













S A M O S  
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS











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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS

*Texts:*

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MARIA VIGLAKI-SOFIANOU



John S. Latsis  
Public Benefit Foundation



ON PAGES. 4-5: *Luigi Mayer. The Heraion of Samos. Tinted lithograph (early 19th cent.).*



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The Museums Cycle series, published and funded by the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and the Eurobank Group, constitutes a truly admirable endeavour that, from the very outset, has as its main objective to promote and showcase the cultural heritage of Greece.

In our current difficult circumstances, protecting, respecting, and developing this heritage has become all the more imperative, since culture constitutes the Ark of Hellenism that keeps our timeless identity cohesive. This year, the volume *Samos, the Archaeological Museums* coincides with an anniversary, as Samos is celebrating the centennial of its union with the Greek State.

Ionian Samos, one of the largest islands of Greece, is just a stone's throw away from the coast of Asia Minor and its sister-cities of Ionia. Its location, at a strategic point in the centre of the sea routes linking mainland Greece with the countries of the East and the great civilizations that developed in the region during early antiquity, gave it the incentive and the opportunity to play a prominent role in the Aegean and the greater Mediterranean region. Its relations with the East and the resulting economic development also enabled its culture to flourish.

This year, the current publication aims to showcase the splendour this culture created, now located in the two archaeological museums at Vathi and Pythagorio. The Archaeological Museum of Vathi contains the unique finds from the famed sanctuary of the Goddess Hera, excavated by the German Archaeological Institute. The new Museum of Pythagorio, a recent addition, is situated nearby; it houses the rich finds from the ancient city, excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service.

The Ministry of Education, Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports always and actively supports every such initiative that illuminates the uniqueness of Greek culture.

KONSTANTINOS ARVANITOPOULOS  
Minister of Education, Religious Affairs,  
Culture and Sports

Nature endowed the island with fruitfulness and rare beauty. The ancient writers praised it as the island of cypresses, olive trees, and chamomile. Samos reciprocated, gifting unmatched intellects to world culture: Pythagoras, Epicurus, Aristarchus. It also bequeathed unique monuments and masterpieces of art, which marked the initial stages of Greek culture.

Inhabited since the 3rd millennium BC, it was renowned during the course of the centuries through traditions and myths that spoke of its early glory and its maritime and mercantile strength. In the Archaic period, Samos became one of the greatest centres of Ionian civilization, displaying significant buildings and important technical achievements, such as the temple of Hera, the Eupalinian aqueduct, and the library of Polycrates. Art flourished on its soil and marble kouroi and korai were carved, rare examples of ancient sculpture that surpassed their perishable material. It was on Samos that monumental architecture first found its expression in stone, giving birth to the Ionian Greek temple.

This volume presents this portrait of Samos at its pinnacle. The intellectual creation of excellent scholars, it continues the important publishing activities of the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and the Eurobank Group; thanks to their effort, we are familiar with ancient Greek civilization and have the opportunity, in these difficult times, to draw inspiration from the historic progress of our ancestors.

KOSTAS TZAVARAS  
Deputy Minister of Education, Religious Affairs,  
Culture and Sports







Fifteen years ago, when we undertook to publish the Museums Cycle series, we were fully conscious of the national duty as well as of the fascinating challenge unfolding before us. If, from a technical standpoint, the issue of flawlessly reproducing the masterpieces created by ancient Greek civilization, can nowadays be considered resolved, it is always necessary for these archaeological peregrinations to project a refinement worthy of their subject, to be accompanied by scholarly texts that accurately depict the historical and intellectual contours of the period, but above all to demonstrate respect for the labour of all those people who going back centuries, created, rescued, and preserved these artefacts, which are unique on a global scale.

Up to now, the itinerary of this publishing initiative that the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and the Eurobank Group are faithfully supervising and funding, has led us to the most important and familiar archaeological sites and sanctuaries of Greece; at the same time, we did not hesitate to stop, to illuminate and showcase some less famous, yet equally interesting, archaeological sites and museum, which collectively compose the mosaic of ancient Greek culture.

With its verdant hills and tall mountains, abundant running water and fertile soil, it is no accident that a great civilization developed on Samos. Here, a *xoanon* of the great goddess was found under the bright light of Ionia, next to a chaste-tree on the banks of the Imbrassos River; identified as Hera, the Heraion, one of the largest sanctuaries of the ancient world was dedicated to her. To this day, excavations in the ground around the Heraion and at other island locations continue to uncover masterpieces from all corners of the then known world, demonstrating that Samos did not rest, secure in the self-sufficiency bestowed by its fertile natural environment. On the contrary, the island sought, and ultimately achieved, maritime supremacy and increased its territorial sovereignty, founding colonies that yielded prosperity and wealth. As a result, the fine arts were exalted and the sciences flourished, producing superb specimens, which we can admire in the collection presented in this volume.

Scholarship, literary skill, but, above all, a love for the island made Konstantinos Tsakos and Maria Viglaki-Sofianou the ideal authors for such a task. I would like to congratulate them and thank them warmly. Through them, I must also thank all those working in the island's museums and at its archaeological sites who contributed to the realization of this endeavour. Our collaboration with the leadership and individual departments of the Ministry of Education, Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports was exemplary, and I would like to express my gratitude for their crucial contribution to this project.

In these difficult times Greece is experiencing, this demonstrates, yet again, that culture can serve as a bright beacon that will lead our country to the principles and values with which our ancestors inspired the entire world.

MARIANNA J. LATSIS







From very early on, Samos, endowed by nature, verdant with olive and pine trees, and occupying a key position on the Aegean Sea routes, which linked the Greek territories with Asia Minor and the great Eastern Empires, as well as the rich Northern countries with the South and Pharaonic Egypt, developed its trade, economy, and culture, assuming an important position on the global map. Traversing the Mediterranean in their seafaring vessels, the Samians travelled to the mythic West and “silver-rooted” Tartessos, while they had very close relations with the great early civilizations of the East. As a result, the island accumulated riches and knowledge and developed a remarkable culture, while local artists created artistic “miracles”. The architect Rhoikos, the sculptor Geneleos, and the artist Theodoros, tamed marble and metal and gifted humanity with unique works of art. These extraordinary creations brought Samos to the forefront of ancient Greek cities. It was not by chance that Herodotus admired Samos, calling it “first of all the cities, Greek and barbarian”.

The values created on the island, along with the liveliness and creative passion generated by the Aegean and Ionia, inspired Pythagoras and Epicurus, Eupalinos and Aristarchus, Ibycus and Anacreon, Melissus and Aesop, and so many more. The exquisite kouroi and korai statues, the unique collection of wooden and bronze finds, the remarkable ceramics and terracotta, and the miniature art, all brought to light by excavations in the ancient city of Samos and the Heraion, trigger awe and emotion in the visitors of the island’s two archaeological museums at Vathi and Pythagorio. These riches are presented for the first time in this volume dedicated to the island’s ancient culture.

The proposal to write this book, in the context of the Museums Cycle, the invaluable series sponsored by the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and the Eurobank Group, came at a particularly important historical juncture, as this year marks one hundred years since Samos was united with Greece. The city of Samos and its celebrated sanctuary, the Heraion, were declared cultural world heritage sites by UNESCO and inscribed in December 1992.

Among the artefacts included in this sumptuous volume are hitherto unpublished finds that are presented to the public for the first time. This edition was made possible by the generosity of the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation and the Eurobank Group, the personal interest of Mrs. Marianna Latsis in the promotion of Greek culture, the enthusiasm and undivided support demonstrated by Vangelis Chronis at every step of the way, the design and aesthetics of Dimitris Kalokyris, the experienced lens of Sokratis Mavromatis, the photographic processing of Nikos Lagos and Eliza Kokkini, the editing of Judy Giannakopoulou, and the extensive experience of Eirini Louvrou, the coordinator of this entire effort. Our warmest thanks to them all. Through the fruitful collaboration of all the participants, Samos has acquired an invaluable asset that will proclaim the value and variety of the island’s Ionian culture.

#### The Authors

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# SAMOS, THE LAND

## *Land of Ionia*

**D**ewy (*doryssa*), oaken (*dryousa*), cypress-clad (*kyparissia*), olive-bearing (*elaiousa*), dark-leaved (*melamphyllos*), leafy (*phylas*), dark-blossomed (*melanthemos*) and flowered (*anthemis*) were just a few of the adjectives used in ancient literature to celebrate Samos and to describe its vast forests and the great variety of plants and flowers characteristic of its landscape. In the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, it is called wet (*hydrili*) because of its abundant waters.

Located in the Eastern Aegean, Samos is one of the largest islands in the archipelago, with an area of 480 sq.km. and very close to the coast of Asia Minor, from which it is separated by the strait of Mycale, the *seven-stade straits* (about 2 km.) cited in the ancient sources.

The high, densely forested and verdant mountains Kerkis (1440 m.) and Ampelos (1153 m.) define the physiognomy of the land. Indeed it is said that even the name Samos –from the ancient root *sama* that denotes height, according to the geographer Strabo (8.3.18), “for they used to call lofty places *Samoi*”– is derived from its singularly mountainous terrain. The same root can be found in the names of other high places, such as Samothrace, Samos/Sami on Kefallonia, and Samiko in Triphylia.

Small but bountiful plains, such as that of Heraion/Chora and of Mesokampos in the southeast, and valleys with fertile soil and a mild climate favoured crops and justified the title *Isle of the Blest*, and the saying used by the poet Menander “the island produces even birds’ milk”. Among its ancient rivers, the Imbrasos has been identified as the

*Palmette crowning on a porous stone archaic grave stele, 6th cent. BC.*





*Soft limestone, extracted with primitive tools from the quarries on Katarouga or Koutsodonti hill between Pythagorio and Chora by the workmen of ancient Samos, was used for construction of buildings in the ancient city and in the Great Sanctuary of Hera. The view of the quarries with their continuous multi-storeyed cavities in the bedrock never fails to impress visitors.*

Myloi ravine, and the Chesios as the stream that today is almost completely silted over in the vicinity of the ancient city, to the west of the Archaeological Museum of Pythagorio.

Vast olive groves cover the lower ground, and luscious vineyards (*ampelia*) can be found even on high slopes, which explains why the mountain was named Ampelos. In antiquity these were the island's main crops, yielding the famous Samian oil and wine, as they do to this day. Of the three basic products regarded by the ancients as essential to human nourishment –wheat, wine and oil– the island could supply the latter two; wheat had to be obtained elsewhere. The fertile soil of Anaia and Vatinitis, a region on the opposite coast of Asia Minor that was disputed for endless centuries, was suitable for growing wheat and eventually became the Peraia (opposite coast) of the Samians, and the island's breadbasket.



# SAMOS AS SEEN BY TRAVELLERS

## *Brief history of the excavations and surface research on the island*

In 1678, Archbishop Josif Georgeirinis of Samos wrote in a report that the dynamic new inhabitants of Samos, full of life and will, had come from Epirus, Macedonia, the Peloponnese, Sterea Ellada, Crete, Mytilene and Cyprus, as well as from other Aegean islands and Asia Minor.

In 1702, on instructions from Louis XIV, the French physician and botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort visited Samos. The huge cylindrical column from the Great Temple of Hera, standing as always in its original place, and the descriptions of Herodotus prompted Tournefort to conduct research on the site.

In the years 1776 and 1797, M.G.F.A. Choiseul-Gouffier, D.R. Pococke and J. Dallaway described and drew the few visible remains of the Great Temple of Hera.

In 1812 a mission from the London Society of Dilettanti conducted research in the Heraion and drew up precise drawings.

Excavation works followed in 1850 under governor G. Konemenos at public expense and were overseen by the French archaeologist Victor Guérin; they continued in 1853 under the antiquity-loving prince Ioannis Ghikas at his expense. In the years 1855, 1862 and 1883, the high level of silting, dense vegetation and ownership problems prevented archaeologists V. Guérin, Karl Humann and M. de Clerc from forming a clear picture of the ground plan of the Great Temple. In the northeast corner of this temple in 1879, Paul Girard discovered the famous archaic *kore*, the “Hera of Cheramyas” which ended up in Paris and still adorns the Louvre Museum.

In 1886 a brief effort was made to investigate the West Necropolis of the ancient city (modern Pythagorio) by British archaeologist and explorer Theodore Bent. Interesting information was brought to light by the excavations of Johannes Böhlau in 1894 and the work by the Ephors of Antiquities D. Evangelides and B. Theophanides.



The archaeological significance of Samos drew the interest of German archaeologists who, with the support of Kaiser Wilhelm tried to obtain permission from the Samian Assembly to conduct excavations in the Heraion. Actions taken by the Greek consul on Samos, Ioannis Kaloutsis, in consultation with the president of the Assembly and with Themistoklis Sophoulis, head of the opposition party, resulted in excavations being undertaken in 1902-1903 during the Principality of Samos, by the Archaeological Society in Athens under the supervision of Panagiotis Kavvadias and Themistoklis Sophoulis, while B. Theophanides was appointed to represent the prince. The excavation was extremely successful as it led to the discovery of the remains of Rhoecus' temple in the foundations of the later temple built by Polycrates. "Turning the discussion now to the Society's excavation works I would like to report the first great excavation undertaken by the Society outside the state, on the Greek island of Samos," reported P. Kavvadias, secretary of the Greek Archaeological Society, in the proceedings of the assembly of its members in 1902. The conduct of excavations on Greek lands beyond the state borders was established by the Society's Regulations approved by the Royal Decree of 19 February 1899, according to which the body competent to decide that excavations would be conducted was the assembly of its members, by a Special Regulation. After the Regulation was approved by the assembly on 13 October 1902, it became possible to undertake excavations outside the state. Exercising this right, the Council ventured to excavate the temple of Hera on Samos, having in the previous year of 1901 been issued the relevant permit by the Samian Assembly. "The science of archaeology can expect great things from this excavation... The Heraion of Samos is regarded as the national monument of the Ionians, and was the largest of the ancient temples and the most ancient of the great temples built by the Ionians, who were expelled from Greece after the descent of the Dorians and emigrated to Asia Minor", Kavvadias reported. In 1910, under a special contract between the government of the Samian state and the Royal Museums of Berlin, the Heraion was excavated under the direction of Theodor Wiegand and Martin Schede. Some of the finds were removed from the island then and taken to Berlin.

Excavations in the Heraion were discontinued in 1914 because of World War I.

From 1925 to 1939 excavations by the German Archaeological Institute continued in the Heraion under the direction of Ernst Buschor. It was then that the Ekatompedos came to light, together with the foundations of Rhoecus' temple, temples A-E, the South Building, the South Arcade (*Stoa*) and part of the prehistoric settlement.

In 1928 excavations began at the Castle of Lykourgos Logothetis by W. Wrede; they were completed between 1965 and 1968 by Ulf Jantzen and published by R. Tölle-Kastenbein.

In 1939 the gathering storm of World War II made it necessary to suspend works in the Heraion, at which time the excavation diaries, drawings and photographs all disappeared. In addition to the tragic loss of human lives, the painstaking scientific work of many years was also lost. Valuable data about the history of the site vanished, making the documented search for the past more difficult.

Excavations were resumed in 1951, supervised by E. Buschor around the Altar and South Arcade, and by Vladimir Milošević in the vicinity of the prehistoric settlement. From 1963 to 1975, excavations continued at and around the North Gate and the Great Altar, directed by E. Homann-Wedeking. Supplementary excavations were conducted in 1956 north of the Sacred Way, in the archaic North Building, the Circular Building, Temple D and on the Sacred Way.

In 1966, under U. Jantzen, a detailed drawing of the entire area of the ancient city was made on a scale of 1:1000, a drawing that serves the on-going research by the Archaeological Service to this day.





*Blessing of the Heraion before the excavation commenced in 1902.*

In the 1980s, W. Martini excavated the Roman *Thermae*, part of the organised site of the athletic facilities in the ancient city of Samos. Works in Eupalinos' Tunnel – which had been identified as early as 1882-1883 by two priests, Kyrillos Moninas (the north entrance) and Theophanis Arelis (the south one) – were conducted by W. Höpfner, R. Felsch and H. Kienast, the latter of whom published the results of the investigation. Kienast also studied the fortification wall of the ancient city and published his findings.

In 1980, as the excavations in the Heraion continued under the direction of H. Kyrieleis, the torso of a colossal marble kouros was found on the Sacred Way and is now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Vathy. Its head came to light in 1984 when, also on the Sacred Way, a superb marble kore was found, a votive offering from Cheramyas to Hera, and twin sister of the kore in the Louvre Museum.

In 1998, excavations by the architect H. Kienast in the vicinity of the Sacred Way brought to light the *Propylon*, the east entrance to the sanctuary.

From April 2004 to December 2007, as part of the project to landscape and enhance the archaeological site, with financing from the Operational Programme “Culture” for the northern Aegean region under the Third Community Support Framework, the 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (EPCA) created visitors' pathways,



modern public facilities, an information hall and informative signage, transferred the entrance to the east side, and built an enclosure around the site, etc.

In 2009, the five-year programme of the German Archaeological Institute began, which included excavation of the lowest archaeological strata in the vicinity of the Altar and north of the Sacred Way, under the direction of Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier and with the collaboration of Ourania Kouka. The excavation is being conducted under the supervision of the 21st EPCA.

The rapid growth of tourism in Pythagorio led the Greek Archaeological Service to undertake extensive excavations in 1965, which have been directed over the years by the Service's many Greek archaeologists: K. Tsakos, D. Hatzivallianou, M. Marthari, C. Televantou, O. Philaniotou, V. Giannouli and M. Viglaki-Sofianou. The long years of exploration at Pythagorio, despite their necessarily fragmentary nature, have had exceptional results through the gathering of data that contribute to our knowledge of the city's history and street plan, as well as to our understanding of the earthly life of the ancient Samians and their beliefs about the afterlife. The results of the excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service are published in the annual *Chronika* of the *Archaeologiko Deltio*. Many of the movable finds that have come to light now adorn the display cases of the Archaeological Museum of Pythagorio.

In addition to the many years of excavation research in the Heraion and on the site of the ancient city of Samos, the Archaeological Service has extended its activities into the countryside, to regions beyond the known, important centres. At Pountes, east of Pythagorio, an extensive ancient quarry has been found from which limestone was extracted for building purposes. West of Pythagorio, on the hill called Katarouga or Koutsodontis, there is an impressive cluster of continuous multi-storeyed cavities in the bedrock from which was extracted the brittle platy limestone used to construct temples in the Heraion and other buildings in the ancient city. In Mavratzei and Mytilinii, sporadic graves have been discovered, as well as organised cemeteries. In Spatharei, on the Kalogera site, Roman and Early Christian building remains have been identified, and in Konteika-Hydroussa, on the Petalouda site, a pottery workshop and a sturdy structure –possibly a fortification tower– of dressed limestone blocks. Karlovassi can probably be identified as the ancient city of Gorgyra. In mountainous Manolates, with a marvellous view of the azure sea, there is an extensive ancient marble quarry, from which the marble members of the Heraion originated. The existence in the Palaiokastro region of a limestone column 4 m. high with a diameter of 80 cm, that was never totally detached from the natural rock, attests to the location of an ancient quarry. In the same village on the site of Ayios Tryphonas, a solid structure has been preserved in good condition, possibly part of a defensive tower. Ruins in the Marathokampos region have been identified as buildings from late antiquity. On the road from picturesque Nichori to Skoureika, a beautifully carved 6th cent. BC inscription has been preserved that cites the names of the builders of a wooden bridge over the ravine in mountainous Pyrgos, which scholars have identified as the ancient river Amphilyssos: *Telesandros and Demagoras were selected to make it; Eurekales and Harmophilos were the craftsmen*. Niches and carvings in the rock under the bridge suggest the worship of Nymphs.

ON PAGE 23: *The Paschaleio building that houses the Archaeological Museum of Vathy has for many decades exhibited significant works of miniature art from the Heraion, in accordance with the wishes of its donor, Alexandros Paschalis.*



# THE CHRONICLE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS OF VATHY AND PYTHAGORIO



Early in 1906, Alexandros Paschalis wrote a letter to the Council (*Boule*) of the Samians stating his intention to have a building erected at his expense to house a museum for antiquities and a library. On 16 August 1909, with due pomp and ceremony and in the presence of all the Samian authorities, the cornerstone was laid for a two-storey neoclassical building earmarked for this purpose, whose façade was to look over the hegemonic garden of Vathy. The event was hailed by the island's scholars and songs were written to commemorate it.

In its report of the event, the local newspaper *Aigaion* wrote in its issue of 11th Sept. 1913: "A few years ago construction began of an archaeological museum here at the expense of our fellow-citizen Mr. Alexandros Paschalis... The new building beside the Parliament that is destined to be a museum was completed recently and is in all respects ready to include the archaeological treasures of our homeland in its attractive halls. To this end, the magnanimous donor Mr Alexandros Paschalis last week visited the president of the interim government, Mr Themistoklis Sophoulis, and handed him the keys to the newly-erected building on a valuable tray, accompanied by an appropriate toast...". "Esteemed Mr Alexandros Paschalis, I am extremely moved to receive from your hands the keys to the beautiful mansion recently completed at your expense which is to be used, in accordance with your wishes, as a museum in which the archaeological treasures of our homeland will be kept... You are justly proud of your work which will be called the 'Paschaleion Museum' in tribute to your honorable name. Please accept, esteemed Mr Alexandros Paschalis, our assurance of the profound honour and favour in which I hold you. Themistoklis Sophoulis."



Construction works were completed in 1912. But despite the wishes of its donor, the building was used until 1918 as an army storeroom. On 15 September 1921, the document of re-adoption was executed by which the Municipal Authority accepted the gift.

In 1928, the Paschaleio housed the museum in one of its halls, another two halls were used for the archives and the fourth for the library. The Prefect then proposed that part of the hospital and the library be used as museum space.

In 1937, actions were taken to transfer the museum to the house bequeathed by Miltiades Georgiou on the Vathy coastal road. In the following year the issue was also raised of moving antiquities from Tigani (now Pythagorio) to Vathy and a note was sent by archaeologist Ioannis Kontis to the Director of Antiquities Spyridon Marinatos pointing out that great difficulties were being encountered in this transfer because “the inhabitants of Tigani are determined to keep their antiquities at all costs”.

In April 1939, the National Youth Organisation (EON) moved into the Georgiou Museum, also called the Georgeio, despite the fact that German archaeologist Dieter Ohly was working there. This incident incurred written protests from the Archaeological Service of Samos.

The Archaeological Collection in Tigani was then being exhibited in a hall in the Community centre, which was bombed in 1941, but fortunately the antiquities were not damaged.

On 17 November 1943, after a terrifying bombardment, the Museums in Vathy and Tigani, together with the island as a whole, were counting their losses. The ceiling, woodwork and door panels of display cases were all badly damaged. The Community centre in Tigani was totally destroyed, including the hall that housed the Archaeological Collection. *Philippe*, the archaic kore from the Geneleos group, was lost. *Aeaces*, the famous archaic seated statue, “was lying on the floor upside down.” The catalogue of antiquities could not be found. Tigani, built on the site of the ancient city of Samos, was levelled and abandoned by its inhabitants. The keys to the Museum were taken by the Italians. The guard was obliged to nail shut the doors of the Museum to prevent plundering of the antiquities, which had already begun. After the bombing, and with a great deal of effort and anxiety, the surviving antiquities were taken to an adjacent, half-demolished house, after which some of them disappeared.

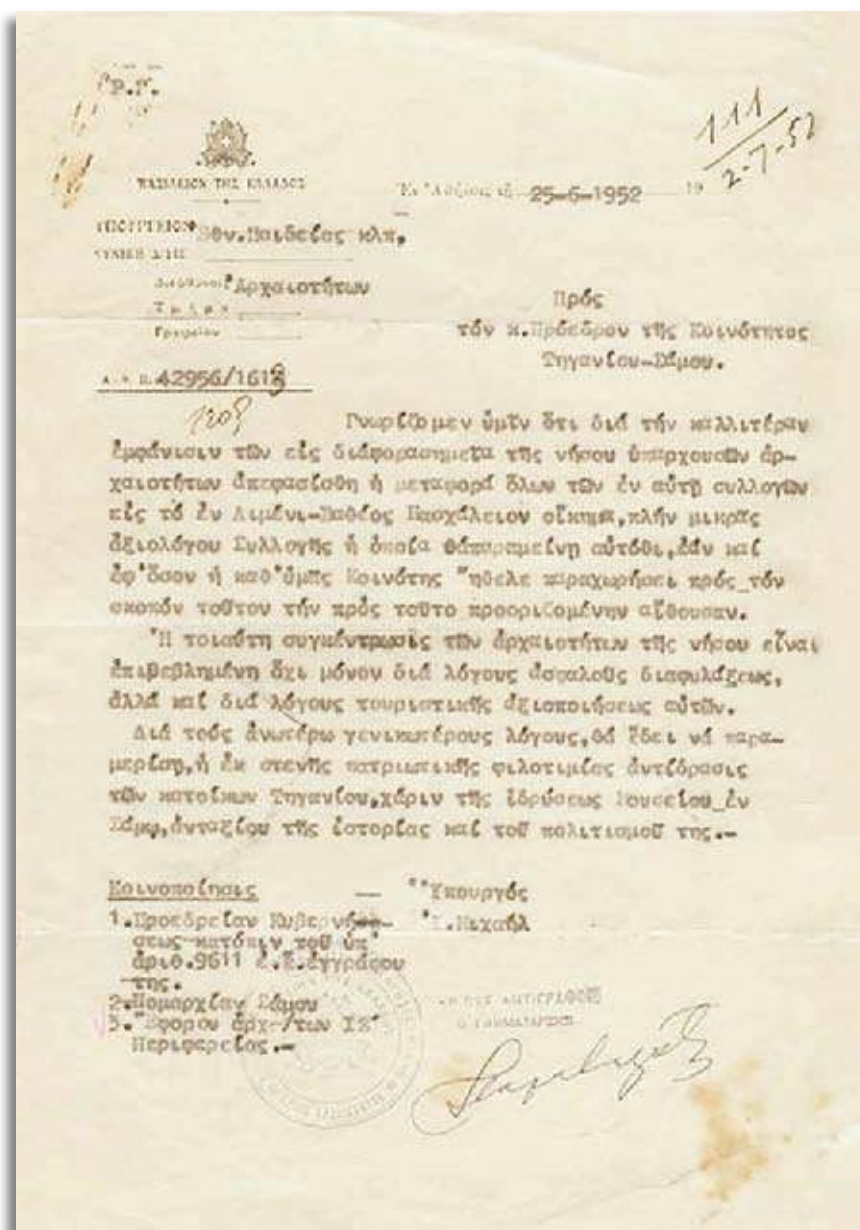
On 23 November 1943, Samos was seized by the occupation forces, and Italian prisoners were camped in the Vathy Museum for about two months. The repercussions of this situation were out of control, but it was also impossible to keep track of the antiquities, because the task of cataloguing them anew had never been completed. In any event, the archaic marble statues, the griffins and objects as yet uncleaned remained in place, as reported by the guard.

In 1943, a hall in the Vathy prefectural building was used to exhibit clay figurines. In January 1944 the antiquities were gathered together in a hall on the ground floor of the Paschaleio Museum, and in May of the same year, after a list was drawn up, some of them were sent by German archaeologists W. Kraiker and W. Wrede to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens for safety’s sake.

In 1945 the antiquities were still in the National Archaeological Museum, as confirmed by its Director C. Karouzos. Among them was the archaic kore *Philippe*.

Antiquities were also accommodated in a building near the church of the Metamorphosis in Tigani, which in 1946 was taken over by the Gendarmerie and converted into storage space.





The decision was made to collect all the island's antiquities in the Paschaleio building "...not only for reasons of safekeeping, but also for reasons of tourist development...". Document sent by the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs to the President of the Community of Tigani on 25-6-1952.

By 8 November 1947, the damages to the Paschaleio hall that was being used for the antiquities had been fully repaired. However, repairs to the archaeological storage areas of the Heraion were still pending. "Conditions are worse than what I described after my visit in 1945," reported Nikolaos Kontoleon to the Ministry.

The Archaeological Council decided on 6 June 1949 that the Museum would be housed in the Paschalis building, in conformity with the wishes of the donor. The Council asked that it be ceded to the Archaeological Service.

On 17 September 1951, the house that accommodated the antiquities near the church of the Metamorphosis in Tigani was taken over by the Scouts.

In June and July of 1946, a new adventure began for the island's antiquities. The Prefect asked that the collection be moved from the Georgeio Museum to provide space for the prefectural staff. The antiquities were thus transferred by the special curator of antiquities Emmanuel Vamvoudakis to a small hall in the same building "in which they just about fit".

On 17 June 1947, the Paschaleio Museum was repaired, but repairs to the Tigani Museum and the Heraion were still pending. "The Paschaleion should remain as a museum and the Archives and Library should be housed in the Georgieion. The Tigani Museum has been accommodated in two rooms on the ground floor of City Hall, one of which was destroyed in the bombings. The Tigani Museum is not now, nor indeed ever was, a suitable building for a museum. A new museum must be built, which is not easy now. The collection of clay artifacts that is in the Georgeion must be housed in the Paschaleion. It is proposed that the Paschaleion remain solely as a museum, and that the Archives and Library be moved. The museum in Tigani must be repaired immediately, because Tigani is the ancient city; Vathy is not, but at least it has a building," Vamvoudakis wrote.



*Men in Samian dress, women in long skirts and white headscarves, hoes, pickaxes, shovels, straw baskets, horse-drawn carts and a camera on a tripod provide the setting for the excavation of the Heraion in 1902. A moment immortalized by the camera.*

The following day, the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs, to which the Archaeological Service belonged, issued instructions to the special curator of antiquities, C. Spyridonos, to take a floor in the Paschalis building, as soon as it was vacated by the Municipal Library, in order to house the museum. The archives remained on the ground floor of this building.

In 1952, antiquities continued to be housed in the 19th-century Logothetis Castle, as Kontoleon wrote. In the same year, the Ministry of Education requested that the Library and Archives be removed from the Paschaleio so that the museum could utilise the entire building. The issue of housing the antiquities was taking on major dimensions. In issue 79, dated 2-4-1952, of the *Samiaka Nea* (Samian News), an article was published entitled “The Museum of Samos and the unexpected issue that arose”, which shows the extent of the problem. The newspaper aligned itself with the view expressed by the Ephor of Antiquities regarding the transfer of the antiquities to Vathy, where the Paschaleio and the Georgeio were both located, since “the building in Tigani is heavily damaged and the storeroom near the Metamorphosis church is of no particular interest.”

On 4 July of the same year, the Prefecture of Samos asked the President of the Community to help “by taking appropriate action against possible objections by the inhabitants” who were motivated “by a narrow-minded patriotic and parochial sense of honour” as regards gathering the Tigani antiquities and transferring them to Vathy to be exhibited at the Paschaleio. “This action is dictated by the lack of an appropriate and adequate venue in your Commu-



nity in which to exhibit the antiquities and to promote the brilliant history and culture of Samos over the centuries.”

After a long process, in the autumn of 1952, the library was moved to the Georgeio, thereby vacating the hall on the top floor of the Paschaleio.

In January of 1953, the process began of transferring the Library to the Paschaleio. Kontoleon proposed that all the antiquities likewise be taken there, because the creation of a museum in Tigani “would be delayed for another 50 years, added to the previous 50 years in which the problem of housing the antiquities has remained unsolved. The Paschaleio is a most spacious, well-lighted and attractive building for the Samian Museum.” In two letters to the Antiquities Department on 2 July 1953, he wrote: “...in Vathy there has been since 1912 the Paschaleio mansion bequeathed to the state, and the Georgiou building to house the Museum and Library. The Archives and Library were housed in the Georgeio and the Museum in the Paschaleio. An amount of 80,000 drachmas was paid to repair the Paschaleio plus 13,000 drachmas to exhibit the antiquities and 2,500 drachmas to transfer them from Tigani to Vathy. Before the war, the antiquities from Tigani were crowded into two halls in the Community centre, one on top of the other, as though stored in an old-fashioned general store in a minor province. During the bombing in 1943, the community building in Tigani was destroyed and the antiquities were left out in the open. I tried to fence the area as well as I could. In 1953, when the Community decided to reconstruct its building, the antiquities had to be protected. Some were to be transferred to Vathy. But the residents of Tigani (*Tiganiotes*) protested and since the Paschaleio was not yet ready, the transfer was postponed. The Community centre in Tigani was rebuilt and the decision was made that its large hall would be used as an auditorium and Museum. To avoid creating a problem, I agreed that the collection should be in Tigani in a hall that was set aside exclusively for this purpose. Instructions were given to A. Vavritsas to transfer from Tigani to Vathy whatever antiquities belonged together with objects that were already in the latter. The inhabitants prevented him from doing so. In April 1953, I offered explanations to the inhabitants. I promised that the collection would remain in Tigani, but insisted that some antiquities be brought to Vathy. The transfer did not take place because there were objections. The Paschaleio will become an important museum. In Tigani there were many antiquities in the Community centre and many outside. The antiquities from the Heraion that are in Tigani should be transferred to the Paschaleio.”

On 30 and 31 January 1954, the special curator of antiquities, Ioannis Lymberis informed the Antiquities Department and Nikolaos Kontoleon that the Archives had begun to be transferred from the Paschaleio to the Georgeio, in which the Public Library was housed. “Thus the Paschaleio is now suitable to house the island’s museum collections.”

In April 1954, the scheduled transfer of antiquities from Tigani to Vathy met with protests by the inhabitants of Tigani. Kontoleon argued that the antiquities had to be transferred to the Paschaleio, which now belonged to the Archaeological Service, and that in Tigani a small collection would be open in the Community centre.

On 28 May 1954 the two halls in the Paschaleio that had been used to house the archives were handed over officially to Ioannis Lymberis. The exhibition would now be extended to the entire building. In July of the same year, plans were made to begin work on the exhibition of sculptures on the Museum’s ground floor and of miniature art on its upper floor. At the 28th meeting of the Archaeological Council on 13-7-1954, approval was granted for “the transportation to the Museum in the Port of Vathy Samos and assembling together of all antiquities found both in archaeological collections and in the open countryside of the island of Samos.”



*1980. After many centuries, the light of the Aegean once again shone on the monumental votive offering of Isches, son of Rhesios. A full-scale operation was organized to ensure the safe transport of this colossal statue to the Archaeological Museum of Vathy. The excavation crew is overcome with awe and emotion.*

After many adversities, the decision was issued to establish the Archaeological Museum of Vathy.

On 7 September 1954, Dieter Ohly began putting up the statues of the Geneleos group, except for that of *Philippe*, which was still in Athens at the National Archaeological Museum. On 13 October 1954, *Philippe* was repatriated by the steamship *Kolokotronis*, accompanied by Ulrich Hausmann, an archaeologist from the German Institute, as agreed by the Archaeological Council at its 36th meeting on 5-10-1954. At the same meeting, it was decided to return the other finds of bronze, clay and ivory that had been moved to Athens for security reasons. On 2 April 1955, Semni Papaspyridi-Karousou, director of the National Archaeological Museum, handed over to Nikolaos Kontoleon 77 ancient bronze artifacts that had been brought to Athens during the Nazi Occupation to be returned to Samos.

In May 1956, after the president of the Community of Pythagorio (formerly Tigani) made available two halls in which to house the Archaeological Collection, the archaic palmette grave stelai were set up by D. Ohly with the collaboration of another German archaeologist, E. Buschor, a task that was completed in August of the same year.

At the same time, “the Hera of Aeaces was placed on a concrete base, and enough space was left between the ancient and the new base to allow examination and study.” “The non-archaic artifacts were transferred to shelves and cabinets in the recently-granted hall. The Collection now looks tidy and attracts a good number of visitors,” reported the curator of antiquities B. Philippaki. At the same time she pointed out that “the question of the Museum of Pythagorio must be resolved, because of the major significance of the region.” At that time the Pythagorio Gendarmerie took over the space occupied by the archaeological collection in the Kastro.

In a long report to the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs dated 2 April 1959, the Ephor of Antiquities N. Zapheiropoulos described the unacceptable state of the museums of Vathy, Pythagorio and the Heraion and raised the issue once again of building a museum in Pythagorio: “the existence of two museums on Samos is not a frivolous luxury because Samos is a very important city.” From then to 1962, he wrote a series of reports emphasising the necessity of establishing a museum on the site of the ancient city.



On 24 September 1965, 91 ancient artifacts that had been entrusted to the National Archaeological Museum during the Occupation were returned to the Vathy Museum by W. Kraiker. Two years later, in July 1967, another 102 objects were repatriated. Upon their return, an exhibition was held in the Paschaleio enriched by archaeological treasures of inestimable value.

In 1987 the 21st Ephorate, in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, completed the re-exhibition work in the Vathy Museum, which had now acquired a second building, funded by Volkswagen. The new building houses the masterpieces of archaic Ionian sculpture; the Paschaleio accommodates pottery, works of bronze, wood and ivory, and all works of miniature art from the Heraion. The exhibition was inaugurated in August 1987 by the then Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri.

Over time, the intense construction activity on the site of the ancient city led to the conduct of hundreds of rescue excavations, and an enormous number of finds were kept in unsuitable storerooms, with the result that the need to establish a modern museum in Pythagorio, as first requested in 1947, became increasingly urgent. After long years of effort by the 21st EPCA, a number of adjoining properties in the centre of the ancient city were expropriated, and the lot on which the Museum was to be built was excavated between 1983 and 1996. The project to construct the building and organise the exhibition was included in the Third Community Support Framework, ensuring the necessary funding.

The foundation was laid in March 2003, and on 14 July 2005 a modern two-storey building with basement was handed over to the 21st EPCA so that the museological programme approved by the Central Archaeological Council in 2004 could be implemented. The building was erected after a public competition for the architectural design was held by the Department of Museum Works at the Ministry of Culture. Work on the exhibition lasted from October 2005 to the autumn of 2009. The primary concern was that the building be equipped with the infrastructure necessary to house the thousands of ancient finds that had come from both rescue and systematic excavations by the Ephorate and the German Archaeological Institute on the site of the ancient city and in the countryside.

The Museum of Pythagorio has the advantage that its surrounding area, which has been landscaped for visitors with funding from the National Strategic Reference Framework (ESPA), makes it the largest archaeological site in the centre of town, with finds dating from the 14th-13th cent. BC and building remains from the late 10th cent. BC to the early Byzantine period. The total area of the building is 2500 sq.m., some 1500 of which are occupied by the exhibition area; the rest include well-equipped conservation workshops, storerooms, public areas, modern electrical and mechanical installations, and the administration offices of the 21st EPCA on Samos. In organising the exhibition, which is structured thematically and chronologically, emphasis was placed on the scientific presentation of the ancient finds and attention paid to aesthetics in order to promote their educational function and to allow non-specialist visitors to better understand and appreciate the exhibition. The exhibition was inaugurated on 17 May 2010 by the General Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Lina Mendoni and the Museum has been open to the public since then.







# SAMOS OVER THE AGES

## *A concise history*

### *Prehistoric Samos. The early habitation of the island*

On a hill overlooking the harbour of the ancient city of Samos, modern Pythagorio, protected from attacks and on a site that monitors the maritime routes of the eastern Aegean, a settlement was established around 5000 BC. Continuously inhabited until the end of the Late Chalcolithic Period, it was abandoned for unidentified reasons in about 3200 BC. Until last year this town, once also known as Tigani, was the only Neolithic site on the island. Recently however, traces of a Neolithic settlement have been found in the Heraion, indicating contemporary habitation of the two settlements, and it seems very possible that future research may bring to light others dating to the same period that have not yet been discovered.

Most of the finds from the Neolithic settlement at Pythagorio come from pit-type deposits dug into the natural ground (*kimilia*), and in the eastern part of the settlement alone, a group of finds was unearthed near the hearth of a house, from which most of the pots originated. The material remains of the earliest inhabitants of Samos known to date indicate an agrarian settlement whose inhabitants lived by cultivating the land on the large fertile plain extending from Pythagorio to Chora, supplemented by hunting, animal husbandry and fishing.

The collected pottery seems to belong to two or three different phases of the Late Neolithic Period and is similar to corresponding ware originating from Emporio on Chios and the Dodecanese. The white-on-dark style painted pottery and its horn-like handles belong to a type of ware that was widely disseminated throughout the Aegean and dates to the first half of the 5th millennium BC. The pattern burnished ware is related to pottery from Kephala on Kea,

*The Great Temple is revealed... A few earthenware jars (stamnoi) full of cool water provide the excavation crew with welcome relief from the heat and humidity of the Heraion.*

from Attica, Euboea and from regions of northwest Asia Minor, and dates to the late 5th millennium BC. The numerous obsidian objects (knife blades, arrowheads, tools etc.) testify to the trade developed by Samians with the island of Melos, where this glass-like volcanic rock originated.

The settlement that succeeded the Neolithic settlements at Tigani and in the Heraion was unearthed on the southeast side of the island in the north part of the Heraion and dates to the Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BC).



*Pots for everyday use: amphora with holes for hanging, phiales and part of a “cheese pot” with a row of horizontal holes, from the Late Neolithic farm on Kastro hill in Tigani.*





It appears to have occupied an extensive area and, from 2200 BC on, must have been fortified with a strong defensive wall. The houses in the settlement were long narrow rectangular structures of the *megaron* type, with walls of dry-stone masonry on the bottom and sun-dried bricks on the superstructure. The building remains and movable finds (stone tools, axes, awls, clay spindle whorls, small replicas of altars, clay pots and bronze objects) show that a significant eastern Aegean centre had developed there and attest to the close relations of Samos with the civilisations of the Early Bronze Age in western Asia Minor, including the Troad and Tarsus. In the later phases of the settlement, the influence of the Cycladic civilisation is visible. The settlement was maintained until the end of the 3rd millennium BC and, even though sporadic sherds from Middle Helladic pots have been found, there is no evidence so far that habitation continued into the 2nd millennium BC. After the Middle and early Late Bronze Age, a Minoan presence is visible on the island in the habitation of Kastro hill at Tigani, and the large number of small conic Minoan cups found in the Heraion confirm the Minoan presence there as well. In addition to the Minoan influence, it would appear that the Aegean islands, including Samos, were later penetrated by the Mycenaeans, whose presence is confirmed by the random discovery of a chamber tomb in the village of Myloi, approximately eight km. west of the ancient city of Samos. The grave gifts date the tomb to the second half of the 14th cent. BC.

Recent finds of utilitarian pottery (a tripod chytra, fragments of pithos jars, tripod cooking stands, plates, etc.) dated to the Bronze Age constitute significant evidence of a human presence at that period in the centre of the ancient city, the extent of which will be determined by future research on the site.



*Section of a kraterutis (stand for a spit) and a tripod chytra (circa 1400 BC) for cooking food, found in the centre of the ancient city.*

*RIGHT: Mastoprochous (breasted jug) from the Heraion.*



### *The historical period*

Upon the arrival of the Ionians in about 1000 BC, a new period began for Samos. The new colonists reached the island from Epidaurus in Argolis in two expeditions, first with Tembrion and later with Procles son of Pityreus. The former, according to Themistagoras of Ephesus (1st cent. BC), appears to have arrived in consultation with the Carians, who inhabited Astypalaia, later the city's Kastro or fortress, proposing that a new joint state organisation be set up by the two peoples, the *Astypalaieis*, the old inhabitants, and the *Chesieis*, the newly arrived colonists who settled on the banks of the river Chesios.

Sherds and vases from the Late Protogeometric period – most of which were in fact from Attic workshops or imitations of Attic goods, at least the few found so far mainly in Astypalaia – confirm the information provided by Themistagoras. A few graves, chiefly burials of infants in clay jars, were unearthed near the early dwellings in the same central part of the city, which was sparsely settled in the early centuries. As the city grew rapidly during the Early Geometric period, the Geometric Necropolis, with its tumuli and the graves of the early settlers, was organised in the region of Tria Dontia, where the city's Hellenistic Gymnasium was later built (4th-3rd cent. BC).

At the end of the Geometric period, prior to 700 BC, in an age when economic and political conditions favoured the co-existence of many parallel and equal centres, the island witnessed the robust growth of its shipping and trade. In the late 8th century BC, the Samians were already building large ships capable of making long overseas voyages, and had acquired extensive seafaring experience. With an inherent desire for adventure and knowledge and a thirst for profit, they would eventually reach the most distant points of the world as it was known then.



*Marble stele with cymatium. The Boule (Council) and Demos of the Samians honoured the actor Polos, son of Sosigenes, from Aegina because he supported the festive events in honour of the kings Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes (the Antigoneia and Demetreia); in short, he agreed to perform for a lower fee than usual. (306-305 BC)*

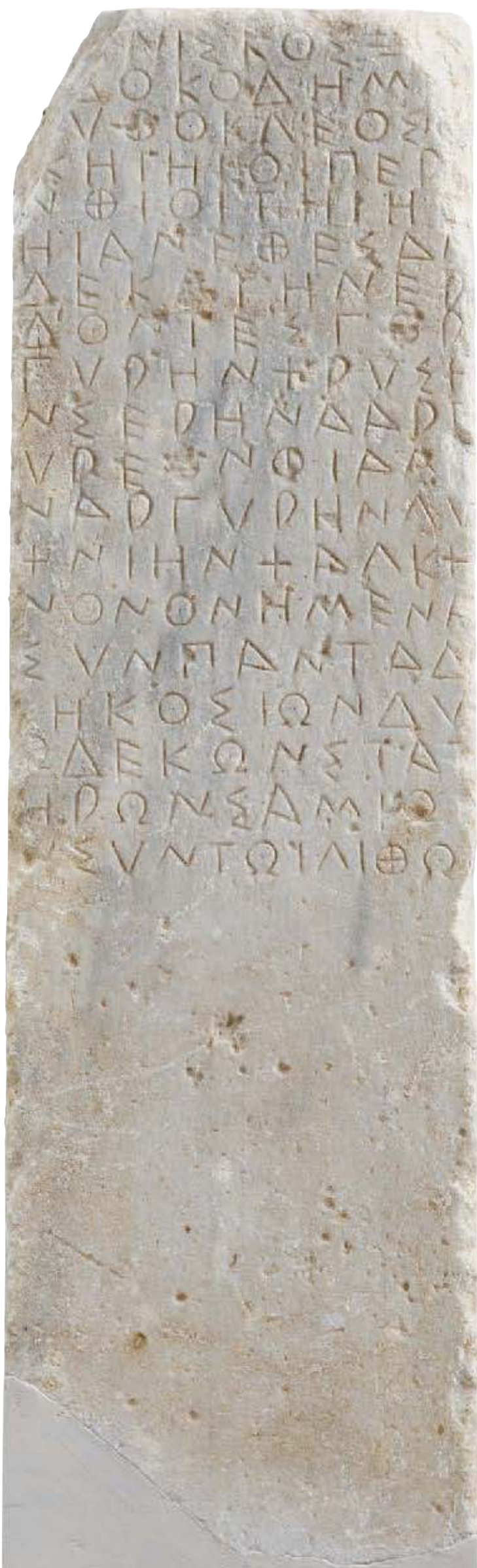
Moreover, the island's strategic location on the sea lanes linking mainland Greece to the coast and the rich hinterlands of Asia Minor, and the city's ideal site on its southeast shore facilitated contact with the cities of Ionia, and had already pointed to the growth that led Samos to its great heyday in the archaic period (7th-6th cent. BC), when the city was considered among the foremost and most admirable cities in the Greek world.

In the 7th cent. BC, the first Samian colonies were established, Nagidos and Kelenderis on the coast of Cilicia, which were more like trading posts on the way to the East, with Cyprus as an intermediate stopover, than real colonies, since they had no room for agricultural produce, whereas the fortified site, on the contrary, made it possible for the local people to monitor this significant trade route and to use it as a pirates' lair.

Before 600 BC, the Samians led a colony to Minoa on the island of Amorgos, a significant landmark in the opening up of trade with Crete and Egypt. With the encouragement of the Pharaoh Amasis, who aspired to foster commercial relations between the two countries, the Samians inhabited an entire quarter of Naucratis on the Nile Delta, where they built a Heraion, essentially a branch of the Samian sanctuary, that determined the leading role of Samos in business contacts with Egypt. The extension of trade northward led to the establishment of colonies on the Thracian peninsula (Perinthus, the Heraion Teichos, Besanthe, Proconnesus), which would contribute to the efforts to penetrate the region's hinterlands and to reach the Black Sea. Constant relations were likewise maintained with Cyprus and the Phoenician coast, with the countries of the Near East and Asia Minor, as well as with Libya and Spain, the latter being a particularly significant area for supplying the tin required to make bronze. Very strong contacts and business dealings were kept up with Laconia, Corinth and Athens, but also with the Aegean islands, with which the Samians always maintained close relations.







Accompanying the wealth that accumulated on the island were multitudes of precious or curious objects. The mass influx of commodities from Egypt and the Near and Middle East began in the late 8th century BC, and the offerings found in the Heraion are noteworthy for their wealth and varied origins. Bold navigators, the Samians travelled to the ends of the Mediterranean and broadened the horizons of the then known world in a manner analogous to that of Portuguese seafarers in later centuries. The marvellous wanderings of the seaman Colaeus, who in about 630 BC travelled to the mythical *silver sources* of Tartessus in western Spain, are not unique, but simply the best known such instance.

The growth of business and trade was naturally followed by political and social developments. The riches that were amassed and the acquaintance with another world fostered intellectual development and the flourishing of culture through the arts and letters, while at the same time inspiring an inclination to allow the people more freedom and participation in public affairs and in the administration of the city. In about 700 BC, on Samos as in the rest of Greece, the monarchy gave way to governance by the aristocracy, whose members came from the old royal families and especially from among the owners of large estates, called *Geomoroi*, descendants of the first settlers, who parcelled out the land. The new economic conditions, however, with the emergence of a powerful class of seamen, merchants and artisans who demanded greater participation in civic life and more rights, led to strife. The establishment of the colonies, and the strong presence of the Samians in Thrace and around the Sea of Marmara, a zone of financial activity by the Megarians, caused the two parties to clash in about 600 BC. To fight the Megarians, the Geomoroi sent a fleet manned by their political adversaries in the hope that they would be defeated and eliminated.

*Slab of white marble from the Chora region bearing a votive inscription to Hera. Two Samians, [...]niskos son of Xenodokos and Demis son of Pythocles, colonists from Perinthus, returned to their homeland and dedicated to Hera precious vessels worth 200 Samian staters, a significant amount, probably equivalent to 1/10 of the fortune they made in their new homeland. The gifts of the Perinthians were: a gold Gorgon, a silver siren, a silver phiale, and a bronze lamp-stand. (580-570 BC)*



One of the boundary stones that demarcated the shrines dedicated by the Athenians to their protecting goddess Athena, “who looks after the good of Athens”. A symptom of the city’s expansionist policy, within the context of Athenian hegemony, was to take land from its allies to honour the gods of Athens and of the Athenian cleruchs.



But instead their adversaries were victorious and persuaded their Megarian prisoners to collaborate with them to overthrow the Geomoroi in exchange for their freedom, and the expedition ended with a massacre and the defeat of the aristocrats. The continuing turmoil gave strong men an opportunity to assume power at certain periods. Vague reference is made in the sources to the names of Demoteles, Amphicrates, and Syloson. The best known of these tyrants was Polycrates (538-522 BC), who was admired in particular by Herodotus. With the economic power and wealth inherited from decades of financial success, he succeeded in organising a powerful navy of one hundred *penteconters* (ships with 50 oars) with a thousand archers, and was able to employ foreign mercenaries. Given the circumstances of the period, however, he also took special care to promote the intellectual and artistic development of his homeland. With his megalomania, which Herodotus calls *megaloprepeie* (magnificence), he gathered in his court men of letters with the prestige of Ibycus and Anacreon, attracting them with high salaries, together with the famous physician Democedes, who was paid a fee twelve times higher than what he had been receiving from Peisistratus in Athens. The mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras, on the contrary, the most significant man to be born on Samos, after various adventures, was forced into self-exile in Magna Grecia as a result of his opposition to the tyrant. Herodotus, the father of history, attributes to the controversial Polycrates what was perhaps the most significant construction programme executed in all of Greece in the 6th cent. BC. Among the most important and admirable works that adorned the island were: the Heraion, with its enormous temple of the goddess Hera and monumental altar both designed by Rhoecus, its colossal *kouroi* and charming marble *korai*; as well as other projects in the city, the port with the large breakwater,

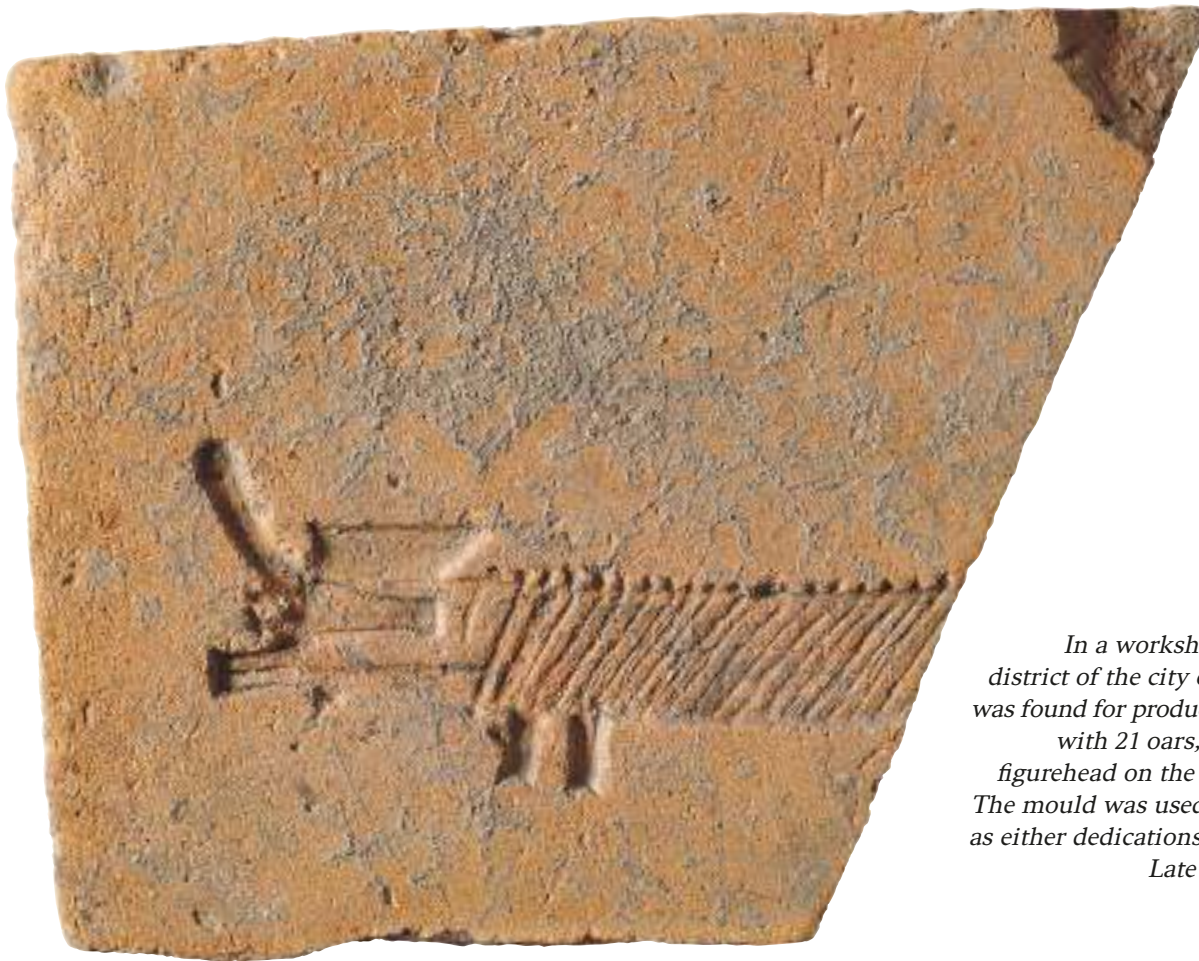


and the Eupalinian Aqueduct with its amazing two-ended tunnel that carried water from the spring of Agiades into town in such a way as to evoke the admiration of specialists to this day. To the same period belong the first stout fortification wall that protected the city from attack, and many other works, among which was the creation of a new type of ship, more appropriate for trade and even military operations, the so-called *samaina*. All these achievements would, of course, have been inconceivable had they not been preceded by the era of the overseas wanderings, trade and the accumulation of great wealth from activities of all types. Corresponding to financial success was the artistic progress made by local sculpture, metalwork, pottery and statuary workshops, which soon made Samos unequalled among the Greek cities of the archaic period.

The expansion of the Persians to Asia Minor, into the regions in which the Samians had extended their commercial activities, had a decisive influence on the island's history. The assassination of Polycrates by the Persian satrap Oroetes was followed by the Persian Wars, the brilliant victories of the Greeks and finally the establishment of the First Delian League (478 BC) which swiftly concluded in Athenian hegemony. Samos did not have to pay a tribute to the League, since it participated actively in protecting the seas with its 60 ships and its military capability. However, the island's power was perceived as jeopardising the interests and leadership plans of Athens. The pretext used to disable this power was provided by the quarrel between Samos and Miletus, homeland of Aspasia, over territorial disputes and claims in the eternal fight for Anaia in Asia Minor, breadbasket of the Samians. The intervention of the Athenian fleet under Pericles led, after a cruel nine-month siege, to the subjugation of Samos (439 BC) on debilitating terms, including the demolition of its fortification wall, the payment of an enormous war indemnity, and the surrender of its fleet. The influence of Athens in the political and financial affairs of Samos was to last for about 100 years, siring up constant unrest, with frequent interchanges of Democrats and Oligarchs in the governance of the island. The culmination of these

*Rectangular parallelepiped block of marble, 2 m. high, from the city. On one side a decree has been preserved, a city law concerned with ensuring an adequate supply of grain for the citizens. On two other sides are inscribed the names of 120 citizens who contributed from 100 to 1000 drachmas each, for a total of 18,000 drachmas, i.e. more than 3 talents, to the fund for purchasing the grain that was eventually distributed free of charge to the citizens. The process was complex and strictly supervised. This particular law is an extremely valuable source of information about the history of the island in the Hellenistic period. Late 3rd cent. BC.*





*In a workshop in the ancient agora district of the city of Samos, a clay mould was found for producing the image of a ship with 21 oars, ram and spar with the figurehead on the prow and an anti-ram. The mould was used to make metal vessels as either dedications or decorative features. Late 4th-early 3rd cent. BC.*

interventions was the provocative second siege of the city by Athenian troops commanded by Timotheos, son of Conon, which ended with most of the Samian population being sent into exile, an event known from the inscriptions as the expulsion (*phyge*), and their replacement by Athenian *cleruchs* (lot-holders) in 365 BC.

The situation changed after the decree by Alexander the Great that all refugees could return to their homelands, which despite the objections of the Athenians, would eventually include Samos. The return – described as *kathodos* in the inscriptions – was followed by vigorous political, economic and construction activity. The city was reorganised, public buildings and temples were erected, the largest Gymnasium in ancient history was established, a place of athletic exercise and military training with a stadium and palaistra on the southwest side of the city, and the defensive wall was rebuilt. Many inscriptions found in both the Heraion and the city pay tribute to officials but also to ordinary citizens for the help they gave the Samians during the difficult times of their exile and return. The hardships imposed on the inhabitants by the cruel policy of the Athenians moved the entire Hellenic world, as shown by the following few instances. Cities and citizens competed to show their solidarity. Gorgos, the man whose great efforts had convinced Alexander to include Samos in his decree, was able to persuade his fellow citizens in Iassos – where most of the exiles had sought refuge – to exempt the refugees from paying taxes on their household goods and to assume the cost of their transportation by ship and resettlement on Samos. Sosistratos, citizen of Miletus and son of Phanodicos, loaned them a thousand gold staters interest-free; Gygis from Toroni sold them three thousand *medimnoi* (1 *medimnos* = about 36.4 litres) of wheat at prices below cost to feed the large numbers of citizens who were returning to their

homeland with no means of survival. Even more moving was the offer by the ever-poor Spartans who, with no other financial resources, had its citizens, slaves and livestock fast for an entire day, and sent the food thus saved to Samos!

By the time the Macedonians appeared on the scene, however, conditions in the land of Greece had already changed radically. After the death of Alexander, the role of Samos was considerably limited, since the island was now dependent on the dispositions of his successors, who divided up the conquests of their commander, and thus its destiny was affected by the turbulent events, incessant battles and frequent changes in the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean. After Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Antigonids, the island found itself for many years in the sphere of influence of the Ptolemies of Egypt. The financial situation of Samos and its inhabitants would remain difficult, but in the city there were always some extremely wealthy people such as Boulagoras son of Alexis or Sosistratos son of Sosistratos, who were to assist their homeland in confronting the perennial economic problems. By then, Alexandria had become the major intellectual and financial centre of the Eastern Mediterranean and many Samians migrated to this new capital of Hellenism in search of a better life. Others, such as Callicrates son of Boiscos, would rise to the upper echelons of the Ptolemaic court, and become benefactors to their homeland in various ways, as revealed by the honours awarded to them, while others, such as the astronomer Aristarchus and the mathematician Conon, were to make a decisive contribution to scientific progress.

Instead of the Samian fleet with its *penticonters* and *samaines*, that once plied the Mediterranean, the port of the city of Samos now berthed ships of the Egyptian and Rhodian fleets, as the naval base of the Ptolemies initially and of the Rhodians later. But the distinct presence of the Samians in financial transactions and in the transport of commodities and people around the Eastern Mediterranean is proved by the references on gravestones in Samian necropolises to the many foreigners who breathed their last on the island and to corresponding numbers of Samians who died in exile or drowned in the Aegean while travelling for commercial purposes. The same fact is likewise attested by finds of various foreign coins in Samian excavations and the presence of Samian currency in many cities throughout the broader region.

The transition to Roman rule was not easy for Samos, especially during the struggle by Aristonicus (133-129 BC), claimant to the throne of Pergamon, but also in the period of the Mithridatic wars (88-80 BC), when the city was subject to raids by the pirates of Cilicia. By then, the political situation on the island had changed dramatically. Authorities and powers continued to function, formally at least, but only on local issues. Political and judicial matters were now resolved in Rome or Ephesus, where the governor of Asia had his headquarters. The local authorities, the Council and Demos of the Samians spent their time issuing honorary decrees and commissioning statues of the emperor, his generals and the members of their families, as can be concluded from the statues of Pompey, Cicero and a multitude of others. The palace of Kastro with its royal comforts now housed generals and kings, depending on the situation. The sojourn of Antony and Cleopatra on the island passed into the realm of myth as they enjoyed Samian hospitality

*Honorary decree by the Council (Boule) and the Demos of the Samians regarding one of the many friends of Samos who assisted its citizens in their adventures of exile and repatriation. This particular friend, in fact, had the power to influence the kings Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes in favour of the Samians. In the scene, a man, the personification of the Demos, crowns the honoured person. Just after 321 BC.*





ΕΤΗ ΗΡΩΔΙΑ ΗΙΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ  
Ο ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΝΕΡΕΙΔΗ  
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΕΝΤΕ ΤΗ  
ΤΙΣ ΟΝΔΙ ΕΤΕ ΛΕΙΠΕΝ  
ΔΟΝ ΗΤΗΝ ΣΑΜΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΤΙ  
ΙΦΟΝ ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΗ Η ΤΡΙΩ ΙΔΙ  
ΤΗΣ ΙΜΟΝΕ ΑΥ ΤΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΧΕ  
ΗΙ ΤΗ ΗΡΩΔΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ  
ΝΟΥ ΣΙΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ  
ΡΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΙΑ ΜΟΝ





*The Heraion. View of the east side of the Sanctuary with Rhoecus' altar, the remains of the Roman temple of Hera, the Christian basilica and the apse of the 16th-cent. church. Despite its dilapidated state, the sanctity of this occult site was respected over the centuries and remains vivid.*



in what was to be the last happy period of their lives, with celebrations and banquets every day, until the battle of Actium (31 BC) and its tragic outcome for them. Delighted with the place and its mild climate, Octavian Augustus, the victor at Actium, was later accommodated in the same palace. The frequent trips to the East by Augustus and his family –as well as by other emperors, such as Tiberius and later Hadrian– often afforded opportunities for pleasant intervals of rest in the Kastro Palace, which for precisely that reason had been rebuilt and decorated with splendid atria, fountains and gardens overlooking the sea, with a marvellous view and open horizons.

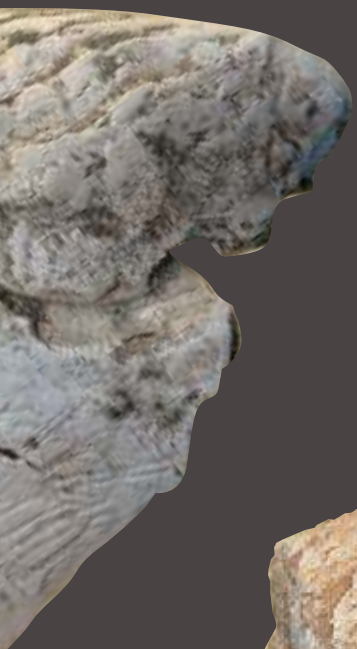
Some of them expressed their gratitude by giving generously to the glorious old city. Caligula dreamed of rebuilding the palace of Polycrates; Claudius renovated the temple of Dionysus that had been destroyed by an earthquake in 47 AD, and it was probably Hadrian who offered the city a new aqueduct that brought water from another spring some 15 km. away, since under the new conditions and with the waste created by the organised Roman baths (*thermae*), the demand for water had increased so much that the quantities brought in by the Eupalinian aqueduct were no longer sufficient.

The Christian era that followed gave the island another chance. Large early Christian basilicas now occupied key positions in the ancient city and in the Heraion, obliterating the older monuments. At the city's most central point, on Kastro hill, a large church with its outbuildings and cloisters, very probably the bishop's cathedral, reminds us that on the site of the palace in which emperors had been accommodated, the episcopal palace, residence of the island's bishop now stood. Another basilica, built using marble from older structures, was erected in the Heraion, in order to eclipse the memory of the protecting goddess Hera's cult. A further church with mosaic floors utilised the Artemision, where the memory of the ancient virgin goddess was supplanted by the Virgin Mary, to whom the later chapel is dedicated. On the site of the athletic facilities of the Gymnasium, whose ruins provided abundant construction material, two basilicas were built: one with a beautiful mosaic on the stadium site, and the other in the Roman *thermae*. The epoch ended ingloriously, as the island was plunged into the uncertainty and terror sown by the Persian but especially the Arab raids of the 7th century. The city was initially abandoned for a while, when the inhabitants, in fear of Arab raids, sought shelter in the castle of Lazarus and at other inland places on the island. They returned later, when conditions were completely different. The city was limited to the region between the Kastro and the port and would continue to live a low-profile life until it was deserted completely. At the end of the 12th century, in the now abandoned port, a Venetian *dogana*, or customs post, was established by permission of the Byzantine emperors. As the word became corrupted, it gave the town its medieval name of *Tigani*. The name was retained until the 1950s, when the small, once glorious city was renamed Pythagorio, in memory of the most famous son of Samos, the mathematician and philosopher Pythagoras, who is regarded worldwide as one of the most significant men to walk the Earth.

ON PAGES 44-45: *Shells of the fluted clam (Tridacna squamosa) decorated with a woman's head. The natural shape of the shell looks like a cloak round her head. The facial features, hair and decoration on the cloak were carved. This species of clam originates in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and their exotic shells were used as containers for cosmetics. They were imported from Phoenicia and Palestine and found in the Heraion. 8th cent. BC.*













*Sherds of a pot from Corinth with a black-figure scene. Found in the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*

*A large number of clay figurines from Cyprus have been found in the Heraion as votive offerings to the Great Goddess. Among the most elegant of the type is the figurine of the standing frontal female figure with groomed hair and striking jewellery. Her arms are held down along the body, which is covered by a filmy fitted garment. Traces of light violet and red paint are visible on the surface. Early 6th cent. BC.*





*Bronze statuette of a praying male figure with a dog. Originally from Babylon, it was dedicated in the Heraion. 8th-7th cent. BC.*





*Bronze figurine of a kouros of exceptional quality, from a Samian workshop. 6th cent. BC. The output of bronze figurines of kouroi and korai by Samian workshops expresses the high artistic level and financial prosperity of Samos in the 7th and 6th centuries BC.*







*Bronze statuette of a bald man wearing a long loincloth and holding a container in his left hand. Imported from Egypt. Votive offering to Hera. 9th-6th cent. BC.*





*The bronze mirror with carved decoration was dedicated by the handmaiden of Mut, the Egyptian sky goddess who gives life, safety and health. A two-line votive inscription in hieroglyphic script once bore the now illegible names of both the donor and her mother. Found in a treasury in the Heraion. Above the inscription is a naiskos with the goddess Mut enthroned, and in front of her, in an attitude of prayer, the dedicator offers her a mirror. This is the sole example of an Egyptian mirror with a hieroglyphic inscription that has been found to date on Greek soil. It was imported from Egypt and dates to 630 BC (first half of the 26th Egyptian dynasty).*

*The Egyptian goddess Mut and Hera have common features; besides it was quite customary in the ancient world for foreign deities to become merged with local ones. The description of Mut as Hera can be found in Diodorus (1st cent. BC). Perhaps the Egyptian woman who dedicated the mirror to Hera recognized in her the goddess Mut. Mirrors were beauty objects of Egyptian origin and must have been imported to Greece on a large scale during the 15th cent. BC.*





*Bronze sheet representing the winged horse Pegasus, born from the union of Poseidon and Medusa. Pegasus was in the service of Zeus and brought thunderbolts to Olympus from the workshop of Hephaestus. In later years he was considered to be the horse of the Muses and as such, assisted poets in their flight to the world of art. The sheet may initially have been sewn or attached to leather with studs. 7th cent. BC.*

*Cutout from a bronze sheet with the mythical scene in which two of Odysseus' companions blind Polyphemus with a red-hot wooden stake. Found in the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*











*First among the cities of Greeks and non-Greeks alike*

## THE PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE ANCIENT CITY

*Samos faces the south, both it and its harbour, which latter has a naval station. The greater part of it is on level ground, being washed by the sea, but a part of it reaches up into the mountain that lies above it*

This is how Strabo (xiv, 14) described the city of Samos, after visiting the island around the time of the birth of Christ. He saw a city built on a level, coastal site, with part of it leading up a hill. The ancient city looks much the same to this day, despite the changes that followed in the centuries after Roman rule, since the basic principles of its city plan and shape had been determined by the great works built in its heyday: the massive wall that demarcated the site, its port facilities and the Aqueduct of Eupalinos, the Agora and its porticoes, the main streets, the sanctuaries and, finally, in the Hellenistic period, the splendid athletic facilities on the west side of the city. On the hillside, where the line of public and private buildings stopped, a theatre was built in the 4th cent. BC as the city's crowning. All these features were decisive factors in defining its physiognomy.

The little Protogeometric settlement of the early colonists from the Peloponnese, which in the Geometric period grew rapidly to cover the entire area around the river and the port, evolved in the 7th and 6th cent. BC into a large, prosperous city.

*The impressive underground passage of the Eupalinian tunnel.*



## *The major infrastructure projects*

### THE AQUEDUCT OF EUPALINOS — *The two-ended tunnel*

The famous Aqueduct that Herodotus cites as one of the most significant engineering projects in the Greek world, was the achievement of the engineer Eupalinos, son of Naustrophos, from Megara in Attica. Its purpose was to bring water to the city from the abundant springs of Agiades through the Mytilinii valley. The need to secure an unimpeded water supply for the city during times of war was met by Eupalinos' bold decision to direct the water channel through a tunnel under Ampelos hill (elevation 237 m.), a decision whose realisation required unprecedented, massive construction works and exceedingly complex mathematical calculations. The water, flowing at a rate of about 400 cubic metres per day, was collected in a sturdy reservoir that can still be seen today below the church of Ayios Ioannis (St John) at Agiades. From there it was carried by a 900-metre channel, along the contours of the elevation and adjusted to conform to the terrain, to the north side of Ampelos hill, where it entered the famous tunnel, the most extraordinary part of the project. In the tunnel, known as the Eupalinian Tunnel, which is 1035 metres long with a section of 1.80m.x1.80 m., the water in the channel that was hewn out of the floor of the tunnel could reach a depth of up to 8 metres to facilitate its flow through to the south side of the hill from which, once again by an underground conduit, with repair shafts for regular cleaning, the water was brought to the city's fountains. The tunnel, the most interesting part of the project in engineering terms, was hewn through the hard limestone with hammers and chisels. To reduce the time required for the project, works began on both sides of the mountain simultaneously, and despite the difficulties that arose during the course of the project, the venture ended well, thanks to the inventiveness of Eupalinos, who "using the simplest geodesic methods with skill, managed to unite the two underground corridors despite the necessary changes of direction", as noted by H. Kienast, the scholar of this exceptional project.

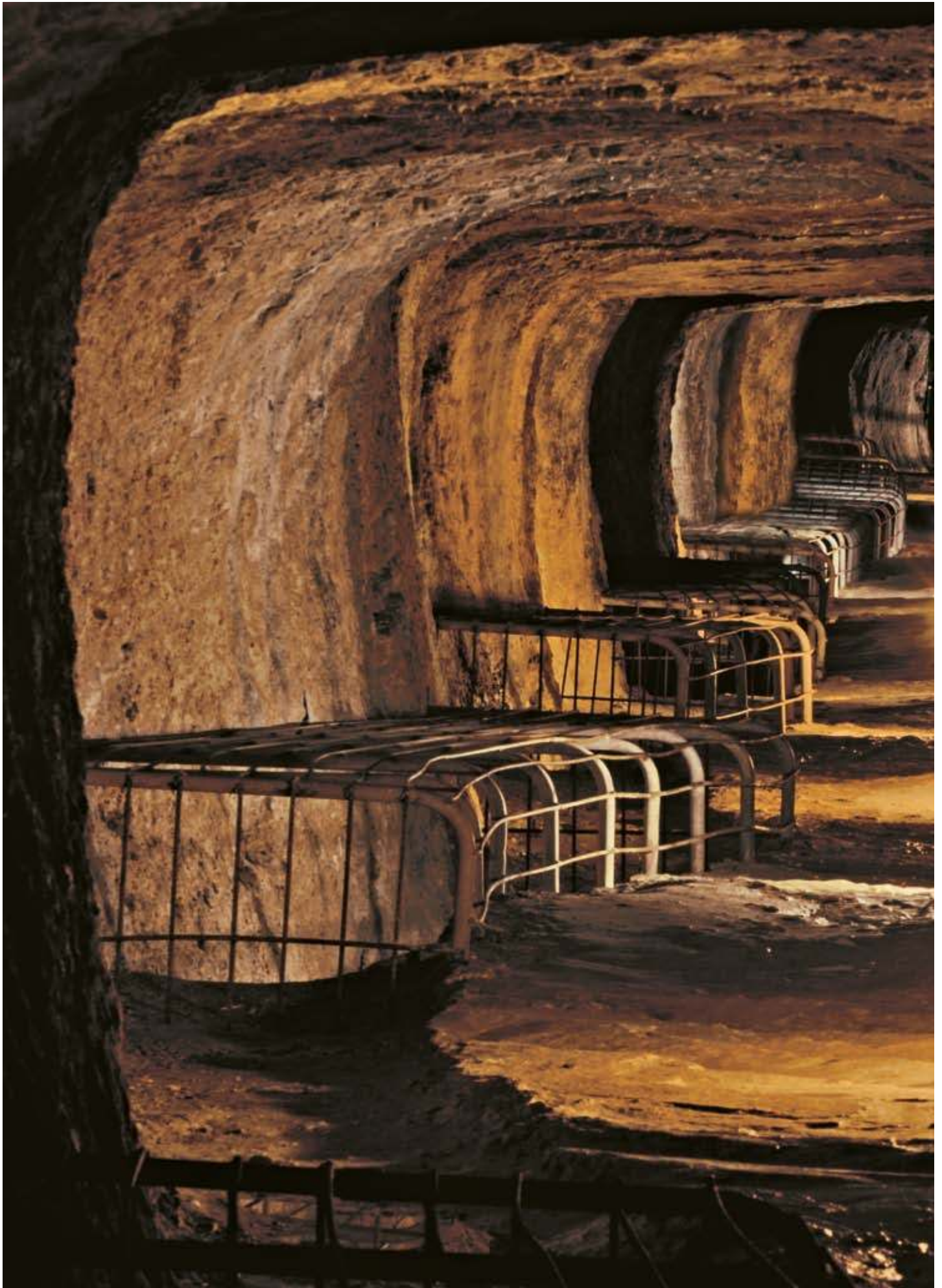
The Aqueduct was used for a thousand years or so. In the 7th century AD, it also served as a hiding place during raids by the Persians in 627 and then by the Arabs in 666. Later it was buried and forgotten until the 19th century, when an effort was made to find it and use it again to supply water to the new town that was being built on the site of ancient Samos (1882). The first studies were made then by Epameinondas Stamatidis and Ernst Fabricius (1884). In 1971 the German Archaeological Institute at Athens undertook to remove the soil that had accumulated in the tunnel and, under the direction of Ulf Jantzen, to excavate this unique work, the presentation and understanding of which are largely due to the tireless efforts by Hermann Kienast. The final study to restore and operate it as a monument accessible to the public was done by the Greek Archaeological Society.

ON PAGES 57-61: *Views of the inside of the underground passage in the Eupalinian aqueduct, perhaps the most significant engineering project of the archaic period. The famous two-mouthed tunnel, which was so admired by Herodotus, continues to impress even modern engineers since, owing to the extraordinarily complex calculations made by the project's engineer, Eupalinos, son of Naustrophos from Megara, after beginning to dig simultaneously from both sides of the mountain, he succeeded in having the two tunnels meet in the middle, with no more than a small deviation.*



























## THE GREAT BREAKWATER — *The mole in the sea*

The second of the major projects was the enormous breakwater which, built on an underwater foundation at a depth of more than 35 metres, and almost 300 metres long, protected the harbour from strong south winds, as it does to this day. It was reconstructed by the German engineer Franz Humann in 1862, on instructions from the Samian Principality.

## THE TEMPLE OF HERA

The third project was the large temple of the goddess Hera in the Heraion, her sanctuary outside the city, the largest temple that had ever been built in Greece up to that time, and one of the largest in all of antiquity, to which a separate chapter is devoted.

## THE WALL

The organisation of the Eupalinian Aqueduct, as well as the sieges by Spartans (524 BC) and Persians (522 BC) presupposed the existence of a defensive wall, although Herodotus does not mention the archaic wall among Polykrates' major projects. Most of it was torn down, in conformity with the terms of the treaty that followed the capture of the city of Samos by the Athenians in 439 BC, after fierce fighting and a brutal siege. The sections of the wall that have survived to the present day appear to have been constructed with enormous blocks of stone using the polygonal system of masonry on the bottom and sun-dried bricks on the top. It has a total length of 6.5 km, and from the outset always enclosed the same area as the later walls, obviously for defensive purposes, since a large part of the space thus protected appears to have remained always uninhabited. Nevertheless its demolition by the Athenian forces in 439 BC cannot have left the city undefended for very long. The events of the Peloponnesian War and the developments that followed it must have provided opportunities to repair the wall. In any event, in the siege under the commander Timotheos (365 BC), the city was once again walled, as proved by its ten-month resistance to the Athenian attacks.

Most of the wall, which has been preserved today in surprisingly good condition, was built almost 250 years after the initial fortifications, in about 300 BC, very probably when Samos was ruled by Demetrius Poliorcetes. It was built with large rectangular stones in regular courses, known in archaeological terminology as the "isodomic system". In accordance with the new fortification methods, the wall was then reinforced with about 50 defensive towers, just one of which has survived intact, standing proudly on the steep slope of the hill. And finally a third phase, using a pseudo-isodomic system that has been identified at various points, is attributed to the repair that followed the destruction of parts of the wall during the siege mounted by King Philip V of Macedonia, descendant of Demetrius Poliorcetes, in about 200 BC.

*The Heraion. Despite its reduced height, the one column remaining today of the 155 that originally adorned the great temple of Hera stands out proudly on the sanctuary horizon.*



## *City Plan, Streets, Markets*

These monuments – together with the palace buildings that were discovered in the German excavations of the 1920s and 1960s on Kastro hill and in the German explorations of the Heraion over the past 100 years – constituted until recently the only known remains of the ancient city's glory.

Excavations in the ancient city of Samos, at least in the past 50 years, have not to date identified any of the public buildings known from the ancient sources. Most of them must have been in the vicinity of the ancient Agora (market), the site of which has now been located, according to finds from recent excavations, on the level ground in front of the point where the waters of the Chesios flow into the sea, below the west foot of Astypalaia. This identification and the detection of segments of ancient streets at various points in the modern city have provided interesting data about the city plan of the ancient settlement, even though the overall picture of the plan has not yet been fully understood.

One basic street crosses the area between the port on the east and the main western gate in the wall and the Sacred Way to the Heraion, constituting the main thoroughfare of both the ancient and the modern city. In the Roman period, probably toward the end of the 2nd cent. AD, this official processional way, as part of a programme that included other major city streets, was paved with flagstones up to the Heraion and flanked by porticoes and buildings. Its south side is demarcated by a large building with majestic colonnades on the façade and columns of red marble, which show that during the imperial years, the street had been converted into a *via colonnata* modelled on the large Roman cities. Another portico, perpendicular to the east elevation of the structure, defines the west side of the ancient Agora square. Research in the Agora has not unearthed other features, apart from a multitude of pipes, although the large column bearing a list of citizens very probably belongs there, as it was found nearby in 27 pieces, all in front of the City Hall (IG XII, VI, 202). The high column whose enormous drums can still be seen on the Agora site, as noted on drawings and maps by travellers, must have supported a significant city monument.

The main sanctuaries of Samos, the Agora and other public structures, together with the athletic facilities of the Gymnasium, are lined up on both sides of the processional way.

In contrast to the main street, which was devoted to the cults and events of public life, the second, also important road, placed diagonally to the processional way and ending in the Agora square, housed the city's commercial activities and artisans' workshops. The shafts and structures revealed by excavations in the area must have belonged to the Geometric period, and were used to extract and process what Theophrastus called *Samia ge* (Samian earth), a whitish mineral commonly known as saponite, a type of kaolin, valuable material with a variety of uses that was of great importance to the city's economic life. In the same district beside the river, pottery workshops were established for the production of ceramic goods (pots and figurines) together with coppersmiths' and other intrusive crafts. The same conditions prevailed during the Roman period, when all buildings in the district that faced the road were converted into shops. The multitude of makeshift sewerage ducts pointed to the "dirty" trades, those with abundant wastes, such as fishmongers, butchers, and possibly workshops engaged in processing leather and smelting metals. Proximity to the commercial and military port organised in the archaic period under Polycrates and to the Agora played a decisive role in determining the nature and evolution of this site.





*Typical section of the defensive wall of polygonal masonry with a gate in its archaic phase, the building of which is usually attributed to the tyrant Polycrates. The walls of this phase were demolished under the terms of the treaty that followed the Samians' defeat by the Athenians in 440-439 BC.*

All the other streets that have been found to date were organised in relation to these two main roads, parallel or perpendicular to them, but also adapted to the contours of the local terrain. One can frequently guess their course solely on the basis of the large sewage pipes that end in the already known streets or come to light during random excavations on private lots. Residential areas, at least during Hellenistic and Roman times, were moved to higher ground, far from the bustling centre, to Astypalaia hill where, in addition to the palace buildings, lovely Roman villas with mosaic floors and painted wall decoration were built on the high ground overlooking the port and on the hill behind the city's primary school. At the foot of Ampelos, below the Monastery of Spiliani, a magnificent Hellenistic building has been discovered –of the *palatial* type, according to the excavating archaeologist, with a wonderful mosaic floor– the function of which has not yet been fully understood. The most important buildings followed the model of a house constructed round a central atrium that had become established in the late Classical period as the ideal type of residence.

Special mention must be made of the Hellenistic Gymnasium and its facilities, the construction of which altered the street plan and physiognomy of the entire southwest section of the ancient city. This very large, imposing athletic complex with an area of 35,000 sq.m. has not yet been unearthed in its entirety. From the evidence found to date, the stadium, gymnasium and palaistra can be clearly discerned. Its relationship with the city wall and some other features suggest the hypothesis that the project must be attributed to a powerful leader in the early 3rd century BC, who can be none other than Demetrius Poliorcetes, ruler of Samos at precisely that period, as he alone had both the economic capability and the desire to fund such large prestige works. To him is likewise attributed the rebuilding of the city wall. A project of this magnitude could certainly not have been carried out by the fledgling Samian state which, after the return of the Samians from their 50-year exile, had to confront enormous economic hardships and the urgent needs for food to sustain its destitute citizens. An impressive bath complex, the Roman *thermae*, richly decorated with inlaid marble floors, statues, mosaics and wall paintings, was added to the Gymnasium facilities during imperial Roman times (2nd cent. AD).







# GODS, CULTS AND SANCTUARIES

## *The great sanctuary of Hera — The largest temple we have ever seen*

Ἡρην αἰίδω χρυσόθρονον ἦν τέκε Ῥεΐη,  
ἀθανάτην βασιλείαν ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσαν  
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε  
κυδρῆν, ἦν πάντες μάκαρες κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
αἰζόμενοι τίουσιν ὁμῶς Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

ΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΣ ΥΜΝΟΣ, XII

*I sing of Hera, the golden-throned, whom Rhea  
bore to be queen of the immortals, of supreme beauty, sister and wife  
of loud-booming Zeus, she is the glorious one, whom all the blessed  
ones on high Olympus revere and honour no less than Zeus  
whose sport is the thunderbolt.*

HOMERIC HYMN, XII

**O**n the fertile plain that was formed on the southeast part of the island by the alluvial deposits of the Imbrasos or Parthenios River, verdant with fragrant vines and olive trees, the goddess Hera was worshipped as Parthenos (Virgin), as reported by both Apollodorus of Rhodes and Pausanias, the traveller of the imperial Roman era. *And lovely Samos was the seat of Pelasgian Hera* (Dion Chrysostomos, 30, 90). According to legend, the goddess was born under a tree variously known today as a chaste, withe, or monk's pepper tree (*Vitex agnus castus*) on the banks of the river. In this way, the tree that, according to Pausanias, was *the oldest withe tree (lygos) growing in the Heraion*, became the tree sacred to the goddess.

The Heraion of Samos, which was for centuries among the most important sanctuaries in ancient Greece, is located 6 km from the ancient city of Samos (modern Pythagorio) and was connected with it politically and administratively. The faithful, wearing their most decorous clothes, would walk to the sanctuary along the Sacred Way. They could also arrive by sea, which washes the site to the south. According to the geographer Strabo, the Sacred Way was beautified on both sides by high, ever-green trees. Alongside it, and east of the temple, there was a cemetery adorned

*The Great Sanctuary of Hera from the west (aerial photograph, Oct. 2007)*



by the tomb of Leontychos and Radine, *walking towards which, those Ionians who were heavily smitten by love, made a vow and promised gifts, which they brought with them to the grave, together with their prayers*, as Pausanias tells us.

The ancient Samians insisted on building temples to the goddess Hera on this plain, despite the major problems of static sufficiency on the marshy ground. It appears that the close relationship of the goddess's cult with this particular site did not allow them to stray very far from it.

The worship of Samian Hera dates to the Late Bronze Age and in particular to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. She is not referred to as the consort of Zeus, but as the Mother Goddess, *generator of all*, as the poet Alcaeus of Lesbos called her.

The first cult statue, the image that embodied the goddess, as Aethlios says, was of wood (*xoano*) and the aniconic wooden plank was later shaped into the divine form in the era of the archon Procles by the artist Smilis of Aegina, son of Eukleides, as noted by Olympichos and Pausanias. According to Herodes Atticus:

*Until you became a well-carved work by Smilis,  
According to the ancient institution, you were an unworked board.*

One image we have of the goddess's *xoano* is that of the wooden statuette found in the sanctuary that has been described as a work of Cretan art. Under no circumstance, however, can this statuette be identified as any of the *xoana* of Hera, not only because our information about the *xoano* does not lead to Crete, but primarily because the wooden statuette presents no iconographic similarity to the *xoano* of the goddess as depicted on the Roman coins minted on Samos. According to Pausanias, the *xoano* was brought from Argos to Samos by the Argonauts and thus was the cult of Hera established on the island.

In his *Record of glorious men of Samos*, Menodotus relates that Admete –daughter of king Eurystheus and his wife Antimache– left Argos and found refuge in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, where she became a priestess of the goddess. To undermine her, the Argives incited the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) to steal the cult statue. *And the Tyrrhenians, after anchoring in the bay of the Heraion on Samos, stole the xoano from the temple, which had no door then, and took it to Argos.* But with the intercession of Hera, the pirates' ship carrying the stolen statue was immobilised on the strand south of the sanctuary, a development that frightened the pirates, who fled, leaving the statue on the shore, together with sweets to appease the goddess. The next day, the island's residents saw the statue on the strand and, in the belief that it had moved there by itself, bound



*Wooden statuette with a polos, known as the "Hera of Samos", 28.7 cm. high, typical example of monumental Daedalic art in an east Ionian spirit, like an echo of the cult statue. The type with the polos supplemented the festive dress worn by figurines of mortal women and figures from the divine or heroic cycle. Scholars notice a relationship with Cretan works, but also with the statue of the Naxian kore of Nicandre, dedicated on Delos. Circa 640 BC.*



it with switches of chaste. Then the priestess Admete untied it, purified it with sea water and put it back on its pedestal. *Because of this event, the Samians established a feast and brought the xoano every year to the coast, where sacrificial cakes made of cereals and bread were provided, and the feast was called Tonaia (Feast of the fetters), that the xoano happened to be found by those Samians who were the first to look for it.*

The Samians honoured the goddess at two major feasts on the island: the *Heraia* or *Ekatombaia* and the *Tonaia*. At the *Heraia*, which was celebrated during *Ekatombaionas*, i.e. the months of July and August, her birth and marriage were honoured; then men entered the sanctuary precinct bearing arms, which they left on the altar and addressed prayers and entreaties to the goddess, according to Pausanias. At the *Tonaia*, the finding of the xoano that had been stolen by pirates was celebrated, and the statue was crowned with switches of chaste and the people rejoiced, as Anacreon reported to Athenaeus:

In an ode by Nicainetos of Samos the feast is described in elegant verse:

*I do not wish, Philotheros, to attend a symposium in the city,  
but close to Hera, and delighting in the wind that blows.  
It is enough for me just to lie by her side on the ground.  
very close to the protectress, with a mat on the ground  
and a withe, ancient wreathing of the Carians.  
But let the wine come and the charming lyre of the Muses,  
and drinking with delight, let us sing the praises  
of the glorious bride of Zeus, mistress of our island.*

During the ceremonies, a large number of bronze ritual vessels were used, almost all of which are pierced with a hole declaring them to have been the property of the goddess and that they must not be reused. There is a great variety of embossed libation phiales for fluid offerings, many of which are of Eastern origin. Strainers and ladles were used to prepare the wine. The strainers ensured that the wine was free of solid matter; and the ladles were used to draw the wine from the krater. Votive inscriptions to Hera have been preserved on the handles of little hammered ladles. For these feasts, small cast wine pitchers were used to fill glasses with the *amber* wine.

The goddess's sacred birds, peacocks, lived in the sanctuary and according to Menodotus, were bred for the first time on



*The Samians honoured the wedding of Hera and Zeus by celebrating the Heraia in the month of Ekatombaionas, i.e. July and August. The scene of the sacred wedding is depicted in relief on a wooden plaque, either a Samian work with manifest Cretan influence or a work by a Cretan woodcarver familiar with Ionian art. (625-600 BC).*





*The verso of bronze Samian coins representing the Roman temple of Hera. The coin on the left was issued in the reign of Gordian III (223-244 AD), on the right in that of Julia Domna (185-214 AD). On the former is the altar and the chaste tree sacred to Hera; on the latter, the goddess was depicted with her arms held out to the side, and her clothing loosely worn over the shoulders, as an inscription from the Temple of Hera tells us.*

Samos from which they migrated to other places as well. The presence of these beautiful birds in the sanctuary is alluded to by the comic poet Antiphanes of Rhodes, who was in his prime in about 330 BC, and his remarks were handed down by Athenaeus. Thus is justified the depiction of a peacock on Samian coins of the 3rd cent. AD:

*Samian Hera looks after  
the golden family of birds,  
the shapely peacocks admired by all.*

### *The history of the sanctuary and its buildings*

The most ancient building remains that have been found so far in the sanctuary date to the late 5th or early 4th millennium BC, according to recent excavation data. In the Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BC), north and northeast of the great temple, a prehistoric settlement was established of *megaron-type* houses built with mud bricks which, in about 2200 BC was protected by a defensive wall.

In the 2nd millennium BC there was a small stone altar on the site, a temple-like structure that sheltered the wooden cult statue, and a chaste or withe, the tree sacred to Hera. The appearance of the sanctuary remained the same even after the Ionians colonised the island in the 10th cent. BC. The few finds from the Protogeometric and Early Geometric period show limited worship. An interesting development on the sanctuary site is observed in the 8th cent. BC when the ancient altar became rectangular and was surrounded by flagstones. West of the altar the first temple of Hera was built, the *Ekatompedos* I, 100 feet long, as the name suggests. Its walls of mud bricks were supported on a low stone



foundation. At the back of the long narrow temple, on a rectangular base of limestone slabs, stood the wooden cult statue of the goddess, the *xoano*. In the 7th cent. BC, after the temple was destroyed by flooding, the *Ekatompodos II* was built on the earlier foundations with a stone crepidoma, or stepped base, and surrounded by wooden poles supported on circular stone bases with rectangular sockets, and the walls were built of limestone blocks that were not interconnected. Both temples must have had roofs covered by terracotta rooftiles. The walls of the Ekatompodos II were decorated inside with a coloured frieze, 30 cm. high, depicting a procession of warriors, as attested by a stone plinth found in the excavation. This procession was the initial form of all the richly-coloured friezes with which the Ionians adorned their temples and altars. At the same time, the altar was refurbished and the south *stoa* (portico) 70 m. by 5.9 m. was built on the southwest edge of the sanctuary, constituting the earliest example of a hypostyle hall in Greek architecture. This *stoa*, which was covered over in the 6th cent. BC by the great temple of Hera and the South Building, was the southwestern limit of the sanctuary, behind which was a tributary of the river Imbrasos.

In the 6th cent. BC, extensive construction works were undertaken to improve the sanctuary. In 570-560 BC, under the supervision of the architect Rhoecus and the artist Theodorus, the foundations were laid for the great temple of Hera, the dimensions of which made it unique. The Ekatompodos II was covered by the new temple (52.5 x 105 m), which was dipteral –i.e. it had a double row of columns surrounding the temple– and interior columns divided the cella and pronaos into three aisles. The columns of fluted porous stone are calculated to have been 18 m. high and 1.5 m. wide at the bottom. Their wonderful carved bases of light-coloured limestone present features of the Samian type with a spiral and torus (convex moulding), that was achieved with a revolving drill, which Pliny tells us was devised by Theodorus. The capitals and entablature were wooden, the roof was covered with terracotta rooftiles and its corners decorated by palmette antefixes. Rhoecus derived his inspiration to build the dipteral temple from the colossal stone temples of the ancient civilisations of the East and Egypt, and its construction coincided with the establishment by the Samians of a colony in Naucratis on the Nile Delta. Nevertheless, the dipteral temple was a purely Ionic creation and in it, the Ionian presence found its richest expression. Contemporaries referred to the temple of Rhoecus as a “labyrinth”, which was immediately imitated in Ephesus and Didyma. The temple of Rhoecus, the first of the prodigious architectural works of Ionia, was destroyed a few years after its completion by the subsidence of the unstable, marshy ground.

The building of a new temple, even larger than the previous one was incorporated into the ambitious programme of the tyrant Polycrates (538-522 BC). This was the temple that Herodotus saw in 460 BC and so impressed



*The kernos of Samos decorated with cups, pomegranates and animals. Offerings vessel used at religious ceremonies in honour of Hera. 7th cent. BC.*





*Depas amphikypellon, a clay vessel known from Odysseus' visit to the kingdom of the Phaeaceans (Odyssey VIII, 89), a beaked prochous (jug), an amphora and an over-sized pithos with two rows of handles to facilitate transport. From the prehistoric settlement of Heraion.*







On a verdant plain fragrant with vines and olives, in the marshy estuaries of the Imbrasos river, Hera the “mother of all” was born under a withe. Aerial photograph of the shrine of Hera (Oct. 2007).

1. The Great Temple 2. The Temple of Rhoecus 3. The Ekatompedos 4. Monopteral building 5. Peripteral Roman Temple 6. The Altar 7. The Sacred Way 8. The Early Christian basilica 9. The Geneleos group 10. Roman house with mosaic 11. Temple of Aphrodite and Hermes 12. Treasuries 13. Corinthian Temple 14. The Myron group.

him that he described it with admiration. It too was dipteral; its dimensions were 55.16 x 108.63 metres, and it had 155 columns, each one 20 metres high. The bases of the marble columns were decorated with horizontal fluted spirals and a torus, and the rest of the building was made of porous limestone. The column shafts were unfluted, and their finial on the top was surrounded by a carved decorative coloured band and crowned on the outside by Ionic capitals with volutes and floral decoration; the inside ones were embellished with an ovolo pattern. This temple was probably never completed, because after the death of Polycrates in 522 BC, internal disputes erupted among his successors, resulting in the economic and political decline of the island. The works to rebuild it continued until the end of the 4th cent. BC; to this construction phase belongs the sole remaining column, which is still standing proudly in its initial position, with a height of 11.21 m. giving the name *Kolona* to the region. The most likely explanation is that the central section of the temple was completed first, to accommodate the cult statue of the goddess, and that the works continued for as long as the political and social conditions on Samos permitted such monumental works to proceed. At the end of the 4th cent. BC, the interior colonnade was built and by the early 2nd cent. BC, the external columns were put up and crowned by the late archaic capitals that had been made earlier. Today the foundations of this gigantic building are still visible and their commanding presence arouses admiration for the craftsmen who managed to lay the foundations of such a large structure on such precarious ground. The temple probably remained half-finished until the early imperial years. From the 3rd cent. AD on, it was used as a quarry for construction





*Stone fragment with incised warriors' heads and spear tips that was part of the painted frieze on a wall in the Ekatompedos. 7th cent. BC.*

material that can be recognised in buildings of the period; and the fact that one sole column was left in place may have been deliberate, to serve as a guide to ships interested in obtaining construction material.

East of the square, in front of the temple, the remains of the great altar and its eight construction stages have been preserved; it was the centre of worship, as was the case in all ancient Greek sanctuaries. The eighth in the series of altars in the same place on the site was erected in 560-550 BC together with the temple by Rhoecus and Theodorus, and became the most important monument of its kind owing to its monumental dimensions (36.57 x 16.58 m.) and the magnificence of its sculpted and applied decoration. In shape, it resembled a courtyard with a protective wall 5-7 m. high on three sides, while on the fourth side, the west, which opened out toward the temple, there was a stairway for the priest. The wall was decorated at the top by relief friezes depicting wild animal fights and sphinxes, multicoloured ovolo mouldings and garlands of flowers, and surrounded the offerings table, the main altar, on which the sacrifices were made. The deterioration of the altar caused by its brittle construction material necessitated radical restoration in Roman times (1st-2nd cent. AD), when the entire altar was rebuilt of marble. Regarding the decoration of the new altar, ornaments copied from archaic models were used. Its upper surface was covered with a slab of green fire-resistant serpentine on which animals were sacrificed, their remains are the numerous ox bones that are constantly coming to light in excavations. The accumulation of ash on the table or in the courtyard round the altar created an "ash altar" similar to that of Zeus at Olympia, according to Pausanias (V 13,8).

Contemporaneously with the temple of Rhoecus and Theodorus, i.e. just before the mid-6th cent. BC, the North Building was erected in the Ionian order, 13.75x 29 m., facing the Sacred Way, with a transverse wall and divided internally by a colonnade into two aisles. In the late 6th cent. BC, a row of wooden columns 25.8 x 41 m. was constructed around the building with a double colonnade on two sides.

When the Great Temple of Hera was being built, construction also began on an isodomic defensive wall on the north side of the precinct. Inside this wall and parallel to it, a stoa 220 m. long and 5 m. wide was built for the display of offerings, to house workshops, and for the sale of sundry goods. The 8-m. wide North Gate facilitated access to the sanctuary from the north. A road passed through this gate that ended outside the sanctuary and was flanked on both sides by monumental dedications.

The 5th and 4th century BC was a period of decline for Samos. After the Persian wars –initially under Persian rule and then, from 474 BC on, as a member of the Delian League– the Samian state was weakened by Athens' growing





*Head of a warrior and a spear tip, detail from the painted frieze of the Ekatompedos. 7th cent. BC.*

demands for sovereignty and by internal discord. Upon Pericles' capture of the ancient city of Samos in 439 BC, but also because part of the population was exiled and their lands distributed to Athenian *cleruchs* (lot-holders) in 365 BC by the Athenian general Timotheos, the prosperity of the archaic period came to an end. Construction activity ceased in the Heraion; and finds of votive offerings and small objects from the period are few.

The return of the Samian exiles, from 321 BC on, marked a new period of development. Construction works continued on the Great Temple in the Heraion and new, smaller buildings were erected. Along the Sacred Way, columns were erected on which honorary decrees were posted by the Council (Boule) and the Demos of Samians in tribute to the city's local and foreign benefactors. The roads in the sanctuary were flanked by larger-than-life statues and portraits put up by private citizens or by the Samian state to honour its benefactors. Belief in the ancient Greek gods was fading and gods of eastern origin appeared (Cybele, Isis, Amon Zeus, Anubis and Sarapis).

In 31 BC, after the Roman civil wars ended, evidence of limited prosperity can be found in the Heraion. In the reign of Octavian Augustus, a temple was built in the city to honour him and Rome, while the Great Temple, half ruined, was used as a Pinacotheca (picture gallery) to protect the sanctuary's significant dedications and works of art. As Strabo wrote: *The Heraion, once an ancient sanctuary and significant temple, is now a Pinacotheca, owing to the multitude of tablets in it; many other picture galleries and small temples are also full of ancient tablets* (XIV, 636). A small peripteral temple was also built that became the final home of the cult statue. In those years, it would appear that after her death, Augustus' wife Livia was worshipped in the Heraion together with Hera, according to an inscription referring to a priestess of Hera and Livia in the reign of the emperor Claudius.





*Marble archaic Ionic capital from the dipteral Temple of Hera. Circa 480 BC.*

In the late 1st and early 2nd cent. AD, the sanctuary lost its prestige, and by 170 AD the temple lay in ruins, according to Pausanias. In the mid-2nd cent. AD a Corinthian temple was built, 7.4 x 12 m. and in the 3rd cent. AD the last temple was constructed on the site, in the Roman order on a rectangular podium of poured masonry, with marble facing decorated with moulding on the top and bottom. Yielding before the ancient Hellenic sacred laws and respecting one of the most important religious sites in the Greek world, the Roman authorities renewed the Heraion's privilege of offering unlimited sanctuary and exemption from taxes. Thus it became a pole attracting fugitives and outcasts, as well as those who wanted relief from onerous taxation. On both sides of the Sacred Way, which in about 200 AD was paved with flagstones, a district developed for people living in the sanctuary with immune status. In the mid-4th cent. AD, the prestige of the ancient religion had died out, the site was abandoned and the cult of Hera faded away.



*Marble archaic capital (epikranon)  
from the Heraion.*



The devastating earthquake of 262 AD and looting by migrant German tribes led to the abandonment and desertion of the settlement in the mid-3rd cent. In the 4th cent., the ancient buildings were demolished and the construction material sold in Asia Minor. In the 5th and 6th cent. a three-aisle early Christian basilica was built on the site, using architectural members of buildings belonging to the ancient religion and fragments of dedications. The basilica was destroyed at the end of the 1st millennium AD and in its place, in about the 16th century, a new domed cross-in-square basilica was erected, of which only the apse remains standing today. Worship continued there in the 18th cent. when a small chapel was built on the same site.

Other buildings in the sanctuary were also dedicated to the Great Goddess and to other gods, as well as the small temple-like buildings known as *treasuries*, that face the Sacred Way, in which valuable dedications were kept, the earliest of which have been identified as belonging to the archaic period.



*In the late 2nd cent. AD, a large area of the sanctuary of Hera was covered by one- and two-storey houses with colonnaded interior courtyards and mosaics, rooms with interior decoration, and water-supply and sewage networks. The floor of this building was decorated with a mosaic representing dolphins in a heraldic scene that delights the viewer with its elegance. By the mid-3rd cent. AD, a large part of the precinct had been converted into a settlement, which also had Roman baths (Thermae).*



## *Gifts to the gods*

The ancient religious custom of offering gifts to the gods is gloriously confirmed in the Heraion. Through these dedications, the international radiance of the Heraion as a place of worship is highlighted, while at the same time testifying to the island's extensive commercial relations, since most of the votive offerings found in the sanctuary are from different places in the ancient world.

Then, believers dedicated gifts of varied materials –ranging from common to precious according to each one's social and financial status– as Christians do to this day. First place among the dedications was held by the splendid statues of youths (*kouroi*) and maidens (*korai*), marble and bronze, that flanked the Sacred Way, “wondrous” objects that attested to the donor's prestige.

Standing vigilant guard over the sanctuary were three or four colossal *kouroi* erected along the Sacred Way, dedications to the goddess by well-to-do citizens. Among them is the monumental torso of a *kouros* dating to 580 BC, dedicated by Isches, son of Rhesios. The statue's right leg was found in 1930; his left thigh and left arm in 1973. His torso was found in 1980 fallen onto the Sacred Way and four years later, his face came to light. This colossal *kouros* with his imposing stature, proud face and heroic bearing, sculpted in Samian marble, gives us a picture of the high quality and artistic capabilities of the local workshops of the period.

Another colossal *kouros*, dating to 560 BC and likewise preserved in fragments – whose head was taken to the Constantinople Museum when Samos belonged to the Ottoman state – was found built into later walls on the Sacred Way.

The larger-than-life female figure with hair dressed in the Daedalic style, dating to 630 BC, is also fragmentarily preserved, the product of a Naxian workshop, and is the oldest statue found in the Heraion to date.

The superb statue of a *kore* dating to 570 BC, which Cheramyas dedicated to Hera draws our admiration. It was found in 1984, and is the twin sister of a beautiful *kore* exhibited in the Louvre. The graceful torso, the careful rendering of the pleats on her clothing, and the combination of her inner elegance and stateliness all place this work among the masterpieces of antiquity.


In addition to individual statues, groups of statues were also dedicated to the goddess, reflecting the financial vigour of their donors. Among them, one of the most important works of archaic Ionian sculpture is the group (560-550 BC) by the sculptor Geneleos that depicts the members of a family. A costly work with several figures, erected on the north side of the Sacred Way, it drew the attention of visitors to the sanctuary with its dignity, the superb rendering of the pleats on the clothing and the carefully dressed hair on the figures. The inscriptions carved on the statues inform us that we are seeing ...*arches*, the father of the family in a reclining position holding a *rhyton*; *Ornithe*, a daughter (*kore*), the original of which is exhibited in the Museum of Pergamon in Berlin; *Philippe*, a second daughter; and *Phileia*, the seated mother on whose chair Geneleos signed his work. In the space between Philippe and Phileia, there was another *kore* and a *kouros*, i.e. two more of the family's children, of whose statues only fragments remain.

*Statue of a kore dedicated by Cheramyas to Hera. 570 BC (see p. 80).*







A close-up photograph of a marble statue's torso and a draped garment. The torso is rendered with a smooth, cylindrical form. The garment is intricately carved with vertical pleats and a decorative hem. The marble has a warm, yellowish-brown hue with some darker staining and wear. The lighting highlights the texture and depth of the carvings.

*The statue of the richly dressed kore with the characteristic cylindrical rendering of the torso was found in the Heraion in 1984. The tender shaping of the body volumes and delicacy of the decorative drapery attest to the hand of an exceptional artist. The inscription ΧΗΡΑΜΥΗΣ ΜΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΤΗΡΗΙ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ (Cheramyēs dedicated me to delight Hera) incised on the vertical hem of the cloak and the startling similarities with the famous Hera of Cheramyēs in the Louvre provide incontrovertible evidence that these two statues belonged to the same group.*



The existence of a second group is shown by the legs of a larger-than-life kouros on a plinth west of the Geneleos group; the circular mark of a round object in front of him may indicate the position of a bronze votive *lebes* (cauldron).

A *lebes* or perhaps statues stood on the circular monument of the 6th-5th cent. BC between the altar and the Sacred Way. On this monument, upon instructions from a certain Onesimos –member of the community responsible for looking after the sanctuary– his name and title were carved in 85/84 BC on a *tabula ansata*, (tablet with a handle), designating him “*attendant of Hera*” and later “*attendant of Augustus*”, who was then the Roman emperor Domitian. Such dedications were popular among persons in charge of ancient temples.

The visitor to the sanctuary was impressed by the bronze group depicting the apotheosis of Heracles as he was led to his father Zeus on Mt Olympus by the goddess Athena. A work by the Athenian artist Myron, it was erected on the south side of the Sacred Way in the 5th cent. BC. Today only the circular base remains in place. The statues in the group were taken to Rome by order of Mark Antony; later however, on instructions from Augustus, Heracles and Athena were returned, but Zeus remained on Capitoline Hill.

The honorary monuments put up in the sanctuary in tribute to people who had shown benevolence to the island prove the ancient Samians’ gratitude to their benefactors. At the south end of the site, near the Great Temple, a monument was erected in 58 or 51 BC to the family of the Cicerones, with a base in the shape of a semicircular apse (*exedra*). The monument was put up by the island as a token of gratitude to the family members who were its benefactors: Quintus Tullius Cicero as conscientious administrator of the province of Asia and Marcus Tullius Cicero as defender of Samian rights at the trial of the Roman quaestor Gaius Licinius Verres, who had robbed the island of many art works.

In recognition of the favour shown by Octavian Augustus and his family to the sanctuary, the Samians erected a monument opposite the Myron group to honour the emperor and his grandsons Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar.

Bronze statues of two Roman consuls, Gaius Stertinius Maximus and Gaius Asinius Pollio, were dedicated to Hera, bearing the inscription “*Because of their reverence for the divine*”, in tribute to their contribution to reconfirmation by the emperor Tiberius and the Roman Senate of the right to asylum in the Heraion. In early Roman times, the bronze statue of the Samian athlete Apollodorus was erected on the left side of the pedestal; he was crowned Olympic victor in the *stadion* footrace (youth category) at the 157th Olympiad in 152 BC.

Another dedication to the goddess was an entire ship 25-30 m. long, of which only the sunken base of its stone pedestal has been preserved. The ship was associated with the voyage of the Samian navigator Colaeus, who sailed to the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar Straits) and beyond, to southern England.


The north side of the Sacred Way was selected as the site for the “*wondrous*” votive offerings, so that the sunlight would illuminate them; the Myron group and the columns with dedications were placed on the south side.

In addition to the large marble and stone votive offerings to the goddess, small works were also dedicated to her: pottery, figurines and statuettes of clay and bronze, and objects of miniature art in bronze, wood, ivory, faience, glass, etc. Offerings from Egypt, Syria, Assyria, Iran, Luristan, Babylon, Phrygia, Phoenicia, the Caucasus, Etruria, Cyprus and many places in Greece, including Sparta, Athens, Corinth and Crete, demonstrate the international nature of the sanctuary.









*The type of the Samian kore, with all her Ionian grace, is expressed by Philippe from the Geneleos group. Her name can be discerned incised on the hem of her garment. The lifting of her chiton lends vitality to the work, a movement that impressed artists at the time, many of whom imitated it. But that was not the only innovation introduced by Geneleos, the most gifted Samian artist of the mid-6th cent. BC.*



As property of the goddess, the small offerings remained on the site and when, with the passage of time, they deteriorated, they were buried in deposits and wells. The most valuable of them were kept in treasuries, and in rooms in the sanctuary. The singularity of many of these offerings and their excellent state of preservation have placed them among the most significant finds of antiquity.

Many of the figurines created in Samian workshops and dedicated to the goddess are splendid works of art, outstanding among which are the bronze statuettes of kouroi and korai, horsemen, banqueters and animals. The youth with the votive inscription ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ ΗΡΗΙ (SMIKROS TO HERA) on his thigh probably belonged to a group with other statuettes, because a second, similar figure has been found. The two statuettes of horsemen exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Vathy belong to another group, and are distinguished by their faithful rendering of the riders' movement.

Finds of bucchero-type ware from the 7th-6th cent. BC attest to the relations of Samos with Italy at that period. The abundance of 7th-cent. BC Laconian pottery in the Heraion bears witness to the contacts between Samos and Sparta during the archaic period. But relations with Corinth and Athens were also close, as there are a great many examples of Corinthian ware of the 7th cent. and Attic black-figure vases of the 6th cent. BC.





In all of Greece, the Heraion on Samos is the archaeological site on which the largest number of bronze artifacts from the East have come to light. They date from the late 8th to the early 6th cent. BC. The comparison of these artifacts with pictorial representations of the Levant often makes it possible to determine their origin and use, although it is never easy to attribute them to any specific centre. The best known and most important centres were in Assyria, Babylonia, Urartu in Armenia, but also in ancient northern Syria and Iran.

The subject matter of Greek art in the 7th cent. BC was influenced by the decoration and visual arts of the Eastern civilisations. The rich finds demonstrate the abundance of foreign models with which the Greeks were familiar in the Orientalizing period. The pictorial scenes of Phrygian art in the 8th and 7th cent. BC reveal exchanges with Greek art. Votive offerings included fibulae and belts of the Phrygian type, Greek creations with interesting decoration used to adorn costly clothing. Relations between Greece and Phrygia are also reported in the literary tradition, as Herodotus wrote (I, 14) that after Midas II (738-696 BC), son of king Gordias of Phrygia, dedicated at Delphi the throne on which he sat to deliver legal judgements, Gyges also sent dedications to Delphi.

*The impressive group by Geneleos is among the most important creations of archaic Samian sculpture. It was dedicated by a well-to-do Samian who presents his fortunate family to the goddess with pride: three daughters and a son. Two of the daughters (korai) have been preserved in good condition. Beautiful and modest, they draw aside the skirt of their long chiton gracefully as though wishing to take a step forward. Reclining on the right side is the happy father, and on the left, serious and seated on a throne is Phileia, the mother. The names of all are carved on their clothing so as not to confuse the viewer. 560-550 BC.*





The large numbers of bronze objects from Egypt, figurines of deities and utensils, that have been found in the Heraion, bear witness to the close relations between Samos and Egypt, particularly in the 7th-6th cent. BC, while at the same time revealing Greece's fascination with the mature Egyptian civilisation in the early period of her own artistic development. The offerings include exquisite statuettes of divinities, sacred animals and utensils. According to Herodotus (II, 182), *Amasis also dedicated votive offerings in Greece... for Hera in Samos, two wooden statues of himself, which could still be found in my day behind the doors of the Great Temple.* Amasis, king of Egypt, was a close friend of the Samian tyrant Polycrates. Herodotus saw these gifts in the Great Temple when he visited Samos in 460 BC.

Similarly, the many Cypriot-type figurines and statuettes in clay and limestone found in the Heraion attest to the close relations between Samos and Cyprus from the late 8th cent. to the mid-6th cent. BC. Of the clay objects, some are handmade and date from the late 8th to the early 7th cent. BC and others were made in moulds as plaques or as hollow figurines, and were dedicated between the mid-7th cent. and 580 BC. Most resemble typologically the output of workshops in Arsos, Idalio and Salamis in southeast Cyprus and were either produced there and brought to Samos by merchants, or produced in Samos by Cypriot artisans. All the large hollow figurines were painted. The

*Modest and proud, Phileia sits on her throne, the mother of well-brought-up children. The sculptor has added his signature ΗΜΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΓΕΝΕΛΕΟΣ (Geneleos made us) to the hem of her himation proclaiming with great pride his own wonderful creation.*





colours used were black, red, mauve, brown and violet. The limestone pieces, which date between 640-630 and 560-550 BC, are usually dressed figures, more austere and with fewer variations than the clay ones. However, there are also types that cannot be found in clay, such as those of the nude kouros and the animal tamer. This is a type with Cypriot, Egyptian and Eastern Greek features, with the Cypriot element prevailing.

Among the most significant creations of the coppersmith's art in the Eastern Mediterranean are the Cypriot bronze tripod stands, which constitute abundant evidence of the rich copper deposits and thriving metallurgy on Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age, but also of the significant role it played in the overseas trade with Samos. In addition to their practical use as stands for clay lamps and torches, the care taken in the manufacture of these stands suggests their religious function in sanctuaries and their use at symposia.

*Reclining languorously with a rhyton in his hand, as though at a symposium, is the dedicator ...ARCHES, the only part of his name to be preserved. The lush folds of his festive attire spill down, revealing his well-nourished, healthy body. Costly clothing and portly bodies are features of the luxury and prosperity characteristic of the east Ionian world.*











*Marble slab with a relief scene of five cupids bringing gifts to Hera, who is wearing a polos and holding a sceptre.  
2nd cent. AD. Random find in Potokaki between Pythagorio and the Heraion.*







*Large numbers of pots, utilitarian or votive, were found in the Heraion in pits or wells which, when they ceased to be used, functioned as ditches or deposits in which useless and broken pottery was thrown away. Many pots have been found in one such well on the site, among which are oinochoai, a small cauldron with moulded figures on the rim and an askos, all products of Samian workshops. They are decorated with horizontal or wavy lines and various geometric patterns, and date to the late Geometric and early archaic period (710-630 BC).*





The elaborate and fragmentarily preserved ivory combs with incised decoration on both sides that were unearthed during excavations in the Heraion have been attributed to a western Phoenician workshop and are believed to have been imported from the Andalusia region. The similarities between these and others from the southwestern Iberian peninsula, and specifically from Seville (Carmona) in Spain are characteristic. Their presence on Samos reminds us of the seafarer Colaëus, who after his voyage to the Pillars of Heracles, dedicated valuable votive offerings to Hera that may have included combs.

Relief plaques and statuettes of the same precious material have also been found in the Heraion. Several stand out among them: the figurine of a kneeling youth, that probably adorned a lyre and constitutes a masterpiece by a Cretan workshop of the 7th cent. BC; the outstanding small relief depicting Perseus killing Medusa, under the protective gaze of the goddess Athena; and the stately lion of the 13th-12 cent. BC from Egypt, which had come from the tomb of some pharaoh and reached the Heraion in the 7th cent. BC. Votive offerings of ivory appear to have been ornaments on furniture or vessels and attest to the commercial relations between Samos and the East.

Although the wooden objects (statuettes, figurines, vessels, replicas of ships, furniture decorations, etc.) dedicated to the goddess are not artifacts of any particular value, they nevertheless constitute a rare and unique collection owing to the material of which they were made, but also to their excellent state of preservation which is due to the damp ground of the sanctuary. On some of them, iconographic motifs of Cretan origin can be recognised. The Daedalic figurine of a kore from the mid-7th cent. BC and the kneeling female figure are worthy of note, both probably works by a Cretan workshop, as is the group of an anthropomorphic demon holding a human figure in its arms. The ordinary replicas of small boats carved of the local wood that one can find easily on *oak-bearing* Samos, may perhaps reflect the great growth of shipping on the island in the archaic period. Parts of furniture decorated with fine carving, the small votive plaque with a relief human figure, and the replica of the head of a fierce crocodile are some of the interesting wooden dedications.



*Lekythos with a moulded figure on the neck and rim, from a Samian workshop. Found in the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*





Of particular significance is the wooden figurine of Hera, richly dressed and wearing a polos, dating to 640 BC, and the beautiful tile depicting the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera.

Among the outstanding votive offerings were the bronze cauldrons with bronze protomes of griffins on their rims, hammered or cast, and produced locally. One such lebes, which rested on three kneeling youthful figures and reached a height of 5 metres, was admired by Herodotus, when he visited the island. It was dedicated to Hera in the 7th cent. BC by Colaëus after returning from a successful voyage to the western Mediterranean, perhaps to obtain metals, especially silver, from the distant west. “...the Samians withdrew six talents – a tenth of their profit – and commissioned a bronze cauldron, in the style of an Argive bowl. There were protruding griffin heads around it; they dedicated the cauldron in the temple of Hera, and supported it on a group of kneeling bronze figures” (Herodotus, IV, 152).

The dedications in the Heraion reflect the high art and craft output of archaic Ionian Samos and the fact that the Heraion was most prosperous in the 7th and 6th cent. BC, an era in which the island reached the pinnacle of its glory.

In the Hellenistic period, donors’ habits changed which meant that bronze statuettes and precious vessels were no longer dedicated to Hera, as they had been in the earlier, archaic period. Votive offerings are poor and limited to vases of clay and glass, clay figurines and bronze coins.

The votive offerings in the Heraion, taken as a whole, do not indicate any thematic relationship with this particular deity, other than the very numerous replicas of pomegranates, poppy capsules and pine nuts, all of which suggest a fundamental aspect of Hera as protectress of fertility. It would appear that the stone replicas of houses or temples that have been found in sanctuaries of Hera in Samos, Argos and Perachora also had a special relationship with the goddess’s cult.

*The large number of Cypriot figurines of clay and limestone that have been found in the Heraion testify to the close relations that had developed between Samos and Cyprus from the 8th to the 6th cent. BC. The many different types of figurines include male figures taming a lion. Last quarter of the 7th/mid-6th cent. BC.*





*Clay replica of an altar. From the prehistoric settlement in the Heraion. 3th millennium BC.*



*Power over vegetation and fertility, the basic attributes of the Great Goddess are expressed by the establishment of sanctuaries in her honour on extensive fertile plains. The clay replicas of pomegranates and ivory poppy capsules that were brought in from the East reflect Hera's attribute as protectress of abundance and fertility. 7th cent. BC.*







*Clay Cypriot figurines of male figures in the popular type of a man dedicating an animal to Hera.  
The figure above is carrying a ram on his shoulders (last quarter of the 7th/mid-6th cent. BC).  
On the next page is a man holding a kid to his chest (late 7th-early 6th cent. BC).*









*Upper part of a standing frontal clay statuette  
of a kore wearing a three-strand necklace and earrings.  
Traces of red and black paint on the surface.  
From Cyprus. Late 7th cent. BC.*



*Clay head from the statuette of a woman wearing a necklace and earrings. Traces of red and violet paint on the surface.  
From Cyprus. Early 6th cent. BC.*







*Upper part of a clay Cypriot figurine  
of a male holding an animal  
as an offering to the goddess.  
Last quarter of the  
7th/mid-6th cent. BC.*





*Clay head of a Cypriot figurine of a man  
with a fillet on his forehead. Late 7th cent. BC.*





*Head of a clay figurine of a man by a Samian workshop. From the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*





*In the Hellenistic period, believers no longer dedicated precious objects to Hera as they had in archaic times, but ordinary humble objects. Clay groups of mother and child and figures of people with their pets express tender scenes from daily life.*







*Limestone replicas of houses, with one or two stories. Votive offerings in sanctuaries of Hera. 7th cent. BC.*





*Wooden group of a demonic male figure  
(in the type of Bes, the paunchy demon whose  
deformity keeps evil away) holding a nude  
male figure. From the Heraion. Circa 600 BC.*

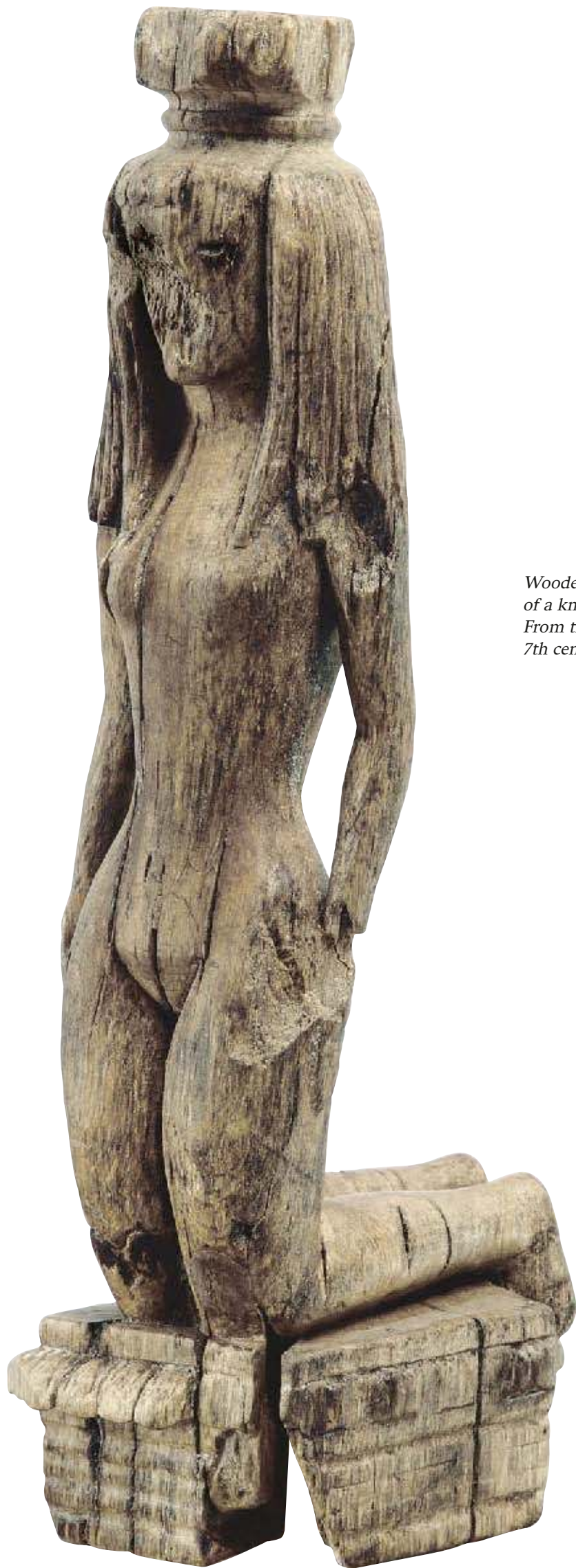






*Upper part of a wooden statuette of a male figure from the Heraion. 7th cent. BC. The damp ground of the Heraion helped keep wooden votive offerings to the goddess in excellent condition.*





*Wooden figurine  
of a kneeling nude female.  
From the Heraion.  
7th cent. BC.*





*Scholars believe that the draped wooden female figurines (korai) of Daedalic art, with the triangular rendering of the upper torso and the waist cinched with a tight girdle, are works of Cretan craftsmen. They were found in the Heraion. Scholars believe the one on this page to be reminiscent of the "lady of Auxerre". Mid 7th cent. BC or slightly later.*









*Wooden votive plaque bearing a relief human figure without arms. A temple-like structure encloses the figure. May perhaps be the most ancient evidence of Asia Minor votive reliefs in Ionia. For all its crudity, it appears that similar works have been found sculpted on stone. From the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*

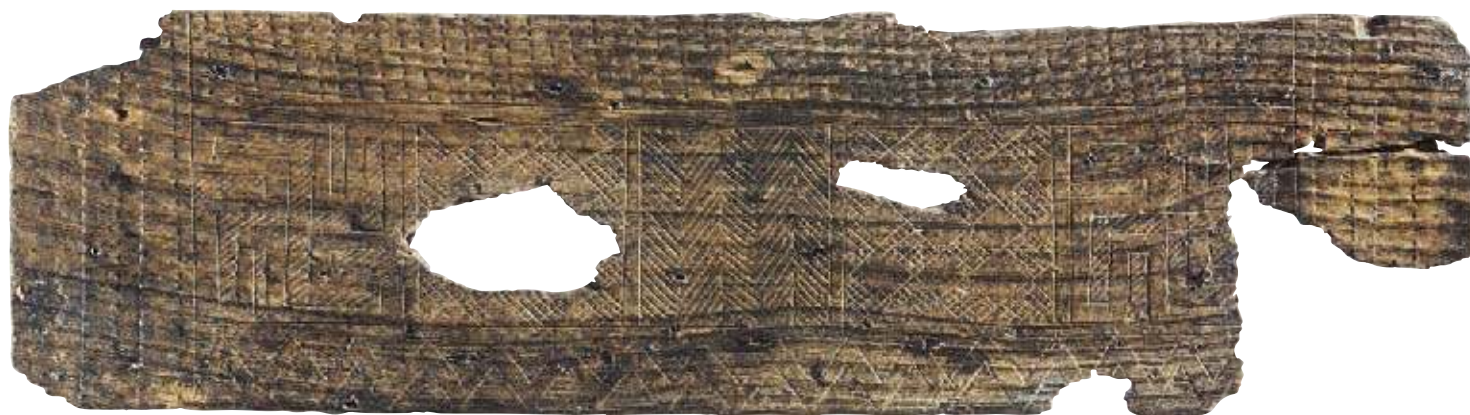




*Replicas of ships carved of local wood. Simple votive offerings by poor seamen or their families to Hera asking her to protect them from the hazards of sea voyages. In one version, they are related to the custom established after Colaeus, who brought back untold riches from his long voyage to the Western Mediterranean, dedicated the "tithe" to the goddess. This religious custom has its parallel to this day in Christian churches.*



*Wooden furniture accessory in the form of a ship with carved decoration. Votive offering in the Heraion. 7th-6th cent. BC.*



*Part of a wooden furniture accessory with carved decoration. Votive offering in the Heraion. 7th-6th cent. BC.*





*Part of a wooden plank with a relief scene of human figures, possibly a dance scene. Decorative furniture accessory.  
7th-6th cent. BC.*

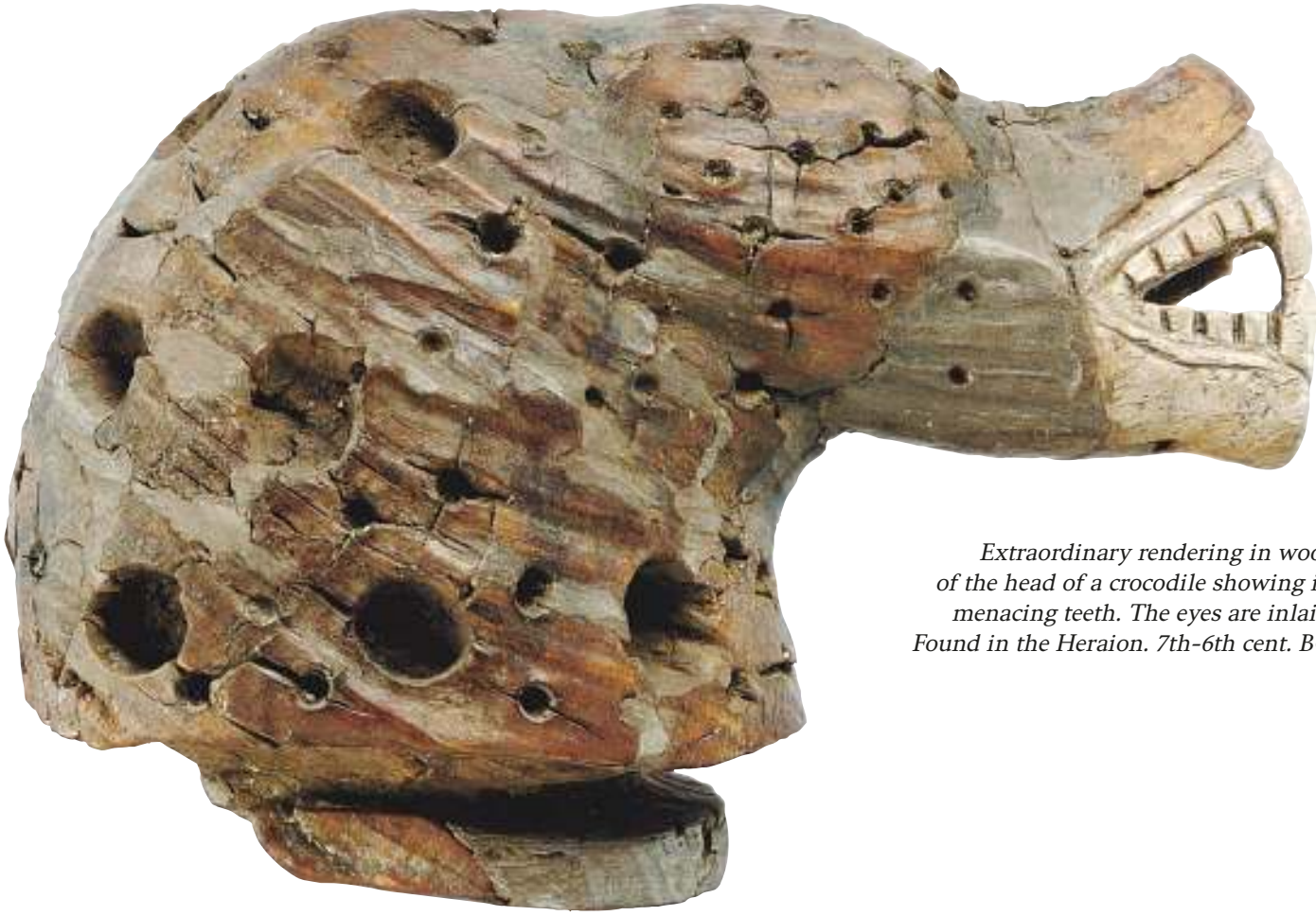


*Round wooden disk in the form of a wheel.  
7th-6th cent. BC.*

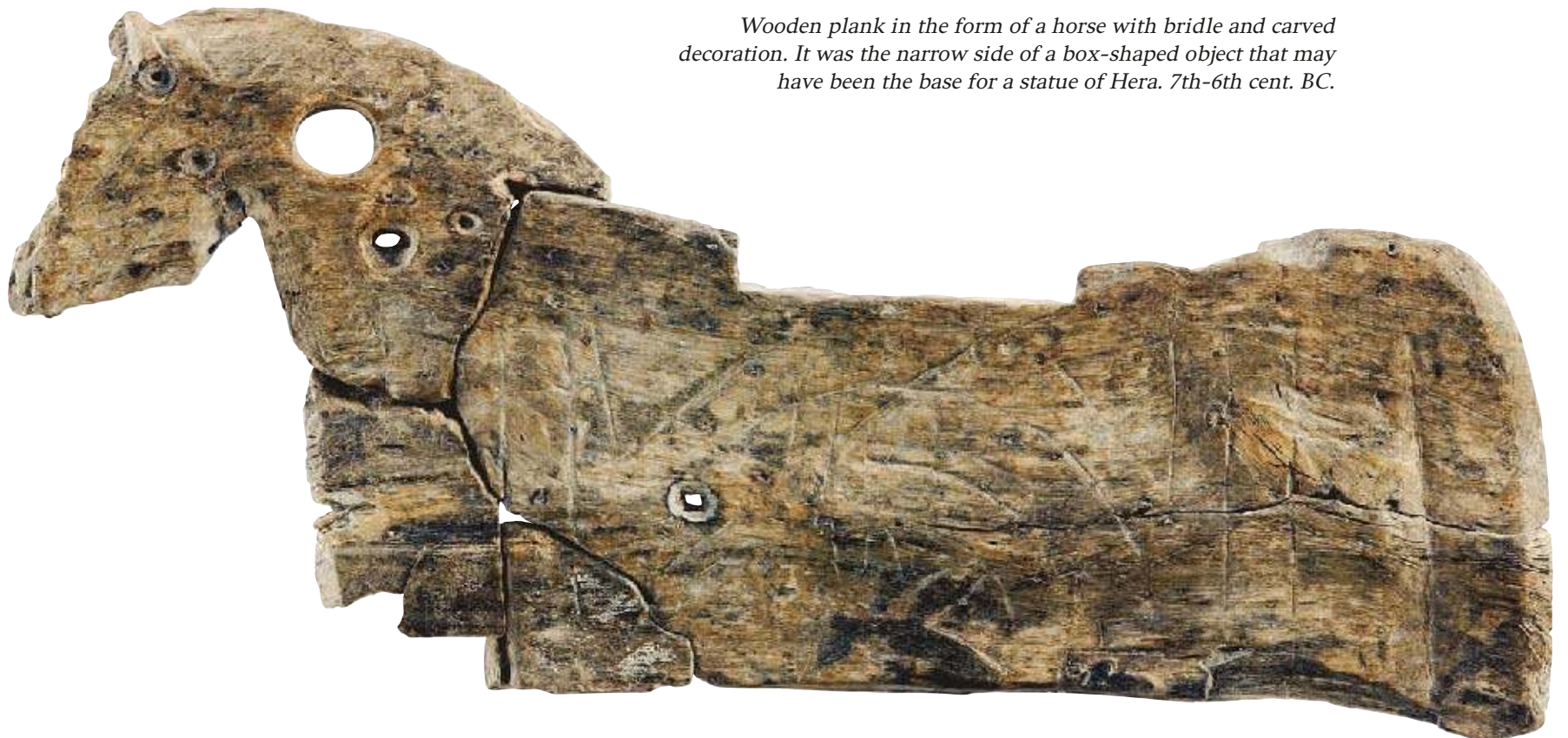
*Human feet from a bronze figurine with plinth  
on a wooden base. Found in the Heraion. 7th-6th cent. BC.*







*Extraordinary rendering in wood of the head of a crocodile showing its menacing teeth. The eyes are inlaid. Found in the Heraion. 7th-6th cent. BC.*



*Wooden plank in the form of a horse with bridle and carved decoration. It was the narrow side of a box-shaped object that may have been the base for a statue of Hera. 7th-6th cent. BC.*





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*The heyday of Samian decorative metalwork is shown by the bronze kouros with the long hair and incised votive inscription ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ ΗΡΗΙ on his left thigh stating that it was dedicated by Smikros to Hera. May have been holding an offering. Perhaps part of a group. 6th cent. BC.*

*Bronze statuettes of kouroi and korai that were dedicated to Hera depicted either the goddess, the dedicator or unspecified votive offerings, and show the high quality sculpture produced in the island's bronze workshops.*







*Two bronze figurines of horsemen with well-trained bodies that would have stood side-by-side in the same group. Work by a Samian workshop that has rendered superbly the movement of the riders. Dedications to Hera. 530-520 BC.*







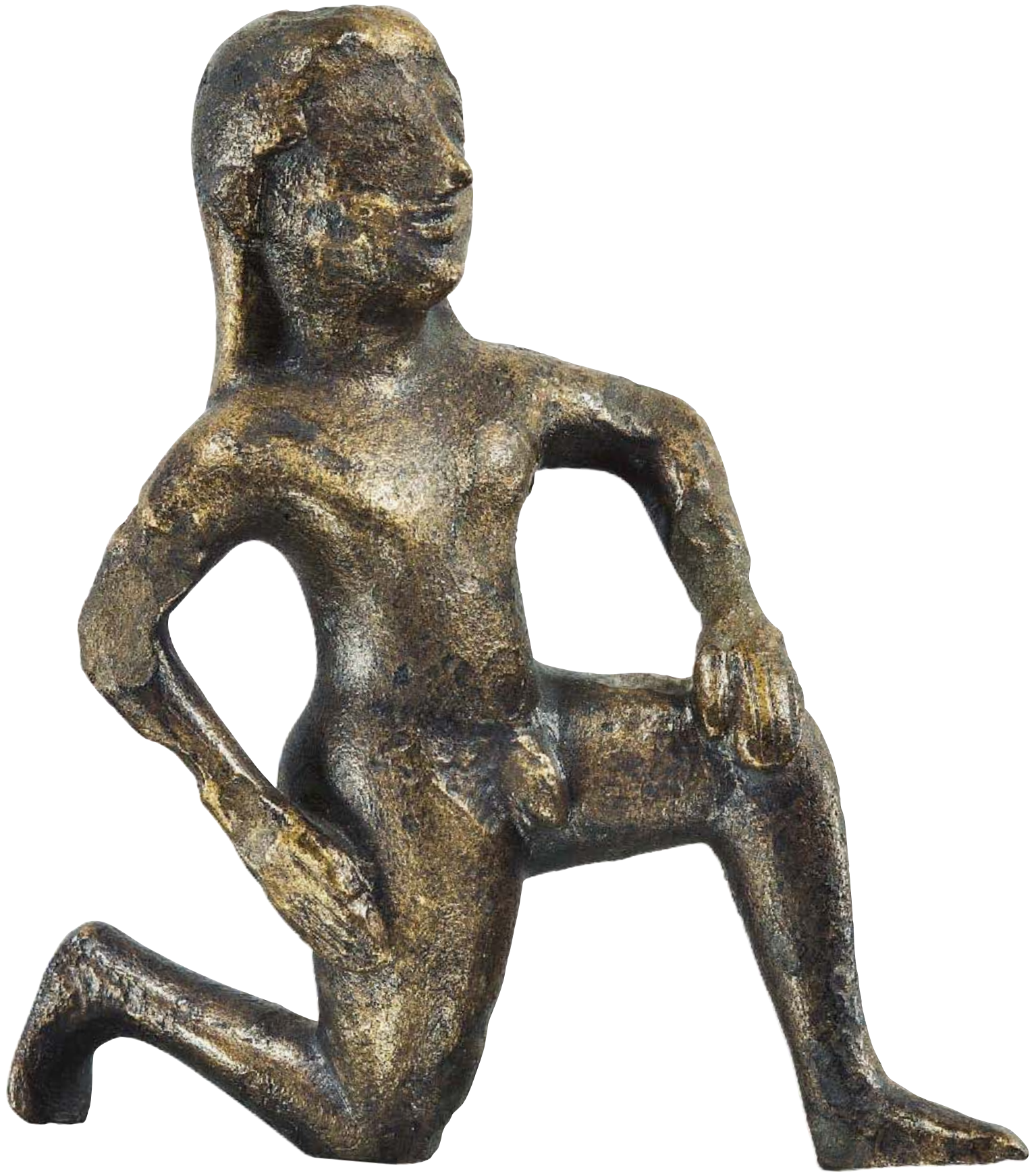
*Bronze head of a kouros, of exceptional artistic quality. Samian workshop. Dedicated to Hera. 6th cent. BC.*





*Bronze head of a kouros. Samian creation. Dedicated to Hera. 6th cent. BC.*





*Bronze statuette of a young male figure in a dance pose. Product of a Samian workshop. From the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*





*Bronze statuettes of kouros from a Samian workshop. Found in the Heraion. 6th cent. BC. The one on the right was lost during the German occupation, but was repatriated and returned to its place in the Museum of Vathy in 2005.*





*Bronze statuette of a female dancer in a short garment.  
Lacanian workshop. Found in the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*





*Bronze statuette of a female figure.  
Creation of a provincial Ionian  
workshop (East Greece).  
From the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*





*Bronze figurine of a cockerel. Found in the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*



*The bronze horse of the Assyrian type from the Near East was either a figurine or the handle on a vessel. Found in the Heraion. 9th-7th cent. BC*





*Bronze protome of a bull that decorated a large lebes (cauldron) dedicated to Hera. 7th-6th cent. BC.*

*Bronze figurine of a ram resting. Found in the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*







*A large number of Laconian objects have been found in the Heraion. The bronze figurine of a crouching lion was dedicated to Hera by the Spartan Eumnastos, according to the votive inscription ΕΥΜΝΑΣΤΟΣ ΤΑΙ ΗΕΡΑ ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΑΣ incised anticlockwise in the Laconian alphabet. 6th cent. BC.*



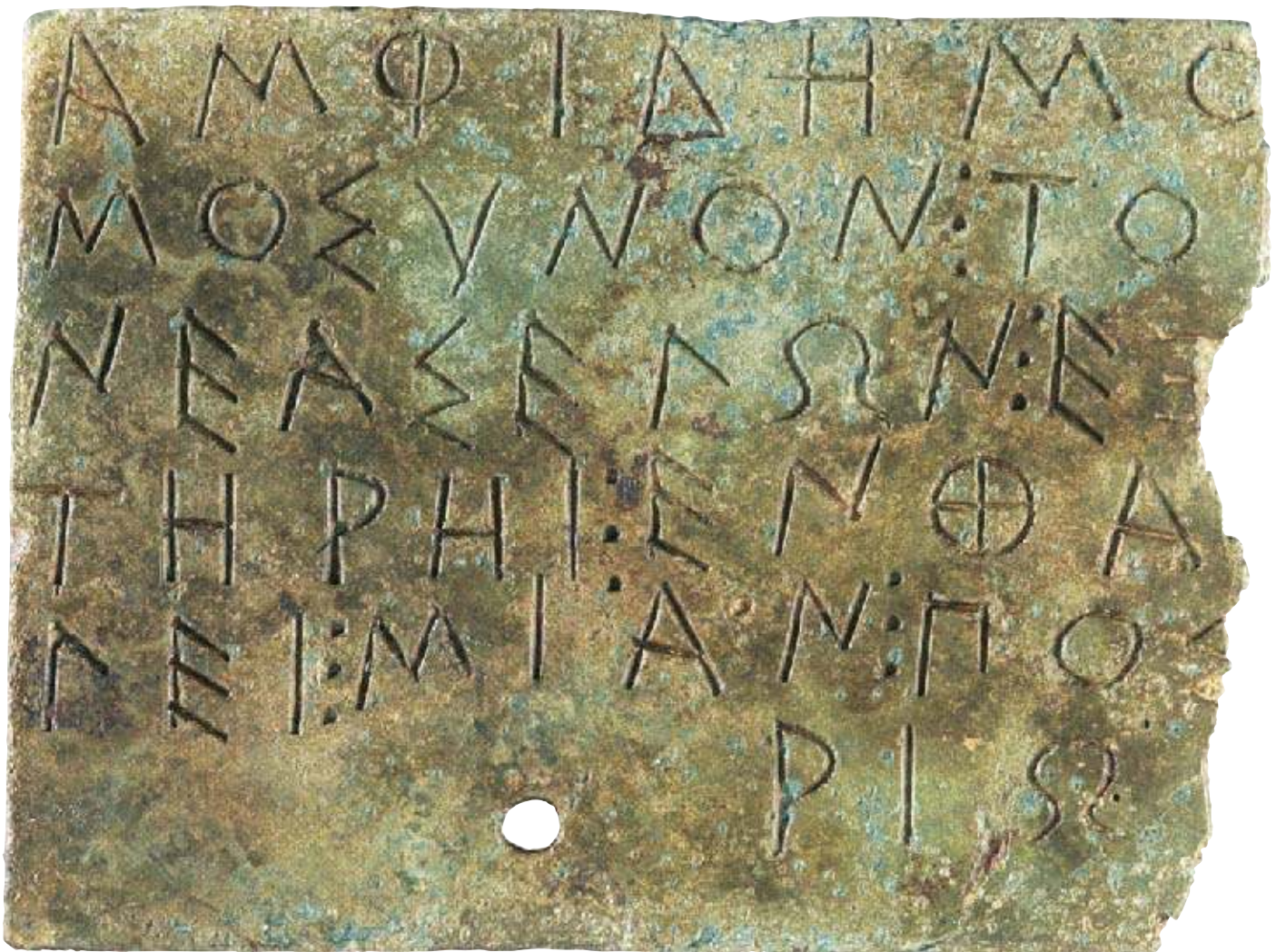


*The bronze rhyton in the shape of a bull's head was a dedication to Hera by a certain Diagoras in the 7th cent. BC, who declared himself a priest in the incised inscription ΙΕΡΟΝ ΕΜΙ... ΔΙΑΓΟΡΗΣ ΗΡΗΙ ΜΑΝ(ΕΘ)ΗΚΕΝ.....ΧΑΙΡΕ Ω ΙΕΡΕΥ. In addition to priestesses, there were also male priests in the Heraion, who also appeared in inscriptions during imperial Roman times. Inside the rim is the name ΧΑΡΙΑΕΩΣ. Diagoras is probably related to the homonymous dead man whose grave in the West Necropolis of the ancient city of Samos is marked by a palmette stele. The office of priest appears to have been handed down from one generation to the next in the same family. Inscriptions of the 4th cent. BC and later refer to a municipal authority responsible for the upkeep of the sanctuary, whose members served a one-year term and were called νεωποῖαι or caretakers of the temple.*





*The booty dedicated by Amphidemos to Hera and Poseidon is mentioned on both sides of the section of a bronze votive inscription found in the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*



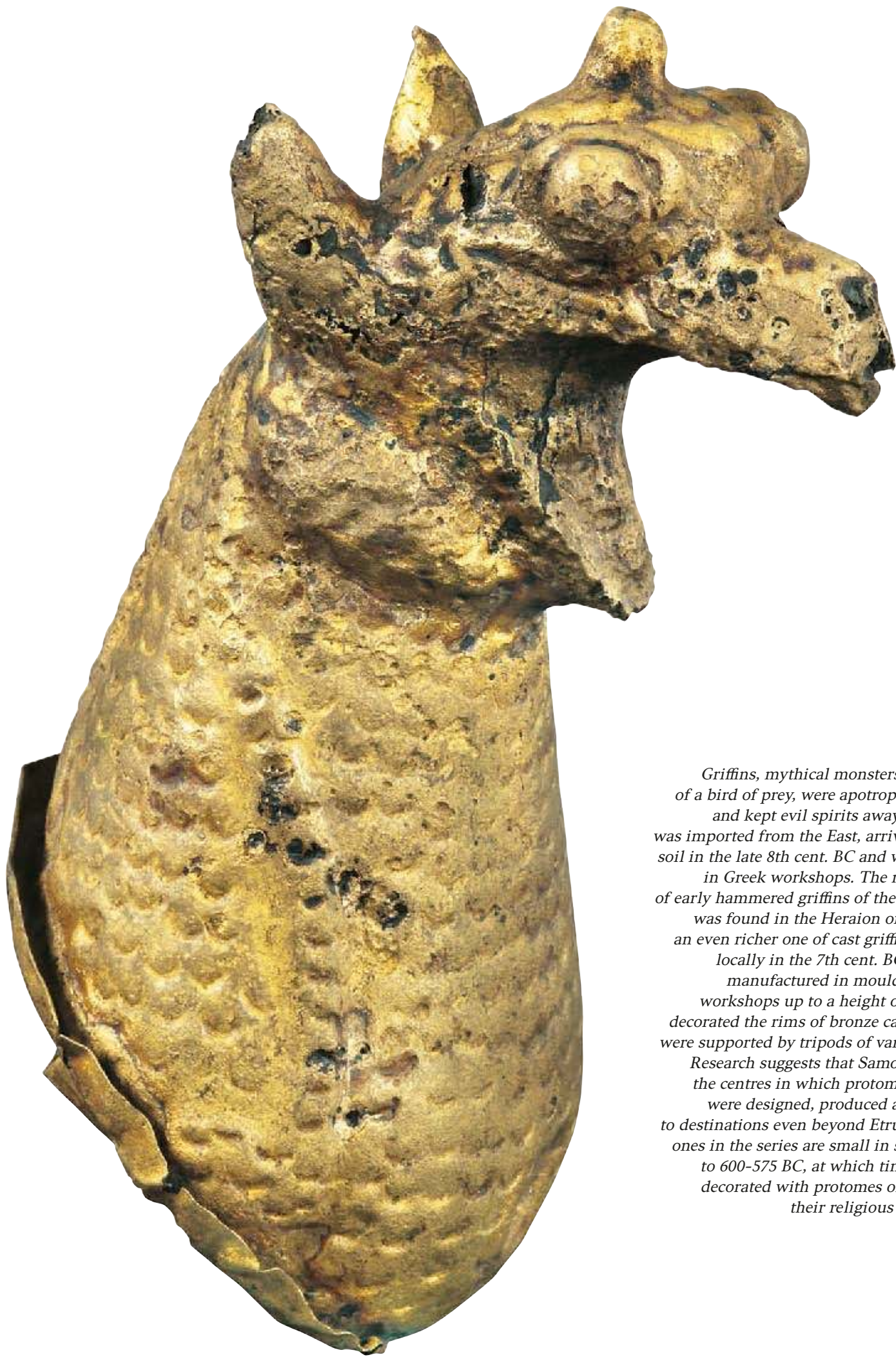




*Fragments of a bronze votive inscription that  
may have rested on a wooden replica of a ship.  
From the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*







*Griffins, mythical monsters in the form of a bird of prey, were apotropaic in nature and kept evil spirits away. Their form was imported from the East, arrived on Greek soil in the late 8th cent. BC and was modified in Greek workshops. The richest group of early hammered griffins of the 8th cent. BC was found in the Heraion of Samos, and an even richer one of cast griffins produced locally in the 7th cent. BC. They were manufactured in moulds in Samian workshops up to a height of 80 cm. and decorated the rims of bronze cauldrons that were supported by tripods of various shapes. Research suggests that Samos was one of the centres in which protomes of griffins were designed, produced and exported to destinations even beyond Etruria. The last ones in the series are small in size and date to 600-575 BC, at which time cauldrons decorated with protomes of griffins lost their religious significance.*

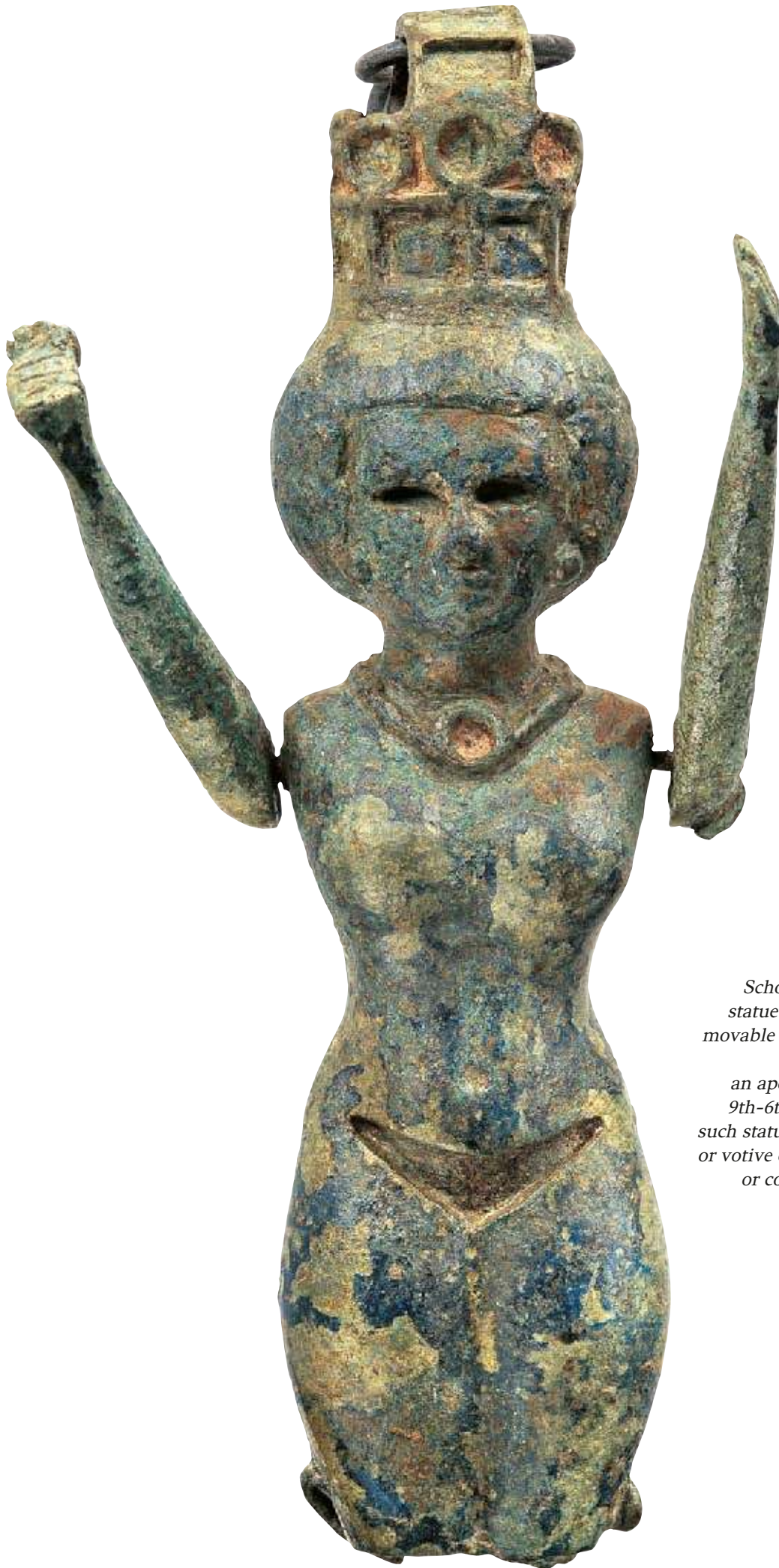




... And so the Samians put aside a tenth of their profit, amounting to six talents, and commissioned a bronze krater of the Argive type, around which were protruding griffin heads. They dedicated the vessel in the temple of Hera. (*Herodotus, IV, 152*)







*Scholars identify this cast Egyptian bronze statuette of a nude kore as a dancer, with her movable arms, inlaid eyes and polos headdress.*

*Around her shoulders is a chain with an apotropaic eye. Dedicated in the Heraion. 9th-6th cent. BC. Scholars once believed that such statuettes were mirror supports, grave gifts or votive offerings or that they depicted servants or courtesans, because of their total nudity.*





*Bronze group of the paunchy demon Bes who is nude with a drum in his left hand and a five-winged crown on his head. He is sitting on the shoulders of a musician playing a double flute. May have been intended to crown a staff or sceptre. Imported from Egypt. The body was found in the east purification cistern of the Heraion in 1934, and the crown came to light west of the South Stoa. (9th-6th cent. BC).*

*Bes, protector of mothers, newborns and the integrity of the body, was a protecting power at difficult moments in people's lives, such as childbirth and war, which is why he is frequently depicted with military features. His repulsive deformity declares his apotropaic nature. Figurines of Bes have been found all over the Mediterranean, in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, on Aegean islands (Samos, Thera, Crete, etc.), in Cyprus, Italy and the Iberian peninsula, manufactured of various materials (clay, ivory).*



*Bronze statuette of the goddess Neith, protecting goddess of Sais, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. The diaphanous garment can be discerned only on the breast and at the back of her legs, and her body is covered by falcon's feathers, the figure of which can be seen on her back. The falcon is made of light-coloured Egyptian gold, with the outline of its wings, the nipples on the goddess's breast and her necklace in bronze. Superb work of ancient art and one of the best preserved statuettes of its type. 8th-7th cent. BC.*



*Bronze statuette of a deity, probably Reschef, holding a spear. From ancient northern Syria. 9th-8th cent. BC.*





*Bronze attachment to the wooden pole by which horses were harnessed to a cart. On the shank are two moulded features that end in the figure of a seated duck. On the back ring a plank-shaped male figure appears to be riding a bull. The same group is repeated on the front ring. Found in 1927 in a pile of ashes under the Great Altar of the Heraion, it had been imported from the Caucasus. 7th cent. BC.*







ON PAGE. 132: *Bronze statuette of the goddess Mut or Neith wearing the crown of the kingdom of Lower Egypt. Found in 1928 in the south corner of the Great Temple. Imported from Egypt. 9th-6th cent. BC.*



*Hollow cast bronze statuette of a priest, 66-68 cm. high, with burnished hair. Wears a girdle round the loins and a panther skin. Manufactured in many pieces using the Egyptian hollow core method and then assembled. The arms were worked separately; the left one has traces of gilding on the forearm and was holding a staff; the right one hangs down. Despite its extensive deterioration, it is among the most noteworthy of the large statuettes in the Heraion and demonstrates the high quality of such figures. Imported from Egypt. 6th cent. BC.*

*Priests were dignified, incorruptible, irreproachable and moral persons, who performed religious practices, attended to the relations between men and gods, and served the gods and their sanctuaries. Since they were regarded as the domain and representatives of the gods, they enjoyed special privileges, e.g. they would take the revenues from the sacred precincts, part of the sacrificial animals and their hides, and the products of fund-raising, etc. In the theatre and at gatherings, they occupied a position of honour; at public ceremonies, they appeared in the garb of the deity they served and represented, sometimes borrowing even his name.*







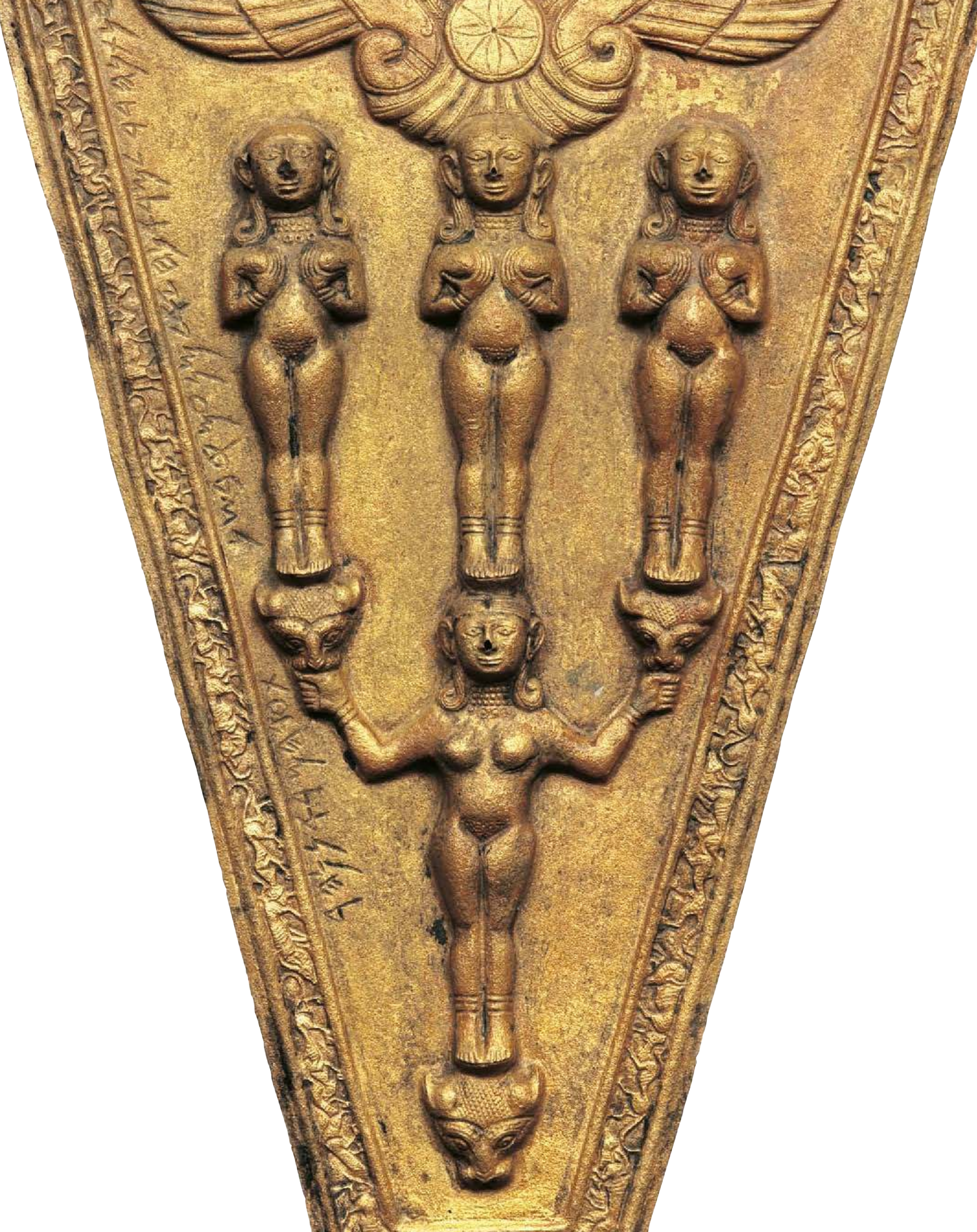
LEFT: *Bronze statuette of a warrior imported from Cyprus. Found in the Geometric layer on the east side of the Ekatompedos. 7th cent. BC.*  
RIGHT: *Bronze statuette of a deity wearing a polos with horns. From the kingdom of Urartu. 8th-7th cent. BC.*





*Bronze votive statuette of a deer with a triple ring for hanging. Found in 1983 in the area southeast of the Great Altar of the Heraion. Imported from Assyria or Iran. 9th-7th cent. BC*







Bronze equestrian forehead decorations with theological symbolism, depicting nude female figures some of whom are holding lion's heads, others are holding their own breasts. The one on the left, from Syria, dates to the 9th cent. BC, the Aramaic inscription describes the sheet as a gift to prince Azael from the Basan valley in Syria, known from the Old Testament. The donor dedicated the plaque to Hera in the 7th cent. BC, but did not remove the incomprehensible ancient inscription. In the second, which dates to the 9th-8th cent. BC, and comes from ancient northern Syria, the frieze of two calves lying above the figures suggests late Hittite influence.







*Scholars regard the hammered sheet bronze figure of a man holding a flower as a decorative furniture accessory from ancient northern Syria that was dedicated to Hera in the 8th cent. BC.*





*Bronze anthropomorphic decorations on vessels. From the Heraion.  
Imperial Roman period.*



*Bronze statuette of the Egyptian god Osiris who is represented in the form of a mummy wearing a diadem of feathers, carrying a flail and a staff. 9th-6th cent. BC.*



*Egyptian bronze statuette of the Phoenician god Reschef, of Syrian, Palestinian or Egyptian origin, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt with two ostrich wings. From well G of the Heraion. 9th-6th cent. BC.*





Cast hollow statuette of a falcon, royal emblem and symbol of the god Horus, one of the best Egyptian bronzes. The inlaid eyes, their arched shape and the vertical line under them were probably of gold. Votive offering to Hera, 9th-6th cent. BC. Falcon statuettes of this type probably stood freely on a rectangular wooden base. Scholars wonder why the talons on this type of falcon were not cast with the rest of the figure, but separately. In addition to bronze, falcon-shaped figurines of wood, alabaster and faience have also been found. The falcon appears on works of miniature Egyptian art in the 1st millennium BC as well, on both apotropaic and votive figurines. On Samos, Rhodes, Chios, the shores of Asia Minor and in Naucratis in Egypt there was a type of faience falcon with white glaze and black slip for details.



The bronze figurine of a seated cat depicting the feline goddess Bastet, with each ear pierced for pendant earrings, was imported from Egypt, and found in a well-deposit in the Heraion (9th-6th cent. BC). Bronze Egyptian cats were imported to Samos in about 700 BC, although the first live cats were not known in Greece until the late 6th cent. BC. For Samians then, these particular figurines would have seemed to depict imaginary creatures like the Egyptian gods.





*The bronze group of a mounted female figure, probably a goddess, with a child in her arms originated in the distant Caucasus. Found in the Heraion. 9th-7th cent. BC.*



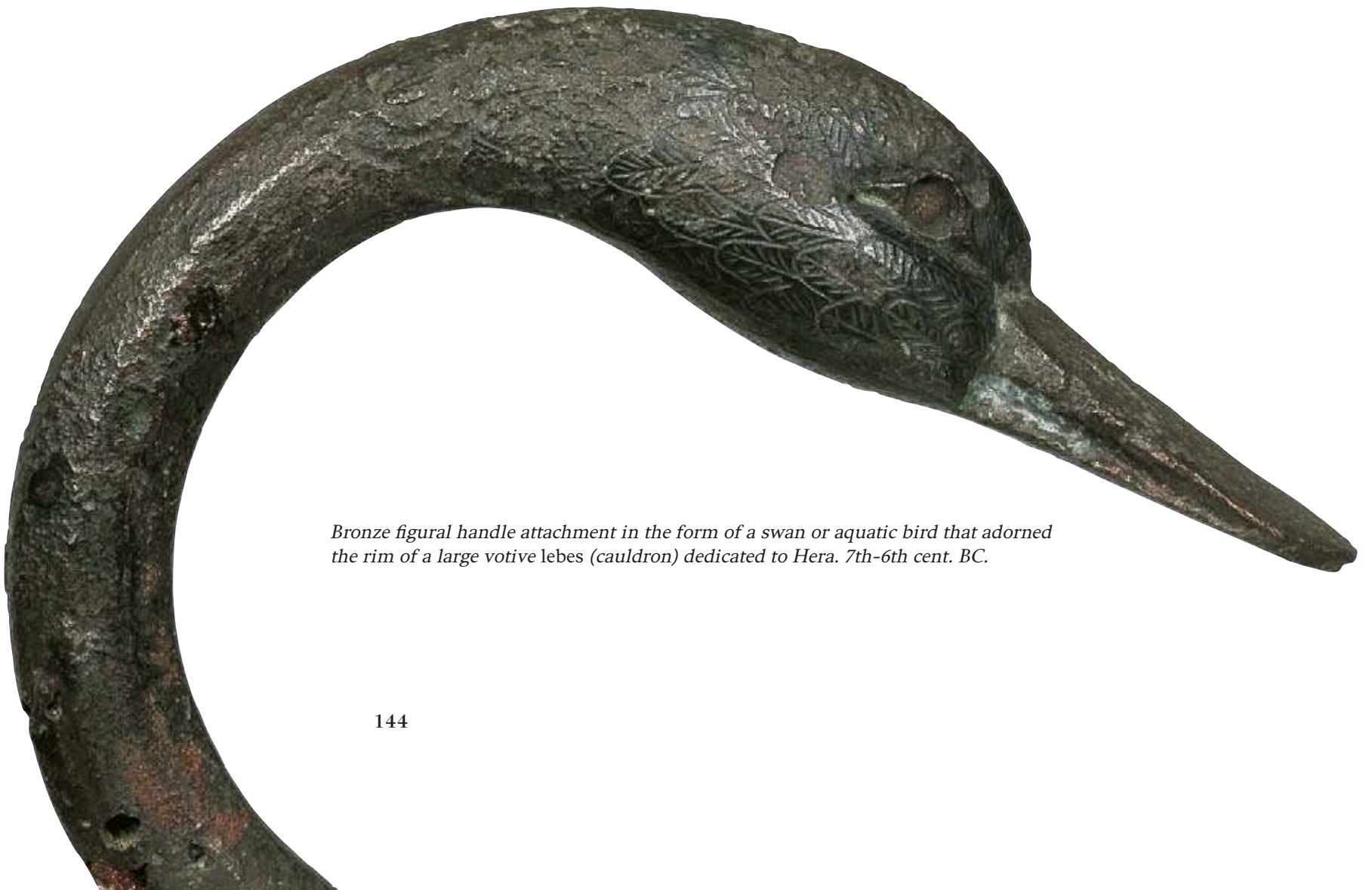


*The bronze figurine of a winged wild goat with a human face functioned as the handle on a vessel, and was brought to the Heraion from ancient northern Syria. Found in 1928 in the southeast corner of the Great Temple. 9th-7th cent. BC.*





*Bronze fibula of the Phrygian type, decoration on costly clothing. Found in the Heraion. 8th-7th cent. BC.*



*Bronze figural handle attachment in the form of a swan or aquatic bird that adorned the rim of a large votive lebes (cauldron) dedicated to Hera. 7th-6th cent. BC.*





*Steatite censor from Syria. Votive offering to the Great Goddess. 9th-7th cent. BC.*



*Exquisite bronze protome of a horse that decorated a fluted tripod supporting a large votive lebes dedicated to Hera.  
7th-6th cent. BC.*







*Bronze figurines of a griffin (above) and crouching sphinx (below), decorative figures on a large votive lebes. 7th-6th cent. BC.*





*Western Phoenician ivory comb from Andalusia (640-630 BC), women's beauty accessory. These exceptional works of miniature art may perhaps be associated with the voyage of the seafarer Colaeus to Tartessus, but may also have reached the Heraion as votive offerings from Phoenician travellers. They were dedicated in the Heraion early in the second half of the 7th cent. BC, and were later thrown into wells, where they were found in excavations. The main decorative motifs that adorned both sides were animals (hares, rams, lions, goats) and monsters (winged dragons, griffins), whose features are carved. Combs have been found in the eastern Mediterranean dating from the Late Bronze Age and have also been found in miscellaneous variations in the central and western Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age. Painted decorative combs adorned stirrup amphorae in the 11th cent. BC in Cyprus. Cypriot potters probably copied the ivory Mycenaean combs. The predecessors of the ivory combs can be sought in Phoenicia, where the art of making wooden tablets was highly developed. From the 7th cent. BC on, the Carthaginians were engaged in this art, and also made combs. It is worth noting that western Phoenician artists used carving to decorate their works, whereas in the East the technique of attached relief was employed. In the West, examples can be found in Andalusia and especially in Cruz del Negro, Achebucal and Osuna, with few found in Etruria.*







*An ivory object of outstanding art in the form of a fierce lion which probably decorated a piece of furniture or a vase. In some mysterious way it arrived in the Heraion in the 7th cent. BC from the grave of some Egyptian Pharaoh of the 18th or 19th dynasty (13th-12th cent. BC).*







*A large number of votive offerings to Hera originated from Egypt. The faience figurine of a ram with a hole for hanging, an alabaster hippopotamus, a figure carrying a ram, and a faience falcon. 8th-6th cent. BC.*



*Squat lekythos in the form of a monkey carrying an askos on his back. From the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*







*An ivory head, a kind of capital (epikranon) with relief on both sides, of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, who is usually represented with the head of a cow and the horns or ears of a cow. The goddess's milk fed the living, and her presence was also propitious in the kingdom of the dead. This type frequently decorated Egyptian sistra, as Hathor is associated in particular with this musical instrument, which was believed to chase away evil spirits. Heads of Hathor adorn the handles of Egyptian mirrors, as is the case with the finely worked capital found in the South Stoa of the Heraion and dated to the Middle Kingdom (640-630 BC).*

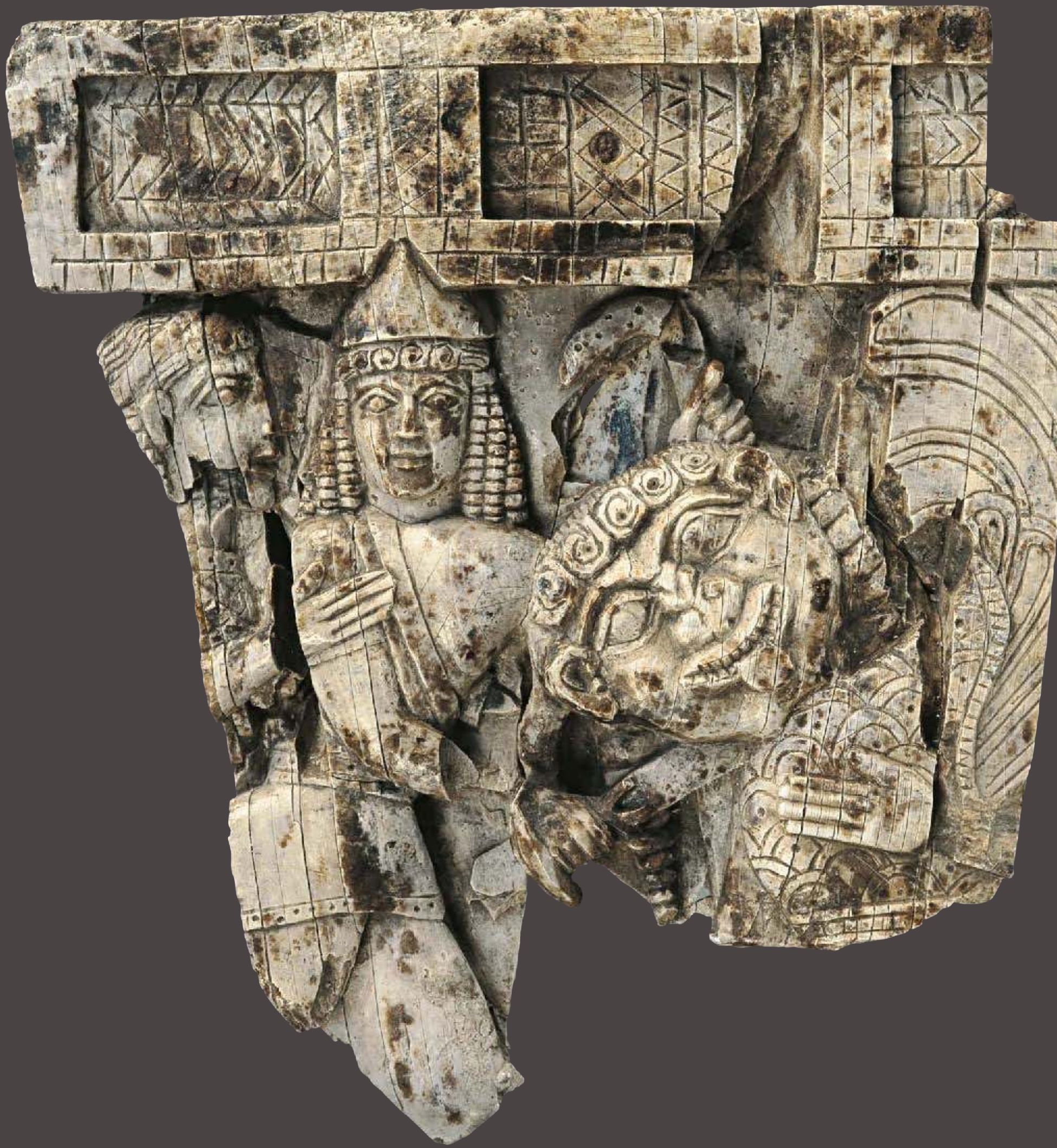


*Ivory plaque with a fine depiction of the mythical scene of the hero Perseus beheading the Medusa with the assistance of the goddess Athena. The special feature of this lovely relief found in the Heraion is the proximity of the hero and Medusa, in contrast with other representations of the myth, in which one stands some distance from the other. The relief plaque decorated the narrow side of a chest. This is a high quality creation by a Laconian workshop. 7th cent. BC.*



*Ivory plaque with a relief scene of warriors in procession.  
Found in the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*









*Bronze crescent-shaped sheet 48 cm. long, with relief scene of the labour of Heracles in which he fought the triple-bodied giant Geryon and his two-headed dog. On the left is Geryon's herd of cattle which the hero has been ordered to steal; below right, under the trees lies its herdsman, Eurytion, who has been felled by an arrow. The outline and details of the figures are rendered with incising. A work of unrivalled art from an east Ionian workshop, it was dedicated to Hera without previously being used as the breastplate of a horse. Found in the marshy region between the Great Altar and the sea, where there were many wells and cisterns, some of which were used as deposits from the 7th cent. BC on. Possible sources of inspiration for the creator of this*





*unique dedication were the descriptions of distant Tartessus by the Samian navigator Colaeus and his seafaring companions. In his Theogony, Hesiod speculates that Heracles' fight with Geryon took place in the region beyond the Ocean, while according to Stesichorus, Geryon was born in a cave of the "Tartessus river near the silver sources". It is the oldest known representation of this particular labour of Heracles. 625-600 BC. The Sanctuaries of Hera in Samos and Olympia are the main sites on which decorative equestrian accessories imported from Cyprus and the Near East have been found.*















*Eurytion, the herdsman of Geryon's cattle, lies under the trees, struck down by an arrow.*







*The left side of the scene with Geryon's cattle (detail).*









*On the right side of the scene, wild goats are grazing in an exotic landscape with a palm tree and birds of prey flying menacingly overhead (detail).*







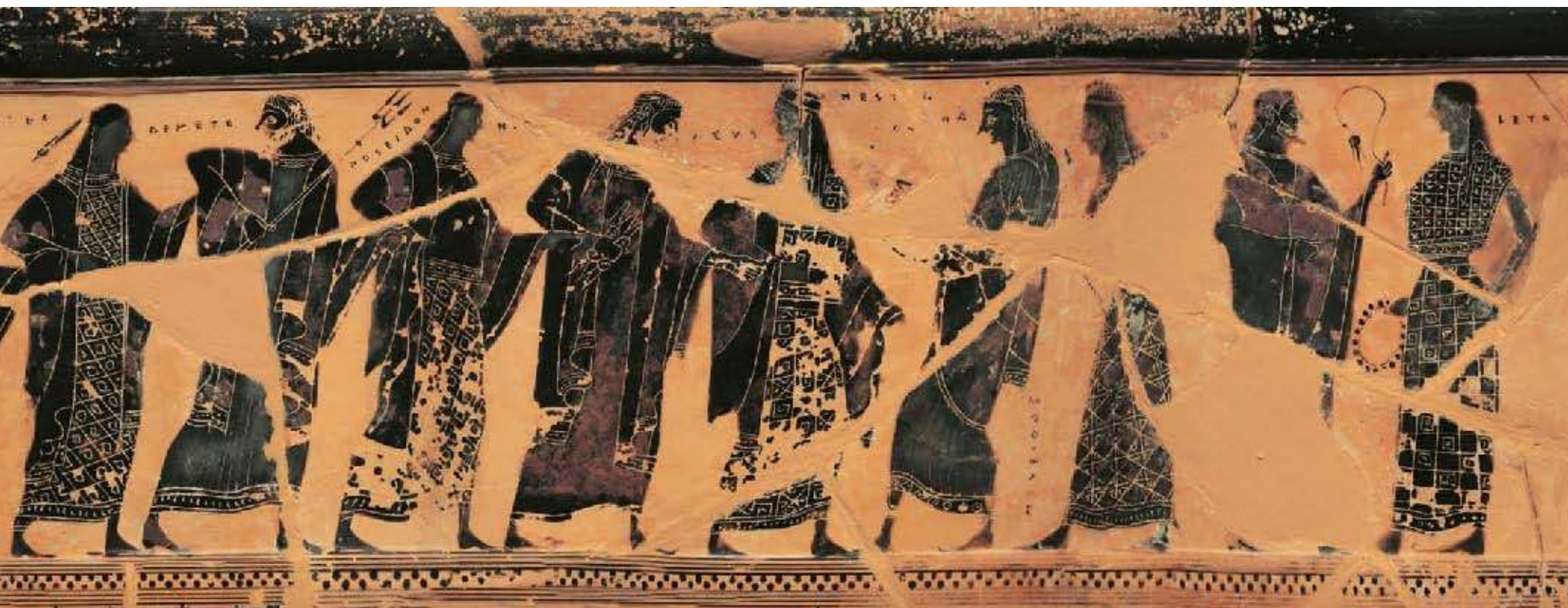


### *Gods, cults and sanctuaries in the city and the countryside*

Hera was worshipped par excellence in the Heraion. Nevertheless, a second sanctuary of the goddess within the Samos city walls not only cannot be precluded, based on examples from other regions (e.g. Argos, with which the Samian Hera presents remarkable similarities), but, if we were to place this sanctuary on Kastro hill – formerly the ancient citadel of Astypalaia and the most illustrious site in the city – it would explain the otherwise unjustifiable presence there of some massive votive offerings, such as the stately seated figure of Aeaces. But nothing is definite yet with respect to the precise location of this sanctuary, as the exploration of the hill has not proceeded.

Many sanctuaries dedicated to deities other than Hera are known in the city of Samos and in the countryside, about which interesting facts have come to light in the investigations of recent decades. Zeus was known on Samos through his Sacred Wedding to Hera on the cool banks of the Imbrasos. The divine couple is depicted seated side by side in terracotta figurines of the 6th cent. BC that have been found in sanctuary deposits. But the union of Zeus with this ancient Samian goddess does not appear to have been accomplished easily, according to Callimachus who reports that the father of the gods courted her for three hundred years. And although, even after so many years and with such difficulties, Zeus managed to win the heart of Hera, he does not appear to have been as successful in winning the hearts of the Samians. Very little information has come to light about the worship of the All-High on Samos. Herodotus (III, 142) tells us that when Maeandrius seized power after the death of Polycrates, *the first thing he did was to build an altar to Zeus the Liberator and to mark off a precinct around it which is still there on the edge of the town*. This is the only substantial information we have about the worship of Zeus; and political expediency must be seen behind Maeandrius's action. A small plaque bearing the inscription *Zeus and Hera* and the dedication to Zeus





Development of the scene of the apotheosis of Heracles, from a Nikosthenic pyxis (i.e. made in the large pottery workshop of Nikosthenes). After his tragic death, Heracles is led to Mt Olympus where he is rewarded with deification, becomes immortal and marries Hebe, the daughter of Zeus and Hera. Present to welcome him are all the gods, who are mentioned by name. On the left, Heracles proposes the nuptial wreath to Hebe who welcomes him as his bride with the characteristic gesture of unveiling. Following are: Eileithyia, Hermes,

Athena, Dionysus, Aphrodite, Ares, Demeter, Poseidon, Hera, Zeus, Hestia, Apollo who provides music and Artemis. The next male figure, who is turned towards Leto, remains anonymous. Also distinguishable is the word *epoiese* (made me) but not the name of the potter, who must have been Taleides. Persuasive evidence for this is the similarity of the letters and script form with the signature of Taleides that has been preserved on a sherd from another vase found in a sanctuary deposit.

*Meilichios* (the Compassionate) were not necessarily associated with public worship; and little altars with the dedication to Zeus *Soter Keraunios* were usually put up by citizens in thanks for having been saved from a thunderbolt or some other random incident. The remains of structures on the Acropolis hill north of the city could be attributed to a cult shrine to All-High Zeus in his attribute of *Kataibates* (he who descends in thunder and lightning) or *Keraunios* (he who wields thunder), but excavations alone will be able to provide definitive answers.

More significant evidence exists for the cult of one of Zeus' beloved sons, Dionysus, protector of the city, who was worshipped under peculiar names such as *Kechenos*, *Elygeus*, *Enorchis* (He-goat), *Dallios*, *Geron* (Old man) – names related to miscellaneous myths and beliefs. The epithet *Kechenos*, from *χαίνω*=gape concerns the god's relation to the lion, his symbol: he is described as *επιβρόμος*, loud-crying like the lion, in the Homeric hymn to Dionysus. The god's large, wealthy temple was refurbished by the emperor Claudius after the earthquake of 47 AD, as reported by Aelianus and Pliny. This fact is stated in inscriptions honouring the emperor as *the new founder because he restored the ancient temple of Dionysus that was destroyed by an earthquake*. The massive foundations that were unearthed along the main road leading from the port to the Heraion must have belonged to this temple, as can be concluded from the finds (altars and inscriptions) discovered in the same area. Two phases have been discerned in the ruins: the first among 4th cent. BC foundations. and the second, a Roman one, in which the temple was raised onto a podium, to conform with the type customary in those imperial years.



On the same road, but higher up towards the centre of town, the remains of a splendid temple of Aphrodite were identified, that today lie under the foundations of a later structure. The finds from a small deposit argue for this identification, with dedications related to the goddess and an inscription on a dedication by Seuthes, probably someone from the Samian colonies in Thrace, addressed *To Aphrodite the compassionate, thanks from Seuthes*. There was a separate cult for *Aphrodite among the Reeds* or *in the Marsh*, according to Athenaeus, in a sanctuary established by the Athenian courtesans who had followed Pericles and his army in the expedition of 440/439 BC. In this sanctuary must have been dedicated a small relief depicting pudenda with the inscription *Zmaragdi(o)n thanks Aphrodite*. Worship of an Aphrodite in the marshes brings to mind the similar Athenian cult of Aphrodite in the gardens, located in the swamps of the Ilissos. She is, in other words, the goddess of abundance and human fertility, who is always worshipped on damp, swampy sites as were both Hera and Artemis.

Alongside Dionysus stands Hermes, who was initially also presented as a god of vegetation and the fertility of the flocks, and whose fertilising, ithyphallic power is associated with Aphrodite. Apart from the Heraion, joint worship of the two gods has also been confirmed in the city. Explorations produced better results in the sanctuaries of other deities.



*Sherd of a vase with an incised dedication to Artemis. Several similar dedications have been found in the deposits, so there is no doubt about the identity of the sanctuary as that of Artemis.*

#### THE ARTEMISION

In 1979, the Artemision or sanctuary of Artemis was excavated in the marshes of Mikri Glyfada, and rich votive offerings were found. The lovely statue dedicated by Leukios to Apollo was also found there, obviously in the same sanctuary. A common sacrifice to the two gods is mentioned in the sacred law of the 4th cent. BC. Behind the apse of an early Christian basilica and the more recent chapel of the Panayitsa (Virgin Mary), part of a foundation belonging to the sanctuary buildings was unearthed, a rectangular temple-like structure with a pronaos and wooden columns on cylindrical slab-type bases that should belong to the early archaic period, perhaps before the 6th cent. BC. A flagstone-paved south-north road flanked by auxiliary buildings appears to have led from the Sacred Way to the high ground of the early Christian basilica, under which are very likely the remains of a Doric temple of the post-classical period.

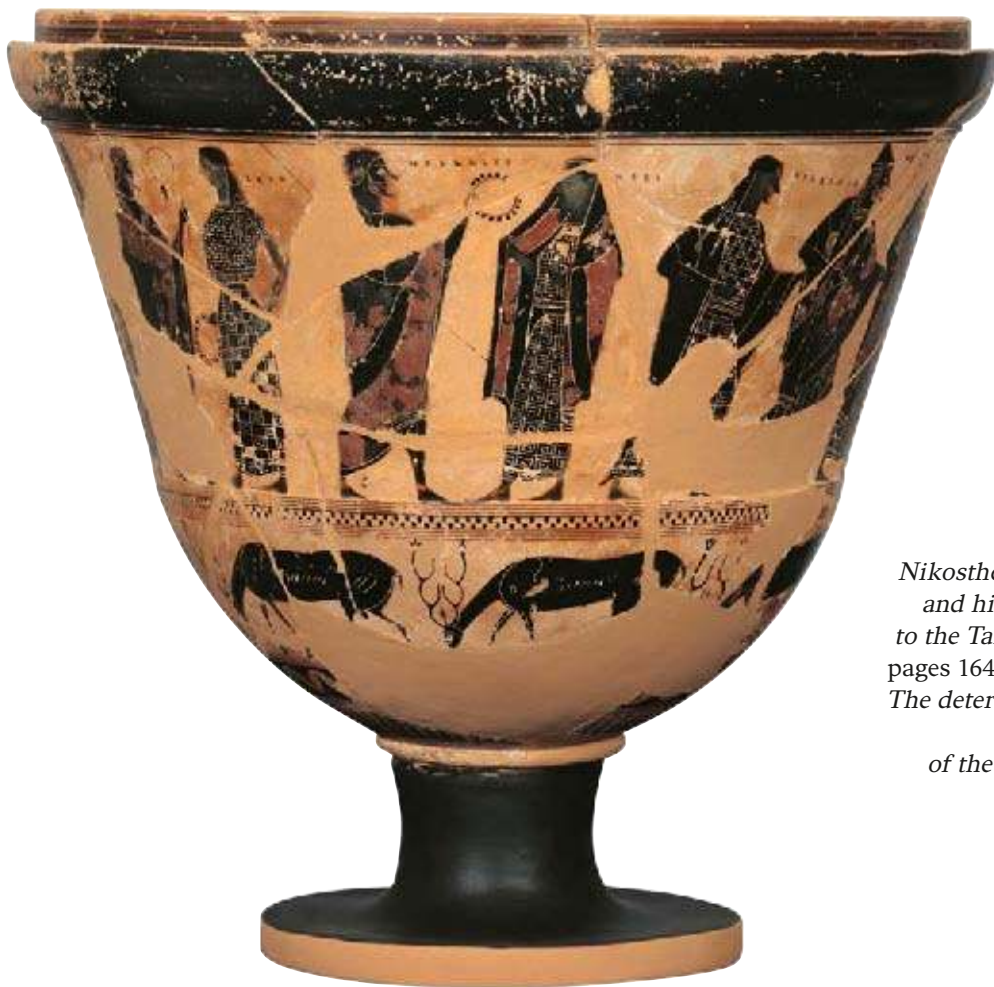
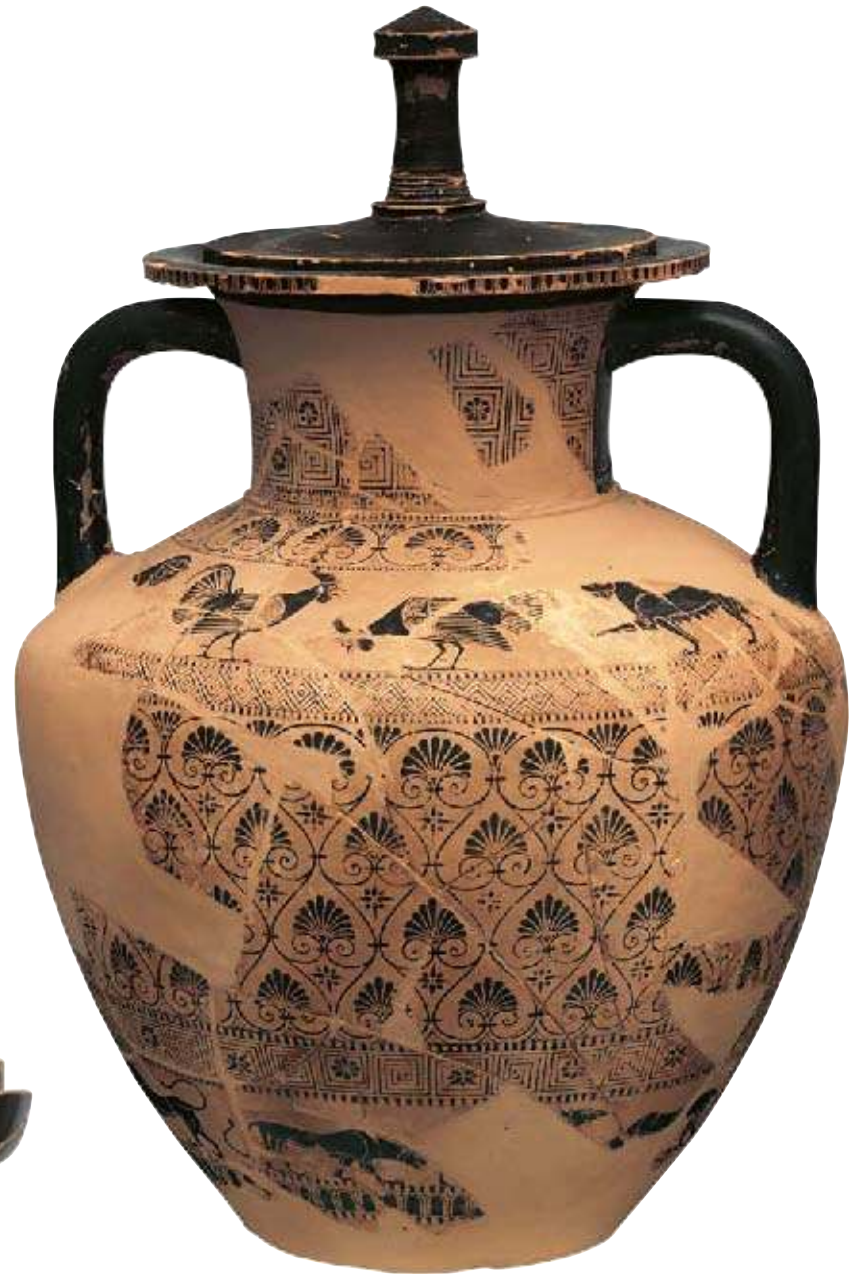
The sanctuary has been identified as the Artemision, known from Herodotus (III, 48), in which the 300 Corcyraean boys who were being sent by Periander of Corinth to Alyates of Lydia at Sardis to be castrated had requested sanctuary. As can be concluded from the finds in the deposits, the Sanctuary was destroyed in the effort by the Persian satrap Otanes to restore Syloson to power (522 BC) and was reorganised after the return of the Samians to their homeland (322-300 BC).



*Black-figure kylix of the Droop type with birds and lions. 550-530 BC.*

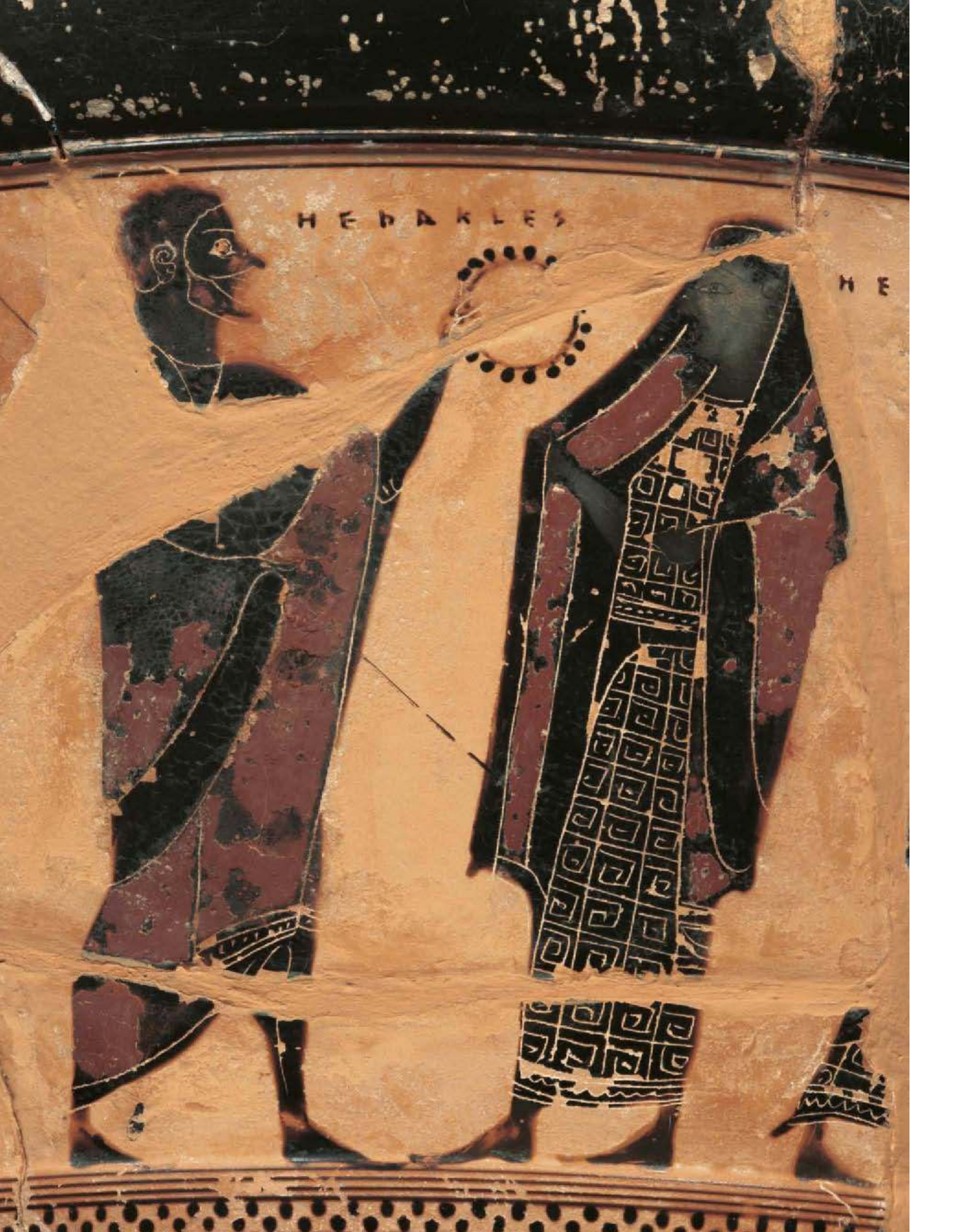


*Ionian-Samian amphora of the Fikellura type with a lid.  
Work of exceptional quality, probably the creation  
of a Samian workshop. 560-550 BC.*



*Nikosthenic pyxis representing the apotheosis of Heracles  
and his wedding with Hebe. Stylistically, it is attributed  
to the Taleides painter or to group E. 550-522 BC. (See also  
pages 164-165). Details of the scene on the following pages.  
The deterioration of the figures is due to the centuries-long  
period in which the vase remained in the deposit  
of the Sanctuary of Artemis, which now lies in the mire  
at the bottom of the subsaline pond of Glyfada.*





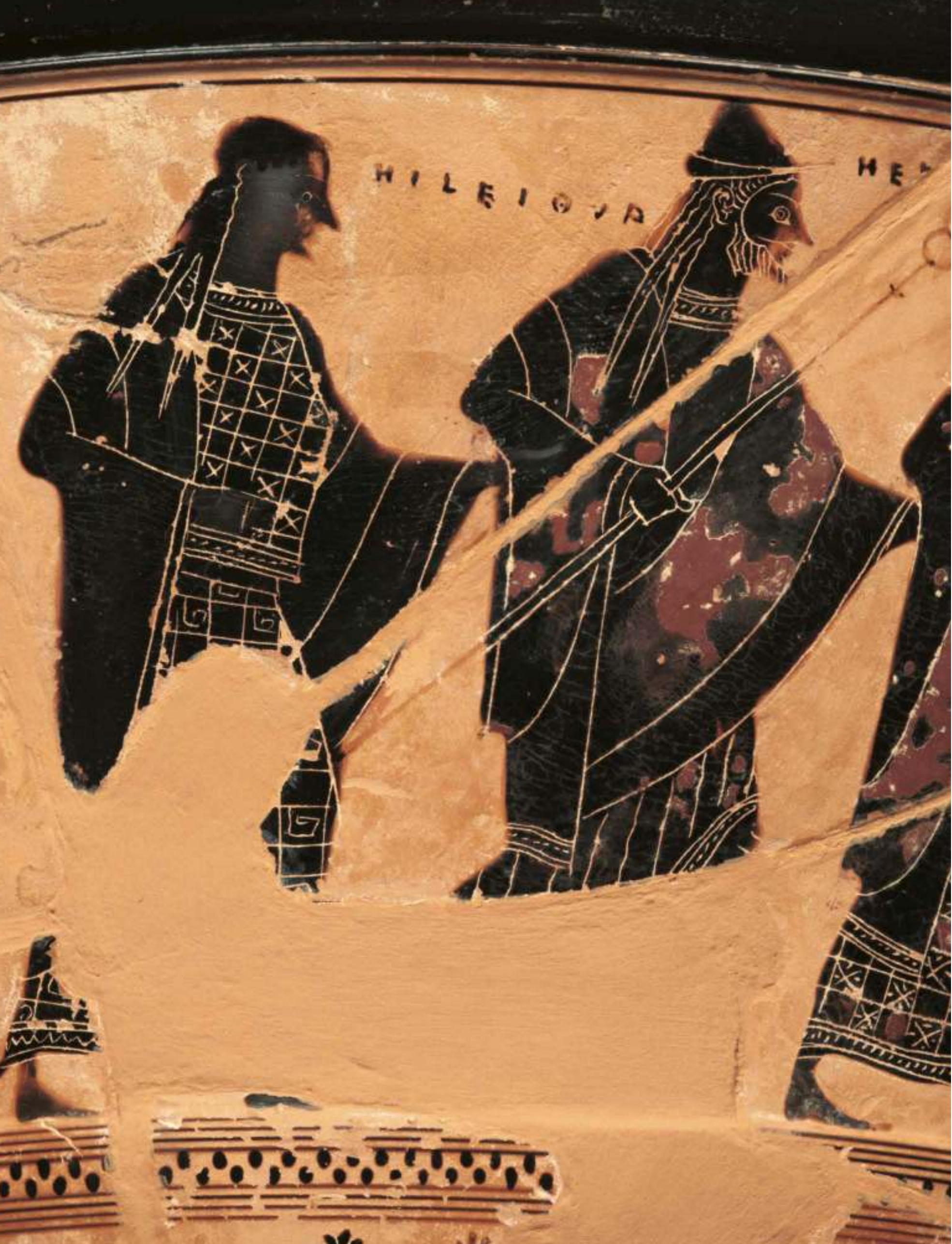
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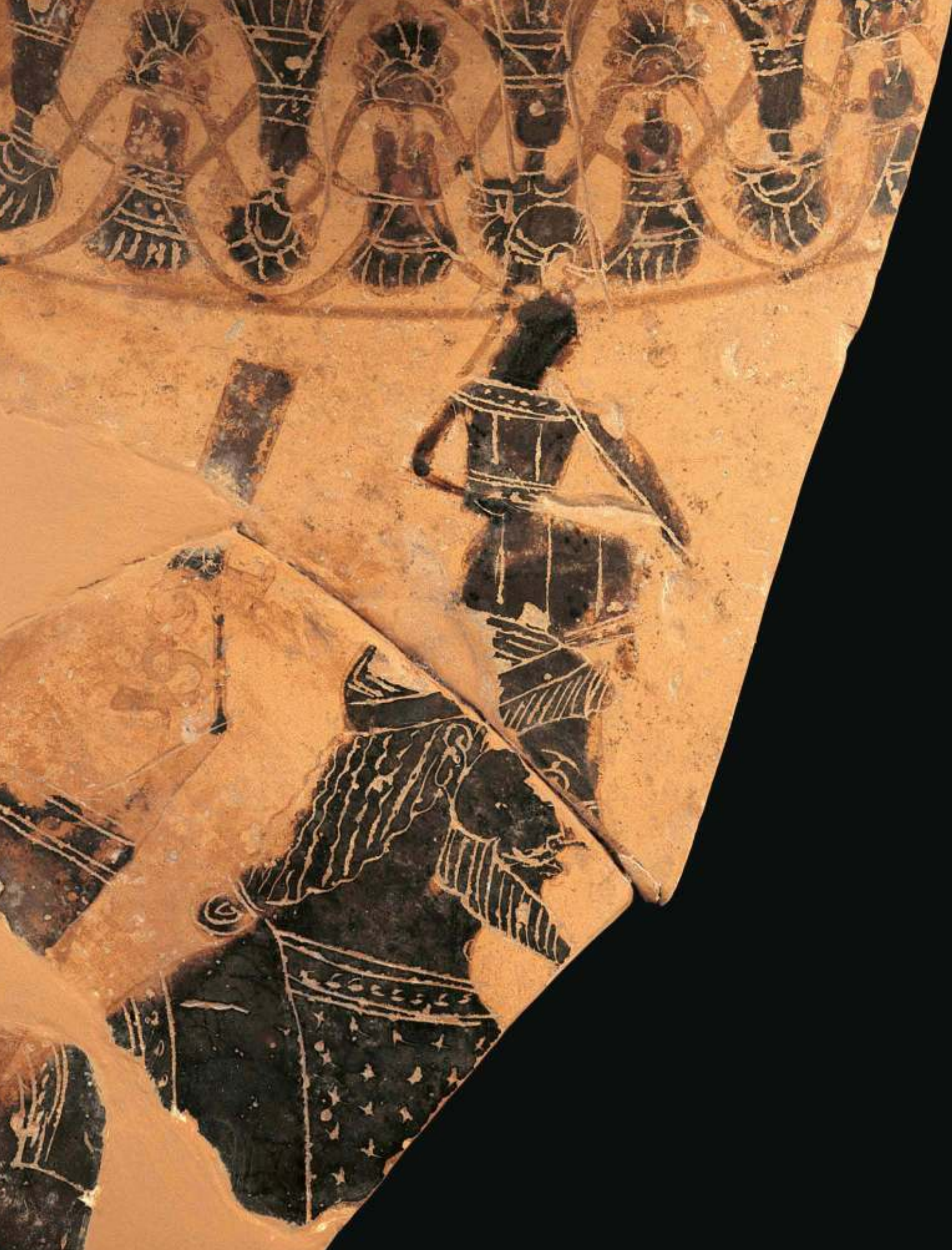






*Part of the lid of a Nikosthenic pyxis. Gods and heroes take an active part in battles; but the illegible inscriptions provide no assistance in identifying the scene. Stylistically it can be attributed to the Taleides painter or to group E. 550-522 BC.*





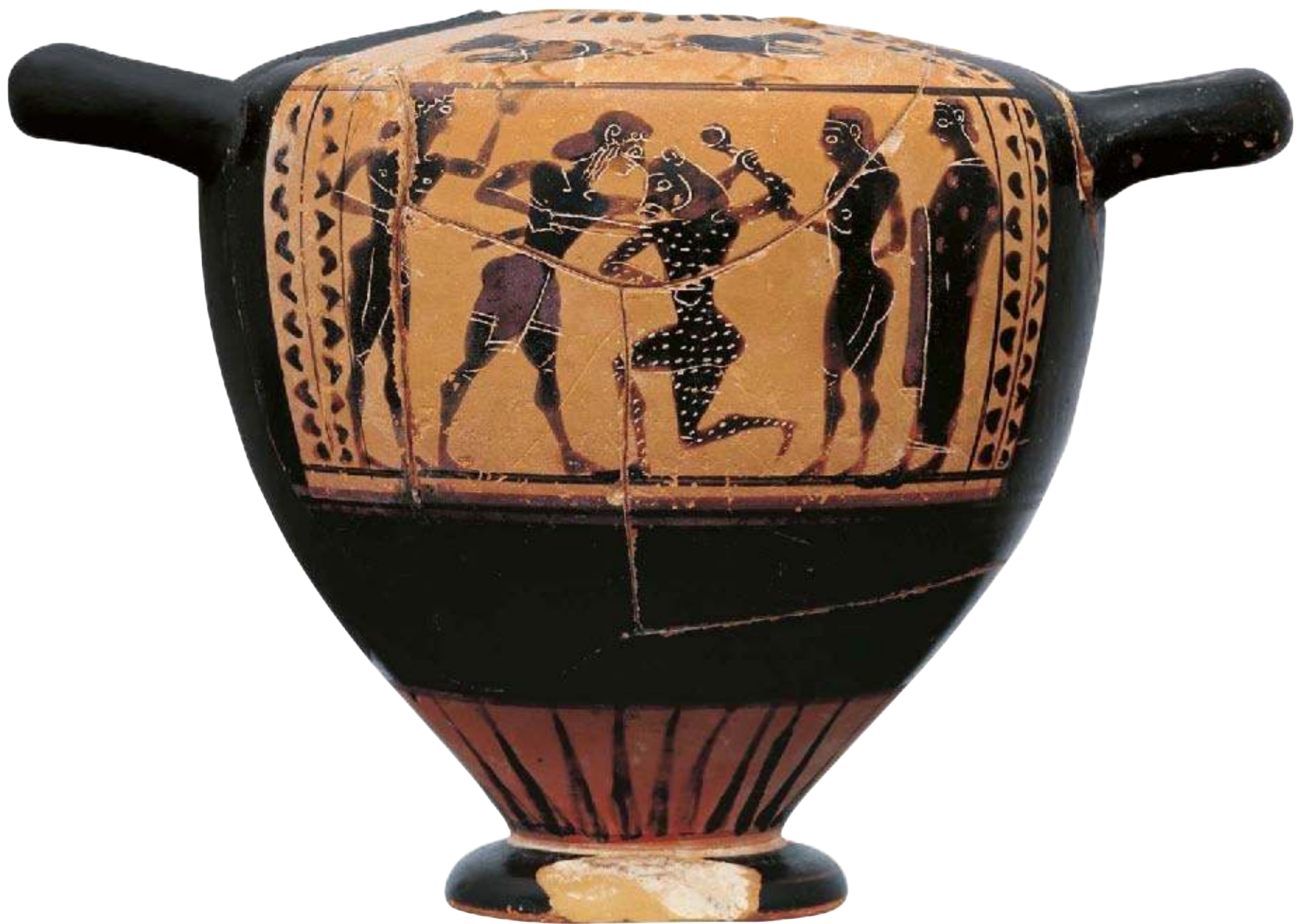




*Part of a Laconian kylix with a siren represented on the medallion. It is attributed to a capable Laconian vase-painter known as the Hunt painter. 550-530 BC. Laconian vases have been found in the Heraion and in the city, especially in the deposits of the Artemision, reminding us of the close relations between Samos and Sparta in the archaic period.*

*Part of the neck of a black-figure amphora depicting the birth of Athena. The Goddess of Wisdom springs, fully armed, from the head of her father Zeus, embodying the wisdom of the Universe, to the sound of Apollo's music, whose kithara can be discerned behind the head of the father of the gods. This popular theme is frequently represented on vases of this period. 550-530 BC.*





*Small Attic black-figure hydria depicting Theseus' killing of the Minotaur. His comrades watch the fight with interest, encouraging the hero. 540-525 BC.*





*Attic black-figure fruit bowl with the known apotropaic Gorgon's head (Gorgoneion) on the medallion. 550-530 BC. Many Attic vases have been found in the large deposits of the Artemision, because the high quality products of Athenian pottery workshops had captured the markets after 550 BC.*

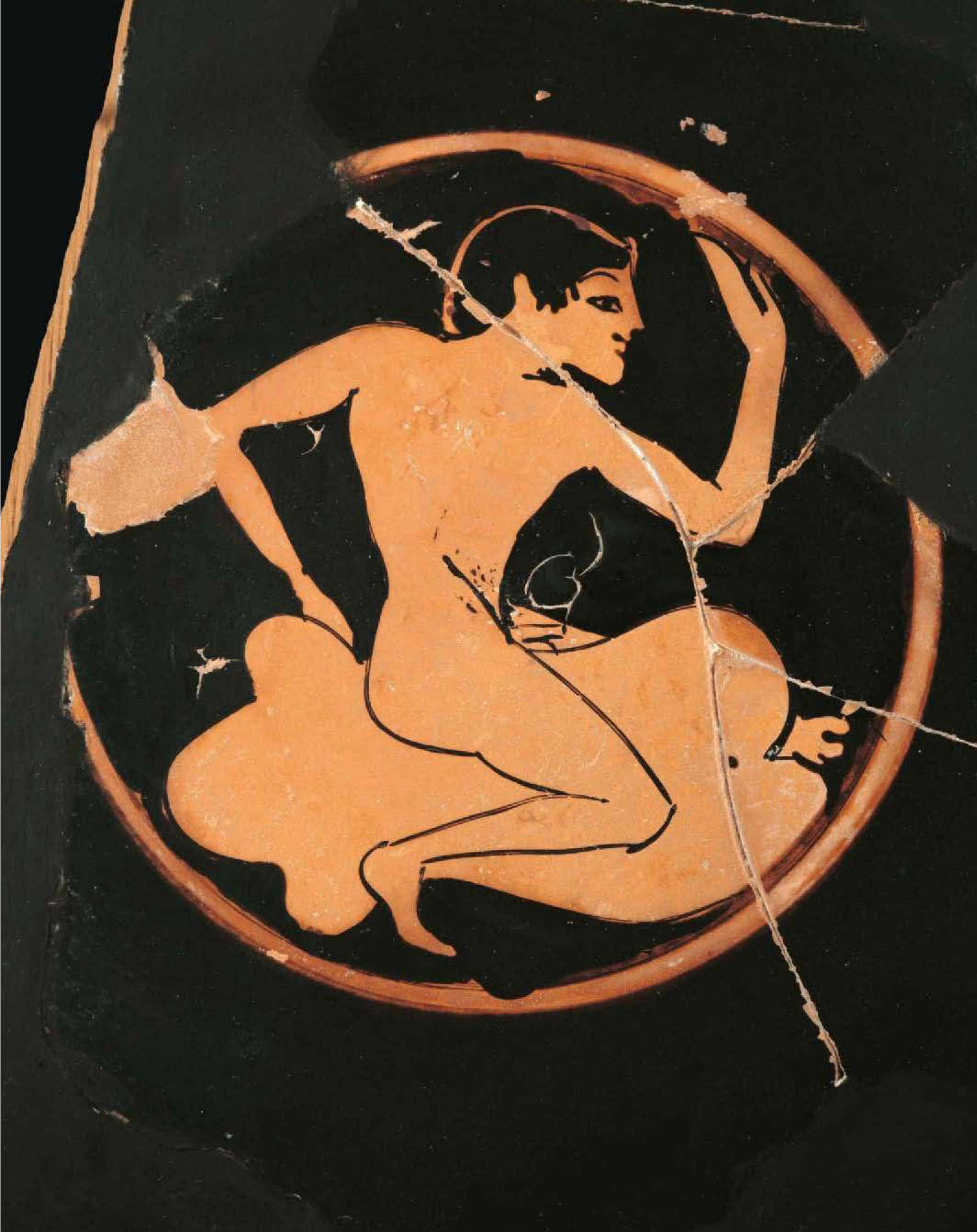




*Section of a Nikosthenic pyxis with a scene of warriors and charioteers. 540-530 BC.*

*Red-figure kylix, preserved in a fragmentary state, depicting a nude youth sitting on a wine-skin (askos); possibly a scene from a known game. To test their state of inebriation, revellers had to try and balance on a slippery askos that had been rubbed with fat and was full of wine. The vase belongs to a small group of scattered sherds that are later than 522 BC, when the Artemision was destroyed and its large deposits were created. It is attributed to Oltos, one of the oldest, most delightful painters of the early red-figure style, who was working in about 520 BC and painted mainly kylikes.*









*Head of a large clay mask of a satyr, a splendid example of Samian coroplastic art at its peak. 550-522 BC.*



*Clay bust (protome) of a female, dedication in the Sanctuary of Artemis. Similar busts, characteristic specimens of Ionian coroplastic art, have been found in sanctuaries and houses on Samos, throughout Ionia and on Rhodes. Depending on the circumstances, may depict a specific goddess, Hera, Artemis, or Aphrodite. The multitude of such busts found in the deposits of the Artemision, and the Samian clay of which they are made provide convincing evidence that they were the products of a local workshop.*



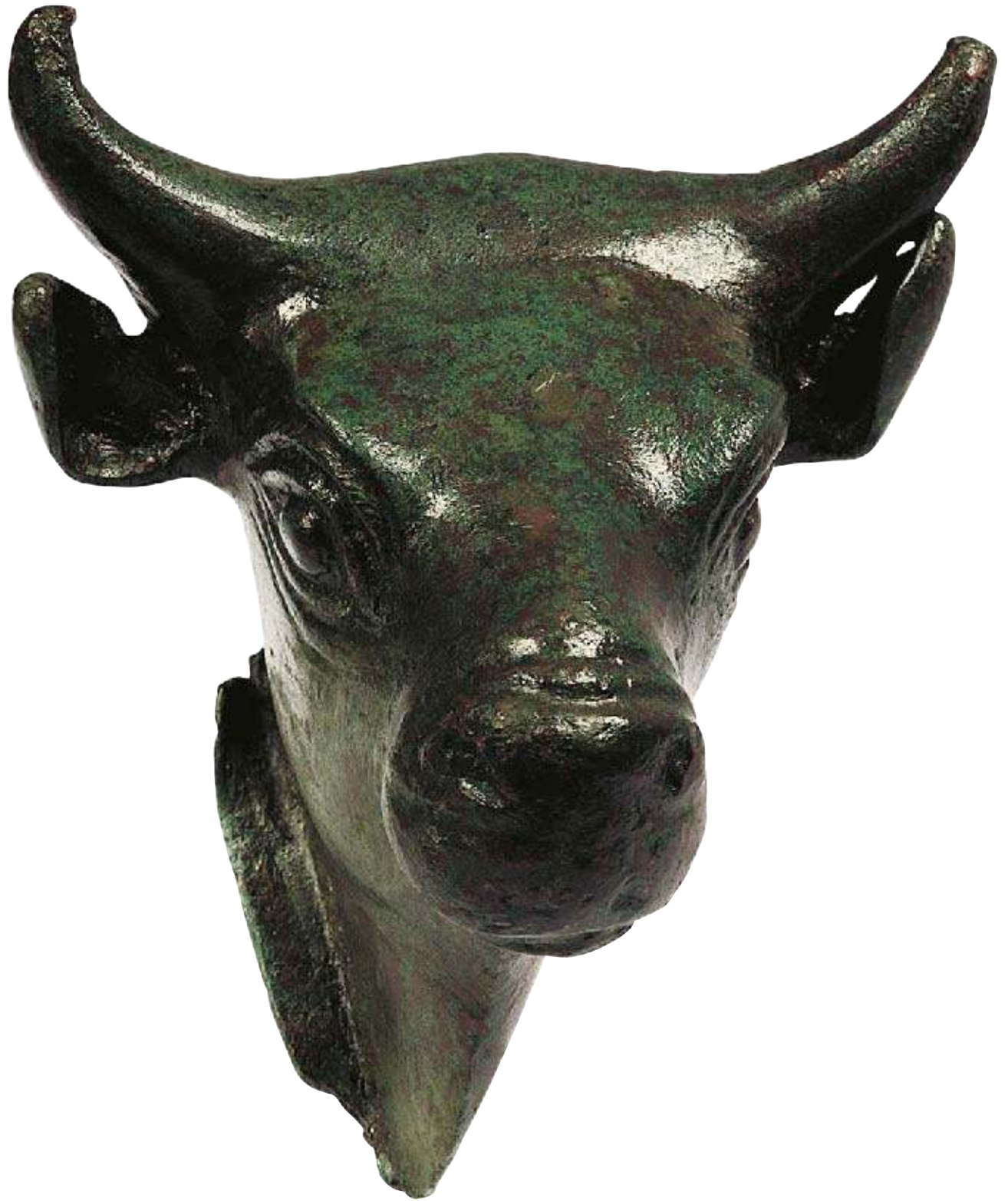


*Solid head from the figurine of a negro. The racial features are depicted clearly. From the 6th cent. BC on, the Greeks showed special interest in rendering the features of persons of the black race, whom they referred to generally as Ethiopians. The head from the Artemision must be among the oldest of these depictions. 550-525 BC.*



*Head from a clay figurine of a female. One of the finds scattered over the site of the Artemision. 500-475 BC.*





*Cast bronze bull's head, decorative accessory attached to a cauldron (lebes); the very high quality workmanship confirms the flourishing of Samian ornamental metalwork in the centuries of the island's heyday. 6th cent. BC.*



*Figurine of a paunchy demon, he of the good-natured belly, is a free rendering of the Egyptian god Bes, protector of mothers and newborn babes. He was believed to be apotropaic in the sense of an amulet offering protection against evil influences. Many of those found on Samos were manufactured in the island's workshops. 550-522 BC.*



*Clay figurine of a kore holding a dove to her breast. It is one of the most common dedications in sanctuaries of the archaic period in Ionia and throughout the Aegean. It came from a Samian workshop, as did most of the large numbers of similar ones found in the Artemision deposits. 550-522 BC.*



*Figurines of goddesses from the ancient city. Motherly goddesses seated on a high-backed throne wear a tall cylindrical polos headdress with a veil that covers their shoulders. 6th cent. BC.*







*Figurines of an enthroned goddess from the Artemision. Among the most customary types of figurines, especially in Ionia and the Aegean. They were dedicated in sanctuaries of Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, etc., whom they also represented, but without any special features to distinguish one goddess from the other. Most works of this type that were found in deposits in the Artemision are products of Samian workshops. 550-530 BC.*







*Clay lamp decorated with the protome of a demonic figure. 6th cent. BC. Detail on p. 186.*



*Marble ritual lamp, created in a Cycladic workshop, probably Parian. 6th cent. BC.*

*Marble ritual lamp. The figure and decorative elements provide evidence that it was intended for special nocturnal rituals with virgins and young men dancing, as reported by the historian Herodotus in his description of the three hundred young Corcyraeans that found themselves on Samos and sought protection in the Artemision. 6th cent. BC.*





The remains of the Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros (law-giving) were found in 1976 in an excavation on the west side of the city, on isolated high ground far from inhabited areas, as appropriate for sanctuaries with mystical forms of worship and rituals that aimed to seek the goddess's favour, and to ensure a good crop and the fertility of fields and humans alike. The site was protected all around by a sturdy stone wall. In the centre, the foundations of a rectangular temple-like structure have been preserved, with the front facing east and the *adyton* or innermost chamber at the back. In the middle of the *naos*, the main chamber, the foundations of a constructed pedestal were found, clearly intended for the cult statue. Auxiliary areas with a terracotta bathtub were identified that must have been related to the purification and rituals required by every mystical cult, including processions of women carrying water-pitchers (*hydriae*). The little stone altar required for the Thesmophoria, initially gilded and with a base (*prothesis*), stands on a small tiled elevated platform beside the north wall of the enclosure.

Around the altar, among the ashes and charred animal bones remaining from sacrifices, many figurines and vases were found, most of them inside a small, built pit on the east of the site. Votive offerings and cult vessels were found scattered over the entire Sanctuary site, or in deposits hewn out of the bedrock -the *megara* known from ancient accounts- into which piglets were thrown, together with other offerings that were also scattered on the floor of the temple.

*Clay figurine of a standing female figure, perhaps a priestess of the goddess Demeter. Late 3rd-early 2nd cent. BC.*







*Miniature replicas of ritual hydriae, oinochoai, pelikes and other vessels, mementoes of purification ceremonies, are typical dedications in Thesmophoria, in place of the large vases that were actually used. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.*



*Clay figurine of a female figure holding a votive hydria, among the customary offerings in sanctuaries of Demeter, related to purification rituals. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.*





*Characteristic heads of small clay figurines, from the multitudes that have been found on the Thesmophorion site.*



*Clay figurine of Aphrodite riding on a goose. 3rd-2nd cent. BC.*

*Clay figurine. Group of two female figures, probably Demeter and Persephone. The shape with the figures embracing closely is a copy of models provided by the large-scale statuary of the period. 2nd cent. BC.*







*Clay figurine with the strange portrayal of a demonic female figure with her head in her belly right above the pudenda. According to the literary tradition, Baubo, a follower of Demeter, was metamorphosed in this way and made the goddess laugh, forgetting her sorrow over the loss of her daughter. But perhaps this figure also declares the relationship of Demeter with female sexuality; the movement might also be apotropaic, corresponding to the exhibition of the phallus. There is a significant relationship with similar figurines from Priene on the opposite Ionian coast, where the Samians may have encountered it in their exile. 3rd cent. BC.*





*Clay figurine of a kourotraphos, a mature figure holding a baby in her arms. Similar votive offerings are often found in Thesmophoria, since the epithet kourotraphos was frequently attributed to Demeter. 3rd cent. BC.*





*Clay figurine of a female figure clad in a chiton and himation, very likely representing the goddess Demeter. 3rd cent. BC.*



The open-air sanctuaries of Cybele the Mother Goddess on Samos, dotted about in wild, rocky uninhabited places above the city, took up the entire area surrounding the inhabited district in the west and north, somehow creating a belt of magic protection for the city. The sanctuaries contained a multitude of niches and structures clustered together at appropriate points. The niches were usually plain rectangles with no other decoration, although there were also larger, more elaborate ones that have retained traces of architectural treatment with relief borders and pediments. In the most organised groups there are also stepped thrones or altars hewn out of the rock and empty thrones as symbols of the imagined manifestation or *epiphany* of the goddess. Small marble or terracotta statuettes were placed in these little hewn niches and represent the goddess in the known types – mainly seated holding a lion on her lap, a type that appears as early as the 6th cent. BC – together with reliefs of the goddess standing, flanked by accompanying gods (Hermes and *chthonios* Zeus?). In some cases, a representation of the goddess had been carved in low relief on the back wall of the niche, usually by ordinary masons.

Cybele was worshipped in Lydia and Phrygia as the goddess of fertility and mother of gods and men. As mistress of animals (*Potnia Theron*), protectress of the animal kingdom, she is depicted with her symbol the lion, king of animals, but also with the drum and cymbals that accompanied the orgiastic rites of her cult. Attis, a mortal shepherd, was loved by the goddess, which was why he had to die, but the goddess brought him back to life. His death and resurrection symbolise the death and regeneration of Nature. With these features, the goddess is related to Aphrodite and Artemis, but also to the story of Adonis, familiar elements to the Greeks. Thus her cult spread rapidly to the Hellenic cities of Eastern Greece and to Samos. The dating of the sanctuaries of Cybele on Samos was based primarily on movable finds (reliefs and figurines) and covers a long period from the late archaic to the late Hellenistic years.

Other gods referred to in inscriptions include Hephaestus, Asclepius, Hygeia and the gods of Samothrace; some deities of local origin were venerated with altars, reliefs and inscriptions, such as the deified river, the *sacred Imbrasos*, with his own precinct, the *sacred Parthenios* and *sacred Parthenia* (a nymph?).

The worship of nymphs has been confirmed in the Panayia Spiliani Cave, but also in the river at Pyrgos (perhaps the ancient Amphilyssos), under the Neochori bridge, where the names of the artisans Telesandros and Demagoros were carved on the stone masonry in connection with the building of the archaic bridge. Inscriptions have been preserved referring to a shrine of the Nymphs and Apollo Nymphagetes (leader of nymphs) on the Chora plain, together with the precincts of *Athena*, protectress of Athens, *Ion* and the *Eponymoi*, and also of *Artemis*, perhaps within the context of the redistribution of Samian land in the 5th-4th cent. BC.

The Thracian *hero Deloptes* reminds us of the relationship with Thrace, through the Samian colonies on the Sea of Marmara (Perinthus, Heraion Teichos, etc.). Even more impressive is the altar of *Tetartaios*, the quartan fever that accompanies malaria, which shows how problematic survival could be on the plain of Chora with its river marshes.

Among all the foreign gods that came to Samos after the 4th cent. BC, together with the many foreign crews from the Egyptian and Rhodian ships berthed at the naval station, but also with the Levantine merchants and





*Headless marble statuette of Cybele. The goddess is seated on a throne holding a lion on her lap, the most widespread type of representation. 1st cent. BC.*



seamen, the ruins that have been preserved behind the little square on the right side of the road leading to the port must be identified as the temple of Isis, whose large altar is richly decorated with animals of the Nile and the desert.

An inscription dating to the 3rd cent. BC that was found in Kastro in 1970 refers to the cult of the Goddess of Syria, who must have been worshipped in the vicinity of the port, as befits a deity worshipped mainly by seafarers.

The large relief of Amon found in 1910 on the north side of the processional way dates to 100 BC. The god is represented in the form of a herm together with pilgrims and a sacrificial lamb. The dissemination of his cult is attested by the frequent presence of the name Amon in inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st cent. BC.

In the vicinity of the ancient Agora, opposite the temple of Aphrodite, the remains of an impressive temple have been preserved, with a porch supported by four Corinthian columns in a square flanked by a splendid Doric portico (*stoa*). Because of its position and dating, it can very probably be identified as the temple of the deified Augustus and the goddess Rome, to whom the inscriptions refer.

Two temples, traces of which have been found in the vicinity of the port, remain unidentified. The first, dating from the archaic period, has retained part of its stylobate and column drums of local limestone; the second, from the Roman period, presents similarities in the construction of the podium with that of the “temple of Augustus” in the Agora.

*Small relief votive stele with a pedimental finial depicting Cybele holding a drum, between two lions. Behind her is one of her retinue, perhaps Attis. Work by an ordinary artisan, one of the many that were dedicated in the sanctuaries on the hill. Late 2nd-early 1st cent. BC.*





*Votive relief representing the god Amon in the form of a herm. On the altar in front of him is the ram offered for sacrifice by the worshipper. This horned Egyptian god was known to the Greeks from the 5th cent. BC, and was especially popular in the Greek world after the visit of Alexander the Great to Siva, after which he became associated with Zeus. Circa 100 BC.*





*Cylindrical altar of gray marble depicting Egyptian deities. Discernible are: the goddess Isis with a disk and horns on her head, hieroglyphic symbols of the throne, Sarapis seated on a throne, Anubis with the head of a jackal and Apis the bull. By depicting gods related to death and funerary ceremonies, the presence of wild animals of the desert and the Nile on the other side of the altar takes on particular significance. Lions, crocodiles, scorpions and jackals guide one's thought to Egyptian beliefs about the tribulations the soul must undergo, passing through terrifying places full of traps as it strives to reach the land of the Blessed. Circa 100 BC. A sanctuary of Egyptian gods in the region of the port, where this altar was found, is not unlikely since Samos in the 3rd-2nd cent. BC was the most important base in the Aegean for the Egyptian fleet of the Ptolemies. (Detail on p. 199).*



*Marble altar with an ovolo moulding and votive inscription to Dionysus from Anthestios. From the vicinity of the temple of Dionysus. The inscription dates to the 3rd cent. AD, but the altar itself is from the 5th cent. BC.*







*Small votive relief portraying the Thracian hero Deloptos, according to the inscription on the epistyle. The figure is presented in the type of the healing gods of classical votive reliefs. Behind the altar and facing it, is the worshipper, smaller in size. 250 BC.*

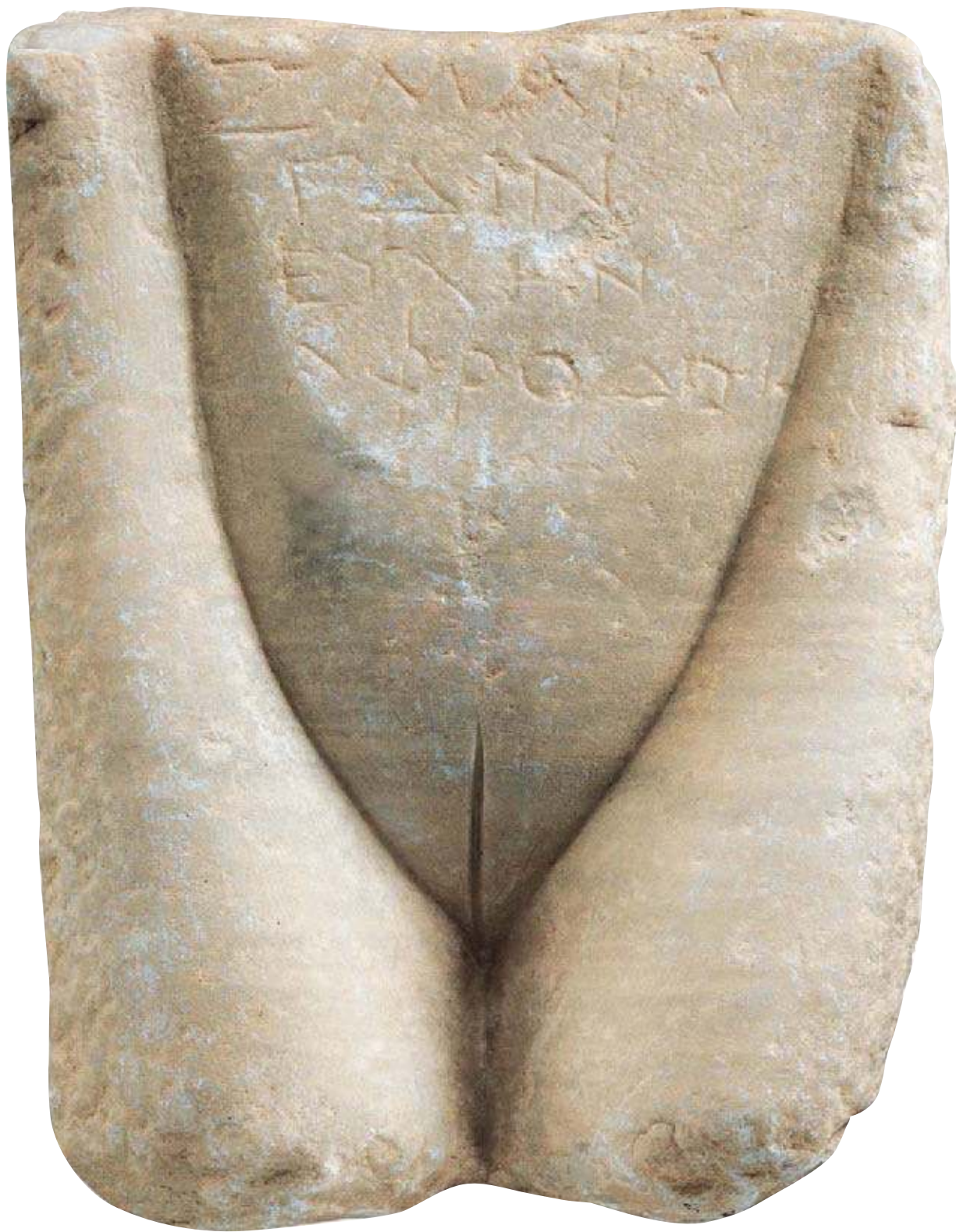


*Votive relief. Representations of a coiled snake being approached by worshippers are associated with Zeus Meilichios (the compassionate), but the caduceus of Hermes carved on the rock points to chthonic cults. Work by a folk artisan in the early 3rd cent. BC.*









*Marble plaque with relief depicting female pudenda and the inscription:*

ΖΜΑΡΑΓΔΙ[Ο]Ν / ΕΥΧΗΝ / ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ [Zmaragdi(o)n thanks Aphrodite].

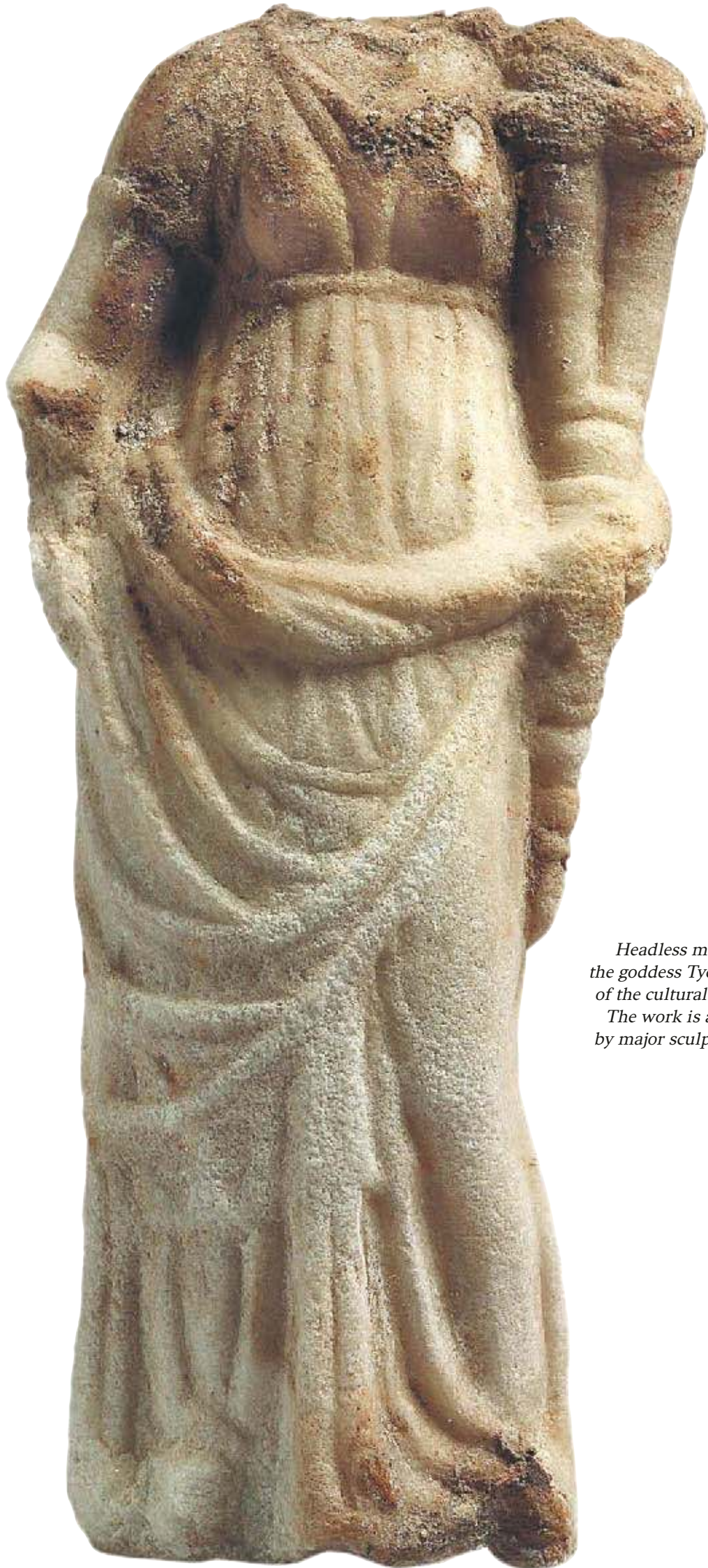
*It was found on the Chora plain, location of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite among the Reeds, that was established by the courtesans who followed Pericles in his expedition against Samos. 2nd cent. BC.*





*Torso of a marble statue in the type of Artemis of Ephesus. At Ephesus, she became associated with the Asian goddess who protected nature and fertility. The complex clothing and necklaces, bees and busts of lions and panthers are related to this attribute, as are the strange symbols such as the “breasts”, although a more recent theory explains them as bull’s testicles, symbols of fertility and regeneration. 1st cent. BC.*

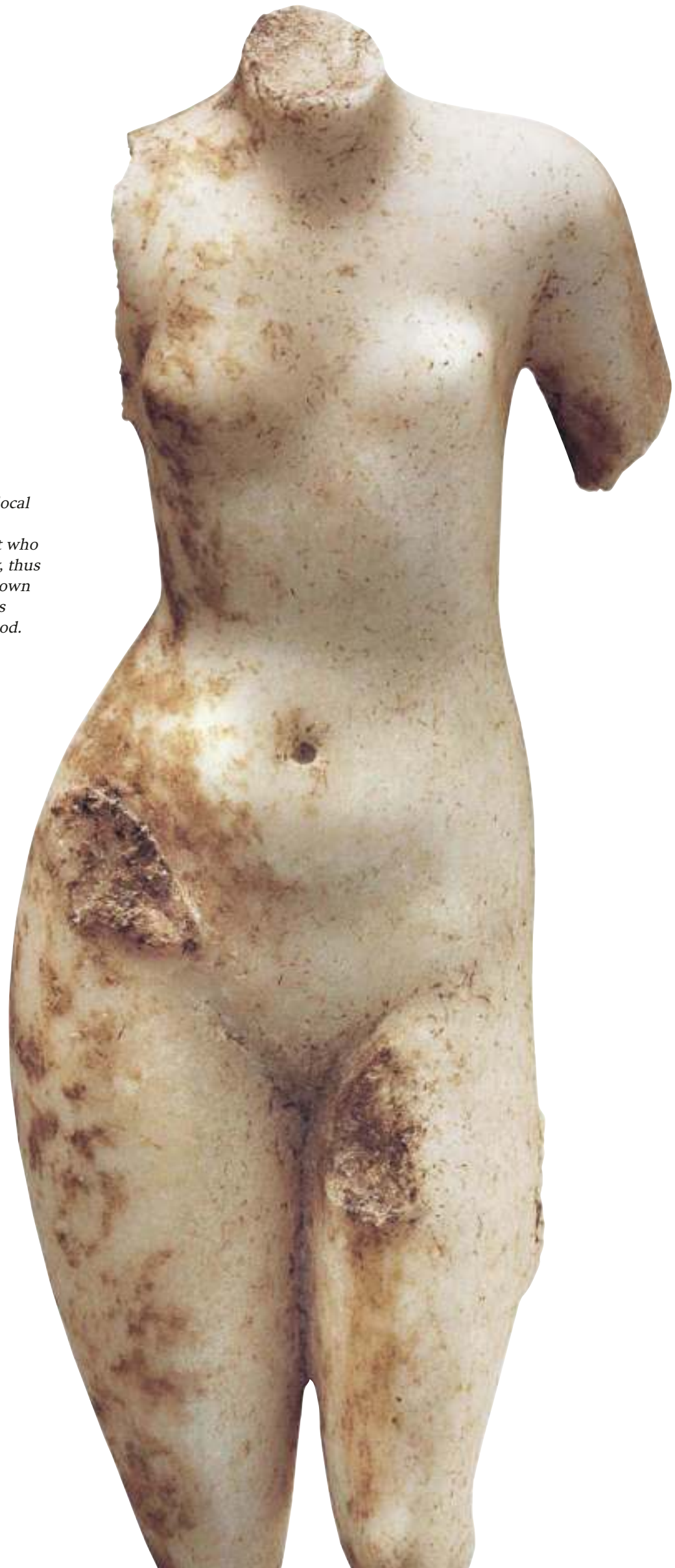




*Headless marble statuette of the deified Arsinoe as the goddess Tyche holding the horn of plenty, symbol of the cultural propaganda of the Ptolemies of Egypt. The work is a copy of significant Hellenistic statues by major sculptors known from Ionia and Pergamon.*



*Marble statuette of Aphrodite. Work by a local workshop that aspires to copy the famous Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles, the first who dared to present the goddess in full nudity, thus making Cnidus famous throughout the known world and increased the number of visitors and travellers to the little city. Roman period.*







*Small clay herm. Similar miniatures of stelai are frequently found in sanctuary deposits, but also in houses. The head of Hermes follows the very popular type of the Hermes Propylaeus by Alcamenes. Hellenistic period.*





*Sherd of a red-figure kylix depicting a herm. The over-sized phallus with which the vase-painter endowed the stele is apotropaic in nature: a prayer for good luck to the traveller, whose right hand alone has been preserved holding a staff. 5th cent. BC.*







# LIFE AFTER DEATH

## *The cemeteries of the ancient city*

### THE GEOMETRIC NECROPOLIS OF TUMULI

θάπτε με ὄττι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἄϊδαο περήσω.  
τῆλέ με εἴργουσι ψυχὰι εἴδωλα καμόντων,  
οὐδέ με πω μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἐῶσω,  
ἀλλ' αὐτως ἀλάλημαι ἀν' εὐρυπελὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ.

*ΙΛΙΑΣ, Ψ στ. 71-74*

*Bury my body without delay, that I may pass through  
the gates of Hades. I am kept out by the disembodied spirits of the dead  
who have not let me cross the river to join them but have left me to wander  
in front of the wide gates and the hall of Death.*

*(Homer, ILLAD, XXIII, 71-74)*

In the second half of the 10th cent. BC, a cemetery of tumuli was organised on a flat coastal site in the southwest part of the ancient city, the extent of which has not yet been determined. This cemetery appears to have been the final resting place of the first Ionian colonists who had settled on the southeast side of the island in that period. The location of the necropolis inside the walls constitutes evidence of the western boundaries of the Geometric city of Samos, which seems to have had a fairly limited area compared to that of the archaic city, given that it was within the region encompassed by the wall of the archaic city. The archaic necropolis has been found outside the wall, N-NW of the small pond of Glyfada, and most of it has been excavated. The dating of the finds from the archaic cemetery to the early 7th cent. BC indicates that this particular site began to function as a cemetery as soon as the Geometric Necropolis ceased to be used, which may have been abandoned because there was no more space available for graves. This site was respected by the descendants of the Ionian colonists and remained intact for many generations until the 3rd cent. BC, at which time the enormous athletic complex was built on it.

The Samians' customary burial practice in the Geometric period was cremation for adults, which began in the Neolithic period and continued in some cases throughout the Bronze Age; afterwards the ashes were collected and placed in urns. Infants and children were buried in earthenware vessels. In very few instances, a conventional

*Detail from the palmette of a porous limestone grave stele, one of the most beautiful of the entire group. 6th cent. BC.*



burial method was selected, and in one case, the charred bones had been placed in a cist-grave-shaped ossuary with walls lined by dressed stone slabs. All bodies were interred on a thick layer of fine sand owing to the damp terrain of the cemetery.

As described by Homer and as the iconography of the Geometric period depicts, after death the body of the deceased was washed and anointed with oil or aromatic oils and dressed; it was then laid out on a funeral bed or bier (*prothesis*). The lament followed that was conducted by either private or professional mourners, especially women and rarely men, a custom retained in later periods as well. Three days later the body of the deceased was carried (*ekphora*) and – accompanied by grave gifts and decorated, as attested by the pins and rings burned in the cremation process – was then placed on top of a pile of wood to be cremated. The pyre was kept alit and maintained by long narrow ventilation gutters. After cremation, the people entrusted with the burial would gather up the bones, wash them, wrap them in fabric and place them in urns through the spout or through a hole created for this purpose. Probably for purification reasons, shells and pebbles that were collected easily due to the close proximity of the sea were placed in the cinerary urns. The opening was then sealed with a limestone piece and loamy soil or with a sherd from another vase.

Over-sized pithoi, amphorae and hydriae were used as cinerary urns and ossuaries, and were usually placed belly-down in the sand without any special orientation. Most were protected in small pits demarcated by rough stones.

Every pyre was used more than once as the crematorium for many dead persons.

Part of the burial ritual was the funeral banquet, regarding the timing of which a variety of views have been expressed. In one view, the persons entrusted with the burial honoured their dead with meals before the cremation process; while another view places the meal after the funeral rites. The latter view reflects the modern custom in many parts of Greece, where those who attend the overnight wake for the dead and those who have come from a long distance take part in the meal after the funeral. After the meal was over, the animal bones and vessels used for it were also thrown onto the pyre because they had become contaminated by death and belonged to the dead. On one pyre charred olive seeds were found, residues from either the funeral offerings or the funeral banquet.

Hector's funeral rites are described in the *Iliad* in the following lines:

πρώτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῆν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνω  
 πᾶσαν, ὅπόσσον ἐπέσχε πυρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 ὀστέα λευκὰ λέγοντο κασίγνητοῖ θ' ἔταροί τε  
 μυρόμενοι, θαλερὸν δὲ κατείβετο δάκρυ παρειῶν.  
 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖην ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες,  
 πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν·  
 αἶψα δ' ἄρ' ἐς κοίλῃν κάπετον θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε  
 πυκνοῖσιν λάεσσι κατεστόρεσαν μεγάλοισι·

[...]

χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα πάλιν κίον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 εὖ συναγειρόμενοι δαίνυντ' ἔρικυδέα δαῖτα

*Iliad*, Ω στ. 791-802

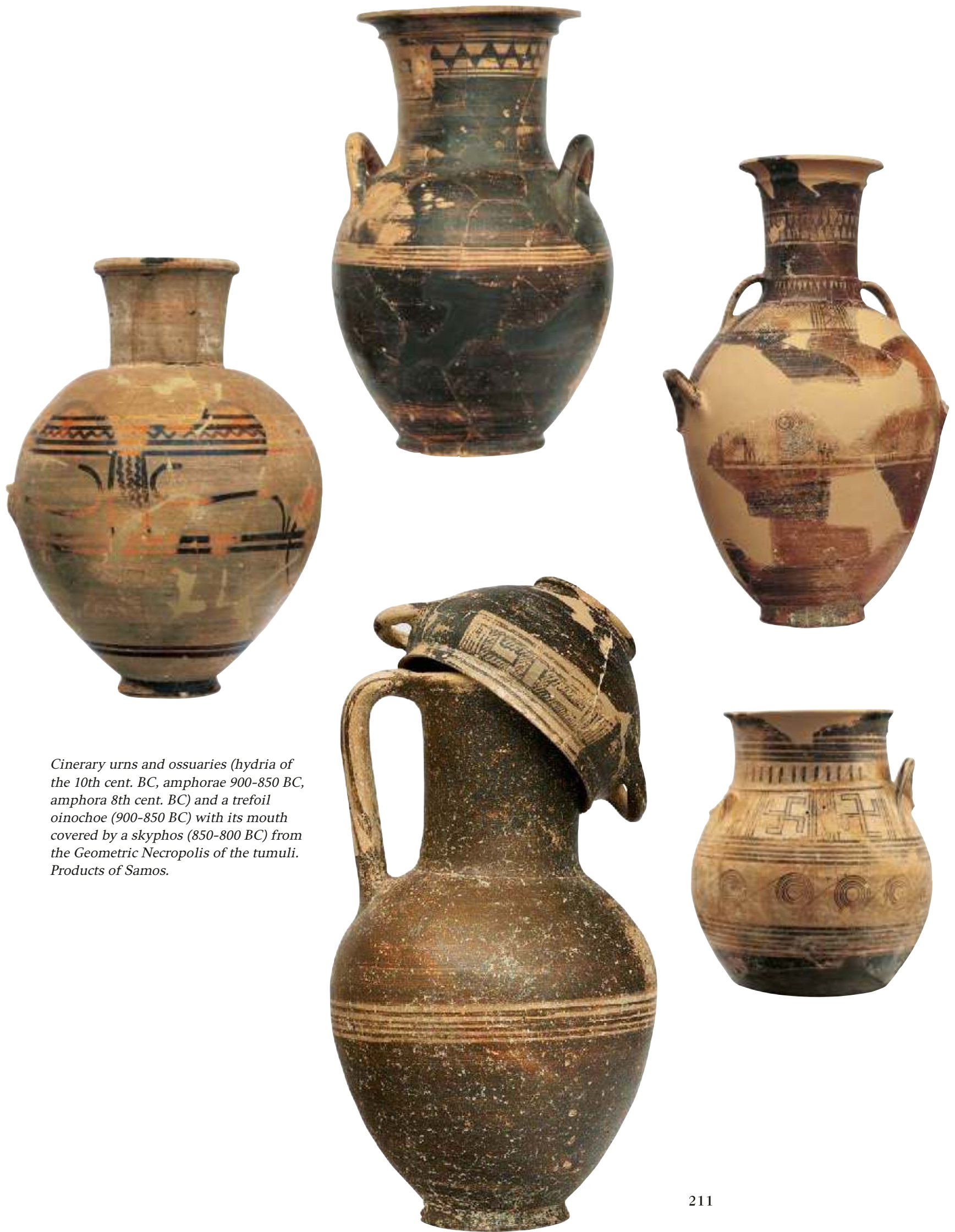
First they quenched the pyre with tawny wine,  
 as far as the flames had reached, and thereafter  
 his brothers and comrades gathered the white bones,  
 mourning, as big tears flowed down their cheeks.  
 The bones they took and placed within a golden urn,  
 wrapped up in soft purple cloth,  
 and quickly laid the urn in a hollow grave  
 and covered it over with great close-set stones.

[...]

And when they had finished raising the barrow they went back,  
 and all together duly honoured him in a glorious feast.

(Homer, *Iliad*, XXIV, 791-802)





*Cinerary urns and ossuaries (hydria of the 10th cent. BC, amphorae 900-850 BC, amphora 8th cent. BC) and a trefoil oinochoe (900-850 BC) with its mouth covered by a skyphos (850-800 BC) from the Geometric Necropolis of the tumuli. Products of Samos.*





*The only depiction known so far of a ship by a Samian vase-painter and the earliest Ionian scene of a ship during the Geometric period. The ship's deck, oars, ram, mast and sails are rendered with black lines, and the prow and stern are embellished with horns. From the Geometric Necropolis of tumuli. Dates from the late Middle Geometric to the beginning of the Late Geometric period.*



*Single-handle painted cup (750 BC), small single-handle breasted kyathos (wine-dipper) (9th cent. BC) and trefoil oinochoe (early 9th cent. BC) from the Geometric Necropolis of the tumuli.*





Inside the cinerary urns or ossuaries, but also sometimes outside them, miscellaneous pots have been found: *oinochoai*, *prochoi*, *skyphoi*, single-handle cups, *pyxides*, nursing bottles, etc, that accompanied the deceased on their voyage to the next world. Giving gifts to the dead was an integral part of the homage paid by family and friends to their loved one.

The remains of the pyres were carried to a rectangular site demarcated by sections of three circular enclosures and a makeshift wall that constituted a depository for the ash, precisely as it was done in Minoa on Amorgos, a colony of Samians, a fact that explains the existence of common customs.

In a conventional burial, the body was placed on its back in the sand with arms laid out by its side, and after being buried, was surrounded by a row of small rough stones.

Graves were surrounded by circular enclosures arranged in a chain consisting of local brittle off-white limestone, with a diameter of 3 to 5.5 metres and a height of approximately 1.35 m., braced in the sand and covered with red clay, rough stones and a multitude of tile fragments as a kind of tumulus. The enclosures must have been familial, as each of them contained burials that covered almost the entire period of time the cemetery was in use. The difference in their size and the parallel presence of funeral vessels for everyday use together with others that were carefully decorated, suggests social stratification on Samos, i.e. the existence of noble families and poorer social groups, as early as the Geometric period. The sacred duty of loved ones was to mark the graves with dressed stones placed upright, although constructed rectangular monuments have also been found on the site.

In that period, there was a high mortality rate among newborns and infants of up to 6 months old, as most of the bodies buried in the Geometric Necropolis belonged to these age groups, as shown by osteological study. Other interesting conclusions are that quite a few of the adults suffered from osteoarthritis and that the bones of animals found on the burial site included those of four-legged creatures such as deer that no longer exist on Samos.

The excavation data from the Necropolis attest to the cultural attitude of the ancient Samians toward death. They reflect burial customs and beliefs, as well as the respect and care with which the Samians bade farewell to their deceased in the Geometric period. In addition, the finds confirm the operation of local pottery workshops, with influences from Attica, Macedonia and the Dodecanese, and confirm the significant position of Samos on the Aegean trade routes.



*Bronze bow fibula with tiny balls on the bow, of the island type widespread in the Aegean and in Crete from the 8th to the 6th cent. BC. Fibulae decorated and fastened clothing in place. The marked burns on the surface suggest that the dead were consigned to the pyre fully dressed. From the Geometric Necropolis of tumuli.*



*Clay figurines of a ram and horse with burns. Found on a pyre in the Geometric Necropolis. 7th cent. BC.*





In the mid-7th cent. BC when, for reasons as yet unknown, the dead were no longer buried in the necropolis of the tumuli, the first interments were carried out and funeral pyres were lit on the high ground west of Mikri Glyfada, where, during the years of the Samian heyday, the archaic necropolis was to be established, rich in grave monuments and gifts, with tumuli and fine porous limestone or clay sarcophagi.

In the earliest instances, the deceased was cremated together with his clothing accessories, consisting of valuable ivory and silver-plated jewellery, but also offerings, usually vases and figurines; other vases and figurines were placed beside the pyre, on small porous limestone slabs. The same customs can be found in the later burials of the early 6th cent. BC: simple burials in hollows carved into the rock, or the burials, usually of infants, in large undecorated earthenware jars or in small cist-graves filled with clean red soil. The grave gifts to the dead were placed on a slab or beside the base of the burial urns.

The wealth accumulated by the citizens from trade and other activities, together with the flourishing of the arts that culminated when construction works started on the huge porous limestone temple in the Heraion (570-560 BC) led to changes in people's lives and in their burial customs. Even before the mid-6th cent. BC, burials had begun in carefully carved monolithic sarcophagi, with a flat or pedimental cover, of stone or more rarely clay, and in exceptional cases, marble, such as the monumental sarcophagus of Aeaces. There were also frequent burials in cist-graves hewn into the bedrock, the walls of which were lined with slabs of porous limestone, so well fitted at the corners as to give the impression of sarcophagi. The impression is frequently enhanced by the effort to imitate a saddle-roof cover with slabs, leading to the pedimental treatment of the narrow sides of the graves.

Interments were clustered in groups inside family tumuli, as can be concluded from the existence of low walls that either retained the soil of the tumulus or were the remains of enclosures. The orientation of the graves does not appear to have preoccupied the relatives of the deceased, as their primary concern was fitting the sarcophagus into the rough rocky ground and saving space, always within the confines of the tumulus, even if this meant defacing parts of sarcophagi from earlier burials.

At the bottom of many sarcophagi there is frequently a thin layer of sea pebbles or clean sand between 5 and 20 cm. thick. The objects found in the graves belong to two different groups: those used in the funeral rites and libations were chiefly undecorated vessels, the others were grave gifts or offerings to the dead that might have had greater value. The latter were placed either inside the sarcophagus before it was closed, or around the grave afterwards. They usually consisted of good quality pottery and utensils, as well as jewellery, especially earrings and necklaces when the deceased were women. Sometimes sealstones were placed in graves in the form of scarabs as amulets, as were figurines or vases moulded in the form of a siren, a mask or seated deities, such as the group of two seated figures who are interpreted in this case as representing Hades and Persephone. The primary and essential gifts in the city's graves were the Samian *kylix* – the most common drinking cup at both Samian symposia and funeral banquets (in contrast with Attica, where the *lekythos* was more popular) – and the Samian *lekythos* with its peculiar shape; frequent grave gifts were also *oinochoai*, *pyxides* for jewellery, Corinthian *amphoriskoi* (small amphoras), *lydia* (small jars) and *aryballoi*, the latter perhaps filled with aromatic oils. In addition to these, one can also find perishable



goods in graves, such as clothing and sometimes food, even eggs or their stone replicas, symbolising the regeneration of life, or other curious objects, knucklebones and seashells. Some graves appear to have been ungifted.

The custom of burying the dead in stone sarcophagi is associated with the habit of placing elegant palmette-crowned stone stelai as markers (*semata*) over graves. The majority of these stelai come from tumuli in the West Necropolis, in which pieces and fragments of all sizes have been found. Carved on soft Samian porous stone or on harder limestone, they are in the form of a thin, narrow slab with the name of the deceased usually incised roughly on the smooth surface of the main side, the sole decoration being a palmette finial on top.

Tumuli from the same period, but also two kouroi, which were probably related to them, were also found in the north necropolis, on the Chesios plain outside the walls.

The archaic interments of the West Necropolis are clustered on a low hill, right over the ponds of Mikri and Megali Glyfada, north of the Sacred Way to the Heraion, on a particularly outstanding site suitable for the wealthy aristocrats of the city's heyday. But another necropolis similar in position and formality was found recently outside the east wall on the slope of the hill during construction of the road to Cape Fonias. The graves had been plundered and destroyed, but their position on the high ground, distinguished and conspicuous, as it is visible from both the port and the city, together with the size of the grave monuments, persuade us that they were the last resting place of distinguished persons of the Samian nobility, such as the youth whose grave was marked by the known kouros of Cape Fonias.



*Large marble sarcophagus in the form of a temple-like structure, and covered in imitation of the roof of an archaic temple. The rich bas relief and carved decoration highlighted the bright colours, just a few traces of which have been preserved. Its monumental form suggests that the sarcophagus was the resting place of some archon of the 6th cent. BC, perhaps Aeaces, father of Polycrates. 550-530 BC.*





*The burial of an aristocratic lady in a porous limestone sarcophagus was rich in grave gifts: lydia for aromatic oils, trefoil oinochoai of the Fikellura type, a rare three-nozzled lamp and a richly decorated perfume bottle in the shape of a leg, perhaps from Rhodes, all of which were intended to make the deceased woman's transition to the next life more pleasant. 560-550 BC.*

*ON PAGE. 217: Ivory plaques with relief Daedalic busts, bronze fibula and enormous silver gilt earring of a well-to-do woman who was cremated on a funeral pyre together with her jewellery. They belong to one of the first graves in the newly created West Necropolis that replaced the Cemetery of Tumuli in about the mid-7th cent. BC.*









*A multitude of tiny children's toys accompanied the burial of an infant in a large amphora. Mid-6th cent. BC.*





*Undecorated clay Samian lekythos from a burial in a sarcophagus. A special pot that is frequently attributed to Samian workshops, and widely disseminated in the Ionian world, but also in Magna Grecia. Before 550 BC.*



*The clay figurine of a Papposeilinos. It was found on a slab next to one of the graves that was poor in gifts. The exhibition of the huge phallus played the apotropaic role of keeping evil spirits away. Mid-6th cent. BC.*



*Globular aryballos with the usual four-leafed ornament on the body. Mid-Corinthian period. 600-575 BC.*











*Black-glazed kylix with low foot. Around the rim is a band of ivy leaves. 550-525 BC.*

ON PAGE 220, ABOVE: Clay lekythos in the shape of a siren; local imitation of East Ionian models that have been found in Miletus, Rhodes and also on Samos. Grave gift in a sarcophagus. Mid-6th cent. BC.  
BELOW: Moulded vase for perfumes in the shape of a hare at rest. From a sarcophagus burial. 6th cent. BC.

*Kylix with a frieze of animals and birds on the band round the rim. On the body, between the handles and palmettes, is the inscription XAIPE KAI ΠΙ[Ε] (greetings and drink) that appears frequently on symposium vessels, egging on the revellers. Mid-6th cent. BC.*





SAMIAN GRAVE STELAI. 550-500 BC

*Carved on soft Samian porous limestone and later on marble, their sole decoration is the palmette finial on top. The elegant palmette that rises above two dynamic scrolls rivals in quality the splendid palmette ornaments on the architectural members of the great temple of Rhoecus; they are creations by top artists, to whom the grave stelai must also be*

*attributed. In addition to their decorative role, the palmette finial on the top of the stele may also symbolize the triumph of nature over death, through the rebirth of life and the hope of resurrection, just like the phallus that sometimes stands over graves, and finally the cross on the graves of Christians.*



*Section of the crowning of a marble grave stele with a double pair of spirals. After the mid-6th century BC.*





*The stele of Diagoras, one of the oldest of the group of unique porous stone palmette stelai from a Samian workshop. The inscription incised superficially on the slab declares the grave to be that of Diagoras. Dating the stele before the mid-6th cent. BC would make it possible to identify the deceased as the Diagoras who commissioned the bronze rhyton in the shape of a bull's head. (p. 123).*



*Palmette crowning of a stele, one of the oldest in the group, with alternating concave and convex petals. 550-525 BC.*





*Palmette crowning of a stele, from a later group, with flat petals. Circa 520 BC.*







*Palmette crowning of a stele. The refined workmanship, precise execution and exquisitely balanced design all show the high level of the artists responsible for the marvellous flourishing of art on Samos in the 6th cent. BC.*



*Palmette crowning of a marble grave stele from Chora. Near the end of the 6th and early 5th cent. BC, stelai became thinner and were usually carved on marble, as were the members of the new temple of Hera. Their more richly decorated palmettes give a more linear impression, adapted to the artistic demands of the new era.*















*Palmette crowning on a marble stele from the vicinity of the village of Myloi. Colours and painted decoration must have enhanced the appearance of the crownings on the stelai, as shown by traces of the scale pattern and sphinx that have been retained on the side of the palmette. 525-500 BC.*







The virtually total absence of 5th- and 4th-century BC graves in known necropolises may perhaps be related to the adventures of the city after being captured by Athenian troops under Pericles (439 BC), and later under the general Timotheos, son of Conon (356 BC), and to changes in the composition of the population, but also to the fact that there was no more space in the archaic cemetery. Regarding grave monuments, primarily the cube-shaped funerary tables that were found scattered over the Chora plain and in the Glyfada region, it would appear that the inhabitants, particularly in the 4th century BC, had become accustomed to burying their dead either near their own land, especially the Athenian cleruchs, or in lower places such as Megali Glyfada and along the Sacred Way in the vicinity of today's airport. From this period, just a few grave monuments have been preserved: a stele with the brilliant representation of a youth from Chora, the stele of a woman, a palmette-crowned stele, and two *loutrophoroi*, the long-necked urns placed on the graves of unmarried persons. They all originated on the Chora plain, as did most of the grave stelai bearing the names of the Athenian *cleruchs* who had taken possession of the fertile Samian lands.

*Black-glazed hydria from an Attic workshop found in a simple burial in the West Necropolis, which must have taken place at the dramatic moment when the Samians were sent into exile and the Athenian cleruchs of Timotheos arrived. Circa 365 BC.*



*Bronze mirror from a grave of the classical period in the West Necropolis.*





The return of the Samians from exile after the decree of Alexander the Great revived interest in the city in which the citizens had resettled. Very few of the graves that have been investigated to date in Samian necropolises date to the 3rd cent. BC. Several monumental tombs were built along the Sacred Way to the Heraion and on the road to the port of Panormos (Vathy). It would appear from the surviving funeral inscriptions that between the 3rd and 2nd cent. BC, the number of foreigners increased, especially those from the cities of Asia Minor across the straits, who died and were buried on the island, and in the 1st cent. BC, many Romans also appeared. In the 2nd cent. BC, under the new conditions, the dead were buried in rectangular chamber tombs with two or three beds hewn out of the rock at the foot of Ampelos, to the west and northeast of the city. They were by then family tombs, most of which were used uninterruptedly from the mid-2nd cent. BC to the 2nd cent. AD, occupying part of the site of the archaic necropolises, as well as slopes of the hills, and much closer to the city wall than in earlier times. In the early Christian centuries, constructed barrel-vaulted tombs, usually with two beds, occupied areas in the archaic Artemision extending as far as the city's west wall. As the composition of the population had now changed, many of the new graves appear to have belonged to Romans who had settled on Samos. Some of them have even been fitted to the external face of the city wall, which was used as the back wall of their barrel-vaulted chambers. Two of these tombs, still unexplored, have retained their walls to a remarkable height. As they are very near the city wall flanking the west gate and the Sacred Way, according to the model of similar graves in Rome and in the large Roman cities of the East, owing to their site and monumental form, they very probably belonged to distinguished Romans, whose names however remain unknown.



*Small pedimental grave stele depicting the well-known customary gesture of the dexitosis, in which the living bid farewell to their loved one. The inscription on the bottom declares the name of the deceased to be Antiochis, daughter of Diodoros. Circa 130 BC.*





*Marble slab depicting a funeral banquet. A large group of gravestones portraying miscellaneous variations of this familiar theme were rescued from the ancient city of Samos. The main feature is the figure of the deceased, a man reclining on a couch. In front of this figure is an offerings table, either circular or rectangular, with bread in various shapes and with sesame seeds, honey and milk as the dead person's meal. In this particular case, the presence of three figures on the couch has not yet been explained. The deceased is accompanied by a female figure seated on a throne or chair, obviously his wife. Added to many scenes is a young cupbearer in front of a krater. Also necessary are the chthonic elements and symbols such as a snake or horses' heads, or other features that characterize the deceased, such as a helmet, greaves or a shield. Circa 100 BC.*

*Pedimental stele representing a funeral banquet. An interesting creation by a Samian workshop. On the bottom is an inscription with the names of the dead. The form and means of support indicate that the stele had been erected in a prominent position over a hewn family tomb. 1st cent. BC.*





ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΑΤΟΧΛΑ ΟΝΗΟΥ  
ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΝΟΣ  
ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΔΩΡΟΜΑΝΔΡΟΝΟΣ  
ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΣ





*Small pillar-shaped grave stele depicting a himation-clad male figure. The carefully defaced head probably suggests re-use of the stele. On the bottom is a partially illegible inscription. Late 1st cent. BC-early 1st cent. AD.*





*Large relief with the scene of a funeral banquet. Inside the border, tenons can be discerned and traces of its support on the front of a hewn grave. Bears a rare scene of sacrifice on the left. On the upper part is depicted the dead man's armour as an indication of heroization. Monumental creation of a local workshop. Early 2nd cent. BC.*





*Gravestone with the busts of three figures. In the centre is a bearded man flanked by two youths. Of particular interest is the use of a metronymic instead of a patronymic, and the rare name of the mother, Chariessa, referring to the sole Chariessa known today, a woman with many children, clearly one of the Samian colonists of Icaria, at least five of whose sons, with equally rare names (Thelgon, Thalios, Apsogos, Serapion, Eudaimon), are mentioned on a list of youths. Either of the two first names would fit into the space left by the six letters of the obliterated name of the deceased in the Samian inscription. 1st-2nd cent. AD.*



*Marble cinerary urns with lid. From a grave structure or hero's shrine (?) on the east side of the city. Its prominent place inside the walls, the luxury of the vessels, and the gold coin for Charon bearing the head of Augustus constitute evidence that the deceased may have belonged among the high circles of Romans who frequently wintered in the Kastro palace. Early imperial period.*





*Clay figurine of Eros from a grave in the West  
Necropolis. Hellenistic period.*





*Clay figurine of Aphrodite, in the type of a Nymph holding a perirranterion, a vessel for sprinkling lustral water, according to the model of Aphrodite Anadyomene ("rising from the sea"). On the back of the base is the monogram of the known coroplast Papias from Myrina. Early imperial period.*



*Herm with the figure of a youth wearing a himation. Imperial period.*





*Clay and multicoloured glass squat lekythoi for aromatic substances, from graves. 1st and 2nd cent. AD.*











*Rectangular bronze mirror from a grave of the 3rd-2nd cent. BC.*



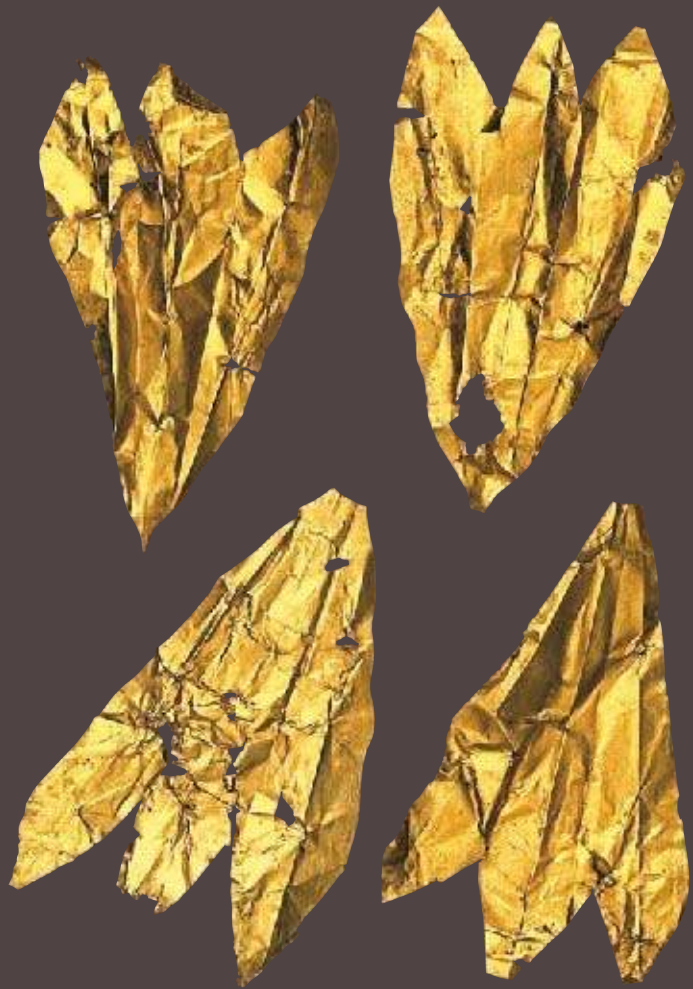
*Bronze mechanism for locking a wooden chest, from a grave of the 1st cent. AD.*



*Circular bronze mirror from a grave in the large sepulchral monument at the top of Cape Fonias hill. Old family heirloom that was placed in the grave together with vessels of the 3rd-2nd cent. BC.*

ON PAGE 245: Gold jewellery from hewn graves. The trefoil leaves cut out of a thin sheet had once been sewn as decorations onto the clothing of the dead woman; the earring with the dove belongs to a type known from the 4th cent. BC that lasted until the Roman period.







When Christianity prevailed, a *Martyrion* containing the graves of martyrs was built in the 4th century on a site west of the Artemision and very likely contained the remains of three known Samian martyrs to the faith. All around it, in accordance with Christian doctrine and the belief that the proximity of saints would facilitate one's entrance into Paradise, priests and officials were crowded together after death in rows of *arcosolia* (arched recesses) and barrel-vaulted cist graves; while similar built graves filled the floor of the building's large, roofed central rectangular chamber, creating an exceptionally interesting cemetery. The *arcosolia* retain traces of painted decoration with red blossoms on a green stalk against the white plaster of the back drum and the arch. Even though virtually all the graves had been disturbed, hundreds of early Christian lamps were found on the site, covering the period from the 4th to the mid-7th century, at which time it appears that the cemetery ceased to be used. Many of the lamps are decorated with pagan and mythological motifs, such as Eurycleia's recognition of Odysseus, Pan, cupids and love scenes; but there were also Christian motifs: the lamb, the peacock, the fish and the cross, as well as a *menorah*, the seven-branched candelabrum. Bronze coins were likewise found in the tomb, especially from the era of Heraclius, as was an interesting group of ceramic ware for everyday use. Christian graves were found as well, in conformity with Christian habits, inside and around the Early Christian basilicas that were built inside the ancient city, usually occupying the site of sanctuaries belonging to the old religion or public areas.

After the Persian and Arab raids of the 7th century, which led to the city's temporary depopulation, its urban fabric was in ruins and its districts abandoned, as were the buildings outside the inhabited area that was now restricted solely to the region around the Kastro. The dead were now buried amongst the ruins, where they are frequently found during excavations. In poor, ungifted graves that cannot possibly be dated with any accuracy to the endless dark centuries that elapsed until the regeneration of the city as today's Pythagorio, and the creation of a modern cemetery at Kastro during the period of the Principality (1830-1912).

### *Countryside cemeteries*

In addition to the organised cemeteries of the ancient city, graves have been also been found in other regions of the island.

A Mycenaean chamber grave dating to the second half of the 14th cent. BC was discovered in Myloi, indicating the presence of Mycenaeans on the southeast part of the island. "It is my honour to report that on 23rd May inst. an ancient chamber grave was discovered in the Community of Myloi. The objects found in it were two earrings of gold, three pieces of gold leaf jewellery, some clay pots and spindle whorls. I took these and placed them in a glass case on display for the public," as reported on 1-6-1960 by the guard N. Giokarinis to the Ephor of Antiquities of Region XVIII on Mykonos. The grave gifts are on display today in the Archaeological Museum of Pythagorio.



Part of an extensive cemetery containing burials of infants and children was excavated on the Kaminaki or Klima site north of the modern settlement of Heraion. Bodies were buried either in pithos jars, pointed amphoras and large single-handled vessels, or in cist-graves and monolithic sarcophagi. Most burials were ungifted, but some were accompanied by a large number of clay pots, locally produced or imported, which had been placed inside or outside the grave. A common grave gift in most of the graves was an Ionian kylix. Of particular interest are the Proto-corinthian, Corinthian and Laconian aryballoi, a vase moulded in the shape of a clam, trefoil prochoi from east Ionian workshops, an alabastron of imitation alabaster bucchero and a bronze ring with facing animals carved on its bezel. The cemetery was in use from the mid-7th cent. BC to 590 BC. The presence of a cemetery on this site suggests the existence of a settlement in the early archaic period that has not yet been discovered in the vicinity of the Heraion.

On the Kontides site in the village of Mavratzei, porous limestone sarcophagi from the early 5th cent. BC have been unearthed, together with graves gifted with clay figurines, alabastra, a bronze strigil, etc. On the Papavangeliniou site, sarcophagi of the 4th cent. BC have been discovered containing gifts of a red-figure amphora, lekythoi, Attic red-figure kylikes, etc. The graves obviously belonged to inhabitants of the country farms, traces of which have been identified in the surrounding area.

Cist-graves and three funeral monuments have been discovered on the Kato Kazania site in the village of Mytilinii, two of which have built enclosures with gifts dating from the 6th to the 2nd-1st cent. BC. Of particular interest are: a red-figure krater with a Dionysian scene of maenads holding a thyrsus (350-340 BC), trefoil oinochoai with strainer, a bronze arytaina (serving spoon), New Comedy actors' masks, and others. It is also possible that the large 5th-cent. BC marble palmette that was built into the wall of St. George's chapel on the Archogiannis site on the high ground of Mytilinii originated from this same cemetery.

*Clay figurines of animals and the figurine of a seated male, grave gifts in a porous stone sarcophagus from the Kontides site in the village of Mavratzei. 5th cent. BC.*





The gifts in the graves found on the Papavangeliniou site in Mavratzei and on the Kazania site in Mytilinii show that these burials were associated with the settlement of Athenian cleruchs on Samos after the island was taken by Timotheos in 365 BC.

High on the Ano Kazania site in the village of Mytilinii, two makeshift graves were found recently, which probably belonged to an agrarian settlement that has been found in the vicinity, water for which was obtained from a well dug deep into the ground.

Beyond the airport area, a grave monument was also discovered on site "45" east of the chapel of the Prophet Elias, on the road linking Pythagorio and Vathy. During excavation of the grave, the internal dimensions of which are 2.00x2.90 metres, it was ascertained that a hollow had initially been hewn into the bedrock, after which the walls were built of dressed limestone blocks. It had three beds laid out in the shape of a Π around a corridor 2.20 m. long and 0.60 m. wide; and its entrance with a Π-shaped lintel had been closed with a large stone slab. The floor of the corridor was laid with carefully-hewn flagstones. The grave had been plundered and was probably related to a nearby late Hellenistic agrarian settlement.

Pillaged grave structures have also been found on the Ayia Paraskevi and Pountes sites east of Pythagorio, with walls and covering of large dressed limestone blocks.



*Bronze strigil for scraping oil off the body and aryballoi for keeping aromatic oils, from the grave of an athlete in the Kontides Mavratzei region. 5th cent. BC.*

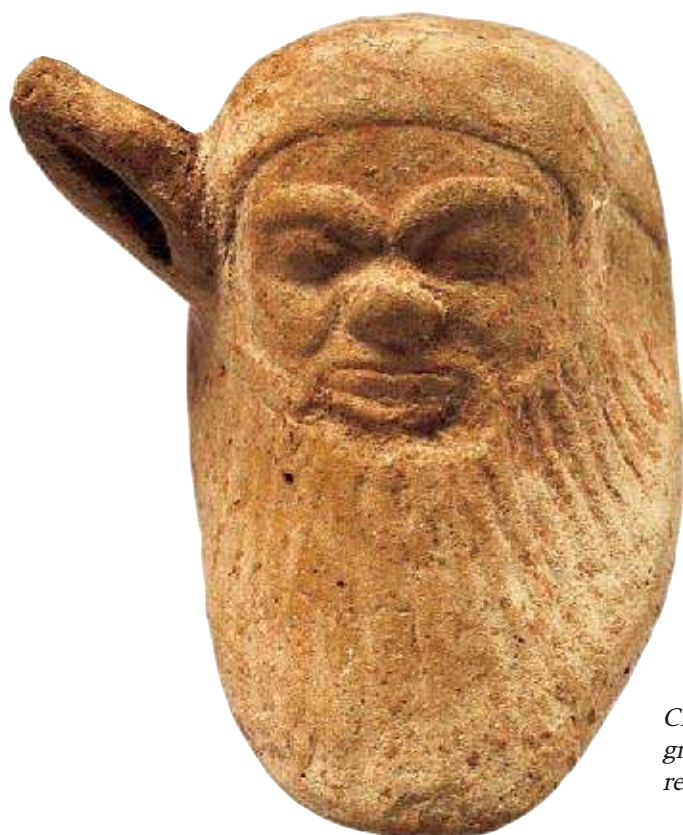




*Clay actor's mask, from the ancient city.  
Circa mid-4th cent. BC.*



*Black-glazed lekythos  
decorated with palmettes  
on the shoulder. From the  
cemetery in the vicinity  
of the Papavangeliniou site  
in the village of Mavratzei.  
5th cent. BC.*



*Clay New Comedy actors' masks from  
graves on the Kazania site in the Mytilinii  
region. 2nd-1st cent. BC.*









# THE WORKS OF MAN

## *Clay and wheel*

CREATIONS BY SAMIAN ARTISTS OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

In the late 13th cent. BC, when central authority broke down in the Mycenaean kingdoms and migrations created regroupings, the society and art of the Aegean fell into decline. In the centuries to follow (11th-8th cent. BC), art was limited to the production of pottery, small figurines and a little jewellery. The conservative decoration of vases with plain geometric motifs caused the period to become known as Geometric. Representational depictions were unknown until the mid-9th cent. BC, when pictorial scenes appeared as a consequence of relations with the cultures of the East.

Samos occupied a significant position on the map, as pottery began to develop on the island in the late 10th cent. and architecture in the 8th cent. BC, when the Ekatompodos I, the oldest Greek temple, was built on the Heraion. After it was destroyed, Ekatompodos II was erected in its place in the 7th cent. BC. No building remains from this period have yet been unearthed on the site of the ancient city, as it is generally rare for traces of settlements belonging to the so-called dark ages and to the Geometric period to have been preserved, owing to their perishable construction materials. Finds from this period have so far been pots from deposits, from the centre of the ancient city and from the Geometric Necropolis on its southwest side. Recently however, in the core of the ancient city's urban fabric, a long narrow structure has been discovered with a curved west wall and a transverse wall. The building was constructed of local limestone slabs and oriented east-west. The evidence unearthed so far dates the building to the 7th cent. BC and identifies it as a place of religious worship. Not far from its east side, a built cubic structure of the same material was found, probably an altar. This find is of particular importance to the study of the history and

*Depiction of a lion. Detail of a column-krater from a Samian workshop. 575-550 BC. (See p. 265).*



*Solid clay figurines of females with squared shoulders, arms attached to the body and moulded breast. The row of stippling on the neck calls to mind the necklace of Argive Hera.  
From the Heraion. Late Geometric II period.*



topography of ancient Samos, as it includes the earliest building remains of the period on the site of the ancient city; it is also important to the study of the ancient Samians' religious customs. This cult building in the centre of the ancient city attests to the simultaneous worship of Hera both in the city and in the large sanctuary at this period.

From the evidence found to date, it has been concluded that the early Ionians arriving in Samos settled in the region south of the Chesios River up to the harbour and that at the same time they organised their cemetery in the southwest section of the city.

The first examples of Protogeometric pottery have been dated to the last quarter of the 10th and early 9th cent. BC; they are limited imports from Attica and local imitations of Attic vases. Amphorae, hydriae, oinochoai, kantharoi and skyphoi decorated with groups of concentric circles (incised with a compass and painted with a multiple brush) and pendant semi-circles provide incontestible evidence of an early settlement on the site.

From this period on, the restless, creative Samian artists charted their own path and organised pottery workshops that produced ware of the known types, while also creating independent trends in art and devising new shapes for pots and interesting decorative motifs. Amphorae, hydriae, oinochoai, small stemmed kraters, pyxides, skyphoi, cups, bird-shaped askoi, plates, baskets, etc, decorated with lozenges, chequerboard patterns, meanders, the tree



of life, inverted birds with a fret pattern body, crenellations facing in opposite directions, zig-zag lines etc. have been found in city deposits and in the wells of the Heraion. The creations of Samian artists exude vitality, freedom, and the pleasant disposition characteristic of the east Ionian temperament. At the same time they bear witness to the close relations of Samos with Attica, Euboea, Rhodes, the Cyclades, Kos, Corinth, Cyprus, Crete and Chios, but also with Caria, Miletus and Smyrna. The position of the island at the crossroads of the sea lanes linking the East with West and South determined its active participation in maritime trade, as well as the influences that shaped its artistic development.

In the 7th cent. BC, incising –a useful technique with many variations and a long tradition of use on the crude handmade pottery of the Bronze Age– became widely disseminated in the Geometric period, and was used to decorate pots of all sizes, kraters, oinochoai, etc., the most common motifs being wavy lines that highlighted the painted decoration. The same technique was also used to emphasise the outline of decorative motifs on vases.

The bird, a common motif in the Samian vase painting of the period, is rendered in various types and associated with the religious and metaphysical views of the age. Its symbolic meaning and its iconographic identification with the human soul in the Egyptian tradition are certain; but it is not clear when this association began in the Aegean. Its popularity can be confirmed by its use as an iconographic motif even during the period of aniconic art in the dark ages. The theme of the bird is also known from a category of bird-shaped clay askoi, flasks for liquid offerings, that are usually found in graves and sanctuaries. The funerary use and chthonic nature of askoi are regarded as Cypriot elements and spread throughout the Aegean in the post-Mycenaean years via the islands, especially Crete and the Cyclades. Also found in the island's Geometric pottery painting are depictions of the horse, wild goat, ram and wild boar.

The sculpture of the Geometric period is represented by a multitude of miniature works, mainly bronze and clay figurines that were found in the Heraion, whereas in the city the samples are limited to a few clay figurines of animals.

The first cult statue, the image that embodied the Mother Goddess at this time, was the wooden xoano.

Coroplastic art –the production of figurines dedicated in sanctuaries and sculpted accessories (*protomes*) used to decorate clay and bronze vessels or



*Primitive limestone statuette. Found in the Heraion, 7th cent. BC.*





*Upper torso from a headless female statuette on which the raised right arm and breast are moulded. It is the earliest Samian example of a wheeled clay figurine associated with the cult of the “goddess with the raised arms”. Reminiscent of late Minoan and sub-Minoan works. Some scholars have interpreted the hole in the fingers as indicating that it was hung on a tree and related the statuette to tree-worship, while others believe that she was holding a pomegranate, symbol of fertility. In both cases, the association with the cult of Hera is taken for granted. Its initial height was 60 cm. It was found in the Heraion in 1931 on the altar from the second half of the 7th cent. BC and dates to the Early Geometric period.*

placed as gifts to the dead— is characterised by the strict subdivision of the body parts and the triangular rendering of the chest. A typical example of the wheeled clay figurines associated with religious activity on the island in the Early Iron Age is the “goddess with the raised arms”. The earliest Samian example is a tall, triangular headless human torso with short forearms and large palms, and an initial height of 60 cm. that was found on the altar of the second half of the 7th cent. BC and has been dated to the Protogeometric period. The type of torso with a narrow waist follows Minoan models. The goddess is also depicted with raised arms on small clay figurines. The same type is repeated to a limited extent in the late Geometric period, when figurines are presented with their arms by their sides. The most impressive feature of the later output of wheeled female figures is that typologically they followed Mycenaean rather than Minoan models. The female figure with or without raised arms is designed with a cylindrical body; although at the same time there were also a few barrel-shaped examples. After the Geometric period ended, the most popular offerings in the Heraion were the wheeled figurines that present a variety of gestures and elaborate styles.

In addition to the anthropomorphic figurines found at the Heraion, there were also numerous clay zoomorphic replicas of horses and especially cows and bulls made on Samos that are identified with the attribute of the goddess as protectress of the flocks and of agrarian products.

The shape of early Samian zoomorphic figurines is rendered in a simple way. The cattle of the 8th and 7th cent. BC are portrayed with voluminous bodies, an elongated neck and flat, triangular heads with a broad forehead and marked cheekbones. Figurines of horses are rendered with thin bodies, long legs, a vertical neck,



slender heads and vertical ears. Late Geometric figurines are fashioned in a more abstract way as the artist's interest was focused on rendering the animal's movement. In the 7th cent. BC, bodies are presented as an organic whole, with their main features clearly highlighted. Oxen are characterised by horns and a hairy pelt, which is sometimes rendered carefully and covers the animal's entire body, while figurines of horses are depicted with a strongly shaped neck and mane. In the late 8th cent. and early 7th cent. BC, the mane was painted roughly, while in the mature 7th century it was done carefully. The horse, a symbol of power, wealth and social status, occupied a dominant position among the figurines of the Geometric period. In Samian coroplastic art, it is related to the Naxian and Euboean type, although the long mane hanging down to the middle of the back was a local feature. In some cases, together with its physical features, aspects of the animal's behaviour are likewise portrayed, such as the raised mane indicating that the animal is kicking its hind legs.

It would appear that, as early as the 8th cent. BC, Samos was a significant bronze-smelting centre. Moulds in which fibulae, herms, arrowheads and ordinary everyday utensils were cast, as well as the traces of metal that were found in crucibles and drains confirm the existence of local coppersmiths' workshops in the vicinity of the Heraion and in the city. Technicians even used the residues of molten precious metal to make the coarse solid bronze links or wheels (talents), that were found in the Heraion, so the metal could be reused more easily. At the same period, Greek bronze foundries were producing small-scale works of solid bronze.

Samian workshops produced large numbers of noteworthy bronze griffins, hammered in the 8th cent. and cast in the 7th cent. BC. The richest group of locally produced griffins was found in the Heraion.



*Heads of clay figurines of animals (Early Geometric period) from the Heraion. The many clay votive offerings of cattle and horses encountered in the early strata of the Samian Heraion express the goddess's attribute as protectress of flocks and agrarian products.*  
 BELOW: *Clay figurine of a horse with a long mane of the Samian type. From the ancient city. 7th cent. BC.*





Clay head of a female figurine from a rhyton, with painted facial features and clothing. The intense open eyes remind us of the sculptor Daedalos who “opened the eyes of his figures” (i.e. created figures with large eyes), as Diodorus noted. Found in the Heraion. 680 BC.



Upper part of the clay statuette of a female figure clad in a himation. Strong painted rendering of the facial features and jewellery. The earring that has been preserved is decorated with a swastika. Characteristic work by a Samian coroplast. Circa 660 BC.



*Clay head from the statuette of a male, modelled freely by hand.  
Found in the Heraion. 630 BC.*



*Face of a male figure with painted facial features. Moulded decoration  
on a vase. Found in the Heraion. 7th cent. BC.*







*Upper part of an unpainted amphora, on the neck of which was incised the oldest inscription from the ancient city of Samos that has been found to date, from the 7th cent. BC.*

The griffins, which were manufactured in moulds, decorated the rim of bronze cauldrons (*lebites*). Geometric tripod cauldrons were votive offerings of special value and placed in the sanctuary on stone bases. Homer refers to the tripod *lebes* as a prize given to winners of races and as a hospitality gift. The metal vessels, mainly phialai, and bronze votive shields that were found in the sanctuary were likewise produced locally.

Jewellery at this period was rare, the most common pieces being bone or metal fibulae that decorated the hair and dress, and bronze clasps with which clothing was fixed to the shoulders.

In addition to the creations of local workshops in the late 8th cent. BC, large numbers of small bronze vessels and statuettes of animals were used as votive offerings to Hera, and demonstrate the relations of the island with Macedonia, Illyria, Rhodes and the Peloponnese.





*Cylindrical clay female figurines. Below, the placement of the left palm (the print can be discerned) over the pudenda symbolizes fertility, protectress of which was Hera. Samian workshop. 8th cent. BC.*



*Headless clay female figure with a painted girdle, unusual for the Late Geometric period. Found in the Heraion.*







*Protogeometric kantharos decorated with clusters of pendant concentric semi-circles. From the ancient city. 925-850 BC.*



*Imported Euboean skyphos. From a deposit in the ancient city. 740-725 BC.*



*Amphora from a deposit in the ancient city. Samian workshop. 800-750 BC.*



*Kantharos from a deposit in the ancient city. Samian workshop. 8th cent. BC.*





*Bird-kotyle from a Samian workshop influenced by the “bird-kotyle” workshop on Rhodes. From a deposit in the ancient city. 730-700 BC.*



*Trefoil oinochoe from a Samian workshop with Rhodian influence. From a deposit in the ancient city. 730-700 BC.*



*Amphora from a Samian workshop. From a deposit in the ancient city. 700-650 BC.*



*Skyphos from a Samian workshop depicting a heraldic scene of facing wild goats (in front) and a fierce wild boar (behind). From a deposit in the ancient city. 700-650 BC.*



## *The centuries of prosperity*

### POTTERY AND FIGURINES OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The fundamental changes that took place in the archaic period determined the nature of Greek culture. The Ionian philosophy that came into being with the development of epic and lyric poetry and contemporary ideas also influenced the field of the arts.

In the 7th and 6th cent. BC, Samos witnessed a significant growth of shipbuilding, and evolved into one of Greece's most important centres of maritime trade.

In addition to the major infrastructure projects, the prosperity of the island can also be seen in its art. Finds from excavations have provided a clear picture of the island's commercial and cultural relations, the trade in its commodities and its economic condition.

A multitude of bronze objects arrived at the Heraion as dedications to the goddess from all parts of the known world, so that the sanctuary became the richest site in Greece as regards finds of foreign origin.

In the 7th cent. BC, the communication of Greek artists with the art of the East resulted in the introduction of the iconographic and decorative motifs that constituted the main feature of the early archaic art referred to as "Orientalizing". After the abstract and schematically severe geometric art of the 8th cent. BC, the iconographic world of archaic Greek art came into being full of plasticity, vitality and a naturalist disposition, with workshops in the cities of Ionia, especially Miletus and Samos, whose output was marketed widely in the Eastern Mediterranean.

As part of the new art, a new style was generated, the main feature of which was a frieze of animals and dense floral ornamentation including rosettes, garlands, trees with spiral branches, spiky lotus blossoms, and palmettes of the Assyrian type. The main producer of this technique, known as the Wild Goat style, is regarded as being either Rhodes or Miletus. Typical examples are plates with or without foot, decorated with just one large animal, although other, more elaborate and brightly coloured ones have also been found. This style evolved into Fikellura ware, named for the Fikellura region of Rhodes, where examples of this ware were first found. The style appeared before the mid-6th cent. BC, continued to the end of the century and introduced new decorative motifs and patterns. Common shapes are the trefoil oinochoe, the broad, slender amphora, the stamnos and the kylix. Frequent ornaments included a row of crescent moons, alternating black and white oblique lines in conjunction with a scale pattern, the guilloche, the meander or Greek key pattern, lotus blossoms, spiral and palmette designs, panthers, partidges, dancing banqueters, etc.

On Samos, the Wild Goat style was represented by large plates produced locally and decorated with wild goats, panthers, sphinxes and floral motifs, whereas the Fikellura style was found on trefoil oinochoai and prochoi decorated with the typical ornaments of the style. A group of vases in this style came from Miletus, from which they seem to have been exported in large quantities to Samos and Rhodes, where this style was once believed to have originated.

In addition to the locally-produced creations, products from distant places have also been found on Samos, black burnished bucchero ware from Etruria, kantharoi and lydia from Asia Minor, small vases for perfumes, jugs (*olpes*) and eastern Ionian ware in general.



Before and around the mid-6th cent. BC, painted Ionian kylikes appeared on Samos with raised bands on the handle level and on the rim. The miniature Samian and Ionian kylikes, the single-handle cup, the plate and undecorated Samian lekythoi, i.e. virtually all pots for everyday use, came from local workshops. In the first half of the 6th cent. BC, Corinthian and Laconian pottery continued to be imported to the island and can be found as votive offerings in sanctuaries and as grave gifts.

Starting from mid-century, the masterpieces of Attic black-figure pottery, with images of animals and narrative mythological scenes, and later the red-figure ware, captured the Samian market as confirmed by finds in deposits in the Artemision, in the Glyfada pond and in the city centre, with parallel local imitations.

In the 7th cent. BC, miniature sculpture on the island was strongly influenced by figurines from Cyprus, through which the technique of using moulds to make figurines was probably introduced. From about 575 BC on, the main types of figurines we find on Samos belong to the so-called *Aphrodite group*, the creation of which is attributed to Samos or Miletus and consists of large busts of female figures, enthroned deities, dressed kouroi and korai, reclining banqueters, paunchy daemons, sirens, and replicas of animals and birds. Most types can also be found as small moulded vases in which perfumes were kept.

Coppersmiths' workshops in the 7th and 6th cent. BC produced bronze statues of kouroi and korai that expressed the Samian particularities of the style. The high quality votive offerings to Hera depict either the goddess herself or the donor, or are unspecified dedications. The sole feature distinguishing a mortal from a deity was a symbol held by a deity or a votive inscription. Apart from the anthropomorphic figurines, miniature bronze replicas of animals were also created, mainly horses, oxen and birds, symbols of fertility.

The abundance and quality of the works of Samian miniature sculpture express the intense artistic life, economic prosperity and high artistic level prevailing during the archaic period. At the same time, significant growth can be observed in large-scale sculpture and moulding on noteworthy works, which is due to the development of techniques for processing metal, with the architect Rhoecus and artist Theodorus, both Samians, in the vanguard. In addition to the marvellous works built by these two creators, they also devised extraordinary solutions to technical problems, such as the foundation of buildings on marshy ground and the casting of bronze statues that were hollow inside, a technique that paved the way for the creation of large bronze statues.

Samples of rare works from the first half of the 6th cent. BC, that are contemporary with the colossal marble works are the fragments of clay sculptures from the Heraion, created in various workshops. They are the remains of a sphinx, panther and lion, the first two of which have been recognised as architectural sculptures. Their find is of special interest because they constitute rare evidence of the existence of clay sculptures in the Ionian region.





*Phiale (above) and small, single-handle phiale (below) from a Samian workshop found in a deposit in the ancient city. 550-500 BC.*

*Ionian kylix from a Samian workshop, found in the Heraion. 575-550 BC.*



*Base of a kylix incised with the name ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ. (Apollonides). 550-500 BC.*



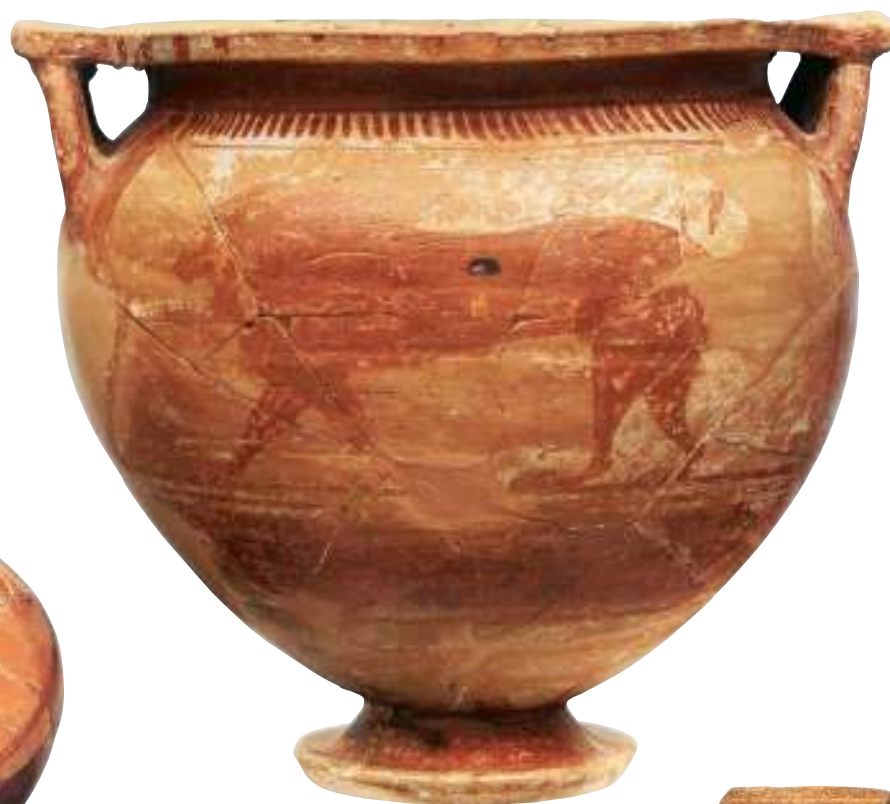
*Banded kylix from an Attic workshop. From a deposit in the ancient city. 550-525 BC.*



*Clay olpes (wide-mouthed jugs) produced in Samos, from a deposit in the ancient city. Circa 500 BC.*



*Column-krater depicting a lion on both sides.  
Samian workshop. 575-550 BC.*



*Clay askos. 550-525 BC.*

*Pointed amphoriskoi. Samian workshop.  
Circa 550 BC.*



*Stamnoid pyxis made on Samos. Circa 500 BC.*











ON PAGE. 266: Sherd of a krater decorated in the Orientalizing style, from the Heraion. 640-625 BC.



Sherds of pots decorated in the Wild Goat style. From the ancient city. 650-600 BC.



ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES:  
Fine scene of satyrs on a sherd of a black-figure krater from the ancient city. Attributed to the Amasis painter. 540-530 BC.











The number and quality of works of archaic sculpture from Samos have confirmed the eminent role played by the island in the 7th and particularly in the 6th cent. BC in the evolution of art and in shaping the physiognomy of Greek, but especially of Ionian sculpture. Many significant works that illustrate this development up to the end of the archaic period are exhibited in the island's two archaeological museums: in the Vathy Museum are works mainly from the Sanctuary of Hera, and in the Pythagorio Museum, works from the ancient city.

Characteristic works of the period are the *kouros*, a young man approaching adulthood, and the *kore*, a modest maiden. The Greeks found the type of the kouros –the robust youth with his arms by his side and fists clenched, his left leg in front and face gazing into the distance– ready-made in their trade-related wanderings, but also in their encounters with the numerous sculptures they observed in Egyptian sanctuaries. They wanted to bring these large, imposing stone works of the Egyptians into their own world, into the sanctuaries of their own gods. The first to imitate them were, quite naturally, the inhabitants of the Aegean islands and Samos who knew them best through their commercial contacts and relations. This is also how archaeologists explain the fashion for creating the enormous, stately statues that were carved in the early phases of the archaic period, mainly in the late 7th and early 6th cent. BC to which the colossal statues in the Heraion are dated. Soon however, Greek sculptors discarded the heavy vertical support that bound the Egyptian statues to the earth, with the result that the new kouroi stood before the viewer full-length and three-dimensional with their cheerful faces. And after 720 BC, when that first young athlete, Orsippos of Megara, threw off the girdle round his loins to compete naked and liberated – “*making nudity a symbol of freedom and beauty*”, as Semni Karousou so aptly phrased it– the sculpted kouroi also shed their old-fashioned sashes and allowed their beauty to shine forth, far removed from the compromises and reservations of their Egyptian brothers. This is how the enormous kouros in the Vathy Museum, with a height of 4.8 metres, is presented and which the sponsor dedicates with such pride to Hera, as noted by the inscription incised on his left thigh (*Isches, son of Rhesis, dedicated me*). Carved in about 580 BC by a Samian sculptor on Samian marble veined with pale gray, this beautiful youth was later to make a vivid impression, as his body was highlighted by brownish-red and ochre colours, with his hair, eyes and pubic region also coloured. The superb moulding of the flesh, the delicate rendering of detail and the carefully-worked hair show that the artist was not concerned solely with the size of the work, but also with its quality. Other sponsors of the era, mainly wealthy landowners proclaiming the prestige and financial well-being of their family, must have erected their dedications of analogous height with the same pride, as shown by the fragmented colossus exhibited in the same Museum (550-40 BC). Its head, with carefully dressed hair, a sweet smile and Levantine sensuality, sings the beauty of Samian archaic art in the Istanbul Museum, to which fate brought it sometime in the past.

ON PAGES 271-273: *Torso of a kouros, dedicated by Leukios to Apollo, according to the inscription on the left thigh of the statue. From the vicinity of the Artemision in Glyfada. 560 BC.*





Vertical inscriptions in an ancient script, possibly Sumerian or Akkadian, located on the central part of the stone sculpture.













A typical example of Samian art at its peak is the kouros with an inscription carved on his left thigh saying: *Leukios dedicated me to Apollo* (circa 560 BC). Considering that such inscriptions, highlighted in colour, would be quite conspicuous and constitute a substantial and integral part of the composition, one can understand how modern aesthetic sensibilities differ from those of ancient times on such works, which were closely associated with religious sentiment. The work was found in the vicinity of Mikri Glyfada. The identification of the sanctuary of Artemis on the same site provides convincing evidence that the statue had been dedicated in the Artemision or, even more likely, that Apollo was co-worshipped with his sister in the same sanctuary. With its smooth surfaces and delicate flesh, this characteristic work of Samian and Ionian sculpture differs visibly from its contemporary Attic brothers, who worked out in the gyms of Athens where they developed more rigorously-trained bodies and accentuated musculature. Similar Samian features can be found in the same museum on small, fragmentarily preserved works, as well as on the kouros from the North Necropolis of the ancient city. As shown by the deterioration of its surface, it must have decorated the tumulus containing the body of a hapless youth (540-530 BC) for a long period of time. The statue of a young man holding a sacrificial animal in front of his chest that was found on the bridge of Myloi (540-530 BC) constituted a variation of the kouros type. With his tender but powerful body and finely-dressed hair, he is considered the earliest work by the great sculptor Geneleos.

*Torso of a kouros from Chora. The “unsuccessful” horizontal creases in the abdominal region may have resulted from an effort to render the lush flesh characteristic of many works of Samian statuary. 530-520 BC.*



The form of works in the second half of the 6th cent. BC is indicated by the kouros from Mesokampos (540-530 BC), with his trained, slender body, clean surfaces and broad chest, who “looks as though he has just taken a deep breath”, according to Ernst Buschor. The Cycladic influences recognised in the shaping of the work remind us of the artistic exchanges and invitations to foreign artists that were in favour during the period of Polycrates’ tyranny. The fragmentary trunk of a kouros from Chora (530-540 BC) belongs to approximately the same period, with its “unsuccessful” horizontal creases above the pubic region, that have been attributed to later interventions in the work, but nevertheless constitute a feature, as evidence of the abundant flesh characteristic of certain works of east Ionian and Samian sculpture.

The evolution of the type on Samos in the late 6th cent. BC is shown by the kouros from the Sacred Way (c. 500 BC), with its soft, fluid outlines and the grace of Ionian sculpture. The solid organisation of its structure and the more realistic rendering of volumes, with the clean treatment of the abdominal area and the pubic triangle, make it a precursor of the influence that was to come from the West (Cyclades, Attica) and would eliminate the special features of the various local workshops. It is to this stage that the torso of a youth (490-480 BC) belongs, with its more marked movement and innovative moulding especially in the abdominal area, which gives us a picture of Samian sculpture in the early 5th cent. BC, a period that vacillated between the archaic and classical, known as the Severe Style. Regarding the famous asymmetrical pose (*contrapposto*) characteristic of works such as the Kritios boy and the Blonde boy from the Athens Acropolis –where the body weight is borne on one leg, while the other is casually placed behind– that sparked a real revolution in the moulding of the body, the Samian contemporary of the Athenians has grasped very little.

Of particular interest is the youth dressed in a chiton and himation found at Cape Fonias (550 BC) who appears to be standing on tiptoe, lifting his himation in what has been described as an almost imperceptible dance movement. The head with the Eastern features, the short, stout neck and heavy proportions initially caused scholars to believe that the work had originated on the Asia Minor coast opposite, perhaps specifically in Miletus. But its find spot on a site to which it would have been extremely difficult to transport it from somewhere else, and near which a rich necropolis has recently been found, has convinced us that the work is an interesting Samian creation, which may once have adorned the grave of a young man from the Samian aristocracy. To the same type belongs part of the upper torso of a colossal bearded figure from Potokaki, with long hair and a lavish beard, that would have been about twice life size (second half of the 6th cent. BC). The type of a man with rich attire and the moulding of the portly face and body indicate a different ideal of stately personal appearance that is fitting for the more refined lifestyle of the comfortable aristocrats of wealthy Ionia, a way of life far removed from the Attic “nude” ideals, but especially popular in Ionia and in the Samian colonies of Thrace. The many terracotta figurines from the Heraion and the city (mainly the Artemision) represent the typical output of Samian statuary, and all belong to the same type, the creation of which is attributed to Geneleos, the sculptor genius of the mid-6th cent. BC.

In contrast with the nude kouros, the modest kore is always depicted dressed in a chiton (tunic) and himation (mantle). All extant statues of this type have come from the Heraion. The oldest representation of a kore (630-620 BC) has been preserved in a fragmentary state in the Vathy Museum. Its coarse-grained gray marble and style make it probably attributable to a Naxian workshop. The figure, with its roughly shaped torso, triangular face and what little hair has been preserved, organised in standardised vertical curls (*Etagenperücke*), is rendered in the Daedalic style.



The statue (570-560 BC) that was found in 1984 in the Heraion and is two generations younger than the Daedalic kore is one of the most important finds of recent decades. Its astonishing similarity to the famous Hera of Cheramyes, which has been in the Louvre Museum since 1879, and the discovery of their common base show that these two works belonged to the same group. The inscription *Cheramyes dedicated me, a pleasing gift, to Hera* carved along the vertical hem of her cloak confirms the relationship between the two statues. The rendering of the torso as a cylindrical shape is characteristic, an old Samian artistic tradition reminiscent of the ancient wooden cult statue (*xoano*) of Hera. With exceptional skill, however, the artist suggests the living body under the clothing, as well as the difference in texture between the coarse himation and the finer chiton.

The type of the kore in all its spare beauty can be seen on two female figures, *Philippe* and *Ornithe*, that have been preserved from Geneleos' striking monument. Both these korai are gracefully drawing aside the collected pleats of their garment, as though preparing to take a step forward. Their names are carved on the folds of their clothing. The charming gesture of lifting the garment is not the only innovation introduced by this most significant Samian sculptor of the mid-6th cent. BC, whose work influenced all the artists of the generation that followed. The other figures that have been preserved from the group include: that of the Levantine father-patron, indolently semi-reclining on a mat as though attending a symposium, a figure that inspired many imitations in marble, miniature art and bronze statuary; the stately figure of the mother seated on a throne, and, in fragmentary form, the figure of a youth clad in a chiton and himation, the earliest known type of a dressed youth in all Ionian sculpture, another unprecedented depiction that became very popular. All their names are carved on their clothing together with the inscription *Geneleos made us*. Ionian grace is likewise shown, in varying degrees, by other works in the same museum, such as the kore from the mid-6th cent. BC and the korai that were found in the vicinity of the village of Myloi and belong to the third quarter of the century. The former –wearing a belted *chiton*, short himation and *epiblema*, a wrap that also covered the head– lifts her chiton with her right hand, in the type of the korai of Geneleos, while in her left she is holding a bird to her breast. The latter is wearing a multi-pleated chiton and a shawl covering her head and back, like the Cheramyes kore. The rich folds of the garments show the influences of Attic and island workshops.

Among the other works, the large statue of a seated male figure is of exceptional interest; it was dedicated to Hera, according to the inscription carved on the right side of the throne, by Polycrates' father Aeaces, son of Brychon, in about 540 BC. The full body with the smooth, rich flesh typical of Samian archaic art can also be seen on the youth from Cape Fonias, with which this work presents other similarities, as well as on the reclining male figure in the Geneleos group, and reminds us of the voluptuous way of life enjoyed by the Samians in the years of the city's heyday and at feasts in the Heraion.

To the same spirit also belongs the truncated sculpture with the himation falling obliquely across the left shoulder, leaving the torso nude, surely the youthful figure of a deity or mythical hero. The most interesting feature of this work is the richly-dressed and life-like hair that cascades down his back like a thick veil of beautiful wavy curls, typical abundant Samian hair like that sung by the Samian poet Asios in the known excerpt preserved by Athenaeus.

Many representations of animals have come to light, including the lion from the area of the West Necropolis (third quarter of the 6th cent. BC), a characteristic example of eastern Ionian art, which is depicted lying down, with legs stretched out in front, its head turned toward the viewer and its mane providing a decorative frame for a snout



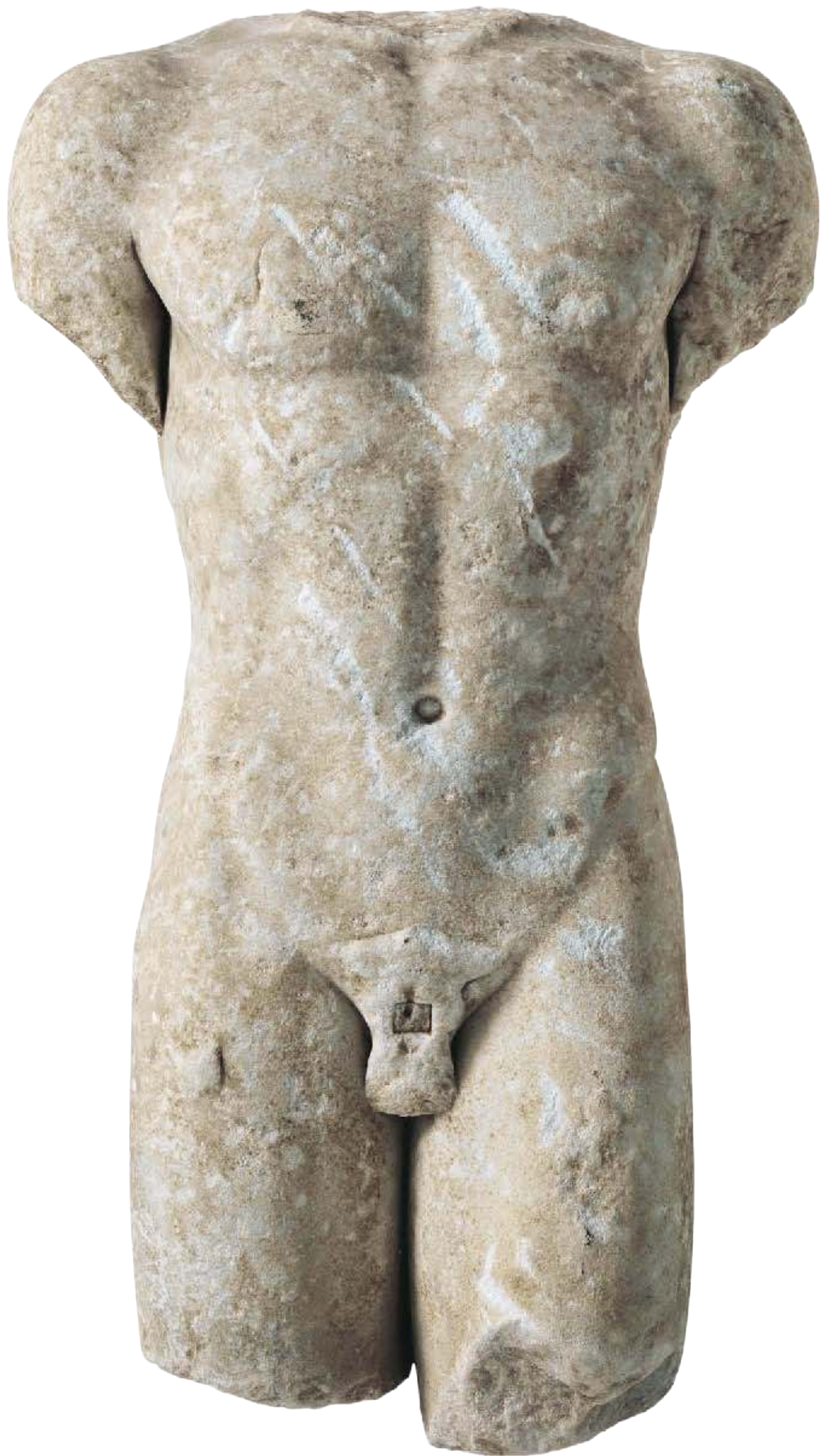
that has since been destroyed. Given the tension indicated by the marked curve of the belly and turn of the head, this splendid animal must have appeared to be on vigilant watch over the grave on which it had most likely been placed, somewhere along the edge of the Sacred Way. Such works must have impressed the coroplasts of the period, who copied them frequently, as indicated by the marvellous Samian clay figurine from the Artemision and other figurines of lions dating from the third quarter of the 6th cent. BC. The influences of great sculpture can likewise be discerned in the countless bronze creations of miniature art that complement the evolution of Samian sculpture in the 6th cent. BC. These small but superb works were anything but scorned by the Samians, who dedicated them proudly to the gods, as shown by the inscriptions incised on them. Such votive offerings included the kouroi of Smikros with their richly dressed hair, the exquisite little horsemen, the large kore and a multitude of other small masterpieces.

The sculptural creations of the Samians likewise included a unique series of refined stone grave stelai, with superb palmette finials, chiefly from the Western Necropolis, which rival in artistic value the fine work achieved in the decoration of the first great temple of Rhoecus in the Heraion. The last works of the type, carved in Samian marble, follow the innovations introduced when construction works began on Polycrates' great new temple, which was destined never to be completed.



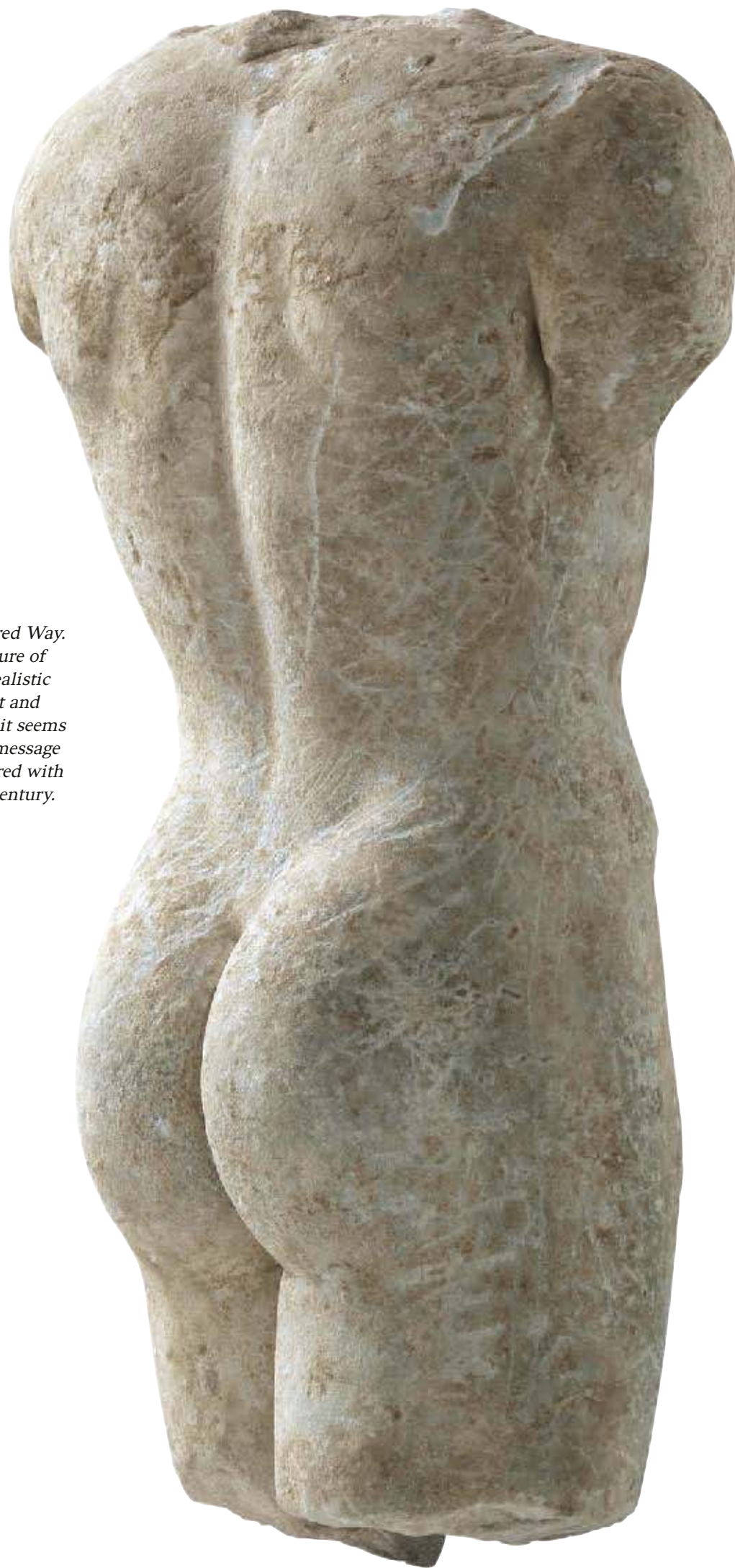
*Torso of a kouros from Mesokampos. The well-trained, slim body, broad chest and different shaping of the abdomen indicate Cycladic influences. 540-530 BC.*



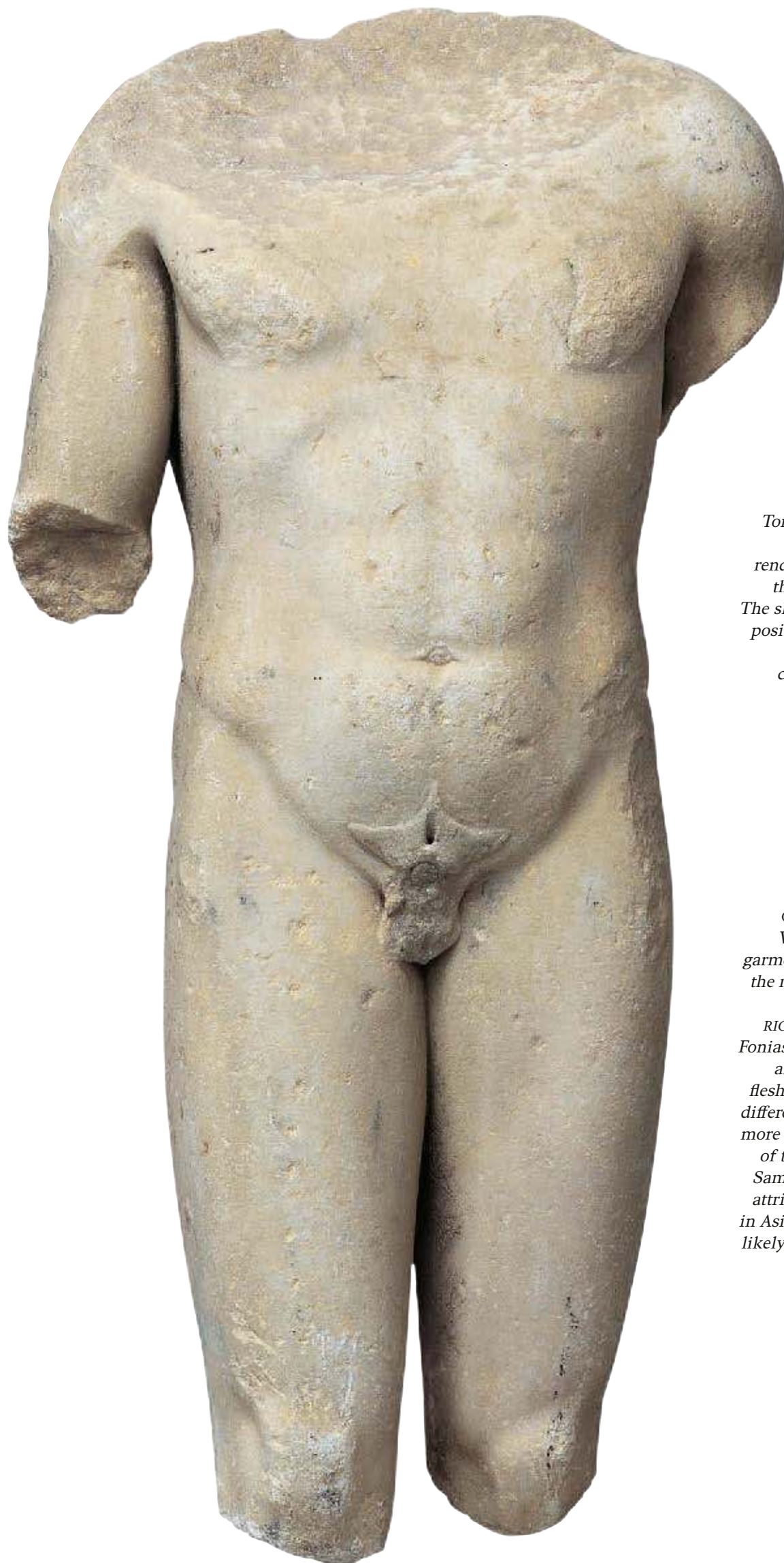




*Kouros from the Sacred Way.  
With the solid structure of  
the body and more realistic  
rendering of the chest and  
abdominal volumes, it seems  
to have received the message  
of change that appeared with  
the dawn of the 5th century.  
Circa 500 BC.*







*Torso of a youth from the Heraion.  
The strong body and marked  
rendering of the musculature tell us  
that this statue depicts an athlete.  
The shaping of the body and the freer  
position of the arms are reminiscent  
of the sculpted features of early  
classical art, that of the so-called  
Severe Style. 490-480 BC*

*ON PAGE 281, LEFT: Torso of a kore.  
With her right hand she lifts her  
garment in the manner first taught in  
the mid-6th cent. BC by the sculptor  
Geneleos. 550-540 BC.  
RIGHT: Statue of a youth from Cape  
Fonias. The figure, dressed in a chiton  
and himation, with the abundant  
flesh of the face and body, presents a  
different personal appearance and the  
more refined way of life characteristic  
of the aristocrats of Ionia, to which  
Samos belongs. The work is usually  
attributed to some Ionian workshop  
in Asia Minor; nevertheless it is more  
likely to have been created on Samos.  
550-540 BC.*









*Part of the upper torso of a youthful figure clad in a himation, probably a god or a hero. The waves cascading down the back have been superbly rendered. The Samians loved long hair and groomed it, especially for feasts and ceremonial processions, as can be seen from the poetic descriptions and representations that have been preserved. 530-520 BC.*



*Figure enthroned, dedication by Aeaces to the goddess Hera, according to the inscription on the left side of the throne. From Kastro hill. 540 BC.*



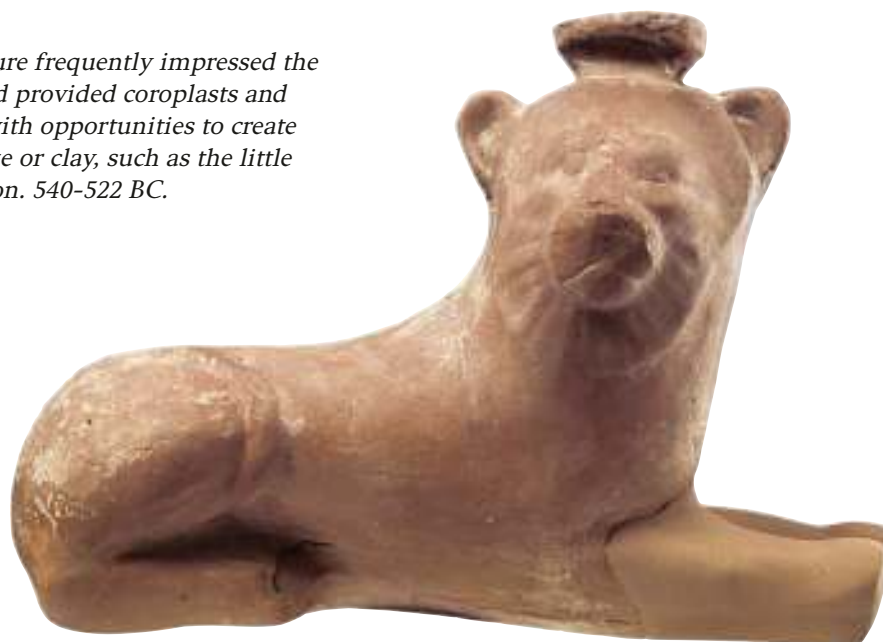




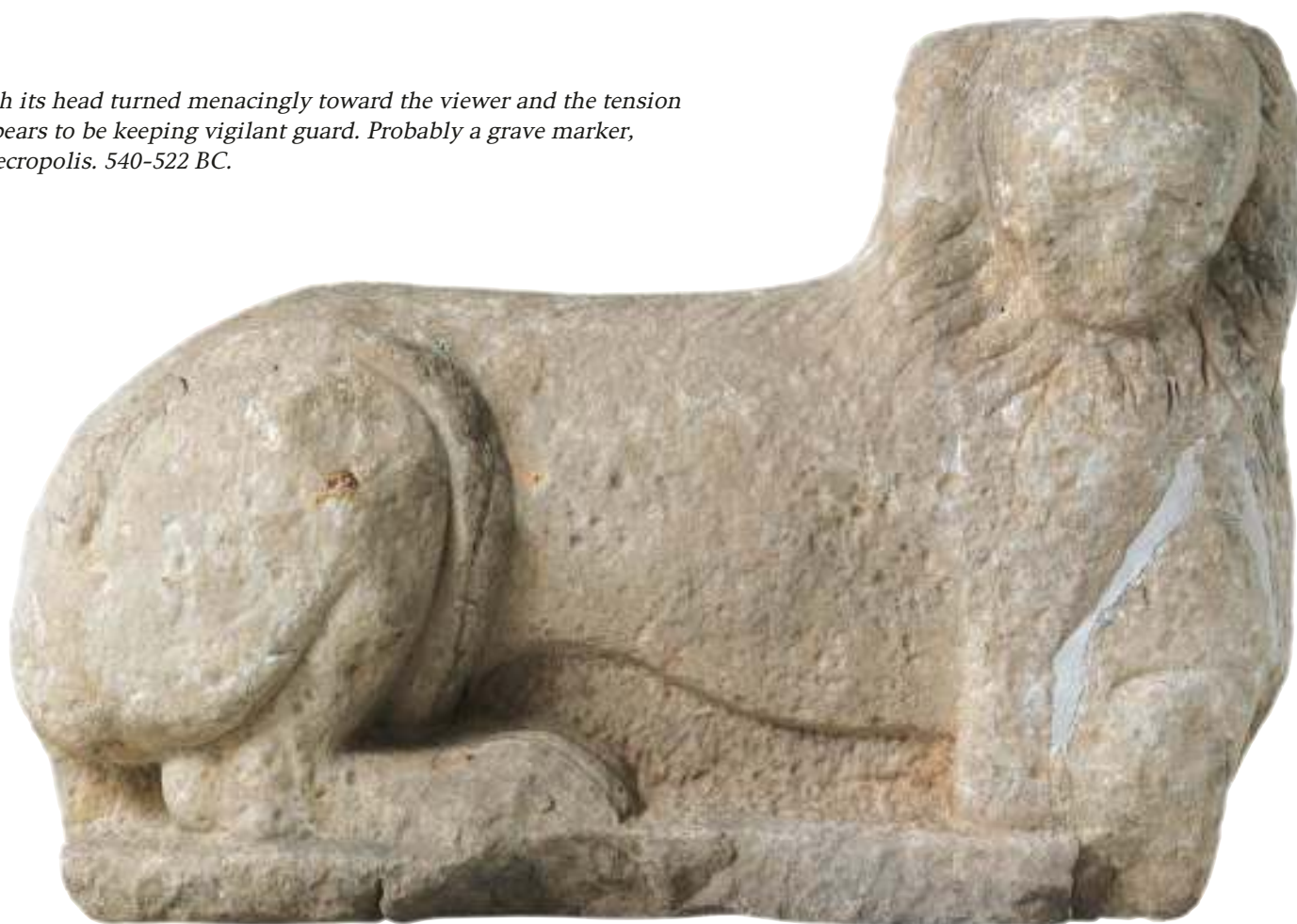


ON PAGE 284: *Upper torso of a kore. In her left hand she was holding an object to her breast. 570-560 BC.*

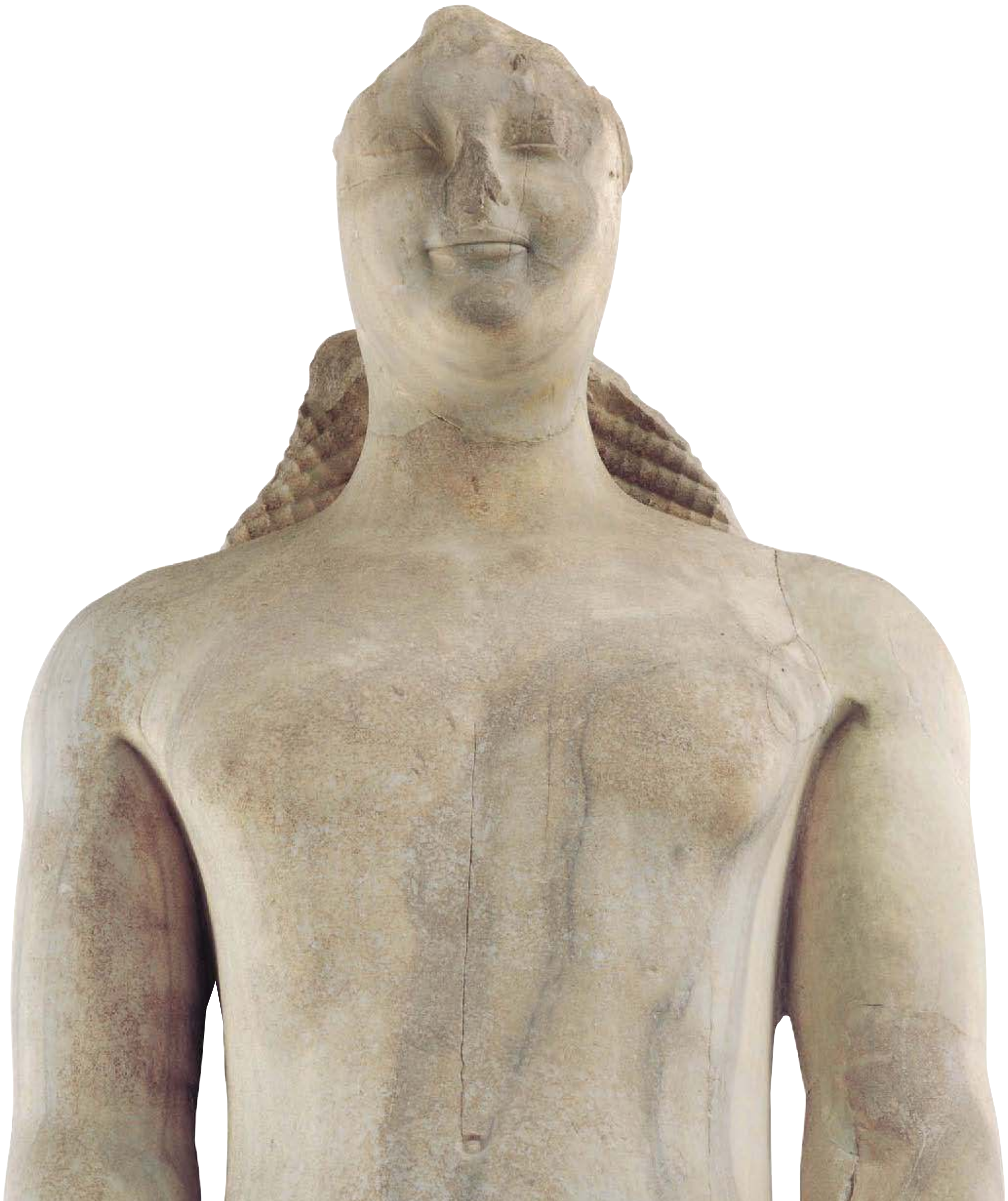
*Works of large-scale sculpture frequently impressed the creators of miniature art and provided coroplasts and ornamental metalworkers with opportunities to create small masterpieces in bronze or clay, such as the little clay lion from the Artemision. 540-522 BC.*



*Marble lion. With its head turned menacingly toward the viewer and the tension in its body, it appears to be keeping vigilant guard. Probably a grave marker, from the West Necropolis. 540-522 BC.*











ON PAGES 286-293: *The colossal marble kouros (4.80 m.), pride of the Vathy Museum, which is almost three times larger than life-size, was erected together with other, equally enormous youths along the Sacred Way, to proclaim the power and financial status of its dedicator. The desire for ostentation is visible in the inscription*

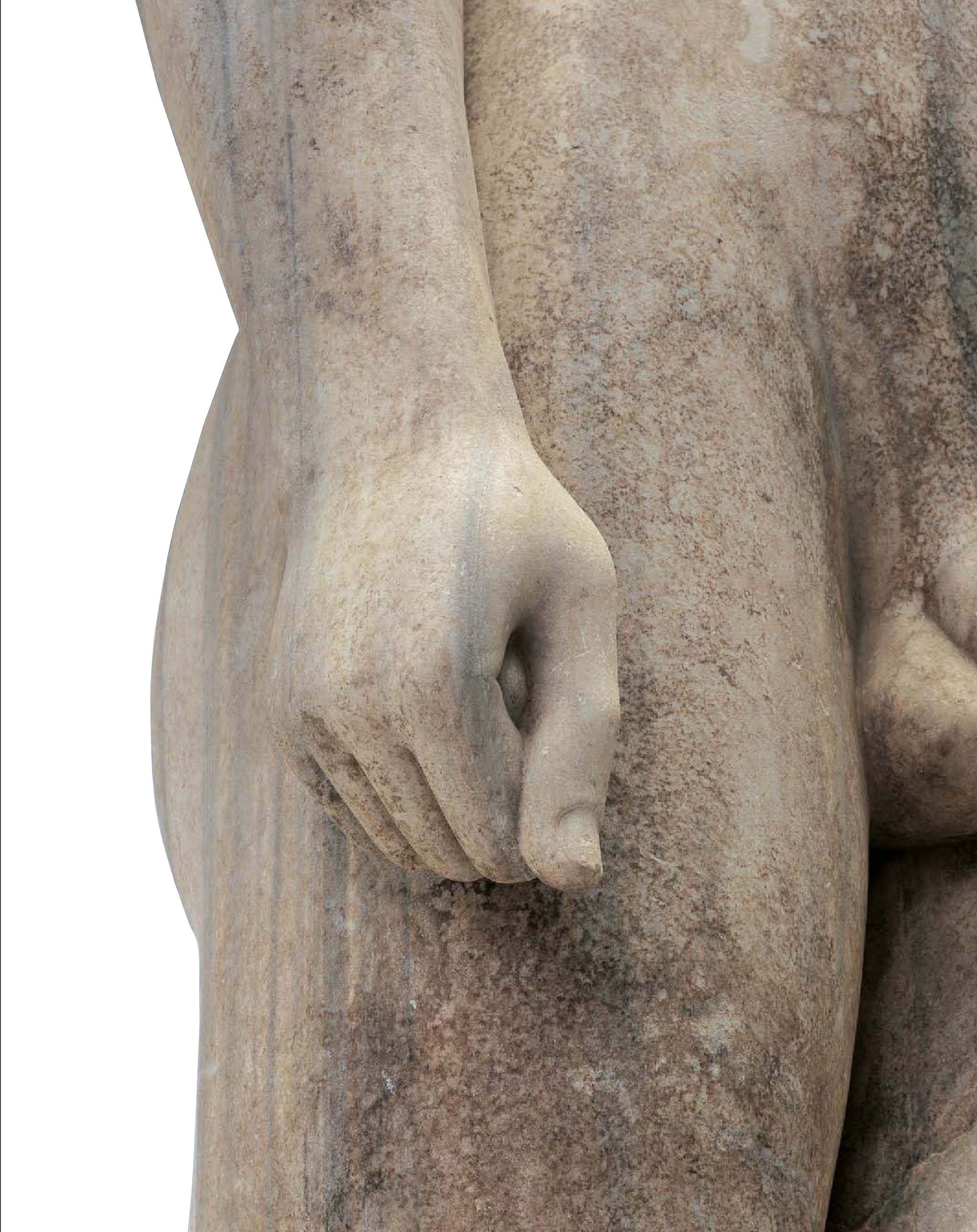
ΙΣΧΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ Ο ΡΗΣΙΟΣ

*(Isches, son of Rhesios, dedicated me), which was incised conspicuously on the leg of the statue. Exceptional work by a Samian artist on Samian marble. 580 BC.*

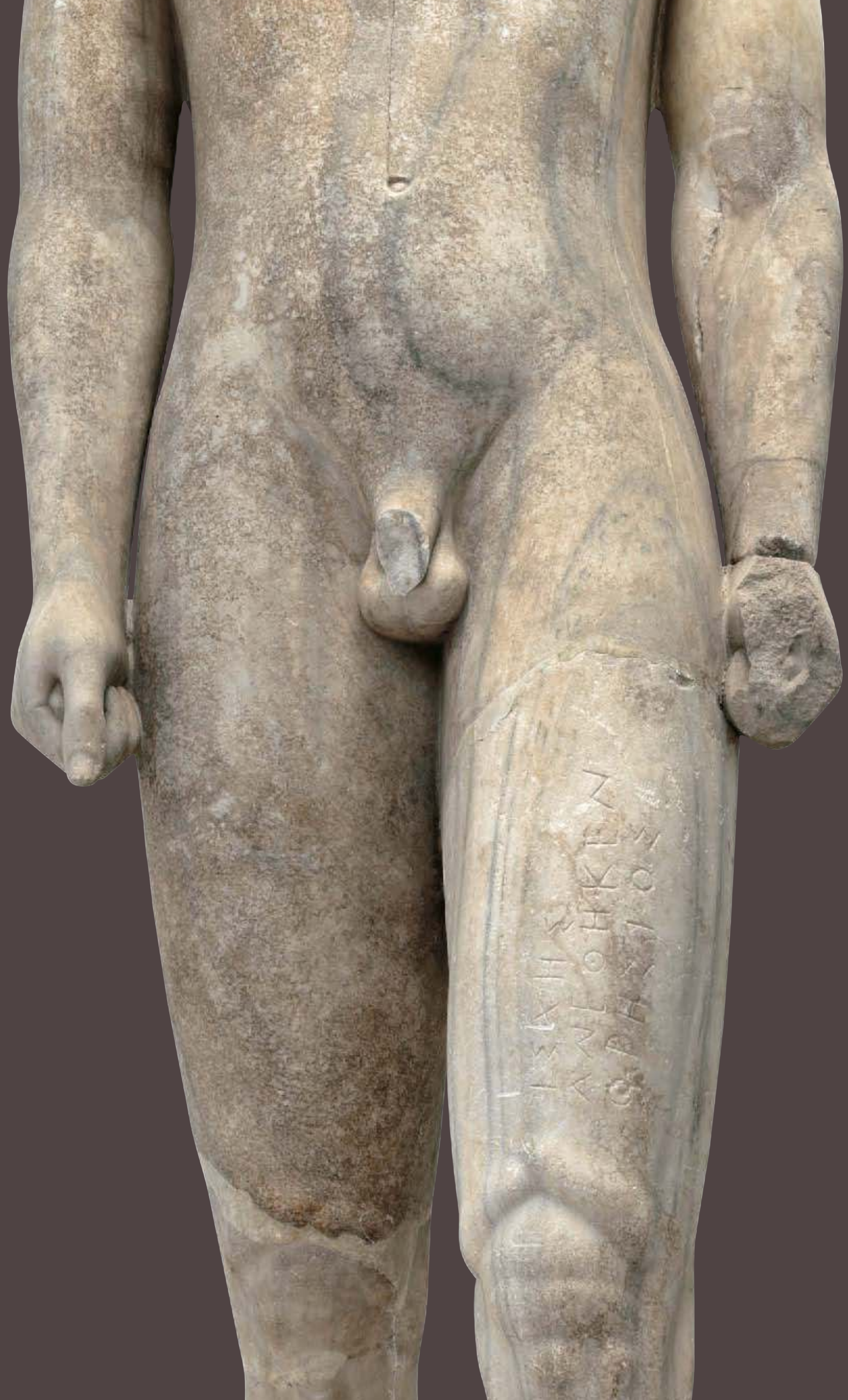












ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝ  
ΑΝΤΙΣΤΗΝ  
ΑΝΤΙΣΤΗΝ















GRAVE STELAI IN THE SEVERE STYLE  
WITH A RELIEF SCENE

After the Persian wars, conditions in Greece changed and sculpture followed new paths. A closed group of fragmentarily preserved sculptures and fragments of grave stelai have been found on Samos, dating from the first decades of the 5th cent. BC. In terms of their type and theme, these works appear to have been influenced by the creative power of Attic sculpture in the *Severe Style*. They follow the Attic type of the known high, narrow stelai, and all seem to have been produced by a specific Samian workshop of exceptional quality and, as always, Ionian inspiration. They may have been crowned by a palmette, as were older Samian stelai. The scanty remains of the relief that have been preserved – a tenderly carved, delicately wrought hand in an elegant movement, and a wonderfully moulded fragment with the abdomen and buttocks of a standing youthful figure that are flanked by the well-organised soft pleats of clothing – exude the same high quality as the other creations of the island’s late archaic sculpture and represent its transition from the archaic period to the 5th cent. BC.



*A small fragment, a delicately worked hand, retains all the magic of a superb creation. 480-460 BC.*





*Small fragment of a grave stele from a “closed” group of works of exceptional quality from the early 5th cent. BC, showing a strong Attic influence. 480-460 BC.*



The repercussions of the rivalry between Athens and Samos in the 5th and 4th cent. BC were visible in art as well, where Attic works were strongly dominant. The introduction of Attic pottery to Samos is associated with the settlement of Athenian cleruchs on the island after 365 BC.

Examples of classical Attic pottery of the 5th and 4th cent. BC, with figures or partial scenes, have been found to date in excavations inside the ancient city limits and in particular in the centre of its urban fabric. Mostly black-glazed pottery for daily use has been found, with impressed decoration of palmettes on the bottom of open vessels, kylikes of the bolsal type, kantharoi, prochoi and lamps.

More important still are the finds from the cemeteries of the ancient city and the countryside, such as the black-glazed hydria from the first half of the 4th cent. BC and some high quality red-figure vases. Also of interest are: the bell-krater from the Kazania site in the village of Mytilinii (350-340 BC), the amphora, white lekythoi and kylikes from the Papavangeliniou site in Mavratzei, which dealers in illicit antiquities unfortunately robbed from the storerooms of the Greek Archaeological Service in 1990.

Limited numbers of clay vases of the period have been found in the Heraion, such as sherds of kraters with red-figure scenes. Of particular importance is the sherd of a black-figure vase which, according to the incised inscription *HPA*, had been dedicated to the Mother Goddess.

When the Samians returned from exile after 322 BC, local imitations of this style were produced, but could not compare with the high quality of the Attic works. Examples of classical art included bronze vessels, such as the hydria from the Mesokampos region dating to the second half of the 5th cent. BC with an ovolo moulding around the rim.

The local production of figurines declined. The few works of monumental sculpture from the classical period that have been found on Samos are among the masterpieces of the period. The most important such works include the group of three bronze figures dedicated to Hera and created by the artist Myron from Attica. It stood in a prominent place in the sanctuary, a superb votive offering of statuary from the classical period.

*Attic black-glazed kantharoi. From the ancient city. 350-300 BC.*





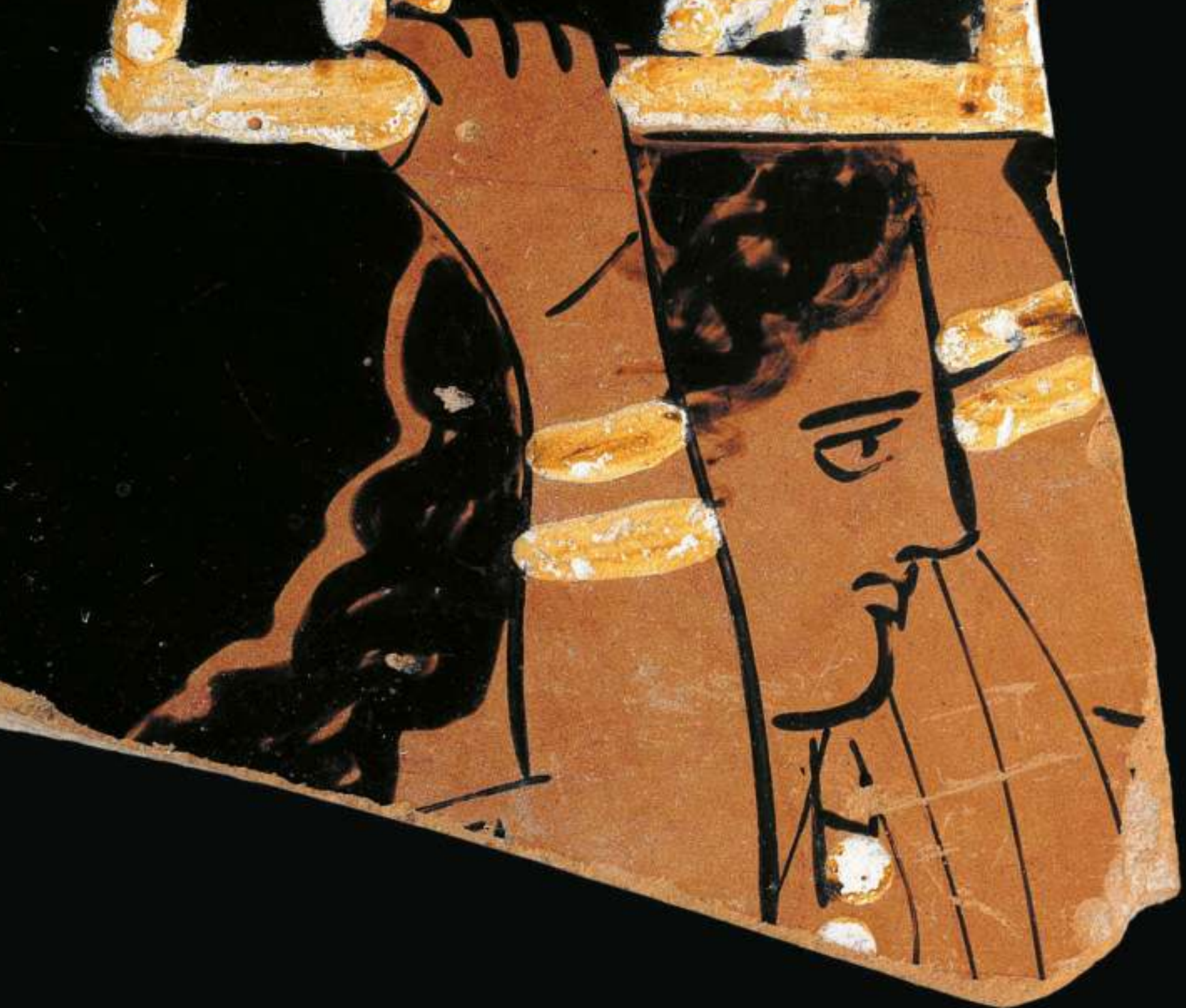


*Sherd of a red-figure lekythos. Imported from Attica and found in the Heraion. Classical period.*



*Attic black-glazed small prochous. From the ancient city. 400-350 BC.*





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*Sherds of red-figure kraters, from the ancient city and the Heraion. They were brought from Attica by the cleruchs when they moved to Samos after the island was captured by Timotheos in 365 BC. The pottery of the period that has been found on Samos is of limited quantity but high quality. 350-340 BC.*









The momentous changes recorded in the early 5th cent. BC after the victories against the Persians at Marathon and Salamis also influenced art. The flourishing of sculpture in Athens, owing to the collective presence there of the greatest artists of the period, exerted a powerful influence on the various local workshops. Very few works from the classical period have been preserved on Samos. Because most of them were bronze, such as the famous votive offering in the Heraion depicting the apotheosis of Heracles, a work by the Athenian sculpture Myron, they were either taken to Rome or melted down in later years to meet the enormous demand for the metal. This is why the few works from the Heraion and the city that have survived are so valuable.

Particularly significant is the large relief from Chora on which the right side of a stele from the late 5th cent. BC has been preserved bearing the scene of a standing nude youth holding a pyxis in front of a seated figure that has been almost entirely lost. Also influenced by Attic art is the composition of the scene, in which scholars have discerned the impact of Polykleitos, even though the expressive vocabulary with the delicate folds of the clothing on the seated figure and smooth moulding of the surfaces is Ionian.

The beautiful head found in 1976 in the Heraion belonged to an athlete and is an original work of exceptional quality. As suggested by the fillet that adorns the hair, the head belongs to a lost, smaller-than-life-size statue of an athlete that was erected in the sanctuary of the goddess on the occasion of his victory in the Heraian or panhellenic games. The work is attributed to an Ionian, probably Samian artist. The treatment of the hair and other features suggests influences from the creations of the famous sculptor Polykleitos who was then (third quarter of the 5th cent. BC) at the pinnacle of his fame in Greece. Statues of the island's athletes who had won races in the Heraian games or in panhellenic contests at Olympia and elsewhere were erected in the Heraion, as we learn from inscriptions in the sanctuary.

The fine torso of an athlete from the Heraion, which has been dated to the late 5th cent. BC, is one of the very few original works of Ionian art from the classical period that have been found to date on Samos. The moulding and support of the torso show the influence of Polykleitos and the principles of *contrapposto* established by that Argive artist.

Directly related to Athenian works in terms of their subject matter are the two marble *loutrophoroi* in the hall of the necropolises, dating from the mid-4th cent. BC. At least one of them, as shown by the inscriptions, must have belonged to a cleruch's grave, whereas the second is associated with Karyanda in Iassos Bay. To the same period belongs the seated female figure from the large funeral relief on local marble, depicting the *dexiosis*, a scene of farewell to the dead known from Athenian grave stelai, which has been partly preserved. It is attributed to a local artist who failed to render certain plastic details successfully, especially the folds of the garment under the left arm. The female head with the hair pulled back high dating to the late 4th cent. BC also belonged to a grave relief. Outside the Samian tradition is the palmette of a high quality grave stele with special features, which stands in the row of Athenian palmettes from the mid-4th cent. BC.

The marble lion from the Chora plain, probably created by an Attic workshop after the mid-4th cent. BC, as indicated by its similarity to works from Athens, appears to have adorned the grave of an Athenian cleruch.





*Head of a statue in honour of a young athlete. Ionian-Samian work of exceptional quality. 430-420 BC.*



*Large sepulchral relief from Chora. In this splendid nude with his radiant youth, scholars have discerned the influence of the Polykleitos of Argos, despite which the work is a product of the Ionian artistic tradition. Late 5th cent. BC.*









ON PAGE 304: *Torso of a young man, an original work of the classical period, from the last decades of the 5th cent. BC. Scholars discern the influence of Polykleitos and the principles of contrary movement (contrapposto) that were established by this Argive artist.*

*Grave stele from the Chora plain. The seated figure of the dead woman has been preserved. The composition is strongly reminiscent of Attic stelai, although its execution is attributed to a local workshop. Last quarter of the 4th cent. BC.*







*Two marble sepulchral loutrophoroi. Their origin and dating to just before 350 BC associates them with the Athenian cleruchs in the period of Timotheos. Likewise arguing in favour of this reading are the names of the dead incised on one of them (page 307). The dead person on the other, however, comes from Karyanda in Caria.*









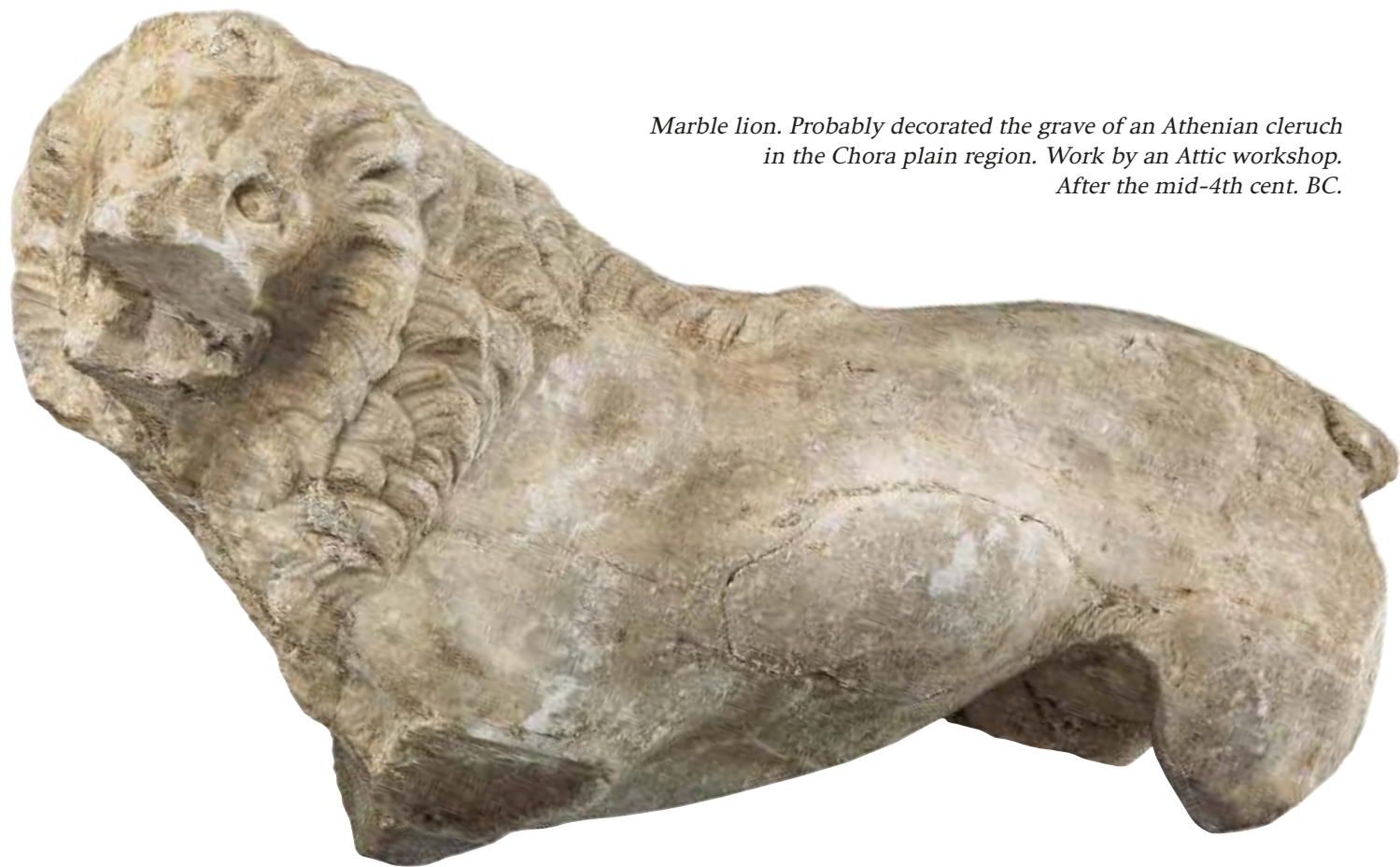




*Palmette crowning of a marble grave stele. The rarity of this type on Samos and its similarity to Attic stelai of the 4th cent. BC allow us to correlate it with the Athenian cleruchs of Timotheos. 350-330 BC.*




*ON PAGE 308: Fragment of a marble grave stele with the head of a young woman. From the vicinity of the Sacred Way. Late 4th cent. BC.*



*Marble lion. Probably decorated the grave of an Athenian cleruch in the Chora plain region. Work by an Attic workshop. After the mid-4th cent. BC.*

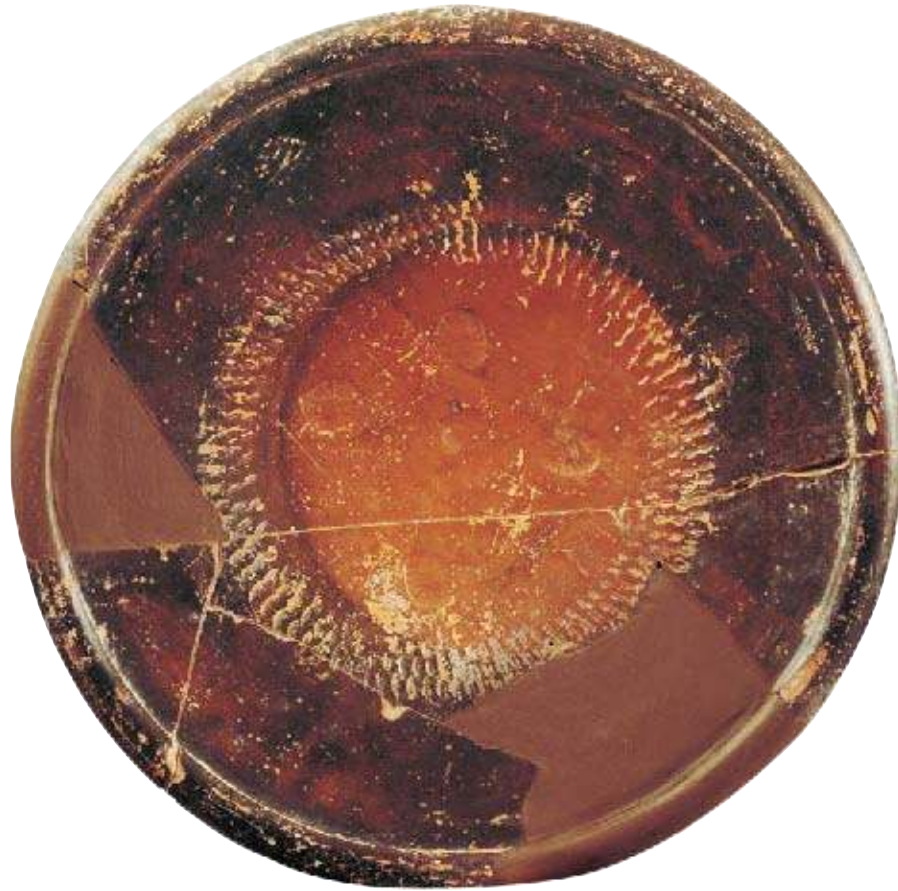


The new conditions that came into being after the conquests of Alexander the Great, with the creation of populous centres (Alexandria, Antioch, etc.) and the unprecedented growth of older ones (Ephesus, Miletus, etc.), together with the accumulated wealth and growing needs and demands of the inhabitants of large cities and elsewhere, generated enormous growth in the transit trade. In addition to the consumer goods – oil, wine, grains, fabrics, leather etc. – that were bought and sold, there was also increased trade in ceramic products. The old, slow methods of making carefully-processed pots of exceptional quality could no longer satisfy the growing demand. Alongside the output of the potter's wheel, new, cheaper and easier ways were devised to make pots in moulds, that no longer required artisans with special skills and experience. These new production methods resulted in the declining quality of their products. Even at the beginning of the period, alongside the high quality black-glazed tableware imported mainly from Athens, imitations are found that had been made in local, island and Asia Minor workshops (Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamon, etc.). Alongside the old vase shapes, new ones were created: stemless kantharoi, the spindle-shaped perfume cruets (*fusiform unguentaria*) characteristic of the age, and pyxides; as well as shapes such as half-skyphoi with relief decoration, prochoi, kylikes, phialai, etc. that copy the precious gold and silver vessels used at royal symposia. Despite the fact that these shapes, with their angular outlines, thin walls and complex handles, are unsuited to clay, they nevertheless create the illusion of a stylish life, the search for which was characteristic of the age. There was a vast trade in perfumes, sold in special clay or later glass bottles, and lead white for cosmetic purposes, but also wine in amphoras with the names of manufacturers and archons stamped on their handles, thereby facilitating their dating and attribution to specific production sites. There was a very lively trade in skyphoi with relief decoration by known ceramic workshops, such as that of Menemachos, of Monogramma  and other imitators of the style, as well as lamps and tableware. Most vessels of this type were manufactured in workshops on Samos, and indeed many have been identified as export products in excavations conducted in various other cities and islands of the Aegean.

Inside a well that was investigated in 1972 in the vicinity of the Ancient Agora, on the north side of the processional way leading from the port to the West Gate and the Heraion, many vases and household utensils were found intact, together with other objects (clay figurines, metal vessels, etc.) but also thousands of sherds and large pieces of pots from which many hundreds of objects have been re-assembled. This material, which as shown by study, appears to have been thrown away at some point into the well, provides a comprehensive picture of the pottery in use at that moment in time. The find belongs chronologically to the second half of the 2nd cent. BC, although some objects could date to the early decades of the 1st cent. BC.

The damage sustained by the objects, the incisions, especially of a  $\Delta$  on some vessels, and the soot on the lamps show that they had been in use over a fairly long period. They are more likely to have come from a public building than a sanctuary; in any event this material was not found in a pottery workshop or a store, which one might have expected in this district on the boundary of the marketplace and not far from the Ancient Agora square.





*Black-glazed plate with impressed decoration. Hellenistic period.*



*Skyphoid kylix of the Kos-Cnidus type with West Slope-style decoration. 2nd cent. BC.*





*Skyphoi with relief decoration from workshops of the east Ionian region. 2nd cent. BC.*



*Red-glazed hemispherical skyphos and a large red-glazed "Pergamene" plate. With their exceptional quality and thin walls in imitation of precious metal vessels, they dominated international markets from the late 2nd cent. BC on.*







Typical pots of the late Hellenistic period. 2nd-1st cent. BC.  
From top to bottom: The most easily recognised types are the unguentaria, scent bottles for everyday use, but also essential grave gifts. Vessels with relief decoration, especially hemispherical skyphoi, were particularly popular at symposia but also in tavernas in the ports, and became a major commercial product contributing to the development of the transit trade.

The elegant white lagynoi, with their delicate decoration and fine walls, are rarely found intact.







*The large numbers of heads from clay figurines that have come to light in the excavations of recent decades have provided information about women's hair styles in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.*







ON PAGES 316-317: Plangones, clay dolls of nude seated female figures. They were toys, especially for little girls, and were dedicated to female deities after the girls came of age. In the event of a premature death, they were placed as gifts in their graves. Hellenistic and Roman periods.

ON PAGES 318-319: Gods, Erotes, Nikes, Aphrodite and Athena, as well as common mortals, children, women and men: the clay figurines, or the heads alone that have been preserved, evoke a world left behind centuries earlier, but not lost. Hellenistic and Roman periods.

*Lamps coated with red glaze and vases with relief decoration are typical examples of early Roman pottery.*





















The monumental changes brought about by the conquests of Alexander the Great influenced the evolution of both Samian and Greek art in general. The island was now linked more closely with the cities of southwest Asia Minor, but for most of the period found itself in the orbit of the Rhodians and the Ptolemies of Egypt, and was subject to influences from the art of Rhodes and especially that of neighbouring Kos. The sculpture workshops of Samos were no longer in the vanguard, and even though they created some large and important works, continued to follow the east Ionian tradition of producing sculptures primarily to meet the local demand. Several reliefs of gods have been attributed to local workshops, as have scenes of funeral banquets, grave stelai and more modest table supports, as well as miscellaneous implements of everyday use, of which the Samos museums possess a large collection. Regarding more “serious” works, such as statues and altars with relief decoration, it is not always easy to attribute them to specific workshops in the art circles of southwestern Asia Minor.

The affection for richly pleated garments, which was always marked in the Ionian region, was reinforced in the Hellenistic period by artists’ efforts to render the varying textures of fabrics naturalistically: the coarse himation with large unruffled waves of pleats and the finer chiton with its abundant thin folds and deep chiaroscuro. The gossamer materials from Kos were famous and highly popular. Typical examples of these trends can be observed on statues in the Samian museums. Two works in the Vathy Museum belong the late 3rd-early 2nd cent. BC: a magnificent priestess and the even larger, himation-clad female figure that appears to depict Hera. The statue of a Muse which, as indicated by her stance, was perhaps holding a kithara, is later, dating to 140 BC. The head and hands, worked separately, were fitted into a corresponding hollow.

To the last quarter of the 2nd cent. BC belongs another female figure dressed in a chiton and himation, in the type of the *Pudicitia* (the shy one), reminiscent of the famous terracotta Tanagra figurines with their thoughtful stance, which became fashionable again in the second half of the 2nd cent. BC, as the type was repeated on countless statues and reliefs from the Aegean. The same effort to achieve a faithful rendering of the texture and transparency of clothing can be seen on the small sculptures, fragments of which have been preserved in the Pythagorio Museum. A similar intention is indicated by the chromatic differentiation between fabrics and naked parts of the body and is achieved through the use of different-coloured marble on the same work, as can be seen on the figure of Iphigenia from a group depicting the maiden with Artemis in the same museum.

Depictions of clothed male figures representing men of letters, philosophers, poets or public figures were rare on Hellenistic Samos. One interesting example is a richly draped but headless statue whose missing head might possibly have given us the portrait of a philosopher (180 BC).

The brilliant works of the archaic and especially the classical period are always striking, with the result that innumerable copies, imitations and variations continued to be carved throughout the entire period, chiefly statues of deities, such as Artemis in the Rospigliosi type, Dionysus and Aphrodite or a Nymph, but also statuettes for household shrines. Among the latter is an Aphrodite – the goddess who, together with Dionysus, monopolises people’s interest in that period – and Artemis in the Ephesus type, its unusual appearance being associated with very ancient beliefs.



Towards the end of the Hellenistic period, charming works reminiscent of rococo became especially popular, such as the small groups depicting Aphrodite untying her sandal, accompanied by the provocative god Priapus or little Eros. In the same period, new trends and ideas appeared, the art of the portrait flourished, reflecting demands for realism and the individualist spirit of the times; genre themes such as plainness and old age became popular and of intense concern to artists. Classical works continued to inspire those who produced statues of private citizens or officials, as shown by the headless statue of a himation-clad figure in the type called the Small Herculaneum Woman.

The Roman conquest fostered the art of the portrait with the depiction of the subject's actual personal features, as expressed by the figure of a patrician in his Roman toga. The imperial portraits and statues erected on the occasion of an emperor ascending to the throne or paying a visit played a highly propagandistic role by declaring the emperor's presence, particularly in remote provinces where, in addition to respect, they also served over time to render worship. Emperors are usually represented either in a toga or *thorax* (breastplate) and arms, or in the figure of a god, of Zeus or Heracles, but sometimes also in heroic nudity, such as the enormous statue of Trajan in the Pythagorio Museum. Empresses are represented as Aphrodite, Hera and Demeter, but wearing the dress and coiffure of their own era. Many of the imperial portraits that were found in the palace buildings of Kastro on Samos have disappeared or were destroyed during the second world war. Those that remained constitute an interesting group expressing the classicism of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, enriched in the age of Trajan with realism and purity of line.



*Headless statue of a himation-clad female figure in the type of the Small Herculaneum Woman. The original, which has been attributed to the circle of Praxiteles in the second half of the 4th cent. BC, was especially popular during the imperial Roman period and frequently copied and re-worked. 2nd cent. AD.*



*Fragment of a marble group representing the goddess Artemis snatching the maiden Iphigenia from certain death, at the moment she was to be sacrificed by her father Agamemnon to ensure favourable winds for his expedition to Troy. Interesting treatment of a Hellenistic work in a rare technique in which dark-coloured marble was used for the figures' clothing and white for the nude parts of their bodies. Roman Thermae. 2nd cent. AD.*



*Statue of Aphrodite – Nymph, with the himation tied around the hips, in the type of Aphrodite Anadyomene. The concavity was created in the pleats of the himation to support the bowl of the perrirranterion (lustral vessel) that completed the scene. 1st cent. BC-1st cent. AD.*









*Statue of Dionysus wearing a chiton and himation. Roman copy of a late classical work. Found together with Artemis (p. 325) under the Monastery of Spiliani. 2nd cent. AD.*





*Statue of Artemis in the type  
of Artemis Rospigliosi.  
Roman copy of a Hellenistic  
work of the 2nd cent. BC.  
2nd cent. AD.*





*Statue of Dionysus as a youth. The god, wearing a himation around his waist with his upper torso nude, is leaning his left elbow on a pillar in the form of a Caryatid. The work is a free rendering of classical models. 130-100 BC.*









*Statue of Artemis in the type of Artemis Rospigliosi. Roman copy of a Hellenistic work.  
From a local workshop, 2nd cent. AD.*





*The heads of statues found in excavations are rarely preserved, which is why it is fortunate that some heads of small-scale works in the Heraion have been saved. The little male head with the unfinished hair from the late 5th cent. BC naturally reminds us of the bronze group of Myron that dazzled visitors to the Heraion. Praxitelean influences can be seen on the female head (right) which, given the delicacy and gentility it exudes, is probably an original work of the period around 300 BC, rather than a Roman copy. The third female head can be compared with the multitude of corresponding heads from Samian figurines of the late 2nd cent. BC.*







*Parts of the statuettes of three female figures clad in a chiton and himation or peplos give us a picture of the pleating of women's clothing from the late 2nd to the late 1st cent. BC.*













*Lower part of the torso of a himation-clad male figure from the Hellenistic Gymnasium. Work of exceptional quality. Traces of the coloured decoration can be discerned on the folds of the himation. The inscription:*

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ  
ΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ  
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ.

*(Apollonides of Ephesus made me) has been preserved on the support base. Circa 100 BC.*



Pottery production declined in Roman times, since customers preferred luxury ware of silver, bronze and glass, the shapes of which are close imitations of contemporary clay vessels. The most characteristic pottery of the Roman period was manufactured using a new technique that produced ware with well-fired walls and a red glaze, known as *terra sigillata*.

By the end of the Hellenistic period, workshops had already begun producing tableware of yellow clay with a bright orange glaze. The older examples, known generally as eastern sigillata, or Pergamene ware, appeared first in the eastern Mediterranean (Asia Minor, Syria) and were disseminated very rapidly. They were initially produced in the second half of the 2nd cent. BC, and in the late 1st cent. BC. The output by Italian workshops of similar ware, the so-called western sigillata, i.e. the red-glazed Arretine ware (from Arezzo in Tuscany, where they were first made), was to enjoy great commercial success.

Their shape, with thin walls and angular joints, was influenced by metallic ware. Their relief decorations with leaves, guilloches and blossoms, as well as scenes from mythology or from daily life, especially erotic life, were made in moulds and applied later. The stamps impressed on the floor of these pots with the names of the potters or their clients are of interest as well. The vases known as Samian, owing to their hypothetical correlation with Samos, constituted one category of this type.

This style was to dominate all markets in the next two centuries, eliminating the black-glazed ware that had enjoyed customers' exclusive preference until then.

*Terra sigillata* plates and dishes were supplemented on the table by another characteristic category of tableware in the Roman period: fine, well-fired drinking vessels with very thin walls, cups with and without handles, and skyphoi with one or two handles, decorated with rouletting and barbotine, that likewise copied metal shapes (100 BC – 100 AD). The best examples are from Italy, but imitations from various local workshops soon appeared as well.

At the same time, some older types continued to be produced, such as the kylix with twisted handles in the Kos-Cnidus type, or the *lagynos* (flask), and the squat clay *lekythia* that adopted the shape of glass ones, and of course the essential pots for the kitchen, humble usually undecorated vessels for everyday use that were sold in large quantities by the local workshops.

New types of lamps appeared after the 1st cent. BC, on which the disk was made in a mould depicting entire scenes from mythology or daily life and love, with cupids and gods but also gladiators or warriors. The new lamps continued to be produced during the early Christian centuries, often from moulds that were so worn down that their images are hard to interpret. From the 3rd cent. on, Christian symbols began appearing in their decoration, the cross, the fish and the seven-branched lamp. The moulds with daring erotic scenes continued to be used indiscriminately on disks, even on lamps used in Christian cemeteries.



*The enormous statue of Trajan (98-117 AD) stands majestically in his heroic nudity. His head is among the most beautiful portraits of the emperor. His himation still retains traces of its painted decoration. The statue may have been erected to mark a possible brief stay by Trajan on Samos in 114 AD.*



*Marble altar in tribute to Hadrian (117-138). The emperor was honoured on Samos in many ways for his benefactions, among which was probably the Roman aqueduct that carried water to the city from the region of Myloi to cover its growing needs in the 2nd century.*





*Portrait of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD), from a statue of which only fragments have been found. Marvellous creation by a gifted sculptor working in the East Ionian tradition. This and the head of Claudius date to the mid-1st cent. AD, the period when Claudius was rebuilding the temple of Dionysus.*





*Portrait of the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD). A number of fragments that were found in the excavation of Kastro have been attributed to this statue.*





*Many portraits of emperors, such as (left) Tiberius (14-37 AD), and members of the imperial court such as Lucius Caesar (below) were found in the excavations at Kastro, but many others were lost during the Italian-German Occupation. Their existence in the palace buildings of Kastro shows how frequently distinguished people visited the island especially in the 1st century AD.*



*ON PAGE 339: Portrait of an imperial family member, or official of the imperial court (1st cent. AD).*











ON PAGE 340: Detail of an incompletely preserved portrait with the characteristic hair style of the Flavian era. The eyes of some other material were inlaid. Late 1st cent. AD.



Statue of a toga-clad Roman, perhaps a member of the imperial family. The toga was established in the age of Augustus as official dress for those who had the rights of a Roman citizen. The head that has been associated with it from the beginning may depict a prince or the young Nero. From the Roman villa on Kastro hill. 1st cent. AD.







# LIFE IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF SAMOS

## *Coins: The first Samian coinage and the Samian hoards*

The mint was probably established in the late 7th cent. BC. The first coins appeared on the soil of Asia Minor, in Ionia and Lydia, during the second half of the 7th cent. BC, and were made of a natural alloy of gold and silver called electrum. On one side of the coin was stamped either the symbol of the city or that of the archon who issued the coinage; on the other was an incuse square or rectangle. An electrum stater was the first coin minted on Samos, in about 600-550 BC, to be found in the Heraion. “In the excavations by professor Buschor, the east bank of the river that crosses the site was investigated. During these works, in addition to soil from earlier excavations, two archaic coins were found. One of them has been preserved in excellent condition. It is of electrum (white gold), oval in shape. On one side it bears two incuse rectangles produced by the same stamp. On the other, a scene or simply the grooves created on the edge of the coin when it was struck, as can happen on very ancient coins. Around the circumference of the coin there are scratches caused by faulty manufacture...”, as reported on 3 May 1965 by the late Curator of Antiquities, Barbara Philippaki, to the Antiquities Department.

Also of electrum were the coins in the earliest hoard found on Samos thus far, which its owner had hidden in 570-560 BC. The reason why these hoards were buried must be sought in historical and political events. This first archaic hoard was obviously hidden because of the turmoil created after the slaughter of the Geomoroi and the assumption of power by Syloson, ancestor of Polycrates.

At the end of the 6th century BC, silver tetradrachms were minted on the island bearing a lion's head and the prow of a Samian ship, probably a samaina. The main type of Samian coin bears on one side a lion's head – symbol of the city and a reminder of the lionskin that lay under the feet of Hera on her cult statue – and on the other a half-bull. Samos was the first Ionian city to strike coins with a pictorial representation on the verso at this early stage. The type continued to be produced until 439 BC and was discontinued after the city was subjugated by the Athenians.

*Detail of the remarkable ivory figurine of a youth that decorated a musical instrument. 7th cent. BC. (Pages 354-355).*





ABOVE AND BELOW: *The first Samian coin, an electrum stater, found in the Heraion. 600-550 BC.*



*Rhodian silver didrachm. From the ancient city. 394-304 BC.*



*Silver coin of Magnesia on the Meander. From the ancient city. 350-190 BC.*



*Bronze Samian coin issued by Ptolemy V Epiphanes. From the ancient city. 205/204 -180 BC.*



*Silver denarius from the reign of Augustus. 2 BC-11 AD.*

When the Samian mint resumed operation early in the 4th cent. BC, silver and bronze coins were produced.

The second hoard found on the island, which had been hidden in about 400 BC, consisted of silver coinage from Samos and is associated with the activity of Lysander in the region after Athens was defeated in the Peloponnesian War in 404-403 BC.

The third hoard consisted of 3,000 bronze Samian coins and was hidden in about 365 BC. Its burial is associated with the capture of Samos in 365 BC by Timotheos, son of Conon, and the settlement on the island of Athenian cleruchs.

The fourth hoard is associated with the same historical event and dates to about 320 BC; it consists of silver coins from Samos, Miletus, Ephesus, Magnesia on the Meander, Priene and the Hecatomnid region, because in 323-322 BC, the repatriation of the Samian exiles began.

The fact that the find-spot of these hoards of archaic, classical and Hellenistic origin is unknown has deprived scholarship of valuable data.





*Above the level of the tumuli in the Geometric Necropolis and below the floor of the room that may perhaps be related to the Hellenistic Gymnasium complex, an exiled Samian who was repatriated after 322 BC, following the decree issued by Alexander the Great, concealed a hoard of 27 silver coins inside a lead pyxis. The coins included didrachms from Samos, Magnesia on the Meander and Ephesus, drachmas from Miletus, didrachms and drachmas from Priene and drachmas issued by Maussollus.*

In 2001 however, during excavations in the Geometric Necropolis above the level of the tombs and beneath the paved floor of a room that may be related to the Hellenistic gymnasium complex, a hoard of 27 silver coins was found inside an undecorated cylindrical lead pyxis. The lid on the hoard was a phiale of the Achaemenid type, whose convex side is decorated with a relief scene of Aphrodite seated on a rock, accompanied by cupids and a swan. The hoard may have been assembled in Caria, as coins issued by Maussollus are encountered frequently in regions within the narrow domain of the Hecatomnids. The find consisted of 9 Samian didrachms, 2 didrachms of Magnesia on the Meander, 1 didrachm of Ephesus, 2 drachmas of Miletus, 2 didrachms and 7 drachmas of Priene and 4 drachmas of Maussollus. The latter are the oldest coins in the hoard.

The hiding of 27 silver coins on the site of the Gymnasium in the ancient city was probably related to the period of the supremacy of Ptolemy II, a fact that justifies the presence of coinage from the former Carian territory, as well as from cities in western Asia Minor. The hoard may have been concealed in the late 4th or early 3rd cent. BC







by a Samian exile who was repatriated after 322 BC under Alexander the Great's decree and followed the waves of exiles returning to Samos. He brought the coins back with him, a valuable acquisition during his sojourn in the Ionian cities, and thus supplied Samos with recently-issued Samian coins. Perhaps the political turmoil of the period of the successors, which also influenced the life of the Samians, or the fear that the Athenian colonists would return, obliged him to bury his treasure on the site of the Geometric Necropolis. The fact that this significant asset was hidden under the cover of this particular tomb is very likely related to the burial site of his ancestors. His hope that the future situation would permit him to recover his hoard appears not to have been fulfilled, either because of his sudden death or for some other very serious reason, which is unknown to this day. One such reason may have to do with the grand plans of the successors for the social, cultural and educational reorganisation of the ancient city, which included construction of the enormous organised athletic complex in the southwest part of the city. A large section of this luxurious facility was built on the site of the Geometric cemetery. Construction works probably began in the first decade of the 3rd cent. BC and thus prevented the owner of this precious treasure from entering the construction site and recovering it.

This find is extremely important to research, since it constitutes the only Samian hoard excavated so far from a known find-spot.

The custom of hiding coins and jewellery continued in later years as well. Another hoard was found in 1983 by a Dutch student of archaeology on the east coast of Samos in the cove of Megali Lakka below Vlamari; it was handed over to the Archaeological Museum. The hoard consisted of three hundred Byzantine gold coins and two pairs of gold earrings that had been placed for safe keeping in a bronze vase with a clay stopper. The group comprised eight coins issued by Maurice from the mints of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, 144 by Phocas from the Constantinople mint and 148 by Heraclius-Constantine from mints in Constantinople, Thessaloniki and possibly Cyprus. The most likely date this hoard was concealed is believed to be 623 AD, thereby associating it with the Persian threat in the Aegean region in the early 7th cent. AD. The find belongs to a group of hoards from the same period found in the eastern Aegean region.

*A hoard of 300 gold Byzantine coins issued by Maurice, Phocas, Heraclius and Heraclius-Constantine and two pairs of gold earrings were found in a bronze jug in the cove of Megali Lakka under Vlamari near Vathy. Hiding of the hoard is associated with the Persian threat in the Aegean and its most likely date is believed to be 623 AD.*



## *A luxury house*

In the core of the ancient city's urban fabric, in the vicinity of the Archaeological Museum of Pythagorio, excavations brought to light a spacious, luxury residence built in the customary style of the Roman period. On the south, an antechamber sheathed with marble led to a magnificent doorway with a doorstep, in front of which was an atrium, square on plan, 12.70 m. on each side. The *fully colonnaded atrium*, an interior courtyard surrounded by arcades (*stoas*), i.e. roofed corridors supported by columns on one side, was the centre of the house, around which the auxiliary areas and rooms for household activities were laid out. The cylindrical surface of the columns on the north colonnade was plastered with mortar in imitation of fluted marble columns. In the outdoor part of the atrium, with the sky overhead, a small tank had been built to collect the rainwater that was channelled through lead piping to a gutter lined with water mortar along its four sides. In the middle of the north and south part of the gutter, semicircular niches are formed that are similarly plastered with water mortar. The floor of the atrium's north arcade is decorated with a mosaic of multi-coloured tesserae in octagonal designs and looks like a carpet; whereas the floors of the three other arcades are covered with white and black tesserae in a rhomboid pattern. Small cube-shaped tesserae were set in a durable underlayer of sherds and hard stone tiles held together by strong mortar.

North of the atrium, a large antechamber leads to the *andron* (men's apartment) or *oikos*, the most sumptuous room in the building, in which the gentleman of the house would hold *symposia* or banquets. The floor of the *andron* is laid with polygonal tesserae and pieces of white, grey, black and red marble tiles. In the centre of the hall, bordered by marble, is a square area suggesting the family emblem. The walls, built of stone up to the middle and brickwork on top, were plastered and painted, as attested by the fragments of wall paintings found in the excavation. The background was white or painted in earth colours; borders of red and light yellow were painted on it, and pieces were found of a frieze decorated with stylised floral patterns in green, yellow, blue and other bright colours. To the west of this carefully decorated hall was the threshold of a door leading to the cellar in which the wine was kept, as indicated by the fragments of large amphorae found here.

West of the atrium was the kitchen for preparing food, as evidenced by cooking-pots bearing traces of soot and food remains, especially bones and seafood shells, but also bits of charred wood. The kitchen communicated with the courtyard through two doors, with a

*Marble pillar-shaped table support for a single-leg table in the form of a herm that held up a marble slab with symposium vessels. Such supports are frequently decorated with the head of Dionysus. Inlaid bronze pudenda have been preserved on the herm. Late Hellenistic-imperial Roman period.*







*A plain clay lamp (560-550 BC) and below a three-nozzle lamp with moulded decoration of two faces (560-540 BC). They originate from deposits in the centre of the ancient city.*



*Bronze lamp whose handle ends in a panther's head. From the centre of the ancient city. 100-150 AD.*



*Round marble table with legs ending in lion paws. Probably belonged to a sanctuary in the ancient city. Similar tables with sweets, fruit and censors are depicted at funeral banquets. Roman period.*

*Clay lamp from a deposit in the Heraion (7th cent. BC).*



*Bone hilt of a dagger with a lion's head finial. Roman period.*







*Mosaics with geometric decorative motifs and the scene of a panther hunt adorned the floors of luxury residences of the Roman period in the centre of the ancient city of Samos.*

doorstep on the west wall of the atrium. The stone handmill for grinding seeds that was found in the building was a useful household implement.

The house had two floors. The upper floor was accessed by a marble stairway, three steps of which have been preserved *in situ* and abut on the north wall of the house. Part of the north and east section of the house was occupied by assorted workshop areas, among which was the room in which lime was produced, an area with a floor and walls of terracotta tiles and an outlet leading to a large jar buried in the ground for washing certain materials.

The back wall of the house faces north onto a flagstone-paved street heading northwest and converging on the Sacred Way that led to the Heraion. On the north side of the street, opposite the house, were shops run by their owner-managers in which slaves worked. Entrance to them was through narrow doors with sills. Most of these shops had just one room and their floors were laid with square clay tiles or irregular limestone or marble tiles set on a bed of strong mortar. Inside, a built bench along one wall was used to display the products. In two shops, large open clay jars were found in a corner on a base elevated above the floor, possibly for water, as drainage was provided by tile-covered gutters that emptied into the main sewer under the street paving.

A network of clay pipes, the wells dug into the bedrock and twin vaulted tanks with walls plastered in water mortar and floors of square clay tiles ensured the supply of water to the house. Constructed tile-covered conduits were used to drain off wastes.

The only pieces of furniture to have been preserved are marble table stands and some bronze decorative accessories, cupids, sphinxes etc. The wooden tables, couches, stools and benches that constituted the house's main furniture, as well as the chests for clothing and shelves on which crockery and other items were arranged, could not easily have been preserved owing to their perishable materials.





The bone phallus-shaped pendant found in the house was of an apotropaic and protective nature. According to the custom of the period, replicas of phalluses –symbols of fertility and abundance– were hung outside the doors of houses to exorcise the “evil eye” and ensure household serenity.

In the southeast part of the house, baths were unearthed, obviously associated with the hypocaust installations found some years ago a few metres to the east. The semicircular niches in the walls with built-in air vents suggest a *laconicum* (steam room). The floor in one room is covered by white stone tesserae and in another by multicoloured ones that create floral ornaments. This is one of the four *thermae* installations that have been found in the city so far. The second is in the vicinity of Kastro hill, and probably served its luxurious villas, while the third is situated west of the ancient agora. A magnificent fourth one was built in the southwest corner of the city on the organised site of the Gymnasium facilities.









## Entertainment

The ancient Samians knew how to enjoy the beauties of nature and the pleasures of life, and continue to do so. On the occasion of the Tonaia and Heraia feasts in honour of the Mother Goddess, splendid ceremonial banquets were held, with meat from the sacrifices and abundant wine. As well, the established evening symposia of the urban class – with their formal structure of wine-drinking, music, discussion, games and flirtation – held a special place in their preferences. Participants were friends of the host, groups that collaborated in politics, courtesans, dancers and female musicians. Symposia were known on Samos from the time of the tyrant Polycrates (6th cent. BC), who rented lavish couches for banquets. Famous symposia were likewise held in the Samian palace by Mark Antony when he lived there with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, before their defeat at the battle of Actium in 31 BC.

Wine, the necessary accompaniment to symposia, was produced on the Chora plain and on the slopes of Karvounis (Ambelos). The local people's occupation with the vine and its various products is attested by inscriptions and decrees in which the cult of Dionysus is cited. According to tradition, the inhabitants of the island were taught to cultivate the vine by the god Dionysus himself. He arrived on Samos in pursuit of the Amazons, who disdained his cult and found refuge on the island. In return for the help offered by the Samians in defeating these equestrian women, the god taught them how to make wine. Evidence for the early existence of the intensive cultivation of grapevines on Samos is provided by the myth about the island's first settler Agaios, who took part in the Argonaut expedition and was an active viniculturist. According to the myth, as Agaios was planting the vine, an oracle predicted that he would never drink his own wine. When the wine was ready and Agaios filled a cup to drink it, the phrase was heard that there's many a slip between cup and lip, and he put the cup down. But before he could bring the cup to his lips, he was informed that a boar was rampaging through his vineyards. In Agaios' effort to kill the animal, it attacked and killed him. Information about Samian wines from the ancient sources is sparse and conflicting. Whereas Strabo notes that Samos does not have good wine, Aethlios and Polydeuces both praised Samian grapes. For many years now, the produce of Samos vineyards has been used to make communion wine for Greek churches.

Overlooking the city, on a hill verdant with olive and pine trees and a rare species of oak, in an idyllic environment under the cave of the Samian sybil known as Phyto, with a view of the azure bay, the ancient Samians built a theatre to delight the soul and train the mind. The

*Polychrome white-ground hydria with the scene of girls dancing in the presence of a musician playing a double flute. The scene has been rendered in the east Ionian style although it may have been made on Samos, since the hairstyle and clothing of the girls are reminiscent of Samian sculpture. Found in the Heraion, possibly a prize in music contests. Late 7th cent. BC.*



*Bone die and glass knucklebones for playing games during the symposia that were so popular in ancient Samos, judging from the many halls used for this activity that have come to light. Hellenistic and Roman periods.*



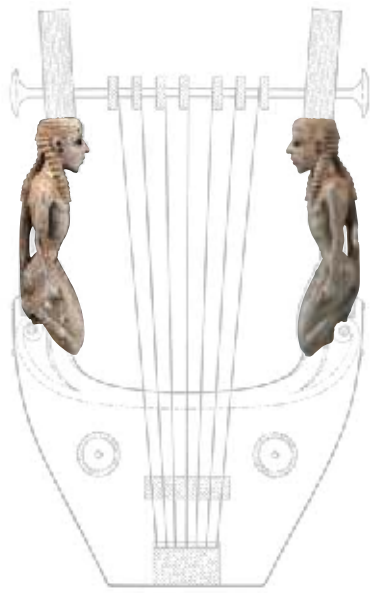




theatre consisted of a cavea, orchestra and stage building (*skene*). The data that have come to light in the excavation indicate the existence of a colonnade in front of the *skene* and, immediately north of it, a layer of marble tiles set in a substantial sublayer of mortar. To the south was the *paraskenia* (backstage of the theatre). Very few of the stone seats have been preserved. Plainly, most of the stone in the theatre was removed to become construction materials for subsequent buildings.

The ancient Samians appeared to be particularly fond of music and dance, as can be ascertained by the performances painted on pottery and depicted in sculpture. An exceptional decoration from a valuable musical instrument (*lyre*) of the 7th cent. BC is the kneeling youth of ivory, a work by a Cretan workshop that was dedicated to the Great Goddess Hera. To the same period belongs the multicoloured white-ground hydria with the scene of women dancing that was found in the Heraion and may have been a prize in musical contests. The men and players of double-flutes (a popular musical instrument) that are depicted in a procession painted on a Laconian calyx dating to 540-530 BC and found in the Artemision appear to be members of a chorus who are chanting. Figurines of reclining banqueters, clay and bronze, as well as statues in this pose, such as the head of the family in the Geneleos group, confirm the ancient Samian's love of entertainment. Statuettes of dancers, replicas of flutes and a sistrum, the figurine of a drummer girl and statuettes of flautists playing a single or double flute that have been found in the Heraion suggest the donors' relationship with music and dance. But in the after-life as well, music, a most necessary part of education and training, continues to accompany the dead, as attested by depictions of stringed musical instruments at funeral banquets depicted in marble in the early imperial years. Pythagoras believed that music had a purifying nature and comforted the soul; while Plato and Aristotle considered it to be a noble branch of education.





*Brilliant miniature work, the ivory figurine of a youth, probably an attachment to a lyre, that was found in a pit in the Heraion in the autumn of 1958. He is depicted with bent knees, probably in a dance pose. The eyes, which are missing, were inlaid. Scholars have discerned some features of Cretan art in the manner of rendering the body, and attribute its creation to a Cretan artisan. That works of Cretan art were found in the Heraion reveals the presence on Samos of anonymous artisans from Crete in the 7th cent. BC and suggest that Samos attracted the flourishing Cretan art of the period. 640-630 BC.*







*Wheeled clay figurine of a woman beating a drum. From Cyprus. Votive offering to Hera. Late 7th cent. BC.*



*Upper part of a musician playing a double flute, made of faience. Found in the Heraion. Late 7th-early 6th cent. BC.*



*Bronze figurine of a reclining symposiast holding a rhyton in his left hand. Found in the Heraion. 6th cent. BC.*





*Nude youth portrayed to the waist, personification of the Orontes River in a swimming pose. Bronze copy of part of the Tyche of Antioch group. Found in the centre of the ancient city. Early 2nd cent. AD.*



*Bronze figurines of Cupids, probably decorative furniture accessories. Roman period.*







*Clay "multi-cup" from the archaic deposit in the Heraion.*





*Laconian aryballos. From the Heraion.  
7th cent. BC.*



*The vessels used in rituals to honour the goddess Hera  
were marked with painted inscriptions (ΔΗ, ΗΔ)  
and were the property of the Sanctuary. 7th cent. BC.*



*Samian kylix with a frieze of hares and dogs.  
Found in the Heraion. 550 BC.*



*Bronze oinochoe with a moulded face on the finial of the  
handle. Found in the Heraion. Imperial Roman period.*



## Daily life

The life of ancient Samian men was interwoven with public life, politics, the gymnasium, the palaistra and the agora. In their private life, in addition to being courageous seafarers who plied the seas in their ships to sell their products or obtain precious metals, they were also accomplished fishermen. Aeschylus' description of Samos as *olive-bearing* declares the development of the olive industry on the island, and an output of olive oil that was also praised by Antisthenes.

Women, rich and poor alike, occupied themselves with weaving. Clothing, bedclothes and rugs were all woven on the loom, as testified by the multitudes of spindle whorls and loom weights found on the site of the ancient city.

The existence of many workshops in various districts of the city and finds of moulds indicate the inhabitants' occupation with producing figurines, pots, vessels and decorative objects as early as the archaic period. The ability to extract the raw material – the so-called Samian earth, a type of clay with a soapy texture – easily in certain districts of the city also promoted the output of medical instruments. *“Then we shall occupy ourselves with the types of earth that are useful in medicine. There are two varieties of Samian clay, which are called kollyrion and aster. The former is praised for being fresh, very fine and sticky to the tongue, the latter is denser. Both are white, and must be burned and rinsed. Some prefer the former. They are helpful for haemoptysis. They are used in medical plasters for drying purposes, as well as in medicines for the eyes.”* (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book XXXV).

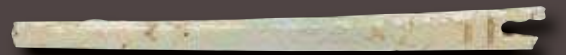
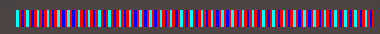
Basic education for boys included the teaching of reading, writing, mathematics and music. The significant position of mathematics in education is vindicated since Pythagoras, outstanding teacher of philosophy, mathematics and music, was born and taught on Samos. Adolescent males also went to the gymnasium where they acquired physical prowess and athletic skills.



*A large number of seashells were found in the ancient city, suggesting the fondness of the Samians for seafood.*

ON PAGE 361, ABOVE: *Bronze needles for repairing nets and hooks show the ancient Samians' engagement with fishing. From the ancient city.*  
BELOW: *Part of an ivory comb, a bone button and bone needles from the ancient city. Roman period.*









*Bronze and bone styli. On tablets covered with a layer of wax, letters were incised with the sharp end of a stylus, and with its broad end they could be erased and something else written. Hellenistic and Roman periods.*

*Tiny clay lekythia for pharmaceutical or cosmetic use. From the ancient city. Hellenistic period.*



*Clay spindle whorls with impressed decoration. From the prehistoric settlement of Heraion.*



## *Beauty care*

To practise their coquetry and charm those around them, women in antiquity paid careful attention to their appearance, as they continue to do. They used pigments on their face, applied from pyxides, as well as beauty creams and perfumes which they kept in alabaster perfume vases. They groomed their hair with combs of wood or ivory. Bone or metal pins and fibulae held their clothing and hair in place. City women adorned themselves with earrings, bracelets, necklaces and rings of gold, silver, bronze and even glass. They admired the result by looking into bronze mirrors, objects in great demand.



*Bronze mirror allowing women to admire their beauty preparations. Hellenistic period.*



*Gold earrings from the ancient city. Women in ancient Samos cared about their appearance, and wore jewellery of precious metals and semi-precious stones. Roman period.*











*Sealstone of semi-precious stone depicting the goddess Tyche (Fortune) holding a horn of plenty. Hellenistic period.*



*Pendant in the shape of a scarab, of Egyptian blue. Found in the ancient city, it had been imported from Egypt. 7th-6th cent. BC.*

*Sealstone of semi-precious stone with a female head in profile. Hellenistic period.*



*ON PAGE 364: Cameo with a carved, wreathed portrait. 1st cent. AD. From the ancient city.*





*Part of a scarab of Egyptian blue. From the ancient city. 7th-6th cent. BC.*



*Shell with residues of red ochre used as cosmetics by women in the ancient city, implements for applying makeup (spatula, spoon, bronze tools for mixing cosmetics) and tweezers. Roman period.*



*Apotropaic glass pendant. Roman period.*



## *Household worship*

In addition to the custom of paying tribute to the gods on official religious occasions (placement of dedications, processions, sacrifices of animals), religious worship was also conducted in the home to honour the household gods that protected the family. In a private home of the Roman imperial years, in the centre of the ancient city, a shrine has come to light in which Demeter and Hermes were worshipped. The figurines of women bearing hydriae and the herm found *in situ* were cult images of the deities that protected the household. The cult of Aphrodite, which was particularly popular at that period, is confirmed by two beautiful marble groups with the goddess of love and beauty as the main figure. The strength of the cult of Dionysus is suggested by the many statuettes with the figure of the god that have been found in the city's houses.

In the centuries that followed, the triumph of Christianity brought about a reversal in the Samians' established habits of living in accordance with the ancient customs, as the new religion penetrated people's daily routine, influenced their views and changed their way of life.

*Clay figurine of Dionysus from a household shrine in the centre of the ancient city. Second half of the 1st cent. AD.*



*Portable stone altar with painted decoration, a feature of household worship. From the ancient city. 2nd-1st cent. BC.*







Marble group with a statuette of nude Aphrodite removing her sandal, in the type popular during the Hellenistic and Roman period. She is leaning her left arm on a stele with Priapus – her son with Dionysus, protector of the fields, vineyards, gardens, flocks and bees – whose large phallus symbolizes fertility and abundance. Winged Eros is kneeling to help the goddess remove her sandal. The bronze original of this type dates to the 3rd cent. BC. This one was found in a Roman house in the ancient city near the second group, in which part of the goddess's legs and feet have been preserved, between a playful dolphin and Eros seated comfortably on a rock. These statuettes are related to the household cult of the goddess of love and beauty in the Roman period.





*Head wearing the fillet of a victor. Probably detached from a sculpture of the post-classical period. Beauty was purified (or exiled?) by carving the cross. The religious fanaticism that followed the entrenchment of Christianity, after its recognition by Constantine the Great, swept away sculpted masterpieces of the classical period. The end of Antiquity is proclaimed by this act of purification. The superb head was defaced and covered by a cross. An era had ended, the ancient world was fading, and a new order emerging that would impose its own order on anything that annoyed it.*











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# SAMOS

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS



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