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Rebecca McManus April 16, 2013

The Adaptation of Greek Architectural Decoration in Monumental Thracian Tombs in the Kazanlak Valley

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Abstract

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The lasting monuments to the ancient civilization of Thrace are the tombs hidden under the tumuli that speckle its landscape. The Classical and early Hellenistic tombs of the Kazanlak Valley, in the vicinity of the Hellenistic Odrysian capital city of Seuthopolis, were excavated in the second half of the twentieth century and attest that Odrysian Thrace produced monumental funerary architecture with strong visual associations to that of Greece. While these tombs have been studied individually, no study has been conducted that compares the tombs as a group to each other or to those of surrounding cultures. In this thesis, I would like to consider the tombs of the Kazanlak Valley in this context. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is fourfold: first, to determine the degree to which Greek architectural decoration influenced that of the monumental Thracian tombs in the Kazanlak Valley and to identify the Greek antecedents of those influences; second, to explore ancient Greco-Thracian artistic hybridity as displayed in these tombs; third, to identify possible avenues of cultural transmission between Greece and the Kazanlak Valley during these periods; and fourth, to hypothesize about possible motives for adapting Greek decorative elements to a Thracian context.

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INTRODUCTION: THRACE AND THE THRACIANS

The lasting monuments to the ancient civilization of Thrace are the tombs hidden under the tumuli that speckle its landscape. The Classical and early Hellenistic tombs of the Kazanlak Valley, in the vicinity of the Hellenistic Odrysian capital city of Seuthopolis, were excavated in the second half of the twentieth century and attest that Odrysian Thrace produced monumental funerary architecture with strong visual associations to that of Greece. While these tombs have been studied individually, no study has been conducted that compares the tombs as a group to each other or to those of surrounding cultures. In this thesis, I would like to consider the tombs of the Kazanlak Valley in this context. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is fourfold: first, to determine the degree to which Greek architectural decoration influenced that of the monumental Thracian tombs in the Kazanlak Valley and to identify the Greek antecedents of those influences; second, to explore ancient Greco-Thracian artistic hybridity as displayed in these tombs; third, to identify possible avenues of cultural transmission between Greece and the Kazanlak Valley during these periods; and fourth, to hypothesize about possible motives for adapting Greek decorative elements to a Thracian context.

In antiquity, there seems to be no consensus as to exactly what or where Thrace was. Thrace in its earliest form was a concept imposed on a group of tribes by other cultures with very little concern for accuracy; in these cases a Thracian might be interchangeable with a German or any other barbarian, becoming merely a subset of the Greek and Roman cultures' larger concept of "the other." When Thracians were given a separate identity by Greeks and Romans, there is still no agreement on what qualified as Thracian. For example, Herodotus defines the Thracians culturally, saying that they were regional tribes of a great number with no political cohesion but cultural ties distinct enough to separate them, at least in his mind, from the nearby Getae and

Trausi peoples (Hdt. 5.3) Strabo, in *Geography*, describes them as an amalgamation of seven tribes; he excludes several tribes that the Greeks had previously identified as Thracian but gives no basis for his categorization (7.3.2). Jones states that the Thracian identity was "merely an ethnological expression."[1]

More modern scholarly interpretations tend towards a geographic definition. Mommsen defines "the mountain-land on the two sides of the Margus (Morava), and the flat country stretching along between the Haemus and the Danube" as Thracian lands, while almost a hundred years later Hoddinott envisioned a Thrace that encompassed modern Turkey to the west bank of the Hellespont, northeastern Greece and Bulgaria.[2] Hoddinott is careful to note, however, that these boundaries are not definite and that "the borders were mostly ill-defined and variable" at best.[3]

Ancient sources of information about Thrace and the Thracians are found in both the literary and archaeological records. Since Thracian territory often abutted Greek territory, it is not hard to imagine that the two peoples had nearly constant contact throughout history. The list of ancient authors who mention Thracians is extensive and begins with Homer, who includes Thracian soldiers and much of Thracian geography in his *Iliad*. Thracians feature in Euripides' *Alcestis*, Herodotus' *Histories*, Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*, Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, and Tacitus' *Annals*, among others. Greek and Roman authors tend to describe Thracians as warlike barbarians with strange customs, and Thracians very rarely featured in a main role in literature. Two exceptions, however, the mythological figure of Orpheus and the Thracian slave Spartacus,

[1] Jones 1937, 2.
[2] Mommsen 1886, 207.
[3] Hoddinott 1981, 14.

made their way into Greek and Roman popular culture and are still subjects of popular interest today.

The archaeological record spans from prehistory through modern day. Before the 6th century BC, settlement and trade patterns indicate that the Thracians were a tribal people. Tribal loyalties were strong and, according to Herodotus, prevented the Thracians from reaching the potential that their skill in war and great numbers would have made possible (5.3). Despite the insulation of each tribal society, the larger Thracian economy thrived throughout much of prehistory. Pottery and metal finds – including bronze, iron, gold, and silver – indicate strong, long-term connections with civilizations on either side of the Hellespont. For example, in the Late Bronze Age, pottery and bronze finds show a connection with Mycenaean Greece, Troy, and various Anatolian peoples.[4] By the Early Iron Age there was a great diffusion of ideas reflected in the gradual spread of ironworking and a large pottery industry.[5]

By far the most continuous record of Thracian occupation can be seen in burials. Simple inhumation burials were the burial method of choice throughout Thrace before the Iron Age.[6] By the Early Iron Age megalithic chamber tombs, called dolmens, begin to appear and contained both cremation and inhumation burials.[7] In the southeast, dolmens were supplemented with rock-cut tombs, also containing inhumation or cremation burials.[8] After the Early Iron Age, monumental rock-cut tombs and dolmens continued to exist alongside cist and shaft tombs.[9] The end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th centuries BC bring about the tomb form of interest in this

[4] Hoddinott 1981, 59-60.
[5] Hoddinott 1981, 82.
[6] Archibald 1998, 66.
[7] Hoddinott 1981, 72.
[8] Hoddinott 1981, 79-80.
[9] Archibald 1998, 66. For more on Thrace before the 6th century BC, see Archibald 1998, 26-47 and Hoddinott 1981, 14-87.

thesis: the Thracian built tomb set within an earth tumulus.[10] These tombs have a remarkable variety of variation in both form and decoration and are found in all regions of Thrace. The tombs of the Kazanlak Valley, near the Odrysian capital city of Seuthopolis, are excellent representations of the diversity and creativity of Thracian built tombs.

[10] Archibald 1998, 282.

CHAPTER 1: THE KAZANLAK VALLEY AND ITS TOMBS

The tombs in question are located in a large, partially isolated valley in the center of modern Bulgaria, which stretches along the upper reaches of the Tundzha River. The valley covers approximately 780 sq km, occupying the space between the Sredna Gora mountain range to the south and the Stara Planina range to the north.[11] The convergence of the two mountain ranges creates the eastern and western borders of the valley, which are penetrated by mountain passes and, in the east, the Tundzha River.[12]

In modern times, the valley has been called the Valley of the Roses, the Valley of the Thracian Kings, or the Kazanlak Valley. The moniker "Valley of the Roses" refers to the valley's ancient and modern rose oil industry but includes a geographic space beyond the scope of this paper. The name "the Valley of the Thracian Kings" was coined by Bulgarian archaeologist Georgi Kitov to denote the richness of the archaeological finds in the area.[13] However, the name misrepresents the archaeological evidence in favor of poeticism and I shall not use it here. The name "the Kazanlak Valley" is derived from the major modern city of Kazanlak that anchors the area. Since this designation best represents the region of discussion, I shall use this term. To avoid confusion, I shall use the term "Kazanlak Valley" to refer to the valley as a geographic whole, "the city of Kazanlak" to refer to the modern city, and "the Kazanlak tomb" to refer to the monumental built tomb found under a tumulus in the city of Kazanlak.

Just as the city of Kazanlak is the urban center of the valley in modern times, the city of Seuthopolis anchored the valley in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. The Hellenistic city was founded

[11] Sobotková et al. 2010, 2.
[12] Sobotková et al. 2010, 2.
[13] Kitov 1999a, 3.

by Seuthes III, the king of the Odrysian tribe that controlled Thrace during the early Hellenistic period. The city was located at the foot of the Sredna Gora Mountains at the western extent of the valley and is currently covered by the waters of the Koprinka reservoir. Rescue excavations carried out by archaeologist D. Dimitrov furnished ample evidence of an advanced Hellenistic city distinctly influenced by Greek language and architecture.[14] The city was laid out on a Hippodamian grid with highly developed public economic, religious, and royal spaces in addition to numerous private homes. Despite the city's advanced development, however, the fortification walls only surrounded an area of approximately five hectares.[15] This space could not have housed the mass of people that a capital city would have attracted and produced over the course of nearly two centuries; outlying rural and suburban areas likely held a significant portion of the region's inhabitants. In addition, the remains of a previous city in the same location suggest that rural or suburban settlements would have already been established in the valley by the city's construction at the end of the 4th century BC.[16] Therefore, although private houses and their decoration are preserved within the city itself, it is difficult to associate definitively the residents of these houses with the residents of the Kazanlak Valley tombs. It is possible that the wealthy Thracians who commissioned and were buried in these tombs lived outside the small city, in towns or estates that do not survive. The tombs, therefore, stand in their own right as important cultural markers and indicators of Odrysian architecture and architectural decoration.

The tombs in this study are monumental, constructed edifices found under earthen tumuli within the Kazanlak Valley and are dated to between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC. Scholars separate them into groupings named after the modern towns they surround, with the exception of

[14] See Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978.
[15] Hoddinott 1975, 94.
[16] Hoddinott 1975, 98.

geographic outliers such as the Gabarevo and Slavcheva tombs to the extreme west and south of the valley, respectively, and the stand-alone Kazanlak and Ostrusha tombs (see fig. 1.1).

The tombs are constructed predominantly of granite or limestone, both native Thracian materials,[17] though six tombs (Kazanlak, Kesteleva, Koprinka I and II, Krun II, and Racheva) are built of fired bricks. The use of fired bricks, as opposed to mud bricks, is specific to Thracian tombs in the Kazanlak Valley and is found only scarcely in other contexts in the valley, such as occasionally in Seuthopolis.[18] The complexity of the tomb plans and construction methods varies widely. The tombs can have as few as one (Gabarevo) or as many as six (Ostrusha) parts, with most of the tombs consisting of three parts. A dromos or articulated approach is common and is followed by one or more antechambers that lead to the burial chamber. With the exception of the Ostrusha tomb, the rooms of which form a rectangular complex, the Kazanlak Valley tomb plans are arranged along a single, roughly north-south axis. A visitor would proceed from the entrance into the antechamber or antechambers and dead-end into the burial chamber.[19] Construction methods vary from roughly-cut stone joined by clay mortar to the aforementioned fired bricks, also mortared, to fine ashlar masonry joined by iron clamps sheathed in lead. Marble is not a major construction material in the Kazanlak Valley and is used only for doors.

Of the twenty tombs excavated in the Kazanlak Valley, slightly fewer than half have remaining traces of architectural decoration and are the subject of this research. Each necropolis contributes at least one decorated tomb to the discussion. In addition, the independent Ostrusha and Kazanlak tombs have a high degree of preserved decoration. A short introduction to each tomb is necessary to understand the decoration of each. What follow are a general geographic

[17] Archibald 1998, 12.

[18] Hoddinott 1975, 98; Zarev 2001, 73-74. For further discussion of the brick-built tombs in the Kazanlak Valley, see Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978, pp. 52-55.

[19] For a discussion of these tombs as temple-tombs, see Kitov 2003b.

and chronological introduction as well as an abbreviated discussion of each tomb's plan and construction.

Located to the east of Seuthopolis in the modern city of Kazanlak, the stand-alone Kazanlak tomb is the best preserved of the tombs in the valley. The Kazanlak tomb (late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC) is a brick- and stone-built tomb with three chambers (fig. 1.2).[20] The dromos (2.60 x 2.02 m) is walled with roughly-cut stones united by a clay mortar; these walls are an extension of the stone jacket that covers the brick chambers and protects them from the weight of the tumulus. The rectangular antechamber (1.97 x 1.12 m) is constructed of bricks joined with mortar. The chamber has a smooth corbelled vault that ends in a sharp angle and gives the appearance of two large slabs leaned against one another on their long edges (2.2 m high at peak). The walls and ceiling are coated with a lime-based plaster on which the tomb's decoration is applied, especially near the peak of the ceiling on both sides. The antechamber floor consists of a thick layer of the same plaster and remains mostly intact. The antechamber leads into the circular burial chamber (2.65 m diameter), which is covered by a combination beehive and bell dome (3.25 m high). Although the walls and most of the ceiling are brick, the dome was capped with a stone slab. This chamber is also plastered on the floor, walls, and ceiling.[21] As in the antechamber, the ceiling is an area of particularly rich decoration.

North and slightly east of Seuthopolis is a much higher concentration of tombs (see fig.1.1). Within a few kilometers of each other are the Krun, Shipka, and Shipka-Sheinovo necropoleis. The Krun necropolis consists of two tombs, named Krun I and II; both have

[20] Date from Marinov 2008, 61. For further discussion of the architecture of the Kazanlak tomb, see Mikov 1954, p.96; Ruseva 2002, pp. 51, 157-158; and Chichikova 2007, pp. 67-68, table 1.

[21] All measurements from Marinov 2008, 60-61.

preserved decoration.[22] The tombs are located on the periphery of the village of Krun, which sits near the midpoint between Kazanlak and Shipka.[23] The Shipka necropolis is located around the modern village of Shipka. It consists of two tombs, Donkova and Golyama Kosmatka; only Donkova has remaining architectural decoration. The Shipka-Sheinovo necropolis is located in between Shipka and the village of Sheinovo. It has the largest concentration of tombs with surviving decoration; the Gryphons, Helvetia, and Shushmanets tombs are highly decorated granite and limestone monuments.

The Krun I tomb (unknown date) is a two-premise tomb built entirely of rough stones joined by clay mortar.[24] The open antechamber measures 4.4 x 2.05 m and the rectangular burial chamber measures 4.5 x 2.7 m.[25] No evidence of the roof remains, but there are three rectangular bases lining each of the two lateral walls of the burial chamber that could have served functional or decorative purposes (fig. 1.3).

The Krun II tomb (350-300 BC) is built in both brick and stone; the dromos is constructed of roughly-cut stones, while the two chambers are constructed of rectangular, fired bricks (fig. 1.4).[26] The antechamber and burial chamber have pointed corbelled ceilings much like those in the Muglizh tomb (to be discussed). All three chambers are coated in lime plaster and decorated.[27]

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[22] Marinov 2008, 73-74; Zarev 2001, 74.

[23] Marinov 2008, 74.

[24] Marinov 2008, 73. There is no primary bibliography on the Krun I tomb, but the tomb is mentioned in Ruseva 2002, 119.

[25] Marinov 2008, 73. The side walls of the open antechamber survive to unequal lengths; the southeast wall is 2.05 m long and the southwest wall is 1.95 m long.

[26] Zarev 2001, 74.

[27] Zarev 2001, 74.

The Donkova tomb (end of 5th to beginning of 4th centuries BC), in the Shipka necropolis, is made of carefully cut and dressed travertine blocks.[28] It has three segments, all of which are rectangular.[29] The first is the façade, which takes the form of an open antechamber 5 meters wide. The second is an enclosed antechamber that leads into the burial chamber (3.6 x 3.5 m). The second and third chambers are roofed with corbelled vaults. There is evidence of a column base to the east of the entrance to the first chamber.[30]

The Gryphons tomb (early 4th century BC) is also a three-part stone tomb in the Shipka-Sheinovo necropolis (fig. 1.5).[31] The lateral walls of the dromos are very wide (approximately 5 meters at their widest) and delimit a passage that widens as it approaches the tomb façade.[32] This façade is built out of the same cut stone as the dromos and has decorative stone elements over the door to the antechamber. The rectangular antechamber (approximately 3 x 1.5 m)[33] is roofed in the same method as that of the Golyama Arsenalka tomb, with two inclined slabs of stone supported on triangular blocks at either end of the chamber.[34] The circular burial chamber (approximately 3 m diameter) is capped with a stone dome.[35]

The Helvetia tomb (end of the 5th century BC) is a stone-built tomb with two chambers and an irregularly-shaped dromos (fig. 1.6).[36] The stone is local granite, cut with precision and

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[28] Marinov 2008, 165-166. For further discussion on the architecture of the Donkova tomb, see Dimitrova 2006, pp. 124-125.

[29] No plan published.

[30] All measurements from Marinov 2008, 165.

[31] Marinov 2008, 180, 182. For further discussion of the architecture of the Gryphons tomb, see Kitov 1997a, 28-35; 1997b, 33-45; 1998, 9-35; and 2003, 16-17.

[32] No measurements are given in the text; all measurements are gathered from the plan in Kitov 2003, fig. 16.

[33] Kitov 2003, fig. 16.

[34] Marinov 2008, 180.

[35] Marinov 2008, 181.

[36] Date from Marinov 2008, 184. For further discussion of the architecture of the Helvetia tomb, see Kitov 1997a, 34-35 and 1997b, 28-35.

joined by lead-sheathed iron clamps.[37] The rectangular, open antechamber (approximately 1 x 2 m) is roofed with a cantilevered arch with a flat top.[38] The unusually tall roof (approximately 4.5 m) allows for copious plaster decoration on the antechamber walls.[39] The rectangular burial chamber (approximately 3 x 2 m) has the same type of roof and is similarly coated with decorative plaster.[40]

The Shushmanets tomb (end of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th centuries BC) is a two-chambered stone tomb (fig. 1.7).[41] The antechamber is open to the highly irregularly-shaped dromos. It is covered by a false barrel vault that is supported by a single Ionic column. The door to the burial chamber is surrounded with decorative stone elements. The circular burial chamber is covered by a dome. Seven engaged, fluted, Doric half-columns are spaced equally around the perimeter of the room and a freestanding, unfluted Doric column supports the keystone block of the dome. There is evidence of plaster in addition to the carved decoration.

The tomb complex inside the Ostrusha tumulus is located four kilometers south of the modern city of Shipka (fig. 1.8).[42] The tumulus itself measures 21 m tall and 70 m in diameter at its base.[43] The six-room complex is found in the southern periphery of the mound and consists of four rectangular rooms, one circular room, and the main burial chamber.[44] The complex is rectangular in shape and measures approximately 14.19 x 7.94 m. The round chamber is located in the southeast corner of the complex. It measures 3.24 m in diameter at its base and was

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[37] Marinov 2008, 184.

[38] Marinov 2008, 184. Measurements taken from the plan in Dimitrova 1998-1999, 43, fig. 9.

[39] No measurements given in the texts; dimensions taken from the scale elevation in Zarev 2001, 142-143.

[40] Measurements from plan in Dimitrova 1998-1999, 42, fig. 9.

[41] Date from Marinov 2008, 194. There are no primary publications on the Shushmanets tomb, so any further discussion concerning the architecture of the Shushmanets tomb can be gleaned in snippets from mentions in other publications. See Kitov 1997a-b, Marinov 2008, Zarev and Denev 2001.

entered through a worn threshold on its western arc. Three of the four rectangular chambers are located in the southwest, northwest, and northeast corners of the complex. The northwest chamber measures 3.14 x 1.36 m, and its eastern counterpart measures 3.29 x 1.37 m. The southeast room is nearly square, measuring approximately 3.15 m long on each side. These rooms do not have entrances and so were likely of funerary or treasury function.[45]

The chamber found in the center of the southern side measures 3.07 x 1.83 m and is preserved to approximately 0.9 m high. This chamber has an entrance on its south side as evidenced by a 0.95 m wide threshold preceded by a single step on the south side. Combined with the fact that the door of the main burial chamber opens into this southern chamber, it is clear that this chamber served as an antechamber for the main burial chamber.[46]

The main burial chamber is located on the center of the northern side of the complex. It is in the form of a stone sarcophagus that sits atop a three-stepped podium or platform. This platform, made of the same stone as the chamber it supports, is oriented east to west and measures 5.38 x 3.34 m. The steps are more or less equal to each other in height and depth, each measuring approximately 0.3 m tall and deep, bringing the total height of the platform to 0.9m. Between the platform and the burial chamber is a sheet of lead to assure a secure join.[47] The monolithic box of the sarcophagus forms the walls of the burial chamber and is interrupted by a Doric-style door in the center of the south wall. This door measures 0.7 m wide by 1.55 m tall and is guarded by a threshold measuring 0.25 m on the outside and 0.3 m on the inside. Its depth is 0.35 m (the same as the thickness of the walls). Two sets of holes suggest that the opening

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[42] Kitov 1994, 13.
[43] Valeva 2005, 11.
[44] See Valeva 2005, 22 fig. 7.
[45] Valeva 2005, 13 and 17.
[46] Valeva 2005, 13.
[47] Valeva 2005; see also Kitov 1994, 14; Barov 1995, fig. 10.

would have been closed by a two-leaf door (not extant). Around the door is a 0.135 m wide decorative border. The remainder of the box is plainly but cleanly finished with no further dimensional or painted decoration. The chamber's roof is a second monolithic piece in the form of a gabled roof and serves as the lid for the sarcophagus form. It is slightly larger than the box it closes, measuring 4.02 x 2.91 m and 0.99 m at the peak of the gable. It is joined to the box by a second application of lead. The entablature of the roof-lid is decorated on its east, south, and west sides by an Ionic entablature (the north side is undecorated but the eaves project 0.24 m).

The Muglizh No. 1 (hereafter merely "Muglizh") tomb is located near the village of Muglizh (fig. 1.9). It is likely that there were two stages of construction that correspond to two stages of decoration (which will be discussed later). In its final form, however, the tomb has a long stone dromos with two square antechambers flanking the entrance. The purpose of these chambers is unknown. The dromos is very long (9.15 m) and is made of stone. The first antechamber is rectangular (3.4 x 2.2 m) and is built of the same stone as the dromos. The second antechamber is also rectangular (2.34 x 1.28 m) but is built of fired bricks and is capped by a corbelled vault similar to that of the Kazanlak and Krun II tomb antechambers. The burial chamber is also rectangular (3.16 x 2.64 m) and built of fired bricks. It is covered with a similar pointed, corbelled vault as the second antechamber.[48]

The morphology of the Kazanlak Valley tombs is far from standardized and seems to pull inspiration from a number of sources. However, the monumental, multi-chambered built tomb is not typical of Greek tombs in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods, which indicates that the structural architecture of the Kazanlak Valley tombs was not inspired by contemporary Greek monuments. Despite having a passing resemblance to the Mycenaean tholos tomb, in the

[48] Marinov 2008, 115-116.

combination of circular chamber and dromos/antechamber covered by a tumulus, Thracian tomb architecture does not derive from mainland Greek monuments. Rather, Z. Archibald argues for connections between both beehive tholoi and orthogonal tombs in Odrysian Thrace and tomb architecture in western Anatolia.[49] Although she deals only peripherally with the Kazanlak Valley tombs, she draws parallels between individual architectural features of other Thracian tombs to those of western Anatolia. My investigation of the Kazanlak Valley tombs has confirmed that their spatial arrangement has parallels with the same sources as their other Thracian counterparts. For example, the smooth corbel found in Thracian tombs at Mal-tepe, Vetren, and Tatarevo are connected to the 8th to 7th centuries BC Lydian rock-cut tombs, the chambers and corridors of which were roofed in such a manner.[50] The antechamber of the Kazanlak tomb and both chambers of the Muglizh tomb also use this system. Although there are not obvious structural similarities between the Kazanlak Valley tombs and Greek tombs, there are numerous important connections between Greek and Thracian architectural decoration used to define and embellish these funerary complexes.

[49] For further discussion of these influences and specific parallels, see Archibald 1998, chapter 12 (pp. 282-303).

[50] Archibald 1998, 293.

CHAPTER 2: DECORATIVE METHODS AND THEIR APPLICATION

Architectural decoration is achieved in two manners in the Kazanlak Valley tombs: carved stone and colored plaster. The former appears only in entirely stone-built tombs and in two variations.[51] Stone decoration of the first variation is carved directly out of the blocks of the wall in order to create dimensional features. The second type of decoration is freestanding, carved separately and inserted into the tomb rather than developed from its structure.

Painted plaster is used to decorate both the stone and brick tombs. The paint found in these tombs is created from natural pigments that produce saturated colors capable of achieving complete opacity. The color palette is dominated by red, white, black, and yellow but blues and greens are also found as accent colors in painted friezes and on moldings. The full range of reds, yellows, oranges, and browns could be achieved through the manipulation of ochres containing iron and manganese oxides.[52] These pigments could produce colors ranging from a mustardy yellow to the bright, powerful "Pompeian" red that seems particularly beloved by the Kazanlak tomb painters.[53] The black paint could have originated in a solution of charcoal and ash, burnt resins, or any number of similar pigments.[54] The black used in the Kazanlak Valley tombs appears bluish when it loses its opacity, as seen where black has been accidentally splashed onto white surfaces or where there is significant wear to the plaster layers. Vincent Bruno explains

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[51] Existing publications do not give any details that could identify specific types of tools or methods of carving and so it is only the form of the carving that can yield any information on cultural influence.

[52] Bruno 1977, 71.

[53] The term "Pompeian red" is often used to refer to the red paint in the Kazanlak Valley and Macedonian tombs, but I have not found any evidence of chemical studies that connect the pigments or solutions. It seems that the use of this term is meant to evoke an image of bright, saturated red rather than to equate the two colors. Other publications (e.g., Verdiani 1945) use the more general descriptor "cinnabar" to describe this color. For the purposes of this paper, I shall use "cinnabar" in lieu of "Pompeian" to describe the red used in the Kazanlak Valley tombs. In the discussion of comparanda, I shall use whichever term each respective author uses.

[54] For recipes for black pigments in antiquity, see Vitruvius 7, 10.

that this was a feature of almost all black pigments, even the blackest of modern pigments, and thus cannot be used to identify a particular chemical composition or solution.[55]

Regardless of its color, paint is almost always applied over a thick layer of white, lime-based plaster.[56] The presence of marble dust in the plaster not only strengthened the coating but added a decorative feature; when mostly dry, the plaster could be buffed to a shine not unlike that of stone. This effect was enhanced by the application of wax over the painted surface.

The application of paint on plaster in all the Kazanlak Valley's painted tombs allows for several possible painting methods including tempera and fresco. The Kazanlak tomb, perhaps because of its wondrous state of preservation, has been the only tomb in which color studies have been completed. The results of these studies as they pertain to the application of paint are inconclusive. For example, Vincent Bruno and Lyudmila Zhivkova, publishing within two years of each other, promote two different methods of application. Zhivkova recognizes two complementary techniques. She identifies the Kazanlak tomb's floor, wall, and ceiling paint as purely tempera but says that its friezes were applied *al fresco*.[57] Bruno believes that the paint was applied in a false fresco method. He hypothesizes that the painting method of the Kazanlak Valley (and indeed that of all other ancient painted tombs in Greece) was intended to be tempera, but was unintentionally applied to wet plaster due to the wet conditions of the underground tombs that drastically slowed the curing process. As a result, the binding agent present in the tempera paint formed a film on the surface of the plaster as it dried and created an unintentional cross between tempera and true fresco. Bruno believes that the application of paint in this way

[55] Bruno 1977, 71; also see Zhivkova 1975, 38.

[56] The only exception is behind the funerary bed in the Golyama Arsenalka tomb. It is possible that these were guidelines for the placement of the bed and were intended to be covered with plaster. See Marinov 2008, 176.

[57] Zhivkova 1975, 38.

explains the drastic and inconsistent loss of color where flaking has occurred. He states that this false fresco technique resulted from ignorance of the fresco method and its related materials and that the painting of these tombs was "obviously not executed by masters."[58]

The presence of decoration carved from stone and on painted plaster does not provide useful information on cultural exchange since neither method is exclusive to one region or culture of the ancient world. Data on specific production techniques that could narrow the parameters are thus far inconclusive or unavailable. In the case of the stone carving, as stated before, no tool marks or other identifying indications are noted. The ongoing debate on painting methods yields no focusing information. If Zhivkova is correct that both tempera and fresco methods were separately and deliberately used, the Kazanlak Valley tombs are merely added to the corpus of countless buildings throughout the ancient world that used these methods. If Bruno is correct, the false fresco method was an accidental rather than experimental technique that is thus unhelpful in tracing cultural exchange. On the other hand, the form and arrangement of the Kazanlak Valley tombs' decorative details do offer useful indicators of cultural exchange and aid in ascertaining the extent to which Greek architectural decoration influenced that of the Odrysian tombs.

[58] Bruno 1977, 112.

CHAPTER 3: THE ADAPTATION OF THE MASONRY STYLE

Discussions of color in the Kazanlak Valley tombs tend to focus on the painted friezes and figural zones but omit extended explorations of other colored zones. The friezes are certainly worth concentrated discussion. However, they compose only a small percent of these tombs' colored surfaces. The remainder of the surface area of the walls and ceilings are decorated with bands of color in the Masonry style.

The term "Masonry style" refers to wall decoration that imitates the structural components of masonry walls with horizontal zones of painted plaster.[59] The extent of each zone is typically delineated by painted color, but added details such as incised lines and dimensional plaster bands or moldings are not uncommon. Later Hellenistic stages of this style, advanced in technique and complexity, are found widely in public, domestic, and funerary settings at Priene, Delos, and Pompeii. The Classical and early Hellenistic expressions of this style are more limited, but a number of strong examples can be found in both Olynthos and Athens. Andreas Andreou developed a typology of the Masonry style based on the presence, arrangement, and decorative details of five zones: a toichobate, an orthostate course, a string course, the upper wall, and the wall crown. These sections are named for their position on the wall in the place of a functional toichobate, orthostate, string course, etc.[60]

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[59] "Masonry Style" is one of a handful of terms that attempt to replace the unsatisfactory label "Pompeian First Style." For a good discussion of the terms and their limitations, see Bilde 1993.

[60] I first encountered these terms used by Stella Miller (1993) and find them appropriate. However, other authors use different terminology to refer to each band. For example, Westgate (2000) refers to the string course as a "frieze course" and D.M. Robinson frequently refers to the orthostate course as the "dado." While these terms are accurate, I prefer to use the terms "toichobate," "orthostate," "string course," "upper wall," and "wall crown."

The expression of the Masonry style in the Kazanlak Valley manifests itself in four tombs: Helvetia, Kazanlak, Krun II, and Muglizh.[61] In the Kazanlak, Krun II, and Muglizh tombs, the wall schemes conform to Andreou's Type IV, which he dates to the end of the 5th through the 1st centuries BC.[62] The Helvetia tomb's wall decoration is more difficult to categorize and most likely represents a mixture of two arrangements.

In the Kazanlak tomb, the projecting toichobate of the antechamber is painted white, the orthostate black, and the projecting string course white (fig. 3.1). The orthostates are separated into faux black marble panels by thin white lines. The string course is similarly segmented by red lines, with the outline of red rectangles rendered with tiny, diagonally-hatched lines meant to create the illusion of a raised panel at the center of each rectangular "stone" block. The upper wall is painted solid red. The red continues onto the lower part of the corbelled ceiling and stops at the bottom of the antechamber frieze which caps the arrangement. The colors of the burial chamber are arranged differently (fig. 3.2). The projecting toichobate is mottled green and pink, in imitation of a colored marble. The orthostates are painted white and separated by vertical red lines. The illusion of a raised center panel and drafted margins is achieved by diagonal red hatching over a slightly gray wash. The projecting string course is painted black. The upper wall and lower ceiling are once again painted red and stop at the bottom of the frieze zone that caps the dome (fig. 3.3).[63]

The walls of the Krun II tomb have nearly the same arrangement of bands as those of the Kazanlak tomb. The first of the two Krun II antechambers opens to the dromos; the back wall of this chamber serves as the tomb's façade (fig. 3.4). Here, the projecting toichobate is black and is

[61] Three more tombs with evidence of plaster but no described color are: Gryphons, Kesteleva, and Racheva.

[62] Andreou 1988, 200.

[63] Color descriptions are from Zhivkova 1975, 39 and first-hand observation.

interrupted by the white threshold. The orthostate course is either white or yellow.[64] The projecting string course is yellow and is covered in some areas by white-washed squares that are spaced irregularly around the room. The upper wall is red and the wall crown is white, separated from the red by a thick yellow line. In the second antechamber, the projecting toichobate course is white, the orthostates are black with panels delineated in white lines, and the projecting string course is white (fig. 3.5). Unlike the Kazanlak tomb, there are no delineating lines on the string course. The gradual corbel in this chamber (and the burial chamber) starts near the ground and makes it nearly impossible to distinguish the wall from the ceiling, allowing the ceiling to serve as an extension of the wall even more adeptly than in the Kazanlak tomb. The upper wall is painted a mustardy yellow and the wall cap is white, separated from the yellow by a red line. The bands in the burial chamber are the same as in the Kazanlak tomb with one exception: the string course is black, the orthostates are white shaded with a gray wash and red lines, and the toichobate is black (fig. 3.6).[65] The wall is painted red, as in the Kazanlak tomb, and the wall cap is white.[66]

The Muglizh tomb shows evidence of two phases of decoration. In Phase I (fig. 3.7), the tomb consisted of a dromos, antechamber, and burial chamber painted white from floor to ceiling. The only colored zone in this first phase was the wall crown, which may have consisted of a figured frieze similar to that of the Kazanlak tomb antechamber.[67] In Phase II (fig. 3.8), a second antechamber was created by adding a crosswall to the dromos. In this final phase, the

[64] The reports do not explicitly say which color and the images show different hues depending on the light and angle of the photograph.

[65] It is unclear from the description and photographs whether any bands in the burial chamber are dimensional.

[66] All color descriptions are from Zhivkova 1975, 74 and study of the images on pp. 97-102, figs. 19-26.

[67] Archibald 1998, 299.

dromos was decorated in a polychrome five-zone scheme. The toichobate and string courses is black, the orthostates red, and the upper wall and wall crown white. In the first antechamber, the toichobate is pink,[68] the orthostate course is white, the string course is black, the upper wall is red, and the wall crown is white. The second antechamber, which had previously existed in the first phase, remains entirely white. Color was added to the burial chamber. The toichobate here is also pink, and the orthostates are white and pink.[69] The string course remains white and the upper wall is painted red. The figural frieze at the level of the wall cap is plastered over and replaced with amphorae and palmettes (to be discussed in detail later).

The origin of this decorative technique likely stems from the structure and decoration of monumental architecture. Bilde offers an intriguing argument as to exactly which type of architecture this style mimics. Andreou's Type IV decoration (fig. 3.9) is distinguished from the visually similar Type VI style (fig. 3.10) by the composition of its upper wall section. Both Andreou and Bilde insist that the upper wall of Andreou's Type IV (referred to as the Zone style by Bilde) is never articulated by either paint or dimensional plaster.[70] Bilde assigns this key difference in the two types to their respective inspirations. In the case of the Type VI decoration, the inspiration is monumental stone construction, which would have had clearly visible isodomic courses above the plinth level.[71] Therefore, the Type IV decoration and its undeviatingly smooth upper wall must draw its inspiration from elsewhere. Mud brick construction over a stone socle is the commonly accepted answer, since its upper courses of sun-dried bricks would have

[68] Perhaps meant to mimic marble; also found in the pink and green marbled toichobate of the Kazanlak tomb's burial chamber.

[69] It is unclear how the two colors relate. See Archibald 1998, 300, fig. 12.15.

[70] Andreou 1988, 199; Bilde 1993, 155.

[71] Bilde 1993, 155, 158.

required a plaster coating that both protected the wall from the elements and hid the brick courses.[72]

Bilde's distinction is a tempting convenience, but I find it difficult to conclude that these styles evolved from such different sources. First, there is the issue of chronology. Andreou finds both of these styles in continuous, concurrent existence from the 4th to 1st centuries BC. In these periods, monumental mud brick structures are not being built in favor of stone construction. For such a predominant style to find inspiration in a dwindling architectural medium at the same time that its counterpart is drawing from widely visible stone architecture is curious. In addition, if Type IV decoration truly hearkened back to mud brick constructions only, the strong predominance of the Type IV decoration in the stone-built classical houses at Olynthos would have served to downgrade the importance of this expensive decorative medium. Since only the most important rooms of the richest houses were decorated with this treatment, it was clearly a showpiece feature that would not have deliberately drawn inspiration from an outdated architectural medium. Finally, the presence of imitation marbling and both painted and dimensional drafted margins suggest that marble construction is more likely the inspiration.

So where did the inspiration for the Kazanlak Valley painted tombs' wall decoration originate? In reference to Macedonian tombs roughly contemporary in date to the Kazanlak Valley tombs, Stella Miller comments that it is "striking how the typical tomb interior resembles the decoration of domestic architecture."[73] The archaeological evidence allows us to reach a similar conclusion. Before the Type IV Masonry style became a defining feature of Macedonian tomb decoration in the second half of the 4th century BC, it is found in houses and public buildings in Athens and Olynthos. Andreou concludes on the basis of an Athenian house, one of

[72] Bilde 1993, 155.
[73] Miller 1993, 13.

the earliest examples of Type IV decoration, that this type originated in a domestic setting and was then adopted in grave decoration.[74] The examples at Olynthos further strengthen this conclusion since this type is found widely in houses but in only one grave.[75]

A certain amount of variation in the arrangement of zones, particularly in the placement of formal and figural zones, is inherent to the Type IV classification. The placement of figural zones (the details of which will be discussed later) can help to narrow down possible influences on the Masonry style decoration of each individual building. The sample of figural friezes in the Kazanlak Valley tombs is limited to the Kazanlak (late 4th to early 3rd centuries BC) and Muglizh (3rd century BC) tombs. In both tombs, the friezes are found at the level of the wall crown. While this is certainly not enough evidence to amount to a definitive rule, it is significant that the friezes, which are separated by as much as a century and which differ in subject matter, are both located at the top of the wall.

The placement of the friezes is even more remarkable when one considers the difficulty in viewing a frieze at this level. As mentioned before, the corbelled ceilings were effectively considered a part of the wall surface for the purposes of decoration. This meant that the "wall" crown in all cases became a "ceiling" crown and was wedged into the shadowy space at the apex of the pointed corbel (or, in the singular case of the Kazanlak tomb's burial chamber, at the top of the dome). Macedonian tombs did not have this structural limitation and the wall crown truly capped the wall. Even though the architecture of the Macedonian tomb would have allowed for a better viewing perspective of the wall crown, Macedonian formal and figural zones were often placed at the level of the string course or upper wall and sometimes at both. For example, Tomb I

[74] Andreou 1988, 197-198.

[75] The West Ridge Tomb; for a discussion of this tomb's five-part wall decoration, see Robinson 1938, 297.

("The Tomb of Persephone," late 4th century BC) at Vergina has a course of flowers and griffons at the level of the string course and the famous rape of Persephone scene on the upper wall (fig. 3.11). In contrast, the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles (2nd century BC) at Lefkadia only has figural decoration on the upper wall (fig. 3.12). These two arrangements of zones closely mirror those of friezes in later Hellenistic houses, such as those at Delos. Delian houses with the Type IV Masonry style generally placed friezes at the level of the string course, which was enlarged exactly for this purpose.[76] It is possible that placing the frieze in this way was meant to facilitate the viewing of the friezes by seated or standing viewers within the room. If we transfer this theory to the Macedonian tomb setting, it suggests that the friezes were meant to be seen by visitors to the tomb rather than symbolically visible to the tomb's inhabitant. The scale and architecture of the Kazanlak and Muglizh tombs pose more of a problem. The small scale of the tombs requires the frieze to be placed as high on the wall as possible to come as close to eye level as possible. However, the architecture makes viewing the frieze at this level uncomfortable. The possibility that the friezes were meant to be seen by the deceased, rather than by visitors, is also unviable. The funeral chamber friezes are nearly illegible from a prone position on the funerary bed and the antechamber frieze of the Kazanlak tomb is completely invisible. In addition, the iconography of the friezes (to be discussed later) suggests that they were not meant to be seen by the deceased.

A more likely connection is found in ordered architecture. In all three figural friezes (the antechamber and burial chamber friezes at Kazanlak and the burial chamber frieze at Muglizh) are set at the level of the wall cap and are framed by architectural moldings. This strongly alludes

[76] Bruno 1969, 10.

to ordered architecture, which similarly places friezes at the tops of cella walls or in entablatures and frames them with moldings.

The pairing of ordered and domestic architecture in the arrangement of the Kazanlak tombs' Masonry style wall decoration is not surprising. The masonry walls from which the Masonry style itself drew its inspiration must have been part of monumental public and sacred buildings. Bruno even traces the advent of a projecting, contrastingly colored toichobate and string course to the limestone accent courses of Mnesicles' Propylaea (5th century BC; fig. 3.13).[77] It seems reasonable, therefore, that the Kazanlak and Muglizh tombs' zone arrangement represents a different selection and adaptation of elements that were available to Macedonian, Greek, and Thracian artists.

The Helvetia tomb flaunts these conclusions and is an outlier in many senses. Its plaster wall decoration, as mentioned before, is unique among the Kazanlak Valley tombs. The back wall of the Helvetia tomb's open antechamber serves as the tomb's façade and presents a more complicated arrangement of bands than in the other three tombs (fig. 3.14). The bottommost register is separated into the usual progression of bands: narrow and projecting, wide and sunken, and narrow and projecting again. Moving up the wall, a second register replicates the first. It uses the string course of the bottom grouping as its toichobate and has its own orthostate and projecting string course. These two registers together consist of approximately half of the wall's height and reach nearly to the top of the door. The color of the bands is difficult to discern and Marinov states that the outermost plaster, which seems to be white, is covering a previous color.[78] This may explain the mottled yellow-brown appearance of the wall in photographs. It appears possible in the same photographs that the original paint arrangement was one of white

[77] Bruno 1969, 308.
[78] Marinov 2008, 184.

toichobate and string courses and yellow orthostates, all topped by a yellow upper wall.[79] A reconstruction, however, suggests a different scheme, with the wall and orthostates white and the narrow bands brown (fig. 3.15). The burial chamber presents a third approach to the basic arrangement of wall bands (fig. 3.16). There are also two registers here, with the string course of the first once again becoming the toichobate of the second. The toichobate of the first is hidden by funerary beds, which line three walls, and interrupted by the door on the fourth wall. The individual blocks of each course are molded dimensionally into the plaster of the wall with dimensional center panels and sunken drafted margins. There is no added paint or shading; the entire wall is white.

The antechamber's plaster decoration does not seem to fit into any one of Andreou's observed types. The closest fit may be Type III (fig. 3.17), which allows for a toichobate, unsegmented orthostate, a string course, an unarticulated upper wall, and a wall crown. This would account for all but the topmost band of the Helvetia tomb façade. If this is the case, the Helvetia artists have made two conceptual adaptations. First, the doorway breaks the plane of the fifth band from the bottom, which in the Type III style ostensibly represents the wall crown. This creates a problem of scale, since the doorway would have exceeded the dimensions of the wall in which it sat. The second alteration is to the observed Kazanlak Valley precedents rather than to the Type III style. The lateral walls of the antechamber curve inwards to form the same pointed, corbelled ceiling as in the other painted Kazanlak Valley tombs. In all other cases the wall decoration elides the upper wall, wall crown, and ceiling. If the scheme of the Helvetia antechamber, however, is to be read in terms of the Type III style, the wall crown must represent the top of the wall and the large area present above this level must be interpreted as the ceiling. If

[79] Such as the one in Zarev and Denev 2001, 144.

this interpretation is correct, it would mark the first instance that a ceiling zone is separated from the wall decoration in a Kazanlak Valley painted tomb.

There is another possible interpretation of the Helvetia antechamber's decoration. This interpretation still falls under the category of Type III Masonry decoration, but requires only one conceptual change instead of two. In this instance, the entire surface of the wall is encompassed in the wall scheme, as is more usual in the Kazanlak Valley painted tombs. The scale of the door is now appropriate, since it does not exceed the visual limits of the wall decoration. The lack of a wall crown at the apex of the ceiling is a possible configuration of the Type III style and should not be seen as a disqualifying characteristic. Therefore, the unusual number of zones occupying the bottom half of the composition is the only unexplained element. It is not unprecedented, however, to see a duplication of zones on taller walls. The multiple registers on the walls of the Helvetia antechamber can be compared to those on taller house walls, such as one from the "Stuccoed House" at Pella, preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Pella (fig. 3.18).

The plastered walls of the Helvetia burial chamber seem to fit a second category of Masonry style decoration. It seems that the chamber of the tomb could represent the Type V style (fig. 3.19), which displays from three to five rows of pseudo-isodomic blocks without an orthostate or string course. Andreou dates this type continuously from the 4th to 1st centuries BC. Four pseudo-isodomic courses with drafted margins and dimensional center panels are visible above the level of the funerary beds, which wrap around the room (see fig. 3.20). The bottom course appears to continue below the beds and the dimensions of the hidden portion of the wall suggest that there could be a toichobate. The alternation of wide and narrow segmented bands is possible for this type but is particularly evocative of a five-zone scheme when seen in such close proximity to the antechamber's altered Type III wall plaster. The decoration stops short of the

peak of the roof, as in the antechamber. This may help argue in favor of the presence of a distinct ceiling zone in the Helvetia tomb.

The Helvetia tomb's combination of Andreou's third and fifth types creates a number of additional problems. Both types of Masonry style decoration are found continuously from the 4th to 1st centuries BC, but the Helvetia tomb in which these types exist has been dated to the end of the 5th century BC.[80] The combination of Masonry styles is also unusual, especially for the Kazanlak Valley. The Helvetia tomb is also the only Kazanlak Valley painted tomb that is built of stone. All of these factors together create a strangely decorated tomb that does not quite fit into the Kazanlak Valley or larger Masonry style corpus.

The question of why the wealthy Odrysians living in the Kazanlak Valley would commission their tomb walls to be painted and molded like the walls of Greek buildings remains. Among many possibilities, three reasons stand out. First is that this decorative system was a quick, relatively simple method of filling the walls so that they enhance the appearance of the chambers and serve as a background for the assembled grave goods or, in the case of the Kazanlak and Muglizh tombs, accent the figural friezes without becoming a competing focal point themselves. In addition, the three bands on the lower part of the wall give the arrangement a sense of stability, recalling the base, dado, and cornice of stone pedestals that supported mud-brick walls and the similar courses that supported stone structures. Three of four plastered Kazanlak Valley tombs were constructed entirely in brick and lacked the stability granted by stone orthostates so it is possible that the recreation of these stabilizing elements was visually appealing. The most likely reason, as discussed above, is that the walls from which these

[80] Andreou 1988, 201. The tomb was dated from bronze appliqués found among the tomb goods (see Marinov 2008, 184-5). Rather than suggest that the Types III and V date ranges be extended for this one example, I believe that the dating of the Helvetia tomb should be reconsidered.

decorative systems were adapted were themselves intended to imitate even more opulent, stone-decorated walls in the public sphere.[81] By emulating both illustrious public and private architectural decoration, the Kazanlak Valley tombs created a setting appropriate for the final resting place of a wealthy Thracian.

[81] Westgate 2000, 400.

CHAPTER 4: THE INFLUENCE OF ORDERED ARCHITECTURE

Six of the eleven decorated Kazanlak Valley tombs are decorated with elements pulled from Greek ordered architectural decoration: Donkova, Gryphons, Kazanlak, Krun I, Ostrusha, and Shushmanets. The elements vary in content, location, and compositional complexity but are readily recognizable as components of Greek facades and entablatures, moldings, and columns. These elements are rendered both in stone– engaged and freestanding – and in paint.

The most common arrangement transferred from temple decoration is actually a series of elements; three tombs are decorated with temple facades of varying complexity and accuracy.

The lid of the Ostrusha tomb's monumental sarcophagus, which serves as the burial chamber, is decorated on its east, south, and west sides with an Ionic entablature and pediment (fig. 4.1).[82] The wall of the chamber meets the two-banded Ionic epistyle abruptly. The top band is the wider of the two and projects slightly past the vertical plane of the first, narrower band. The epistyle is topped with an unpainted *cyma reversa*. There is no frieze, and the next element is a row of large dentils.[83] The dentils are separated from the cornice by a second *cyma reversa.*[84] The horizontal and raking geisons are constructed of two fascia, the bottom wider and the top narrower and slightly protruding. They frame a triangular pediment which was covered with white plaster meant to mimic marble.[85]

The Ostrusha burial chamber is not the only monumental sarcophagus burial chamber in the Kazanlak Valley. The burial chamber of the Goliama Kosmatka tomb seems to be a similarly

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[82]The north side is undecorated but the eaves project 0.24 m. See Valeva 2005, 22, fig. 6.

[83] There are 18 dentils on each of the short east and west sides and 25 on the longer south side. Valeva 2005, 13, 23.

[84] Valeva 2005, 13, 23 fig. 9.

[85] Measuring 2.1 m at the base, 1.17 m on its left side, and 1.15 m on its right side. The top angle of the pediment is 140°. Valeva 2005, 13 and n.8. Measurements can also be found here for the outer dimensions of the geison.

monolithic sarcophagus. However, it was not meant to be seen from the outside and only the interior shape of the roof hints at the sarcophagus form (fig. 4.2). Like the Ostrusha burial chamber, however, that of the Goliama Kosmatka tomb is entered through a doorway centered on one of its long sides. The monumental sarcophagus form is found primarily in Anatolian architecture, but this particular tomb should be interpreted in the context of Ionian Greek iterations of the form. The Asiatic Ionic decoration tells us tells us that this tomb's decoration was more likely influenced by Ionian Greek examples of the Anatolian monumental sarcophagus than by Persian versions. Unlike other monumental sarcophagi of the architectural type, the decoration of the Ostrusha tomb sarcophagus is constrained just to the lid. Other, roughly contemporary monumental sarcophagi show a wide range of decoration that usually spreads over both the body and lid of the sarcophagus form. For example, the "Mourning Women" sarcophagus, dated to around 360 BC and thus slightly before the Ostrusha tomb, is decorated to appear like a miniature temple (fig. 4.3).

The temple façade carved around the antechamber doors of the Gryphons and Shushmanets tombs depict a different sort of façade. These carvings are centered around the doors of each of the two tombs, are less well-carved, and have very simplified representations of each decorative element. In the Gryphons tomb two rectangular supports, perhaps meant to represent pilasters or wall antae, surround the door and its Doric frame (fig. 4.4). These pilasters sit on rectangular bases and are capped with a flared echinus and a square abacus. The capitals support an undecorated, horizontal block capped by two rather indistinctly-shaped moldings representing the horizontal geison. The raking geison is faced with the same pattern of narrow and then wider moldings and completely surround a tympanum. Above the raking geison, the roofline is outlined with a chunky cyma band that sprouts globular acroteria at each corner of the

pediment and at its peak.[86] These acroteria are not decorated. It is difficult to assign an architectural order to the elements of the entablature. The blank horizontal band clearly stands in for the epistyle and perhaps a frieze, but the level of abstraction used does not rule out either a Doric or Ionic influence. All of the details of this faux façade are carved from the stone wall blocks.

The door of the Shushmanets tomb antechamber is surrounded by a three-banded Ionic doorframe (fig. 4.5). The bands increase in width as they radiate from the door and each band projects farther than the last. The horizontal doorframe along the top of the door supports a simplified pediment and roof. The pediment is shaped by carved bands that create the gabled roof; these fasciae are cleanly cut but do not completely enclose the pediment, seeming to hover in mid air. On top of this roofline are two palmette corner acroteria carved in perspective and a central palmette acroterion, all rendered in low relief. The door frame serves as the vertical supports (pilasters, wall antae, or perhaps even very abstract columns) and the main horizontal elements. The three-banded frame can be seen to represent a tripartite Ionic epistyle, which in itself seems to stand in for the entire entablature. As in the Gryphons tomb, all of the elements are carved out of the wall blocks.

These façades are similar in character to the façade decoration on Macedonian tombs, which also frequently use plaster, stone, and paint to recreate temple-like architectural decoration. While Macedonian façades can cover the entirety of the visible wall surface, many only surround the door, such as the façade on the Kinch and Haliakmon Dam tombs (fig. 4.6). These also look like simplified temple façades but both these and the Kazanlak Valley examples are placed exclusively around the main door of the complex and thus emphasize the importance

[86] The tomb is named after the appearance of the corner acroteria, which (roughly) approximate the curve of a griffin's beak. See Marinov 2008, 182.

of this particular liminal zone rather than the entirety of the visible façade. It seems possible, then, that this doorframe façade draws its inspiration from a different source than the facades of monumental ordered architecture.

While the medium and scale are certainly different, these façades have a striking resemblance to Classical and Hellenistic Attic grave stelae. The funerary scenes so common on these grave markers are often framed by representations of *naiskoi* with architectural features similar to those on the Gryphons and Shushmanets door frames. Take, for example, the Stele of Tynnias (fig. 4.7). Framing the image of the deceased man is a *naiskos* that appears similar to the façade of the Gryphons tomb. The framing pilasters are rectangular, tapered, and are capped with square capitals banded with simple moldings. The entablature is elided into a single, abstract, Ionic band which bears the funerary inscription. Above this is a small tympanum framed by two-banded geison; the bottom band is narrow and the top wide, just as in the Gryphons tomb. At the three corners of the pediment are rather indistinct and abstracted acroteria. Closer matches to the Gryphons tomb acroteria can be found, for example, on a stele in Athens (fig. 4.8) which shows similar curved, globular corner acroteria. The Shushmanets acroteria are more decoratively carved with a palmette pattern, a technique which is close to that on a stele from Delos (fig. 4.9).

Funerary stelae with architectural frames are found throughout the Greek world beginning in the Classical period but not within Thrace itself. It is possible, therefore, that the Thracians took the *naiskos* form, along with its Greek funerary and sacred associations, and adapted it to their own purposes. The *naiskos* form, itself adapted and miniaturized from larger ordered architecture, is once again inflated to a monumental scale and placed around the tomb door. This marks the entrance to the tomb as a transitional space between the worlds of the living and the dead, the everyday and the sacred.

The domed ceiling of the Kazanlak tomb's burial chamber is home to another, this time two-dimensional painted representation of an Ionic entablature (fig. 4.10). The representation of the Attic Ionic entablature frames the bottom register of a two-register frieze that covers the upper part of the dome. The body of the chamber meets the entablature abruptly. The epistyle is painted with three white bands made to appear projecting by the use of diagonal black hatching under the bottom lip of each band. The epistyle is capped with a thin white fascia, also shaded under its bottom lip with black hatching. Buchrania and four-petaled rosettes alternate along the entire epistyle and are also shaded with black hatching. While this shading is successful in giving the hanging objects three-dimensionality and separating them from the "marble" plane from which they are suspended, the direction of any light source or sources is undeterminable. The skulls and rosettes are largely shaded on their right sides around the entirety of the room; in nature, such shadows would require multiple light sources that did not interfere with each other. Thus, it seems that the naturalistic treatment of light was secondary to creating the illusion of three-dimensionality. Above the epistyle is a continuous figural frieze framed on the top and bottom by painted *cyma reversa* moldings. There is no visible shading to shape the moldings, but their identification is secured by their red and blue, leaf-and-dart pattern. Above the upper *cyma reversa* is a course of small, white dentils. These are given dimension by dark shading achieved with a diluted black wash and black hatching. Like the buchrania and rosettes, the shading of the dentils defies natural laws but is very successful in creating the appearance of dimension. The dentils are topped by an unusual red and white torus molding. Its shape is indicated by black shading along its bottom edge, white accents in the center of its height, and the curvature of the painted stripe. The candy cane-striped torus is unfamiliar and is the only major deviation from

the expected Ionic arrangement. Crowning the composition is a blue course decorated with alternating lion's head water spouts and palmette antefixes.

In addition to organized assemblages of elements into faux temple facades, there are other columns and moldings that are used to decorate other areas of the Kazanlak Valley tombs.

The burial chamber of the Shushmanets tomb also has engaged stone carving, in the form of seven half columns spaced evenly around its perimeter (fig. 4.11). These columns sit on a plinth that encircles the circular chamber, have four fluted drums each, and support a projecting band. The half columns have recognizable characteristics of Greek columns: they have ten flutes with pointed arrises, a slight entasis of the shaft, and a Doric capital. The capital's echinus is rather flat but rounded and the abacus is wide and square.[87] There is plentiful evidence that the walls were plastered white, which would mimic the white stone used for columns throughout the Greek world.

There are buildings in the Greek world encircled by Doric columns or pilasters, but none that closely resemble the Doric half columns in the Shushmanets tomb. The tholos in the Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi (c. 380 BC) is encircled by Doric columns in front of a solid wall (fig. 4.12), which could be the visual equivalent of the Shushmanets engaged columns, but the Delphi tholos has a full entablature. The Choregic Monument of Lysikrates in Athens (c. 335 BC) seems at first glance to employ engaged columns (fig. 4.13), but further inspection reveals that the walls were added at a later date due to stability concerns rather than as an original design choice. The Corinthian order and the presence of an entablature cast the influence of this monument further into doubt. The Rotunda of Arsinoe at Samothrace (c. 290-270 BC) has Doric pilasters framing its upper gallery (fig. 4.14), but these are even further removed from the

[87] No measurements or profile are published for this capital, which makes it difficult to make specific comments about possible stylistic and chronological features.

Shushmanets columns by shape and the fact that they also support a full entablature. It seems, therefore, that the addition of engaged half columns in this round space was not meant to specifically allude to round, columned Greek buildings. It is perhaps an adaptation of the more typical linear colonnade applied to a round room.

There are other two other, free-standing columns in the Shushmanets tomb. The faux barrel-vault that covers the antechamber is supported by a single Ionic column (fig. 4.15). The column sits on a square plinth and has a simple, flared base. The shaft is unfluted but shows a gradual entasis as it rises to meet the capital. The capital itself is recognizably Ionic, but the details are indistinct.[88] A cushion-like echinus is visible, as is the general shape of the large volutes. The column is coated with white plaster, likely imitating marble. A second freestanding column supports the top of the burial chamber's dome (fig. 4.16). Like its companions clinging to the walls, this column is Doric. It also sits on a square plinth. It has an unfluted and slightly tapering shaft and a Doric capital.[89]

Remains of bases in the Donkova and Krun I tombs suggest that columns could have been used in other funerary monuments of the Kazanlak Valley (see fig. 3, no plan available for Donkova).[90] The six equally-spaced, square, stone bases in both the Krun I and Muglizh tombs are in locations where roofs are currently missing, which suggest that these bases supported structurally-important vertical elements. Since just the bases remain, it is possible that they supported wooden elements that have since disintegrated. The existence of the single stone

[88] No measurements or profile are published for this capital, which makes it difficult to make specific comments about possible stylistic and chronological features.

[89] Again, no measurements or profile are published for this capital, which makes it difficult to make specific comments about possible stylistic and chronological features.

[90] Marinov 2008, 73 (Krun I) and 165 (Donkova).

column base at Donkova, however, demonstrates that it is not unfeasible for only part of stone columns to be removed and so the possibility remains that these bases supported stone elements.

The only other depiction of columns in the Kazanlak Valley tombs is found in the burial chamber of the Kazanlak tomb. Above the main frieze and its framing moldings, a second frieze seems to be supported by the painted images of three white, Ionic columns (see fig. 4.9).[91] These columns serve as decorative dividers in this frieze and will be dealt with more fully in later discussion.

Painted and carved moldings are also used to accent the tomb architecture outside of the context of a temple façade. Both the Kazanlak and Ostrusha tombs are decorated with moldings in this manner.

The Kazanlak tomb's antechamber friezes are framed with two-dimensional painted moldings. These are generally in the same style as their counterparts in the burial chamber but are not painted with as much care. The frieze covers the upper parts of the sloping chamber roof and the triangular relief blocks on each side. The frieze has an upper and lower register each framed on its bottom edge by bands of colorful moldings. The bottom edge of the lower register is framed by two such bands (fig. 4.17). First is a faded red (or possibly yellow) egg-and-dart pattern that indicates an ovolo molding. Between the ovolo and the red wall is a narrow, yellow bead-and-reel molding. The top of the lower register and the bottom of the upper register are separated by three more painted moldings (fig. 4.18). Topmost is a red and blue leaf-and-dart pattern representing a painted *cyma reversa* molding. In the center is a red, yellow, and white geometric pattern perhaps intended to represent dentils. The features appear sketched and have

[91] Like their stone counterparts, these columns do not have any measurements or a profile to assist in further analysis. To further complicate matters, the plaster at this level has sustained significant damage and it is only just possible to distinguish the Ionic capital of each, even in person.

little shading to aid the eye. The final, bottommost band is a second red and blue, leaf-and-dart painted *cyma reversa*. These faux moldings fill the space between and around the frieze registers in a composition similar to that of the burial chamber but their arrangement is not that of an Ionic temple façade. Even though they do not correlate to temple decoration as directly as the burial chamber moldings, they recall the same aesthetic and sacred associations.

Though the temple-like decoration in the Kazanlak Valley tombs is only an approximation of the detailed facades of Greek temples, they still succeed in marking the tombs as sacred space. It seems unlikely that the presence of these moldings and columns was specifically meant to recall the Greek religion, which the Thracians did not practice.[92] However, by drawing on the widely-recognized decorative imagery of Greek temples, the Odrysians imparted a religious aura on their tombs that could not be created through other decorative motifs. The placement of faux facades around doorways in the Gryphons and Shushmanets tombs explicitly tells the visitor that he is entering a sacred space; in the Kazanlak and Ostrusha tombs, the visitor is literally covered with sacred representations and the deceased can look up at the reminder of sacred space as he lies on the funerary bed. Moreover, the representation of temple architecture alludes to the overpowering monumentality of Greek temples, especially the Ionic temples in Asia Minor.

[92] For a basic exploration of Thracian religion, see Hoddinott 1981, 114-175.

CHAPTER 5: CONNECTIONS WITH GREEK ICONOGRAPHY

I have explained how the Odrysian elite in the Kazanlak Valley filled their monumental tombs with Greek domestic and sacred decoration in order to furnish their final resting places with the imagery of illustrious public, private, and sacred spaces. Nevertheless, the ultimate purpose of these tombs is not domestic or religious, but funerary. The Odrysians did not hesitate to adapt elements from the large corpus of Greek funerary imagery.

The interpretation of these scenes in their Thracian contexts is complicated by our incomplete understanding of Thracian religion and funeral practices. What little information we have from ancient sources comes from Greek authors, notably Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. These authors' accounts are short and, even though we have evidence that the authors may have been first-hand observers to the practices on which they comment, they are heavily skewed by each man's own cultural expectations and identities. What we have, however, can help begin to unravel the connections between Greek and Thracian religious and burial practices.

The main frieze in the Kazanlak tomb is located in the bottom register of the painted decoration that caps the burial chamber. A seated man and woman are depicted at the frieze's focal point, immediately visible upon entering the chamber (fig. 5.1). The man is presumably the tomb's commissioning patron and the woman is most likely his wife. They are both seated – he on an upholstered bench and she in a throne-like chair – but fill the height of the frieze. A procession of attendants carrying funerary goods converges on the pair from either side (figs. 5.2 and 5.3). This procession begins over the door to the chamber and proceeds along the circumference of the cupola to its focal point over the funeral bed. The direction and pace of the procession includes the entering visitor in its path. The attendants present the couple with

precious items: boxes of toiletries, fabric, fruit, and a *quadriga* with spare horses.[93] The frieze combines many elements familiar from Greek and Persian funerary imagery. The procession of goods towards a seemingly enthroned couple is reminiscent of ancient Near Eastern offering processions carved on palace walls and funeral stelai. However, the purpose of this paper is to explore a relationship with Greek imagery, if there is any to be found. Indeed, there are a number of connections between the Kazanlak tomb offering frieze and 4th century BC Greek funerary imagery.

The poses and seats of the man and woman at the focal point of the frieze are similar to various representations on Greek funerary stelai.[94] While the typical representation of a deceased man at his funeral banquet portrays him as reclining and attended by his seated wife (figs. 5.4 and 5.5), the two figures in the Kazanlak scene are both seated. This is not unprecedented in Greece, particularly in heroized contexts. The Kazanlak tomb painting shows the woman seated on an elaborate wooden throne. The throne has four turned legs and two long arm-rails each ending in a ball finial and supported by a sphinx. Its openwork back ends in "blossomlike finials."[95] Similar thrones are found on Greek pottery and in Greek sculpture from the 5th century BC and onward, and good parallels to the Kazanlak throne can be found on funerary stelai from the 6th to 4th centuries BC. A relief from the Harpy Tomb (c. 500 BC), a grave stele showing a seated woman (c. 400 BC), and the grave stele of Demetria and Pamphile (late 4th century BC) all show women seated on thrones with turned legs and sphinxes supporting the arm-rails (fig.

[93] Verdiani 1945, 415.

[94] It is true that most funerary stelai that remain to us are carved in stone, but we have seen before that the Kazanlak tomb substitutes painted for carved stone decoration. The same transference applies to this frieze.

[95] Richter 1966, 22; Verdiani 1945, 409 ff., figs 7-10; Dimitrov 1961, 22, fig. 26.

5.6).[96] The Thracian man is not seated on the same throne as his wife but his type of seat, too, is represented on Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Greek funerary stelai. The remaining traces of the four legs on the Kazanlak stool are a pale bluish-white, perhaps indicating that they were made of silver or another shining metal (see fig. 5.4). This type of light, backless, four-legged stool was called a *diphros* and was used, as Richter states, "by great and humble alike."[97] While this stool could have just as easily been made of any wood, the Kazanlak frieze example fits the deceased's elevated, heroized status by adding turned metal legs. Similar *diphroi* abound in Greek contexts. For example, the marble grave stele of Sostrate shows the deceased man sitting on a *diphros*, with simply-turned legs (fig. 5.7). More complexly turned legs can be found represented on a kylix in the Louvre from the mid-5th century BC and on the mid-4th century stele of Polyxene (fig. 5.8).

The main identification of the woman as wife comes from the gesture that joins the two figures and forms the very center of the frieze (see fig. 5.9). Clasping hands or arms is a long-standing symbol of association and affection between both men and women in the ancient world. In the Kazanlak tomb frieze, the man supports the woman's left arm with his right, clasping her wrist. The woman seems to hold his wrist in return. This gesture is visually similar to the "hand on wrist" gesture found in depictions of marriage on Greek vase paintings (fig. 5.10). Although primarily used in marriage scenes, this gesture also has visual connections to death and can be used by Hermes to lead the dead to the underworld.[98] This gesture is thus appropriate in both a marriage and funeral context, but the Greek and Thracian gestures are not visually equivalent. In both the Kazanlak tomb frieze and in the Greek marriage scenes, the husband grabs the wrist of

[96] Richter 1966, 19-23.
[97] Richter 1966, 38.
[98] Rehm 1994, 39.

his wife. He looks at her but her eyes are downcast. In the Greek vase paintings, the wife's hand is limp and her husband grabs her wrist from above in a gesture of control and ownership. The woman in the Kazanlak tomb burial chamber frieze, however, is much more active than her Greek counterparts. Although her eyes are downcast, she purposefully reciprocates the wrist grab gesture. In addition, her hand rests on top of her husband's arm rather than hangs from his grasp (though the man's hand still seems to be the supporting force and thus the dominant one). This subtle difference in composition could speak volumes about the status of Thracian women and wives during the late 4th century BC. Rich female burials at Duvlani show that women were accorded high status in the 5th century BC.[99] Herodotus tells us that the Thracians allowed their women freedoms that Greek women did not have, specifically in relation to relationships and sexuality (*Hist.* V.6). Although Herodotus describes some of the marriage customs of the Thracians in the same chapter, he does not explicitly mention this gesture. Since Herodotus is so concerned throughout his work on pointing out differences and similarities between Greek customs and those of the Thracians, it is odd that he would not have commented on a gesture that seems so closely related to the marriage "hand on wrist" gesture. Perhaps, then, it is not related to marriage and has some other native Thracian purpose of which we have no record.[100] It is also possible that Herodotus simply neglects to mention it. Regardless, the subtle differences between the gestures are striking.

A third Greek element present in this scene is the funeral banquet (see fig. 5.11). In front of the man, a table tilted in forced perspective displays an array of food, dishes, and cutlery. To the Thracian man's left, an attendant carries a bowl of fruit. What food is identifiable on the table

[99] Archibald 1998, 168.

[100] A study of native Thracian imagery has not been undertaken to my knowledge, but it would be marvelously helpful in determining the origin of this gesture and much of the other imagery in these tombs.

– flat bread, perhaps a fillet of meat – seems characteristic of an ancient Mediterranean elite diet. On Greek grave stelai, foods are not so easily discerned and are usually represented by the profiles of the dishes they were served in rather than by representations of the foods themselves. In the Kazanlak tomb frieze, both husband and wife are seated in proximity to the dining table, but the representation of the man as seated directly behind the table shows the artist's willingness to interrupt the husband's image to associate him more closely with the table and its contents. For this reason it is most likely that the husband is the main honoree in the frieze and that the wife's honors are secondary. This pattern is typical of Greek funerary reliefs for men, where they recline before a table and are served by their wives or families (see fig. 5.4 and 5.5).[101]

The clothing of all figures in this frieze also strikes the viewer as particularly Greek.[102] Christopher Webber asserts that, by the 4th century BC, Thracians had begun to give up the colorful, pattern-intensive, distinctive dress of the Archaic and Classical periods in favor of identifiably Greek dress. One example that he uses to formulate this conclusion is the Kazanlak tomb friezes. Here, the woman wears a reddish *himation* over a short-sleeved white undergarment. The man's drapery is yellow over a similar white tunic (see fig. 5.1). They both wear ankle-height slippers. The female attendants to the right of the seated woman and the musicians to the seated man's left each wear a short-sleeved, floor-length, red and white or yellow and white *chiton.* The boy leading the four-horse team is wearing a white *exomis* and the male attendants leading the other horses both wear knee-length, white tunics. The male attendants appear barefoot; the female attendants' feet are hidden under their clothing (see figs. 5.2 and 5.3).

[101] See Thönges-Stringaris 1965 and Dentzer 1982 for further exploration of the Greek funeral banquet.

[102] For Thracian clothing, see Webber 2001, 17-23 and Zhivkova 1998, 197-209.

In the upper register of the painted decoration capping the burial chamber dome, we find another painted frieze (fig. 5.12). Three racing chariots are painted in the same simple, sketchy manner that gives the battling figures in the antechamber the appearance of swift movement. Each chariot is pulled by two horses at a full gallop. The charioteers are clothed in full-length garments that, together with the figures' scarves, billow in the wind. The three chariots are evenly-spaced around the top of the dome and are separated by the aforementioned Ionic columns. Chariot races are a commonly-attested portion of Greek funerary games and the depictions of Greek horses and riders are similar to this Thracian frieze. For example, a chariot race frieze from Tomb III ("The Prince's Tomb") at Vergina (fig. 5.13) shows a string of two-horse chariots at a full gallop.[103] The modeling and shading of these racers is much more detailed than in the Kazanlak frieze, which almost recalls Attic vase painting. Pottery images of chariot racing can represent competition in, for example, the Olympic Games, but are also depicted as a part of funerary games. If the scene were in a Greek context, the Ionic columns would suggest a chariot race within the context of festival fames such as the Panhellenic competitions. However, the inclusion of horse racing in Greek funeral games dates back to the time of Homer; in the *Iliad*, the death of Patroklos was celebrated with funeral games including chariot racing (Homer, *Iliad*, 16). This chariot racing frieze, then, could allude to both types of race. We must also leave open the possibility that for the Thracians, it represented something entirely different. Though we know that the Thracians held funeral games (Herodotus, *Hist.* 5.8), horse and chariot races are not explicitly named. Xenophon presents the opposite problem; in his *On Horsemanship* (8) he states that the Odrysians excelled at racing horses, especially downhill, but does not tell us in what contexts races were held or if chariots of any sort were involved. With the information

[103] Andronicos 1992, 202.

currently available, therefore, we can say with confidence that this scene is fitting for a Thracian tomb but also draws strongly on Greek imagery.

The reasoning behind adopting such Greek characteristics in the Kazanlak tomb friezes is much less discernible than the rationale behind using Greek architectonic decoration and even sacred imagery such as the bucrania and rosette pattern. Once again we are faced with the problem of ignorance; not enough is known about Odrysian Thracian religious and funerary practices to say definitively if these scenes adopt Greek imagery to represent Thracian norms, or if they represent an adaptation thereof. The last seems most likely, especially considering the close connections between the Odrysian rulers and Greece and Macedon in the 5th to 3rd centuries BC.

CHAPTER 6: THE TRANSMISSION OF IDEAS AND PRACTICES

Now that parallels have been drawn between the architectural decoration of the Kazanlak Valley tombs and Greek and Macedonian domestic, sacred, and funerary decorative motifs, it is valuable to explore how these influences might have permeated the Odrysian culture. The possible routes are numerous and the archaeological and literary records both indicate a long history of ties between the two regions. Ties alone, however, do not explain anything more than possible routes of transmission. The reasoning behind the adoption or adaptation of these influences – and the extent to which each is done – is a much more complicated equation.

The first strong Greek presence in Thrace manifested in the 8th to 7th centuries BC. Around this time, the Parians, Ionians, and Euboeans first began to settle colonies along the Aegean coast of Thrace, with great difficulty (Hdt. 6. 46, 47). Though the local Thracian tribes did not look kindly upon these intruders at first, the archaeological record shows a mixture of Thracian and Greek wares at both Greek and Thracian sites by the 6th century BC, indicating regular trade.[104]

The forerunner of the Hellenistic Odrysian kingdom ruling from the Kazanlak Valley was formed in the 5th century BC under Persian, not Greek, influences. Thrace had been conquered multiple times over the course of the Greco-Persian Wars first by Darius and then Xerxes as they secured passage through Thracian lands. In their desire for both land and a safe overland route, the Persians penetrated Thracian territory as far as the Danube.[105] Shortly after the Persians withdrew from Thrace in 480 BC an Odrysian ruler named Teres, whose tribe who had prospered by allying with the Persians from the start, leveraged his considerable military might and conquered Thrace from the Aegean to the Danube. He set up an Odrysian state inspired by the

[104] Hoddinott 1981, 81-82.
[105] Hoddinott 1981, 88.

centralized power the Persians had wielded so successfully against the region (Ar. *Pol*.1285a 3. 14. 6-7).[106]

During the reigns of Teres and his successor, Sitalkes, the cultural connections between Greece and Odrysian Thrace were deeply embedded. Sitalkes' son became an Athenian citizen. Athens devoted a delegate to the Odrysian kingdom.[107] Perikles appointed a Thracian as a tutor to Alcibiades (Plato, *Alcib.* 1, 122b). A 5th century Athenian decree makes mention of a plentiful Thracian population living around Athens and specifically near the Piraeus.[108] During the Peloponnesian War, Sitalkes pledged Thracian military support to Athens, and the cult of Bendis, a Thracian goddess, was made an official state cult in Athens for a short time.[109] From the 5th century onward, Greek and especially Athenian goods are found in great quantities throughout Thrace.[110] All of these facts are symptomatic of cultures closely linked by economic and political bonds. The Odrysian Thracians, a relatively new power looking to establish themselves and their reputation, had plentiful opportunity to pull influences from their illustrious allies in Athens.

The Athenians, however, were not the only ones interested in Thrace. Throughout the 5th century BC, Macedonia gradually encroached on Thracian territory. Throughout this period, Thrace was ruled by a series of Thracian kings who increasingly separated themselves from Athens and increasingly fragmented the Thracian territory in tribal bickering. Macedonia took great advantage of the Thracian divisiveness and picked off territory bit by bit until 385, when Phillip assumed control of all Thracian lands south of the Danube.[111] Phillip II and Alexander the Great both conquered and controlled the entirety of Odrysian Thrace until Alexander's death in

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[106] Archibald 1998, 102; Hoddinott 1981, 101-102.
[107] Hoddinott 1981, 104.
[108] See Ferguson 1949.
[109] Hoddinott 1981, 104.
[110] See Archibald 1998 chapter 7, "Imported Luxuries and their Meaning," pp. 177-196.
[111] Hoddinott 1981, 105-6.

323 BC.[112] Upon the death of Alexander in 323 BC, the Macedonian general Lysimachos ruled Thrace, maintaining control with much difficulty due to the ambition of the young Thracian who would become Seuthes III.[113] During this period, Thrace continued to be influenced by the cultural interests of both their immediate neighbors, the Macedonians, as well as of the Greeks.

By the turn of the century, the troublesome Odrysian Seuthes III achieved virtual independence from Lysimachos' rule and controlled a large portion of the interior.[114] He centered his kingdom at Seuthopolis, a new capital city in the Kazanlak Valley.[115] To establish the kingdom's relevance in the culture of the region, the Odrysians drew on the prestigious art forms and elegant architectural vocabulary of both the Macedonians, who still controlled much of Thrace, and the Greeks to elevate their image and to connect themselves to Odrysian glory days, which were themselves so strongly tied with Greek culture. It seems inevitable, therefore, that wealthy Odrysians living around their capital city would have drawn heavily on Greek and Macedonian fashions and imagery when designing their tombs.

Many questions still remain. Were the executors of the decoration Greek? Were they Thracians trained in Greece? Or does the Kazanlak Valley decoration represent a Thracian-trained artist's approximation of Greek styles? The wide range of decorative details could support any or all of these possibilities. The decorative styles may suggest that itinerant Greek artists trained in Greek Anatolia were given these commissions, or that Greek-trained Greeks made a permanent living in Seuthopolis by completing this sort of work for the wealthy Odrysians. It is also possible that Thracians were trained by Greek artists either in Thrace or in Greece and returned home to complete these commissions. The diversity of the tomb decoration

[112] Archibald 1998, 304-316; Hoddinott 1981, 122.
[113] Archibald 1998, 307-9; Hoddinott 1981, 121-2.
[114] Hoddinott 1981, 122.
[115] Hoddinott 1981, 122.

certainly supports adaptation on a local level, so it is possible that Thracian-trained Thracians were completing the commissions. Modern scholars hesitate to take a stance on this issue. Verdiani enthusiastically ascribes the work to "a painter of excellent school with sound traditional connections" but does not give any details as to that excellent painter's origin.[116] Bruno similarly evades the particulars with his aforementioned generalization that the tomb painting is "obviously not executed by masters."[117] Zhivkova merely asserts that the Kazanlak tomb artist must be "well versed in contemporary [Hellenistic] fashions of draughtsmanship" and "a skilled practitioner of contemporary techniques."[118] It seems, therefore, that there is not enough evidence to support any specific artist or training center. Nevertheless, the artists – whoever they may have been – successfully incorporated and adapted Greek motifs to suite their Odrysian patrons.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the Odrysian Thracians buried in this valley selected elements with recognizable connections to Greek domestic, civic, religious, and funerary architecture and decoration but adapted them to fit their own Thracian context. The five-zone wall decoration of Greek and Macedonian wall decoration in the Hellenistic period was very closely adapted to fill the tombs with color and imitate expensive stone and plaster wall coverings in Greek and Macedonian public, domestic and funerary settings, and altered the arrangement of zones to better fit the structural architecture of the tombs. This decoration lent visual stability to the tomb chambers and accented the rest of the tomb decoration. The Kazanlak Valley tombs also adapted elements of Greek façades and entablatures in both two- and three-dimensional forms to give the tomb a prestigious frame and perhaps sacred aura. It did not seem

[116] Verdiani 1945, 403.
[117] Bruno 1977, 112.
[118] Archibald 1998, 300.

to matter that these elements were widely-recognized symbols of a different religious system; the immediate association with sacred space was sufficient for the Odrysian purpose. Finally, the Odrysians in the Kazanlak Valley drew on the Greek images of funerary practice to honor the wealthy among their dead.

The creative agency of both Thracian patrons and artists cannot be overlooked. The diversity of style, material, and craftsmanship of the Kazanlak Valley tombs speaks to the Thracian desire not only to tap into current decorative trends in Greece and Macedonia but also to create a distinct Thracian identity through their most lasting monuments. This can be seen in the specificity with which Thracians, much like the Macedonians, picked each structural and decorative element of their tombs from a wide range of available choices. It is clear that the Odrysians were hardly the uncultured barbarians of Homer's or Herodotus' accounts, but were a people and a country capable of artistic development and innovation and of the economic, political, and cultural sophistication that such art requires.

The decoration and architecture of the Kazanlak Valley tombs require (and merit) further study. There is much more to be discovered and unpacked in these small but essential components of Bulgaria's history. In this thesis I have connected the Thracian tombs with Greek architectural decoration and explored the resulting hybrid style of the Kazanlak Valley tombs' decoration. I hope that through further excavation, technical analyses of materials, and comparative studies we might soon be able to sharpen and deepen our understanding Odrysian art, architecture, and funerary practices.

LIST OF FIGURES

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3.9 Type IV Masonry style decoration. Andreou 1988, 266.

3.10 Type VI Masonry style decoration. Andreou 1988, 268.

3.11 Tomb I ("The Tomb of Persephone") at Vergina. Copyright Jade Williamson. Accessed at http://www.jjwilliamson1994.blogspot.com.

3.12 The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles at Lefkadia. Copyright kootation.com, 2012.

3.13 Decorative limestone band on the Propylaea, in Athens. Photograph by author.

3.14 Helvetia tomb antechamber of façade. Copyright HM-ISKRA, 2013. Accessed at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Helvecia_(2).JPG.

3.15 Elevation of Helvetia antechamber/façade. Zarev and Denev 2001, leaf between pp. 142-143.

3.16 Helvetia tomb burial chamber. Zarev and Denev 2001, 145 fig. 109.

3.17 Type III Masonry style wall decoration. Andreou 1988, 265.

3.18 "The Stuccoed House" at Pella, wall decoration. Copyright Olivia Hayden, 2012.

3.19 Type V Masonry style wall decoration. Andreou 1988, 267.

4.1 Exterior decoration of the Ostrusha tomb burial chamber. Left: Copyright Nenko Lazarov, 2006. www.ImagesFromBulgaria.com. Right: Copyright www.bulgariatravel.org , 2012. Accessed at http://www.vsichkipochivki.bg/zabelejitelnosti/grobnicata-v-mogilata-ostrusha-grad-shipka-q1wzbl.

4.2 Inside of the Goliama Kosmatka burial chamber. Photograph by author.

4.3 "Weeping Woman" sarcophagus. Copyright axeltriple, 2012. Accessed at http://www.flickr.com/photos/axeltriple/8056098325/.

4.4 Gryphons tomb, façade. Zarev and Denev 2001, 148 fig. 116.

4.5 Shushmanets tomb, carved decoration surrounding the antechamber door. Zarev and Denev 2001, 155 fig. 131.

4.6 Kinch and Halikiamon tomb façades.

4.7 Stele of Tynnias. Zepfanman.com, 2012. Accessed at http://www.flickr.com/photos/zepfanman/6913317646/.

4.8 Stele from Athens. National Museum Nr. 1311 *CD 3.* Schmidt 1991, fig. 58.

4.9 Stele from Delos. Museum *CD 167.* Schmidt 1991, fig. 56.

4.10 Kazanlak tomb burial chamber frieze. Photograph by author.

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4.18 Kazanlak tomb antechamber, painted imitation of moldings separating the upper and lower frieze registers. Photograph by author.

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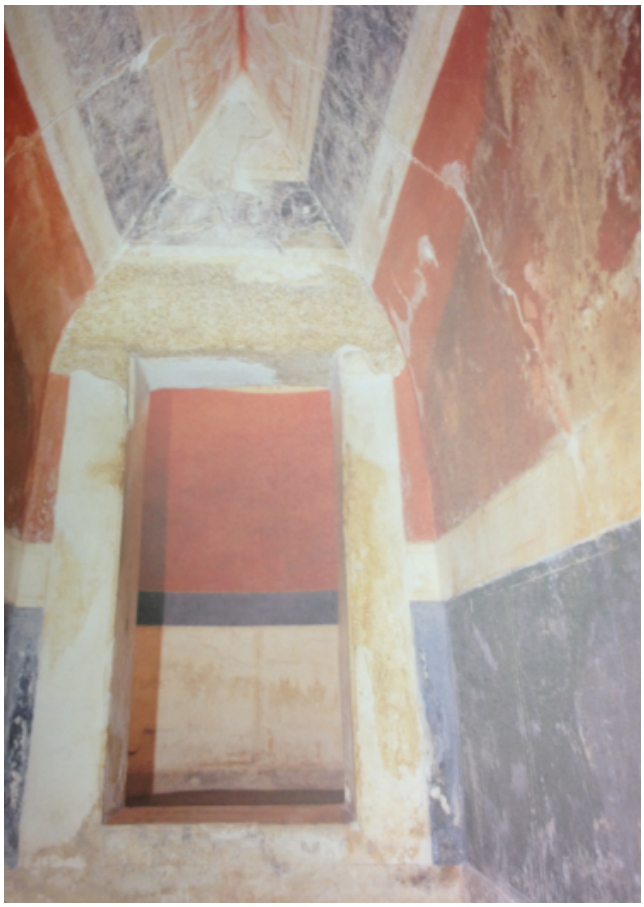

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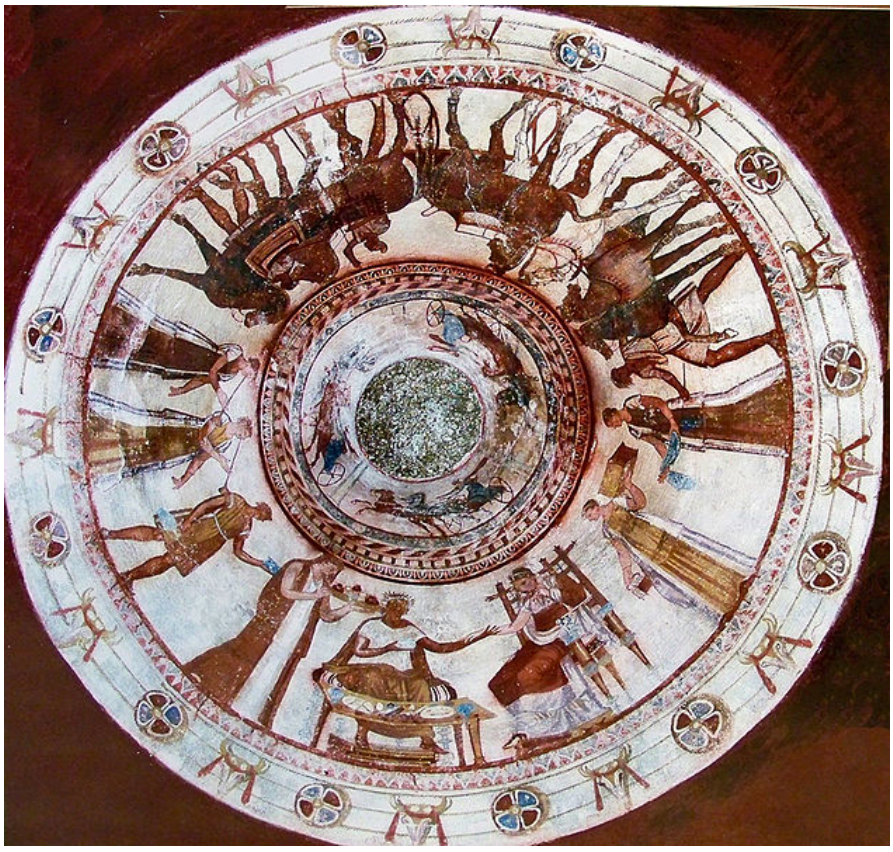

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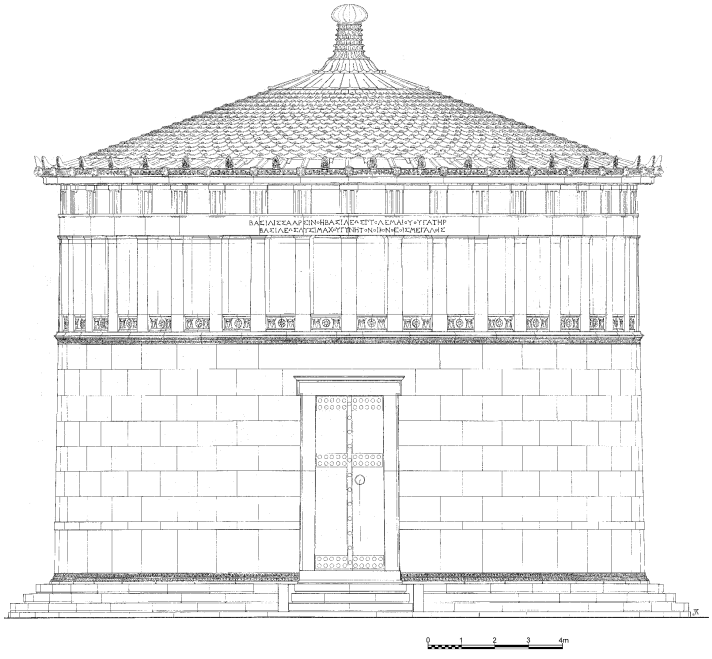

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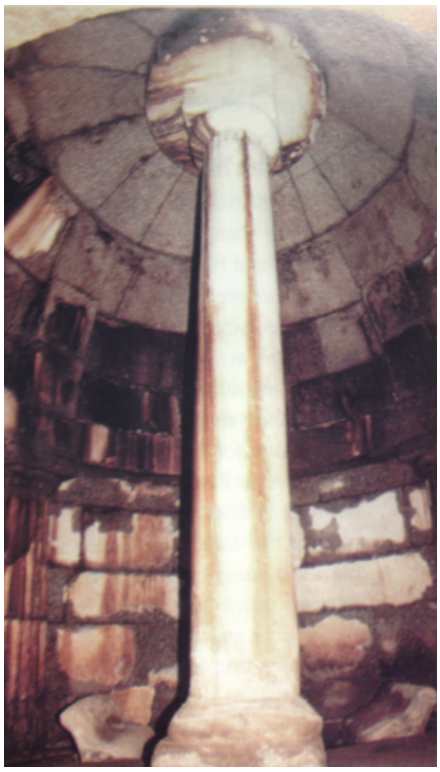

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