Thracian Chamber Tombs (5th-2nd Centuries BC)

Volume 1: Text

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a detailed study of 77 Thracian chamber tombs dated between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC. It is the largest collection of data available about Thracian tombs from this period, and has two aims: first, to provide a comprehensive, up-to-date overview of the material; second to analyse the data and demonstrate how the tombs fit their local and regional contexts. It establishes that these tombs are indicative a coherent set of values present in Thrace, and at the same time are the product of a regional trend in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, which blends local traditions with external influences.

The thesis is divided into seven sections: an introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter 1 introduces the present study, outlining its scope, goals, and structure, and summarising the state of previous scholarship. Each of the five chapters focuses on a different aspect of the tombs. Chapter 2 examines the materials used to build the tombs (two main categories – brick and stone); how they were procured, and how they may have affected the design of the tombs. Chapter 3 focuses on the tomb buildings. It identifies the four most common features of their plans (dromoi, facades, antechambers, and burial chambers) and two types of auxiliary structures (porches and forecourts), and discusses the design, building techniques, and (where applicable) the furniture and decoration of each structure. Chapter 4 studies the finds from the tombs; it is organised by architectural structure, beginning with the dromoi and ending with the burial chambers. The fifth chapter is a discussion of the human remains found at the sites, and what they reveal about Thracian burial practices. Chapter 6 focuses on the tumuli. It examines the construction (shape and supporting structures, such as crepis walls) and use (how many monuments and burials per mound, use over time) of tumuli, as well as the relationship between tumuli in a necropolis (such as individual vs. groups of mounds, interaction with the local

landscape, visibility). Chapter 8 summarises the present study, suggests pathways for future research, and provides a broad discussion of the significance of Thracian built chamber tombs from this period.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The present study is a close examination of seventy-seven Thracian chamber tombs from the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. Built by the wealthiest Thracians, these monuments are nevertheless sources of valuable information about Thracian culture and cultural exchange in the region in this period. The purpose of this study is to provide a comprehensive, detailed overview of these monuments. In doing so, its aims are two-fold. First, to explore the relationship of the tombs, as well as the tumuli, to each other and their local environment. Second, to understand how they fit the broader context of the region in this period.

Methodology

Three methods are employed in conducting this study. The review and analysis of archaeological data and materials are central to the thesis. All available excavation reports and other scholarly publications were examined, and the data organized in a systematic manner in the catalogue, which is arranged based on tomb geography. The data in the catalogue was further enhanced through the visit of some of the monuments.[1] The building materials, plans and contents of the tombs, as well as the dimensions, stratigraphy and location of the tumuli are examined in the text. Satellite images, topographic and geological maps were studied to obtain data relevant to this study. GIS software was used to create maps unique to this study and visualize the location and environment of the various sites.[2]

[1] Permission was sought from the Ministry of Culture of Bulgaria and several regional museums under whose jurisdiction the relevant tombs fall. The visits took place in the summer of 2019. Plans to conduct further visits in the summer of 2020 were affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, and never took place.
[2] I used QGIS.

Chronological and Geographical Scope

As already stated above, this study attempts to provide a comprehensive overview of Thracian chamber tombs. By its nature, therefore, the study is defined by the chronology and geographical location of the monuments themselves. The earliest Thracian built chamber tombs date broadly to the 5th century BC, while the latest – to sometime between the 3rd and 2nd century BC. Geographically, the scholarly consensus is that Thrace fell between the north Aegean and Propontis, the Black Sea, the Danube, and the line of the Morava and Struma river valleys.[3] Given the accepted definition of what is Thrace, the study incorporates monuments from as large swath of territory as possible. Most of the monuments are found in central Thrace, on the territory of modern-day Bulgaria, but examples also come from southern and southeastern Thrace (modern-day northern Greece, northwestern Turkey), the Black Sea coast, and northeastern Thrace (modern-day northeastern Bulgaria and southeastern Romania).

Previous Scholarship

Previous scholarship on Thracian chamber tombs is complex and varied. Some aspects examined here, such as the architecture and decoration of the tombs, and certain types of grave goods have been well-studied. Scholarly publications on other aspects, such as the tumuli, the building materials for the tombs, and burial rites, are scarce.

Most extensive are the studies of the architecture and decoration of the tombs. Rousseva and Stoyanova have each published studies on the architecture of Thracian monumental tombs.[4]

[3] See Bouzek and Graninger 2015 for a more detailed discussion, and Delev 2015, 23, fig. 2 for a map of the Odrysian kingdom. Also refer to Figures 3.1-3.4 for the location of the tombs.
[4] Rousseva 2002, Stoyanova 2015.

Rousseva's book is an extensive survey of tombs on the territory of Bulgaria between 5th and 3rd centuries BC, arranged into two general types: square- and round-plan. Stoyanova's book chapter is also a survey. Her work stands out in that she focuses not only on their overall design, but examines individual details such as roofs, doors, and architectural decoration.[5] Archibald's monograph – although a bit outdated by now – remains one of the most comprehensive studies on Thracian material culture, including tombs and grave goods.[6]

Some smaller-scale investigations of the tombs have been conducted as well. Stoyanova and Totko Stoyanov's article on early monumental tombs presents and juxtaposes a small number of monuments and provides useful bibliography for each one. Stoyanova has examined barrel-valued (or, Macedonian-type) Thracian tombs in two separate publications.[7] Theodossiev did the same with lantern-roofed tombs.[8] Many of the publications concern individual monuments. In-depth studies, such as Tzochev's recent article on the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb, Manetta, Stoyanova, and Luglio's on the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb, and Chichikova, Stoyanov and Stoyanova's on the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb are notable examples, as they provide both context and significant data.[9] Stoyanova has published a number of in-depth articles on tomb architecture.[10] These works serve as excellent points of reference, as they are rich both in data and bibliographically and offer different approaches to the same subject. Another aspect of the tombs which has been studied regularly is decoration, and in particular painted decoration. Comprehensive publications on the topic have been written by Valeva, Steingräber, and

[5] The chapter draws from and builds upon Stoyanova's PhD thesis (unpublished), which is an in-depth study of Thracian monumental architecture between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC; see Stoyanova 2002.
[6] Archibald 1998.
[7] See Stoyanova 2008 and Damyanov, Nankov, and Stoyanova 2021.
[8] See Theodossiev 2007b.
[9] See Tzochev 2021; Manetta, Stouyanova, and Luglio 2016; Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012. A distinction ought to be made between this type of in-depth study and archaeological reports or report-like articles, which contain key information, but do not always provide in-depth analysis of a monument.
[10] Stoyanova 2005, 2011, and 2018 are among the most relevant to this thesis.

Manetta.[11] Stoyanova and Grudeva have provided overviews of funerary beds in Thracian tombs.[12]

Particular categories of grave goods have been well-published and analysed, for example pottery bearing figural decoration, items made of precious metals, including vessels and adornments, armour and weaponry. Items from these categories were featured in the Louvre 2016 exhibition *L'epopeé des Rois Thraces*; the catalogue from the exhibit is a valuable resource in studying grave goods from the tombs.[13] Tonkova has provided much expertise on the subjects of adornments and metal vessels.[14] Nankov examines armour and weaponry in a recent chapter on Thracian warfare.[15] Rabadjiev's study of horses, horsemen, and chariots is also a valuable resource, as it features numerous examples and useful context.[16]

Some aspects of the tombs, such as building materials, are not as well-studied. Generally, it has been accepted by scholars that the tombs are made of locally sourced materials, yet there are few publications on these materials, and where and how they were procured. The predominant material used to build Thracian tombs is stone, yet to date there are only two publications addressing quarrying techniques in Thrace, both of which are localized case studies.[17] Still, in recent years the locations of ancient quarries have been recorded more frequently in surveys.[18] The chapter on Thrace in the *Corpus of ancient Greek quarries* by Kokkorou-Alevras, Poupaki, Chatzikonstantinou. and Efstathopoulos is a helpful resource, as it

[11] See Valeva 1999, Valeva 2015b, and Valeva 2015c; Steingräber 2022, and Manetta (forthcoming).
[12] Stoyanova 2018, Grudeva 2017 and 2018.
[13] See Agre and Martinez 2016.
[14] Tonkova 2017, 2016, 2013, and 1997.
[15] Nankov 2021.
[16] Rabadjiev 2004.
[17] Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012 on Sboryanovo, and Minkov 2011 on Kozi Gramadi.
[18] Minkov 2011, Stoyanov 2015b, and Kovachev and Stoyanova 2010.

records all known stone quarries in south-eastern Thrace.[19] Yet there is very much a need for such databases for the rest of Thrace, as well as for in-depth investigations of quarries.

The other building material – baked brick – has been discussed in depth only once, by Maria Chichikova.[20] Similarly, there is a single publication on mudbrick in Thracian architecture.[21] Stoyanova's recent publication of architectural terracotta from Apollonia Pontica is a useful resource to which data from inland Thrace can be compared.[22] Additionally, in lieu of Thrace-specific publications, several studies have been especially informative for the present study, for example Adam's seminal book on quarrying and stone working in the ancient world;[23] and Sapirstein's thesis on roof tiles, which features ethnographical case studies in the production of architectural terracotta.[24]

The tumuli themselves are similarly understudied. Basic information regarding the dimensions and contents of the individual tumuli is often provided in reports and articles. More recently, the stratigraphy of tumuli has begun to be provided in articles and reports as well. The investigation of tumuli rarely goes beyond this, however. Madzharov's PhD thesis was one recent such investigation, focusing on tumuli from northeastern Thrace, as is Sobotkova's Tundzha river project.[25] Two more general discussions by Agre and Yıldırım have also been informative.[26] The other publications in the *Tumulus as Sema* volume in which these articles are to be found have provided guidance in how to assess and analyze tumuli.[27] As with the tombs,

[19] Kokkorou-Alevras, Poupaki, Chatzikonstantinou, and Efstathopoulos 2014.
[20] Chichikova 1957.
[21] Stoyanova and Popov 2008.
[22] Stoyanova 2022.
[23] Adam 2010.
[24] Sapirstein 2008.
[25] Madzharov 2013; Sobotkova 2022.
[26] See Agre 2016 and Yıldırım, 2016
[27] Henry and Kelp 2016.

there are some in-depth analyses of individual tumuli, such as Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan's case study of the Documaci **(77)** tumulus.[28]

The area for which there is the least scholarship and published data is human remains and burial rites.[29] The fact that many of the tombs were looted and the human remains disturbed or entirely lost ought to be taken into consideration, and some information is provided where available. However, it is rarely systematized and detailed, and large-scale surveys are rare, which makes contextualizing the available data difficult if not impossible. Madzharov's PhD thesis is one of the few available large-scale studies to date.[30]

Similarly, this thesis represents the single largest collection of data available about Thracian chamber tombs dated between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC. In contrast to previous works, which have focused on individual or small groups of monuments or on specific aspects, this thesis takes a holistic approach. It aims thereby to broaden our understanding of these monuments, particularly where the tombs fit in the context of funerary architecture and practices on both a local and regional level and, more broadly, the way they represent the culture of Thrace in this period. Furthermore, by presenting and analysing the available data in a systematic manner, this work highlights areas where there is an abundance of data and areas on which future studies could focus.

Organization

The thesis consists of seven sections (introduction, five chapters, and conclusion) and a catalogue. Each of the five chapters focuses on a different aspect of the tombs. Chapter 2 focuses

[28] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021.
[29] Dimova 2014 discusses this issue at length.
[30] See Madzharov 2013.

on the materials used to build the tombs: stone and brick. It examines how they were procured and how they may have affected the design of the tombs. The chapter features three case studies of quarries. It also shows how, when information about the location of quarries is unavailable, geological data and topographical maps can be utilized to determine their approximate location. Quarrying and transportation methods are discussed. In its second part, the chapter discusses baked brick. It focuses on distribution and issues of durability. Although only a handful of kilns for architectural teracotta have been discovered in Thrace, the data provided from them is used along with brick dimensions and information from ethnographic studies to roughly estimate how many bricks could be baked in a single kiln at a time.

Chapter 3 is a detailed examination of the architecture, decoration, and furniture of the tombs. It focuses on the dimensions and building techniques four most common features of tomb plans (dromoi, facades, antechambers, and burial chambers) and two types of auxiliary structures (porches and forecourts). Chapter 4 studies the finds and animal remains in the tombs. Its aim is to further the understanding of the role each space played in the tombs. A number of the tombs, it ought to be noted, were disturbed, looted, or suffered considerable structural damage. The structural damage is not as common and does not hinder the understanding of the architectural trends seen in Thrace. By contrast, the lack of finds is a significant problem, for it limits the understanding of a "typical" grave inventory. Nevertheless, three monuments (the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, and Naip **(49)** tombs) are known to have been undisturbed, and their contents are juxtaposed with the data from the other tombs in order to establish a pattern and establish what a "typical" grave inventory would have featured.

Chapter 5 is a discussion of the human remains discovered in the tombs and tumuli, and what they reveal about Thracian burial practices and the use of the tombs and tumuli over time.

As already mentioned, the data is quite limited. Nevertheless, every aspect of it is thoroughly examined and analyzed. The aim here is to establish the number of individuals might typically be found in a tomb, as well as their age, sex, and preferred burial rite, in order to comprehend by who and for whom the tombs might have been built, and whether they were intended to be reused.

Chapter 6 focuses on the tumuli. It begins by examining their construction. The dimensions, shape and supporting structures, such as as crepis walls are examined. It then focuses on their use, as represented by the number of monuments per mound as well as any additional structures, and evidence of their over time (for example, any earlier mounds that might have been built upon). The relationship between tumuli and their local environment, such as individual vs. groups of mounds, interaction with the local landscape and settlements, and visibility are also discussed. Lastly, the chapter focuses on finds from the tumuli; this is especially important for understanding the burial process and commemorative rites, and the role the tumulus played in them.

The catalogue contains all available information about the tombs central to this study. Each entry begins with the name, location, and date of each site (usually, the name of the tumulus. This is followed by information about the tumulus, the building materials, architecture, and finds, a description of each monument, the basis for its dating. The entries also contain plans, cross-sections, various relevant images of the monuments, and a list of bibliographical entries in which each individual monument is discussed.

CHAPTER 2: BUILDING MATERIALS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is the examination and close analysis of the principal materials used to build the seventy-seven chamber tombs central to this thesis. Its aim is to reconstruct the economic, social, and political context of their use, and explain why there was a preference for the use of one type over another.

The chapter begins by noting the distribution of the two main groups of building material – stone and baked brick. It then focuses on each group, studying each type, its distribution, and how it was sourced. The main argument of this chapter is that availability was a driving factor in deciding which type of material was used, and it was balanced by aspects such as economics and durability.

Principal Materials

There are two types of principal building material used for late Classical and early Hellenistic Thracian tombs: stone and baked brick. Chart 2.1 shows the distribution of the two types of materials among the tombs:

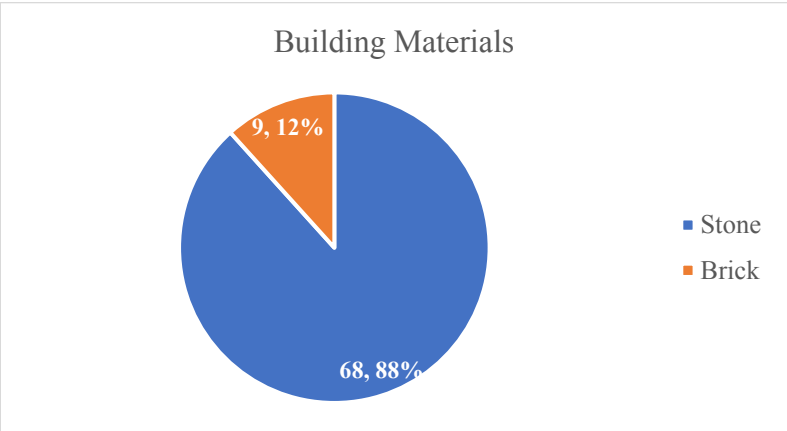

Chart 2.1: Distribution of building materials (numbers and percentages)

As displayed in the chart, stone is much more commonly attested than brick. Notably, even though stone is the principal building material in sixty-eight tombs, it is also found in several of the remaining nine. Baked brick, in contrast, is used as a principal building material in only nine tombs, but its use and the geographical concentration of these tombs in one specific area are quite significant.

Stone

This section focuses on stone. It looks at the types of stone used and their relative frequencies, as well as the processes of procuring and working it. Quarrying and stone working techniques and relevant examples from Thrace are presented. It further shows how geological surveys and maps, combined with mapping software, can be useful for confirming local sourcing and finding potential quarry locations.

Stone Types

Nine stone types have been identified in the sixty-eight stone chamber tombs central to this study. It ought to be noted that an individual monument may feature more than one type of stone. Chart 2.2 below shows how many stone types are common per tomb. Chart 2.3 displays the stone types identified, and the number of times each have been identified among the sixty-eight tombs.

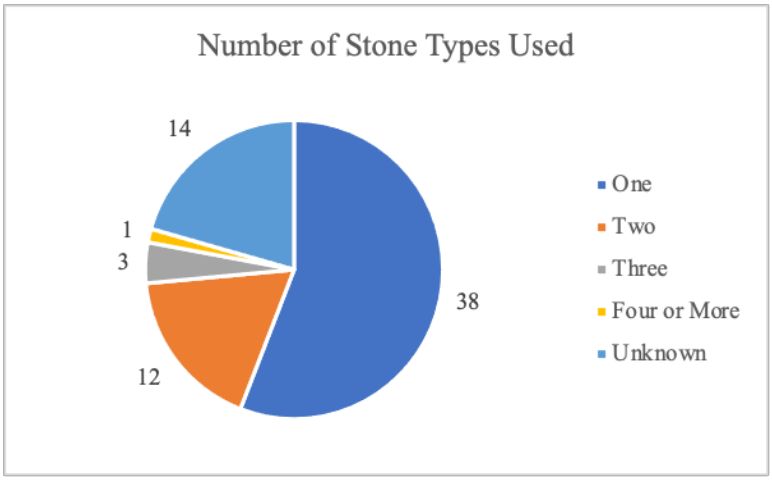

Chart 2.2: Number of stone types used per tomb

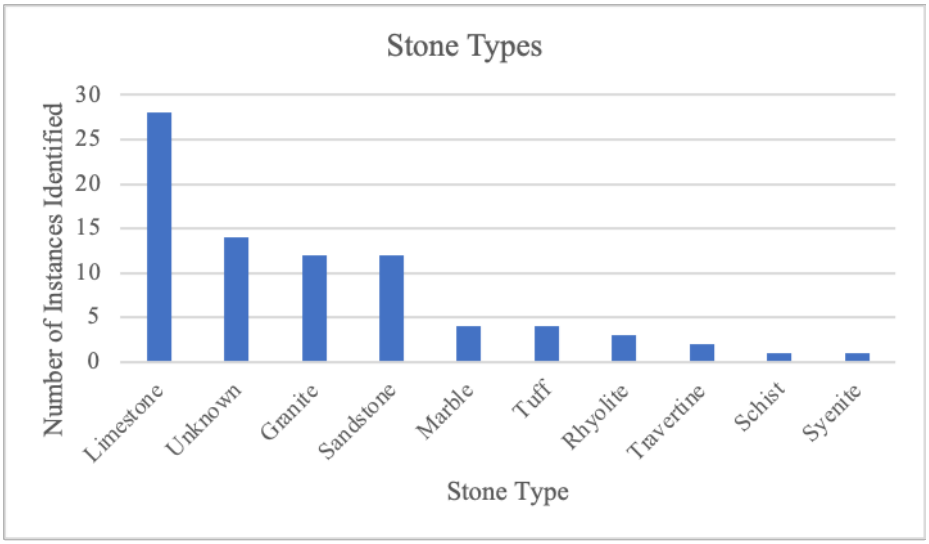

Chart 2.3: Number of instances a particular stone type has been identified (total)

As shown in Charts 2.2 and 2.3, more than 50% of the stone-built tombs feature only a single type of stone; limestone is the most common building material, followed by granite and sandstone. Marble, notably, is quite rare, having been used in only four tombs.[1]

[1] The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Naip **(49)**, and Stavroupolis-Xanthi **(53)** tombs.

Thracian Quarries: Three Case Studies

Quarrying and transportation capacities were often limited to local use in the pre-Roman period.[2] This was not always the case - large, non-local quarrying operations are known to have been performed by the Greeks as early as the Archaic period, as were the cases of Naxos and Paros, for example.[3] Such operations were less common than they were in the Roman period, however, as both quarrying and transport were very labour-intensive and time-consuming.

The number of quarries in pre-Roman Thrace which have been studied and published is limited. The majority of known quarries are mentioned or briefly discussed in reports, especially reports about the results of archaeological surveys.[4] In-depth publications, or even images, are less common. Nevertheless, there are a few cases, and four are particularly relevant to this thesis.

The first case that of two quarries in the vicinity of Petrota, northeast Greece. Petrota is located less than 5km from Mezek, where three of the monuments (the Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, and Mezek 1 **(43)** tombs) examined in this thesis are located. The area has long been known to be minerally rich, containing three types of stone: a conglomerate rock containing zeolite; mudstone; and rhyolitic and volcanic tuff.[5] The third of these stones is particularly relevant,

[2] For general up-to-date bibliography on Greek stone quarrying, see Russell 2017, especially p. 77. Waelkens, De Paepe, and Moens 1990, 48-57, Fant 2009, 122, and Adam 2010, 23-25 also provide overviews of techniques. See Orlandos 1968, 21-28 and Adam 2010, 31-33 for discussions of all attested transport methods on land. See Orlandos 1968, 28-29; Fant 2009, 125 for discussions on attested methods for transport on water. Nolte 2006, 207-237 includes a discussion of Greek quarries and stone transportation. Kokkorou-Alevras, Poupaki, Chatzikonstantinou, and Efstathopoulos 2010 overviews the way Greek quarries were organized, the economics and transport methods of ancient Greek stone quarrying; it is also a useful resource for its comparison of marble and limestone.

[3] Fant 2009, 124. Also see Russell 2017, 81-83 for discussion and up-to-date bibliography on localized stone quarrying in Greece.

[4] For most relevant examples, see the cited bibliography on quarries discussed in this chapter. Kokkorou-Alevras, Poupaki, Chatzikonstantinou, and Efstathopoulos 2014, 82-87 is an invaluable resource on all known quarries (up to 2014) in Southern Thrace. Two quarries on the Black Sea coast have been discussed in recent archaeological reports: see Bogdanova, Nedev, and Lulev 2020, 131 for a quarry dated to the 4th-3rd c BC near ancient Apollonia. The annual archaeological reports have recently also begun to feature a section on field surveys. The most recent edition (2021) features two reports about flint quarries: see Gurova, Kecheva, Andreeva, Todorov, and Sandeva 2021, 1-5 for prehistoric flint quarries in northern Bulgaria; see Kirilov 2021, 75 for a report about a flint quarry used continuously from prehistory to the Ottoman period. The few other reports discussing quarries pertain to sites of uncertain date and sites dated to the Roman period or later.

[5] Vavelidēs, Chozidēs, and Melphos 2007, 39.

given that the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb was built with blocks of rhyolite and rhyolitic tuff. In his 1937 article, the tomb's excavator explicitly identified it as having been sourced from the vicinity of Petrota.[6] The 2007 study confirmed this connection, identifying the Maurē Petra and Gkazou Mylos quarries – located approximately 2km from the tomb site - as the sources for the tomb's building materials (fig 2.1-2.2).[7] The quarries themselves have not been published in great detail: the area continues to be quarried to modern day, and much of the evidence of ancient activity has been lost. Some evidence does remain in Maurē Petra, however (fig. 2.3).[8]

The second case is that of two quarries from which materials were extracted for the construction of the tomb in Chetinyova **(4)** tumulus, and possibly the one in Zhaba **(3)** tumulus, given that the two are located within a short distance of each other and the quarries (fig. 2.4). The first quarry is located near the modern-day village Popintsi, the area around which is rich in rock exposures and specifically tuff. A study published in 2010 determined that the ash tuff, which is quarried to this day from these exposures, is closest in profile (pale green with low fracturing and black inclusions) to the one used in building the tomb in Chetinyova **(4)** tumulus. There is, furthermore, strong evidence which links this quarry to the site, e.g., negation in the rock exposures, specifically in the riverbed. Second, the quarry is located 23 km from the site – a significant distance, which is nevertheless short enough to make the connection between the two sites plausible.[9] The second quarry is located in the opposite direction. While the entire area immediately surrounding the two tomb sites is rich on granite, the study determined that characteristics of that granite are not an exact match to the granite used to build the tomb in Chetinyova tumulus **(4)**. Instead, the most likely source is situated 18km to its east, outside of the

[6] Filov 1937, 8.
[7] Vavelidēs, Chozidēs, and Melphos 2007, 42-43.
[8] Vavelidēs, Chozidēs, and Melphos 2007, 40.
[9] Kovachev and Stoyanova 2010, 51.

modern-day town of Hissar (figs. 2.5 and 2.6).[10] Once again, this quarry is still used today, and the material quarried applied to masonry, and once again it is close enough to the tomb site that a plausible connection may be established.[11]

The third case is the Sboryanovo National Archaeological Reserve. Quarrying and stone working from this site have been investigated and published particularly well. This site is the location of three tombs: the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb and the tombs in tumuli 12 and 13 **(70-71)**. The tombs are situated in the eastern necropolis of the site, outside the city walls of a major Getic settlement.

Prior to any publications on quarrying and stoneworking, geological surveys had already established that this entire region is rich in limestone – the building material for all three tombs (fig. 2.7). In 2005, a petrographic study compared samples of limestone from the area, with the stone used to build the three tombs.[12] The study concluded that the limestone from the tombs was not noticeably different from the limestone found in the area, therefore it was most probably locally sourced, perhaps quarried from within the area of the Sboryanovo Reserve, and in particular the cliffs around the Demir Baba Tekke sanctuary, near the citadel of the Thracian city (fig. 2.8).[13] Two potential quarry sites around the sanctuary have been identified (fig. 2.9, I-II). A third quarry, situated to the north-east, was discovered during the excavation of diateichisma no. 3 of the city's fortification wall (fig 2.9, III; fig. 2.10). All three quarry sites are located in close proximity to the fortified Hellenistic city. This is not entirely surprising – material would have been quarried for the building of the city itself. At the same time, it is worth noting that the

[10] Kovachev and Stoyanova 2010, 52.
[11] Kovachev and Stoyanova 2010, 53.
[12] See Ivanov and Pimpirev 2005.
[13] Ivanov and Pimpirev 2005, 177.

settlement was built on top of a natural plateau, the terraced slopes of which would have been the ideal location for quarrying.[14]

Of the four quarries, the fourth is the best published. This quarry is thought to have supplied material for the fortification wall and some sites within the city itself, rather than for the necropolis.[15] Nevertheless, the information it provides is quite valuable. It features easily identifiable beds from extracted blocks, as well as some blocks which were never freed from the bedrock (figs. 2.11-2.13). The evidence thus clearly shows that the method used to extract the blocks was through cutting grooves and inserting wedges.[16] The blocks were then moved with the use of a makeshift ramp (figs. 2.14-2.15).

This technique is also attested in the quarry at the Kozi Gramadi fortified residence, which is the fourth case study to be examined here. While the site is not officially associated with any of the built chamber tombs studied in this thesis, it is located in close proximity to the tombs in the Starossel/Hissar region (fig. 2.16).[17] There is furthermore a connection to one of the large buildings – also known as the monumental building - inside the fortification.[18] Its architectural decoration, in particular the execution of its Ionic doorframe, is noticeably close to those of the tombs in the Zhaba **(3)**, Chetinyova **(4)**, and Nedkova **(7)** tumuli.[19] The building dates to the middle of the 4th century BC, which also intersects chronologically with the aforementioned tombs.[20]

The quarry discussed here lies 40-50m away from the monumental building. Based on this proximity and type of material extracted from it, the quarry has been determined to have

[14] Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 724.
[15] Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 723.
[16] Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 724.
[17] Hristov 2011a, 7-8.
[18] For a full discussion of this building, see Hristov and Stoyanova 2011, 81-115.
[19] Hristov and Stoyanova 2011, 93-95.
[20] Hristov and Stoyanova 2011, 100.

served as exclusively a source for material for the Kozi Gramadi residence.[21] The extraction techniques recorded here are the same as at Sboryanovo (figs. 2.17-2.18). [22] The quarry also features bedrock with step-like beds, which shows that the blocks were extracted horizontally, from the top down (fig. 2.19).[23]

Given how well-known and regularly implemented the above discussed methods of quarrying were across the Mediterranean, it not surprising that they were employed in Thrace in the late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods. The case studies also help demonstrate an important aspect of the tomb-building process, which to this date has not been studied in great depth. While generally it has been understood that the tombs were labour- and time-consuming projects, knowing where the material used for them was sourced can only deepen our understanding of how much effort and cost was involved in building them. As two of the case studies above show, in some cases (Sboryanovo, Kozi Gramadi) material was sourced practically on site. In other cases (Chetinyova **(4)** tomb), the material was tens of kilometres away from the building site and there may have been more than one source. As many of the sites studied in this thesis are landlocked, distance would have made a difference, as transport would have involved mule or ox carts. It ought to be noted, however, that since many tombs are in close proximity to rivers, water transport is not entirely out of the question.[24]

[21] Minkov 2011, 202.
[22] Minkov 2011, 199-200.
[23] Minkov 2011, 200.
[24] See Chapter 6 for an in-depth discussion.

Using Geological and Topographic Data

Despite a general scarcity of relevant publications, there is information available about the sourcing of material for an additional seven tombs studied in this thesis.[25] In five of these instances, the information consists of no more than a sentence or a footnote describing where the material for each tomb is thought to have been sourced, and in one case a mention of where it would not have been sourced. There is a single case in which the process of determining the source location is discussed in detail, however: the recent publication on the Documaci **(77)** tomb.[26] Based on the geology of the area, sites (including a recently decommissioned quarry on the left bank of the Limanu lake) were selected and samples collected (fig. 2.20). Mineralogical-petrographic analyses were conducted on the samples in the lab. It was determined that the limestone from the quarry was very close or identical to those from the Documaci **(77)** tomb.[27] Given the proximity of this sampling area to the site (approximately 2km), it was concluded that this area was the most likely source of building material for the tomb. It should also be noted that the location of the tomb and of the sampling area are both close to the banks of the Mangalia river, which would have made the transport of the tomb's building materials much easier.

The process of determining the possible source areas in the remaining cases was likely quite similar, even if not discussed at length in the publications. Nevertheless, the available information was useful, for, despite the absence of published mineralogical-petrographic analyses and the location of any known ancient quarry sites in the relevant areas, much could be learned using geological and topographical maps.

[25] The Vetren **(1)**, Zhaba **(3)**, Parvenets **(11)**, Buzovgrad **(31)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs.
[26] Sîrbu, Ștefan, and Ștefan 2021, 71-76, and 266-267.
[27] Sîrbu, Ștefan, and Ștefan 2021, 266-267.

The Vetren **(1)** tomb, for example, is known to have been built using granite. Since its discovery and excavation, it has been determined that the granite blocks have been quarried from the vicinities of the modern-day villages of Vinogradets and Boshulia.[28] The tomb site is located approximately 6km southwest of Vinogradets and approximately 8km west of Boshulia (fig. 2.21). The geological map of the area shows significant deposits of coarse-grained granites and granodiorites in the vicinities of these villages (fig. 2.22).[29] The geology thus confirms that granite is locally available, while the topographical map shows that the distance between ancient quarry and the tomb site would have been quite short, indicating ease of access and transportation.

The tomb in Zhaba **(3)** tumulus is built using coarse-grained grey-green sandstone, which is found in modern-day Rusalin locality.[30] There is little information available about this site, but it appears to be in the area between the modern-day town of Strelcha and village of Popintsi (fig. 2.23). In his publication, Georgi Kitov suggests that the particular variety of sandstone used for the tomb is found 4-5km away.[31] This corresponds with the geological data from the area identified on the map. The area is rich in granite and limestone, but sandstone does naturally occur between Zhaba **(3)** tumulus and the village of Popintsi, including in the village's immediate vicinity (fig. 2.24). In addition, the distance between the Zhaba **(3)** tumulus and the stretch in which sandstone occurs does measure on the map to be 4-5km in a straight line. Thus, even though it is unclear where the precise location of the quarry is, at least the general area the sandstone was sourced from can be known. Once again, it is local stone and the quarry is in close

[28] Stoyanova and Taneva 2017, 513, ftnt. 4.
[29] See Allaby 2020a and Allaby 2020b. Granite and granodiorite are igneous rocks of similar composition (among other things, a high percentage of quartz).
[30] Kitov 1977, 15, ftnt. 7.
[31] Kitov 1977, 15, ftnt. 7.

proximity to the site. There is additionally the benefit of a large local river, which may have been used to transport the blocks.[32]

The Parvenets **(11)** tomb was built using sandstone ashlars. Although the exact location of the quarry is unknown, it has been determined that it would have been near the modern-day village of Khrabrino.[33] The geological data confirms this: while a variety of rocks are found in the surroundings of both Parvents and Khrabrino, the closest and richest deposits are just outside Khrabrino (fig. 2.25). The distance between the site and the location of the despots makes this scenario even more plausible – Khrabrino is located 3km south-west of Parvenets.[34] It is worth noting that, while the distance between the two modern-day villages is known, the precise location of the tomb itself is unclear. According to Malvina Ruseva, it is approximately 1km east of Parvents, near the village of Markovo.[35] As can be seen on the map, this is not a small area (fig. 2.26). No matter its exact location, however, the distance between the site and the quarry would have likely been no more than 10km, which fits the pattern we have seen already, namely using stone source locally.

In the case of the Buzovgrad **(32)** tomb, the location of the tomb is known, and very likely also that of the quarry. In 2012, a team led by Georgi Nekhrizov conducted field surveys in the Kazanluk valley with the purpose of recording existing archaeological sites. A number of ancient quarries were identified on the slopes near the Buzovo Kale fortress (fig. 2.27).[36] The Buzovgrad tomb, which was excavated the same year, is located less than 1km from the fortress

[32] It should be noted that the tomb was built in much closer proximity to the Strelcha plateau, which is rich in granite deposits, yet granite was not the material of choice here. Access would not have been too large a problem, since the same river the site is close to runs into the hills and could have been used to transport granite blocks. It therefore may have been a question of how easy to work with each type of stone is.
[33] Rousseva 2002, 127.
[34] Rousseva 2002, 127.
[35] Rousseva 2002, 152.
[36] Nekhrizov, Tsvetkova, and Kecheva 2013, 562.

(fig. 2.28). The report additionally notes that the quarries were used for the procurement of granite blocks; this can be confirmed by the geological map of the site, which shows that it is rich on granite (fig. 2.29).[37] While there are numerous sites from different periods in this area (fig. 2.27) and the exact type of granite the tomb was built from has not been compared to what is locally available, the proximity of the tomb to the quarry sites increases the likelihood that this is where the ashlars would have been quarried.

The Elaphochori **(50)** tomb was constructed of limestone, which, it has been determined, comes from the area of modern-day Metaxades (fig. 2.30).[38] While the exact quarry site is unavailable, there are several factors which strongly support this hypothesis. First, the geological maps of the the Metaxades area shows an abundance of limestone and marly limestone (fig. 2.31). Second, the distance between the tomb site and Metaxades is less than 5km – once again, a short distance, which falls within the established pattern. Lastly, the two locations are on the two sides of the Erythropotamos river, which would have made the transport of large limestone blocks much easier and quicker. The exact location of the quarry is unknown, and might never be known: the Metaxades area has been known for stone quarrying for centuries, becoming a particularly large centre during the Ottoman period, and continuous quarrying often results in the loss of evidence of ancient activity.[39] Nevertheless, these factors help to definitively establish Metaxades as the area from which the limestone ashlars used to build the Elaphochori **(50)** tomb would have been procured.

Lastly, the Filipovo **(10)** tomb was built of rhyolite.[40] Natural deposits of rhyolite are not found in the immediate vicinity of the tomb, but over 20km to the south-west (figs. 2.32-2.33).

[37] Nekhrizov 2013b, 166.
[38] Triantaphyllos 2007b, 14.
[39] Vavelidēs, Chozidēs, and Melphos 2007, 46.
[40] Botusharova and Kolarova 1961, 285.

This is a much longer distance than the distance between most other tombs and their quarries, but it would not have been as notable, were there not a much closer source of material. The Filipovo tomb is located on the outskirts of modern-day city of Plovdiv (ancient Philippopolis). The city is notable for its geographical features – it lies on the banks of river Maritsa (ancient Evros) and is surrounded by six hills (or *tepes*) which were a rich source of material, especially syenite.[41] While syenite was the most easily available and most commonly used stone, other types were imported – the earliest agora of Philippopolis, for example, was built with sandstone sourced from the area of modern-day Khrabrino; tufa from modern-day Kravevo, Haskovo province was used as well (fig. 2.34).[42] Clearly, the builders and their patrons were selective in their choice of stone. This may very well explain why rhyolite was chosen for this tomb, despite syenite and other types of stone being easily available. Yet, in this limited sample, the acquisition of stone from a distance greater than 10km is an exception rather than the rule.

As the close examination of these seven sites shows, even if the precise whereabouts of the quarry where the building material of a tomb was extracted is unknown, petrographic analysis and geological data can be very useful in clarifying the sourcing process. Even though not all the quarries from which the stone for the sixty-eight stone tombs in this study are known, a clear pattern emerges from the data that is available: the tombs were built with locally available materials, quarried within a short distance from each site. The available sample is quite small, but the pattern it outlines matches the data from Kozi Gramadi and Sboryanovo. It may therefore be comfortably concluded that this was probably the common practice of the period, and that

[41] A study conducted between 2011-2012 located and catalogued a total of twenty ancient quarries spread between the six hills. See Dimitrov and Stanev 2013, 25-37.
[42] Dimitrov and Stanev 2013, 27.

only rarely was stone sourced from a much greater distance, as is the case with the Chetinyova **(4)** and Filipovo **(10)** tombs.

Stoneworking

The extraction and transport of blocks were two important aspects of building. Before they could be added to a building, however, they needed to be fitted to a particular size and dressed. The stone could be worked at the quarry or at the building site, and often at both. So far, in Thrace evidence in the form of stone debris has been found only at building sites (fortification walls and others). Tomb sites featuring such debris include Helvetsia (**16)**, Momina **(34)**, and the three tumuli (Ginina, 12, and 13 **(69) (70-71)**) at Sboryanovo.[43]

Stone working involved using a variety of tools.[44] While processes of refining stone blocks are well-attested in archaeological record, the discovery of actual tools is a rare occurrence.[45] In Thrace, the examples are also few, but the ones that have been found is significant. One example is a pyramidal lead plumb, which was recovered outside the western wall of the burial chamber of the Sveshtari tomb (fig. 2.35).[46] A similar lead plumb was discovered during the excavation of the fortified residence at Kozi Gramadi (fig. 2.36).[47] The Momina tumulus **(34)** featured another notable and rare discovery: a hoe and a pickaxe, left close

[43] Dimitrova and Parvin 2017a, 207; Tonkova 2011, 11; Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 18; Gergova 1996, 21, 30.
[44] See Kokkorou-Alevras, Poupaki, Chatzikonstantinou, and Efstathopoulos 2010; Adam 2010, 36-53; and Orlandos 1968, 59-70 for descriptions and a detailed discussion of the tools used for stoneworking.
[45] See Nolte 2006 and Kokkorou-Alevras, Poupaki, Chatzikonstantinou, and Efstathopoulos 2010 on Greek stoneworking tools and techniques. Also see Adam 2010, 42-50, figs. 48-52, 58. While the examples Adam provides are from the Roman period, the depictions are relevant since most of the tools have not changed significantly since antiquity.
[46] Chichikova, Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 101-102, cat. # 26.
[47] Hristov 2011a, 117.

the tomb's entrance (figs 2.37-2.38). Given that the tumular embankment featured evidence of the tomb's ashlars being worked on site, it is likely that these tools were among those used by the stone builders.[48]A number of tools were recovered during the excavation of Seuthopolis, as well. Among them, four were particularly notable: a fragment from a saw and three chisels (figs. 2.39-2.41).[49] It is unclear what purposes these tools were used for precisely; the saw in particular might have been for cutting wood or stone.[50] Nevertheless, given how rarely such tools survive, these finds are very significant.

Lastly, where tools are not found, traces of the stonemasons' work may be further observed on the stone itself. A recent study of the fortification wall of the Sboryanovo settlement and the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb showed clear examples of the use of different tools, such as picks, hammers, and chisels.[51] Both the traces left by the stonemasons and the few surviving tools are equally important, they show beyond doubt that the tools and methods used were identical as those in the wider Mediterranean. They also show how careful and time-consuming the process of refining stone ashlars was.

Clay

There are three clay-based categories of building material that were used and need to be discussed: mudbrick, terra-cotta roof tiles, and fired brick. As chart 1 above indicates, of these, only fired brick was ever used as a primary building material, and only in a very limited number of cases; the other two were additions to stone-built tombs. Nevertheless, as the three are made

[48] Tonkova 2011, 11. Tonkova suggests that they might have been left there on purpose as part of a ritual, based on their proximity to a ritual fireplace and a similar find in a sanctuary in the Rhodope mountains. Their arrangement (crossed, with the hoe placed on top of the pickaxe) also strongly suggests that they were not left there by accident.
[49] Ognenova-Marinova 1984, 190-191, cat # 228, 230, 231, 232.
[50] Minkov 2011, 204.
[51] Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 727, figs. 7a-7c, 729, fig. 9.

using the same base and made through similar processes, and are therefore related, they will be discussed together.

Mudbrick

Mudbrick is not a material that was used widely in tomb building in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East. Thrace appears to be an exception, but even there its use was rare and very specific. In Thrace, mudbrick is first attested in the 5th century BC.[52] In total there are four monuments in which mudbrick was used: the Filipovo **(10)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, and Gagovo **(68)** tombs, and a tomb situated by the village of Rhuzhitsa. In the first three monuments, the principal building material was stone, with mudbrick used for limited and very specific purposes. The Filipovo **(10)** tomb's entrance and antechamber were filled with mudbrick: two layers of seven horizontal rows, each made of three bricks; some mudbricks covered with painted plaster were also found to the southwest of the entrance (fig. 2.42).[53] Mudbrick fragments were found on the floor of the Aleksandrovo **(37)** tomb's dromos, leading to the suggestion that it was covered in mudbrick.[54] The Gagovo **(68)** tomb's façade and dromos are made of mudbrick; it should be noted that the façade and dromos are later additions to the tomb (figs. 2.43-2.45).[55] The exception in this group of tombs is the one by the village of Rhuzhitsa. Mudbrick seems to have been used more heavily in its construction: its dromos is reported to have been made of limestone blocks and mudbrick, the walls of its antechamber and burial chamber reinforced with

[52] Stoyanova and Popov 2008, 342-346. The two oldest examples of the use of mudbrick come from the fortification walls of two settlements: Pistiros and the settlement near modern-day village of Vasil Levski; both can be dated between the middle and second half of the 5th century BC.
[53] Botusharova and Kolatova 1961, 280-281 and 284.
[54] Petrov 2001, 35.
[55] See catalogue entry for further details.

mudbrick, and the funerary bed entirely made of mudbrick (fig. 2.46).[56] This tomb seems to be the earliest of the four: a date between the late 6th and the 5th century BC has been suggested..[57] If it does indeed date to the 6th century BC, this is the earliest example of the use of mudbrick in Thrace. If it was built in the 5th, then it is contemporary to Pistiros and the Vasil Levski settlement, although it is not located near either one. The other three monuments were built after the middle of the 4th century BC and fit neatly within the time period when mudbrick became popular in Thrace.

Roof Tiles

Roof tiles are only occasionally found in sepulchral contexts in Thrace.[58] The instances relevant to this study are nine in total and almost exclusively located in the Kazanluk valley.[59] Among these, four (Shushmanets **(14)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Ostrusha **(18)** and Documaci **(77)**) are published in any capacity (figs. 2.47-2.48, 6.24-6.25);[60] the remaining five are brief mentions.[61] Nevertheless, from the available information a clear picture emerges. The tomb types in which tiles are used

[56] The tomb is barely published. The official report is very brief and does not include any images: Agre 2005. A more recent publication expands on the tomb and includes some photographs: Valeva 2020. The tomb was reburied after excavation and is not accessible today.
[57] Valeva 2020, 22 suggests that it was built in the 6th century BC. Her determination is based the few published photographs of the tomb's surviving decoration. The discovery of a Chian amphora at its entrance, on the other hand, provides a basis for a later date, specifically the first half of the 5th century BC; see Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2016, 312. It is entirely possible that the tomb was built in the 6th and reused in the beginning of the 5th century – this would fit with the pattern seen in other tombs. See Chapter 3.
[58] Stoyanova 2022, 25-33 is a case study of roof tiles and other architectural terracotta from the necropoleis of Apollonia Pontica, dating from the mid-4th to the end of the 3rd centuries BC. While those tiles were used to construct graves as opposed to covering sepulchral buildings, they make for an interesting comparison, especially given the temporal overlap and the fact that they were produced locally in Apollonia.
[59] Shushmanets **(14)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Malyovska **(25)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs. Of these, only the Documaci **(77)** tomb is not located in the Kazanluk valley.
[60] For Shushmanets **(14)**, see Dimitrova 2013c, 134; for Grifoni **(15)**, see Kitov 2003d, 306, 308; for Ostrusha **(18)** see Bozhkova and Dimitrova 2020, 325-329, and for Documaci **(77)** see Sirbu, Ștefan, and Ștefan 2021, esp. Buzoianu 2021, 301.
[61] For Helvetsia **(16)**, see Kitov and Dimitrova 2000, 42; for Malyovska **(25)**, see Nekhrizov, Parvin, and Grigorov 2019, 163; for Sarafova **(26)**, see Kitov and Dimitrova 2000, 40; for Kestelva **(29)**, see Dimitrova 2005a, 259; for Racheva **(30)**, see Dimitrova 2012, 259.

are an even split by type: four are stone-built (Shushmanets **(14)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Documaci **(77)**) and four are brick-built (Malyovska **(25)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Kestelva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**).[62] In no example were the tiles used to cover their antechambers or burial chambers. Instead, they were mostly used to cover the dromoi or the façades of the tombs. The tiles used are often a mixture of flat and curved. This combination seems to have been used regularly in a variety of contexts and as early as the Archaic period.[63] The tombs date between the mid-4th and early-3rd centuries BC, when .

Perhaps the best-preserved example is the Grifoni **(15)** tomb. The original excavations of the tomb revealed parts of the protective structure over its façade. Tiles (Corinthian-type pan tiles and Laconian-type cover tiles) from the structure were also found in the fill of the dromos, having fallen in as it eroded over time (fig. 2.49). Additional excavations and observations in 2016 yielded and recorded the preserved part of structure over the façade (figs. 2.50-2.51). On average, the pan tiles measured between 40.5-43cm x 58-61cm, while the cover tiles measured 10.5-12cm/19-20cm x 58-61.5cm. The structure has been dated between the middle and second half of the 4th century BC.[64]

Brick

In Thrace, baked brick appears in any significant capacity in the Hellenistic city of Seuthopolis (fig. 2.52). According to the excavators, over one thousand individual bricks were collected

[62] Note that the tiles in Ostrusha **(18)** were found in usual circumstances – as covers for secondary graves. The tiles have been dated to the 4th century BC, but given that the graves are secondary, it is unclear whether they were taken from the tomb in this tumulus or elsewhere. Therefore, it is difficult to assign them as belonging to this tomb. See Chapter 6 for more details.
[63] See Stoyanova 2022, 65-74 for a discussion of archaic roof tiles from Apolonia Pontica. The Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast were connected to and traded with mainland Thrace, making Stoyanova's case study particularly relevant.
[64] Dimitrova and Parvin 2017a, 205.

during the excavation, both in the city and its necropolis.[65] It should be noted, however, that the vast majority were found in the necropolis, and that within the city itself, the bricks appear to have often been reused as opposed to specifically designed for the few structures they were used in. This is particularly clear in the case of a well, in which a variety of bricks (in size and shape) were used, some of which broken off pieces (fig. 2.53).[66]

The bricks seem to have been designed specifically for funerary architecture. This hypothesis is supported by two facts: first, the number of instances in which bricks were utilized in a funerary versus any other context, and second the types of bricks that have been discovered. As mentioned above, to-date, a total of nine tombs made of fired brick and predating the Roman period have been discovered in Thrace, as well as two cist tombs.[67] The bricks themselves fall in three categories: rectangular, sectional (trapezoidal with rounded edges), and both trapezoidal and sectional with one edge at an angle (figs. 2.54-2.58). The sectional types were intended for creating round spaces, and were used for the burial chambers of tholos-type tombs. The tomb in tumulus 4 of the necropolis of Seuthopolis was an excellent case study, as the tomb suffered structural damage prior to its excavation, allowing for its construction to be studied closely (fig. 2.59). The intent behind the sectional bricks is also highlighted by their reuse in one of the cist tombs in tumulus 2 of the Seuthopolis necropolis. While cist tomb 1 (designated as tomb 2 in the official publications) was made of rectangular bricks, cist tomb 2 (designated tomb 3 in the official publications) was made of sectional bricks (figs. 2.60-2.61). While the sectional bricks can be used to create a rectilinear shape, the result is somewhat uneven; it may therefore be

[65] Chichikova and Dimitrov 1978, 23-26.
[66] Chichikova 1957, 138.
[67] The Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Koprinka 3 **(21)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Malyovska **(25)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**, and Popova **(33)** tombs; for the cists, see Chichikova and Dimitrov 1978, 53-54.

deduced that those bricks were not intended for the creation of a rectilinear shape, but a round one, and any use of them for a rectilinear space is secondary, as is with the cist tombs.

It ought to be noted that all but one (Popova **(33)**) of the tombs were found in the Kazanuk valley, and all date between the very end of the 4th and first half of the 3rd centuries BC (fig. 2.62). Based on the evidence and geographical location, the link between the tombs and Seuthopolis is strong. Two of the tombs are part of its necropolis, while the rest were built nearby. They were also built within a short time period, which intersects with the existence of the settlement.[68] It is very likely that the practice of building tombs using brick originated in Seuthopolis and ended with its fall.

Production

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, clay-based building materials are produced in similar ways. Both ethnographic and various types of archaeological studies and evidence can help recreate the process.[69] Since mudbrick does not usually require a kiln, it is difficult (if not impossible) to determine if any precise spaces were used in making it, as is the case with tile and brick. At the same time, there is the same problem with kilns as there is with quarries: the number of published sites dating prior to the Roman period is limited, while those of the Roman period are more numerous and better studied.[70] On one hand, it should be noted that the total number (over thirty) of kilns for non-architectural pottery production is not insignificant.[71] On the other hand, despite having evidence for the local production on the earliest sites (Koprivlen

[68] Chichikova and Dimitrov 2016, 124.
[69] Sapirstein 2008, 79-91; Hasaki 2021.
[70] See Harizanov 2019a for an English publication which looks at pre-Roman kilns from the territory of Bulgaria. A PhD thesis presenting an in-depth study of Roman kilns dating between the 1st and 6th centuries AD from Thrace has also recently been published – see Harizanov 2019b.
[71] Harizanov 2019a, 15.

in particular), to date kilns specifically intended for the production of architectural pottery have been identified at only two pre-Roman sites: at Pistiros and the Black Sea settlement of Hrisosotira (fig. 2.63).[72] Both kilns are of the characteristic rectilinear type, which has been associated with the production of architectural terracotta;[73] they are two-chambered and have interior dimensions standard for kilns in Pre-Roman Thrace (between 0.80-2.80m, with an average of 1.30 m).[74] The Pistiros kiln measures 1.90m (E) x 1.75m (S) x 1.80m (N) x 1.75m (W), with internal dimensions of approx. 1.80m x 1.60m (figs 2.64-2.66).[75] The Hrisosotira kiln measures 1.80x1.80m (fig. 2.67).[76] It is certain that both kilns were used for roof tiles – fragments were excavated in and in the immediate area around both kilns.[77]

There are no records as to how many tiles or bricks could be made in one kiln at a time, but given the information derived from ethnographic studies, the known dimensions of a given kiln, and the dimensions of tiles and brick, an estimate could be made. The Pistiros kiln serves as a particularly good case study: not only are its dimensions known, but a number of well-preserved roof tiles have been excavated and published from the site, at least some of which would have certainly been fired in it. The tiles, both of the Corinthian and Laconian type, have the following measures: Corinthian pan tiles have an average width of 50cm, and thickness of 2-3cm; Laconian pan tiles have a width between 45-55cm and are 2-3cm thick; Corinthian cover tiles are rare and only fragmentary; Laconian cover tiles have a width of 13-18cm, with a maximum of 19cm, and are 1.5-3cm thick. [78] Based on this data, and assuming that the tiles were

[72] Architectural terracotta, including roof tiles, is known to have been produced in Apollonia Pontica as well, although which precise workshop or production centre might have been involved is yet to be identified. See Stoyanova 2022, 22, especially ftnt. 37.
[73] Popov 2002b, 86-87.
[74] Harizanov 2019a, 16.
[75] Taneva 2011, 25.
[76] Hristov 2017, 51.
[77] Taneva 2011, 25; Hristov 2017, 63-66.
[78] Musil 1996, 47-52 for an overview of the tiles found at the site.

stacked in an optimal manner (as to fit the maximum amount of tiles in the kiln), a single firing would have produced between one hundred and fifty and over thirteen hundred tiles (fig 2.68).[79]

A similar estimate could be made for bricks. Notably, although all three types of clay-based building material were found in Seuthopolis, no kilns – either for architectural ceramics or other pottery – were uncovered. Nevertheless, given that both the rectilinear- and round-chambered kilns from pre-Roman Thrace follow a pattern of standard dimensions, a comparison may be drawn with the Pistiros kiln, for example. If a kiln within which bricks were fired was rectilinear with internal dimensions of 1.80m x 1.60m, based on the bricks found at Seuthopolis, (conservatively) between eighty and one hundred and seventy rectilinear bricks could be fired in a single load, or ninety and (approximately) one hundred and eighty sectoral bricks, and anywhere in between if sizes and types were mixed.[80] According to Chichikova, the individual bricks uncovered in Seuthopolis and its necropolis totalled over one thousand; this means that collectively they would have taken no more than ten kiln loads to fire in a kiln of a similar size to the Pistiros one.

This estimation leads to another question: how many kilns might have been used at a time for a building project? This is where the lack of kilns found in Seuthopolis may act as an impediment. Given that mudbrick, roof tiles, and fired brick were excavated on the site, at least one production centre would have been needed to serve the settlement's needs. How large that centre would have been and where it would have been located precisely is unclear. The scarcity of kilns for architectural terracotta in pre-Roman sites where local production is attested suggests that perhaps it was not unusual to have the production take place outside of the settlements

[79] A brief attempt at estimating how many tiles could have been fired in the kiln at a time, but it is imperfect as it seems to misidentify the stoking channels chambers or assumes that the firing chamber would have been divided into chambers based on the lower chamber's structure which features two stoking channels. See Taneva 2011, 25.
[80] See figs. 2.54 and 2.56 for the representative brick sizes.

themselves. A single workshop or production centre might have been used for mudbrick, roof tiles, and brick, or they might have been created separately. All of this remains, for the time, unknown.

What is known is that the two known kilns for architectural terracotta were the only ones at their respective locations. At the same time, pottery workshops from the period featuring more than one kiln have been found. Two stand out in particular: one near Momina tomb **(34)**, and one as part of a settlement nearby the modern-city of Chirpan. The Halka Bunar production centre has four kilns, with kilns 1 and 4 and kilns 2 and 3 respectively sharing working platforms (fig 2.69).[81] The kilns are oval or round and have diameters ranging between 0.95-1.28m. The pottery production centre near Chirpan features three kilns, two of which also sharing a working platform (fig. 2.70).[82] One of the kilns is oval in shape and has a diameter of 2 × 2.2m, the other has a diameter of 1m, while the dimensions of the third are not provided.[83] The two production centres serve as examples for what a production centre near Seuthopolis (or any settlement) might have looked like. The sizes of the kilns, although of the round type, are not too dissimilar from the rectilinear kilns which have been found. It is therefore possible that, based on demand the tile- and brickmakers would have used more than one kiln in order to reduce production time. Even with one kiln, however, the production of architectural pottery would have been more significantly quicker and less labour-intensive than the quarrying, transporting, and treatment of stone ashlars.

[81] Tonkova 2002.
[82] Tonkova, Stamberova, and Dankova 2021, 502-503.
[83] The excavations of the site continue, but further information will not be published until the new volume of archaeological reports (for 2022) comes out.

Analysis

Chamber tomb construction was an expensive, labour-intensive, and time-consuming endeavour. It would have involved a large number of people, from the architects designing the tombs, to the builders constructing them, to the people producing and transporting the materials. In examining the evidence, it becomes clear that stone was overwhelmingly the preferred material in constructing Thracian funerary monuments. All tombs but nine were built using ashlar masonry. Although there is much work to be done in determining the provenance of the stone for all tombs, if the pattern formed by the evidence examined in this chapter is representative, the stone would have been quarried locally, with the quarry sites usually located less than 10km away from the building site.

This makes any exceptions to stand out. The material for the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb, for example, was sourced from a greater distance. Considering the monumental design of this tomb, this fact only underlines the wealth and high status of the tomb's owner. Another example is the use of marble. As stated above, marble is used exceedingly rarely in Thracian funerary architecture: the examples are four. Two of the monuments (the Dolno Lukovo **(39)** and Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53)** tombs) are made mostly of marble, while the other two (the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Naip **(41)** tombs) feature marble elements at their entrances. The reasons for the rare use of marble are two: there are few marble deposits in Thrace, and, therefore, its procurement would have been particularly expensive. The Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53)** tomb is an exception, as it was reportedly made with locally quarried marble.[84] For the rest of the tombs, marble would have been specially imported. The double lead marble door of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb, for example, originated somewhere in the North Aegean – a significant

[84] See Catalogue entry and relevant literature.

distance from the Kazanluk valley.[85] This also shows that, even though local craftsmanship may have been of high quality, Greek craftsmanship was likely considered superior. Once again, this suggests the owners of these monuments were particularly wealthy and high-status individuals.[86] For them, the use of marble was a conscious decision with the purpose of display.

Brick, by contrast, is the much easier and presumably cheaper one to acquire. As such, it is interesting, that it was not the building material of choice, and that it did not become popular not just in Thrace but across the ancient Mediterranean as a whole before the Roman period. This was not an issue of knowledge, either. As the section on clay materials demonstrates, the knowledge for how to make fired brick would clearly have been available well before the Classical period. Amos Rapoport has argued, in an architectural context, that knowing how to do something does not guarantee it will be done.[87] The relatively slow spread of brick is an example of this.

The architecture of the tombs might present a reason for their slow spread. Although this aspect will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, it ought to be noted that, on average, tombs made of brick have smaller dimensions than those made of stone. Even more telling is the fact that all brick tombs feature stone elements. Most commonly, these are the entrances; tombs with round-plan burial chambers also have stone caps (figs. 2.71-2.75). The main entrances of several of the tombs are entirely made of brick (figs.2.76-2.79); all burial chambers, however, have stone lintels and antae. The use of stone, at least as regards the entrances, relates to structural integrity – entrances are one of the biggest stress points in a given space, and especially in ones with round plans. In addition, the larger the space, the more the stress. The

[85] Stoyanova 2017, 58.
[86] As will be shown in Chapter 4, the contents of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Naip **(49)** tombs seem to corroborate this. Also see the relevant catalogue entries.
[87] Rapoport 1969, 24-25.

thinking of the Thracian architects, it seems, was that the main entrances to the tombs lead to antechambers, which are smaller than the burial chambers and therefore they might have been considered able to withstand the stress. Larger burial chambers would have posed more risk. This is especially evident in the case of the Malyovska **(25)** tomb, where the entrances to both chambers are mostly made of brick, but the burial chamber still has a lintel of granite. The Malyovska **(25)** tomb, it should be noted, is the smallest of all brick tombs. The conclusion that is to be drawn from the smaller tomb size and the use of stone in key stress points is that brick was not considered as reliable a building material. Stone was considered more durable and able to withstand stress, especially in building sub-tumular structures.

Why, then, were these tombs built with brick? One reason might be that they were the less expensive option to make. The fall of Seuthopolis sometime between the first quarter and the middle of the 3rd century BC may have lead to a financial decline in the area. While this may be the case, the issue with this particular hypothesis is that all nine brick-built monuments between the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd centuries BC. Their chronology mirrors that of the chronology of the majority of stone-built tombs in the Kazanluk valley, which shows that they were built at a time when the area experienced a boom in funerary architecture.[88]

Another idea for the use of brick is that the tombs were the less expensive option, and perhaps their owners were lesser members of the local elite who still wanted to have funerary monuments. Yet the evidence, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, seems to contradict this theory, fiven the attention dedicated to the design and execution of these buildings, and the richness of the surviving burial inventory withing them.

[88] Stoyanov and Tonkova 2015, 913.

Their design may be where the answer lies, however. One feature that most of these tombs have in common, and with which they stand out from the vast majority of stone-built tombs is their painted decoration. Although few examples survive well, painted plaster has been found in most of the brick tombs. Maria Chichikova rightly argued that the bricks in Seuthopolis (and the larger Kazanluk area as a whole) seem to have been made with the intent to solve particular architectural problems.[89] In this particular instance, it may have been an issue of decoration, since brick is a much more receptive material to plaster than stone.

It may thus be concluded that the choice of building material stems from a combination of the personal preference of tomb owners, an interest in experimentation, and the desire for display. The next chapter examines how these factors affected architectural design.

Conclusions

This chapter has looked at the two main materials used in Thracian funerary architecture: stone and clay-based materials, such as brick. The chapter discussed in detail how each material was acquired and processed before being utilized in an architectural project, and the evidence available from Thrace in particular. The aim of the chapter was to demonstrate that stone was a much more expensive and labor-intensive material to procure, but that its durability made it preferable, and the economic means of the owners of the tombs allowed them to invest in stone-built monuments. Only in a case of economic (and likely political) decline was brick deemed a necessary substitute. The chapter also shows how, despite a relative scarcity of information, much can be deduced through drawing parallels and using the data that is available. In the case

[89] Chichikova 1957, 129

of stone, geological and topographical data may help to determine the approximate location of quarries, or the distance between the areas in which a particular stone occurs and a building site. In the case of clay-based materials, knowledge of the processes for making architectural pottery, of the sizes of kilns and workshops, even if not at the particular sites, and of the size of the actual architectural materials from said particular sites, can help estimate how much material could be produced at a time. There is yet much work to be done as regards to both quarries and clay-based materials; thankfully, there are methods to accomplish that.

CHAPTER 3: TOMB ARCHITECTURE, FURNITURE, AND DECORATION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the architecture and decoration of the seventy-seven tombs central to this thesis. Its aim is to categorize the tombs and detect patterns in their architecture and decoration. The purpose of this approach is to contextualize the tombs both on a local and on a regional level and show both how they reflect local tradition and regional trends.

Thracian tombs vary in terms of design and chronology (figs. 3.1-3.4). Typologically, they may be categorized into three groups. The first is tholos tombs, which are defined by round-plan burial chambers, usually preceded by at least one square or rectangular antechamber. The second clearly-defined group is the Macedonian-type tombs, which, as a type, are defined by the barrel vault(s) that cover the chamber(s). The last (and broadest) category is composite tombs, which feature a combination of plans and roof types. The tombs date broadly between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC, with the vast majority dating to the second half of the 4th – first half of the 3rd century BC. However, it ought to be noted that the tombs' state of preservation and the fact that many of them were reused, and at times altered, makes them significantly more challenging to date with precision.[1]

This chapter focuses on the most common features of the tombs (dromoi, façades and entrances, antechambers, and burial chambers), with the addition of two types of structures (forecourts and porches) which are less common but quite relevant to understanding tomb

[1] Each catalogue entry contains a suggested date for the tomb, what the date is based on, and whether there might be any scholarly debates on the subject. The dates indicated in the catalogue entries represent what conclusions I have come to based on the available literature and evidence.

design. The discussion is organized in a way reflective of the burial process: it begins from the dromoi, which lead from the exterior (the outside world, the world of the living) to the interior, and end in the burial chamber(s) (the space(s) belonging to the dead). The sections of the chapter discussing these features focus on dimensions and construction techniques, as well as, where relevant, furnishings and decoration. In studying the tombs and their architectural elements in this order, the chapter aims to highlight the relationship of each feature to the funerary ritual. More broadly, the chapter aims to analyse Thracian tombs within their regional context. The main conclusion of the chapter, based on the analysis of the available data, is that the design of the tombs are the result of individual choices, local traditions, and regional trends.

Dromoi

The dromos is a passageway designed to allow access to a tomb, especially once it is covered by the tumulus. Not all Thracian tombs have dromoi. Chart 3.1 shows the number of tombs featuring dromoi compared to the ones that do not:

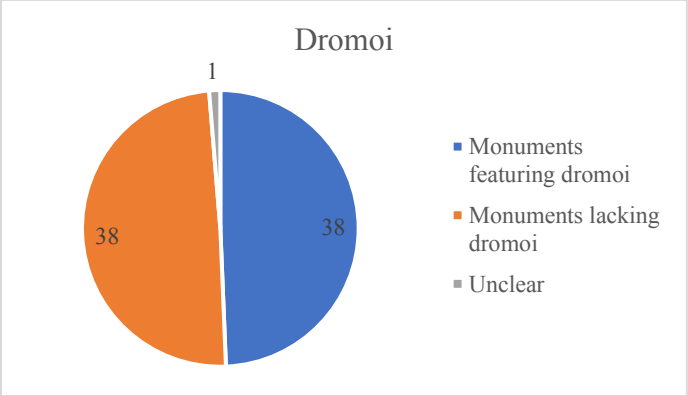

Chart 3.1: Number of tombs featuring dromoi.[2]

[2] The state of preservation of these tombs ought to be taken into account when considering these numbers; the dromoi of some of these tombs might have been lost if the tombs suffered significant damage.

The treatment of dromoi differs from monument to monument, and while overarching patterns can be detected, what we observe is wide experimentation. Although their primary purpose was to provide access to the tomb, some dromoi had an aesthetic purpose as well.

Dimensions

Each of the three dimensions (length, width, height) of the dromoi merits examination. The lengths of the tombs examined in this study vary. The longest dromos, 20.62m, is that of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb in Mezek (it is also the longest dromos of a Thracian tomb to date), while the shortest one belongs to the Tatarevo **(36)** tomb and measures 1.82m.[3] Eleven dromoi are shorter than the chambers they lead to.[4] On average, their length is approximately half of that of the chambers, although a few are even shorter.[5] In one case – the Popova **(33)** tomb – the dromos and chambers are almost equal in length.

The dromoi of the Chetinyova **(4)**, Chernichino **(40),** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs should to be discussed in further detail. The dromoi of the Chetinyova **(4)** and Chernichino **(40)** tombs are both notable for the unusual way they are reached. The Chetinyova **(4)** tomb's dromos is preceded by a propylon, leading to a monumental staircase.[6] The staircase includes nine steps, leading to a platform. The platform, from which two smaller stairways branch out, was erected in

[3] Note that there is not enough information available in five cases: the Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Elaphochori tombs **(50)**.
[4] See the Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Tatarevo **(36)**, Chernichino **(40)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Vrani Kon **(67)**, Gaogovo **(68)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.
[5] The Kırklareli C **(46)**, Chenichino **(40)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.

[6] Likely an allusion to the Athenian Acropolis, and in particular the staircase and propylaea marking its entrance on its western side.

front of the entrance of the dromos, which itself leads to its monumental façade.[7] While this tomb is not the only one to feature a staircase, its design is unique in Thrace, the way it was accessed already creates an impression of power and grandeur.

In contrast, the stairs leading to the dromos of the Chernichino **(40)** tomb are much more rudimentary: large blocks inserted into the soil of the tumulus. The tomb itself is, unusually, built noticeably above the level of the ancient terrain. Its dromos is quite short (2.65m); its walls support the tumulus, leaving the area directly in front of the façade clear. The dromos of the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb neatly frames the elaborately decorated façade, and guides the gaze towards the tomb's entrance, through which at least one of the caryatids decorating the burial chamber is visible. Here, the dromos has a powerful visual effect irrespective of its length. This is the opposite approach to the one observed at the Grifoni **(15)** tomb, where the length adds to the dramatic effect and amplifies the impact of the tomb's façade, which is just visible from entrance of the dromos.

In nineteen tombs, the dromoi are longer than the chambers they lead to; their length is approximately twice that of the tombs.[8] There are five exceptions, and they are striking due to the fact that these long, narrow corridors lead to a single, quadrangular chamber as opposed to two or more.[9] In contrast, the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb features three chambers of significant size; if anything, the length of the dromos emphasises the great size of this monument as a whole.

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[7] See Tzochev 2021, 104-107 for a detailed discussion of the propylon and staircases. See catalogue entry for images.

[8] See the Brestovitsa **(12)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Sahova **(23)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Racheva **(30)**, Furtunova **(31)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Madzharovo **(38)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Naip **(49)**, Rigio Γ **(52)**, Stavroupolis **(53)**, V. Varnenchik **(55)**, Veselinovo tomb 2 **(62)**, Mangalia 3 **(75)** and Documaci **(77)** tombs.

[9] These include the Brestovitsa **(12)**, Aleksandrovo **(37),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** Veselinovo tomb 2 **(62),** Documaci **(77)**. The dromoi of the Brestovitsa **(12),** Veselinovo 2 **(62)** and Documaci **(77)** tombs.

One last factor to consider in relation to the length of the dromoi is each tomb's relationship to its tumulus. In particular, it is worth considering how – if at all - would a tomb's position within its respective tumulus and the size of the tumulus would have affected the length of its dromos? Here, it ought to be noted that the majority of the tombs examined in this study for which the location has been specified were placed closer to the peripheries of their tumuli than to the centres; this was likely done to make accessing them as easy as possible, especially if the tombs needed to be used repeatedly.[10] Instead, what the available data suggests is that in the majority of instances, the more important factor is the size of the tumulus. Two of the tombs with the longest dromoi are buried beneath two of the largest tumuli. Golyama Kosmatka tumulus has an estimated height of 20m and a diameter of 90m; the tomb's **(13)** dromos is 13m long. Mal-Tepe has an estimated diameter of 90m and is 14m high; the tomb's **(41)** dromos is 20.65m long. Even with factoring the damage (natural and as a result of human activity), it quickly becomes clear that these tombs were placed nowhere near the centres of the tumuli. The same pattern emerges in observing most of the tombs which feature dromoi (for the dimensions of the tumuli and the lengths of the dromoi have been reported).[11]

The height of dromoi is difficult to analyse, due to their state of preservation.[12] In the majority of cases where enough evidence survives, the walls of the dromoi are not as high as those of the chambers they lead to. There are two exceptions: the Sarafova **(26)** and Vrani Kon **(67)** tombs, where the walls of the dromoi are higher than both the antechambers and burial

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[10] See Chapter 6 for a discussion of this, and Chart 6.13 for the distribution of tombs by location within the tumuli.

[11] Consult the catalogue entries for more information. One possible exception is the Brestrovitsa **(12)** tomb; its dromos is 6.85m long, while the tumulus has a diameter of 20m, suggesting that the tomb is close to its centre.

[12] There is insufficient data for twelve of thirty-nine monuments – Grifoni **(15)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Fortunova **(31)**, Popova **(33)**, Madzharovo **(38)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Chernichino **(40)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Ivanksi 2 **(59)**, Veselinovo 2 **(62)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs.

chambers (it should be noted that the walls of the dromos of the Vrani Kon tomb are different in height). This appears to have been done in order to provide additional support to the tombs' exteriors.

The walls of the dromoi are usually parallel to each other. They are the same height throughout, gradually increase in height from their entrance towards the tomb's façade, or a combination of the two. The tomb's location within the tumulus or whether the dromos was roofed affected the height of the dromos walls. If a tomb was located right at the perimeter of a tumulus, its walls might increase in height in order to support the earth surrounding it. Often, however, the tomb is far enough from the periphery that the height of the tumulus becomes irrelevant, at which point the height of the walls becomes an aesthetic choice, creating a sense of gradual descent. Alternatively, if the dromos is roofed, the height of the walls remains the same throughout, in order to ensure the roof's stability and continuity. There are nine examples of this.[13]

As regards their width, on average dromoi are narrower than the chambers they precede.[14] In a few instances, the dromos' width equals that of tombs' antechambers.[15] In one case – the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb – the dromos is visibly wider than its antechamber. In most cases, the width of the dromoi remains consistent throughout but depending on the terrain, the monument's design, or later additions, there may be variations in the width of various sections of a dromos. When this happens, it is often the case that one end is narrower than the other. For example, the dromos of the Grifoni **(15)** tomb is wider at its entrance and becomes gradually

[13] These include the Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Naip **(49)**, Elaphochori **(50)**, Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs.
[14] There is no information for three monuments: the Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Madzharovo **(38)** and Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tombs.
[15] See the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Sashova **(23)** tombs.

narrower towards the tomb's façade, until it neatly frames (and emphasizes) the elaborately decorated entrance, obscuring the remainder of the façade.[16] In its present state, the southern-most (outer) end of the dromos measures 1.36m in width, while its northern end is 2.64m wide. Interestingly, this means that the southern end of the dromos is nearly identical in width to the interior of the antechamber (which measures to 1.37m), while its northern end is almost twice its width. The walls clearly follow this arrangement both in their first and second phases, suggesting that this was a deliberate choice. The effect of it is that the walls of the dromos further emphasize the façade.

The dromoi of the Kestelva **(29)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Veselinovo 2 **(62)**, and Vrani Kon **(67)** tombs, meanwhile, do the reverse – they narrow as they reach the façades of their respective tombs.[17] The Vrani Kon tomb **(68)** is the most irregular of the four. Its eastern wall is longer and curves outwards slightly, which causes the dromos to widen. The difference between the easternmost (entrance) and northernmost (end) parts of the tunnel is significant (0.40m). If judged by its height (discussed above), the design of this tomb's dromos is based upon best supporting the tomb and the tumular embankment around it.

The dimensions of dromoi are thus significant for two reasons. First, the length, width, and height of a dromos could be used to emphasize certain aspects of the tombs, such as elaborate entrances or particular decorative program. Second, the contrast between the dimensions of the dromoi and those of the tombs could also make a strong impression on the visitor or emphasize the monumentality of the tomb.

[16] This may suggest that the naiskos surrounding the entrance was a secondary addition.

[17] Among the four, the dromos of Veselinovo tomb 2 **(62)** narrows most significantly – at its entrance, it measures at 2.70m, while at its end, it measures at 0.56m. It is unclear why it was constructed this way.

One important aspect of the physical characteristics of dromoi is the evidence of remodelling, as it can often help determine the chronological relationship between the tomb and the dromos, or whether the tomb was reused. Remodelling work frequently affects the dimensions of the dromoi. Six examples support this point well.[18] The dromoi of five of these monuments were elongated. The dromos of the Brestovitsa **(12)** tomb was elongated by approximately 2.85m, as is evidenced by the width of its walls (the latter part is wider by approximately 0.25m) and the fact that the base of the later section begins at a lower depth (difference of 0.14m).[19] The dromos of the Sashova **(23)** tomb has two clearly defined sections. The addition is made with smaller and more regularly arranged stones; unlike the earlier section, this one also gradually decreases in height towards the entrance of the dromos. Similarly, the dromos of the Muglizh **(28)** tomb has two clearly defined sections; as a matter of fact, the sections are not even joined, but stand independent of each other.[20]

The evidence is much less clear in the dromoi of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs. Both dromoi appear consistent throughout. In fact, since the dromos of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb was built with unworked stone and clay, it was only through chemical analysis that it was established that the tomb had different construction phases; the samples taken from the different sections were of different composition.[21] The dromos of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb was built with ashlar masonry, and while the evidence for elongation is carefully concealed, it is still visible upon careful examination.[22] The first row of blocks forming the base of the north-western wall are worked differently in its later half (closer to the entrance

[18] The Brestovitsa **(12)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Sashova **(23)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs.
[19] Gerasimova, Rousseva and Kisyov 1992, 65. Also, refer to the cross-section in the catalogue entry **(12)**.
[20] Tsanova and Getov 1973, 16. Also, refer to the plan and cross-section in the catalogue entry.
[21] Dimitrova 2015a, 58-59.

[22] Rousseva 2002, 165.

of the dromos), showing that this dromos was doubled in length. In contrast, the dromos of the Documaci **(77)** tomb, which was also more than doubled in length, has two clearly defined sections. The sections vary in many respects (discussed in more detail below), but it is notable that the later section was built with more roughly worked ashlars than the earlier section; the ashlars of the earlier section were interlaced with those of the burial chamber, indicating that they were built simultaneously.[23]

The dromos of the Grifoni **(15)** tomb is another interesting case. It has two phases, which are clearly distinguishable based on the fact that the initial wall is higher than the secondary one, and that the dromos becomes visibly narrower in its second phase. The first phase is of consistent height throughout. In the second phase, the dromos walls change in height (it begins quite low and increases up to a point, after which it is consistent). As the discussion above shows, this design change is not unusual when elongating a wall. As already stated, however, this dromos is not elongated but narrowed. It is unclear why this was done, instead of making the later walls the same height as the originals, thus masking the alterations. Whatever the reason behind this approach, it does show that the tomb was reused and allows us to clearly establish a chronology and track the modifications in its design.

Construction

At its most basic, a dromos is no more than a dirt tunnel leading to the tomb.[24] Yet, as mentioned above, the majority of dromoi of Thracian tombs have built walls.

[23] Ștefan and Sîrbu 2016, 214.
[24] Miller 1993, 5.

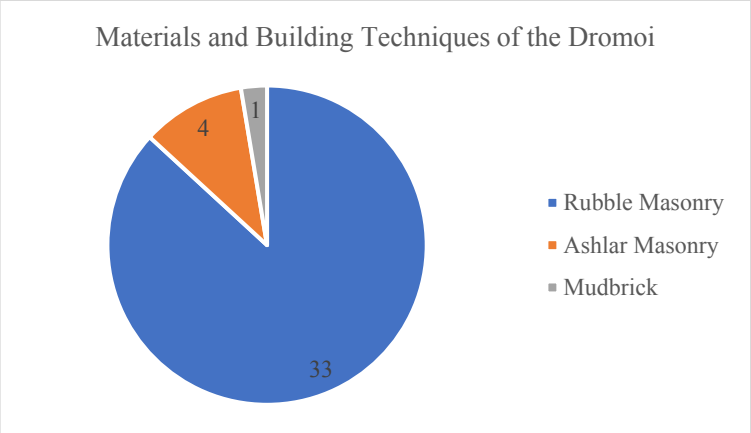

Chart 3.2: Distribution of building techniques in dromoi

As Chart 3.2 shows, in most cases the dromos walls are built with rubble masonry (unworked or roughly dressed stones). In a few instances, the walls are constructed with ashlar masonry, like the tombs themselves.[25] In one example, the dromos is not made of stone at all, but mudbrick.[26]

Another feature worth noting is roofing. Chart 3.3 below shows the distribution of roofed vs. unroofed dromoi among the monuments examined in this study:

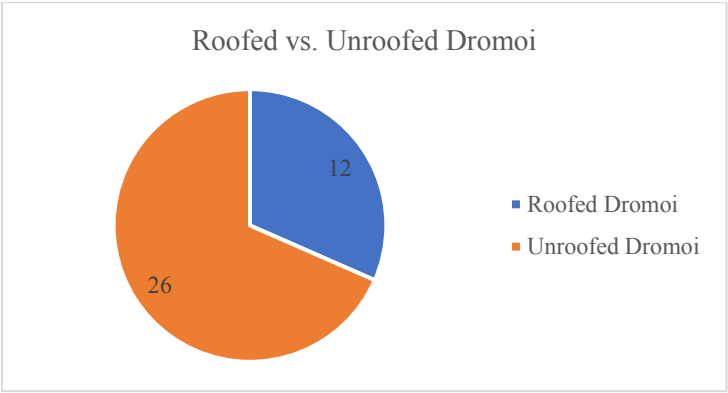

Chart 3.3: The number of (confirmed) roofed vs. unroofed dromoi.[27]

[25] See the Chetinyova **(4)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Sveshtari **(69)** and Documaci **(77)** tombs.
[26] See the Gagovo **(68)** tomb.
[27] Tombs featuring roofed dromoi include the Muglizh **(28)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Naip **(49)**, Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53)**, Elaphochori **(50)**, Vladislav Varnenchik **(55)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs. Note that roof tiles were found in the dromos of the Racheva **(29)** tomb, but this does not confirm that the dromos itself was roofed.

Based on the data in Chart 3.3, it would appear that few of the dromoi of Thracian tombs were roofed. As Chart 3.2 above shows, the vast majority of the dromoi were built using rubble masonry, which may not have been able to support a roof made of stone, but stone roofing structure is not the only option; the dromoi may have been covered using other materials. For example, remains from wood were found in the dromos of the Muglizh **(28)** tomb, while the dromos of the Kesteleva **(29)** tomb yielded iron nails and tile fragments.[28] Wood rarely survives, which is a further challenge in determining whether a dromos was roofed. Yet there is one more feature which might indicate that a dromos would have been covered: the presence of plaster. Plaster has rarely been discovered in the dromoi of Thracian tombs.[29] Two notable examples where this is the case should be noted: the Muglizh **(28)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs. In both cases, painted plaster was discovered in the dromoi, and in both cases the dromoi were roofed in order to protect any painted decoration. Based on these two examples, it is plausible that the others would have featured at least some kind of roof which does not survive, especially when the plaster was painted as is the case at the Sarafova **(26)** and Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tombs. Based on the hereto presented examples, it is safe to conclude that more of the dromoi would have been roofed.

The roofing techniques applied to dromoi vary in type and complexity.

[28] See the catalogue entries for more details and relevant bibliography.

[29] The Helvetsia **(16)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, and Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tombs.

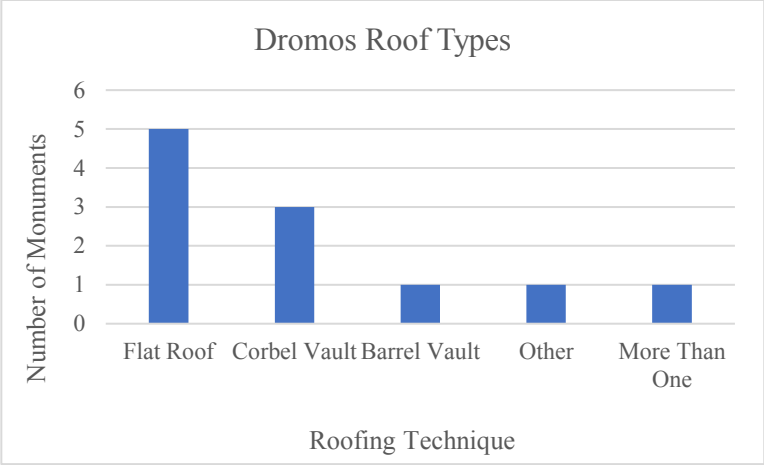

Chart 3.4: The distribution of the roof types among dromoi.

The simplest, and most common, is the flat roof. [30] At its most basic, this is accomplished by installing wooden beams, as stated above. A more permanent version of this technique is made with long flat slabs – this is the case in most of the examples. Notably, in two tombs, the roofing of the dromos stands out in contrast to that of the chambers of the tomb it leads to. The Aleksandrovo **(37)** tomb's dromos leads to a corbel-vaulted antechamber and domed burial chamber, while the two chambers of the Stavroupoli **(53)** tomb are barrel-vaulted.

Complex roofing techniques were also used. The roofs of the dromoi of the Mal-Tepe **(41),** Naip **(49),** and Gagovo **(68)** tombs, are built through corbelling, while the Vladislav Varnenchik **(55)** tomb is reported to have barrel-vaulted dromos. It is notable that the dromos of the Naip **(49)** tomb does not lead directly to the tomb's burial chamber, but to an entrance and a set of stairs, through which the tomb is descended into. As such, it is essentially a separate structure. It is the only example of this tomb design among Thracian monuments. The dromos of the Elaphochori **(50)** tomb features what has been termed as saddle roof.[31] The Documaci **(77)**

[30] The Furtunova **(31)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53)**, and Naip **(49)** tombs.
[31] Archibald 1998, 303.

tomb has two sections, each of which features a different roofing technique. The part closer to the tomb's entrance is barrel-vaulted, while the second part (which is also longer) has a pitched roof. The incongruity is one of several clues suggesting that the second part was an extension.[32] Prior to its addition, the roofing techniques of the tomb's single chamber and dromos were homogenous. This puts the Documaci **(77)** tomb in the same category as the Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Vladislav Varnenchik **(55)**, and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs, the dromoi of which have the same roofing techniques as the chambers they directly precede.[33]

As is the case with the dimensions, the construction techniques are important, as they can help to establish a chronology for the tomb. For example, if the roofing techniques of the dromos and the chambers it directly precedes are homogenous, this strongly suggests that they were built simultaneously (e.g. the Vladislav Varnenchik **(55)** and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs). Of course, it might also simply be the case that the owners had the financial means and desire to continue the original aesthetic, as is the case with the dromos of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb. There, the evidence is well-concealed, making it almost impossible to differentiate between the two parts of the dromos. The evidence for remodelling does, however, exist. Since there is no such evidence at the V. Varnenchik **(55)** and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs, it may be presumed that the tombs and their dromoi were built simultaneously.

The Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb also clearly shows that the choice to build the dromos and the rest of the tomb using the same materials and techniques is very much an aesthetic choice. Given that this dromos was remodelled over time, it would have been possible that the later work could

[32] The ashlars used in constructing the second part of the dromos appear not to be as well-dressed as the ones in the first part, which appear quite smooth.
[33] This is not to suggest that a contrast in roofing techniques (as seen above) indicates that a dromos was a secondary addition, or that it was roofed later. If that is the case, other characteristics (such as workmanship and building materials) have to be used to determine that.

have resulted in different design choices. This is what happened at the Documaci **(77)** tomb. The dromos of the Documaci **(77)** tomb has two sections. The sections are of the same height and width, but this is where their similarities end. The section closer to the tomb features a barrel vault, like the burial chamber, and is built with well-dressed ashlars. The outer section, which is longer, was built with less well-dressed ashlars and features a pitched roof. This may denote that the second phase was done in a shorter period of time. Despite the rougher treatment of the ashlars and the difference in technique, the fact that the later section was built using ashlar masonry and was still roofed does underline the importance of this structure to the owners and the burial process.

An especially peculiar case of heterogeneity may be observed at the Gagovo **(68)** tomb. As briefly mentioned above, the dromos of this tomb was built of mudbrick (the only one in this sample), and stands in sharp contrast to the finely dressed limestone ashlars the tomb building was constructed from. The excavation revealed that the dromos, and the mudbrick façade it is incorporated into, were a later addition, obscuring the original façade and the open forecourt in front of it.[34] The change from an open space to a covered dromos and the use of mud brick, as opposed to ashlar masonry, demonstrate that the tomb saw long-term use, and a transition from being at least partially exposed to being completely covered. The choice of mudbrick is a curious one, and it is another example of the usefulness of heterogeneity in establishing the chronology of a tomb and the role of the dromos. The fact that it was made of mudbrick may be a sign of a change in the financial circumstances of the owners, or of a short period in which it needed to be built.

[34] The original structures will be discussed in the next two sections.

Alternatively, the dromos here may simply not have been intended to highlight any other feature of the tomb, as is the case with some dromoi, but was an entirely utilitarian feature instead. If the owners saw it simply as a way to grant access, there would be no need to spend more on its construction. Evidence of this can be observed in a number of richly made tombs. The majority of the tombs in the Kazanluk Valley feature dromoi made of mortar and undressed stones. One of the most elaborate examples – the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb - features this exact type of dromos, in fact. Like that of the Gagovo **(68)** tomb, its dromos was a later addition to the structure. Given the rich inventory of this tomb, no argument may be made for a lack of resources in the building and remodelling of it. It suggests that the choices behind the construction of some dromoi might have been a question of aesthetics, while others were entirely utilitarian in purpose.

Forecourts

Some tombs feature a large, open, walled space in front of their façades.[35] While such spaces will be referred to as forecourts in this thesis, there is no official term to describe them.[36] This is because of their relative scarcity – this type of space can be identified with certainty in only seven monuments.[37] Forecourts share characteristics with dromoi in that they abut the façades

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[35] Note that while the area in front of the tombs is often used to leave offerings, the spaces discussed in this section are clearly defined by a set of walls. If the space in front of the façade has not been thus defined by built walls, it should be considered to be part of the tumular fill, and therefore any finds discovered there will be subject of discussion in the Chapter 6.

[36] They have been labelled differently in individual publications. At times, they have been referred to as dromoi, as they have structural similarities to dromoi. Unlike the dromos, however, the forecourt is not particularly common in Thracian monumental funerary architecture. The first instance of them being labelled as "forecourts" comes from Archibald 1998, 244. I agree with her.

[37] The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Ploska **(17)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)**, and Gagovo **(68)** tombs.

and entrances of the tombs. While dromoi tend to be narrow and long, forecourts are wider than they are long. Their purpose is to keep the façades and entrances exposed and accessible for an unknown period of time.

The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb features the largest forecourt. It has both a dromos and a forecourt, the latter preceding the former. The walls of the forecourt, made of unworked river stones, are not equal in length (the west wall is 1.80m, while the east one is 4.80m).[38] The flooring of the forecourt, made of trodden soil, is not equidistant to the walls, but continues for at least 8m. Approximately 3.2m to the south of the east wall, the head from a bronze statue, depicting a bearded adult man, was deposited in the soil.[39] It may be presumed that the burial of the bronze head in the forecourt preceded the tomb's covering by the tumulus, cutting off access to it, as was done in most of the examples discussed here.

The Gagovo **(68)** tomb has a very clearly outlined and easily identifiable forecourt. The space measures 10.15m (width) x 3.90m (length). Its walls, which were made of limestone blocks, are exact parallels. Both abut the tomb's (original) façade at a 90-degree angle. They also stand out in that each features an extra block at the end, giving them a Γ shape.[40] Notably, the existence of this space was understood in the early stages of excavation, as it is mostly covered by the later façade made from mud brick, into which a dromos was incorporated.

The Shushmanets **(14)** tomb also has a particularly easily identifiable forecourt. The space measures 6.35m (width) x 4.05m (maximum length of the side walls). The walls here are made of unworked local stones bound with mud, and increase in height from the entrance of the

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[38] Dimitrova 2015a, 47-51.

[39] See catalogue entry for photographs bronze head, as well as relevant bibliography.

[40] Roussev and Stoyanova 2010, 210.

forecourt towards the tomb's façade. There appear to have been two phases to this space, as suggested by the fact that the part of the walls nearer to the façade is thicker than the rest.[41] Thus, the initial design is especially close to the façade of the Golyama Arsenalka **(17)** tomb. Like the forecourt of the Gagovo **(68)** tomb (in its initial stage), this one was functional until the point of the tomb's burial underneath the tumulus. Interestingly, there was little material discovered within this particular space, but rather in the niche where the exterior of the western wall abuts the support wall holding the tumular fill and providing access to the monument.[42] Several roof tiles (flat and curved or Laconian), fragments of a pithos, and a clay strainer were discovered in the niche.[43]

The forecourt of the Ploska **(19)** tomb is partially destroyed, especially its eastern wall.[44] Presuming that the walls were equidistant, perfect parallels, the forecourt would have measured 2.50m long x (approximately) 5m wide. The walls are made of unworked stone, bound together by mud. They run perpendicular to the tomb's façade, abutting it.

The walls of the forecourt of the Karakoç **(48)** tomb appear to have been made of large rough blocks. The space is not discussed in the publication by Fıratlı, but has previously been identified as one of the earliest examples of a forecourt.[45] It measures 3.69m in width and between 2 and 2.5m in length. The blocks abut the wings of the tomb's façade, as in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb.

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[41] Dimitrova 2013b, 134-135.

[42] Dimitrova 2013b, 135.

[43] See Chapter 6 and Dimitrova 2013c, 134 and 139, for further discussion.

[44] Its western wall is 2.50m long and 1.95m high. Its eastern wall is 1.60m (max) long and 1.40m (max) high.

[45] Archibald 1998, 24.

Although the Yankovo tombs 1 **(63)** and 2 **(64)** were in a bad state of preservation at the time of excavation, the forecourts in front of each can be easily identified. They were made of regular, fitted ashlars, and encased, like buildings themselves, in a protective external layer made of cobbles. Measurements have been provided for only the first one – 1.84m in width x 3.55m in length. It becomes clear from the discovery of undisturbed equine skeletons at each forecourt, laid in front of the tomb entrances, that at some point after the burial, certain rituals were performed, and access to the interior of the tombs was blocked off. What is interesting here (and can be observed in a few other tombs, such as the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb) is that even though the tombs were robbed and dismantled, the equine skeletons were undisturbed.

Lastly, one monument which ought to be discussed briefly here is the Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** tomb. This monument has a short, walled space in front of its façade, which the original publication identified as a dromos, although it might be seen as another type of space.[46] In this thesis, the space has been labelled as a dromos and discussed as such. The reason for this is that I have not been able to personally visit the monument, and, despite the detailed plans from the publication, it is still quite difficult to establish its precise nature. The space has characteristics applicable to both dromoi and forecourts. It is built with roughly worked stones and mud in the manner and style of the dromoi of other monuments in the Kazanluk Valley, such as the Grifoni **(15)** and Furtunova **(31)** tombs. On the other hand, it is 3m wide – wider than the majority of other dromoi, which on average measure 1.5m. The only other dromos of such width is that of the Grifoni **(15)** tomb (2.64m at its wider end). Lastly, its walls are uneven and rather short – the eastern wall measures approximately 1.2m and the western wall is over 1.6m long. All of these features make it difficult to determine its exact purpose. Therefore, until such point at which

[46] Nekhrizov and Parvin 2011, 52.

greater clarity can be established, it shall be labelled as a dromos as per the original publication, but its exact purpose shall be deemed unclear.

Indeed, it is these similarities with dromoi that make forecourts so difficult to label and understand most of the time, as well as their relative scarcity. The examples from across Thrace do seem to suggest that they are largely structural, aimed at providing access to the tombs. It is possible that they also acted as ritual spaces, but the evidence of ritual activity within them is scarce. Interestingly, evidence of ritual activity was discovered within the tumuli themselves, and will be discussed in next chapter. Regarding the forecourts, however, it is much more likely that the walls of these spaces were meant to prevent the collapse of the tumular embankments and allow access to the tombs during the funerary procession, and perhaps after it, right until the tombs were finally buried. In cases such the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb, the forecourt also has (to this day) the effect of highlighting the grand façade and emphasizing the status and wealth of its owner(s).

Façades and Entrances

The façade is usually the outwards facing wall which features the entrance of a tomb's chamber(s), but there are cases where the main façade is built at the entrance of the dromos. The façades of Thracian tombs vary in size, execution and decoration. The same applies to the entrances themselves. As is the case with dromoi, the treatment of façades and entrances differs from monument to monument, but patterns can be detected.

Dimensions

Generally, the size of a tomb's façade is directly proportional to the size of the antechamber or burial chamber it is part of. At times, however, the façade extends beyond the chamber it precedes, especially in the five monuments with notably large façades: the Zhaba **(3)**, Shushmanets, **(14)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Slavchova **(24)**, and Vurbitsa **(57)** tombs. In each case the sizeable façade wall is built with ashlar masonry, arranged pseudoisodomically, and appears like a large wall, which is interrupted by the entrance.

The façades of the Zhaba **(3)** and Golyama Arsenalka **(17)** tomb are almost identical: the wall is plain and well-built, with the entrance, which is slightly raised, placed in the middle; the entrance of the Zhaba **(3)** tomb is ornately decorated with a Lesbian cyma, while by that of the Golyama Arsenalka **(17)** tomb is plain. In the other three specimens, the façade walls feature porches covered with a corbel vaults. Once again, there are differences in the precise design of each one: Shushmanets **(14)** features a large Ionic column placed in the middle of the porch, directly at of the entrance; the porch of the Vurbitsa **(57)** tomb is flanked by two pilasters in antis; and the Slavchova **(24)** tomb has suffered too much damage to be able to faithfully reconstruct the entire design, but it appears to be the plainest of the three.

Façades placed at the entrances of the dromoi as opposed to the chambers specifically are another exception to the rule.[47] Their placement means that, in theory, their dimensions do not have to be proportional to the size of the tomb chambers. In practice, however, the dimensions of the façades which fall within this category are all proportional to the tomb chambers. In one case - the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb – there are two façades, one at the entrance to the dromos

[47] The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Racheva **(30)**, Chernichino **(40)**, Mal-Tepe **(41),** Eriklisse **(47)**, Gagovo **(68)** tombs**.**

and another at the entrance to the first antechamber, although the interior façade is mostly concealed by the dromos. In this tomb, the "double" façade was the result of the tomb's reuse. As discussed in the previous section, the dromos was elongated at some point. Moreover, the exterior façade was constructed with larger and more roughly hewn blocks, compared to the interior façade, which is similar in construction to the chamber walls of the tomb.[48] Scholarship has thus generally agreed that the tomb has multiple phases. [49] Although the exact details are contested, one thing that does become clear is that the interior façade preceded the dromos, and was originally visible, only to be obscured by the dromos and replaced by the exterior façade at a later stage.

The concealment of portions of the antechamber's outward facing wall by the walls of the dromos is also a common feature, which significantly reduces the size of the façade, shifting focus on the entrance alone.[50] The exception is the dromos of the Naip **(49)** tomb, which is highly unusual in its design, with its right wall sloping to the left, giving the passage a roughly triangular shape, and partially obscuring the entrance (figs. 3.5-3.6). This is an interesting and rather unusual choice, because the Naip **(49)** tomb is one of the few in this category that features an elaborately decorated entrance (a marble lintel featuring relief and painted decoration). The other two other examples are the Grifoni **(15)** tomb, the entrance of which is carved in high relief and resembles a naiskos, and the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb, the entrance of which is framed by two columns-antae featuring painted decoration and topped by an architrave which features

[48] Dimitrova 2015a, 62.

[49] Dimitrova 2015a, 231-33; Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2016, 320-21.

[50] E.g. the Brestovitsa **(12)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Sashova **(23)**, Furtunova **(31)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Tataevo **(36)**, Naip **(49)**, Vrani Kon **(67)**, Sveshtari **(69)**, and Documaci **(77)** tombs.

decoration in high relief. By contrast, the entrances of the remaining specimens are simpler, post-and-lintel constructions. Limiting the view of the façades would have been a conscious choice aimed at drawing the attention to the decorated entrances. This is not always the case, of course. The façade walls of the Muglizh **(28)** and Fortunova **(31)** tombs, for example, are completely obscured by the dromoi, allowing only a view of the entrances. The Muglizh **(28)** tomb's antechamber is built with brick and its entrance is made of stone, while the Furtunova **(31)** tomb is stone-built, but with rubble as opposed to ashlar masonry. Another brick-built tomb –Koprinka 3 **(21)** – similarly features a stone entrance and basic façade wall. This pattern may very well suggest that the visitor's attention ought to be directed towards the interior of these monuments, the most important aspects of the tomb, which would have had more resources and time dedicated to them.

Thus, the size and visibility of a tomb's façade is very much a choice on the part of its commissioner. Being the only part of the tomb's exterior visible to the visitor, and, where relevant, the first aspect of the tomb to be encountered upon entering the dromos, the façade may play a large role in showcasing the owner's wealth and status. In many cases, this would have been communicated by the façade's decoration (an aspect discussed below), but in some, size alone would have been enough, while in others obscuring the façade altogether would have been the most preferable choice.

Construction

The façade of a tomb is usually constructed using the same techniques as the tomb building as a whole, and regularly reflects those techniques quite clearly. Good examples of this are the Vetren **(1),** Helvetsia **(16)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, and Mezek **(41)** tombs. Among them, the façade of the

Helvetsia **(16)** tomb is unique in that its exterior was stuccoed, obscuring the ashlars and the way in which they were arranged. As the stucco has since fallen off, the corbelling is now clearly visible.

There are two notable exceptions to the above-stated rule. The first and most extreme departure from it is the later façade of the Gagovo tomb **(68)**. This façade was built not only using a different technique, but different materials as well. The tomb itself is made from limestone ashlars, arranged pseudoisodomicaly, while the later façade is constructed using mudbrick. In contrast, the original façade was the exterior facing side of the antechamber's south-eastern wall and thus was built in the exact same manner as the rest of the building. The second exception is the façade of the Borovo **(72)** tomb, which is topped by a pediment constructed in such a way as to conceal the tomb's barrel vault (fig. 3.7). The slabs at the opposite ends of the pediment also feature acroteria.[51] Between the pediment and the acroteria, the intended allusion to Greek architecture at the Borovo **(72)** tomb comes across clearly. It ought to be noted that, while this is the only known example of a barrel-vaulted tomb in which the vault is concealed behind a pediment in Thrace, the practice is common in Macedonia, which strongly suggests that it was designed to emulate Macedonian tombs.[52]

One more design and decoration choice must be mentioned in this section: the presence of stucco that covers the exterior of several tombs (figs. 3.8-3.13). Apart from Helvetsia **(16)**, which was mentioned above, there are six tombs which are stuccoed on the exterior: the Vetren **(1)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)** and Dolno Lukovo **(39)**

[51] Notably, they are not free standing but part of the slabs themselves, sculpted in relief; there is no record of a central acroterion.

[52] Stoyanova 2011, 347.

tombs.[53] In most of these monuments, the stucco is almost completely gone. Where it does remain, however, it was applied thickly enough to obscure the construction materials and techniques. It ought to be noted that two of these six monuments – the Kazanluk **(22)** and Sarafova **(26)** tombs – are built of brick. These two, and the Popova **(33)** tomb (which is not stuccoed), lack the stone post-and-lintel frames at their entrances – stone posts, lintels, and thresholds are only used at the entrances of their burial chambers. Instead, their entrances are made of brick.[54] The fact that no brick-built tomb has a particularly large façade, nor one without stucco, does seem to indicate a desire to hide the material they were made from, and instead allude to stone constructions. What is particularly interesting, then, is the fact that the other five monuments which feature stucco on the exterior are not only made of stone, but also show exceptional workmanship.[55] In each of the five, the stone is well-dressed. In addition to the remains of stucco, there is some red paint remaining on the stone itself, over the entrance of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb.

The presence of stucco further stands out within the context of these stone tombs. On a local level, the Shushmanets **(14)** and Helvetsia **(16)** tombs may be the best example. These monuments come from the same tumular group, and the Kazanluk Valley is particularly rich in built tombs, and is also the only area in Thrace featuring brick-built tombs. Yet within this area, apart from the brick tombs, only these two tombs were stuccoed. In fact, it is striking that the third tomb in the same tumular group – the Grifoni **(15)** tomb – does not exhibit any evidence of

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[53] The plastering of the burial chamber of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb was limited to its lid, and in particular to the dentils and pediment.

[54] See the end of this section for a discussion on entrances.

[55] The Kazanluk **(22)** and Sarafova **(26)** tombs are made of brick and stuccoed in their entirety. While not every brick-built tomb was stuccoed, it is clear that these two were intended to be so, given their extensive painted programs.

ever being stuccoed. Neither do other well-preserved monuments which exhibit outstanding workmanship, such as the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Golyama Arsenalka **(17)** tombs.

Again, this leaves the question why were these particular tombs stuccoed? One theory that has been suggested is that the quality of workmanship and masonry made the stucco unnecessary, and therefore any stuccoing is evidence for reuse or remodelling.[56] This seems to be the most plausible explanation. However, one more factor must be taken into consideration: the tombs listed in this section are by no means an exhaustive number; these are simply the tombs where enough stucco survives to be able to confirm its presence and application. It is possible – and likely - that the exteriors of other tombs were similarly stuccoed. Depending on the number of monuments which were actually stuccoed, an argument could also be made that this feature was in vogue. Given that it was a common practice in Macedonia in the 4th and 3rd centuries, this is not impossible.[57] If this were the case, the application of stucco would not necessarily indicate reuse, but rather a reflection of the fashion of the period they were built in. Yet, the sample is too limited to allow for safe conclusions.

Lastly, the construction of the entrances ought to briefly be discussed. The entrances can be divided into two categories: basic and post-and lintel constructions.

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[56] Stoyanova 2015, 169.

[57] Miller 1993, 9; Valeva 2015c, 182-183.

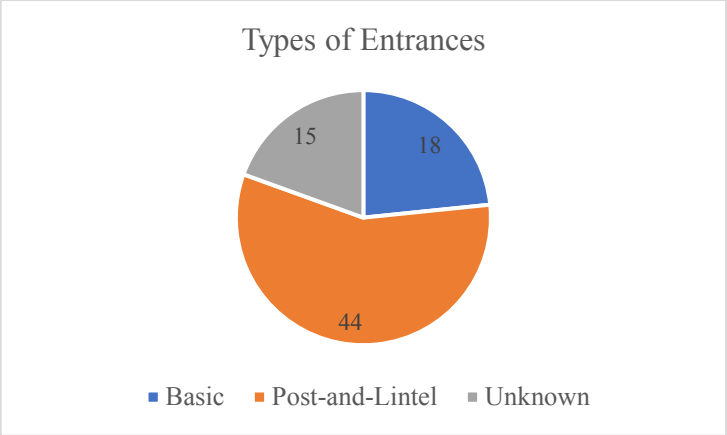

Chart 3.5: Distribution of entrance types among Thracian tombs.

The first category includes the entrances of a small portion of monuments, which can best be described as gaps in the masonry of the outward facing wall or façade.[58] The second category, as the chart shows, comprises the remaining tomb entrances for which information is available, forming the overall majority. These entrances feature two posts topped by a lintel. In most cases, the posts stand on a monolithic threshold. Some tombs feature a variation on the post-and-lintel technique. The entrance to the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb, for example, is topped by an ornately decorated lintel, which stands on two antae, assembled of smaller blocks.[59] A large portion of the entrances are rectangular and regular. A number of them, however, are trapezoidal in shape.[60] In

[58] The Nedkova **(6)**, Brestovitsa **(12)** Kazanluk **(22)**, Malyovska **(25)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Furtunova **(31)**, Momina **(34)**, Kırklareli A **(44)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Rigio A and Γ **(51-52)**, Eshil Tepe **(54)**, V. Varnenchik **(55)**, Akchilar **(56)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, Mangalia 1 **(73),** and Mangalia 3 **(75)** tombs.

[59] It should to be noted that there is no data about the entrances of fifteen tombs, either due to the extensive structural damage they have suffered, or because the information simply has not been reported. These are the Horizont **(5)**, Purvomay **(11)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, Mezek tumulus 1 **(43)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Ivanski 2 **(59)**,Veselinovo 1 **(61)**, Veselinovo 2 **(62)**, Yankovo 2-3 **(64-65)**, Gagovo **(68)**, Mangalia 2 **(74)**, and Mangalia 4 **(76)** tombs.

[60] One example is entrance to the dromos of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tombs; other examples include the entrances of the Zhaba **(3)**, Roshava **(7)**, Shushmanets **(14),** Grifoni **(15)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Koprinka 3 **(21)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Maglizh **(28)**; Tatarevo **(36)**; Kırklareli C **(46)**; Elaphochori **(50)**; Rouets **(66)** and Documaci **(77)** tombs.

addition, there is a rare entrance shape with six examples, which has been described as imitating the shape of a corbel vault.[61]

The entrances were largely closed with doors but they can also be sealed using stone blocks.[62] The doors can be either single- or double-leaf, most often made of stone, and occasionally other materials such as metal and wood.[63] Doors which have specially designed pivots are attached by inserting the pivots into especially cut holes in the thresholds and lintels, or metal rings (figs 3.14-3.15).[64] An interesting exception to this practice is the use of a sliding door, which can be seen in the tombs in tumuli 12 and 13 **(70-71)** at Sboryanovo and the Borovo **(72)** tomb (figs 3.16-3.18).[65] There is an interesting contradiction in this: while these three tombs are of the so-called 'Macedonian type,' the mechanism for opening and closing their doors is not typical of Macedonia, where tombs were closed with single- or double-leaf doors.[66] Sliding doors are instead attested in Lycia.[67] This reflects the eclectic use of architectural features from varying traditions. It fits well with the pattern detected across all Thracian tombs: the diverse experimentation and mixing of architectural and decorative elements. When it comes to the

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[61] Stoyanova 2015, 170. The entrances of the Kazanluk **(22)**, Malyovska **(25)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Popova **(33)**, and Smyadovo **(60)** tombs, and the entrance to the dromos of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb.

[62] Examples of entrances closed with stone blocks include the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs; the Rigio A and Rigio Γ **(51-52)** tombs were closed with large rectangular monoliths.

[63] Stoyanova 2015, 170-171; for detailed discussion of the doors found across Thrace, see Stoyanova 2017.

[64] Stoyanova 2015, 170.

[65] Stoyanova 2015, 170.

[66] Miller 1993, 8.

[67] Stoyanova 2015, 170.

doors, this is also a display of the wealth and sophistication of the owners of the tombs, who could afford modern, well-crafted tombs.

Decoration

Given that the façade is often the first point of contact with a tomb, its design and decorative choices were certainly significant. It ought to be noted that, as is the case across the region – they rarely bore inscriptions to indicate who their owners were. In fact, only two monuments - the Smyadovo **(60)** and Yankovo 1 **(63)** tombs - feature inscriptions on their façades. Only the former survives in its entirety. The inscription of the latter has been mostly lost – only a single piece (the Greek letter A) survives. The Smyadovo tomb's inscription was entirely preserved: Γονιμασηζῆ | Σευθθυγυνή. It features the names of a couple, a Seuthes and his wife.[68] This is where the scholarly consensus ends, however – the interpretation of the inscription and its implications are controversial.[69]

The lack of inscriptions focuses more attention to the execution of the façades. Chart 3.6 shows the ratio of plain to decorated façades, as well as the number of monuments which have suffered too much damage, preventing us from knowing whether their façades were decorated.

[68] The name of Seuthes, in the genitive case, is misspelled: "Σευθθυ-" should be "Σευθου-".

[69] See the analysis section of Chapter 5 for further discussion.

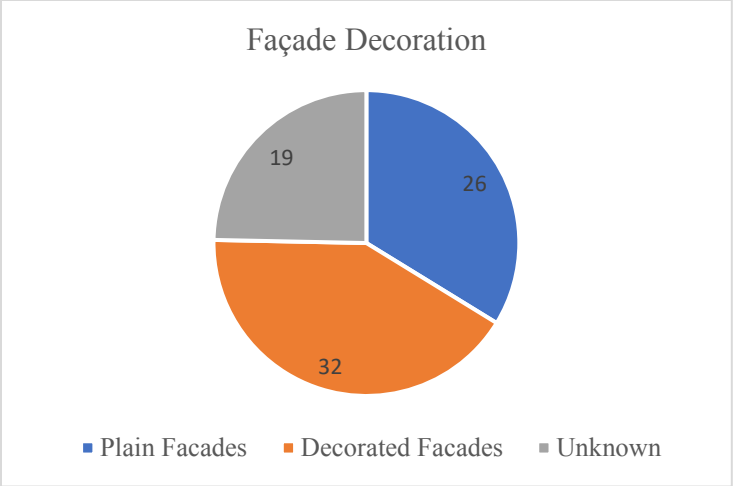

Chart 3.6: Distribution of façade types

There are two broad types of decoration featured on the exterior of Thracian tombs: sculpted and painted. Painted decoration is uncommon. There is a single example in this thesis: the Sarafova **(26)** tomb. This does not entirely discount its use; it is entirely possible that it simply does not survive. In addition, paint was applied to the sculpted decoration on the exterior of several monuments, such as the Shushmanets **(14)**, Vurbitsa **(57)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.[70]

Relief decoration, on the other hand, is relatively common and quite varied. It can be limited only to the entrances, or applied widely across the façade. It can also be in relief or freestanding. The simplest is in the form of Ionic doorframe featuring either a simple band around the doorframe or fasciae.[71] The entrances of three tombs are bordered by a plain strip in relief: those of the Helvetsia **(16)** and Borovo **(72)** tombs, and the tomb in tumulus 13 at Sboryanovo **(71)**. While the façade of the Kurt Kale **(42)** tomb does not survive, the lintel that topped the entrance did at the time of excavation. It, too, featured a decorative plain band.

[70] See catalogue entries for images.

[71] See Stoyanova 2015, 170; Stoyanova 2005, 662 for a detailed typology and discussion.

The entrances of thirteen tombs feature doorframes with fasciae.[72] Some of the fasciae are entirely plain and others are decorated. Examples of decoration include the egg-and-dart (ovolo) and bead-and-reel motifs, as a Lesbian cyma. Among the best preserved examples of decorated fasciae are those of the frames of the entrances of the Zhaba **(3)** and Chetinyova **(4)** tombs (figs 3.19 and 3.20).[73]

Thirteen tombs feature other types sculpted decoration.[74] These mouldings include elements of Greek architecture such as astragals, pediments, cyma profiles (both *cyma recta* and *cyma reversa*), and dentil-bands.[75] The entrance of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb, for example, features a pediment topped by three acroteria (two side and a central one), carved in relief.[76] Dentil-bands decorate the entrances of the Nedkova **(6)** and Naip **(49)** tombs.[77] Sveshtari **(69)** tomb's entrance features carved rosettes on the antae, and the architrave features the ovolo motif and a frieze of bucrania and rosettes.[78] Its decoration is notable for several reasons, first among which is that very few Thracian tombs feature such rich sculpted programmes. The motifs it features are also notable, the buchrania and rosettes in particular, as they only appear in one other

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[72] The Malko Belovo **(2)**, Zhaba **(3)**, Chetinyova **(4)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Roshava **(7)**, Manyov Dol 1 **(8)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Naip **(49)**, Vurbitsa **(57)**, and Rouets **(66)** tombs.

[73] Delemen 2006, 253, and Stoyanova 2015, 171 discuss the decoration of the frame of the entrance of the Naip **(49)** tomb, but a clear image is not available.

[74]The Zhaba **(3)**, Chetinyova **(4)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Filipovo **(10)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Naip **(49)**, Vurbitsa **(57)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, Sveshtari **(69)**, Sboryanovo *tum.* 13 **(71)**, Borovo **(72)** tombs.

[75] Stoyanova 2005, 656-665; Stotyanova 2015, 170.

[76] See catalogue entry for images.

[77] See catalogue entry for the Nedkova **(6)** tomb for images. Delemen 2006, 253, and Stoyanova 2015, 171 discuss the dentil strip decorating the pediment of the Naip **(49)** tomb, but a clear image is not available.

[78] For images, see catalogue entry.

Thracian monument – the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb – and in very few instances in the region.[79] Another unique and elaborately designed entrance is that of the Grifoni **(15)** tomb, which resembles a naiskos*,* including antae topped by an architrave and a pediment and decorated by three acroteria.

Elements of Greek architecture do not appear only in relief, but are also freestanding. For example, the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb was topped by a monumental pediment, only a fragment of which survives. This fragment, however, appears to resemble the sculpted pediment over the entrance, especially given that it ends with an acroterion.[80] The excavation of the Gagovo **(68)** tomb yielded fragments from a geison, which might also suggest that the earlier façade also featured elements from Greek public architecture, potentially even a pediment.[81]

Other familiar elements which appear on the façades of tombs are columns, pilasters, and antae.[82] The entrances of three are framed by pilasters: the Chetinyova **(4)**, Nedkova **(6),** and Vurbitsa **(57)** tombs.[83] The drawing of the façade of the Rouets **(66)** tomb shows that it features pilasters, although those could be antae.[84] Five tombs feature either free-standing or engaged columns.[85] Three of these (the Roshava **(7)**, Ploska **(19)**, and Smyadovo **(60)** tombs) feature two

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[79] See the section on painted decoration in the burial chambers for a more detailed discussion.

[80] For a photograph and a detailed drawing of the pediment fragment, see catalogue entry.

[81] Roussev and Stoyanova 2010, 264.

[82] The Chetinyova **(4)**, Horizont **(5)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Roshava **(7)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Ploska **(19)**, Vurbitsa **(57)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)***, Yankovo 3 **(65)**, Rouets **(66)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.

[83] At present, the Nedkova **(6)** tomb only features one pilaster, but it is not unreasonable to assume that it was part of a pair.

[84] Pilasters are purely decorative, while antae have a structural purpose.

[85] Fragments of fluted columns were discovered during the excavation of the Yankovo 2 **(64)** tomb, but it is unclear whether they were part of the façade or came from somewhere else entirely and were used as spolia.

columns each. The Shushmanets tomb features a single, large Ionic column positioned in the centre of its façade. The Horizont **(5)** tomb is the only one which features a full colonnade – a set of eight unfluted Doric columns, which surround the façade.

The final type of sculpted decoration seen on the façades of Thracian tombs, which is also a nod to Greek architecture, is the acroterion. The exteriors of six tombs feature acroteria. As mentioned above both the Shushmanets **(14)** and Borovo **(72)** tombs feature corner acroteria which were formed from the pediment blocks they decorate. The Zhaba **(3)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs each have freestanding acroteria. The largest and most complex of them is the fragmentary acroterion discovered in the Zhaba **(3)** tomb. Enough survives of this acroterion to show a female's head and vegetal decoration carved in relief. By contrast, the acroterion from the Kurt Kale **(42)** tomb (also fragmentary) is plain (fig. 3.21). The Smyadovo **(60)** tomb features an unusual central acroterion, which was placed on top of the façade. The acroterion is really a rectangular block, which is rounded at the top, and has a palmette carved on its face (fig. 3.22). Finally, the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb features specially fitted acroteria. The corner acroteria have vegetal decoration painted in red; the central acroterion is carved to look like a palmette.[86]

The acroteria of the Sveshtari tomb are similar in design to those found during the excavation of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb. Ostrusha **(18)**, however, is an odd case: the majority of the complex is gone, with only the monolithic burial chamber remaining intact. At the time of excavation, a set of six (four corner and two central) acroteria were discovered (fig 3.23).[87] The acroteria were unquestionably an important addition to the tomb's decoration; this is further

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[86] See catalogue entry for images.

[87] The second central acroterion was in a very fragmentary state. See Stoyanova and Manetta 2019, 122-123.

confirmed by the fact that they were made of limestone - a material which was not commonly used in the Kazanluk valley, and contrasts the rest of the tomb, which is made of granite. [88] Given the damage the building has suffered, however, is difficult to determine the type of roof it would have had, let alone whether the acroteria would have belonged on the roof of the complex or on the lid of the sarcophagus-like burial chamber. Therefore, while acroteria were incorporated in its design, it remains unclear exactly where they were placed.[89]

A number of these elements, it ought to be noted, may be found in a recent reconstruction which proposes that the façade of the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb would have featured a Greek entablature, including an architrave with metopes and triglyphs and a pediment with sculpted decoration, which stand on top of the abovementioned pilasters.[90] The composition is the most direct allusion to the façades of Greek temples found in Thracian funerary architecture. It is also notable for having featured feline figures in high relief. Only one other Thracian monument is known to have featured such sculpted figures: the second building in the Zhaba tumulus. The feline in this case was executed in lower relief, and it remains unclear whether it would have belonged to the monument's façade at all.[91]

The incorporation of Greek architectural elements in the decoration of tomb façades is a trend which may be observed across the region in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Yet Thracian tombs, as the tombs from its neighbouring cultures, follow their own unique pattern. The

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[88] See Stoyanova and Manetta 2019, 123.

[89] See Stoyanova and Manetta 2019, 124-126 for discussion on their placement.

[90] See Tzochev 2021 for the proposed reconstruction.

[91] The tomb is not well-published and therefore is not included in this thesis. For the best available analysis of it to date, see Stoyanova and Tzochev 2016.

ultimate goal of incorporating and experimenting with Greek decorative elements was to impress upon the viewer the wealth, status, and worldliness of the tomb's owner.

Porches

The porch is an exterior space similar to the antechamber in that it is a walled and roofed space which directly precedes the burial chamber. What differentiates porches from antechambers is that porches have neither a fourth (or outwards-facing) wall nor a designated entrance. While they have previously been labelled as "open" antechambers, it is my opinion that they are closest to porches in terms of typology and will therefore be discussed as such here.

The number of tombs which feature porches – nine - is almost as limited as the number of tombs which feature forecourts.[92] In reviewing these examples, some patterns may be detected. The porches of the Vetren **(1)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, and Vurbitsa **(57)** tombs are quite shallow (ranging between 0.75m and 1.09m in depth) in comparison to the porches of the remaining examples (which range between 1.37m and 2.37m in depth). This may be traced to the similarities these tombs have in dimensions: each features a single rectangular burial chamber which measures less than 3m in both width and in length. Two of these, the Vetren **(1)** and Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tombs**,** are especially similar visually, but the Vetern **(1)** tomb is in fact covered with a corbelled vault, while the Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tomb has a pitched roof assembled from two stone slabs. The Vurbitsa **(57)** tomb also features a corbelled vault, which is structurally and visually similar to that the Helvetsia **(16)** tomb; once again, these monuments have much in common in regard to their plans, although the Helvetsia tomb is slightly larger in terms of

[92] The Vetren **(1)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Roshava **(7)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Ploska **(19)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Vurbitsa **(57)** tombs feature such structures. Note that there is an overlap: the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb features both a forecourt and a porch.

dimensions. The porch of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb is almost identical to that of Slavchova **(24)** tomb. Both are framed by large, plain façade walls and corbelled vaults constructed to from a hemisphere, and thus visually reminiscent of the barrel vaults seen in Macedonian and Macedonian-type tombs.[93] The main difference between the porch designs of these monuments is that there is an Ionic column erected in the middle of the porch of Shushmanets **(14)**, which supports the roof but also hides the entrance; there is no such column at the Slavchova **(24)** tomb. Nevertheless, given their close proximity to each other, these tombs were likely the products of a single architectural workshop, which explains the similarities in their design. The incorporation of a free-standing column into the design of the façade and specifically the porch of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb is not unique. It shares this feature with two other tombs in this category: the Roshava **(7)** and Ploska **(19)** tombs also feature free-standing columns. The difference is that the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb has only a single column on its exterior, and it is positioned exactly in the middle of its antechamber and in the centre of the façade. The Roshava **(7)** and Ploska **(19)** tombs, in contrast, appear to feature two columns each which directed the view towards the entrances of the burial chambers.[94] There is a practical reason for this difference – the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb has a round burial chamber which itself features a column at its centre; the porch and burial chamber thus parallel each other in terms of design. The Roshava **(7)** and Ploska **(19)**, in contrast, have rectangular burial chambers. It should be noted that despite the

[93] There is one other example of this vault type, and it can be found in the Naip **(49)** tomb. See cat. entry and also Stoyanova 2015, 172, and Delemen 2006, 253-255.

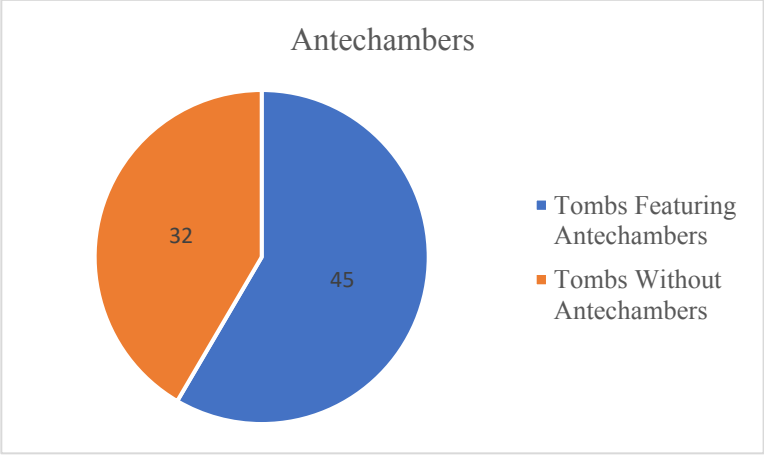
[94] Excavators found the partial shafts of both columns at Rohsava **(7)** tomb, but only one at the tomb in Ploska **(19)** tumulus. The latter has suffered substantial damage, as a result of which almost the entire left wing of its façade wall is missing. However, enough remains to suggest that the left and right wings were identical. Therefore, the façade likely featured a second column.

differences, all three monuments allude to Greek public architecture.[95] Last but not least, the façade of the Nedkova **(6)** tomb features a pilaster (likely one of a pair), which frames the porch (another likely nod to Greek architecture, this time to buildings featuring pilasters such as the Athenian treasury in Delphi).

As is the case with the forecourts and dromoi, the porches do have much in common with antechambers, and can therefore be mislabelled as such. Yet these are not antechambers. Rather, they appear to serve as means to further enhance the façades or to highlight the entrances of the chambers more than anything else. As such, their closest parallel is not the antechamber but the pronaos of the Greek temple.

Antechambers

The antechamber is a chamber that precedes (or leads to) the burial chamber. These spaces are generally made simultaneously with the burial chambers, using the same techniques, have smaller dimensions than the burial chambers, and are rarely decorated or furnished.



[95] Velkov 1927, 172; Velkov is the first to make the connection to Greek architecture, likening it with a Greek temple, but the treasury is an even better example. In addition, it ought to be noted that temple pronaoi regularly feature columns.

Chart 3.7: Monuments featuring antechambers

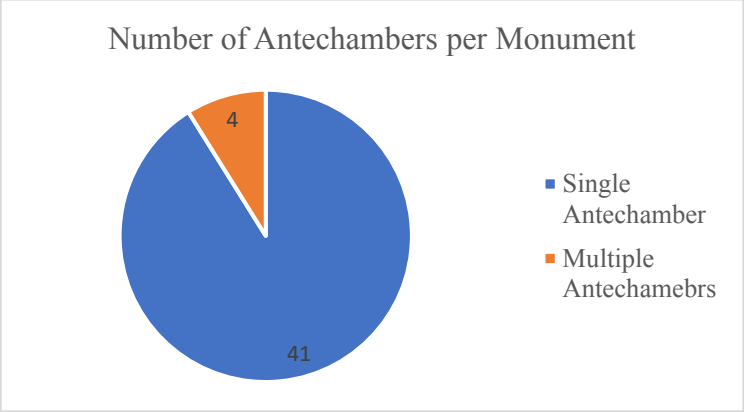


Chart 3.8: Number of antechambers per monument

A tomb may feature one or more antechambers, or none at all. As Chart 3.7 demonstrates, almost two-thirds of the tombs feature antechambers. Chart 3.8 shows that the majority of them feature a single antechamber. A key feature of antechambers is that they lie on approximately the same axis as the burial chambers. Any additional rooms within a tomb which do not fall on the main axis could, therefore, only be described as side chambers; three tombs feature such additional rooms.[96]

Dimensions

Like the burial chambers which they precede, antechambers are quite regular in regards to their dimensions. Only in cases where the antechamber is trapezoidal in plan is there any sort of variance in terms of length or width.

[96] The Ostrusha **(18)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.

On average, the width of antechambers ranges between 1-3m. The narrowest antechamber belongs to the Smyadovo **(60)** tomb and measures 0.73m, while the widest antechamber in this sample belongs to the Gagovo **(68)** tomb and measures 5.53m.
The length of antechambers ranges between 1.5-2.5m on average.[97] The antechamber with the shortest walls (length-wise) in this sample is the tomb in tumulus 12 at Sboryanovo **(70)**, measuring 1.23m, while the antechamber with the longest walls belongs to Kırklarelı tomb B **(45)** and measures 5.53m.

Due to the fact that many of the tombs suffered structural damage, the height of their antechambers is the most difficult to establish.

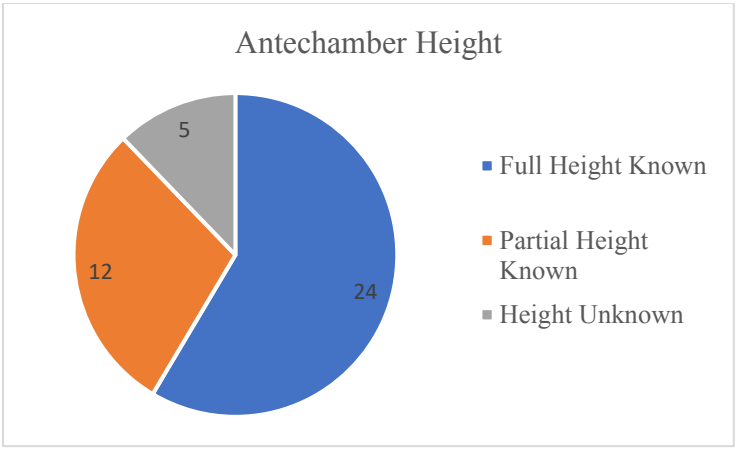


Chart 3.9: Information available about the height of (all) antechambers

The twenty-eight monuments for which the original height is known measure on average between 2-3.5m. The minimum recorded height for an antechamber is 1.5m (the Vrani Kon **(67)** tomb), while the maximum recorded height is 3.65m (the Stavroupolis-Xanthi **(53)** tomb).

[97] There is no information available for three tombs in regards to both their length and width: Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)** and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs. In the case of the first two, the structures were destroyed, making it difficult to establish exact measurements, while the third one was simply not reported.

The antechamber of the Sashova **(23)** tomb has a very irregular and unusual roof. The antechamber's ceiling has multiple sections, which vary in height, the highest being 2.32m. It is unclear why it was constructed that way. The other anomaly is the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb, as it features a round antechamber (diameter 3.5m; height 4.5m). The tomb is also notable, because its antechambers are higher than its burial chamber.[98] This is the only monument in which this is the case.[99] There are five monuments in which the antechamber and burial chamber are either identical or nearly identical in height; all have rectilinear antechambers and burial chambers. [100] They are also relatively small and compact – none of them exceed 3m in length or width in either antechamber or burial chamber, and four do not exceed 3m height, either.[101] In addition, their antechambers and burial chambers have identical widths, which allows their roofs to reach the same height. This becomes especially evident when observing the two antechambers of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb. Although they are similarly constructed, the first antechamber of that monument is narrower than the second one, and, as a result, shorter in height.

What becomes evident upon closer examination is that in tombs with only rectilinear chambers there is some room for variation, while in tombs where the burial chambers are round in plan, the burial chambers are taller. The reason for this lies in the construction of the round-plan chambers: they are roofed with domes, and the height of the domes is directly dependent to the base's diameter. As the diameter of these chambers is often wider than that of the

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[98] See section below for further discussion of this tomb.

[99] Tombs which suffered significant damage are not counted. It is likely that this was also the case with the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb.

[100] The Sarafova **(26)**, Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, Vrani Kon **(67)** tombs and the tomb in tumulus 13 **(71)** at Sboryanovo. This was also likely the case with the tomb in tumulus 12 **(70)** at Sboryanovo, but it cannot be confirmed for certain.

[101] The only exception is the Stavroupolis-Xanthi **(53)** tomb, which measures 3.65m in height.

antechamber(s) preceding it, it inevitably is taller than them. Of course, there is also the issue of the relative importance of the burial chamber over the antechamber. The fact that the domes are taller may be a question of construction, but this is the result of a clearly deliberate choice. There are the tombs which have only rectangular, square, and trapezoidal antechambers. While there is a variation in the proportion of the antechamber-burial chamber height, the burial chambers are still erected taller than the antechambers. This is highlighted at the Svehtari **(69)** tomb, the three chambers of which have different heights. In this case, the arrangement of the heights enhances the façade. Here, even from the outside, there is no question as to which chamber is the largest or the most important. Thus, the relationship between the dimensions of antechambers and burial chambers do play a role in highlighting the importance of the burial chamber as the centrepiece of the tomb and the role of the antechamber as the room (the opening act) which leads to this centrepiece.

Construction

As part of the main tomb building, antechambers are usually well-made using high-quality materials. The vast majority are rectangular in plan.

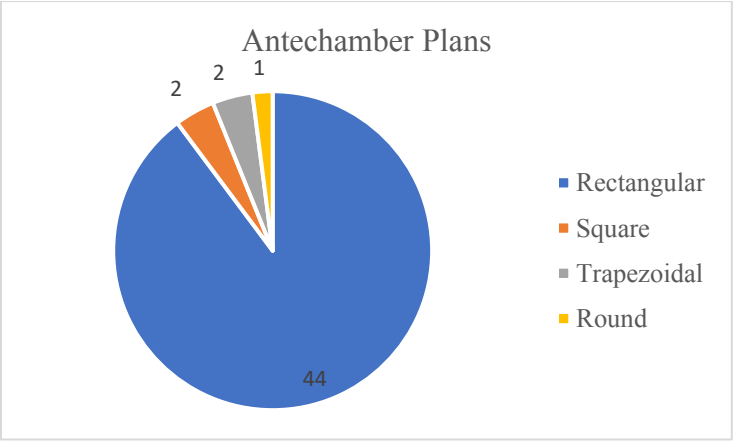


Chart 3.10: Distribution of plan types among (all) antechambers

It ought to be noted that the second antechamber of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb, which is round, is an anomaly in Thracian architecture. This antechamber is preceded by a rectangular antechamber, and followed by the burial chamber, which is also rectangular in plan. It appears to be a play on the tholos tomb, which is the dominant tomb type in the Kazanluk Valley in the 4th century BC. It should be noted that the tomb was reused and remodelled more than once. There is no evidence that the three chambers were not contemporaneous, however, which suggests that the round chamber as a deliberate design choice. Furthermore, it ought to be noted that the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb features a round side chamber in its design. The connection is notable, because both monuments have sarcophagus-like burial chambers, which suggests that they might have been designed by the same architect, or workshop. The exact purpose of these round spaces is unclear. Kitov suggests a connection to the worship of the sun for the side chamber of Ostrusha, but such connections are difficult to prove.[102] Both tombs are complex, which makes it more plausible that the presence of round-plan rooms is a play on traditional tomb design. This is further supported by the fact that the round burial chamber of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb features a set of marble doors, featuring relief decoration. These doors, and the space which they lead to, make an impression on the visitor.

The antechambers and burial chambers of Thracian tombs are generally built using the same materials. As chart 3.11 shows, most were constructed using stone.

[102] Kitov and Krasteva 1994-1995, 21.

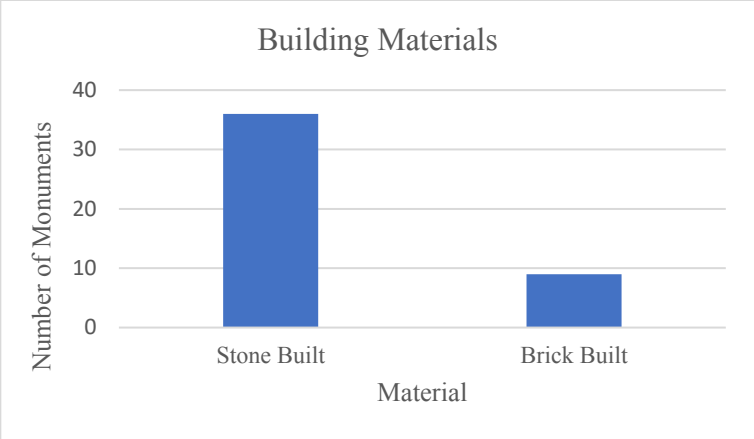
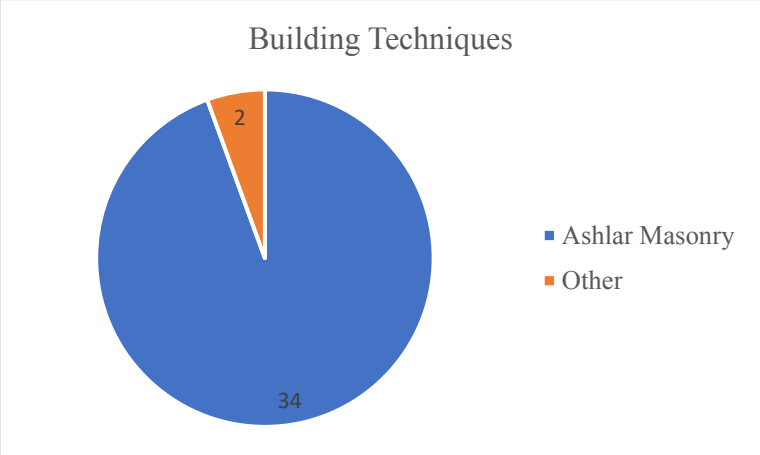


Chart 3.11: The building materials of the antechambers



Charts 3.12: The building techniques of the antechambers

The building techniques applied to antechambers and burial chambers are also the same in most cases. Chart 3.12 shows that the vast majority of the stone-built tombs were built using ashlar masonry. Unlike its burial chamber, the Kaloyanovo **(34)** tomb's antechambers were not built in ashlar but rubble masonry. In contrast, the Vrani Kon **(58)** tomb is made consistently throughout, but it is built using large monolithic slabs and rubble masonry. At the same time, while the antechambers of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Ostrusha **(18)** tombs were both carefully constructed using ashlar masonry, they stand apart from the burial chambers, which were made of two monoliths each. These four tombs therefore follow the established pattern: their

centrepieces, the most important structures within them, are the burial chambers. In tombs where the antechambers and burial chambers are built using the same techniques, the emphasis on the burial chambers is revealed in other ways, such as the difference in dimensions.

All the antechambers of Thracian tombs are roofed. Five major roof types feature in the antechambers: corbel vault, lantern vault, barrel vault, pitched roof, and flat roof, and in one case (Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**) a corbel dome.[103]

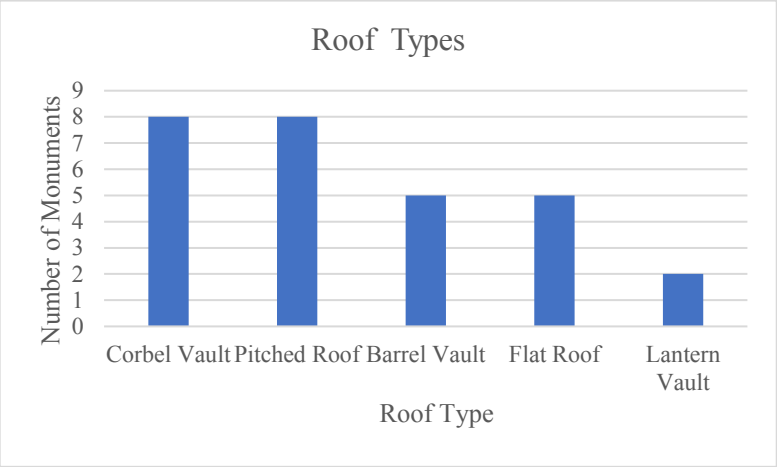


Chart 3.13: Distribution of roof types among burial chambers

The roofs of a tomb's antechamber(s) and burial chamber are not always the same type. While this is to be expected in cases where the burial chambers are round in plan, this rule applies even when both spaces are both rectilinear in plan.[104] Two patterns emerge from this limited sample. The first regards geography: four of the six monuments with different roof types are located in

[103] It should be noted that of the forty-five tombs featuring antechambers, there is clear information about the roof type of the antechambers of twenty-eight monuments. The remaining seventeen suffered varying degrees of damage, making it difficult or impossible to reconstruct the roof. See the Horizont **(5)**, Manyov Dol 1 **(8)**, Parvomay **(11)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Koprinka 3 **(21)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Chernichino **(40)**, Kırklareli B **(45)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Eshil Tepe **(54)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)**, and Gagovo **(68)** tombs.

[104] See the Filipovo **(10)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Sashova **(23)**, Muglizh **(28)**, and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs. It should be noted that the roof of the antechamber of the Osutrusha **(18)** tomb is completely destroyed; however, based on the fact that its antechamber was built using ashlar masonry while its burial chamber is monolithic, there can be little doubt that the two structures would have had different roofs.

the Kazanluk Valley. The second pattern regards the emphasis on the importance of different spaces: in almost every case, the roofs of the burial chambers are more elaborate than those of the antechambers. For example, the Filipovo **(10)** tomb's antechamber features a flat roof, while its burial chamber – a lantern vault. The Ostrusha **(18)** tomb has a monolithic burial chamber, which would have required a great amount of engineering to be carved and assembled; it also features an elaborate coffered ceiling. The burial chamber of the tomb in the Sashova **(23)** tombs features a barrel vault, while, as already briefly discussed above, the roof of its antechamber is uneven and rather haphazardly constructed.[105] There are two reasons why the antechambers and burial chambers of these tombs would have had different roofs. On one hand, given that the antechambers are smaller than the burial chambers, some types of roof would have been very challenging, or even impossible to apply to them. On the other hand, once again, this way of roofing does put more emphasis on the burial chambers. As the most important structure in the tomb, the burial chamber would always be allocated the most resources.

Attention ought to be given to the floors of the antechambers as well. Chart 3.14 shows the distribution of floor types among the forty-five monuments featuring antechambers:

[105] See catalogue entry for the tomb's cross-section and a more detailed discussion of the antechamber's roof.

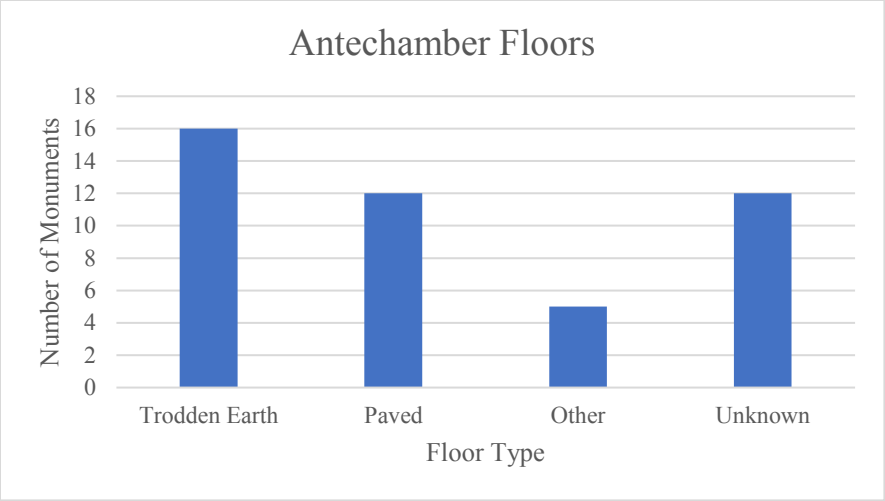


Chart 3.14: Distribution of antechamber floor types

As the chart shows, there is information about thirty-three of the forty-five monuments; in twelve cases, the tomb either suffered too much damage, or information was not provided.[106] In the majority of cases, the antechambers and burial chambers have the same types of floors, with only four exceptions.[107] Most often the antechambers are trodden earth, followed by paved floors. The antechamber of the Chernichono **(40)** tomb is covered with a mixture of trodden earth and pebbles, while in three cases, the earth floor was covered by a layer of plaster.[108]

The antechamber floor of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb also ought to briefly be mentioned. Although paved like the floors of the remainder of the tomb's interior, they stand out for being covered by large, rough stone slabs. This is notable, because it stands in contrast to the carefully arranged paving stones in the rest of the tomb's interior (including the dromos). Furthermore, the

[106] Information is lacking for the Horizont **(5)**, Manyov Dol 1 **(8)**, Parvomay **(11)**, Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Malyovska **(25)**, Tatarevo **(36)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Veselinovo 1 **(61)**, Veselinovo 2 **(62)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, and Yankovo 2 **(64)** tombs. See catalogue entries for detailed information on each monument.

[107] The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Ostrusha **(18)** and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs. In the cases of Golyama Kosmatka and Ostrusha, the difference is due to the nature of the burial chambers, which are monolithic as opposed to built structures.

[108] The Grifoni **(15)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, and Sarafova **(26)** tombs.

slabs are clearly added on top of the original floor level, and cover two graves. Between the difference in execution and placement on top of the original floor, it may safely be concluded that the slabs are secondary additions. As such, together with the evidence of elongation in the dromos, they are evidence for the tomb's long-term use or reuse.

The last characteristic of the antechambers which ought to be noted is that most are entered on their short side. However, there are eight monuments where the antechambers are entered on the long side. In each case there is either an aesthetic or structural reason for that. The antechambers and burial chambers of the Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Smyadovo **(60)** tombs, and the tombs in tumuli 12 **(70)** and 13 **(71)** at Sboryanovo are perfectly aligned. The result is that, on the exterior, the buildings are homogenous. This would have made them structurally stable. The homogeneity is particularly important for the tombs in tumuli 12 **(70)** and 13 **(71)** at Sboryanovo. Both tombs feature barrel vaults, with each building covered by a singular, continuous vault. The antechamber of the Gagovo **(68)** tomb is also entered on the long side for practical reasons. The tomb has two round burial chambers built parallel to each other. As a result, the space preceding them had to be entered on the long side, providing immediate access to both.

The choice appears to have been less structural and more aesthetics-driven in the case of the Horizont **(5)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs. The antechamber of the Horizont tomb is preceded by a columnated façade, which surrounds the tomb's exterior. The antechamber's walls suffered a lot of damage, making it unclear what a visitor would have encountered behind the columns, or how exactly the tomb would have been entered; yet it is significant that the antechamber's plan reflects the arrangement outlined by the façade. The rationale behind the alignment of the antechamber and burial chamber of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb is somewhat similar. The burial chamber, a sarcophagus-like monolithic structure, is entered

from the long side and encased in a larger tomb complex. Having the antechamber also accessed on its longitudinal side allows for a better view of the sarcophagus. The reasoning behind the position of the Aleksandrovo **(37)** tomb is less clear. The monument features the elements commonly observed in the plans of tombs with round burial chambers: a dromos, an antechamber, and the burial chamber, all placed in succession, on the same central axis. Whereas usually the antechamber would be accessed and exited on the short sides, here it is rotated. As the antechamber does feature painted decoration, however, it may be presumed that its positioning might have been chosen in order to allow more space for painted decoration.

Decoration and Furniture

The majority of the antechambers of Thracian tombs lack decoration or furniture. Nevertheless, there are exceptions. The interior of the antechambers of three tombs is covered in plaster, most commonly white lime plaster. While this is not precisely decoration, it is an aesthetic decision and as such it ought to be noted. Two of these tombs (the Buzovgrad **(32)** and Vrani Kon **(67)** tombs) are made of stone, while the third one is made of brick, (the Popova **(33)** tomb).

Five tombs feature painted decoration in their antechambers.[109] Among them, the Sarafova **(26)** tomb features only monochromatic painted decoration: the walls of its antechamber are divided into (from bottom to top) blue, white, and yellow bands. The Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb originally featured a band with the bead-and-reel motif in red and blue, topped by a vegetal motif in red, of which only individual fragments survived.[110] The decoration of the antechamber of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb was preserved extremely fragmentarily as well,

[109] See the Ostrusha **(18),** Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs.

[110] See catalogue entry for reconstruction.

although according to Kitov and Krasteva, it featured an unidentified animal.[111] The Kazanluk **(22)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs feature the most complex decorative programmes. Thematically and compositionally, the decoration in two monuments have much in common: they feature scenes with both people and animals in them, vegetal and architectural motifs, and monochromatic bands. Notably, both feature a similar vegetal motif depicted on a black background (figs. 3.24-3.26).

Regarding antechamber furniture, there is, to date, only one example: Kırklarelı tomb C **(46)**. This tomb has two antechambers, both of which feature benches on their long walls. The first antechamber features two, but there is only one in the second antechamber. The lack of furniture does make sense in that most of the antechambers are too small and lack space for it. The low number of decorated antechambers is not entirely surprising, either, given how few tombs feature painter or sculpted decoration in their burial chambers.[112] Yet, when these two aspects are combined, they do seem to reinforce the notion of antechambers as mostly transitory spaces.

[111] Kitov and Krasteva 1994-1995, 19. Note that this claim does not appear elsewhere and cannot be substantiated.

[112] See the section on Burial chambers for further discussion.

Burial Chambers

The burial chamber is the key element of any tomb. It is the space that all other parts of the tomb complex lead to, and the final resting place of the tomb's owner(s).

Construction

There are two broad categories into which the plans of burial chambers fall: round and rectilinear. The first category - round, with twenty-six examples - are uniform in their shape, and always covered by a beehive/corbelled dome. The second category is more varied: there are rectangular, square, and trapezoidal burial chambers, as well as two more non-regular rectilinear shapes.[113] The most common burial chamber plan overall is rectangular, with round coming second. While there are a number of single-chambered tombs, the Malko Belovo **(2)** tomb stands out as it is the only single-chambered tomb which is round. All other tombs with round burial chambers have at least one antechamber.

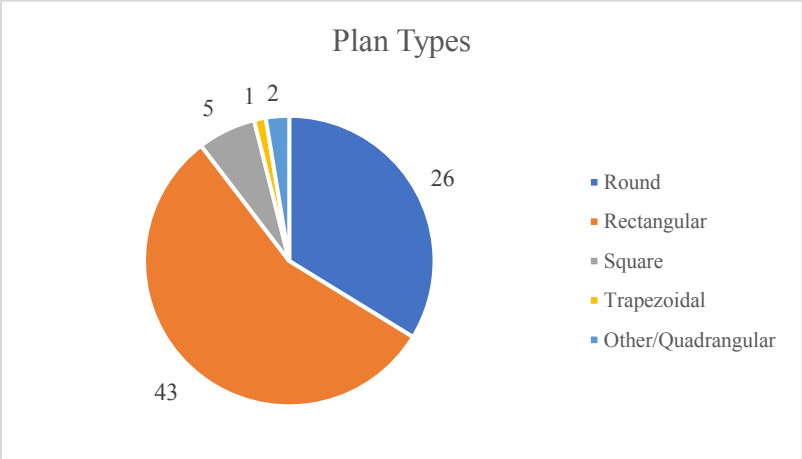


Chart 3.15: The distribution of plan types among the monuments.

[113] The burial chambers of the Brestovitsa **(12)** and Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tombs - can mostly be classified as "rectilinear", as they have four walls, but these walls all measure differently. The differences between the walls in the Dolno Lukovo **(39)** are quite small, making it appear almost rectangular in shape; the differences in the measurements of the Brestovitsa **(12)** tomb, however, are more pronounced, and make it more uneven.

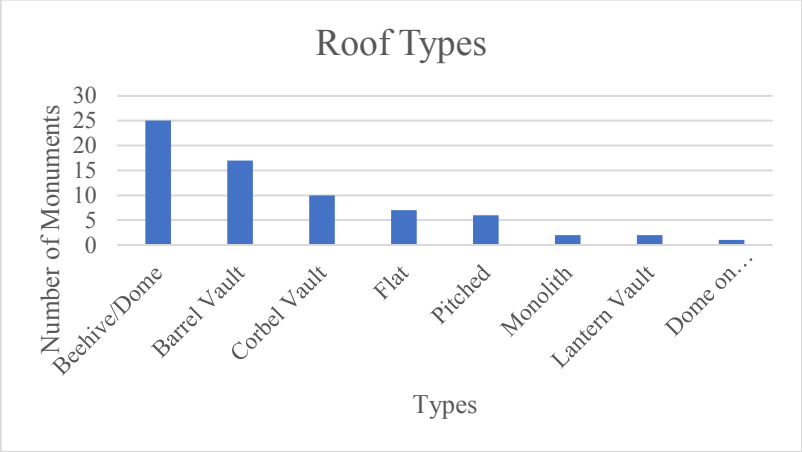


Chart 3.16: The distribution of roof types among the monuments.

As Chart 3.16 shows, the most commonly seen roofing techniques in the burial chambers overall are the beehive roofs, by virtue of round burial chambers being the most numerous. As established in the section on antechambers, rectilinear plans allow for more variation in roofing. The most common ones are the barrel and corbel vaults. Seven tombs are destroyed to the point where the roofing technique could not be determined.[114] One category should be briefly mentioned here: the dome on pendentives. This structure appears in only two monuments: the Brestovitsa **(12)** and Furtunova **(31)** tombs.[115] These monuments are notable because both have rectilinear chambers topped by domes, domes being most commonly added to round spaces. Interestingly, the tombs – which share a number of similarities, including their coarse construction and the fact that both have only a single chamber – are not built in close proximity of each other, one being in the Plovdiv area, while the other is in the Kazanluk valley (fig. 3.27).

[114] The Horizont **(5)**, Ploska **(19)**, Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Mezek 1 **(43)**, Ivanski 2 **(59)**, and Yankovo 3 **(65)** tombs.

[115] Stoyanova 2011, 349 and Stoyanova 2015, 173.

The burial chambers of Thracian tombs were built from a variety of materials (discussed at length in Chapter 2) and using several different techniques.

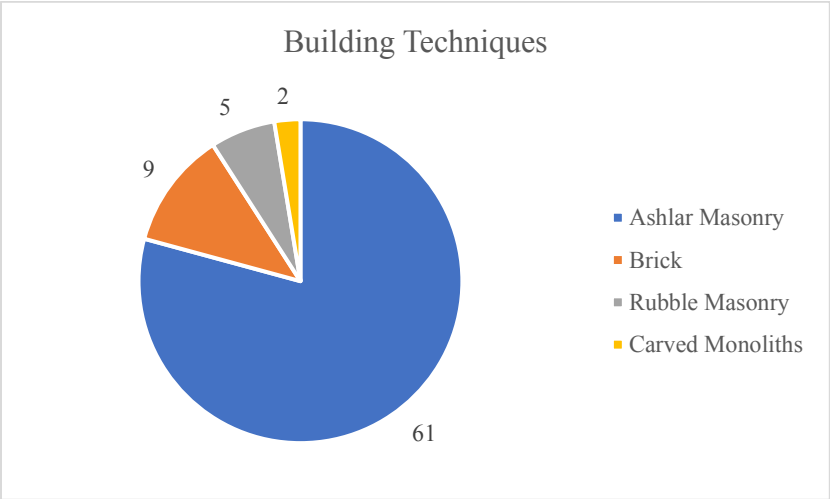


Chart 3.17: The distribution of building techniques among the monuments.

The most common technique, as Chart 3.17 shows, was ashlar masonry. It was used to build nearly eighty percent of the tombs. Rubble masonry was less common than ashlar masonry, but it was used to build five monuments.[116] Four out of these five monuments (The Brestovitsa **(11)**, Furtunova **(31),** and the two Veselinovo **(61-62)** tombs) were single-chambered. They all share certain similarities. For example, all four are preceded by long dromoi. The two Veselinovo **(61-62)** tombs additionally have the similarity that their entrances appear to be off the central axis.[117] This is where most shared features end. The Vrani Kon **(67)** is double-chambered and also more complex in terms of design. It was made using both large slabs and smaller, roughly hewn

[116] The Brestovitsa **(12)**, Furtunova **(31)**, Veselinovo 1 **(61)**, Veselinovo 2 **(62)**, and Vrani Kon **(67)** tombs.

[117] See catalogue entries for the plans of the tombs.

stones. Unusually, three of the burial chamber's four walls were made using different kinds of masonry techniques.

It is worth noting that the total number of built chamber tombs constructed with baked brick and mortar is higher than ones built with rubble masonry. This number applies to tombs across Thrace, not just the Kazanluk valley to which the brick tombs are limited. What is even more interesting is that, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, the appearance of brick tombs seems to coincide with the rise of brick production at Seuthopolis and the decline of stone-built tombs in the Kazanluk valley. Tombs built using rubble masonry are either earlier or contemporary to them. Given that monuments built using rubble masonry were built over a longer time span and are still fewer, it may be concluded that members of the aristocracy who chose to be buried in built tombs, as opposed to other types of structures (such as cist graves, pits, and mounds made of unworked stone), wanted the tombs to be well-built and invested both money and time in their design.

This is further confirmed when observing the entrances of the brick-built tombs. While it is unclear whether the use of stone in the doorframes of the entrances was an aesthetic or practical choice. I would suggest that it was both. From a structural point of view, an argument that can be made is that stone is preferable over other materials, as it is more durable and can support the weight of a chamber's walls and roof best. This is especially true for burial chambers: the larger a structure, the bigger the pressure on the lintels. It may explain why stone doorframes may be seen predominantly in the burial chambers: antechambers tend to be significantly smaller, narrower spaces, allowing for other types of entrances to safely be supported. It may also explain why the Maloyovska **(25)** tomb was the only one in which stone

was not used: its burial chamber has the smallest dimensions of all nine: its diameter is 2.22m, as compared to 2.7m on average for brick tombs with round burial chambers.

From an aesthetic point of view, the stone frames may be interpreted as an allusion to the earlier, stone-built tombs. Painted decoration was discovered in three of the nine brick tombs; it is possible that more were painted, but due to the significant damage they suffered, that could not be determined. Nevertheless, the decoration of the three painted tombs was extensive and covered the majority of the tombs' interiors and at times also their exteriors. Notably, this does not include the stone doorframes. That the bricks were obscured but the doorframes were not was not due to bricks being somehow easier to plaster: white plaster and painted decoration can be seen applied to the walls of a number of stone-built chambers.[118] Rather, by hiding the bricks and leaving the stone out, an illusion may be created of a stone-built monument, or at the very least, an allusion to one. Thus, there were probably both aesthetic and structural reasons for using stone in the doorframes of brick tombs.

The choices of construction materials and techniques, when compared, present an interesting picture. Clearly, given the sheer number of tombs built from stone, this was the preferred material, and even when it was not used to build an entire monument, it was used for the entrances. [119] Yet, when stone was used to build the whole tomb, the preferred building technique was ashlar as opposed to rubble masonry. Ashlar masonry was the most durable option, but also the most costly (both temporally and economically) one. If judged by the façades of their tombs, the members of the Thracian aristocracy wanted to showcase their wealth. Thus,

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[118] See the section on decoration.

[119] For further discussion on the subject, see Chapter 2.

it is safe to conclude that the prevalence of ashlar masonry has not only structural, but also an aesthetic root.

The final type of burial chamber occurs only twice in all of Thrace. The Golyma Kosmatka **(13)** and Ostrusha **(18)** tombs feature sarcophagus-like or monolithic burial chambers. These chambers, as the terms suggest, are structures constructed from two large monoliths each – a base and a lid – making them similar to sarcophagi. Their designs are nearly identical: the bases of both are rectilinear; their lids are secured with lead to the base. They have an almost identical layout: both are entered on the long side and feature furniture carved directly from the base monolith, positioned directly across the entrance.

That their designs are so similar is no coincidence: the two monuments are found in close proximity to each other (both are located in the Kazanluk valley) and were likely designed by the same architect or studio. Scholars generally agree that the monolithic chamber of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb was the earlier of the two.[120] This is partially based on the fact that it is coarser: the frame of its entrance is somewhat unfinished, the angles of the walls are not straight, there is a red strip of paint left outlining the bed (a mason's mark), while the "table" next to it is also unfinished.[121] It also lacks any decoration and its furniture is quite simply executed.[122] In contrast, the burial chamber of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb is visibly more refined, the details especially visible in its entrance, detailed furniture, and the elaborately decorated roof.[123] Another design difference between the two chambers is the placement of their doors, which,

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[120] Dimitrova 2015a, 101-104.

[121] Dimitrova 2015a, 94-100.

[122] It is also possible that the less refined state of the burial chamber of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb was due to the tomb being utilized before the chamber was finished, as is the case with the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb.

[123] Discussed at more length in the appropriate sub-sections below.

however, no longer survive. In Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, there are two holes on the plinth over the entrance on the exterior side of the chamber, while in Ostrusha **(18)**, there are two sets of holes in the stone above the entrance and two sockets on the floor, and these are positioned on the interior (figs. 3.28-3.29). Thus, we can deduce that both doors had two leaves, but the ones in Ostrusha **(18)** were fitted inside the chamber, while at Golyama Kosmatka they were inside the round antechamber, opposite the marble doors within the same space.[124] Attention should be paid to the fact that the burial chambers of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Ostrusha **(18)** tombs were entered on the lateral side. This is not usually the case with Thracian tombs – most tombs with rectilinear burial chambers are entered on the short side. Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Ostrusha **(18)** are not the only ones. Apart from them, the burial chambers of four monuments are entered on their long side.[125]

The floors of twenty-seven the burial chambers are paved.[126] Most of the remaining tombs have trodden-earth floors. In some cases, the paving stones are merely a nicety, either elevating the environment of the room if it is furnished, or ensuring that the human remains and burial goods are not placed in the dirt. The Golyama Arsenalka **(17)** tomb features an elevated, indented round keystone at the centre of its burial chamber's floor, around which the remaining pavers are arranged in a radial pattern (fig. 3.30). This example is unique; the purpose for the keystone's design is unclear.

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[124] Another example in which the wings of the doors of both antechamber and burial chamber were located within the same room is the tomb in the Grifoni **(15)** tumulus.

[125] The Sashova **(23)**, Tatarevo **(36)**, Chernichino **(40)**, and Elaphochori **(50)** tombs.

[126] See the Vetren **(1)**, Malko Belovo **(2)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Momina **(24)**, Dolno Lukov **(39)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Kırklareli A **(44)**, Elaphochori **(50)**, Rigio A **(51)**, Rigio Γ **(52)**, Stavroupolis-Xanthi **(53)**, Vurbitsa **(57)**, Ivanski 1 **(58)**, Ivanski 2 **(59)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, Vrani Kon **(67)**, Gagovo **(68)**, Sveshtari **(69)**, Sboryanovo tumulus 12 **(70)**, Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**, Borovo **(72)**, Mangalia tomb 1 **(73)**, and Mangalia tomb 3 **(75)** tombs.

In a many cases, the paving slabs serve a purely structural role. They often elevate the floor level, raising it above the chamber's first (or base) row of ashlars. They also have another practical application, relating to the burial itself. Two of the tombs - the Elaphochori **(50)** and Mangalia 3 **(75)** tombs - feature cist graves, incorporated into their floors. The cists would have been covered with individual slabs; however, the remaining floor space was covered. As already discussed above, a similar occurrence is also observed in the antechambers of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb near Mezek. In fact, like the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb, the one at Elaphochori **(50)** also features a simple bench as well, suggesting that the tomb was likely used by multiple generations of the family.

Dimensions

The maximum length of a burial chamber of rectilinear plan is 6.26m (Mezek tumulus 1 **(43)**), while the minimum recorded length is 1.30m (Manyov Dol 4 **(9)** tomb). The burial chamber with the widest plan belongs to the Ploska **(19)** tomb. It measures 3.5m. The burial chamber with the narrowest plan is once again that of the Manyov Dol 4 **(9)** tomb. It measures 0.90m. The round-plan burial chamber with the largest diameter is Kırklareli tomb B **(45)**, and it measures 6.8m, while the one with the smallest diameter is the Yankovo 2 **(63)** tomb, measuring 1.98m. There is no information available for the width or length of seven monuments in total.[127]

With regards to height, maximum recorded burial chamber height is 4.45m (Sveshtari **(69)**), and the minimum is 1m (Manyov Dol 4 **(9)**).[128] However, it should be noted that the data

[127] The Furtunova **(31)**, Elaphochori **(50)**, Ivanski 2 **(59)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)**, Yankovo 3 **(65)**, Mangalia 2 **(73)**, and Mangalia 3 **(74)** tombs.

[128] This is the tomb with the overall smallest plan.

set is incomplete. On one hand, the height of fourteen of the seventy-seven tombs was not reported in publications, and is unknown to me.[129] On the other hand, fourteen tombs suffered significant structural damage, losing their roofs and multiple rows of ashlars from their walls.[130] There are measurements available for the maximum preserved height of these tombs, and in some cases it might be possible to estimate the original height based on the floor dimensions of the burial chamber or any other available information from the walls. Nevertheless, the exact original height will never be known. Therefore, the minimum and maximum heights discussed above only apply to those tombs for which the full height is available. The exact numbers are show in Chart 3.18 below:

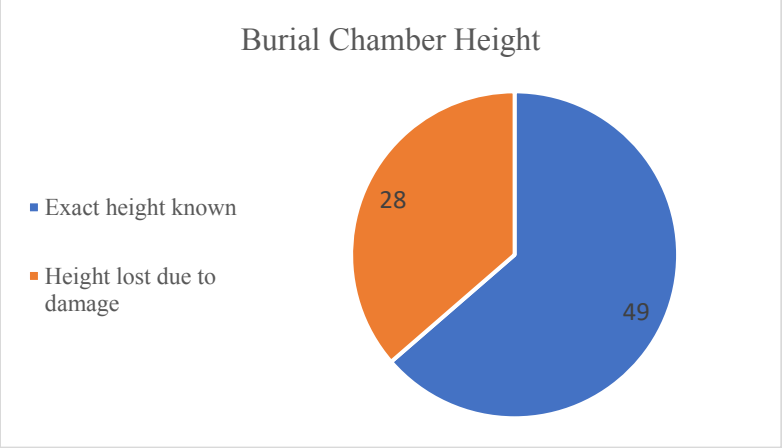

Chart 3.89: Proportion of burial chambers with known and unknown exact height

[129] The Chetinyova **(4)**, Horizont **(5)**, Koprinka tumulus 2 **(20),** Elaphochori **(50),** Ivanski 1 **(58),** Ivanski 2 **(59),** Yankovo 1 **(63),** Yankovo 2 **(64),** Yankovo 3 **(65),** Gagovo **(68),** Mangalia 1 **(73),** Mangalia 2 **(74),** Mangalia 4 **(76),** and Documaci **(77)** tombs.

[130] The Malko Belovo **(2)**, Roshava **(7)**, Parvomay **(11)**, Ploska **(19)**, Koprinka tumulus 3 **(21)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**, Furtunova **(31)**, Momina **(34)**, Mezek 1 **(43)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Sveshtari 12 **(70)**, and Mangalia 3 **(75)** tombs**.**

Dimensions are particularly relevant when compared to those of any additional structures of a tomb. As already noted in previous sections, the burial chamber is always the largest space in a tomb. Once again, given the importance of the burial chamber in the tomb complex, this is unsurprising.

Furniture

Furniture has been found in the burial chambers of twenty-five tombs.[131] The most common type is the couch, with the occasional addition (or portrayal, in high relief) of stools.[132] In a few cases, there is the addition of a side table.[133] In the Naip **(49)** tomb, there is an assembly of furniture, including a side table, a main table, and a chair.[134]

Almost universally, irrespective of the shape of the burial chamber, the funerary couch is positioned directly opposite its entrance. Exceptions include the Sashova **(23)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs. In both of these monuments, the funerary beds were placed to the left of the burial chamber entrance.[135] The precise location of the furniture in two monuments is unknown.[136] Three monuments - the Muglizh **(28)**, Stavroupoli **(53)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs feature two

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[131] The Filipovo **(10)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Sashova **(23)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Racheva **(30)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Popova **(33)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Kırklareli A **(44)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Naip **(49)**, Stavroupoli **(53)**, Eshil Tepe **(54)**, V. Varnenchik **(55)**, Ivanski tomb 1 **(58)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.

[132] An overview can be found in Stoyanova 2015, 173-175; for a thorough overview of klinai belonging to types A and C, see Stoyanova 2018, 151-168 and Grudeva 2018, 103-115.

[133] The Golyama Kosmatka **(13),** Helvetsia **(16),** Muglizh **(28)**, Popova **(33)**, and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs.

[134] For a discussion of the kline specifically and its parallels in Northeastern Thrace, see Grudeva 2017.

[135] Note that the funerary bed of the Aleksandrovo **(37)** tomb was found in pieces and reconstructed; its current placement was determined during this process.

[136] The Filipovo **(10)** and V.Varnenchik **(55)** tombs.

klinai each, placed in Γ arrangement; the latter two tombs of the Macedonian-type; in Macedonia, the Γ or Π arrangement of klinai is known.[137] The late date (3rd-2nd centuries BC) of these three tombs also correlates with the establishment of the Macedonian presence in the region. The furniture arrangement in their burial chambers may be interpreted as evidence of cross-cultural interaction.

The vast majority of furniture is made of worked stone, but there are exceptions. In the Sashova **(23)** tomb, the funerary bed was a crude assemblage of unworked stone and soil. According to the excavator, the construction was reminiscent of the extended portion of the dromos, which suggests that it was a later addition.[138] The furniture in the Muglizh **(28)** and Popova **(33)** tombs was partially made of baked brick (like the tombs themselves), with a fill of soil and stone.[139] The arrangements in these two monuments appear to have been almost identical: both beds are placed opposite the burial chambers' entrances, and had a smaller table to their right (figs. 3.31-3.34).[140] The Kazanluk **(22)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs both yielded wooden material. In the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb, surviving fragments suggest that there might have been wooden furniture.[141] At Sveshtari, several planks were discovered embedded between the

[137] Miller 1993, 14-15; Huguenot 2008, 41-42.

[138] Kitov 1996a, 12.

[139] Note that this does not appear to be the established norm. The two other brick-built tombs in which furniture was found featured couches made of non-brick material. See the catalogue entries for the Kazanluk **(22)** and Racheva **(30)** tombs.

[140] Tsanova and Getov 1973, 18-19; Dimitrova 2013b, 302-304.

[141] Tsanova and Getov 1970, 8. Whether the wooden fragments belong to furniture, coffins, or a wooden door remains unclear.

plates and blocks of one of the klinai. After restoration, these fragments were found to form a *diphros* (stool).[142] Such discoveries are especially rare and valuable.

The presence of furniture has both a practical and symbolic purpose. On the practical side, some furniture can act as receptacles for the remains of the deceased. A number of monuments, for example the Vetren **(1)** tomb and the tomb in tumulus 13 at Sboryanovo **(72)**, simply do not feature furniture and the human remains were placed on the floor, but, as demonstrated in this section, many of them do. This seems to have been a question of personal taste on the part of the owners. Symbolically, the furniture can also be an allusion to banqueting. The connection is obvious in the Naip (**49)** tomb, which, as stated, features a whole set of symposion furniture, and where plates were carved in relief on the central marble table. Funerary beds which are carved to resemble klinai bear strong connection to banqueting in particular. It is worth noting that a number of items associated with wine, drinking, and banqueting were found in the tombs examined in this thesis.[143] It should also be noted that tombs with banqueting furniture have been attested across the region prior to the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.[144] The evidence thus suggests that incorporating the banquet in a funerary context was a region-wide practice, and that this practice was adopted into Thrace, likely through contact and exchange with neighbouring cultures.

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[142] Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 55-56, and esp. figs. 75 a-b.

[143] For an in-depth examination of relevant finds from the tombs and their connections to banqueting, see Chapter 4.

[144] For a discussion of the klinai in Macedonian tombs, see Huguenot 2008; for a discussion of klinai in Anatolian tombs, see Baughan 2013.

Decoration

Decoration is relatively uncommon in Thracian burial chambers. Most interiors are well-made but plain. Nevertheless, the burial chambers of a small number of monuments do feature decoration or decorative elements, painted and/or sculpted.

Painted Decoration

Painted decoration is found in a total of fifteen tombs; in nine of these, it is the only category found, while the other six feature both painted and sculpted decoration.[145] There are two types of painted decoration: monochromatic and figural. Monochromatic decoration is the most basic form of painted decoration, and the earliest.[146] The burial chambers of four tombs (the Filipovo **(10)**, Sarafova **(26),** Kaloyanovo **(35)** and Documaci **(77)** stand out for only featuring monochromatic decoration.[147] Their walls feature wide bands of paint in alternating colours and no figural decoration. The Filipovo **(10)** tomb featured black, Pompeiian red, and white decoration. In the Sarafova **(26)** tomb, the bands are made with white, red, and black paint. It ought to be noted that one of the bands in the burial chamber in the Sarafova **(26)** tomb features an architectural design: the white band is divided by horizontal lines and is supposed to represent orthostates; the same motif appears in the Muglizh **(28)** tomb.[148] The Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb

[145] Roshava **(7)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Kırklareli C **(46)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, and Documaci **(77)**.

[146] For a detailed discussion on monochromatic painted decoration see, Valeva 2015c, 181-183.

[147] The presence of figural decoration does not denote the absence of monochromatic decoration. Several of the tombs which feature figural decoration – the Kazanluk **(22)**, Muglizh **(28)**, and Aleskandrovo **(37)** tombs, to be specific – feature bands of colour as well. The four tombs discussed here feature only monochromatic decoration in their burial chambers.

[148] See catalogue entries for images and see Valeva 1999, 71 and Valeva 2015c, 182-183 and ftnt. 3.

features a band (0.55m in width) of red paint starting from the base of the walls. The Documaci **(77)** tomb features dark blue, dark red, yellow, and white bands.

Figural decoration appears in various forms. On a more basic level, it is floral or architectural motifs. The entrance of the burial chamber of the tomb in tumulus 13 at Sboryanovo **(71)**, features a Lydian cyma painted in red and blue. More complex compositions include not only floral or architectural motifs, but a variety of figures and scenes from life and myth. Five monuments feature such complex figured compositions: the Ostrusha **(18)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Muglizh **(28),** Aleksandrovo **(37)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs. Their decoration survives in various states of preservation. While the paintings in the Kazanluk **(22)**, Alexandrovo **(37)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs survive if not in their entirety, then in large part, the paintings in the Ostrusha **(18)** and Muglizh **(28)** sustained significant damage and are only fragmentary; nevertheless, they are strongly indicative of a complex painted programme.[149]

The programmes in these five monuments present a range of themes, but similarities can be detected. For example, The Kazanluk **(22)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs both include the theme of feasting, although the way that theme is presented in each instance is different.[150] At the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb, the feast is the focus of the burial chamber's ceiling programme, while in the case of the latter, it is the subject of a scene placed on the portion of the wall facing the entrance, with the funerary bed to its left. They are also quite different in terms of iconography. The Kazanluk feasting scene centres on two (supposed) spouses attended by their servants. The image is more intimate, and may be interpreted as an allusion to a wedding or, given the

[149] See catalogue entry for images.

[150] See catalogue entries for images.

iconography (including the pomegranates) a funerary feast.[151] There are a number of examples with this motif from Macedonian and Greek sites.[152] The Aleksandrovo scene was quite faded at the time of discovery and has been damaged further since then, but what is visible shows that it features Thracian noblemen being served drinks by young attendants. The gathering in this scene is visually closer to collective banquet scenes, which have been well-represented on pottery and in tomb painting, such as the well-preserved mural at the Agios Athanassios tomb.[153] One difference between the banqueting scene in Aleksandrovo and a great number of the depictions of symposia, including the scene in the Agios Athanassios tomb, is that there the participants recline on klinai. The Aleksandrovo mural is damaged, but it is clear that at least two of the Thracian noblemen depicted are sitting on stools or high-backed chairs, similarly to the couple from the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb. This suggests that symposium might have been adapted to local customs, suggesting that the Thracians would have preferred to sit rather than recline.[154]

These scenes are notable for several reasons. On one hand, they are representative of the world of the living, and in particular of wealth and status. As mentioned above, the couple from the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb is surrounded by signs of their wealth – they are attended by servants, who not only bring them food and drink, but play musical instruments, attend to six horses, and

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[151] Valeva 2015c, 184-185.

[152] See Miller 2015, 183 for a general discussion of the topic, and Miller 2015, 184 for a discussion of the scene in the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb in particular.

[153] See Miller 2015 above, and Rathje 2013 for a discussion of the banquet and its depiction in Etruscan art.

[154] This is in contrast to the physical evidence in the Naip **(49)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs, both of which feature symposion set-ups, with the Naip **(49)** tomb also featuring a drinking set. These monuments are closer to the Macedonian models than either the Kazanluk **(32)** or Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs; this is not surprising, given that both are located in areas with strong Macedonian presence – the Naip **(49)** tomb in southern Thrace, close to Macedonia, and the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb in north-eastern Thrace, an area which is thought to have been part of Lysimachus' territory – as opposed to the Kazanluk **(32)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs, which are in deep Thracian territory.

carry a variety of items, such as boxes and a textile. The symposium is also a display of status, given that it is an aspect of elite life in the period in the region. On the other hand, the funerary banquet is a theme connected to the sepulchral art of the entire Mediterranean, and members of the elite were often buried with objects of great value, which supports the symbolic interpretation of these scenes. Thus, however they may be interpreted, the Kazanluk and Aleksadnrovo scenes are important, as they suggest much about the owners of the tombs and Thracian elite culture.

Another notable example of thematic overlap occurs between the Kazanluk **(22)** and Muglizh **(28)** tombs. In both cases, the theme of chariot racing is depicted. In the Kazanluk tomb, it is alluded to both in the main and smaller friezes in the ceiling programme. In the main frieze, two of the horses are attached to a *biga*; the smaller frieze features three individuals racing in *bigae*. In the Muglizh tomb, the theme is subtler: chariot racing is depicted on a Panathenaic amphora. The vessel itself is part of a palmette-and-Panathenaic amphora frieze decorating the burial chamber. The depiction of this particular type of amphora may be interpreted as an allusion to Athens, and in particular the Panathenaic athletic competitions at which they were given as prizes.[155] This connects the Muglizh frieze thematically to the Kazanluk tomb. Chariot racing and other horse-related sports were, like banqueting, an aspect of elite life in the region, and in particular an aspect of the life of male members of the elite.[156] In fact, one of the better-known depictions of this theme comes from Tomb III at Vergina, where a frieze featuring a race with twenty-one participants decorates the antechamber's walls.[157] The Panathenaic amphora

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[155] For overviews of this type of amphora and its context, see Tiverios 2007, Niels 1993a, and Niels 1993c. Bentz 1998 studies Archaic and Classical Panathenaic amphoras in depth.

[156] Miller 2015, 197.

[157] Miller 2015, 198.

may also be interpreted as another display of the owner's wealth, as opposed to their actual engagement in sports.[158] Chariot racing, it should be noted, also has a funerary connotation, which appears in both literary sources and material evidence. Homer's descriptions of funerary games famously include chariot racing, for example.[159] The motif does appear in tombs from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. A notable example is the Philosophers' tomb at Pella, which features a frieze depicting chariot racing in the vicinity of tumuli.[160] The potential allusions to death and funerary feasting in the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb's burial chamber may thus suggest that the chariot race in the frieze above it depicts funerary games. Whichever the interpretation of the Kazanluk **(22)** and Muglizh **(28)** friezes, it yet again shows an awareness of, and adoption of, the practices of elites on a wider regional level.

The next example of thematic overlap may be seen in the Muglizh **(28)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs. The burial chambers of these monuments feature two themes which are both well-attested and known to be interlinked: hunting and warfare.[161] The Muglizh **(28)** tomb's burial chamber featured a mural in the triangular space over the entrance. The mural is incomplete, but what is clearly visible in it is a gorytos quiver with a bow and two arrows inside it.[162] The quiver is suspended by its straps from the wall. An ochre cloth with white spots is draped over it. The quiver may be interpreted as representative of war. Examples of the type of mural depicting burial goods are known from other funerary contexts. The tomb of Lyson and Kallikles in

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[158] Plantzos 2018, 255.

[159] Homer, *Iliad*, 23.257– 652.

[160] See Brecoulaki 2006, 258-259 and pl. 89.

[161] See Barringer 2001, especially 10-69.

[162] See Tsanova and Getov 1973, 21-22, and Valeva 1998.

Macedonia is among the best-known; it features paintings of arms, armour, and garlands in its burial chamber.[163] Notably, the arms and armour are depicted on the lunettes over the entrance and opposite it. Another example is the tomb of Mitriades in Kerch.[164] While this mural does not feature any arms or armour, it is important to note since it shows the spread of iconography across the region, as far as the Crimea. In this context, the Muglizh **(27)** tomb's decoration follows a regional trend. The choice to depict arms, however, is further relevant for its allusion to a fact of Thracian life – war – and cultural views on expressions of masculinity.

The Alexandrovo **(37)** tomb's decorative program is more literal: the main piece of its decorative programme is a frieze featuring a hunt. Like the banquet, the hunt is well-attested in Mediterranean and Near-Eastern art, having been depicted in a variety of media from portable objects to monumental structures. [165] Given its popularity, it is therefore not surprising that it is found on monumental structures, including funerary monuments, with well-known Classical and Hellenistic examples including the mural on the façade of Tomb II at Vergina, the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, the Heroon of Trysa, the Lycian sarcophagus, the Mourning Women sarcophagus.

The Aleksandrovo hunt scene largely follows established themes: it is a multiple-quarry hunt (the prey being a stag, a doe, and two boars), featuring a hunting party both on foot and on horses. What makes this particular hunt scene different is that the central figure (it may be argued) is a naked chubby man running towards one of the boars and swinging a double axe.

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[163] See Miller 1993 and Brecoulaki 2006, 223-234 for detailed discussion.

[164] See Valeva, 1998, 70-71.

[165] See See Poggio 2020, 47-92 for discussion of the hunt in Near Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean art. Notably, the hunt is absent from Achaemenid monumental art, despite having an known connection to Persian kingship. Miller 2015, 192-197 also provides a useful overview of representations of the hunt in Late Classical and Hellenistic art. See also Barringer 2001 for examples of depictions in Greek art specifically.59.

Unclothed figures are not uncommon in depictions of hunts – in many cases the hunting party features both clothes and unclothed – but their bodies are always idealized. This is very much not the case with the naked figure in the Alexandrovo hunt. It is impossible to know for certain who – if anyone in particular – this man is. Possibly, he is the owner of the tomb, although other explanations have also been provided.[166] Whatever his role, the mural shows a regional theme, adapted to local (and likely individual) taste. Combined with the banqueting mural in the same chamber and the war scenes in the antechamber of the tomb, it, too, is an expression of masculinity and elite Thracian life.

Attention ought to be given to the painted programmes of the Ostrusha **(18)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs. The decoration of these monuments has very little overlap ichnographically, but stem from the areas of religion and mythology. The ceiling of Ostrusha features a complex composition including vegetal motifs, portrait heads, and mythological scenes, painted on the coffered ceiling. The exact details are still under debate: one interpretation is that the portrait heads are sirens and Nereids, while another is that they are the Pleiades.[167] Still, agreement exists about the identification of the mythological scenes: some are from the Homeric cycle, while others feature figures such as Bellerophon and Heracles.[168] There are a myriad of parallels for the decorative programme of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb. Coffered ceilings were common by the fourth century.[169] Their decorative programmes vary from painted to sculpted, from stars and vegetal

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[166] See Miller 2015, 195.

[167] Valeva 2005, 36-54 and Manetta 2013 for detailed discussions.

[168] Miller 2015, 200-201; Manetta, Stoyanova and Luglio 2016, 55-60 and 69-71.

[169] On the architecture, see discussion below. For an in-depth discussion of the origin, spread, and decoration of coffered ceilings in Greece, see Tancke 1989. Valeva 2005, 25-35 also provides a useful, detailed discussion of the use of coffered ceilings across the region, including in Etruria, in order to contextualize the coffered ceiling of Ostrusha **(18)**.

ornamentation to mythological scenes. While a great number of them are sculpted as opposed to painted, thematically they set a precedent for the decorative programme at Ostrusha **(18)**. The coffered ceiling of the Parthenon in Athens, for example, features stars and vegetal motifs.[170] The Nereid Monument at Xanthus is known to have featured a painted female portrait in three-quarter view. Other relevant examples of portraiture on coffers can be seen in the Hall of Choral Dances on Samothrace, which dates to the mid-4th century BC (fig. 3.35). Another example, also dated to the 4th century, is from a coffered ceiling in the Bolshaya Bliznitsa tomb in Southern Russia, which has been interpreted as a depiction of Demeter (fig. 3.36-3.37). While very little survives of the coffers from the Maussoleion of Halicarnassus, one has been reconstructed as featuring two wrestling men (fig. 3.38). The coffers from the ceiling decoration of a similar monument – the Belevi Mausoleum – survive much better. His tomb is dated to the 3rd century BC (and likely post-dates Ostrusha **(18)**), it is notable, for it featured coffers with an extensive sculpted programme, depicting funerary games and a centauromachy (fig. 3.39).[171] These examples, and a number of other ones not discussed here, show that there was an established precedent for the ceiling programme of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb.

The Sveshtari **(69)** painted decoration is quite different, although it, too, finds its parallels on a local and regional level. It features a single procession scene, at the centre of which is a young man on a horse, greeted by a tall woman standing on a platform and extending a wreath

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[170] Tancke 1989, 25 for the Parthenon ceiling coffers. Manetta, Stoyanova, and Luglio 2016, p. 46, ftnt. 26 note that this type of decoration was commonly used in the region. Thracian parallels are to be found in the Kazanluk and Aleksandrovo tombs, while Macedonian examples include a cist tomb in Palatitsia, cist tomb 2 in tumulus A at Aineia, the monumental cist tomb (2001) in Pella, and tomb B at Pydna. For these particular tombs, see Brecoulaki 2006, 170-171, 327-340, 256-261, and 242-277.

[171] The exact chronology of Ostrusha **(18)** is a subject of debate.

towards him.[172] A notable detail of this scene is the fact that the rider has a horn behind his ear, an allusion to portraits of Alexander and the Successors (fig 3.40-3.41).[173] Variations of this scene, and the rider motif, have been attested in both Thrace and Macedonia. In Macedonia, a scene featuring elements of this motif may be seen on the façade of tomb I in the Bella tumulus at Vergina (fig. 3.42). Unlike the Sveshtari scene, this one only features three figures. In the centre of it is a soldier (possibly the deceased), who is handed a wreath by a tall woman (alternately interpreted as a personification of *arete* or Macedon) and a man seated on a pile of shields (possibly a personification of war, Ares or even Alexander).[174] The two scenes are regularly compared due to the clear similarities in their iconography.

In Thrace, the motif appears on the golden signet rings from the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa tumulus, Brezovo, and Golyamata tumulus near the village of Rozovets (figs. 3.43-3.45).[175] The Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa and Brezovo rings portray the female figure handing the horseman drinking vessels (a phiale and a rhyton, respectively). Based on this, Agre proposes that these scenes are not mythological or metaphorical, but may represent the return of the ruler after a long absence (due to war or a diplomatic mission) and his being greeted by his wife who has ruled in his absence.[176] Of course, the Sveshtari **(69)** scene features the woman handing the horseman a wreath. This has been interpreted as an allusion to the afterlife, the heroization of the warrior.[177]

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[172] See catalogue entry for images.

[173] See Chichikova, Stroyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 47-51 for a detailed discussion of this scene. Discussions of it are also featured in Valeva 2015c, 189-190; Miller 2015, 189-192; and Plantzos 2018, 252-253.

[174] For a detailed discussion of this scene, see Brecoulaki 2006, 162-165. Also see Plantzos 2018, 239-240.

[175] Tonkova 2016, 486.

[176] Agre 2011, 42-43.

[177] Agre 2011, 35; Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 50; Miller 2015, 190; Plantzos 2018, 253.

Indeed, this likely is the most plausible explanation, but it might be worth considering whether the scene might not also allude to power, or to victory (from battle).

Lastly, it ought to be noted that the Kazanluk **(22)** and Aleksandrovo **(37)** tombs feature painted architectural elements in their burial chambers. The different parts of the friezes on their domes are divided by architectural elements. At the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb, the transition from the monochromatic (red) segment of the wall is followed by an Ionic architrave with three fasciae, which features a rosettes-and-bucrania frieze, and a Lesbian cyma. This is followed by the scene with the married couple. This scene, and the scene of the chariot races is divided by a cornice featuring egg-and-dart motif, dentils, and a twisted white-and-red ribbon motif.[178] At the Aleksandrovo **(37)** tomb, the hunting scene is framed by decorative details: underneath, there are small bands featuring different decorative motifs, including an Ionic cyma a meander, while on top of it, there is a band featuring a Lesbian cyma.[179] The use of painted architectural elements can be seen in the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles. Unlike the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb, which utilizes more abstract elements, the burial chamber of this tomb features pilasters and an architrave with guttae, which form a clearly visible structure.[180] It should also be noted that the burial chamber of the Aghios Athanassios tomb features a painted frieze with buchrania and rosettes in its burial chamber.[181]

In examining the few monuments which feature a painted figural decoration, it becomes apparent that they have much thematic overlap with each other and tombs across the

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[178] Valeva 2015c, 184.

[179] Kitov 2002b, 60.

[180] See Miller 1993 for an in-depth discussion and Brecoulaki 2006, 221-234 and pl. 78-81.

[181] See Brecoulaki 2006, p. 264 and pl. 102.

Mediterranean. References to aristocratic life and values mythology, religion, and the afterlife are universal themes in funerary settings. In Thrace, based on individual preference, they can be seen both adapted to local customs and following regional iconography. Whatever the execution, they are a clear indicator that Thracian aristocrats were aware of regional trends and wished to follow them.

Sculpted Decoration

Sculpted decoration falls in two general categories: architectural and figural. It has been utilized in the burial chambers of a total of ten tombs. In six of these tombs, the decorative architectural elements were accentuated through colour.

Among the ten tombs, the most unusual is likely the Nedkova **(6)** tomb. It is quite plain, a dentil-band begins at the façade and continues throughout the interior burial chamber; the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb, inversely, is the most ornate.[182] The emphasis in this chamber's decorative program was on columns: there is a large, plain Doric column at the very centre of it, attached to the dome's keystone and elevated on a base. There is an additional set of seven fluted Doric relief half-columns around the chamber, which support an architrave. Fifteen engaged pilasters, which also touch the dome's keystone, rest on the architrave. While there is no colour this chamber, the entire interior is covered by multiple layers of white plaster.[183]

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[182] Yıldırım 2016, 366, also fig. 23. Another example exists in eastern Thrace, the Batkın A tumulus near Malkara, modern day Turkey. In this case, the burial chamber is round. Unfortunately, it is not well-published, and I have not been able to find any further information about it.

[183] Nine tombs feature plaster on their interior: the Vetren **(1)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Filipovo **(10)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Kırklareli B **(45)**, and Mangalia 2 **(73)** tombs. For further discussion of the topic, see the section on façades in this chapter.

The other five tombs with sculpted elements in the burial chambers feature either paint on the mouldings themselves, painted figural composition, or both.[184] Like the Nedkova **(6)** and Shushmanets **(14)** tombs, the decoration of the Chetinyova **(4)**, Kırklareli B **(45),** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs include architectural elements. The burial chamber of Kırklareli tomb B **(45)** is similar to Shushmanets **(14)** as it features ten engaged pilasters; these pilasters, however, were made of mortar, not stone, and were painted red. The Chetinyova **(4)** tomb, on the other hand, is decorated with ten engaged, fluted Doric half-columns, and a full Doric entablature. The triglyphs are painted in blue, and framed by the architrave's taenia painted in red.[185]

The sculpted decoration of the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb is the most complex, as it features both architectural and figural elements. The architectural elements include applied Doric columns, a Corinthian column, two cornices with triglyphs and metopes. The figural elements feature ten caryatids and two consoles with eagles holding bolts carved on them. The Corinthian column and the caryatids were partially or completely painted. The style and iconography of the caryatids is unusual. While typically caryatids stand independently and act as structural support, the Sveshtari caryatids are carved in high relief on individual panels applied to three of the burial chamber's walls. They still appear to "support" the entablature, but they do so with the help of their hands, not their heads alone. A familial tomb at Aghia Triadha, Rhodes, features a decorative programme which bridges the Sveshtari caryatids to other examples: four free-standing caryatids, which support an entablature with both their hands and one arm each (fig 3.46).[186] This is one of the few monuments featuring caryatids in its burial chamber and while it

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[184] The Chetinyova **(4)**, Filipovo **(10)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.

[185] For an in-depth discussion on the columns and entablature, see Tzochev 2021, 138-145.

[186] See Touchais 1982, 612-614.

is substantially different from the Sveshtari tomb, it is nevertheless iconographically relevant.[187] Lastly, there is the issue of the clothing of the Sveshtari **(69)** caryatids, which appears to imitate vegetal or ophidian elements.[188] This is to say that, in terms of iconography, the caryatids are closer to the motif of a snake-limbed deity which appears in the art of the region, including in Macedonia, Anatolia, Scythia, and even Southern Italy.[189]

The Sveshtari **(69)** tomb, it ought to be noted, stands out for one additional element which is otherwise unseen in Thrace: its naiskos.[190] Although naiskoi are very common in Greek funerary art and contexts, this is, to date, the only example known from Thrace. Its positioning as a screen obscuring the klinai and therefore the remains of the deceased is a smart placement choice. Its connection with death and presence have led some scholars to associate it with the possible heroization of the deceased.[191] Given that little is known about Thracian religion, and that there are numerous connections to Greek and Macedonian iconography in this tomb, it is perhaps more plausible, that this an aesthetic choice as opposed to a religious one.

Another monument with a particularly complex decorative programme is the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb. As mentioned above, the burial chamber of this tomb is one of only two examples in all of Thrace made of two large granite monoliths and fashioned to resemble a sarcophagus. The upper monolith (the lid) stands out owing to the rich, complex painted programme of its coffered

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[187] See Grudeva 2015, 98-99 for a comparison of the two monuments.

[188] See Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 43-45.

[189] For a detailed analysis of the motif, see previous footnote and also Ustinova 2005. Note that a well-known example of this motif can be found in a mosaic at the royal palace at Aigai.

[190] See catalogue entry for description and images; see Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 57-63 for a detailed discussion.

[191] See Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 62-63.

ceiling. The ceiling is divided into forty-three coffers, which were carved at three different depths.[192] The exterior of the sarcophagus features a dentil-band, an architectural nod to the ceilings of buildings the roofs of which were supported by wooden beams. As mentioned above, this design, and the use of decorated coffers, had long been applied to the ceilings of public and sepulchral buildings by the time the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb was built. One of the earliest examples is the Archaic temple of Athena at Paestum, which features a geison with decorated coffers.[193] Many of the fifth-century buildings in Athens (the Parthenon and Erechtheion on the Acropolis; the Hephaestion, temple of Ares, and the Propylon on the Agora) had stone coffered ceilings.[194] The temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, which dates to 375-370 BC is known (from the temple's inscriptions) to have had wooden beams and coffers, which featured decoration.[195]

Coffered ceilings appear in sepulchral contexts across the region, as well. Possibly the earliest example overall is an Etruscan tomb – the Tomba della Caccia in Chiusi – which dates to the 6th century BC, and has the coffers on its ceiling painted as opposed to carved in relief.[196] Closer to Thrace, the earliest sepulchral monument to employ this decorative element is the Nereid monument of Xanthos, which dates to the 4th century BC, followed by the Maussoleion of Halicarnassus and the Belevi Mausoleum (which, as mentioned above, is dated later but is

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[192] See catalogue entry for Ostrusha **(18)** for images and the arrangement of the coffered ceiling.

[193] Valeva 2005, 26.

[194] Steingräber 1995, 64; Tancke 1989, 25.

[195] Valeva 2005, 27.

[196] Valeva 2005, 27.

nevertheless relevant). These examples show that the ceiling of Ostrusha **(18)** likely references both public and sepulchral buildings in the region.[197]

The application of architectural decorative elements on the interior of tombs is not unknown regionally. In Macedonia, the Tomb of Eurydice at Vergina features an Ionic façade reproduced on the wall opposite the entrance of the burial chamber. The burial chamber of the Tomb of the Judgement in Mieza (modern Lefkadia) features an architrave and a cornice, supported by pilasters in low relief, which themselves stand on a cornice at the base of the chamber's back wall.[198] These, and the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, as discussed above, are most of the known examples to date, however. Even in Macedonia, instances of architectural decoration in the interior of tombs are rare.[199] Such elements, it seems, were reserved mostly for the façades of the tombs – the most visible feature. This marks the Thracian use of sculpted Greek architectural elements as interior decoration of their tombs as a potentially local trend – adapting, yet again, regional trends and decorative elements to local tastes.

Two more monuments have sculpted decoration. The first one is the Filipovo **(10)** tomb. As mentioned above, this tomb is already unusual in that its burial chamber is covered by a lantern vault. What is also interesting is that its keystone was reported to have been decorated with a rosette in low relief. While no images of this rosette have been published to date, it is interesting that one was carved on the keystone of the vault – possibly, this might have been an

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[197] It should be noted that while the Chiusi tomb's coffers are painted and therefore purely decorative, in cases where they are carved they serve a dual purpose: as decoration, and to make a building's roof lighter. This is especially relevant in the case of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb, where the roof of the burial chamber is a heavy granite monolith.

[198] See Brecoulaki 2006, 49-76 and pl. 1-10 for the tomb of Eurydice and 204-217 and plates 74-76 for the Tomb of Judgement.

[199] Miller 1993, 12-13.

allusion to a coffer, similar to the painted keystone in Bolshaya Bliznitsa. The second monument is the Dolno Lukovo **(39)** tomb. Similarly to the Filipovo **(10)** tomb, this one features unusual figural sculpted decoration, carved in high relief on the inner faces of eight of the fourteen ashlars forming the room's first row of ashlar masonry. The mouldings take the form of animals and geometric shapes: a disc, squares, rectangles, a star, a horse head, and a fish.[200] No parallels exist to date in Thrace, and their significance (if any) remains unclear.

Graffiti

Lastly, attention ought to be paid to a special category: graffiti. While technically not decoration, they can still reveal interesting details about a monument. Graffiti have been found in five tombs.[201] The majority of the examples which have been found were limited to basic figures, often arranged in basic scenes. In the Sashova **(23)** tomb, for example, there are two scenes (or two parts of a single scene?) incised lightly on the door frame of the burial chamber. The composition includes four figures (three on the right lintel and one on the left), armed with shields, helmets and spears.[202] At the Naip **(49)** tomb, a word of unknown meaning – ΚΑΘΑΘΑ (καθαθα) – was found by the steps leading to the burial chamber. In the chamber, there is a crudely carved ship without sails.[203] Such graffiti may have symbolic meaning, but it is not unlikely that they are simply playful.

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[200] See catalogue entry for images.

[201] The Sashova **(23)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Naip **(49)**, and Eriklisse **(47)** tombs.

[202] Kitov 1996a, 18-19.

[203] Delemen 2006, 256.

The most interesting example is from the Aleksandrovo **(37)** tomb. The graffito is a portrait in profile of a (beardless) young man, with the words "Κοζιμασης χρηστός" carved underneath. It has been suggested that this is a self-portrait of the artist who painted the tomb, a signature on his work.[204] Given that there are no examples of this ever occurring elsewhere, however, and the fact that other graffiti can be found in other tombs, this is unlikely. The interpretation has furthermore already been carefully and thoroughly disproven by Sharankov. To do so, he analyses the name "Κοζιμασης": a name of two parts – "Κοζι-" and "-μασης" – which has previously unattested, but the components of which have, and are of Thracian origin.[205] Sharankov also provides plentiful context for use of the word "χρηστός," which means "good" "valiant" or "deserving."[206] In a funerary context, it carries a specific meaning: "goodness in action, goodness which finds an outlet in service of those in the home or the community, helpfulness"; there are numerous funerary monuments featuring this word, starting in the 5th century BC.[207] This makes the graffito interesting in that it has a funerary connotation, and is placed in a funerary context. It is, however, unlikely that it relates in any way to the original owner of the tomb or the painter of the tomb's murals. Rather, as Sharankov suggests, it was a later act of vandalism, albeit a more sophisticated one, intended to commemorate the young Kozimases.[208]

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[204] See Getov 2008.

[205] Sharankov 2005, 30.

[206] Sharankov 2005, 30.

[207] Sharankov 2005, 30-33.

[208] Sharankov 2005, 33.

Analysis and Conclusions

Thracian tombs are defined by their diversity. There are no two monuments that are exactly identical in all of Thrace, although patterns can be detected in their architecture and decoration. What these patterns suggest is that there was an ongoing cultural conversation in the region. As Greek, Macedonian, and Achaemenid culture in particular were disseminated across the Mediterranean, they became synonymous with power and sophistication, and were adopted by elites in their desire to show themselves as cosmopolitan. The members of the Thracian elite were no exception. Thus, we find a collection of monuments defined by duality, a combination of Thracian and foreign elements; monuments that fit both in their local and regional context.

The patterns detected in the architectural design of the tombs are revealing. For example, Macedonian-type tombs are predominant in north-eastern Thrace, while others (the so-called tholos-type in particular) dominate the central and southern parts of Thrace. This does not mean that there was a clean-cut geographical divide - the types are mixed (fig. 3.1). For example, while the Macedonian-type tombs appear in the north-east, there are a number of monuments which do not fall within this category which are also present in that sector of Thrace (fig. 3.2).[209] In central and southern Thrace, there is an even greater diversity (figs. 3.3-3.4). An example of this may be found in the Kırklareli necropolis, where the tombs in tumuli A **(44)** and C **(46)** are Macedonian, and the tomb in tumulus B **(45)** is of the tholos-type. The tholos-type tomb is the most commonly found, but it is far from the only one.

The geographical distribution of the different tomb types is not random. Rather, it reflects the political climate of each particular area. For example, the areas where Macedonian-type

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[209] The Vurbitsa **(57)**, Ivanski 1-2 **(58-59)**, Ivanski 2 **(59)**, Smyadovo **(60)**, Veselinovo 1-2 **(61-62)**, Yankovo 1-3 **(63-65)**, Rouets **(66)**, and Vrani Kon **(67),** and Gagovo **(68)**.

tombs do appear are ones where the Macedonian and Greek presence was particularly strong. This is particularly true in north-eastern Thrace, where the Macedonian presence is well attested (the territory was under the control of Lysimachus), and the North Aegean and western Black Sea regions, which were dominated by Greek colonies.[210] Similarly, monuments featuring the lantern vault - the Zhaba **(3)**, Filipovo **(10)**, and Kurt Kale **(40)** tombs – have only been found in central and southern Thrace; the lantern vault appears to have originated in Anatolia.[211]

It may, therefore, safely be concluded that the geographical location of the different tomb types serves as evidence for the dissemination of ideas across the region. Yet the Thracians did not simply adopt architectural and decorative elements but adapted them to their own needs and tastes. The lantern vault's usage is one example. There are distinct characteristics of this type of vault's use in the sepulchral architecture of Anatolia and Thrace. The Anatolian tombs are entirely rectilinear in plan. In some cases, the lantern vaults appear in a single chamber, while in others they cover multiple chambers. In Thrace, two of the three examples are hybrid – square antechambers followed by round burial chamber. The lantern vaults cover the antechambers. The third example – the Filipovo **(10)** tomb – is the closest to the Anatolian model, as it is single-chambered and the lantern vault covers its burial chamber. Another example of this was

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[210] Damyanov, Nankov and Stoyanova 2021, 116; Damyanov 2015, 297-304.

[211] The earliest example of its use – at Belevi - has been dated to the 6th century BC, see Archibald 1998, 284. No other examples of such an early date have been found; the next time this type of vault emerges is the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, when at least four more monuments were built: the Mudanya, Küçük Çukur (Cemlik), Iğdir Köyü (Bithynia), and Kösemtuğ (Mysia) tombs. For a summaries of the tombs, see Theodossiev 2007b, 603-604. Two additional ones – the Kepsut and Musahocaköy (Southern Mysia) tombs – have been broadly dated to the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods: Theodossiev 2007b, 604-605. Stoyanova 2011, 345 suggests that perhaps the origin of this vault type was connected to local (Anatolian) domestic architecture. This may very well be the case, and it may provide a source of inspiration for the development and popularisation of the lantern vault, since to date there are no examples dating between the 6th and 4th centuries BC which can bridge the gap between the Archaic Belevi tomb and the Late Classical and Hellenistic examples.

discussed above in regard to Macedonian-type tombs. As briefly mentioned, the distinctive barrel vaults of Macedonian tombs were usually carefully concealed. In Thrace, the vaults were almost always visible. In fact, in the case of the Sveshtari **(60)** tomb, the vaulted roofs of the tomb's three chambers are incorporated into the design and contribute significantly to the façade's distinctive look.

The adoption and adaptation of architectural and decorative elements in funerary architecture is not unique to Thrace alone, but reflective of a pattern evident across the region from the 4th century BC into the Hellenistic period. Like the Thracians, their neighboring cultures took aspects from Greek public (religious and secular) architecture and used them for their own purposes. In funerary architecture, they were often applied specifically to the exteriors of funerary monuments, although there are notable differences. One difference between the funerary monuments of Macedonia and Thrace and those of Lycia and Caria is that while the former may have been (partially) uncovered for a time, ultimately, they were designed to be buried under earth mounds while the latter were designed to remain aboveground.

The application also differs. The façades of Macedonian tombs feature applied architectural elements which allude to free-standing monuments.[212] So do the façades of the rock-cut tombs in Caria.[213] Yet tombs such as the Mausoleum of Halikarnassus, the Belevi Mausoleum, and the Nereid Monument of Xanthus were designed so that the use of these

[212] Miller 1993, 10.

[213] See Henry 2009, 157-163.

elements is not in low relief but free-standing, since the monuments themselves are freestanding and visible on all sides.[214]

The focus on the façades of sepulchral monuments raises the question of visibility. As already noted, Thracian tombs were supposed to be concealed under tumuli, and while this was certainly the case for large portions of their exteriors, in a number of cases, their façades, entrances, or both were embellished somehow, which suggests that those were intended to be seen, at least for a time. The presence of forecourts in some monuments is further evidence for this, as the built walls of the forecourts are designed to keep the tumular fill from collapsing and making the façade and entrance of a tomb inaccessible. A notable instance in which the façade was clearly left open and accessible is the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb; the presence of the propylon and staircase, as well as the monumental dromos, which ensures access to a decorated façade and entrance, suggest as much.

Interesting are also the cases in which the façade wall was placed at the entrance of a tomb's dromos. The two most notable examples - the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs – both feature façade walls which, although otherwise unembellished, are striking for their size and craftmanship. Notably, the dromoi of these tombs are two of the longest, each leading to three-chambered interiors, the doorframes which are unadorned. The façade walls which were meant to be visible were those at the entrances of the dromoi, but their design hints at the grand monuments behind them.

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[214] For the Nereid Monument, see Jenkins 2006, 186-202; for the Mausoleum of Halikarnassus, see Jenkins 2006, 203-235; for the Belevi Mausoleum, see Ruggendorfer 2016.

All of the aforementioned design choices make it clear that the façades and entrances of at least some of the tombs were meant to remain visible and accessible.[215] What is less clear, however, is for how long. Both damage to the structures and evidence for remodeling introduce further complications. The Gagovo **(68)** tomb, for example, had its forecourt deconstructed and original façade concealed behind a mudbrick façade and dromos. As the tomb was looted and much of the ashlars used to build it were taken and repurposed elsewhere, it is impossible to determine how long it would have been accessible and when its second façade was built and by whom. Yet, as the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs, both of which have signs of remodeling, show, even if a monument was discovered intact, it may be difficult to reconstruct the timeline of its use and how long it would have been accessible for.

Unquestionably, each tomb was carefully designed, with each element selected to serve a particular purpose. No matter its state of preservation, the tombs are a valuable resource in understanding the funerary practices of the Thracians.

[215] Finds from the exterior spaces and the areas directly around the tombs further support this hypothesis. For further discussion, see Chapters 4 and 6.

CHAPTER 4: FINDS FROM THE TOMBS

Introduction

This chapter offers a close examination of the finds from the tombs examined in this thesis. Its aim is twofold: to present the finds from the tombs in a systematic manner, and to thus analyse what they suggest about the intended use of each space and about the Thracian elite culture in this period. After a brief general overview of the finds from the tombs, the focus is on the undisturbed monuments, followed by an examination of the finds from each type of space: dromoi, forecourts, porches, antechambers, side chambers, and burial chambers. The finds are divided by categories; their types and findspots are discussed and analysed.

As will be shown, each space had an intended use which may be better understood through the finds. It is important to note, however, that such understanding may be limited, given that all but three of the tombs studied in this thesis were disturbed, and a number of them completely emptied of grave goods. This reduces the amount of available data. The tombs which still contained grave goods at the time of excavation do provide information, but the disturbances limit the data's usefulness. It is, for example, difficult to determine how many objects, how many objects of a particular type, and what combinations of objects each space was intended to contain, as well as which objects might have been left in particular spaces intentionally or as a direct result of looting. In cases where the architecture bears no visible evidence of it, the disturbance of a tomb's contents limits our ability to determine if the tomb was reused. Thus, in order to analyse the available data in context, close attention will be given to the three undisturbed monuments: the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Sashova **(23)**, and Naip **(49)** tombs. Through their close examination and juxtaposition with the finds from other tombs, the chapter analyses the relationship of the grave goods to the tomb. Moreover, it shows how the finds

reflect aspects of elite Thracian life: namely, the value placed on war and leisure, wealth and power – features which are regularly emphasised in burials across the region.

General Overview

As discussed in the introduction, the vast majority of the tombs studied in this thesis were disturbed and looted. As a result, only fifty-seven (seventy-four percent) contained finds, and, in all cases but three, the finds were only parts of the original assemblage of grave goods. Chart 4.1 below shows the distribution of the discovered goods by category.

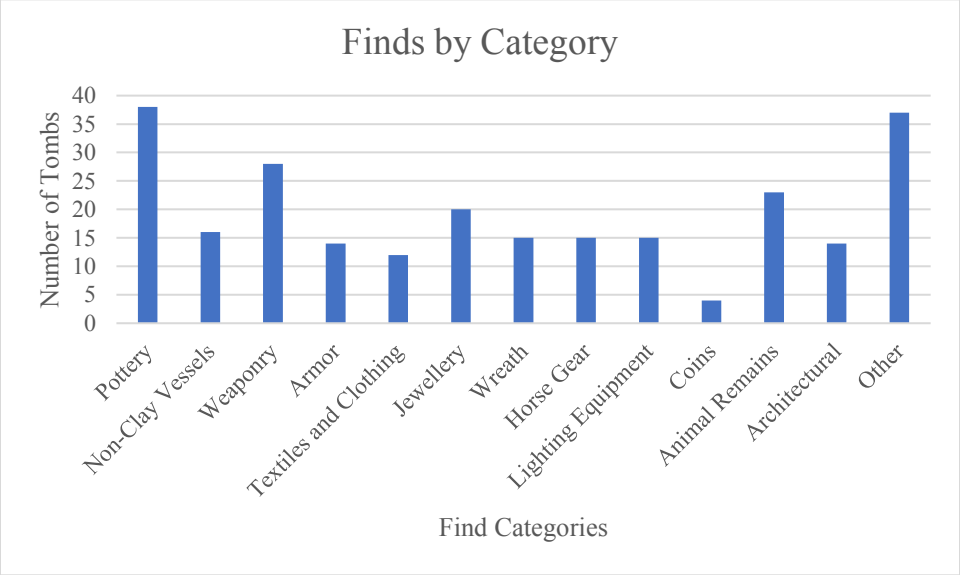


Chart 4.1: Distribution of finds by category

The finds may be divided into thirteen categories. Among the categories, the most common is pottery, which was found in thirty-eight monuments. This is followed by "other" finds – a category featuring a mixture of small finds not belonging to any of the outlined categories, such as, for example, unidentifiable (often heavily corroded) metal fragments, gaming pieces (dice and pebbles), or iron fragments (chain on a hook, nails, handle) from a box. Uncategorisable

objects were found in thirty-seven monuments. The next common category is weaponry, found in twenty-eight monuments, followed by animal remains in twenty-three monuments, and jewellery in twenty monuments. As this chapter will attempt to show, all categories have been represented in elite Thracian burials, with some variation.

Dromoi

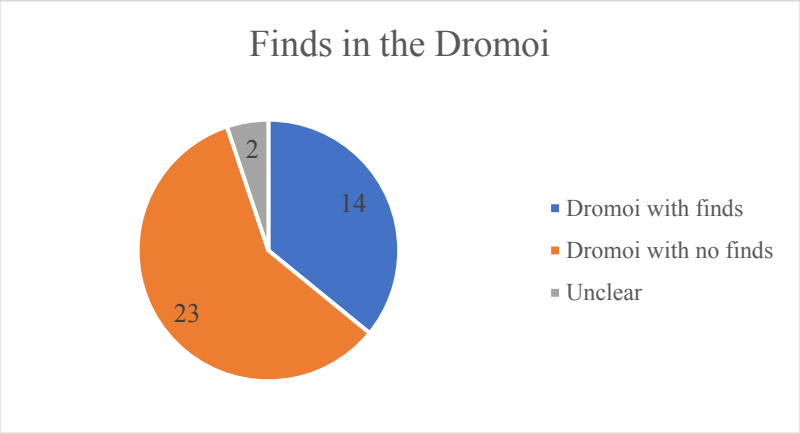


Chart 4.2: Finds in the dromoi

As chart 4.2 shows, artefacts were uncovered in the dromoi of fourteen tombs.[1] They fall within the general categories outlined in the previous section. The distribution is presented in chart 4.3:

[1] Helvetsia **(16)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kestelva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**, Popova **(33)**, Madzharovo **(38)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, and Naip **(49)**.

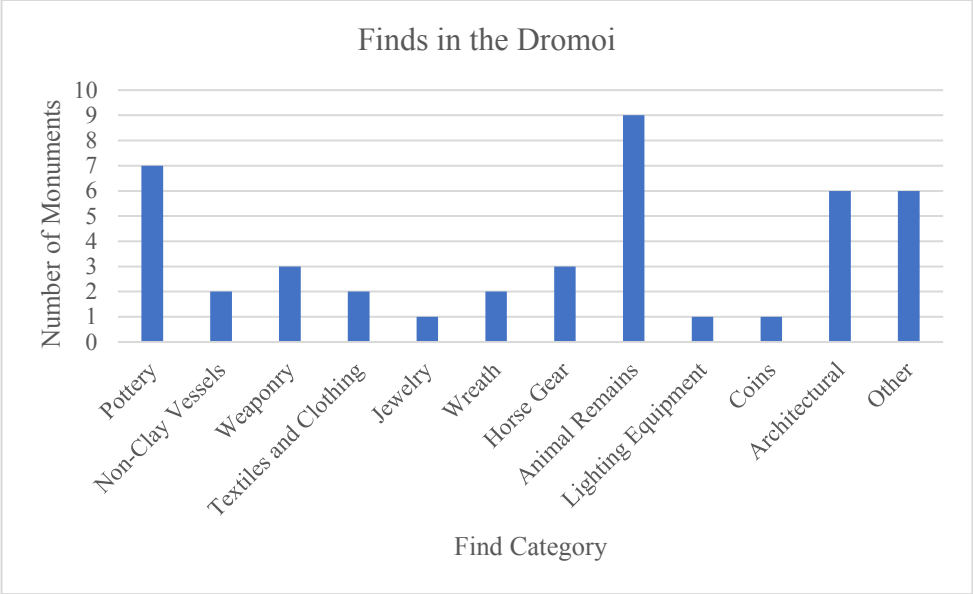


Chart 4.3: Finds from the dromoi by category

As indicated in Chart 4.3, pottery remains one of the most common categories of finds in the dromoi. It is, however, superseded by animal remains. Animal remains – mostly partial or full equine skeletons – were found in the dromoi of nine monuments.[2] Three cases are particularly notable. The first one is the equine skeleton found next to the eastern wall of the dromos of the Helvetsia **(16)** tomb. Here, an equine skeleton was reportedly unearthed in perfect anatomical order, which has helped provide much information about the process of deposition.[3] According to the excavator, the position of the skeleton was unusual, suggesting that the animal's legs were tied together.[4] This might mean that the animal, witnessing the sacrifice of the horse laid on the porch, got nervous and had to be restrained. It is also notable, because it still had a single cheek

[2] Helvetsia **(15)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, Racheva **(30)**, Popova **(33)**, Momina **(34)**, Madzharovo **(38)**, Dolnio Lukovo **(39)**, and Mal-Tepe **(41)**. Note that the three undisturbed tombs did not feature animal remains in their dromoi.

[3] Kitov 2003b, 19-20. Another horse skeleton was found in the antechamber; for further discussion, see section on antechambers in this chapter.

[4] Kitov 2003b, 19. It is unclear what the exact position was.

piece on. In the Dolno Luklovo **(39) tomb**, the charred remains of a horse, as well as a large amount of charcoal, were found in the dromos. As the available information is limited, it is difficult to determine whether the charcoal and charred animal remains came from the remains of a pyre or are evidence of a fire that affected the structure at some point.

The case at Mal-Tepe **(41)** is quite complicated. According to the publication, the excavators were told of heavily eroded horse remains in the dromos, but the remains had been thrown out by the locals who discovered the tomb prior to excavation.[5] The evidence is therefore anecdotal, but the discovery of a bone from a large animal and of chariot trappings in the dromos does suggest that there had been horses there.[6] This would make sense, as neither the two antechambers, nor the burial chamber have enough floor space to deposit horses. There is precedent for the placing of several horses together with a chariot in front of a tomb's entrance: a chariot with four horses was excavated at the entrance of the Zhaba **(3)** tomb.[7]

The second most common category, pottery, was found in eight instances.[8] The vessels are mostly fragmentary. The few recorded shapes include amphoras (Chetinyova **(4)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** and Momina **(34)**, all of Greek in origin), oinochoai (Kazanluk **(22))** and Momina **(34)**), unguentaria (Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**), and a kantharos (Momina **(34)**).

The third most commonly attested category of finds in the dromoi are architectural fragments. The reported instances are six.[9] In some cases (most notably, the Muglizh **(28)** tomb), those elements include nails and wood – materials from the roofs of the dromoi. The most

[5] Filov 1937, 4.
[6] See the relevant catalogue entry.
[7] See the relevant catalogue entry and the discussion in the section on finds in Chapter 6.
[8] The Chetinyova **(4)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Racheva **(30)**, Popova **(33)**, and Momina **(34)** tombs.
[9] See Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Grifoni **(15)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, and Racheva **(30)** tombs.

notable finds were the roof tiles found in the dromoi of four of the six tombs. Since roof tiles are rarely found in the context of funerary architecture, these finds are very significant.[10]

Additional objects – from several categories, often fragmentary – were found in the dromoi. A number of them were made of precious metals. Golden appliqués and a golden rosette were found in the dromos of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb. Within the same space, there was a fragmentary silver vessel and a silver spur. Bronze objects, such as a fibula, a bronze door handle, and clothing appliqués were uncovered in the Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Popova **(33)**, and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs, while the dromos of the Helvetsia **(16)** tomb reportedly produced a bronze animal-shaped horse bridle applique, which had been put with the horse burial. Other objects include an arrowhead and a spearhead from the dromoi of the Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** and Momina **(34)** tombs respectively. Fragments from a glass bracelet were found in the dromos of the Racheva **(30)** tomb. Of the undisturbed tombs, only Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** featured finds in its dromos – a few individual bronze coins (of Seuthes III and Cassander); the dromoi of the Sashova **(23)** and Naip **(49)** tombs were devoid of finds.

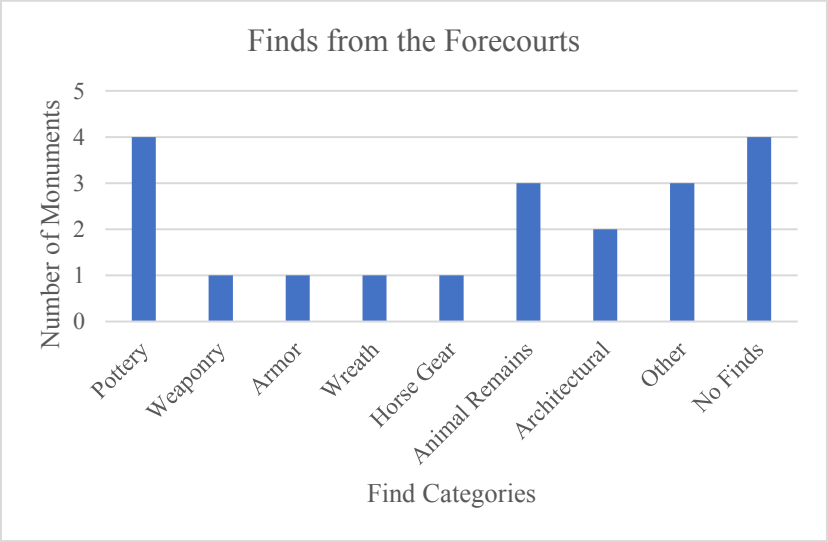
The relative scarcity and fragmentary state of the finds from the dromoi shows that, for the most part, these spaces were not meant to contain finds. Rather, artefacts such as clothing items (for example, the bronze fibula and golden appliqués) and weaponry, likely ended up in the dromoi when the tombs were looted. There are other finds, however, which cannot have been accidental deposits, for example is the two amphoras found in front of the entrance of the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb – their placement and relatively good state of preservation suggests an intentional deposition. Horse burials would also unquestionably have been intentional. It is important to note that often horse burials were accompanied by a small number of additional

[10] See Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion.

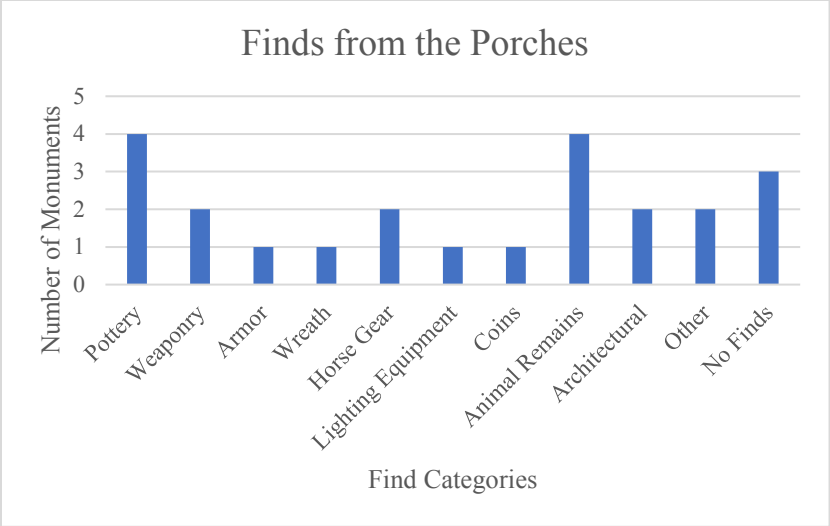
items – bridle appliqués, other parts of riding equipment, and pottery have all been found with the equine remains. As noted above, the Helvetsia **(16)** horse was buried alongside a bronze bridle applique, while the horse in the Sarafova **(26)** tomb was buried alongside a kantharos. It may be concluded, therefore, that while the dromoi were generally not intended for the storage of grave goods, they were at times utilised for ritual activity.

Forecourts and Porches

As discussed in Chapter 3, a handful of tombs feature lesser common but notable structures – forecourts and porches. Of those, seven feature forecourts, seven feature porches, and two feature both porches and forecourts.[11] As Chapter 3 indicated, these structures were structurally and functionally different. Yet in examining the finds from these spaces, it appears that there was more overlap between them than their architectural designs might suggest. It is therefore important to examine the finds from these spaces together.



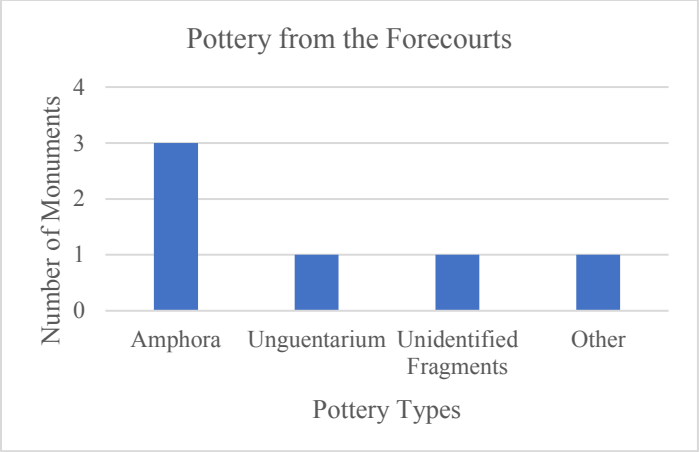
[11] See Chapter 3 for lists of monuments. Also note that the only one of the undisturbed tombs to feature an auxiliary structure is the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb.

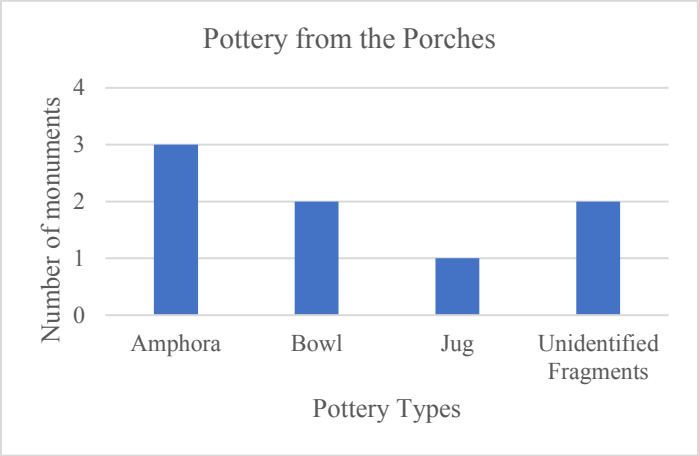


Charts 4.4 and 4.5: Finds from the forecourts and porches

Of the sixteen monuments featuring one or both of these structures, eleven yielded finds. Chart 4.4 shows the categories of finds discovered in the forecourts;[12] chart 4.5 shows the categories of finds discovered on the porches.[13] Without question, pottery and animal remains are the most common categories of finds. Pottery was discovered on four forecourts and four porches.[14]

[12] Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Ploska **(19)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, and Yankovo 2 **(64)**.
[13] Roshava **(7)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Ploska **(19)**, Slavchova **(24)**, and Dolno Lukovo **(27).**
[14] Roshava **(7)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Ploska **(19)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Dolno Lukovo **(39)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Yankovo tomb 1 **(63)**.





Charts 4.6 and 4.7: Pottery types from the forecourts and porches

As Charts 4.6 and 4.7 show, there are only a handful of vessel shapes have been found in these spaces. Once again, the most regularly identified vessel shape is the amphora, followed by the bowl. Most amphoras are either plain (locally produced), or fragmentary (which makes their place of production unidentifiable). There were, however, several imported transport amphoras: three from Thasos (Slavchova **(24)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, and Dolno Lukovo **(39)**); one from Heraklea (Slavchova **(24)**); and one from Kos (Dolno Lukovo **(39)**). An unguentarium was found at the Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** tomb.

The next most common find category is animal remains, which were discovered in seven instances – on three forecourts and four porches.[15] Almost all were equine remains. In six cases, there were the remains of one horse; the Ploska **(19)** tomb featured two horses, and the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb featured four. Additionally, the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb also had the remains of two dogs found underneath the horses.[16]

The remaining categories of finds are a mixture of items appearing in few or in single instances, as shown in Charts 4.4 and 4.5. Notable among them are items from three monuments. First, found among the animal remains and other items on the porch of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb were fragments of a gilt silver pectoral, similar to the ones found at Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa and tomb B at Derveni (figs. 4.1-4.3).[17] Second, among the items at Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** were a bronze clamp attached to fragments of wood and a bronze hoop or ring. The third item is the bronze portrait head, originally from a larger statue, that had been buried in the forecourt of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb. To date, this is the only instance in which such an item was discovered in a Thracian tomb.

The general scarcity and fragmentary nature of most of the finds on the forecourts and porches suggests that they were not intended for the deposition of grave goods and that the majority of categories found in them, such as weapons, armour, and lighting equipment would likely have been deposited as a result of looting. One of the best examples of this is the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb, the porch of which featured personal items such as a spindle whorl, pruning knives, a smoothing stone, spearheads, and fragments of a pectoral – all items which

[15] Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Helvetsia **(16)**. Ploska **(19)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Yankovo tombs 1 and 2 **(63-64)**.
[16] Dimitrova 2013c, 139.
[17] Dimitrova 2013c, 139.

belong in the burial chamber, as opposed to the tomb's exterior spaces; the fact that the burial chamber is empty is telling.

By contrast, the deposits of pottery and animal remains in these spaces makes sense in two ways. First, they were open spaces, which made them more suited for funerary rituals. Second, the spaces are roomy and therefore practical for the burial of a large animal, certainly more so than a burial chamber full of other grave goods. The combination of the finds is particularly telling. The porch of the Ploska **(19)** tomb contained an amphora, a bowl, and two horses. The equine remains on the porch of the Slavchova **(24)** tomb were buried with a bridle applique and two amphoras; similarly, the horse buried on the porch of Yankovo tomb 1 **(63)** was buried with a bridle and fragments from three amphoras. Amphoras, bowls, and jugs are well-attested as having been used to provide offerings of food and drink to the dead.[18] The presence of transport amphoras from Thasos, Heraklea, and Kos are particularly telling, since they would contained wine. This is all to say that the finds from these spaces suggest that they were often utilized for ritual activity.

Antechambers

Fifteen out of a total of forty-five antechambers featured finds.[19]

[18] See Garland 1985, 110-113 on food offerings and 113-115 on drink offerings. While his discussion pertains to the Greek world as opposed to Thrace, it is worth consulting as Thracian material indicates that there was an overlap in funerary rites These particualr types of pottery are also found regularly in the exterior spaces of the tombs and in the tumuli; see Chapter 6 for finds in the tumular fills.

[19] See Chetinyova **(4)**, Manyov Dol 1 **(8)**, Parvomay **(11)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** and the tomb in tumulus 13 **(71)** at Sboryanovo. Note that archaeological material was found "on the interior" of the Zhaba **(3)**, Muglizh **(28)**, and Tatarevo **(36)** tombs, but as there was no specification in the publications regarding the exact findspot of these materials, these three tombs are not counted. Also note that of the three undisturbed tombs, two (Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Sahsova **(23)**) feature antechambers. Once again, the Golayama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb is the only one of the three to feature finds in any space other than its burial chamber.

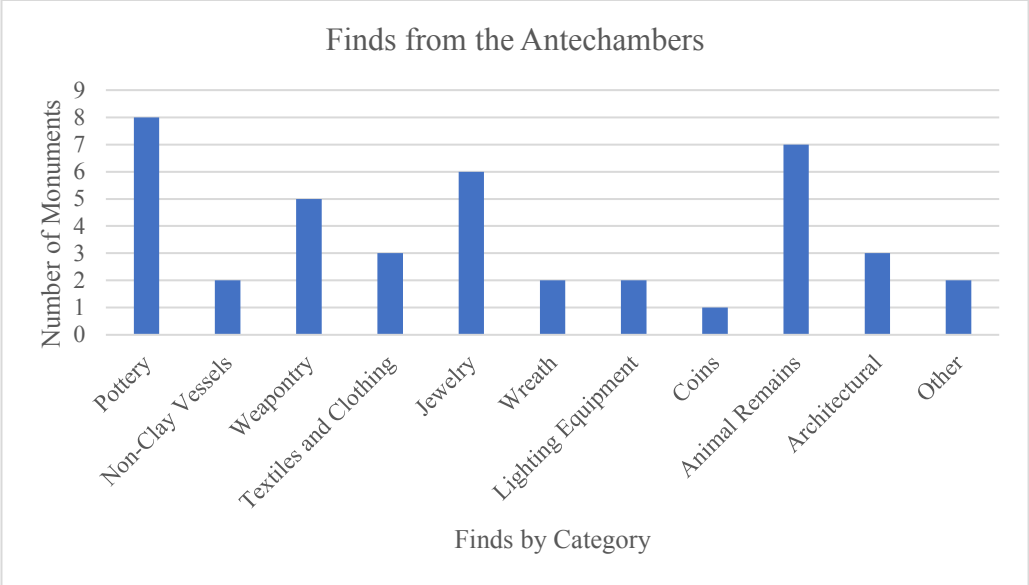


Chart 4.8: Distribution of find types in the antechambers.

Chart 4.8 displays the distribution of each category of finds from the antechambers. Following the pattern established in the dromoi and auxiliary structures, in the antechambers pottery and animal remains are two of the most commonly featured categories of finds. Here, however, there are two more categories which are not as common in the preceding two types of spaces: jewellery and weaponry. This is not entirely surprising: dromoi, forecourts, and porches are essentially exterior spaces. The antechambers, by contrast, are interior spaces and as such could have contained grave goods and even burials (as, for example, at Mal-Tepe **(41)**). As the spaces leading to the burial chambers they would also have been the first into which any objects could have fallen or been discarded as the tombs were looted.

The most commonly found category of finds is, once again, pottery. In most cases, the vessels were either too fragmentary for identification, or their shape was not specified in publications, thus hindering our appreciation of their shape and function. Recorded shapes include: amphoras (Koprinka tumulus 2 **(20),** Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, and Kurt Kale **(42)**); skyphoi and lekythoi (Chetinyova **(4)**); askos and oinochoe (Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**). Additionally, two

unguentarium-like vessels were discovered in the antechamber of Yankovo tomb 1 **(63)**.[20] In most cases, the precise findspots of the vessels are not specified. There are two exceptions: the amphora from Kurt Kale **(42)** was discovered close to the antechamber's entrance, while the one at Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** was found among the horse remains.

The second most commonly attested category of finds in the antechambers is jewellery. Jewellery was found in the antechambers of six tombs.[21] Chart 4.9 shows the types of jewellery found in the antechambers and their distribution:

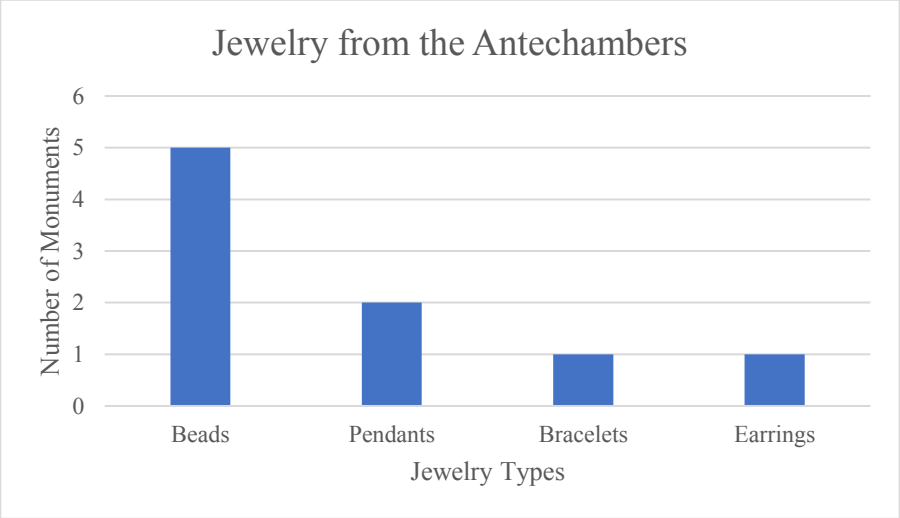


Chart 4.9: Jewellery found in the antechambers of the tombs

Special attention should be paid to the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb. This tomb is unusual in that burials were discovered in its two antechambers, under the floor slabs. Both were richly furnished, including golden jewellery. The jewellery comprised a number of pieces, such as a gold necklace with a vase-shaped pendant topped by a rosette (fig. 4.4). Golden necklaces featuring similar

[20] The shape of these vessels was identified through the provided photograph; the publication makes no attempt to specify their precise type.

[21] The Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27),** Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Yankovo 1 **(63),** Gagovo **(68),** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.

pendants were discovered at the Malka Kosmatka tumulus in the Kazanluk valley, the Koukova tumulus in Duvanlii, in the necropolis of Sveshtari, and that of Odessos (figs. 4.5-4.6).[22] These same burials featured golden hoop earrings featuring lionheads – the same type as the ones found at Mal-Tepe **(41)**.[23] The typology of the earrings suggests a date in the late 4th century BC date, which would fit with the two drachmas of Alexander III found with the burials.[24] Unfortunately, the earrings do not help specify at what phase of the tomb's use these burials were placed in the antechambers, nor whether they were reburials.[25] Nevertheless, the rich inventory of goods found with them is a clear sign that they were not disturbed between (re)burial and excavation, confirming that their deposit was intentional as opposed to a result of looting.

The third most common category of finds from the antechambers are animal remains, found in seven monuments; the vast majority were equine.[26] There are two exceptions – the remains of a dog (whole) and a pig (partial) were found mixed with the bones of five horses in the antechamber of the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb.[27] Partial (non-equine) remains were found in the antechamber of the tomb in Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**.[28] The equine remains found in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kaloyanovo **(34)** and Sveshtari **(69)** were complete, with the first three in full anatomical order, while the ones in the Sveshtari tomb **(69)** were scattered across the tomb. The remainder were only partial. None of the animals were harnessed in wagons or chariots, as ones found on the exterior of the tombs. The tombs they

[22] Tonkova 1997, 23. According to Tonkova, this was the most popular necklace type found in Thrace.
[23] Tonkova 1997, 23-24, figs. 13, 14, and 16; Tzochev 2014, 52. Once again, this type of earrings is quite popular and found across the interior of Thrace and the Black Sea coast.
[24] Tzochev 2014, 52.
[25] See section on burials for a longer discussion of these remains.
[26] See Manyov Dol 1 **(8),** Golyama Kosmatka **(13),** Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Kurt Kale **(42)**, and Sveshtari **(69);** Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**.
[27] Chichilkova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 13-17. See the catalogue entry for a diagram depicting the exact placement of the animal remains in the tomb.
[28] The majority of the remains were in the burial chamber. See the following section.

were discovered in had all suffered serious structural damage and had been looted, as a result of which it has been impossible to determine whether the horses were deposited whole or butchered.[29]

Lastly, there are four types of weaponry identified from a total of five antechambers.[30] They include arrowheads, knives, and a sword. The sword was discovered in the antechamber of the Sveshtari tomb **(69).** Its scabbard survives, but both it and the sword are heavily corroded and the sword is broken into two pieces. Still, the fragments suggest that the sword is a short one, possibly a *xiphos*.[31] This is interesting, because while well-known in Greece and Macedonia in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the *xiphos* has appeared only rarely in Thrace.[32] In fact, this type of sword appears in the burial inventory of only one other tomb, and it belonged to a man of as high a status as the one buried at the Sveshtari tomb **(69)**.[33] Given the heavy Macedonian influence seen at the Sboryanovo site and the late date of the tomb, perhaps such a sword would fit well in its context.[34]

Most of the objects, such as weaponry, jewellery, wreath fragments, and elements of clothing which could be categorised as personal belongings, and as such would have been unlikely to have been intentionally placed in the antechambers. It is more likely that they were displaced from their original locations to the antechambers when the tombs were disturbed. The *xiphos* from the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb is a good example. The tomb features both a large burial chamber and a side chamber, which likely would have contained the grave goods, but the

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[29] For detailed discussion of the horse in a funerary context, see Rabadjiev 2014, 164-188 and relevant figures.
[30] The Chetinyova **(4)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs.
[31] See Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 98-99, cat. # 17.
[32] Nankov 2007, 37.
[33] Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**. See section on burial chambers.
[34] The Sveshtari tomb **(69)** dates to the first decades of the 3rd century BC and is one of the latest in the catalogue of this thesis. See the catalogue entry for further details about it and the Macedonian aspects of its design.

monument was looted and heavily disturbed – so much so that the remains of two of the three individuals buried inside were discovered mixed with animal bones in the antechamber and side chamber – which is probably why the sword was found in the antechamber.[35] Architectural components like clamps and pieces of wood (Dolno Izvorovo **(27)**), or fragments of a stone door (the Gagovo tomb **(68)**), may have fallen in either as a result of structural damage, or a combination of damage and natural deterioration (such as the wood rotting).

As in other spaces, objects have been discovered mixed with the equine remains in the antechambers of some tombs. The horse remains from the Dolno Izvorovo tomb **(27)** had the two amphoras with them. While it cannot be determined beyond absolute doubt that the pottery found alongside the horses in the antechambers was intentionally placed there (for example, the Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** tomb was looted), the established parallels do create a precedent and allow for this possibility. Furthermore, it may be concluded with certainty that the horses in most, if not all, tombs were themselves intentionally laid in the antechambers.[36] Their presence shows that antechambers had more than one purpose. It may thus be concluded that, at least in some cases, rather than simply acting as transitional spaces between the world outside the tomb and the burial chamber, antechambers played an active role in the process of burial and honouring of the dead.

Side Chambers

As discussed in Chapter 3, only three monuments feature side chambers: the Ostrusha **(18)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs. The Gagovo and Sveshtari tombs each feature only a single side chamber, both to the east of their antechambers. By the time each tomb had been

[35] See Chapter 5 for further discussion of the human remains and the catalogue entry for a tomb plan showing the location of the human remains in the tomb.
[36] The equine and other animal remains in the Sveshtari tomb **(69)** were scattered throughout the tomb's entire interior, as a result of reuse, looting, and possibly an earthquake.

discovered, both had already been looted. The side chamber of the Gagovo **(68)** tomb was completely empty. The side chamber of the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb did contain two small objects: a hemispherical gaming piece and a small button or applique, made of gold, which suggests that originally the side chamber would have contained grave goods.[37]

The Ostrusha **(18)** tomb is more complex in design, and it also suffered a lot of structural damage. Despite this, one of its side chambers (the south-western one) contained some notable finds: an equine skeleton in full anatomical order by the chamber's southern wall, a set of silver zoomorphic bridle appliqués, fragments from silver vessels, and fragments from a silver pectoral, all by the north-western corner of the chamber.[38] Following restoration work, it was established that the vessels were two: a calyx-cup and a jug with a lotus-type decoration (fig. 4.7). The pectoral appears to have been of the crescent type found in other tombs (fig. 4.8).[39] All in all, the surviving grave goods in the Ostrusha **(18)** chamber are representative of aspects of Thracian elite life and afterlife, attested in other tombs: banquets, equestrianism, and war.

Burial Chambers

Grave goods were found in forty-six of the seventy-seven tombs; most of the tombs were disturbed or fully looted. This should be taken into consideration when assessing the data discussed in this chapter. Nevertheless, as Chart 4.10 shows, the material which was found in the burial chambers is quite varied, and falls within the categories outlined in the previous sections:

[37] Chichikova, Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, cat. # 23-24.
[38] Parvin 2019, 108.
[39] See next section.

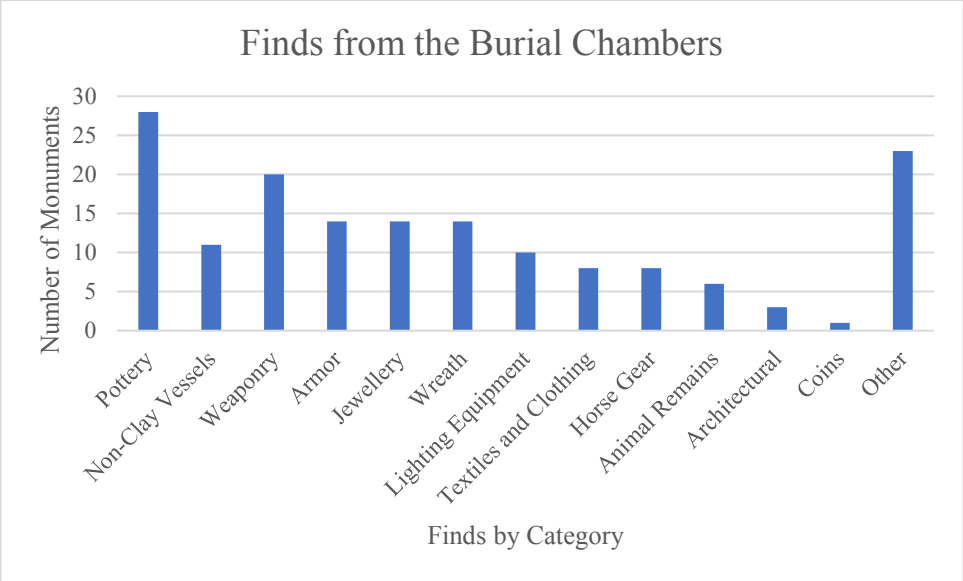


Chart 4.10: The distribution of find types per monument

Each of these categories will be overviewed in broader detail below. The raw data, however, is not enough to allow us to understand how the different categories of items would have fit in a funerary assemblage, nor what a "typical" assemblage would have looked like. Yet, as previously mentioned, three of the forty-six tombs were discovered undisturbed. They shall, therefore, be examined in more detail below, thus providing a context for the finds from the other tombs.

The Undisturbed Burials

The monuments in question are the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Sashova **(23)** and Naip **(49)** tombs. The first two of these monuments are located in the Kazanluk Valley, in close proximity to one another, while the third is located to the south, close to the coast of the Aegean. Golyama

Kosmatka **(13)** and the Naip **(49)** tomb date to the end of the 4th - beginning of 3rd centuries BC.[40] the Sashova **(23)** tomb is later – it dates to between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

The contents of the tombs also show variation; together, they represent most if not all the categories displayed in Chart 4.7. Although each tomb features its own unique assemblage of grave goods, purposefully arranged around the burial chambers. What stands out is that there is considerable overlap between them.

The first category is pottery. At Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Naip **(49)**, this category is mostly represented by transport amphoras. The Sashova **(23)** tomb contained two transport amphoras, but it also featured other pottery: three bowls, an askos, and a kantharos. Much of the pottery was on the floor of the chambers. The four amphoras at Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** were found standing upright against the southern wall of the chamber, to the right of the entrance, while the one at the Naip **(49)** tomb was in the northern corner of the chamber, next to the diphros. The amphoras in the Sashova (23) tomb were in the north-western corner of the chamber, behind the funerary bed; the remaining pottery was also placed next to the bed. The Naip **(49)** tomb also contained three alabastra; two alabastra were also found at Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, but, notably, those were made of alabaster as opposed to clay.

This leads to the second category represented at all three monuments: non-clay vessels. Common are vessels made of precious metals. The assemblage at Sashova **(23)** tomb contained the fewest – a silver phiale and a bronze jug – but in contrast to the pottery, they were placed on the burial bed, next to the body of the deceased. Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** featured a golden kylix, a silver phiale, a silver oinochoe, a bronze patera, and a bronze askos. The items were spread around the burial chamber: the kylix was on the side table or extension of the funerary

[40] There is debate about the exact date of Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**. See catalogue entry for further discussion.

bed; the phiale and the oinochoe were on the floor to the right of the entrance and next to the amphoras; the askos was placed inside the patera and the two were at the foot of the funerary bed, next to the western wall of the chamber. Most notable is the assemblage in the Naip **(49)** tomb, which featured a complete silver sympotic set (five phialai; a jug; a ladle, a strainer), a plate, and three bronze vessels (a lekane, a patera, and a pitcher).[41] The sympotic set was originally on prominent display, having been placed on the specially made table in front of the kline, the design of which itself imitates a dining set. The bronze items were found on the floor between the kline and the stool.

The third category represented at all three monuments is weaponry. Only one type of weapon appears in all three monuments – the spear. In fact, no other type of weapon was found in the Naip **(49)** tomb. The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Sashova **(23)** tombs also featured swords (in the case of the former, two of them). Additionally, knives were found on the furniture and floors of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb, and arrowheads on the funerary bed in the Sashova **(23)** tomb.

Many more items of armour were found in the tombs, and the overlap was greater in that category. The burial assemblage of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb included a complete set of armour – a helmet, a set of greaves, a pectoral, and the fragmentary remains of a shield and a leather cuirass. These items were dispersed on the tomb's floor, but it should be noted that the greaves, helmet, and pectoral were placed close to each other to the left of the chamber's entrance. The other two monuments contained the same three types of items of armour – helmets, cuirasses, and shields. The items in the Sashova **(23)** tomb were found on the

[41] Another complete set was found in the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa tomb. See Agre 2011, 127-172 or Agre 2015.

deceased's remains. At the Naip tomb, the only item with a confirmed findspot was the shield (placed upright between the kline and the diphros).

The fifth and final category represented at all three monuments is personal adornments. The Sashova **(23)** tomb featured the most personal adornments – the deceased wore torques, a chain, and a silver pectoral. The other two tombs did not feature any jewellery, but each contained a wreath made of precious metals. Both wreaths were found on the funerary beds.

It should be noted that other items were also found in the tombs; some of them will be mentioned in more detail below, but they are not ones which the tombs have in common. The categories of items in these three tombs represent ideas seen in the decoration of the tombs: war, banqueting, and wealth, and through these, power. That the items in these tombs were carefully selected and arranged is without doubt. Considering these assemblages and the patterns established by them is therefore valuable in understanding the data from the remainder of the tombs.

Pottery

The first category to be examined in detail is pottery. As is the case in all previous sections, pottery is the category of grave good discovered most frequently. In this case, it appears in twenty-eight of forty-six burial chambers.[42] Chart 4.11 illustrates the distribution of specific types of vessels found in these tombs:

[42] Malko Belovo **(2)**, Zhaba **(3)**, Manyov Dol 4 **(9)**, Purvomay **(11)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Ploska **(19)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Sashova **(23)**, Slavchova **(24)**, Muglizh **(28)**, Momina **(34)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Tatarevo **(36)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Mezek 1 **(43)**, Karakoc **(48)**, Naip **(49)**, Eshil Tepe **(54)**, V. Varnenchik **(55)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)**, Yankovo 3 **(65)**, Rouets **(66)**, Gagovo **(68)**, Sveshtari **(69)**, Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**, Borovo **(72)**, and Mangalia tomb 3 **(75).**

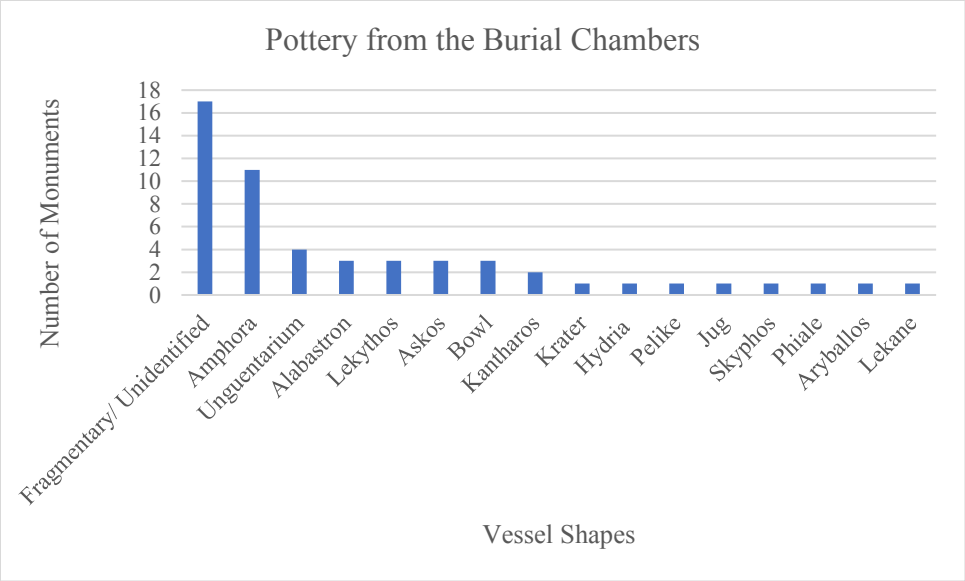


Chart 4.11: The distribution of clay vessels categorised by shape

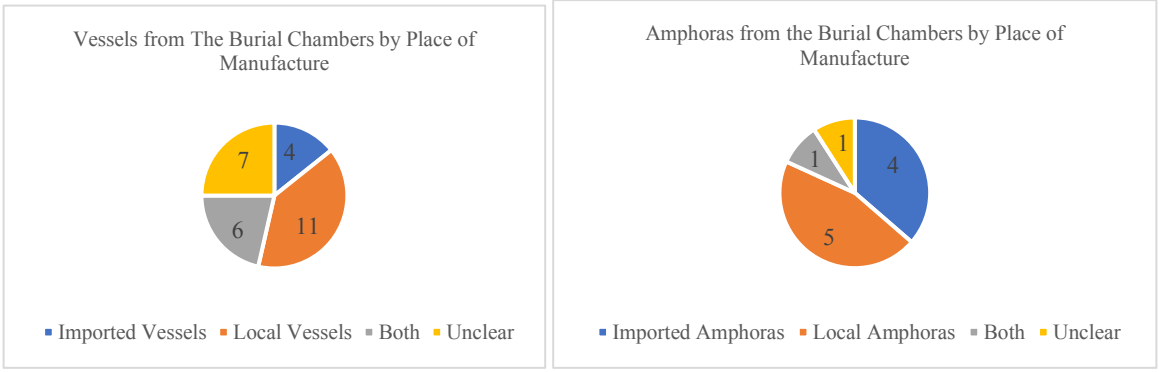
Amphoras are the most common type of vessel found in the burial chambers, no other vessel shape appears nearly as many times. The next most common shapes are the unguentarium – found in four monuments – closely followed by the alabastron, lekythos, askos, and bowl – found in three monuments each. Other shapes appear only rarely, but given the function of all these vessels, this is perhaps unsurprising.

As already seen in the previous sections, the amphora is very common. It is also one of the vessel types which the three undisturbed burials have in common, as amphoras are storage containers for wine. The other most common vessels - unguentaria, alabastra, lekythoi and askoi - are used for storing oil and perfume. These vessels also have funerary associations, in that they are commonly found in funerary contexts or used during funerary rites. In Greek cemeteries, lekythoi and unguentaria were a regular offering after burial, although not at the same time: the latter began to replace the former in the Hellenistic period.[43] Alabastra and askoi probably had

[43] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 209; also note that the unguentaria found in Greek contexts, such as for example in Athens, were a slightly different shape (fusiform or spindle-like).

the same purpose. Bowls, as established in previous sections, can also have a connection to funerary rites, and in particular in food offerings for the dead. This was also the case here, as suggested by the fact that they are often found among other offerings for the dead, including with horse sacrifices.[44] Other types of vessels – cups, jugs, and mixing vessels, such as kraters – may have one of two functions. If made of clay and undecorated, they were likely used for utilitarian purposes. If they feature figural decoration and/or are foreign imports, they were likely deposited for the purpose of display.

For this reason, attention should also be given to the place of manufacture of the vessels. Chart 4.12 below shows all the pottery found in the burial chambers categorised by place of manufacture, while Chart 4.13 focuses on the amphoras (as the most commonly found vessel shape and the most often exported and imported vessel generally):



Charts 4.12 and 4.13: Vessels from the burial chambers distributed by place of manufacture

Most vessels are of local manufacture. Still, several notable examples of imported pottery were discovered, including two red-figure pelikai in the Ploska **(16)** tomb, and a red figure pelike and red-figure lekane in the Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb.[45] Among the red-figure vessels, the only one

[44] For more examples, see the section on finds in the tumuli in Chapter 6.
[45] See relevant catalogue entries for images.

with decoration that is easy to interpret is the Kaloyanovo pelike. It features themes from the return of Apollo from the land of the Hyperboreans, including a scene of him riding a swan.[46] Transport amphoras from Rhodes, Thasos, and Kos were also found.

There is a practical reason for the predominance of locally produced pottery in the burial inventory of these monuments: locally produced vessels were cheaper to produce and easier to acquire; they therefore hold less value than imported vessels. Imported vessels – whether black-glaze vessels or red-figure vessels – were more expensive. Given how regularly they were used, transport amphoras themselves were not as valuable; their contents (wine or oil), however, would have been more valuable than the locally produced equivalent. Their primary purpose, and that of the imported vessels discussed above, would therefore have been to contribute to showcasing the status of the deceased.

Non-Clay Vessels

Vessels made of other materials (in particular, precious metals) are present less frequently in the tombs, as they are among the objects of the greatest interest to looters. From the limited number of examples available, metal vessels are predominant, with the only alternatives being a few pieces of glassware. This is not surprising – vessels made of precious metals are common in Thracian elite burials or as chance finds (hoards).[47]

[46] Chichikova 1969, 82-88 for a detailed discussion.
[47] Archibald 1998, 177.

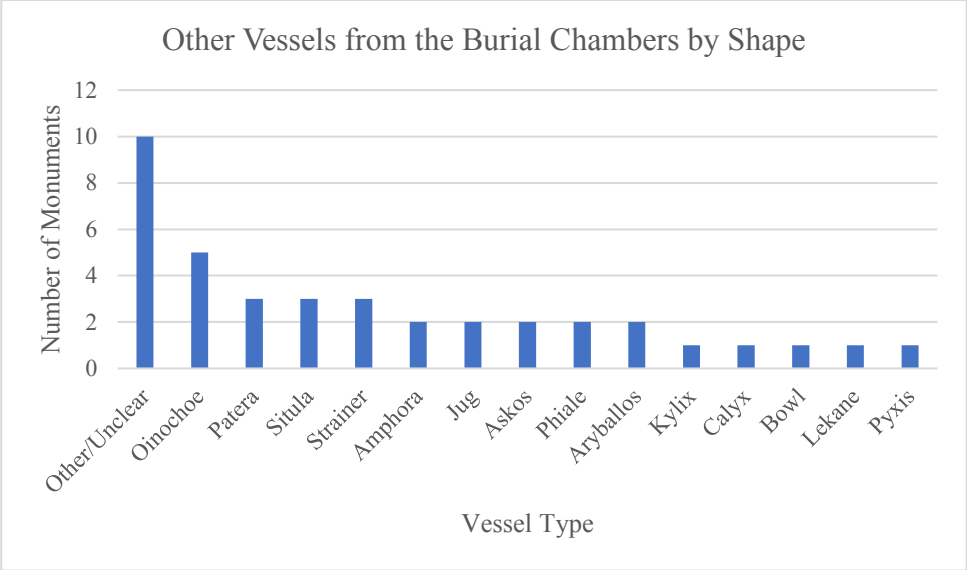


Chart 4.14 The distribution of non-clay vessels sed by shape.

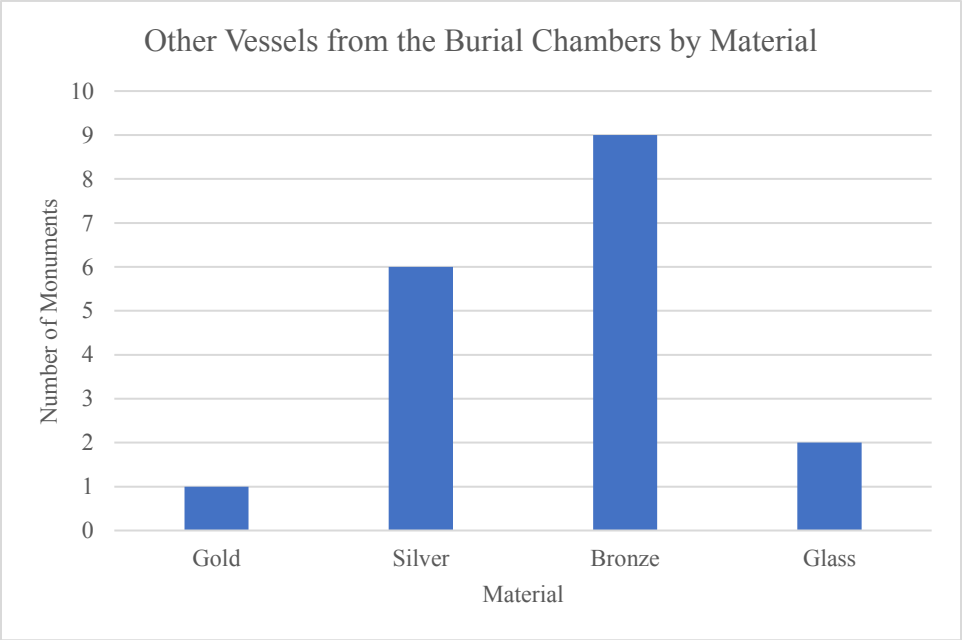


Chart 4.15: The distribution of non-clay vessels by material.

As shown in Chart 4.14, the most commonly represented precious metals in these burials are bronze, followed by silver. Gold is rarer – some objects are gilded, but the only site where vessels made from gold have been found is the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb.[48]

Chart 4.15 displays a range of vessel shapes made from these metals. Most are too fragmentary for their shape to be determined. Vessel fragments appear in ten tombs. By contrast, whole (or mostly whole) vessels are found at no more than five individual sites, in some cases only once.

The most frequently found shape is the oinochoe. Oinochoai have been found at five sites: the Golayama Kosmatka **(13)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Karakoç **(48)**, and Naip **(49)** tombs. Of these examples, the vessel from the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb is silver; the rest are bronze. The oinochoe from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** stands out for another reason: it is inscribed (fig. 4.9). While inscriptions on vessels of precious metals are not unusual, there are only two more examples among the vessels studied in this thesis: the silver kalyx cup from the same tomb and the silver jug from the Naip **(49)** tomb (fig. 4.10).[49] The oinochoe from the Naip **(49)** tomb is not inscribed, but another jug is, as are several of the phialae (figs. 4.11- 4.13). The oinochoe is of a type which is found less frequently, although examples from elite burials in Thrace, Macedonia, Dacia, and the northern Black Sea are known, including from the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa burial, the Mogilanskata tumulus, tomb III at Vergina, and tomb A at Derveni (figs. 4.14-4.18).[50]

[48] Outside of this particular sample of cases, gold vessels from this period have been found at Vulchi Trun and Panagiurishte. See Pernicka 2017 for Vulchi Trun and Stoyanov 2015a for Panagiurishte.
[49] For the inscriptions on the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** vessels, see Tzochev 2016, 785-786. For jug from the Naip (49) tomb, see Delemen 2006, 260-261.
[50] Zimi 2011, 36-38.

Another vessel type that appears in multiple tombs is the bronze situla. Examples have been found in the Kaloytanovo **(35)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, and Rouets **(66)** tombs (figs. 4.19-4.21). This vessel type is well-attested throughout the region, with early examples appearing towards the second half of the 5th century BC, becoming popular in the 4th century BC.[51] The function of these vessels is as a wine or water container, but they were at times used as mixing vessels instead of a krater.[52]

A vessel type which was also recorded at three sites is the patera. Two nearly identical bronze pateras with a ram's head at the end of its handle were uncovered in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Naip **(49)** tombs; another example is noted in the inventory of the Eriklisse **(47)** tomb (figs. 4.22-4.23). Two pateras similar to the ones in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Naip **(49)** tombs, one of which silver and the other bronze, and both of which feature rams at the end of their handles, were discovered in tombs 2 and 3 at Vergina (fig. 4.24-4.25). This type of vessel, too, is well-attested in Thrace starting in the 4th century BC, and is common in Macedonia, Greece, the northern Black Sea, and Italy.[53] The purpose of the patera seems to have been for handwashing, although the precise context is debatable; it might have been used both for libations and banquets.[54]

The last vessel type which appears in three instances is the strainer. Two bronze strainers were found in the Kaloyanovo **(35)** and Rouets **(66)** tombs; the third one is silver and was found in the Naip **(49)** tomb (figs. 4.26-4.28). Like the other vessels discussed above, strainers are commonly found in Thracian, Greek, Macedonian, and Etruscan burials. They are also depicted

[51] Zimi 2011, 55; Archibald 1998, 189-190; Valeva 2015b, 205.
[52] Zimi 2011, 57 for a discussion of their uses.
[53] Zimi 2011, 59.
[54] Zimi 2011, 60.

on Attic vases and Etruscan paintings.[55] Strainers can be both clay and metal and are used to strain wine. Metal wine strainers were especially popular in the Achaemenid empire and spread westward; they are commonly depicted and found along with ladles.[56] In the case of the tombs examined here, only a single ladle has been found, in the Naip **(49)** tomb.

Although there is a variety of shapes represented, it should be noted that generally the majority of vessels in this category are connected to wine, and through that, to banqueting. While there are a few exceptions, as can be seen in Chart 4.11, most of the vessels are for mixing, pouring, or drinking. This is because such vessels were mostly intended for display as opposed to purely utilitarian purposes, i.e. to showcase the wealth and status of the deceased.

The finds from the undisturbed burials support this interpretation. The placement of the goods in the Sashova **(23)** and Naip **(49)** tombs is striking. At the former, of all vessels, the ones made of precious metals are for pouring and drinking, respectively; those are the only ones placed on the funerary bed. The latter tomb features a complete sympotic set made of precious metals and are prominently displayed on a specially designed table. The atypical arrangement of the grave goods from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** makes such an interpretation difficult, but the fact that all drinking and pouring vessels are made of precious metals underscores the high status of their owner.

Weaponry

The next category of finds which was found very frequently is weaponry.[57]

[55] See Kent Hill 1942 for detailed discussion.
[56] Zimi 2011, 86-87.
[57] Horizont **(5).** Purvomay **(11)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13),** Golyama Arsenakla**, (17),** Kazanluk **(22),** Sashova **(23),** Slavchova **(24),** Kaloyanovo **(35),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** Mezek tumulus 1 **(43),** Eriklisse **(47), Karakoc (48),** Naip **(49),** Ivanski 1 **(58),** Rouets **(66),** Gagovo **(68),** Sboryanovo tumulus **13 (71),** Mangalia **4 (76),** Documaci **(77)**.

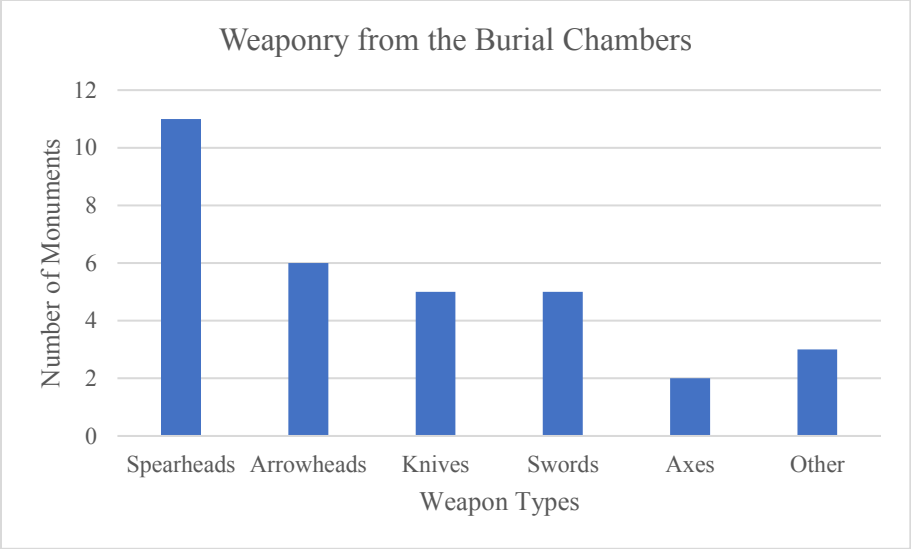


Chart 4.16: The distribution of weaponry from the burial chambers

As shown in Chart 4.16, the two most common types of weaponry are spearheads and arrowheads, with the former being significantly more common. Knives, swords, and axes are not found as often, although this might partially be a result of looting rather than because they were not included in the burial inventory at all – as noted above, swords were present in two of the three undisturbed tombs. Spearheads and arrowheads are usually deposited in sets, making it more likely that even if a tomb is looted, elements from a set could be left behind by looters. It is also worth noting that spears (along with javelins) appear to have been favoured in Thracian warfare.[58] Spears and arrows also have an additional association which further necessitates their addition to elite burial inventories: the hunt, a key aspect of elite life in the period.[59]

Another two items of weaponry must be pointed out: an iron sword and a scabbard (for a separate sword). Both were discovered in the burial chamber of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb. The scabbard and the sword's handle are decorated with gold inlays. The handle of the

[58] Nankov 2021, 223.
[59] See Greenwalt 2015, 348; Lane Fox 1996, 137-144. Also see section on tomb decoration in Chapter 3.

sword is shaped like a griffin, and it is an especially high-quality weapon (fig. 4.29). The sword's typology is notable: it is a *kopis*, a Greek type of sword which was known to be particularly useful when fighting on horseback. Given the association of the Thracians with horses, the addition of this type of sword to the grave goods is not surprising.[60]

The scabbard appears to have belonged to a *xiphos*. Other examples of this type of sword were discovered in the Kaloyanovo tomb **(35)**, at Zagortsi, at Zimnicea (in modern-day Romania), and (possibly) in the city of Seuthopolis and the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb.[61] Its typology is important because this type of sword, originating in Greece, appears to have been particularly popular among the elites of the region.[62] That evidence of both types of swords was discovered in Thracian monuments is further proof of connectivity between cultures in the region and the dissemination of Greek and Macedonian culture in Thrace.

Armour

Armour was discovered in fourteen monuments.[63]

[60] See Nankov 2021, 214-217; 223.

[61] Archibald 1998, 258; Nankov 2007, 37-38 ; Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 98-99, cat # 17.

[62] Nankov 2007, 37.

[63] Horizont **(5)**, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Sashova **(23)**, Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Tatarevo **(36)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Rigio tumulus Γ **(52),** Naip **(49)**, Yankovo 3 **(65)**, Rouets **(66)**, Gagovo **(68)**, and tumulus 13 at Sboryanovo **(71)**.

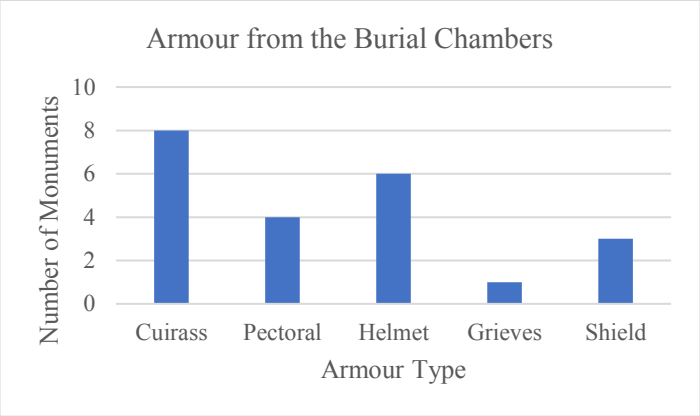


Chart 4.17: Distribution of armour from the burial chambers

As shown in Chart 4.17, the most frequently found type is the cuirass. It should be noted that the finds in this category are most often fragmentary. In half of the monuments, the finds consist of a small number of strips.[64] Scale armour, which is the type the fragments come from, has its origins in the Near East.[65] Depictions of Thracian warriors wearing this type of armour are known from metalwork.[66] A specimen also survived in the Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa tumulus (fig. 4.30).[67] As mentioned above, the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb contained fragments of leather armour.[68] The upper body armour found at the Sashova **(23)** tomb – a chainmail assembled of small iron rings – stands out, as chainmail is rarely in Thrace.[69] The remaining two tombs (Tatarevo **(36)** and Rouets **(66)**) contained well-preserved bronze cuirasses of the 'bell' type (figs. 4.31-4.35).[70] These tombs are among the earliest (5th century BC) of the tombs studied in this thesis, yet the bronze cuirasses found inside them are typologically even older. By the 5th

[64] Horizont **(5)**, Rigio tumulus Γ **(52),** Yankovo 3 **(65)**, and Gagovo **(68)**.
[65] Snodgrass 1967, 91 and 101.
[66] Archibald 1998, 201, 251, fig, 10.5.
[67] See Agre 2011, 72-84.
[68] Dimitrova 2015a, 163-164.
[69] Kitov 1996a, 15. This particular burial is likely later than the majority studied in this thesis – between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.
[70] Archibald 1998, 197-198 for a detailed discussion.

century, they were no longer in use in Greek warfare, having been replaced by more practical alternatives.[71] It is therefore notable that, in contrast, they continued to be used in the Thracian cavalry well after being replaced in the Greek military.[72]

A particular type of upper body armour – the pectoral – was found in the burial chambers of four monuments.[73] The pectoral from the tomb in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb stands out for its state of preservation. It is made of iron, partially gilded, and also covered in leather (fig. 4.36). What is particularly interesting about it is that the outer rim still features some pieces of the fabric, to which it was once attached.[74] The pectoral from Mal-Tepe **(41)**, while fragmented, also featured fabric on its reverse side (fig. 4.37).[75] What the presence of fabric shows is that these pieces may well have been actively used as opposed to simply decorative.[76] Although there are a number of examples of pectorals of this type in Thrace, specimens have also been unearthed in Macedonia, including at Pydna, Vergina, and Katerini (figs. 4.38-4.40).[77]

Another category which is commonly found is helmets. As Chart 4.14 shows, helmets were found in six monuments. Two are particularly notable. The Chalcidian-type helmet from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** stands out for its preservation (fig. 4.41). Bronze helmets of the Chalcidian type were also found at the Kaloyanovo **(35)** and Rouets **(66)** tombs (figs. 4.42-4.43).

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[71] Snodgrass 1967, 90-92.
[72] Nankov 2021, 222.
[73] Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** and Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**. A particular type of golden rhomboid "pectoral" or "breast adornment" was found in the Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb. Items like this are known from other Thracian burials - they are not armour, but rather decorative elements attached to clothing. See Chichikova 1969, 53-58, Archibald 1998, 171-173, 198-199, and Tonkova 2015 for detailed discussion.
[74] Dimitrova 2015a, 178-183.
[75] Archibald 1998, 255.
[76] The pectoral from the side chamber of the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb seems to have been typologically similar, although it is too fragmentary to determine whether it might have featured leather and thus possibly had a practical application.
[77] For in-depth discussion, see Parvin 2022.

The latter was well-preserved, but the former was fragmentary.[78] The helmet from Golyama Kosmatka further stands out for two of its attributes: it is inscribed with the name ΣΕΥΘΟΥ, like the two silver vessels from the same tomb, and features a silver-gilt applique for the helmet depicting Athena.[79]

The other helmet that stands out was discovered in the Sashova **(23)** tomb (fig. 4.44). This helmet stands out for its type: it is Phrygian-type, a category which has been attested in Thrace, especially in the Rhodope Mountains. This helmet type originates in the 5th century BC.[80] It is thought that these helmets were introduced in Thrace by Greek and Macedonian forces, but appear to have become even more common with the Celtic invasions of the 3rd century BC, as graves from that period feature both this helmet type and Celtic torques.[81] Given that the Sashova **(23)** tomb's date ranges from the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC, and its inventory features both this type of helmet and torques, attesting for the Celtic presence in the region and the resulting cultural exchange.

The least commonly found type of armour are the greaves. There is only one pair among the inventory of the seventy-seven tombs, and as already mentioned above, it was from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, and they are notable for their make and decoration (fig. 4.45). Like the helmet from the same monument, the greaves have sculpted leg muscles and feature the goddess Athena as decoration on the knee. Among the other examples found in Thrace, some have the knees and leg muscles sculpted on the greaves (similar to the ones found at tomb II in Vergina and grave A at Derveni), while others (such as ones from Zlatinitsa-Malomirovo and the Mogilanskata

[78] Chichikova 1969, 66-67; Velkov 1929, 43-45.
[79] Dimitrova 2015a, 270-272, Cat. # 33.
[80] Snodgrass 1967, 95.
[81] Archibald 1998, 254.

Mogila) feature stylized female portrait-heads, but no sculpted parts of the leg (figs. 4.46-4.49).[82] The portrait-heads are furthermore stylistically quite different from the ones at Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, which are more Greek in iconography. Dimitrova considers the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** pair a middle-ground between the two types outlined above.[83] As such, they merge two traditions – the Greek and the Thracian. Another interesting detail is that the goddess' helmet is crowned by a sphinx. A helmet crowned by a sphinx has been observed on the hilt of a sword from tomb II in Vergina.[84] This central sphinx is additionally flanked by two others, in heraldic positions. This motif has also found parallels on recently discovered appliqués in Thrace and Scythia (Ukraine).[85] The Golyama Kosmatka greaves thus represent a mixing of visual traditions across the entire region. There remains the issue of whether any greaves made of precious metals, especially ones featuring such decoration, were ceremonial. Given their high value, such an assumption would not be out of place. Yet there is more and more consensus that they were not, and may have had a practical purpose, such as hunting or even battle.[86] If this is indeed the case, they would have been a stark display of the status of their owner, both in life and in death.

Lastly, the final type of armour which has been found in the tombs are shields. Shields, as indicated in Chart 4.14, have been found among the contents of three tombs – the undisturbed tombs. In each case, the shields were only partially preserved. The example in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb is the most fragmentary. The fragments consist of a wooden fragment, a

[82] Dimitrova 2015a, 176-177. See Agre 2011, 45-72 for a detailed discussion of the greaves with female portrait heads on them.
[83] Dimitrova 2015a, 177-178.
[84] Andronikos 1984, 144-145, and fig. 100; Dimitrova 2015a, 175; On greaves found in tombs in the Aegean, see Archibald 1998, 255 and Dimitrova 2015a, 177.
[85] Dimitrova 2015a, 175.
[86] Andronikos 1984, 172; Agre 2011, 72; Dimitrova 2015a, 177.

fragment of the iron casting, and several iron appliqués and lamellae (figs. 4.50-4.52).[87] Of the shield from the Sashova **(23)** tomb, only the boss survived. There are no photographs available, but it has been described as round with a flat periphery and bulging centre. According to the excavator, although shields of this type date back to the 1st century BC, this one may have been produced as early as the second century.[88] The last example was found in the Naip **(49)** tomb (fig. 4.53). This is the best preserved of the three shields, with the bronze lining and fittings surviving, as well as small wood and leather fragments. It appears to have been a round hoplite-type shield made of bronze, wood, and leather, characteristic for the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC.[89] It ought to be noted that presence of shields in these tombs, and their fragmentary state, suggests that shields might have been added to the burial inventories of other tombs but have not survived.

Jewellery

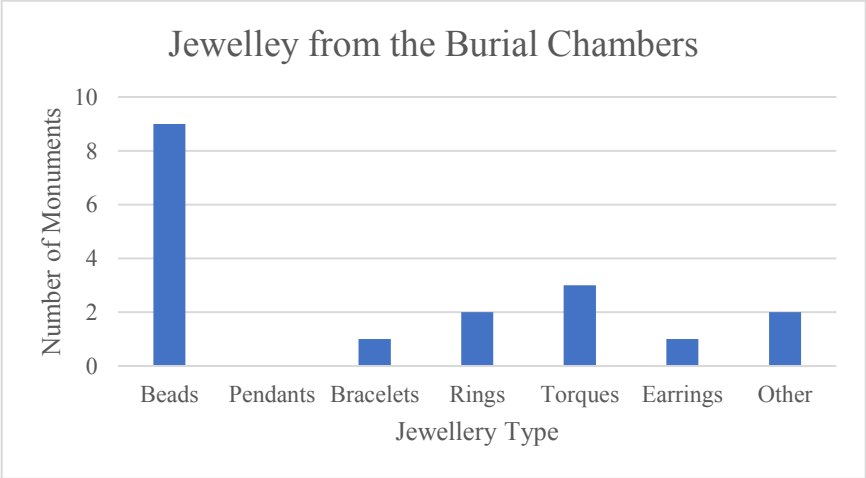

Chart 4.18: Jewellery from the Burial Chambers

[87] Dimitrova 2015a, 163-166, cat. # 43-48.
[88] Kitov 1996a, 15.
[89] Delemen 2004, 94-95; Delemen 2006, 264-265.

The next category of finds – jewellery – was recorded in seventeen monuments.[90] This includes earrings, necklaces, and fragments such as beads and pendants. As Chart 4.18 shows, the most commonly found type are beads. The burial at the Sashova **(23)** tomb included a silver torque. Bronze torques were found in the Yankovo tomb 2 **(64)** and the tomb in tumulus 12 **(70)** at Sboryanovo. The Rouets tomb yielded both a silver and a bronze torque **(66)**. According to Archibald, torques were rare in Thrace before the Celtic invasions; the example from the tomb in the Sashova **(23)** tomb is especially poignant, because it was found alongside a Phrygian-style helmet. There is a pattern of pairings of this type of helmets and torques in sepulchral contexts.[91] Another item of jewellery stands out: the golden ring found in the Documaci **(77)** tomb. This ring is unusual in that it features a tortoise with a hare on its back.[92] A similar ring, featuring a tortoise, grapes, and a gryphon's head, was found in a grave in the Kazanluk Valley (fig. 4.54).[93] Turtles and tortoises are a common symbol in the Mediterranean from the Archaic period onwards, but ones depicted as seen from above can be connected especially with the coinage of Aegina; therefore, the ring, as well as the torques, are yet more examples of cultural exchange in the region.

[90] Horizont **(5),** Roshava **(7),** Golyama Arsenakla **(17),** Ploska **(19),** Sashova **(23),** Dolno Izvorovo **(27),** Kaloyanovo **(35),** Dolno Lukovo **(39),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53),** Yankovo 1 **(64),** Yankovo 3 **(65),** Rouets **(66),** Sveshtari **(69),** Sboryanovo tumulus 12 **(70),** Sboryanovo tumulus **13 (71),** Borovo **(72),** Mangalia 3 **(75),** Mangalia **4 (71),** and Documaci **(77)**.

[91] Archibald 1998, 254.

[92] Sîrbu, Ștefan, and Ștefan 2021, 304-305. See catalogue entry for relevant image.

[93] Kitov 2005c, 29-30.

Wreaths

Attention ought to be paid to a special category of adornments: wreaths.[94] Wreaths (or fragments of them) were found in fourteen tombs.[95] The wreaths can be divided into wo categories: gilded and ones made entirely of precious metals, with the majority of tombs containing wreaths belonging to the former category. Wreaths made entirely from precious metals have been found in only two monuments: the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Naip **(49)** tombs; these are also the examples which were best preserved.[96] Between them, the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** wreath is the best preserved (fig. 4.55); it is entirely made of gold, with a diameter of 24.2cm to 28.2 cm - too large to fit a head.[97] Two silver supports discovered in the burial chamber have shown (upon restoration) that the wreath could be attached to the helmet.[98] Another wreath with an unusually large circumference was found in tomb III at Vergina. This wreath was made of ivory, bronze, and terracotta; its bronze elements (myrtle leaves and berries) were gilded. The wreath had originally been hung on the wall; given its size and the fact that a golden wreath was found on the funerary urn, it is unlikely that this wreath would have ever been intended for the deceased's head.[99]

More interesting is the fact that the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** wreath has oak leaves. This type of wreath is atypical for Thrace – in fact, this is the only example. The type is better known from Macedonia.[100] Among the best-preserved examples are wreaths from the sanctuary of

[94] For a detailed discussion of wreaths in the region, see Jeffreys 2019 and Pencheva 2022.
[95] Vetren **(1),** Filipovo **(10),** Golyama Kosmatka **(13),** Golyama Arsenalka**, (17),** Ploska **(19),** Kazanluk **(22),** Slavchova **(24),** Sarafova **(26),** Dolno Izvorovo **(27),** Momina **(34),** Dolno Lukovo **(39),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** Naip **(49),** Rigio tumulus Γ **(52),** Akchilar **(56)**.
[96] Gilded wreaths are notoriously fragile and do not survive as well. See Jeffreys 2022, 229 and 236.
[97] Dimitrova 2015a, 240-242, cat. # 13.
[98] Dimitrova 2015a, 279-280, cat. # 38.
[99] Andronikos 1984, 217;
[100] Tsigarida 2006, 139-140.

Eukleia and tombs II and III at Vergina, and from a tomb at Amphipolis (figs. 4.56-4.59).[101] In the Greek world, oak is known to have been associated with Zeus. The connection of the Macedonian royal family in particular and Zeus is well-documented.[102] The choice of a golden oak wreath in Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** suggests a connection to the Macedonian elite. Accepting that the tomb belongs to Seuthes III, this would be unsurprising, given that he was royalty and is known to have had a Macedonian wife, Berenike.[103]

The most common type of wreath in Thrace is the laurel wreath, such as that in the Naip **(49)** tomb (fig. 4.60). This wreath is also entirely made of gold. It is much smaller, with a diameter of 19.0-20.0 cm, which suggests it was intended for the deceased's head.[104] A handful of olive wreaths have also been found, but they are rare.[105] It should be noted that some of the wreaths in Thracian funerary contexts show evidence of repair, which suggests that they were not especially made for burial but would have been worn as well.[106] For example, there are several branches of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** wreath that feature fragments from the stems of leaves which have been lost and subsequently replaced by new ones on the same branch. Several branches have also been inserted into holes drilled into the wreath's frame.[107] This damage and repair ought not to be confused with the damage which this same wreath suffered. At the time of its discovery, elements of the wreath were found strewn around the tomb, especially the burial

[101] For discussion of the wreaths from tombs II and III at Vergina, see Andronikos 1984, 171 and 212, and figs. 137 and 184; for wreath from the sanctuary of Eukleia, see, Kyriakou 2014, 258-264; for the wreath from Amphipolis, see Makaronas 1940, 495, fig. 30 and Kyriakou 2014, 265-266, figs. 21-22.
[102] Kyriakou 2014, 275-276.
[103] She is explicitly named in the Seuthopolis inscription (IGBulg 3.1 1731; SEG 42.661). For context, see Graninger 2018.
[104] For laurel wreaths in Thrace, see Tonkova 2013, 423-425; Agre 2011, 34, 36. For the wreath from the Naip **(49)** tomb, see Delemen 2004, 53-55, esp. figs. 44-46.
[105] Tonkova 2013, 422-423; Agre 2011, 31-36.
[106] Tonkova 2013, 427-428.
[107] Mavrov 2007, 343.

chamber but even as far as the façade and dromos.[108] The Naip **(49)** wreath was also heavily damaged at discovery, with many of its leaves and branches damaged or removed; it is unclear from the available publications if this was done deliberately as was the case of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** wreath. The damage to these wreaths and the fact that the other twelve tombs featured only fragments of wreaths, such as individual leaves or gilded clay balls, leads to the question as to whether at least some of these individual elements were removed from the wreaths accidentally in the process of looting the tombs or intentionally as part of a funerary ritual, although the fragility of gilded wreaths would have certainly been a contributing factor.

Gilded and golden wreaths have been arrested throughout the Mediterrenian.[109] Both types began to appear in the 4th century BC and remained popular through the Hellenistic period.[110] Wreaths had various associations in the ancient world: victory (especially in athletic competitions), power, honour, and banqueting; they also have a strong association with religion.[111] It should be noted that gilded wreaths appear to have had an association with death in particular, possibly because they were too fragile to be worn in life.[112] The evidence from Thrace reflects those associations. Laurel or olive wreaths, for example, often appear in Thracian iconography, such as on the heads of the couple of the centre of the composition of the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb's feast scene, in the hands of the female figure in the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb's painted procession scene, and on coins of Seuthes III (fig. 4.61).[113] The Sveshtari **(69)** tomb's image

[108] Mavrov 2007, 344-345.
[109] See Jeffreys 2019: in her DPhil thesis, Jeffreys examines 147 examples from mainland Greece, Macedonia, Crete. The Eastern Aegean, and Southern Italy.
[110] Jeffreys 2022, 321-325 on the development of gilded wreaths, and 245-246 on golden and gilded silver wreaths.
[111] See Jeffreys 2022, 248-251 for a detailed overview of the various associations of wreaths.
[112] Jeffreys 2022, 326.
[113] Tonkova 2013, 428-430.

evokes one association in particular – the heroization of the dead. [114] As previously discussed, this image finds parallels from Macedonian tombs.[115] The coin of Seuthes appears to allude to his kingly status, which makes it a symbol of power.[116] The emphasis on the wreaths of the couple from the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb is much debated and remains unclear.[117] Given their central position in the composition, it is possible that the wreaths are another symbol of their high status. One conclusion emerges from both the iconographic and archaeological records: namely that, as throughout the region, wreaths had a myriad of meanings in Thracian elite life and burial.

Textiles and Clothing Elements

The next category of finds is clothing elements (such as buttons and appliqués) and textiles. Objects in this category were found in eight tombs.[118] A cache of golden buttons, among other golden objects, was discovered spread under the floor slabs of tomb I at Ivanski **(58)**.[119] Golden threads were found on the funerary bed and the floor in the burial chamber in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb and in the fill of the burial chamber of the Momina **(34)** tomb (figs. 4.62-4.63).[120] The Golyama Kosmatka textile is particularly notable for, apart from the golden threads, the textile was dyed red.[121] Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** yielded textile elements on several further objects: a spearhead, a knife, a horse trapping, the gilded scabbard and the iron

[114] Agre 2011, 35-36.
[115] See section on tomb decoration in Chapter 3.
[116] Tonkova 2013, 429.
[117] Tonkova 2013, 428-429.
[118] Kazanluk **(22)**, Sashova **(23)**, Sarafova **(26)**, Momina **(34)**, MalTepe **(41)**, Rigio Γ **(52)**, Ivanski I **(58)**, Yankovo 3 **(65)**.
[119] Atanasov and Stoychev 2016, 104 and cat. # 18-21 and 25-42.
[120] For Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, see Dimitrova 2015a, 134-135 and 332, cat. # 97; for Momina **(34)**, see Tonkova 2011, 15. It should be noted that the golden appliqués and threads found in the dromos of the Madzharovo **(38)** tomb might have come from the burial chamber and might have been left there as a result of the looting of the tomb.
[121] Dimitrova 2015a, 134, 332, cat. # 97.

pectoral.[122] The textiles on the scabbard and the pectoral are especially finely woven and featured golden threads.

Textile fragments are of especially high scientific value, given the lack of durability of organic material in particular, they are exceedingly rare to find. In Thrace, the examples of preserved textiles are few, although there are more from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods than from any earlier period. These rare finds generally come from funerary contexts – either from the clothing of the deceased, having been used for wrapping the remains or individual objects, or from the furniture.[123] In this regard, the textile from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** is one example of the latter, having been used to cover the furniture and part of the floor of the burial chamber, although its application possibly stems from the same practice.[124]

This practice appears in Greek and Macedonian burial contexts as well, and is a major source for preserved textiles.[125] Some of the most significant textile finds in the Classical and Hellenistic periods were found in funerary contexts. They are important for understanding textile-making techniques and processes of the period and for drawing comparisons between Thrace and its neighbours. Yet the rich finds such as the ones from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** are also notable as yet another example of the wealth and status of the owners of the tombs.

[122] For the knife, see Dimitrova 2015a, 302-303 cat. # 52; for the horse trappings and spear, see Dimitrova 2015a, 306-310, cat. # 58, 61.
[123] See Dimova 2018, 25-26 for an overview.
[124] Based on the brown and yellow coloration on the thresholds and some of the blocks nearest to them, the entrances of some of the chambers in the Ostrusha **(18)** tomb were covered by organic matter – either animal skins or textiles. See Kitov and Krasteva 1994-1995, 19.
[125] For a general overview of textiles from Greek and Macedonian contexts, see Spantidaki and Moulherat 2019.

Lighting Equipment

The next category of finds from the tombs' burial chambers is lighting equipment, found in nine monuments.[126] Lamps were found in all nine. It should be noted that three of the lamps (from the Kaloyanovo **(35)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)** and Naip **(49)** tombs) are made of bronze, and all three, although otherwise typologically different, with three nozzles (figs. 4.64-4.66).[127] Although the examples of lamps from the Greek world are plentiful, they are not as frequently found in sepulchral contexts. The only exception is Corinth, and even there, lamps became a regular addition to the burial inventory in the 4th century BC.[128]

Along with the bronze lamp, the Naip **(49)** tomb contained a bronze torch and torch stand. Thus far, this is the only example of a torch stand from a Thracian tomb. A similar object, the candelabrum (or lamp-stand), is not atypical, however. Three candelabra (or lamp stands) have also been discovered in Thracian tombs. Especially notable is the example from the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb, which features a satyr at its base, as it is the most sophisticated one ever discovered in Thrace.[129] A candelabrum of the same type (lacking the elaborate decoration) was also discovered at the Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb, while the bronze candelabrum from the Eriklisse **(47)** tomb, featured a double herm finial.[130] Metal candelabra (or lamp stands) have been found in sepulchral contexts across the Aegean, mostly dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[131] One of the better-known examples is a silvered iron lamp stand from tomb III at Vergina,

[126] Furtunova **(31)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, Eriklisse **(47)**, Karakoc **(48)**, Naip **(49)**, Eshil Tepe **(54)**, Akchilar **(56)**, Mangalia 3 **(75)**, and Mangalia 4 **(76)**.
[127] A bronze lamp, possibly from the burial chamber's inventory, was discovered in the fill of the antechamber of tomb 1 at Yankovo **(63).**
[128] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 211.
[129] Filov 1937, 37-55; figs. 37-46.
[130] Hasluck 1910-1911, 76.
[131] For a detailed discussion on lighting devices from Greece and Etruria, see Ambrosini 2013. For a brief discussion of examples from Thrace, see Archibald 1998, 281.

although there are other examples, such as from necropolises at Kyrenia (in Cyprus) and Kozani (figs. 4.67-4.69).[132] In Thrace, the earliest examples from funerary contexts date to the end of the 5th century BC.[133] Lamp stands as objects predate all of these examples. They appear in red-figure paintings at the end of the Archaic period (end of the 6th century BC), and it is not unlikely that they were in use well before then. For the material examined here, it is the context in which this category of objects is depicted. Some of the vessels depict mythological and erotic scenes; a number of them, however, depict symposia.[134] This is particularly relevant, given the numerous allusions to banqueting and symposia in tomb decoration and funerary offerings. The candelabra are yet another element of the banquet in the afterlife.

Animal Remains

Animal remains were found in the burial chambers of six tombs.[135] Almost all are partial remains; the one exception is the horse skeleton discovered in anatomical order in the burial chamber of the tomb in the Sashova tumulus **(23)**.[136] Three other tombs – the Manyov Dol 4 **(9)**, Kırklareli B **(45)**, and Eriklisse **(47)** tombs – also contained equine remains; the remains were disturbed in the former two, and there is no information as to their state in the third. The remains in the burial chamber of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb appear to be parts of food offerings, likely

[132] For the lamp stand from Vergina, see Andronikos 1984, 212. For the examples from Kozani, see Kallipolitou and Feytmans 1951, 104; for the example from Kyrenia, see Karageorghis 1965, 257.
[133] Archibald 1998, 281.
[134] Ambrosini 2013, 7-9.
[135] Manyov Dol 4 **(9)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Sashova **(23)**, Kırklareli B **(45),** Eriklisse **(47),** and the tom in tumulus 13 at Sboryanovo **(71)**.
[136] It is an interesting fact that even in tombs which have been looted or disturbed, equine skeletons on the porches or interiors of the tombs are often found untouched. Such is the case with the Zhaba **(3)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Helvetsia **(16)**, Golyama Arsenalka **(17)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, and two of the Yankovo **(63-64)** tombs, for example. It might be the case that equine remains in the burial chambers were affected in the process of looting, as is the case in the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb; the Sashova **(23)** tomb being undisturbed therefore allowed for the equine skeleton to be found as it was buried.

accidentally mixed in the soil fill.[137] As mentioned in the previous section, the tomb in tumulus 13 **(71)** at Sboryanovo featured animal bones dispersed across its interior. Many of the animal bones were found in the burial chamber, however. These included the remains of a bird (a hen or rooster) and the partial skeleton of a hunting dog.[138]

The scarcity of examples suggests that, in general, burial chambers were most likely not meant to contain animal remains. Horses were quite large and would have taken a significant amount of space in a chamber filled with grave goods; therefore, for practical reasons, they would have been relegated to other spaces. The vast majority of other animal remains would have come as food offerings, and/or left in front of the tomb or elsewhere in the tumulus.[139] Dogs are the one exception, as they would have likely been small enough to fit in a burial chamber, but, with the exception of the partial skeleton in the tomb in Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**, canine remains are not known to have been found on tomb interiors. Rather, they are found outside. At Shushmanets **(14)**, two dogs were found with the equine remains, but more often canine remains are found in the tumuli. At Zlatinitsa-Malomirovo, for example, the remains of a dog were found on the periphery of the tumulus, buried separately from the two horses also discovered in the tumulus.[140] Dogs are also regularly found in pits in the tumuli.[141]

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[137] Part of the jaw of a pig was found in the fill of the burial chamber of the Shushmanets tomb; see Dimitrova 2013c, 139. The fill of the tomb in tumulus 12 at Sboryanovo contained the partial remains of a sheep and a cow; see Gergova 1996, 96.

[138] Gergova 1996, 20. Human and animal bones were also found in front of the tomb, in the tumular fill. Gergova 1996, 24 suggests that the animal and human bones were purposefully separated and spread between the tomb's interior and exterior as part of a ritual; it is unclear whether that is the case or if the tomb was looted, but it is notable that the tomb contained no grave goods.

[139] In the case of the Nedkova **(6)** tomb, a large animal — bovine? — was buried in a pit in the tumulus. See catalogue entry and discussion in Chapter 6.

[140] See Chapter 6, esp. fig. 6.30 and Agre 2011, 17-19, and fig. I-16, and 205-206 for details.

[141] See Georgieva 2015, 151.

Horse Trappings

The next category of commonly found grave foods is horse trappings. Given the importance of horses in Thracian culture, especially Thracian elite and warrior culture, the inclusion of horse gear among the grave goods is unsurprising. It is notable, however, that while equine remains were almost never found in the burial chambers of the tombs, horse trappings, such as bridle appliqués made of precious metals, are not unknown to have been placed with the other grave goods. Golden horse trappings found in the tomb at the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tumulus and tomb I at Ivanski **(58**), for example. A bridle appliqué was also found in the Slavchova **(24)** tomb. As briefly discussed in previous sections, these are not the only examples of horse ornaments found in the tombs – others were found with equine remains as well. Horse gear made of precious materials has appeared regularly in burials and hoards in Thrace, as early as the 5th century BC.[142] There are several categories: anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and ones bearing vegetal motifs. Zoomorphic horse trappings are predominant in the 4th century BC, while ones with vegetal motifs become more common in the 3rd century BC.[143]

Other Small Finds

Other categories of small finds were discovered in twenty-four monuments.[144] One category is coins. Coins have been found in other parts of some of the tombs, notably three coins of Seuthes III and one of Cassander in the dromos of the tomb in the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb, and a

[142] Tonkova 2017, 25. For a detailed overview of horse trappings from Thrace, see Archibald 1998, 248-251, Agre 2011, 102-126, and Rabadjiev 2014, 333-335.
[143] For an overview, see Tonkova 2017, 26-28.
[144] Vetren **(1),** Malko Belovo **(2),** Roshava **(7),** Golyama Arsenakla**, (17),** Ploska **(19),** Kazanluk **(22),** Slavchova **(24),** Sarafova **(26),** Dolno Izvorovo **(27),** Muglizh **(28),** Popova **(33),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** Mezek tumulus 1 **(43),** Karakoc **(48),** Naip **(49),** Stavroupoli-Xanthi **(53),** Eshil Tepe **(54),** V. Varnenchik **(55),** Akchilar **(56),** Yankovo 3 **(65),** Gagovo **(68),** Sveshtari **(69),** Sboryanovo tumulus 12 **(70),** and Mangalia 4 **(76)**.

coin of Alexander III in the antechambers of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb. Coins were discovered in the burial chambers of two monuments: the Filipovo tomb **(10)** (coin of Philip III Arrhideus) and the Dolno Lukovo **(36)** tomb (coin of Alexander the Great). Although very few in number, the coins were fortuitous finds as they are helpful for establishing at least a *terminus post quem* for the use of the tombs.

Another three items stand out for what they imply. The first item is a silver-gilt *pyxis* shaped like a scallop shell, found in the burial chamber of the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb (fig. 4.70). The object is unique in Thrace. A convincing proposal has been made that this object denotes the presence of a woman, and more specifically Berenike, the aforementioned wife of Seuthes. The argument is not without foundation, as the scallop is associated with Aphrodite, and appears in various forms in women's graves in Macedonia.[145] Pyxides shaped like shells dating to the 4th century BC and made from precious metals have been found in Magna Graecia, Euboea, and Macedonia.[146]

The other two items are fragments of silver mirrors from the Gagovo **(68)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs. Like the pyxides, these objects also bear at least a tentative connection to women. Analysis of the skeletal remains from the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb revealed that one of the three individuals buried within was a woman, making it more likely that the mirror belonged to a women in this case. We have no information about the occupants of the Gagovo **(68)** tomb, but it may be the case that at least one of them was a woman. However, it is also possible that these were everyday grooming objects belonged to men.

[145] Zimi 2011, 96.
[146] Nankov 2011, 15-16; Zimi 2011, 95-96.

Finally, two of the most interesting finds come from the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs. The former featured a set of gaming pieces – three iron dice and twenty-three glass pebbles (fig. 4.71). Although such pieces – especially dice – have been found in burials in the region before, another gaming set like this has not been found in Thrace to date, which makes it quite notable. The Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb featured a set of "Celtic"-type chariot fittings.[147] They are yet another example of the Celtic presence in Thrace, as well as cultural exchange. It is likely that the chariot these fittings belonged to was a gift to the owner of the tomb, another evidence for diplomatic relations in the region. Another possibility, of course, is that the chariot was acquired as a war trophy.[148] Whichever the case – and we may never know – its presence underscores the high status and material wealth of the tomb's owner.

Analysis and Conclusions

Although many monuments examined in this thesis were looted, as shown in the previous sections, what remains, combined with the contents of the few undisturbed monuments, helps to establish patterns, which in turn help to understand the burial process and draw conclusions about aspects of Thracian elite life.

To begin, this chapter presented an overview of the contents of each type of space encountered in Thracian chamber tombs. While the architecture and wall decorations provide much information about the spaces, the finds help to expand our understanding of them, in both their intended use and their part in the funerary process. For example, from an architectural standpoint, dromoi are practical additions, intended to provide access to the tomb under the

[147] See Tzochev 2014, fig. 2
[148] Tzochev 2014, 59-60.

tumulus. The finds, especially the relative scarcity of them, within these spaces support this view. The vast majority of finds from the dromoi appear to have been deposited inside them accidentally, often when the tombs were looted. The only exceptions are equine remains and any vessels or riding equipment buried with the animals – these are often undisturbed. Conversely, the finds from the forecourts and porches enhance our understanding of these spaces beyond what their design might suggest. As discussed in Chapter 3, forecourts appear to have been intended to provide access to the tombs, while porches are both embellishment to tomb facades which share design features with antechambers. Yet the finds from these spaces show that they were both utilized in funerary rituals, including the sacrifice and burial of animals (especially horses). From an architectural point of view, antechambers do not have a clear purpose. Yet the finds within them show that they were used to for the deposit of additional grave goods, animal remains, and in one case even additional burials. The burial chambers are the central and most important pieces of any funerary structure; as such they house not only the remains of the deceased, but the vast majority of the grave goods. While every other part of a tomb complex may have a practical purpose, the burial chambers are the only truly essential spaces – this is highlighted both by their architecture and contents. Any other built structures, while having a multitude of practical applications, are both dependent on and representative of wealth. The wealthier the owner of the tomb, the larger the structure can be.

The grave goods and offerings and their placement were also carefully decided upon. This is particularly evident with one category of finds: equine remains. Horses were a large part of Thracian life – so much so that the Thrace is inextricably linked to horsemanship in the ancient sources.[149] In the archaeological record, this is demonstrated by how often equine

[149] For an exhaustive list of literary sources on see Rabadjiev 2014, and especially 15-19 for mentions of the use of chariots, 131-133 for horsemanship, and 241-244 for horse riders.

remains, equine gear, or both are regularly found in Thracian tombs, as well as the presence of horses in Thracian art and coinage.[150] Given their prominence in Thracian life, it is unsurprising that even in tombs where no actual horses were buried, this aspect of Thracian culture would be represented through horse equipment, especially bridle applications (which were, it should be noted, also often made of precious metals, making them a valuable addition to the grave inventory).

In cases where horses are buried, their placement is also relevant. The charts above demonstrate that equine remains were discovered in the burial chambers of four monuments.[151] This is unusual: equine remains are usually found in any space other than the burial chamber. This is likely because horses are large animals which took significant amounts of space. In some cases, such as the Shushmanets **(14)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs, where several horses were buried, this is most certainly the case. The horse burials in the Helvetsia **(16)** tomb provide an interesting case study –the evidence clearly shows that one of the horses was killed (likely with minimal struggle) and buried on the porch without any additional offerings; by contrast, the second horse had to be tied, and was buried along with a bronze bridle applique. That the horses were buried separately seems to suggest that they were also buried at different times – one as a part of the grave goods, and the second as a later sacrifice.[152] The placement of the animals in the tombs, the presence of horses indicates how the funerary rites were performed: the horses were likely killed once the remains of the tomb's owner and the grave goods were already placed in the tomb – sometimes as burial gifts, and sometimes as ritual sacrifices.

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[150] For lists and catalogues of physical evidence, see Rabadjiev 2014, and especially 19-75 for depictions of the use of chariots, 133-206 for horsemanship, and 244-330 for horse riders.

[151] Manyov Dol 4 **(9)**, Sashova **(23)**, Kırklareli B **(45)**, and Eriklisse **(47)**.

[152] See Chapter 6 for a discussion of equine burials and equine sacrifices as parts of ritual rites found in the tumuli – both have been found in the tumuli.

Horses are unique in that they have associations to multiple aspects of Thracian life. The other categories of finds are not as all-encompassing, although in examining them, patterns and themes emerge. One theme is war. As shown in Chart 4.1, weaponry is one of the most commonly appearing categories of finds; armour is also quite common. All four of the least-disturbed tombs featured weaponry and armour among their grave goods. Whether the (male) owners of the tombs had actually engaged in combat (which is not unlikely) or enjoyed a leisurely life and the most violence they witnessed was in hunting (an activity both leisurely and war-like), it was clearly important to them to be presented as warriors. This is a theme common across the region – elite burials from all cultures across the Mediterranean and the Northern Black Sea feature armaments, as well as depictions of both combat and hunting. It is a representation of masculinity, and masculinity was especially important for maintaining power in patriarchal societies.

Another theme which appears often is that of feasting. As with war and hunting, images and other representations (such as, in the furnishings of tombs) of feasting regularly appear in sepulchral contexts across the Mediterranean.[153] In the grave goods, this theme is represented by the pottery and non-clay vessels and the lighting equipment found in the tombs. As shown in the charts above, a number of the vessels found in the tombs are related to wine and drinking and, combined with the lampstands in particular, symposia. Yet again, when studying the three least-disturbed of all monuments, this theme is unfailingly represented in each one.

The fact that the most commonly discovered vessel type across all tombs is the amphora is also notable. Based on their shape, provenance (where it can be identified; most certainly ones imported from Thasos, Kos, and Rhodes), and the fact that they were found in a funerary context,

[153] See Chapter 3.

the these amphoras were most likely used to transport wine.[154] The implication of the presence of wine amphoras is two-fold. Wine amphoras found on the exterior of the tombs are connected with funerary rituals. Ones found on the interior of the tombs may be interpreted as allusions to feasting. The wealth of the tombs' owners, and their power and status are undoubtedly the most prominent themes that the grave goods represent, both imported objects or objects (whether local or imported) made of precious metals. Jewellery, vessels with red-figure decoration, oil and perfume vessels, fabrics with golden threads interwoven in them, and golden wreaths are all expensive objects. Horses, too, may be considered as indicators of conspicuous consumption. While they were indeed integral to Thracian life, these animals were by no means cheap to own and maintain. The burial of a horse is not an insignificant sacrifice; the burial of multiple horses highlights the wealth and status of their owner.

Ultimately, many of the objects, whether local or imported, represent both Thracian culture and aspects of all cultures of the Mediterranean, the same way that the funerary complexes themselves so. The conclusion to be drawn is that the owners of these tombs undoubtedly belonged to the uppermost strata of Thracian society, but also very much belonged to a larger, regional cultural network.

[154] Tzochev 2018, 553.

CHAPTER 5: BURIALS

Introduction

This chapter's purpose is the overview and analysis of the human remains from the sites studied in this thesis. The chapter begins by presenting the available data, categorising it by burial rites, sex and age groups, and number of individuals per site. It then analyses this data by putting it in local and regional contexts. The chapter aims to show that elite Thracian burial practices were quite diverse, and often varied based on local traditions and personal preferences, and that given the scarcity of available data, what may be inferred from human remains is limited.

Data

Human remains were discovered in twenty-seven of the tombs. Since the data available comes from less than fifty percent of the tombs, any conclusions are tentative. Moreover, in the vast majority of cases, the remains are partial – either due to natural decay, as specifically noted in the cases of the Sashova **(23)** and Eshil Tepe **(54)** tombs, as a result of the cremation process, or because the tombs have been looted and some of the bones lost.[1] In one case – the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb – the removal of human remains appears to have been deliberate.[2]

The first aspect of the burials examined here is the type of burial rite. There are two major types: inhumation and cremation.

[1] For the Sashova **(23)** tomb, see Kitov 1996a, 13; for the Eshil Tepe **(54)** tomb, see Shkorpil and Shkorpil 1898, 141.

[2] Dimitrova 2015a, 113-114. Teeth were found between the floor slabs in the second antechamber. No other human remains were found in the tomb, despite the rich funerary inventory. This may suggest that the teeth belonged to a body from an earlier burial, which was removed when the tomb was reused.

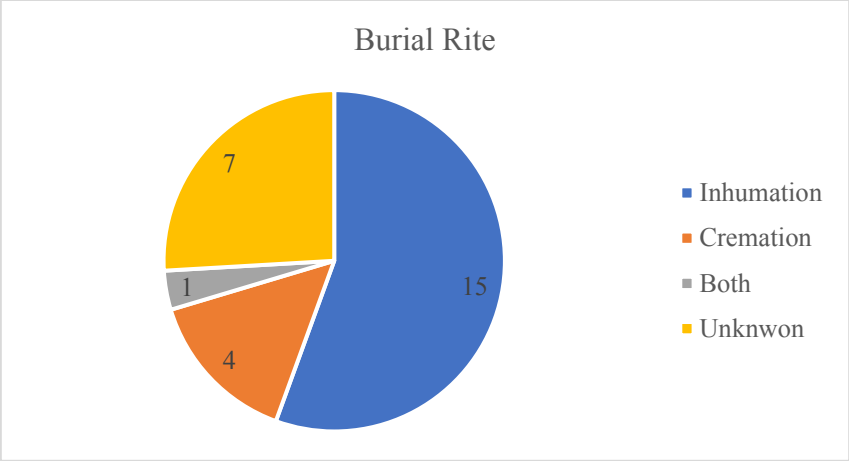

Chart 5.1: Distribution of burial rite types per monument

As Chart 5.1 indicates, over fifty percent of the sites in this data set feature inhumations, while less than a fifth feature cremations. Based on the information available from the publications, at least three more sites may have featured inhumations: Malyovska **(25)**, Sarafova **(26)**, and the tomb in tumulus 1 at Mezek **(43)**. This conclusion is based on the description of the human remains. At the Malyovska **(25)** and Mezek **(43)** tombs, the skulls appear to have been preserved well.[3] In the Vetren **(1)**, Sarafova **(26)**, and Kaloyanovo **(35)** tombs, the bones are described as broken and mixed up - an occurrence which has been noted for other non-cremated remains.[4] All tombs were disturbed - the Vetren **(1)** and Sarafova **(26)** tombs were looted, while the Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb suffered significant structural damage - which caused or contributed to the damage to the remains.

Next, there is the issue of the number of individuals' remains per monument. Chart 5.2 below shows that the majority of tombs appear to have one individual buried within them, which

[3] For the Malyovska **(25)** tomb, see Nekhrizov, Parvin, and Grigorov 2019, 163; for the the Mezek **(43)** tomb, see Filov 1937, 87

[4] For the Sarafova **(26)** tomb, see Kitov 2003c, 30; for the Vetren **(1)** tomb, see Venedikov 1946, 196; for a detailed overview of the bones from the Kaloyanovo **(35)** tomb, see Boev 1969, 92.

may suggest that Thracian tombs were more often built for individuals and less often for couples or multiple generations of families. It should, however, be noted that the data shown in Chart 5.2 does not come from all twenty-seven tombs; the number of individuals is not confirmed in every case due to the evidence being fragmentary.

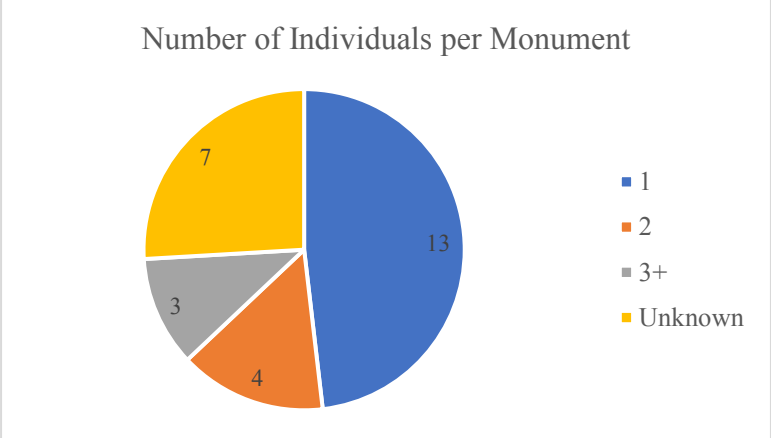

Chart 5.2: Number of Individuals per Monument

The numbers in this category will be discussed at greater length for several reasons. First, in some cases there were too few bones available to allow for the exact number of individuals to be determined.[5] At the Rigio tumulus Γ **(52),** human remains were found both in the tumular fill right next to the tomb and on its interior. The remains in each location were determined to belong to an adult male, but due to their scarcity, it was impossible to determine whether those were two individuals or the same one.[6] An interesting parallel may be found at the Momina **(34)** tumulus, where the remains of an adult male were found in the dromos and the burial chamber of the tomb, as well as pit 1. As is the case in tumulus Γ **(52)** at Rigio, the tomb in the Momina **(34)**

[5] Examples include the remains from the Rigio tomb A **(51)** and Yankovo tomb 2 **(64).** For Rigio, see Triantaphyllos and Terzopoulou 1998, 474; for Yankovo, see Dremsizova 1955, 66.
[6] Triantaphyllos and Terzopoulou 1998, 476.

tumulus was looted and damaged, which led to the scattering of the bones. In the case of the latter, however, the bones found were of the same colour and mass and bore the same markers of degenerative disease (arthritis), which makes it very likely that they belong to the same individual.[7]

Second, the tombs containing more than one set of human remains are, for the most part, geographically spread throughout Thrace. The notable exception is the three tombs at the Sboryanovo Archaeological Reserve – the Sveshtari tomb and the tombs in tumuli 12 and 13 **(69-71)**. In two cases – the Mal-Tepe **(41)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs – there are questions of the chronology of some of the burials and the relationships between them.

The two burials in the Mal-Tepe tumulus **(41)** were placed under the floor slabs of the two antechambers; no remains were found in the burial chamber, which does appear to have been disturbed. The tomb was undoubtedly reused as it is evident by both the finds and its architecture.[8] Yet, it remains unclear what – if any - the connection was between the three burials, and what the chronological order of the burials was.

The case in the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb burials is clearer in regard to chronology: one set of remains (those of the older man) appear to have been added at a later stage. This is suggested by the fact that the body – found in anatomical order - was placed on an upturned slab of one of the klinai, while fragments of the remains of the other two individuals in the tomb were found scattered in the antechamber and side chamber.[9] Once again, it cannot be determined whether

[7] Atanasova-Timeva and Galabova 2011, 72-73.
[8] See catalogue entry, as well as the sub-sections on the construction of dromoi and the construction of antechambers in Chapter 3.
[9] See Chichikova, Stoyanov, and Stoyanova 2012, 12. Also see relevant catalogue entry for a plan of the placement of the remains.

this later burial was in any way related to the original two, but at the very least the chronological order has been safely established.[10]

The next category to be examined is sex. The sex of the individuals has generally been underreported. This is mostly due to the fragmentation or scarcity of the bones.[11] Moreover, some tombs were excavated between the very end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, when such details were not reported.[12] As a result, the total number of sites for which the sex of the human remains found in a monument have been determined is eight, containing a total of twenty individuals. Among those, the number of men was higher than that of women, although not by too large a margin, as seen in Chart 5.3 below.

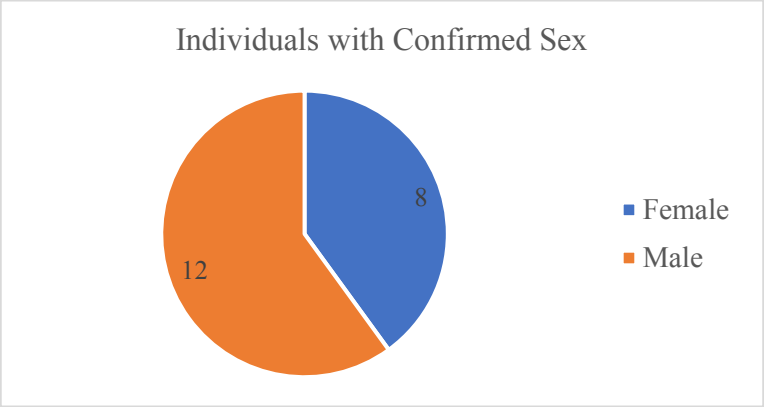

Chart 5.3: Distribution of sex of individuals with confirmed sex

[10] The fact that the tomb was looted and the finds were few further complicates the issue, although, as has been noted in Chichikova, Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 81, the finds with the older man were more modest – a lamp, an unguentarium, and a couple of bowls, possibly a mirror and a bronze fibula, although the latter two may have belonged to the earlier burials.

[11] In the case of the Naip **(49)** tomb, the bones were described by locals who had found the tomb, but gone by the time of the excavation. See Delemen 2006, 257, ftnt 53.

[12] Vetren **(1),** Kazanluk **(22),** Mal-Tepe **(41),** Mezek #1 **(43),** Eriklisse **(47),** Karakoc **(48),** and Eshil Tepe **(54)** were all excavated in this earlier period. See the catalogue entries for more information.

The sex of one set of remains from the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb have not been included here. This is due to the fact that their sex has been assumed rather than determined scientifically. According to the publication, the remains of the two individuals were partial. Thus, while there was enough to allow for one of the two individuals to be identified as female, the sex of the second individual could not be determined.[13] It was assumed that they belonged to a man, especially given that there was a couple central to the mural in the burial chamber.[14] In fact, while a number of individual female elite burials have been excavated in Thrace, in the case of these eight sites, it has been only male individuals that have been found buried alone. All remains of women were buried with one or more other individuals, the burials featuring both sexes.[15] In one instance – tumulus 12 at Sboryanovo **(70)** – the remains were predominantly those of women. The even distribution of burial rites is striking: two of the women and one of the men were inhumed, while the other two women and the second man were cremated.[16] While this distribution may have been completely random, it is also possible that it was intentional. Given that the choices at each site are individual and there is no further scientific evidence provided about the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb, the sex of the second individual from that site will remain as nothing more than an informed guess.

Finally, there is the question of age distribution. Chart 5.4 shows the distribution per age group of thirty-six individuals from a total of nineteen monuments.

[13] It is unclear exactly how the bones were studied; the only information available in the publication is about the sex of one of the individuals.
[14] Tsanova and Getov 1970, 7-8.
[15] See next section for detailed discussion.
[16] Cholakov and Yordanov 1996, 190-191.

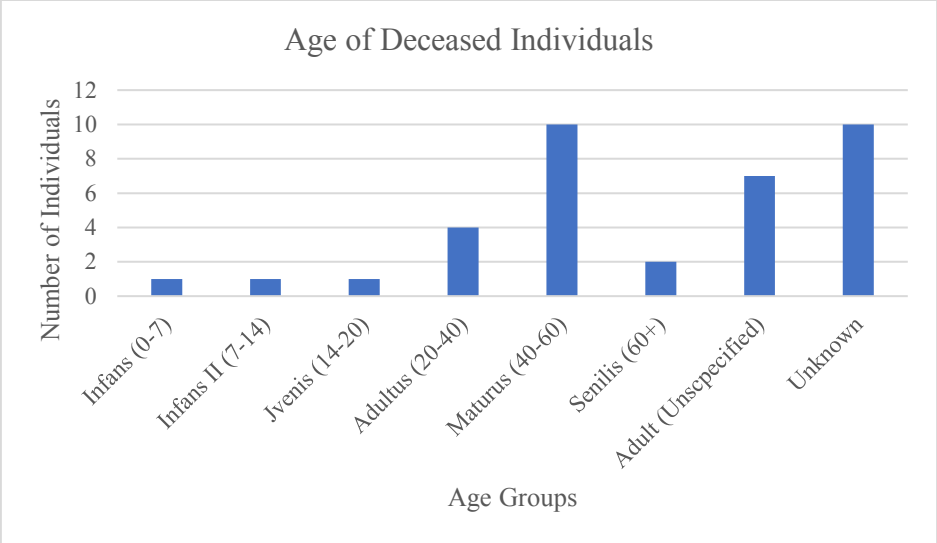

Chart 5.4: Age distribution of individuals with confirmed age (or age group)

Age is generally easier to determine than sex, as the markers of it are evident in more bones. Thus, there may be information even from partial remains where the sex of the individuals cannot be identified. Two particularly poignant cases come from the remains of the two youngest individuals in this dataset. The first one was a neonate aged between 0-3 months, buried in the Momina **(34)** tomb. The infant's age was determined based on the development of two bones – ones from its left shoulder and elbow. Given the extremely limited material, however, it was impossible to determine its sex.[17] The second individual was buried at the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tomb. Of this individual, only three teeth (including a milk tooth) were discovered.[18] As with the infant in the Momina **(34)** tomb, there was too little material to determine the sex of this individual. However, the teeth were determined to belong to a child between the ages of 10 and 12.[19]

[17] Atanasova-Timeva and Galabova 2011, 73.
[18] See ftnt. 2 above.
[19] Dimitrova 2015a, 113.

As Chart 5.4 shows, in many cases the age of individuals is either not reported or not identified. In most of those cases, this may be taken to suggest that the remains are likely closer in age to those of an adult than a child. There are two general reasons for the lack of identification: that an examination by an expert was not conducted, or that the bones were too badly damaged. The former is most often the case with earlier excavations – the issue is similar as with the identification of the sex of the deceased. The latter could be the result of the bones being badly broken (often because of looting) or heavily eroded. Often, however, examinations of the remains have been conducted, but reported findings are incomplete. The underreporting of data regarding the remains is unfortunate, since, as opposed to the burial gifts and the architecture of the tombs, the human remains are almost certainly not to going to be re-examined again.

Analysis and Conclusions

The data about human remains is relatively scarce for Thracian built chamber tombs. This is largely because a large number of these tombs was looted, although it should be noted that in some cases, the tombs may simply not have contained human remains. Nevertheless, a significant contributing factor is that the evidence is not always well-published.

It ought to be noted that information about Thracian necropoleis is available – even if in-depth osteological analyses are rare. Excavation reports and individual publications often provide some information about human remains found at individual sites, even if this information is about the number of individuals and the burial rite only.[20] Yet there is a notable

[20] One recent example is the necropolis near the villages of Iasenovo and Goliamo Drianovo, in the Kazanluk Valley - see Nekhrizov, Parvin and Kalcheva 2013a and Nekhrizov, Parvin and Kalcheva 2013b. Some of the relevant data was collected and summarized in Dimova 2014 – especially the database that can be downloaded with a link in the publication on page 45. These are a few examples; the full list is beyond the scope of this study. Many

lack of systematic studies of the data from necropoleis in the areas which the tombs studied in this thesis belong to.

The only exception to my knowledge is a PhD thesis which systematized the data from North-Eastern Thrace. While the thesis itself is not available in its entirety, what is available shows that the study comprised of ninety-five burial grounds (tumular, flat, and mixed) dating between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC, and the information it provides is useful for understanding the burial practices of the region, especially as pertains to burial rites. The study shows that fifty-five of the ninety-five burial sites (including several studied in this thesis) contain tumuli, and among those the vast majority (two-hundred and forty-nine) contained cremated remains, while only twenty-five contained inhumations.[21] Among these, of the necropoleis featuring tumular burials dating between the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd centuries BC, only ten feature tumuli containing inhumations, and in four of these cases the inhumation is practiced in parallel with cremation. This particular subset is notable, because it is from the same period as the Sveshtari **(69)** tomb and the tombs in tumuli 12 and 13 **(70-71)** at Sboryanovo, and shows that the inhumed remains in those tombs are in the minority.

More studies of this kind could provide important context for all tombs, and enhance our understanding of burial practices from across Thrace, especially in regard to burial rites. Such research is beyond the scope of the present thesis however. What may be concluded for the time being is that the data from the tombs agrees with the established view that inhumation and

relevant examples can be found in the annual archaeological reports from Bulgaria (Arkheologicheski Otkritiia I Razkopki (AOR)), Romania (Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie (SCIVA) and Materiale şi cercetări arheologice (MCA)), Turkey (Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı), and Greece (Arkhaeiologikon Deltion). Many relevant reports and articles may be found in the official publications of universities and regional museums and in journals such as Dacia, Thraco-Dacica; To Archaiologiko ergo stē Makedonia kai Thrakē (AEMTh); Problemi i Izsledvaniia na Trakiiskata Kultura, Arkheologiia, and Archaeologia Bulgarica.

[21] Madzharov 2013, 40-47, especially 46-47. Notably, in forty-eight cases, there were no remains found in the tumulus.

cremation were practiced concurrently across Thrace, and that the choice of rite depended on both local customs and personal preference.[22]

Where the scarcity of regional data is less relevant is regarding the categories of sex, age, and individuals buried per monument. These categories are more specific to the tombs themselves, and there the lack of human remains or osteological reports is more significant. While the available osteological data and context clues (such as the architecture and decoration of the tombs) do allow for some conclusions to be drawn, finds do show a very complex picture. Ultimately, each case is individual.

One category where this is particularly visible is that of the number of individuals buried per tomb. In certain instances, a tomb's architectural design or decoration choices may provide helpful clues as to how many individuals it would have been intended for. For example, one of the tombs in this study (tomb 3 **(75)** at Mangalia) features two cist graves under the floor of its burial chamber. Three other monuments – the Muglizh **(28)**, Stavroupolis **(53)** and Sveshtari **(69)** tombs – each contain two klinai placed in a Γ arrangement.[23] These choices – the cist graves in the floor and the pairs of klinai – can be interpreted as signs that these particular tombs were intended for internment of two individuals each. Similar assumptions can be made for tombs which feature single klinai or single cists – that those tombs were intended for one individual each. As mentioned above, in the case of the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb, the sex of the second individual (which was never determined scientifically) was assumed to be that of a man, based on the fact that there is a couple depicted as a main focal point of the mural in the burial chamber, and the other set of remains belonged to a woman.

[22] See Archibald 1998, 246-47 and Dimova 2014, 42 for general overviews of Thracian burial rites.
[23] See section on furniture in Chapter 3 for further discussion.

This hypothesis might well be correct in the case of the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb – it may have been intended as the final resting place of a married couple. Indeed, certain aspects of tombs – be it their furniture, decoration, or other elements of their design – may indeed be indicative of the intended use of these tombs. A clear example would be the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles in Macedonia, which features numerous wall niches, with the names of the deceased inscribed above each niche. There is no question that this tomb was intended for multi-generational familial use.[24] Yet the design of a tomb is no guarantee that it will be used in a certain way, and a tomb's design does not always take into account potential reuse. The Sveshtari **(69)** tomb serves as a good example of this. Its burial chamber features two klinai, and indeed the remains two individuals (a man and a woman, possibly a couple), were found. However, as described in the previous section, a third body was also discovered in the tomb. It remains unclear how, if at all, the third individual is related to the couple, but given the way in which these remains were found, it can be deduced with some certainty this was a later, secondary burial.[25]

Another puzzling example is the Muglizh **(38)** tomb. This tomb too features two klinai, which, as observed by the excavators, suggests that it was intended for two individuals to be buried within it, likely through inhumation. Instead, a few unidentified cremated human remains were discovered. The tomb's architecture bears evidence of reuse, and given the addition of the klinai, it is possible that the cremated remains may have been interred at a later stage of the tomb's use.[26]

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[24] See Miller 1993.

[25] The tomb was thoroughly looted, which likely explains the scattering of the bones. Given its state of preservation, the third burial was likely performed sometime after the tomb was originally looted.

[26] See the relevant catalogue entry and the section on dromoi in Chapter 3 for discussion of evidence of reuse.

The Elaphochori **(50)** tomb is another notable example, because its burial chamber features both a rudimentary bench against the wall, opposite the entrance, and a cist in the floor between the couch and entrance. This is an interesting choice, and it can be interpreted in several ways. One way is that the tomb originally only featured the couch on which the deceased was laid out, and that the cist was a later addition, possibly a member of the same family wishing to be laid to rest in the same monument. Another interpretation is that the tomb had a single occupant, and the deceased was always intended to be buried in the cist grave, while the couch was intended for the placement of some or all burial gifts. Yet another interpretation is that the tomb was reused by an entirely new owner, and that the new owner redesigned the burial chamber, using the cist grave but also leaving the couch. Without any human remains and other finds, the tomb's layout does not on its own allow us to draw conclusions regarding its occupants.

Special attention should be given to two monuments: the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tombs. The two monuments have much in common: both contain architectural evidence of reuse, feature two antechambers and a burial chamber equipped with a funerary bed and side table, and as mentioned in the previous section, the only human remains found in each were in the tombs' antechambers, while the burial chambers do not contain human remains.[27] As discussed above, vast majority of tombs do not contain human remains, mainly due to having been disturbed. Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** is one of the few tombs which was not disturbed after the funerary gifts were deposited in its burial chamber, but no human remains.[28] At Mal-Tepe **(41)**, the human remains were found in the antechambers. The burial chamber, in contrast, contained no human remains. Unlike Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, it was disturbed, but not to the

[27] See Chapter 3 section on dromoi for evidence of reuse.
[28] It remains unclear how the teeth were deposited in the round antechamber, but they do not belong to this burial.

degree that all evidence of human remains would have been lost. These factors suggest that the burials in the burial chambers of these monuments never contained human remains. Rather, they would have been intended as funerary monuments honouring deceased individuals whose bodies could not be interred for some reason (for example, if they died on the battlefield or elsewhere far away from home). This would classify these tombs as cenotaphs.

This raises the question of how the two sets of cremated remains were deposited in Mal-Tepe's **(41)** antechambers. As discussed above, they were located underneath the secondary floor slabs of the two antechambers of the tomb.[29] As is the case of the Muglizh **(38)** tomb, here too we could perhaps explain this as evidence of reuse.[30] Yet the architecture of this tomb is somewhat more unusual: first, it features two antechambers, and second the burial chamber features both a kline and two smaller pieces of furniture on each side of the kline. These additional furnishings may be interpreted as intended to contain urns or other containers for cremated remains, although it is possible that they were simply intended for some of the grave goods, as indeed they were ultimately used for.[31] The fact that the tomb was reused, combined with the discovery of the cremated remains underneath the slabs in the antechambers, the lack of remains in the burial chamber, and the multiple pieces of furniture create a complex picture that is difficult to interpret. Perhaps the cremated remains were initially interred in the burial chamber, only to be moved to the antechambers when the tomb was reused. Or perhaps the monument was always intended to be used as a cenotaph, and the cremated remains were added later, in an act of appropriation or if the tomb was used by multiple members of the same family.

[29] Filov 1937, 18-19, 75, 76.
[30] See sections on dromoi and antechambers in Chapter 3.
[31] See relevant catalogue entry.

No scenario provides a completely satisfactory explanation, and the architectural and decorative choices of the monument are no more helpful than the actual human remains.

The third category to be discussed is the age of the deceased buried in the tombs. While this category may also seem easily guessed, it should not be assumed if human remains are not found in the tombs. As Chart 5.4 above shows, the remains of twenty-three of the twenty-six individuals for which an age group has been identified and confirmed found in the tombs in this study belong to adults. It is possible that the ten individuals for whom an age has not been determined are also adults. Yet such an assumption would be contingent on two things: that a tomb is intended for a single occupant, and that this occupant and its commissioner are the same individual.

As shown in Chart 5.2, more than half of the tombs contained only a single set of remains; however, as already discussed, there is no guarantee of how many individuals a tomb devoid of remains might have contained. In cases where the remains belonged to adults, it may be easier to assume that the individual or at least one of the individuals were the commissioner: as discussed in Chapter 2, a tomb required a significant investment of money, labour, and time. It would make sense, then, that even the owner-commissioner was not particularly old at the time the tomb was begun, by the time of its completion, they would be well into adulthood. The Sveshtari **(69)** tomb is a strong case in favour of the argument that the commissioner and occupant might be the same individual. This hypothesis is based on two facts. First, that the couple buried within it are relatively young (aged 25-30 and 30-35 years old respectively).[32]

[32] Chichikova, Stoyanov and Stoyanova 2012, 12.

Secondly, that it bears the markers of being incomplete.[33] It is plausible that one of these individuals died prior to the tomb's completion and had to be interred early.

While the majority of the remains found belong to adults, it ought to be noted that there are some belonging to youths and children (from the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Momina **(34)** tombs and Sboryanovo tumulus 13 **(71)**). Furthermore, two of these sets of remains were buried alongside adults. Thus, while the commissioner of a tomb would have been an adult or the adult members of a family, its occupants were not guaranteed to be, which leads to another problem: whether the tomb's commissioner and its occupant were even the same person. The question of commissioner versus occupant is already complicated by the fact that tombs were reused, so in many cases, the occupants were not the same individual or members of the family which originally commissioned the tomb, but possibly their children, other relatives, or later descendants.

This issue is also relevant to the fourth and final category: the sex of the deceased. This category is the most difficult to determine. The Thracians did not leave inscriptions to suggest the identity of the tombs' owners, and since rich burials for individuals of both sexes have been found, there is no way to assume whom a tomb might belong to. As is the case with all other categories, even if some contextual clues exist, they are not absolute proof. Although certain finds – equine remains or gear, sympotic vessels, armour, or earrings – have certain gender associations, items which have traditionally been associated with specific genders –jewellery other than earrings, weaponry, other individual vessels and small items, such as the pyxis at Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** – may appear in both types of graves.[34]

[33] See Chapter 3 section on burial chambers for discussion on the state of the tomb's completion.
[34] Dimova 2014, 37-41 for an in-depth discussion of perceptions of maleness and femaleness. Also see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the pyxis from Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**.

Another example may be found in the case of the Smyadovo **(60)** tomb, which is unique among Thracian tombs in that it bears an inscription above its entrance: Γονιμασηζῆ | Σευθθυγυνή. The inscription features two people: a Seuthes and his wife. Yet the exact interpretation has been the subject of debate. The excavators originally interpreted the inscription as Γονιμασήζη | Σεύθ <ο> υ γυνή, or "Gonimaseze, wife of Seuthes". A second reading argued that the inscription was bilingual, with the first part in the local Thracian language and the second part in Greek (while the inscription is written with Greek characters), and that it read "Seze (=Sese) to my wife | Seuthes' wife" – this interpretation is highly unlikely. The most recent interpretation argues that it reads as Γονιμαση ζῇ | Σευθ < ο > υ γυνή or "Gonimase, Seuthes' wife, (still) lives."[35] This inscription is an excellent example of how even when writing is present, interpreting it is not always straightforward. Part of the problem, of course, is that part of it features an unfamiliar element. The name Seuthes is commonly found Thrace.[36] Given the aforementioned scarcity of written sources from Thrace, however, the name of this particular Seuthes' wife is a novelty, which is what makes it confusing. In comparing the three readings of the inscription, then, it is understandable why initially it was thought that her name was Gonimaseze, as opposed to Gonimase, followed by a form of ζάω. Still, in comparing all three interpretations, the most recent one is the most logical and convincing.

The exact reading of this inscription, however, does raise further questions. Does the inscription suggest that it was Seuthes who was buried in the tomb, and his wife still alive at the time of his burial? If so, does the fact that she commissioned an inscription suggest that she might have been he tomb's commissioner? Or does the inscription have a more metaphorical

[35] Dana 2015, 246-247 for both these translations and the discussion of them.
[36] See Chapter 4.

meaning – that Gonimase is the one buried in the tomb, but that her memory lives on or that this is an allusion to a religious belief? The tomb had been looted by the time of its excavation, and contained neither human remains nor burial gifts. These questions, therefore, will likely never be answered.

In summary, the human remains in the tombs present a complex, heterogenous picture. The largest problem, as outlined in this chapter, stems from a significant scarcity of data. What is available reveals certain patterns, and may be interpreted to a limited degree, especially when put in the context of tomb design and burial goods. The most notable conclusion to be drawn from it, however, is that even with available context, drawing general conclusions from the data should be avoided, as each tomb has a unique history of use, which is informed by both regional customs and individual choices.

CHAPTER 6: TUMULI

Introduction

One of the most common features of the Thracian funerary tradition is the tumulus.[1] It has previously been estimated that, on the territory of modern-day Bulgaria alone, there are an estimated 10,000-15,000 tumuli, with an estimated 50,000 having been built originally between the Bronze Age and Late Antiquity.[2] In addition, recently, 1,003 tumuli dating between the Early Iron Age and Late Antiquity were recorded in modern-day European Turkey (Eastern Thrace).[3]

Thracian tumuli are diverse in shape, size, construction type, and content. Not every tumulus contains a built tomb, but every Thracian tomb from the period relevant to this thesis (5th-3rd centuries BC) was covered by a tumulus. Tumuli serve a multitude purposes, as well. On one hand, they are a way to protect the tombs – at least to a certain extent – from looters. On the other hand, they serve as sema, markers maintaining the memory of the dead buried within, even after their names and identities are lost to time, as well as providing physical representations of the wealth and power of those deceased.

This chapter is an in-depth study of the tumuli to which the tombs studied in this thesis belong. It focuses on their construction, phases, and any additional structures found within them. It thus aims to determine their role in the funerary process.

[1] Agre 2015, 233-234.
[2] Kitov and Agre 2002, 102.
[3] Yıldırım 2015, 359.

Location

Tumuli are common in the funerary tradition of north-eastern, central, and south-eastern Thrace. In north- and south-western Thrace, tumuli are noticeably less common, although not entirely absent.[4] It is unclear what the reason for this stark difference might be – likely a difference in local burial traditions.

In eastern and southern Thrace, tumuli are commonly built in mountainous areas and in relation to bodies of water. The charts below show the topographical distribution of the tumuli in this study.[5]

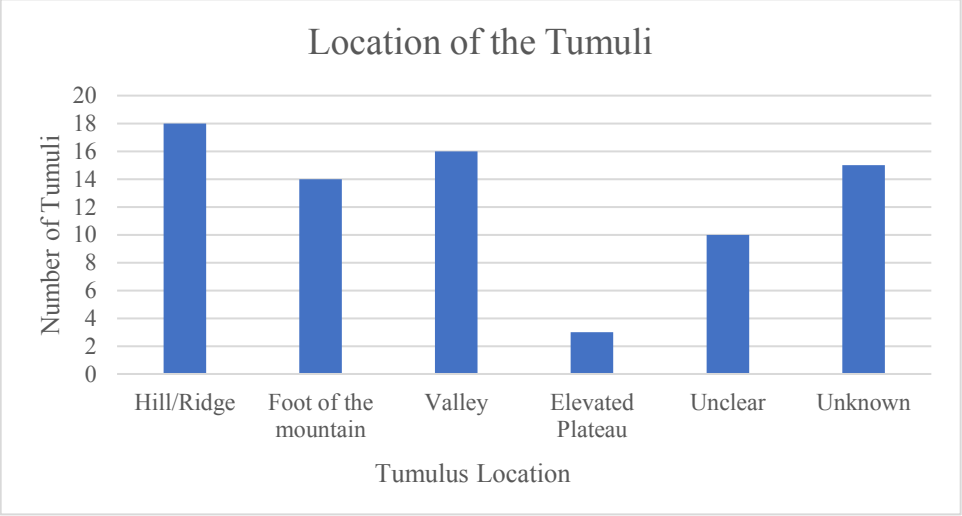

Chart 6.1: Distribution of tumuli by location (numbers)

[4] Kitov and Agre 2002, 103.

[5] A distinction should be made between the categories "Unclear" and "Unknown." The former category is intended to indicate that available publications have mentioned the location and immediate environment of the tumuli, but the descriptions are either too vague or unclear, making it difficult to make a precise determination. The latter category should be understood to mean that no mention of the tumulus' location and environment has been made in any available publications.

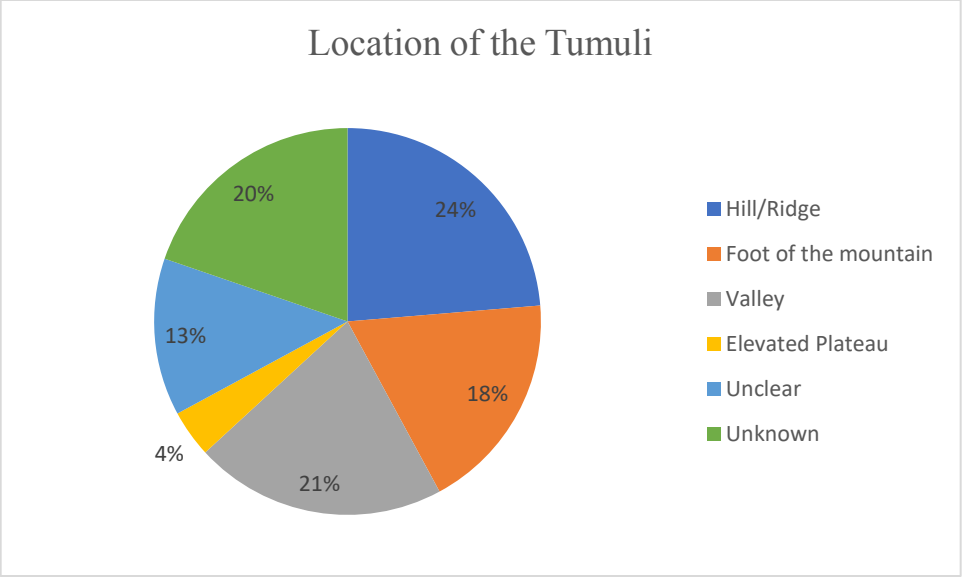

Chart 6.2: Distribution of tumuli by location (percentages)

As charts 6.1 and 6.2 show, a large number of the tumuli in this study are located either on hills or at the feet of various mountains.[6] In general, tumuli constructed on flat plains are less common in the pre-Roman period.[7] One area where they were constructed on a flat plain more regularly in the late-Classical and Hellenistic periods is the Kazanluk valley, where a large number of tumuli is known.[8] This distribution makes sense, as the Kazanluk valley was at the heart of mainland Thrace – an area both politically and militarily strong and protected by mountains on every side (fig. 6.1). These aspects made it less vulnerable to attack, allowing for long-term settlement in the valley and long-term projects, such as built chamber tombs and tumular necropoleis.

The vast majority of the tumuli are located in close proximity to or directly on the shore or bank of a body of water. Charts 6.3 and 6.4 show the distribution of tumuli to different bodies of water:

[6] Information about the topographical context of a tumulus is not always reported in publications and does not become immediately clear from aerial photographs or satellite maps.
[7] Kitov and Agre 2002, 103.
[8] Stoyanov and Tonkova 2015, 913 suggest that the numbers are in the hundreds.

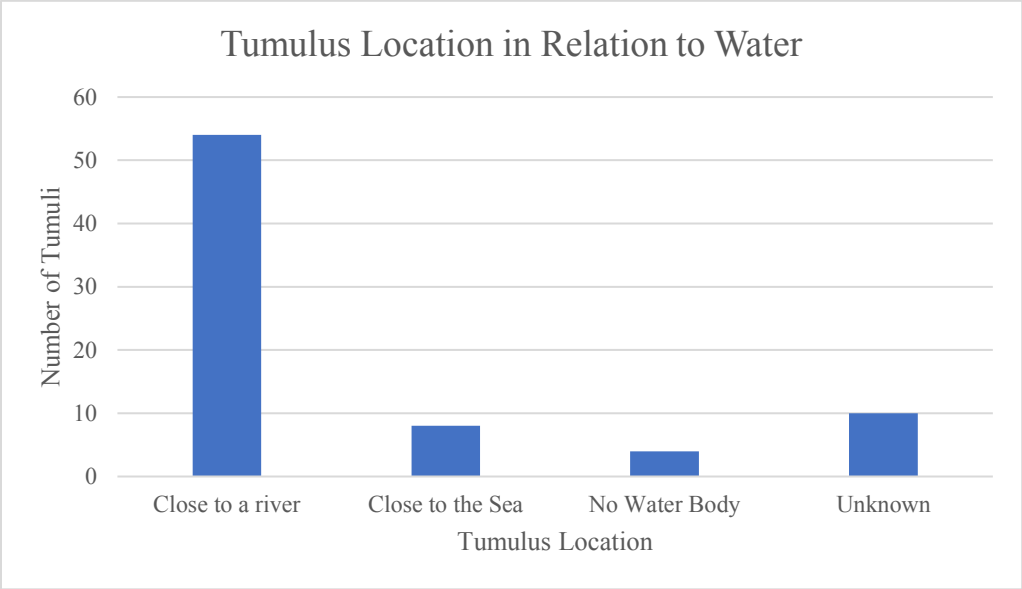

Chart 6.3: Distribution of tumuli in relation to water bodies (numbers)

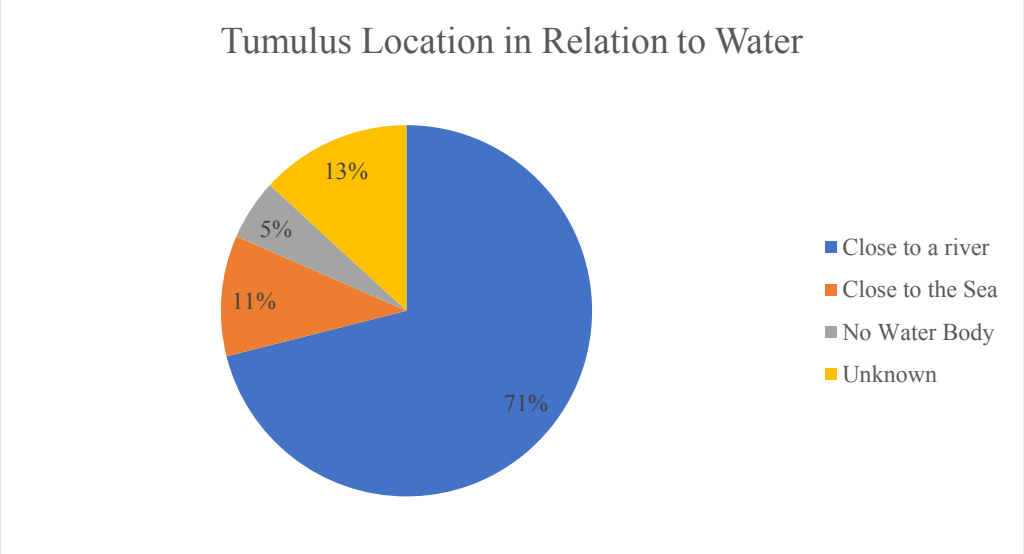

Chart 6.4: Distribution of tumuli in relation to water bodies (percentages)

As the charts demonstrate, most of the tumuli in this sample are found in close proximity to rivers, and some close to the sea. This too is not surprising, as people would naturally gravitate to water sources for their settlements, and therefore their necropoleis.[9]

Interaction with the Local Landscape and Settlements

With the patterns in the geographical and topographical locations of the tumuli having been established, attention ought to be given to their interaction with their landscape. Depending on its location, a tumulus might blend into its surroundings or stand out clearly. For example, many of the tumuli in the Kazanluk valley are easily identifiable. In some cases, it is possible to see neighbouring tumuli, even if they are more than 1km away. The Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tumulus, for instance, is visible from the Ostrusha **(18)** tumulus. Tumuli which are located at the foot of a mountain or on natural hills blend well into their environment and are harder to find; this might be a deliberate attempt to conceal the tombs, and thereby protect them from looting. The Brestovitsa **(12)**, Popova **(33)**, Chernichino **(40)**, Madzharovo **(38)**, Kurt Kale **(42)** tumuli serve as especially good examples, as they are located high in the mountain hills, amid thick forests. Some tumuli, however, dominate their local landscape despite being built on natural hills: Chetinyova **(4)** and Momina **(34)** tumuli are two such examples. Both of these tumuli are easy to see from below and were clearly intended to be seen.

The other important relationship the tumuli have is to their local settlements. Fifteen tumuli belong to known urban settlements: the Vetren **(1)** tomb has been suggested to be related to emporion Pistiros; the Filipovo **(10)** tomb to Philipopolis; the Koprinka tumuli **(20-21)** belonged to the necropolis of Seuthopolis; the Eshil Tepe, V. Varnenchik, and Archilar **(54-56)**

[9] See analysis section for further discussion.

tombs were in the locality of ancient Apollonia; the Sveshtari tomb and tumuli 12 and 13 **(69-71)** at Sboryanovo belong to the Eastern necropolis of the fortified Hellenistic Getic settlement (possibly Helis); and Mangalia tumuli 1-4 and the Documaci tumulus **(73-77)** are all in the vicinity of Hellenistic Kallatis.

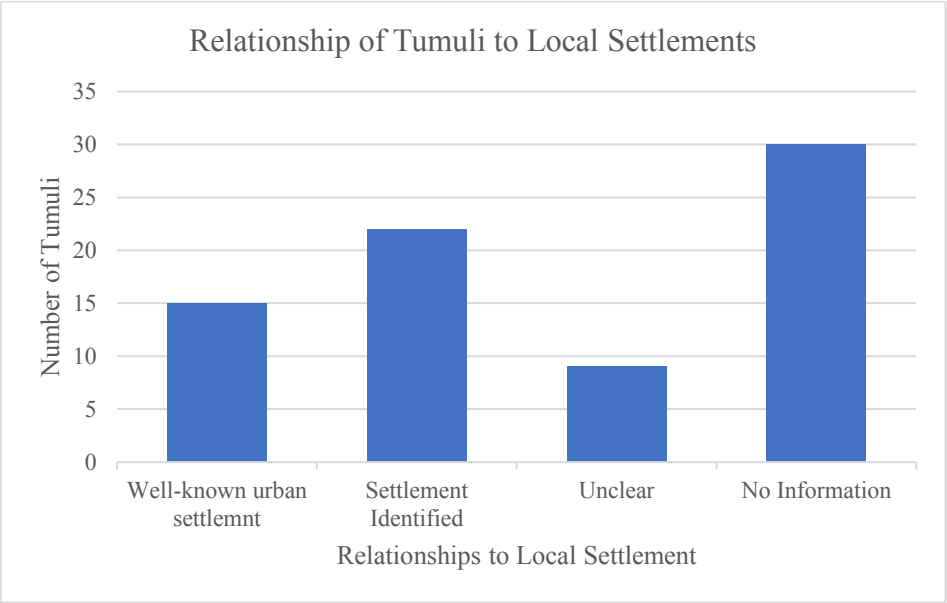

Chart 6.5: Relationship of tumuli to local settlements (numbers)

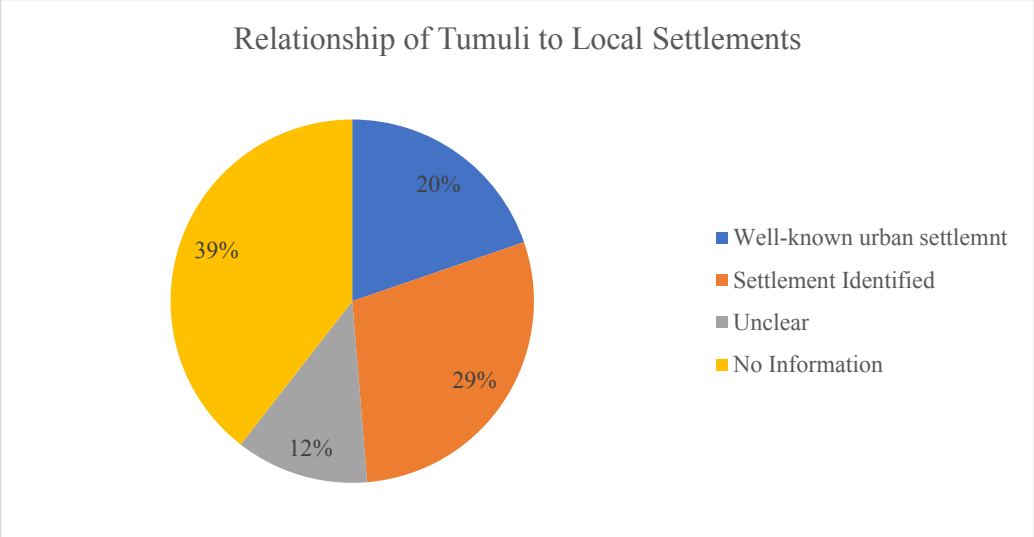

Chart 6.6: Relationship of tumuli to local settlements (percentages)

For the remainder of the tumuli, the relationship to their local settlement is less well-understood. As charts 6.5 and 6.6 show, there is no information available in the published literature for thirty of the tumuli. It is unclear whether the settlement or fortification discovered near nine tumuli have any connection to those tumuli. Unfortunately, this means that in the case of more than half of the tumuli, there is little or no information known about the local settlements. When information is available, however, it can lead to interesting questions and conclusions. For example, the Madzharovo tomb **(38)** contained a significant amount of gold. A settlement has been identified nearby, and in its vicinity gold and silver mines, which suggests that the inhabitants of the settlement might have specialized in metallurgy.[10]

In some cases, a particular tumulus or necropolis would be linked to a fortification also located high in the hills. One example of this is the Kurt Kale fortress, which was built on the Kurt Kale hill. Although today it is the medieval fortress that remains, a brief survey by Bogdan Filov in the 1930s discovered evidence of an earlier phase, which suggests that the spot was continuously occupied from the Classical through the Medieval period.[11] If that is the case, this settlement would have been connected to the Kurt Kale **(42)** tumulus, which is also built on the same hill, and possibly the three Mezek tumuli and Mal-Tepe **(41)**, all of which are in its vicinity. Another example is Kozi Gramadi. This fortified residence, which dates to the Hellenistic period, is located high in the mountains and is – at present – difficult to access (fig. 6.2).[12] Notably, there is evidence, such as the type of clamps, the workmanship on the ashlar blocks, and the type of ionic doorframe used in the so-called 'monumental building' at the

[10] See Nekhrizov and Tsvetkova 2017, 508.There is very little information available and no additional bibliography on this settlement or the mines.
[11] Filov 1937, 7.
[12] The fortified residence is well-published, however. See Hristov 2011a, Hristov 2011b, and Hristov 2015 for further information on the site.

fortified residence, reinforces the connection between it and the Chetinyova **(4)** and Manyov Dol 4 **(8)** tombs.[13] It is further worth noting that the three sites were connected by a road network in antiquity.[14]

There are similarities between the cases of the Kurt Kale and Kozi Gramadi fortresses. First, both are built in high altitudes. This was not unusual in Thrace - there are many fortified settlements or residences which were built at safe and strategic locations in mountainous areas, and likely served to protect relevant borders.[15] Second, in both cases, there are burials (in barrows) found nearby. One difference between two settlements is that while there is a tumular necropolis near the Kozi Gramadi residence, there is only one tumulus near the Kurt Kale fortress: the Kurt Kale **(42)** tumulus. In contrast to the Kozi Gramadi tumuli, which do not cover any built structures, the Kurt Kale **(42)** tumulus does feature a monumental tomb.[16] Third, close to each settlement, at a lower altitude, there are more tumuli, usually larger and therefore more notable, among them the Chetinyova **(3)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** respectively - two of the largest tumuli in Thrace, the monuments within them notable for their size and fine craftsmanship. In both cases, it could be argued, the fortresses were built with an emphasis on security (the high altitude making them more difficult to reach), while the locations of the wealthiest burials in their respective areas suggest an emphasis on visibility. Strategic positioning of this kind is not unique to Thrace, nor to this period. Similar arrangements (a settlement at a higher altitude than the prominent tumuli associated with it) have been observed elsewhere in the region.[17]

[13] Hristov and Stoyanova 2011, especially p. 86 and 92.
[14] See fig. 6.2.
[15] Hristov 2015, 4-16.
[16] It should be noted that the Kurt Kale **(42)** tumulus is not the only tumulus to be built on a hill and difficult to access. In fact, there are at least three other examples: the Buzovgrad **(32)**, Popova **(33)**, and Naip **(49)** tumuli.
[17] See Galanakis 2011, esp. 224-226.

Grouping

One more relationship of the tumuli in this study should be examined: that to other tumuli in their immediate vicinity. Charts 6.7 and 6.8 below show the relationship of the tumuli in this study to other tumuli:

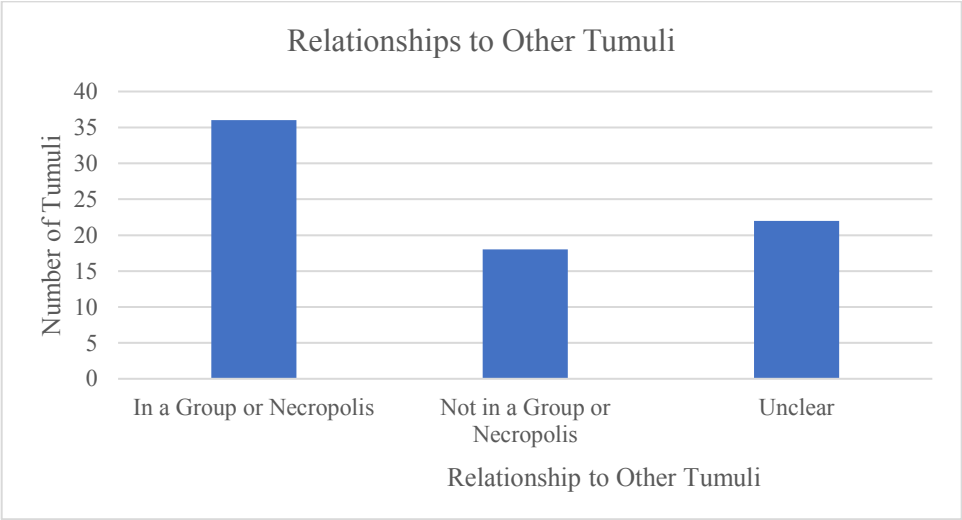

Chart 6.7: Distribution of tumuli in relation to other tumuli (numbers)

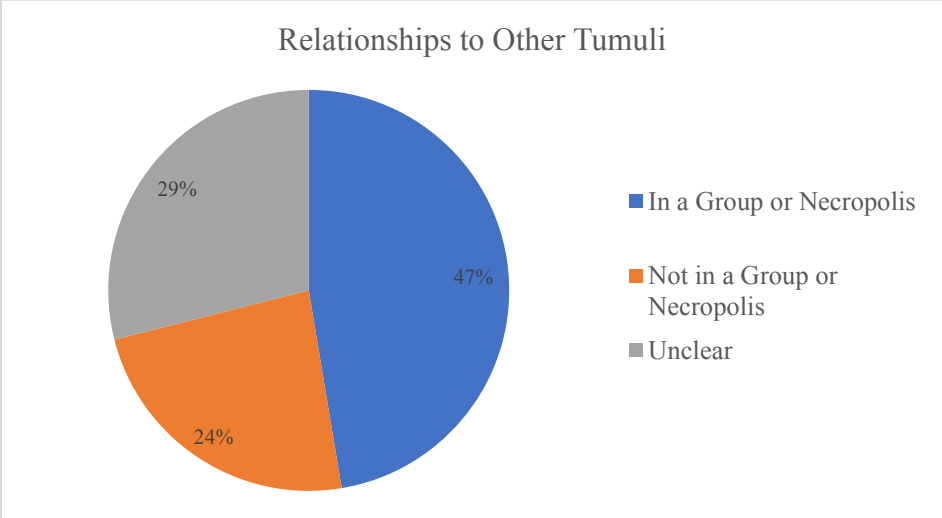

Chart 6.8: Distribution of tumuli in relation to other tumuli (percentages)

As the charts suggest, while some tumuli stand alone, the majority of tumuli belong to a group or a necropolis. A tumular group is a group of mounds intended to be seen as belonging together

and placed in close proximity to one another. A tumular necropolis is a cemetery of tumuli which belong to the same general area and possibly the same settlement but may not necessarily have any physical or temporal connection to each other. It is possible that more do, as well, but it does not always become clear from the information provided in the publications. Nor is it always possible to determine wither certain tumuli belong to a group or a necropolis[18] Conversely, there are cases in which this distinction can be easily made.

One such example is the group to which the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tumulus belongs. There are five tumuli in this group, spaced approximately 200m apart from each other.[19] The tumuli are built on the banks of a small river, with the two larger ones (Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Malka Kosmatka) on the East bank and the three smaller ones on the West bank. Exploration of the five tumuli revealed that only Golyama Kostmatka **(13)** contained a built chamber tomb underneath it, but finds were discovered in the others. Based on the finds, most of the tumuli can be dated roughly to the 4th century BC. The tomb within Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** dates to the end of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC. What becomes clear from examining the finds and dating the tumuli is that although they all belong to the 4th century, they are not necessarily all contemporaneous (i.e. they were not built at the same time). Still, they appear to have been built in relation to each other.[20]

Another two groups indicate association, although in these cases the groups appear to have been built around one mound in particular. The first group is the so-called Shushmanets group, located north of Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, in the foot of the Shipka mountain. The group

[18] In addition, the terms are often used interchangeably.
[19] Dimitrova 2015a, 29.
[20] Dimitrova 2019a, 72.

has at least three tumuli associated with it: Shushmanets **(15)**, Grifoni **(16)**, and Helvetsia **(17)**.[21] Shushmanets **(17)** is similar in dimensions to Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, and as such dominates the local landscape. Based on the architecture of the tombs found within these three tumuli and any small finds within them, it would appear that they were built within roughly the same period. Given the size and location of Shushmanets **(14)**, however, it is clear that the others were built near it as to indicate an association.[22]

The second example of this phenomenon is observed around the Ginina **(69)** tumulus. This tumulus has three smaller ones built in very close proximity to it: Sboryanovo tumuli 12 **(70)** and 13 **(71)** and a smaller satellite. The tumuli were built as a group in the same period. This is indicated not only by their proximity, but also by the fact that all three contain built chamber tombs which share architectural features and decoration and may be dated to the same period. Given that Ginina tumulus is the largest of the three mounds, and the tomb within it the biggest and most opulent, it may reasonably be assumed that the other tumuli were built near it to indicate association with it. It may be possible that there was a familial relationship between those buried beneath the tumuli as well, although this is difficult to establish with certainty.

The Sboryaonovo group is also important for another reason: that it belongs to a larger, clearly identifiable necropolis. This group is located in the eastern necropolis of a Hellenistic Getic settlement (briefly mentioned in the previous section).[23] The three tumuli form only a fraction of the mounds within this necropolis and are also not the only group. They may

[21] According to Dimitrova 2013c, 133, there are five tumuli in this group; Kitov 2003d, 304 suggests that there are seven.
[22] Stoyanov and Tonkova 2015, 919. It should be noted that a settlement has been found in the sector of the Kazanluk Valley where the Kosmatki and Shushmanets groups are situated. The settlement, named Gradovete, is largely unexplored as of yet, but it is within mere kilometers from the tumuli. However, the explored area can be securely dated to the Hellenistic period. This is not early enough to be the settlement to which the mounds are connected, but future exploration may provide evidence to confirm such a connection.
[23] See fig. 2.7.

therefore serve as a good example for the distinction between a tumular group and a tumular necropolis.

Not all tumular groups are formed around a single large one. The grouping of tumuli might be based on a chronological connection or a desire to establish a link to the past. The satellite tumuli around Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** are one example, as already mentioned. Another example might be the Momina tumulus **(34)**. This tumulus was built on a prominent hill and overlooks its immediate surroundings. What is interesting about the Momina **(34)** tumulus, however, is that it is not the only tomb on this hill: there is another - Little Momina **(34)** tumulus – located 20m from it. This second tumulus, as its name indicates, is smaller in size. On further study, it was discovered that it covered an Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BC) necropolis featuring ten burials and a stone circle.[24] As the two tumuli are positioned so close to one another, it would appear that the builders of the Momina **(34)** tumulus chose this hill not only due to the fact that it is one of the highest locations in the landscape, but also to create an intentional association with the Little Momina **(34)** tumulus.

Other groups feature tumuli approximately similar in size, and sometimes even similar in contents. One example are the Yankovo tumuli. These are a group of four tumuli in total, built 20-100m from each other.[25] Three of them contain built chamber tombs, apparently from the same time period and constructed using similar building techniques. Another example is the group to which Mezek tumulus 1 **(43)** belongs. There are three tumuli in that group, spaced 100m or so from each other in a line going east to west.[26] Interestingly, Mezek tumulus 1 is the smallest of the three, but it is the one in which a built chamber tomb was found.

[24] Tonkova 2011, 6; see also Ivanov 2011, 28-35.
[25] Dremsizova 1955, 62.
[26] Filov 1937, 83.

In other cases, tumuli clearly belong to necropoleis, but not necessarily to a group. One example are Koprinka tumuli 2 and 3 **(20-21)**. These tumuli are of a similar size (tumulus 2 is 8m high and has a diameter of 41-42m, and tumulus 3 is 6m high and has a diameter of 43m) and contain built chamber tombs (seemingly of the same type).[27] They both can definitively be associated with the Hellenistic city of Seuthopolis, as they were built a few hundred meters from the city and in close proximity to its flat cemetery. Yet they are not necessarily part of one group. Tumulus 2 **(20)** was situated 20m from tumulus 1 and the two were built on the right bank of Golyama Varovitsa river, 180-200m from Seuthopolis. Tumulus 3 **(21)** was situated west of them, on the left bank of the river and 350m from Seuthopolis.[28] Based on their size, contents, and proximity to Seuthopolis, the tumuli were clearly part of the same necropolis.

There is a similar lack in clarity for other tumuli. Two examples will be noted upon here. One is the Chernichino **(40)** tumulus. According to the available data, it is situated on a ridge, along with four other tumuli. The tumuli are in a line going east to west, and built at a distance of 120-250m from each other.[29] The available published data does not, however, make it any clearer whether the other tumuli have been studied (possibly not), and whether there is any clear connection between them, temporally or otherwise. Thus, the five tumuli may potentially be seen as a tumular necropolis, but they may also simply be built in the same general area in different periods and not connected in any meaningful way.

The other example is the three Kırklareli tumuli, labelled as tumuli A-C **(44-46)**. These tumuli were excavated in the early 20th century, and unfortunately there is not as much information about them or their contents. The tumuli are reported as located approximately half

[27] Chichikova and Dimitrov 1978, 54.
[28] Chichikova and Dimitrov 1978, 52.
[29] Nekhrizov and Tsvetkova 2017, 500-501.

an hour from the modern city of Kırklareli (unclear whether by foot or other mode of transport), and built in close proximity to each other in a line going west/southwest-east/northeast.[30] There is no information about their height nor diameters, nor how close they are to an ancient settlement (or if such a settlement has been identified). The fact that they are in a line and that they each contain a monumental tomb of similar date suggests that they would have belonged to the same necropolis. Whether they are otherwise related, however, remains unclear.

A similar issue applies to another set of three tumuli: the Muglizh **(28)**, Racheva **(29)**, and Kesteleva **(30)** tumuli. According to the excavators of the Muglizh **(28)** tumulus, it is located within the territory of an ancient settlement of an unknown date; there is also a smaller tumulus very close to it, but its contents date to the Roman period.[31] This appears to be a case in which a small satellite tumulus was built at a later date, close to a large one. It is the Muglizh **(28)** tumulus' relationship to the other two that is more interesting. Racheva **(29)** tumulus is situated 1km northeast of Muglizh **(28)**, and 2km east/northeast of Kesteleva **(30)** tumulus.[32] Moreover, all three tumuli contained built chamber tombs constructed from brick, with the two in the Kestleva **(30)** and Racheva **(29)** tumuli being almost identical in size and design. This suggests two things: first, that the tumuli were associated with the brick production in Seuthopolis; and second, that they were roughly contemporaneous. This is where their association ends, however. Given the physical distance between them, it becomes clear that, while they were part of the same necropolis, they are not part of the same group.

The Documaci **(77)** tumulus is another example of this dynamic. The tumulus was built on a hilly ridge, at the highest point in its immediate vicinity. There are ten tumuli to the north of

[30] Mansel 1943, 37.
[31] Tsanova and Getov 1973, 15.
[32] Dimitrova 2012, 177.

it, spread over a distance of approximately 850m, and an additional six earth "anomalies" – probably much smaller mounds which have been destroyed in the process of agricultural work.[33] Although some of them are close to the Documaci **(77)** tumulus, it becomes quickly apparent that both the tumuli and "anomalies" used the Hellenistic road that crosses the ridge perpendicularly as a reference point; the Documaci **(77)** tumulus does not.[34] Thus, none of these structures is likely to have been connected to the Documaci **(77)** tumulus. Yet, while the tumulus does not belong to a group, it does belong to a larger necropolis connected to the Hellenistic Callatis.

As has already been established in this section, tumuli are often built at high altitudes, as to overlook their local settlement or area as a whole, at times dominating their local landscape and at times to be well-hidden in order to deter looters. As a result, they could be isolated from their respective settlements and the necropolises belonging to those settlements. Three examples of this are the Brestovitsa **(12)**, Popova **(33)**, and Naip **(49)** tumuli. The Naip **(49)** tumulus is similar to the Documaci **(77)** tumulus. It is located 3.5km from the coast of the sea – in this case, Sea of Marmara - and as with the Documaci **(77)** tumulus, there is a panoramic view of the coast from its location. Whereas the Documaci **(77)** tumulus is built on a ridge and quite visible, however, the Naip **(49)** tumulus is in the north-eastern slopes of the Işklar mountain, and it does not seem to be clearly discernable from the sea.[35]

The Brestovitsa **(12)** and Popova **(33)** tumuli are entirely inland, in central Thrace. The former stands on a hill, 651m above sea level.[36] It has blended well with the local environment over time, making it difficult to find. The latter is on a hill in the southern part of Sredna Gora mountain, on the outer reaches of the Kazanluk valley. According to the excavators, it is quite

[33] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 71.
[34] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 68-71.
[35] Delemen 2004, 1-2.
[36] Gerasimova, Rousseva, and Kisyov 1992, 63.

difficult to reach, and as a result it was only partially studied.[37] As both are very isolated, it is unclear what settlements they are related to.

Popova **(33)** tumulus contains a tomb made of baked brick, which connects it to some degree with the brick production in Seuthopolis. Although, given that the Muglizh **(28)**, Kesteleva **(29)**, and Racheva **(30)** tumuli also contain brick-built tombs and can be connected to another settlement, it cannot be determined with certainty that Popova **(33)** tumulus does not belong to a smaller settlement within the Kazanluk valley, rather than Seuthopolis. About the Brestovitsa **(12)** tumulus, there is no information available.[38]

The location of a tumulus in relation to the settlement it is connected to may also be a question of a diversity in local practices. The necropolis of the Hellenistic Getic settlement in Sboryanovo features numerous tumuli. In contrast, there are only a handful of tumuli in the necropolis of Seuthopolis, even though the Kazanluk valley as a whole features hundreds of tumuli from a variety of periods. This is also the case around the emporion Pistiros. There are numerous tumuli in its general area (the Pazardzhik district) (fig. 6.3). In fact, a necropolis of fifteen tumuli were excavated near the modern-day village of Akandzhievo (approx. 2km west of the Vetren tomb), close to where Pistiros is located.[39] Yet none of the tumuli contained monumental tombs, nor are they directly connected to the emporion. The only tumulus which contains a built chamber tomb and is directly linked to the emporion is the Vetren tomb **(1)**. The next closest mound containing a monumental tomb is the one in Malko Belovo **(2)**, and it is not

[37] Dimitrova 2013a, 298.
[38] It is be possible to determine the connection between a tumulus and a settlement in its area, even if the tumulus is built on a high hill and is independent of the settlement's necropolis. Two such examples (the Buzovgrad **(32)** and Kurt Kale **(42)** tumuli) have already been discussed above.
[39] Gizdova 2005, 117

connected in any way to Pistiros. Clearly, the building of the Vetren **(1)** tomb was a personal choice by the deceased, as opposed to local custom.

Tumulus Construction

The shape and dimensions of tumuli are often affected by both natural phenomena and human interventions before excavation. On the natural side, erosion and the growth of vegetation on top of the tumuli are two factors which have an effect. A large number of the tumuli in this sample have various kinds of vegetation growing upon them. In fact, Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tumulus derives its name (literally the "large hairy tumulus") from the fact that it had a number of large oak trees and bushes growing on it.[40] Other notable examples include the Zhaba **(3)**, Nedkova **(6)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Sashova **(23)**, Aleksandrovo **(37)**, and Vurbitsa **(57)** tumuli.

On the side of human intervention, there are agricultural (plowing) work, infrastructure, looting, and reuse. For example, the original publication of the Vetren **(1)** tumulus noted that it has been subject to agricultural work and had vines grown upon it prior to excavation.[41] The excavators of the Yankovo tumuli **(63-65)** notes that tumulus 1 had been subject to agricultural activity for a long time prior to excavation, and in fact only the northeast portion of it was excavated, as the northwest part was still used for agriculture and was thus inaccessible.[42] It should be noted that, while these and other tumuli in this study were affected by human agricultural works and were partially lost, they nevertheless did survive. There are numerous

[40] Dimitrova 2015a, 26.
[41] Venedikov 1946, 194
[42] Dremsizova 1955, 62.

cases, such as the "anomalies" near the Documaci tumulus, where tumuli were completely destroyed by agricultural work before they became subject to scientific interest.[43]

The Parvomay **(11)** tumulus is another case in which agricultural work affected the tumulus, but it is not the only intervention it was subjected to prior to excavation. According to the excavators, between the time it was disrupted by agricultural work and the time it was officially excavated, the tumulus was subject to looting, which resulted in substantial damage. By the time archaeological intervention took place, the portion of the tumulus which covered the monumental tomb was completely gone, and with it much valuable information.[44]

Looting often does not lead to the destruction of the mounds, although it does cause damage by disrupting layers and affecting their dimensions and shape. Nearly all of the tumuli examined in this thesis were subject to looting at least once, and most of them on several occasions between antiquity and the modern day. If evidence of contemporary looting exists, it is often noted upon in the excavation reports and official publications. At times, looting leads to rescue excavations or survey work, as in Parvomay **(11)** and the Veselinovo **(61-62)** tumuli. In another case, – the Nedkova **(6)** tumulus – the tunnels were so extensive that they made it impossible to conduct a geophysical survey of the mound.[45]

Infrastructural work, such as the building of highways, has and continues to be the catalyst for a number of rescue excavations as well as a source of damage. The Smyadovo **(60)** tumulus was affected by such work. In the 1950s, an electrical pole was erected in the southern part of the tumulus. Fortunately, it did not affect the tomb within it, but it did cause damage to the mound itself.[46]

[43] See previous section and Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 71.
[44] Gerasimova, Rousseva, and Kisyov 1992, 69.
[45] Dimitrova 2005b, 191.
[46] Atanasov and Nedelchev 2002, 550.

Lastly, a great number of the tumuli in this study have been reused, at times more than once. This phenomenon will be discussed in further detail below, in the section on contents, but it ought to be mentioned, as it would have had a direct effect on the tumuli.

Shapes and Dimensions

Broadly, there are three shapes into which Thracian tumuli can be categorized: cones, truncated cones, and hemispherical.[47] As charts 6.9 and 6.10 below show, however, it is not particularly common for the shape to be noted upon in academic literature:

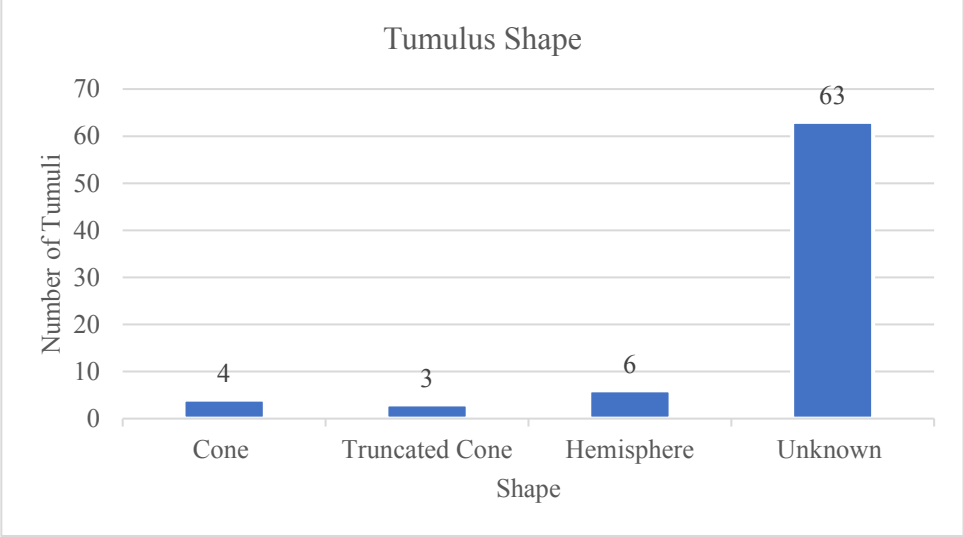

Chart 6.9: Distribution of tumuli by shape (numbers)

[47] Kitov and Agre 2002, 105-107.

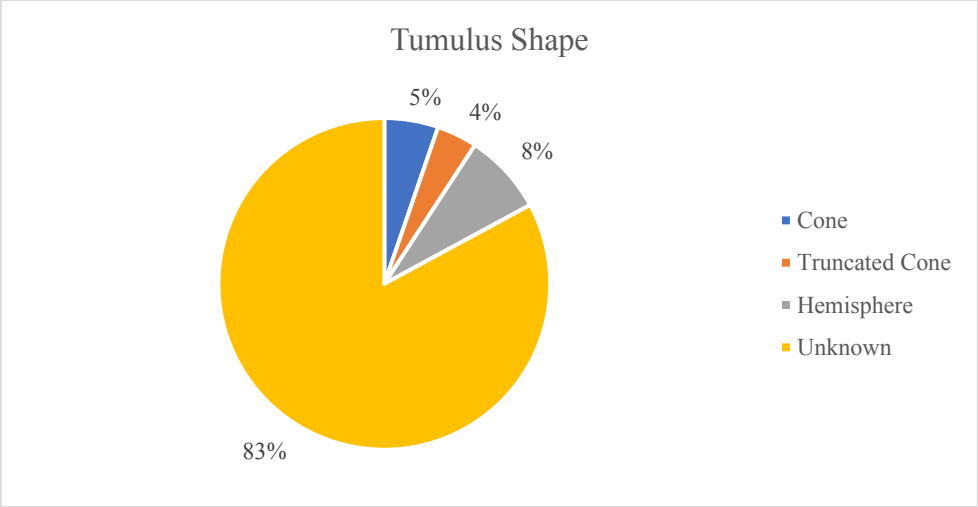

Chart 6.10: Distribution of tumuli by shape (numbers)

The shape of a tumulus may have an effect on certain aspects of its dimensions. In particular, some tumuli have more than one highest point, and their diameters may measure differently in different directions.[48] As a result, their heights and diameters may be recorded as either a median or as two values. For example, the Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** tumulus is shaped as a truncated cone over an ellipsis. Its height may be recorded as either 19m on one side and 23m on the other, or a median of 21m. Likewise, its diameter from east to west is 120m and 130m from north to south.[49] The Grifoni **(15)** tumulus is almost hemispherical. As a result, its diameter (45m) is the same on all sides. As it is not a perfect shape, however, its height does fluctuate between 11 and 13m.

At this point, the dimensions (height and diameter) of the tumuli in this sample ought to be discussed in greater depth. Chart 6.11 shows the average height of tumuli in the sample.

[48] See Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Grifoni **(15)**, and Dolno Izvorovo **(27)** tumuli.
[49] Dimitrova 2019a, 70.

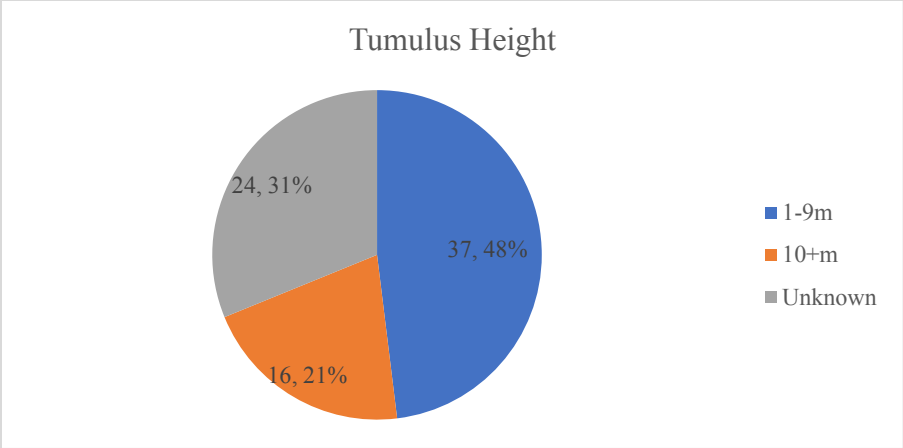

Chart 6.11: Distribution of tumuli by height (numbers and percentages)

As the chart shows, there is a lack of information about the height of nearly a third of the tumuli in this sample. Nevertheless, nearly half of all tumuli measure between 1 and 9m in height. The tumulus with minimal recorded height in this sample is the Parvomay **(11)** tumulus, which measured at 1.5m at the time of excavation.[50] The tumulus with the maximum recorded height is the Chetinyova **(4)** tumulus, which measures at 25.5m at present, and might may have originally measured at 30m or more.[51]

Chart 6.12 displays the recorded diameter lengths among the tumuli in this sample:

[50] The tumulus suffered significant damage prior to excavation. It is safe to conclude that its height decreased as a result.
[51] Tzochev 2021, 100.

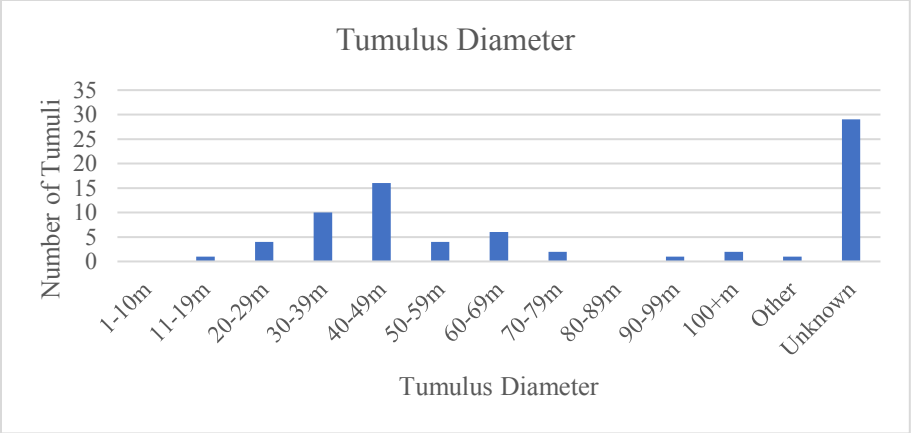

Chart 6.12: Distribution of tumuli by diameter (numbers)

The charts show that, as is the case with the heights of the tumuli, there is significant lack of information regarding their diameters. In total, there are twenty-eight tumuli (thirty-six of the sample) the diameters of which are not mentioned in the publications. Among the remaining forty-eight tumuli (sixty-four percent), the majority (twenty-six tumuli or fifty-four percent) measure between 30 and 49m in diameter. The tumulus with the smallest diameter is the Parvomay tumulus (10m). The tumulus with the largest diameter is the Shushmanets **(14)** tumulus, which measures at 120m-130m.

Building Phases and Techniques

Tumuli, by nature of being large structures, take a significant amount of time and resources to build. A careful recording and study of stratigraphy may reveal a wealth of information about the building processes, techniques, and phases of each tumulus. In general, what all tumuli in this sample have in common is that they are made of locally sourced soil.

Although the size and shape of tumuli would not have been arbitrary, it was not until the second half of the 20th century that evidence was found that some of them were planned with great precision. This evidence came in the form of impressions from wooden posts at the exact

centre of three tumuli: the Zhaba **(3)** tumulus in the necropolis of Seuthopolis, and a small tumulus located 50m southeast of Roshava **(7)** tumulus in the Kazanluk valley.[52] These posts strongly suggest that the size (or, at the very least, the diameter) of these particular tumuli, and likely many others, was precisely planned and executed.

The process of building a tumulus may have one or several phases, depending on the tumulus' size and contents. Smaller tumuli may only require a single layer. Larger tumuli have multiple layers in general because it helps to stabilize the mound, but in some specific cases it may be due to reuse or because the larger tumulus was built on top of one or more smaller tumuli. The tumuli tend to be built of local soil, sometimes soil taken from their immediate surroundings. In the case of four tumuli – Zhaba **(3)**, Mal Tepe **(41)**, Yankovo tumulus 3 **(65)**, and Ginina **(69)** – there are still ditches partially surrounding the peripheries of the tumuli.[53] These ditches are an important part for understanding part of the building process, and in particular for how the soil for the tumuli was sourced. They also appear to serve as a drainage system, and regularly fill with water.[54]

The Sboryanovo group – Ginina tumulus and tumuli 12 and 13 **(69-71)** serve as a good case study for the piling process. According to the excavator of tumuli 12 and 13, both were piled in three stages. The stratigraphy – and thus the evidence for this process – is preserved best in tumulus 13 **(71)**. The tomb in tumulus 12 **(70)** was destroyed, so the original stratigraphy was not as well preserved. The evidence does suggest, however, that it happened after the majority of the tomb was covered by a protective stone layer, topped by dark soil and loess, but the façade

[52] Kitov and Agre 2002, 115; Paunov 2002, 83; Kitov 1995b, 57; Kitov 1979, 9.
[53] Dremsizova 1955, 72-73; Chichikova, Stoyanova and Stoyanov 2012, 9; Kitov and Agre 2002 116-117; Filov 1937, 7.
[54] In fact, Zhaba **(3)** tumulus derives its name (literally "frog tumulus") from the moat formed inside the ditch on its periphery, which is inhabited by frogs.

was still open and accessible. After the destruction of the tomb, which resulted in the stones from the protective layer to fall around the tomb, the tumulus was erected again.[55] Ginina **(69)** tumulus was also built in stages, and the stratigraphy there suggests that it was done concurrently with the tomb. First, small mounds were piled up to the springs of the vaults of the chambers. Next, the spaces between those mounds were filled. Lastly, the remainder of the tumulus was piled.[56] It ought to be noted that all three tumuli were also disturbed, as the tombs beneath them were either reused, looted, or – in the case of tumulus 12 **(70)** – destroyed.

Tumulus 12 **(70)** is not unique. As has been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, a great number of the tombs studied in this thesis were looted, and a number of them destroyed, their building materials taken away and likely reused. The tumuli which encapsulate these tombs are disturbed and their stratigraphy reflects that. This does not mean, however, that the original layers are entirely lost. The Malko Belovo **(2)** tumulus, for example, contained a partially destroyed tomb, but it was possible to establish that the tumulus has at least two layers: the first layer was built directly on top of the tomb, and then a second layer was added over it to create the final large tumulus.[57]

In some cases, the tumuli were piled on top of the tombs, but did not cover them completely for some amount of time. This is especially evident in tombs with forecourts, as the walls of the forecourts appear to have been designed specifically to support the tumulus and prevent the soil from collapsing and cutting off access to the tomb. The soil fill of the tumulus also often reflects this dynamic. In the case of Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, for example, it was observed that the fill in front of the tomb differs from that of the remainder of the tumulus: the

[55] Gergova 1996, 30.
[56] Chichikova, Stoyanova and Stoyanov 2012, 17-19
[57] Velkov 1943, 38. Velkov suggests that the first layer was a "first" tumulus, which was then covered by the larger tumulus, but this is unlikely.

former is homogenous, made of compact brown and grey soil, while the latter is made of alternating layers of gravel and clayey soil.[58] This shows that while the majority of the tumulus was constructed in layers and phases, the part of the embankment in front of the tomb consists of a singular phase, at a later stage.

The forecourt of the Shushmanets **(14)** tomb goes a step further – at one point, it featured walls perpendicular to those of the forecourt, of which only one survives today (figs. 6.4-6.5).[59] The surviving wall is made of unworked stone and mud and stretches east to west, with an angle towards the northwest, giving it a rainbow shape. Its maximum height is 3m and maximum length is 8.60m. The wall is connected to the exterior side of the western wall of the forecourt and, notably, is made of the same materials. This suggests that the two structures were planned and built concurrently with the intent being to support the large tumulus and keep the façade of the tomb accessible.

Additional support may at times also be required even after a tumulus is completed in order to maintain its structural integrity. Such support comes in the form of the so-called crepis walls. Among the tumuli in this study, three feature crepis walls: the Chetinyova **(4)**, Mal-Tepe **(41)**, and Documaci **(77)** tumuli. On one hand, this is perhaps not surprising, as they are among the largest: Chetinyova **(4)** is 25.5m in height and 73-79m in diameter, Mal-Tepe **(41)** is 14m high and 90m in diameter, and Documaci **(77)** is 60m in diameter and 8m high. On the other hand, it is also notable that two of the largest tumuli – Golyama Kosmatka **(13)**, which has a median height of 21m and a diameter of 120m (east to west) or 130m (north to south) and Shushmanets **(14)**, which has a height of 18m (on the north side) and 24m (on the south side) and

[58] Dimitrova 2015a, 37-38.
[59] The eastern wall was presumably destroyed during excavation. For more details, see Dimitrova and Parvin 2013, 174-175.

a diameter of 110-120m (east to west) – do not feature crepis walls. The presence of crepis walls may therefore be an individual choice.

Individual choices were also made in the process of building the crepis walls. The aforementioned three examples share commonalities, but are not the same. On the very basic level, what they have in common is that all three walls went around the entire circumference of their respective tumuli. In two cases – Chetinyova **(4)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** – the walls were found to have two layers: an outer-facing layer of large ashlars, and an inner layer of mostly unworked stone. According to the excavator, the crepis walls of the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tumulus were heavily damaged by locals. However, enough remained to establish that the combined thickness of the wall (between the exterior and interior layers) came to approximately 5m and that there was a layer of flat slabs on top of the ashlar blocks.[60] The crepis wall of the Chetinyova **(4)** tumulus has also suffered damage over time, but much of it still survives. Scientific exploration conducted in 2019 clarified several aspects of its construction. First, it was confirmed that it had two layers – one of ashlars and one of unworked stone – and that the ashlar layer was made of two rows but that the rows were not structurally connected; rather, they abut each other (figs. 6.6-6.7). It also showed that, while the ashlars were not covered by flat slabs like at Mal-Tepe **(41)**, there were (at irregular intervals) connected by narrow and long ashlars, acting as headers (fig. 6.8).[61] Lastly, the exploration revealed that the majority of ashlars were connected through Π or bird-tail shaped clamps, which were (mostly) subsequently removed (fig. 6.9).[62]

The crepis of the Documaci **(77)** tumulus appears to only have one layer, which is made of compactly arranged unworked stone and soil, and it is not visible on the tumulus' exterior

[60] Filov 1937, 7.
[61] Tzochev, Dimitrova, and Stoyanova 2020, 567.
[62] Tzochev, Dimitrova, and Stoyanova 2020, 567.

(figs 6.10-6.11). As such, this wall is reminiscent of the inner-facing layer of the other two examples. There does not appear to have been a layer of outer-facing ashlar blocks in front of it as with the other examples, given that a pavement of a sort was found 0.45m from the wall, towards the exterior of the mound. The pavement – made of pebbles and compact soil and placed 0.30m lower than the wall – appears to have been created as a foundation to build the tumulus upon; the excavators discovered stone collapsed directly from the wall, which shows definitively that there was no layer between the pavement and the wall.[63] (fig. 6.12) The Documaci **(77)** tumulus further contrasts with the Chetiyova **(4)** and Mal-Tepe **(41)** tumuli, in that it has additional reinforcement walls throughout its interior.[64] This is very unusual – no other tumulus in this study has additional reinforcement structures throughout. The Documaci **(77)** tumulus may thus be seen as an outlier at the moment.

Building Upon Earlier Tumuli

At times, as already mentioned above, there is at least one smaller tumulus which significantly predates a larger tumulus, into which the former was incorporated. In the late Hellenistic and the Roman periods, it became more common to unite small tumuli built next to each other into a large tumulus.[65] In the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, the practice is different in that instead of several smaller mounds being joined into a larger one, there is one mound over which a second, larger one was built. There are four tumuli in this study which were built this way: the

[63] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 81.
[64] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 122-125.
[65] Kitov and Agre 2002, 114. An earlier and well-known example is the great royal tumulus at Vergina. There is a significant difference in the size of the tumuli, as the Vergona ones each had a built monumental structure underneath them, but the general practice is the same. See Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 109.

Nedkova **(6)** and Madzharovo **(38)** tumuli, Rigio tumulus Γ **(52)** and Mangalia tumulus 3 **(75)**. There is little information available about the earlier mound in Nedkova **(6)** tumulus. According to Dimitrova, the southwestern portion contains an older smaller tumulus, identifiable by its grey soil that is noticeably different from that of the larger mound. It remains unclear whether anything was discovered within the earlier mound, as the Nedkova **(6)** tumulus itself was not fully studied.[66]

The other three tumuli yielded finds and even small structures. The Madzharovo **(38)** tumulus featured a small mound made of stone and dirt, and was found at the centre of the larger tumulus. It contained heavily corroded metal objects and a stone axe, which helped date it to the Early Iron Age.[67] The structure in tumulus 3 in Mangalia **(75)** was practically identical – a small stone mound in the geographical centre of the larger mound. Like Nedkova **(6)** tumulus, Mangalia tumulus 3 was not excavated in its entirety, and the excavator does not report any finds from the smaller mound at its centre but does suggest that it was an earlier structure.[68]

The structure in tumulus Γ **(52)** at Rigio is more complicated. Like the previous two, it was discovered at the centre of the mound. Unlike them, however, this structure comprises of two concentric stone circles covered by an earth tumulus as opposed to a full stone mound (fig. 6.13). As with the one in Nedkova **(6)** tumulus, the smaller, earlier mound was built using a different type of soil to that of the current mound (grey soil mixed with stone, in contrast to the reddish soil with few sherds found throughout used for the secondary tumulus). The stone structure was slightly damaged, and nothing was found inside this earlier structure, but some prehistoric pottery was found mixed throughout the grey soil layer.[69] The stone circle may

[66] Dimitrova 2005b, 190-191.
[67] Chaparov 1985, 25.
[68] Preda 1962, 161.
[69] Triantaphyllos and Terzopoulou 1998, 477.

possibly have been damaged during the construction of the secondary tomb, but it is also possible that the disturbance occurred in the process of the looting of the tumulus.

The discovery of earlier tumular burials within these large late Classical/early Hellenistic ones is not surprising – the practice of tumulus appropriation was quite common.[70] Thracian tumuli are known to have been added to since the Early Bronze Age. Early Bronze Age tumuli regularly consist of one primary (in the centre of the tumulus) and several secondary graves, with the mound added to with each subsequent burial.[71] A number of Bronze Age pit burials are also contained within stone circles, encapsulated within tumuli.[72] Presumably, given the presence of pottery in the soil, the Rigio set of concentric circles perhaps also delineated a prehistoric burial site. While examples of this are quite rare, they do exist, for instance in the mound next to Momina **(34)** tumulus – the so-called Little Momina tumulus. This tumulus contained ten Early Bronze Age burials, both of adults and children, as well as a circle of unworked stones found its southwestern quarter. None of the ten individuals were located within the stone circle.[73]

In the Early Iron Age, stone-piled mounds like the ones discovered in the centre of the Madzharovo **(38)** and Mangalia 3 **(75)** tumuli became more common. This is true across Thrace.[74] Unlike the Bronze Age circles, these mounds are not isolated to the Early Iron Age, but continue into the 4th century.[75] Given this continuity, it is only the finds underneath the stone-piled mounds that can indicate the date of the mound.

The appropriation of earlier burial mounds and their incorporation into larger mounds is significant in several ways. First, it is another way to establish or claim continuity and ancestral

[70] For a brief overview of the practice in Classical and Hellenistic Thrace, see Agre 2016, especially 235.
[71] Kitov and Agre 2002, 114.
[72] Ivanov 2011, 34.
[73] Ivanov 2011, 31.
[74] Yıldırım 2015, 361-362.
[75] For two 4th-century examples from the Kazanluk valley, see Dimitrova 2013a, 42-57 and Dimitrova 2014, 42-57.

association. As mentioned above, the location of tumuli was clearly carefully chosen. It would appear that in some cases, association was made though building a tumulus close to an earlier mound, while in others, through building directly on top of the older mound.[76] Either way, both of these create a link with the anonymous ancestors. This is further indicated by the fact that the older burials were left as intact as possible, as opposed to being destroyed in the process of building the new mound.[77] Second, it was possibly a way for the members of the elite to gain prestige and strengthen their position or legitimacy. A similar phenomenon may be observed in Greece. Tomb reuse and tomb cult first become common in the Geometric period, when Bronze Age tholoi began to be utilized as places of ancestor veneration, in an attempt by the ascending elites to legitimize their power.[78] The same phenomenon may be observed in the Archaic and Classical periods in Thessaly.[79] In the Hellenistic period, the trend picks up more broadly across Greece once again as well.[80] While the two practices (building in close proximity and incorporating) are not identical, they both use the graves of earlier elites in an attempt to control the landscape and narrative, and thus legitimize new elites.

Tumulus Contents

In this chapter, it has already been established that tumuli were a widespread method of burial in ancient Thrace, and that a number of them were either built upon, reused, or both. This section examines the contents of the mounds. It is important to note that while every tumulus in this

[76] This practice appears on the regional level. See Stamatopoulou 2016 for a discussion of the practice in Archaic and Classical Thessaly, and esp. 183 for an example of an Archaic tomb in the western cemetery of Pharsalos, which was erected on top of a Bronze Age one.
[77] Agre 2016, 235. Agre mentions that there have been no examples in southern Thrace where earlier burials were disturbed.
[78] Alcock 1991, 447.
[79] See Stamatopoulou 2016, 193-195.
[80] Alcock 1991, 456-457.

study contains at least one built monumental tomb and potentially more structures, not every Thracian tumulus – and certainly not every tumulus from this period – did. Tumuli may contain different grave types –pits, cist graves, under stone mounds, or directly in the soil, whether in urns or via inhumation.[81] Others contain the so-called cenotaphs – tombs which feature burial goods, but no physical human remains.[82] Yet others contain no human remains at all, but only animal – usually equine or canine – remains.[83] There have been some tumuli in Thrace which were found to have no contents at all.[84] However, since the purpose of this study is to examine tumuli which contain built chamber tombs, in contrast to the previous sections, this section focuses only of this type of tumulus, as opposed to studying and observing patterns in Thracian tumuli more broadly.

Number of Monuments and Their Location

Of the tumuli in this study, the vast majority contain a single built chamber tomb. There are only two exceptions: Zhaba **(3)** tumulus and the tumulus at Ivanski **(58-59)**, which feature two built chamber tombs each.[85] The tombs in Zhaba **(3)** tumulus are located in the two halves of the tumulus: one is in the southern periphery, while the other was found in the northwestern

[81] Kitov 1993, 59-71.
[82] Kitov and Agre 2002, 119-120. Also see Agre 2016, 236-240 for a further discussion of this phenomenon.
[83] One such example is Tsvyatkova tumulus, which belongs to the Kosmatki tumular group. See Dimitrova 2019a, 67-68.
[84] Their purpose is unclear. Agre 2015, 236-239 discusses two specific examples from Strandzha mountain. Dimitrova 2019a, 68-69 briefly discusses one of the tumuli in the Kosmatki group, which was devoid of archaeological finds.
[85] A tumulus near the village of Sushina, Smyadovo region, also contained two tombs. This tumulus was particularly interesting, as, according to the report, the tombs were built on top of one another (possibly from different periods?). Unfortunately, the report features a cursory overview (no location, stratigraphy, drawings, or measurements were included) since the tumulus was surveyed only briefly as a result of reported looting and due to limited time and resources. The tumulus could therefore not be included in this study. See Atanasov and Yorgov 2006 for further information.

periphery of the tumulus.[86] Given that Zhaba **(3)** tumulus is one of the largest tumuli in this sample, the division of the tombs in the opposite corners of the tumulus is notable, especially since this division stands in contrast to the arrangement of the tombs in the Ivanski **(58-59)** tumulus, in which both tombs were found in the southern periphery.[87] The relative scarcity of information available makes detailed architectural analysis or exact chronology of the northwestern tomb in Zhaba **(3)** tumulus difficult to establish. However, given the marked difference in decoration, it may be presumed that, at the very least, the tomb in the southern and the tomb in the northwestern sectors had different owners. Therefore, the difference in location was either due to the fact that the two monuments were built in different periods or due to a difference in ownership. In contrast, the Ivanski **(58-59)** tombs are separate, but located close to each other. Their architectural styles are also similar. This suggests that they were contemporary, and that any association between them was intended. It also makes it likely that the owners of each respective tomb were related.

In the remaining tumuli, each of which features only one tomb, the positioning of the monuments varies, although patterns may be detected. Chart 6.12 shows the distribution of the location of the tombs in all except the Zhaba **(3)** and Ivanski **(58-59)** tumuli:

[86] Dimitrova 2019b, 44-45; Kitov 1979, 12-13. It should be noted that the tomb in the north-western periphery, which has been dubbed "The Tomb with the Panthers" has not been well-published. As a result of the relative scarcity of information available about it, this tomb has not been included in the catalogue and discussed minimally in the thesis itself. See Stoyanova and Tzochev 2016.
[87] Atanasov and Madzharov 2021, 2.

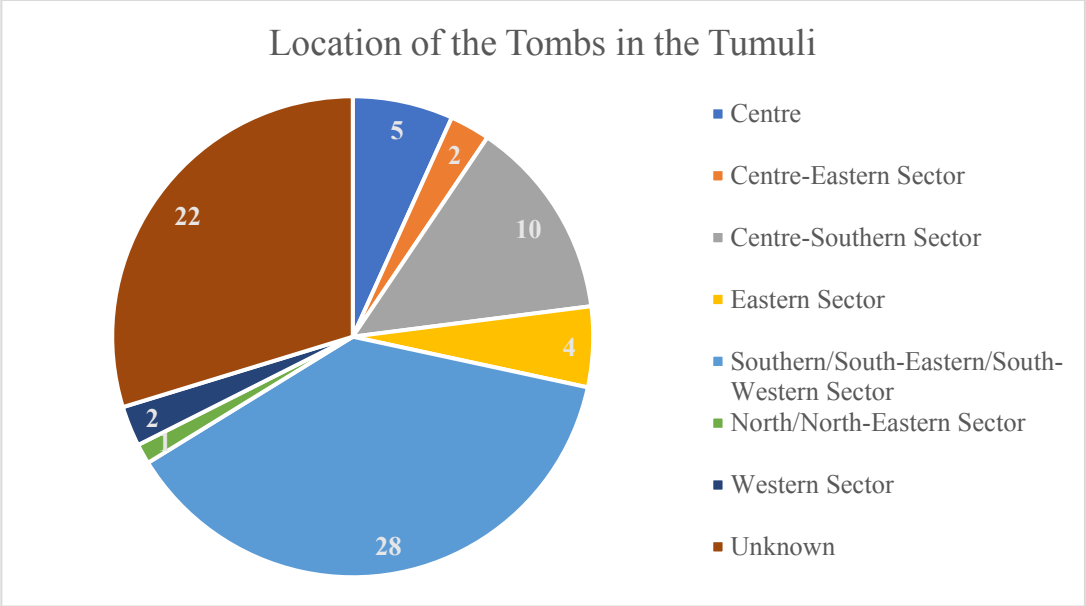

Chart 6.13: Location of the tombs in the tumuli (numbers)

As the chart shows, there is no information about the position of the tombs in twenty-two of the remaining seventy-four tumuli. The vast majority (thirty-eight) of the remaining fifty-two tumuli contain a tomb in their southern periphery or between the centre and southern sector. The marked preference for the south is notable; however, the precise meaning of this orientation is unlikely to be fully understood.

The choice to place the tombs close to the periphery (regardless of cardinal direction) of the tumulus, however, is quite practical: to allow access to the tomb. The presence of support walls (discussed above) as well as auxiliary structures such as forecourts (discussed in Chapter 3), suggest that the tombs were accessible for an undetermined period before being fully covered. Moreover, it is a known fact that a number of the tombs were reused, which makes the necessity for access stronger. If the chambers are located closer to the centre of the tumuli, their dromoi may extend towards the periphery of the tumulus. The most striking example of this is the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tomb, which has an impressively long dromos; it is, not surprisingly, also built

underneath one of the largest tumuli in Thrace. This tomb appears to have been used several times in antiquity. Centrally placed tombs which lacked a dromos were likely not reused.

Additional Structures

In addition to the built chamber tombs, the tumuli at times contain structures such as pyres, pits, supporting structures such as walls and stairs, cist graves, and earlier mounds incorporated into the tumuli, as discussed above.[88] Chart 6.14 displays the number of tumuli featuring additional structures, those that do not, and ones about which information is unavailable:

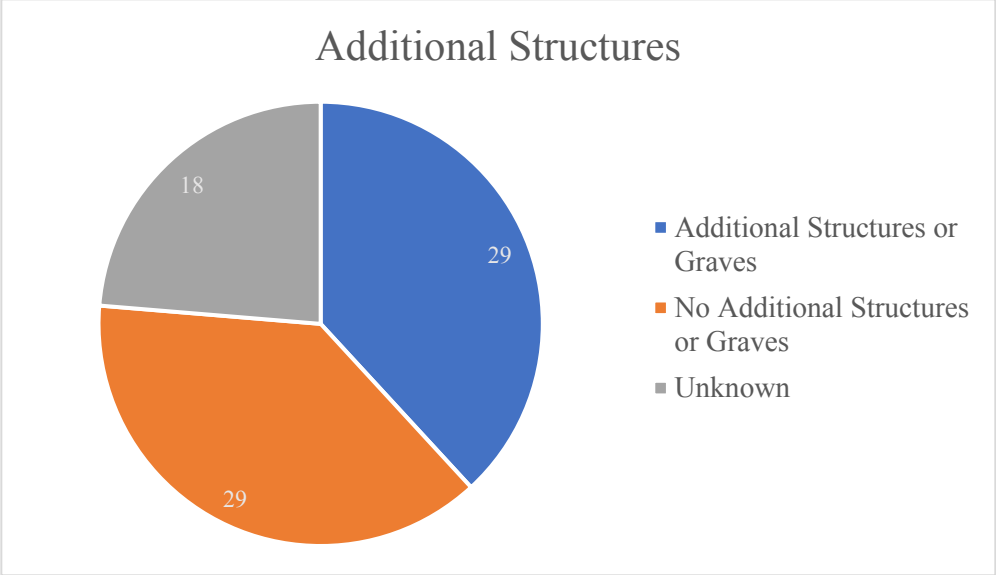

Chart 6.14: Additional structures in the tumuli (numbers)

As shown in the chart, there is no information available for nineteen tumuli. The remaining fifty-seven are divided almost evenly. Chart 6.15 below shows the distribution of every type of additional structure between the twenty-eight mounds that features such structures:

[88] Note that the pyres described here were not associated with the cremation of human remains, but rather for ritual offerings.

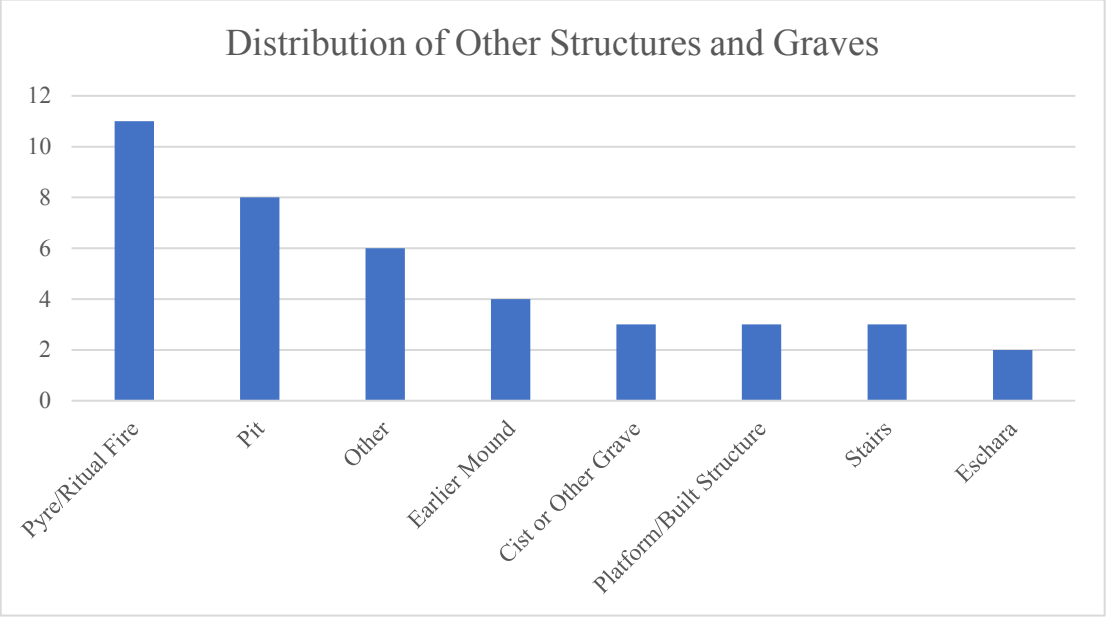

Chart 6.15: Additional structures in the tumuli by type (numbers)

As the chart indicates, the most common types of additional structures found in tumuli are pyres (or fireplaces) and pits. This is not entirely surprising, as both are connected to ritual activity. Their repeated presence further suggests that the tumuli were important to the local community. While the exact purpose of these rites and their connection to local religious beliefs remains unknown, it may be presumed, at the very least, that they were connected to commemorating the dead.[89] The Nedkova **(7)** tumulus stands out among the other tumuli for featuring the highest concentration of pits in this sample.[90] It features twenty-one pits: five in front of the tomb's façade and the other sixteen spread through the tumular fill.[91] Such a high number of pits could

[89] Their contents, discussed in the next section, further support this connection.
[90] Dimitrova 2005b, 191. Dimitrova estimates that no more than fifteen percent of the tumulus was studied, due to lack of time and resources.
[91] Kitov and Dimitrova 2003, 53 mentions that the other sixteen pits were "spread throughout the partially-studied tumular fill." They suggest that some of the pits predate the tumulus, although what evidence led to this conclusion is unclear. These statements suggest that perhaps the excavators opened test pits throughout the tumulus, leading to the discovery of the ritual pits?

have been reached over an extended period, which highlights the importance of this tumulus and those buried underneath it to the local community. The fact that there are even pits dug into the first tumulus – which was later incorporated into the larger mound – further strengthens this argument.[92]

Escharas offer an even stronger connection to ritual, as they are associated with religious activity. In this sample, there are only two examples of escharas – in the Chetinyova **(3)** and Buzovgrad **(32)** tumuli – but they are noteworthy.[93] In both cases, there are two escharas per tumulus. The two in Chetinyova **(4)** tumulus were found close to the south-eastern periphery and were almost entirely destroyed.[94] The two in the Buzovgrad **(32)** tumulus were better preserved. Located in the southern sector of the tumulus, the escharas were built on top of one another, with the (chronologically) later eschara being shaped like a truncated pyramid.[95] Both are made of clay and are notable for featuring decoration (figs. 6.14-6.15). The excavators found burnt plaster, pottery fragments, loom weights, and other small finds.[96] The escharas are further proof that the Chetinyova **(4)** and Buzovgrad **(32)** tumuli were used over a prolonged period. These tumuli also contain pits and other fireplaces. Thus, once again, like the Nedkova **(7)** tumulus, Chetinyova **(4)** and Buzovrad **(32)** tumuli appear to have been regarded as important to their respective local population over a long period.

Chetinyova **(4)** tumulus is notable for one further reason: it features an additional structure that is, so far, unique to Thracian tumuli. This structure is best described as a tub-like

[92] Dimitrova 2005b, 190.
[93] Fragments from a destroyed eschara were recovered in a deposit south of the entrance of Malyovska tumulus, but as the deposit technically was located outside of the de facto perimeter of the tumulus, it is not entirely clear whether the eschara was built inside of the tumulus or in its vicinity, as were other structures connected to a later settlement. See Nekhrizov, Parvin, and Grigorov 2019, 163-164.
[94] Dimitrova 2020, 189 provides only a brief mention of the echaras – there are no further details available.
[95] Nekhrizov 2013a, 170.
[96] Nekhrizov 2013b, 170.

container coated in water-resistant plaster (figs. 6.16-6.17).[97] It is situated in the north-western periphery of the mound and is large enough (estimated to be able to hold five to six tons of liquid) to require a gap in the crepis, which frames it on both sides. Based on the discovery of drinking vessels, such as cups and jugs, and a clay strainer, the excavator suggested that the container was used either for wine or water and intended for the use of visitors.[98]

Another tumulus featuring an unusual additional structure related to ritual is the Documaci **(77)** tumulus. This tumulus is notable for the presence of a monumental base made of limestone blocks (located at its centre), towering over the built chamber tomb (figs. 6.18-6.20). It appears to have been intended as a support structure for a type of monument placed on top of the mound. The excavators suggest that the platform (or socle) was never intended to be visible, which may explain its rough appearance.[99] When considered in the context of all of the additional walls and the crepis, this platform fits well within the design of the tumulus.

Tumuli featuring such structures appear both locally and regionally. In the necropolis of ancient Callatis alone, there is at least one example, along with a possible second example that will be discussed. The first one is a tumulus in the northern part of the necropolis, which was excavated in the 1940s. This tumulus featured a stone structure not unlike the platform in the Documaci **(77)** tumulus, although its dimensions are unknown (fig. 6.21).[100] The second one is more uncertain: Mangalia tumulus 3 **(75)** was reported by the excavator to have featured a circular stone structure at its centre. Preda suggested that it was an earlier grave, but given that

[97] Dimitrova 2020, 188.
[98] Kitov 2003b, 21.
[99] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 134-137.
[100] Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 151.

no images of it exist to confirm this, Ștefan has suggested that it might instead have been the remains of a stone platform.[101]

Examples of stone bases in tumuli appear frequently in the region. One is the Kastas tumulus in Amphipolis. The stone base in this tumulus, which was built similarly of rough stones, is on a much grander scale (10.15m long and 3.40m high) and would have supported a large monument.[102] Another notable example was found in the tumulus covering the Tomb of Erotes at Eretrea.[103] Thus, the Documaci **(77)** base is not entirely unique to Hellenistic funerary architecture.

It is unclear, and may never be known, what kind of monument the Documaci **(77)** base supported, given that nothing is left of it. Still, part of another, similar monument does survive. While there has been no monumental platform recorded in it, the Mal-Tepe **(41)** tumulus did contain a bronze statue. The statue is of a boar and measures 1.08m in length and 0.798m in height (figs. 6.22-6.23).[104] Although no further statues was found, the discovery of the boar does suggest that the tumulus featured a statuary group depicting a boar hunt.[105]

It is less clear what stood on the top of the other example – the Vurbitsa (**57)** tumulus. The only evidence left to suggest that there may have been something erected on top of it is a crudely designed staircase in its south-western sector.[106] The stairs – flat slabs made of the same material as the tomb underneath the tumulus – were arranged from the base to the top of the tumulus. This indicates that there was once a structure up there, although its exact type and

[101] Preda 1962, 161; Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 54.
[102] Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 107 and ftnts. 30-31; Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 146-149.
[103] Huguenot 2008, 61-64 for the Tomb of Erotes; See Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 107 and Sîrbu, Ștefan and Ștefan 2021, 148-150 for other relevant examples.
[104] Filov 1937, 1-2 and 34.
[105] Filov 1937, 34-37. The boar statue is that of a wounded and bleeding animal, which suggests that it was likely the subject of a hunt. This would suggest that there would have been at least one other statue – that of its hunter in pursuit.
[106]Atanasov 1990, 27.

purpose are unknown. There is only one other tumulus which features stairs: The Chernichino **(40)** tumulus (fig. 6.24). In contrast to the Vurbitsa **(57)** tumulus staircase, these do not lead to the top of the mound, but to the tomb within it, which was built above the level of the ancient terrain.[107]

Lastly, attention ought to be given to the other burials in the tumuli. It has already been mentioned that tumuli were built upon or reused. As a result, a small number of them feature structures other than chamber tombs which merit further discussion.[108] One such type of structure would be the smaller, earlier tumuli which were built upon and incorporated into the Classical and Hellenistic mounds, as seen in the Nedkova **(7)**, Madzharovo **(38)**, Rigio **(52)**, and Mangalia 3 **(75)** tumuli.

Another more common type is burials within smaller graves which postdate the chamber tombs. Koprinka tumulus 2 **(20)**, for example, contains brick-built cists in its western portion, in addition to the larger built chamber tomb in the southern portion (figs. 2.69-2.70). Given that the tomb was almost entirely destroyed and that the cists featured sector bricks, it is almost certain that they were made using the already available material from the tomb. The contents of the cist graves, combined with the date of the brick tomb from which material was reused, give them a *terminus post quem* of 300 BC.[109] Another tumulus notable for its secondary graves is Ostrusha **(18)** tumulus. This tumulus contained six late-Roman graves in its southern periphery.[110] The graves are notable for being made of roof tiles, which may have come from the tomb (figs. 6.25-6.26). The third example is tumulus 2 at Yankovo **(64)**; it contained five cist graves in its

[107] Nekhrizov and Tsvetkova 2017, 502.
[108] Some of the finds from these graves will be discussed later in the chapter.
[109] Chichikova and Dimitrov 1978, 54-55.
[110] See Kitov and Krasteva 1994-1995, 8 for discussion of the initial three graves and Dimitrova and Parvin 2016, 280 for the second set.

southern sector, dating to the late 4th – early 3rd century BC.[111] Moreover, the tumulus contains a badly damaged tomb dating to the last decades of the 4th century BC. The usage of material dating back to roughly the same time period suggests that some of the material for building the cist graves may have come from the tomb.

Finds and Animal Remains from the Tumuli

Additional structures were not the only discoveries made through the excavation. Discoveries included a number of finds which, at times, were connected to said structures and, at times, deposited in the tumulus itself. Chart 6.16 displays the distribution of tumuli with finds, ones in which there were none and ones for which there was no data.

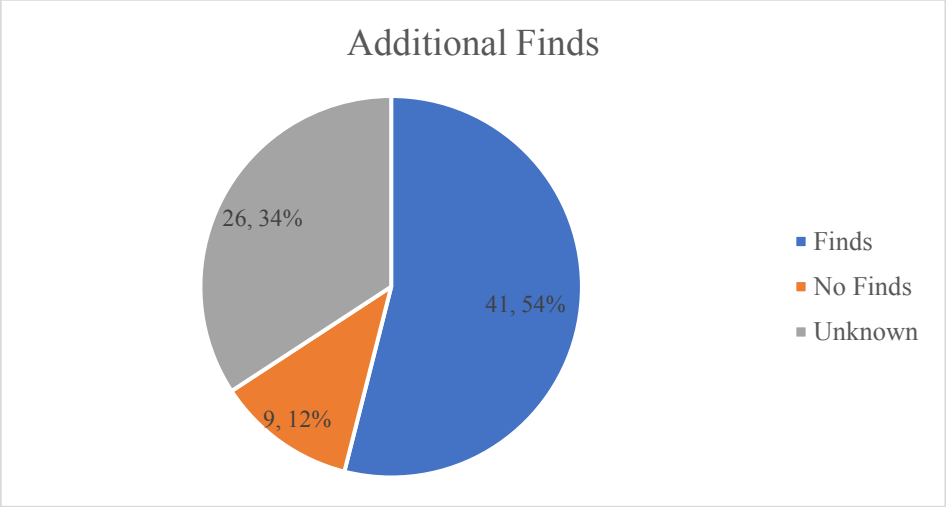

Chart 6.16: Tumuli with no finds, tumuli with finds, and ones for which there was no data.

As can be seen in the chart, over half of the tumuli in this sample contained additional finds. There was no data available for twenty-six tumuli (thirty-four percent, or just over a third). In some cases, this is because the site has been studied only in a limited capacity. This may be due

[111] Dremsizova 1955, 67-72 for the burials and their contents, and 82 for the date of the burials.

to temporal and budgetary constraints, as were the cases of Nedkova **(6)** and Popova **(33)** tumulus, for example (although Nedkova tumulus was investigated enough to show that it featured additional structures).[112] Another reason is that in some cases the details from the excavation are simply not published or accessible, as is the case with the Furtunova **(31)**, Kırklareli **(44-46)** and Naip **(49)** tumuli.[113] Regardless of the reason for little excavation, the lack of data is a fundamental problem, as it makes questions such as how common it is to find objects in the tumular embankment, or what kinds of objects it is common to find, more diffiult to answer.

An answer to the latter issue may be provided when examining the data from the forty tumuli in which finds were collected. As Chart 6.17 shows, they fall within four broad categories: pottery, architectural elements, animal remains, and other.

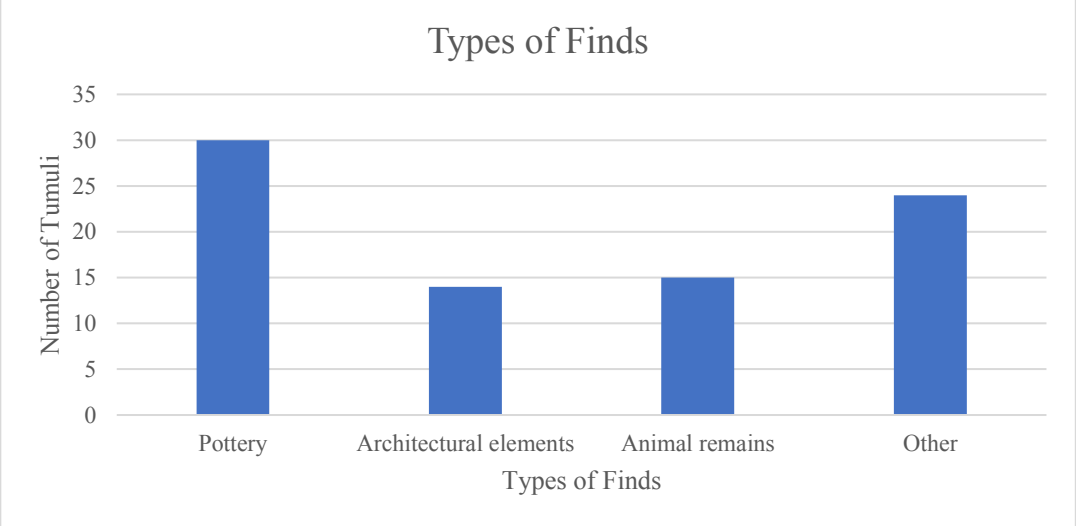

Chart 6.17: Distribution of different types of finds from the tumuli

[112] Dimitrova 2013b, 298, n.2
[113] All available information about Furtunova **(31)** tomb can be found in Kitov 2005c, 38; for the Kırklarelı **(44-46)** tumuli, Mansel 1943, 37; for the Naip **(49)** tumulus, Delemen 2006, 252-253.

Of the finds, pottery is the most common. Pottery finds were reported in thirty of the tumuli. Chart 6.18 below shows the distribution of the different types of pottery by shape:

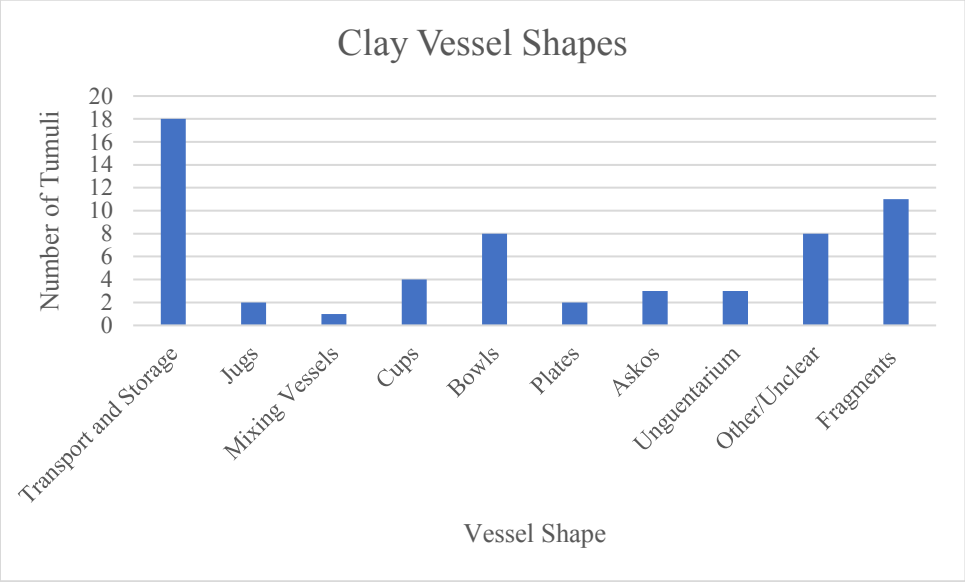

Chart 6.17: The distribution of clay vessel shapes

Chart 6.17 shows the distribution of vessel shapes by category based on function. As indicated in the chart, the most numerous category is that of transport and storage vessels, comprising of amphoras and pithoi. A total of sixteen tumuli contained amphoras or amphora fragments.[114] Pithoi were found in four tumuli.[115] The second most common category of clearly identified vessels – bowls - was found in eight tumuli.[116] This is followed by cups, which appear in four tumuli; one of these (Shushmanets **(14)**) featured either a skyphos or a kylix, three (Rigio Γ **(52)**, Sveshtari tumulus 12 **(70)**, and Documaci **(77)**) had kantharoi, and one – Sveshtari tumulus 12 **(70)** – contained other types of cups. A mixing vessel (a krater) was found in one (Ostrusha **(18)**)

[114] Filipovo **(10)**, Shushmanets **(14)**, Ostusha **(18)**, Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Naip **(49)**, Elaphochori **(50)**, Rigio Γ **(52)**, Ivanski **(58-59)**, Veselinovo 1 **(61)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, Yankovo 2 **(64)**, Ginina **(69)**, Sboryanovo tumulus 12 **(70)**, and Documaci **(77)**.
[115] Zhaba **(3)**, Filipovo **(10)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Koprinka 4 **(20).**
[116] Roshava **(7)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Koprinka 2 **(20)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Naip **(49)**, Rigio Γ **(52)**, Vurbitsa **(57)**, Sveshtari tumulus 12 **(70)**, and Documaci **(77)**.

tumulus. Plates, including fish plates, were discovered in two tumuli.[117] Two vessel types for storage and pouring of small quantities of liquids – the askos and unguentarium - were found in three tumuli each.[118] Lastly, other types of vessels were found in eight tumuli.[119] This category is broad, and encompasses various items only identified under general descriptors such as "local," "domestic," or "prehistoric" pottery.

In a number of cases, pottery has been described as found in the tumular fill, without any further specifications. Where further specifications have been provided, however, patterns may be detected. For example, pottery assemblages were found near the facades of the tombs in seven tumuli.[120] In two of those tumuli – the Roshava **(7)** and Varbitsa **(57)** tumuli, the pottery was deposited in "fireplaces." Pottery was found in conjunction with fireplaces, escharas, pyres, or in combinations of the three, in another three tumuli.[121] One of these – the Ivanski **(58-59)** tumulus – also featured a pit into which pottery was deposited. Ritual pits featuring pottery were discovered in three other tumuli as well.[122] The pit in the Buzovgrad **(32)** tumulus is notable for its location – beneath the exterior of the western wall of the dromos of the tomb. A pottery deposit was similarly found near the entrance of the dromos of the Naip **(49)** tomb, although not in a pit. Another instance of a pottery deposit in close proximity was found in tumulus 4 at Manyov Dol **(9)** – in this case, 40cm under the tomb.[123] Three tumuli featured especially large

[117] Buzovgrad **(32)** and Documaci **(77)**.
[118] Askoi were found in the Filipovo **(10)** and Kazanluk **(22)** tumuli; unguentaria were found in the Naip **(49)** and Yankovo 1 **(63)** tumuli. The Documaci **(77)** tumulus featured both.
[119] Filipovo **(10)**, Malyovska **(26)**, Karakoç **(48)**, Rigio Γ **(52)**, Ivanski **(58-59)**, Veselinovo 1 **(61)**, Yankovo 1 **(63)**, and Documaci **(77)**.
[120] Zhaba **(3)**, Roshava **(7)**, Filipovo **(10)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, Karakoc **(48)**, Vurbtsa **(57),** and Sboryanovo tumulus 12 **(70)**.
[121] Kazanluk **(22)**, Sarafova **(26)**, and Ivanski **(58-59).**
[122] Nedkova **(6)**, Racheva **(30)**, and Buzovgrad **(32)**.
[123] Kisyov 2001, 25.

pottery assemblages: the Ostrusha **(18)**, Ivanski **(58-89)**, and the Documaci **(77)**.[124] In the Documaci **(77)** tumulus, the pottery deposits were located by the crepis.[125] The pottery discovered in the tumuar fills varies in condition. In many cases, it is fragmentary, although some finds are quite well-preserved. In instances where the pottery was buried in conjunction to a fireplace, or, at times, in pits, the vessels or sherds may show signs of burning.

The combinations of vessel shapes ought to be remarked upon as well, as patterns may be detected there. For instance, the fireplace near the façade of the Roshava **(7)** tomb contained a bowl and a cup. Similarly, a bowl and a jug were found in the ritual fireplace close to the façade of the tomb in the Vurbitsa **(57)** tumulus. The deposit in front of the façade of the tomb in Sboryanovo tumulus 12 **(70)** featured an unidentified vessel, two amphoras and a bowl. The Shushmanets **(14)** deposit contained a cup (either a kylix or a skyphos) and several amphoras. The Naip **(49)** tumulus featured fragments from a jug, an unguentarium, and an amphora. The Ostrusha **(18)** deposit featured amphoras, bowls, jugs (including an oinochoe), a krater, and several pithoi. Apart from the overlap in shapes, what these deposits have in common is that a number of the vessels found in them would have contained or have been used for pouring liquids, suggesting libations.

The pit in the Buzovgrad **(32)** tumulus, meanwhile, featured a fish plate, amphoras, bowls, and burnt animal bones, showing that both drink and food were used in the funerary rituals. The ritual deposits near the crepis of the Documaci **(77)** tumulus also features a combination of vessel shapes would have contained both food and liquid offerings, including amphoras, fish plates, lids, a kantharos, unguentaria, and an askos. The spread of the deposits

[124] Similar assemblages – for example, in pits – are known from other tumular burials, for example the one at Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa. See Agre 2011, 17-20.
[125] See Catalogue entry. Additionally, it ought to be noted that pottery was found around the crepis of the Chetinyova **(4)** tomb, but there are few details available. See Dimitrova 2020, 189 for further details.

around the crepis and the quantity of the finds is indicative of a prolonged period as opposed to a single event.[126] The only other tumulus in this thesis which features a similar quantity of pottery is the Ivanski **(58-59)** tumulus. Numerous amphoras, as well as a few other vessels, were found in the tumular fill, some in pits or in ritual fireplaces. Once again, the quantity and spread suggests that the vessels were deposited over time.[127]

The second most commonly appearing category of finds in the tumular fill are architectural elements. Such elements are generally found in tumuli which have been disturbed in some way. For example, the door of the Vetren **(1)** tomb was found, broken, several feet away from the entrance.[128] Similarly, fragments of a stone door (it is unclear what chamber it belongs to) from the Gagovo **(68)** tomb were uncovered in a stone piling in the southern sector of the tumulus.[129] Another notable example is found in the Ostrusha **(18)** tumulus: the tomb's antefixes and one acroterion were found mixed with a large pottery deposit 8m to the south of the tomb (figs. 6.27-6.29).[130] Also, as discussed above and in Chapter 2, roof tiles were found (in various contexts) in the tumular embankments of three tumuli: Shushmanets **(14)**, Ostrusha **(18)** and Documaci **(77)**. Roof tiles are notable as they are rarely used in sepulchral architecture.

The third common category of finds – animal remains - has been reported in fifteen tumuli. They can be broadly divided into three types: deposits related to feasting or funerary practices, partial or full burials (especially equine), and animal remains unconnected to human activity. Remains belonging to each type may be found either individually or in combinations in a given tumulus. Deposits related to feasting or funerary rituals was reported in eight tumuli.[131]

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[126] See Buzoianu 2021, 282-303 for details.
[127] See Atanasov and Madzharov 2021, 1-14 for details.
[128] See the catalogue entry.
[129] Roussev and Stoyanova 2011, 211-212.
[130] Kitov and Krasteva 1994-1995, 20.
[131] Nedkova **(6)**, Roshava **(7)**, Manyov Dol 4 **(9)**, Kazanluk **(22)**, Buzovgrad **(32)**, Sboryanovo 12 and 13 **(70-71)**, and Documaci **(77)** tumuli.

These were found in ritual pits or directly in the tumular fills. In nearly all cases, animal remains interred as part of funerary rituals were partial, showed signs of burning or cooking, and were found along with pottery. One notable exception is a large animal discovered in a pit in the Nedkova **(6)** tumulus; the animal was not burnt and the pit contained no other finds.[132]

Intentional animal burials were reported in ten tumuli.[133] As discussed in Chapter 4, equine burials in particular are a known element in Thracian funerary practices. Sometimes they are deposited directly inside the tombs, at other times, directly outside them, and at times both. One notable equine burial was found in Zhaba **(3)** tumulus, in front of the tomb's facade: four horses were found buried in front of the tomb's entrance, still yoked to a chariot.[134] In the Ivanski **(58-59)** tumulus, a horse was deposited in a pit close to tomb 1 **(58)**.[135] In tumulus 3 at Yankovo **(65)**, two equine burials were uncovered during excavation in close proximity to the tomb: one in front of the western wing of the tomb's façade, and the other a short distance from the eastern wing.[136] At Ginina **(69)** tumulus, two horse burials were discovered: one 9m from the entrance of the dromos, in a pit dug at the level of the ancient terrain, and another in the tumular fill, southeast of the tomb façade.[137] In other instances, the equine burials are separate from the tombs, and may have been buried as part of separate ritual activity. Tumulus Γ at Rigio **(52)** contained one such equine skeleton. Given that the animal was deposited on the side of the tumulus opposite the tomb and closer to the surface, it is not clear whether its burial is related to the tomb's burial or if it was unconnected.[138] All these examples follow the pattern seen in

[132] See Dimitrova 2005b, 190-191.
[133] Zhaba **(3).** Roshava **(7)**, Koprinka 4 **(21)**; Buzovgrad **(32)**; Mezek 1 **(43)**; Rigio Γ **(52)**; Ivanski **(58-59)**; Yankovo 3 **(65)**; Ginina **(69)**; and Documaci **(77)** tumuli.
[134] See catalogue entry for photographs and drawings.
[135] See catalogue entry for a plan.
[136] Dremsizova 1955, 72-73. See the catalogue entry for a plan plan.
[137] Chichikova, Stoyanov and Styanova 2012, 10-12.
[138] Triantaphyllos and Terzopoulou 1998, 478.

tumular funerary contexts across Thrace. Individuals buried directly in the mounds, or in smaller structures such as cist graves, were also buried with their horses but, due to a limit on space, horses would always be placed in the tumular fill. Such are the cases, for example, at Malomirovo-Zlatinitsa, Goryani, Asara (Simeonovgrad), and Iasenovo (figs. 6.30-6.33).[139]

Lastly, the third sub-category of animal remains is challenging. Animal remains may be mixed in the soil if an animal accidentally dies, its remains are deposited by scavengers over the embankment, or if the bones are already mixed (again, accidentally) in the soil used to construct the tumulus. When a tumulus has been disturbed, the bones of an animal may be moved in the soil and some may lost, making it difficult to determine whether their presence is accidental or intentional. An example of this is tumulus 13 **(71)** at Sboryanovo. Partial animal remains were found in the tumular embankment, but the monument within the tumulus had been destroyed and the mound apparently piled once more on top; as a result, it cannot be said with certainty whether those remains were interred as a result of ritual activity or by random chance.

The final category of finds is a broad one. As in Chapter 4, this category encompasses a mixture of finds that do not belong to the first three categories, but are not numerous enough to merit their individual categories. One set of objects belonging to this category is vessels from materials other than clay. Three examples stand out. The first is a silver gilt jug in the fill of the tumulus encasing the Kazanluk **(22)** tomb (fig. 6.34). A bronze amphora was found in the tumular embankment of the Rouets **(66)** tomb. Last but not least, a glass perfume vessel was unearthed outside the Filipovo **(10)** tomb.

Additionally, coins have been found in the fills of five tumuli.[140] Most are from periods postdating the burials in the tombs, especially the Roman and Late Antique periods. The finds

[139] See Agre 2011, 17-18 and Rabadjiev 2014, 173-174
[140] Chetinyova **(4)**, Nedkova **(6),** Filipovo **(10)**, Ostrusha **(18)**, and Koprinka 2 **(20)**.

from tumulus 2 at Koprinka **(20)** are a possible exception: one of the secondary cist graves within the tumulus contained four bronze coins of Seuthes III and a drachm of Alexander III from Lampsacus.[141] These coins appear to be concurrent with the making of the original tomb, or would have at least still have been in circulation at that time.

Lastly, among objects outside the first three categories, several individual objects merit special mention. As discussed in Chapter 2, a set of builder's tools were uncovered at Momina tumulus **(34)** (figs. 2.39-2.41). Tools are exceptionally rare, especially at the building sites themselves.[142] Another rare and notable find is the four-wheeled chariot from Zhaba **(3)** tumulus. Although chariots are known to have been used in antiquity and are well documented, actual examples are rarely found, especially in Thrace, and before the Roman period.[143] Of the few early examples, two worth noting are from one of the tombs in the Mogilanska tumulus near Vratsa, and one which was recently discovered in tumulus 27 in the eastern necropolis at Sboryanovo.[144] Lastly, the bronze boar from Mal-Tepe **(41)**, discussed above, is another rare find. Bronze sculptures rarely survive antiquity and pre-Roman Thrace bronze sculptures are few and far between. The boar itself is evidence of that; it seems to have been a part of a larger sculptural group, which no longer survives due to damage.

Analysis and Conclusions

A common feature of the landscape of ancient Thrace, tumuli carry a wealth of information about the traditions of their builders and their relationship to death and memory. Historically, the mounds themselves were rarely discussed beyond a mention of their dimensions. They were

[141] Chichikova and Dimitrov 1978, 54.
[142] See Chapter 2 for detailed discussion.
[143] For a discussion of chariots in funerary contexts, see Rabadjiev 2014, 87-90 and Ignatov 2007, 47-60.
[144] For Mogilanskata tumulus, see Venedikov 1966, 7; for tumulus 27 at Sboryanovo, see Gergova 2014, 180.

often seen as nothing more than a protective case or an obstacle to be dug through in pursuit of their contents, which, at times, were completely destroyed. However, in recent decades, there has been a shift in the understanding and appreciation of the tumuli, resulting in increased discussion, excavation and data to be uncovered.

The purpose of this chapter was to showcase and analyse the data available for the seventy-six tumuli relevant to this study in the frame of their context, surroundings and findings. Its aim was to show that every aspect of the tumuli – from their position, through their layers, to their contents - reveal how much thought went into them and how important they remained over time. At the very least, the purpose of these structures was twofold: to protect the graves of their owners, and to act as markers, maintaining their memory over time. Yet, a study of their construction process and of their contents show that tumuli had a purpose and meaning beyond these functions. They often acted as a means for both their owners and later generations to establish their status in the local community and as a means to establish and/or reinforce the link to their ancestors.

Furthermore, understanding the building processes behind the mounds is important for several reasons. Information about the process of building tumuli that is not readily available, especially in Thrace. While their contents provide information about the rituals and practices, their materials and building methods provide insights on how they were built. The examination of the soil type or types that make the tumuli – as well as the context of the tumuli – helps to understand just how much labour and time the building process would have taken. The presence of ditches shows that the soil would not have been carried too far, but it does suggest that the process was quite labour-intensive. It is also interesting to know that, at least in some cases, the tumuli were meticulously planned – wooden poles in the geometric centre of the mounds, such as

at the Zhaba **(3)** tumulus, attest to that. The presence of supporting structures, such as the walls in the Documaci **(77)** tumulus or the crepis walls seen in large tumuli, are further attestations of the planning and engineering that went into the mounds.

Second, the locations of the tumuli establish patterns. One benefit of identifying tumular groupings - especially tumular necropoleis – is quite important, as it may indicate the existence of (previously) unknown settlements in their vicinity.[145] Patterns may further help with understanding planning and building processes better. While it is not clear what the topographical context of every tumulus in this study was, patterns do emerge, and it is notable that many of them were built near water sources, especially rivers, and in hilly or ridge-like locations. There is not enough information about Thracian religion to draw conclusions regarding any potential religious implications of their placement near rivers, but these choices do have more easily discernible practical applications. Hills provide some protection from looters, for instance. As established in Chapter 2, in antiquity stone was transported by water from quarrying to building sites. It is quite possible that the tombs were built next to riverbanks less on account of where the settlements they belonged to were located, and more with the building process in mind. Considering the amount of thought and planning that was put into the building process – both of the tumuli and the monuments within them – this is likely. That both some of the tombs and the areas from which their building materials were sourced are close to the banks of a river, as is the case with the Elaphocori **(50)** and Documaci **(77)** tombs, further supports this hypothesis.

[145] For example the Shipka necropolis, as noted above; see ftnt. 22.

Third, the prominence in the placement of a tumulus is a way to assert the status of their builder, which is another reason why their locations were carefully chosen. In some cases, this is achieved though having the tumuli overlook their local surroundings from a high place, as is the case with the Chetinyova **(4)** and Shushmanets **(14)** tumuli. In other instances, the tumuli were built either in close proximity to older tumuli, as is the case with the Momina **(34)** tumulus, or on top of them, as discussed in some detail above. Some larger tumuli, such as Golyama Kosmatka **(13)** and Ginina **(69)** tumuli have smaller, satellite mounds built around them instead in an attempt to establish an association to the larger tumuli, thus emphasising their importance. Here, rivers ought to be taken into consideration once again. Although the monuments within the tumuli would not have been visible, the mounds themselves served as markers on the landscape. If a tumulus was close to a river, it could have been detected by anyone sailing on the river, thus maintaining the memory of those buried underneath.

Fourth, the contents of the tumuli are just as important in understanding their role over time and in establishing or maintaining status. The careful incorporation of chronologically earlier (Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Early Iron Age) tumuli, as opposed to their destruction, suggests either respect for previous generations or a desire to appropriate the past – perhaps both. The same is indicated through the continual use of the Classical and Hellenistic tumuli themselves even after the monumental tombs underneath them were sealed. There are numerous tumuli which feature structures such as pits, fireplaces, and escharas, as well as individual animal burials and deposits of objects, most often pottery. Notably, the additional structures and animal burials are often accompanied by pottery finds, which allude to libations and ritual food offerings. Along with the large pottery deposits, they attest to funerary rituals, at times perhaps a form of tomb cult. As discussed above, the practice of making a public display of honouring the

dead, even without any familial connection to them, was an important way for newly ascending members of the community to establish themselves.

However, the tumuli were regularly used for later burials all the way into the Christian period. In those cases, there is less reverence shown toward the previous generations. As seen in Koprinka tumulus 2 **(20)**, at times the built chamber tombs were used for the building material of the secondary sepulchres. While the reuse and repurposing of materials was a common practice, such reuse for building graves in the same tumulus – as opposed to building local private or public buildings – is notable. It shows that in those later instances, there was less regard for creating an association with the ancestors. Rather, status may have been sought through burying the dead in a tumulus as opposed to a flatter, less visible cemetery, and an available tumulus was therefore used and appropriated.

All of this shows that the tumuli were much more than a protective case or grave markers for the dead. They are a valuable source of information, especially about the society and funerary practices of a culture which left few written sources about itself. The components found in and around the tumuli offer us insights into the past, while providing hints about the building process. As such, they should continue to be studied and discussed in the future.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This thesis presented a comprehensive, in-depth analysis of Thracian chamber tombs dated between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC. Its purpose in doing so was to expand the understanding of the complexes, their relationship to their environment, and how they fit in the cultural landscape of the region.

Summary of Work

The thesis focused on all aspects of the tombs, from their building materials to the architectural design, to the grave inventories, and the characteristics and uses of the tumuli. Through the examination of the building materials, this thesis confirmed that the stone tombs were indeed built using locally sourced material. The three case studies of quarries, as well as information about other potential quarry sites, were helpful in understanding what quarrying techniques were used at Thracian sites in the period, and what distances the quarries might have been from the tombs' sites. The quarrying techniques and use of locally sourced materials are also seen on the regional level. The information provided from publications regarding exact stone types, combined with geological data, was useful in determining where relevant quarries might have been located. A future project would involve locating and visiting more quarry sites, recording the data available from them, surveying ancient roads and the relationship of both the quarries and tombs to local water bodies, and creating maps to show the distance and road networks between the tombs and quarries. Such a project could use the aforementioned method,

using geological data to determine potential quarry sites where data from surveys and databases, such as the Archaeological Map of Bulgaria, is unavailable.[1]

The examination of bricks and the tools and processes used in creating architectural terracotta also produced interesting results. It was determined that the use of brick was the result of experimentation, and that brick was not considered as durable as stone. Although the examples of kilns for producing architectural members from this period in Thrace are very limited, much may be determined by recording the dimensions of the bricks and available kilns, and estimating the number of brick that may have been produced in a kiln of a similar size. Ethnographic case studies were especially useful in understanding what the process of making architectural terracotta might have been like in the pre-Roman era. The next steps from here would be to conduct a thorough examination of the brick tombs, determining how many bricks were used in a given monument, in order to estimate how many firings it would have taken to produce the desired amount. Experimental recreations (i.e. creating a kiln of the exact type and firing bricks) might also be a helpful method for a future project.

While the architectural design of each tomb was unique, patterns may be detected. The tombs are a combination of individual choices, local trends, and foreign elements brought though cultural dissemination. Unsurprisingly, the data also showed with certainty that each architectural element was incorporated in the design with a particular purpose. The material from each space was helpful in further understanding the intended use of each space, and its importance in the funerary monument. This is particularly useful with forecourts, porches, and antechambers, the purposes of which are not as clearly defined as that of the dromoi or burial chambers.

[1] Special permissions need to be given in order for the Archaeological Map of Bulgaria to be accessed.

The scarcity of data regarding human remains leaves many questions unanswered. For the time being, it is difficult to determine how commonly tombs were intended to be used for more than one individual (i.e. couples or multiple generations of families), and how many (if any) were intended for women specifically. It is also difficult to determine whether there was a predominant burial rite in a particular period or location. Although the osteological data would be difficult or impossible to retrieve, a future study may be conducted on specific areas of Thrace or even a specific necropolis, as was recently done by Madzharov for northeastern Thrace.[2]

Lastly, the tumuli themselves were shown to contain a lot of very important data. Rather than simply protective shells for the burials encased inside them, tumuli had multiple uses, among which as spaces for the funerary/commemorative rituals. As with forecourts, porches, and antechambers, the tumuli were often used for horse burials and commemorative practices, such as the pouring of libations and the burning of offerings. They were also important markers on the local landscape. Future projects may survey tumular necropoleis to finding ancient road networks and local settlements.

Discussion and Conclusions

Thracian chamber tombs appeared in the 5th century BC and continued to be built until the 2nd century BC. That the vast majority date to between the mid-4th and 3rd centuries BC indicates a peak in interest in this type of monument, more so than at any other time. This trend pertains not only to Thrace but may be observed more widely. "Monumental" tombs are built in Macedonia, Anatolia, and throughout the Black Sea region in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Although Thracian tombs show a great variation in design and contents, in studying them, it quickly

[2] Madzharov's thesis examines 95 necropoleis (48 of which tumular, 38 flat, 7 mixed, and 3 uncharacterised) from northeastern Thrace dated between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC; see Madzharov 2013 for further information.

becomes apparent that there is also considerable overlap between them. Patterns may be detected in all aspects of these funerary complexes, allowing for a reconstruction of the processes behind the tombs.

Each Thracian tomb was carefully planned, built, and used. A design, main building material, and location were first chosen. The building materials could be either stone or baked bricks. Among the two, the former was significantly more common. Since the procurement and dressing of stone blocks was an expensive, time-coming, and labour-intensive process, stone was mostly quarried locally. The available data shows that the vast majority of tombs were within a 10km radius of the quarries; often, they were built close to the banks of a river, at least partially for the ease of transporting ashlars from the quarries to the building sites. Once the ashlars were extracted and delivered, they were further refined on site.

The rare use of brick is notable, as this is a material both cheaper and easier to produce. Its scarcity is not based on a lack of knowledge – mudbrick and terracotta tiles were locally produced and used in Thrace before the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and the kilns used to make rooftiles may well have been used to make brick too. Based on the available evidence from other contemporary sites, the brick would have been produced in local ceramic centres, as well, which would have lessened production costs further. Instead, it may be deduced from use of stone lintels and capstones and from the overall smaller dimensions of brick tombs, that brick was not considered as durable by the Thracians as stone and was therefore not used as frequently.

Once the building material was procured, the tomb was built, and so was the tumulus. As with the tombs, a certain amount of design went into the process of constructing the tumuli, as evidenced by the presence of wooden stakes at the centres of some. This is unsurprising: the size

of the tumulus affected aspects of the tomb design, such as the dimensions of the dromoi. The location of the tombs within the tumulus was also important since the majority were built close to the tumular periphery. Both aspects of tomb design, such as the presence of forecourts, and the stratigraphy of some tumuli, suggest that the tombs were covered partially, with their dromoi and facades left open and accessible for an undetermined amount of time. This was possibly done to allow for the burial to be performed, and perhaps funerary rituals in its aftermath.

Thracian tomb design was quite varied, although there are obvious patterns. At the very basic level, common features (dromoi, antechambers, and burial chambers, forecourts and porches) may be identified. The decoration of the tomb facades and interiors furthermore illustrates themes and practices attested on a regional level, such as allusion to Greek public architecture, and themes such as valour in war, hunting, and feasting.

The feature which is central to the function of the tomb is the burial chamber; no matter how common, all other features were optional. Yet each one, through its design and contents, provides valuable insight into the burial process and the use of each space. Once the body was prepared for burial (we do not have information what ritual steps this included in Thracian tradition), it was interred within the burial chamber along with the burial gifts. If the burial chamber featured furniture, the remains of the deceased were placed on it, and the gifts arranged on and around it. The gifts included a myriad of categories, from pottery and non-clay vessels to weapons and armour, textiles and adornments, including wreaths and jewellery, lighting equipment, as well as other small objects, often of personal nature. Funerary gifts and offerings were also placed in any other spaces, when available. Animals, most often the deceased's horse, were killed and interred last, either in the antechambers, on the porches, in the forecourts or, rarely, in the dromoi. Alongside them were left vessels with offerings, such as wine amphoras

and other jugs, and bowls with food. As with the decoration of the tombs, the funerary assemblages are reflective of the above outlined themes common in the region in this period. What also becomes apparent is a culture of conspicuous display, not least demonstrated through the sacrifice of horses.

With the interment of the horses, access to the tomb was cut off. It is unclear if the tomb would have been buried immediately after or not, but the state of preservation of the equine remains would suggest that this was indeed the case. The tombs were rarely closed off after only one burial, however. Evidence for remodelling, as well as the tombs' contents show that many of them were accessed and used more than once. This is especially true for tombs which feature dromoi, since the dromos ensured easy access to the tomb after it was interred. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the burials were disturbed when the tombs were looted, resulting in the loss of both burial inventory and human remains. This makes it difficult to determine of the tombs contained more than one set of remains (an indication that the tomb was intended for familial as opposed to for individual use), although in tombs where remains are still present, the evidence may still be confusing and inconclusive. Design aspects, such as the presence of multiple burial couches, may be a better indicator for the intended use of a space, but the evidence from the tombs shows that even that is not a certain indicator. What is clear is that many of the tombs were used on more than one occasion; how much after the original burial, and by whom, it will remain a mystery in many cases.

Even after a tomb was buried, its interaction with its local environment did not end. Rather, it continued through the tumulus. The tumuli had two active roles: as receptacles of the burial and funerary offerings, and as memorials to the deceased. Evidence of ritual activity has been uncovered in a number of mounds, including pottery assemblages (which would have

contained food and liquids), fireplaces, and animal remains. As already outlined, tumuli were designed and built just as carefully as the tombs themselves. This included their size and their location. Some of the tumuli were built on top of earlier burial mounds, or in close proximity to them. Even if they were built on a parcel of land that had never been used, they were positioned to be easily identifiable, at times dominating the local landscape. That burials from later periods have been discovered in the tumuli is thus perhaps unsurprising; if anything, it is evidence of the continuous impact of the mounds on the local landscape and populations long after the tombs within them were buried and closed off for the last time.

Typologically and chronologically, Thracian tombs reflect pattern seen on a regional level. Monumental tombs became popular in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Tumular burials can be found in Macedonia, the Black Sea region, and Illyria, while examples in Caria and Lycia were built to be visible aboveground. In all cases, the monuments were designed to interact with their immediate environment and to be easily observable.

In conclusion, Thracian chamber tombs are defined by the diversity and uniqueness of their designs, yet when studied together, it becomes apparent that they are reflective of a cogent value system, and the product of a regional trend in sepulchral practices. A blend of local customs and regional values, with Greek influence – in the shape of both material and non-material culture – as one uniting factor, this trend led to the building of numerous elite tombs in the Classical and Hellenistic periods in the region.

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