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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE ODRYSIAN KINGDOM IN THRACE (5TH–FIRST HALF OF THE 3RD CENTURY BC)[1]

Kamen Dimitrov

From the 5th century B.C. up to the Macedonian conquest in 341/340 BC the Odrysian Kingdom was the largest and the mightiest multi-tribal state in Thrace extending from Abdera to the mouth of Istros (Thuc. II. 96. 1–4, 97. 1–2; Diod. XII. 50. 1; XT: 111). It is said to have represented an economic, social and political organization "*kata ethne*" based on an economy of "asiatic" or "tributary" type, in fact on the exploitation of the rural communities by the King as supreme owner of the land, by the "*paradynastoi*" (co-rulers and vassals of the King) and the aristocratic circles. An economy of this type "did not require a developed external market". The absolute royal and dynastic power was exerted from fortified "royal" ("residential") cities by a corps of heavy armed cavalry. This kind of organization was antagonistic to the communities "*kata poleis*" of the Greek city-states on the Thracian coasts neighboring the Kingdom. The above characteristics of the Odrysian Kingdom before the Macedonian conquest were formulated by Al. Fol (Фол 1970: 80–81, 174 passim**;** 1990: 29, 87–88; 104–105). They found the following among other Bulgarian scholars (Попов, Д. 2009: 41–44; 79–82). The same situation was claimed to have existed after the abolishment of the Kingdom by the Macedonians in 341/340 BC. Hellenism was considered a "notion, which did not bear any useful characteristics about the particular situation in South-Danubian Thrace", and that "it is not to employ in the periodization of the historical development of Thrace". The lack of cities of Greek type (*poleis*) in Thrace's interior was advanced as the main argument (Фол 1984). This theory has already raised severe objections. P. Delev recognized some "proto-Hellenistic" phenomena in Thrace even before the Macedonian conquest continuing in the later Hellenistic Age. "The integration of the two therefore separate and independent social and political systems of the *polis* and the centralized territorial monarchy" was pointed out as "the paramount and universal feature of Hellenism". "Specific relations" of this kind were revealed in the Decree of Pistiros (mid-4th C BC, *see below*). The Macedonian colonization and urbanism resulted in creating *poleis* of Greek type in the inland of Thrace. The "*phyloi"* or the "king's friends", Greeks among them, were noticed around many of the Odrysian rulers. They actually

[1]A shortened version of this paper was presented at the Annual Conference of FIEC in Berlin (August 2009). I was able to attend the Conference and equally to study the above problems during a short-research stay at the Library of DAI-Zentrale-Berlin thanks to the generous support of the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation – Bonn.

represented "one of the typical institutions of Hellenistic monarchy". Greek language was employed in the internal contacts among Thracians (Delev 1998: 379; 2002). On the other hand, the rich numismatic finds from some areas including the core of the Odrysian Kingdom along the Valley of Stryama, testify to an extensive trade, local markets and monetary economy, *see below*. Some Macedonian royal traditions, "principal factors for the historical development of Early Hellenistic Thrace" were enlisted as well (Dimitrov K. 1999**a:** 381).

When specifying the historical development of the Thracian lands in Antiquity one should consider not only the presence of the basic structures in their pure form, but rather their co-existence and mutual interference. Thrace was recognized as a land of "contact zones" long time ago (Фол 1970: 41; 1990: 43, 46–49). From this point of view Thracian history in general, and particularly that of the Odrysian Kingdom and the later Hellenistic states on its territory, should be understood as a history of various interactions of ethnicities, economies, societies, politics and mentalities. The centers of similar interactions were no doubt **the cities**, either founded or conquered by the Kingdom, or neighboring and partnering with it. In the context of similar considerations urbanism no doubt played a decisive role in the history of the Odrysian lands and thus deserves a special place in our study.

1. The Odrysian Kingdom before the Macedonian Conquest.

There are many testimonies pointing to the interaction of the basic "eastern" model with some forms of the *polis* economy, political "*paideia*", urbanism and mentality in the Odrysian Kingdom before Philip II. The evidence dates to ca. 429–341/0 BC, i.e. from the reign of Sitalkes to the Macedonian conquest (generally on the history *see most recently* Archibald 1998).

Economy. As a supreme landlord the Thracian ruler proposed unlimited lands ("as much as they wish") and cattle to the Greeks as did Seuthes II ca. 400 BC (Xen. anab. VII. 2. 35; XT: 25). No doubt the new owners would hold their new domains as free farmers. Moreover Seuthes promised them a fortress on the sea shore, i.e. he was inclined to provide the Greeks with *all necessary* so as to found a new *polis*. A clear case of *polis* economy housed on royal land is represented by the *emporion* of Pistiros. It was founded near Vetren, 22 km NW of Pazardjik, by refugees from Thasos after the defeat by Athens in 463 BC. The settlement was fortified in the 3rd quarter of the 5th century BC. A decree and rich archaeological evidence testify to Greek residents from Thasos, Maroneia, Apollonia Aegeia, to trade activities and to the existence of other *emporia*, to the rights of the *emporiti* to own land and to tax the trade convoys in their own profit, to the privileges and inviolability of the community accorded and recognized by Amatokos II (mid-4th C BC), and probably earlier by Kotys I (382-359 BC). The names on the *graffitti* point to the presence of Hellenized Thracians as well. This is another piece of evidence on the colonization of Western Thrace by founding of settlements with mixed Thracian-Greek population (Isaac 1986: 7–8) with their own economy of *polis* type. The imported items in the Thracian centers and necropoleis in the area of Stryama were correctly regarded as a result of trade contacts nith Pistiros (on Pistiros: BCH 1999; Pistiros 1–3; Bouzek, Domaradzka and Taneva 2004: 178–179; Bouzek, Domaradzka 2007).

The privileges accorded to the *emporiti* of Pistiros may not have existed in earlier times (before Kotys I?). In this case the economy of the *emporion*, especially the trade, would be controlled and exploited by the Odrysian kings.

A part of the cereals produced on the royal land went directly for sale in the coastal cities

(Arist. Oecon. II. 26. 1351a. 19–23; Polyaen. VII. 32; XT: 214). The war booty was exported there as well (Xen. anab. VII. 3. 10, 4. 1; XT: 26, 30). The tribute obligations of the subject communities, Greek cities among them, provided a considerable income to the royal treasury evaluated to 1000 talents under Sitalkes, 800 talents under his successor Seuthes I and 300 talents "from the emporia on Thracian territory" under Kersebleptes (*see above* the case of Pistiros). They were paid both cash in gold and silver, as tribute and as gifts, no doubt in precious metal items (Diod. XII. 50. 2; XT**:** 111**;** Thuc. II. 97. 3-6**;** Demost. XIII. 110; Bouzek, Domaradzka 2002; Loukopoulou 2002).

The coin finds testify to a monetary traffic, to extensive trade and to the economic unification of the areas along the main arteries of the Odrysian Kingdom regardless of the temporary political decentralization. The coin bulk came from different centers and trade routes. The coins found on the territory of the Kingdom were of various denominations struck after several standards**:** Phokean (the *cyzikeni*), Attic (tetradrachms of Athens), light Thracian-Macedonian (staters and drachms of the Thasos-type and ¼ drachms of Thasos), Chian-Rhodian (drachms of Parion and of Apollonia Pontica) and the local standard (the Odrysian royal issues and the Thasos-type bronzes). During the second half of the 5th century BC and the first half of the 4th century BC the trade activities to the south-east were related to the grain export of the Athenian League, later to Parion and Apollonia Pontica, and to the south-west – to Thasos, Abdera, Maroneia, etc. over Pistiros and the other *emporia* in the interior of Thrace. The single silver coins and the bronze issues of low value were relevant for daily transactions in the Thracian milieu, though not so extensive as in the later Hellenistic period. The trade was obviously protected by the Odrysian kings as stated in the Decree of Pistiros. The Odrysian Kingdom certainly developed an external and internal market and a coin economy in cooperation with the Greek world or a *dualistic economic model***:**

1) Economy of eastern type (agricultural production, taxation and presents from the subjects, trade control, war booty);

2) Income received or converted in cash through cooperation with the polis economy (Димитров 1989; 1999: 47–49; 2000: 5; 2008c: 40; Dimitrov K. 1996/7; 2009a: 44; cf Archibald 1998: 316).

Internal Policy and Structures. The large, ever-changing its limits multi-tribal Odrysian Kingdom was basically structured in administrative (para-dynastic) districts after the original tribal territories. Later (2nd-1st C BC) they were re-named as *strategii* and existed up to the time of Hadrian keeping the names of the tribes (Claud. Ptol. III. 11. 6; ИТМ: 353; Фол 1985). The *paradynastai* or the co-rulers of the King governed on his behalf. They were appointed by him either as members of his retinue or as princes of the non-Odrysian tribes included in the Kingdom (Thuc. II. 97. 3; Тачева 1993: 207). Greek historians called them sometimes *strategoi, archons* or *hyparchoi*. We do not know the difference in the position of these three categories within the Odrysian Kingdom – if any – nor does it seem clear, if those titles were equally employed by the Thracians. Seuthes II was however titled "*archon* of the sea-shore"– an area rich in Greek poleis. Kersebleptes appointed persons from his retinue for *archons* of some cities (Polyaen. 7. 31; XT**:** 214). One may speculate that the title *archon*, corresponding to a supreme administrative rank in the Greek world, was intentionally used by the Thracians to assure more acceptable, legal image of the Odrysian royal power in the coastal cities (Димитров K. 2000**:** 13–14).

The autonomous Thracians were mentioned by Thucidides (II. 96. 2) and by Arrianus (anab. I. 1. 5**;** cf Badian 1983**:** 69) as well. An unnamed city populated by Thracians had its

own national assembly at the time of Philip II (Polyaen. IV. 2–4; XT: 211**;** cf Неделчев 2004: 61. 6), clearly indicating some native democratic structures to have existed in pre-Hellenistic Thrace. The city of Kypsela represented probably a similar case. For a long time she has been recognized as a"royal" city and mint of the Odrysian kings Hebryzelmis, Kotys and Kersebleptes ca. 386–341 BC (most recently**:** Fol 2000: 98.5; Porozhanov 2009: 258–259. 9). However, the provenance of some of the regal issues from the city mint was objected and a short sequence of bronzes in the name of the Kypselians were published as well (Schönert-Geiss 1993). In the 250s the "citizens of Kypsela" surrendered to Antiochos II, no local dynast or other person of dominating power being adduced (Polyaen. IV.16; XT: 213). Kypsela, at least during some periods of her development", was a *polis* in its manifestations, its Greek and non-Greek characteristics being equally represented" (IACP**:** 878; Porozhanov 2009**:** 258–259.9). Similar to Kypsela Beos, Geistos, Apros, Sauthaba and Ergiske, *see below*, were probably not absolute royal property. They were settled with a Hellenized population who inscribed the names of the cities in Greek on the silver vessels presented to the Odrysian kings (Димитров 2000: 7–8).

Greek *poleis* were temporary incorporated in the Kingdom's territory as a result of military pressure. The Samian colony Byzanthe was unconditionally owned by Seuthes II, similarly to Ganos and Neonteichos. The ruler even planed to gift them to Xenophon (Xen. anab. VII. 2. 38; 5.8; XT**:** 25, 32). Later Ganos was a "royal" city of Kotys I and Kersebleptes (Fol 2000: 98. 8). During 362-346 BC the cities from the Thracian Chersonese, Kardia included, were part of the realm of Kotys I and Kersebleptes. The nomination of an *archon*, *see above*, points to the absolute domination of the King over the subject cities. *Poleis* could be treated like the native "royal" cities created by the Odrysians as did Seuthes II. On the other hand, Kersebleptes clearly did not deprive Kardia of her own legislation, for the rebel Miltokites was handed over by Kersebleptes to the Kardians to be executed, the Thracians not having the habit to sentence to death (Димитров К. 2000**:** 6). New *emporia* as Pistiros were founded by Greeks on the royal land. *Emporia* established by Kardia and Ainos are known as well, *see above*. They could not only benefit from an economical, but also from a political and juridical freedom as did the Pisteriti. Their settlement should not be garrisoned by Odrysian troops, and the citizens were allowed to settle legal cases on their own according to the civic legislation. The latter information clearly reveals democratic elements in the status of some communities of Greek type on the Odrysian territory accorded by the Odrysian kings under particular conditions.

Urbanization. The typical urban form in the Odrysian Kingdom is said to have been the "royal" (or "residential") city of eastern type**:** "Sans negliger les possibilités de découvrir d'autres lignes de formations dans la ville indigène, nous affirmons que la ville royale reste typiquement thrace. Elevée en qualité de garde et servant de résidence au basileus local, elle a un but initial et nettement politique-de réunir les tribus voisines au nom de la lutte dynastique. Plus tard la ville se développe, commence tout naturellement à côntroler et à organiser l'économie de la région" (Fol 1965: 316). Later the same author added, that "the Thracian cities were royal, for they expanded by or near cult centers of the Orphic religion, found or erected on the place" (Фол 1984: 48; cf 1990: 29). It was also noticed that "Une forteresse n'est pas encore une ville". An ancient city "… doit-être une agglomeration où, par opposition au village, l'occupation de ses habitants n'est pas seulement la terre, mais aussi les métiers et le commerce, ce qui suppose une position économique dominante dans la region…" (Mihailov 1986: 7, 9). "The functions of the Thracian city could hardly differ very much from the functions of the ancient city in general formulated by Aristoteles**:** defensive**;** political and

administrative, including religion and culture as ideology of the political power**;** economic" (Чичикова 1985: 87).

The examples of urban life in the Odrysian lands quoted above reveal a rather complicated pattern of political forms**:** except the traditional "royal" cities there were native towns enjoying autonomy, coastal *poleis* were incorporated in the Kingdom, new settlements organized as *poleis* emerged and flourished on royal land – the King decided about their status and gave them essential privileges. As a whole the urbanism in the Odrysian lands had various origins, social and political shapes. It is clear that, in order to decide whether a settlement should be qualified as a city or not, one must have an idea not only of the community and the institutions, the evidence most often missing (cf IACP: 892), but of its real functions as well. They could be recovered through investigations of the urban planning and architecture, as well as of the infrastructure and the archaeological context of the area.

The list of the native Odrysian "royal" or "residential" cities documented by ancient authors and inscriptions comprises the following settlements: Apros, Beos, Beos Kainos, Geistos, Ergiske, Sauthaba, Kabyle, Masteira, Drongilon, Myrtiske, Kypsela, Doriskos, Mokarsos, Ganos, Serreion Teichos, Hieron Oros, Leuke Akte, Teristasis, Herakleia, Neon Teichos, Salmydessos, Byza, Odrysa (Fol Al. 2000; Porozjanov 2009). They were all concentrated in the southeastern part of the Odrysian Kingdom. To them should be added the centers near Vasil Levski, Krăstevich and Kozi Gramadi in the Valley of Stryama. This area was the core of the Odysian Kingdom and the site near V. Levski was probably the residence of king Metokos and capital? of the Kingdom ca. 400 BC (Xen. anab. VII. 16; XT: 27). Other "royal" cities were investigated near Rakovski-Brezovo and under the modern Plovdiv (the site preceding Philippopolis: Eumolpia?). All of them were explored to some extent by archaeologists (Попов, Хр. 2002: 72–76; Кисьов 2004; 2005; Димитров, К. 2008с: 40; Dimitrov, K. 2009a:44). Excavations in Kabyle are in progress as well (Кабиле 1, 2; Попов, Хр. 2002: 111–122).

The above "royal" cities were fortified. The one near V.Levski featured luxurious houses covered with richly decorated Corinthian tiles. Similar samples were found at the site near Rakovski-Brezovo. On the other hand, no traces of artisanal production and trade activities come from the center near V. Levski. However, the nearby area provided numerous coin finds. The site had definitely representative and residential functions, at the same time controlling the trade in the area. The other settlements developed production either inside or outside their limits. In a large building in Krăstevich coins of three different standards and denominations came to light together with clay weights of ca. 420 g each (an Attic mina?). The center was related to trade and probably to customs control on the goods and currency imported in the area, where several coin hoards were found as well. In the "residence" on peak "Kozi Gramadi" some coins of low value were deposited before and after the arrival of the Macedonians in the Valley of Hebros testifying to the continuity of the functions. The center on Nebet-Tepe in Plovdiv was fortified before the Macedonian conquest (most recently**:** IACP**:** 894). It supervised the fluvial traffic on the Hebros and the land routes. The hoards of *cyzikeni* and Thasos-type staters emphasize its economic importance as early as the end of the 5th century BC (Димитров, К. 2008с: 40; Dimitrov, K. 2009a:43). An Early Iron-Age settlement was situated on the acropolis of Kabyle (Zaiči Vrăh) and nearby. No fortifications corresponding to the pre-Macedonian horion have been securely identified up to now (Попов, Хр. 2002: 115–116**;** IACP: 893**;** Делев 2006: 102). The constructions were of lower quality than those in Philippopolis. Kabyle probably functioned as *emporion* as well benefitting from the proximity of the Tonzos and of the important route Ainos-Kabyle-Haemos. According to the coin finds ca. 500–340 BC the settle-

ment must have traded with West-Pontic Apollonia and Messambria, the Hellespontine Parion, the Aegean Maroneia and Ainos, Amphipolis and Olynthos (Драганов 1982a**:** 7-10; 1982b: 72–74; Draganov 1983: 112–113). Some amphorae from Thasos appeared ca. 350 BC (Гетов 1995: 114). Several rich burials in the area of Sliven, ca. 15 km north of Kabyle, should be associated with Odrysian kings and nobles inhabiting Kabyle in the first half of the 4th c BC (Фол 1975: 11; Китов, Димитрова, Сираков 2008**;** Димитрова, Сираков 2009).

The excavations on Nebet-Tepe in Plovdiv revealed important cult structures and practices dating from the Early Bronze Age and continuing throughout the centuries to follow. An Iron-Age cult center on the acropolis of Kabyle was determined as"the nucleus of the ancient settlement" (IACP: 893–894). Its erection and the cut of reliefs of Artemis, the Great Goddess riding a lion and a lion head, if really existing, are still to be precisely dated (cf. Попов, Хр. 2002: 116; Димитров К. 2004a**:** 109, 117–118).

The *emporion* of Pistiros was a Greek contribution to the urbanism in the Odrysian Kingdom in spite of the mixed population. The archaeological works revealed massive fortifications, streets and imposing buildings of stone blocks, pits and *pithoi*. Metallurgic and pottery production developed in and outside the area. The trade activities and contacts were discussed as well (Попов Хр. 2002**:** 77–92 and the publications cited above).

The theory that the native "royal" city always developed near a royal residence was based exclusively on the evidence of early-Hellenistic Seuthopolis (Димитров Д. П. 1958: 697–698; Fol 1965**:** 316). It was completely undermined by the latest observations on that city. They did not attest a pre-urban stage in the palace, which was erected as a typical *basileia* simultaneously to the city (Попов Хр. 2002: 126; Чичикова 2009). No early sanctuaries preceding the fortified "royal" cities were documented in the Valley of Stryama, the heart of the Odrysian Kingdom. These cities obviously did not necessarily emerge and develop in the proximity of sacred places of "Orphic" faith only. Their concentration in a relatively limited area rules out the suggestion that they all represented centers of local *basilei* or *paradynastoi*, for some of them existed simultaneously with and close to the Odrysian capital? near V. Levski. The pattern rather followed the infrastructure of the core of the Odrysian realm. The outstanding position of the native "royal" cities examined above as centers of production and trade raises the alternative some of them to have expanded equally around markets and fair-places (*panegyreis*), the consolidation being anyway a "resultants de conditions concretes sur la base génerale du développement historique du pays et se sont ces conditions qui sont à étudier" (Mihailov 1986**:** 13–14). It seems that the foundation and the development of the native "royal" cities in Odrysian Thrace depended very much on the strategic and economic needs and not solely on local religion. It was not the only factor in native urbanism.

2. The Macedonian Presence (ca. 340–320 BC)

The Macedonian presence in Thrace ca. 340-320 BC was discussed in many publications. Its role was variously estimated (most recently: Димитров К. 2008b: 78–83; Dimitrov, K. 2009b: 271–275). Thrace was the first area put under Macedonian control as a stage of the Eastern Campaign. By 341 BC the Thracian conquest was "the most ambitious enterprise" of Philip II (Archibald 1998: 235). At the time of the last Thracian campaigns the Macedonian king had already seriously planned his invasion of the Persian Empire, and it is possible (although without any particular proof) that his reorganizations in Thrace were tuned with the Persian political model (Badian 1983: 70). To Philip Thrace as a whole represented an im-

portant strategic territory which provided a secure rear, military contingents and a significant tax income. In order to fulfill these functions it had to be effectively put under control. As its territory exceeded Macedonia several times, a direct military and administrative presence everywhere was out of question. Different communities and regions had to be engaged in various ways, diplomacy included. The preserved fragmentary information on Macedonian activities clearly reveals intentions to create an integral economical and political system which could be helpful to the Macedonian global strategy. Important changes of different nature were brought about in the Odrysian lands.

Economy. A tax of one tenth (*tithe*) was imposed on the subdued population of the *strategia* of Thrace, *see below*, probably meant as a "fee" for "administrative incorporation" (on the interpretation of the text**:** Adams 1997**:** 86). "Big cities at convenient places" were founded as well (Diod. XIV. 71, 1–2; XT: 121). They were populated by Macedonians and Greeks, the locals being driven out as in the case of Alexandroupolis in Medike (Plut. 9). A passage about the settling of 12 000 Athenians in Thrace by Antipater after September 322 BC should be singled out among the texts on colonization as evidence for its economical impact. The newcomers received land, probably "from the big royal domains of the Thracian rulers" (Diod. XVIII. 18. 4; XT**:** 124; Димитров, Д. П. 1958: 698; on the date**:** Schmitt 1969: No 415). Macedonian cities in the *strategia* were obviously organizations of private landowners displaying "principle characteristics of Hellenistic poleis contrary to the system of direct royal economy" (Delev 1998: 379; Димитров, К. 2004a: 106–107; 2004b**:** 216–217). They, "Philippopolis included", were no longer *royal* cities and centers of the Odrysian royal economy (contra: Фол 1984: 47). The former Thracian economic infrastructure, including the *emporia*, was monopolized by the Macedonians (Ellis 1986:171; Димитров, К. 1989; Dimitrov, K. 1999: 379; Domaradzka 2002: 298). Macedonian trade expanded due to the occupation of "the most convenient coastal places", the Thracian Lowland being included in the trading network (Arr. anab. VII. 9, 3 = XT: 195–196; Ellis 1986: 171; Archibald 1998: 240). Both the one-tenth tax from the province and the booty were sold at the markets of the coastal allied cities (Arr. anab. I. 2.1; XT: 182). It is assumed that the latter were paying tribute as well (Will, Mossé, Goukowsky 1975: 459; Делев 2003: 105).

The activity of this economy is clearly reflected in dozens of hoards and hundreds of single small silver hemidrachms of the Thracian Chersonesos and Parion (to be probably considered as Macedonian provincial coinage), and of bronze Macedonian issues widespread in southern Thrace along the main river routes and even north of the Balkan range (Димитров К. 1989: 26–28; 2005; Dimitrov, K. 1996/1997). Kabyle offers a clear example of prospering local economy after the Macedonian reorganization of the settlement. The trade with the Thracian Chersonese is attested by coin finds. The extensive import from Thasos started ca. 340–320 BC, probably via the Chersonesos – the Hebros and the Tonsos. To the same period belong certain finds of gold, silver and bronze Macedonian coins from Kabyle or the adjacent area. Substantial imitative issues of bronze drachms of Maroneia found in the area of Kabyle are relevant of an extensive local exchange (Драганов 1982a: 10; 1982b: 74-75; Draganov 1983: 112-113; Dimitrov, K. 1996/1997**:** XXVIII; Гетов 1995: 114). Obviously the Macedonian presence, including the garrisons, considerably stimulated the trade and the use of the coins in the Odrysian lands contributing to their economic unification.

Politics. After several military campaigns from 356 to 341 BC Thrace was conquered (for the sequence of the events**:** Badian 1983). Philip referred to some of the Greek cities on the Thracian coasts as "my allies". (Demost. 12. 5; Diod. XIV. 71, 1–2=XT: 121; Ellis 1986:

171). All of them, including Philip's most serious enemy, Byzantion, retained their political autonomy, their *chora*, local taxes and the right to issue coins (Cary 1972: 8-9; Will, Mossé, Goukowsky 1975: 458–459; Lorber 1990: 57–78; Делев 1998: 41; 2003: 105; Archibald 1998: 234–235). They certainly paid some form of tribute to the Macedonian king. Territorial disputes among cities and other communities were settled by the Macedonian higher arbitration (cf Adams 1997: 86–87).

According to Demosthenes Philip called Thrace "my own territory" meaning it was a part of his own state (Demosth. 12. 5; Ellis 1986: 171 note 64). The Odrysian royal dynasty was dethroned but Philip II did not envisage abolition of the royal institution in Thrace (Mihailov 1961: 33–34; 1970: 82). His activities in 351 BC suggest that he had adopted the functions of the Odrysian rulers in the conquered lands according to the right of a"land won by spear" (Dimitrov, K. 1999a: 377). The dynasts he kept in power ruled with his approval and under the formal status of vassal or allied rulers, without a clear distinction between the two categories. In some cases dynastic marriages were also arranged (Demosth. I. 13; Bengston 1937: 42 with bibliography; Делев 1998: 40–41). The rich burials unambiguously prove the existence of a local aristocracy with great material potential during the Macedonian presence (Archibald 1998: 240–259). One of the burials at Tekirdağ shows strong Macedonian influence and probably belongs to Teres, the famous son of the Odrysian King Kersebleptes (IG I: No195; Delemen 2006: 267–268). Some of these individuals certainly had political power in the lands beyond the *strategia.*

After 341 BC the Macedonian acquisitions on the territory of the former Odrysian Kingdom were organized as *strategia* of Thrace along the course of Hebros and in Southeast and Aegean Thrace. Philippopolis was the most important city in the area and possibly the principal administrative centre of the *strategia* (Archibald 1998: 236; contra: Badian 1983: 70). The subdued population "was not a big part of the Thracians" (Paus. I. 9. 6; XT: 220). The names of three *strategoi* are known: Alexander the Lyncestian, Memnon and Zopyrion. However, the Macedonian presence resulted in the "establishment of permanent supervision" on lands "well beyond what the Odrysian kings had controlled" (Badian 1983: 68–69). A system of "circle defense" along the Thracian borders and coastlines was thus aimed at, in which Greek colonies from the seaside also took part. Beyond those were created "circles of influence" through diplomacy, political agreements and marriages (Dell 1980: 92, 98–99) defined as "buffer zones" (Adams 1997: 86) or "client states" (Badian 1983: 69) as well. Important military forces were concentrated in the *strategia* such as the 5000 cavalrymen "ex Thraciae" of Memnon and the 30000 army of Zopyrion (Curt. 9, 3, 21; Just. XII, 2, 16), in order to respect the Greek "allies" on the coasts and the Thracian "allies" or "vassals" north of Hebros. Thracian contingents amounting to about 8000 men were recruited to Alexander the Great's army and used in the Eastern Military Campaign. Odrysian troops and commanders such as the *strategos* Sitalkes were mentioned as well (Diod. XVII. 17. 3–4; XT: 123; Грозев 1982: 108; Калоянов 1982: 16).

In 331 BC the Macedonian political system in Thrace faced serious problems due to the revolt of Memnon and the "barbarians" (Diod. XVII. 62, 4–8, 63. 1; XT: 124). After the defeat of Zopyrion in 326/5 BC it almost crumbled and "all Thrace was about to get lost…" The political vacuum was filled by the Odrysian leader Seuthes (Curt. 10. 1. 43–45; Делев 2002: 128), later to become King of the Thracians.

Urbanization. Macedonian urbanization added much to the later Hellenistic forms to be established in Thrace turning a number of older Odrysian settlements into centers of Mac-

edonian power: Philippopolis (Poneropolis?), Kabyle, Beroia, Drongilon, Masteiras, Alexandroupolis in Medike thus continuing a practice attested as early as 356 BC at Krenides-Philippi on the Aegean coast (Archibald 1998: 232; 235–236). Some fortresses in the eastern Balkan range probably functioned as Macedonian forts as well (Stoyanov 2000: 60). In other words, a "colonization which was only possible in an urban form" characteristic of the East was observed in *strategia* Thracia as well. The newly-founded Hellenistic cities had not only political and administrative significance, they were socially and culturally important as well (Will, Mossé, Goukowsky 1975: 498). A similar role can be presumed for the Macedonian centers in regard to the Odrysian lands (cf Danov 1976: 345). Regular archaeological works in Philippopolis and Kabyle going on for several decades did not prove helpful in revealing the features of the Macedonian urban innovations from 340–320 BC. However, it was logically suggested that the renewed fortification wall with analogy in Priene and Philippi, and the typical Greek structures in Kabyle such as the agora and the temples of (Artemis) Phosphoros and Apollo, mentioned in IG Bulg. III. 2. 1731, dated from this time (Велков 1991: 11; Стоянов 2006: 90–91).

3. The States after Alexander's Death.

The Hellenistic kingdoms which inherited the large empire of Alexander represented a complicated pattern of eastern and Greek forms co-existing and interacting with each other (cf Зельин 1953; Heuss 1963; Will, Mossé, Goukowsky 1975; Briant 1982; Фролов 1982: 3; Walbank 1992; Hammond 1999): a strongly centralized royal economy integrating and exploiting the economy of the *poleis* as well; an extensive new urbanization of Greek planning and social type (*polis*) as a royal policy; tolerance and stimulation of the trade and the monetary transactions or the economy of Greek type developed by the old and new-founded cities; establishing of personal monarchies with absolute power over the native population and a constitutional one – over the Macedonian elite (cf Hammond 1999: 486), incorporating old and new *poleis*; personal subordination to the King, who, however, respecting to some extent or imitating respect toward the self-government of the cities and the other communities in the Kingdom, "joue à polis" (cf Will, Mossé, Goukowsky: 520); establishing of new dynasties and elite of Macedonian and Greek origin; strong Hellenization of the society as main feature of the religion, culture and mentality.

In the years after the Babylonian Congress of June 323 BC several new states emerged on the territory of the former Odrysian Kingdom.

The state of Lysimachos started as "satrapy on paper" permanently waging wars for enlarging its territory. Lysimachos succeeded in putting under firm control the coastal areas of Aegean (from Byzantion to Abdera) and West-Pontic Thrace, as well as the Thracian Chersonese, where a new capital – the city of Lysimacheia was founded in 309 BC. From 301 BC on the state included Asia Minor and from 287 to 281 BC – Eastern Macedonia as well (Burnstein 1986: 21; Lund 1992; Делев 2004).

Particular evidence on Lysimachos' economy is unfortunately scarce (generally: Burnstein 1980: 75; 1984: 57–60; Lund 1992: 34–35, 128–134, 146–152; Делев 2004: 351–363). Royal lands and *laoi* certainly existed in Dobrudzha (northeastern Thrace) (Burnstein 1984**:** 60). They provided the greater part of the production in the state. As a basic form of the royal economy they were closely related to the *polis* one. The production belonging to the king, the taxes in kind, the war booty, the surplus owned by the *laoi* were sold on the city markets and

converted in cash. The royal form of owning land was transferable into polis ownership. Some poleis were granted with land and *laoi* such as Samothrace and probably the Pontic cities in Dobrudža. High-positioned persons close to the King received land donations as "full property" integrated in the *choras* of the *poleis* (cf. Hatzopoulos 1988**:** 48-49). Royal expropriations of civic land as in the case of Miletos, though not usual, existed as well (Burnstein 1980: 75; 1984: 60–62).

The subjected *poleis* paid *phoros*. Attempts to impose specific taxes on a strategic production as the salt on cities of Troas were equally documented (Burnstein 1980: 75). Some cities offered gold crowns to the king, evidently as additional taxation in honorific form.

The maritime centers provided the King with a fleet required for military expeditions. They were equally centers of the royal finances and coinage. Thus the *poleis* economy including the most important activity – the commerce connecting the hinterland to the Greek world – was practically cooperating with and integrated in the royal economy. The "modern scholarly myth" of "Lysimachos the Gazophylax" should be accepted only as indication for the King's huge financial potential of at least 20 000 talents. Royal treasuries existed in Tyrizis on cape Kaliakra near Odessos, in Sardis and in Pergamon (Burnstein 1984**:** 57). The might of Lysimachos' economy made possible huge shipments of cereals to be delivered to Rhodes, Athens, etc. (cf Данов 1939: 212–213).

Originally Lysimachos was supplied with cash by the mint of Amphipolis controlled by his ally and friend Kassander, King of Macedonia (Price 1991: 130–131). From 301 BC on Lysimachos developed substantial coinage in his name in gold, silver and bronze. The main mint in Thrace was the capital Lysimacheia. Perinthos, Sestos and probably Herakleia and Ainos were involved in this production as well (Thompson 1968). The royal issues and especially the bronzes had an impact on the economy of the Odrysian lands. They served the trade traffic on the Hebros and the Tonzos, similar finds being found in Kabyle and Seuthopolis, *see below*.

The *poleis* controlled by Lysimachos and especially the ones on the West-Pontic shore are often said to have suffered from the harsh financial regime and taxation. This statement should be revised, for one of these cities, Histria, had its own silver coinage under Lysimachos, ca. 315–305 BC. Moreover, it seems that these issues were used along with gold Macedonian staters in trade operations controlled by Lysimachos (purchasing cereals for helping Rhodes?). This may represent a clear example of incorporating the older economic infrastructure established by Histria in the royal economy (Dimitrov, K. 1998: 217; 1999b: 180) and probably an expression of the royal monopoly on this type of trade in the West-Pontic area and Eastern Thrace (cf. Делев 2004: 363). A similar loose treatment of Histria is concordant with the land and *laoi* donations, and the royal financing to fortify certain *poleis*.

The state of Lysimachos was a typical Hellenistic "personal monarchy" (generally**:** Burnstein 1980; 1986; Lund 1992: 107–183; Делев 2004: 170–171; 329–353). It was ruled by a Macedonian ruler and aristocracy with the participation of some locals such as Bytis and Paris, citizens of Lysimacheia, supposed to be of Thracian or Thracian-Phrygian origin. The royal domains and the subjected *poleis* were governed by *strategoi* or *epistat* appointed by the King. However, there is no evidence of local rulers in Thrace such as Seuthes III, Roigos, Spartokos and Skostokos to represent similar officials and to have ruled on Lysimachos' behalf, *see below*. The *poleis* were garrisoned when forcibly annexed and when the hinterland was out of control. Garrisons in the West-Pontic cities were probably stationed for defense against external attacks. Their revolt in 313–309 BC probably followed the proclamation of the city

freedom by Antigonos I and Ptolemaios I, a propagandist act aiming at destabilization of the states by their enemies such as the one of Lysimachos. Restoring the traditional contacts with Asia Minor – then under Antigonid control, may be another reason for this revolt. Generally the King did not interfere in the internal life of the *poleis*. Donated with land parcels close to the particular polis the King's friends and *strategoi* acquired citizenship and had to obey the local jurisdiction practically transforming their new acquisition in "territoire civique" (Hatzopoulos 1988: 54).

Some *poleis* were accorded internal autonomy and the right to form alliances, but under the supervision of a *strategos* of the King as attested by the Ionian League. Similar organizations may to some extent even have the freedom to follow a foreign policy of their own. The close political relations between the monarchy and the *poleis* in the state of Lysimachos seem to be clearly expressed by the above evidence.

On the Thracian Chersonese the new *polis* of Lysimacheia was founded functioning as "royal" city and capital at the same time. A synoikism was applied, so the older cities of Kardia and Paktia were "embraced" by the new capital (Plin. NH IV. 11. 40–50; ИТМ: 266) and deprived of their polis status. The new foundation appeared as "a fortress against the Thracians", but it certainly aimed at the control of the Hellespontine traffic from Europe to Asia as well (App. Syr. 1; Делев 2004: 171). It had equally economic, commercial and financial role being the main mint of Lysimachos in Thrace. The royal and civic bronzes of Lysimacheia found in Kabyle and Seuthopolis suggest that the trade traffic from Thasos and Asia Minor attested by amphora stamps in both cities and in Masteira as well (Гетов 1995: 115; Balkanska, Tzochev 2008) reached there from Lysimacheia via the road Aenos-Kabyle along the rivers Hebros and Tonzos. No excavations in Lysimacheia have been undertaken up to now, the only particular building we know about is the temple renamed *Lysimacheion* after the death of Lysimachos. There the King was buried and certainly venerated as an oikist (App. Syr. 341; ИТМ: 330). One may expect impressive fortifications to have defended the new foundation with the sites of older Kardia and Paktia. A similar construction and a new temple were built in Ilion (Strabo 13. 1. 26; Делев 2004: 384).

The City of Kabyle and the Kingdom of Spartokos and Skostokos. Originally an Odrysian "royal" city (*horion*) Kabyle was converted by the Macedonians into a *polis*, *see above*. The later political development of the city can be deduced from the epigraphic and numismatic evidence (most recently: Димитров К. 2004a *with bibliography*). After IG Bulg. III/ 2, № 1731 (the Edict of Berenike) during the late 4th and the early 3rd c. BC the city was a seat of the ruler Spartokos who later struck there bronze coins. On the obverse they bear the portrait of the King combined with a lion head and club, and on the reverse – Artemis standing, holding patera or wreath and a legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΠΑΡΤΟΚΟΥ. Ca. 275–270 BC the bronze coins of Skostokos, most probably the successor of Spartokos, were struck in Kabyle. On the obverse they feature the portrait of the ruler and on the reverse – a horseman and a legend ΣΚΟΣΤΟΚΟΥ or an image of Artemis with torches and monogram of the first three letters of the city's name (ΚΑΒ). The concentration of the coin finds of the above types clearly indicates that both rulers resided in Kabyle and not outside the city (contra: Стоянов 2006: 89).

Skostokos minted silver tetradrachms and drachms of the Lysimachos' type, as well as bronzes with Apollo's head and horseman in Aenos. After ca. 270 BC Kabyle struck autonomous bronze coinage in the name of the civic community (ΚΑΒΥΛΕΩΝ) depicting heads of Apollo, Artemis or Heracles on the obverse, and Artemis standing or her statue – on the reverse. The combinations of personal portraits, names and a royal title with effigies of civic dei-

ties and monograms on the coins of Spartokos and Skostokos evidence that Kabyle became the capital of a "personal" monarchy with mixed population, at the same time keeping her status of a *polis* similarly to Lysimacheia. This dualistic political system is mirrored in the Edict of Berenike. On one hand it mentions Spartokos as main subject of the decision with the possibility he to arbitrate its fulfillment. On the other hand, the Edict indicates copies to be exposed in the temple of (Artemis) Phosphoros, the patron goddess of Kabyle, and by the altar of Apollo on the agora, thus respecting the sacred *topoi* of the civic political life.

Another *polis*, Aenos, found place in the realm of Skostokos at least for several years as well.

There is no reason to consider Spartokos and Skostokos either as *epistati* or *hyparchoi* of Lysimachos (cf Тачева 1987: 20–21; 2000: 21–25), nor did "they act as lieutenants or officials" rather than as rulers (IACP: 894). It is almost certain that Kabyle was never controlled by Lysimachos, for the name of the diadoch is absent in the Edict of Berenike – evidently Spartokos was in possession of the supreme power in the city. The coins of Skostokos postdated Lysimachos' death and nothing can be said about any relations between the latter two rulers.

The tumuli by Kabyle without impressive tomb constructions are said to have belonged either to ordinary citizens (Стоянов 2006: 89) or to the local aristocracy (IACP: 893). The early Hellenistic royal and elite necropolis, however, should be searched for somewhere farther from the city, probably in the area of Sliven, where important rich burials were recently explored, *see above.*

After ca. 270 BC Kabyle recovered her position of independent *polis*. A direct evidence of the economic structures in the lands around Kabyle is unfortunately not available. Judging from the political pattern one may expect a co-existence and interaction of "royal" and *polis* economy. Kabyle developed activities, typical of a *polis* such as the trade to the Pontic shore, especially to Mesambria, and to the Thracian Chersonese (Драганов 1982a: 10-13; 1982b: 75-78; Draganov 1983: 113-115; Гетов 1995: 113-124). They are confirmed by coins of Mesambria, Odessos, Kardia, Lysimacheia, Aenos, and amphora stamps of Thasos, Rhodes, Knidos, Chios, Heracleia Pontica, Sinope – found in or around the city. A restructuring of the trade contacts were noticed from ca. 300 BC on. The Anatolian production, especially of Rhodes, replaced the Thasian import (Гетов 1995: 114–122), probably as a result of the expansion of Lysimachos' kingdom to Asia Minor and the supposed intermediation of Lysimacheia. The political unification certainly favored Hellenistic silver-coin issues from Amphipolis, Corinth, Abydos, Kolophon, Byblos, Babylon etc. to reach Kabyle and the area nearby (cf Dimitrov K. 1996/1997: LXXVI). As a whole, there are no indications of changes in the intensity of the trade contacts of Kabyle due to the different political status. To the autonomous period in the development of Kabyle should be referred the bronze minting of the city of two denominations and the protective financial policy of countermarking all foreign bronze coinages penetrating and circulating in the city. Trade relations via the Hebros and the Tonsos are attested through the abundant bronze coins of Antiochos II then controlling Lysimacheia and Kypsela (Драганов 1993: 105–107) and through the amphora import from Rhodes, Knidos and Sinope (Гетов 1995: 118–121).

Under Skostokos Aenos contacted with the Thracian hinterland, certainly via the Hebros. Skostokos' silver penetrated in compact lots as far as Philipoppolis (Dimitrov, K. 1984). The Aegean *polis* was obviously favored by being incorporated in the territorial state to trade with areas at considerable distance.

At the time of Spartokos Kabyle looked like a typical Greek city with agora, a temple of

(Artemis) Phosphoros and an altar of Apollo as agorean deity. A rectangular tiled stone building on the *acropolis* was originally considered earlier to have been the royal residence by the sanctuary of "Kybele". It was now recognized as a tower of the defensive system of Kabyle, approximately dated through a coin of Skostokos. Under this ruler the whole *acropolis*, including the sanctuary, was already fortified (Делев 2006: 97–102).

The State of Seuthes III and His Successors consolidated around its capital Seuthopolis – a new-founded "royal" city with dynastic necropolis of some 20 monumental tombs. Both the city and the necropolis were excavated and well-studied. Historical, epigraphic and numismatic evidence relates the city to Seuthes III, his wife Berenike (certainly of Macedonian noble origin) and Seuthes' son Roigos, who ruled successively there. Having revolted against Alexander as early as 325 BC, in 322 and 312 BC Seuthes appeared as the main adversary of Lysimachos in the competition for the "supreme power in Thrace" (*most recently*: Попов, Хр. 2002: 122–134; IACP: 886-887; Димитров, К. 2008a; 2008b; 2009; Dimitrov, K. 2009b *with extensive bibliography*).

The life in the area of Seuthopolis (the so-called Valley of the Kings near Kazanlăk) developed since the mid-Neolithic Age. Later it belonged to the Odrysian Kingdom and was governed from the central territory along the river of Stryama and was economically connected to it. Only unfortified settlements and a few burials are known from that time. After 340 BC the area was economically united with the Macedonian province of Thrace. Its closest neighbors became the territories of the new-founded Macedonian *poleis* of Philippopolis, Kabyle and probably Beroia. There is no evidence of Macedonian colonization in the area of the future Seuthopolis. The city emerged by force of a royal decree ca. 312–310 BC over an older, unfortified settlement. No earlier *tyrsis* existed there. The royal complex represented in fact a typical Hellenistic *basileia*, *see above*, erected as an essential part of the general Hypodamos city-planning. The rich archaeological evidence gave ground to some authors to reveal both eastern and Greek forms in the city lay-out (Димитров Д. П. 1960: 13; 1984: 17). Well-fortified, Seuthopolis had an *agora*, some 50 luxury houses, streets, a temple of the Great Gods of Samothrace incorporated in the basileia, and a second one of Dionysos – on the *agora*, served by a priest. Some 140 graffitti in Greek bear Thracian and Greek personal names and names of Greek gods as Zeus, Hera, Herakles, the Dioscuri and the Saviour God. The rich finds of coins, pottery, amphorae, etc. testify of extensive trade relations to the southeast with the Thracian Chersonese and Asia Minor (Alexander silver coins from Lampsakos, Kolophon, Sardes, Miletos, Priene, coins of Lysimachos, Adaios, Spartokos, Antiochos II, Kardia, Lysimacheia, Ainos, Aegospotamoi, and amphora stamps from Sinope, Rhodos, Chios and Samothrace), as well as to the southwest – with Thasos and Macedonia (abundant coins of Philip II, Alexander the Great and Kassander from Macedonian mints, and amphora stamps from Thasos, few coins of Demetrios Poliorketes), undoubtedly through the emporion of Pistiros, then controlled by the Macedonians. Foreign coins and local issues in the name of Seuthes and Roigos were relevant for the well-developed local market and monetary economy not only in Seuthopolis, but in the whole state as well. The royal and elite necropolis of Seuthopolis featured the tombs under the mound of Goliama Kosmatka (belonging to Seuthes III himself) and that of Kazanlak (belonging to Roigos).

Seuthopolis represents a unique case of urbanism in the Valley of the Kings and in the inland of Thrace with no link to earlier fortified constructions. It can be compared to the Macedonian cities after Philip II featuring a *basileia* and monumental tombs (cf Courtils 1999: 358 *with references*). The characteristic fortifications of Seuthopolis strongly resemble those

of Dion, Halos and Nikaea in Macedonia and were built by Greek architects (Nankov 2008). Recently it was argued that Seuthopolis developed straight from an earlier military camp for Thracian and Macedonian troops, engaged in repulsing Celtic invasions through the Shipka pass in Haemos (Nankov 2009). The suggestion is based on a conflict of Kassander with the Celts, unprecisely located (Plini XXXI. 30. 53), and on the abundance of coins of Kassander in Seuthopolis, which, however, can be explained by trade with Pistiros as well (cf Dimitrov K. 2010: 98). The suburbs north of the city were occupied by tiled frame-houses (?) " of economic and social importance" (Стоянов 2006: 85).

Long time ago Seuthopolis was considered not "a city-state of Greek type", but "the main center of a large territorial state…which in some points was close to the Hellenistic monarchies" (Чичикова 1970: 26). The Kingdom of Seuthes comprised the areas of Kazanlăk, Karlovo and Chirpan. Dozens of small settlements, some of them with mixed Thracian-Greek population, existed on this territory (cf Тонкова 2002: 157–158). Seuthoplis and the Kingdom perished either in the 270s or in the 250s BC as a result of a military disaster. The exact date of the catastrophe is yet to be defined (for discussion see most recently Dimitrov K. 2010: 100).

The imposing monumental tombs with rich elite burials probably marked large domains of private land-property (Delev 1998: 377–378). Judging from the local coinage in the name of Seuthes and Roigos, and from the royal workshops for *pytoi* the royal economy certainly predominated.

Production expanded outside the city, to the suburbs and to the smaller settlements nearby. Settling of Greek merchants and craftsmen, typical for the new Hellenistic state was supposed as well (Димитров, Д. П. 1957с: 216). Trade and small-scale monetary transactions flourished in and outside Seuthopolis, *see above*, probably monopolized by the King (cf Тачева 1991: 81–84).

The autocratic rule of the king and his wife is well-attested in the royal edict from Seuthopolis. Berenike is supposed to have had the position of regent and guardian of "her sons", i.e. the four princes (IGBulg. III/ 2: 1731). The absolute power in the hands of a woman has no precedent in pre-Hellenistic Thrace. The *basileia* incorporating the temple of the Samothracian gods, the large luxury houses in Seuthopolis and the less imposing frame-houses outside the city refer to the social hierarchy: an Odrysian-Macedonian royal family under divine protection, a mixed and strongly hellenized native and new military aristocracy, and a low-class population. The existence of other minor groups cannot be excluded (cf Тачева 1991: 82; Попов, Хр. 2002: 133). Personal and private-property immunity was accorded to Epimenes by the decree, recognized as privileges of "caractère hellénique et quasi civique" (Hatzopoulos 2002: 269–270). The decree itself was determined as a "royal decision, couched in the style of a polis" (IACP: 888, 889, 896. 657). It probably expressed a constitutional element in the King's attitude towards elite Macedonian subjects. Similar to the civic edicts in the west-Pontic poleis the royal decrees in Seuthopolis were kept in the temple of the main divinity. In Seuthoplis these were the Great Gods of Samothrace, the "tutelar deities" of the royal family (Nielsen 1994: 99). Of particular interest is the decision a second copy to be exposed by the altar beside the temple of Dionysos on the agora, thus stressing the importance of the city square as second center of social and political life after the King's palace. The imitation of the well-known Greek practice created the impression of some democratic disguise of the royal government. The society and especially the elite in Seuthopolis were no way illiterate as believed about the Thracians in general (cf Фол 1990: 94, 102–103). Greek was employed in official decrees, consecrations to gods (IGBulg. III/ 2: 1731, 1732) and funeral inscriptions

dedicated to kings (the name of Roigos in the Kazanlăk Tomb) for indicating the personal property of the King (the helmet and the silver vessels with the name of Seuthes in the tomb under Goliama Kosmatka), and of other people. Greek numerals and measures for volume and weight in "alexandrian" tetradrachms and drachms were popular. Although not organized as a *polis*, the capital and the state of Seuthes III should be regarded as examples of royal urbanism and monarchy respectively, both typical for the early-Hellenistic times.

Conclusion. A mixture and interaction of eastern and Greek forms in the economic, social and political structures is observed in the Odrysian Kingdom and the later Hellenistic states on the Odrysian territory from the 5th to the mid-3rd c. BC. Similar specific combinations reveal the affinity of the ruling classes to dominate over subjects of various ethnic and cultural profiles and traditions, and to maintain active and fruitful contacts with neighbors and partners from all around the Mediterranean world.

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Abbreviations

Кабиле = Кабиле 1, 2. София. 1982, 1991.

Севтополис 1= Севтополис 1. Бит и култура. София, 1984.

ХТ = Тачева, М., Ботева, Д. (съст.). Христоматия по тракология, т. 2. София, 1998.

App. = Appianus. Syriaca.

Arr. Anab. =Flavius Arrianus**.** Anabasis.

Arist. =Aristoteles. Oeconomica.

BCH 1999 =Dossier: nouvelles perspectives pour l'etude de l'inscription de Pistiros. In: BCH 123/1, 247–371.

Curt. = Q. Curtius Rufus. Historia Alexandri Magni.

Demosth. = Demosthenes. Orationes.

Diod. = Diodorus Siculus. Bibliotheca historica.

IACP = Hansen, M. H., Nielsen, T. H. (ed.). An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. Oxford 2005.

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin.

IGBulg. = Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae, vol. I (ed. 2), II–V (edidit G. Mihailov). Serdicae 1958–1998.

Iust. = M. Iunianus Iustinus. Epitomia historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi.

Paus. =Pausanias. Graeciae descriptio.

Pistiros =Pistiros vols. 1-3. Prague 1996–2005.

Plin. = Plinius. Naturalis historia.

Plut. = Plutarchi vitae parallelae (Alexander).

Polyaen. Strat. = Polyaenus. Strategematon libri octo.

Strabo = Strabo. Geographica.

Thuc. =Thucydides. Historia.

Xen. Anab. = Xenophon. Anabasis.

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POWER AND PROPERTY RIGHTS IN ANCIENT THRACE – 6th-4th CENTURIES BC

Petar Balabanov

The paper proposes a discussion on the forms and interdependences of power and property in Ancient Thrace.

The author presents his views on the existence of complex economic and social forms, with emphasis on the situation in Thrace described by Xenophon and Thucydides, on Xenophon's narrative on the situation in the region of the Straits at the very end of the 5th century BC, and proposes a new interpretation of Aristotle's information on the tax collected by Kotys. The information provided by the Greek authors from the late 6th until the mid-4th century BC is evidence of the preservation of strong elements of autonomous rule in the public structures in some places, which often led to attempts at restoring tribal autonomy.

Based on the analysis, the conclusion reached is that a complex structure of the institutions of administrative and political power existed in the lands of Ancient Thrace in that period, and that the processes and the stages of the economic and political development of the Thracian lands are yet to be specified on the basis of geographic and chronological characteristics. Only after identifying the characteristics of the elements of the economic and political mosaic over the entire territory of the country it will be possible to raise the issue of the real model of royal power and its sub-variants.

For a number of reasons, over the past decades publications on the history of Ancient Thrace have treated a much narrower circle of themes. One such top priority issue is to explain the nature of royal power and its religious and philosophical footing. Information on particular deeds of Thracian kings, especially the rulers of the Odrysians and the Getae, and the history of their dynasties, had been subjected to numerous interpretations (Фол 1972; Jordanov 2007; Jordanov 2009; Попов, Д. 2011). The very process of formation of state bodies through the development of tribal structures after one single attempt to use the complexity of available information sources (Златковская 1971) was abandoned for a long time for the sake of seeking some universal theoretical models based on artificially created constructs.

The history and dynamics of Thracian tribes' economic development and social structure after the first comprehensive research by Prof. Alexander Fol could only occasionally draw the attention of researchers (Фол 1972; Фол 1981; Тачева 2006; Попов, Д. 2011). Almost all Bulgarian authors adhere to the initial models offered by A. Fol. The remarkably interesting research of N. Nedelchev on the pos-

sible alternatives to the views dwelling in this area of studies was just an isolated work without any followers (Неделчев 1996). Without making any considerable progress in research in this direction, the already apparent discrepancies between the simplified models of the structure of Thracian societies, which were so far accepted as axiomatic, and the multiplying evidence, both archaeological, epigraphic and historical, proving the existence of much more complex and dynamic forms of its economic and social structures, will go deeper and more intense in time.

Some of the most serious issues that were left nearly forgotten in present publications are the unclearly defined models of treated forms and interrelations of power and property rights in Ancient Thrace. There are not many views expressed in this sphere. Most authors build their views around the idea of unconditional power of kings and para-dynasties over the life and property of their subjects (Фол 1981; Попов, Д. 2011). The alternative views trying to prove the existence of a wide range of power forms and property rights in Ancient Thrace over the entire first millennium BC and the diverse interrelations formed between them, remain so far just private hypotheses (Неделчев 1996; Балабанов 2009).

As undoubtedly inhabited by Thracians by the second half of the first millennium BC, despite the varying opinions of researches, today are accepted the lands outlined by the course of the rivers Struma (Strymon) and Iskar (Oescus) to the west, the Aegean and Marmara Seas to the south and southeast, the Black Sea to the east and the Danube river to the north. Nevertheless, even within those borders the ethnic picture was not homogenous – for instance, the Aegean coast was colonised by Hellenic people as early as the Early Iron Age, whereas separate Hellenic enclaves, usually taking the form of emporia, existed further inland in the continent (Велков, Домарадска 1998).

Historical sources unanimously prove that many other state-like alliances existed simultaneously in parallel with the Odrysian kingdom in the area outlined above, e.g., the state of the Dolonci on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the state/states of the Getae, the Triballian kingdom, and a number of tribal territories having political and social structure about which only fragmentary information is available. In addition, it should be noted that historical sources contain little information about "kingless Thracians". The appearance of autonomous coins monetary emissions by different tribes and by some unknown rulers not mentioned in historical sources, but obviously different from the Odrysian ones in the 6th-4th century BC, render the picture of the political and administrative structure in the Eastern Balkan Peninsula even more patchy and colourful (Юрукова 1992: 9-35; Топалов 1998). Their analysis allows us to assume that by the end of the said period and especially in Aegean Thrace the autonomous local structures of governmental power was quite strong and it was based on military-tribal democracy that was very close in structure to the early *poleis* of Hellas (Балабанов 2009). The principal study of the history of tribes inhabiting Southwestern Thrace has a major importance

for further analyses in this direction (Делев 2014: 11-17). The author infers that the vast area of the plains of Mesta and Struma rivers was ruled by autonomous tribes and tribal unions in the 7th-4th century BC and account for his making the conclusion that these structures played a major role as basic elements of the social organisation until the Romans took possession of their territory. On the other hand, this proves that royal power here was at a quite early stage of development and the historical sources contain no record of large and strictly defined hierarchical state governments over the entire first millennium BC.

Certain difficulties in doing profound research work on the regional and chronological specificity of the economic and social reality of Ancient Thrace pose three hard to surmount obstacles. In the first place, this is the lack of sufficiently detailed written information about the state and its population. A serious problem is due to the fact that, as a rule, all research so far has not taken into consideration that the forms of social and economic structures are dynamic in time. The modelling of these forms and especially the modelling of their development can hardly be justifiably reconstructed without having plausibly reconstructed their prototypes first. A major shortcoming of all published works so far is that they do not take into account the economic and political situation in adjacent geographic regions, which undoubtedly had an influence on the conditions and development of Ancient Thrace.

The information about the relations between administrative power and about the structure of property rights in the area of Eastern Mediterranean lands during the Iron Age is distinguished by a remarkable diversity of economic and political models and vigorous changes even in limited regions and for short chronological periods. This statement is also applicable for powerful and well-studied government structures such as the ones in Persia, Athens and Athenian unions, Sparta, the Roman Republic, Carthage, etc., about which there is sufficiently detailed and plausible written information. It is becoming increasingly clear that it is inconsistent from a methodological point of view to seek universal, and furthermore preserved for a period longer than one millennium, similar forms and models that existed only in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. The available database is quite sufficient in order to reject the idea of a social and economic homogeneity in the lands of Ancient Thrace, as outlined by the borders described above in the 6th-5th centuries BC.

Today, we can state with confidence that in the first millennium BC the economic processes and social structures in the different regions of the contemporary Bulgarian territory differed significantly even in terms of quality. That is why all new research must be based on a new approach to the theme: first of all, stricter limits in both geographic and chronological terms must be defined. A thorough and comprehensive study of the issues in this area of knowledge would not be possible in the near future. Further below we will try to examine part of the information

about one of the key elements of public relations for any society, i.e., the forms and relationship between power and property rights that existed in Ancient Thrace in the 6th-4th centuries BC.

Before we start, let us make one very important note. In all historical ages, even nowadays, there is a qualitative difference between the ideal described by the formulation of law and the reality of social relations. It is a trivial fact for us, contemporary people, which is not appropriate to discuss in public. In the Iron Age the concepts were even simpler: rights were something that could be applied by force here and now. The laws lay down by government resolutions, no matter if it was the *polis* or the king, especially when such laws were not officially codified, was applicable only where their observance could be guaranteed by force. At the same time, the existence of the so-called "traditional right" beyond the direct and armed government control, served to define and determine people's relations with regard to the different kinds of property only within particular groups of people. Practically, due to the lack of well-developed administrative and bureaucratic mechanisms and written legislation, this traditional law was in fact applied in the daily life of most of Ancient Thrace. The traditional right contains comparatively universal elements, such as the concepts of "personal property", "patrimony", and "common property". Nevertheless, it is probable that there could have been serious discrepancies even for these more or less stable concepts in the different regions depending on the specific circumstances. In the research works so far dominates the idea that the theoretical model of "royal economy" predetermined the factual interrelations practiced in the entire Thrace during the Late Bronze Age until the coming of the Romans. The foundations of that model were laid long ago by the ultimate statement that the processes of class distinction in the territorial community give birth to two main groups: peasants-commoners and aristocratic elite (Фол 1981: 92). Later this opinion was driven to a hard to sustain scheme according to D. Popov that Kotys I (383-359 BC) travelled over his lands every year in order to control his subjects and give orders what to plant, and then he could dispose of the whole harvest at his own discretion (Попов, Д. 2011: 47). It suffices to take a look at the map of the Odrysian kingdom at that time to see that in this case it is a matter of turning the information from written sources into absurd statements. While the works of A. Fol assume that every head of family had property rights on the land given to him by the king, which in practice was handed down from father to his son (Фол 1981: 104), some thirty years later Popov wrote that "Practically, everything was turned into private property of dynasties and their entourage, which resulted in the lowest possible standard for land cultivators" (Попов, Д. 2011: 48). Even more extreme is the statement that "the dynasties and their entourage had in property practically everything effect of which was the lowest possible standard for land cultivators" (Попов, Д. 2011: 47). An illustrative proof about how that model is untrustworthy can be provided by a number of historical sources. Here we would

only refer to the argumentation of Derkyllidas, retold by Xenophon (Xen. Hell. 3, 25-28). The Spartan general explained to the local usurper that he was the owner of a property of the Persian satrap, which by the force of arms was now Greek property and that the only legal property that he could claim was his father's heritage (houses and lands). In fact, although it is not directly stated, the Spartan made it clear that apart from heritage rights, the force applied here and now was a decisive measure to determine the ownership capacities – a principle that is valid even nowadays, despite the juridical backgrounds. The rulers of Ancient Thrace never had sufficient force to turn their proprietary ambitions into reality on a national level. Even the most prominent ones were not capable of leading serious military actions without recourse to Greek mercenaries (Archibald 2013: 11-12). Nothing goes to imply that such enforcement of property rights could have been possible for local aristocrats in the majority of Ancient Thrace.

Another statement in the cited work of Popov, namely that in the circumstances of territorial communities, the royal economy did not have the potential to develop commodity-money relations, to create a multi-layered social structure and private property of *polis* type, i.e. slave-holding type (Попов, Д. 2011: 48), could be overruled by one single fact. Money, as means of exchange, moreover the comparatively cheap bronze issues, appeared in Ancient Thrace as early as the end of the Bronze Age (Балабанов 2006; Топалов 2007: 12-55). Until now more than 50 classical coin issues of Thracian tribes and rulers are known to have existed (Svoronos 1919) only in the period 6th-3rd century BC. A single hoard contained from several hundred to several thousand coins minted from precious metals (Юрукова 1992: 9-105 with bibliography). The number of coin hoards related to the said period, as mentioned in the "Collective Discovery of Coins" section of Bulgarian Archaeology Institute News, the *Archaeology* Journal and the annual bulletins of Bulgarian museums amount to more than 250. According to latest studies, Thrace was among the lands where bronze coins were minted in huge volumes as early as at the end of the 5th century BC, which is an undisputed proof of the existence of well-developed commodity-marketable relations and intensive retail sales. Obviously, it is either that "royal economy" was only a small part of the national economy or that "royal economy" generated the development of commodity-money relations. An additional argument for their development was the complex structure of settlements, where specialised trading centres could be distinguished (Попов, Хр. 2002: 170-174) as early as the end of the 6th century to the first half of the 5th century BC, plus the extensive appearance of imported ceramic works in archaeological sites inland.

It is still more obvious that the endeavour to find a single model of power, universal and preserved for more than a millennium and moreover intentionally simplified, economic and social interrelations in Thrace would not be productive and should be dismissed.

The traditional way to reconstruct historical processes and events is to start from the information provided in the written works of ancient authors that have survived to our age. Although well-known for ages, some abstracts containing quality information about problems of interest for one reason or another have not yet been thoroughly analysed by Bulgarian authors. Here are some examples:

But before he came to the Ister he conquered first the Getai, who believe in immortality: for the Thracians who occupy Salmydessos and are settled above the cities of Apollonia and Mesambria, called the Kyrmianai and the Nipsaioi, delivered themselves over to Dareios without fighting; but the Getai, who are the bravest and the most upright in their dealings of all the Thracians, having betaken themselves to obstinacy were forthwith subdued (Hdt. 4, 93).[1]

This excerpt from Herodotus' *History* informs us that in the course of his march against the Scythians the Persian king Darius I passed through the lands of three autonomous states or proto-state structures: the areas populated by the tribes of Nipsaei (Спиридонов 1993: 197) and Kyrmians (Лазова 1993: 263-264) and the Getae. This text makes it clear that by the end of the 6th century BC there existed at least three political bodies along the western coast of the Black Sea, which had the power to make autonomous decisions on matters of peace and war. Even if we suppose that these bodies were headed by kings, it is obvious that here it is not a question of well-organised "royal" societies. The excavations of the Thracian fortress Malkoto Kale located just above Apollonia Pontica, showed that this Thracian settlement existed at least since the last period of the Early Iron Age (Гоцев, Домарадски, Карайотов 1992). Despite the comparatively late building of solid fortress walls, their presence nonetheless provides grounds to believe that there existed a sort of a military structure, possibly of the type of volunteer corps, whose purpose was to protect the settlement and the adjacent territories. This observation is supported by the coexistence of five more fortresses, which obviously served different purposes within one defensive system (Балабанов 2000: 47-49). Such a hypothesis may be applied to explain the purpose of the coexisting complex of fortresses above the town of Peshtera (Панайотов и др. 1976). The existence of an autonomous military organisation in such cases can be inferred from the understanding that the creation and development of a territorial fortress system could be justified only if there was a war footing to maintain and use it (Балабанов 2000: 18-19). Information about such type of a military structure of the tribes in Mysia by the end of the 5th century BC is mentioned several times in Xenophon's story, e.g., the abstracts describing the vicissitudes in the march of Greek mercenaries in

[1] Translated by G. C. Macaulay. All the cited English translations of Herodotus are after Herodotus 1890.

Thracians populated regions of Mysia around the Sea of Marmara (Xen. Anab. 6, 3, 2-25). The story tells about numerous "Thracian peltasts" and "Thracian horsemen" who used to undertake coordinated raids against the troops of the Greek mercenaries. The maintenance of different types of war footing in Antiquity is an indirect but nevertheless quite sufficient proof of the existence of a developed social structure that emanated it.

Herodotus' works contain also other data proving that the remnant structures of militarised democracy were preserved long enough, and in specific territories they were much more typical than the universal models (Неделчев 1996).

In fact, Hellenic historians, starting with "the Father of History", provide quite definitive information to believe that the forms of social organisation and political power in the various regions of Thrace were quite different from the concepts of "royal" or "dynastic" rule. For instance, Megabazus' report against Histiaeus, dated to the first decades of the 5th century BC, explicitly mentioned that the inhabitants of the region of Mirkin were posing potential risk for the rule of the Persian king because:

Then, since Histiaios the Milesian was already engaged in fortifying with a wall the place which he had asked and obtained from Dareios as a reward for keeping safe the bridge of boats (this place being that which is called Myrkinos, lying along the bank of the river Strymon), Megabazos, having perceived that which was being done by Histiaios, as soon as he came to Sardis bringing the Paionians, said thus to Dareios: "O king, what a thing is this that thou hast done, granting permission to a Hellene who is skilful and cunning to found a city in Thracia in a place where there is forest for shipbuilding in abundance and great quantity of wood for oars and mines of silver and great numbers both of Hellenes and Barbarians living round, who when they have obtained a leader will do that which he shall command them both by day and by night" (Hdt. 5, 23).

Obviously, it is a matter of free people inhabiting the area of the town of Mirkin who are not under the power of a single person. Moreover, the Greek historian puts on the same level both Hellenic and Thracian tribes, therefore he does not differentiate between their social structures. The tribal organisation of the tribes inhabiting Aegean Thrace, according to all sources surviving to present time, at that time was rather similar to the one of early Greek *poleis* than to the royal power typical of the Persian model (Балабанов 2011). It is appropriate here to remind that especially in the initial stages of development of *poleis*, royal power was not incidental. Royal power, though, during the examined historical period was very much restricted by other, predominantly elective bodies such as the ones in Sparta, or the royal power itself was elective as in the state of the Dolonci in the Thracian Chersonesos. Therefore, the information about the king of the Bisaltae and the Krestones (Hdt. 8, 116, 1) cannot be accepted as a valid argument to overrule such observation.

These cities, I say, lying by the sea coast and belonging to Hellenes, he passed by, leaving them on the left hand; and the tribes of Thracians through whose country he marched were as follows, namely the Paitians, Kikonians, Bistonians, Sapaians, Dersaians, Edonians, Satrians. Of these they who were settled along the sea coast accompanied him with their ships, and those of them who dwelt inland and have been enumerated by me, were compelled to accompany him on land, except the Satrians (Hdt. 7, 110).

Obviously, Herodotus did not have exact information because the other authors of Antiquity age, mostly Thucydides and Xenophon, relate many other similar instances.

...the Satrians however never yet became obedient to any man, so far as we know, but they remain up to my time still free, alone of all the Thracians; for they dwell in lofty mountains, which are covered with forest of all kinds and with snow, and also they are very skilful in war (Hdt. 7, 111).

The existence of so many clearly identifiable administrative and political subjects along the marching route of the Persian king in the beginning of the 5th century BC proves that at that time in Aegean Thrace there was no singular royal power of the Eastern despotic type. It is worth noting that there is no information whatsoever about the existence of any such power models inland. If we base our reasoning on the concept of the traditional evolution of economic progress and the parallel development of administrative-political structures, nothing would account for making the assumption that kingdoms of Eastern type existed in Ancient Thrace at the time preceding the events described by the Father of History. This conclusion was made unambiguously in the works of another prominent historian of classical times – Thucydides:

Sitalces was the son of Teres and King of the Thracians. Teres, the father of Sitalces, was the first to establish the great kingdom of the Odrysians on a scale quite unknown to the rest of Thrace, a large portion of the Thracians being independent (Thuc. 2, 29).[2]

It would be hardly possible to say that before the Odrysian kingdom was stabilised under the rule of Teres I, there were no centralised kingdoms of Mysian type in Ancient Thrace and that the traditions of military democracy were very strong. Further on in his story, when describing the march of the Odrysian ruler Sitalces against the Macedons, the author cites some particular tribes who did not submit to Odrysian rule or who were able to keep their autonomous bodies of authority within their own states:

Beginning with the Odrysians, he first called out the Thracian tribes subject to him between Mounts Haemus and Rhodope and the Euxine and Hellespont; next

[2] Translated by R. Crawley. All the cited English translations of Thucydides are after Thucydides 1903.

the Getae beyond Haemus, and the other hordes settled south of the Danube in the neighbourhood of the Euxine, who, like the Getae, border on the Scythians and are armed in the same manner, being all mounted archers. Besides these he summoned many of the hill Thracian independent swordsmen, called Dii and mostly inhabiting Mount Rhodope, some of whom came as mercenaries, others as volunteers (Thuc. 2, 96).

The picture presented by the two great historians describes the situation in Thrace not as a mixture of kingdoms but as a complicated conglomeration of authority institutions, including, besides the Odrysian royal family, many subordinated autonomous tribal structures, such as the ones of the Getae (Йорданов 2008; Jordanov 2009), separate proto-state centres such as the kingdom of the Triballi, and "independent" tribes (obviously living in a military democracy). It would be logical to assume that parallel with it there were many other tribes, not mentioned in the information sources.

As it is a well-known fact, Xenophon is one of the few authors who left a book written basically on personal observations and memories. His work called *Anabasis* was not meant to be used as an argument for solving urgent political problems, as for instance Demosthenes and Aeschin's speeches were. This makes him free from using any rhetorical exaggerations and stylistic techniques aimed at instilling certain manipulative views in listeners. Therefore, the information about the march of Greek mercenaries can be credited to a great extent. A great part of his story relates to the political situation in the extreme southeastern corner of the Balkan Peninsula. Here, he is not observing any demonstration of strong royal power but rather the fight between one of the heirs of the Odrysian royal family – Seuthes II – and the local Thracian tribes who did not recognise its supremacy. The earliest mentioning is the following:

Clearchus …but after the peace, he persuaded his own city that the Thracians were injuring the Hellenes, and having secured his object, set sail, empowered by the ephorate to make war upon the Thracians north of the Chersonese and Perinthus… Having got this money, he did not sink into a life of ease and indolence, but collected an army with it, carried on war against the Thracians, and 5 conquered them in battle, and from that date onwards harried and plundered them with war incessantly, until Cyrus wanted his army (Xen. Anab. 2, 6).[3]

Obviously, in the late years of the 5th century BC the enemy of the Spartans was an anonymous armed force rather than the dynasty officially ruling that region (as Seuthes' story continues in Chapter Seven, his father was chased away at that time by rebelling tribes). The fact that Clearchus defeated his enemies in a struggle indicates that they had an autonomous military organisation, probably created on

[3] Translated by H. G. Dakyns. All the cited English translations of Xenophon are after Xenophon 1897.

volunteering principles, which in turn suggests what the nature of the bodies of political and administrative authority in this tumultuous region was.

Further on the text says that the disobedience of local tribes was not recent but was rather an old tradition:

It was stated in explanation that in old days an ancestor of his, named Teres, had been in this very country with a large army, several of whom he had lost at the hands of the native inhabitants, besides being robbed of his baggage train. The inhabitants of the country are Thynians, and they are reputed to be far the most warlike set of fighters – especially at night (Xen. Anab. 7, 2).

This is important information because that same tribe, probably nominally subjected by the first Odrysian rulers, rose again during the rule of his grandson. Therefore, regardless of the relations between the Thyni and the Odrysian rulers, all local administrative structures were able to preserve their sound management potential.

Maesades was my father; his sway extended over the Melanditae, the Thynians, and the Tranipsae. Then the affairs of the Odrysians took a bad turn, and my father was driven out of this country, and later on died himself of sickness, leaving me to be brought up as an orphan at the court of Medocus, the present king. But I, when I had grown to man's estate, could not endure to live with my eyes fixed on another's board. So I seated myself on the seat by him as a suppliant, and begged him to give me as many men as he could spare, that I might wreak what mischief I could on those who had driven us forth from our land; that thus I might cease to live in dependence upon another's board, like a dog watching his master's hand. In answer to my petition, he gave me 34 the men and the horses which you will see at break of day, and nowadays I live with these, pillaging my own ancestral land. But if you would join me, I think, with the help of heaven, we might easily recover my empire. That is what I want of you (Xen. Anab. 7, 2).

Seuthes' complaint makes it clear that even under his father's rule the mentioned tribes continued to exist as distinct communities. The exercise of power in their territories was obviously not strictly centralised. It could be inferred that kings used to rely on local traditional structures of authority by actually buying their loyalty (as was practiced in Mysia according to other of Xenophon's writings). The price undoubtedly included conceded authoritative and economic prerogatives.

As enemies of the dynasty, presented by the names of its kings, Seuthes cites the names of the tribes and not the names of chiefs. It becomes clear that the chronological period when royal power was rejected in those lands lasted for several years, maybe a decade. It is only normal to ask: Who was vested with the power at that time? An indirect answer to this question can be found in Xenophon's notes about the Thracian hostages taken during the march of the mercenaries:

Accordingly the next day Seuthes delivered up the hostages. They were men already advanced in years, but the pick of the mountaineers, as they themselves gave out (Xen. Anab. 7, 4).

Obviously, the figures mentioned in the texts should not be interpreted as local dynasties. It is much more logical to interpret them as the elders of a typical rural neighbouring community of the type preserved in the Rhodopes region until the first half of the 20th century.

The events related or implied in Xenophon's works stand as evidence that a well-established royal power and firmly rooted proprietary relations between the ruler and his subjects could not have been possible in the late years of the 5th century BC in the Delta region and in the Southern Strandja Mountain. Therefore, the events should be viewed as an episode of the extensive conflict between the old military-tribal organisation of Thracian tribes and the strengthening singular prevalence of individual Odrysian rulers. This struggle was not finalised then; it continued through the next century, even after Thrace was conquered by the Macedons.

Xenophon's texts give grounds to conclude that the remnants of authoritative structures of local tribal communities, in addition to being preserved under the control of the central Odrysian dynasty, also served to express the tribes' strive for independence at every possible occasion. In such circumstances the idea of the absolute king's power over the life and property of his subjects could hardly have been implemented in practice except in isolated cases when he had the necessary resources to enforce it.

The only excerpt that is often cited as evidence of the unconditional property rights of Thracian rulers over the lands dates back from the mid-4th century BC is:

Iphicrates of Athens provided Cotys with money for a force which he had collected in the following manner. [20] He bade him order <each> of his subjects to sow for him a piece of land bearing 4 1/2 bushels. A large quantity of grain was thus gathered, from the price of which, when brought to the depots on the coast, the king obtained as much money as he wanted (Arist. Oeconom. 1351a).[4]

The above excerpt is the most commented one and cited as a definitive argument proving the unrestricted power of Thracian kings over the property of their subjects. A more careful analysis, though, would convince us that such an argument could hardly be accepted as a logical conclusion drawn from the text.

In its essence, the king's order is in fact of economic nature and it was intended to collect an extraordinary tax. Such a tax could be levied on inhabitants having different social and economic status: local rulers, free commoners, dependent peasants, or even individual land owners. Nothing in the text suggests what the

[4] Translated by G. C. Armstrong. All the cited English translations of Aristotle are after Aristotle 1935.

property rights and the forms of land possession were in fact, or how the right to use the produce from land cultivation was regulated. The term *medimnos* is a measure of weight and not a measure of area. Therefore, the text should be interpreted to mean that Kotys ordered additional land that was big enough to yield three *medimnoi* of grain per taxable producer to be planted. Who owned these lands – were they king's property, or communal or personal – the text does not make it clear. It is not clear either whether the demanded amount of grain was bound to particular land owners/users or whether it could have been bought. It is not known whether in addition to that extraordinary tax, a regular one was levied as well. Anyway, the text shows that the ruler appropriated only a portion of the produce grown by the land cultivators. Kotys' subjects were free to use the remaining portion as they saw fit, even to sell it at the marketplace – therefore, they were given freedom of choice when deciding how to dispose of their own production. Hence, there are grounds to make the assumption that property rights and the conditions for land possession in the territory of Odrysian kingdom were not bound to the ways that produce was to be utilised; at least as much as a significant part of it was concerned. The Odrysian ruler could have equally well collected the necessary amount of food by simply obliging his subjects to supply the grain in the king's granaries.

In fact, the only sure conclusion to be drawn from the examined excerpt is headed in entirely different direction. It makes it obvious that at that time Cotys did not have enough money to ensure the payment for serious military contingents and could not have recruited such in a short time from amongst his subjects. That circumstance is indicative of the ruler's economic weakness. Theoretically, he could have demanded the money he needed in cash – the amount of coins discovered on the territory of Ancient Thrace during his rule shows that there were enough quantity of coins amount in these lands. Information about the proceeds from taxes collected from the Greek colonies justifies the assumption that Kotys could have collected the money in another way, too. The impossibility to enforce such a decision proves that the controlling capacities of state power over market operations in the Odrysian kingdom was not a serious factor in securing its resources. The fact that Kotys was unable to recruit and maintain a permanent army and resorted to the use of mercenaries is also indicative of the fact that the king had quite a restricted power over his subjects.

Summarising the information provided by ancient authors about Southeastern Thrace for the period from the late 6th to mid-4th century BC, it becomes clear that local public structures were documented to have preserved strong elements of self-government, and it often accounted for their attempts to restore their tribal autonomy. At the same time, the texts and epigraphic monuments inform us of the strengthening of the king's power represented mainly by representatives of the Odrysian dynasty. Yielding under the pressure of the prevailing military force or for other reasons, local inhabitants accepted their nominal subjection to

the Odrysian rulers but preserved in general their social and economic structures, which were quite similar to the forms typical of a tribal democracy rather than to the forms typical of absolute singular royal power. The texts provide no evidence – at least nothing in the surviving historical information indicates otherwise – to suggest that there was a ruler vested with absolute power who could dispose with his personal property which was treated also as state property at his own control and discretion.

Despite the scarcity of written texts, the development of tribal coin minting in Southwestern Thrace suggests that historical processes had taken the same course of development. The presence of issues minted with the names of the Derrones, the Orreski, the Ichnii, the Edones, the Tinteni (Юрукова 1992: 9-35) and other tribes, amassed in a small geographical area, suggests that the profits from exploiting the mines in Pangeon were distributed among multiple centres and were not concentrated into one single royal treasury. Xenophon's remark on the kingless Thracians could be related to the same region.

Bearing in mind that owing to the active economic contacts with the Hellenic and Mysian kingdoms the areas near the Aegean and Marmara Seas developed economically, and hence politically as well, faster than the areas situated inland, we could hardly accept that the appearance of any despotic structure of eastern type was possible at all in the region bordered by the Rhodopes and Haemus Mountains. It would be much more logical to assume that the processes in these lands were developing within the same coordinate frame, provided some distinct region had their own local specificity.

On the basis of the foregoing we could draw the conclusion that a complex structure of bodies of administrative and political power existed in the lands of Ancient Thrace in the period from the late 6th to mid-3rd century BC. The powers of residual tribal models of social organisation played a leading and determinative role for the lifestyle in the majority of Thracians, and within this frame the struggle for predominance between the free commoners and the substratum of craftsmen and traders, on the one hand, and the representatives of the strengthening aristocracy – on the other hand, was lead. This process did not follow a straight line but depended on the changing economic, political and military situation in the different regions. The capacities of each individual ruler, including the most prominent representatives of the Odrysian dynasty, to exercise control over the economic relations in subjected territories, were governed by the particular resources that the ruler had available at a given time. Certainly they were not sufficient to create a numerous and strictly hierarchically controlled bureaucratic stratum of state officials. Hence, regardless of the claimed rights and ambitions, the actual property rights of Thracian rulers were quite restricted. The income derived from their exploitation was not enough to maintain at least an efficient army, as indicated in the last examined excerpt by Aristotle. The rulers' relative economic weakness could

be illustrated by juxtaposing the rather modest "royal" issues of coins in terms of number, nominal value and area of distribution to the numerous monetary units issued by the tribes and other issuers, which circulated in the territory of the Odrysian kingdom.

The analysis of the stages of economic and political processes which took place in the Thracian Diaspora in the 6th-3rd centuries BC has yet to be specified in terms of geographic and chronological characteristics. The same is valid for the results there from, which do not always and everywhere match the final forms. The task to specify in details the local models of social structure, their dynamics and interaction, appears to be of top priority. The issue about what the actual model of royal power and its variations were could be raised only after the characteristic elements making up the territorial puzzle in Ancient Thrace have been studied and specified in details.

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THE ROYAL PALACE IN SEUTHOPOLIS

Maria Chichikova

The paper examines the large building in the northeastern corner of Seuthopolis in the citadel, which was connected to the city's fortification system and was defined as the royal district (basileia). Its location emphasises the need of special defence of the ensemble and hence its prime importance for the unified urban planning. Criticism is addressed to some authors who express unjustified doubts that the building was a royal palace. It has all principal elements of a Hellenistic royal palace: throne hall, sanctuary of the Great Samothrachian Gods, which was also mentioned in the big Seuthopolis inscription found there, and a residential sector. The closest parallels are with the Macedonian palaces in Pella and Demetrias. The finds from the palace and the basileia are presented: the base of a bronze statue – probably of the city's founder, Seuthes III, coins, ceramics, etc. Being comprehensively studied together with the basileia and with the city, and with precise dating to the late 4th – first half of the 3rd century BC, with its original plan the palace in Seuthopolis enriches today's notions on the Hellenistic palace architecture and its manifestations in ancient Thrace.

The "royal" city of Seuthopolis, the capital of Seuthes III, is a phenomenon without analogue (at least owing to the fact that it has been entirely explored) in the urbanisation of ancient Thrace (*last*: Чичикова, К. Д. Димитров 2016). Its northeastern corner was occupied by a citadel of irregular quadrangular shape, with an area of 0.45 ha or 1/10 of the city's territory. It rose to a height of only 1.50 m above the other parts of the city and was structurally linked to the city's fortification wall (Fig. 1). In the northwestern part of the courtyard there was a rectangular building with impressive dimensions (40 × 17 m) and an area of 680 m^2.

The opinion that the citadel was originally a *tyrsis* – a fortified royal residence – around which the city developed later (Димитров, Д. П. 1958) was not confirmed. The numismatic material found in the citadel is synchronous with that from the city's other sectors (cf. Димитров, К. 1984; Димитров, К. 2011: 100). There is also a clearly expressed structural link between the city's fortification walls and those of the citadel (Попов 2002: 123-126; Тонев 1995: 37-38). Both the city and the citadel were probably built simultaneously based on one construction plan, undoubtedly with a royal edict. It is accepted almost unanimously (see below) that the big building in the citadel was a palace including the temple of the Great Gods (Dimitrov, D. P., Čičikova 1978: 12-13; Димитров, Д. П. 1984: 15; Archibald 1998: 311-313; Archibald 2005: 896). Certain doubts were expressed by Bouzek (1996: 213-215), who erroneously referred to Seuthopolis as "der Stadt des Para-

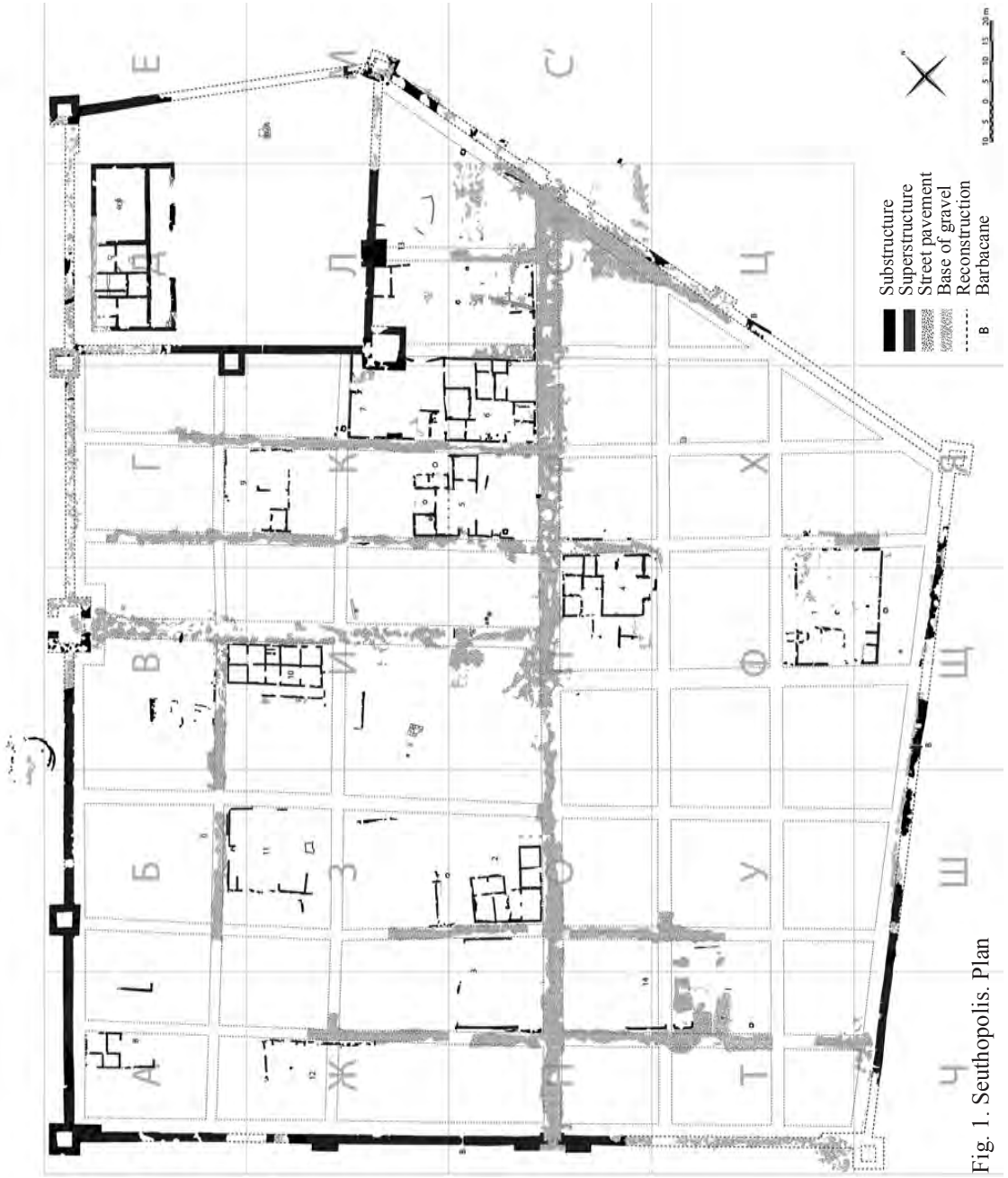


Fig. 1. Seuthopolis. Plan

dynasten Seuthes II, der in der Zeit des Lysimachos lebte." In fact, Seuthes II was a paradynast of Metokos and later king of the Odrysae (ca. 400-389 BC) (Xen. Anab. 7. 2, 32-34; Димитров, К. 1999: 175-177). The ruler who founded Seuthopolis and resided in it was Seuthes III (ca. 325-300 BC) (Curt. 10.1, 43-45; Diod. XVIII. 14, 2-4; XIX. 73, 1-10; Димитров, К. 2008: 65, 72-75 with ref.). Bouzek emphasises the importance of "das grosse Haus in der Zitadelle." He assumes that there was a sanctuary of the Samothracian Gods there, but believes that the identification of the building as a palace by the archaeologists who found it remains a hypothesis. A similar view is expressed by Rabadjiev as well (Рабаджиев 2002: 20-21). He also identifies the building only as a temple of the Great Gods, whereas "the king's urban residence" was claimed to be house No. 1 located outside the citadel, "in the best protected area of the city." He uses as argument the parallel in the plan of the building with the Herakleion on the Island of Thasos, cited by D. P. Dimitrov (Димитров, Д. П. 1957: 75 with ref.). However, in addition it, parallels are also adduced there with civilian buildings like the Bouleuterion and the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in Miletus, to which it is also possible to add the Pompeion near the Dipylon Gates in Athens (400 BC). Their plan was extensively used during the Hellenistic Age in palace and civil architecture (Чичикова 2009: 40). According to Rabadjiev, the citadel was located in the most vulnerable part of the city and was hence not intended as ultimate protection. Therefore, it was unsuitable as a location of the royal palace. In support of his theory he cites Lauter (Lauter 1986: 86, Abb. 7) as follows: "H. Lauter directs the attention to the fortification separation of the citadel residence and to its peripherial position **as an exception in architectural practice**" (Рабаджиев 2002: 12-13, note 11). Lauter's original text reads: "Beachtenswert ist in Seuthopolis nicht nur die fortifikatorische Abtrennung, sondern die Randlage des Rezidenzbereichs," but he does not express anywhere a definite opinion that the location of the Seuthopolis citadel and palace is "**an exception in architectural practice**" (*author's bold* – M.Ch.). Rabadjiev's theory is justifiably criticised by other authors (Nankov 2008: 30). In another publication, Lauter categorically identifies the building commented here as "palais", and the citadel – as "fort palatial." He emphasises that the positioning of the palace ensemble in the northern corner of Seuthopolis is "très instructive." In his opinion, localising the royal quarters in the outer areas of the city, as in the case with Seuthopolis, offered a number of advantages. On the one hand, it symbolised the king's function to control the city's general protection, and on the other – it gave a chance of fleeing in the event of mutiny or rebellion (Lauter 1987: 347, 352-353). The entrance to the citadel in Seuthopolis, which was close to the eastern city gate, indeed secured rapid access for the king and his family to the nearby harbour in the event of danger (Чичикова 2014: 18).

Nielsen examines about 200 examples of Hellenistic palaces and notes than in all Hellenistic capitals the kings built palaces protected with fortification walls

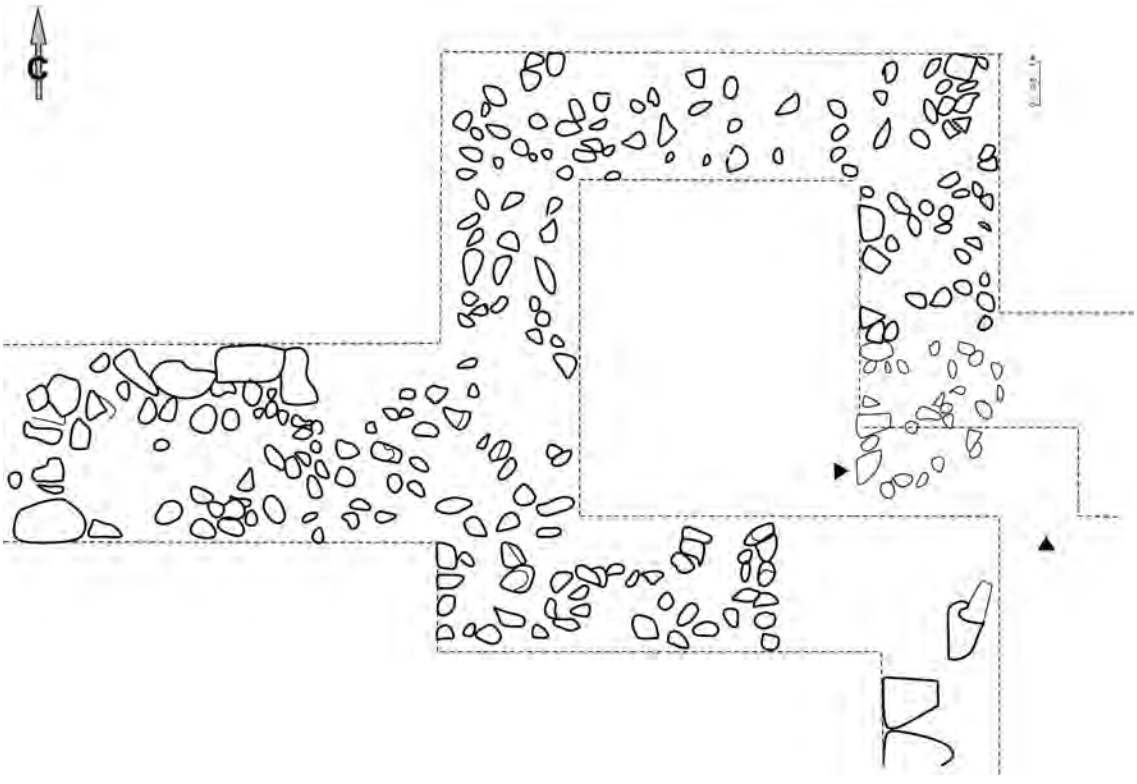


Fig. 2. Seuthopolis. Tower No. 3. Plan

(Nielsen 1994). There could be only one building in the royal quarters (*basileia*) thus formed – the palace – which combined various functions: representative, religious, residential, for everyday needs, etc. The principal role of the *basileia* was to protect the royal residence. Some of the palaces were also integrated with large architectural ensembles (theatres, libraries, etc.), which transformed the *basileia* into entire districts in the Hellenistic cities, as in Alexandria (Lauter 1987: 351-354; Nielsen 1994: 23-24; Hoepfner 1996: 41). A number of features characterising the Hellenistic palace are listed, although the presence of only some of them can define an ensemble as a palace ensemble (Nielsen 1994: 14). The spacious halls were the most important element in the palace buildings, where the dynasts discharged their official duties. The temples dedicated to the gods protecting the king and the dynasty also occupied an important place in the palace building. The palace in Seuthopolis entirely meets the principal conditions characterising a palace ensemble (*contra*: Рабаджиев 2002: 20, note 50): to be fortified, to have a large hall for the king's official meetings and banquets, a temple-sanctuary of the patron deities

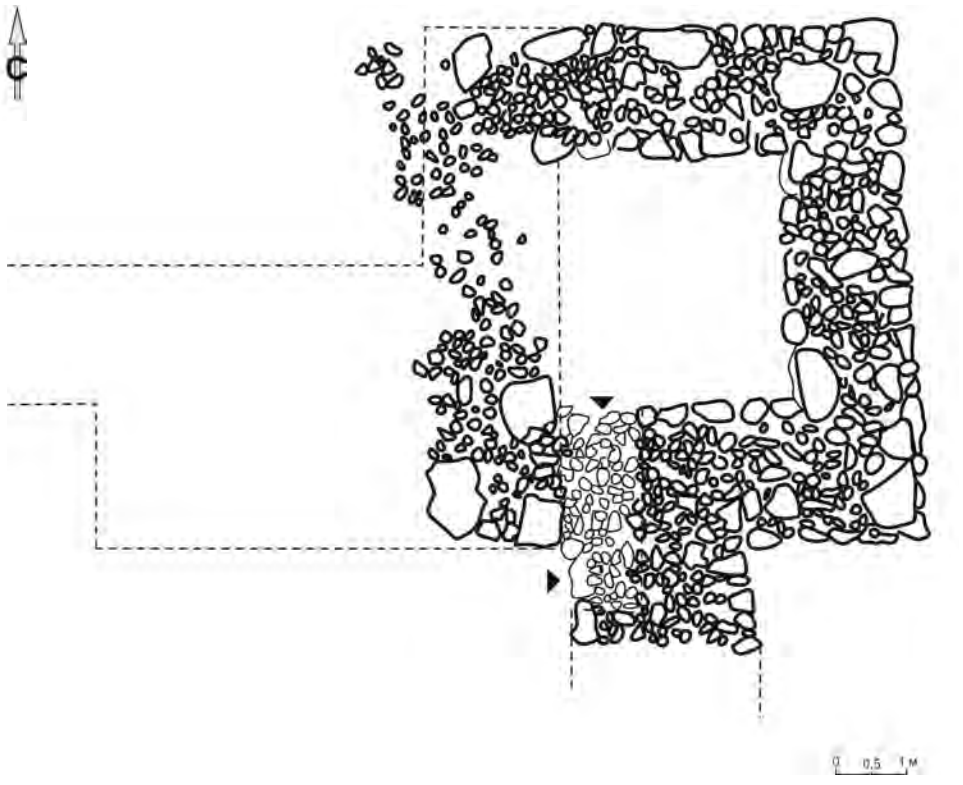


Fig. 3. Seuthopolis. Tower No. 4. Plan

protecting the royal dynasty, and a residential part. The palaces in Seuthopolis and in Pantikapaion are the only palaces found so far to the north of Macedonia. The palace in Seuthopolis does not have the plan of a megaron, which results from the influence of the Macedonian construction practice, and together with the entire *basileia* it belongs to the unified Hippodamos plan of the city (Nielsen 1994: 99-100).

Briefly, the fortified citadel of Seuthopolis, which was the capital of a small Hellenistic monarchy (Чичикова 1970: 26; Димитров, К. 1981; Димитров, К. 2011: 109-110 with ref.), possesses all elements of a Hellenistic *basileia* (Чичикова 2009 with ref.). The *basileia*, and especially the royal palace as its natural centre, were indisputably the most important element in the city's plan both in urbanistic and in a social sense of the term. The fortification system of the *basileia* in Seuthopolis included parts of the city's northeastern and northwestern fortification walls, 55 and 70 m long, together with their adjacent towers Nos 3, 4 and 5. Tower No. 3 (Fig. 2) has inner dimensions 3.50 × 4.50 m and outer dimensions 7.25 × 7.25 m, tower No. 4 (Fig. 3) – accordingly 3.50 × 3.50 m and 7.00 × 7.50 m, and tower

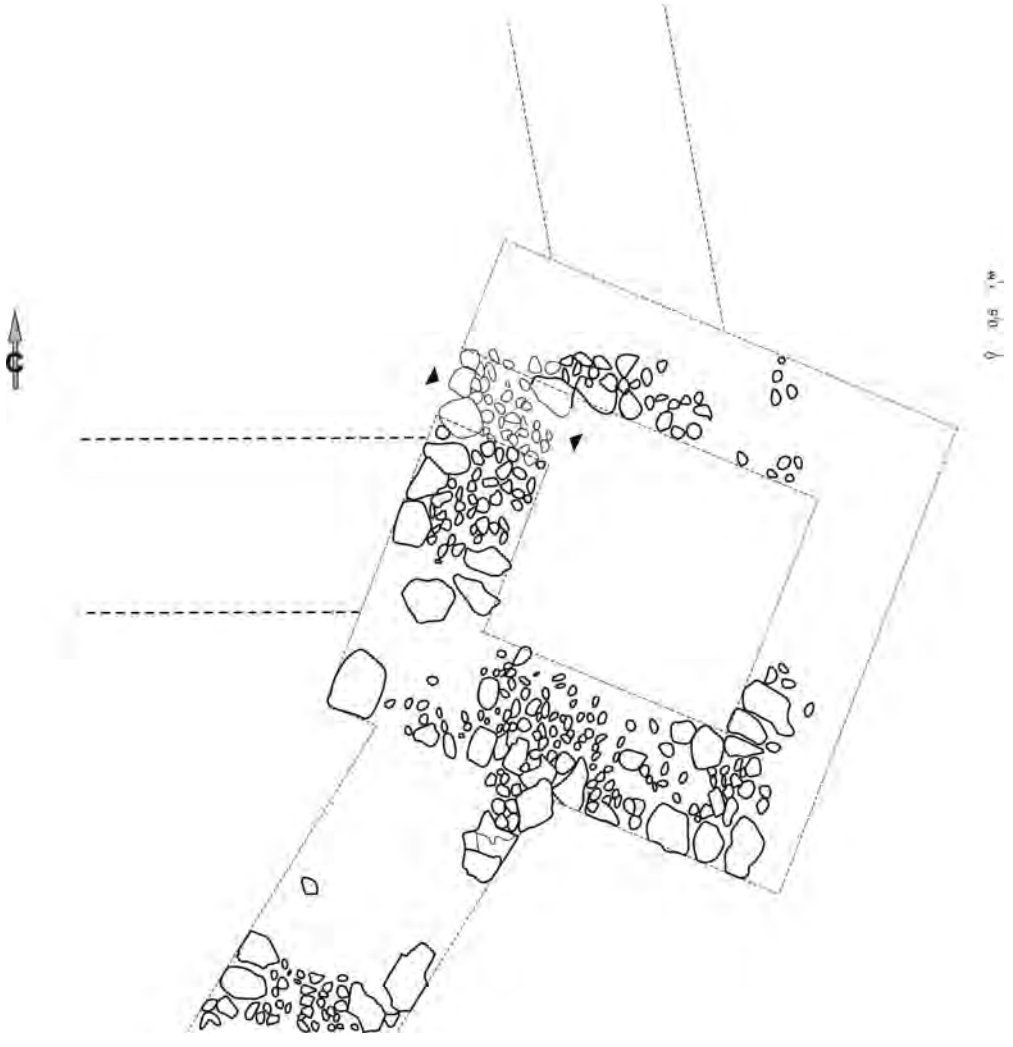


Fig. 4. Seuthopolis. Tower No. 5. Plan

No. 5 (Fig. 4) – 3.50 × 3.50 m and 6.50 × 6.50 m. The southwestern inner wall of the citadel is 70 m long, with tower No. 9 rising in its middle (Fig. 5) with inner dimensions 3.50 × 4.50 m and outer dimensions 6.50 × 5.50 m. It joins at a right angle the city's wall at tower No. 3. The southeastern inner wall of the citadel is also 70 m long and it joins the city's wall at tower No. 5. Tower No. 8 was erected in the corner between the two inner walls (Fig. 6), with inner dimensions 6.75 × 6.50 m and outer dimensions 10.70 × 10.60 m. It is the biggest in the fortification

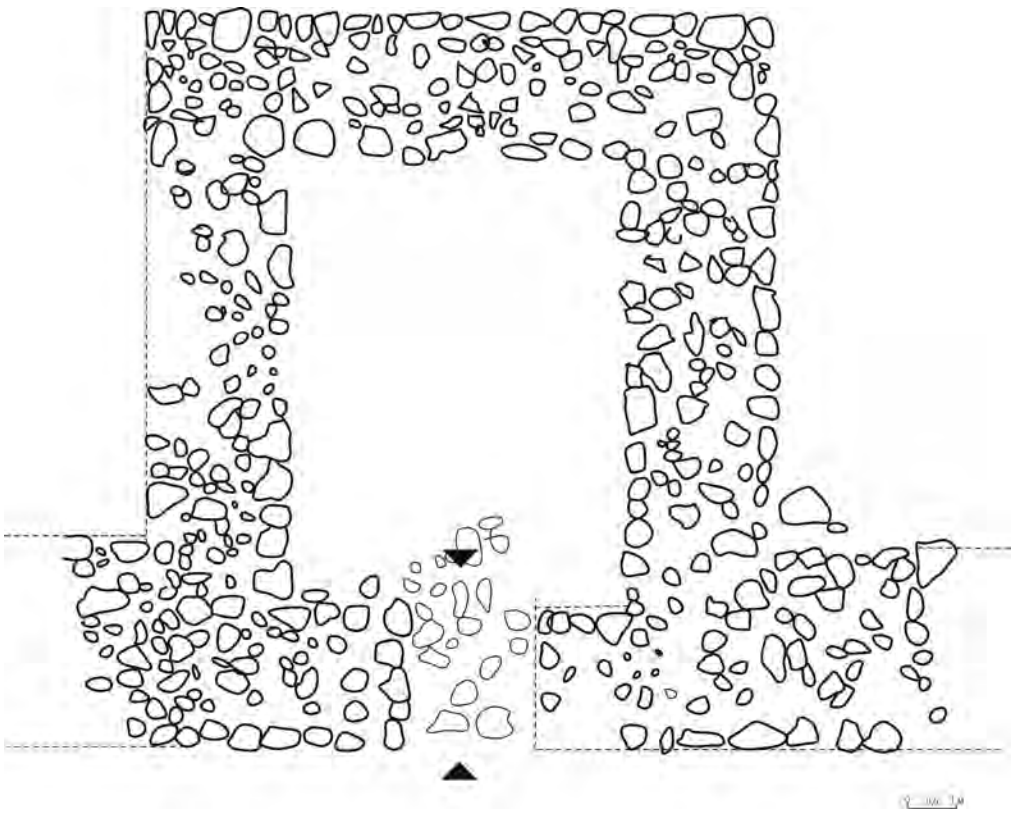


Fig. 5. Seuthopolis. Tower No. 9. Plan

system not only of the citadel, but also of Seuthopolis in general. Towers Nos 3, 4 and 5 defended both the city and the citadel, and towers Nos 8 and 9, with excellent view to the inside of the city, secured mainly the citadel and the palace. Tower No. 8 defended also the entrance to the citadel, shaped as a *propylon*. All towers were accessible through entrances only from its courtyard. The four corner towers gave the name to that fortification system – *tetrapyrgia* – well known in the fortification traditions of Asia Minor (Marzolff 1976: 44; Marzolff 1996: 158). The specific features of the *tetrapyrgia* in Seuthopolis comprise its fifth tower (No. 9) and the unusually large size of another of its towers (No. 8) with parallels in Latmos and in the city of Herakleia on Latmos (early 4th century BC), one of the earliest examples of *tetrapyrgia* in the Mediterranean (Peschlow-Bindokat 1996: 170-174, figs. 2-3). The *tetrapyrgia* of the palace in Demetria in Thessaly probably also included a fifth tower, and two other towers had a view to the inner city, as in Seuthopolis (Marzolff 1976: 41-45).

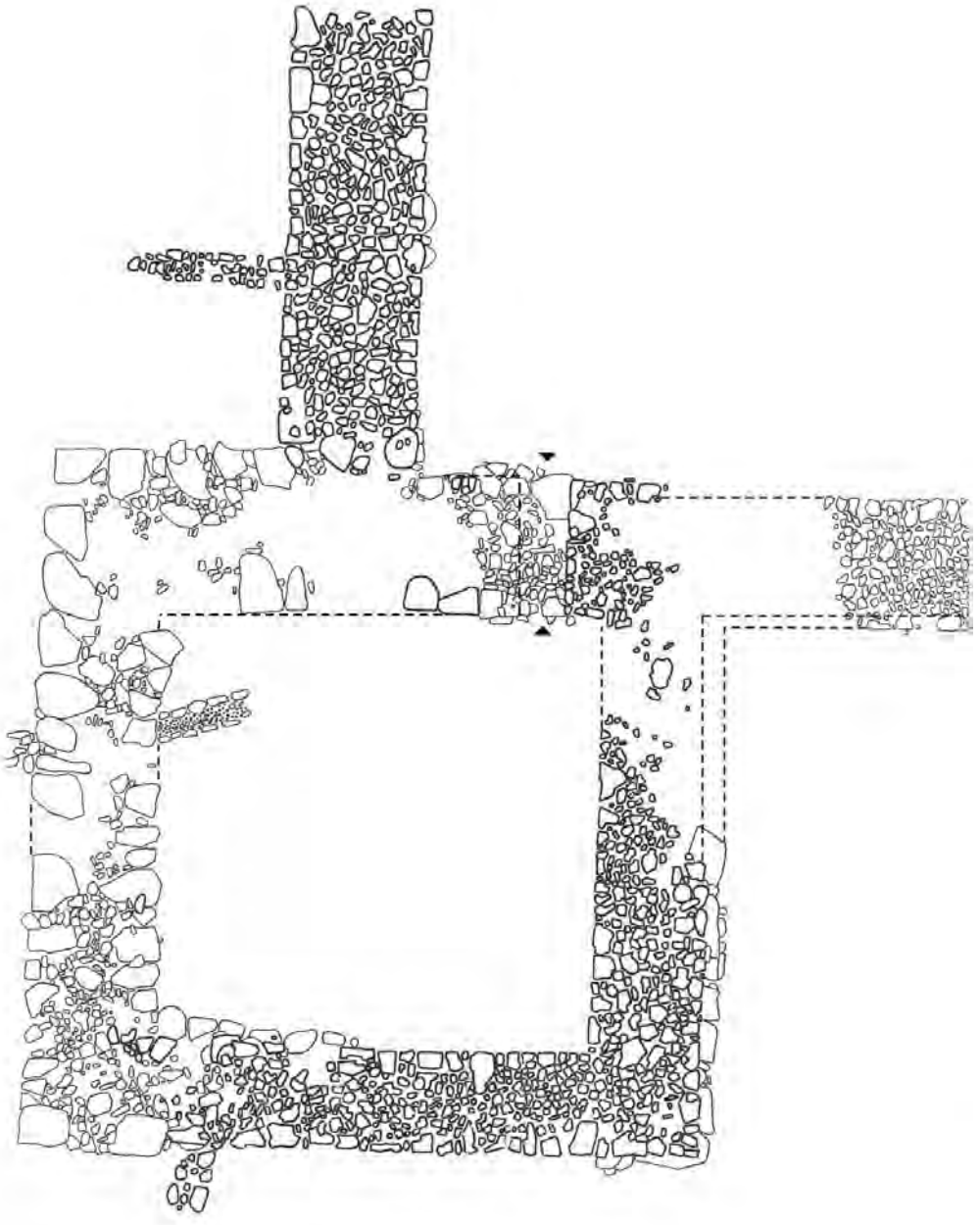
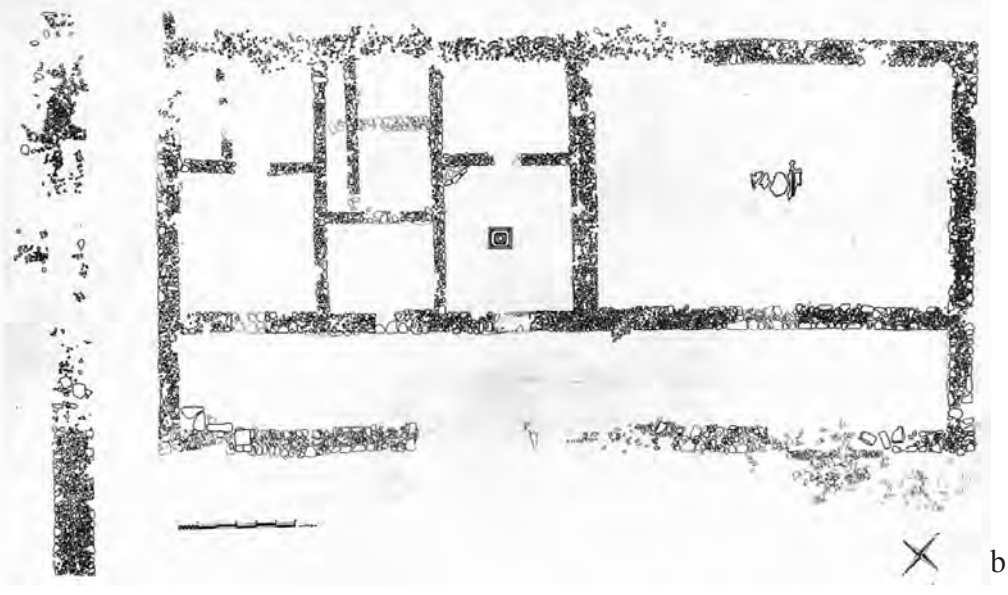


Fig. 6. Seuthopolis. Tower No. 8. Plan

Fig. 7. Seuthopolis. The propylon of the basileia

Fig. 8. Seuthopolis. Base and capital of a Doric column, probably belonging to the propylon

a



b

Fig 9. Seuthopolis. The palace: a – general view; b – plan

The stone platform of the foundations (6.50 × 6.00 m) and parts of the two walls and the threshold between them have been preserved from the *propylon* of the *basileia* (Fig. 7). Two fragments of a lower drum and capital of a Doric column (Fig. 8), found not far near the eastern fortification wall, probably belonged to it.

The palace (Fig. 9a-b) rose at the back of the courtyard, perpendicularly to the *propylon* and parallel to the northwestern and northeastern fortification walls at a distance of only 4 m from them. Its façade was oriented to the city. Its walls were built of sun-dried bricks over stone foundations, and the roof was made of *tegulae (solenes)* of Corinthian and semi-cylindrical calypters of Lakonian type. The frontal calypters along its rim ended in antefixes decorated with palmettes (Fig. 10). The antechamber of the palace is shaped like a long corridor (40 × 5 m), with a colonnade on the façade. Almost the entire eastern part of the building was occupied by the throne hall (Fig. 11). The rest was divided into three double rooms, isolated from one another so that each pair of rooms in them was interlinked and linked with the antechamber in enfilade (Димитров, Д. П. 1960: 11, fig. 12).

The throne hall (18 × 12 m) with an area of 216 m^2 is the most important part in the palace building. The king exercised his powers there and held official ceremonies, audiences, banquets, etc. The rich ornamentation of the walls with polychrome stucco imitated marble incrustation entirely in the spirit of the famous Hellenistic palaces. It comprised a plinth of black orthostats above which there was a wide multicoloured band and red walls that contrasted with the shining snow-white ceiling. A large square cult hearth (*eschara*), 3 × 3 m, was found in the centre of the throne hall. This is the biggest monument of this type unearthed in Thrace so far (Fig. 12). Decoration of rectangles with an ornament of ivy twigs and fruits included in them is stamped on the smooth surface (Чичикова 1975: 181; Dimitrov, D. P., Čičikova 1978: 48, fig. 75). There was a sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace in the palace, located by the throne hall. It consisted of two rooms. In the bigger one (7.00 × 7.50 m) another *eschara* (0.60 × 0.60 m) was found, with a concave circle in the centre, surrounded by an ornament of laurel leaves framed by two concentric circles (Fig. 13a-b) (Чичикова 1975: 181-183, figs. 2-3; Dimitrov, D. P., Čičikova 1978: 48, fig. 74). A large marble slab (1.00 × 0.75 m) was found in the second smaller room (7.00 × 5.00 m) of the sanctuary, and next to it – the famous and repeatedly commented big Seuthopolis inscription (IGBulg 1731; Elvers 1994) (Fig. 14), whose location and the data found in it identified the room as sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace. There is no doubt that they were patron deities of the king and guaranteed the legitimacy of his power (Nielsen 1994: 100). The western part of the palace had two floors, with an area of 160 m^2 for the lower floor. It was intended for the personal needs of the royal family. It

Fig. 11. Seuthopolis. The throne hall

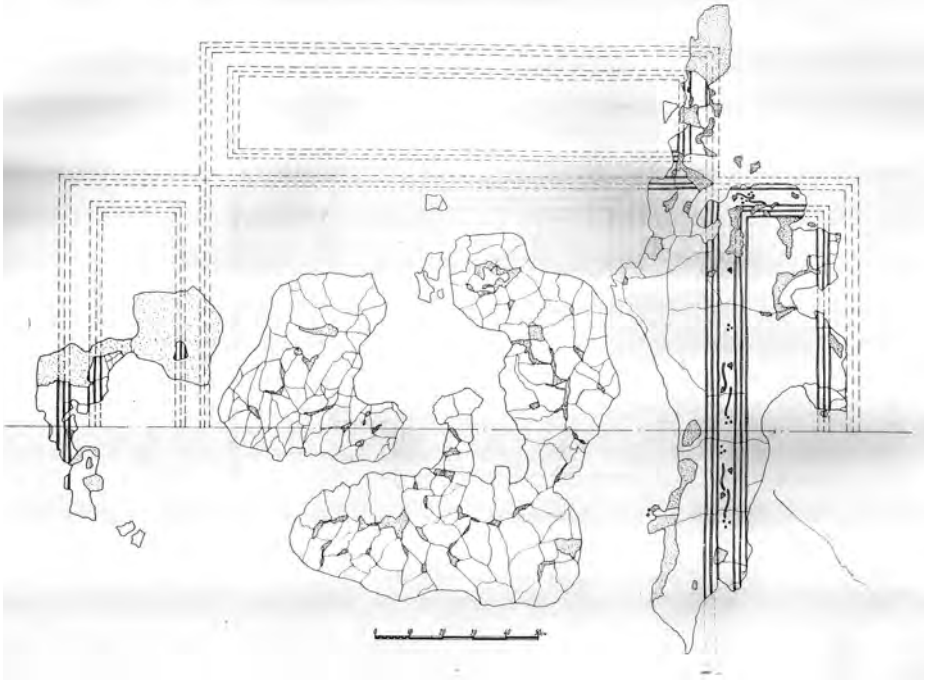


Fig. 12. Seuthopolis. The eschara in the throne hall. Plan (after Dimitrov, D. P., Čičikova 1978: Fig. 75)

consisted of four rooms of different sizes (5.00 × 7.50 and 5.00 × 5.00 m), aligned two by two in two lines. The larger inner room had a staircase to the second floor. The throne hall and the residential part probably shared a roof. The palace in Seuthopolis was built during a period of flourishing of Hellenistic palace architecture, when fortified royal districts (*basileia*) of the Hellenistic cities began to take shape around the palaces – complex ensembles consisting of more than one building. As in Homer's time, the actual palaces were called *megara* or *anaktora*. Different terms were used for their private and representative rooms: *oikos* and *andron* accordingly (Hoepfner 1996: 1). The considerable destruction of Seuthopolis, especially in the area of the citadel that had been attacked with stone-throwing machines (Nankov 2008: 36, 41), do not allow to identify presence of other buildings in the area of the *basileia*. That lack of clarity was also partly due to the medieval settlement and its necropolis, from which ten dwellings and eight burials were found there (Чангова 1972: 22-26, 131). A marble base for a statue (53 × 40 × 33 cm) was found *in situ* in the courtyard of the *basileia* at a distance of 20 m from the façade of the palace, between large stone blocks – part of a stone platform? (Fig. 15). It testifies that there had been a substantial stone monument there, the two clearly outlined pits from life-sized human feet suggest a standing male figure made of bronze (Огненова-Маринова 1984: Cat. No. 408, figs. 101-102). Traces of an unclear inscription are discernible on

Fig. 14. The Seuthopolis inscription (after Elvers 1994: 243)

Fig. 15. Seuthopolis. The base of the bronze statue, possibly of Seuthes III, see also Fig. 16

Fig. 16. Bronze head of Seuthes III found by his tomb and a coin portrait of the king (after Китов 2005: 93, fig. 148)

the face of the base: in two lines, shallow, chiselled with a thin blade and with visible subsequent attempt to erase it. Later research confirmed that the statue was of a man, 1.75-1.80 m tall. It is possible that the bronze head of Seuthes III (Fig. 16), found in front of the ruler's tomb below the Golyama Kosmatka tumulus, belonged to that statue (Kitov 2006: 81-83, figs. 68-70). Relatively few finds were exposed among the ruins of the palace. Several bronze three-edged arrows were found next to a quiver in the northwestern corner of the throne hall. They are badly charred and deformed by a strong fire (Огненова-Маринова 1984: Cat. No. 154, fig. 14). Two fragments of bronze vessels and a *lacrymarium* were found close to them (Чичикова 1984: Cat. No. III.21). The residential part of the palace was richer in finds, mainly fragments of black glazed Greek pottery, some of which with ornamentation in "west slope" style. A lead bracket on the neck of a *kantharos* is preserved, probably from a repair of the vessel (Чичикова 1984: Cat. No. III.14, 112, tabl. XXIV). Several fragments of bronze jewellery were also found: fibulae, rings and a bracelet (Огненова-Маринова 1984: Cat. No. 116, fig. 4). Several arrows, a fragment of an iron bow and a cheek-piece of a bronze helmet, found near the entrance to tower No. 9, came from the courtyard of the *basileia*. A perfectly preserved gold earring from tower No. 9 and a silver pendant from another tower stand out among the finds of female bronze jewellery: fibulae, rings and bracelets (Огненова-Маринова 1984: Cat. Nos 100, 108, 148, fig. 3, 12-13). The ceramic finds from the courtyard comprise fragments of black glazed dishes and *skyphoi*, some of which with Greek graffiti and stools of *kantharoi*, as well as an amphora stamp from Sinope dated to 260 BC (Balkanska, Tzochev 2008: Cat. No. 37). The local pottery is represented by two deep handmade vessels and a lamp, as well as a small number of separate fragments (Чичикова 1984: Cat. Nos 1. 2, 8, 58, 79, Tabl. IV). The finds comprise also 22 fragments of mouths of *pythoi* with stamps, local production, three of which in the palace and one in tower No. 8 (Чичикова 1984: Cat. No. II). A total of 96 coins come from the *basileia*, 16 were found in the palace: one in the sanctuary (Димитров, К. 1984: Cat. No. 45), 7 in the antechamber (*Ibidem*: Cat. Nos 7, 8, 20, 62, 71, 739, 1154) and 8 in the residential part (*Ibidem*: Cat. Nos 49, 64, 645, 648, 713, 958, 959, 1040). Eight of all 16 coins belonged to Seuthes III (six of type 6 and two of type 7), the rest were foreign coins from the end of the 4th century BC; 80 coins were found in the courtyard of the *basileia*, 40 of which are of Seuthes III (three of type 1, seven of type 2, 18 of type 6 and 12 of type 7). The other 40 were minted by different cities and dynasts, covering the period from the reign of Philip II (359-336 BC) to that of Antiochus II (261-246 BC).

Compared to the splendour and dimensions of the palaces in the Macedonian capitals, the palace in Seuthopolis was modest and unpretentious. With only one row of rooms and without peristyle, it tends to remind of a large dwelling of

pastas type (Lauter 1987: 347; Nielsen 1994: 11). It is representative of the so-called compact palaces that consist of only one building. Nevertheless, the building possesses all elements characteristic of a royal palace. Being comprehensively studied, together with the *basileia* and the city, and with exact dating to the end of the 4th – first half of the 3rd century BC, owing to its original plan, the palace in Seuthopolis enriches the contemporary notions of Hellenistic palace architecture and its manifestations in ancient Thrace.

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АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИ И НУМИЗМАТИЧНИ ПАМЕТНИЦИ КАТО ИСТОРИЧЕСКИ ИЗВОР

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC MONUMENTS AS HISTORICAL SOURCES

STUDYING THE NUMISMATIC SOURCES ON THE ODRYSIAN KINGDOM IN THRACE (5TH–MID-4TH CENTURY BC): CLASSIFICATION, METHODOLOGY AND MAIN RESULTS

Kamen D. Dimitrov

From the 5th century BC until the Macedonian conquest in 341/340 BC the Odrysian Kingdom was the largest and the mightiest multi-tribal state in Thrace, extending from Abdera to the mouth of Istros (Thuc. 2, 96, 1–4; 97, 1–2; Diod. 12, 50, 1). The land provides abundant coin finds of different origin and art. Several other dynasts are known (by coin evidence only) to have ruled in Southern Thrace during the period of Odrysian supremacy in the area. Although their connections (dynastic or other) to the Odrysian court are still obscure due to the total lack of written data, their issues fit in the numismatic history of Southern Thrace during the relevant period. These few words of introduction, I hope, would be enough to challenge some interest in the present study, which is intended to fill up to some extent the blank fields in the modern understanding of ancient Thrace, left by the scarcity and controversies of the texts.

I. CLASSIFICATION

A. Coins issued outside Thrace: *kyzikeni*, drachms of Parion, Persian *sigloi*, Athenian "owls"

B. Coins issued in Thrace:

1/ Civic issues of the coastal *poleis*;
2/ Thracian tribal issues of Mount Pangaion area;
3/ Thracian regal issues;
4/ Local imitations of Thasos and (possibly) of Parion.

The enormous bibliography on this material can be reduced to several titles of relevant importance (Schoenert-Geiss 1999; Димитров 1989; 1999; Dimitrov 1993; 2009; Picard 1986; 1990; Юрукова 1992; Peter 1997; Archibald 1998; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2008; Psoma, Karadima, Terzopoulou 2007; Paunov 2015, all with bibliography and discussion).

II. METHODOLOGY

Three categories of finds are to be investigated separately: coin hoards, single coins and coin complexes from archaeological sites. They refer to different stages of the circulation: massive penetration (coin streams), daily exchange and local circulation in and around the sites. The issues, once classified by typology, weight standard and denomination, treatment in statistics of each lot and each category of finds is applied, based on the chronology and the area of distribution of the finds. Establishing the date of burial of the hoards and of the perishing of the sites, based on the chronology of the latest coins, is essential. Applied to the regal issues of the Odrysian kingdom, a similar process allows them to be attributed to several local mints after their fabric, iconography and distribution of the finds. Cases of similarity in standard and typology with civic issues (quasi-identity) point to essential influence from the coastal civic mints on the Odrysian workshops. A glance at the tribal issues in the Thraco-Macedonian cultural space in the Pangaean area is equally of interest in order to shed some light on the roots and the continuity of the Odrysian concept in coin iconography and semantics. Last but not least, the coins combine features of written and linguistic sources (inscriptions and names), as well as of archaeological artefacts (iconography and, sometimes, provenance). Comparison between the data obtained from all four kinds of sources is thus obligatory.

III. MAIN RESULTS

A. Considerations in Monetary Economy

Tracing the massive spread of the coin finds and establishing a pattern of streams of mono-type finds actually means tracing the pattern of the trade routes in their intensity and chronology. The *kyzikeni* were widespread in Thrace. Almost all periods of the minting, recently dated to ca. 550-330 BC

(Mildenberg 1995: 7), are represented. Small homogenous hoards, groups in mixed hoards and dozens of single pieces were quoted in the Black Sea area and in Southern Thrace. The most important hoard of Urchünlü near Byzantion, buried ca. 420 BC, comprised *kyzikeni* beside *owl*-tetradrachms and drachms of **Athens** and octobols of **Selymbria**, all four cities being members at the time of the Delian League. Further west *kyzikeni* were found in the area of Haskovo, Plovdiv, and in the area of Stryama. The biggest hoard comes from Jivkovo in the Ihtiman pass, buried in the mid-4th century BC. Some other pieces reached the Sofia Plain. The traffic clearly followed the course of Maritza, covering a period of some 200 years. The **Athenian** *owls*, mostly tetradrachms from the second half of the 5th century BC, were less numerous than the *kyzikeni*. Generally they followed the same way of penetration into the Odrysian lands to the area of Stryama, two pieces being attested in the hoard of Roza near Yambol, mixed with Parian drachms. The silver drachms of **Parion,** struck from ca 385-350 BC, are represented in 12 hoards, some of them mixed, distributed along the course of Tundja and Maritza to the area of Stryama (Dimitrov 2009 with ref.) A hoard of Persian *sigloi*, struck in Sardes ca. 500-400 BC, is documented to have been found in modern Southern Dobrudja (Издимирски 2011: 9-10). A group of mixed hoards buried on the territory of the Achaemenid empire (South Black Sea area, South Anatolia, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iran) of predominating share of Northern Aegean issues include tribal coinages of various denominations (Jurukova 1983: 27-28; Kagan 1987: 22 -25). Apart from them, similar Thraco-Macedonian issues penetrated equally into the Odrysian realms. They are represented in the hoard of Velichkovo near Pazardjik (IGCH 690) of 11 tetrastaters of the Derroni and in three other hoards of Gotze Delchev: IGCH 693: staters of "Lete"; IGCH 692: a stater of the Orreskii mixed with staters and trites of Thasos; a hoard of staters of the Orreskii mixed with 2 staters and 2 hektae of Thasos and 3 hektae of Thasian type of Saratokos, see below; in the hoard of Sadovik near Pernik of two tetrastaters of the Derroni and two staters of the Tynteni. All hoards were buried ca. 475-450 BC, with the exception of the third one from G. Delchev, hidden ca. 400 BC (Юрукова 1992: 11-12, 46-47). The early silver of Thasos was spread in the Achaemenid empire, as well as in Mainland Thrace. Some 15 hoards with 5th century BC "Silenus and nymph" staters, those near Drama and Pontoleivado-Kilkis, mixed with silver of Neapolis, are recorded along Struma, Mesta, the Sofia Plain, the upper course of Maritsa and the valley of Stryama. Other mixed hoards in the area include coins of Thasos and their imitations (part of them possibly struck at Pistiros), Apollonia Pontica, Athens, Parion, Kyzikos (Dimitrov 2009 with

ref.). A hoard of tetradrachms of Abdera from the last quarter of the 5th century BC was found in the city, as well as another one from ca. 370 BC, this time mixed with issues of Maroneia. The latter widely used its own bronzes as early as the beginning of the 4th century BC, as evidenced by a compact hoard from the city. Large denominations of Abdera occur in the Eastern hoards (Asyout: 15 pieces), but an octodrachm hoard (at least 5 pieces) was buried ca. 500 BC near Kardjali in the Rhodopes. Another one of tetradrachms of ca. 400 BC was found in the area of Smolyan (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2008: 45, 49, 60). Maroneian silver is represented in three compact hoards from Stryme and from the area of Haskovo, and in two hoards mixed with Abderitan coins, the one from Abdera, the other from Drama, all hidden ca. 390-350 BC. Some 15 hoards with bronze drachms of Maroneia of the "Horse/Vine"-type of the same period were buried on a huge area from the city to the valley of Maritsa. Dozens of single pieces, including local imitations, were recorded in the same area as well (Schoenert-Geiss 1987: 89-95; Димитров 1989: 31). The coin stream extended westward along the river, as seen in the finds from Pistiros, see below. Of particular interest for the dissemination and the economic function of the civic coins in Odrysian milieu represents their presence in some site-complexes. One of them belongs to the Greek emporion of Pistiros near Vetren, district of Pazardzik. Among the numerous civic issues, mostly of the Early Hellenistic Age, seven coins of Thasos (including silver hemihektae of ca. 411-395 BC), nine bronzes of Maroneia as above and 5 bronzes of Kypsela are on record (Taneva 2000: 49, 51, Fig. 3.3.). An excavation find in a large building of a settlement near Krastevich in the area of Stryama includes Thasian staters, tritae and hemihektae, Parian drachms, a hemiobol (?) of Kyzikos and clay weights of ca. 420 g each (an Attic mina) (Dimitrov 2009: 39, 44). In the area of Kabyle the bronzes of Maroneia as above are abundant (Драганов 1993: 102 note 17). The drachms of Apollonia Pontica of "Anchor/Head of Gorgon facing"-type struck ca. 387-350 BC were mostly spread to the north of the Balkan Range. Some 10 hoards were found in the areas of Sliven-Karnobat and Shoumen. The stream to the north certainly passed through the Odrysian realms. A very important mixed hoard with Apollonian and Parian drachms was hidden by Yabulkovo, area of Haskovo (Dimitrov 1989: 28 -29). Single Apollonian pieces reached the valley of Stryama and met the coin stream coming from Thasos. Mid-4th century BC diobols of the Pontic city occur in a hoard mixed with Mesambrian diobols in the area of Bourgas. A hoard of 5th century BC silver coins of Istros was discovered at Mahmudia by the Danube, the north-eastern frontier of the Odrysian Kingdoms at the time of Thucydides. The small size sil-

ver of Saratokos of "Thasian" type is documented in the area of G. Delchev, see above, and that of Maroneian type – in the area of Kazanlak (Юрукова 2005: 2 pieces). The excavations in Pistiros provided silver of Metokos and Kotys I (4 pieces each), and many heavy bronzes of Metokos and Amatokos I (22), Kotys I (39), Amatokos II (14) and Teres (III?) (9 pieces) (Taneva 2000: 51). Others were found in Kabyle (Драганов 1993: 102) and near Deultum.

The coin finds testify to progressive monetisation in some areas of the Odrysian Kingdom (cf. Tzochev 2015: 419 -420). Coin bulk, issued by several coastal cities in Thrace, Anatolia and Greece, penetrated into the Odrysian lands from southeast and southwest, followed various routes, mostly along the rivers. Some areas, such as the valley of Stryama, the areas of Yambol and of Haskovo, may be defined as "contact zones" where various directions of coin influx met. Abundance of imported artefacts is equally attested there. The spread of the coins occurred with the mediation of Greek emporia on Odrysian soil, such as Pistiros. The native "royal" cities, such as Kabyle and the one in the vicinity of Krastevich, were equally bound to trade activities and use of coins. The silver issues belonged to various denominations in silver, struck after several standards. Single finds of small fractions and bronzes were widely in use, clearly testifying to daily transactions in the Odrysian milieu. Generally the pattern is perfectly referring to permanent trade activities, supported by written data on Odrysian royal export to the coastal markets. The trade was obviously under royal protection, as stated in the Decree of Pistiros. As evidenced by the common penetration of "*owls*" and *kyzikeni*, representing the standard currency of the Delian League, in the second half of the 5th century BC Odrysians were not only political, but also trade partners of the League, exporting grain for its needs through Byzantion. By the end of the 5th century BC, *kyzikeni* and Persian *dareikoi* are mentioned as the usual gold currency for paying the mercenaries of Seuthes II.

Output of regal issues in limited numbers was required as well, at least as a sign of royal prestige. Predominating in number over the civic small change, as in the case of Pistiros, the Odrysian bronzes certainly served the daily exchange in the Thracian milieu between locals and Greek *emporitai*. However, the issues in question were shaped after the Greek weight standard and iconography. Except for the local market, they were intended to be accepted as currency in the coastal cities and the *emporia*, in order to promote easier the royal ideology. An external and internal market and a coin economy certainly developed in Thrace in cooperation with the Greek world. A dualistic economic model can thus be revealed**:** 1) Economy of Eastern type (agricultural production, taxation and presents from the subjects, trade con-

trol and war booty); 2) Income received or converted in cash through trade partnership with the *polis* economy (Dimitrov 2009: 44; 2011: 6-7).

B. Considerations in Politics

The quasi-identity of some Odrysian issues with civic ones cannot be a reason to believe in Odrysian domination over the mints of Olynthos, Thasos, Abdera, Maroneia, etc., as it was not a problem to set up regal mints in the Thracian mainland with the help of Greeks (Picard 1986). Adopting Greek types for better acceptance of the regal output on the Thraco-Greek market would be a logical act. The particularities and the area of distribution of the royal coinages, which refer to a particular mint, allow specifying the regnal date and the location of the rulers's realm.

The earliest Odrysian coins were issued by Sparadokos, brother or brother-in-law of King Sitalkes (ca. 450-424 BC) and father of King Seuthes (I), who succeeded his uncle ca. 424 – ca. 405 BC (Котова 2016). His mint and realm were recently determined to have been close to Ainos (Psoma 2002), similar to Seuthes I (cf. Юрукова 1992: 50-51, ascribing the coins in question to Seuthes II). The similarity of Sparadokos' and Seuthes' coinages, both using the Attic standard in three denominations in silver and common "horseman-horse" iconography, dates the coins and the rule of Sparadokos immediately before those of Seuthes I in the years when Athenian *"owls"* unconditionally dominated in the Mediterranean. Sparadokos was not a king, as is accepted by some scholars (cf. Peter 1997: 62-76 with references), but rather a paradynast (co-ruler) of Sitalkes in the western part of the kingdom. Judging from his coinage, the ruler certainly had a mighty position and was able to initiate the career of his son Seuthes to the Odrysian throne.

Quasi-identity with well dated civic issues in standard, denominations and iconography helps to locate the coinages and the realm of Bergaios, Saratokos, Spokes and Ketriporis in the area of Thasos, Abdera and Maroneia. Totally absent from the written evidence, the first three persons were probably paradynasts of the Odrysian kings.

Another Odrysian regal mint is to be looked for in **Central Thrace**, in the area of the upper course of Hebros and the valley of Stryama in the context of the political centre (of Metokos?) near Vassil Levski near Karlovo and the royal necropolis in the vicinity of Duvanli. The first indications of its existence (Dimitrov 1991: 268; 1993: 156-157; Димитров 1992: 77-78) were supported by two bronze unstruck coin flans (Taneva 2000: 51-52) and four bronze imitations of Thasian staters, corresponding in weight to the unusually heavy bronzes of the Odrysian kings (Юрукова, Домарадски

1996: 219). Dozens of Odrysian bronzes were excavated in the emporion of Pistiros near Vetren, district of Pazardzik, suggesting the possible location of the mint. They weigh up to 16.00-18.00 grams. Their unusual thick flans depicting horses and Dionysian iconography, typical of Maroneia, build up the particularities of that mint used by Metokos, Amatokos I, Seuthes II, Kotys I, Amatokos II and Teres III. Maroneian influence in the area is not surprising at all, because Maroneians, Thacians and Apollonians are epigraphically attested as the predominating elements among the *emporitai* of Pistiros. The case shed light on the career of Seuthes II. Originally appointed paradynast by Metokos in the very southeast of the kingdom, Seuthes took possession of the royal mint of Metokos and probably of the Odrysian throne. War between the two rulers is mentioned in the written evidence (Димитров 1999).

Odrysian coinages were turned out in another mint or mints in **South-Eastern Thrace** as well. The bronze output was of much lighter weight, smaller size and different iconography compared to the previously commented workshop. Hebryzelmis, Kotys I and Kersebleptes, Kotys' son and successor in the eastern part of the kingdom (359-341 BC), were the masters of the mint and of the area. Kotys controlled both mints, which matched his efforts to extend and certainly to unite the kingdom. Where is the eastern mint to be located?

Long ago, Kypsela on Hebros was accepted as the permanent Odrysian royal capital and mint. This is possible for the royal varieties with two-handle vessel (regarded as *kypsele-* the speaking type of the city) appearing equally on the civic issues (cf. Schoenert-Geiss 1993). The lion fore-part on the issues of Hebryzelmis and the grain symbol on those of Kersebleptes, however, presume a mint on Chersonessos and especially in Kardia to have been responsible for these issues. Around 362-346 BC, the city was under Odrysian domination.

The hoards from Stryme and from Haskovo, see above, buried ca. 350 BC, are considered as testimony on the campaigns of Philip II in Thrace around that year (Lorber 1990: 65-66, 71).

C. Considerations in Religion and Art

The iconographic repertoire of the tribal and regal coinages refers to the religion and the royal ideology in ancient Thrace. The tribal issues in the Pangaean area depict the divine Tetrad venerated by the Thracians (Ares, Artemis and Dionysos) and by their kings (Hermes). The horseman standing by his horse on the same issues was recognised as the local hero Rhesos, associated by Euripides to the Dionysiac beliefs in the afterlife. The first three deities

were not in family relations and the mono-tribal "monarchie démocratique" excludes the concept of living king-god, identifiable with Ares, as claimed by the working hypothesis of the so-called "Thracian Orphism."

The multi-tribal Odrysian kingdom had to face the necessity to dominate over rebellious subjects and to collaborate with the coastal Greeks. The traditional religion had to be enriched with new themes appropriate to the new conditions. Bergaios, Saratokos, Spokes and Ketriporis imitated Greek prototypes for monetary reason, other regal issues introduced and propagated Greek deities such as Kybele and Apollo (Hebryzelmis), Artemis? (Hebryzelmis and Kersebleptes), the Dionysian vine-symbolism (the dynastic branch ruling in Central Thrace) and Zeus? (Sparadokos and Kotys I) (on Sparadokos cf. Peter 1997: 70). The rich and ever changing spectrum suggests a choice made on pragmatic and political reasons. Effigies of Greek divinities certainly had a favourable impact on the Greek partners in trade, war and even in the private relations. As evidenced by the decree of Pistiros, in Central Thrace Dionysos took the place of the former royal god Hermes, a choice made to unify the beliefs of both Thracians and Greek *emporitai*. Except for the divine protection and possibly origin of the king, the Odrysian royal coinages depict clearly the ruler's cult. The type of the ruler–horseman in various positions appears on the coins of Sparadokos, Seuthes I and Kotys I. The horseman appeared earliest in the coinages of the Chalkidian *poleis* Potidaea as Poseidon Hyppios and Sermylia and some later on the issues of the Pangaean tribes of Orreskii, Bizaltae and King Mosses. Identified as Rhesos or Ares, the type was adopted by the Argead kings of Macedonias (Alexander I and Perdiccas II as equestrian effigy of the king himself). Several attempts to portray the ruler's head on coin obverses of Metokos, displaying equally the ruler's name around the head, of Saratokos, Hebryzelmis and Kotys I are known as well. The examples come from all supposed royal mints in Thrace, pointing to a phenomenon which covered the whole territory of the Kingdom. The ruler-horseman type certainly represented the king as warrior and commander, while depicting the ruler's head stressed his political prestige. The lack of divine attributes on these types testifies that, despite the growing authority and power of the Odrysian rulers in respect to the tribal practice in the Pangaean area, they were not yet venerated as gods during their lifetime. This is confirmed by the evidence on rebellions against Maisades, Kotys I and Kersebleptes (Dimitrov 1993; 2012: 33-34; Димитров 2000: 9).

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Нумизматични извори за историята на Одриското царство (края на VI – IV в.пр.Хр.): класификация, методи на изследване и основни резултати

Камен Д. Димитров

Одриското царство е най-голямата държава в древна Тракия с изобилни нумизматични находки, намерени на нейната територия. Тяхното подробно разглеждане като исторически извор е наложително като допълнение към оскъдните писмени извори. Според възприетата класификация се разграничават монети, сечени извън Тракия и такива сечени в Тракия (на племена, крайбрежните гръцки градове, техни тракийски имитации и владетелски емисии). Методите на изследване предвиждат статистическо третиране на монетните съкровища, единичните екземпляри и нумизматичните комплекси от селища, определяне на тегловните стандарти и номинали, установяване на иконографски паралели между царските емисии и тези на гръцките градове и др. Прилага се сравнение с данните от други видове извори. Основните резултати от проучванията установяват постоянно проникване на потоци от гръцки монети към вътрешността на Одриското царство, свързани с интензивна търговия. Откроява се ролята на гръцките емпории във вътрешността като Пистирос. Локализирането на различни монетарници определя различни територии, управлявани от клонове на одриската династия и отделни владетели. Личи големият потенциал на парадинастите, които понякога са могли да заемат царския престол. Иконографията на царските емисии показва изображения и атрибути на различни гръцки божества, покровители на царя: Аполон, Дионис, Кибела и др. Те говорят за промени в религията и царската идеология след времето на Херодот и за адаптирането им към вярванията на гръцките партньори.

Култът към владетеля е изразен ясно чрез негови конни изображения и глава с портретни черти. Липсата на божествени атрибути свидетелства за това, че приживе одриските владетели не са били смятани за богове, потвърдено и от сведенията за бунтове срещу Месад, Котис I и Керсеблепт.

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ANCIENT THRACE AND THE THRACIANS THROUGH ATHENIAN EYES

Despoina Tsiafaki

Subject of this paper is Ancient Thrace and its inhabitants, the Thracians. However, the goal is not to present the region and its characteristics through the actual findings discovered in the area occupied by the Thracian tribes in Antiquity, rather to see it through the ancient Greek eyes and in particular to picture the Athenian view. Therefore the geographic boundaries of ancient Thrace or the particular tribes who inhabited it are not examined, since the interest is to take a glimpse at what the Athenians thought and had in their minds when they referred to Thrace and Thracians. The material that is used in order to present and understand the Athenian perspective on ancient Thrace are the literary sources, poetry, myths and the visual arts. As regards the latter, it is the vase painting of the Athenian Kerameikos that provides a great number and variety of representations related to Thrace.

The appearance of Thracian topics in Athenian vase painting corresponds with the periods known from the ancient authors that Athens was in various types of relations and contacts with the area. That is in particular the 6th and 5th centuries BC, meaning the Archaic and Classical times. Therefore, this is the timeframe in order to see how the Greeks, and in particular the Athenians, used to see Thrace and Thracians with the Attic vases to be the primary tool.

Introduction

Thrace[1] in Antiquity was a neighbouring land to the Greeks with which they had contacts that can be traced back to the Bronze Age (Tsiafaki, in press b; Valeva, Nankov, Graninger 2015). The Mycenean objects, for example, that come to light in more and more sites through the archaeological excavations (Tsiafaki, in press b),[2] indicate that they were not accidental findings, rather products that were transferred to the area through one or different patterns of contacts (e.g., exchange).

[1] On Thrace and Thracians see Danov 1976; Fol, Marazov 1977; Hoddinott 1981; Valeva, Nankov, Graninger 2015.

[2] During the last decades the archaeological research in the region brought to light a noticeable number of Mycenaean imports, indicating that it was not an isolated area but that there were contacts and various types of activities. For an overview see Mitrevski 1999: 235-246; Andreou 2002-2003: 221-222; Jung 2003: 211-225; Tiverios 2008: 11; Vlachopoulos, Tsiafaki, in press.

The ancient literary sources (Tsiafaki 2003; Tsiafaki 2009) starting with Homer (Hom. Il. 10, 435-441; 471-475) speak about Thrace as a prosperous land famous for its warriors (e.g., Rhesus) and horses; the Thracian kings Rhesus and Diomedes, for example, were renowned for their mares (Tsiafaki 1998: 198-200, 234-238; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015). Rich in metals and timber along with the fertile lands, Thrace attracted the Greek interest already in early times (Isaac 1986; Tsiafaki, in press b). Within this context could be placed also the Mycenaean findings mentioned above, which were unearthed on the territory of ancient Thrace. The Greek colonisation did not ignore the areas included in Thrace, as is indicated through the colonies established, for example, in the Northern Aegean or the Black Sea (Isaac 1986; Tiverios 2008; Damyanov 2015). Acanthus, Argilus, Abdera, Maroneia, Thasos and Samothrace are only some random examples that show the interest of various Greek *poleis* to settle in the area of the Northern Aegean, while Miletos is a characteristic example of the colonisation in the Euxeinos Pontos.

Through the information from the (Greek) literary sources we get the impression that Thrace was an exotic land, beyond the limits of any wild fantasy and it offered a series of myths and tales that attracted the Greek mind. As early as Homer and continuing with the greatest poets and tragedians of the Classical era, Thracian myths and heroes became a source of inspiration reflecting respectively the Greek view and attitude towards their neighbouring area to the north.

Homer[3] relates stories about a number of Thracian kings and heroes, providing an aspect of Thrace in his time. His account includes musicians, poets, kings or heroes such as Thamyris, Acamas and Peiroos, Euphemus, Lykourgus, Boreas and Zephyrus, Rhesus, Hippocoon, Iphidamas, Coon, Mentes and Rhigmus. According to the Homeric descriptions, Thrace was a land of wealth with gold and silver, while its famous horses and warriors were incomparable in beauty and bravery. Many of the Thracians mentioned in Homer are lost in the sequence of time, while others, such as Thamyris, Rhesus, Boreas or Lykourgus have continued over the centuries to follow, with some of them to become very popular in Archaic and Classical times.

Hesiod[4] after Homer also provides information about Thrace and its myths and heroes. He knows, for example, Phineus and his Thracian origin, as well as the Thracian wind Boreas and Tereus, although he does not mention him as Thracian.

[3] There are various references to Thrace and Thracians throughout the Homeric poems. See, for example, Il. 2, 844-850; 5, 461-462; 6, 7-8; 130-140; 10, 433-511; 11, 221-263; 20, 484-485; Od. 9, 39-66; 197-212. Tsiafaki 2003: 43-51; Tsiafaki 2009: 123-124; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015.

[4] Hesiod appears to have known several Thracians, e.g., Phineus (frg. 81–83; 138; 241), Boreas (Theog. 378) and Thamyris (frg. 246).

Athens and Thrace

The Athenian interest in Thrace became apparent in the 6th century BC when Miltiades the Elder went to the Thracian Chersonesos sometime around the middle of the century, after the invitation of the Dolonci, the inhabitants of the area (Hdt. 6, 34).[5] That way an Athenian establishment was accomplished in a region of geographic and financial significance.

Peisistratus (Hdt. 1, 59-64; Tsiafaki 1998: 23-24; Archibald 1998: 113-117; Veligianni-Terzi 2004), also in the 6th century BC, founded Rhaikelos in the area of the Thermaic Gulf during the time of his exile. It was at that time when he went to the neighbouring area of Pangaion where it is stated that he enriched himself from the mines in the region, and it has been suggested that he might have even owned silver mines there. He acquired money and hired soldiers, and after his second return to Athens, according to Herodotus (Hdt. 1, 64), he based his power on many mercenaries who partly had come from the Strymon area. Thracians were famous warriors, something also noted to the Athenian tyrant. Apart from the soldiers it is possible that Peisistratus brought with him people to work in the silver mines in Laurion owing to their expertise in metalworking. The Thracian presence in Laurion is confirmed also through some Thracian place names that were given there, such as Maroneia, Antisara or Pangaion (Tsiafaki 1998: 24).

The contacts that the Athenians had with Thracians either through personal presence (trade, warfare or permanent residence) in Thrace or because of the Thracian existence in Attica, resulted in better acquaintance with them and better knowledge of their customs, religion or myths.

The relations between Athens and Thrace became even closer during the next, 5th century BC. As was said already, Miltiades the Elder had been in the Thracian Chersonesos. In the early 5th century BC, however, he had to return to Athens when the Phoenicians threatened the area, as Herodotus mentions (Hdt. 6, 41).

The Persian Wars (490-479 BC) and their victorious results for the Greeks also had an impact on the contacts of Athens with Thrace. After the victory in Mycale (479 BC), the Greek forces decided to move towards the Hellespont and to destroy the Persian stations there (Veligianni-Terzi 2004). The Athenians in particular, with their leader Xanthippus, remained in order to conquer Sestus, a goal they attained.

The victories that the Greeks accomplished in the early 5th century BC, in which the Athenians played an important role, enhanced their confidence and established their power. The leadership of the Delian League (477 BC) provided them with a stable background to expand. As regards Thrace in the early 5th cen-

[5] That action was not a single event, rather the beginning of a long-lasting Athenian establishment. See Isaac 1986; Veligianni-Terzi 2004; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015.

tury BC, it was under the Persian rule. Using that as an excuse, Athens started expeditions in the area (e.g., Eion in Strymon, Doriskos in Hebrus), aiming at its liberation. Around 445 BC, the Athenians managed to found a colony in Brea, while after several attempts they established their control in the Strymon region through the foundation of Amphipolis in 437 BC (Isaac 1986; Veligianni-Terzi 2004).

The contacts and the collaborations of Athenians with Thrace are obvious also in their alliance in 431 BC (Archibald 1998: 118-120; Veligianni-Terzi 2004; Tsiafaki, in press b) with the Thracian king Sitalces, who ruled the Odrysian kingdom.

The political and the personal relations of Athenians with Thracians are documented also in the testimony of Plutarch (Plut. Cim. 4, 1-2) that Cimon himself was son of Hegesipyle, the daughter of the Thracian king Olorus. Thucydides (Thuc. 4, 105) was possibly the owner of gold mines in the region and it is possible that he even retired there. For Thucydides it is also possible that he might have had family ties in the area. Those family relations indicate, on the one hand, mixed marriages and – on the other – bring to mind the law on the Athenian citizenship established by Pericles in 451 BC (Tsiafaki 1998: 28). According to that law, only a man whose both parents were Athenians was entitled to be an Athenian citizen. The law suggests an extensive presence of foreigners in Athens, and – of course – among them there were many Thracians.

The Athenian Perspective of Thrace

The above are some of the most indicative historical events that set the historical frame in order to see and understand the Athenian view on Thrace. All the similar in type information in the literary sources shows that Athenians had a knowledge of Thrace and its people at least from the 6th century BC, and that awareness became even better during the 5th century BC. Their image of the region and its people was based on their *in situ* expeditions and on the Thracians who lived in Athens as mercenaries, slaves or nurses (Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015). To this should be added the rich information provided by the historian Herodotus on Thrace, Thracians and their appearance and customs.

Taking that in consideration, it is not surprising that Thrace, which was the homeland of Orpheus, Lykourgus and Boreas, and the Thracians – a warlike people exotic in appearance and mythology – had a special appeal to Athenians and to their imagery of the Archaic and Classical times (Tsiafakis 2000). The gods and heroes who were considered to be Thracians in Athens during those times formed a group that can conventionally be called "Thracian cycle." Placing all of them together, it appears that the Thracian-related themes had a notable popularity in both literature and art, which is reflected especially in vase painting in the 5th century BC.

Since the focus of this paper is to see Thrace and the Thracians in particular through Attic art and Attic vases, it should be mentioned how that Thracian cycle was formed there. Vase painting is the primary source of information due to their preserved quantity and quality. Sculpture is preserved in smaller numbers and the mural painting, known exclusively through the literary tradition, complement also the knowledge of the Thracian themes included in Athenian art.

The existing and the known examples suggest that the presence of Thrace in Athenian art was formed by two major groups: (a) mortals, men and women, and (b) figures of myth and gods.

Fig. 1. Attic black-figured amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, Archaic Greek, ca. 540 BC. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1375 (J. 392). Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2000: 370, fig. 14.2

The first group is the earliest and it appeared shortly after the middle of the 6th century BC (Best 1969; Zimmermann 1976: 430-431; Raeck 1981: 67-68; Tsiafaki 1998: 31-32), and it corresponds relatively to the time period that Miltiades went to Chersonesus and Peisistratus returned from Pangaion. Thracians appeared on battle scenes[6] (Fig. 1) joining the Athenian interest in depicting foreigners; an interest that started from that period onwards (Scythians and Persians, for example, are also depicted). Attic vase painters gave visual substance to Herodotus' later description of the elaborate Thracian garments (Hdt. 7, 75). It is through them primarily and secondly by their physiognomy that they are distinguished from the Greeks.

[6] Cf., for example, the Attic black-figured amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1375 (J.392). ABV 297.15; BAPD 320394; Tsiafakis 2000: 370, fig. 14.2.

Fig. 2. Attic red-figured bell *krater* frg., London, British Museum E 509.2. Photo: reprint from Tsiafaki 1998: 33, pl. 1a

Herodotus describes the Thracian costume in detail (Hdt. 7, 75): (a) *alopekis* was the Thracian cap made of animal pelt, usually fox, as is suggested through the name (the fox was called *alopex* in ancient Greek); the tail of the animal is often depicted on the vases, (b) *zeira* was the thick woven woollen mantle, often embroidered with various patterns, e.g., geometric, in contrasting colours, (c) *embades* were the fawn-skin boots with down-folded overlapping tops. In addition to clothes, Herodotus attributes to Thracian warriors certain types of weapons, e.g., *peltae*; a small light crescent-shaped shield. Thucydides (Thuc. 2, 29, 5; 4, 129, 2; 5, 6, 4; 7, 27, 1) talks about Thracian peltasts during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC).

A significant number of depictions of men wearing that costume and carrying a *pelte* are preserved in Athenian iconography from the 6th century BC onwards (Best 1969; Tsiafakis 2002b). They could be standing or mounted, alone or with other Thracians or Greeks[7] (Fig. 2). They are found as warriors or horsemen on

[7] Cf., for example, the Attic red-figured bell *krater* frg., London, British Museum E 509.2. BAPD 22901; Tsiafaki 1998: 33, pl. 1a.

vases or sculpture; an interesting example are the horsemen in Thracian garments who are depicted on the Parthenon. Many of them are recognised as Thracians. Others could be Athenians dressed in this elaborate costume, suggesting the impression and the impact they had to Athenian eyes. However, is not always easy to identify with certainty those men as Thracians or Greeks.

The facial features occasionally contribute to the origin of the person. Xenophanes of Colophon (Xenophan. frg. 16) states that Thracians had red hair and blue eyes. Although the latter was not easy to be depicted on black- and red-figured vases, the first is sporadically indicated through a dilute glaze. Moreover, those red-haired Thracians might also have a pointed beard that differentiates them from the Athenians (Tsiafakis 2000: 370-372).

Along the men, Athenian iconography was attracted to Thracian women as well (*Thrassai*). They were known as famous nurses (*trophoi*) and it is said (Aristophanes Thesm. 280) that Euripides had his own Thracian; that might explain to a certain extent his familiarity with the Thracian myths that he often included in his tragedies and his interest in them.

Thracian females occur on Attic vases, in particular of the red-figured style (Zimmermann 1980; Tsiafaki 1998: 37-40; Bäbler 1998; Tsiafakis 2000: 372-376; Bäbler 2005). In contrast to the men, they are not distinguished through a special type of garment – nor it is described somewhere something like that – but with the tattoos they carry on their bodies (Zimmermann 1980; Zimmermann, R., K. Zimmermann 1981; Tsiafakis 2015). They are represented as slaves mostly in everyday scenes and as free females in mythological themes.

The first category, the Thracian female slaves, occur in topics regarding the house activities. They can be represented in fountain scenes where they have gone to carry water for the needs of the house (Tsiafakis 2000: 373). Their short hair indicates their status as slaves and the tattoos on their bodies – their origin. Their presence, however, in burial scenes indicates that they were close to their families, and they might even be considered as members of the family[8] (Fig. 3). This is suggested through the way they often tend the body of the deceased.

Of particular interest in this category of the slaves *Thrassai* is a certain scene that depicts a mythological subject and not a daily scene[9] (Fig. 4). Here the young Herakles is presented on his way to his music lesson and he is escorted by his

[8] Attic red-figured *loutrophoros* frgs. by the Syracuse Painter, in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17420; ARV^2 519.22; Addenda^2 253; BAPD 205827; Zimmerman 1980: 194, no. 35, fig. 29; Tsiafakis 2015: 99-101, fig. 3.

[9] Attic red-figured *skyphos* by the Pistoxenus Painter, in Schwerin Staatliches Museum 708; ARV^2 859, 862.30, 1672; Addenda^2 298; BAPD 211358; CVA Schwerin Staatliches Museum 1, pls 24.1-2, 25.1, 26.1, 27.1-2, 28.1-4; Tsiafakis 2015: 97-98, fig. 2.

Fig. 3. Attic red-figured *loutrophoros* attributed to the Painter of Bologna 228, ca. 460-450 BC in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170. Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2015: 99, fig. 3

nurse. The female, named by an inscription as Geropso (from *Geras* meaning old), is an old female slave with short hair. The tattoos on her body, however, imply her Thracian origin and remind the information provided by the literary sources, namely that Thracian females were famous *trophoi* (Bäbler 2005).

The second category of Thracian women presented in Athenian vase painting is that of the free females, who occur mostly on the subject of the murder of Orpheus (Zimmermann 1980; Tsiafakis 2000: 374-376; Bäbler 1998; Tsiafakis 2015: 102-107). They are presented in a wilder mode than the calm servants, something explicable through their role in the scene[10] (Fig. 5).

The second group of Thracians depicted in Athenian iconography are the figures of myth; heroes or gods they worshipped, according to the Greek knowledge and view.

[10] Attic red-figured column *krater* by the Pan Painter, in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2378 (J. 777); ARV^2 551.9; Addenda^2 257; BAPD 206284; Tsiafakis 2015: 110-111, fig. 9.

Fig. 4. Attic red-figured *skyphos* attributed to the Pistoxenus Painter, ca. 460 BC. Schwerin Staatliches Museum 708. Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2000: 374, fig. 14.4

Worth noting here is that the Thracian myths, gods and heroes presented in Attic art and literature are depicted more or less through the Athenian eyes. It is not known whether all of them existed actually in Thrace and if yes, in which capacity and form. The Greek sources provide the Greek or the Athenian perspective.

Regarding the depiction of Thrace-related mythological subjects in Athenian iconography, they can be categorised into three principal groups: (a) musicians, (b) kings, and (c) personifications and gods.

The first category includes the four famous musicians of Thrace: Orpheus, Thamyris, Mousaius and Eumolpus (Tsiafaki 1998). Despite the wildness that was considered to characterise the Thracians, Thrace was known as the land of music (Str. 1, 3,17; 9, 2, 25) and Thracians are described as great musicians. The most famous among the Thracian musicians were the four mentioned above and between them especially popular with the Athenian vase painters were Orpheus and Thamyris. Orpheus was the most celebrated bard and lyre-player, who could charm and move the whole Nature with his music. Orpheus' story is well

Fig. 5. Attic red-figured column *krater* attributed to the Pan Painter, ca. 470 BC. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2378 (J. 777). Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2000: 375, fig. 14.5

known:[11] he was the son of the Muse Calliope and the Thracian king Oiagrus or alternatively the god Apollo; because of his musical skills, he took part in the Argonautic expedition and helped the Argonauts overcome the Sirens' song. Later he lost his wife Eurydice and, grief-stricken, he went down to Hades to find her. There, again through his miraculous song, he persuaded Persephone and Pluton to give her back. But, unfortunately, he was too eager to see Eurydice before going out of the underworld and so he lost her for ever. After this, Orpheus was so deeply pained that he avoided the companionship of women and only men ac-

[11] The various episodes of the story of Orpheus are delivered from different sources and in different periods. On them see Tsiafaki 1998: 44-45, with the earlier bibliography and the literary sources.

Fig. 6. Attic red-figured *stamnos* attributed to Hermonax, ca. 470 BC. Paris, Louvre G 416. Photo: reprint from Tsiafaki 1998: pl. 10

companied him. But the women of Thrace got angry because of their husbands' attention to Orpheus' cult and they killed him by tearing his body to pieces and throwing it into the river Hebrus. Miraculously preserved, his head kept floating and singing on the waves until it reached the island of Lesbos where it started giving oracles.

Such is the story of Orpheus, but all the above episodes are not depicted in art and not in this temporal order. The Athenian vase-painters depicted only three episodes (Schoeller 1969; Garezou 1994) in the following chronological order: 1. his death; 2. the musician Orpheus who charmed the wild Thracians, and 3. his oracular head.

Worth noting is that they begin with the end: the murder of Orpheus by the Thracian women (Tsiafaki 1998: 48-62; Tsiafakis 2002a). The topic appeared in vase painting in the early 5th century BC and the earlier representations are more violent than the later (Fig. 6).[12]

[12] Attic red-figured *stamnos* by Hermonax, in Paris, Louvre G 416; ARV^2 484.17; BAPD 205400; Tsiafaki 1998: 52-53, pl. 10.

Fig. 7. Attic red-figured column-*krater*, attributed to the Orpheus Painter, ca. 440 BC. Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen 3172. Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2000: 377, fig. 14.6

The name vase of the Orpheus Painter[13] (Fig. 7) provides a representative example for the episode of the musician who charmed the men of Thrace and this allure of him became the reason for his death. The subject appeared around the middle of the 5th century BC and became popular during the second half of the century (Schoeller 1969; Tsiafaki 1998: 77-84; Tsiafakis 2002a).

The scene with the head of Orpheus[14] (Fig. 8), which chronologically occurred during the decade of 430 BC, is less popular (Tsiafaki 1998: 62-68; Tsiafakis 2002a).

Orpheus normally holds his musical instrument but he is not necessarily wearing Thracian garments. His companions in the scene, men or women, are

[13] Attic red-figured column-*krater*, attributed to the Orpheus Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen 3172; ARV^2 1103,1; 1683; Para 451; Tsiafakis 2000: 377, fig. 14.6.

[14] A characteristic example is the Attic red-figured hydria by the Polygnotus Group, Basel Antikensammlungen BS 481. BAPD 3735; Tsiafaki 1998: 63, pl. 17.

Fig. 8. Attic red-figured hydria attributed to the Polygnotus Group, ca. 440 BC. Basel Antikensammlungen BS 481. Photo: reprint from Tsiafaki 1998: 63, pl. 17

substantial attributes for his recognition. Thamyris, unlike Orpheus, is normally dressed as Thracian.[15] He is considered to be the son of the musician Philammon and the nymphe Argiope (Paus. 4, 33.3; Euripides Rhesus 916 ff). According to Homer (Hom. Il. 2, 594-600), he was punished by the Muses for believing he could defeat them in a musical contest: Thamyris was blinded and his musical skills were taken away (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/B9E5528A-7DDE-480D-88C0-036DDB9298BD).

This scene with the musician Thamyris appeared in Athenian vase painting around the mid-century BC (Nercessian 1994; Tsiafaki 1998: 96-106), meaning the same period with the musician Orpheus. Thamyris is usually surrounded by

[15] Most of the depictions of the musician present him dressed in Thracian or Oriental garments, thus indicating his origin. On Thamyris, Thamyras see Nercessian 1994; Tsiafaki 1998: 94-106; Tsiafakis 2000: 377-380.

Fig. 9. Attic red-figured squat *lekythos* attributed to the Meidias Painter, late 5th century BC. Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1538. Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2000: 380, fig. 14.7.

Muses; a clear suggestion that the depicted episode is his contest with them.

The topic seemed to be liked by the workshop of Meidias Painter[16] (Fig. 9),[17] which, as in most of its vases, provided an idyllic atmosphere to the scene, with a festive and amorous character that did not recall at all the cruel contest that took place there.

The scene after the completion of the contest is not so popular (Tsiafaki 1998: 99-100). In that episode, the blind musician throws away his musical instrument, since he has also lost his musical abilities (Fig. 10).[18]

Apart from the clothes, Thamyris' ethnicity is also highlighted occasionally by an unusual musical instrument he carries (Tsiafakis 2000: 379; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015). This instrument is not mentioned in the literary sources but it is preserved in Athenian art and it could be the Athenian view for a Thracian musical instrument. It is between lyre and *kithara*, and it is called conventionally by contemporary scholars as "Thracian" or "Thamyris" *kithara*. Orpheus might also hold it, as well as Mousaius.

Thracian kings also played an important role in Athenian iconography. Typical examples that appear on Attic

[16] It seems that the Meidias Painter and his circle were attracted to Thracian musicians, such as Thamyris, Mousaius and Eumolpus, but not in Orpheus. See Burn 1987; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015.

[17] Attic red-figured squat *lekythos* by the Meidias Painter, Ruvo, Collection Jatta 1538. ARV^2 1314.16; BAPD 220508; Burn, 1987: 55, 99, no. M 18, pl. 38a-c.

[18] Attic red-figured hydria by the Polygnotus Group, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 291. ARV^2 1061.152; BAPD 213783; Tsiafaki 1998: 100, pl. 28b.

Fig. 10. Attic red-figured hydria attributed to Polygnotos Group, ca. 450-440 BC. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 291. Photo: reprint from Tsiafaki 1998: 100, pl. 28b

vases are Lykourgus and Phineus (Tsiafaki 1998). Rhesus, although well known in Classical Athens, he is not preserved on Attic vases.[19]

Lykourgus, the king of the Thracian tribe of the Edonians, is also known in Athenian iconography and he is a good example of the savagery attributed to Thracian males in Athenian myth (Griffith 1983; Farnoux 1992; Tsiafaki 1998: 182-188; Tsiafaki 2003; Kefalidou 2009; Topper 2015). Lykourgus not only opposed the cult of Dionysus, but also commanded his soldiers to attack the god and his female followers, the Maenads. As punishment the Thracian king was driven mad

[19] Worth noting is that the city of Athens showed official interest in Rhesus as it is suggested through the foundation of a Heroon for him in Amphipolis; and it should not be forgotten that, according to Philostratus (Heroicus 680-681), there was a cult of Rhesus in the Rhodope mountains, meaning that he was known to Thracians. As regards the Athenian interest, another example is that Euripides wrote a play entitled *Rhesus*. True 1997; True 1995; Tsiafaki 1998: 234-240; Tsiafaki 2003; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015.

Fig. 11. Attic red-figured bell *krater*, ca. 450-440 BC. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Spina 20294. Photo: reprint from Tsiafaki, in press a: fig. 2

by Dionysus, and in this state, believing that his son Dryas was a vine, he murdered the boy. The myth is preserved, although not in numerous examples, in Attic vase-painting in the second half of the 5th century BC (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/261D9B8E-0530-4D35-89B5-BDDE36635D8D).

Phineus, the king of Salmydessus (Schefold 1986; Kahil 1988; Kahil 1994; Tsiafaki 1998: 165-181; Kefalidou 2008; Tsiafaki, in press a) is popular on 5th century BC Attic vases[20] (Fig. 11). He was king and famous seer, who lost his sight because he blinded his own son at the instigation of their stepmother. As a further torment the gods sent him the Harpies, who snatched his food. But Boreas' sons, Zetes and Calais, pursued the Harpies and liberated Phineus. Even though Boreads and Harpies occur in Greek art since the 7th century BC, no certain depiction of Phineus himself was known before the early 5th century BC (Tsiafaki, in press a).

As for another Thracian king, Diomedes, his myth is preserved in relation with Heracles' Labours about his horses, even though the king himself cannot be

[20] Attic red-figured bell *krater*, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Spina 20294. BAPD 5038; Tsiafaki 1998: 170.

recognised so far with confidence (Kurtz 1975; Tsiafaki 1998: 198-200). Herakles had to capture the man-eating horses of Diomedes, king of the Thracian Bistones and that episode appeared already in the 6th century BC (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/FA31E787-95C0-482F-86F9-E3838C473745).

The third category of Thracian mythical topics that occurred in Attic iconography is that of the personifications and the gods. In this group, the most representative examples are those of Boreas and Bendis.

Boreas, the North Wind, had family relations with Athens and he became very popular there (Tsiafaki 1998: 135-164). Since from the Greek perspective Thrace was considered to be a cold northern land, it was an appropriate home for the North Wind, and this tradition was first cited by Homer (Hom. Il. 9, 5 and 23, 230). Both the literary sources and the visual representations (Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986; Tsiafaki 1998: 135-164) indicate that the barbarian Boreas raped the maiden Oreithyia against her will and against the wishes of her father, the Athenian king Erechtheus. Boreas took Oreithyia to Thrace, where they married and produced two sons, Zetes and Calais. It is likely that this myth of the marriage was a politically inspired Athenian invention, and that it was created after Boreas' supposed assistance to the city during the Persian Wars (Hdt. 6, 44; 7, 189). Although Herodotus does not mention the rape of Oreithyia, he (Hdt. 6, 44) narrates that the Thracian Boreas twice contributed to rescue Athens from the onslaught of the Persians and that (Hdt. 7, 189) an oracle instructed the Athenians to ask their son-in-law for assistance. After the Persian Wars, his cult was introduced in Athens; it was centered at an altar in the area of the Ilissus river (Tsiafaki 1998: 136, 159; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015).

Boreas and in particular the scene with the rape of Oreithyia is very popular on Attic red-figured vases from the time of the Persian Wars onwards.[21] In the earlier examples he appears very wild while through time he gets a more peaceful appearance (Fig. 12).[22]

The Thracian goddess Bendis was introduced in the Athenian cult and art sometime after the mid-5th century BC. Her introduction was probably inspired politically by Perikles' desire for an alliance with Thrace at the time of the Peloponnesian War.[23] She was equivalent to the Greek goddess Artemis and in Athenian

[21] Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979; Tsiafaki 1998: 135-164; Tsiafakis 2000: 383-386.

[22] Attic red-figured pointed amphora by the Oreithyia Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2345. ARV^2 496, 2; BAPD 206422; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979: 109, no. 393, pl. 31.3-4.

[23] On the introduction of the cult of Bendis in Athens see Gočeva 1974; Simms 1985; Beschi 1990; Tsiafaki 1998: 205-206; Rabadjiev 2015.

Fig. 12. Attic red-figured pointed amphora, attributed to the Oreithyia Painter, Early Classical Greek, ca. 480-470 BC. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2345. Photo: reprint from Tsiafakis 2000: 384, fig. 14.9

art Bendis is presented wearing the *embades* and the *alopekis*[24] (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/67935398-F2EC-4D69-B7EB-CCF60C-2C7EB6).

The depiction of all those Thracians along with others not included here was not limited only in vase-painting. Elsewhere in Athenian art, Thracian subjects were also found. Some known examples in sculpture and the literary sources inform about lost monumental paintings that had been placed in public buildings such as the Stoa Poikile or the Pinakotheke in the Athenian Acropolis (Tsiafaki 1998; Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015). The Thracian myths were also popular in Attic poetry and drama (Bacon 1961; Long 1986; Hall 1989; Archibald 1998: 96-102). The three renowned tragedians of the Classical Era, for example, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, often included Thracian myths in their plays.[25] The Athenian vision of ancient Thrace can be better understood within this framework.

[24] On her representations see Gočeva, Popov 1986; Tsiafaki 1998: 206-211.

[25] For an overview of the presence of Thracian myths in 5th century BC Attic drama, see Avramidou, Tsiafaki 2015.

Conclusions

The brief presentation aimed at offering some indicative examples of the types of themes that were related to Thrace and they were included in Athenian art. The main focus was in Attic vase painting, since they are better preserved there and in more examples. The goal was to understand the Athenian vision of Thrace and the Thracians during Late Archaic and Classical times and in particular the 5th century BC when they seem to have attained their popularity.

The Athenian interest in depicting foreigners began as early as the Archaic period and continued through the Classical times (Raeck 1981); Thracians were also included among them. The earliest Thracian iconography occured shortly after the mid-6th century BC with men dressed in Thracian garments (Best 1969; Zimmermann 1976; Tsiafaki 1998: 31-37; Tsiafakis 2002b). Many of the Thrace-related myths appeared in Attic iconography during the Persian Wars and at the same time they are found in written sources as well (Tsiafaki 1998). It was at that time that they became a common subject in both Athenian art and literature. Musicians, kings, personifications and gods seem to be topics of attraction. Some of them have interesting stories, others not.

The attributes that distinguish Thracians in Greek art and at the same time they attracted Athenians include their behaviour, physical features such as hair, beards, tattoos or garments, weapons, as well as a special type of musical instrument, the so-called "Thracian *kithara*". By the end of the 5th century BC, Athenian depictions of Thracian subjects decreased, and they were gradually abandoned during the 4th century BC.

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The Getae "Gold and Silver Princes" (4th–3rd Centuries BC). Some Considerations

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Archaeological discoveries between the Balkans, Carpathians, Black Sea and Dniestr, be they chance findings or systematic research, reveal a number of vestiges with similarities that, corroborated with written sources, can be attributed to the Getae. A set of decorative works that show an ideology characteristic of the Getae confirm the existence of specific features that the Getae have but the rest of the Thracian peoples do not, as mentioned in written sources (Herodotus IV, 93-94).

We will now talk about vestiges that reveal the presence of strong structure and hierarchy in the Getae society, namely vestiges of residential centers, lavish tombs and precious metal treasures.

Why these? The residential centers mirror the prestige of the ruler and of the community, namely of the "society of the living", while the tomb is the image that the individual or the family have on how one will integrate in the "community of the dead", and burying treasures indicates the way they saw deities, namely those "invisible partners" that were always present in their worldviews.

Are these, in fact, evidence of Getae élites?

Obviously, it is difficult to know whether those that had these goods or were buried in these tumuli fall into the category of what we consider a society's "elite" nowadays. However, we can be sufficiently sure of a number of things.

It is beyond any doubt that the communities that raised such residential centers and that the persons that were buried in such impressive tumuli or owned such precious-metal treasures had important material and human resources at their disposal.

We can say they were the leaders, the rulers of those communities. Without any prestige, means to control and rule – sometimes by force, of course – they could not have imposed their wills and none of these monuments would have been erected.

The presence of a set of similar items, images and figurative scenes exposes an ideology common to the Getae aristocracy in the aforementioned area.

At the same time, these impressive brick or stone walls and the sets of precious-metal items stand proof of the existence in the Getae world of

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skilled masons and craftsmen. Of course, it is possible Greek masters played a part here and there.

If we look at the geographical distribution of these three types of findings we will notice that they are concentrated in certain areas, which means centers of powers and authority were in those places (*Fig. 1*). One can notice three large areas with such findings, each of them supported either by the topography or by the closeness to major communication corridors or to the Greek centers. The first, and the most numerous one, consists of two clusters of findings, one on each side of the Danube, with the Sboryanovo-Sveshtari area as the pivot, and it constitutes a genuine "backbone" of the Getae world. The second area, comprising a line of discoveries running from Kavarna to Agighiol, is not far from the Black Sea coast, namely from the Greek colonies. The third is in the hilly region of northern Moldavia, between the Carpathians and the Dniestr, where we find the residential centers in Cotnari[1] and Butuceni[2], plus the treasure in Băiceni.

Also, the scarceness of these discoveries in the Danube Plain and southern Moldavia is visible, a situation caused by the geo-morphological context (plains, limited water sources, no stone) but also by the presence of Eastern, Scythian findings here[3]

In Oltenia, on Olt's lower course, we find the fortresses of Coţofenii din Dos[4] and Bâzdâna[5], the tombs in Cernele, the treasure in Craiova, plus the rhyton from Poroina (perhaps also the helmet from the Detroit Institute of Art and the goblet at the Metropolitan Museum in New York). In Wallachia, we would like to stress the fortresses in Albeşti and Orbeasca de Sus[6], the tombs in Peretu[7] and Fântânele[8], the tumular necropolis in Zimnicea[9], then the fortified center in Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*[10] and the tomb in Chirnogi[11]; in northern Dobrogea we find the fortresses in Beştepe and Beidaud[12], plus the tomb in Agighiol, while

[1] Florescu 1971: 110-116.
[2] Niculiţă, Teodor, Zanoci 2002
[3] Sîrbu 1983:11-41.
[4] Zirra et al. 1993: 79-157.
[5] Tătulea 1983: 218-221.
[6] Moscalu, Beda 1979: 368-370.
[7] Moscalu 1989:129-190.
[8] Mateescu, Babeş 1968: 283-291.
[9] Alexandrescu 1980: 19-126.
[10] Sîrbu 1994: 25-45.
[11] Şerbănescu 1999: 231-249.
[12] Simion 1977: 31-47; Simion, Lăzurcă 1980: 37-54.

northern Moldavia includes the fortress in Cotnari[13], the tombs in Cucuteni[14] and the treasure in Băiceni.

Residential centers. So far, we know of over one hundred fortified centers in the area between the Balkans, the Carpathians, the Black Sea and Dniestr[15], but the many gaps in their research, caused by objective or subjective factors, rarely allow for definite analyses and conclusions. This way, besides the uncertainties associated with narrower dating, often we cannot say whether we are dealing with fortified settlements, refuge fortresses or residential centers.

Furthermore, there are several known tumular necropolises, but very few fortified centers, in the region between the Balkans and the Danube, whereas things are exactly the opposite north of the great river. We are obviously witnessing a certain lack of strategy in the research, and not the absence of the other category of vestiges in these areas.

The fortifications were erected for several reasons, some of them having to do with external factors (the dangers posed by other peoples, such as the Scythians, Celts or the southern kingdoms), others with internal affairs (conflicts between the various Getae political structures), but it is obvious they were also major sites for trading, gatherings and means for the political leaders to affirm their prestige and authority. For instance, concentrating a large number of fortified sites - almost 20 - on the middle course of the Jiu river, including those in Coțofenii din Dos, Bâzdâna and Bucovăț, stands proof of the variety of their functions, because it is difficult to accept that so many residential centers could have existed on such a small area[16].

Out of the many fortified centers, we will talk about those in Sboryanovo, Coțofenii din Dos, Căscioarele and Butuceni because their features (surface, magnitude of fortifications, types of complexes and richness of inventory) makes these residential centers representative of the Getae world.

The Sboryanovo-Sveshtari region is the site of the most impressive concentration of such monuments – one polis, three tumular necropolises and a sacred enclosure - meaning we can assume this was the center of the Getae world for at least one century. The *polis*, probably the ancient Daudava, spread on around 8 hectares, has a wall with two wall-faces made of limestone blocks and emplecton, with a network of streets, edifices and altars. A rich inventory was found here, with imports from numerous

[13] Florescu 1971: 110-116.
[14] Dinu 1995:103-126.
[15] Florescu 1971: 103-118; Sîrbu, Trohani 1997: 512-539; Zanoci 1998.
[16] Sîrbu, Trohani 1997: 512-539.

Hellenistic centers. One item worth mentioning is an inscription dedicated to the *Phosphoros* goddess, perhaps the community's protector[17].

The 3.5 ha site in Coțofenii din Dos is fortified with an impressive brick wall with two wall faces, 3.5-4.0 m wide, plus transversal walls acting as liaisons and partitioning the emplecton. One found dwellings with a rich and varied inventory, including Greek imports[18].

In Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*, on the left bank of the Danube, only 40km away from Sboryanovo, one is researching a residential center over 2 ha large, fortified, in various stages, with wooden walls, cut limestone blocks and unburned bricks. Besides dwellings and household annexes, one also found a decorated altar and two sanctuaries with fireplaces. Amphorae from numerous Greek centers, dated to 4th-3rd centuries BC, stand out from the varied inventory found here[19]. We are aware of over 10 unfortified settlements around this site, which gives us a rather accurate image of the manner in which the Getae communities grouped around a residential center and depended on it.

In Cotnari-*Cătălina*, in northern Moldavia, an enclosure of about 5 ha was researched partially. It was surrounded by an imposing fortification (ramparts?) that included longitudinal walls and transversal walls made of stone, as well wooden infrastructure. Households and household annexes were found inside the site[20].

In Butuceni, on the right-hand bank of the Răut, not far from where it flows in the Dniestr, one researched a residential center fortified with polished limestone blocks and bricks. We need to stress the presence of a possible round sanctuary and of the many 4th-3rd centuries BC Greek imports[21]. The residential center here is in the middle of a special concentration of other sites, many of them fortified.

Besides the important resources involved or the skills of the masons, the presence of cut-stone walls or of bricks, burned or not, in these residential centers, reveals that the Getae aristocracy was in line with a certain standard from the royal courts of the Mediterranean civilizations.

Unfortunately, we do not have enough data to identify the areas where such residential centers commanded authority or the type of relations among the dynasts/aristocrats that ruled them. However, one can assume, for instance, that there was some sort of hierarchy/dependency between the

[17] Chichikova, Delev, Bozhkova 1992: 73-88; Stoyanov et al. 2004.
[18] Zirra et al. 1993: 79-157.
[19] Sîrbu 1994: 25-45.
[20] Florescu 1971: 110-116.
[21] Niculiță, Teodor, Zanoci 2002.

rulers in Sboryanovo and the aristocrat in Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*, based on the small distance between them, the differences in the size between the two residences, and on the center-periphery relationship. However, there may have been more than just one center of power. Similar to other kingdoms, the ruler could have been moving from one residence to another, accompanied by the court members, as the interests required.

Tombs of dynasts. Since there are very few written sources on eschatological beliefs and the manner in which the Thracians dealt with the dead (Herodotus V, 8), archaeological vestiges will have to support most of the analysis. However, as we all know, these are "opaque", which means many of the data on spiritual matters will remain unknown to us.

The region once inhabited by the Thracians also yielded impressive tumuli, sometimes with full-fledged temples and rich and silver treasures under them[22]. Why did the persons buried there and the communities that they came from undertook such efforts and gave up on such valuable items? It is obvious that only strong beliefs could have made the Thracians/Getae give up on such goods, personal or collective, without causing feelings of frustration in the families and communities.

What were those motivations?

Cremation was the predominant funerary rite for the northern Thracians in the 5th-3rd centuries BC, since we know of over 1600 cremation tombs but of only about 250 inhumation tombs[23]. However, about half of the latter are in the necropolis in Stelnica alone[24] .

In the case of dynasts and high-ranking aristocracy, on the other hand, inhumation seems to be the dominant funerary rite[25]. This is what happened to the tombs in the Sboryanovo-Sveshtari area[26], Agighiol[27], Peretu[28], Vraca[29], north of the Balkans or from the Kazanluk-Plovdiv region in southern Balkans[30].

If that is the case, how do we account for the different rites?

Can we conclude that normal inhumation reflects the beliefs of the Getae aristocracy – of the Thracian aristocracy, in general – that the "afterworld" was a projection of the life one had lived in until death? Is that

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[22] Gergova 1996; Rousseva 2000; Kitov 2005; Kull 1997$_1$: 200-466.
[23] Sîrbu 2002: 376-377.
[24] Conovici, Matei 1999: 99-144, plus the later discoveries!
[25] Sîrbu 2002: 374-393.
[26] Chichikova 1992: 143-163; Gergova 1996.
[27] Berciu 1969: 33-76.
[28] Moscalu 1989: 129-190.
[29] Torbov 2005.
[30] Kitov 1999: 1-20; 2005.

the explanation for erecting impressive tumuli, some of them "comfortable", for sacrificing horses and depositing personal goods, some of them of great value? Was the tumulus seen, in this case, as a final "palace" for the dead?

However, there have been situations where only parts or isolated bones from the dead were preserved, and the argument goes that we are dealing with repeated exposure and dismembering practices because the body was seen as a "recipient" that needs to be destroyed in order to free the "spirit", the only way to achieve immortality[31] . In this situation, was the tumulus just a transit site for the dead on his way to the place of the "immortals"? Do these practices mirror beliefs linked to the cult of Orpheus and Zagreus?[32]

Does cremation, which is encountered in the case of some high-ranking aristocrats, reflect a deeper "spiritualization" of the conceptions on the "afterworld" or just local and family traditions? Both in Sboryanovo-Sveshtari and in other areas, such as the tomb in Cucuteni[33] one encounters impressive funerary set ups where the dead were cremated.

Based on these different types of funerary set ups and rites for the dead, one can deduct the existence of varied notions on the "afterworld" in the Getae aristocracy.

However, we can make a very important observation: when it comes to the most impressive constructions - sometimes endowed with sculpted or painted rooms, and having the richest inventories - the dead were inhumed, such as in Ginina Mogila and tumuli 12 and 13 in Sboryanovo, then in Vraca, Agighiol, Peretu etc. Things are the same in the case of the tumuli in the southern part of the Balkan mountains[34].

We will bring only a few more cases into discussion.

There are over 100 known tumuli in the Sboryanovo-Sveshtari region, grouped in three necropolises, over 20 of which have been researched, which means we have essential data on the funerary beliefs and practices of the Getae aristocracy. It is obvious that some of the dynasts/aristocrats started building these funerary monuments during their lifetime because it is impossible to raise such tumuli, build funerary chambers (some of them with sculpted or painted scenes), over such a short interval, namely from the time of death to the moment the dead is placed in the tomb. The most spectacular tomb excavated is, of course, *Ginina Moghila*[35] (*Fig. 2*).

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[31] Gergova 1996: 129-140.
[32] Fol 1993; Gergova 1996: 129-140.
[33] Dinu 1995: 103-126.
[34] Mikoff 1954; Gergova 1996; Rousseva 2000; Kitov 2005; Torbov 2005.
[35] Fol, Chichikova, Ivanov, Teofilov 1986; Chichikova 1992: 143-163.

One noticed that certain clusters of tumuli are oriented according to certain constellations, that the tumulus and the constructions underneath were made in three stages, that the existence of uncovered facades and gliding doors, as well as the evidence of the way they were handled, reveals there had been repeated entries in the funerary chambers. Moreover, the presence of just parts of human skeletons or of isolated human bones, and the fact that they were mixed with animal bones or inventory items, reveals rituals that involved sacrifices and repeated exposures of the dead out in the open air[36]. Also, fireplaces (some of them decorated) and deposited offerings were found in some of the tumuli, which means that sacred rituals took place during and after the dead were buried.

However, it is difficult to decipher why such rituals stop at some point and the facades are covered for good. Also, where are the rich inventories that accompanied the dead initially? We can only assume that the dead and the goods that were with them were being protected, in particular while access to the funerary chamber was possible.

The differences between the size of the tumuli and the chambers underneath, the presence of sculpted or painted scenes in selected cases, variations in the richness of the inventory – they all point to differences in the social and political status of the dead. Despite the many unknowns, one can posit that the tombs here indicated a sacred place where some of the Getae elite, from the rulers to the court aristocracy, were buried.

But some of the dynasts or high-ranking aristocracy were buried in other places, such as in the tumuli in Agighiol[37] and Peretu[38]. Even though the set ups are not that imposing in these cases, the rich gold and silver inventories, plus the figurative scenes on some items, means they belonged to dynasts. Furthermore, the inventories in Agighiol and Peretu are richer and the iconography of the items is more complex than what was found in the Getae tombs north of the Balkans.

Another things to be stressed is that no representative iron or bronze weaponry – such as helmets, swords or sabers - was found in these princely tombs. Usually, one found lances or arrows. The fact that more than one skeleton were found in some of the tombs (e.g. six individuals in Sveshtari-*Ginina Moghila*) could mean those were "family vaults" for certain rulers because the age and sex patterns of the dead, as well as the state of the bones and of the horse remains rules out the possibility that these were human sacrifices[39].

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[36] Gergova 1996: 129-140.
[37] Berciu 1969: 33-76.
[38] Moscalu 1989: 129-190.
[39] Ivanov 1992: 135-137.

Is this a sign of hierarchy, of the center-periphery relationship, and of the need that the dead be buried in the land he ruled? We believe that a number of beliefs of the elites observed in other civilizations apply to the tumular tombs in the Getae world, in particular that of the Thracians[40]. The tumulus was associated with the mountain, with the center, it was a monument always visible. Burying the dead in his land secured the continuity of the connection between him and the land that he had ruled. From there, he could watch over those that followed, meaning that he was a symbol of identifying, even after death, with the territory and its people, since he irradiated and concentrated authority at the same time[41].

Then, there are a number of tombs or tumular necropolises with not so pretentious set ups, with the dead cremated or, much more rarely, inhumed, where weapons and offerings were found. Such are the tumular tombs in Găvani[42], Chirnogi[43], Zimnicea[44], Borovo[45], Drumevo[46], Yankovo[47], Branicevo[48] etc. They belonged to a warrior aristocracy, probably even bands of fighters serving dynasts. There are not many tombs found with full knight gear sets, such as in Ruec (formerly Jurukler): helmet, armor, lances and arrows, sword, bridle bits[49].

One should mention that very few weaponry items were found in plane tombs, usually arrowheads, which could mean that there were certain weapon-carrying restrictions for the common people.

The Treasures of the Basilei. In the area inhabited by the Getae (by the northern Thracians in general), one found – mostly by chance – many treasures with a number of similar features, both in terms of context of the discovery and of types of items and figurative representations, such as the findings in Băiceni, Craiova, Borovo, Lukovit and Letnica. These were not discovered in fortresses, settlements, sanctuaries or necropolises, meaning they can be considered isolated findings. However, fortresses or tumular tombs were almost always found rather close by (1-5 km). All in all, they include several categories of gold or silver items (ceremonial

[40] Binford 1971: 108-143; Moris 1987; Bailey 2000: 23-28.
[41] Taylor 1986: 47-65; Kuhrt 1992; Bailey 2000: 23-28; Sîrbu 2000: 183-211.
[42] Sîrbu, Harţuche 2000: 139-153.
[43] Şerbănescu 1999: 231-249.
[44] Alexandrescu 1980: 19-126.
[45] Ivanov 1984: 17-18.
[46] Dremsizova 1965: 54-65.
[47] Dremsizova 1955: 61-83.
[48] Dremsizova 1962: 165-185.
[49] Velkov 1925: 174.

items, drink ware, and harness appliqués) with iconographic motives and scenes specific to the Getae but there are significant differences from one item to another[50].

The treasure in Băiceni includes a helmet, bracelets, appliqués and clothing buttons, plus harness appliqués, almost entirely of gold, weighing about 2 kg, which means they are ceremonial items for a dynast and his horse[51].

The "treasure" in Craiova comprises about 80 silver appliqués and harness links of various sizes and shapes, some of them with animal figurative representations, which makes it a set of items for several horses[52].

The treasure in Lukovit includes a valuable set of silver harness appliqués, most of them with animal, but also anthropomorphic representations[53].

The silver treasure in Borovo includes three rhytons, a bi-truncated vessel and a bowl, all of them with figurative scenes[54].

Of special importance is the treasure in Letnica, with 23 silver appliqués, 12 of which have animal representations and 11 have anthropomorphic representations – 8 with riders, two with female characters, and another is showing a hierogamy scene[55].

We also need to mention the discovery of isolated items of exceptional value, such as the helmet in Poiana-Coțofeneşti[56]) and the rhyton in Poroina[57], as well as other items with unknown origins, such as the silver helmet at the Institute of Art in Detroit[58] or the silver goblet at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, thought to be from the Iron Gates region[59].

It is beyond any doubt that these treasures, sometimes totaling kilograms of silver and gold, with specific items and figurative scenes, belonged to rulers or high-ranking dynasts.

However, it is much more difficult to establish why they were buried because, as we already said, they were not found in sanctuaries and are not in direct connection with any specific tomb. It is difficult to accept they buried so

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[50] Venedikov, Gerasimov 1979; *I Daci* 1997; *Ancient Gold* 1998.
[51] Petrescu-Dâmboviţa 1985: 171-185.
[52] Berciu 1969:123-146.
[53] Čičikova 1980.
[54] Zdravkova, Ivanov 2002.
[55] Venedikov 1996.
[56] Berciu 1969: 77-82.
[57] Berciu 1969: 153-160.
[58] Berciu 1969: 83-88.
[59] Berciu 1969: 89-93.

many treasures just because of imminent dangers, even though we cannot say what was the cultural motivation for each of these findings.

Symbols of power. Archaeological findings also show that there were types of items in the Thracian society that were signs of their bearers' social, military and political rank. This kind of categories includes ceremonial gear, feast tableware, chariots and horse harnesses, plus the figurative scenes and motives on them.

It is important that almost all of these items are made of gold, silver or gilded silver, which points not just to the significant resources that their owners had, but also to the sacred significance of these precious metals in the aristocracy's religious and mythological beliefs[60].

How were these goods accumulated? Some written sources claim this happened by way of gifts and trading taxes, wars and pillaging, and taxes paid by some of the Greek colonies or of the kingdoms in return for the protection offered by the stronger rulers. We have more detailed sources on such things in the case of the Odryisian kingdom (Thukydides 2, 97, 3-4; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7, 3, 26-33). That the duties and gifts offered by the Greek colonies to the Thracian dynasts were quite high we can guess from one of the purposes of the Lysimachus against Domichaites, namely canceling the Getae king's protectorate over them.

On what occasions did they wear such items? The investiture or religious ceremonies, receiving embassies, marriages and feats that took place at the courts of these high-ranking officials – all these were suitable occasions for the bearers of the items to display one's wealth and personal prestige.

The ceremonial gear consisted of helmets, cnemids, clothing accessories and adornments with rich figurative motives, of which we will discuss only the first two types, due to their special significance.

The special helmets in Băiceni, Agighiol, Peretu, Poiana-Coţofeneşti (Fig. 3/1-4) and the one at the Institute of Art in Detroit are original creations because such gold or silver items and their characteristic iconography were found only in the area inhabited by the Getae. It is worth mentioning that these items have not been placed on the heads of the dead in any discovery made so far, and in no representation are the characters wearing helmets[61].

One can also estimate that the cnemids, also made of gilded silver, are characteristic of the Getae aristocracy. We know of five items so far, all of them found in tombs, two in Agighiol (Fig. 4/1-2), one Vraca (Fig. 4/3)

[60] Marazov 1994.
[61] Sîrbu 2004$_2$: 33-35; 2005: 143-162.

and, more recently, ***another*** in Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa[62]. The one found in Vraca[63] is similar to cnemid no.2 in Agighiol and, although a number of scenes are not the same between them, they both belong to the "Agighiol workshop". The iconography of the cnemids, most of it similar to that found on others types of items found in the Getae area is evidence they are reflecting a mythology specific to them.

The *ceremonial tableware* in the Getae region includes goblets and rhyta, phials, deep bowls and, more rarely, other types of recipients.

The iconography on the five known goblets is of special importance to the Getae religion and mythology, in particular because of the scene called "animal procession"[64]. Two of the goblets are from Agighiol[65] (Fig. 3/8-9) and one from the treasure in Rogozen[66] then there is the item from the "Iron Gates", currently at the Metropolitan Museum in New York[67] and another at the George Severeanu Museum in Bucharest[68].

The rhytons, be they silver or gold, played a particular role in the sacred life of the Getae (Fig. 4/4-6) in general, given not only their rich iconography, but also the scenes rendering people with such items in their hands, such as the rhyton in Poroina[69], the cnemids in Agighiol and Malomirovo, the helmet in Băiceni or the vessel in Borovo. We know of over 20 items found in the area that the Getae inhabited.

The phials were also of special importance, given their high numbers – 160 items found so far, 108 of which in Rogozen alone – but also the many items with inscriptions, such as in Agighiol, Peretu, Rogozen, Branicevo, Alexandrovo[70].

Although one found remains from ceremonial chariots just in Peretu[71] and Vraca[72], the important part they played in the life of the aristocracy is confirmed by the high number of horses inhumed in some of the tombs, such as in Agighiol – three animals[73] or Sveshtari-Ginina Mogila – six of them[74].

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62 Agre 2005: 68-75.
63 Torbov 2005, pl. 8, 21.
64 Alexandrescu 1984: 91-97; Sîrbu, Florea 2000$_1$: 136-140; Sîrbu 2004$_1$: 79-80.
65 Berciu 1969: 54-59, fig. 26-33.
66 Marazov 1996: 222-242, fig. 138-139.
67 Berciu 1969: 89-93, fig. 66.
68 Gramatopol 1982: 94, fig. 25/d, 27/a,b.
69 Berciu 1969: 153-160, fig. 106-110.
70 Zournatzi 2000: 688-706.
71 Moscalu 1989: 138-141, fig. 5-6, 17-18, pl. 62-63.
72 Torbov 2005: 139, pl. 3.
73 Berciu 1969: 38-39.
74 Ivanov 1992: 135-136.

The gold and silver harness appliqués had a decorative role but the symbolism of the figurative representations on them indicates they were also mean tot enhance the power of the horse so that the aristocrat could reach its target (Fig. 5/1-4). The Thracian world is the site of a special type of harness appliqués that render highly stylized horse heads in a vortex. The most complete and spectacular series of appliqués comes from Letnica – 23 items, 8 of which depicts riders[75].

Gestures and images. The careful analysis of the many figurative representations on Thracian toreutics in general, and the Getae toreutics in particular, revealed a number of motives and scenes specific to them. What is their meaning?

The appearance of a constellation of basilei in the Getae world, in particular in the 4th century BC, generated an ideology that would emphasize their heroic and divine origin. However, in a society where writing was not used but in exceptional circumstances, an ideology could only express itself and be understood by way of a consistent iconographic program. We will now briefly introduce some of the images and scenes characteristic of the Getae aristocracy.

The rider and the sacred hunt. The most frequent scene in the Getae region, and in the Thracian world in general, is the rider, sometimes in armor, moving from the left to the right with a lance in hand, ready to attack[76] (Fig. 5/1,3-4). Sometimes, we have an explicit hunting scene rendered, such as on an appliqué in Letnica, where he is attacking a bear (Fig. 5/3), while on another in Lukovit he is attacking a lion (Fig. 5/4). The riders are often in attack positions, but the opponent is not shown. In other instances, they are holding a bowl in hand such as on an appliqué in Letnica (Fig. 5/2), or a rhyton, such as on **a greave** in Malomirovo, or the rider is showing the bow, such as on greave no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6a). We need to make a few things clear: there is no known instance in the toreutics scenes of a rider wearing a helmet or bearing a shield, there is no scene portraying a human confrontation or having the name of a deity inscribed on it[77]. For these reasons, we believe most of the scenes show the riders hunting, since this was one of the preferred pastimes of the aristocracy and a test of courage that the rulers had to display regularly. There are written sources supporting this (Herodotus I, 36-45), as well as other findings, the most spectacular being the gorgeous frescoes of the tomb in Alexandrovo[78].

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[75] Venedikov 1996.
[76] Sîrbu, Florea 2000$_2$: 23-43.
[77] Sîrbu 2004$_1$: 74-75.
[78] Kitov 2004.

Persons sitting on the throne, male or female, appear on a number of ceremonial items, such as the helmet in Băiceni (Fig. 5/8) or cnemid no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6b), or drink ware, such as the rhyton in Poroina (Fig.5/7) or the vessel in Borovo (Fig. 5/5). The character's high-ranking is revealed by both the throne, as a symbol of authority, and the sacred meaning of the unicorn bird, the rhyton and the phial held in hand.

Launching the spear/lance. The most frequent weapon discovered in the tumular tombs or appearing, in the iconography, in the hands of the riders, is the spear or lance. However, we need to make clear that it is never used to attack a human opponent. Rather, the moment it is launched or is already lodged in an animal, is showed, such as the appliqués is Lukovit (Fig. 5/4) and Letnica (Fig. 5/1,3), the mugs in Rogozen or the tomb in Alexandrovo. In our opinion, some of these scenes show the dynast before the investiture, namely when he was proving his skills. It is no accident that the animals attacked are stronger, sometimes ferocious (lion, bear, deer).

Showing the bow. There is not one scene where a character is firing the bow, be it in a fight or in a hunt. Instead, the bow is always held in hand, it is showed or is around the character, such as in the case of the male characters on the helmet in Băiceni (Fig. 5/8) or cnemid no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6a), or the female characters on mugs no. 155 and 157 in Rogozen. These are solemn scenes, given the presence of other symbols of power as well (throne, rhyton), and this means we are witnessing high-ranking characters, probably dynasts, in the case of the male characters, and goddesses, in the case of the female ones.

The unicorn bird-fish-hare scene appears on the helmets in Peretu that are currently at the Detroit Institute of Art, as well as on the goblets in Agighiol and Rogozen and the one at the New York Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 6/1-5). This motive is specific to the Getae art, as a result of the assimilation of Scytho-Siberian and Northern Italy motives[79]. Obviously, it is a symbolic scene, and not one depicting nature. The iconography indicates that the bird with horn is a central character in the "animal procession" (Fig. 3/8-9; 6/1-5), both because of its exaggerated size and because of the added horn. Some researchers believe that this scene indicates a divine being[80], or even that it represents the Great God[81]. However, we believe it is more likely that it stands for the dynast's rule over his kingdom in all its elements, as symbolized there, namely air (the eagle), earth (the hare) and water (the fish).

[79] Alexandrescu 1984: 93-95.
[80] Alexandrescu 1984: 97.
[81] Crişan 1993: 142-152.

We need to emphasize that such representations are from findings of rich tombs or hoards, probably from basilei.

Sacrifices. The golden helmet from Poiana-Coţofeneşti has two scenes, unique in Thracian toreutics so far: on the cheek-piece, a male character with a shield is sacrificing a ram with the help of a dagger (Fig. 3/3; 6/9), while on the nape guard, on two levels, there are anthropo-demons and fantasy creatures holding a mammal's foot in mouth[82]. According to ancient beliefs, the sacrifice is a way to release the tensions within the community and re-establish the connections to the deities; perhaps sacrificing the ram is meant to dispel chaos and terror, as rendered on the metaphoric scene on the back of the head, thus returning equilibrium to the society[83].

Libation. A number of items from the Getic toreutics show male characters – and, rarely, female – with rhyton, bowls or drinking horns in hand, such as on the helmet in Băiceni (Fig. 5/8), the vessel in Borovo (Fig. 5/5), the rhyton in Poroina (Fig. 5/7), an appliqué in Letnica (Fig. 5/2), and greave no. 2 in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6b). The solemn quality of the scenes, the throne and the meaning of these vessels in the Thracian illustrates the sacred nature of these characters.

Apotropaic eyes. The presence on all of the five gold and silver Getae helmets of the "apotropaic eyes" motive (Fig. 3/1-4) generated heated debates, and a common opinion was that the eyes were meant to strike horror in the enemies. However, we need to call attention to the fact that this motive does not show up on actual bronze or iron fight helmets, and there are no scenes showing the rulers wearing such helmets on their heads. In our opinion, the reasons behind this motive are twofold: the exophthalmic eyes indicated the ruler's power to "see all" and, thus, control all, but also helped the endeavoring character in his way to the "afterworld"[84].

Hierogamy. We have an unusual scene on an appliqué in Letnica, which shows a man and a woman in an erotic position, assisted by a female character standing up, with a mug and tree branch in hand (Fig. 6/8). One can interpret the scene as the union between a ruler and a goddess, either to show the divine origin of the royalty or to secure the authority and prosperity of the kingdom[85].

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[82] Berciu 1969: 77-82.
[83] Marazov 1978: 81-100.
[84] Sîrbu 2004$_1$: 55.
[85] Marazov 1992.

Discussion. The main theme of the Thracian toreutics is a male character, showed most of the times as a rider, but also as sitting on the throne. This shows up in all the types of complexes (tombs, treasures) and items. We would like to recall that the toreutics never shows human confrontations, that no inscription points to some sort of Thracian deity, and that the character is rendered in certain situations: often, it is hunting and, more rarely, performing sacrifices, in investiture scenes or in solemn positions with weapons (lance, bow) or vessels (rhytons, horns, phials) in hand (Fig. 3/2; 5/1-4, 6a).

Other scenes show female characters in various instances, sitting on the throne (Fig.4/4a; 5/7) or with wings, such as on mugs Rogozen[86]. It is worth mentioning the presence of female characters handing out crowns to riders, such as on the painted scene in Sveshtari-*Ginina Moghila* (Fig. 2/5) or on the ring in Malomirovo. In other cases, the female characters are just "watching over" scenes with male characters, such as on greave no. 1 in Agighiol (Fig. 4/1; 5/6). We also need to mention the presence of human heads, probably female, in the tombs in Peretu (Fig. 3/5) or Vraca (Fig. 3/6). We might be dealing with female deities handing out signs of power to the dynasts or just protecting them.

Who do these scenes render? Before trying to give an answer, we need to make a few general observations.

It is a sure fact that most of the toreutics items were made in workshops in Thracian territory, based on the large number of precious-metal items, on the matrices and device for decorating in metal_that were found, as well as on certain types of items and specific scenes[87].

Obviously, the toreutic art is meant for the elites, since only they afforded items comprising kilograms of gold or silver, and the iconography illustrates an ideology specific to them.

The appearance and development of an exceptional Thracian toreutics during the 5th-3rd centuries BC shows a "thirst for art" in the aristocracy, a result of the need to address a society that used writing on extremely rare occasions, which means the image also served as a messenger, not just an aesthetic function.

At the same time, the Thracian art is a symbolic art because only those initiated in the "codes" could understand the decorative scenes and compositions. That is why it is very difficult to identify *what* the art said, *how* it said it, *who* did it address and *why*.

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[86] Marazov 1996.

[87] Alexandrescu 1974: 273-281; 1983: 45-66; Marazov 1992; Babeş 1993: 125-134; Tonkova 1995: 175-214; Kull 1997_2: 551-584.

We cannot be absolutely sure of the origin of the items nowadays, we cannot know for sure how the were introduced to the audience, nor can we find out the way the scenes were "read", what was the internal logic of certain myths, legends and hagiographies. It is as if the frames of a movie were mixed up and had no captions.

Furthermore, the few written sources are not entirely reliable information sources either, since they represent the Greek's viewpoint, they describe "the image of the other", not to mention the difficulties associated with the Greeks' understanding esoteric rites and beliefs from a "barbarian" world. To make things worse, there were certain mentalities in the writings of the Greek authors, which described the Thracian either as "savages" or as "sages", namely outside the civilization as the Greek society saw it[88].

As for the question in the beginning of the text – what were the Getic elites – we can say for sure that they existed, because they are archaeologically visible in certain items and in the iconography, but details are a matter of speculations (granted, speculations based on actual items and iconographic facts).

We can assume that the lay elite consisted of the rulers and their court, then by a high-ranking aristocracy and the bands of warriors. Starting with the 4th century BC, the number of tumular tombs and rich treasures skyrockets in the region of the northern Balkans, and the local princes have room for independent manifestations. This has a historical basis. On the one hand, the state of the Odryisians goes down under the blows of Macedonian king Philip II, in 341 BC, which means their kings were no longer able to manifest independently. On the other hand, the Scythian and Macedonian expeditions in the Lower Danube area and the relations with the Odryisian rulers allowed the Getae aristocracy to get to know their lavish courts. Furthermore, the possibility of obtaining stipends from the Greek colonies, plus the pillaging expeditions and the taxes on trade added a handsome amount to the wealth of the Getae aristocracy.

Although we do not have a great deal of substantial information on the power relations in the Getae world, there are a number of observations we can make, based on comparisons to the Odrysian kingdom[89], since they were structurally similar. It is very likely that both internal relations – between the Getae rulers and the high-ranking aristocracy or the bands of warriors – and "foreign" ones were based on gift exchanges[90] and matrimonial alliances set up during feasts.

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[88] Petre 2004**:** 70-126.
[89] Archibald 1998.
[90] Zournatzi 2000, p. 688-706.

Great treasures were accumulated over time, as seen in the case of the famous treasure in Rogozen, comprising 165 silver vessels (some of them gilded), dated back to the 5th-4th century BC, that were probably some dynast's "feast tableware", and included both items made in their own workshops but also other items from "gifts"[91]. It is beyond any doubt that the "institution of the gift"[92] played an important part in the Getae society, in particular, and in the Thracian one in general.

Similar in this respect are the ceremonies during the feasts held at the courts of Odryisian kings Seuthes (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7, 3, 26-33) and Dromichaites when they captured Lysimachus (Diodorus 21,12,2-6), ceremonies concerning the exchange of gifts and services and, possibly, matrimonial alliances[93]. The high value of the obligations and gifts that the Greek fortresses offered the Thracian rulers is visible in one of the reasons behind Lysimachus's expedition – removing the protectorate of the Getae ruler over them.

In control of vast riches, the Getae aristocracy created an ideology of its own, with some features different from that of other Thracian peoples. We need only mention the silver and golden helmets, cnemids, goblets, rhytons and harness appliqués with a certain specific decorative compositions, such as the "animal procession", the horned bird, the characters on the throne and the apotropaic eyes. All these items and scenes are signs of the Getae aristocracy's distinct worldview and its desire to stand out, to display their ethnic and social-political identity. It cultivated tight relations and gift exchanges with the Triballi or Odryisian aristocracies, as evidenced by the goblet in the Rogozen treasure, the cnemid in the Vraca tumulus or the greave in the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa tomb. Also, a number of vessels in the Triballi and Getae region seem to be gifts from Odryisian kings - see, in particular, the phials with the name Kotys[94].

It is difficult to claim that the explanation for this development of the Getae aristocracy lies in the desires of some periphery princes, that is, Getae princes, to imitate the center, namely the Odryisian kingdom. The timing of the peak of manifestations, namely mid-4th century BC, and the desire to have a proprietary mythology invalidate such an explanation, since they are signs of independence and the desire for a distinct identity. The Dromichaites moment is clear proof of this, even though we cannot take *ad litteram* everything written on it, including details on the capture of

[91] Alexandrescu 1980: 233-244; Marazov 1996.
[92] Mauss 1923.
[93] Avram 1987: 185-188.
[94] Alexandrescu 1980: 233-244; Zournatzi 2000: 688-706.

Lysimachus (Diodorus of Sicily 21, 12, 2-6). Perhaps it is no accident that several monuments in Sboryanovo-Sveshtari dated back to the end of the 4th century – beginning of 3rd century BC.

The lack of written sources means we cannot discuss several important issues, such as the size of these rulers' kingdoms, the hierarchical structure, their foreign relations etc, since these are exclusively a matter of speculations.

Was there a religious elite as well? Written sources prove the existence of an advanced religion in the Getae world (Herodotus IV, 93-95), one that was polytheist and anthropomorphic and had complicated rites[95]. It is impossible to believe such an advanced stage could exist without "specialists in the sacred' that would dedicate themselves to the cult's doctrine and practices. Unfortunately, very few sanctuaries and cult places are known for the 4th-3rd centuries BC, such as Sboryanovo-*Kamen rid* and *Demir Baba Teke*[96], Căscioarele-*D'aia parte*[97], Butuceni[98] or those in the Silistra region[99]. Certain information is provided by a number of iconographic scenes, such as the sacrificed ram on the helmet in Poiana-Coţofeneşti (Fig. 6/9) or possible libations suggested by the male or female characters holding rhytons, drinking horns or bowls in their hands on the helmet Băiceni (Fig. 5/8), greaves in Agighiol (Fig. 5/6b) and Malomirovo, the appliqué Letnica (Fig. 5/2), the container from Borovo (Fig. 5/5) and the rhyton from Poroina (Fig. 5/7).

However, the question remains as to whether the basilei or the priests performed the sacred acts or did they complement each other somehow? It is not our purpose to debate this complex problem here because it needs a separate piece dedicated to it. We just want to introduce a piece of information about the siege sometime in the 4th century BC by king Philip II on the Odessos fortress, then under Getae protectorate, when their priests "that they call holy men and pious men, at once opening the gates came forward with *citarae* and dressed in white and, in song, implored their forefathers' gods to favor them and drive out the Macedonians" (Jordanes 65).

In all the cases we have talked about, except for the female character on the rhyton in Poroina, we seem to dealing with basilei because the characters are either riders, or wearing armor, but we have every reason to believe in the existence of priories of holy men.

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[95] Russu 1944-1948: 61-139.
[96] Balkanska 1998.
[97] Sîrbu 1994: 30.
[98] Niculiţă, Teodor, Zanoci 2002: 41-42, fig. 59.
[99] data from G. Atanasov.

Controversies and the impossibility to know more details aside, we can be sure of the existence of a Getae secular and religious aristocracy.

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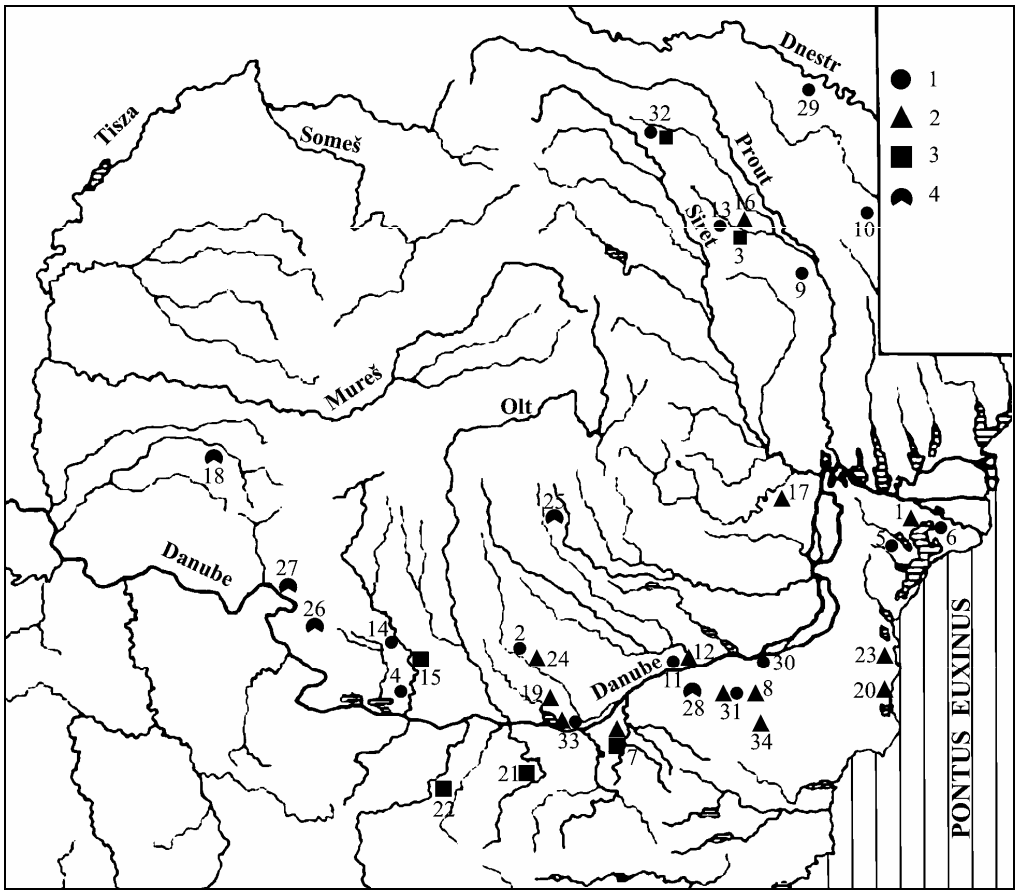

Fig.1. Main residential centers, tombs and treasures from the Getic world (4th-3th centuries BC).
Legend: 1 residential centers, 2 tumular tombs, 3 treasures, 4 isolated figurative artifacts.

List of settlements: 1 Agighiol, 2 Albeşti, 3 Băiceni, 4 Brâzdâna, 5 Beidaud, 6 Beştepe, 7 Borovo, 8. Branicevo, 9 Buneşti-Avereşti, 10 Butuceni, 11 Căscioarele, 12 Chirnogi, 13 Cotnari, 14 Coţofeni din Dos, 15 Craiova, 16 Cucuteni, 17 Găvani, 18 Găvojdia, 19 Fântânele, 20 Kavarna, 21 Letnica, 22 Lukovit, 23 Mangalia, 24 Peretu, 25 Poiana-Coţofeneşti, 26 Poroina, 27 "Porţile de Fier", 28 Razgrad, 29 Saharna, 30 Satu Nou, 31 Sboryanovo-Sveshtari, 32 Stânceşti, 33 Zimnicea, 34 Zlokucene.

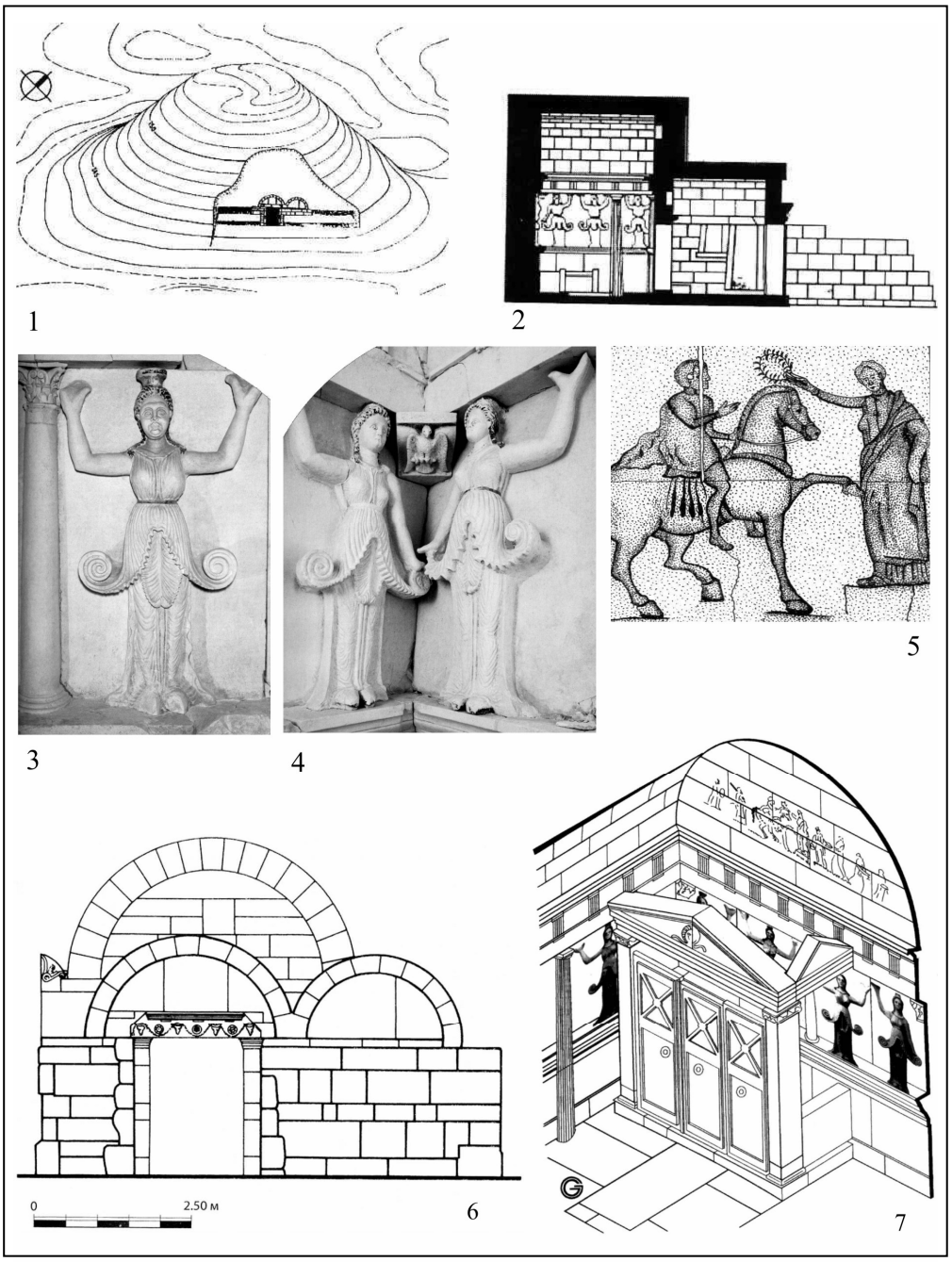

Fig.2 Sboryanovo-Svesthari, the *Ginina Moghila* tumulus.
1.verview, 2 longitudinal view, 3-4 caryatids, 5 fresco (detail), 6 tomb's façade, 7 naikos-recreation (from D. Gergova 1996; M.Chichikova 1992)

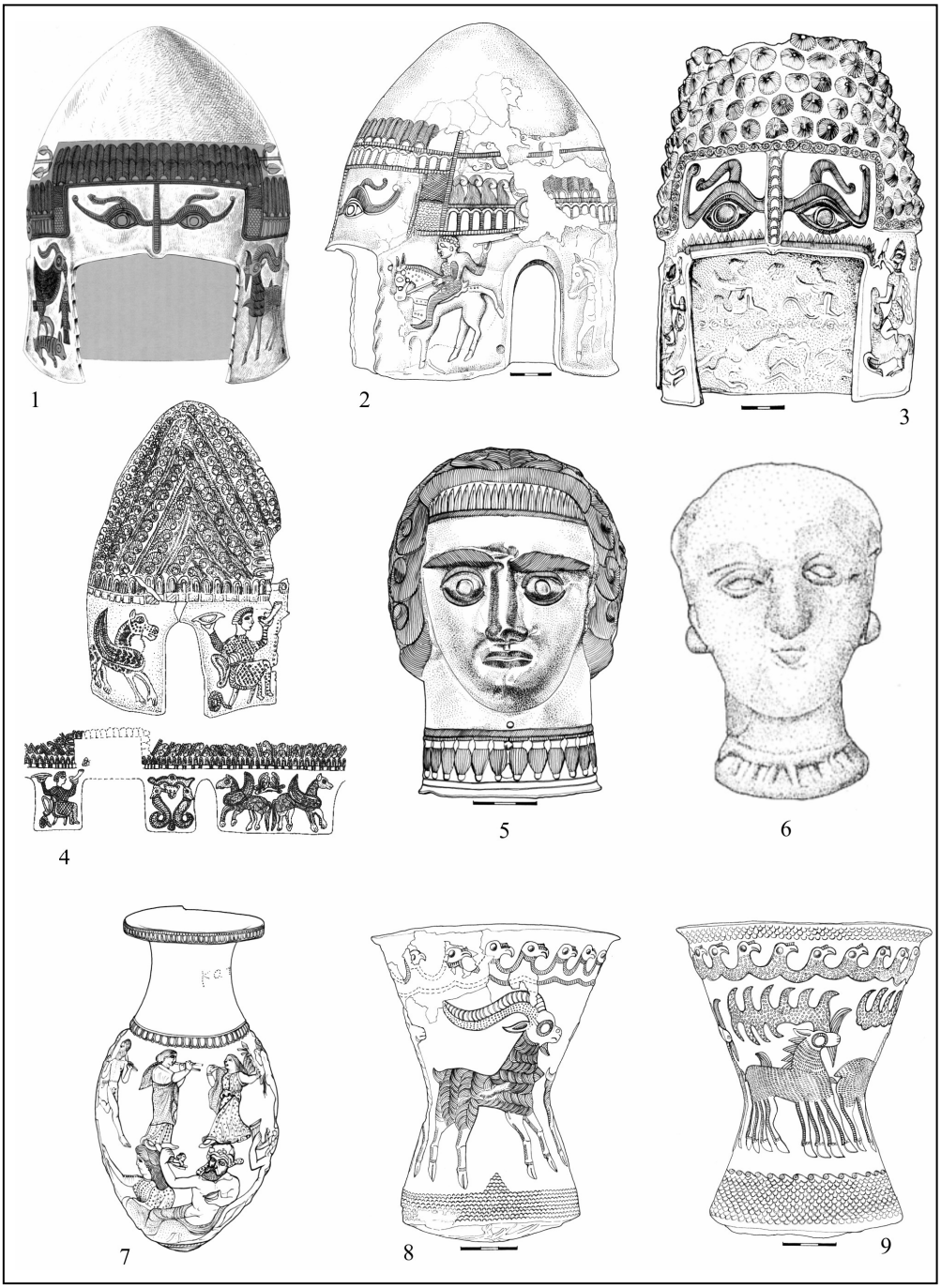

Fig.3. Helmets (1-4), human heads (5-6), vessel (7), goblets (8-9); 1-2.5.7-9 silver, 3-4 gold, 6 clay, 1,5 Peretu, 2,8-9, Agighiol, 3 Poiana-Coţofeneşti, 4 Vraca, 7 Borovo

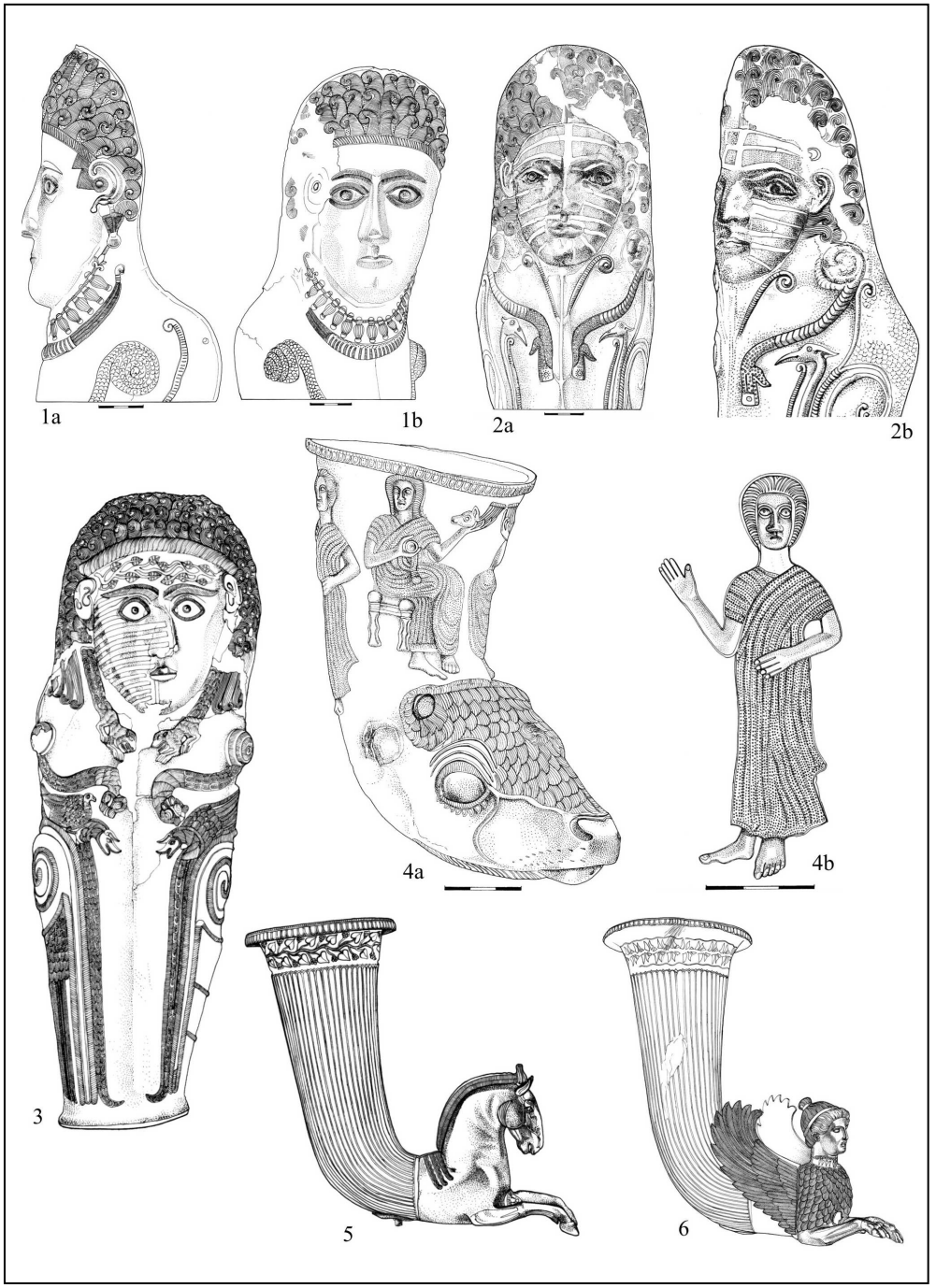

Fig. 4. 1-3 Greavs, 4-6 rhyta; 1-2 Agighiol, 3 Vraca, 4 Poroina, 5-6 Borovo

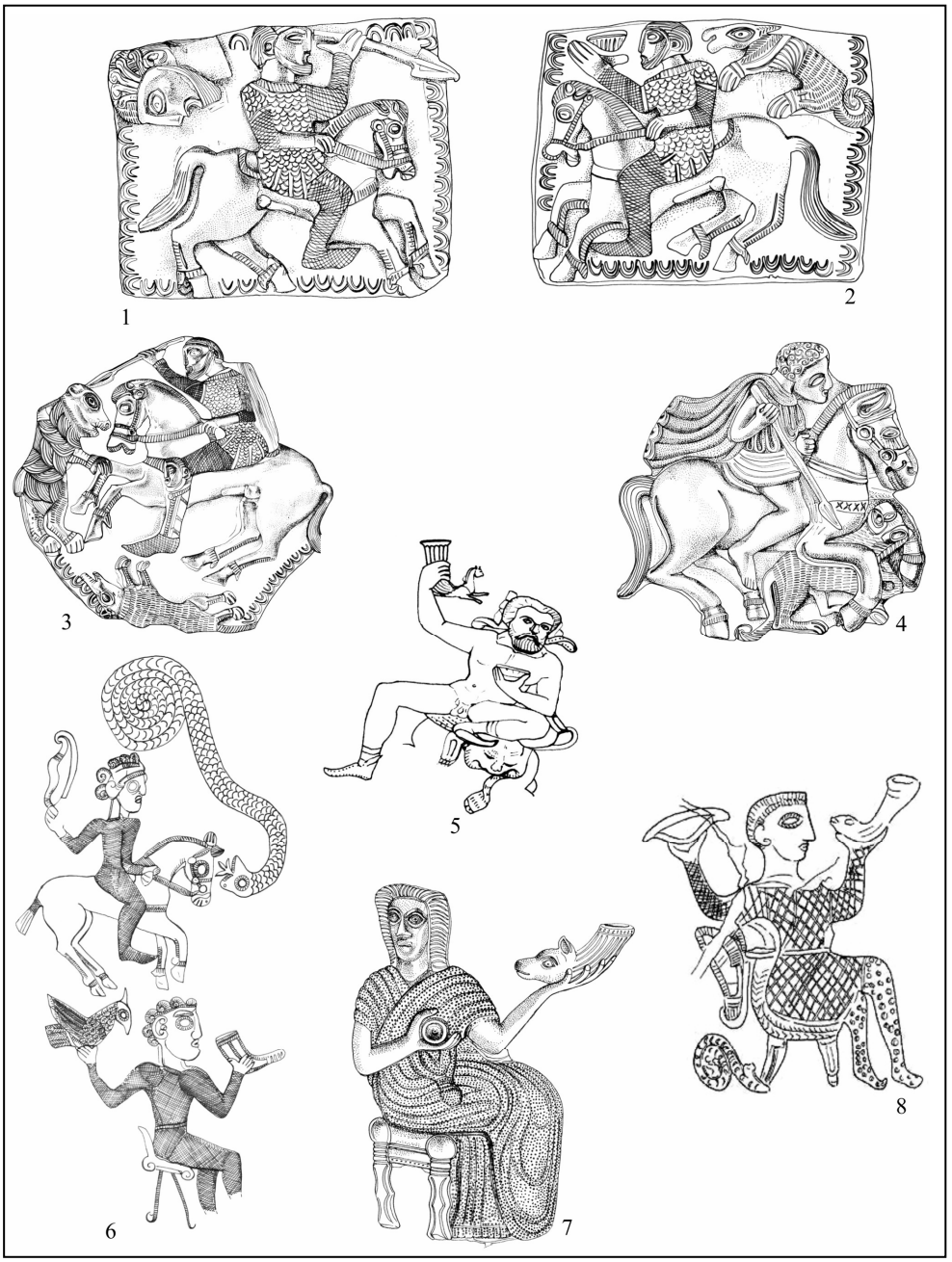

Fig.5. 1-4, 6 Riders, 5-8 characters on the throne. 1-4 harness appliqué, 5 vessel (detail), 6 greave (detail), 7 rhyton (detail) 8 helmet (detail); 1-7 silver, 8 gold. 1-3 Letnica, 4 Lukovit, 5 Borovo, 6 Agighiol, 7 Poroina, 8 Băiceni

Fig.6. 1-5 Bird with horn, 6 fantasy animal, 7 ibex, 8 hierogany scene, sacrificing the ram; 1 Rogozen, 2, 6 Agighiol, 3 Institute of Art Detroit, 4 Metropolitan Museum New York, 5, 7 Peretu, 8 Letnica, 9 Poiana-Coțofeneşti; 1-8 silver, 9 gold

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THE THRACIAN BESSI.
MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CULTURE OF A PRIESTLY-WARRIOR TRIBE

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Keywords: *Thracian Bessi, priestly-caste, warrior tribe.*
Abstract. *The territory of the Bessi was ranging according to the ancient authors from Moesia and around the Haemus Mountains to the Rhodope Mountain and from Haemus and Hebros to the Aegean. Archaeological surveys and excavations undertaken in the last decades have given ground to a more precise outline of the specific cultural aspects of the territory connected with the tribe of Bessi. Further follows an essay, describing the culture of this priestly – warrior tribe, based on the most representative types of sites and materials.*

The Bessi, one of the Satrian tribes who were prophets in the sanctuary of Dionysos, was one of the most famous Thracian tribes. Known as a priestly-caste, interpreters of the prophetic utterances given by a priestess in the oracular shrine of Dionysus, but also as the most severe of the independent Thracian tribes, brigands among brigands, addicted to plunder, they were one of the best miners of the golden and silver deposits of Pangaion . Their name meant wise, enlightened (Sarafov 1974). Called "chieftains of the Thracian people, the Bessi fought for their independence and succeeded to preserve their importance, both as priests and warriors, even during the Late Roman period (Sarafov 1970, 143).

The formation of the culture in the area populated by the Bessi was a process synchronous to the process that lead in the end of the Bronze Age to the spread and formation of the Thracians culture on the vast area from the Balkans and the Aegean to Western Asia Minor, river Dniester and the Caucasus to the East. The formation of the new, characteristic for the Iron Age period settlement system in South West Thrace, with all its aspects and under a complexity of factors, began in the Late Bronze and continued in the early centuries of the 1st mill. BC (Gergova 1995).

Mousaios XVIII, Buzău, 2013, p. 247-264.

Noteworthy is the fact that archaeological surveys and investigations in South West Thrace were aiming to cover all elements of this settlement system. The problematic of the Thracian cult places attracted the attention of an increasing number of investigators and the archeology of the cult places became for this geographic space more advanced in comparison with other parts of Thrace. Archaeological surveys along the Upper Mesta valley, as well as in other parts of the Western and Central Rhodope, lead to the registration of a series of sanctuaries and cult places. The problems related to the criteria used for the identification of the mountainous sites as cult places, and not as settlements or fortresses, have been discussed in the literature (Гоцев 2008 with lit.). Although pit sanctuaries are also know in the area (Koprivlen, Eleshnitsa, etc.), the prevailing sanctuaries in the Western Rhodope were the rock sanctuaries. Their localization on the mountains summits was predetermined not only by the mystic beauty of the topoi, but also by the strategic character of the places. Some of the sanctuaries in the Northern part of the mountain had a view over the plain. Investigations have shown the possibilities of direct visual contact between them, as well as their connection with the ancient road system. Two important roads were proposed to lead from the Mesta valley to the valley of Maritsa – one from the ancient center near Koprivlen along the Dubrash ridge and another one starting from the Goce Delchev area along the Kanina River to Emporion Pistiros (Гоцев 2008, 224-226). The evidence for the existence in the vicinity of the sanctuaries of ore deposits, mines or metal workshops is another important feature of the settlement system in the Western and Central Rhodopi (Домарадски *et all.* 1999; Тонкова, Гоцев 2008, 53-54).

The sanctuaries and cult places may be considered as one of the most important and new element in the settlement system of Iron Age Thrace. They appear in the end of the Bronze/beginning of the Iron Age and play a key role in the religious and economic life of Thrace during the whole 1st mill. BC, and even in the first centuries AD (Gergova 2007; 2007a). This phenomenon should be undoubted connected with the religious reform that had taken place in the Eastern Mediterranean world in the end of the 2nd mill. BC (Bouzek 1997) or even more precisely, with the religious reform of Orpheus, whose name is neatly connected with the area (Gergova 2007; 2007a).

Although investigations near Crincha or Satovcha reveal ritual activity near picturesque rocks, on not very high summits, where more simple constructions were found, the most interesting information about the organization of the religious life of the Bessi comes from the long term excavations of some of the most important sanctuaries like Babyak (Тонкова, Гоцев 2008), the systematic excavations in the last years on Ostrec, near Velingrad (Гергова,

Салкин, Байраков 2010; Гергова, Салкин, Дерменджиев 2012), as well as from other small scale excavations carried out by Gocev, Salkin, etc. These sanctuaries were functioning between the beginning of the Early Iron Age and the end of 4th/beginning of the 5th century, e.g. until the Christianization of the Bessi and can be considered as one of the best illustrations of the independent political and cultural development of the Bessi, as stated by the ancient authors. The documentation and the excavations of the cult places and sanctuaries reveal both the diversity of types as well as an advanced and repeating model in planning and organization of the sacred territory, as well as in the temple architecture, in the main features of the ritual zones and facilities, of rituals and donations, etc. (Babyak, Ostrec, Kozi Gramadi, etc.).

High peaks with two promontories were evidently preferred for some of the biggest sanctuaries like Babyak or Ostrec. (Fig. 1-3) The territories were surrounded by stone walls with evidence for reconstructions during the centuries. The ritual zones included areas with concentrations of lines of stones, enormous amount of crashed pottery (Fig. 4), ritual pits and clay altars, sometimes with several phases of reconstruction. A very important fact is the discovery of clay altars-*escharae* on some of the sanctuaries that could be dated to the Early Iron Age, (Гоцев 2008, 206-208), thus illustrating their earlier use than their universal distribution in Thrace in the Hellenistic period (Gergova 2006).

The excavations on Ostrec revealed for the first time a stone rectangular building, dated to its last phase in the Roman and Late Roman period (Fig. 5-6). It was located in the center of the surrounded by walls territory of the sanctuary. Most probably this was the temple of the sanctuary. It was oriented SW-NE, and near the entrance on its SE wall, an iron key was found. The planning of the sanctuary on Ostrec with its central building shows striking similarities with the much earlier sanctuary on Kozi Gramadi, dated to the middle of the 4th century BC (Kozi Gramadi 2012, 34-36) (Fig. 7). The investigator of the site calls it a residence and the main building "the banqueting hall". Similar to the situation on Ostrec there is not enough material that could precise the functions of these buildings. Nevertheless, the two sites give the ground to think that at least since the middle of the 1st mill BC, the Bessi were building or rebuilding their sanctuaries after sanctioned and evidently responding to the demands of the cult practices plans.

It is the pottery mainly from the sanctuaries and less from the necropolises that gives an idea about its development during the centuries. The pottery in the sanctuaries consists mainly of fragments and rarely whole vessels can be found. The vessels had different functions as gifts to the gods, sacrum (Домарадски 2002, 72-73) or also as containers for food and liquids (Гоцев

2008). The Early Iron Age pottery belongs in general to the Lower Danubian complex, demonstrating prevalence of the incised ornamentation and small percentage of fluted and stamped ornaments (Gocev 1995). The wide spread of the specific group of Thracian cult pottery, richly decorated with geometric motifs, as well as with ritual scenes (Fig.8-9) (known also Cepina type) now gives the possibility to date it only to the Late Iron Age (Георгиева 2003), as far as it can be found only in the upper layers of Babyak (Гоцев, Божинова 2008, 73-94; Домарадски 1990, 38-40; 1999, 24-26) as well as in tumuli, dated to the 4th century BC, like tumulus 1 near Liubcha (Гергова 2010). Its decoration with some of its elements defines the cult pottery of the Bessi as a reminiscence of the richly decorated pottery of the Late Bronze Age in the Danubian area. Its continuous use until and during the Roman period is well illustrated both by the investigations on the sanctuary on Ostrec, as well as by the discovery of vessels of that group in several tumuli dated to the Roman period (Божкова, Делев 2010). The map of the distribution of the Thracian cult pottery covers the territory considered to have been occupied by the Bessi and its greatest concentration coincides with the territory of the Western Rhodope, between two of the biggest sanctuaries - Babyak and Ostrec (Кисьов 2004,обр. 20)(Fig.10). Portable altars of two parts, with zoomorphic, ornitomorhic and geometric motifs, found both in the sanctuaries on Babyak – mainly on the Small summit (Тонкова 2008)(Fig. 11) and Ostrec (Салкин, Байраков 2010; Гергова, Салкин, Дерменджиев 2012), as well as from other sites (Cepina, Belovo, Vlahovets), show a unification of the types of cult utilities on the territory of the Bessi. Wheel made analogies without ornamentation can be found also in Northeastern Thrace (a pit sanctuary from 2nd - 1st c. BC in Ruse) and to the North of the Danube (Varbanov, Dragoev 2006, 192; Sîrbu 2006, 224).

The long term activity of the Bessic sanctuaries especially in the late Iron Age until the Late Roman period is also proved by the great number of silver coins of Histiea on Eubea – 3rd -2nd c. BC, Roman republican end 2nd – 1st c. BC, as well as by coins dated to the end of 4th - beginning of the 5th c. AD, both from Babyak and Ostrec (Филипова, Прокопов 2008; Гергова, Салкин, Байраков 2010).

The existence of mines in the vicinity of the sanctuary on Babyak, as well as the rejected Early Iron Age fibulae from the sanctuary on Ostrec, illustrates archaeologically the connection of the Bessi with the gold and silver mining, as well as the activity of metal workshops in their vicinity (Тонкова, Гоцев 2008, 53-54).

Although the attribution of any of the sanctuaries to a certain deity is a difficult task, the iron scepter found on Ostrec and dated to the beginning of the

1st mill. AD hints its connection with the cult to Dionysos (Fig. 12) (Гергова, Салкин, Байраков 2010).

Recent investigations lead to the discovery of another and also most probably specific for the Bessi type of sanctuary. The investigations, initiated in 2002 in the St. Ilija locality in Velingrad, revealed that the ritual activities around the high tumulus on one of the hills had started during the Early Iron age, but the prevailing rich archaeological material, cult pottery, coins, clay altars and diverse stone facilities were dated to 4th c. BC – beginning of 1st century AD (Катинчарова 2003). The continuation of the excavations in 2011 allowed elucidating the plan of the sanctuary. Thus, it consisted of a square tower with thick walls, included in the limits of a rectangular in plan *temenos* (Fig. 13).

The excavations showed that the tower was covered by packed earth, forming a tumulus. Further investigations were not possible to provide because of financial problems. Nevertheless, the discovery of another tomb-tower under tumulus in the center of a tumular necropolis near Velingrad, where hundreds of fragments have been found after the destruction of the site by gold searchers (Салкин, Байраков2011) gives ground to think that the sanctuary at St. Ilija locality might be the one of the first examples of the notion, given by the ancient authors about the tomb of Orpheus. His bones were buried in an urn on a column, his head under a tumulus that became a sacred place (Гергова, Салкин, Дерменджиев 2012).

The general characteristic of the sanctuaries of the Bessi should be enriched by the fact that in their vicinity and mainly along the path leading to their main entrance, tumuli were raised.

The existence of the ritual burial complexes of sanctuaries and necropolises is another of the characteristic features of the Iron Age settlement system.

Characteristic for the funeral practices in Southwestern Thrace (Gergova 1989, 1995) is the existence of both tumular and flat cist necropolises. The earliest tumuli appear simultaneously with the sanctuaries and settlements in the end of the Bronze Age and the more important of them continue to be used for more than a millennium, including during the Roman period (Kochan-Satovcha, Liubcha, Gela, Pletena, etc.) The necropolises of the Western and Central Rhodope demonstrate the greatest diversity of simultaneous funeral structures and burial rites (inhumation, cremation, in seated position, reburial of the bones, etc.) Single, double or collective burials are known (Fig. 14-15). It is not by chance, that in this area the earlier burials from 8th - 7th c. BC in sitting position, attributed to individuals - servants to gods, priests, were registered (Gergova 2006a.) The jewelry and the symbolic objects from the Early Iron Age tumuli, including the greatest concentration of amber in this

part of Thrace, demonstrate specific connection with the Carpathian Danubian area, where their earlier prototypes and similarities in the richly decorated costumes of priestesses can be seen, as well as longer distant contacts with the North and mainly with the Baltic area (Gergova 2009 with lit.). At the same time, the presence in many of the Greek sanctuaries of characteristic for the Western and Central Rhodope Early Iron Age fibulae as gifts is an evidence of the active religious connections between the Rhodope and the Aegean.

An interesting light on the key role played by the Rhodope Mountains is drawn by the first scarab from the Thracian lands, that was found during the excavations of a tumulus dated to 8-7th century BC in the 70-ies of 20th century, near the village of Liubcha, Dospat, by Vl. Mirchev. The inscription, engraved on the stomach of the scarab was translated by the Bulgarian Egyptologist V. Dobrev as "Re is the Lord of Egypt" who identifies the pharaoh Mentuhotep IV /1992 – 1985 BC (Бончева 2010). A discussion about the ways and the time when the scarab as an amulet had reached the Rhodope and entered in a much later context as a part of an amber necklace does not underestimate its importance as evidence for the intensive connections of the lands of the Bessi, not only with the North, but also with the Eastern Mediterranean world.

The specific aspects of the funeral practices of the Bessi become even more pronounced during the Late Iron Age, when a specific group of warriors' graves may be distinguished in Southwestern Thrace. Recently E. Teleagă tried to discuss also the ethnical aspects of this group, covering the territory to the South of Stara Planina and between the upper Nestos river and Philipopolis. (Fig. 16). The group displayed a relatively homogenous set of armaments in flat cist-type tombs with warriors' burials by inhumation. The military gear includes bronze cap-like Thracian (Phrygian) helmets, torch, a local type of a lance-shaped sword (*rhomphaea*) and greaves. Out of this territory similar armament may be found, although rarely, again on the territory of the Getae (Teleaga 2009). The author considers that this martial tribal elite might be Thracian, Celtic, or even Macedonian. Nevertheless, it seems that we should speak not of a Thracian, but rather of a specific Bessic warrior's armament.

Studies of Thracian type of helmets threw new light on their production and repairing in local workshops (Василев 1980), fact supported also by the greatest concentration of the type in Southwestern Thrace (Fig. 17). The same concerns the *rhomphaia* – the greatest concentration of this type is in the same area, while, similar to the helmets, although rarely, the *romphaea* is part of the armament also in the Getic world (Fig. 18) (Paunov 2005 with lit.) It is important to note Arian's story that writes about Alexander, who on his march to the Danube in 355 BC had entered this part of Thrace that was inhabited by the so called independent Thracians. There he visited the sanctuary of

Dionysos. It is also known that much earlier, in 429 BC, Sitalkes called many of the independent mountainous Thracians, who were sword bearers (*machairophoroi*) and some he convinced by paying, the others joined him as volunteers (Thukidides, II, 96). In Thracian use the *rhomphaea* was first recorded since 326 BC during Alexanders's campaign in India at the Hydaspes river battle, and later, Titus Livy tells the story about the Thracian mercenaries armed with *rhomphaia* in Macedonian forces (Liv. 31.39, 11; 42.59.2-3 (Паунов 2005, 375). The fact that the Bessi have been mentioned alongside with the Scythians and Goths until the beginning of the 6th century AD in the army of Anastasius I in 499 and in 505, is another evidence for the extreme strength of their military traditions (Чешмеджиев 2001, 97).

The above discussed aspects of the culture in the lands of the Bessi aimed to reveal a series of features that certainly correspond to the characteristics given to the Bessi by the ancient authors. The millennium long importance of the sanctuaries for the organization not only of the religious, but also of the social, political and economic life of the Bessi is confirmed by the recent discoveries and by the existing of a permanent model connected with the organization of the sacral space. The same conservative tradition can be noted in the cult pottery and its territorial distribution. The almost total lack of imported pottery in the sanctuaries of the Bessi (Gocev 2008) might be another demonstration of the specific demands of the cult. It is quite probable that the use of the local pottery, especially for religious purposes, might be a demand and a sign of respect by the visitors. The advanced studies on the sanctuaries of the Bessi and the general cultural outlines of the territory show that, although the sanctuary of Dionysos that had been visited by Alexander the Great is still difficult to be identified, it was certainly one of those sanctuaries along the roads connecting the Aegean with the Maritsa valley across the Western Rhodope. Any pursuit and essay of identification the sanctuary further East (e.g. Perperikon) does not have any scientific arguments.

Burial rites demonstrate also specific burial practices, connected with persons devoted to the cult since the Early Iron Age. The culture of the priestly-warrior caste of the Bessi is even better represented by the Late Iron Age development of the Bessic territories when a typical set of armament was used.

A problem that deserves special attention is the introduction or the existence of some of the most characteristic for the Bessi attributes – like the *romphaea*, the Thracian type of helmets, the types of portable altars, etc. in the lands of the Getae. Both tribes have been distinguished as tribes of prophets, of priest's warriors. Future comparative studies will certainly throw light on the

problem of the cultural interrelations between two of the most important for the history of Thrace tribes.

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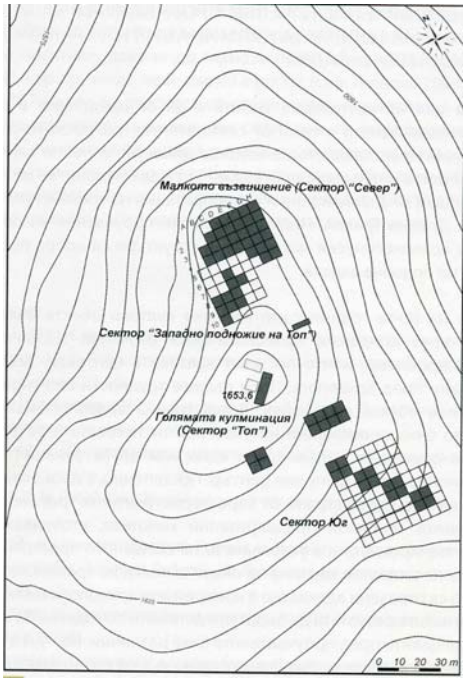


Fig. 1. Babyak. Plan of the sanctuary on the two culminations (after Tonkova, Gocev 2008)

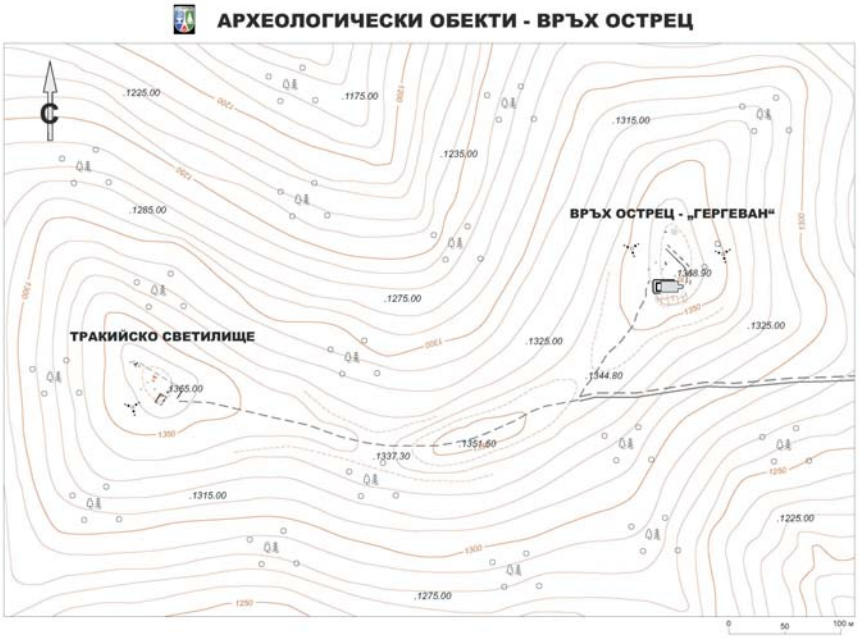


Fig. 2. Ostrec. Plan of the sanctuary on the two culminations

Fig. 3. Ostrec. View of the sanctuary

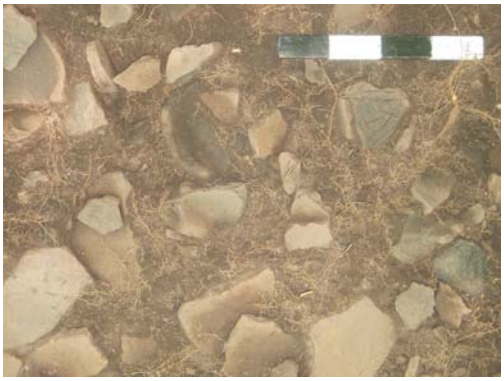


Fig. 4. Ostrec. Pottery concentration in a ritual zone

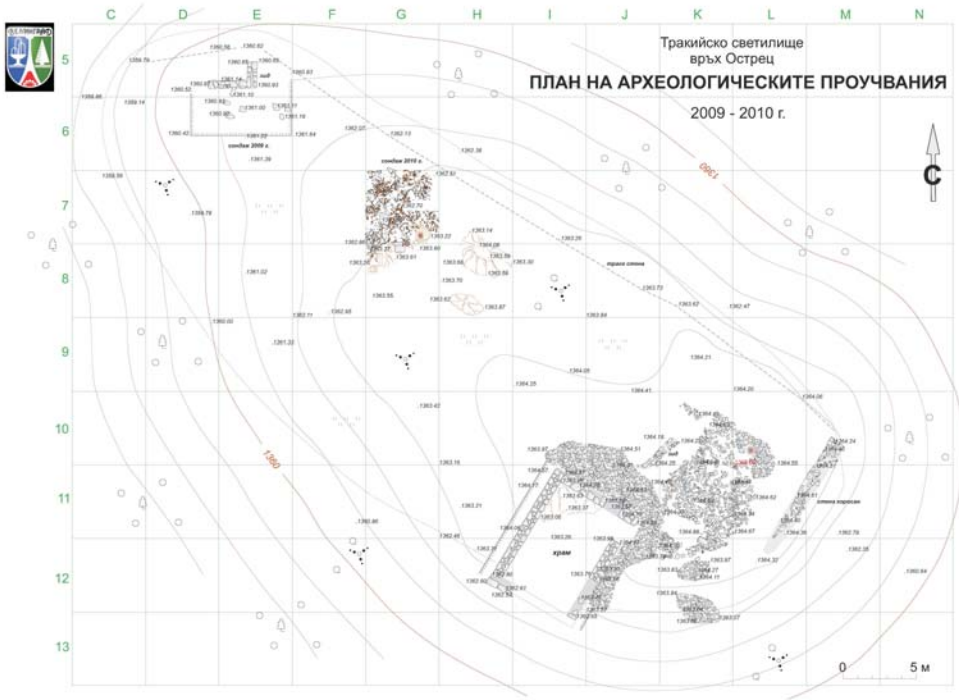


Fig. 5. Ostrec. Plan of the sanctuary

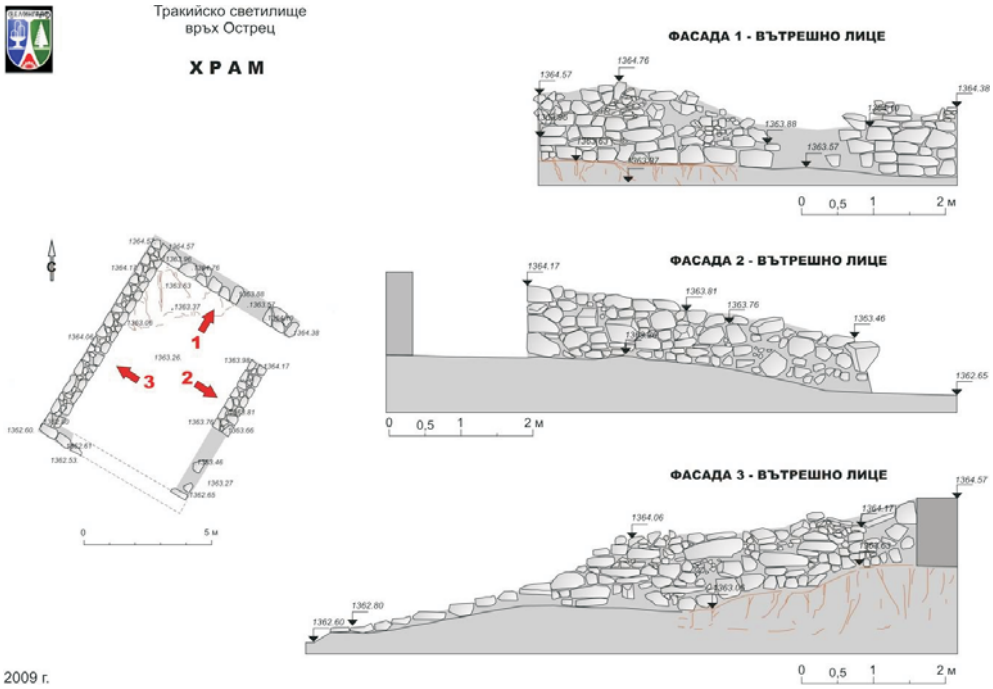


Fig. 6 a,b. Ostrec.The temple from above and plan
(after Gergova, Salkin, Bajrakov 2010)

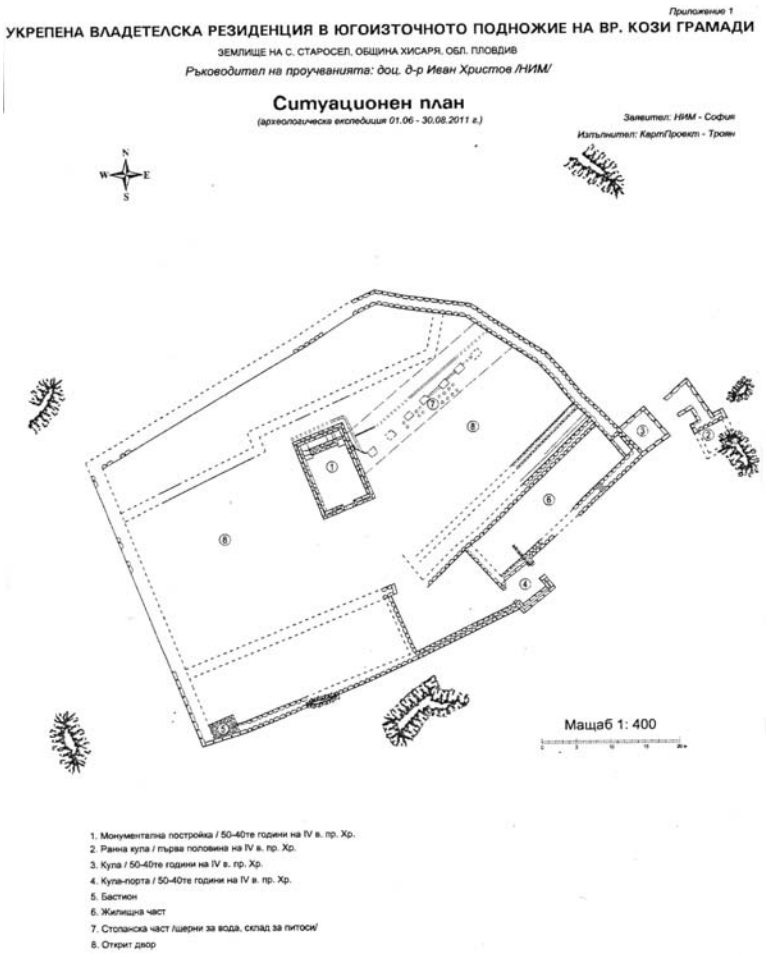


Fig. 7. Kozi Gramadi. General plan (after *Kozi Gramadi* 2012)

Fig. 8. Cult pottery. Velingrad Museum

Fig. 9. Cult pottery

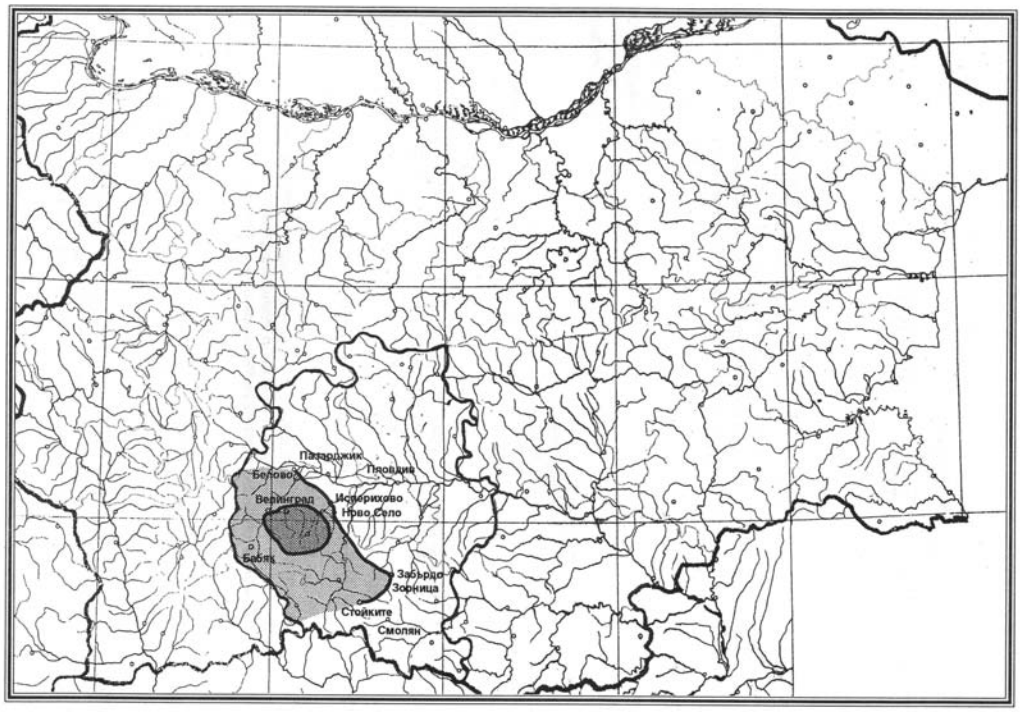


Fig. 10. Map of distribution of the cult pottery (after Kisjov2006)

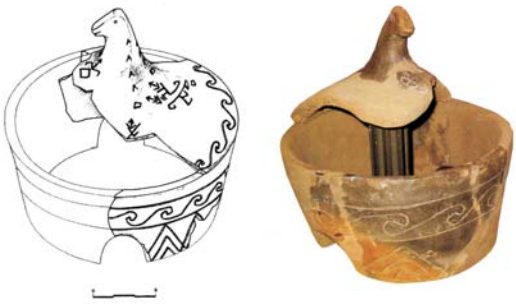
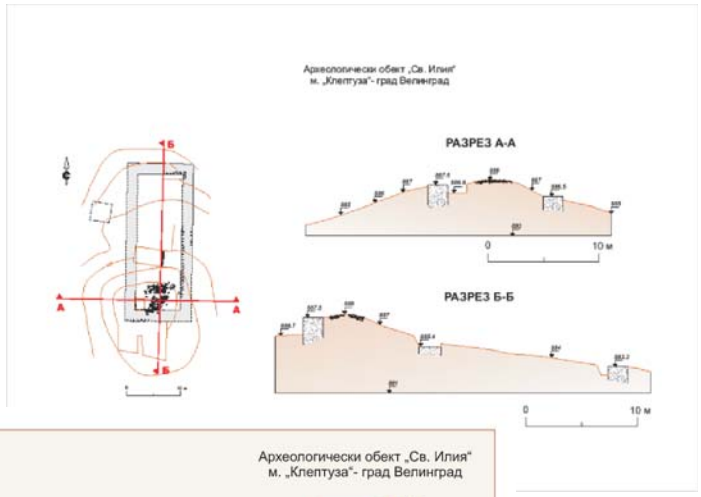


Fig. 11. Portable altar from Babyak (after Tonkova, 2008)

Fig. 12.Ostrec.The Scepter of Dionysos



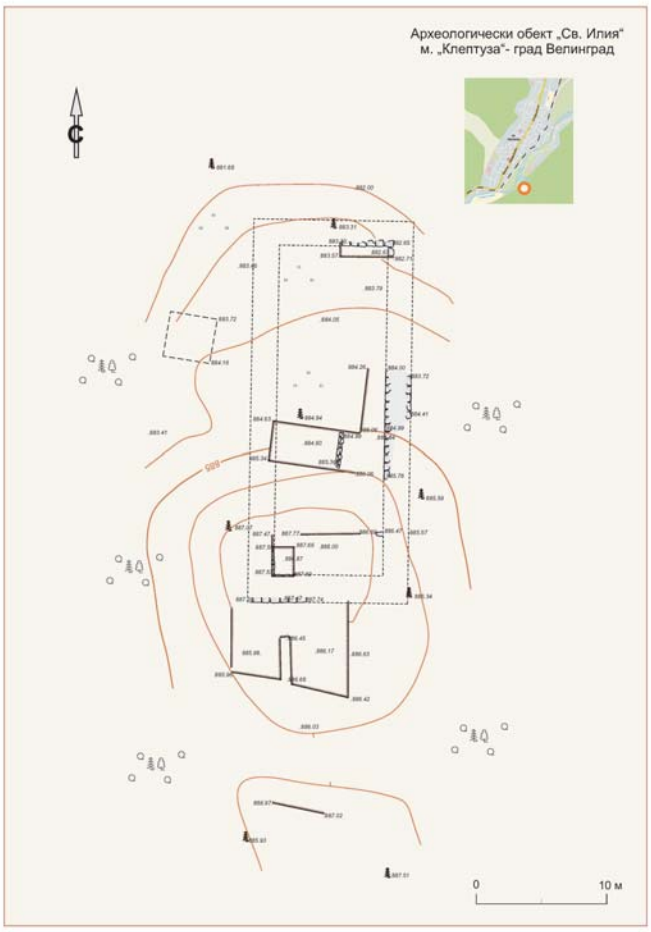


Fig. 13. Velingrad. The sanctuary at St.Ilija locality.

Fig. 14,15. Tumuli 4 and 10 from Kochan.

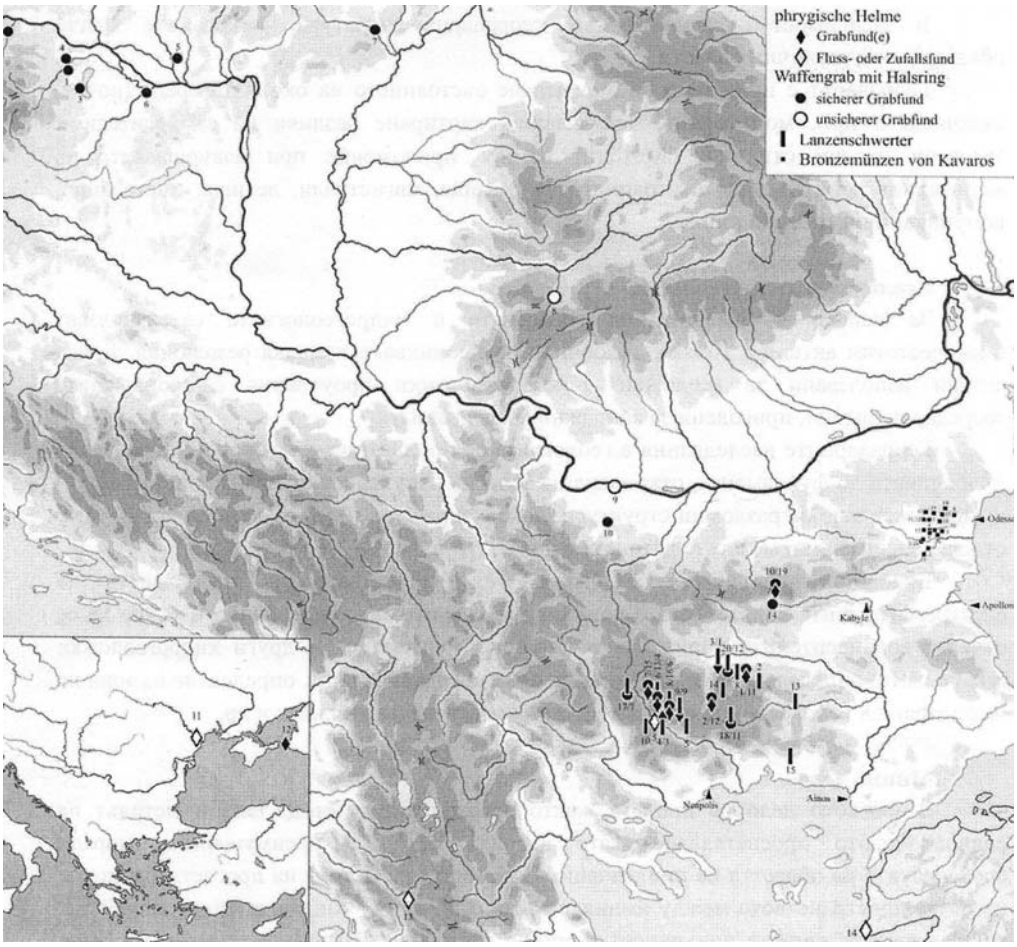


Fig. 16. Map of the distribution of the flat cist warrior graves (after Teleaga 2009)

Fig. 17. A Thracian type of helmet from Pletena

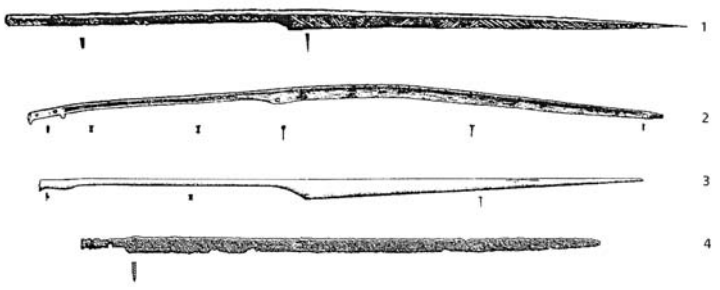


Fig. 18. Romphaias (after Paunov)

CHAPTER 9

Settlements

Hristo Popov

9.1 Sources and State of Research

The archaeological study of settlements and the studies of the settlement system of ancient Thrace are almost a century old. Following the initial steps of describing, registering, and compiling a database of the sources undertaken by the pioneers of Bulgarian archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the study of Thracian antiquity gradually evolved into several directions during the 1920s and 1930s. The data from the numerous registered sites was reviewed in the first systematic surveys (Velkov 1950), while the excavations of sites like Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Seuthopolis outlined a range of scholarly problems associated with central settlements and processes of urbanization in ancient Thrace (Dimitrov 1958; 1960).

The years from the early 1970s until the early 1990s were particularly prolific: excavations on dozens of new settlement sites commenced in this period and sites like Kabyle, Sboryanovo, Pernik, Pistiros, Shumen, Vishegrad, and Vinitsa were introduced into scholarly discussion. Many became reference points for Thracian settlement archaeology and their investigation is ongoing. There was also a considerable advance toward the systematization of the available evidence for the form and structure of the first millennium BCE settlement system (Chichikova 1972, 327–333; Velkov 1976, 55–70; Chichikova 1985, 85–92). Several contributions successfully correlate the amassed archaeological data with the numerous Thracian linguistic survivals preserved in the ancient sources, associated with the various forms of settlement structure in the eastern and central Balkans (Fol 1970, 162–173; 1975, 38–39; Popov 2002, 46–48, cf. the detailed review in Chapter 26 below).

The years since the mid-1990s have also influenced research on the Thracian settlement system. The discovery of new sites, such as Koprivlen and Halka Bunar, together with the advance of the Pistiros and Sboryanovo projects, have considerably improved our understanding of the functional differences between the principal components of the settlement system. New types of sites appeared (e.g., Kozi Gramadi, Sinemorets, and Knyazhevo), which reveal forms of habitation whose existence was previously hypothesized on the basis of ancient literary sources and limited archaeological data. The overviews, especially of the processes of centralization and urbanization of the Thracian settlement system during the Classical and

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Hellenistic periods, also entered into a new phase (Domaradski and Taneva 1998; Popov 2002; Stoyanov 2006).

Today Thracian settlement archaeology has a rich resource base of hundreds of known sites of various types. The scope of scientific inquiries is very broad. Despite the still considerable evidentiary gaps, due to the underrepresentation of certain principal settlement types and the low degree of survey in some of the major historical-geographical regions, our understanding of the settlement history of Thrace during the first millennium BCE is continually, if gradually, becoming fuller.

9.2 Demographic Potential and Social Structure

Inquiries into the nature of Iron Age settlement life in Thrace are closely intertwined with the demographic potential and social structure of Thracian society in this period. According to the general consensus, the principal elements of Thracian culture, as we know it within the historical and geographical boundaries during the second half of the second millennium BCE, became manifest during the first millennium BCE, when the social structure of early Thracian society assumed its form (Bonev 2003). Homer supplies the earliest evidence of Thracian tribes inhabiting the north Aegean coast, their rulers, and the aristocracy. Meanwhile, the dynamic migration processes of the Late Bronze Age that later affected the entire eastern Mediterranean acted also on the eastern Balkan Peninsula. Later writings preserve traditions of dynamic shifts of individual tribes or entire tribal groups from the north to the south of the peninsula, and from the central and eastern Balkans to western and northwestern Anatolia (Fol 1970; Venedikov 1982; Delev 2014, and ancient sources cited). These migrations testify also to another fact with bearing on the habitation and settlement structures within the Thracian diaspora: evidently the central and eastern Balkan peninsula of the early first millennium BCE had great demographic potential. Hence the oft cited testimony of Herodotus, that the Thracians are the most numerous people in the world, after the Indians (Hdt. 5.3). Whether or not the conjectured demographic reconstruction, according to which the inhabitants of the east Balkans numbered ca. 1,000,000 (Fol 1970, 122–123), is deemed realistic or not, both early written sources and current archaeological research reveal equally that the peninsula was inhabited by numerous tribal communities that relocated frequently, a fact which is inevitably reflected in the settlement system and all of its components.

It is believed that as early as the late stages of the Bronze Age the processes of social differentiation and stratification within early Thracian society became increasingly more pronounced. The simple dual structure, with a clearly distinguishable small aristocratic class, is typical of Thrace during the first millennium BCE (Fol 1970, 137–173; 1975, 38). It also has a role in the development of the principal forms and the general character of the settlement system.

9.3 Settlements and Settlement System in Thrace During the Early Iron Age, ca. 11th–6th c. BCE

The Thracian settlement system of the Early Iron Age (EIA) presents a number of problems regarding its principal forms, organization, and length of habitation. Over the course of several decades in Bulgarian archaeology the recognition and study of settlement sites of this period seem to have happened at a slower pace than that of the principal settlement sites from earlier prehistory or the Classical period. A more comprehensive and focused investigation of

settlements from the late second to early first millennium BCE began as late as the 1960s and 1970s. The greatest density of registered EIA settlement sites known to date, in terms of quantity and degree of study, is found in the Upper Thrace Valley, the eastern Rhodope Mountains, and parts of contemporary northeastern Bulgaria. The sites along the Mesta and Struma River valleys, in western Thrace, and in large portions of the Danube valley west of the Yantra River appear rather isolated or are entirely absent.

Such statistics are somewhat skewed, however, due not only to scholarly priorities from the 1950s onward, but also to the expansive rescue excavations of the last two decades that have been prompted by the principal infrastructure projects located primarily south of the Stara Planina. Despite the disproportionate and unequal degree of investigation of EIA settlement sites, several regularities emerge.

As a rule, easily accessible flat or hilly areas along the banks of the major water sources accommodate small, "open-type" settlements with thin cultural deposits. It is very difficult to detect more than a single construction period or an accumulation of more considerable stratigraphy indicative of extended occupation. EIA settlements discovered in the Upper Thrace valley and in contemporary northeastern Bulgaria, like Pshenichevo (Chichikova 1972, 85–90) and Asenovets (Kŭnchev 1984, 154; Gotsev 1994, 137), usually echo these observations, as do the numerous sites studied through rescue excavations on the territory of the mining/power plant complex "Maritsa-Iztok" along the Sazliyka River. The gradual accumulation of data, careful analysis of the available stratigraphy and materials, and their correlation with other sites in the region suggest that the apparent continuity of settlement is rather a coincidence of topography (Gotsev 1994, 137–138; Georgieva 2001, 83–84; Gotsev 2010, 72). The established variance in the density of the settlement network from the final stages of the Late Bronze Age and the following EIA is also indicative of transformations, which warn against uncritical adoption of the hypothesis of smooth continuity between the end of the second and the early first millennium BCE.

The vigorous rescue excavations occasioned by recent infrastructure projects have exposed new settlement sites in the eastern and southern Upper Thrace valley, similar in morphology to the sites discussed above. The sites near Rogozinovo (Stoyanov and Nikov 1997, 171–181), Malenovo (Bozhkova and Petrova 2010, 156–158), Karnobat (Bozhinova and Mihaĭlov 2009, 80–105), and Zheleznik (Daskalov et al. 2010, 147–148), are characterized by thin deposits, relatively short habitation, and few structures with no vertical stratigraphy. Clusters of numerous small open-type settlements with thin cultural deposits and of obviously relatively short duration are registered in some of the western regions of Upper Thrace, along the Upper Maritsa and Stryama Rivers (Kisyov 2004, 69).

Observations on the internal organization of those thin-layered settlements are faced with the fact that the survey area (studied through destructive or non-destructive methods) for any given EIA settlement site is quite limited, hindering a more comprehensive picture. The surface area of this type of settlement site in most cases does not exceed a few decares. It is difficult to make any specific conclusions regarding their spatial extent or internal organization. An overview of the results obtained from different sites, however, makes possible the formulation of a working hypothesis that the settlements were rather of dispersed type, with no clustered built-up space, with relatively wide, open spaces between the buildings used either as backyards or occupied by auxiliary structures like garbage pits, general purpose buildings, and work platforms.

The accumulation of obvious regularities in terms of characteristic traits of the settlements from the flatlands, especially in the large rivers valley south of the Balkan Mountains (Tundzha and Maritsa), resulted in the formulation of a working hypothesis attempting to explain these regularities. It should be pointed out that the occurrence of dense clusters of EIA settlement sites in certain micro-regions does not necessarily make them contemporary. Given their

short lives, it is possible to assert that a large portion of those were not coeval. Based on the short duration of occupation, which is inferred from the thin cultural deposits, the single-phase construction, and the small number of structures, it has been suggested that some of the agglomerations within one micro-region are in fact the same settlement, periodically shifting and repeatedly "recreating" itself (Borislavov 1999, 20–21; Nikov 2000, 7). Analysis of the field data available to date suggests "semi-sedentism" and frequent relocation of settlements. The hypothesis is extended by proposing that this settlement "migration" was short-distance and restricted within the territories more permanently settled by the same population. Even if this model is accurate, it is still unclear whether relocation was due to specifics of the agrarian regime (extensive agriculture; rapid exhaustion of the soils; relocation?) or to other causes.

Consequently, the cult places toward which settlements gravitate are regarded as the only somewhat stable reference points for the settlement system. The hypothesis is in agreement with the evidence that some of the later large urbanized centers emerged around cult places with a long history and interregional significance. Such conjectures are voiced with regard to the later towns of Philippopolis and Kabyle (Domaradski and Taneva 1998, 18; Popov 2002, 173). The EIA occupation of some prehistoric settlement mounds in the flatlands of the Upper Thrace valley or of the topographically dominant rock promontories of the region is also considered in this context by some authors. The insufficient level of survey and publication do not allow more concrete functional interpretations, though (Georgieva 2001, 84). Based on this hypothesis, the isolated examples of Plovdiv and the Razkopanitsa and Dyadovo tells may have been in fact flatland sanctuaries with conspicuous locations, rather than common settlements with a more defensible position (Gotsev 1994, 138; Gotsev 2010, 72).

On the other hand, a settlement model characterized by instability, frequent relocation, and the comparatively short life of individual settlement units should not be uncritically imposed onto the rest of ancient Thrace. The settlement database, considerably expanded by numerous recent surveys in the Eastern Rhodopes and, to a lesser extent, the Sakar Mountains and the area of central and northeastern Bulgaria, supports the conclusion that there was a pronounced regionalism in EIA Thrace that resulted in distinctive manifestations of non-secular and material culture and of the primary features of the settlement life.

Habitation on a number of naturally protected areas is demonstrably long-lasting. The settlement system of the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions obviously departs from the specifics of habitation of the open landscapes of the lowlands. Sites known through earlier or more recent excavations, like Vishegrad (Dremsizova-Nelchinova 1984), Kom peak (Georgieva 1982), and Kush Kaya (Popov 2009, 32–35), are illustrative of the model of fortified settlements located in semi-mountainous and mountainous regions. Characteristic of those agglomerations is longevity of habitation (often up to the late phases of the Iron Age), not only in terms of topography, but also in terms of uninterrupted continuity, with several construction phases resulting in cultural deposits often exceeding 1.5–2 m in depth. Although the site near Ovcharovo, Sakar Mountains, does not figure among the long-term occupations, it too indicates that naturally fortified settlements were a very common type of habitation (Balabanian 1986).

At present, the eastern Rhodopes provide some of the best opportunities to analyze the EIA settlement system. Review of the evidence indicates continuity and a well-pronounced vertical stratigraphy from the Late Bronze Age and EIA (Kisyov 1988; Kulov 1991, 74–75). The regional Late Bronze Age and EIA settlement topography demonstrates common geomorphologic forms, altitude, proximity to water sources, density, and principles of location. Both periods share similar morphological traits in the individual components of the settlement structure and a tradition of long-term habitation (Popov 2009, 36). Close parallels for the topography are also provided by those sites deemed fortified settlements or generally interpreted as sanctuaries or cult places (Shalganova and Gotzev

1995, 335–336; 153–155; Popov 2009, 36; cf. Chapter 10 with literature cited). Often the inadequate scale of excavation results in over-interpretation and a preference toward interpretations in terms of either "cult places" or "settlements and utilitarian occupation." Recent excavations at Gluhite Kamani (Nekhrizov 2010, 188–189, fig. 1), Perperikon (Ovcharov, Dimitrov, and Leshtakov 2011, 24–35 with literature), and Dragoyna (Bozhinova, Jung, and Mommsen 2010, 46–49 with literature) illustrate the extent to which such functions may overlap. The three sites are very large, and have long been considered as chief members of the "sanctuary and cult places" category. Yet, alongside confirmation of their function as cult places, large-scale excavations have also produced many artifacts of utilitarian nature, which are associated with a more permanent occupation and expand the functional traits of these sites.

The considerable demographic potential and high occupation density of the eastern Rhodope, Sakar, and Strandzha Mountains is also supported by the numerous megalithic monuments in southeastern Thrace (see Chapter 10; Delev 1982, 27–41) dated to this period. The ample preliminary statistical data for this part of southeastern Thrace makes possible the distinction of discrete clusters of a substantial number of EIA sites. It is possible to propose that these regions represent the territories of small tribal communities.

An explanation for the considerable demographic potential and permanent EIA occupation of discrete regions of southern and southeastern Thrace might not be restricted to the presence of naturally protected locations supplied by mountains and lower hills. For example, another possible stable indicator of more enduring habitation might be natural resources, in particular, some key deposits of ore in the Rhodope, Strandzha, and Sakar Mountains. The reason for the long-term occupation of settlement sites such as Ada Tepe and Branitsa (Shalganova and Gotsev 1995, 34; Popov and Nikov 2012) can be identified precisely in the permanent set-up and organization of the protection and exploitation of important natural resources, around which developed the everyday life and subsistence of local tribes. Some fortified settlement sites (possibly also with overseeing functions) on the Medni Rid ridge, along some of the richest copper deposits in contemporary Bulgarian territory, might also be fruitfully interpreted in this light. Fortified settlements such as Bakarlashko and Malkoto Kale feature substantial cultural deposits, several consecutive habitation phases, and an active human presence from the early stages of the EIA until Late Antiquity (Domaradski, Karaiotov, and Gotsev 1992, 29; Gyuzelev 2008, 106–110).

Northeastern Thrace supplies fewer registered and studied EIA settlements (Gotsev 1992, 73). Yet even here there are examples of the two primary models of habitation discussed above. The settlement sites near Golyamo Delchevo, Sava, and Dalgopol are situated alongside the river terraces at the confluence of the Luda Kamchia and Golyama Kamchia Rivers. Once again the deposits are thin, found high in the topsoil (Todorova 1971, 17–18), and lack clear stratigraphy. The various interpretations put forward by different scholars for the internal division of the settlement system and differentiation of administrative, cult, and production centers lack sufficient support in the published data (Shalganova and Gotsev 1995, 335; Gotsev 1997, 415–416 with the cited literature).

For several decades now northeastern and central northern Thrace have delivered excellent examples of fortified settlements, with several consecutive phases of development and permanent, stable occupation. Located on dominating heights overlooking land and river corridors, like the settlements near the Shumen plateau and Tsarevets-Trapezitsa, the sites are characterized by long, continuous habitation and preserve their place in the settlement system even into subsequent periods (Antonova and Popov 1984, 160–161, 182; Dolmova-Lukanovska 1984, 236–237).

The current state of research north and northeast of the Balkan Mountains indicates that, as in southern and southeastern Thrace, occupation density gradually increases over the

course of the first millennium BCE; micro-regions rich in settlement structures form that later, during the second half of the first millennium BCE, underwent a considerable evolution against a backdrop of increased centralization and state-formation processes (Stoyanov 2000a, 55–56; Stoyanov, in press).

As pointed out above, in northwestern and western Thrace detailed information is available only for isolated settlements or is otherwise completely lacking. Such a lack of evidence was already recognized in earlier reviews of settlement life in Thrace (Gotzev 1997, 415) and, regrettably, the situation remains unchanged today.

The gradual accumulation of data from excavated EIA settlement sites, mostly from contemporary southeastern, southern, and northeastern Bulgaria, has allowed scholars to reach more detailed conclusions about the typical architecture of residential and auxiliary constructions of the period. Monumental buildings of durable materials and with representative functions are entirely missing from the EIA settlements excavated to date. Stone use is only attested in a few instances, to provide a more solid footing and plinth for the main construction. Overall, the studied buildings (residential and outbuildings) featured a less substantial wood-and-clay construction. The walls were made of poles, joined by wattle and plastered with clay. The constructions sat either on the ground or were slightly sunken, and their plans, where preserved, are either rectangular or square. Better preserved examples of EIA residential and auxiliary constructions from Thrace are known from Pshenichevo, Asenovets, Shumen, Malka Vereya, Kasnakovo, Kush Kaya, Karnobat, and Zheleznik (Chichikova 1972, 85–87, fig. 7; Kănčev 1974, 69, fig. 7; Antonova and Popov 1984, 162–169, figs. 2–3; Kalchev 1994, 27–28, fig. 2; Katsarova 2008, 492, fig. 2; Popov 2009, fig. 15; Bozhinova and Mihaĭlov 2009, 81–86, figs. 3–9; Daskalov et al. 2010, 147–148, figs. 1–2), among others.

To sum up, the following principal traits and consistencies in the development of the settlement system and its individual components from EIA ancient Thrace can be surmised. The settlement system of this period is rather decentralized and dispersed. Large areas were affected by migration processes, leading to semi-sedentism and unstable habitation for large groups of people, mostly in the flatlands, especially during the early stages of EIA. Nonetheless, the eastern Balkans emerges as a zone with substantial demographic potential and high intensity of occupation. More durable tendencies toward permanent habitation are found in some semi-mountainous and mountainous regions. Gradually, in some parts of the country, clearly distinguishable settlement clusters emerge, which can be identified as micro-regions inhabited by discrete tribes. At present, however, it is difficult to speak of a pronounced stratification and recognizable hierarchy of the settlement structure. Rather, differentiation is poor and distinctions between the individual settlement units are insignificant. The central settlements are difficult to recognize and likely exerted control over relatively small territories.

These typical features of the EIA Thracian settlement system can also be related to tendencies of the local population, which was distributed among numerous small communities, often mobile, and characterized by decentralization. The hierarchy of the settlement structure (if one may write of such a thing) is rather of a low order, with no discernible movement toward interregional centralization. The latter processes become more visible toward the end of the EIA.

9.4 Settlements and Settlement System in Thrace of the Late Iron Age, 5th–1st c. BCE

The evolution of the settlement system in Thrace during the Late Iron Age was strongly influenced by both active state formation processes and the Greek colonization of the Thracian coast. The slow but sure advent of numerous Greek colonies (apoikiai) along the

north Aegean and west Pontic coasts between the eighth and the sixth centuries BCE led not only to the establishment of permanent zones of influence and the gradual emergence of a network of satellite settlements in the immediate hinterland of the colonies, but also to the establishment of stable exchange routes toward important regions in the interior (see Chapters 19 and 27). A number of settlements developed in connection with these primary economic arteries. The penetration into the interior was facilitated along several principal routes. The economic potential contained in the road networks also caused the gradual formation and rise of agglomerations within the settlement hierarchy, which were directly associated with these routes and controlled them.

Of particular interest are the southwestern regions of ancient Thrace. Numerous small Thracian tribal communities are found in this region, with, on the one hand, a foot in the North Aegean with open access to the Mediterranean, and, on the other hand, immediately available corridors into the peninsula's interior along the Axios, Strymon, and Nestos Rivers (Bozhkova and Delev 2002, 88–90; Delev 2014; see Chapters 2 and 3). Their relatively high level of complexity is reflected not only in the early reports of the rise of the institution of kingship among some of those tribes, but also by the early Thracian tribal coinage, first attested precisely in this part of ancient Thrace. The explanations for the early (compared to the rest of the country) progress of the processes of noticeable political and economic sophistication might lie in the organized procurement of gold and silver in the numerous mines, located not only in Pangaion, but also the Chalkidiki peninsula and in the vicinity of modern Drama (Bozhkova and Delev 2002, 90; Delev 2014; see Chapter 18).

The onset in this part of Thrace of certain early consolidation and centralization processes in the settlement system could be associated with a political, economic, and cultural regionalism, demonstrated as early as the Archaic period. One of the key corridors starts in the North Aegean, the Thasian peraia, follows the Mesta River through the western Rhodope Mountains, and reaches the Upper Maritsa River (anc. Hebros) (Domaradski 1995, 37–39); it is associated with two of the large settlement centers of western Thrace – one near the modern village of Koprivlen in the Mesta (Nestos) River valley, the other at Adzhiyiska Vodenitsa, sometimes identified with Pistiros, located on the Upper Maritsa (Hebros) River, in the westernmost part of Upper Thrace.

The ancient settlement near Koprivlen, on the right bank of the Mesta, existed as early as the seventh century BCE. By the end of the sixth and throughout the fifth century, the site had already displayed early forms of monumental architecture that were surprisingly sophisticated given the building tradition of the date. The settlement is characterized by affluence, intensive trade, and an appearance clearly distinct from the traditional settlement and residential forms of Thrace (Bozhkova 2002, 84–89; Delev 2002, 91–101). Even the limited areas excavated confirm large-scale occupation and elements of internal organization. During the late Archaic period and into the second half of the first millennium BCE there gradually developed a network of satellite settlements in this part of the Nestos valley (Vulceva et al. 2000, 146–148).

Koprivlen is a good example of the potential longevity of settlements situated along a corridor with long-term significance. Key to their growth were economic contacts, trade, and transportation along main interregional routes. As a trade center and transport hub with mediating and controlling functions Koprivlen finds its later parallel in Pistiros, situated on the left bank of Hebros River, near the modern town of Septemvri and the village of Vetren. The site is situated on the main route through the western Rhodopes mentioned above. We owe to this site a breakthrough in the study of the settlement system of Thrace achieved by its discoverer, M. Domaradski. Thanks to the results of extended archaeological excavation and the wealth of information provided by an inscription discovered in the vicinity of the site, we have at our disposal much richer evidence for the genesis, functions, and specialization of certain fundamental sites in Thrace and of the manner of organization and control over

communications directly associated with them (Domaradski 1995; Bouzek et al. 2013, with all earlier publications cited; see more on Pistiros and the role of emporia in the urbanization process in Chapter 26).

The settlement emerged as a marketplace (emporion). According to the conclusions of its first excavator, the site was charged with the administration of the metal trade in this part of the Balkans. Several principal interregional roads meet in this open landscape. Metal trade, as well as the management of metal procurement and processing, held an important place in settlement processes in the Balkans. The early Greek penetration was not restricted to the coastal regions, but reached deep into the hinterland. This kind of "inland colonization" has an important role in the settlement development of Thrace, for scholars are forced to inquire into the circumstances that allowed such a settlement form, alien to the traditions of the region, to be established in the Thracian interior, far from the coast; to be integrated within and influence the local settlement network; and to create an organized infrastructure around itself. Of course, such an infiltration could not have taken place without the consent of the local authorities or, more specifically, the king, as is made clear in the Pistiros inscription, which appears to record a sworn contract fixing the dealings between the emporitai and one of the line of rulers of the Odrysian dynasty. Evidently both parties benefited from this relationship.

The Pistiros inscription illustrates well the role of centralized, early state formations that were already established and the intense development of the settlement structure and communications in Thrace after the middle of the first millennium BCE. The political events of the late sixth and fifth centuries BCE further influenced processes of consolidation and state-formation in some leading Thracian tribes. During the Greco-Persian wars and the subsequent prolonged conflict between Athens and Sparta of the second half of the fifth century BCE, tribes from the eastern and central Balkans become more regular, immediate participants in events. The formation of the early states of some of the large Thracian tribes, like the Odrysians, Getae, and Triballoi, reflects tendencies toward centralization and hierarchy in the settlement system. Within the boundaries of the new states of inland Thrace there appear increasing numbers of settlements with central administrative functions. The seats of rulers or local dynasts gradually grew and assumed leading positions in the settlement system. The territories organized in these early state formations are considerably larger than the old local tribal territories. In line with these changes, the settlement system begins to display a new face and organization.

During the fifth–fourth centuries BCE along the Hebros and Tonzos River valleys and on the low slopes of the adjacent mountains, many settlements with central functions emerged. In contrast with the EIA, there are now visible centers with impressive architecture, good fortification, and, as suggested by the numerous imported luxury objects arriving through far-reaching trade networks, the inhabitants had a high standard of living. The great density of settlements with central functions in the Upper Thrace plain and in the southern and northern periphery of Sredna Gora corresponds with and embodies the rise and development of a strong Odrysian state (Fol 1975; Archibald 1998; cf. Chapter 4). Worthy of mention are the settlements near Vasil Levski (Kisyov 2004, 51–73; Popov 2002, 73–76), Philippopolis (Domaradski and Taneva 1998, 22–29; Popov 2000, 124–130), Kabyle (Velkov 1991, 143–152; Domaradski 1990, 50–60; Khandzhiĭska and Lozanov 2010, with all literature cited), and the newly discovered settlement near Krastevich (Madzharov et al. 2007, 161–164), which, alongside Pistiros and Koprivlen, are prominent settlements established before the Macedonian expansion.

In the second half of the fourth century BCE, following the successful campaigns of Philip II and Alexander III, the Macedonian state took over vast Thracian territories (see Chapters 5 and 6). This is reflected also in the appearance of some of the large settlements, which were

transformed into centers of Macedonian power. The fortifications of Kabyle, Philippopolis, and Pistiros underwent considerable modification (Domaradski 1982; Domaradski 1995; Nankov 2008; Chapter 26). This historical process is associated with the development of another settlement pattern in Thrace. The settlement of Macedonian colonists, transformation of some central towns into centers of administration, and foreign military presence leads to the alleged polis-like outlook that some Thracian cities acquired (see Chapter 26). This model of society, however, is foreign to Thrace and is rather unnaturally imposed. It should be noted that Kabyle (Draganov 1993) and, in a very late stage of the Hellenistic period, Philippopolis are the only cities in inland Thrace that minted their own coinage.

While the model of a settlement as seat of the local ruler and possessing primarily administrative functions remains standard for Thrace, such sites now conform to novel trends typical of the Hellenistic period. Perhaps the most oft quoted example of a royal residential town in Thrace is Seuthopolis, named after its founder, the Odrysian ruler Seuthes III. The town was built ex novo at the end of the fourth century BCE on the Upper Tonzos River (west of the town of Kazanlak), in line with a popular, early Hellenistic fashion for founding new settlements (Dimitrov 1960, 3–12; Dimitrov and Čičikova 1978; Chichikova 1985, 87–88; Domaradski and Taneva 1998, 39–43; Popov 2002, 122–134; Nankov 2008, 15–50; see also the discussion in Chapter 26). Despite its monumentality, Seuthopolis is rather an exception in the settlement system of Thrace. As an example of urbanization and the imposition of tendencies entirely foreign to Thrace, it remains isolated and at this stage finds no close comparanda in other settlement sites from the central and eastern Balkans (cf. Stoyanov 2006; cf. Chapter 26).

Seuthopolis provides a good example of a manifest regularity, repeated in many settlements that become prominent political centers and seats of members of the high aristocracy; developed quickly, often without continuity with earlier settlements in the same locality, within a short time they become central in the settlement hierarchy. Many such sites, however, lose their importance equally quickly or come to an end, as their livelihood was evidently closely bound to that of their founders and the political structures created by them. The duration of settlement occupation at Vasil Levski, Krastevich, Seuthopolis, and Sboryanovo was brief, ranging from a few decades to slightly more than a century.

In the last decade, in fact, the issue of whether or not some of the settlement forms widely distributed throughout Thrace ca. second half of the 1st millennium BCE were in fact royal residences has undergone an important development. Various ancient authors mention fortified small places, "thyrseis," that have been interpreted by modern scholars as towers or residences which served as "permanent homes of the Thracian aristocracy" or a "typical kernel of urbanization in Thracian settlement life" (Fol 1970, 166–168, with summary of the ancient sources). For a long time, this specific element of the Thracian settlement structure has had no convincing archaeological counterpart or, alternatively, the architectural complex excavated on the shores of Mandrensko Lake near Burgas was cited as a unique example (Dimitrov 1958; Balabanov 1984). The recent discovery of the residences near Kozi Gramadi (Khristov 2011, and earlier publications cited), Smilovene (Agre and Dichev 2010a, 214–217), Sinemorets (Agre and Dichev 2010b, 217–219), and Knyazhevo (Agre and Dichev 2013, 143–145) have revised this picture and confirmed the ancient sources. These compact architectural complexes are characterized by monumental architecture and often fortification; Knyazhevo is at present the only exception. On the other hand, the investigations at Sinemorets demonstrate that this settlement form, specific to Thrace, was in use not only in the heyday of early Thracian states, between the fifth and the first half of the third century BCE, but also during the later stages of the Hellenistic period.

Together with south and southeast Thrace the territory of northeastern Thrace is another major region that currently offers a good representative sample of the level of development

and characteristics of the settlement system in Thrace during the second half of the first millennium BCE. As already noted, even in the later stages of EIA pronounced urban microregions with more distinct stratification gradually formed in this area. Information from written sources about the political development of the Getae (Stoyanov in press; cf. Chapters 5 and 6) also corresponds well with the data for the development of the settlement system in northeastern Thrace during the second half of the first millennium BCE. This part of Thrace is traversed by the lower reaches of the Danube, which suggests the potential for good natural interregional communications not only with the Pontic coast, but also to the west with the territory of central Europe. The river valleys of Yantra, Rusenski Lom, Krapinets, and Kamchiya, and those north of the Danube, like the Ardzhesh and Ialomita in modern South Muntenia, conditioned the development of a good road network and associated settlement system leading into the interior (Stoyanov 2000a, 57; Stoyanov in press). The eastern Balkan Mountains and several prominent uplands and hilly areas in turn provide opportunities for better protection.

Good natural and demographic conditions can be linked with the political development of the Getae. During the second half of the fourth century BCE in northeastern Thrace a well-defined settlement system with distinct settlement forms with different characteristics and functions can be detected.

Based on available archaeological data a formation of areas with high concentrations of settlements can be distinguished, such as those in the area of Byala and Borovo along the river Rusenski Lom, near Isperih, on the plateau of Shumen, and along the northeastern slopes of Stara Planina with the surrounding valley of the Kamchiya River (Stoyanov 2000a, 58–62, maps 1–2; Stoyanov in press). There are recognizable elements of internal organization and functional specialization. In a number of fortified settlements, as on Tsarevets Trapezitsa (Dolmova-Lukanovska 1984; Lilova 2005, 107), Byala, Cherven, and Arkovna (Stoyanov in press), centers with associated administrative, economic and distributive functions are attested. Although these centers have been archaeologically investigated to different degrees, they possess the salient features of hubs with central functions, which play a leading role in the settlement system of high population density. In this system of strategically important sites are located smaller agglomerations with controlling and military roles. Whether larger fortresses, like those in Kralevo (Ginev 1998, 2–6) and Dragoevo, or smaller fortified posts, many of which are known in the regions of Provadia and Shumen or along the Rusenksi Lom River, their position adheres to principles which are subject to a single political and administrative organization. The continuing social stratification of Thracian society finds its expression in a distinct hierarchy that developed in the settlement system. These processes are most clearly recorded in the valleys of Hebros and Tonzos, as well as in northeastern Thrace – the areas that sustained the most stable and influential Thracian political and state formations.

As in the cases of Koprivlen and Pistiros in southern Thrace, urban centers were established in northeastern Thrace, whose development was linked to the growth of road and communication networks along with related economic and distributive functions. The early establishment of markets/emporia along the Danube took place toward the middle of the first millennium BCE (Irimia 2006, 250–253; Stoyanov in press). The abundant data for intensive trade discovered at the Getic village in Satu Nou on the right bank of the Danube provides another example of an emporion that developed along the main artery of communication toward the interior of Thrace (Conovici 2000, 75–76).

Undoubtedly the most prominent manifestation of centralization processes and stratification in the settlement system of Thrace arrives with the emergence of political capitals – the leading urban centers of various Thracian political formations. If southern Thrace has yielded the example of Seuthopolis, for northeastern Thrace such a role is played by the Getic city

discovered in Sboryanovo near Isperih. The analysis of data produced by many years of research has enabled some investigators to identify the Thracian settlement in Sboryanovo with Helis, the capital of the Getic ruler Dromichaetes – a political opponent of Lysimachus (Delev 1990; Stoyanov 2000b; Stoyanov in press, cf. Chapter 5).

The image that the city boasted during the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BCE corresponds to its leading position within the strong Getic state developed on both sides of Danube. In the fortified area of the settlement both residential and artisanal neighborhoods existed. Recent archaeological data show that, in the southwestern part of the fortified section of the city, the remains of a basileia – an internal quarter in which the ruling aristocratic elite resided (Stoyanov in press) – can be identified. Numerous residential neighborhoods and other urban areas of commercial and manufacturing character were located outside the city walls, with the total area of the city exceeding 30 ha. Archaeology shows that the city was destroyed by an earthquake in the middle of the third century BCE. Attempts to resurrect it failed to restore its previous role.

The site at Sboryanovo does not seem to have followed in its development the main trends outlined on the basis of the settlements of higher rank located in southern Thrace. The site's excavator rightly notes that, in its development of the individual elements of its urban character, architectural forms, and construction techniques, the settlement diverges from the rules of Greek and Hellenistic architectural features, which had been directly imported in some centers south of Stara Planina, but rather shows a regional variation of local development (Stoyanov 2006; Stoyanov in press).

As in the period of the EIA, during the second half of the first millennium BCE the general characteristics of the settlements in west Thrace shows certain specifics that distinguish them from those developed in southern and northeastern Thrace. Unlike the well-defined major centers in the Upper Thrace Valley and the area between the Danube and West Black Sea coast, where powerful state formations of the Odrysae and Getae developed, here emerged smaller political units exposed to the strong influence of their neighbors from the southwest and east. Coastal areas with numerous Greek apoikiai, which in turn had a significant impact on the development of communications and the settlement system, also remained isolated from the inland central Balkan areas, although the close links of the Upper Strymon area and southern Morava valley with the North Aegean coast can be traced back to earlier periods. Further south there were many centers along the lower Vardar River and northwestern Aegean coast, which were directly related to the development of Macedonia. In this sense, Pernik fortress (Changova 1981, 52–100; Popov 2002, 135–142), located in the western periphery of Thrace, remains relatively isolated in the deep interior (cf. a more detailed discussion of Pernik in Popov 2008 and Chapter 26).

The emergence of settlements with central functions and similar features in different parts of the central Balkans can hardly be interpreted only with the acculturative policies and "civilizing" role attributed to Macedonia. Some sites trace their descent from earlier centers betraying leading roles long before the Macedonian expansion reached this region. In such agglomerations, the centers of small tribal communities can be discerned, which were located in the contact zone of the central Balkans and exposed to the cultural influence of its neighbors – Macedonia, the colonies on the North Aegean coast, the Odrysian kingdom, and Illyria. According to a recent hypothesis, the Pernik fortress can be identified with the capital of the Agriani (Delev 2014). The main problem in the analysis and interpretation of the settlement system in west Thrace during the Late Iron Age is that there are large areas where its elements are difficult to recognize, although during the Roman period large centers with a network of numerous satellite towns were planted in these areas. The situation in northwestern Thrace presents a similar case, where the current level of knowledge about the various elements of the settlement system during the Late Iron Age is insufficient.

In assessing scholarly research of the settlement system in Thrace during the second half of the first millennium BCE, we possess knowledge about a wide range of different types of settlement. There are recognizable: central places with central functions; larger or smaller fortresses/military posts with monitoring role; small fortified compounds (towers, residences, farms) belonging to different members of the aristocracy; agglomerations/markets directly related to trade operations; and settlements or parts of settlements related to various manufacturing industries (see Chapters 26 and 27). Yet, there are certain gaps in our knowledge. One major type of settlement is unsatisfactorily documented – the village. Given the apparently numerous Thracians, the high demographic potential of many areas of Thrace, and the intensity of occupation and dual structure of Thracian society, the absence or extreme scarcity of rural establishments remains puzzling. Located in open flat areas or hilly and mountainous terrain, the lack of this main component in the settlement system – the small villages inhabited by ordinary people whose main livelihood was agriculture – is striking.

We have yet to identify the reason for this absence. It remains an open question whether such a gap is related to agricultural and livestock breeding practices, short-term occupation coupled with architecture of lightweight construction, or if the reasons should be sought elsewhere. In this context, there is a striking disparity between the number of sites recognized as settlements of lower rank and the most numerous archaeological sites related to the study of the ancient Thracians – the pit complexes (see Chapter 11). Their number has grown in the last three decades and now exceeds several dozen. The main problems related to their investigation developed mainly due to salvage excavations conducted on major infrastructure construction projects. As a rule such sites are found associated with fertile land with good access to water sources. One can reasonably question whether the absence of low-rank sites is due to their archaeological footprint, or low visibility due to the poor state of preservation. One of the reasons can be sought in mechanized agriculture developed on a large scale in the 1950s throughout the country. Mechanized plowing of land has heavily disturbed the topsoil. Recognition of open settlements such as Vinitsa (Dremsizova-Nelchinova 1967, 57–74) can be attributed to a terrain less affected by modern intervention.

The architectural parameters of such villages are simple and uniform: wattle and daub houses, built above ground or semi-subterranean leaving a stratum less than 10 cm deep. Traces of such structures are documented in the unfortified settlement at Halka Bunar, municipality of Chirpan (Tonkova and Sideris 2011). Since the remains of these buildings are relatively slight, their survival, detection, and investigation in the future is bound to become increasingly rare. It is reasonable to raise the question whether the numerous "pit sanctuaries" may represent traces of settlements less affected by modern intervention. Regardless of whether such a working hypothesis will be accepted or rejected, it is clear that in the identification of lower-rank sites with no representative functions, many questions remain open.

Another interesting aspect of the settlement system in Thrace concerns villages whose existence may be associated with more specialized functions. Alongside sites like Pistiros and Sboryanovo, where craftsmen quarters are known, recent excavations at Halka Bunar have made the subject even more relevant by producing evidence for pottery production (Tonkova 2000; 2002).

The general survey of the settlement system in Thrace during the Late Iron Age shows that it has become far more diverse. On may observe clearly distinguishable processes of the creation of multi-hierarchical stratification and the differentiation of specific functions. Based on the newly created political and economic environment these processes developed on a much larger scale, expanding beyond the boundaries of the small tribal communities. The settlement system is divided into different types of agglomerations which are distinguished by function, architectural style, organization, and degree of impact on the surrounding

environment. By and large, it can be noted that the settlement system of the second half of the first millennium BCE demonstrates a much higher degree of development, in comparison with that of the earlier period. During these processes of centralization and stratification in Thrace, trends change frequently due to the short life of some newly established political formations; it should be noted that these processes reflect a trend toward globalization overcoming internal fragmentation between micro-regions.

It is an interesting question if we can talk about a direct continuity between the settlement system of the Late Iron Age and those of later periods, when Thrace was gradually included within the Roman provinces. The idea of continuity between the main Thracian settlements called "tribal centers," "royal residences," "cities," and so on, reproduced often in the historiography, has gained no support, especially after the accumulation of new archaeological data (Popov 2005, 611–614). It could be argued that settlements with evidence for topographic and functional continuity are rather the exception.

It is true that our current knowledge about some of the prominent centers of Thrace, such as Bizye, Uskudama, Kypsela, and Perinthus prevents us from tracing their development during the pre-Roman period, but the overall impression is that few have retained their position in the settlement hierarchy. Moreover, sites like Vasil Levski, Krastevich, Pistiros, Seuthopolis, Sboryanovo, Pernik, and others ceased to exist by the end of the first century BCE. At the same time, in Roman towns, such as Pautalia, Serdica, Germanea, Augusta Traiana, Marcianopolis, and Diocletianopolis, evidence of early occupation on the same terrain is extremely slender and of non-representative nature. On the Danube limes at legionary camps and associated sites such as Nikopol, Gigen, Sexaginta Prista, and others, the data from the earlier period suggests that there is no direct continuity between Roman and pre-Roman settlements in terms of their functions.

It is noteworthy that the number of known settlements (of different ranks) dated to the second and first centuries BCE is considerably smaller than those of the fifth to third centuries BCE; whether this presents a temporary gap in our data or stems from a pattern associated with demographic and political processes experienced within Thracian society during this period is a matter for future research.

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CHAPTER 10

Dolmens and Rock-Cut Monuments

Georgi Nekhrizov

10.1 Megalithic Monuments in Thrace

The term "megalith," from Greek μεγάς (big) and λίθος (stone), was introduced by Algernon Herbert (1849), a British antiquarian. Two large groups of megalithic monuments are distinguished – polyliths and monoliths. The dolmens and cromlechs belong to the first group, and the menhirs to the second. These terms of Celtic (Breton) origin have been established in scholarly discourse, despite the worldwide practice of assigning native names to the monuments. The origin of the term "dolmen" is in the expression *taol maen*, translated "stone table"; "cromlech" comes from *crom* (bent, curved) and *llech* (slab); and menhir from *maen* (stone) and *hir* (long, tall).

The megalithic culture is spread over a wide territory and despite its diverse manifestations both in time and space, there are remarkable correspondences in terms of structural and constructive principles. While the Western European megalithic structures date to the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic periods, those from Asia are assigned to the Bronze Age; those from the Balkans date to the Early Iron Age, and some North African monuments were built during the Hellenistic or Roman age.

In the Balkans the megalithic monuments are restricted to the southeasternmost parts of the peninsula and are categorically linked to Thracian culture. According to scholars of Thracian megalithic culture, the monuments are found in a region that generally coincides with what is conceived of as Southeastern Thrace, with the greatest concentrations in the Sakar, Strandzha, and Eastern Rhodope Mountains (Mikov 1933, 144; Venedikov 1976a, 32; Delev 1982b, 398–400, map 15; Delev 1984, 19; Özdoğan 1998, 37). The most common members of this group – the dolmens and the rock-cut tombs – have been linked to funerary rites. While dolmens can be found in all three mountain areas, the rock-cut tombs are mostly restricted to the Eastern Rhodopes.

10.2 Dolmens

An important prerequisite for dolmen construction is an available source of rocks suitable for splitting into slabs. Thracian dolmens use primarily granitic rocks (Kostov 2008, 164). In Strandzha and Sakar these are granites, also called South Bulgarian granitoids. Gneiss, another

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widely available rock with similar characteristics, is also utilized in the construction of dolmens. All dolmens and dolmen-like graves in the southernmost parts of the Eastern Rhodopes are built of gneiss and gneiss-slate. Several of the Strandzha dolmens utilize limestone marble (Evrenozovo, Zabernovo, and Belevren); interestingly, nearby monuments utilize granite slabs (Agre and Dichev 2006).

According to the first examiners of the Thracian dolmens, their number in Sakar Mountain exceeds 600 (Venedikov and Aladzhov 1976, 54; Delev 1984, 19). The known dolmens in the Bulgarian section of the Strandzha mountains are more than 100, and approximately that many are registered also in the Turkish section of the mountain (Özdoğan 1998). A small group of dolmens is also found in the Northeastern Rhodopes, near the right bank of the Maritza River (Delev 1984, 20). Considerably more, probably over 100, are located in the southeasternmost parts of the Rhodopes, in the Byala River watershed (Triandaphyllos 1984; Nekhrizov 2010, 85). Several dolmens are also known on the Greek island of Samothrace (Moutsopoulos 1989, 247, figs. 1–4).

Most of these megalithic tombs have significantly deteriorated since their initial discovery and description in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Systematic study and survey of the monuments in the 1970s and 1980s, and again during the 2000s, have confirmed that a portion of these tombs had already been partially or completely destroyed (Delev 1984, 20). Such projects also located some previously unknown megalithic monuments. The results of the archaeological excavations on several dozen dolmens make possible the establishment of the chronology of their use and confirm beyond doubt their association with Thracian culture.

Despite established regional typological differences, the Thracian dolmens share many common features. They are situated on positive landscape forms: crests, less often slopes of low ridges, but always excellent vista points. The largest dolmens and those with the most complex plans are usually solitary, while those of smaller dimension and simpler plan are usually arranged in clusters of two to six. They are constructed of large roughly shaped stone slabs of local stone, although the finish of the interior is more careful; only the front slabs have two finished faces. Slabs were prepared in advance and set vertically in to the ground to form a burial chamber, usually rectangular in plan. Dimensions of the burial chambers in the dolmens can be remarkable, with the largest measuring up to 2.80×2.40 m and often more than 2 m high. In general the slabs used for the transverse chamber walls are fit between the slabs used for the long sides, sometimes in specially prepared furrows; in this way the long walls exercise pressure on the transverse walls and create structural stability. This design is not always followed strictly – sometimes only one of the short walls is fit into the long walls. Occasionally one or more of the lateral or transverse walls is made of two slabs placed side by side. An exceptional case is presented by several Sakar dolmens, with long walls made of two stacked slabs, the upper one placed at an angle set by an appropriate beveling of the transverse slabs (Hlyabovo, Sakartsi, Oryahovo, Vaskovo). Specially cut triangular slabs were added at the bottom corners of the transverse walls of some of the larger Sakar dolmens (Hlyabovo, Vaskovo).

Sometimes the upper sections of dolmen walls incline inward, resulting in a trapezoidal cross- and lateral-section of the chambers. This simultaneously improves their stability and relieves roofing. The burial chamber and antechambers of dolmens are each covered by one large, coarsely finished slab, the weight of which further stabilizes the construction. In some instances, channels have been cut on the bottom surface of the roof slab in order to form a secure join with the lateral and transverse slabs (Ostar kamak). The slabs of the roof are always larger than the chambers they cover, thus providing an eave for the walls. The dolmens do not usually have specially designed floors: most commonly the leveled terrain alone functions

as a floor, although some monuments have a floor paved with small slabs, while the burial chambers of others have floors consisting of one or two large slabs (Pelevun, Vaskovo).

Dolmen entrances most commonly face south, southeast, or southwest; east or west facing entrances are less frequent; there are no northwestern or northeastern entrances. The entrances – quadrangular or vaulted – are cut into the middle of the front transverse slab for the Sakar and Strandzha dolmens, and laterally in the Byala Reka basin. In some instances the exterior of the entrance has a chiseled frame, indicating the likely use of a door or other device to close the monument.

The plans of Thracian dolmens are quite diverse. The principal element of the dolmen is the burial chamber. In some instances it is preceded by an antechamber, constructed by placing two lateral and one transverse entrance slab in front of the entrance wall of the burial chamber. The antechamber may be rectangular or trapezoidal, but is always narrower and lower than the burial chamber. Both the one- and two-chambered dolmens may feature a short corridor (dromos). Constructed of lower slabs, it is narrower than the succeeding chamber and is not roofed by stone slabs. Occasionally in front of the chamber two flanking slabs are placed which shape an open small hallway.

In some of the most representative Sakar and Strandzha dolmens several large slabs are set vertically beside the entrance (Sakartsi, Hlyabovo, Vaskovo, Kirovo, Evrenozovo) (Figure 10.1, 1–4). These slabs shape up façade walls, fortify the embankments in front of the dolmen entrances, and facilitate access. The Strandzha mountains provide examples of façades built of horizontally laid slabs (Belevren, Evrenozovo, Lalapasha). Study of several dolmens with façades has revealed very high concentrations of artefacts in the area in front of the façade, the date of which spans extended periods. Such finds may represent the combined remains of the funerary rites and commemorative rituals performed in front of the dolmen.

With regard to layout and construction, P. Delev distinguishes three groups of built megalithic burial monuments – solitary dolmens, double dolmens, and dolmen-like cists (or more precisely dolmen-like graves). Most common are solitary dolmens. They can be further classified into four groups according to the number and type of their built compartments. Double dolmens are very rare, mostly restricted to Strandzha, and represent two solitary dolmens set side by side and sharing a common long wall. Dolmen-like graves are distinguished from dolmens solely on the basis of their smaller dimensions and the absence of an entrance (Delev 1982b, 405–407). Delev highlights the fact that cist graves are also found outside of the core distribution area of first millennium BCE Thracian megaliths, especially from the sixth century BCE onward (Delev 1982b, 404 n. 24). In his opinion the dolmen-like graves, due to their appearance and construction, as well as their coexistence with the dolmens, must be directly correlated with them.

Most scholars of megalithic burial structures in Thrace accept that all dolmens and dolmen-like graves were covered by a mound. According to them the lack of an embankment and the partial or total exposure of some dolmens is due to erosion and human intervention. Research in the Eastern Rhodopes, however, has established that in this region only some of the megalithic burial structures featured a mound. Regardless of formal type, some monuments were left uncovered, while others received a mound. Also, occasionally buried under a tumulus, dolmens and dolmen-like graves coexist within a single necropolis. Research in the Eastern Rhodopes indicates that erosion and grave-robbing do not result in the total obliteration of the tumuli embankments. Looters' trenches usually target specifically the graves. Erosion, on the other hand, does not explain those cases where a dolmen with a perfectly preserved embankment stands beside another domen entirely lacking such a covering (Nekhrizov 2010, 88–89).

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Figure 10.1 Dolmens. 1. Burial mound with two dolmens near Vaskovo village, Sakar Mountain. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 2. Dolmen in locality Byalata treva near Hlyabovo village, Sakar Mountain. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 3. Dolmen in locality Nachevi Chairi near Hlyabovo village, Sakar Mountain. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 4. Dolmen near Golyam Dervent village, Strandzha Mountain. Photo by D. Kolev. 5. Dolmen near Granichar village, Strandzha Mountain. Photo by D. Kolev. 6. Dolmen near Pelevun village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov.

It should be stressed that the embankment is almost always constructed in such a way that it covers the walls, but not the roof of the dolmen. The mounds associated with Thracian dolmens are without exception stone-and-earthen mounds. The burial structures are often encapsulated by a small stone mound or a stone concentration of different form, intended to reinforce the walls and drain rainwater (Figure 10.1, 4–5). Apart from soil, local stone, most commonly quartzite, was also included in the embankment. Consequently the mounds of dolmens and dolmen-like graves are distinguished by white quartzite stones visible on the surface. Some of the Sakar and Strandzha dolmen mounds were fitted with a krepis of vertically set slabs or large stones at the foot of the embankment.

The walls of some famous Thracian dolmens feature groups of shallow depressions. These are conical, 3–4 cm wide, up to 1.5–2 cm deep, and were obviously produced by a drill. Although these do not outline figures, the depressions are considered to be decorative. Such have been found on dolmens and dolmen-like graves from the entire distribution area of the Thracian megalithic monuments, and even on the walls of the only known rock tomb from the Sakar Mountains, that near Hlyabovo (Figure 10.2, 4).

Two recently studied dolmens from Derventski heights, in western Strandzha, near the village of Golyam Dervent, stand apart from all other Thracian monuments in terms of their specific decoration (Figure 10.1, 4). Built of granite slabs, both dolmens are designed with two chambers with a short roofed hallway. Ornaments are engraved on the front walls of the antechambers, on both sides of the entrance. While considerable damage to the front walls of both dolmens hinders the reconstruction of the entire composition, fragments found in situ, and those scattered in the vicinity, suggest that panels of spirals and meanders were rendered in low relief. A slab fragment with a representation of a labris, likely mounted above the entrance, is particularly fascinating. Although this symbol is typical in the region, the style and the overall design of the sculpted ornament of the two Golyam Dervent dolmens are strongly reminiscent of similar monuments in the Caucasus and Western Europe.

Research on the monuments of the Thracian megalithic culture has deep roots, but it has yet to deliver a dolmen with a completely preserved burial. Partial human skeletons, and sometimes elements from more than one individual (Mikov, 1955, 34, fig. 9; Delev 1982a, 219; Akman 1997, 161, Abb. 7) have been found in a number of monuments in the Sakar and Strandzha Mountains. A recent upsurge of interest in Thracian dolmens has resulted in the accumulation of new evidence for burial practices associated with megalithic monuments (Agre 2005; Agre and Dichev 2006; Nekhrizov 2010), which substantiates the opinion that the principal burial rite associated with dolmens is inhumation (Delev 1982a, 219). It has already been established that dolmens were not intended as individual graves, but for prolonged reuse. Archaeological excavations of two dolmens near Zabernovo in Strandzha have revealed the remains of respectively 14 and four individuals in the burial chambers, with the older bones relocated near the long walls in order to make room for subsequent burials (Agre 2005, 104). A similar point has emerged from the excavations of the Lalapaşa dolmen, where the antechamber revealed the remains of four individuals (Akman 1997, 161). Excavations on a mound with two dolmens – one large, the other small – near Vaskovo in Sakar, lead to even more intriguing discoveries (Figure 10.1, 1). Skulls and bones from eight individuals were discovered in the smaller dolmen, the dimensions of which preclude it from receiving an adult person. Most likely, it functioned as an ossuary for remains from the repeated burials in the large dolmen (Nekhrizov 2010, 92). Dolmens functioned most likely as family or lineage tombs receiving several generations of the members of the local Thracian tribal aristocracy (Delev 1984, 31; Agre 2005, 105; Nekhrizov 2010, 92).

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Figure 10.2 Rock-cut tombs. 1. Rock-cut tomb "Kara in" near Pchelari village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 2. Rock-cut tomb near Skalina village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 3. Rock-cut tomb "Hambar kaya" near Pchelari village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 4. Rock-cut tomb near Hlyabovo village, Sakar Mountain. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 5. Cromlech near Dolni Glavanak village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by R. Mikov.

Excavations of dolmens have contributed to clarifying the chronology of their construction and use. Finds associated with the monuments include pottery and bronze trinkets – fibulae, rings, earrings, and bracelets, but never weapons. The date of these finds indicates that dolmens were used as burial structures from the onset of the Early Iron Age until the end of the period (eleventh to sixth centuries BCE). Late Iron Age finds have also been recovered, however, from many of the excavated dolmens (Hlyabovo, Mladinovo, Glavan, Vaskovo in Sakar; Kirovo, Belevren, Lalapaşa in Strandzha; Pelevun, Zhelezino, Kobilino in the Eastern Rhodopes). The use of some of these monuments for burial obviously persisted through the second half of the first millennium BCE. It is possible that the later finds indicate maintenance of commemorative rites, performed long after the final dolmen interment.

Excavations in the Eastern Rhodopes revealed a two-chamber dolmen with a dromos, which was constructed in the Late Iron Age (Figure 10.1, 6). It is located near Pelevun and some of its structural features are, at present, unique. Foremost among those is the overextended plan, consisting of a façade entrance, a long dromos of low vertical slabs, an antechamber nearly square in plan, and a large burial chamber with a single floor slab. The shorter corridor connecting the two chambers is unprecedented; the two chambers of all previously known two-chamber dolmens from Thrace share a common transverse wall with an entranceway. Absent in this dolmen are also entrances cut into the walls. Instead, each transverse wall is made up of two narrow slabs set to mark the corners, with a central gap reserved for the throughway. A compromise with the purely megalithic approach to construction is the superstructure of three horizontal rows of slabs upon the northern dromos wall (Nekhrizov 2010, 89). This dolmen, revealing materials from the end of the fourth to the early third century BCE, is the latest monument of this type so far excavated in Thrace.

The group of dolmens and dolmen-like graves from the southeasternmost ranges of the Rhodopes Mountains is as a whole distinguished from those in the Sakar and Strandzha Mountains by their relatively smaller dimensions and the use of thinner slabs for the walls. Another peculiarity, observed in some of the better preserved monuments, is the entrance, which is cut not at the center, but in the side of the front slab (Chernichevo, Roussa, Kotronia). In the case of the Sakar and Strandzha Mountain dolmens, as well as dolmens from elsewhere in Thrace, the entrances are always centered into the front slab. In addition, there are as yet no known dolmens along the Byala River with composite long walls, or with façades formed by slabs fixed into the ground. Based on those features exclusive to the Southeastern Rhodopes, these monuments have been assigned into a separate group – the group of the Eastern Rhodopean dolmens (Nekhrizov 2010, 93).

The construction of some dolmens exhibits some structural principles that are otherwise atypical in megalithic monuments, but known from other types of monument with a similar function – the rock-cut tombs. One or more walls of several Sakar Mountain dolmens are formed by cutting into bedrock instead of slabs driven vertically into the ground (Hlyabovo, Glavan, Dripchevo). Notably, the dolmen of this type near Hlyabovo is in the immediate vicinity of the rock-cut tomb with ornamentation of depressions on the walls discussed above (Panayotov 1976, 50–52, drawings 57–66, figs. 85–97). The rock tomb near Hlyabovo is the only one from Thrace with a preserved slab door for the vaulted entrance, identical in appearance to the design of the front of a dolmen (Bonchev 1901, 694). The walls of a rock-cut grave documented near Bashtino in the Eastern Rhodopes were also modeled on the exterior, thus visually resembling a dolmen. These examples demonstrate the commonality between the rock-cut tombs and the dolmens – burial monuments, constructed and used by the Thracians of the mountainous regions of the Southeastern Balkans during the Early Iron Age.

10.3 Other Megalithic Monuments

Cromlech

The only monument of this kind in Bulgaria is found in the Eastern Rhodopes near Dolni Glavanak (Figure 10.2, 5). It is situated on a low ridge-top above the left bank of the Arda River. The boundaries of the circle are defined by vertically set large, roughly shaped blocks of local hard volcanic rock (rhyodacite). Despite their rough finish the blocks are approximately identical in both shape, that of an irregular trapezoid with thicker base, and size, 1.20–1.50 m tall, on average 0.90 × 1.20 m at the base, 0.40–0.60 m thick. Some preserve marks of later intervention – they are chipped or tipped. The blocks are set directly upon the bedrock, without special foundation. Their stability is ensured by their shape, but some are additionally secured by smaller stones. The vertical blocks are arranged at almost regular intervals between 0.75 and 0.90 m, with smaller blocks arranged horizontally in the interspaces. This alignment is disrupted in the eastern section where two vertical blocks are set side by side, backed by a third block, now leaning heavily to the east. Nine blocks still stand vertically, while three others have fallen near where they were initially set up. They are arranged in a circle with an internal diameter of 10 m, open to the southeast. The void in the southeastern sector is occupied by a rock slightly raised above the ground and it seems likely that originally no blocks were installed here. The line is interrupted also in the north, by a missing block, probably knocked out of position and removed. Several additional large stone pieces and many smaller rocks are scattered in the vicinity.

Two smaller structures are located nearby. Structure No. 2, located 15.30 m southeast of No. 1 (the cromlech), is an oval enclosure, with an external diameter of 3.40 m measured east–west and 2.80 m measured north–south. It is constructed of medium-sized roughly hewn stones arranged in one or two rows. Structure No. 3 is 18.70 m south of No. 1. It is identical to structure No. 2 in construction, and is also oval in shape with diameters of 6.40 m measured east–west and 5.40 m measured north–south.

The 1999 excavations of the three monuments established that No. 1 was constructed during the eighth–seventh century BCE, and remained in use through the Late Iron Age. Many features of the Dolni Glavanak site make it possible to classify it with the ritual sites on peaks, extensively attested throughout the mountainous regions of Thrace. It is distinct from those monuments, however, with respect to both construction method and monumentality. The vertically set evenly spaced large stone blocks tracing a perfect circle are an incarnation of the megalithic ethos. By analogy with similar monuments in Western European megalithic culture, the site near Dolni Glavanak can be designated as a megalithic monument of the "cromlech" type. The two stone enclosures (Nos. 2–3) near No. 1 were constructed during the time when No. 1 was in use and are undoubtedly associated with it. The finds from Nos. 2–3, and chiefly the burnt human bones, substantiate their interpretation as funerary structures. It is hardly accidental that despite the considerable time lapse between the finds from the two structures, they have identical construction and that both received remains of children cremated outside the boundaries of the features. We are presented with the obvious traces of traditional customs (ritual burials, sacrifices?), performed in the vicinity of the megalithic monument and associated with the cult activities taking place there (Nekhrizov 2000; 2004).

Menhirs

There is believed to be only one menhir surviving at present in Bulgarian territory. It is located near Ovcharovo, in the Sakar Mountains. The menhir, locally known as "Chuchul kamak," is 2.20 m tall and represents a crudely shaped irregular conical column of trachyte rock,

with its wide end driven into the ground (Aladzhov 1997, 196). Not long ago it was the focal point of local festivities on St. Dimitri's day.

There are reports from different Bulgarian regions of "thrust stones" preserved *in situ* or already demolished; they may occur as solitary stones or in clusters. These sites have often been appropriated by later cult practices and ritual activities (Mitova-Dzhonova 1979, 55, 63, 64; Rashev 1992).

A complex of stones that have been driven into the ground is found in an extensive area near Kırıkköy in Turkish Thrace (Özdoğan 1982, 47, figs. 26–29). A survey of the site fixed its limits and layout, distinguished stone clusters, agglomerations, and earthworks, recorded the principal orientation of the clusters and the solitary stones, identified some of the principles guiding their arrangement, recorded differences in origin, color, decoration, and so on. However, the exclusively nondestructive survey strategy failed to secure evidence clarifying the site's chronology and function (Erdogu, Erdogu, and Chapman 2000).

10.4 Rock-Cut Megalithic Sites

Rock-cut tombs

About 50 of the known rock-cut tombs can be positively associated with Thracian culture. All but one from Sakar Mountain are found in the Eastern Rhodopes, most within the Bulgarian national territory, with only three in Greece. There is additional evidence for several rock-cut tombs that have been destroyed. Usually the tombs are cut in to soft, easy to work rock – most commonly volcanic tuff, less often in sandstones (near Benkovski, in Podkova, and by Golemantsi); however there are also some cut into hard rocks (such as those near Gorno pole cut into rhyodacite). Irrespective of rock type, the cliffs in which the tombs are cut always share the following features: they are sizeable, providing adequately for the intended volume of the tomb; firm and robust, free of cracks; and also easily accessible. Thus the tombs are most commonly cut into suitable sections of large outcrops (e.g., at Ak Kaya near Pchelari), or, if such were unavailable, into a suitable solitary cliff (e.g., Hambar Kaya near Popovets). Unlike the rock-cut niches cut into vertical walls, often in inaccessible locations, access to the rock-cut tombs is always convenient and the entrances are easily reached.

The tombs are usually solitary, but there are some examples of two tombs either immediately adjacent (Vodenicharsko, Potochnitsa, Ovchevo) or in close proximity to one another (Pchelari-Ak Kaya, Podkova, Golemantsi). The two necropoleis, consisting of four uniform structures in each, located about 800 m apart in the village territories of Pchelari in the "Hambar Kaya" locality (Figure 10.2, 3) and Dolno Cherkovishte (Nekhrizov 1994), are exceptional.

The rock-cut tombs can be classified into two large groups. The first includes tombs with a closed-off burial chamber, tentatively defined as cave-like (Figure 10.2, 1). These feature a slightly vaulted hallway with a frame for the slab door. The entrance to the burial chamber is primarily from the south, southeast, or southwest, but examples with western (Momchilgrad-Koshcha) and northeastern (Raven, within the village limits) entrances also exist. The doorways are typically trapezoidal or vaulted. The plan of the burial chamber is oval or a trapezoidal with rounded corners. The dimensions range from 1.80 × 1.60 m to 2.90 × 2.60 m; the long side of the trapezoid is quite often closest to the entrance. The vaulting of the chamber starts at floor level, and the dome rises to 1.50–1.90 m in height. A considerable deviation from these spatial parameters is recorded in one of the tombs near Skalina in the Yokar Kestene locality (Figure 10.2, 2). This tomb features a spacious open hallway with oval plan and a wide entrance with a well-preserved grove for the door-slab; from here a vaulted throughway leads to a tiny oval burial chamber, about 0.80 cm across and 0.50 m high (Venedikov 1976b, 91–93).

Two of the tombs of this group display similar graffiti decoration on their walls (Pchelari-Ak Kaya and Momchilgrad-Koshcha). The graffiti, which were scratched with a sharp tool, render primarily geometric figures – circles and rectangles, hatched or crossed by lines, some framed by dots. Similar ornamentation is found in two rock-cut tombs near Petrota in northern Greece (Triandaphyllos 1984, 157–162, figs. 20–26).

In addition to the above-mentioned sites, other rock-cut tombs are located near Podkova, Bivolyane, Ovchevo, Skalina-Alisoman tepesi, Mazhentsi, Yagnevo, Veslets, and Moryantsi. To the cave-like type belongs also the only preserved rock-cut tomb in the Sakar Mountains, the one near Hlyabovo (Figure 10.2, 4) (Panayotov 1976, 52).

The tombs of the second group are distinguished by the presence of a second opening, at the top, closed off by means of a massive stone slab. As a consequence of the top opening, these tombs are more vulnerable to natural forces and ill intentions. Thus most lack lintels and are in ruins in some sections of the walls, while only a small portion of the burial chamber survives from others. The poor state of preservation makes definition of their features extremely difficult. The better preserved tombs of this group indicate a widespread practice of modeling a passage to the hallway that resembles an open dromos, with a floor commonly lower than that of the antechamber. The hallways are also open, less well defined in comparison to the first group, and also normally lower than the burial chamber. The preserved entrances to the burial chambers are vaulted. The burial chambers typically have trapezoidal plan, cross- and transverse section. Their size ranges from 1.50×1.35 m and standing to a height of 1.20 m for the smallest tomb (near Dzhanka), to 2.87×2.40 m, with a preserved height of 2.02 m for the largest (near Vodenicharsko). While the tombs of this group have a much more variable orientation, south, southeast, and southwest facing entrances still prevail. Clustering of tombs is more frequent in this group (Pchelari, Dolno Cherkovishte). The best preserved examples with an intact lintel are the two tombs near Vodenicharsko and those near Gorno pole and Veslets. Other relatively informative structures of the type are found near Rogach, Potochnitsa, Golemantsi, Dzhanka, Ovchevo, Mazhentsi, and the northern Greek village of Nipsa.

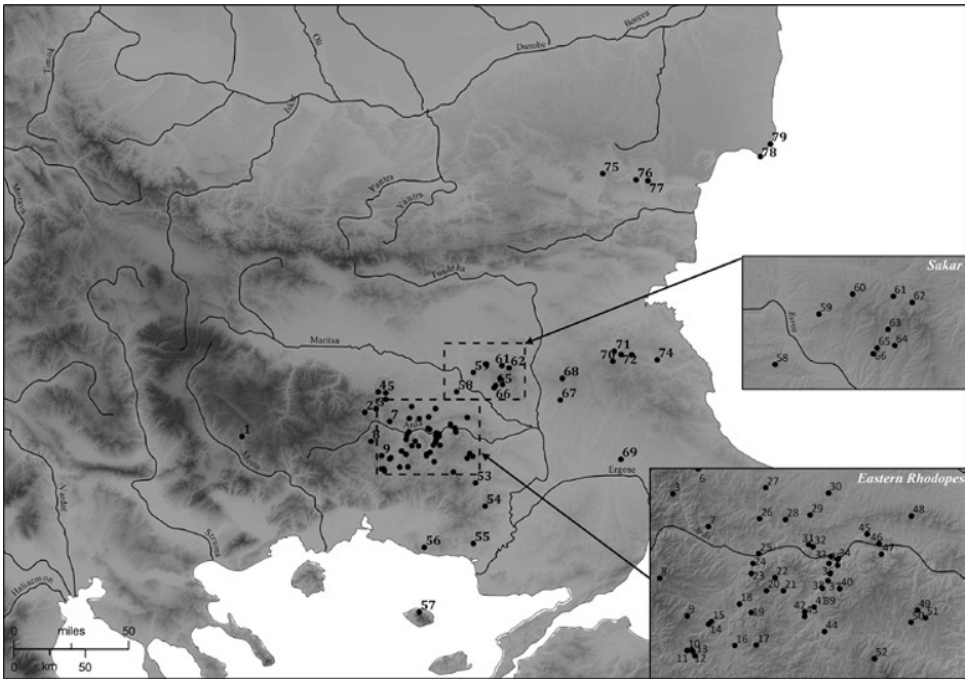
In some instances grooves cut near the entrances of the tombs of the first group (Moryantsi), or by the top opening of the monuments of the second group (Pchelari, Vodenicharsko, Rogach) drain rainwater (Figure 10.2, 3).

The burial chambers of some rock-cut tombs are fitted with additional fixtures: burial beds (Terzi Kaya locality by Ovchevo: Venedikov 1976b, 87), platforms – beds? (Yagnevo: Venedikov 1976b, 96), vaulted niche – probably a bench (Aliosman tepesi locality near Skalina: Venedikov 1976b, 93).

Evidence for the construction of the rock-cut tombs, including the techniques and tools employed, is also quite limited. As a consequence of the erosion of the top layer of the soft rocks in to which they were cut, almost no tool marks survive on the interior walls. Judging by the better preserved areas it is quite possible that the walls were diligently evened and smoothed. Yet, tool marks have been identified at several tombs and consist of rows of measured juniper strokes at the floor–wall juncture.

Some Eastern Rhodopes structures could be interpreted as unfinished rock-cut tombs (those near Gorno pole, near Yagnevo, and near Podkova).

The distribution of the two groups of rock-cut tombs is not firmly set and they are often found in proximity to one another. Mapping reveals micro-regions with a high concentration of burial structures of both groups. An example of such concentration is the area of Dolno Cherkovishte and Pchelari, where a total of 12 tombs have been recorded in the valley on both sides of the Arda River – two cave-like and 10 with a top opening. A second such micro-region includes the area of Ovchevo and Skalina, where a concentration of eight tombs has been recorded; four are cave-like, three have a top opening, while the eighth has been destroyed and its type cannot be determined. In the soft sandstone cliffs near Benkovski and the



Map 10.1 Sites mentioned in Chapter 10. 1. Dospat region 2. Bezvodno 3. Zhenda 4. Nochevo 5. Sarnitsa 6. Angel voyvoda 7. Dazhdovnitsa 8. Ardino 9. Vodenicharsko 10. Yagnevo 11. Mazhenci 12. Veslec 13. Benkovski 14. Ovchevo 15. Skalina 16. Podkova 17. Chavka 18. Momchilgrad 19. Chukovo 20. Raven 21. Tatul 22. Bivolyane-Harman kaya 23. Chomakovo 24. Lisitsite 25. Shiroko pole 26. Gorna krepost-Perperikon 27. Golemantsi 28. Bashtino 29. Popovets 30. Kralevo 31. Byal kladenets 32. Svetoslav 33. Pchelari 34. Dolno Cherkovishte 35. Potochnitsa 36. Oreshari 37. Moryantsi 38. Krasino 39. Dzhanka 40. Sbor 41. Kovil 42. Gorna kula 43. Vransko 44. Rogach 45. Dolni Glavanak 46. Gorno pole 47. Madzharovo 48. Gluhite kamani 49. Kobilino 50. Zhelezino 51. Pelevun 52. Chernichevo 53. Roussa 54. Kotronia 55. Nipsa 56. Petrota 57. Samothrace 58. Ostar kamak 59. Ovcharovo 60. Glavan 61. Hlyabovo 62. Sakartsi 63. Dripchevo 64. Mladinovo 65. Vaskovo 66. Oryahovo 67. Lalapasha 68. Golyam Dervent 69. Kırıkköy 70. Belevren 71. Kirovo 72. Granichar 73. Evrenozovo 74. Zabernovo 75. Madara 76. Venchan 77. Staroselets 78. Kaliakra 79. Kamen bryag

communities of Mazhentsi, Yagnevo, and Veslets were cut six tombs – four cave-like and two with a top opening; an unfinished tomb from Yagnevo must also be included in this number. There is also a good number of solitary rock-cut tombs of both types, such as those near Moryantsi, Svetoslav, Popovets, Dzhanka, Rogach, and Momchilgrad. Similar monuments – usually rock-cut niches – however, are often found in their vicinity.

In many instances the rock-cut tombs can be associated with nearby Thracian settlements or sanctuaries. An excellent example of this is provided by the tombs near the villages of Raven and Bivolyane, located in proximity to and possibly in association with the large rock-cut complexes of Tatul and Harman Kaya. The close spatial relationship has been emphasized as circumstantial evidence for the identification of the rock-cut tombs as belonging to the Thracian culture. More certain evidence, which is also informative about the chronological limits of their use in the Early Iron Age, is provided by artifacts and burial remains found in the monuments from Shiroko pole and Pchelari (Mikov 1955, 29; Nekhrizov 1994). The burials

in the Shiroko pole and Pchelari tombs (classified into the two separate groups) are inhumations. This was most likely the ritual practiced in all Eastern Rhodopean rock-cut tombs. This hypothesis is further supported by the discovery of model funerary beds in some tombs there.

The Eastern Rhodopean rock-cut tombs are not unique to the territory of ancient Thrace. The close analogies between the monuments from the Eastern Rhodopes and those from Northeastern Bulgaria have been repeatedly highlighted by all students of Thracian megalithic culture. While the morphology of cemeteries in northeastern Bulgaria (Kamen Bryag – Yaylata, cape Kaliakra, Venchan, Staroselets, Madara) is indeed similar to that in the cemeteries in the eastern Rhodopes, these cemeteries seem to have been created and used in the Roman or Late Antique period and are thus much later than those in the eastern Rhodopes. The walls of some of the later tombs even have engraved cross-signs (Salkin and Toptanov 1988).

Some monuments from the Eastern Balkan Mountains have also been interpreted as rock-cut tombs (Delev 1982b, 394–395; Banov 1988). Another such monument was discovered recently in the region of Dospat in the Western Rhodopes (Gergova 2010, 36). While some of these features resemble the rock tombs of the Eastern Rhodopes, none preserves conclusive evidence of chronology or function.

Rock-cut tombs are found throughout the Mediterranean in regions with suitable natural landscapes. Although they appeared and evolved in different cultural contexts and chronological frames, there are a number of formal analogies between them and the Thracian rock tombs (Nekhrizov 1999, n. 57).

Rock-cut graves

Another type of rock-cut burial structure found in the Eastern Rhodopes is distinguished from the rock-cut tombs by the absence of hallways or lateral entrances, and by their smaller dimensions. On the other hand some of the monuments, interpreted as rock graves, share many features with the rock tombs – trapezoidal transverse and cross-sections, tapering top opening with a grove for a door-slab, and a groove for draining rainwater near the opening. Rock-cut graves are usually found grouped into cemeteries cut into bedrock that has been stripped by erosion (Kulov 2002, 107–113). Unlike the practice of carving rock-cut tombs and niches, which was restricted to the Early Iron Age, the tradition of carving rock graves carries on into the Middle Ages. The later rock graves are almost undistinguishable from those of the first millennium BCE. Since these graces are always empty, without any traces of burial, and often quite defaced, they can be difficult to date. Hence the number of rock-cut graves that can be related categorically to Thracian burial practices is small and includes graces near Kovil, Bashtino, Gorna Krepost, and Gorna Kula.

The necropolis near Kovil is located on the summit of the long ridge Ak Kaya. The remains of a Thracian sanctuary from the first millennium BCE have been detected on the rocky elevation in its western end (Kulov 2002, 109, fig. 6).

The grave near Bashtino, Alla Kaya locality, was cut into the top of a naturally-occurring pyramid-shaped volcanic rock and may take advantage of a naturally occurring depression in the stone. The shape of the grave is an irregular rectangle measuring $1.70 \times 1.40 \times 1.86 \times 1.58$ m, and 1.50 m deep. Both wall faces are coarsely worked. Despite its significant size, the absence of an entrance defines the feature as a grave. Interestingly, the modeling of the exterior of the walls makes it appear dolmen-like (Kulov 2002, 108, fig. 5d).

Rock-cut graves with Late Iron Age materials were found in the Perperikon rock-cut complex and near Gorna Kula (Kulov 2002, 111).

A special place among the rock-cut burial structures is occupied by the graves at Tatul and Angel voyvoda, hubs of intricate rock complexes. The graves are situated in the uppermost

sections of cliffs displaying numerous traces of intentional modification. The structures are reached via steps cut into the cliffs; platforms accompanied by steps, niches, channels, and basins have been cut into the nearby cliffs. It is confirmed that these complexes were the site of active human involvement beginning in prehistory and continuing into the Middle Ages, which illustrates continuity of worship at the locations across millennia. Undoubtedly the impressive complexes were distinctly charged ritually and can be defined as rock sanctuaries (Nekhrizov 1999, 28).

Rock-cut niches

Rock-cut niches are the most numerous group of rock-cut megalithic monuments. Unlike rock-cut tombs and rock-cut graves, their distribution is exclusively restricted to the Eastern Rhodopes, and to its central parts in particular. They are distributed across territory including the middle reaches of the Arda River, along with the catchment areas of its tributaries – the Borovitsa, Perpereshka, Varbitsa, and Krumovitsa Rivers – and the upper reaches of Olu Dere (Nekhrizov 1996, 9, fig. 1).

The niches are usually carved into suitable rocks – volcanic tuff, less often sandstones (in the vicinity of Benkovski); some examples of niches cut into limestone (e.g., those by Kralevo) or hard stone (e.g., from the Madzharovo area) are also known. They are normally cut into the vertical face of prominent cliffs, often at a considerable height, and can occur singly or in clusters. There is a marked preference for prominent, visible cliffs, with the niches situated primarily on the sunlit faces; niches are also found in the shade, however. Additionally, some niches are cut into caves (Oreshari-Dishlik dere) (Figure 10.3, 6) or rock crevices below ground level (the Gluhite Kamani complex) hidden from the sun. Quite often niches are located under rock brims that prevent immediate exposure to rainwater (Kulov 2002, 114). Channels cut above the niches, fulfill as recorded in the Gluhite Kamani complex, fulfill a similar function (Nekhrizov et al. 2012, 222, fig. 4b).

Rock-cut niches most commonly have curvilinear expanding chambers, a vertical opening, and a flat floor. These niches range in height from 0.60 to 1.00 m and in depth ca. 0.40–0.45 m; they measure 0.30–0.50 m in width at the base and 0.20–0.40 m in width at the top (Kulov 2002, 112, fig. 8). Individual exceptions are also known (Nekhrizov et al. 2012, 220). Almost all larger complexes include a few structures that deviate from the most popular type with trapezoidal opening: their openings are more properly rectangular or oval, but this shape is often the result of erosion. Examples of horizontal and double niches can also be cited. Although the shape of their opening is again trapezoidal, here it is either horizontally set, or with a double width. Somewhat different are the so-called vaulted niches, which are very rare (Gluhite Kamani). Their chambers repeat the familiar form, but the opening is vaulted and wider (Nekhrizov et al. 2012, 220, fig. 3).

Unfinished niches, abandoned at various stages of carving, are relatively common and offer a good idea of the sequence of niche construction. Once the suitable location was selected, the mason first sketched the entrance frame, usually an isosceles trapezoid; next the rock within the frame is carved out and the chamber is shaped, working from the top to the bottom, while widening and rounding off the space. Once the niche is finished the walls are carefully leveled and smoothed. It is possibly for this reason that tool marks cannot be detected in both rock-cut tombs and niches. Unlike the tombs, however, the carving of the niches into vertical cliff faces, sometimes at a height of more than 50 m, called for considerable skill and safety equipment.

Usually 3–100+ niches are carved into a given cliff face (Figure 10.3). Solitary niches are an exception (Ovchevo, Sbor, Kralevo). The niches are clustered, but the argument for a

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Figure 10.3 Rock niches. 1. Rock niches in the complex "Gluhite kamani," Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 2. Rock niches near Dolno Cherkovishte village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 3. Rock niches near Chukovo village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 4. Rock niches near Nochevo village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov. 5. Rock niches near Bivolyane village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by S. Ivanova. 6. Rock niches in cave near Oreshari village, Eastern Rhodopes. Photo by G. Nekhrizov.

special arrangement within the clusters is weak – the location of the individual structures seems to be a consequence of the availability of suitable surface. Often the niches are carved in clearly marked rows (Figure 10.3, 3–4), yet frequently they are haphazardly scattered along the vertical face (Figure 10.3, 1–2).

To date we know of more than 100 sites with rock-cut niches. In some instances they occupy solitary cliffs (Ardino, Krasino, Chukovo, Chomakovo, Lisitsite, Chavka, Zhenda, Byal kladenets), and others are on rock circlets and in gorges, where the niches are scattered in smaller or larger clusters over dozens of cliffs, sometimes along several kilometers (Sarnitsa, Duzhdovnitsa, Dzhanka, Bezvodno, Raven, Moryantsi, Vransko).

The greatest concentration of rock niches is found in the Gluhite Kamani rock complex (Figure 10.3, 1). Systematic study has revealed a total of 459 niches over 0.25 square kilometers (Nekhrizov et al. 2012, 219). More than 15 clusters of niches cut into the vertical rock walls of the canyon are found near Dolno Cherkovishte, Oreshari and Moryantsi in the Arda River valley, as well as in the gorges of its tributaries. Other more significant concentrations of niches include those from Bezvodno, Sarnitsa, and Nochevo.

The rock-cut niches still await a specialized interdisciplinary analysis. Scholars agree on their association with cult, and link them to Thracian burial beliefs, as well as to solar and rock cult (Welkow 1952, 35; Delev 1982b, 414; Naydenova 1990, 91–93; V. Fol 2000; 2007). The function of these monuments is another matter.

The most widely accepted interpretation associates the niches with Thracian burial rites (Venedikov 1976b, 99, 109; Delev 1984, 30; Nekhrisov 1994, 10; 1999, 26; Kolev 1965, 209; Kulov 2002, 115). The hypothesis that the rock-cut niches, tombs, and graves are functionally related is based not only on their geographically restricted distribution and frequent concurrence within the same sites, but also on the trapezoidal entrances of the niches and the trapezoidal plans, cross- and transverse sections, and entrances of the rock-cut tombs. An additional argument for contemporary use and common function of the rock-cut monuments from the Eastern Rhodopes is supplied by the similarities in their carving and the careful finishing of their interiors. To this we must also add that some niches have a cutting to receive a slab-door, which feature is also present in the entrances of most rock-cut tombs. The idea that the rock-cut tombs, graves, and niches are the principal burial features of the Eastern Rhodopean Thracians is based on the established topographic proximity between those monuments and Thracian sanctuaries, settlements, and fortifications, as well as on the absence of tumuli and flat necropoleis dated to the Early Iron Age in their distribution area (Nekhrizov 1994, 10; 1996, 9). In this connection some scholars propose that while the rock-cut tombs were used by the Thracian aristocracy, the niches received urns with the cremated remains of Thracian commoners, with the niche clusters functioning as necropoleis (Aladzhov 1997, 152; Venedikov 1976b, 109).

Without categorically refuting the link between the rock-cut niches and Thracian burial practices, other scholars subscribe to a different interpretation. They maintain that niche carving was a one-time ritual act and assume that they were used to house sacred objects during particular days associated with a cosmogony or initiation rite (V. Fol 2000, 117; 2007, 284). Based on analogy with rock-cut monuments and complexes from Anatolia and the Mediterranean, the Eastern Rhodopean niches are thus interpreted as epiphany throughways (V. Fol 2007, 284–285) or as symbolic doors to the Afterworld (Kuzmanov 2001, 115). The close parallels between Thracian and Anatolian sites associated with the cult of Phrygian Cybele lead to a hypothesis that associates the local phenomena with the cult of the Mother Mountain as a Great Mother-Goddess hypostasis (A. Fol 1994, 256–264; Vassileva 2001; V. Fol 2007, 300–325).

Several more hypotheses attempting to explain the "Eastern Rhodopean rock-cut niches" phenomenon have also been presented (Kostov 2001). Some scholars hold different opinions

about the chronology of the niches and the other rock-cut features, assigning them to a much earlier date (Raduncheva 1988).

The most commonly distributed Thracian rock-cut monuments – the niches – pose the greatest number of unresolved questions of function and chronology. Potential resolution of these problems will depend on the development of sophisticated, interdisciplinary research projects, that combine cultural and comparative study of these monuments with geological, petrological, and geochemical analyses, among others.

Translated by V. Bineva

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CHAPTER 11

"Ritual Pits"

Rumyana Georgieva

11.1 Introduction[1]

In Bulgarian historical literature the term "ritual pits" denotes archaeological features, occurring singly or in clusters, dug into the earth and situated below or in the embankments of burial mounds, or within sanctuaries or settlements. More specifically, these include pits dug into burial mounds or the ancient terrain, with variable form and content, but no obvious utilitarian purpose. In keeping with their controversial character, such features are described in various ways: some pit complexes are dubbed "fields of ritual pits," "negative features," or "pit sanctuaries," and the pits themselves are defined as "sacrificial," "cult," or "ritual" in character. The number of sites containing such features has risen of late, prompting polemics and encouraging novel approaches to their interpretation.

11.2 Location and Nature

Ritual pits below or in the embankment of burial mounds[2]

There are many examples of pits studied below or within burial mounds. Pits in these locations can be earlier than, contemporary with, or later than the sometimes extremely rich burials located within the tumuli. The pits dug into such tumuli are distinct from both ancient and modern looting trenches with respect to shape, size, and fill; they are secondary to the burial, simultaneous with the mounding, and precede tumulus completion. The most widely known pits of this type come from, for example, two tumuli within the Duvanlii necropolis, Plovdiv District,[3] some of the Istria tumuli, Constanţa County, Romania, and from the tumulus covering the Sveshtari tomb with Caryatids, Razgrad District (Georgieva 1991, 1–3). Pits with a narrow neck and broad bottom, in the shape of a beehive, are prevalent within this group, but there are also cylindrical and conical pits. Their fill consists normally of sterile soil, although some pits contain stones, pottery sherds, charcoal, and ash near the bottom. The interior of some is heavily plastered with clay (Agre 2001, 53), while others

A Companion to Ancient Thrace, First Edition. Edited by Julia Valeva, Emil Nankov, and Denver Graninger.

preserve traces of fire (Filov 1934, 16). The content and location of these pits suggests that they were a constituent element of Thracian commemorative rites (Georgieva 1991, 2–3; Agre 2001, 56).

In addition to pits dug into a tumulus, some were also situated at the base of tumuli (Filov 1934, 12; Agre 2001, 54–55). Other tumuli were built over one or more pits of different size, shape, and content, which had previously been dug into the ancient terrain (Georgieva 1991, 3). In such cases, pits are sometimes associated with hearths, clay platforms, and altars, and are often immediately adjacent to a grave.[4] There are 137 pits below Kralevo mound, Targovishte District, some of which are associated with decorated altars (escharae)[5] and hearths.[6] More than 100 pits of Archaic date were discovered within a space enclosed by a deep ditch and buried under a tumulus overlying the western section of the Aşağı pinar prehistoric settlement near Kırklareli, Kırklareli Province, Turkey.[7] Notably, some mounds constructed over pits contain no burials, while in the rest, the grave is later dug next to or within the tumulus.

Some scholars believe that pits found below tumuli are directly or indirectly associated with the burial, which implies their ritual nature and the intentionality of the mounding act (Georgieva 1991, 3–4; Ginev 2001, 13–16). Their fill is regarded as the material residue of ritual acts, performed on the spot or elsewhere, which may include: the construction of clay altars or use of portable hearths; animal sacrifice; pouring of libations; and sometimes the deposition of sherds from vessels that had been employed during the ritual and later shattered.

The possibility that pits below mounds might be associated with an earlier habitation or use of the area is almost never discussed.[8] A key cause is the absence of extensive surveys of the areas surrounding tumuli, which eliminates the possibility of establishing whether the pits are restricted below the mound or if, as some rare instances illustrate, they are more widespread in the vicinity. Another reason is a product of the lack of a close chronological relationship between the finds included in the pits, the artifacts from the embankment, and the burial inserted in the mound. It is possible to consider chance coincidence of location as an explanation for those instances where several centuries separate the construction of the pits and the mounding of the tumulus or the insertion of a burial within the tumulus, as, for example, in the case of tumuli with Roman age burials erected over Iron Age pits. The date of the mounding of a tumulus, however, is not always clear, nor are the reasons why a particular place was deemed appropriate to receive a tumulus. On the other hand, in those cases where there is a close chronological relationship between pits and a tumulus mounded over them, as at Kralevo, one must ask why a mound would have been erected precisely atop a vacated or destroyed village, with the contemporary but subsequent insertion of a burial in the mound. For such an act would violate the otherwise common practice in Thrace of situating burial mounds on ritually clean places. A third reason for considering pits buried under tumuli as expressions of cult, and not related to settlement, stems from their similarity to a category of features documented in sanctuaries and settlement sites that are currently interpreted as having had a ritual function (see below).

Ritual pits in settlements

Pits found within settlement boundaries are normally associated with subsistence or everyday life. Many garbage, storage, or utility pits are documented on Thracian sites; hence criticism that Bulgarian scholars have misinterpreted precisely such features as ritual is unfounded (Baralis 2008, 140–142). At the same time, dozens of pits with likely non-utilitarian function have been studied at different first-millennium settlement sites, and their interpretation is

complex and diverse. Many of these pits are found at Pistiros, Pazardzhik region, which offers the best opportunity to study intra-mural negative contexts, for the appearance, function, and development of all excavated pits can be thoroughly assessed within the framework of the site's stratigraphy.[9] Many of these pits have a clear utilitarian purpose and are associated with, for example, metal production, the disposal of construction waste, and food storage. Particularly interesting are the pits in the sectors along line B on the excavation grid of Pistiros, situated in the midst of fragments of floors, stone clusters, and escharae. Their fills consist of fragments of clay altars and of everyday objects, as well as large quantities of pottery sherds, many of which are decorated with stamps, graffiti, or other ornament. A comparable complex has been studied along the A5a–A14 line, where escharae with adjacent pits, as well as buried storage vessels (pithoi), are also found. The pits of this complex contain coins, altar fragments, and pottery sherds. The Pistiros excavators believe that the two groups of pits and the associated escharae from the site's second and third occupation phases form a single complex and interpret them as evidence for ritual performance, in which the pits served as repositories for offerings (bothroi) (Archibald 1999, 427–268; Archibald 2002a, 112–118; Lazov 1996, 69–72). Support for this hypothesis is offered by analysis of the eschara surfaces and their immediate vicinity, which offer evidence for the pouring of libations of wine and scented plant oil, accompanied by the nearby offering or burning of grasses and seeds (Stout et al. 2003, 85–88). According to Z. Archibald, interpretation of the pits at Pistiros is further complicated by the presence of a third category of pits, which were in origin utilitarian, but later redefined as depositories for "burying" objects that had been removed from circulation (Archibald 2002a, 116; 2002b, 322–326).

A similar explanation is put forward for some of the Hellenistic pits from Kabyle. They are filled with grey-brown soil, decayed or burned mud brick, ash, charcoal, domestic and building ceramics, fragments of escharae, loom weights, spindle whorls, coins, and, sometimes, animal bones. It is presumed that some of these pits were originally associated with the town's pottery production (one of the pits in sector IX contained almost 20 pottery wasters); some were likely dug to procure material for mud brick, while others, judging by the presence of scattered grains, were likely used for storage. It is established that the pits in the granary (horreum) area were filled simultaneously or within a very short period, ca. 200–175. Excavators assume that the deposition of garbage and construction refuse was not simply a practical necessity, but also symbolically charged, since traces of previous habitation were not simply removed from the site and discarded, but buried in proximity to the granary (Khandzhiyska forthcoming). A complex of pits also existed adjacent to the settlement site of Koprivlen, Blagoevgrad region (see below).

Pits with possible ritual function were unearthed in area 4 of the so-called "Artisans' neighborhood" in the Thracian town near Sboryanovo, commonly identified as ancient Helis, Razgrad region. In an area where normal building remains, hearths, and other features are absent, there are several pits that differ in form and fill from those discovered in other parts of the settlement. They contain black soil, fragments of plaster, pottery sherds with seals and graffiti, and everyday objects. In one, the skeleton of a large dog in anatomical order lays upon a layer mixed with charcoal and animal bones. It is presumed that the digging and filling of the majority of the pits in area 4 was the result of a ritual act performed ca. 275–250 (Stoyanov n.d., 167–172).

Among the most recently discovered examples of non-utilitarian pits within settlement boundaries are those from the Thracian production, cult, and trade center at Halka Bunar near Gorno Belevo, Stara Zagora region, which was active from the seventh to the early third century. Use of the site from the seventh to fifth century is attested only by the pits. Those dating to the Classical period were often dug in the form of vessel shapes and sealed by a layer of clay altars in their upper portion, or contain a clay altar at the bottom. The early Hellenistic

settlement is represented by the remains of several wattle-and-daub residential or utility structures, one with an eschara in the floor, as well as pottery kilns. Various types of pit have been discovered near the houses, some of which are interpreted as sacrificial in function. Their fills include: abundant pottery sherds, some with graffiti; coins; and many iron tools. At the bottom of one such pit, beneath a 70 cm layer of burned plaster, there was revealed a clay platform, covered with ash, charcoal, pottery sherds, charred animal bones, and coins (Tonkova 2002, 148–196; Tonkova and Sideris 2011, 85).

A combination of residences, hearths with unclear context, and many pits of diverse form and content are documented in many settlement sites from Thracian sites located in Romania. While it is presumed that at least a portion of the pits in these sites are ritual, excavators emphasize that distinguishing them from other types of pit can be problematic, since pits are multifunctional features (Sîrbu 1996, 13–15).

Similar pit complexes are also known from the lower reaches of the Vardar (anc. Axios) and Maritsa (anc. Hebros) rivers. Despite the lack of clear traces of residential architecture, they are interpreted variously, as remains, for example, of: subterranean dwellings, as at Karaburnaki, northeastern Greece; storage pits; and garbage pits associated with ceramic production or metalworking installations, as at Fagres, Rizia, and Rigio, also in northeastern Greece (analysis of the northern Greek sites: Ilieva forthcoming). The deposition of destruction debris in preexisting pits, attested at Pistiros and Kabyle, is also known at Fagres.[10]

Ritual pits in sanctuaries

Some of the so-called "ritual pits" are found in sites interpreted as rock sanctuaries or peak sanctuaries. In these locations the pits are situated in a separate place within the temenos, as at the sanctuary near Babyak (Tonkova 2007, 55) or are found associated with other negative features, like ditches, or clay altars (escharae), as in the sanctuary near Tsruntcha in the western Rhodope mountains (Domaradzki 1994, 82–83). It is thought that pits in sites of this category were in use at the same time, some functioning for storage, others for deposition of remnants from sacrifices performed in the sanctuary; their fills include vessel sherds, animal bones, charcoal, and fragments of ritual hearths.

The largest number of "ritual pits," however, have been discovered in the so-called "pit sanctuaries" or "fields of ritual pits." These are scattered over an extensive territory on both sides of the Balkan range (Stara Planina); the apparent concentration of sites of this type in the Thracian lowlands is a consequence of recent, intensive excavations in preparation for large infrastructure projects. More than one hundred sites of this type have been discovered, with the number of pits in each ranging from several dozen to several hundred. The pit complexes are most frequent in the "Maritsa-Iztok" energy complex in the region of Stara Zagora and along the route of new highways that are currently under construction. "Ritual" pits of this type have also been recognized at sites in Romania and elsewhere (Balabanov 2002, 544–545; Bozkova and Nikov 2010, 218; Sîrbu and Peneş 2011, 437–457; Matsumura 2007, 97–110).

Topography and Archaeological Context

"Fields of ritual pits" are found in diverse geomorphological contexts, most commonly on arable land in the vicinity of a water source. In rare instances they are found in a sterile context, devoid of evidence for any additional contemporary activity (Bozkova 2002, 88; Tonkova 1997, 593; Lichardus, Fol, and Getov 2001, 119). Usually their locations are indicated by

broad surface scatters of artifacts, combined with an absence of traces of permanent or perishable building materials, hearths, or other household structures. Artifact concentration on the surface usually points to an underlying pit. Because of this, and also because the artifacts scattered through the humus-type soil are identical to finds in pit fills, such finds are thought to come from destroyed pits. After removal of topsoil, which does not contain cultural deposits, the pits appear as dark spots against the bedrock.[11] Often their arrangement seems deliberate, with a governing spatial organization sometimes characterized by the grouping of several pits around a central pit, distinguished by its size, wealth of inventory, or the character of its fill (Vulcheva 2002, 115–116; Tonkova 2003, 487–491; Tonkova and Savatinov 2001, 99; Tonkova 2010, 202); others appear irregularly set. The distances between the pits are random, with some immediately adjacent to one another; sometimes pits overlap one another, perhaps indicating long-term use of a particular sector of the site. Features made up of several pits with complex outline, interpreted as multicomponent structures with special status, are more rare (Bozkova and Nikov 2010, 217–218). In some pits the assemblage of artifacts seems so haphazard that they are interpreted as "depots" for ritual objects that one day would be used in rites, and so, by extension, would be deposited in other pits (Vulcheva 2002, 113–114; Tonkova 2002, 154–156).

Some sites feature ditches enclosing the space occupied by the pits or isolating the sector with the earliest pits (Vulcheva 2002, 114; Tonkova 2010, 200–202; Lichardus 2001, 136–137). The fill of these ditches resembles the contents of the pits that they enclose; a recent controlled experiment illustrates that, under the combined action of anthropogenic factors, erosion, and sedimentation, a ditch may fill in less than a generation (Lichardus et al. 2001, 31–33). There are also instances of sites where graves are found between pits or in their vicinity; in such cases, graves and pits are sometimes contemporary.[12]

Chronology and Stratigraphy

Initially considered a typical late second- and first-millennium phenomenon, "ritual pits" have recently been recognized on Neolithic, Eneolithic, Bronze Age, Roman, and even Medieval sites. Complexes dating to the second half of the first millennium are most numerous, a finding that may be a consequence of traditional research focus on this period, as well as presumed demographic growth at this time. There are examples of topographic and chronological continuity, including pit complexes in use from the Early through Late Iron Age. The horizontal stratigraphy of the first-millennium sites points to a progressive expansion: the pits of each chronological period are horizontally displaced from their predecessors and successors (Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2012, 181; Tonkova 2010, 199–200). Examples of pits of different age adjacent to one another are also known, however. Although the structure of most of these pits may resemble the result of long-term anthropogenic sedimentation, the majority were backfilled in the course of a single event and not over an extended period. Furthermore, it is established that not all negative features of this type were in fact sealed complexes, as there are many instances of intentional collection of asynchronous objects. As a result, the date of the pit backfill is provided by the most recent artifact (Nekhrizov 2006, 422).

Form, Construction, and Dimensions

The repertoire of pit shapes is quite rich. Often they are classified based on their resemblance to geometric figures (conical, biconical, cylindrical, hemispherical) or everyday objects (beehive, pear-shaped, bell-shaped, barrel-shaped, hour-glass). Although rare, there

Figure 11.1 Pit with the shape of a clay vessel from the archaeological site near the village of Ovchartsi, province of Stara Zagora. Photo by Krasimir Nikov.

are also rectangular,[13] as well as asymmetric pits. Frequently, pits have a narrow opening and a body that rapidly expands in width. Pits from multiple sites reproduce characteristic Iron Age vessel forms (Vulcheva 2002, 105; Tonkova 2010, 202) (Figure 11.1). In some complexes, there are marked preferences, which may change over time, for pits of a particular form, but in general there is no correlation between the form and size of pits and their contents.

According to the specifics of the terrain, or to their original function, some pits are partially or entirely lined with clay (Bonev and Aleksandrov 1993, 1, 28; Vulcheva 2002, 105–106), or are walled up with mud brick (Filov 1934, 16). There are also pits with one or more clay lenses that seal the pit's fill at a certain level, after which use of the pit may continue (Nekhrizov 2006, 400). Sometimes the seal consists of layers of sterile soil (Leshtakov et al. 2006, 141). There are instances of: hearths built on top of filled pits (Bozkova and Nikov 2010, 215); pits with modeled clay hearths or altars at the bottom (Figure 11.2);[14] or deposited fragments of escharae and andirons (firedogs), as well as waste from kilns or domestic ovens (Tonkova and Sideris 2011, 85; Bozkova and Nikov 2010, 215). The most commonly attested practice is the "closing" of pit mouths with fragments of hearths and plaster from floors and walls. In certain cases, stone, either unworked, crushed, or in the form of pebbles and cobbles, is used in their construction: when not included in the fill, stone can be used to pave or line the bottom of a pit, or to frame or cover its mouth (Agre and Dichev 2006, 102). Pithoi with deposits identical to "ritual pits" have also been found occasionally; it is therefore presumed that they functioned identically to such pits, namely, that they were used as ritual structures and not in their typical capacity as storage vessels. Paleobotanical analysis has confirmed the absence of grains in such vessels. Consequently, and also due to the utilization of pithoi fragments in the construction of some pits, the term "pit-pithoi" has been introduced (Vulcheva 2002, 106, 113).

The size of the pits falls within broad ranges; erosion or long-term cultivation has often made it difficult to establish the original depth and diameter at the mouth. Usually the diameter at the level of the bedrock is 0.50–2 m, while that at the bottom is 1–2 m, with a depth of 0.15–1.5 m. There are also cases of shallow pits with much broader necks, as well as features up to 3 m in depth.

Figure 11.2 Pit with clay feature at the bottom (from the site near the town of Lyubimets, province of Haskovo). Photo by Krasimir Nikov.

Contents

Pit fills from the various sites are similar. Sometimes they are homogeneous, consisting of soil that is uniform or varying in color and structure, devoid of artifacts, or nearly so, and in general reminiscent of fertile soil. Pits with fills of this category are considered "empty" and it is presumed that they received libations or other offerings that have left no distinguishable material trace. Common, too, are pit fills deep black in color and "greasy" in texture, characteristics which indicate the presence of the residue of decayed natural fats. Fills of this type almost invariably include irregular concentrations of charcoal; evidence of fire built within pits, however, is extremely rare and, when present, typically occurs at the bottom of the pit. The sedimentation of the rest of the pits displays features determined by both site topography and recurrent filling strategy: charcoal, intact vessels, intact or fragmented hearths, and osteological finds are found near the pit bottom and stones and plaster fragments by the mouth. The fill is dark brown to gray-black in color, markedly different from the nearby soils and mixed with a broad range of materials, including: fine pieces of burnt clay, ash, and charcoal; fragments of wall plaster with distinct rod or plank imprints; remains of domestic ovens or manufacturing kilns; fragments of decorated escharae; andirons; carefully arranged vessels; pottery sherds; household items, such as loom weights, spindle whorls, and grinding stones; tools, like stamps for decorating pottery, awls made from antler, knives, and chisels; coins; fragments of metal vessels; intact or fragmented trinkets; idols and miniature cult figurines; and stones. Vessel sherds deposited within these pits are purposefully selected, with a marked preference for those with ornament, graffiti, or a stamp. Fragments of the same vessel are frequently recovered within different pits at a considerable distance from one another. Paleobotanic analysis reveals that pit fills seldom contain charred wood, usually oak, or edible plants; among the latter, wheat, barley, millet,

rye, peas, lentils, vetch grains, grape seeds, and wild fruit pits are all known (Vulcheva 2002, 113; Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2008, 334).

Many pits contain animal bones, mostly from domesticated animals, like sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs; isolated pits preserve the remains of one or more species and individuals. Finds of fish, mollusks, and game animals, as well as of inedible plants, are relatively rare. It is supposed that the bones of edible animal species represent the leftovers of ritual food. Whole animals were also deposited in the pits. Most commonly these include dogs, less often horses and other species; they are deposited in anatomical order or dismembered. Bones and skeletons are recovered at different levels, among vessel sherds, household items, ash, and charcoal.[15] The presence of animal bone in these contexts is suggestive of ritual killing of animals in Thracian funerary practice. There are recorded instances of buried sucklings, including species commonly consumed by humans, like pigs and deer, as well as others, like dogs. Some scholars argue that this practice is analogous to some ritual elements attested for the Greek Thesmophoria or Attic Skirophoria.[16]

Pits with human bones comprise a special category. The fill of these pits is identical to the fills present in other categories of pit, including, for example, soil, ash, charcoal, and pottery sherds; such pits maintain their normal appearance even after being used for burial. The human remains belong to persons of different sex and age, with a greater frequency of Infans I and Infans II individuals in some regions (Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2012, 182–183). The number of individuals buried in a pit varies; occasionally they are accompanied by animal bones, fruits, and grains (Tonkova 2010, 208). Most common are individual human bones, usually skull components.[17] There are also instances of the bones of one or more individuals arranged in anatomical order, as well as human bodies that have been dismembered, sometimes by slashing, and placed in the pit prior to flesh decomposition.[18] Additionally, there are finds of one or more perfectly preserved skeletons, usually placed in an abnormal position, most commonly face down, as well as bodies with confirmed traces of violent death.[19] Infrequently, there are discovered around some individuals: personal items, like clothing pins (fibulae); household items, such as spindle whorls and loom weights; cult figurines; and andiron sherds. Pits with human remains, however, constitute a negligible share of the total number of pits within a single site. On the basis of archaeological evidence and written sources on Thrace and the Thracians, many scholars have recently suggested that these pits preserve human sacrifices. It is assumed that these were rare incidents and only performed under exceptional circumstances.[20] Another opinion holds that the apparent taboo on burying young children within Thracian cemeteries is one of the possible reasons for the discovery of those individuals in the Early Iron Age pits (Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2008, 316). Additionally, it is assumed that individual human bones in some pits might have been removed from bodies that had decayed elsewhere.[21]

So far the human remains in the so-called "ritual pits" have not been considered remains of intramural burials, not only because these pits are regarded as ritual in function, but also because such a hypothesis fails to address many questions, such as: why are the examples so rare; why would these burials be placed within the possible boundaries of a settlement; what was the status of the people inserted in the pits; why are the human remains anatomically incomplete; why are there cut marks on the bones; what is the criminal or ritual reason for the violent death; why are the human remains buried in already established pits with household, manufacturing, garbage, or ritual function, and not in grave pits.

11.3 Interpretation and Discussion

The first scholar to mention "ritual pits" in Thrace was Bogdan Filov, in relation to the Duvanliy necropolis near Plovdiv, where one of the tumuli yielded over 100 "sacrificial" pits, in his interpretation (Filov 1934, 16). The Duvanliy pits, alongside those discovered in

approximately 20 other locations, were systematically studied as a group in the 1990s (Georgieva 1991, 1–10). It is hypothesized that they have a ritual character and that the activities associated with their construction and fill represent an expression: of fertility cult, in the case of those features occurring outside of cemeteries; and of cult of the dead, in the case of pits below and in tumulus embankments. Pit complexes outside settlements and cemeteries are labeled open-air sanctuaries, in which the pit is a kind of primitive altar; different kinds of Thracian cult sites are included in this list (Domaradzki 1994, 81). Subsequent studies list the likely deities to which such pits were dedicated: Cybele, the Great Mother-Goddess, and Hecate (Fol 2007, 334–338; Balabanov 2002, 543). The presence in isolated pits of buried remains of human bodies in disturbed anatomical order or with proven traces of violent death can be interpreted as the remains of human sacrifices, which were carried out in exceptional circumstances (Tonkova 2009, 503–522). Comparison with ritual practices from territories neighboring Thrace has inspired suggestions that the form of cult demonstrated in the "pit sanctuaries" is related to worship of motherhood, fertility, and renewing nature that is traditional to the eastern Mediterranean (Kotova 1995, 82–86, 137–149).

The presence of "ritual pits" within the limits of rock sanctuaries, in the "sacred sectors" of certain settlement sites, as well as in the embankment of individual tumuli, is currently undisputed. The disparity, however, between the number of so-called "ritual sanctuaries" and that of excavated first-millennium settlements arouses skepticism and suggests that pits found in such complexes should be regarded as settlement remains or that they should not be uniformly interpreted.[22] Nevertheless, despite the lack of adequate answers to many of the questions that pit complexes pose, their ritual function is generally agreed upon.

Pits almost always have a primary and a secondary function; establishing a distinction between the two is an important condition for defining the nature of each site (Lichardus et al. 2001, 216–217). Therefore, attempts to formulate categorical criteria for the assignment of pits into utilitarian and non-utilitarian categories are destined to fail, as the analysis of the form and fill of each pit rarely provides clear evidence about their original purpose, which may have been: to extract soil; for drainage, storage, or garbage disposal; in relation to some industry; or solely for the purpose of some ritual. To date, despite established horizontal and vertical stratigraphy on some sites, neither the relationship between these pits with respect to location and date, nor their hypothetical link to ground structures within sites exclusively made of pits can be comprehensively discerned. In the absence of traces of any kind of architecture above the pits, it is impossible to decide whether they were located outside or inside the limits of some buildings or settlement sites, and thus the question of whether the pits with remains of human and animal remains, assuming that these died of natural causes and not as the result of ritual killing, for example, were ever intra- or extra-mural is still open. The recurrent content of pits points to a uniform process of filling, but it is unclear whether this was a one-time event or happened over an extended period; there is similar uncertainty about whether the artifacts included in the fill were accidentally or intentionally selected. Nor is there any clear-cut answer to questions like: why some pits concentrated within small areas were enclosed by a deep ditch, with fill identical to that of the pits; why domestic life, represented by so many luxury items in the pit fills, lacks associated settlement and residential architecture; why some pits were built immediately next to escharae and contain large quantities of andirons and ritual hearths, which are otherwise found only in ritual settings within settlements and cemeteries; why at the bottoms of others ritual hearths have been modeled or deposited; why the pits received materials from different ages; why were high value and still circulating currencies cast in the pits; why are decorated or inscribed vessel sherds prevalent; why are pieces of the same ceramic vessel found in pits spaced far apart; why were some of the items deposited in the pits still good for use; why, if so many

dogs were kept, meaty kitchen leftovers were deposited in the pits; why, against all basic rules of hygiene, were humans and animals buried close to possible residences; why are victims of natural or violent death, or human remains in general, found in archaeological contexts resembling trash disposal containers.

One of the few possible answers to the questions formulated above is based on the hypothetical existence of an invisible boundary between profane and sacred, rational and irrational, which, during the period of study, allowed apparently incompatible structures with utilitarian and non-utilitarian content to exist in immediate proximity to one another or led to a ritualization of everyday activities. The fact that non-utilitarian pits are found in a growing number of Thracian urban centers supports the idea that the complexes defined as "pit sanctuaries" might be remains of settlements, from which only the pits with different functions, some of which were obviously created or reused for non-utilitarian ends, are preserved. While such a formula would permit the definition of a considerable portion of the pits as ritual, as in the case of, for example, the pits with human remains, those with escharae or andirons built in them or built nearby, those containing cult figurines, precious deposits, and even those used for "burying" artifacts and features after the end of their use-life,[23] it cannot convincingly explain the purpose of the rest.

Translated by Valeria Bineva

NOTES

1 All dates referring to ancient monuments or events are BCE unless otherwise noted.

2 Recent classification of the pits according to their character and location: Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2012, 178.

3 The pits are detected in Kukova and Bashova tumuli. Those in Kukova mound are of the beehive type, with a diameter of 0.50–2.50 m and a depth of up to 2 m. Most of those are reportedly empty, with just some ash, charcoal, animal bones, pottery sherds, a coin, and, in two instances, pieces of human bone near the bottom (Filov 1934, 12–16, 59).

4 Certain clay plastered platforms are interpreted as altars; they have a diameter of 1.5–2 m, bordered by an edge 8 cm wide and 10–35 cm tall along the periphery (Agre 2001, 53).

5 An eschara is a low clay platform, nearly square, and decorated. Escharae are found at many Hellenistic sites throughout Thrace, typically in roofed spaces and in both rural and urban sites with special status, as well as in funerary contexts (Krasteva 2011, 271–294).

6 The Kralevo tumulus is 6.5 m high and 38–40 m in diameter. The pits in its base are dug into the sterile soil, with a diameter at the mouth of 0.60–3.20 m and a depth of 0.15–1.45 m. The subsequent layer is 0.70–0.75 m thick and contains anthropogenic materials, including eight escharae and 19 hearths scattered over different layers and locations. The site is interpreted as a cult complex, functioning from the second half of the fourth to the end of the first quarter of the third century, when it was covered by a tumulus. Sometime in the second quarter of the third century, a grave for a Thracian nobleman was dug near this mound and both the grave and the original mound were combined below a common embankment (Ginev 2001, 8, 41).

7 The ditch is 3 m deep and 7 m wide and traces a perimeter 100 m in length. The pits contain intact forms and sherds, animal skeletons and select animal bones, and small metal artifacts. The complex was created between the eighth and the sixth centuries. Materials for the mound, measuring 38 m in diameter, were extracted in part from the remains of a nearby Chalcolithic settlement; the mound was later flattened to the ground and destroyed. There is no evidence of a burial below the mound. The site is interpreted as a sacred place (Özdoğan 2001, 59–60).

8 One of the exceptions is a Roman age tumulus from the area of Didymoteicho, Evros regional unit, Greece, with four pits filled with wall plaster pieces preserving post imprints, animal bones, flint blades, bone tools, spindle whorls, and pottery sherds. The pits are considered garbage pits,

suggestive of nearby Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlement, which may have provided the soil used in the first layer of the tumulus (Triandaphyllos and Terzopoulou 1995, 473–485).

9 For a synthetic treatment of the Pistiros pits, see Karadzhinov forthcoming.

10 At Fagres, excavations revealed many pits with likely utilitarian function. Those of the first half of the sixth century are filled with animal bones, fragments of building materials, and domestic pottery, with sherds from one vessel often scattered in pits at a considerable distance from one another. Destruction remains are deposited in preexisting pits and it is believed that the cause of the destruction is some natural cataclysm in the early fifth century: see Nikolaidou-Patera 1996, 835–844.

11 There are instances of pits recognized only after the humus layer is removed by means of heavy excavating machinery during development or other activities, which results in the loss of information about their archaeological context.

12 For an example of Early Iron Age graves found within a fifth to first half of the fourth century pit complex in the Malko Tranovo site, see Bozkova and Nikov 2010, 141–143.

13 Pits with walls lined with clay and set on fire (2.2 × 1.7 × 0.40 m) are found at Koprivlen: Vulcheva 2002, 105; cf. Balabanov 1999, 69.

14 Among the most intriguing examples in this category is the feature modeled at the bottom of a pit from the mid fifth century in the Dana Bunar 2 site (excavated by K. Nikov, unpublished), located on the left bank of the Maritsa River near Lyubimets; see also Khristova 2009, 58–61.

15 Dogs, a pig, and a horse are found at Koprivlen (Vulcheva 2002, 111–112); dogs and a hare in Svilengrad, Haskovo region (Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2012, 181–182); a dog and a deer in Malko Tarnovo, Burgas region (Tonkova 2010, 208).

16 In the Skirophoria, small animals were cast into pits or chasms and in the autumn their remains later were mixed with the sowing seeds; in the Thesmophoria, sacrificial animals were placed together with sacred objects and images rendered in dough; see, most recently, Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2012, 192.

17 Isolated skull bones are found at: Debelt, Burgas region; Bagachina, Montana region; and Yabalkovo, Haskovo region. From Koprivlen, mixed remains of three adult individuals were found in one pit and a child mandible in another. Mixed bones of at least five children were recovered from Malko Tarnovo; from Gledachevo, Stara Zagora region, bones from a man and a child were retrieved.

18 The skeleton of a two-year-old child, missing the pelvis and the lower extremities, was found at Malko Tranovo; adult male bone fragments and the lower extremities of a child are known from Gledachevo; the skeleton of a man with no legs was discovered at Debelt; severed arms were found at Yabalkovo.

19 At Gledachevo, there was found a skeleton of a girl buried alive face down, while a man with a blade in his chest is known from Durankulak, Dobrich region; see Tonkova 2009, 503–522, with the cited literature.

20 Tonkova 2009, 503–522; Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova 2012, 182–183. Similar examples come also from Romania, where, in Early Iron Age "household" pits (Babadag III phase), full and partial skeletons have been found. There is an ongoing discussion whether these pits represent normal funerary practice or human sacrifice; see Irimia 2003, 251–268.

21 It is assumed that some Thracian dead were buried by leaving corpses in the open (Sîrbu 1997, 199–200) or depositing them in a temporary grave until decay was complete, after which the human remains were discarded or transported to a permanent grave or elsewhere (Georgieva 2003, 316–317).

22 In recent years, pit complexes are among the most carefully studied archaeological sites in ancient Thrace. The large number of recent discoveries has prompted several discussions dedicated to their interpretation from new perspectives: see "Problems of Thracian Archaeology, the Record of the Round Table Discussion," in Maritsa-Iztok. Archaeological Research, edited by Ivan Panayotov, Boris Borisov, and Rumyana Georgieva, vol. 5, 238–241. Radnevo: Archaeological Museum "Maritsa-Iztok" and Archaeological Expedition "Maritsa-Iztok"; Popov 2007, 35; Baralis 2008, 148.

23 According to V. Sîrbu, pits with remains of human and animal burials, cult figurines, deposits of tools, arms, trinkets, intact vessels, coins, and hearth remains should be considered as ritual in function (Sîrbu and Florea 2000, 89–90).

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GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

Beginning in the 1990s, many articles appeared, consisting of publications of dozens to hundreds of "ritual pits" and syntheses on the monuments assigned to this category: Georgieva 1991; Paunov, Evgeni. 1998. "Zhertveni i ritualni yami v Drevna Trakiya: izvori, razprostranenie i opit za interpretatsiya," in Stipendianti na Fondatsiya "Otvoreno obshtestvo" za 1997. Sofia, 4–12; Archibald 1999; Balabanov 2002; Tonkova 2003; Konova, Lyubava. 2007. "Sveshtenodeistviya 'po obichaya na predtsite.' Kam interpretatsiyata na yamnoto svetilishte v mestnostta Kostadin cheshma pri s. Debelt," Annali, 1–3: 9–24; Hawthorne, K., V. Varbanov, and D. Dragoev. 2011. "Thracian Pit Sanctuaries: Continuity in Sacred Space," in Early Roman Thrace. New Evidence from Bulgaria, edited by Ian P. Haynes, Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 82. Portsmouth, RI, 59–83. The number of publications on the subject is growing exponentially. Most studies present newly discovered complexes of "ritual pits," promptly accompanied by the first critiques of the one-sided interpretation of these sites: Baralis 2008.

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CHAPTER 12

Tomb Architecture

Daniela Stoyanova

12.1 Introduction

The ancient Thracians practiced both inhumation and cremation in the posthumous care of the dead. The remains were deposited in various burial structures that ranged from simple pits dug into the ground to various built graves and clay or stone sarcophagi, including sophisticated monumental chamber tombs, which are found buried beneath a mound. Although at present non-tumular cemeteries are scarce, this likely reflects the priorities of modern excavators rather than the unpopularity of the practice in antiquity. The central focus of this chapter will be the architecture of the monumental chamber tombs, which are the largest and most sophisticated burial constructions, designed for one or more individuals, and probably their close kin. It is difficult to define the monumental Thracian tomb in a manner that includes the multiple aspects and impressive diversity of the plans, shapes, roofing, building material, construction techniques, façades, and both interior and exterior decoration attested in the more than 200 monuments studied to date. In the most general terms, such a definition might read: a built chamber tomb, erected on the local terrain and buried under a mound, utilizing various roof styles, including flat roofs, pitched roofs, corbel vaults or domes, and barrel vaults. This chapter will also discuss tombs that share the same plan as the monumental tombs buried beneath tumuli, but have been cut into the ground. The geographical distribution of the monumental tombs is limited primarily to northeastern Thrace and southern Thrace.

Monumental chamber tombs are rare before the middle of the fourth century.[1] The earliest such tomb currently known is found at Ruzhitsa (Elhovo municipality) and dated to the first half of the fifth century (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming). It is followed by tombs at Ruets, Razgrad region (late fifth century), and Eriklice, Kırklareli region, Turkey (ca. 350). The true flourishing of Thracian tomb architecture is reached between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third centuries, after which there is incidental reuse of older tombs, as at Maglizh and Sarafova Mound, and the occasional construction of new monumental tombs.[2] The maintenance of these architectural traditions can be traced in some tombs from the Roman period near Malko Tarnovo in the Strandzha mountains of

A Companion to Ancient Thrace, First Edition. Edited by Julia Valeva, Emil Nankov, and Denver Graninger.

southeastern Bulgaria (Delev 1985; Rousseva 2000, 85–108; Agre 2005, 106–109) as well as the area of Bizye (Mansel 1939, 155–172).

The reasons for the emergence and diffusion of Thracian monumental tombs during this period are to be sought in common tendencies in the development of tomb architecture in the eastern Mediterranean; this process was also assisted by the incorporation of some Thracian territory within the dynamic history of the region as a result of the eastward expansion of the Macedonian state and the role that Thracian elites played in these events.

Different factors influenced the choice of overall plan and individual room shapes, the degree of articulation between different spaces within the tomb complex, the use of painted decoration, and the roofing. There are instances of both isolated monuments, associated with small local centers or key strategic points, and larger groups of built tombs, associated with the great political centers in Thrace, such as: the Getic capital Helis near Sveshtari in northeastern Thrace; Seuthopolis, near Kazanlak; the region of the Panagyurska Sredna Gora Mountains between Strelcha, Starosel, and Rozovets; and the dynastic center in the Chirpan uplands (as marked by the tomb of Bratya Daskalovi: Tonkova and Ivanov 2011, 10–17). The most popular types were the domed and the barrel-vaulted tombs; the former had a long history before its adoption in Thrace, while the arrival of the latter follows upon its conception and development in Macedonia, the popularity of which in Macedonia influenced Thracian practice during Lysimachus' time (cf. Valeva 2013, 52, 57–58). These two types of tomb were also best able to withstand the pressure of tons of earth mounded upon them.

Detailed studies of Thracian tombs began in the 1930s and 1940s with the publication of the formidable complex from the Mal-tepe tumulus, near Mezek, and of the evidence from other tombs in the Mezek (Filov 1937; Stoyanov 2005; Theodossiev and Stoyanova 2010) and Kırklareli areas (Mansel 1943; Onurkan 1988; Theodossiev 2011). In 1970s and 1980s,

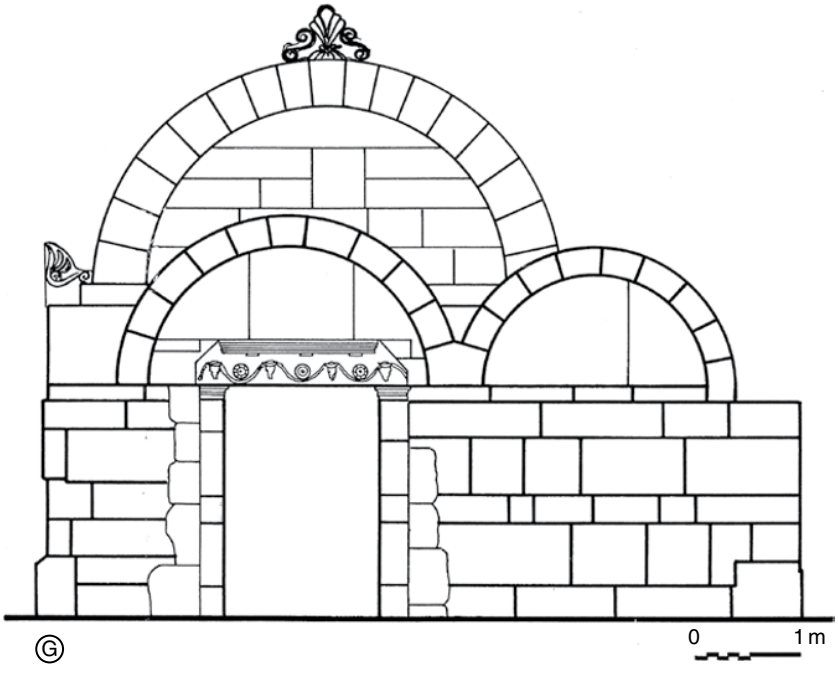

Figure 12.1 The façade of the Tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari. Drawing by Daniela Stoyanova based on a drawing by Stefan Goshev.

a spate of new evidence from recent excavations fueled broader synthesizing approaches to the study of tomb architecture (Venedikov and Gerasimov 1979, 63–76). Key questions posed in those studies concerned the origin of both the Thracian domed tombs and their plans. Of particular value is the discovery of the royal tomb with Caryatids from Sveshtari (Fol et al. 1986) (Figures 12.1–12.2; also Figures 13.2–13.3). The 1990s and 2000s brought to light impressive examples of tomb architecture from the Kazanlak valley (Kitov 2005a) and the Panagyurishte Sredna Gora Mountains (Kitov 2003a; 2003b), among other locations, thus expanding considerably our knowledge of all aspects of funerary architecture. This is reflected by the publications of individual monuments, such as the tombs: at Alexandrovo (Haskovo municipality) (Kitov 2009); in Ostrusha mound (Shipka municipality) (Valeva 2005a); and at Gagovo (Popovo municipality) (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012). Several studies from this period well summarize these new discoveries (Valeva 1994; Archibald 1998, 283–303; Rousseva 2002; Theodossiev 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Stoyanova 2007a, 2007b).

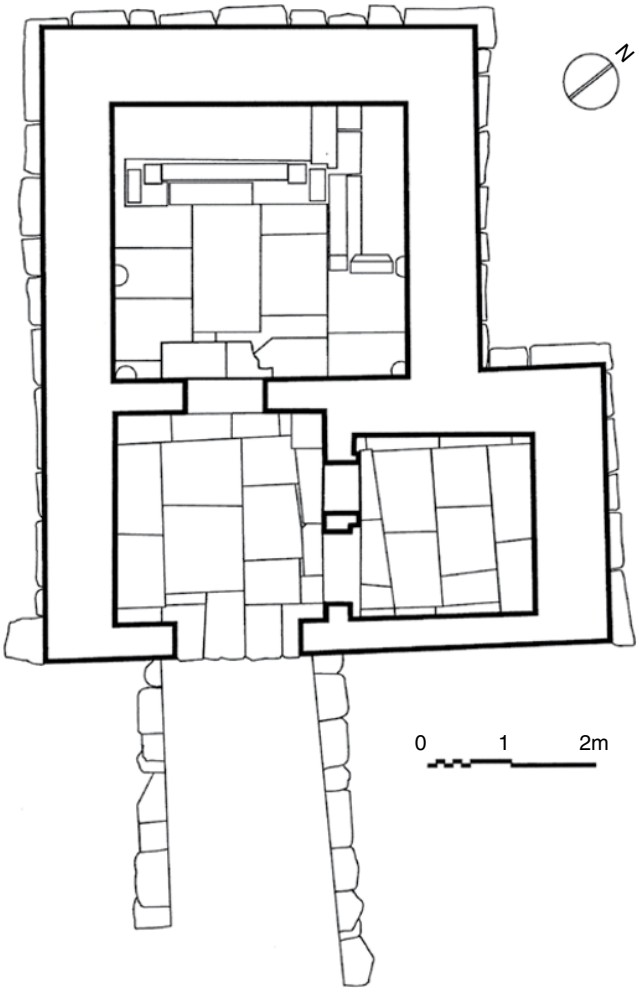

Figure 12.2 Ground plan of the Tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari. Drawing by Daniela Stoyanova based on a drawing by Stefan Goshev.

12.2 Problems of Chronology

The exact dating of the Thracian tombs is hindered by several key factors. First, a large portion of the monuments were looted already in antiquity or more recently, and so very few complexes preserve diagnostic artifacts delivering a reliable absolute date. Hence, the second factor: in light of the positive evidence for reuse of the most representative monuments, the preserved inventory might date some of the use-phases or periods of operation, but not the construction date or end of the tomb's use-life. Only minute analysis of the evidence gives a well-founded date: a good example is the use of amphora stamps to establish a mid-fourth-century date for the original burial in the Slavchova mogila tomb near the village of Rozovo in the Kazanlak district (Tzochev 2009, 58, fig. 2). Third, the incomplete and unsatisfactory publications of the excavated monuments have rendered impossible the creation of a reliable database of the elements borrowed from Greek architectural orders and used in some Thracian tombs. Such a database is essential and could help to establish a relative chronology within this group of monuments and thus narrow the range of possible construction dates for individual tombs. The fascinating potential of such an approach is illustrated by the analyses of the tomb with Caryatids in Sveshtari, the exact construction date of which, at the end of the first or beginning of the second quarter of the third century, was determined by identifying well-dated Greek order elements in its architecture (Chichikova 1988; Valeva 1993; Stoyanova 2008a; Chichikova 2012).

A final complication is that in Thrace the graves of even the most prominent elite either were not marked by identifying inscriptions or such information was inscribed on material that has now perished. At present the only exception to this rule is provided by the tomb from Smyadovo, where the façade's architrave is inscribed "Gonimasedze, wife of Seuthes" and may identify the deceased (Rabadjiev forthcoming; for an alternate reading of the inscription, see Chapter 17 in this volume). One must nevertheless ask how plausible the association of certain monuments with specific historical figures can be. The tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari, for example, has been linked to the most prominent Getic king, Dromichaites (Stoyanov 1998). Golyama Kosmatka tomb near the modern town of Shipka has been identified as the last resting place of Seuthes III, founder of Seuthopolis, based on the discovery of a bronze male head at the opening of the tomb's dromos similar in profile to the portrait depicted on the coinage of Seuthes III, and assumed to represent the king; additional finds from inside the tomb are inscribed with the name Seuthes (Kitov 2005a, 68 and 2005b, 41; Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming; Nankov 2011). Such an identification is called into question by the construction phases of the monument, the presence of artifacts within the tomb that considerably postdate the likely date of Seuthes III's death, and the wealth of other representative monuments in the area in which the king could have been buried (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming; cf. Saladino 2012–2013).

12.3 The Tumulus and Access to the Tomb

Thracian tombs, as a rule, are built on the ancient terrain[3] and are covered by a substantial embankment of soil, sometimes layered or mixed with crushed stone. Sections of excavated tumuli reveal the consecutive layers of the mound. The krepis at the base of the mound is not a typical element of a Thracian tumulus. There are, nevertheless, striking examples of such architecture. At Mal-tepe, excavators documented a massive krepis 5 m thick at the base of a mound measuring 90 m in diameter. Regrettably, this remarkable structure is not visible today (Filov 1937, 2, 7, figs. 3–4; Stoyanov 2005, 123–126, fig. 2). The recently explored

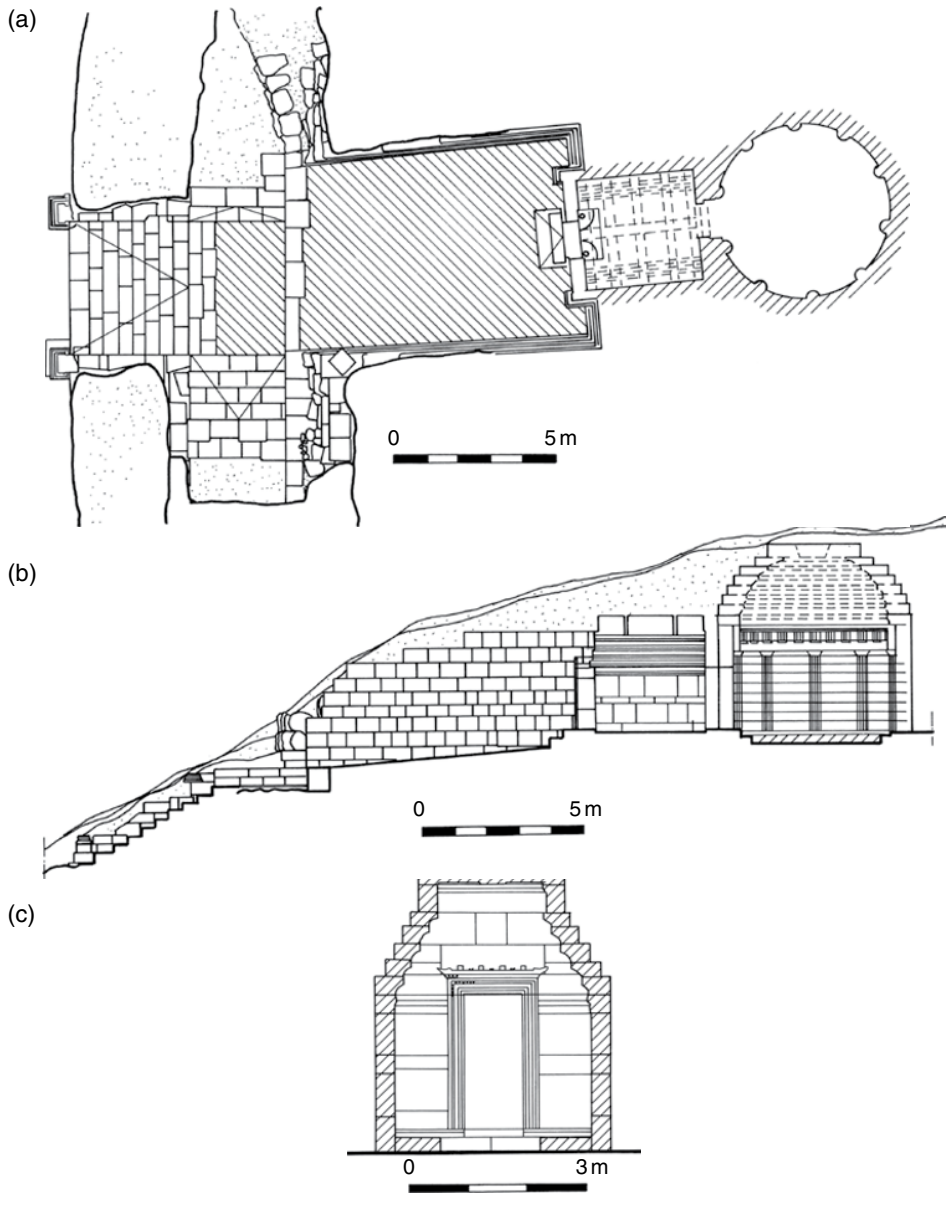

Figure 12.3 The tomb in Chetinyova mound at Starosel: (a) ground plan; (b) cross-section along the long axis; (c) transverse cross-section of the antechamber with view of the Ionic doorframe of the burial chamber. Drawings by Daniela Stoyanova based on a drawing by Maya and Boyko Buzhashki.

Chetinyova mogila near Starosel (Figure 12.3), 80 m in diameter, preserves a krepis standing to a height of 3.5 m, which, in the opinion of the excavator, may once have stood 5 m high (Kitov 2003a, 9, figs. 1–2, 10).

Tumuli normally house a single tomb. Very few examples of two or more burial structures in one mound are known. At Zhaba mogila near Strelcha, one tomb is located near the

southwestern edge of the mound, another near the northwestern edge (Kitov 1979, 4–5, 12–13). Three tombs are located in Mogilanska mogila near Vratsa (Torbov 2005, 28–39, map I, figs. 5–6) and there are two tombs in the Branichevo mound (Shumen district) (Dremsizova 1958, 453, fig. 10). While the mounding of a tumulus was usually contemporary with tomb construction, there are also examples of structures built in previously prepared tumuli. Sometimes, when the original plan of a tomb was later enlarged, the tumulus too was enlarged, as appears to have been the case in the Maglizh tomb (Getow 1988, 16). Quite often publications fail to provide the exact location of the tomb within the mound; on the basis of available data, preferred locations for the tomb are the center of the embankment or closer to its eastern or southern edge, less often near its western edge. There is no consistent pattern of orientation of the Thracian tombs with regard to road systems or other circumstances (cf. Miller 1993, 7). The typical tumulus is conical or semi-spherical, but quite often the original form has been altered by later interventions. Both the diameter and height of the tumuli covering monumental tombs vary. The biggest mounds can reach a height of 20 m and extend 70–90 m in diameter. It should be stressed, however, that tumulus size does not necessarily indicate the presence of a monumental structure. A number of large burial mounds without tomb are known, while at the same time there are very modest mounds sheltering extremely impressive architectural complexes. An example of the latter is the recently discovered tomb from Gagovo, northeastern Thrace, buried under a tumulus measuring 5 m in height and 60 m in diameter (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 43, figs. 3–4, 6). It is nevertheless clear that the most evocative Thracian tombs were associated with colossal embankments, as in the case of the tomb in the Mal-tepe mound near Mezek and Zhaba mogila near Strelcha, among others.

In addition, the placement of tombs within tumuli likely affected accessibility, with tombs near the center of a mound requiring a longer dromos than those placed near the edge. The dromoi are executed in: ashlar masonry, like the Mal-tepe (Filov 1937, 10, figs. 5, 6) and Alexandrovo tombs (Kitov 2009, 13, figs. 8–9); or roughly-hewn stone masonry, as in the Golyama Kosmatka and Helvetia tombs near Shipka (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming), among others; or mud brick, like the tomb from Gagovo (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 59–61, figs. 9, 64–65). The dromos roofing might be flat and built of stone slabs, as in the tomb from Alexandrovo (Kitov 2009, 13, fig. 4), or corbeled, as in the Mal-tepe tomb (Filov 1937, 10, figs. 6–7). Dromos roofs might also be constructed of wood, as in the Maglizh (Getow 1988, 12–13) and Golyama Kosmatka tombs (Kitov 2005a, 70), and occasionally combined with pan and cover tiles, as in the tomb from the Griffin mound (Kitov 2003c, 307, figs. 5–6). Dromoi could also be simply left unroofed, as in the Helvetia tomb (Kitov 2008, 112–113, fig. 147). There are documented examples of later modifications to dromos plans, including: extension, as in the Maglizh tomb (Getow 1988, 11–13, fig. 3); narrowing, as in the tomb under the Griffin mound (Kitov 2003c, 307); or addition of new rooms at its entrance, as in the Mal-tepe tomb (Stoyanov 2005, 125, fig. 2), or laterally along the course of the dromos, as in the Maglizh tomb (Getow 1988, 11, fig. 3). Especially interesting is the case of the Golyama Kosmatka and Gagovo tombs. In its original plan, the Golyama Kosmatka tomb lacked a built dromos, featuring a monumental façade and entrance to the antechamber instead. At a later stage the original façade received a dromos culminating in a second monumental façade (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming) (Figure 12.4). In its first construction phase, the Gagovo tomb was approached through an open, unroofed area in front of a façade, framed by two mud brick, lateral walls (Figure 12.5a). In the second construction phase the open area was blocked up by a solid mud brick structure within which a dromos was fashioned (Figure 12.5b). The face of the mud brick structure was modeled as a smooth façade wall (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 43–62, figs. 8–9, 65) (Figure 12.6). It is also possible that some dromoi were executed in perishable materials like mud brick or consisted of rough, unbuilt passages into the embankment that could be backfilled with various materials and

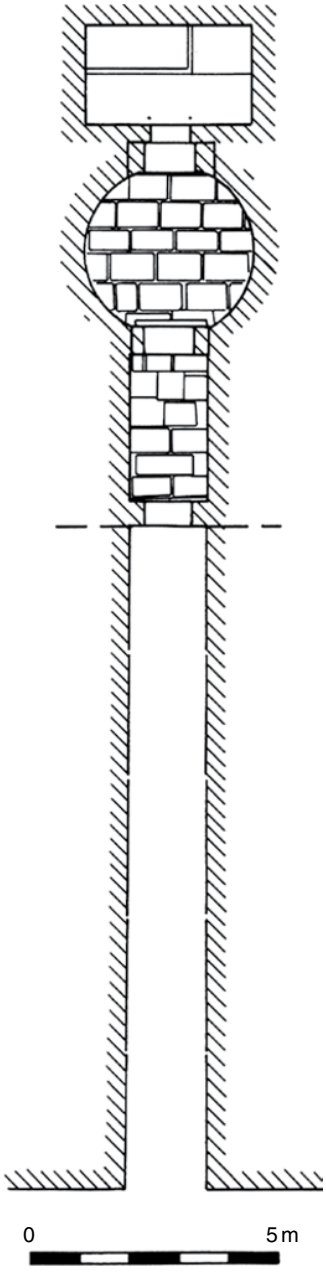

Figure 12.4 Ground plan of the tomb in Golyama Kosmatka mound. Drawing by Daniela Stoyanova based on a drawing by Maya and Boyko Buzhashki.

opened on demand. Macedonian tombs offer support for this hypothesis (Miller 1993, 5–6). The floor of the dromoi in Thracian tombs was flat or slightly sloping, sometimes with steps, as in the dromos of the Naip tomb (Delemen 2004, fig. 16: 2006, 253, figs. 2, 4). The flooring might be of stone slabs, dirt mixed with rubble, or beaten earth.

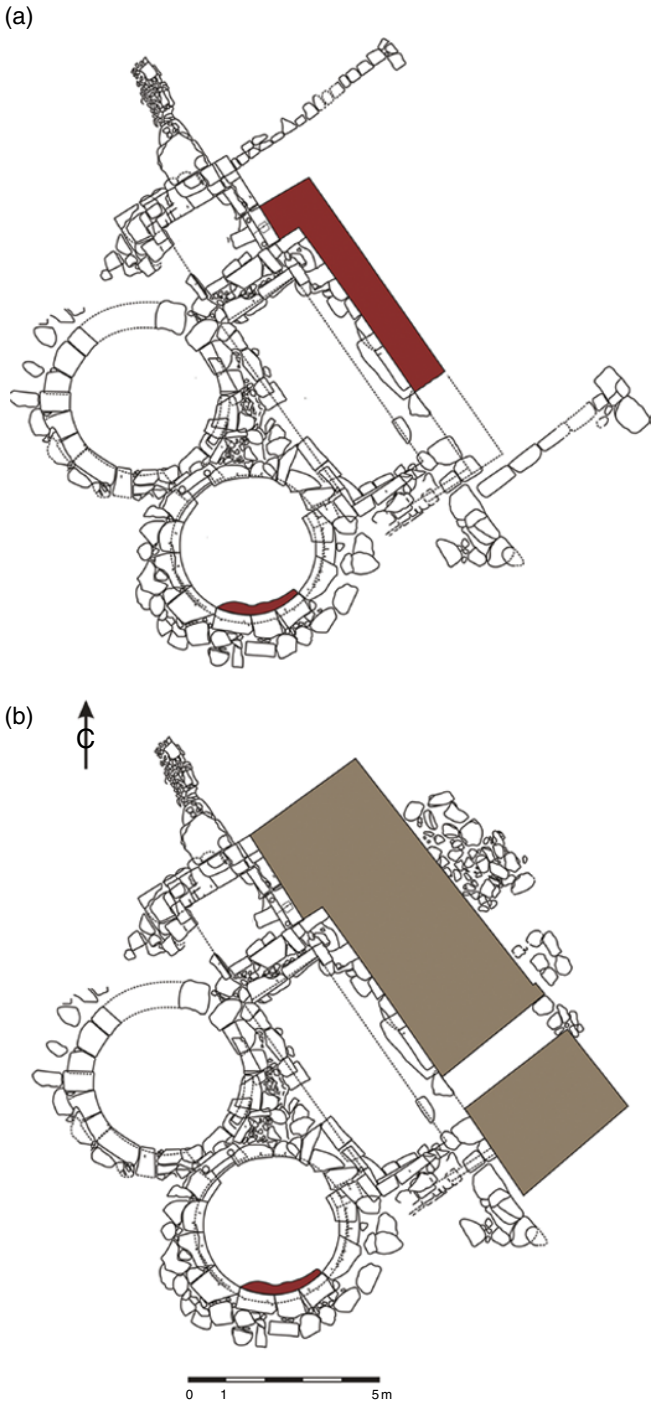

Figure 12.5 The Gagovo tomb: (a) ground plan of the tomb, first building phase; (b) ground plan of the tomb, second building phase. Drawings by Daniela Stoyanova and Nikola Rusev.

Figure 12.6 Mud brick façade of Gagovo tomb, second building phase. Photo by Nikola Russev.

It is likely that, when tombs were located close to the edge of the tumulus, the space in front of them was left open, at least for a time, and that either plain, massive façades, as in the case of the Golyama Arsenalka tomb (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming) were installed, or such open space was formally articulated by the construction of walls perpendicular to the tomb, built with stone masonry or mud brick. The Shushmanets tomb, near the town of Shipka (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming) has such an open space defined by stone walls, while in the Gagovo tomb this space is delineated by mud brick walls (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 48–49, figs. 8, 24, 26–29). Some open spaces were left unroofed, while others had stone or tile roofing. Of special interest are the examples of open spaces with two columns, which resemble a temple with columns in antis, as in the Roshava tomb, near Starosel (Rousseva 2002, 110–111), and the Ploskata tomb near Shipka (Kitov 2008, 240–241, fig. 409). The most intriguing case is offered by Chetinyova tomb in Starosel, where access is granted first through a large staircase, which commences from the southern edge of the tumulus base and was possibly conceived of as a monumental propylon, and then through an unroofed open space, at the back of which is the façade of the antechamber, featuring an Ionic doorframe (Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming; cf. Valeva 2013, 11–12) (Figures 12.3 and 12.7). The final phase of use of the Horizont tomb, near Starosel, presents architecture unusual in the corpus of Thracian tombs: a broad open space, surrounded on three sides by a colonnade (Dimitrova 2007).

For whatever reason, at a certain moment the tumulus mound was extended to cover the dromos. A dense seal of ashlar masonry is documented at the entrance to the interior of some tombs, such as the tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari and Mal-tepe tomb near Mezek, among others (Fol et al. 1986, 26, fig. 33; Filov 1937, 1–12, figs. 7–9). Research on similar sealing walls in Macedonia indicates that this act was not necessarily associated with final closing of

Figure 12.7 Doorjamb of the Ionic frame of the entrance to the antechamber of the tomb in Chetinyova mound in Starosel. Photo by Kalin Dimitrov.

the tomb, but with limiting access until the next scheduled use (Miller 1993, 9 n. 44). Such reuse, for example, was also anticipated by the special adjustment of the mechanism for closing the dromos entrance in the Mal-tepe tomb (Rabadjiev 1995, n. 106).

12.4 Façade

The façades of Thracian tombs are quite diverse. Presenting them briefly is a challenge exceeded only by the attempt to trace the origin of each of the specific designs. In contrast with the heated discussion concerning the prototypes of Macedonian tomb façades (Miller 1993, 11; Huguenot 2008, 42), the topic is practically untouched in the case of their Thracian counterparts (but see, e.g., Stoyanov 1990; Chichikova 2012, 23–26; Valeva 2013).

The simplest façades consist of plain walls with a doorframe, as in the first stage of the Golyama Kosmatka tomb. More elaborate solutions employ elements of the Greek architectural orders. In contrast to their Macedonian counterparts, the Thracian tombs have yet to deliver an example of a façade completely conforming to a Greek architectural order and representing all elements, from the columns and architrave to the pediment. The entrance in the façade commonly features an Ionic or Doric doorframe; an example of the former is the Golyama Arsenalka tomb

(Stoyanov and Stoyanova forthcoming), while the latter is represented by the tomb from Mound 13 at Sveshtari (Stoyanova 2007b, fig. 9). In more elaborate designs, the doorframes can be combined with: elements of the entablature, as in the second façade of the Golyama Kosmatka tomb; with columns, engaged or free-standing, together with entablature elements, as in the Smyadovo tomb and the Roshava tomb, near Starosel; with column and pediment, as in the Shushmanets tomb; or with a complete entablature, with or without pediment, as in the Gagovo tomb and the sarcophagus-like burial chamber from Ostrusha mound.

There are several basic variants of pediment-type façades: façades crowned by an architrave beam, as at Eriklice tomb near Kırklareli; façades with an architrave beam, the top of which imitates a low pediment with central and corner acroteria, as in the Filipovo tomb in Plovdiv; façades with a pediment and modeled corner acroteria, as in the Shushmanets tomb and Chetinyova tomb, among others. Free-standing corner and central acroteria are documented at the Ostrusha tomb and Zhaba tomb, near Strelcha; there are also corner and central acroteria crowning the vault of the Caryatids tomb at Sveshtari (Theodossiev and Stoyanova 2010, 192–193). The latter example reveals an absolutely unrestricted approach in the treatment of the pediment and the location of the associated acroteria (Chichikova 2012, 23–24, figs. 30–32). A liberal application of elements of Greek architectural orders characterizes the middle and second half of the fourth century, resulting in, for example, the pediments with central and corner acroteria included as part of the decoration on Ionic doorframes, as in the Shushmanets tomb and the tomb at Smyadovo (Stoyanova 2005, 662–663), or a pediment with central and corner acroteria modeled in low relief, as in the Griffin tomb near Shipka (Kitov 2003c, 308, figs. 4–5; Stoyanova 2005, 663–664). The last example illustrates a façade decoration, limited only to the Ionic doorframe. Due to the poor condition of the tombs at Kurt-kale and Gagovo, it is unclear if the acroteria found there were part of the entablature or the pediment (Theodossiev and Stoyanova 2010, 180, figs. 4–8; Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 70–71, fig. 87). In contrast to the tombs from Macedonia, the Greek order elements presented upon the tomb façades in Thrace are rendered in relief, not in stucco. Individual elements, like cymation or astragalus, are painted, as, for example, on the anta capitals from the entrance in the façade of the Caryatids tomb at Sveshtari or the meander from the entrance in the façade of the Chetinyova tomb (Figure 12.7). The tomb in the northwestern periphery of the Zhaba mound is the only Thracian example to date that presents sculptures on the façade: panthers[4] likely flanked the entrance. Parallels for this design should be sought in funerary architecture from Asia Minor (Stoyanova 2005, 659–660).

Some Thracian tomb façades mask the roofing structure of the subsequent compartment, while others, as in the case of vaulted and corbeled tombs, reveal the elements of the construction. As the evidence reviewed above illustrates, the monumental façades of Thracian tombs were influenced by the use of elements of Greek architectural orders in the burial architecture of neighboring peoples, the earliest example of which is the Nereid monument in Xanthus. Once implemented, the trait was quickly picked up in regions adjacent to mainland and east Greece, like Caria, Lycia, and Lydia. The maintenance of the tradition is later manifested in the Thracian and Macedonian tombs, of course tailored to local taste. As in the case of Macedonian tombs (Miller 1993, 11), architects of Thracian tombs had the freedom to reduce, expand, combine, add, or omit architectural details from the façade.

12.5 Building Materials and Construction Techniques

Thracian tombs utilized ashlar masonry, usually pseudo-isodomic in style, extremely rarely isodomic, as well as roughly hewn stone. Both igneous (e.g., granite, rhyolite, syonite) and sedimentary rocks (e.g., volcanic tuff, sandstone, limestone) were suitable for ashlar masonry;

these were procured locally or from more distant sources. In the case of ashlar masonry, the visible face can be rusticated or highly finished and display drafted margins. The other sides have anathyrosis. The ashlars are usually slightly trapezoidal in form, with the exposed front wider than the back. Walls are usually one to two blocks thick. In the instances of double row walls, the blocks which were never intended to be seen were left rough. Exceptions to this rule are presented by the tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari and the Malko Belovo tomb, where ashlars are well dressed on both faces of the wall, though the manner of dressing differs for the external and interior ashlars. The most commonly employed technique is pseudo-isodomic, with alternating narrow and wide rows, with or without coincidence of joints between blocks. A variant of this pattern, with narrow rows of ashlars transecting the entire width of the wall and wide rows made up of two blocks, one for the inner face and one for the outer, is observed in the tombs from mound no. 1 in the Manyov Dol locality, Chetinyova mogila in Starosel, and at Parvomay near Plovdiv, among others. The quality of the stone, its dressing, and the masonry employed rendered plaster redundant. In some cases where plaster is preserved, however, as, for example, in the Alexandrovo tomb, among others, it most likely indicates secondary modification of the original interior design.

Metal clamps fit in lead were used in some walls and roofs. In the Mal-tepe tomb, both metal clamps and oak dowels are documented (Filov 1937, 8–9). We have no evidence supporting the use of lime mortar in ashlar masonry. Rubble masonry, which was generally preferred to ashlar masonry in the construction of dromoi and open spaces, made use of clay as bonding agent; such masonry was also used to cover the exterior surface of the tomb, functioning as a protective layer between the outside of the tomb and the earth of the mound.

Brick was also utilized in tomb construction in the Kazanlak valley (Chichikova 1957; Chichikova 2007; Stoyanova 2011, 341–343 n. 2). Rectangular compartments were built with rectangular bricks, while wedge-shaped bricks were used in domed chambers. The bricks are set in lime or clay mortar and brick walls are usually plastered over. Mud brick was also rarely used in tomb constructions, as, for example, in the tombs at Ruzhitsa and Gagovo (Figures 12.5–12.6) (Stoyanova and Popov 2008, 344; Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 48–49, 59–60, 63, figs. 9, 24, 27–29, 64–68).

12.6 Layouts and Entrances

Thracian tombs typically consist of: a burial chamber, the dimensions and plan of which are widely variable; one or more antechambers; an open area; and, rarely, one or more lateral chambers (cf. Valeva 2013, 7–13). Burial chambers of differing plan (e.g., quadrangular, circular) and size are attested. Their volume is contingent on the roof design (see below). The burial chamber is preceded by one or more antechambers, normally smaller than the burial chamber; round burial chambers are preceded by antechambers of quadrangular plan. The plan of the burial chamber, quadrangular or circular, has been selected as the primary criterion in the classification of Thracian tombs. Additional classification takes into account the number of rooms (e.g., single or multiple chambers, with or without further quarters like dromoi: Rousseva 2000, 50–51, T. 1; Rousseva 2002, 29–68). A more detailed variation on this typology accounts also for roofing style and the function of the rooms leading to the burial chamber (Valeva 2013).

Doorframes in Thracian tombs are articulated variously. A monolithic threshold, jambs, and an undecorated lintel are typical, as, for example, in the two antechambers of Golyama Kosmatka tomb (Kitov 2005a, figs. 105, 107, 112) and the Mal-tepe tomb (Filov 1937, 19, 21, figs. 14, 17–19). The most representative doorframes are in the Doric or Ionic order. The Doric doorframes are assigned into three groups. The first group includes doorframes with a

threshold, monolithic jambs, and lintel, modeled with a thin strip near the edge. Quite often the strip is further accentuated with red paint. Such doorframes are preserved in the tomb with Caryatids and mound 13 at Sveshtari and in the Borovo tomb (Stoyanova 2007a, 539, pl. Va, figs. 1–3). The second group is comprised of doorframes of built or monolithic antae, crowned by Ionic anta capitals. On top of them sits a lintel comprised of a Doric architrave and geison. Such features are preserved in the tombs in mounds nos. 12 and 13 at Sveshtari, among others (Stoyanova 2007a, 539, pl. Va, figs. 4–5; Valeva 2006). The third group receives the least sophisticated treatment: the doorframe is a simple void in the ashlar wall, topped by a lintel, usually undecorated. Such doorframes are present in several tombs near Odessos, Callatis, and Kırklareli (Stoyanova 2007a, 539–540, pl. Va, fig. 6). All three groups of Doric doorframes have good parallels in Macedonian tomb architecture (Stoyanova 2007a, 535–538, pl. IVa–b, figs. 1–6, 8).

In contrast to Macedonia, the Ionic doorframe is very widely distributed in Thrace. The tradition of adopting Ionic doorframes in burial monuments originates in the Nereid monument from Xanthus, and is continued at numerous Lycian and Carian sites. Thus, Asia Minor emerges as a central influence on the use of Ionic doorframes in Thracian tombs. Representative monuments of mainland and Aegean Greece, such as the tholos at Epidaurus, are a second influence (Stoyanova 2005, 666). The Ionic doorframes known to date are classified into six groups (Stoyanova 2005, 656–665, figs. 1–21). The first group includes doorframes with two or three fasciae, astragalus, cyma profile, and a crowning fascia. Such doorframes feature in the two tombs in Zhaba mound in Strelcha, among others. The tomb near the southeastern edge of Zhaba mound features a sculpted Lesbian cyma, the profile of which parallels exactly the door of the tholos at Epidaurus, while the tomb near the mound's northwestern edge preserves a painted Lesbian cyma. The second group includes doorframes with undecorated fasciae, including those with two fasciae, as in the Golyama Arsenalka tomb and the Kurt-kale tomb near Mezek, among others, or three, as in the Ruets tomb and the Roshava tomb, among others. The doorframes in the third group feature a pediment in addition to the three fasciae, as in Shushmanets tomb and the tomb near Smyadovo. Such an element is not attested in Archaic or Classical Ionic doorframes. This design, in fact, renders a Greek temple façade in miniature. The fourth group resembles a temple with columns in antis and includes the doorframe from the Griffin tomb. The naiskos within Sveshtari tomb belongs to the fifth group (Chichikova 2012, 57–63, figs. 76–88), while the final, sixth group includes the entrance to the Naip tomb, whose doorframe features antae topped by Attic-Ionic anta capitals and a denticulated lintel (Delemen 2004, 10–12, figs. 14–15). The six categories of doorframes discussed above each share a common trait: they all have a trapezoidal cross-section and are broader at the threshold than at the lintel.

Doorframes echoing the shape of a corbel vault are a special group. Such a design is employed at the entrance to the antechamber of the Popova mound tomb, near Oryahovitsa (Kitov 2005a, 40, fig. 48), and at the entrance to the antechamber of the Kazanlak tomb (Vasileva 2005, figs. 69–70), among others.

The entrances of the Thracian tombs were closed through single- or double-leaf doors, typically made of stone, more rarely of wood or metal. The leaves are attached either through beds for the pivot shaft specially cut into the threshold or floor below and the lintel, or through metal rings attached to the wall. At the tombs in mounds 12 and 13 at Sveshtari and the Borovo tombs, the doors were operated differently: by sliding in grooves cut into the threshold and the lintel. Sliding doors are also known from Lycia (Stoyanova 2002, 536, 542). Certain tombs had a second door closing off the burial chamber, as in the Golyama Arsenalka tomb.

Wooden doors were used in the tombs at Ruzhitsa, Kazanlak, and Dolno Izvorovo (Parvin and Stoyanova forthcoming; Nekhrizov and Parvin 2011, 46–49). The only metal door known to date, bronze, is found in the Mal-tepe tomb (Filov 1937, 21–22, figs. 18–22).

Stone doors are modeled on those in wood used in both temple and funerary architecture. The known types are quite diverse and may be smooth or coffered. At least three of the Gagovo tomb entrances had smooth leaves (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 65–67, figs. 80–81). In contrast with the leaves in tombs from Macedonia, inscribed with horizontal stripes and one vertical, and embossed with imitations of nail heads, the doors in Thrace feature two additional vertical stripes, which frame two or four coffers on each leaf. This type of stone door is widely attested in Asia Minor since the Archaic period. Two major groups are recognized in Thrace: leaves with two or four coffers rendered in relief, without further decoration on the frames, as in the Golyama Arsenalka and Helvetia tombs, among others, some of which may have supplementary coloring; and leaves with coffers modeled in relief, with additional decoration of the coffer frames, like embossed hemispheres or shields, imitating nail heads, as in the tombs at Parvenets and in mound 1 at Manyov dol near Starosel, among others (Stoyanova 2002). On the other hand, the marble leaves from Bulair, Naip, and Stavroupolis are identical to those known in Macedonia and reflect the influence of Macedonian funerary architecture (Stoyanova 2002).

The only marble door in an inland Thracian tomb known to date is the double-leaf door in Golyama Kosmatka tomb. Each leaf contains two coffers that have been joined together by a common frame with painted Lesbian cymation. The upper coffer on each leaf is decorated with a shield; one contains the head of Helios in relief, while the other displays a head of Medusa, also in relief. The Golyama Kosmatka door was probably produced by a workshop in a city on the coast of Aegean Thrace.

12.7 Roofing

The roof structures used in Thracian burial monuments make use of both wood and stone. Evocative illustrations of wood roofing are offered by, for example, the Maglizh and Kran tombs, among others. In a few cases, the wooden structure is combined with tiles (Kazarova and Stoyanova 2009, 188–189).

Eleven systems of stone roofing are observed in Thracian monumental tombs (details and terminology: Valeva 2013, 14–16, et passim). Types 1–6 are listed here: (1) slab stone roofing, which, though known from the Vrani kon tombs and Prilep tomb, among others, is relatively rare; (2) flat roof of dressed, rectangular or pentagonal slabs, used in dromoi and in burial chambers and antechambers, as in Ruzhitsa and Gabarevo tombs, for example, and in built tombs; (3) a combination of transverse beams and stone slabs, so far known only from the Panicheri tomb, although well represented in Carian tomb architecture (Rusev and Stoyanova 2012, 50 n. 18); (4) pitched roof of stone slabs, as in the dromos of the Golyama Arsenalka tomb and in the burial chambers and antechambers of the tombs at mound no. 4 in Manyov dol, among others; (5) trapezoidal slab roof, as in the Roshava mound tomb near Starosel; and (6) monolithic lids, as in the burial chambers in Ostrusha and Golyama Kosmatka tomb. The remaining five systems require more detailed discussion below: (7) corbel vault; (8) lantern vault; (9) barrel vault; (10) corbel dome; and (11) dome on pendentives.

In Thrace the (7) corbel vault is used to roof rectangular and square spaces, such as dromoi, antechambers, and burial chambers. Examples are numerous, including the Vetren and Mal-tepe tombs, among many others (Stoyanova 2011, 337–338). The corbel vault is produced by offsetting successive courses of ashlars. The face of each course could be different in section, thus producing different overall outlines of the vault in section. Courses with vertical faces in section produce a vault that is stepped, while courses with a curved face yield a gentle curve defined by the offset angle. Courses with faces displaying modeled vertical and curved sections produce a broken, sophisticated profile, as in the Chetinyova tomb,

although there the top of the vault had to be truncated because of the great span of the antechamber's width (Stoyanova 2011, 338) (Figure 12.3). A fourth technique is also known, in which the ashlars of each successive course are cut as segments, resulting in a corbel vault with semi-cylindrical section, as in the Shushmanets and Naip tombs, among others (Stoyanova 2007b, 579–580). A fifth type of corbel vault is represented in Madzharovo tomb no. 1, where the offset is modeled on all four walls of the chamber, resulting in the so-called pyramid vaulted tomb. The distribution of this technology is very limited within Thrace. There is another tomb near Madzharovo, in which the vaulting progresses from three of the chamber walls (Stoyanova 2011, 343).

The so-called (8) lantern vault, encountered in ante- and burial chambers, is used in the Zhaba mound tombs, among others (Theodossiev 2007b, 602–603). The combination of this type of vault with a dome suggests that the lantern vault construction, which developed in Anatolia during the Archaic period, had been adapted to local developments (Stoyanova 2011, 343–345; cf. Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets 1994, where different terminology is used).

Tombs with (9) barrel vaults make up a distinct group, represented by approximately 30 tombs spread over several regions: northeastern Thrace, including Odessos, Callatis, Sveshtari, and Borovo; southeastern Thrace, around Kırklareli; and sporadically in the areas of Kazanlak, Lagina, and Stauroupolis in Aegean Thrace (Stoyanova 2007b). The considerable size of this corpus makes it possible for scholars to understand important details about the evolution of Macedonian-type tombs in Thrace and to remark on peculiar types of wedged vault. There appears to be a direct correlation between the width of the bay that supports the vault, and the location of the tomb on the ancient terrain. Tombs situated on the ground feature considerably more substantial walls. Regarding the correlation between the façade and the structure two basic solutions are identified: in most monuments, the vault construction is visible in the façade, while currently only the Borovo tomb features a pediment masking the structure of the vault.

The vault wedges come in different sizes; their number is not correlated to the chamber width (Stoyanova 2007b, 578; Stoyanova 2011, fig. 18). The tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari must be considered a variation on the familiar vault designs of a single vault in the two-chamber tombs or separate vaults in the single-chamber tombs with dromos (Stoyanova 2011, figs. 19–20). The tomb presents us with the most sophisticated structure in terms of construction: the vaults of antechamber and lateral chamber spring from the top of the wall shared by the two chambers and are drawn as a linked chain-construction (Figures 12.1–12.2) (Stoyanova 2007b, 579). Until a monument of older date is identified, we must consider in the tomb with Caryatids an innovation in the history of the barrel vault.

The (10) corbel dome is constructed in diverse ways. One variation, the beehive dome, uses wedge-shaped ashlars or roughly hewn stone and slabs. The most striking members of the former are the Zhaba and Golyama Arsenalka tombs, among many others. Roughly-hewn stones and slabs make up the constructions at Ravnogor, Lyaskovo, and Borovitsa (Stoyanova 2011, 347, Figs. 21–23). A second variant combines beehive and bell-like sections, as seen in the Kazanlak tomb. Analysis of the tomb's murals indicates that this design reflected the requirements of the painted decoration, and specifically the large figural frieze (Vasileva 2005, 125–155). A third variant includes tholos tombs that combine a cylindrical section, at least as tall as the doorframe, and a surmounting dome, which is built of gradually offset wedge ashlars (mound no. 1 in Manyov dol, Chetinyova mound, Eriklice, Karakoc, mound B at Kırklareli, and quite possibly the Malko Belovo and Parvenets tombs) or several circles of wedged ashlars topped by radially arranged trapezoidal ashlars (Shushmanets tomb) (Stoyanova 2011, 349, figs. 25–28). Depending on the profile of the ashlars used in the dome construction, its curve is either smooth or serrated. The Ostrusha mound complex

and the Golyama Kosmatka mound tomb (Figure 12.4) indicate that circular chambers are not necessarily burial, while the Gagovo tomb (Figure 12.5) featured two identical round burial chambers.

So far only two tombs are documented from Thrace with a (11) dome upon pendentives: the Brestovitsa tomb, Plovdiv district, and the tomb in Furtunova mound near Maglizh (Stoyanova 2011, 349). The square or rectangular chambers with vertical walls had coarsely fashioned pendentives at a certain height, launching the transition to the dome.

The corbel vault and dome are widely used across southern Thrace, but scarce in northeastern Thrace, where the barrel vault is more popular. The explanation of this distribution is a challenging task. It must first be emphasized that the dome tombs of southern Thrace predate the barrel vault tombs in northeastern Thrace. Such a finding suggests that the political, economic, and cultural situation in southern Thrace was advantageous for an earlier appearance of monumental tombs, at which time domed, circular burial chambers, able to bear the weight of a covering earthen mound, were preferred. A similar favorable moment for northeastern Thrace came when Lysimachus became ruler of this part of Alexander's empire: Macedonian influence was felt in many ways, including the construction of barrel vault tombs for the elite.

12.8 Interior and Decorative Elements

It is usually the case that Thracian tombs with decorative exterior façades have an undecorated interior of well-laid pseudo-isodomic ashlar blocks, as in the tombs in Zhaba mound, among others. But the Shushmanets, Chetinjova, and Caryatids tombs, for example, preserve evocative façades with an even more striking interior, implementing a true Greek architectural order (Valeva 2005b). Tombs with elaborate interiors utilizing elements of Greek architectural orders, however, do not usually lie behind plain façades; the Kazanlak, Maglizh, and Alexandrovo tombs are exceptional in this regard, for their interior architectural elements were represented in paint (cf. Chapter 13 in this volume). Also unique at present is the stone naiskos in the interior of the Caryatids tomb (Chichikova 2012, 57–63).

Various types of floor are in use in Thracian tombs. While stone slab floors tend to be irregularly arranged, there are also instances of clear circular arrangement of slabs with a pronounced center, as in the burial chamber of the Golyama Arsenalka tomb. At the Alexandrovo tomb, where the painted ornament is associated with a later phase of use, the slab floor too was subsequently plastered over. In those monuments in which murals are part of the original design, floors are built on a bed of rubble, tiles, and lime, on top of which plaster was applied. Other types of flooring include: a compacted and baked in situ clay plaster, as in the Gagovo tomb; or a mosaic of colored river stones rendering simple motifs, as in the tomb in the northwestern periphery of the Zhaba mound. Walls are usually flat, but there are examples of an emphasized toichobate or cornice chiseled with an ovolo or cyma reversa profile, as in the burial chambers of the Filipovo and Parvenets tombs, among others.

In the absence of murals, ceilings are not colored. Currently the only exception to this rule is the coffered ceiling of the sarcophagus-like burial chamber from Ostrusha mound (Valeva 2005a).

12.9 Furniture

Tomb furniture include beds and sarcophagi, urns, stools (diphroi), tables, and benches. Several types of stone beds are distinguished: monolithic, built, composite, either with posts and a horizontal slab or with posts and front and horizontal slabs, and sarcophagi.

Monolithic beds were either plain or with relief decoration on the front legs and mattress, as, for example, in the Mal-tepe and Ostrusha tombs. Built beds might be made from: ashlar blocks, as in Alexandrovo tomb; roughly hewn stone, as in Sashova tomb; bricks and roughly hewn stone, as in Maglizh tomb, among others; or of rough stone, revetted with slabs, as in Staroselka tomb.

The best of the several examples of a composite bed with posts and mattress is found in the Naip tomb (Delemen 2004, 27–37). More complex composite beds with posts and both front and horizontal slabs were likely inspired by the modeling of the façade plate masking the posts in kline-sarcophagi, where legs and a mattress are modeled in low relief. In some cases, the space framed by the posts and the façade plate is packed with ashlars and split stones, which eliminates the possibility that these beds were used as sarcophagi; good examples are found in the Caryatids tomb at Sveshtari (Chichikova 2012, 53–55, figs. 69–74), among others.

Sarcophagi were built of stone or wood. Stone sarcophagi may be without decoration, as in mound B in Mapite locality of Sozopol, or in the form of a kline, as in the Malko Belovo tomb. The slab lid is flat or gabled. Wooden sarcophagi are so far known only from tombs near Odessos.

Despite their different constructions, the decoration of funerary beds always includes two basic elements: turned legs and mattress. Leg shape, the details chiseled upon them, and the presence of supplementary ornament situated below the mattress are all variable; a splendid example of the last are two stools depicted in low relief on the front of the bed in the Dolno Izvorovo tomb (Figure 12.8). Additionally, in front of the beds a step built, or rendered in relief, could be present. In some instances the upper surface of the bed has pillows, either sculpted in relief or free standing. Though differently constructed, the beds in the Ostrusha,

Figure 12.8 The bed in the tomb at Dolno Izvorovo. Photo by Georgi Nekhrizov.

Griffin, and Dolno Izvorovo tombs, among others, are similar in decoration to a group of beds from Kaunos and the mainland Greek cities of Corinth, Eretria, and Dion (Huguenot 2008, pl. 22). The date of the Thracian tombs, from the last third of the fourth to the very beginning of the third century, strongly supports a Lycian influence.

Urns have only been documented at the Mal-Tepe tomb (Filov 1937, 25–27), where two rectangular, monolithic urns were recovered, each with a shallow cutting into their stone slab lids. Stools are securely documented at three tombs: one from the Caryatids tomb at Sveshtari, in wood (Chichikova 2012, 55–56, fig. 75); a pair from the Naip tomb, in stone (Delemen 2004, 45–49); and a single stone stool from the Ivanski tomb. They are complemented by representations of painted stools in the murals within the Kazanlak and Alexandrovo tombs, and of stools in relief on the bed in the Dolno Izvorovo tomb.

Benches are known from the Kırklareli tomb, mound C. Made in stone, they preserve no indications of further ornamentation. Tables, too, are rarely documented. They are square or rectangular in shape, and are monolithic, as in Golyama Kosmatka tomb, or constructed of several slabs, as in Naip tomb (Delemen 2004, 37–44); brick tables are known from the Popova tomb, near Oryahovitsa. Tables are also represented in murals from the Kazanlak and Alexandrovo tombs.

To date no actual thrones have been found in Thracian tombs. The enthroned figure from the mural in the Alexandrovo tomb is poorly preserved. The enthroned female painted in the Kazanlak tomb frieze demonstrates the use of the throne in the Macedonian funerary monuments. The representations themselves comply with known Ionic schemes for tombstone reliefs (Stoyanov 2008).

12.10 Conclusion

The new evidence for tomb architecture not only in Thrace, but also in adjacent regions, especially Macedonia, Thessaly, and Asia Minor, offers considerably more numerous possibilities for typological comparisons. One important observation that emerges from such comparisons and analyses concerns the Thracian aristocracy, who should be regarded as motivating the creation and development of local variants of the monumental tomb. The involvement of Thracian elites in the dynamic events in the eastern Mediterranean during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period and their deeper acquaintance with Hellenic and Hellenistic architecture resulted in the appearance of an effusion of imposing tombs, the plans, construction, and decoration of which were inspired by Greek architecture. Detailed studies about the application of Greek order elements in Thracian tombs, along with progress in dating the monuments, have made it possible to discern the exact degree of the Greek impact on the design of the monumental Thracian tombs.

In tapping the pool of available expertise in construction, locals were free to combine and experiment. This is illustrated by some of the most evocative funerary complexes of a comparatively early date. But since the peak of tomb architecture in Thrace is so brief, it remains impossible to establish a clear chronology or to infer influence among monuments within the region. The presence or absence of architectural details cannot contribute to establishing a relative or absolute chronology within the corpus of Thracian tombs.

It should be emphasized that the detailed study of the integral parts of the Thracian tombs suggest the influence of the funerary architecture in Asia Minor, such as, for example, the application of Ionic type door frames, the sliding doors, the shape of the door leaves, some roofings like the lantern type, some types of funerary beds, as well as the relief decoration on the façade of the tomb in the northwestern edge of the Zhaba mogila. At the same time, the influence of the architecture of both continental and Aegean Greece, and of Macedonia, cannot be denied.

NOTES

1 All dates referring to ancient monuments and events are BCE, unless otherwise noted.
2 An example of a tomb built after this date is the Ravnogor tomb (Kitov 1989). According to N. Theodossiev, their construction and function dates between the second half of the second century BCE and the first decades of the first century CE.
3 A group of tombs that were dug into the ancient terrain is restricted to northeastern Thrace, from the area of the Getic capital Helis, Borovo, Brestovitsa, and Tutrakan. These are not built, but make use of the hard dense soil, occasionally supplemented by wooden or stone construction (Gergova 2008, 255–258; Gergova, Ivanov, and Katevski 2011). Another group of tombs with features foreign to Thrace are the catacomb tombs near Kalnovo (Atanasov 1992). Barrel vault tombs from Odessos and Callatis, perhaps meant to receive persons of Macedonian descent, were also subterranean (Stoyanova 2007b, 576). A similar hypothesis offered for the Racheva mound near Maglizh has been proved unfounded, as its subterranean appearance seems more likely to be the result of past erosion that considerably modified the terrain. The Sarafova mound, Slavchova mound tombs (Kitov 2005a, 15–16), the Ploskata and Donkova mounds (Kitov 2008, 240–241), and Padarska mound, all in the Kazanlak valley, as well as the tombs from Panagyurishte, Dermantsi, mound no. 2 at Brestovitsa, and Ruets, all have above-ground constructions.
4 As the animals have manes, they were interpreted as lions, but the rendering of the heads and the ears are typical of depictions of panthers (cf. Jenkins 2006, fig. 163).

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CHAPTER 26

Urbanization

Emil Nankov

26.1 Introduction

The study of urban forms and processes of urbanization has held a central place in the historiography of ancient Thrace. The topic has naturally assumed priority for scholars in Bulgaria whose task it was, especially with the foundation of the Institute of Thracology in 1972, to put Thrace on the map by treating it on an equal footing with the urban culture of ancient Greece (summary in Popov 2002, 45–58). The vitality of the discussion about cities in Thrace was further amplified by viewing them as a sign of state formation (e.g., Nikolov 1982, but in general see criticism of this approach in Osborne 2005, 2–3). Theoretically informed by the culture-historical school, scholarly discourse focused exclusively on ethnic interpretations of archaeological data and identification of towns through external criteria, following a much-quoted list proposed by V. G. Childe in the 1950s (cf. Herzog 1997, 4–5; Renfrew 2008, 46–48). The Childean model was taken to its extreme recently by Prof. V. Nikolov who argued that urbanization first began at the salt production center near Provadia, Varna district, during the Late Chalcolithic period (Nikolov 2012; cf. Bouzek 2005, 1).

Adopting a function-oriented approach which sees the town as an entity within a larger hierarchy of settlements, recent scholarship isolates certain function(s) of a place as primary for urban genesis (Popov 2002, 41–42, 172–174). Since its inception urban studies in Bulgaria has remained focused on analyzing data from large settlements, utilizing little of the potential offered by other methodologies (Domaradzki 1998, 15–43; cf. Popov 2002, 59–168; Dimitrov 2011, 8–19; Theodossiev 2011, 15–17; Balabanov 2012, 92–103). Integration of information generated through field surveys of the countryside, however, has opened new horizons for understanding urbanization. Attempts to extrapolate too much from surface scatters of pottery sherds, though, should be treated with caution (Sobotkova 2013). Despite the refinement of methodology, social change is framed in terms of contacts between Thracians and Greeks, attributed to diffusion of ideas or skills, but manifested as "Greek influence" in a local milieu or to the migration and movement of people (Vranić 2012, 31–36; Nankov 2008, 16–18; 2009, 270–273; 2012, 118–123). In any case, the culture-historical framework utilized for the study of urbanization can be boiled down to three interpretative paradigms: (1) the emergence of urban life sprouts out of the internal

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dynamic of Thracian society alone, irrespective of foreign agency; (2) it is triggered by contacts through emulation of Greek practices, thereby becoming a byproduct of Hellenization; or, that (3) it presents an entirely foreign phenomenon brought into Thrace by external factors, such as Greeks, Macedonians, and Romans. Archibald (2004, 892) has brilliantly summed up these points by referring to the threefold meaning of the term polis when encountered in a non-Greek environment.

It is essential to point out at the outset that the study of urbanization owes much to the philological branch of Thracologists, headed by Prof. A. Fol, taking into account information about the existence of numerous Thracian poleis along the North Aegean coast since the sixth century BCE, mostly known from lexicographic compendia (Fol 1965, 315 n. 34). These, however, together with the Greek apoikiai on the west Black Sea coast, are the subject of separate inquiries (Chapter 19). The geographical scope of the present chapter is limited to: the Danubian plain nestled between the Danube River and Stara planina to the south; the plain of Upper Thrace, which borders the Stara planina to the north, the Rhodopes to the south, and the Black Sea to the east; and the territory between the Strymon and Nestos Rivers (regions C, D, and E following Fol 1965, 310; cf. Archibald 2010, 326–327; Theodossiev 2011, 2–4).

An inherent difficulty for Thracian studies in general stems from the fact that scholars have to deal with accounts left by outsiders, Greek and Roman authors, whose subjective bias is impossible to gauge. Adopting a historical-typological method, Prof. A. Fol (1965; cf. Koledarov 1966), for example, created the concept of royal cities formed around the aristocratic seat, *horion metropolis*, of Thracian rulers who controlled all means of production, including landed property. Based exclusively on literary sources, his abstract model of Thracian society and urbanism in particular, consisting of villages (*komai*), fortified places (*horia*), and royal cities (*tyrseis*), was informed by the discovery of Seuthopolis in the 1940s and 1950s, a small fortified compound in south central Bulgaria with Greek-style housing built on a grid pattern in Hellenistic fashion (Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978; Popov 2002, 122–134; Nankov 2008). The excavation director, Prof. D. P. Dimitrov (1958, 697–698), was the first to see the so-called citadel as a Hellenistic version of a residential tower (tyrsis) described by Xenophon while in the service of Seuthes II in 399 BCE (Anab. 7.2.21). Although much of this is now untenable on account of recent archaeological discoveries, the idea was recently resurrected by Chichikova (2009, 39–41), who argued that the citadel served as a royal palace, *basileia* (cf. Dimitrov 2009, 281–282). While putting together settlement typologies on the basis of archaeological criteria proved of limited value for the debate about urbanization, it has nonetheless thrown into sharp relief the need to lay greater emphasis on their function (Chichikova 1985, 87). A related question was that of continuity with later Roman towns, but in most cases this can be confined to topography alone (Popov 2005, 614). The big issue, though, is how to reconcile the emerging image of Thrace as a centralized, territorial monarchy, derived exclusively from literary sources, with the long-established portrayal of Classical Greece as a polis-based society. Urbanization was thus viewed as a sign for Thrace entering what P. Delev (1998) has called a "Hellenistic condition."

26.2 Setting the Agenda

Unlike Greece and even Macedonia, the polis was never the defining feature of community life in Thrace; since the time of Herodotus Thracians were better understood as a collection of different ethne (Archibald 2005, 9–10; Chapter 3 above). Much of what we know about Thracian cities, however, derives from literary sources mentioning the establishment of

Macedonian colonies such as Kabyle, Philippopolis, and Alexandropolis, to name a few (Archibald 2004, no. 652, 654–655; Adams 2007). The addition of the fortress Krakra near Pernik to the same category remains tentative, despite a recent reevaluation of its role within the settlement system of inland Thrace (Popov 2002, 135–142; 2008). What has always been at stake, certainly from the perspective of Bulgarian historiography, was the push to attribute the emergence of urban life to local factors while diminishing the role played by Macedonian expansion into Thrace from the reign of Philip II onwards (e.g., Gocheva 1986, 71–72; Balabanov 1986, 53–55). Western and Greek scholarship, on the other hand, has painted a more balanced picture, pointing to the explicit statement by Diodorus Siculus (16.71.2) that Philip, "αὐτὸς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις τόποις κτίσας ἀξιολόγους πόλεις ἔπαυσε τοῦ θράσους τοὺς Θρᾷκας" (Badian 1983, 66–71; Adams 1997, 85; Loukopoulou and Psoma 2007, 150–151; Loukopoulou 2011). Following Prof. G. Mihailov (1986, 15), more recent studies have recognized the importance of Macedonian agency for stimulating Thracian urban development (Delev 1998; Domaradzki 1998; Nankov 2008). In addition, Seuthopolis and Helis provide indisputable evidence that some level of urbanization was certainly achieved after the time of Philip II, no doubt by emulating Greek models but in the context of interaction with the Macedonians during the early Hellenistic period (Nankov 2008; Stoyanov 2006; Dimitrov 2011, 17).

Albeit derived exclusively from archaeology, information about an earlier horizon of fortified sites dated to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE does exist. For example, the sites near Koprivlen in the Middle Mesta valley, Vasil Levski on the Upper Stryama river and, more recently, Krastevich near Hisaria, have long ago raised the question for the emergence of Thracian urban centers well before the arrival of the Macedonians (Popov 2002, 60–76; see also Chapter 9 above). The inclusion of the site near Vetren, municipality of Septemvri, commonly identified with emporion Pistiros, presents a special case in as much as it cannot be determined whether the term denotes an urban community (Demetriou 2012, 153–187; Archibald 2013, 58). Other cases that have received popularity in the historiography on account of the substantial urban presence during the Roman period, such as Pautalia, Beroe, and Serdonpolis, have contributed nothing of substance to the urbanization debate (Popov 2005, 612–613). Little can be extracted from insufficiently published data about sites located on the west Black Sea coast, such as Tirizis, known to have housed the treasury of Lysimachus (Strabo 7.6.1), and the Thracian predecessor of the Roman colony of Deultum, attested as Dovelt on a retrograde graffito (Balkanska 1980; SEG 49.883). The existence of Thracian towns has also been presupposed on slender evidence derived from toponyms (e.g., Apros (Archibald 2004, no. 653), Beos, Ergiske, Geiston, and Sauthaba) inscribed on some of the silver vessels from the Rogozen treasure (SEG 37.618; Archibald 1998, 121, fig. 4.4, 225, 234). Since the mid-2000s, the outpouring of new archaeological sites in inland Thrace, such as the fortified compounds at Smilovene, Knyazhevo, Sinemorec (summaries in Balabanov 2012, 83–87; Khristov 2011, 183–189) and Kozi Gramadi (Khristov 2011–2012; Archibald 2013, 147–148), has enriched substantially the available data with the addition of previously unknown sites, the definition of whose role within the settlement system as a whole remains challenging.

Moving away from preconceived notions for urbanization, such as assigning ethnic labels or discerning state markers, the present survey purports to push the debate into a different direction through a critical discussion of literary, epigraphic, and archaeological data. Freed from the urge to devise all-embracing models for urbanization in Thrace, which became the hallmark of earlier scholarship, the challenge now is to identify a common thread within an often disparate and incomplete dataset. Let us begin with the Macedonian colonies.

26.3 Macedonian Colonies

Leaving aside the question of what label we should assign to the numerous foundations of Philip II and Alexander III (cf. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 554–566; Tacheva 1987, 133), it remains an indisputable fact that they present the most visible acts of establishing towns in Classical antiquity. Thrace is no exception. Ancient authors have left to us a handful of examples, Philippopolis, Kabyle, Drongylon, Masteira, Alexandropolis, to name just a few. Frontier zones, however, offer better data for analysis of this phenomenon. In addition, observations regarding Macedonian expansion are greatly aided by information available from written sources, inscriptions, numismatics, and archaeology.

The best starting point for our discussion is Plutarch's account about Alexander III's refoundation of a Maedian town in the Middle Strymon Valley (Alex. 9.1). Subduing local unrest in 340 BCE, Alexander drove away the local inhabitants (Maedi), settled a mixed population, and renamed it Alexandropolis (Archibald 2004, no. 652; Cohen 1995, 82; Delev 1998). Despite Plutrach's remark, Adams (2007) has convincingly argued that such large-scale endeavors needed integration of local communities to be successful. Although very little is known about its archaeological layout (Mitrev 2012, 144–151), the (re) foundation of Alexandropolis can serve as a model for other cases about which we possess no specific details. A few years prior to the march of Alexander III in Medica, Heraclea Sintica, another Macedonian colony situated on the border between Medi and Sinti, located near the village of Rupite, municipality of Petrich, was perhaps founded in similar circumstances by Philip II shortly after his march against the "barbarians of Orbelia" (Polyaen. 4.12.6; Nankov forthcoming). While ample numismatic evidence points to a close association with the Macedonian kingdom, onomastic data from Hellenistic grave monuments testify to the exclusive presence of a stratum of Greek/Macedonian settlers (Dimitrov 2004, 215; Mitrev 2012, 101–115).

As is commonly agreed (Ellis 1969; Hatzopoulos 2011, 62–64), population transplants emerged as a main strategic tool utilized by the Macedonian administration not only in border regions but also in the heart of newly conquered territories. Some literary sources allude to this practice in connection with the establishment of Philippopolis and Kabyle, Macedonian colonies situated on the Hebros and Tonzos, the two major rivers in the Upper Thrace Valley (see list of primary sources in Archibald 2004, nos. 654–655). Toponyms such as Poneropolis and Moichopolis (Theopomp. Fr. 110; Strabo 7.6.2; Pliny, HN 4.11.4; Plut., Mor. 520b), occasionally attached to the former, should not be discarded as disparaging and devoid of meaning; rather, they would be more useful if taken as signifiers for the transplantation of unprivileged groups of people in a foreign environment. From their perspective, Macedonian administration appeared as beneficial because it provided them with an opportunity to acquire civic status based on landed property (Tacheva 2007, 591). Rather than focusing on the mechanism of mutual interaction between constituent entities, Bulgarian historiography has traditionally attributed very little importance to such analytical frameworks for the sake of arguing that these foundations only refurbished preexisting Thracian strongholds (e.g., Gocheva 1986, 65–70; Balabanov 2012, 98–100; Kisyov 2004, 37).

Recent archaeological data from Philippopolis and Kabyle, however, has increasingly lessened the possibility that Thracian antecedents were replaced by Macedonian colonies (Popov 2002, 110; Khandzhiĭska and Lozanov 2010, 260–263). Although details concerning the original foundations by Philip II are available in neither case, the Macedonian character of these sites attains more visibility from archaeological and epigraphic data. For example, the conspicuous, first arrival of Thasian wine at Kabyle in 341 BCE, as was recently shown by C. Tzochev (2009, 64, 67–68), should not be treated as accidental, but taken as another

confirmation that Philip II founded Kabyle during his Thracian campaign in 342–341 BCE (Khandzhiĭska and Lozanov 2010, 262). Not only does the association of these finds with the city walls remain tenuous, but the recent discovery of an artillery bastion on a hill adjacent to the main town may suggest that Kabyle was fortified in the early Hellenistic period (Nankov 2008, 36, table 5). In a recent overview article V. Khandzhiĭska and I. Lozanov (2010, 260–263) have compellingly traced the historical trajectory of Kabyle, from the early years as a Macedonian colony administered by a royal official (epistates), perhaps appointed by Philip II himself, to its later development as an autonomous town with city magistrates and its own coinages. Although Philippopolis presents a less clear case, one that has recently been described as "a dispersed city" (cf. Archibald 2013, 68–69), two facts indisputably reveal its early history as a Macedonian foundation; the presence of *politarchai*, officials attested in the administration of Macedonian towns, and the naming of one of the city phylai [Philippeis], most likely after Philip II (Hatzopoulos 1984; Mari 2008, 241–242 n. 54). Finally, the idea of planting strongholds on and around isolated volcanic outcrops, located in proximity to major rivers, echoing Diodorus' passage (Diod. 16.71.2) quoted above, may be responding to particular topographic conditions expected to be met by such military establishments. In addition to Philippi, Philippopolis, and Kabyle, one might add Heraclea Sintica, whose topographic layout closely resembles that of the other three (Domaradzki and Popov 2001, 134; Popov 2004, 15; Stoyanov 2006, 91; Nankov forthcoming).

26.4 Emporia

The idea that trading posts, known from literary sources and inscriptions as *emporia*, existed in Classical/Hellenistic Thrace is novel, in spite of scanty notices handed down through literary tradition. Although it seems to reassert the validity of the Hellenization paradigm, other interpretative models remain possible, as I discuss below. The emporion debate was brought to the forefront of Thracian studies in the late 1980s as an international team of scholars began to excavate a fortified site located at Adzhiyska vodenitsa near the village of Vetren, municipality of Septemvri, and especially after the discovery of the so-called Pistiros Inscription in 1990 (for excavation results to date, see Bouzek et al. 2013). Since then imagining Thracian–Greek trade contacts has gained currency among scholars in Bulgaria and abroad (Archibald 2004, no. 656). Although identification of the site with the emporion Pistiros mentioned in the inscription has not gone unchallenged (Tsetskhladze 2000, 2011; see summary in Demetriou 2012, 158–159 n. 22), not only has the idea of Greek emporia in Thrace persisted, but it grew more popular with the discovery of the site near Krastevich, municipality of Hisaria (summary in Archibald 2013, 235–237, figs. 5.5–5.6; cf. Chapter 27 below).

The case of Pistiros is instructive for several reasons. First, the administrative status of the site remains uncertain, although it has been assumed on shaky grounds that it functioned as a polis (Archibald 2004, 895; cf. Tsetskhladze 2011, 20). Second, based on the Pistiros Inscription, in addition to the numerous Greek graffiti scratched on pottery sherds, it has been argued that the site was "a multiethnic emporion" comprised of mixed population, both Thracian and Greek (Demetriou 2012, 186; Nankov 2012, 111–112 n. 15). A reasonable yet unsubstantiated link can be posited between Pistiros and an unnamed town, the politai of which have honored an unspecified Thracian and his brothers during each fair (*panagyris*) in the early Hellenistic period (IGBulg 3.1, 1114; Archibald 2004, 886; Tacheva 2007, 592 n. 26).

Perhaps one of the most compelling narratives about the nature of the site has been offered by the late Prof. M. Tacheva (2007, 588–595). Starting with the hypothesis proposed by the

excavation director, M. Domaradzki, before the discovery of the Pistiros Inscription in 1990, that the site was an Odrysian fortified royal residence (see Tsetskhladze 2000; 2011), and endorsing K. Boshnakov's (1999, 319) equation of Pistiros with Masteira, known as one of the colonies established in Thrace by Philip II (Dem. 8.44), she went on to show that Pistiros underwent significant changes, in terms of its economic status, after the Macedonian conquest with the resettlement of a Greek population (*oiketores*, line 38) in Pistiros from Apollonia and *emporia* in the Thasian peraia on the North Aegean coast (Tacheva 2007, 591 n. 21; Demetriou 2012, 184). Similar practices are attested at Kabyle during the Roman period. A dedicatory inscription dated to 144 CE by some "Greeks residing in Kabyle" (Ἕλληνες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καβύλη) demonstrates a pattern of town organization, within which the role of foreign craftsmen was also prominent (Lozanov 2004, 303). To return to Pistiros, the development of crafts and burgeoning trade operations facilitated by the arrival of a non-Thracian population signaled the emergence of urbanization in Weberian terms (cf. Osborne 2005, 5; Tacheva 1987, 135). Thus Pistiros can serve as the most illuminating example of Thrace's integration into the Hellenistic world (Tacheva 2007, 593), or entering the "Hellenistic condition" as Delev (1998) has put it. A recent reading of the Pistiros Inscription has offered new insights into the identity of the issuing authority, which may not necessarily be linked with an Odrysian ruler, as traditionally assumed (Graninger 2012, 109; cf. Tacheva 2007, 593–594; Hatzopoulos 2012, 14–15). In sum, if Tacheva's model is valid, one need not strive to reconcile the competing views about the site identification; far from being mutually exclusive, they rather demonstrate the fluidity of settlement forms in Thrace, especially following the years of Macedonian expansion.

26.5 Royal Cities

The fortuitous discovery of Seuthopolis through salvage excavations has secured its fundamental place in the urbanization debate since the late 1950s (Dimitrov 1958; Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978; Domaradzki 1998, 39–43; Popov 2002, 122–134). The toponym remains unattested in the literary sources, and the identification comes from the so-called Great Inscription uncovered in the citadel (SEG 52.661, lines 31–32; Cohen 1995, 87–88; Archibald 2004, no. 657). I would argue, however, that it is perhaps the least useful example to highlight the essential features of what can be called a "Thracian city," even less so a "royal city" (Fol 1965, 316; cf. Balabanov 2012, 102–103). It was certainly among the most short-lived (Nankov 2008, 42).

First, it is important to begin with a few observations regarding chronology. Recent studies on Thasian amphora stamps, in conjunction with reevaluation of city fortifications, Macedonian coins, and Attic pottery from the site, have shown beyond doubt that Seuthopolis was an early Hellenistic foundation dated to 315–300 BCE, thus emerging on the ground a generation after the conquest of Thrace by Philip II in late 340s BCE (Nankov 2008, 42–44). What this leads to is an obligation to interpret its functional traits against the background of the years following the death of Alexander III in 323 BCE and, more importantly, after Thracian military men returned home from his Asian campaign (Nankov 2008, 44–48; 2012, 121 n. 64). Certain artifacts (graffiti, styli, and metal rings) seem to suggest that the inhabitants of Seuthopolis, who appear as literate, contrary to earlier claims that only the royal administration was bilingual, might have belonged to different ethne (Nankov 2012, 120–121, figs. 6–9, 20; Stoyanov 2006, 87; Dimitrov 2009, 282–283). Second, ever since its discovery, the orthogonal planning of Seuthopolis has been attributed to the Hippodamian tradition of Greek urban planning. Recent studies have shown, however, that this model produces unsatisfactory results when it comes to understanding the planning of new cities from

the Hellenistic period (Greco 2009, 108, 116–117). As I have argued elsewhere (Nankov 2012, 44, fig. 25), Seuthopolis was in dialogue not with Classical urban traditions, but with new trends in early Hellenistic military architecture, as were other closely comparable towns in Macedonia and Thessaly (e.g., Dion, Halos, and Goritsa) built in accordance with the so-called *tetragonon schema* (cf. Hellmann 2010, 207). Military concerns seem to have outweighed other considerations.

Another stumbling block to interpreting Seuthopolis is its small size of 5 ha. While previous estimates suggest a population figure consisting of 40–60 families (Tacheva 1987, 141; Nikolov 1982, 87), Sobotkova (2013, 137 n. 43) has recently argued for 500–1000 inhabitants. By way of comparison, Macedonian garrisons since the reign of Philip II numbered up to 2000 men (e.g., Theopomp. Fr. 110; Livy 32.15.1). The modest number of people that the town can sustain becomes less puzzling when combined with the observation that excavations have retrieved no evidence for production (Tacheva 1987, 140–141). Craftsmen quarters can be expected, though, but outside the fortification walls, as recently observed (Stoyanov 2006, 85). Existence of everyday transactions for the purchase of foodstuffs can be deduced from a busy pattern of coin distribution on the public square, attested as an agora in the Seuthopolis inscription (SEG 52.661; Chapter 27, Figure 27.1 below). Field surveys in the immediate hinterland of Seuthopolis have documented quite a diverse network of habitation sites of less permanent nature, underlying the exceptional role of the town within the settlement system as a whole (Sobotkova 2013, 138–140, fig. 3). Such observations seem to tip the scales of scholarly discussion with regard to its function in favor of it being a "residential town of consumers" (Tacheva 1987, 143). The key to Seuthopolis is to realize that one is dealing with acts of emulation and aspiration to becoming/turning into something that Thrace was not. It would seem that Seuthes III, perhaps a Thracian of royal descent, who might have participated in Alexander III's campaigns (Loukopoulou 2011, 471–472; Nankov 2012, 121 n. 66), built a permanent administrative camp/seat for himself and his closest associates modeled on the multitude of city foundations established by Alexander III's Successors. His military background becomes apparent through the issue of his own coinage, the use of Greek as the official language of administration, naming the "town" after himself in a manner befitting royalty, utilizing Greek-style housing, and offering settlement for various groups other than Thracians. It would seem more likely to assume that inhabitants consisted of retired soldiers who were given land around Seuthopolis in which to settle as colonists. Land appears as the most valued property securing participation in the community, which superficially fashioned itself like a functioning Greek polis, as is evident from the formulaic language adopted in the Seuthopolis inscription (SEG 52.661; Hatzopoulos 2002, 269–270). In sum, Seuthopolis can be defined as an ephemeral product of the military ambitions of Seuthes III, a creation that clearly emulates foreign practices while challenging traditional assumptions about the outlook of Classical poleis in non-Greek environments.

The fortified settlement near Sboryanovo, commonly identified with Helis, situated beyond Stara planina in the land of the Getae, merits our attention for several reasons. To begin with, aside from being contemporary with Seuthopolis, its architectural footprint appears to be more substantial and displays various features of what can be defined as the political and economic power base of the Getic ruler Dromichaetes (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 20–24; Diod. 21.12.2–5; Strabo 7.3.14). Archaeological finds of imported pottery, Greek amphorae, and metal items, as well as evidence of craftsmen quarters, have painted the image of a large, vibrant, and well-connected community (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 24–39, fig. 42). What deserves further attention, though, if one accepts the proposed historical identification, is that Helis is identified as a polis (Diod. 21.12.2–5). While curiously the town did not make it into the thin selection of Thracian poleis compiled by the Copenhagen Polis Center (Archibald 2004, 892–896), it was quite justifiably treated together with

Seuthopolis and Kabyle as a site providing a different model of urbanization in Thrace (Stoyanov 2006, 81–83).

Despite other literary data indicating early contacts of the Getic rulers with Philip II, archaeology suggests that the site came into being during the early Hellenistic period, well after the Macedonian expansion into Thrace in the 340s (Archibald 1998, 237; Delev 2000, 395 nn. 63–64; Stoyanov et al. 2006, 20). The capture of Lysimachus by Dromichaetes dated to the 290s BCE inevitably points to the conclusion that by this time Helis was already an established center in the region. The overall impression is one of a significant Getic center, whose physical layout and perhaps internal organization, reminded an outside observer of a Greek polis (cf. Archibald 2004, 892). Arguably, we may have a singular example of a Getic urban community that took off on its own, irrespective of external factors such as the Macedonian expansion of Philip II and the military appetites of Lysimachus (Delev 2000, 396–401; Popov 2002, 164–165). Whether it can be defined as "royal city" in a Folian sense at this point remains uncertain. Reality, however, is seldom black and white, as is evident from a very intriguing dedicatory inscription discovered in close proximity to the city gate during the excavations in the 1980s. Earlier views leaning on the Greek origins of the dedicator, a certain Menecharmos, son of Poseidonios (LGPN IV, s.v.), who dedicated a statue to Phosphoros, a frequent epithet of Artemis, admit of the possibility that he was a merchant from Odessos or some other colony on the Black Sea, involved in trade operations with Helis (Chichikova, Delev, and Bozhkova 1992, 78, figs. 7–8). It is far more likely, however, that along with the scratched names on pottery this singular epigraphic document from the site should be taken to illustrate the presence of a non-Greek population (Stoyanov 2006 et al. 52–53).

26.6 Tyrseis and Country Estates

A set of new archaeological discoveries necessitates a reassessment of the theoretical model postulating an evolutionary link between royal residences (basileia, tyrseis), attested in some literary sources, and the emergence of royal cities in the Hellenistic period (Dimitrov 1958; Khristov 2011, 180–183). Although the idea for a preexisting tyrsis at Seuthopolis is no longer valid (Popov 2002, 123; Nankov 2008, 43), it has come back to life since Bulgarian archaeologists have recently uncovered several fortified compounds which can be broadly conceived of as residential complexes or country estates (Balabanov 2012, 83–87; Archibald 2013, 147–148). The most notable example, Kozi Gramadi site, situated on a peak (1115 m) in the Sredna Gora mountains, deserves special attention, not least because of the prompt publication of the excavation results (Khristov 2011–2012).

The site, which boasts a monumental building executed in ashlar masonry, along with storage facilities and a series of sheds built of less durable materials, has been interpreted as an Odrysian fortified residence, even as a "princely hunting lodge" (Archibald 2013, 147), associated with Amadokos II and Teres II (Khristov 2012, 17; Khristov 2011, 180–189). An upcoming volume on the latest excavation campaign will certainly refine such labels. What is more significant, and with remarkable implications for the study of urbanization, in particular, is the surprising discovery of sling bullets inscribed with the names of Kleoboulos and Anaxandros – two Macedonian generals on staff in the army of Philip II more famously known from the siege of Olynthus in 348 BCE (Lee 2001, 13, figs. 3–4). Let us be aware that no other site in Thrace can be linked beyond doubt with the Macedonian conquest through both archaeological and epigraphic data. Khristov has already argued with confidence on the basis of destruction debris, coins, and military artifacts that Philip II captured the compound during his Thracian campaign in 342–341 BCE (Khristov and

Manov 2011, 119–132; Khristov 2012, 79–89). Observing the distribution pattern of sling bullets, Khristov (2012, 83–87) even contended that "urban combat" had taken place on site following in a very superficial way a concept developed by John W. I. Lee on the basis of Olynthus (Lee 2001). It remains to be explained, however, what was the nature of the site occupation during the period after the arrival of the Macedonians, which the excavator has singled out as "post-residential" (Khristov 2012, 17). This is profoundly important because Kozi Gramadi is in a unique position to furnish invaluable evidence for the transformation, if any, of a Thracian habitation site following the Macedonian expansion. Although at this point it is difficult to assign archaeological data to the post-residential period, the large number of Macedonian royal bronzes, whose circulation in Thrace is normally attributed to the military presence of Macedonian troops reported in the literary sources (Psoma 2009, 12–15; Nankov 2009), retrieved from another fortified compound, located on Kozi Gramadi peak (1364 m) points to a certain level of early Hellenistic occupation of the area (Khristov 2011, 13–45, 91–101).

Several observations immediately follow from the case of Kozi Gramadi. First, not all settlements in Thrace captured by Philip II underwent subsequent development as colonies. Despite the conjecture that it could have housed the royal treasury (Khristov and Stoyanova 2011, 100) the site was apparently not recognized by the Macedonians as an ἐπικαίρος τόπος (Diod. 16.71.2). Second, at least since the early fourth century BCE the Thracian elite seemed to have preferred to occupy elevated ground in close proximity to natural resources and fertile valleys. Kozi Gramadi is not an isolated example, since other sites fit into the same pattern, specifically the low foothills of Sredna Gora near Kabyle (Topolchane, Krushare, and Kaloyanovo) and Strelcha (Smilovene, see Chapter 9 above). The idea that these mountainous estates belonged to Thracian chiefs has recently emerged as a plausible possibility allowing us to better understand the relationship between the preexisting position of Thracian landlords and the establishment of the Macedonian colonists in Kabyle (Khandzhiĭska and Lozanov 2010, 262). That these Thracian domains have informed the Greek perception of terms such as *tyrsis*, *hestiatorion*, *basileion* is plausible, yet it remains impossible to prove. Our hope is that future discoveries will bring to light more definitive evidence providing further insights into the archaeological blueprint of these Thracian sites for which the application of the urbanization paradigm carries no weight.

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CHAPTER 28

Warfare

Totko Stoyanov

28.1 Introduction

Historians and archaeologists have long held an interest in Thracian warfare (Launey 1987; Best 1969; Melyukova 1979; Archibald 1998; Webber 2011). The publication of new archaeological evidence from Thrace and elsewhere supplements the ancient literary record, which offers sparse details about the weapons, combat formations, tactics, and strategy of the Thracians, and provides an opportunity to reconstruct these aspects of Thracian military history. These new data suggest that the military art in Thrace developed in response to a combination of local economic and social factors, as well as interactions with prominent neighbors, like Greeks, Scythians, and Persians; interaction with the Celts, beginning already ca. 350–300,[1] and the subsequent inclusion of large parts of Thrace within the Hellenistic world stimulated further military development.

Thracian society never adopted the polis, which in Greece had led to the establishment of hoplite armies. Literary and material evidence, chiefly Greek painted pottery, identify light infantry as the primary military unit in Thrace; these soldiers, armed with bows, arrows, slings, and/or spears, often carried in addition a light shield (pelte), hence the popular description of light infantry as peltasts. Ancient sources and modern scholars agree that both the crescent-shaped pelte and the concept that infantry could be so armored were adopted in Greece from Thrace (Best 1969). Since the natural environment in much of Thrace was favorable to horse-breeding, the same weaponry kit, except the sling, was also used by cavalry; with the emergence of local elites in the Archaic period, however, the weapons for elite and non-elite horsemen were gradually differentiated.

28.2 The Artifacts

Arrowheads

The numerous arrowheads found in the cemeteries and settlements of Thrace, especially north of Haemus (mod. Balkan range, Stara planina), suggest that the bow was one of the most important Thracian weapons. Thucydides describes the Getae as bow-shooting

A Companion to Ancient Thrace, First Edition. Edited by Julia Valeva, Emil Nankov, and Denver Graninger.

horsemen and favoring the same weapons as their Scythian neighbors (2.96.1). Although the climate and soil of Thrace poorly preserve evidence of bows, their reconstruction can be inferred from arrowheads. Since the common Thracian bronze arrowheads, three-sided and three-edged with socket, are identical to those typical in Scythia, it is plausible that Thracians used reflex bows similar in size and design to Scythian bows, which were relatively short, 60–100 cm in length, with an asymmetrical sigma-shaped curve (Melyukova 1964, 14–15). The small dimensions facilitated use of the weapon while on horseback. Despite its modest size, by the Classical period the Scythian bow reached its peak development and offered a remarkable shooting range (McLeod 1965, 6, T.6). The representation of such a bow in the hands of a horseman on the silver greave from Agighiol (Berciu 1971, 218, taf. 113a) and the miniature bow models from the Yankovo and Enisala graves strongly suggest that such bows were used in Thrace.

Hundreds of arrowheads have been discovered in rich fifth- to third-century graves in Thrace. Two quivers holding 192 arrowheads were recovered from a grave near Golemanite dated ca. 450–400 (Tsarov 2008, 88–91, fig. 68), while a leather quiver from a mid-fourth-century grave near Zlatinitsa contained 177 (Agre 2011, 97–99, ill. III–25c, 29, VII–3). Arrowheads recovered from fourth- to third-century graves and settlements fall into three length classes, 4.0–4.5, 3.5–3.6, and 2.5–2.8 cm, which probably had distinct uses in hunting or military exercises, for example. A significant comparandum is provided by the quiver from Tomb II at Vergina, which contained 74 arrowheads of three distinct lengths: 4.4, 3.8, and 2.45 cm (Andronikos 1989, 186; Rihll 2007, 39). While bronze arrowheads of this and similar morphological types are found in the Balkans as early as the Archaic period, they became characteristic of Greece and Macedonia (Robinson 1941, 405–406, type G 1, nos. 2097–2100; Snodgrass 1964, 153) in the Classical period.

Iron arrowheads with solid pyramidal tip and long tang for hafting begin to appear in the mid-fourth century; similar arrowheads in bronze are known from the Aegean as early as the Late Bronze Age and were probably developed to pierce metal armor. Iron arrowheads of this type are known from Olynthus (Robinson 1941, type E 392–397, nos. 1972–2026, pls. CXXIII–CXXIV), where they were likely used by Philip II's archers during his siege of that city in 348; similar examples have been recorded at Sboryanovo and Dragoevo (Stoyanov 2008, 50 nn. 21–22, fig. 2.9–12). Their size and weight suggest considerable arrow size and bow capacity; some objects with very long tangs (Stoyanov 2008, 50 n. 22) required a powerful bow or, what is more likely, the gastraphetes, the mechanical version of a reflex bow, which had been in use since the second half of the fifth century and represents an early stage in the development of ancient artillery (Marsden 1969, 5–12, fig. 1, 4; Rihll 2007, 35–39; Campbell 2011).

Sling-bullets

Evidence for sling use in Thrace during the Classical and especially the Hellenistic period has increased considerably in recent years. Finds from several late-fifth- to mid-third-century graves and from Sboryanovo suggest that traditional stone sling-bullets were used locally (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 44, fig. 64f). Several rich Thracian burials yielded stone sling-bullets 3.5–4 cm in length, sometimes reaching 5 cm (Berciu 1971, 219, taf. 127.10, 12; Tsarov 2008, 91–92, fig. 70). It is important to identify the type of sling used with such bullets, whether the common type, sphendone, or the staff-sling, known in Latin as fustibalus, which was suited to slinging heavier projectiles across short distances (Korfmann 1973, 37–38).

Stray finds indicate that lead sling-bullets were used in southwestern Thrace, which is not surprising given the proximity to Macedonia (Paunov and Dimitrov 2000). Of greater interest

is the evidence furnished by the excavations of the Thracian residence (?) at Kozi Gramadi peak, in the Sredna Gora Mountains (Christov 2012a). The plotting of the findspots of the 152 lead sling-bullets in and around the fortress, the different weight standards attested in the group, and the names Kleoboulos and Anaxandros inscribed upon some of these projectiles, have led the excavators to suggest that they are the remnants of a clash with Philip II's troops during his 342/1 Thracian campaign; some of the sling-bullets seem to belong to the defenders of the residence (Christov 2012b). Clay sling-bullets similar to those in lead are known from Sboryanovo (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 44, fig. 64f).

Spearheads

Two types of spearhead were used in Thrace as early as the Early Iron Age: a small spearhead for javelins and a large spearhead for thrusting spears. As in Greece, these spearheads are either laurel-shaped or pointed. The javelin type is 16–25 cm in length, while that of the thrusting type is 31–43 cm. The representation of peltasts and horsemen with two light spears on Red-Figure pottery (Webber 2011, pls. 4–7) is corroborated by fifth-century graves with two such tips (Archibald 1998, 202–203, figs. 6.6, 6.8). More than 10 spearheads, for both thrusting and throwing, are usually found in rich fourth- to third-century burials from Thrace. Finds from the Dragoevo fortress include a spearhead, butt-spike (sauroter), and haft for an infantry sarissa[2] of the type introduced by Philip II into his phalanx (compare Andronikos 1970, 96–107, figs. 5, 6–8, 9a, c), which suggest that Philip and Alexander's innovations in weaponry were adopted in Thrace beginning in the second half of the fourth century.

Swords

As early as ca. 1100 in Thrace and in Greece, straight, double-edged swords measuring ca. 75 cm in length (Naue II type: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 106–115) were locally produced and circulated.[3] With the evolution of the hoplite phalanx in the Greek polis, use of such swords gradually became less common due to the dominant position of spears (Snodgrass 1967, 58); in Thrace, though, this type likely remained in use until the appearance of other types of swords, such as the single-edged machaira or kopis and the akinakes. Several variations of the latter were adopted by the Scythians and are characteristic of the north Thracian territories; by the fourth century, however, the type is almost extinct and replaced by the machaira and xiphos (Vulpe 1990; Atanasov 1995, nos. 9–12; Tsarov 2008, 84–86, fig. 65). With the Zagortsi sword in mind, the date of which remains debated (Nankov 2007, 37, fig. 2), and two swords from Dragoevo, which, according to their size, must be of earlier date (Atanasov 1995, nos. 1–2), the Thracian use of the xiphos dates from the beginning of the Classical period. One such sword or dagger is found together with bell-shaped armor in the rich grave from Svetlen, dated ca. 450–400; xiphoi are also known from the Kaloyanovo and Vishegrad tombs, dated ca. 350–325 (Dimitrova 1980, 221–222, no. 1, abb. 6). A xiphos from the Zimnicea necropolis (Teleaga 2008, 293, no. 4) and the bone scabbards from Seuthopolis (Nankov 2007, 37, fig. 2) and Yankovo (Atanasov 1995, no. 8) correspond to the xiphoi with similar scabbards featured on the walls of Alexandrovo tomb (see Chapter 13) and suggest the popularity of the type in early Hellenistic Thrace (Nankov 2007). In all likelihood, the sword of the Getic ruler interred in the Tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari is also a xiphos (Chichikova, Stoyanova, and Stoyanov 2012, 80, cat. no. 17).

South of Haemus in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the preferred weapon for close combat, especially by the cavalry, was the machaira (Agre 2011, 92–95; Webber 2011, 59–60). Thucydides' description of the Thracian Dii, who reside in the Rhodope Mountains, as machairophoroi at 2.96.2 suggests that the machaira could be the primary infantry weapon for certain Thracian tribes. Thracian horsemen on Red-Figure mugs from Apollonia Pontica and Karnobat carry a machaira in addition to two spears (Webber 2011, pls. 4–7; for the production of these mugs, see Hermary 2010, 484–486.). Finds, such as the machaira from Zlatinitsa grave, indicate that weapon size might be dependent on the status of the warrior (Agre 2011, 91, app. A). As in Macedonia and the broader Hellenistic world, Thracian members of the ruling elite commissioned, or received as gifts, swords with richly decorated handles and sheaths, like that from "Golyama Kosmatka" tomb, considered by its excavator to be the burial place of Seuthes III (Kitov 2005, 78, fig. 64).

Battle-axes

To date there are only two battle-axes with secure Thracian provenance, one from Sboryanovo, the other from the rich grave in mound III near Kralevo. The date of both contexts is the first half of the third century (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 44–45, fig. 65). The inventory of the Kralevo grave suggests that these axes were used by horsemen. Similar axes, known from the Caucasus and Scythia already in the fourth century, are typical weapons of the cavalry of the fourth-century kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporus and were depicted on artifacts from the northern Black Sea (Melyukova 1964, 65–68, pl. 21.10–16, 21).

Shields

Shields of this period are better attested in written sources and more fully known from representations on metalwork and in tomb paintings than from archaeological finds. There is still debate as to whether the representations of oval shields from the Kazanlak tomb, round shields from Alexandrovo, and the shield from the Sveshtari tomb represent actual shields in use at the time that these monuments were created (see Chapter 13). Herodotus (7.75.1) relates that the European Thracians carried peltai, javelins, and short swords, while, according to Xenophon, the "Thracians took to flight, swinging their shields around behind them, as was their custom" (Anab. 7.4.17; trans. C. L. Brownson). Describing the army of Seuthes II, Xenophon lists three kinds of military units: hoplites, horsemen, and peltasts (Anab. 7.3.40). The literary evidence can be linked to similar representations on Red-Figure mugs from Apollonia Pontica and Karnobat, where two peltasts move at a rapid pace and flank a horseman; in the former the horseman has slung his pelte across his back, while in the latter both horseman and a peltast do so (Webber 2011, pls. 4–7). Finds of shields in Thrace, especially the peltai, are extremely rare and may be due to the perishable materials from which they were made.

The two shields from the rich grave near Golemanite, possibly the earliest known from Thrace to date, have an asymmetrical, oval shape, which resembles shields represented in art from Scythia and the northern Black Sea area (e.g., the gold comb from Soloha kurgan: Melyukova 1964, 78, taf. 4.1–2). One has been plausibly restored as originally coated with articulated iron sheets (Tsarov 2008, 94–95, figs. 73–74); the semicircular central component of the other, from which only six iron fittings are preserved, suggests a similar shape (Tsarov 2008, 92–94, figs. 71–72). Vertical rectangular iron pieces also decorate the shield from a rich grave near Kirklareli in southeastern Thrace, dated to the mid-fourth century

(Delemen, Çokay Kepçe, and Yilmaz 2010, 6, fig. 4). At present, the only convincing hoplite shield known from Thrace was discovered in the above-mentioned tomb on Vishegrad peak in the Sakar Mountains. Its bronze fittings suggest a diameter of 98 cm (Dimitrova 1980, 224–234, abb. 9–15, 18–19, 21, 23). A mid-fourth-century rich grave of an equestrian warrior from the Peichova tumulus near the village of Starosel, Plovdiv district, contained the remains of a round shield (Kitov 2003, 30, 32–33). Two shields were recovered from the early Hellenistic grave of an equestrian warrior from Dolna Koznitsa, Kyustendil district: the one, oval, measuring 90 x 65 cm, is covered with a monolithic bronze sheet, while the other, fragmentary, was ca. 80 cm in diameter. Another round shield with solid bronze base and centrally mounted handle was found in a rich tomb at Naip, near Bisanthe, dated to the late fourth century (Delemen 2004, 94–105, figs. 93–101), the size, ca. 67 cm in diameter, and date of which suggest a relationship with the "Macedonian" shield introduced by Alexander's successors (Sekunda 2010, 458).

Helmets

While the Illyrian helmet dominates west of the Axios River throughout the Archaic and Classical periods (Pflug 1988a, 48–64, abb. 9, 14, 19; Archibald 1998, 201 n. 26; Teleaga 2008, 232–233), no helmet of this type has yet been recovered from Thrace east of the Chalkidiki and north to the Danube River; instead, approximately 100 helmets of other type, mostly Chalkidian, are known from this territory. The Corinthian helmet is, by contrast, quite rare in Thrace, with only two similar examples from the plain of Sofia known, both retrieved from uncertain contexts (Chelopechene: Pflug 1988b, 104 n. 173; Archibald 1998, 201 n. 28, fig. 8.4a; Chelopech: Dimitrova 2004, 127, cat. no. 252) and dated between the final third of the sixth and the early fifth century (Pflug 1988b, 87–94, 102–104, abb. 32–33, 36–37, 48; Connolly 1998, 61–62). The Corinthian helmet does appear on silver and bronze issues of Mesambria Pontica, as well as on early Hellenistic amphora stamps from the city, based on associations with the fabled founder of the city, Melsas, and its place as an emblem of the collegium of the strategoi (cf. Stoyanov 2007, 157 and n. 31).

The Chalkidian helmet was typical in Thrace from the fifth to the early third century, with evidence for more than 60 artifacts of this type known, most with secure provenance (Ognenova-Marinova and Stoyanov 2005, 523–524; Stoyanov 2005; Teleaga 2008, 235–239). Most common are types II and V (Pflug 1988c), with an observed tendency toward local variations that find no parallels outside of Thrace; these examples inspired the ceremonial silver helmets from Agighiol, Peretu, and the Iron Gates, as well as those in gold from Băiceni and Poiana-Coţofeneşti (Ognenova-Marinova and Stoyanov 2005, 519–525). Such helmets are especially well attested in northeastern Thrace in the probable core territory of the mid-fourth- to mid-third-century Getic state (cf. Stoyanov 2000, 62; Stoyanov et al. 2006, 55, fig. 73).

The Thracian helmet (Jarva 1995; Connolly 1998), sometimes described as "Phrygian" (Vokotopoulou 1982; Waurick 1988, 163) or "tiara-like" (Dintsis 1986, 23, 50–53), grew popular in southern Thrace beginning in the late Classical period (Minchev 2009, 347–348; Webber 2011, 40–41). More than 20 such helmets have been found in Thrace, with reports of additional examples from private collections. Four examples have been discovered in the Kazanlak area and the type is depicted on paintings inside the Kazanlak and Alexandrovo tombs, while additional fragments of such helmets from northeastern Bulgaria have recently been published (Minchev 2009, 348–353, figs. 1–4); this geographical distribution may suggest that these helmets were in use in territories not directly controlled by Macedonians. It is difficult to accept uncritically J. Vokotopoulou's proposition (1982, 519) that the "Phrygian

type helmet was introduced to Thrace by the Macedonians after Philip II and Alexander." Finds of this type, normally from warrior graves and usually in combination with the typical local weapon, romphaia, are also concentrated in the central and western Rhodope Mountains, lands associated with the notoriously unmanageable Thracian ethne of the Satri and Bessi (cf. Waurick 1988, 168, ab. 46; Mikov 2010). Additional support for the hypothesis of local production and use of Thracian-type helmets is provided by the virtual absence in Thrace of the Boiotian helmets characteristic of the Macedonian army (only one example is known, of dubious provenance: Dimitrov 2006) and by the fact that Phrygian helmets are sparsely represented in northern Greece and Macedonia, where the custom of placing armor and weapons within soldiers' graves is attested, as in Thrace.

While several finds of Attic- and Pylos-type helmets, or their variations, are known from Thrace, all date to the Hellenistic period (e.g., Teleaga 2008, 239–240, no. 2); they are clearly not representative of Thrace, despite the campaigns of Philip II, Alexander, Zopyrion, and Lysimachus in the region (see Chapters 5–6). Thus, all facts presented above speak in favor of the local production and use of Thracian-type helmets (Wassilev 1984; Mikov 2010).

Concerning the origin, production centers, and date of this group, some previously neglected data – the amphora stamps of Thasos with pictures of Chalkidian- and Thracian-type helmets – are to be included in the discussion; such helmets were probably produced on the island and shipped to Thracian markets (Stoyanov 2007, 155–158, pl. II.5–6), where Thasian goods and traders were predominant until the first decades of the third century.

Armor

While it is not clear what type of armor Xenophon had in mind when he described Seuthes' cavalry (Anab. 7.3.40; the term thorax can describe breast-plates, leather-linen armor with metal fittings, or scale armor: see Lee 2008, 112), the number of armor finds of almost all known types and variants found in Thrace is increasing constantly (Ognenova 1961; Ognenova 2000). The earliest finds belong to the so-called "bell-shaped" type (type I: Jarva 1995, 20–29), known also in Archaic Greece, which began to appear in elite graves ca. 450–400 (e.g., Duvanli, Tatarevo, Svetlen, Shipka, and Gorski Izvor, among others).

New burial finds confirm the proposition that in Thrace type II and IV cuirasses (Jarva 1995, 29–30, 33–44) were combined with varying frontal neck-guards (peritrechelion); Macedonia furnishes parallels. Striking examples from Mezek, Yankovo, and Varbitsa (Ognenova 1961, 530–533) are made of iron sheet and covered by gilded silver foil with rich plastic decoration in concentric arrangement. Some scholars believe that the three breast-plates from Thrace and similar examples found in Tomb II at Vergina, Katerini, and Pydna were produced in the same Amphipolis workshop (Faklaris 1991, 16). Three recently discovered examples from the Kazanlak Valley, still unpublished, may be added to the known breast-plates from Thrace. The full reconstruction of scale armor in combination with a similar neck-guard in the Zlatinitsa burial has shed light on this type of armor, which was obviously popular in Thrace during the fourth century (Agre 2011, 72–84, fig. III.15–19).

Greaves become a component of Thracian armor later than plate cuirasses, ca. 400–350. The earliest complex with a pair of greaves is the rich burial in Peychova tumulus near Starosel, dated to the mid-fourth century (Kitov 2003, 33). The four ceremonial silver greaves from Agighiol, Vratsa, and Zlatinitsa (Agre 2011, 45–72, fig. III.1–14), likely produced ca. 375–350, testify to the earlier use of greaves by wealthy cavalrymen in Thrace.

28.3 Cavalry: Weaponry and Equipment

Detailed and presumably authentic depictions of Thracian light cavalry, which were known during the fourth century, employed by Alexander, and held in high esteem throughout the Hellenistic period (Launey 1987, 368–395), are featured on Black-Figure mugs from Sozopol and Karnobat that were produced ca. 420 specifically for the local market in an Attic workshop recreating a local form (Hermary 2010, 484–486, fig. 336); it is tempting to speculate that these images represent cavalry similar to that described by Xenophon in 400 (Anab. 7.4.4).

The early formation of heavy cavalry in Thrace took place in the last third of the fifth century and increasingly rich finds with broad geographic distribution are observed in the fourth century through the campaigns of Philip II and Alexander. Based on the general archaeological record in Thrace ca. 600–450, it is reasonable to assume that Sitalces' encounter with the heavy cavalry of Upper Macedonia decisively influenced this development (Thuc. 2.100.5). As indicated above, the use of shields by elite cavalry in Thrace increases beginning in the last decades of the fifth century. N. Sekunda's assertion (2010, 469 n. 70) that the Macedonian (and Greek) cavalry began to use shields only in the 270s, borrowing the technique from Celtic invaders, is shaky, given the constant interaction between Thracians, Greeks, and Macedonians in earlier centuries.

Bridles

The growing number of rich graves, murals, and toreutic artifacts indicates that several types of bridle were in use. During the fourth century in Thrace, as in Greece and more broadly in the Mediterranean, variants of severe bridles (type VII and VIII, after Donder 1980; type V, X–XI, after Werner 1988) were introduced.

Saddle and stirrups

The quantity and diversity of spurs excavated at Sboryanovo and other settlement centers in northeastern Thrace raise questions about the introduction of other horse trappings critical in battle, especially the hard saddle and stirrups (Stoyanov 2003). The depiction of the ruler in the Tomb with Caryatids at Sveshtari seems to be the first representation of such elements from Hellenistic Thrace (Chichikova et al. 2012, 47). The outline of a saddle with a high back and rising front board, comparable to the high saddles of the time and so far unique in Thrace, is unmistakable. Scholars have already established, however, that the introduction of stirrups was directly preceded by the adoption of the hard saddle. Such a development is entirely plausible for early Hellenistic Thrace, given Scythian artifacts dated to the late fourth century, like the Chertomlujk amphora-rhyton, which depicts a narrow strap attached to the saddle (Vigneron 1968, 81–83, pl. 33b). At Sveshtari, the narrow strap drops down and slightly forward from the king's saddle, wraps behind his leg and reaches the arch of the foot; the tip of the shoe rests in and is entirely enveloped by a broad band, most likely a leather stirrup (Chichikova et al. 2012, 47, fig. 66); such an identification is also supported by the position of the leg, which is bent at the knee. Several fittings from the Letnitsa hoard, dated to the mid-fourth century, offer some of the earliest images of horsemen with leg bent at a right angle and foot resting horizontally (Venedikov and Gerassimov 1979, 120–121, ills. 285–286).

28.4 Artillery

Although historians of ancient Thrace have been silent on the subject of artillery until recently, finds from Seuthopolis, Sboryanovo, Pistiros, "Kozi Gramadi," Dragoevo (Stoyanov 2008, 46–47 nn. 2–5; Nankov 2008), and Kalyva indicate that artillery was used by armies of the Thracian rulers and those fighting for control over Thracian territory. In fact, southern Thrace was an early, prominent venue for the development of Philip II's artillery, with the technology featuring prominently in the siege of Olynthos, the conquest of the Chalkidiki, and especially in the sieges of Perinthos and Byzantion (Marsden 1977, 216–221; Campbell 2011, 681); and, in one of the earliest attested defensive uses of artillery, catapults sent by Byzantion were deployed against Philip by the Perinthians during his siege of the city (Marsden 1969, 116). Lysimachus laid siege to Odessos, Callatis, and Istros in 313; although archaeological evidence of catapults from these cities is still lacking, Lysimachus certainly possessed such engines (Plut., Demetr. 20.8).

Several arrowheads from Sboryanovo with solid pyramidal tip and a long tang for hafting were either propelled by a very powerful bow, or, less likely, gastraphetes. One such projectile, 9.2 cm long and weighing 14 g, is atypical for northeastern Thrace, although analogous projectiles are known from Dragoevo (Stoyanov 2008, 50, fig. 2.9–12); similar finds are known from Pistiros, which have been compared to examples from Macedonia and Greece (Domaradzki 1993, 41). Identical projectiles are confidently identified as catapult darts at Egypt's Qasr Ibrim (Campbell 2003, 35). Additional finds from Sboryanovo suggest the use of larger artillery, including a projectile tip with solid, pyramidal head and long, cylindrical socket tang, measuring 19.6 cm in length and weighing 29 g (Stoyanov 2008, 50, fig. 2.6–7); at present, no ancient parallel for a projectile of this size is known. Another category of projectile, with heavy pyramidal tip and a relatively long conical cap, was recovered at Sboryanovo, which compares well with finds from Seuthopolis that measure 6.3 to 9 cm in length and have been correctly identified by E. Nankov (2008, 40, fig. 18) as catapult projectiles. A larger type, 14 cm in length, is also known from Sboryanovo. In the absence of information about their exact find spots, however, it is impossible to know whether these should be associated with defensive or offensive artillery.

Catapult projectiles from Macedonia, Illyria, Bosporus, and other parts of the Hellenistic world are similar in form and dimension. Projectiles from the late Hellenistic villa in Ephyra, Epirus, measure 9.5–10 cm in length and presumably were attached to shafts measuring ca. 77 cm in length and fired by a small caliber catapult measuring 2.1 by 1.2 m (Campbell 2003, 14). Comparison with the Thracian artifacts suggests that the smaller projectiles were hurled with a gastraphetes or small oxybeles, while the large one implies a longer shaft and a larger catapult.

A settlement complex on the terrace below the south fortification wall at Sboryanovo yielded a new type of socketed projectile with saw-edged double-foil, serrated tip. The asymmetrical section of the head was made to fit better with the catapult's mount. The surviving piece is 12 cm long, which, combined with a socket presumably 5–6 cm in length, suggests that it was shot by a large-caliber catapult. Similar projectiles have been found nearby in Shumen region (Stoyanov 2008, 53, fig. 2.8, nn. 37–38), but not, as yet, outside of Thrace.

In light of the established correlation between projectile size and catapult parameters, the evidence from Thrace discussed above suggests that at least four types of catapults were in use. Unfortunately, there is no specialized study of the relationship of projectile type to catapult type, and so it is difficult to know whether only the oxybeles was used or if larger-caliber torsion catapults, palintones, were employed as well (see Campbell 2011, 680–689).

Based on find spot, three of the Sboryanovo projectiles should be associated with catapults installed on the extension of the southern fortification wall and the complex situated west of it (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 24, 43–44, fig. 44). The discovery of two of the projectiles beneath the destruction layer of the eastern wall of building C in this complex eliminates the possibility that they were used by the besieging army. It is most likely that the projectiles came from an arsenal located on the ground floor of the complex by the southern fortification wall, or from engines installed on the wall platform. These observations confirm the presence of arrow-hurling engines in the arsenal of the garrison defending the Getic capital in Sboryanovo (Stoyanov 2008, 53–54).

At present, the most decisive evidence of stone-throwing catapults (lithoboloi, petroboloi) from Thrace is also provided by Seuthopolis and Sboryanovo. Following the superficial presentation and interpretation of stone artillery balls from Seuthopolis in preliminary publications as evidence of "an assault following a siege with battering engines" after which the town was "completely destroyed and pillaged" (Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978, 58), E. Nankov has presented a more detailed study (2008, 40–42). A great portion of the stone balls are found near or along the east and southeastern curtain wall. Their caliber can be extrapolated from the scale photos in one of the publications (cf. Nankov 2008, 41, figs. 23–24). With diameters ranging from 6.5–7 cm for the smallest up to 12–13 cm for the largest, they fall within the 1–12 minae range, and thus required relatively small-caliber catapults (Campbell 2003, 17–22). Nankov cites 10–13 cm and 2–4 kg items (i.e., 5–10 minae caliber lithoboloi). His assertion that only torsion catapults were employed could be challenged, however (cf. Campbell 2011). He is skeptical about the use of stone balls by the besieging army (Nankov 2008, 41–42).

Important questions remain about both the identity of the attacker who allegedly employed these siege engines and the date of the siege. While the site's excavators accept that Seuthopolis was destroyed in the 270s (Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978, 58), the recently revised date of amphorae stamps and import wares (West Slope style), together with the recognition of La Tène fibulae and materials in the town and its necropoleis, suggest a somewhat later date in the second quarter of the third century (Stoyanov 2006, 87; Balkanska and Tzochev 2008). Based chiefly on numismatic evidence, M. Tacheva (2000, 25–27, 37) has dated the city's destruction to 252 and associated it with the campaign of Antiochus II in southern Thrace; the idea has been favorably received (Nankov 2008). The use of catapults by Antiochus II is plausible and far more credible than their implementation by, for example, the Celts during one of their alleged attacks on Seuthopolis in the 270s. The hypothesis that the town was taken easily, because the engines installed during the construction of the towers had already fallen out of use by 252 (Nankov 2008, 42), is open to debate.

When compared to the stone artillery balls from other ancient settlements, the 12 examples from Helis rank among the smallest. Four of these, measuring 5–7.8 cm in diameter and weighing 205–490 g, were probably shot by 1–10 minae non-torsion, oxybeles-type catapults. More formidable is a stone ball found in the destruction layer of a residential complex and dated ca. 300–250. Measuring ca. 24 cm in diameter and weighing ca. 18–20 kg, this stone shot was probably launched by a 40–45 minae caliber catapult that was operated by a team of at least seven men. The argument for its use by attackers, not defenders, is supplied by the material used – a type of sandstone not found locally (Stoyanov 2008, 57, fig. 4). The sling bullets and limestone and flint balls for small-caliber catapults found to date (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 44, fig. 64f), however, could be considered as belonging to the town defenders. The large sandstone ball and the two catapult projectiles from the complex on the third terrace (Stoyanov 2008, fig. 2.6, 8) discussed above suggest that the colossal fortification wall of Helis, which was reconstructed and extended in the course of the first half of the third century (Stoyanov et al. forthcoming), was created and maintained in the context of a

lengthy and exhausting military conflict in northeastern Thrace in the late fourth and early third century. While literary sources are clear that the war between Lysimachus and Dromichaetes ended ca. 293–291 with the capture of Lysimachus (Delev 2000), the archaeological evidence indicates that even after these events the state of affairs in the area was not tranquil.

Six round, marble balls were recovered from the Kalyva fort, inscribed with letters that most likely indicated their weight (Triantaphyllos 2004, 115, fig. 65). A stone catapult ball was found at Pistiros (Nankov 2008, 42 n. 32). The discovery of additional evidence for the use of various types of catapults from the towns and forts of inland and coastal Thrace is eagerly anticipated.

28.5 Fortified Settlements, Fortresses, and Structures

Most archaeologically documented Iron Age stone fortifications in Thracian territories are located in mountainous regions, yet only a few can be dated confidently to the second phase of the Early Iron Age. The presence of extant constructions of this date as, for example, at Vishegrad, supports the idea that such a tradition existed prior to the arrival of both Greek apoikiai on the Thracian coast and Pistiros-type sites deep within the Thracian hinterland (see Chapters 9 and 26), which were obviously influenced by Greek traditions of fortification. Philologists are unanimous that the -diza, -dizos, -deize components of some Thracian toponyms can be translated as "wall" or "fortress," comparable to the Greek teichos, and that the settlements so named were fortified; another word, tyrsis, is usually thought to mean a fortified residence of a Thracian ruler or aristocrat (see Chapters 9 and 26). Xenophon, for example, recounts his visit to the well-guarded tower (tyrsis) of Seuthes II in a village in the hinterland of Perinthos (Anab. 7.2.21). The site near Kozi Gramadi is considered a fortified residence of a Thracian ruler, perhaps Odrysian, established in the mid-fourth century (Christov 2012a). Several sites in southern Thrace that may have some bearing on the problem, such as, for example, Knyazhevo, Topolovgrad district (Agre 2013), have come to light in the past decade, but their excavation has not yet reached a point from which substantial conclusions may be drawn. The absence of more specific information has generated many interpretations of the nature and role of such Classical and early Hellenistic Thracian royal residences; some scholars interpret them as the kernels of emerging Thracian urban centers with central economic and political significance (see Chapter 9). At present, however, no such evolution can be demonstrated archaeologically prior to Philip II's conquest of, or extension of control over, large portions of southern and northeastern Thrace.

Two strategic fortifications in southern Thrace are likely to have been built by Philip II. The first, Kalyva, located in the southwestern Rhodope Mountains, is built in ashlar masonry on a commanding point overlooking the Nestos River (Triantaphyllos 2003, 92–96). The other, Buyuk Kale, occupies the "Vishegrad" peak, which, as the highest point in the Sakar Mountains (856 m), offered a vista of the roads along the Hebros and Tonsos Rivers to their confluence, as well as far to the north, east, and west. The fortification is built upon a square terrace measuring 75 x 75 m and is equipped with square corner towers and an ashlar curtain wall, which is preserved up to 2 m in thickness and up to 2.5 m in height. An isolated tumulus near the platform contains a small tomb, mentioned above, with a warrior burial from the fourth century including hoplite shield, spear, and xiphos, perhaps of a garrison officer (Dimitrova 1980).

New foundations with substantial fortification walls, but substantially different from the sites presented above with respect to history and function, such as Pistiros, Kabyle, Philippopolis, and Pernik in southern Thrace, and Sboryanovo, Coţofeni din Dos, Zimnicea, and Satu Nou, are discussed elsewhere in this volume (see Chapters 9 and 26). Here I offer summary remarks on this problem. The close correspondence in topography and wall trace between the fortress Philippi, the first settlement in Thrace reorganized and named after Philip II, and Kabyle is not coincidental and is a further indication of military changes in Thrace after Philip and Alexander (Stoyanov 2006, 89, 91). The most recent analysis of the fortifications of Seuthopolis, especially its towers and gates, has found direct parallels with the remodeled or newly built fortifications of the Successors in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, like Cassandrea, Dion, and Demetrias, and raises the possibility that architects and builders from the south were involved (Nankov 2008). Although in synergy with local traditions, plans and architectural traditions borrowed from Hellenistic poliorcetics are also documented at sites elsewhere in Thrace, such as, for example, Kabyle (Stoyanov 2006, 89–91). It is thus not accidental that both Seuthopolis and Helis have produced evidence of artillery use.

The territory of the ancient Getae in northeastern Bulgaria has recently produced detailed evidence of fortifications, which, in the early Hellenistic period and at other times, defended the borders of territories controlled by the Getae and Macedonians. Indirect evidence for this is found in ancient literary sources that discuss the contract between Dromichaetes and Lysimachus, in which the latter pledged to surrender the forts taken in the war upon his release from captivity (cf. Diod. 21.12.3, 6; Paus. 1.9.6; Lund 1992, 40, 45–49; Stoyanov et al. 2006, 55, fig. 73.)

28.6 Organization, Strategy, and Tactics

There is no evidence, unfortunately, that specifically addresses questions of military organization, strategy, and tactics in Thrace. Ancient literary sources, discussing the more significant conflicts that took place in Thrace, from Darius' campaign against Scythia to Rome's Macedonian Wars, can provide some clues.

The natural environment of Thrace offered potential for horse-rearing and the maintenance of cavalry units that were substantial when compared to those of much of mainland and Aegean Greece. The most telling and discussed example is offered by Thucydides, who claims (2.98.3–4) that 50,000 horsemen were enlisted by Sitalces in his Macedonian campaign of 429 (Archibald 1998, 205). The interactions of the Getae with the Scythians resulted in Getic borrowing of many typical Scythian weapons and probably the associated methods of fighting. Many scholars accept wholeheartedly Arrian's remark (Tact. 16.6) that the Macedonians, perhaps under Philip II, adopted the arrangement of tetrarchiai cavalry units into a V-formation from the Thracians, who in turn had copied it from the Scythians (Archibald 1998, 204; Sekunda 2007, 331, fig. 11.3; Lund 1992, 47 even claims that the Getae were the Thracians that adopted these tactics); direct evidence, however, is lacking. The proposition that the 2000 Getic cavalrymen employed successfully by Seuthes (II?) in his war against Athens in the Thracian Chersonese in the late fifth century (Polyaen. 7.38) were in fact a professional unit (Archibald 1998, 205) deserves consideration.

The most numerous types of soldiers were certainly the light infantry or peltasts. Discussion continues about the degree to which knowledge of the weaponry and tactical capacity of Thracian peltasts was based on the reform of Iphicrates and Philip II's establishment of the

Macedonian phalanx (cf. Best 1969, 79–119; Sekunda 2007, 326–329). The review of Thracian weapons known from archaeological contexts, however, indirectly suggests the potential of ancient Thrace for this debate.

The presence of Greeks and especially the service of prominent Greek commanders under Thracian rulers in the Classical period influenced the development of the military art in Thrace. Before the beginning of excavations at Pistiros, the grave of a Greek warrior or commander near Pesnopoy, Plovdiv district, dated ca. 425–400 (Domaradzki 2003, 106) seemed odd and isolated deep within the Thracian hinterland; the burial, in a clay sarcophagus from a grave without a tumulus, is distinct from local custom. The establishment and development of emporia with Greek populations in inland Thrace by the fifth century and their presumed maintenance of military forces (Domaradzki 1993, 41) may help to explain the Pesnopoy burial. Such conditions also indicate a considerably improved capacity for weapon use and production. Military units consisting of garrison or volunteer forces were needed to man the fortifications of Pistiros from its foundation in the mid-fifth century. This evidence leads to a revision of traditional interpretations of Arrian's description of Alexander's Thracian campaign in 335: "Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded Thrace … and in ten days reached Mount Haemus, where there met him … many of the merchants (tōn emporōn) in arms and the independent Thracians" (Anab. 1.1.5–6, trans. Robson; cf. Domaradzka and Velkov 1994, 9: "un grand nombre d'emporitains"; Domaradzki 2003, 112 nn. 25–26).

The presence of many Greek military units deep within the Thracian hinterland, armed according to their native tradition and under Greek commanders, from the second half of the fifth century until Alexander's campaign, offers a new perspective on the evolution of war in Thrace. The employment of experienced generals, such as Iphicrates and Chares (married to Kotys' daughters) as commanders of the Odrysian armies of Kotys and Kersebleptes, suggests a highly evolved military art in Thrace, even prior to Philip and Alexander's Thracian campaigns. The short stay of Xenophon's mercenary army in southeastern Thrace may also have been influential in this development.

Evidence for the construction of temporary camps is also of interest. Xenophon describes the camp of the Odrysian unit of 200 horsemen and 300 peltasts, which was sent to aid Derkylidas in Bithynia in 399, as featuring palisades standing as tall as a man (Hell. 3.2.2–5). Arrian notes that, during his Thracian campaign in 335, Alexander came upon the Triballian army at their camp by the Lyginus River, but provides no further detail (Anab. 1.2.4); the Triballoi are also alleged to have arranged their forces in three parts, center, left, and right flanks (Anab. 1.2.5–6), which many scholars have regarded as the beginning of a formation for battle position, in Greek fashion (Danov and Fol 1979, 187).

Military activity in Thrace, from the arrival of Lysimachus in 323 until his war with Dromichaetes in the 290s, likely contributed to the emergence of skilled Thracian commanders and capable Thracian units of light and possibly heavy infantry, heavy and light cavalry, military architecture, and poliorcetics. The clash of the armies of Seuthes III with those of Lysimachus may suggest the presence of regular, well-equipped, and well-armed Thracian units among the 20,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry; the fierce battle resulted in many casualties even within Lysimachus' professional army (Diod. 18.14.2–4; cf. Loukopoulou 2011). In describing Lysimachus' encounter with Dromichaetes and the Getae, Pausanias wrote that "engaging with men not unversed in warfare and far superior in number, he himself [Lysimachus] escaped from a position of extreme danger" (1.9.6; trans. Jones and Ormerod). Such assessments resonate strongly with the archaeological evidence presented above. Clearly, the inclusion of Thracians in the armies of Alexander and the Successors was crucial for the development of the Thracian military art.

28.7 Conclusion

This overview of evidence for the development of Thracian warfare during the first millennium clearly defines certain trends that were conditioned by proximity to and close contacts with Greece and Macedonia to the south and Scythia to the north. The emergence of the Odrysian kingdom influenced and channeled deliberate efforts on the part of the kings to develop this field further. The employment of eminent Greek military commanders and the establishment of emporia in the interior of southern Thrace from the fifth century contributed to the strong influence of the Greek way of war and perhaps to the Greek acquaintance with and adoption of Thracian tactics and forms of war, such as peltasts, that were suitable for the changing Classical polis.

The establishment of direct or indirect levels of Macedonian control in Thrace during the marches of Philip II and Alexander, as well as the reorganization of local settlements into strategic and economic powerhouses, encouraged the development of armor and warfare. The adoption of Hellenistic trends in poliorcetics is manifested in both military architecture and the implementation of artillery as a new and essential means of war. The existence of three early Hellenistic states on the territory of ancient Thrace – those of Lysimachus, the Odrysian kingdom in inland Thrace, and that of the Getae in northeast Thrace – and Lysimachus' conflicts with Seuthes III and Dromichaetes stimulated the diversification of weaponry and the development of local armies in the context of warfare in the Hellenistic koine. The use of large Thracian units in the armies of Alexander and the Successors were additional factors in the development of the Thracian art of war and the recognition of Thracian warriors as mercenaries on demand.

Translated by V. Bineva

NOTES

1 All ancient dates are BCE.
2 Only the spearhead is published, 37 cm in length, alongside similar finds from Dragoevo and Byala (Atanasov 1995, 58, no. 58). The sauroter is 28 cm long, with a ca. 23 cm tang.
3 Nineteen iron swords and elements of a bronze sword with iron rivets are known from Thrace.

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Ognenova-Marinova, Ljuba. 2000. "L'armure des Thraces." Archaeologia Bulgarica, 3: 11–24. A concise overview of Iron Age Thracian cuirasses; abounds with information combining literary sources and archaeological data known up to the time of publication.

Stoyanov, Totko et al. Forthcoming. The Thracian City. Townplaning. Fortification System. Architecture. Sboryanovo 3, Part 1. Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Okhridski." Excavation report on the results of a 25-year archaeological investigation of the largest town in northeastern Thrace, possibly identified with ancient Helis, the capital of the Getic ruler Dromichaetes; presents observations about fortifications and artillery in light of known examples from Thrace and the Hellenistic world.

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