans have opted for rounded palmette leaves as well, like those of the Pompeion. The lion's head waterspouts found in the area bear striking resemblance to the Stoa (Fig. 48).[84] The uses of the bellflower-type antefix and distinct lion's head at this elite residence

[81] Akamatis 2011, 393; Xen, *Hell,* 5.2.13.1-3.
[82] Nielsen 1999, 264.
[83] Nielsen (1999, 84) posits that the palatial houses at the center of Pella were residences for "Friends" of the king.
[84] Sima fragments from the area of Pella I have the most similar lion's head waterspouts to the Stoa, but this subject requires further research. However, these waterspouts were not necessarily part of the same roof as the antefixes from Pella I, 1 (the House of Dionysos). The eyes of one lion from Pella are crowned with an expressive, downward turning brow. The eyes of one lion from Pella are crowned with an expressive, downward turning brow (Fig. 40). Additionally, the lion's super orbital mane is made up of vertical locks, which are separated from the lateral striated locks by two D-shaped ears. The cyma recta profile on each side of the lion's head is entirely different from the Stoa with a repeating palmette and lotus motif. The lion head waterspouts at Pella predate the Stoa at Samothrace and they speak to the innovation occurring in the medium of terracotta in the 4th century. It is likely that the building

suggest an awareness of palatial architecture in the design of the decorative elements of the roof of the Stoa.

Demetrias

The antefixes at the palatial complex, also identified as the "Proto-Anaktoron" and "Anaktoron," of Demetrias draw the closest comparison to the Stoa at Samothrace in scale, construction, and style. Peter Marzolff recognizes three phases of building during the Hellenistic period.[85] The first period of building was a push to fortify the city when it was founded by Demetrius I Poliorketes at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, then a major building phase occurred during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas (ca. 277-239 BCE), and the final major building phase happened under Philip V of Macedon at the end of the 3rd century BCE and early 2nd century.[86] The palace from the reign of Philip V (the "Anaktoron") is the best preserved, but the comparable antefixes from Demetrias come from the "alteren residens," which is associated with the construction period of Antigonos Gonatas (the "Proto-anaktoron").[87] This architecturally complex palatial area sits on a hill 33 m above the rest of the city (Fig. 49). The functions of this palace were multifold and most recently identified as an space of "royal residence, seat of court, and [an] administrative center."[88]

The similarities between the antefixes from Demetrias and Samothrace are striking. The rampant Corinthian antefixes from Demetrias, measured at 0.19 m high, are similar in scale and

community in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods was aware of the lion's head waterspouts at Pella. They showed preference for the style of the lion's head, but differed significantly in the style of the Stoa's antefixes.

[85] Marzolff (1996, 154) recognized that the bell flower type antefixes from Demetrias were related to antefixes from Vergina and Pella.
[86] Stamatopoulou 2018, 348; Nielsen 1999, 93; Marzolff 1996, 148-152.
[87] Marzolff 1996, 152.
[88] Stamatopoulou 2018, 355.

construction to the Stoa (Fig. 50).[89] Both antefixes have the same formation of volutes that are molded with a central v-shaped channel. The bellflowers of the antefix from Demetrias have similarly rounded bellflower petals to the Stoa as well. The palmette has nine leaves with pointed, upward turning tips and these leaves grow from a central fan-shaped bloom. However, the shape of the palmette from Demetrias has a more rounded outline while the palmette of the Stoa has a more triangular shape. In addition, the antefix from Demetrias was molded in higher relief than the antefix from Samothrace. These differences in shape suggest that the building communities did not use the same mold for the antefix face. The strong similarity of the antefixes between the two buildings suggests a possible connection, but it is uncertain which building was constructed first.

Lemnian Telesterion

The Hellenistic Telesterion on the northern Aegean island of Lemnos is connected to Samothrace by a religious affiliation with the Kabeiroi. This site was active in the Archaic and Classical Periods, but the Hellenistic Telesterion was not constructed until the end of the 3rd century BCE and was destroyed by a fire in the middle of the 2nd century BCE.[90] This building is associated with Philip V, the Antigonid ruler who demanded to be initiated into the cult at the end of the 3rd century BCE (before his defeat at Cynocephalus in 197 BCE). Luigi Beschi contends that the Hellenistic Telesterion was either donated by Philip V or dedicated to Philip V by the Athenians of Hephaistaia on the occasion of his visit.[91] This building is planned with a frontal colonnade that abuts a cliff face to the east (Fig. 51). As an initiate entered the building

[89] Marzolff 1996, 153.
[90] Beschi 1998, 18-24.
[91] Beschi (1998, 23) is referring to an inscription (SEG XII, 1955) that expresses Philip V's desire to be initiated after an unspecified intervention at the Kabeirion.

they were met with a central nave and two wide side aisles, which created space for cultic movement within. The westernmost side was built with a corridor that spans the width of the building, followed by four cult rooms of variable sizes. The enigmatic nature of the function of this space relates well to the architecture in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, which has three architectural candidates for the site of the Samothracian Telesterion: the Anaktoron, the Hall of Choral Dancers, and the Hieron.[92]

Although this building postdates the Stoa at Samothrace, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods' connections to the Kabeiroi and royal patronage expand our understanding of the architectural terracottas of the Lemnian telesterion. The antefixes at Lemnos are connected to several of the antefixes that I have already discussed (Fig. 52).[93] The acanthus, volutes, and 11 rounded palmette leaves of the Kabeirion are most similar to the Late Classical antefixes from the Pompeion. However, it is not certain that the building community on Lemnos had access to the Late Classical antefixes, which had been replaced in the early Hellenistic period. If the Late Classical antefixes were not on view in Athens, it is possible that the craftsmen at the Lemnian telesterion intentionally used generic Classical features of antefix design, such as the rounded palmette leaves. The implications of the use of the bellflower-type on the roof of the Telesterion are twofold. The employment of the Classical style bellflower-type connected the this building to Athenian architectural decoration and imbued this building with features fit for Hellenistic royalty. The strong connection to antefixes from Athens suggests that an Athenian link is more important to the community at the Lemnian Kabeirion than a Samothracian one, and the possible involvement of the Athenian colony at Hephaistaia on Lemnos in the construction of the

[92] Clinton, 2017; Beschi 1998, 11-14; Williams Lehmann 1969.
[93] See "The Pompeion, Athens" for discussion of the Late Classical and Hellenistic antefixes.

Telesterion strengthens the Athenian connection.[94] Nevertheless, the appearance of this general design at both Kabeiric sanctuaries is striking.

Palace I, Pergamon

The bellflower-type antefixes also appear at Palace 1 at Pergamon. This city was another stronghold founded by a Hellenistic ruler when Lysimachos, a Macedonian in charge of Thrace, took Pergamon in 301 BCE. His Macedonian lieutenant and the founder of the Attalid Dynasty, Philetairos, expanded Pergamon shortly after. Volker Kästner connects two antefix fragments to Palace I, the northernmost palatial structure in Pergamon, which he dates to the 2nd century BCE (Fig. 53).[95] Although these antefix fragments postdate the Stoa, their later appearance strengthens the connection to palatial architecture. The building community at Pergamon understood the bellflower-type antefix as a motif appropriate for palatial architecture.

Though the two antefixes from Pergamon are only fragmentary, we can still observe recognizable features from the Stoa of Samothrace. Kästner suggests a reconstructed height of 0.24 m for the antefixes from Pergamon.[96] The scale and the style of the Pergamon antefixes link them more with the antefixes from Vergina and Athens. More specifically, Kästner connects these antefix fragments to the "rosettentypus" or "glockenblumen" from the Pompeion in Athens.[97] The Pergamon antefixes have three tendrils on each side, which sprout from a bed of three acanthus leaves. The acanthus leaves have been damaged, but the outer leaves have a sharp downward and inward curl in a similar fashion to the late 4th century antefixes of the Pompeion. The antefixes from Samothrace are connected to Pergamon through their composition of volutes

[94] Beschi 1998, 23.
[95] Kästner 1994, 264. Nielsen (1999, 272) dates the construction of palaces at Pergamon to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE and contends that they were in use until at least 133 BCE.
[96] Kästner 1994, 263.
[97] Kästner 1994, 264.

and their flamed palmette leaves. The palmette is most strongly connected to the palace at Vergina through its style of volutes, sharply rendered bellflowers, use of a scaled-down palmette with nine leaves as the heart, and its 13 flamed palmette leaves. The most compelling connection is to Vergina, which was an important Antigonid site. It is possible that the Attalids in Pergamon were invested in architecture from Vergina due to Macedonian origins through their founder, Lysimachos.

Conclusions

The comparanda from the broader Hellenistic Aegean world signals that the building community involved with the Stoa sought stylistic inspiration beyond the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. The use of the double rinceaux on the sima of the Stoa in the Sanctuary demonstrates a feature that conforms to broader architectural design in the Greek world, where it was typical in the 4th and 3rd centuries in Mainland Greece as well as the Northern Aegean. The antefixes from the Pompeion are crucial since they provide the diachronic development of the bellflower-type antefix from the Classical period to that of the early Hellenistic period. These bellflower antefixes demonstrate that this type originated in Athens, but the later use of this form of antefix, particularly in the north, suggests that the builders associated with the Stoa were inspired by not just by palatial architecture, which was commonly adorned with the bellflower-type antefix, but particularly by the palaces of the Antigonids.

The antefixes of the Stoa point to a direct interest in palatial architecture and royal patronage in the northern Aegean. While the antefixes from the Stoa, the palace at Vergina, the House of Dionysos at Pella, the Lemnian telesterion, and Palace 1 at Pergamon generally follow the same composition of volutes and palmette as the Pompeion, the artisans working on these antefixes take a number of artistic liberties in crafting the antefix of each building. The formation

of volutes and acanthus of the antefixes from the Hellenistic period is most consistent between buildings; the artisans more commonly altered the palmettes. For the purposes of understanding the development of and differences between the bellflower antefixes, I have included a table with the date, height, number of palmette leaves, whether the palmette leaves are rounded or flamed, and an image of each antefix (Table 1). The first group of antefixes that appears is those of the Hellenistic Pompeion, the palace at Vergina, the House of Dionysos, and Palace 1 at Pergamon. With the exception of Pergamon, these palatial structures were built at the end of the 4th century, which may suggest that one Attic workshop transferred this antefix design from Athens to palaces across the Northern Aegean. Nancy Winter has suggested, however, that a local workshop might have also sent one craftsman to make a mold of an antefix, then transferred the mold directly for a new building.[98] The differences between the palmettes of these palaces prove that the same mold was not used for each site. It is plausible that the workshop changed the bellflower-type between palaces such that each would have an individual style. The interval of time between the construction of the previously discussed 4th century palaces and the construction of the palace at Demetrias and the Stoa of Samothrace is too broad for the same workshop to have worked on this range of buildings. A later terracotta workshop was aware of the 4th century bellflower-type and translated the design for Demetrias and Samothrace. The differences of palmettes of Demetrias and Samothrace do not suggest that the same mold was used for both, but the strong similarities in scale and style suggest communication between the building communities at both sites. Although it is not certain whether the Stoa or the palace came first, it is probable that the bellflower-type spread through palatial architecture, then came to Samothrace, where there was strong royal investment in architecture.

[98] Nancy Winter, personal communication, April 18, 2020.

In the late 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods was the recipient of intensive Hellenistic royal patronage. The Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, Rotunda of Arsinoe II, and the Propylon of Ptolemy II are the most well-known royal dedications in the Sanctuary. It is not coincidental then that the roof tiles of the Stoa have such pronounced connections to royal dedications and palaces throughout the Aegean. The sites of Vergina and Pella are linked to Philip II and Alexander III, who built their palaces at these cities. Demetrias was a crucial site for three Hellenistic rulers of the Antigonid dynasty: Demetrius I Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas, and Philip V. The strong connection of the bellflower-type antefix, which was repeated hundreds of times across the eastern and western facades of the Stoa, to Macedonian elite residences and particularly the near-comtemporary palace of Demetrias, raises the question of Antigonid investment in or influence on the Stoa. Samothrace, an island with strong Ptolemaic architectural presence, was therefore an important international site for the Antigonids to assert their involvement in and influence over the Sanctuary. The closest comparison to the Stoa is the antefix from the reign of Antigonos Gonatas at the palace at Demetrias, but the bellflower-type design is strongly embraced across crucial cities in Antigonid territory, including Vergina and Pella. The links between these antefixes in the northern Aegean suggest Antigonid influence on the construction of the Stoa. Whether the Samothracians, as patrons of the building, sought to establish this connection, or they enjoyed the support of a member of the Antigonid dynasty who aimed to make the connection visible through this roof motif, we cannot say.

Nevertheless, the antefixes intimate royal interest in the architecture and construction of the Stoa. By crowning this building with antefixes that have palatial associations, the building community in the Sanctuary was certainly interested in drawing out similarities between the Stoa

and the courtyards of a palace. The general structure of the Stoa as a long colonnade with sheltered rooms relates to the courtyards with colonnades and attached rooms present in palatial architecture. Additionally, the multifunctional nature of the Stoa is reminiscent of the functions of the palatial complexes in the Hellenistic Period. The ornate sima and especially the antefixes of the Stoa imbued this building with palatial character, which set an appropriate backdrop for the robust presence of royal patronage within the Sanctuary of the Great Gods.

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Figure 1. Plan of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods (American Excavations Samothrace 2019).

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Figure 2**.** Austrian drawings of the fragments of the stoa roof found in the area of the Hieron (Conze et al. 1875, pl. L).

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Figure 3. Austrian reconstruction of the entablature of the stoa (Conze et al. 1880, 51).

Figure 4. Stoa sima tile 71.767 from the Stoa, front view (American Excavations Samothrace).

Figure 5**.** Photogrammetric model of reconstructed tile 71.767, from the Stoa at Samothrace (photo model by author).

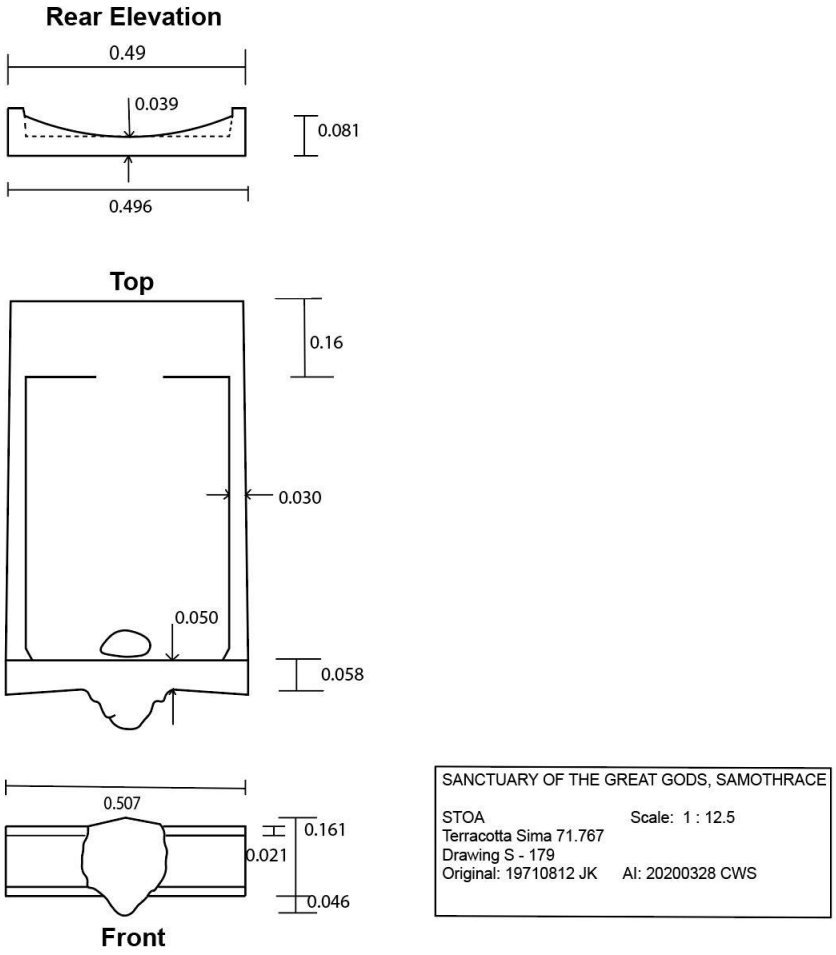

Figure 6**.** Drawing of sima tile 71.767 from the Stoa at Samothrace (Drawing by author after American Excavations Samothrace, S-179).

Figure 7. Antefix from the Stoa (63.500) (American Excavations Samothrace).

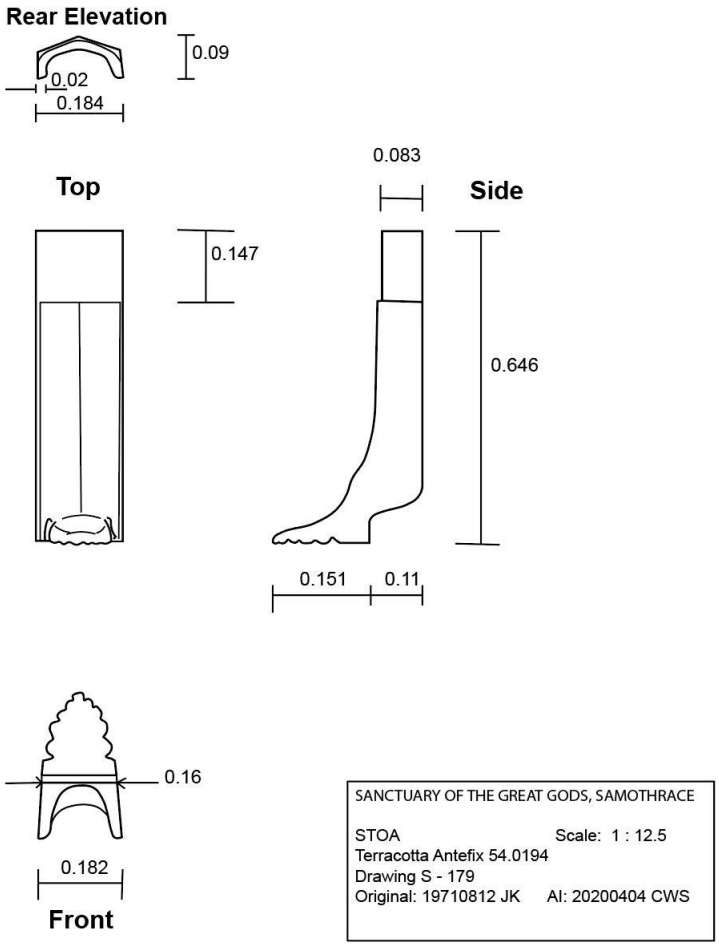

Figure 8**.** Drawing and measurements of antefix (54.0194) from the stoa (Drawing by Author after American Excavations Samothrace. S-179).

Figure 9**.** Sima spout fragment 50.413, showing smooth surface to which the plastic lion's head was attached (American Excavations Samothrace).

Figure 10**.** Sima fragment 63.200Q showing scored surface (American Excavations Samothrace).

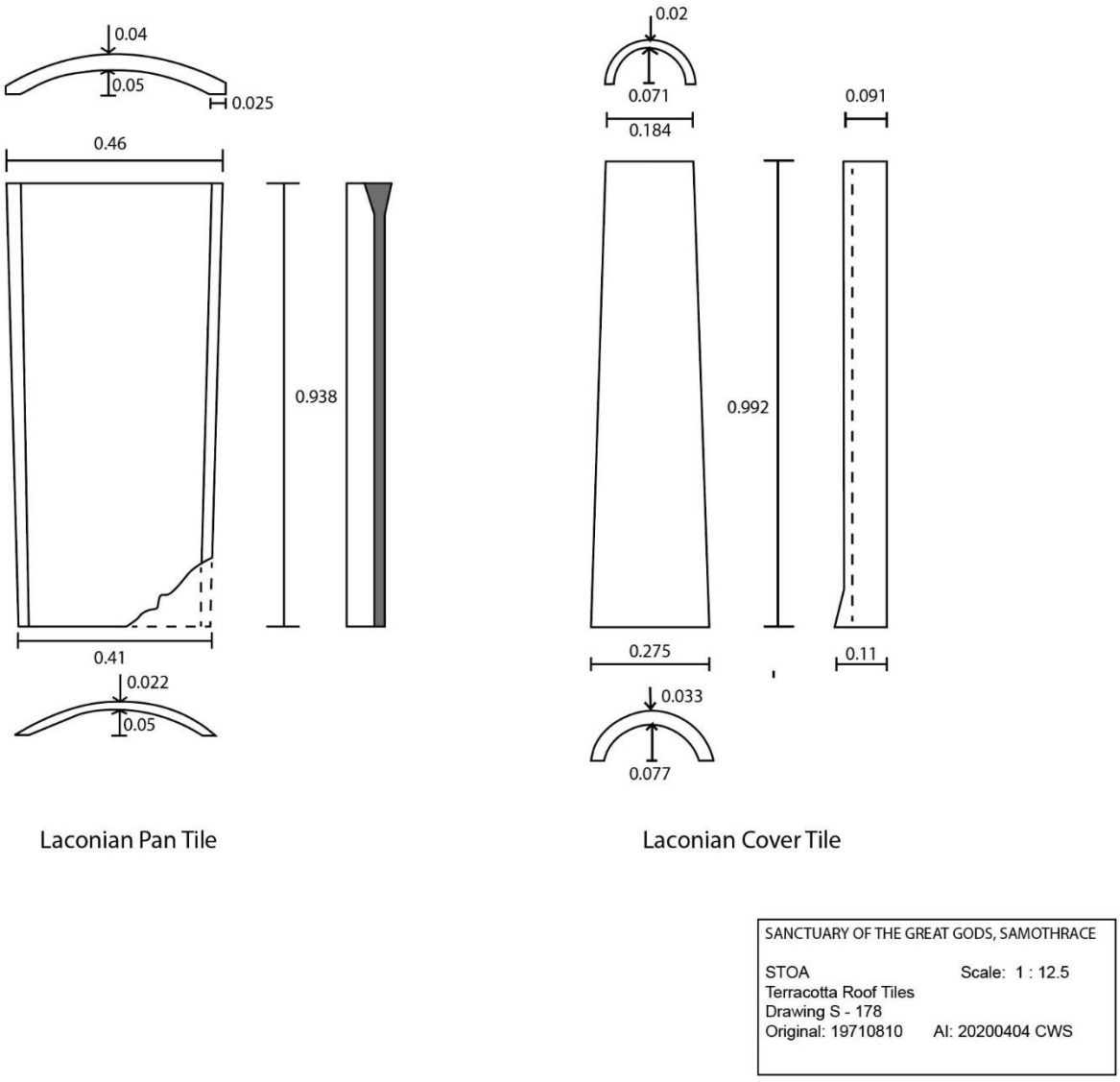

Figure 11**.** Drawings of Laconian pan and cover tiles (Drawing by author after American Excavations Samothrace, S-178).

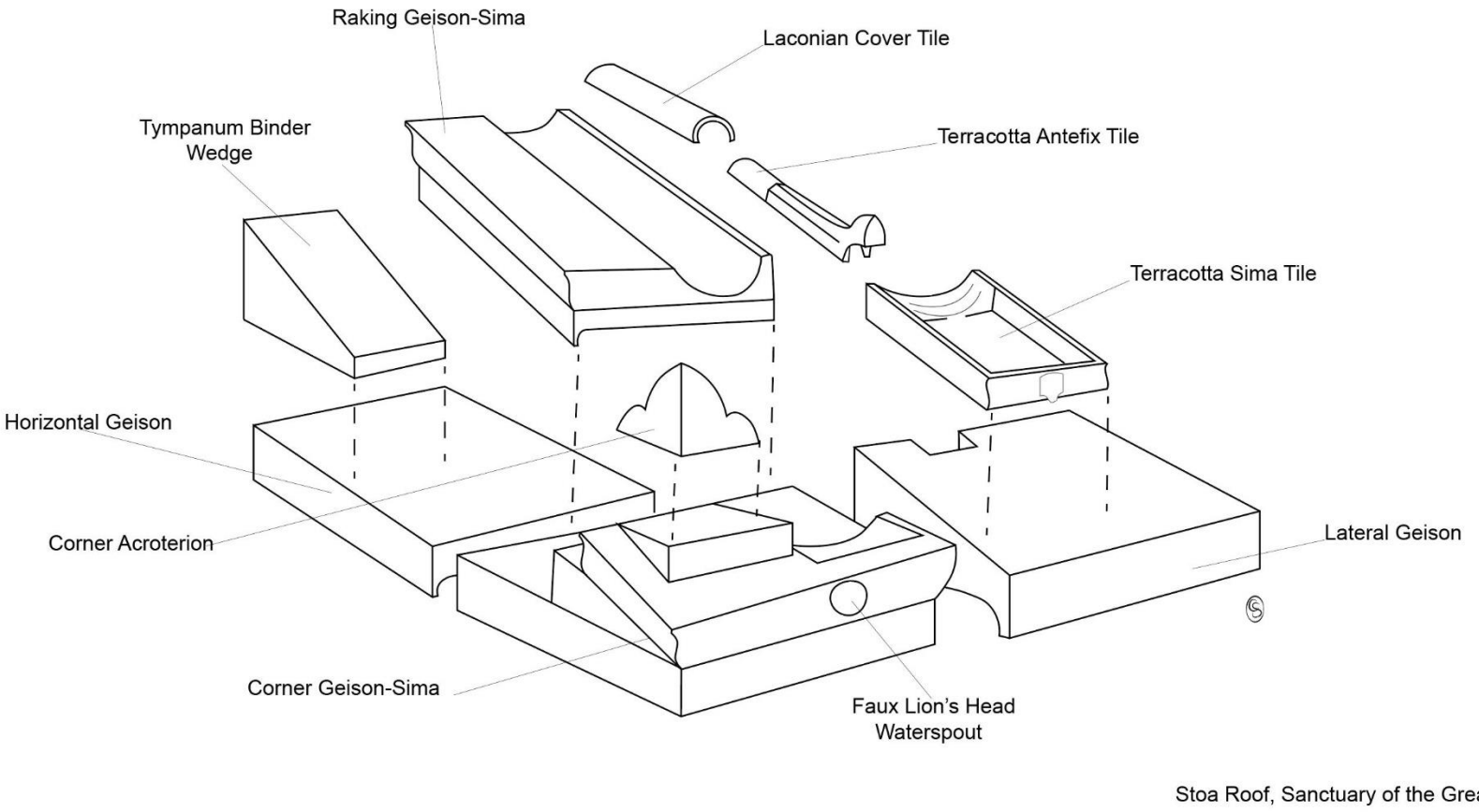

Figure 12a. Diagram demonstrating the transition from the terracotta roofing system to the stone geison sima, not to scale (Drawing by author after sketch by Samuel Holzman).

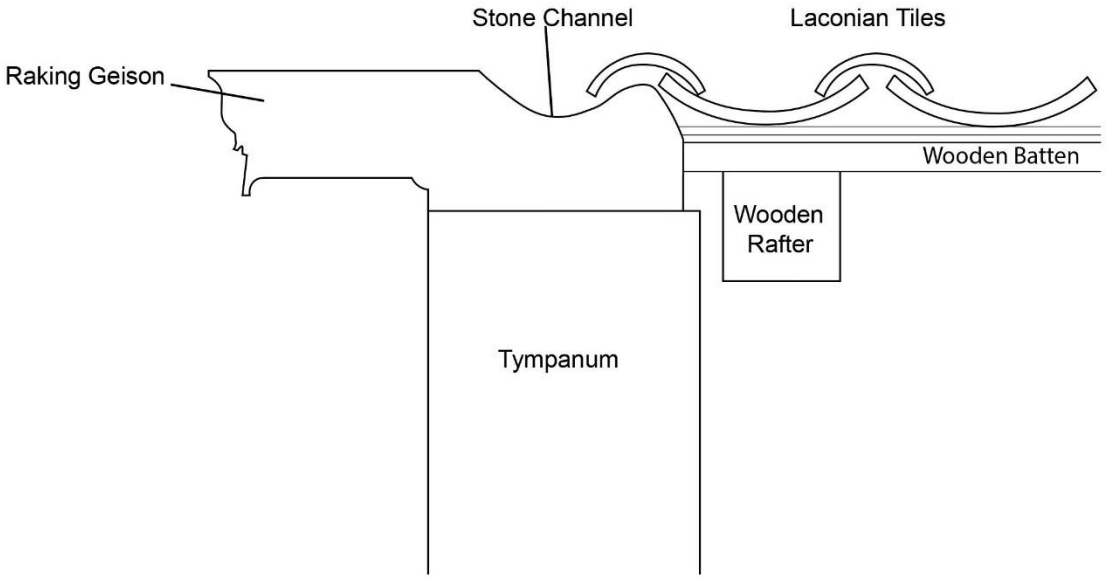

Figure 12b. Diagram demonstrating of the transfer from terracotta roof to stone geison (Drawing by author after American Excavations Samothrace, S-183).

Figure 13. Terracotta sima face from the Neorion, Samothrace (American Excavations Samothrace).

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Figure 14**.** Marble sima face from the Hall of Choral Dancers, Samothrace (Williams Lehmann 1969, fig. 118).

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Figure 15a**.** Marble sima face from the Hieron (Williams Lehmann 1969, fig. 116).

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Figure 15b. Marble lion's head waterspout from the Hieron (Williams Lehmann 1969, fig. 126).

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Figure 16. Sima face from the Rotunda of Arsinoe (McCredie 1992, fig. 53).

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Figure 17. Drawings of a sima fragment from the Ancient City (Karadima 1993, fig. 2).

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Figure 18**.** Dedication of Philip and Alexander, reconstructed Sima (Wescoat 2017, pl. 39).

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Figure 19. Propylon of Ptolemy II, Sima block 121, B (Frazer 1990, fig. 51).

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Figure 20. Drawings of marble sima from the Altar Court Samothrace (Lehmann and Spittle 1964, pl. 32).

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Figure 21. Ionic Porch, Drawing of the sima (Wescoat 2017, pl. LXV).

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Figure 22. Drawing of profile (left) and sima-geison block (right), Milesian Dedication (American Excavations Samothrace).

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Figure 23. Classical terracotta antefix (61.186) from the area of the Anaktoron, Samothrace (Lehmann and Spittle 1964, 93).

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Figure 24**.** Terracotta Antefix from the area of the Anaktoron (39.657) (Lehmann, Williams Lehmann, and Spittle 1964, 93).

Figure 25. Terracotta antefix from the Neorion (American Excavations Samothrace).

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Figure 26. Drawing of an antefix at Vienna (I, 423 A) by Hauser and antefix, attributed to the 4th century BCE Hall of Choral Dancers, Vienna (I 423A) (Lehmann and Spittle, 135; Lehmann and Spittle, 134).

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Figure 27**.** Antefix from the Hieron (48.0578), Samothrace (Williams Lehmann 1969, 180).

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Figure 28**.** Antefix (Vienna A. I 348 C.1) from the Rotunda of Arsinoe II, Samothrace (McCredie 1992, 76).

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Figure 29. Antefix from the Altar Court (Williams Lehmann 1969, 180).

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Figure 30. Antefix (66.146) from the Dedication of Philip and Alexander (Wescoat 2017, 140).

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Figure 31. Antefix (66.0794) from the Ionic Porch (Wescoat 2017, 207, Fig. 164).

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Figure 32**.** Classical sima tile from Corinth, unassigned (Roebuck 1994, pl. 14d).

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Figure 33**.** Late 4th century tile from the South Stoa at Corinth (Roebuck 1994, pl. 17a).

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Figure 34. Marble sima from the fourth century BC temple at Messa, Lesbos (Triantafylidis 2017).

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Figure 35a. Sima, Northwest Stoa, Thasos (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 65).

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Figure 35b. Drawing of sima block, Northwest Stoa, Thasos (Martin 1959, Fig. 17).

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Figure 36. Sima, Paraskenia in the Agora, Thasos (Martin 1959, pl. XXII).

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Figure 37**.** Groundplan of the Pompeion, Athens (Hoepfner 1974, 131).

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Figure 38. Reconstruction (left) and antefix (right) from the Classical Pompeion (Hoepfner 1974, 74-75).

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Figure 39**.** Antefix reconstruction, Eleusis (H*ü*bner 1973, 88).

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Figure 40. Brauron, antefix from stoa (Hübner 1973, pl. 62).

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Figure 41**.** Terracotta antefix from the middle of the fourth century B.C., Pompeion, Athens (Hoepfner 1974, 232).

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Figure 42. Terracotta Antefix from the end of the fourth century B.C., Pompeion, Athens (Hoepfner 1974, 232, fig. 257 a-c).

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Figure 43**.** Palace at Vergina, Mid to Late fourth century B.C. (Descamps-Lequime et al. 2011, 293).

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Figure 44**.** Reconstructed eastern façade of the Palace at Vergina (Descamps-Lequime et al. 2011, 291).

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Figure 45**.** Antefix from Palace at Vergina, Musee du Louvre, 315-310 BCE (Photo by Bonna D. Wescoat).

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Figure 46. Aerial view of the houses at Pella (Google Images).

Figure 47. Facsimile of antefix from Pella (Achaeological Museum of Pella, photo by author).

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Figure 48**.** Sima and water spout, Pella, Archaeological Museum of Pella (photo by author).

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Figure 49. Citadel of Demetrias showing the palatial complex (Marzolff 1996, 150).

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Figure 50. Antefix, Demetrias, 3rd century BCE (Marzolff 1996, 153).

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Figure 51. Hellenistic Telesterion at Chloe, Lemnos, Plan (Monaco 2018, pl. 3).

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Figure 52**.** Antefix, Lemnian Telesterion (Beschi 2004, pl. 37).

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Figure 53. Antefix fragments from Palace I, Pergamon (Kästner 1994).

Location	Date	Height	Number of Palmette leaves	Rounded or flame leaves	Image of Antefix
Pompeion	Mid 4th Century	0.24m	11	Round	**THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**
Pompeion	Late 4th Century	?	13	Flame	**THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**
Vergina	315-310 BCE	0.27m	13	Flame	**THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**

Pella	Late 4th Century		13	Round	
Demetrias	Mid 3rd Century	0.19m	9	Flame	**THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**
Samothrace	Mid 3rd Century	0.19m	9	Flame	
Lemnos	Late 3rd Century	?	13	Round	**THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**
Pergamon	2nd century	0.24	13	Flame	**THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**

Table 1. Chronological development of the molded bellflower type antefix.