



ANCIENT THRACE AND THE CLASSICAL WORLD

Treasures
from Bulgaria,
Romania,
and Greece

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ATHENIAN SILVER VESSELS IN THRACIAN TOMBS

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There have been numerous finds of high-quality Greek silverware in Thrace, most examples of which are not only very well preserved but also of exceptional workmanship, with chiseled and gilded figural decoration and Greek inscriptions. This corpus has increased considerably over the past two decades, and now, along with the similar but significantly less numerous examples from Scythian tumuli, constitutes the primary source for surviving Athenian silver. Although such items are often mentioned in ancient Greek literary sources,¹ they rarely appear in temple inventories, aside from those objects that served ritual and ceremonial purposes, such as *phialai* and incense burners.² They are conspicuously absent from the archaeological record in Attica itself or anywhere else in Greece, which led some scholars to doubt the existence of the production of such silver objects in Athens during the fifth century BC.³ The production of luxury silver in Athens is now amply documented, at least from the end of the Greco-Persian Wars (ca. 492–479 BC) onward, by the exquisite pieces preserved in the monumental tombs and burial mounds of the Thracians and the Scythians.

The earliest examples come from the northern and eastern coasts of the Black Sea. A stemmed silver cup from Semibratny (Seven Brothers') Tumulus IV on the Bosporan Taman Peninsula, decorated with a gilded tondo showing a seated Nike pouring a libation from

a *phiale*, dates from about 470 BC (figs. 43a–b). The subject and style of the figure recall Attic red-figure pottery immediately after the Greek victories over the Persians. To the same period are ascribed three undecorated silver stemmed cups from Vani and Sairkhe, in present-day Georgia.⁴ They are considered Athenian works as well because of their shape, although related types are attested in Ionia during the Archaic period.

Twice as many silver vases of Athenian origin have been found in Thrace as in Scythia and Georgia combined, although the Thracian finds are slightly later in date, first appearing around the middle of the fifth century BC. Unfortunately, the majority of the silver vessels that have come to light in Thrace have no archaeological context, being products of the illegal excavations and looting that took place on an unprecedented scale in Bulgaria during the last three decades.⁵ One of the best-known pieces with a documented origin is a silver *kantharos* with figures of Dionysos and a bacchante holding a doe on one side and a satyr and maenad on the other side, found in the Golyamata Tumulus of the Duvanlii necropolis, dated to the middle of the fifth century BC (fig. 44a–c).⁶ Relief masks of *silenoi* in a Late Archaic style are placed on the junctions of the handles with the rim of the cup. Their grimacing faces recall those of centaurs from the metopes of the Parthenon. A rare silver



Phiale Mesomphalos with Chariots (detail, cat. 47c)



Figure 43a–b. *Kylix* (with detail), Attic, ca. 470 BC. Silver with gilding, H: 6.7 cm; Diam with handles: 16 cm. Found Semibratny (Seven Brothers') Tumulus IV, Taman Peninsula, Russia. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, SBr.IV.15

amphora of approximately the same period, fitted with a third, swiveling handle and a lid, has stylistically similar masks of Pan on the vertical handle attachments with chiseled and gilded ivy wreaths around the neck.⁷ A *kylix* created immediately after the middle of the fifth century shows in its tondo Theseus, labeled by an inscription, holding a club and subduing the Marathon bull.⁸ The subject, long popular in Athenian art, received a significant boost with the politics of the Athenian military hero Kimon, who repatriated the

“bones of the hero” from the island of Skyros, erected a temple in his honor, and reinvigorated a preexisting cult.⁹ Iconographically this *kylix* may be related to a sculptural group dedicated by the people of Marathon on the Athenian Acropolis, fragments of which have been identified.¹⁰ The episode of Theseus and the Marathon bull is also represented on one of the metopes of the Temple of Hephaistos, dating from the early 440s BC, and it occurs frequently on red-figure pottery of this time, especially on vases by the Polygnotos Group and the Penthesileia, Codrus, and Eretria Painters.¹¹

A silver *kantharos* of slightly later date, around the mid-430s BC, displays Theseus, Athena, and Minos on one side and Ariadne, Aphrodite, and the personification of the city of Knossos on the other. All the figures are labeled in Greek, along with Silenos masks on the upper handle attachments,¹² which are nearly identical to those on the Duvanlii *kantharos*.¹³ Theseus in particular, with his Polykleitan *contrapposto* pose, and Athena, with her Parthenonian *adlocutio* gesture and collar-aegis,¹⁴ must allude to a famous sculptural prototype, as well as to the pedimental sculpture of the temple of Athena Pallenis, in the Attic countryside.¹⁵ The figure of Knossos is the earliest known personification of a city in Greek art,¹⁶ a concept that may have entered the visual arts in Periclean Athens from the theatrical world, where the chorus expresses its collective voice through the *koryphaios* (chorus leader).¹⁷



Figure 44a–c. Stemmed *Kantharos* (with details), Attic, ca. 450-440 BC. Silver, H with handles: 25.5 cm. Found in the Golyamata Tumulus, Duvanlii, Plovdiv Province, Bulgaria. Plovdiv, Regional Archaeological Museum, 1634

The episode of Theseus fighting the bandit Skiron appears on a silver *kylix* from a rich grave in Kapinovo, in northeastern Bulgaria, dated to around 430 BC (cat. 12).¹⁸ Using simple chiseled lines, the artist achieved a degree of expressiveness and drama at

least the equal of the best red-figure and white-ground Attic vases of the period. The scene is regularly depicted on Attic cups showing the cycle of the labors of Theseus. It has been suggested that these myths reflect Athenian ambitions to rule



Figure 45a–b. *Kylix* (with detail), ca. 440–430 BC. Silver, Diam of rim: 13.5 cm. Found in a grave in Chernozemen, Plovdiv Province, Bulgaria. Plovdiv, Regional Archaeological Museum, IV-4

the Corinthian Isthmus,¹⁹ but an effort to establish Theseus as a Panhellenic hero seems an equally plausible possibility.

Two nearly identical silver cups with Bellerophon on Pegasus fighting the Chimera, one from a grave of a Thracian nobleman in Chernozemen, near Plovdiv (fig. 45a–b), and the other of unknown provenance, can be dated to about 440 BC.²⁰ A third cup of slightly earlier date, from Scythian Semibratny Tumulus II, shows the central figure of Bellerophon and the Chimera surrounded by six figures of warriors, meant either as the hero's companions or as the Solymoi of Lycia.²¹ The latter were an Anatolian people whom the Greek hero fought, as he did the Amazons, thus providing a powerful anti-Persian symbol to the Athenian iconographic repertoire.²² The theme survives in late fourth-century BC Thracian metalwork and even later in Hellenistic versions. Epinicus, a third-century BC Athenian poet of the New Comedy, describes a *rhyton* with "Bellerophon on Pegasus spearing the fire-breathing Chimera."²³

From the Bashova Tumulus in Duvanlii come two more silver vases with chiseled and gilded figures.

The first, a *phiale* dating to about 430 BC, illustrates the athletic competition known as the apobatic race, an equestrian contest specific to Athens, during which a fully armored warrior jumped from a chariot running at full speed (cat. 47c).²⁴ Around the interior, four quadrigae, each with a charioteer and a hoplite-*apobates*, run counterclockwise, representing various moments of the contest (fig. 46a–b). The hoplites wear a variety of helmets (*pilos*, Chalkidian, and Illyrian) and have shields decorated with emblems, including a centaur, a lion, and a horse (or perhaps Pegasos). A number of parallels for the horses appear on Attic vases, the finest of which are by the Meidias Painter,²⁵ but no doubt the horses of the Parthenon frieze and its *apobatai* would have been the most influential visual reference for the *phiale*.²⁶ The second vase from the Bashova Tumulus is a *kylix* with a

female figure on horseback, who is most likely Selene, the moon goddess, although other identifications have been suggested (cat. 47d).²⁷ It dates slightly later than the *phiale*, and again the figure has close parallels, especially for her billowing mantle and richly ornamented peplos, among the figures painted by Aison and the Eretria and Meidias Painters.²⁸

More silver *kylikes* and *kantharoi* of uncertain provenance but allegedly from Thrace, in both museum and private collections, also date to this time and later, the period of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC). On one, Peleus is hunting a deer on Mount Pelion,²⁹ a story known from literary sources,³⁰ as well as from representations on vases, notably one by the Codrus Painter, which identifies the hero in an inscription.³¹ On another *kylix* Hermes visits Helen, presumably to inform her about her "dual"



Figure 46a–b. *Phiale Mesomphalos* with Chariots (details, cat. 47c)

fate: only her phantom will follow Paris to Troy, while the true Helen will be sent to Egypt. The theme first appears in the Greek poet Steisichorus, but the myth enjoyed a revival in Athens during the Peloponnesian War, perhaps in connection with the play *Helen* by Euripides, staged in 412/411 BC. A *kalos* inscription praising a certain Athanaion is seen on the small pillar on which Hermes leans.³² It is notable that Aristophanes, whether reporting a historical fact or making a comical exaggeration, says that the Thracian king Sitalkes had *Athenaioi kaloi* ("the Athenians are handsome") written on the walls of his palace, as proof of his commitment to their cause.³³

A scene of two men in what appears to be a symposium adorns another cup. Both, however, wear female clothing and the *alopekis*, the typical Thracian cap made of fox skin. One man is seated and holds a kithara, while the other reclines on a couch.³⁴ Similar compositions in outdoor settings are identified as Orpheus singing to his Thracian companions.³⁵ The garments and the interior setting are a novelty for such a scene and difficult to interpret. Although the theory is highly speculative, the image may derive from a fragmentarily preserved play, the fifth-century BC comedy *Baptai* by Eupolis, and the men may be priests of the Thracian goddess Kotyto.³⁶ Alternatively, it has been suggested that the garments, especially the *alopekides*, worn by these figures represent a deliberate attempt by the Athenian artist to "Thracianize" Orpheus in the context of Athenian diplomatic policy. Such a supposition implies that the *kylix* was from its conception intended for a Thracian audience, a possibility that is far from certain.³⁷

Another episode from the life of Theseus that appears on Athenian silver is his abduction of the young Helen from Sparta, a scene that decorates one side of a stemmed *kantharos*.³⁸ Theseus left the Spartan princess, who was still too young for marriage, at Aphidnai, in the north of Attica, under the protection of his mother.³⁹ The theme was well suited to the anti-Spartan feelings in Athens during the Peloponnesian War, of which the last and most dramatic phase, ironically, took place in Dekeleia, an Athenian fort very close to Aphidnai. According to Herodotus, the inhabitants of Dekeleia were treated well by the Spartans in honor of a local man who led the Dioskouroi to Aphidnai when they were searching for their sister Helen.⁴⁰ The other side of the *kantharos* shows the Thracian women killing Orpheus, who is named in an inscription.⁴¹

On another *kantharos*, Helen meets Paris, guided by winged Himeros and Aphrodite. This scene is paired with Hermes's "annunciation" to Helen, although in a different composition from that on the cup with the *kalos* inscription.⁴² Both vases, however, were created in the same workshop, probably by the same artisan, as suggested by some identical details, such as the distinctive shoes with a rosette above the ankle worn by both Helen and Aphrodite. This *kantharos*, like the previous one, must date to the middle years of the Peloponnesian War and represents not only one of the most beautiful achievements of Athenian metalwork but also one of the more accomplished expressions of the Classical aesthetic ideal. A third *kantharos* of the same class shows a sacrifice on both sides.⁴³ In a typical procession to the altar, six people lead a sacrificial ram.⁴⁴ Behind the altar, Hermes in epiphany assists the sacrifice offered to him. There is abundant testimony regarding the cult of Hermes in Athens, including references to the bronze statue in the Agora (*Hermes Agoraios*), the famous herm by the sculptor Alkamenes at the entrance to the Acropolis (*Hermes Propylaios*), and the gymnasium in Kerameikos, which bore his name.⁴⁵ The composition on this *kantharos*, which departs from all other images seen thus far, may refer to some kind of atonement in the aftermath of the major political scandal of the Hermokopidai affair (the vandalizing of herms in the streets of Athens) in 415 BC, which cast its shadow over aristocratic and wealthy Athenians, the very families who would use this kind of luxury silver.⁴⁶ Another *kylix* shows in its tondo a bearded, barefoot rider wearing a short *chiton* and an *alopekis*.⁴⁷ Since he does not resemble the figures of Thracians known on the Athenian red-figure pottery of that time,⁴⁸ he is probably a Thrakophotes, a Greek who spent a long time in or traveled often to Thrace.⁴⁹

Finally, some vases dating from the end of the fifth century BC, found in Thrace (and at least one in Scythia) and bearing chiseled figurative scenes, show some deviation from the Athenian norms either in shape (notably *rhyta*) or in style and subsidiary iconographic details.⁵⁰ One of them is a tall *rhyton* terminating in a goat protome and bearing on the neck a frieze with three Thracian women attacking Orpheus.⁵¹ A comparison with the same scene on the *kantharos* discussed above makes evident that the *rhyton* belongs to the distinctive output of a workshop probably run by Athenian immigrants in a Greek colony, with Abdera the most likely location.⁵² Another vase from this workshop, clearly inspired by an Athenian model,



Figure 47. Mug with two handles, probably Attic, ca. 430 BC. Silver, H: 5.5 cm; Diam of rim: 10 cm. Found in the Svetitsata Tumulus, near Shipka, Stara Zagora Province, Bulgaria. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum, 8956

is a *phiale* with a chiseled and gilded Amazonomachy, some figures of which are derived directly from the Amazonomachy on the shield of the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos by the sculptor Phidias.⁵³ This Theseus-related subject may have been inspired by other Parthenonian models as well, which are reflected in contemporaneous vase painting.⁵⁴ Some undecorated silver vases have also been found in Thrace; their Athenian origin is suggested by the similarities in shape to Attic black-glaze ceramics. These include a ribbed one-handled mug from the Bashova Tumulus in Duvanlii (cat. 47e);⁵⁵ two plain-surface mugs, one from the village of Dalboki, in southern Bulgaria, and the other of unknown provenance, both bearing the same graffito, ΣΚΥ, on the bottom;⁵⁶ a *kylix* from the Yakimova Tumulus;⁵⁷ a *kantharos* from the Golyamata Tumulus in Duvanlii;⁵⁸ and several cup handles and a two-handled mug with bilobed handles from the Svetitsata Tumulus (fig. 47), which has close parallels in clay from the agora of Athens.⁵⁹

The figurative scenes on the main group of silver vessels found in Thrace leave no doubt as to their Athenian origin. The presence of a *kalos* inscription and the apobatic race and especially the recurrent presence of Theseus also confirm Athens as a source. The works date to the second half of the fifth century BC, and their subjects, though varying, reflect Athenian state ideology and the political propaganda of Athenian hegemony. A second group, which I attribute to a colonial workshop run by Athenian craftsmen or under strong Athenian influence, shows many similarities in iconography and style, but one

can discern a slight shift in spirit reflected in the details of execution.⁶⁰ The workshop is difficult to locate precisely. The vases, all dating to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BC, could have been created in any city with favorable conditions for Athenian immigrant artists. Amphipolis would have been ideal had it not been captured by the Spartan general Brasidas in 424/423 BC, that is, before any of the colonial vases can be dated. Abdera is a more likely alternative. Nymphodoros of Abdera was an Athenian *proxenos* to the Odrysian king Sitalkes, who was also his brother-in-law, and Abdera probably remained on good terms with Sitalkes's successor, Seuthes I. The city, twice colonized from Ionia and open to trade with the Thracians, presents the ideal conditions for being the production center of this group of vases, which are characterized both by their distinctive Ionian elements and the *realia* of Thracian life incorporated into their imagery (such as women with short hair, the use of *rhyta*, and deer hunting on horseback). Such features go beyond the typical and rather superficial Thracian elements (such as the *alopekis*) found on the vases of the main group made in Athens.

All the vases discussed here were intended for use in the symposium. Those imported from Athens include *kylikes*, *kantharoi*, *phialai*, and some undecorated mugs, while vessels made in the colonial workshop comprise some of the same shapes, as well as *rhyta*. Until the recent discoveries, such precious-metal vessels of fifth-century BC date were very rare. Of the twenty-seven silver examples now known, decorated or not, that have been found in Thrace,



Figure 48. Rhyton with sphinx protome, Ionian/Propontic(?), ca. 400–350 BC. Silver, H: 21.5 cm; Diam: 10.7 cm. From the Borovo Treasure, Ruse Province, Bulgaria. Ruse, Regional Museum of History, II 358

only twelve come from documented excavations. All of these are from monumental tumuli and none from hoards, like the well-known examples of fourth-century BC date from Borovo (fig. 48), Rogozen (cat. 60), and Panagyurishte (cat. 59). Sometimes the works are older than the burials in which they were found, even decades older. This phenomenon is not uncommon and is attested in many finds from Greece and elsewhere, with burials one or two generations later than the time of production and in exceptional cases up to two or more centuries later.⁶¹

Were the Athenian silver vases found in Thrace made specifically for the Thracians? There is little evidence to support such a hypothesis, nor is there any reason to suggest such an intention, at least not for the majority of them. Their shapes are Attic—the *rhyton* entered the repertoire only with

the colonial group. Their style and imagery are also Athenian, often inspired by the monumental arts, judging from comparisons with sculpture, although they might have been even closer to large-scale paintings, which do not survive. There are also clear stylistic and thematic connections with specific vase painters, such as the Codrus, Shuvalov, Eretria, and Meleager Painters, Aison, and the Meidias Painter and his circle.⁶²

The themes are also typically Athenian: the national hero Theseus; Bellerophon, perhaps with anti-Persian connotations; the *apobates* competition; Helen as an elusive cause of war; and a sacrifice to Hermes, possibly inspired by a contemporary political scandal. None of these scenes are relevant to the Thracians. In addition, a certain Athanaion is named *kalos* in a carefully executed inscription,

certainly from the maker's hand. Although Orpheus is the Thracian hero cherished by Athenian culture, he was not necessarily viewed as such by the Thracians and is noticeably absent in native Thracian art.

In the finds from Thrace, the Theseus and Helen legends are the most popular, following a trend apparent throughout the Athenian artistic output of the second half of the fifth century BC, including monumental sculpture and pottery. A gradually increasing taste for "Thracian" themes is observed only toward the end of the fifth century BC, after the establishment of a new production center for silverware somewhere in the northern Aegean. Only four of the thirty-three Athenian silver vases with figural scenes have what might be considered "Thracian" themes, however. These include the three depictions of Orpheus and two with men wearing the *alopekis* (the five depictions represent only four vases—one contains both subjects). Yet these examples reflect only the way the Greeks themselves labeled stories rather than how they were perceived by the Thracians.⁶³ The majority of the silver vessels with figural decoration of this class were in all probability commissioned by Athenian citizens from Athenian workshops for private use. They were not intended for public display and use, as we may surmise from their total absence in the otherwise extensive and detailed inventories of the Hekatompedon, the Opisthodomos, and the Erechtheion on the Acropolis.⁶⁴

These vases do not survive in large numbers because the funerary customs of the Athenians and of most southern Greeks did not permit the burial of valuable objects, unlike the practices of the Macedonians, Thracians, and Scythians. Virtually all Athenian silver was at some point melted down to produce new luxury items or simply to mint coins, and the few items that survive did so because of the northern neighbors who placed the vessels in tombs. Some of them, especially those decorated with Theseus legends, may have been state commissions because they most clearly expressed the Athenian state's propaganda and served its geopolitical ambitions. Drinking vessels originally made for private Athenian symposia could also have passed to state ownership by means of purchase, confiscation, or even private initiative and donation and then become diplomatic gifts, accompanying the many embassies to the north. In this way, Athenian silver traveled to the Odrysian kings and Thracian and Scythian nobles. One cannot exclude the possibility that gifts were presented by private individuals as well, in view of the favorable trade

agreements with the Thracians for the exploitation of mines, forests, and cultivable lands.

The conspicuous absence of Athenian silver objects from the Macedonian graves of the fifth century BC came to an end with the recent identification of two fragmentary examples from Aigai.⁶⁵ Their rarity in Macedonia compared to their relative abundance in Thrace may be imputed to some sort of latent hostility between Athens and the expanding Macedonian kingdom, however, rather than to a difference in taste or funerary practices.⁶⁶

It is more difficult to understand the reception of such objects by the Thracians. Did they value them primarily for their precious metal? Certainly not, since there is enough evidence that the Thracian kings and nobility possessed considerable wealth, at times comparable to that of the Athenian state.⁶⁷ Did they understand or interpret the images on their own terms? Possibly, but the absence until the late fourth century BC of local versions of Greek mythological imagery, which even then appears only rarely, may indicate that the Thracians did not care much for interpreting these images from their own mythological perspective. These sumptuous and "exotic" artifacts were valued for their unparalleled craftsmanship, for their fine design and intriguing subject matter, and ultimately for their capacity to render the Thracian aristocracy conversant with the cultivated Greek world through the adoption of its high-end products.

The study of Athenian luxury metalwork has long been neglected both because of the scant evidence and the belief that *tryphē* (luxury) and *thambos* (astonishment) had no place in the idealized construct of Athenian democracy. Also, Athenian funerary practice did not help preserve these exceptional artistic products for the archaeological record, despite the literary references. Expansionist Athenian policy in the years after the Greco-Persian Wars, followed by the increasing insecurity before and during the Peloponnesian War, led Athens to seek allies in the north to secure access to the resources they controlled, primarily timber for shipbuilding. In the process, Athenian silver vases offered as diplomatic gifts became fashionable among the Thracian nobility and played an instrumental role in establishing friendly relations and concluding profitable agreements. Thanks to the Thracians we gain a glimpse of an exceptional and otherwise vanished body of art, which translates the philosophical and aesthetic aims that characterize Classical art into small-scale luxury works.

- ¹ A wide collection of sources can be found in Vickers and Gill 1994, esp. 35–43, 55–70.
- ² Harris 1995.
- ³ Boardman 1987, 287; Williams 1991, 106.
- ⁴ Gorbunova 1971, 20, fig. 1.5; Brijder and Stibbe 1997, 26, figs. 6, 7; Trofimova 2007, 219, no. 119; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2009, 134, 150, plate 15.
- ⁵ Similarly in Greece, Italy, and Turkey: Adam-Veleni 2012; Boyadzhiev, Popov, and Chukalev 2018.
- ⁶ Filov 1934a, 106–11, no. 4, fig. 132; Marazov 1998a, 149, no. 78.
- ⁷ Marazov 2011b, 134–35, no. 98 (misdated); Sideris 2016, 118–20, no. 151.
- ⁸ Sideris 2015, 17–20, figs. 8–12; Sideris 2016, 130–33, no. 57.
- ⁹ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.17.2; Philochorus in FGrH 328 F18a; Plutarch, *Kimon* 8; Den Boer 1969, 11–12; Davie 1982; Shapiro 1992, 47; Walker 1995, 20–24, 55–61; Gouščin 1999, 173.
- ¹⁰ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.27.9; Shapiro 1988.
- ¹¹ Metopes: Boardman 1985, fig. 111, South 3; Rolley 1999, 104–5. Red-figure vases: Moon and Berge 1979, 194–96; Brommer 1982, plate 14.1; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, plate 36; Boardman 1989, figs. 164, 240, 292.3.
- ¹² Sideris 2015, 20–30, figs. 13, 14, 17–23; Sideris 2016, 134–41, no. 58.
- ¹³ Sideris 2021, 366, fig. 58.12 (only one mask preserved).
- ¹⁴ *Adlocutio* is a pose named after the representations of Roman emperors and generals addressing the army, which consists of a *contrapposto* position of the legs and a raised right arm. The pose, however, first appears on the Parthenon frieze.
- ¹⁵ Stewart et al. 2021, 541–50, figs. 8, 9, 11–13.
- ¹⁶ Shapiro 1993; Stafford 2000; Borg 2002; Messerschmidt 2003; Stafford and Herrin 2005; A. C. Smith 2011.
- ¹⁷ Paxson 1994, 8–15, 82–88; Sideris 2016, 40.
- ¹⁸ Marazov 1998a, 174–75, no. 104; Sideris 2015, 31–32, figs. 25, 26. In his entry in this volume (cat. 12), R. Stoychev identifies Theseus's opponent as the bandit Periphetes. On the problematic identification of scenes with Sinis, Periphetes, and Skiron, see lozza 2014 and the testimony of Plutarch, *Theseus* 8.
- ¹⁹ Walker 1995, 42.
- ²⁰ Kisov 2005, 45–48, plates 10, 11; Sideris 2016, 152, fig. 62.b (unknown provenance).
- ²¹ Gorbunova 1971, 23–26, 30, figs. 2, 6, 7; Sideris 2015, 61, no. 3, fig. 68.
- ²² *Iliad* 6.184–86; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* II.3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IX.646.
- ²³ Epinicus, *Hypoballomenai*, after Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XI 497 b: “περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου λέγων φησιν· ὁ Βελλερόφοντης
- έστιν ἀπό τοῦ Πηγάσου τὴν πύρπνον Χίμαιραν εἰσήκοντικώς.” Fol et al. 1989, no. 162.
- ²⁴ Filov 1934a, 63–65, plate 4; Marazov 1998a, 138, no. 64. On the apobatic race, see Theophrastus, after Harpocration s.v. ὄποβότης.
- ²⁵ Boardman 1989, figs. 202, 243, 287 (Meidias Painter), 329.
- ²⁶ Boardman 1985, figs. 96.7, 96.11; Rolley 1999, figs. 78, 79, 84; Sideris 2015, 63.
- ²⁷ Filov 1934a, 65–66, plate 5; Marazov 1998a, 181, no. 116.
- ²⁸ Boardman 1989, figs. 233, 285–87, 292.1, 300.
- ²⁹ Marazov 2011b, 72–73, no. 51; Sideris 2015, 14–16, figs. 1–5; Sideris 2016, 144–45, no. 60.
- ³⁰ Pindar, *Nemean* 4.29, 5.26; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.12.7; Zenobius, *Proverbs* 5.20.
- ³¹ Shapiro 1994, 101, fig. 67; Avramidou 2011, 39–40, 108–9, plate 8b.
- ³² Marazov 2011b, 68–69, no. 49; Sideris 2016, 146–48, no. 61. For the literary sources, see Steisichorus, frag. 32 Bergk; Euripides, *Helen* 605–16, 670–85. On *kalos* inscriptions, see Lissarrague 1999. On the survival of the name Athanaion in Thrace, see the stele from Mesembria (cat. 24).
- ³³ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 144; Slater 1999, 144, 151–52. See, however, an alternative explanation by Lear 2008, 164–66; Sideris 2016, 148n19.
- ³⁴ Marazov 2011, 70–71, no. 50; Sideris 2016, 149–51, no. 62.
- ³⁵ LIMC VII (1994), s.v. “Orpheus,” 84–85, nos. 7–16, 22–26 (M.-X. Garezou); Desbals 1997, 179–92; Tsiafaki 1998, 77–93.
- ³⁶ Avramidou 2019, 130–31.
- ³⁷ Marazov 2013, 221–22; Sideris 2015, 78–79. Orpheus was represented predominantly in Greek attire at least until the mid-fifth century BC: Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.30.6; Tsiafaki 1998, 90.
- ³⁸ Marazov 2011b, 79–82, no. 53 (misidentified); Sideris 2015, 39–40; Sideris 2016, 154–59, no. 63. For a bronze plate with a relief plaque on the handle attachment showing Theseus and the bandit Sinis, see Agre 2011, 163–67, figs. V-32, V-33; Sideris 2022, 325, fig. 4.
- ³⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.63; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.18.5, 1.41.5; Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 31; Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fabulae* 79; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.24.
- ⁴⁰ Herodotus, *Histories* 9.73. For a slightly different account that places the events in the Academy neighborhood of Athens, see Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 32.2–3.
- ⁴¹ Schoeller 1969, 55–59; Matheson 1995, 231; Mannack 2001, 90. According to

- Schoeller's classification, the composition belongs to his second class, in which Orpheus holds the *chelys* lyre above his head in an attempt to protect himself from the attacking women.
- ⁴² Marazov 2011b, 74–78, no. 52; Sideris 2016, 160–65, no. 64.
- ⁴³ Sideris 2021, 198–204, no. 240.
- ⁴⁴ Van Straten 1995, 13–45; Bundrick 2014, 656–60. Gebauer (2002, nos. P 1–148, A 1–23) differentiates between the procession scenes and those showing the preparatory rituals, but here we have a combination of both.
- ⁴⁵ More statues of Hermes are mentioned in the temples of Eumenids and of Athena Polias. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.2.5, 1.15.1, 1.22.8, 1.27.1, 1.28.6; Rolley 1999, 144–45, 181–82, figs. 130–32; Stewart 2003; Palagia 2009, 26–33.
- ⁴⁶ Osborne 1985; Winkler 1990; Wohl 1999; Hamel 2012; Rubel 2014, 74–98.
- ⁴⁷ Sideris 2016, 151, fig. 62.a; Tiverios 2019, 198, fig. 8.
- ⁴⁸ Tsiafaki 1998, figs. 1a, 2–3a, 21–23, 25, 27, 60–61a; S. Padell-Imbaud in Martinez et al. 2015, 48–49, no. 13, and 51, no. 15; R. Georgieva in Martinez et al. 2015, 50, no. 14.
- ⁴⁹ Sears 2013, 1–4. See also Sears in this volume.
- ⁵⁰ Marazov 2011b, 57–58, 62–67, nos. 45, 47, 48; Sideris 2015, 71–74; Sideris 2016, 172–82, nos. 67–69. For a silver *karchesion-kantharos* from the Solokha Tumulus in Ukraine with prenuptial scenes of the female quarter reminiscent of those on the *epinetron* of Eretria, see Mantsevich 1987, 86–88, no. 60.
- ⁵¹ Marazov 2011b, 65–67, no. 48; Sideris 2016, 177–79, no. 68.
- ⁵² Sideris 2015, 78; Sideris 2022, 329, 332, 335.
- ⁵³ Marazov 2011b, 57–58, no. 45; Sideris 2015, 40–43, figs. 37–42 (especially fig. 40); Sideris 2016, 181–82, no. 69.
- ⁵⁴ Such as one of the western metopes: Dörig 1982, 193–95, figs. 4–6.
- ⁵⁵ Filov 1934a, 67–68, fig. 84; K. Kisiov in Martinez et al. 2015, 239, no. 196.
- ⁵⁶ Filov 1930–31, 50, 54, no. 3, fig. 36.10; Vickers, Impey, and Allan 1986, plate 1; Sideris 2016, 142–43, no. 59. The same graffito, obviously from the same hand, appears again underneath the bottom of the Bellerophon *kylix* from Chernozemen (see fig. 46). The shape is also attested in bronze from the Bashova Tumulus: Filov 1934a, 70–71, no. 8, fig. 88.
- ⁵⁷ D. Dimitrova 2008b, 224, fig. 7; Sideris 2015, 74, no. 2, fig. 97.
- ⁵⁸ Filov 1934a, 110–11, 209, fig. 135, plates 8.7, 8.8; Sideris 2015, 74, no. 6, fig. 98.

- Sideris 2015, 13–14, 78–79, 85 table 1; Sideris 2022, 337–38. See also Tsiafaki in this volume.
- ⁶⁰ Sideris 2015, 60, 71–73.
- ⁶¹ Sideris 2000, 28–29; Reiterman 2016, 59–61, 65, 86–87; Sideris 2020, 111.
- ⁶² Sideris 2016, 132, 139–40, 145, 164; Avramidou 2019, 131–32; Tiverios 2019, 196–202.
- ⁶³ The numerous representations of Thracian heroes on Attic red-figure vases are conveniently assembled by Tsiafaki 1998, but neither those vessels nor the vases with representations of Greek heroes were popular in Thrace itself:
- ⁶⁵ A *kylix* handle and a Silenos mask from a *kantharos* come, respectively, from graves K1/1989 and 2/2013, and they are under

publication by the author. Silver vases were already known in Late Archaic Macedonian graves, but they are all of Ionian and local manufacture: Despoini et al. 2016, 249–63, nos. 308–13, with further references to similar finds from Aigai, Archontiko, and Trebenishte.

⁶⁶ On Athenian-Macedonian hostility in the fifth century, see Zahrnt 2015, 37–43; Karathanasis 2019, 720–26.

⁶⁷ Porozhanov 2021, 296–97.

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